

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

**Connolly's
struggle for
socialism**

—page 8

**What went wrong
in TEAM**

—page 11



AFTER THE CEASEFIRE

UNITE AND FIGHT FOR WORKERS RIGHTS

THE British government is about to start talks with Sinn Fein and the Loyalist paramilitaries on a solution to the problems of Northern Ireland.

They will have little to offer.

Today, 30,000 highly armed men and women stalk the streets of the North.

The British government is making no promises to disarm them immediately and remove their barracks and watchtowers from working class areas.

In both Protestant and Catholic areas there is a grinding poverty that comes from unemployment and low wages.

The North has 120% of the rate of pneumonia than in the rest of the Britain.

But John Major and Albert Reynolds demand we accept worse conditions while they award themselves big pay increases.

All they can tell us is to 'respect the differences' between Catholics and Protestants.

They will let us wave Union Jacks and Tricolours as long as we leave them with the wealth.

They don't care whether we want to learn the Irish language or discover about King Billy—just as long as we work for Big Mac wages.

A new mood is developing in the North after the ceasefires.

Many are asking 'Why did so many die for so little'?

Amongst many Protestants and Catholics there is a determination to overcome the dead end politics of republicanism and the bigotry of loyalism.

For twenty five years we have been divided.

Now is the time to fight for our class.

Behind the judicial appointments row...

Judges picked to serve their class

THE RECENT mess surrounding the appointment of a President of the High Court which the Government found themselves in revealed how rotten the judicial system really is.

What was shown clearly was that judges are not selected on merit, but on the basis of what political party they support and on what class they come from.

Everyone of the judges on the last Supreme Court came from a fee paying private school.

The reason for the latest controversy was that the President of the High Court appoints other judges and so has a massive degree of power.

Judges are chosen for life, with most appointments

lasting more than thirty years.

The Labour party did not want to challenge this system—but only to get their cut of the patronage.

One senior barrister at Kings' Inn spoke about what goes on behind the scenes. "More political appointments are being made today than ever before, with one judge appointed to the Circuit Court because his wife is friendly with Albert."

"People here have completely accepted that political appointments will continue".



Whelehan—Alberts man heading for the judge's bench

Who wears the wigs?

HERE are some of the judges who have worked on Ireland's Supreme Court.

Thomas Finlay (Age 69). Educated at Clongowes upper class Jesuit school. A Fine Gael TD from 1954 to 1957.

He refused to decriminalise homosexuality in the Norris case.

Information

He also ruled that the Well Women Centre had no right to give out information on abortion.

Tony Hederman (Age 70) Has been on the Supreme Court for over twenty years. He was once the Treasurer of Fianna Fail.

Judge Niall McCarthy (Age 66). Another ex-Clongowes boy. He defended Charlie Haughey in the arms trial and, lo and behold, was appointed to the Supreme Court by Haughey afterwards.

Judge Hugh O'Flaherty (Age 53) Campaigned for Fianna Fail in Kerry.

He represented SPUC in their case against the students who gave out information on abortion.

Liam Hamilton (Age 64) He got appointed Chief Justice after issuing his report on the Goodman scandal which claimed that Albert Reynolds showed no political favouritism.

Stood as a Labour Party candidate in local elections.

They say...

"It should have been a helluva a lot more"—Albert Reynolds, former dance-hall owner, on his £267 a week pay rise.

"I have only to turn on my read or read, my Irish Times to see that particular mixture of self pity, whingeing, rolling revolution, that marks out a Trotskyite"—Eoghan Harris former PR agent for John Bruton

"Teachers have a right to strike, but not during working hours"—Sibusiso Benghu, South Africa's ANC education minister

Hell's Bells!

The Trinity branch of the Free Presbyterian church in Portavogie have confounded the scientists and discovered the exact location of Hell.

It is nine miles beneath the earth's surface under Siberia. The bible thumpers lowered a microphone down a drilling hole in the area—and heard the screams!

Maybe the poor devils heard that Big Ian was coming.

Larry the Lad

LARRY Goodman is about to land the job of Managing Director of Goodman International, making him the largest shareholder with 35% of the company.

The deal is worth upwards of £30 million to the beef cheat.



★ AS RUAIRI Quinn leads the assault on the public sector it appears that his brother also has a great interest in attacking workers.

In the British election year of 1992, Lochlann Quinn gave £2,500 to the Tory party.

Ruairi's brother owns the Glen Dimplex company worth over £40 million.

★ ALBERT Reynolds told the Beef Tribunal that his 4 years in Opposition (1983 - 1987) were "spent developing his own business".

Yet when his government were exposed selling passports to those who would invest in the Reynolds-owned C & D Foods he changed his story.

He told the Dail that he "had not been involved in the running of the company for up to 14 years".

Either he can't add or he is a liar. Probably both.

★ SOCIALIST WORKER recently printed a poster which compared the

£70,000 per day wage of Tony O'Reilly to the £120 per week of Karen O'Reilly.

Well we got our figures wrong.

Bosses' magazine Business and Finance estimates that O'Reilly's personal wealth increased by £100 million last year.

That means that an extra £285,000 landed in O'Reilly's greedy trotters for every day of 1993.

★ A RECENT funeral in Co. Cork attracted the attendance of 3 government ministers.

Albert flew by private jet.

Labour's Michael D. Higgins was flown from Paris by the Air Corps while Fianna Fail's David Andrews descended from another Air Corps aircraft.

★ "WE ARE celebrating with champagne—it keeps the fashion industry going".

So said Louis Copeland after barristers voted to stay in the Middle Ages and keep their wigs and gowns.

For those who are interested you can pick up a wig and gown from Louis for around £900.

★ SOCIALIST WORKER would like to welcome home Junior Social Welfare minister Joan Burton and her husband Pat Carroll.

The pair have just returned from a three week jaunt around Zambia, Zimbabwe and Tanzania.

Fortunately they didn't have to put their hands in their pockets as the taxpayer paid for Joan as well as her (unelected) spouse.

Those on the newly taxable unemployment benefit will undoubtedly be particularly pleased to see their money well spent.

★ AS WE move towards M a r y Harney's "low wage economy" the ruling class are getting more confident.

Confident in cutting jobs but also confident, as Mercedes dealer Billy Duffy says, in spending money on themselves.

Duffy's sales for Mercs costing £60,000+ have doubled from last year while sales of £30,000+

NATO and ACRA. The experience of the Hillview estate in Waterford was an important example of how cut-offs can be stopped.

The residents of the estate poured onto the street to stop a scab van attempting to cut off the water supply of a non-payer, while a plumber sympathetic to the campaign ensured the water supply was promptly put on again.

The next meeting of the Dublin Anti-Water Charges Campaign is on Saturday October 22nd at the TEEU training centre, 5, Gardiner Row.

It is open to representatives from all anti-water charge groups.

Defend Susan O'Keefe

Susan O'Keefe, the journalist who exposed the scandal behind Goodman International, is currently facing trial.

She will come before a jury who will have to decide if she is in contempt of court for refusing to disclose her sources to Judge Hamilton during the Beef Tribunal.

It is a disgrace that this prosecution is going ahead. This is a blatant case of victimisation: no one in Goodman International is on trial.

The other journalists who withheld their sources are not being prosecuted.

Susan O'Keefe is being prosecuted because she dared expose corruption.

The National Union of Journalists is campaigning on her behalf.

They plan to hold a sympathy picket on the day her trial starts.

Messages of support should be sent to the National Union of Journalists, Liberty Hall.

Petitions in support of Susan O'Keefe are available from Socialist Worker, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

he will probably get in costs and damages from the Beef Tribunal may help his repayments...

Meanwhile an accountant and a boning hall manager from two of

Goodman's Limerick factories are being charged with E.C. beef fraud. They are currently out on £4,500 bail.

Nothing to do with Larry, of course.

WE THINK

Coalition in extra time

THE Labour/Fianna Fail coalition is starting to come apart. In the next few weeks, Reynolds is sure to appoint Harry Whelehan to the High Court.

Whelehan was responsible for the X case when he tried to detain a 14 year old rape victim in this country lest she had an abortion.

He protected Reynolds connections with Goodman by invoking a ruling that all cabinet discussions were se-

cret.

The Labour Party lost the battle because it never dared to expose Whelehan for the bigot that he was.

Any questioning about Whelehan would quickly have led to an examination of the right wing upper class

record of Irish judges.

But the row over Whelehan is only a sign of the times.

Pressures

The Coalition is starting to come apart because they cannot handle the new pressures that are building up.

Major battles are looming in the public sector over privatisation.

Reynolds had hoped that the anger against this government could be deflected onto Labour and that the Northern ceasefire would boost the standing of FF.

But the polls show that while Labour is despised for its sell-outs, workers are not turning to the old right wing populism of FF.

This government is weak, divided and can be beaten.

The huge student demonstration against poverty and overcrowding on November 17th should go to the gates of Dail Eireann.

It is time that the overpaid Ministers got a taste of the anger of the streets.

Inside the ESB and Telecom, the defeatist message of the union leaders that nothing can be done about the mass sackings should be resisted.

Any group of workers who fights today will get massive support from those who hate this rotten government.

False friends

WHEN Gerry Adams visited the US recently, he told his audience that the struggle for civil rights had started with marches from Coalsland to Dungannon but now it was going to the gates of the White House in Washington.

Republican politics are shifting from the militancy of the streets to looking for the ear of the powerful. And who is more powerful, then, the President of the US, who republicans believe can be lobbied to support a struggle against sectarian oppression.

They are wrong. The man who orders a blockade of Cuba for standing up for its independence, is hardly likely to castigate John Major for behaviour of the British army.

Nor is Edward Kennedy, who stands over racist practices of excluding blacks from parts of South Boston, going to do much about dis-

crimination.

While Adams was touring the US, the British government announced the deployment of the parachute regiment in West Belfast. By doing so they showed their contempt for those who try lobby the rich and powerful into kicking off their friends.

Nationalism in Northern Ireland has reached a dead end. After the failure of the armed struggle, it now tries to pretend that Catholic working class people in the North should align themselves with right wing politicians who attack workers in their own countries.

Despite all the bitterness of the last twenty five years, a worker on the Falls Road has more in common with those on the Shankill than either of them have with Albert Reynolds.

The way has now opened for a socialist that promotes workers unity against both the rotten states of a partitioned Ireland.

The face of British justice



EIGHTY thousand people protested in London last month against the Criminal Justice Bill. The demonstration was attacked by the cops and even journalists covering the event were beaten up.

In the South the Public Order Act, which attacks the right to protest in the same way as the Criminal Justice Bill in Britain, has been in place for nearly a year.

Family values?

BISHOP Cummiskey is worried about family values.

He claims that the legalisation of homosexuality and possibility of divorce are a major danger to children.

Bishop Casey used to make the same speeches while refusing to look after his own son that had been born outside wedlock.

If Bishop Cummiskey is

genuinely concerned about the welfare of children, he might like to investigate why his fellow Bishop, Cathal Daly, who knew that a Father Brendan Smyth was abusing children, never did anything about it.

Lectured

Irish Bishops have always lectured ordinary people

about their morality while turning a blind eye to the greed of the Irish rich who make fortunes out of sacking workers.

Every right winger today says they are for 'family values'.

It is a code word for opposing any sexual freedom.

People who think that they have every right to express their sexuality in the way they choose, are less likely to blindly accept the authority of a bishop or a boss.



Sex, lies and stickers

A LARGE number of stickers which claim that condoms spread AIDS have begun to appear in Dublin in recent weeks.

The stickers claim that the HIV virus can be transmitted across the microscopic pores in a condom.

Mags Geraghty of AIDS

Alliance Dublin rejects these claims as "very dangerous lies".

She explains that the virus is very fragile and that it can only escape from a condom if the condom bursts during intercourse. The virus cannot move of its own accord.

It has to be transferred in

the male semen, which cannot pass through the barrier.

AIDS Alliance links the appearance of these stickers to a number of recent incidents, such as a well organised campaign which destroyed safe sex advertisements on the DART.

Ms Geraghty is extremely worried about the effects of such fundamentalist misinformation.

"It's taken us more than a decade to begin to get the message across about safe sex, and now these people are putting lives at risk."

"When will they realise that condoms are a health issue?"

PROTEST OVER RATS

TENANTS from the Moss Street/Gloucester Street flats in Dublin and the local branch Socialist Worker have taken action over rat infestation in the estate.

A very vocal protest was mounted outside the corporation buildings on Fishamble Street.

The protesters insisted on talking to a representative from the corporation and during the meeting they were given assurances that the problem would be investigated.

The corporation has met some of the demands.

The campaign organisers have decided to wait and see if all the demands will be met. If not, they intend to continue their protests.

Incinerator puts lives at risk

AN ANGRY public meeting was held in Ringsend in Dublin to protest at proposals for a massive incinerator.

The privately owned incinerator would burn 7,500 tonnes of hospital waste per year—the equivalent of all the hospital waste produced in Wales. According to the company the waste would include "human or animal tissues, needles and infectious waste".

Residents of the area are angry at the proposals which will put local lives at risk. Apart from the pollution of the burning waste there is also the risk of spillage as the waste is transported through residential areas.

Local people also pointed out that the incinerator would be built on the docks which would allow commercial waste to be imported from other countries.

There were strong calls from the audience for militant action.

One woman declared that if Mr. Rogers (the developer) "lays a brick for any incinerator, I'll bury him under it". A call for "civil rights action" to stop the plan was strongly applauded.

Militant action is necessary. Councillors should be lobbied but they cannot be trusted.

A well organised demonstration outside City Hall at the time of the vote is more effective than any private lobbying.

Socialist Worker Appeal reaches £6,368

SOCIALIST WORKER has been getting a great response on the streets.

Hundreds of people are delighted to see a paper which boldly states that this government are a bunch of greedy hypocrites.

The main political parties now all get state funding worth hundreds of thousands of pounds.

They have influential supporters in RTE and on the editorial boards of newspapers.

So when Pat Kenny does a phone-in in which thousands of people voice their anger at the politicians pay hikes—Fianna Fail can crack the whip

"Socialist Worker is the only paper that tells it like it is. The rest are owned by the rich—for the rich"
—Terry Mallin, TEAM craft worker

and try to prevent it happening again.

When Susan O'Keeffe revealed the corruption at the top of society, she was punished with the threat of jail. This is an attempt to intimidate other journalists from doing similar work.

There is no restraint on Socialist Worker telling the truth about what is happening in Ireland.

That's why it is urgent that we succeed in our ap-

peal to raise money for a fortnightly paper.

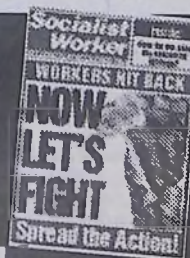
From 1995, Socialist Worker will appear every two weeks.

It will carry the most up to date reports and analyses.

It will educate a new generation into the ideas that people like Connolly and Larkin fought for.

We appeal to our readers to make every effort in the next month to give generously to this fund.

Help us raise £10,000 for a fortnightly Socialist Worker



£10,000	
£9,000	
£8,000	
£7,000	
£6,000	
£5,000	
£4,000	
£3,000	
£2,000	
£1,000	
£0	

As the US protects Haiti's rich...

The masses take revenge

THE PEOPLE of Haiti are celebrating the return of President Jean-Bertrand Aristide, in exile since the military coup in 1991.

Many Haitians also welcomed the arrival of US troops and used their presence as a signal to destroy all traces of the military regime which has murdered 4,000 people in the past three years.

Crowds stripped police and army buildings in the city of Cap Haitien and burnt thousands of police and prison records.

They captured police torturers and forced the local police chief to hide in a sewer.

Outside of the home of the local military commander the crowd piled up the army band's instruments.

They even got rid of the band's music sheets saying, "It was their music—we don't need to hear it anymore".

The police chief Michel Francois fled the country because he feared being killed in a popular uprising.

Resigned

When the hated ruler Raoul Cedras resigned he was jeered by hundreds of people as he tried to make his "farewell" speech.

But the US troops responded to the popular uprising by declaring that they would not tolerate "mob rule".

The US army did not intervene when gunmen from

the right wing FRAPH militia shot down pro-Aristide demonstrators in Port-au-Prince.

Instead they stood guard at the avenues leading to the rich suburb of Petionville.

The ruling class which the US army protects is the same class which backed the coup against Aristide.

Micky Mullaney, a Miami businessman who owns hotels in Haiti said of Aristide:

"When he decided to raise the minimum wage from \$2 a day to \$5 overnight we knew he would destroy us."

Slums

Haiti is the poorest country in the Western hemisphere.

Alongside the wealth of Petionville lies the poverty of the slums of Cite Soleil.

Three quarters of the population are out of work and, as desperation grows, people have been trampled to death in food riots.

Health organisations estimate that two out of every five Haitian children are HIV-positive.

US President Clinton has no intention of ending this poverty.

He is determined that the country will remain a source of cheap labour and profits for US multinationals.

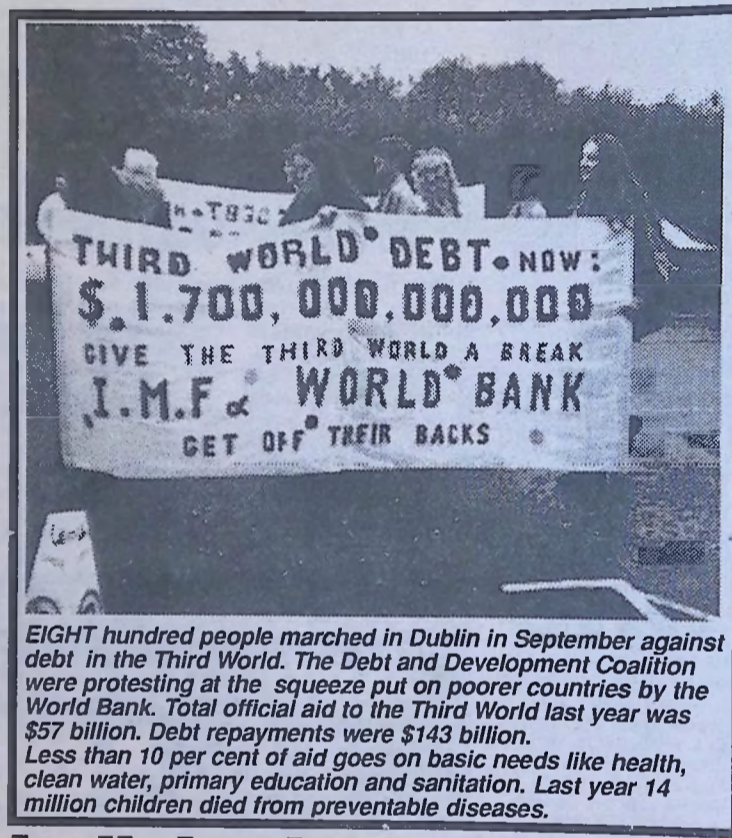
The welcome which the

US troops received in Haiti could soon give way to hostility.

After all British troops were welcomed in Northern Ireland in 1969 by Catholics who were being attacked by Loyalist mobs.

But the same troops were soon shooting down Catholics and became hated in the ghettos.

The US troops in Haiti could soon be firing on the very people who now welcome them as "liberators".



EIGHT hundred people marched in Dublin in September against debt in the Third World. The Debt and Development Coalition were protesting at the squeeze put on poorer countries by the World Bank. Total official aid to the Third World last year was \$57 billion. Debt repayments were \$143 billion. Less than 10 per cent of aid goes on basic needs like health, clean water, primary education and sanitation. Last year 14 million children died from preventable diseases.

US deal lets thugs go free

THE DEAL which ex-US President Carter reached with the regime in Haiti includes an amnesty for the butchers who have killed 4,000 people.

The US allowed the main military leaders—Cedras, Francois and Biamby—to enjoy an "early and honourable retirement".

Clinton and Carter want to stabilise the country to prevent revolution from toppling the local rulers.

And they want to stop the flow of refugees fleeing to the US.

When the rate of refugees reached 2,000 a day Clinton was forced to consider invading Haiti.

The Carter deal allowed him to avoid a confrontation with Cedras.

Under the agreement the US hopes to make cosmetic changes to the army and to use Aristide to pacify the masses.

Aristide returned to Haiti calling for "reconciliation" and asking his supporters not to take revenge on the military.

He will now be surrounded in office by the military and the representatives of big business—the very people who supported his overthrow in 1991.

Clinton wants to make sure Aristide now drops his policies of redistributing wealth. But the people of Haiti will not forget the reasons why they supported Aristide in the first place—to end the poverty and repression that has been their lot under successive military rulers.

Hopefully they will now take the fight for liberation into their own hands.

India's plague - a disease of poverty

THE NUMBER of deaths from the outbreak of pneumonic plague in Surat in India has reached 50 and is continuing to rise.

This plague is a more severe form of bubonic plague. Also known as The Black Death, bubonic plague killed 25 million people in Europe in the 1340's—a third of the population at the time.

The plague bacteria is spread by fleas on wild rodents. The danger becomes lethal when the plague spreads to, and kills, urban rats.

Then the plague can spread rapidly to humans. It is highly contagious and can be passed simply by coughing or sneezing.

The tragedy is that the latest outbreak of plague could have been avoided.

It happened because of a combination of government outbacks and the dire poverty in which many Indians live.

The government closed the plague surveillance unit in 1987. Health cuts led to a shortage of doctors and hospital beds.

Important restrictions meant that there was not enough tetracycline in the country.

This is used to make antibiotics against the plague, which, if used quickly, can reduce the risk of death to less than five per cent.

Helpless

The shortage meant that hospitals in Bombay and New Delhi soon ran out of antibiotics.

Doctors were helpless in trying to stop the spread of the plague.

The government rushed in enough tetracycline to make 20 million doses of antibiotic—too late.

The terrible conditions in which many Indians live left them wide open to the risk of an epidemic.

Millions live in shanty towns or on the streets in the main cities. Surat, where the

plague started, has a population of 1.5 million - bigger than Dublin.

But half of them are crammed into shanty towns surrounded by rubbish tips and open sewers.

Conditions like these are a breeding ground for plague-carrying rats.

The overcrowding means that once it starts, the plague spreads like wildfire.

Pneumonic plague is not the only disease making a frightening comeback.

Deaths from malaria, cholera and tuberculosis (TB) are all on the rise.

Some scientists claim this is because bacteria are becoming more resistant to medicines.

But the reality is that these conditions are spreading because of the increased poverty caused by the economic crisis.

Cholera was a world-wide disease in the last century.

It was controlled by providing clean water and proper sanitation, and by building sewage systems.

Paid by the CIA

EMMANUEL "Toto" Constant, the leader of Haiti's right wing terror gang, was in the pay of the American CIA.

"Toto" was in charge of FRAPH which was set up after the coup in 1991 to hunt down supporters of Jean-Bertrand Aristide. Pierre Audin, a FRAPH member now in hiding, boasted of killing at least five people on night patrols through the slums of Port-au-Prince.

His job was to beat people for "violating the laws of Michel

Francois". The CIA claims it was simply using Constant to gather intelligence to "get the bad guys out of power in Haiti".

But Constant says he was urged by US Colonel Patrick Collins to set up FRAPH as a front "that could balance the Aristide movement". America's rulers have been close to the Haitian military for decades.

The US backed the Duvalier regime which terrorised the country until the mid 1980's so the CIA's deal with FRAPH is not surprising.

ITALY: HUGE PROTEST AT PENSION CUTS

FIVE months after taking office, Italy's right wing government is facing huge opposition from workers.

The government put fascists into ministerial office for the first time since the second world war.

Berlusconi's government has tried to cut state pensions. They want to scrap the index linking pensions to the rate of inflation.

On October 14, Italy saw one of its biggest stoppages in protest.

Even the management of FIAT said: "the scale was quite different to its predecessors".

In Milan, for example, 200,000 people squeezed into the main square.

Berlusconi's own workers in Fininvest joined the general strike.

In Sardinia, thousands turned up outside Hios villa and one protester carried a placard which read "Berlusconi's villa: 42 rooms, sea view—but our pensions are cut".

The workers' militancy is causing splits in the ranks of the fascists.

The thugs who control the youth wing are threatening to break away and form their own organisation.

But Finl, the leader of the fascists is sticking with Berlusconi because they are scared of a break.

The right wing government is now in a corner and could be toppled.

The tragedy is that the main left wing organisation, the PDS, has made concessions by backing job cuts and privatisation.

They know however that the mood that is developing in Italy could spin out of their control.

But now it is returning in areas like southern Russia and eastern Europe.

These places have seen cutbacks in such spending by governments eager to embrace the "free market" since the revolutions in 1989.

Malaria kills two children every minute. It is spread by bites from infected mosquitoes and kills a million people every year.

But under IMF-imposed austerity measures, many governments in Africa and Asia have had to abandon their mosquito eradication programmes.

Country

Pneumonia can be treated by penicillin.

But it kills between 40,000 and 50,000 people a year in an "advanced" country like the United States.

Successive US governments have cut health spending while maintaining arms expenditure.

On the other hand, shelters and facilities for the thousands of homeless are

practically non-existent.

So pneumonia spreads faster and victims have no access to treatment.

Ireland is not immune to the return of "eradicated" diseases.

TB is a disease that was virtually wiped out in Ireland in the 1940s and '50s, by increasing health spending and by improving living conditions through slum clearances.

Now, however, TB has returned.

At 18 cases per 1,000 people, Ireland has one of the highest rates of infection in Europe.

Again, the cause is the poverty in which people are forced to live through mass unemployment, coupled with cutbacks in the health service.

TB in Ireland, like the plague in India or other diseases that are on the increase, is not a testament to new "bi-otic bacteria".

It is an indictment of a system that says people's health and lives are expendable, while profits are not.

Fight the attacks on public sector workers

THE Coalition is planning an all-out attack on public sector workers.

In the ESB a US consultant group, McKinseys, has demanded 3,295 redundancies. They want to cut back on overtime earnings by introducing 'yellow pack' contract staff.

They want to slash shift allowances by having a 'flexible' day that ranges from four to ten hours. They care little about how this will affect workers' families and social commitments.

In Telecom, the Communication Workers Union has discovered proposals to sack over 3,000 workers. The Coalition want Telecom to link up with some big multi-national.

One possible partner is the anti-union firm Cable and Wireless.

This is a company that brings its staff into highly illuminated domes for evangelical type brainwashing sessions.

Invented

Fianna Fail's hard man Brian Cowan has invented a number of reasons for stepping up the attacks on the public sector.

■ The Public sector is inefficient. In reality the ESB charges one of the lowest prices for electricity in the whole of Europe.

The company is prohibited from making a profit but according to Paul Sweeney, author of *Public Enterprise and Privatisation*, it puts away an average of £55 million each year on depreciation charges.

Telecom Eireann has undertaken a complete modernisation of Ireland's telecommunication network.

It now makes an annual profit of £173 million.

THE HATCHETMEN

THE Coalition have sent a number of hatchetmen into the public sector to organise the attacks on workers.

All of them are on huge salaries.

■ **ALFIE KANE:** is the head of Telecom. He is on a contract salary of more than £100,000 a year.

He is one of the Thatcherite managers who oversaw the privatisation of British Telecom.

Kane has already demanded a minimum of 2,000 job losses at Telecom.

He has totally excluded the union members from any discussion on where the company is going.

■ **NOEL HANLON:** has just landed the job as chief executive of Aer Rianta. Hanlon is a personal friend of Albert Reynolds and is a vicious anti-union employer.

He tried to break the SIPTU union at his ambulance plant in Longford.

When he failed he closed the plant down and moved to Liverpool.

■ **JOHN BEHAN:** is the hero of the right wing press because of his battle with TEAM workers. Behan came from Waterford Glass where he forced through wage cuts.

That company is owned by Tony O'Reilly who coincidentally also owns papers like the *Star* and the *Irish Independent* which have been praising Behan.

Union leaders who don't organise

THE union leaders at the ESB and Telecom are doing little to organise their members to resist these attacks. Instead they are trying to co-operate with management proposals.

In the ESB, union leaders have already conceded that there will have to be job losses. But Phil an ESB worker, pointed out 'You won't get rid of 3,000 jobs by natural wastage—we are going to have to resist the sackings'.

In Telecom, the CWU

and the CPSU have retreated from outright opposition to privatisation. They now agree to multi-nationals taking a 30 per cent stake in the company.

Pat, a union activist in Telecom, said 'That will only be the first step to outright privatisation.'

'That is what happened in Greencore. Once they get a step in the door, they will go for full privatisation after a few years.'

'The union has been trying for years to get on the inside track with management. But we

have learnt from the Programme for National Recovery that this only leads to job losses in the public sector'.

Dave, a CPSU member in Telecom said, 'We should be organising the membership to resist now. The job of the union is not to recommend one shark like AT & T over another like Cable and Wireless.'

'There should be mass meetings to explain to the members what is going on. We should be out on the streets campaigning against privatisation'.

■ The Public Sector is riddled with debt. State companies have had to undertake huge borrowings because the government never put up money for their investment programmes.

Modernise

Millions in EU grants were given to the Irish government to modernise Ire-

land's telephone network—but they handed it out in loans which Telecom has to repay.

Despite this, the government has taken out £140 million as a dividend from Telecom since 1989.

Private businessmen are pampered by the Irish state.

In the 1980s, £4.5 billion was handed out to these bosses in the form of tax breaks and grants.

■ There is a need for more competition. This is an excuse for Fianna Fail to cherry pick the profitable areas of public sector business.

Private industrialists have no intention of competing on running a bus service to parts of Leitrim or Mayo—but they would love to grab some of the high fare paying routes in Dublin.

Private industry also



wants special favours before its competes.

Ryanair, which is chaired by the ex-FF Minister Ray McSharry, made sure that Aer Lingus could not compete with it on the route to Stansted in London.

Attacks

Cowan's lies are an attempt to hide the real reason for the attacks on pub-

lic sector workers—Fianna Fail want to open the way to privatisation.

His government knows that there are massive profits to be made over the next few years.

Ireland at the moment has one of the lowest number of telephone users in the whole of Europe.

There are only 25 phones per hundred people here compared to 55 in Den-

mark. It is estimated that with the expansion of the telephone service and the growth of information technology business in Telecom will increase by over four times.

The sharks who back FF are looking for a chance to make quick profits from the break up of the ESB and the privatisation of parts of Telecom.

How to stop sexual harassment

A CODE of Practice against sexual harassment in the workplace has recently been introduced by the Department of Equality and Law Reform.

The Code describes sexual harassment as 'unwanted conduct of a sexual nature or other conduct based on sex affecting the dignity of women and men at work'.

This includes everything from suggestive comments to unwanted physical contact such as groping or outright sexual assault.

While such behaviour is regularly trivialised as harmless fun, the Code highlights the very real suffering of the victims of such harassment.

Each year over 100 complaints of sexual harassment are made to the Employment Equality Agency (EEA). The majority of these are from women.

This is only the tip of the iceberg. Most incidents of harassment are

of intimidation or of losing your job. On-going harassment can make life a misery for women workers.

One case reported to the EEA involved a woman who worked in an office where pornographic centrefolds were constantly on display to insult and humiliate her.

Other cases involved more serious physical harassment that forced women to leave their jobs.

Bullying

A survey carried out by SIPTU in Dublin City University last year found that junior and part-time contract staff feel particularly vulnerable. They feared not only sexual harassment but all types of intimidation and bullying.

Many cases of harassment are perpetrated by people in senior positions such as supervisors and managers. This explains why so many go unreported.

The Code of Practice relies on employers to implement and supervise it. Since these same employers are the most frequent offenders it is unlikely that it will be effective.

The code will become law in the next year.

However well-meaning it might be, it is impossible to get rid of sexual harassment by legislation alone.

The sexual harassment that occurs in the workplace cannot be separated from the general sexism that pervades all of society.

This tells us that women are second-class citizens and sex objects.

In recent years, Irish women have increasingly fought back by demanding the right to equal pay, contraception and abortion rights.

Sexual harassment and intimidation are combated most effectively by women exercising their strength as organised workers.

It makes no sense to rely on a boss to safeguard workers' dignity while the

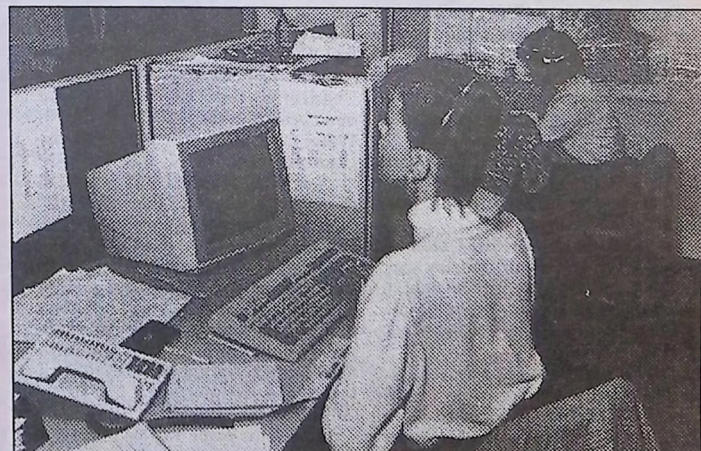


Photo: Jonathon Pratschke

same boss may be attacking their pay and conditions.

Workers are more likely to achieve results when they rely on their own strength as organised trade unionists.

Four years ago in Oxfordshire in England, more than 1,300 postal workers went on strike after a woman cleaner was assaulted by a supervisor and

management failed to act.

As a result of the strike the harasser was removed to another area and demoted.

Such action does immeasurably more to break male workers away from sexist ideas and combat harassment than asking their boss to implement a code of practice from the top down.

A fighter against fascism

LAST month Peter O'Connor from Waterford City travelled to Spain to commemorate the stand of the International Brigades in the battle of Jarama.

In 1937, anti-fascists from all over Spain joined with thousands of members of the International Brigades to defeat Franco's forces in this battle.

It stopped the fascists entering Madrid until two years afterwards.

Peter's journey was sponsored by Waterford Glass workers, the local Trades Council and the Red Kettle Theatre company.

The Irish contingent in the International Brigades was known as the Connolly Column.

Today Peter is one of the few survivors of that column.

After he returned to Waterford, he spoke to *Socialist Worker* about his experiences as a socialist and his views about today.

Left Wing

Peter grew up in a republican family.

"I was an enemy of British Imperialism and international capitalism from my youngest days.

"I had joined the Fianna in 1922, and the IRA in 1929".

In the 1930s, there was a ferment of left wing ideas in Ireland.

Hundreds of Protestant workers in Belfast joined the left wing Republican Congress organisation.

Peter tells what happened.

"In 1934 hundreds of Protestant workers, supporters of the Republican Congress came to Bodenstown. But they were attacked by the Republicans, so I resigned and joined the Republican Congress".

The Protestant workers had carried a banner with the words "Break the Connection with Capitalism"

"We had one of the biggest branches of the movement in Waterford, sending eight delegates to the conference in Rathmines".

The branch helped to organise a strike of 1,200 building workers. Regular mass meetings were held and after one of them prolonged rioting broke out between the strikers and the police.

"I had to emigrate following the Republican Congress, so I was in England, working in a Rubber plant in Willesden.

"I took part in marches against fascism".

At the time, the British Union of Fascists led by Oswald Mosley was organising marches of blackshirt contingents in East London claiming that "the Jews were taking away jobs".

The local Communist Party decided to build barricades in Cable Street and called on local dockers and the people of the area to stop Mosley's blackshirts.

"The demonstration against Mosley was the biggest collection of workers I have ever seen in my life.

"The police took the side of Mosley and attacked the workers—but the police lost.

"Mosley never succeeded in marching. All the Irish lads were



right up the front".

Afterwards Peter attended meetings in support of the Spanish republic:

"When I heard Frank Ryan was going over to fight, I decided to join him.

"It was a great experience and a privilege to fight with socialists and anti-fascists from all over the world. I've been proud of it all my life—I never regretted it for a moment".

Taking a stand against Franco in Ireland in the 1930s required some courage.

The bishops, Fine Gael and the *Irish Independent* spread rumours about the rape of nuns and the burning of churches.

They even claimed that the left wing leader Peadar O'Donnell "studied church burning in Moscow!"

Hysteria

Peter O'Connor was not afraid to stand up to this hysteria.

After the Spanish Civil War, a handful of the Connolly Column marched from the railway station in Waterford to the local hall of the Cumman na mBan.

They were greeted by 50 people in the town.

Today Peter is still an active socialist.

After the recent confrontation in Hillview between the local people and the Gardaí who tried to protect scabs who were turning off their water, Peter turned up to the local *Socialist Worker* public meeting and joined the organisation.

He explained why.

"I used to come to the meetings and know the members.

"They're a great crowd, in touch with the people.

"If you lose contact with the people then you're nothing. That was the mistake of the Soviet Union, they became too elitist".

"The opportunities for socialists in Ireland today are enormous. I wish I was twenty years old again".

Protestant workers after the

Voices from

THE LOYALIST ceasefire announced last month was received with much jubilation by politicians and media.

Coming on the back of the nationalist ceasefire the claims of a permanent end to violence and new era of stability and peace have filled the tabloids and TV bulletins.

Socialist Worker spoke to Protestant workers about the feeling on the ground.

William—who worked for 11 years in Harland and Wolff—described the relationship between ordinary Protestants and the loyalist paramilitaries.

"Where Protestants supported the UDA it was mainly as a defence force against criminals and the IRA.

"But if you look at the areas where support was highest—the Lower Shankill, the Newtownards Road—the social deprivation played a large part."

Even so most ordinary Protestants welcomed the loyalist ceasefire.

Dave, unemployed and living on a working class loyalist estate explained why the loyalist paramilitaries had called a ceasefire.

"Loyalist violence is based on thuggery and bigotry... nothing but the shooting of innocent Catholics.

"However like the bigots in South Africa they have used bru-

ceasefire.

"Now the lame excuse as defenders has gone they have been forced to call a ceasefire."

The ceasefire has generated much optimism on the Falls and Shankill. William who welcomes the ceasefire qualified his optimism.

"When I joined Harland & Wolff straight from school in 1981 there were 7,000 workers, now there's 2,000.

"It's the same all over Northern Ireland—Sirroccas, Shorts, Mackies all have shed jobs. Most of the big industries have gone."

The jobs in security will go if they're not needed.

"Clinton, Major & Reynolds talk about spending a few hundred million here.

"But even with the British subsidy of £3 billion the place is a mess with over 15% unemployment", adds John.

"When Margaret Wright was killed in a loyalist drinking club there was a tremendous backlash from ordinary Protestants to tear the place down. The loyalist paramilitaries were forced to back off."

tal killings to extract concessions in a process that threatens their hold in Protestant areas."

John, a shop steward in an electronics plant agreed:

"People saw the loyalist paramilitaries as defenders but still lived in fear of them.

"They've called a ceasefire not just because the position about the Union has been clarified but also because of pressure from the Protestant community.

LUKE, a teacher in a Protestant school thought the Margaret Wright killing earlier this year illustrated the pressures.

"When Margaret Wright was killed in a loyalist drinking club there was a tremendous backlash from ordinary Protestants to tear the place down.

"The loyalists paramilitaries were forced to back off.

"That was before the IRA

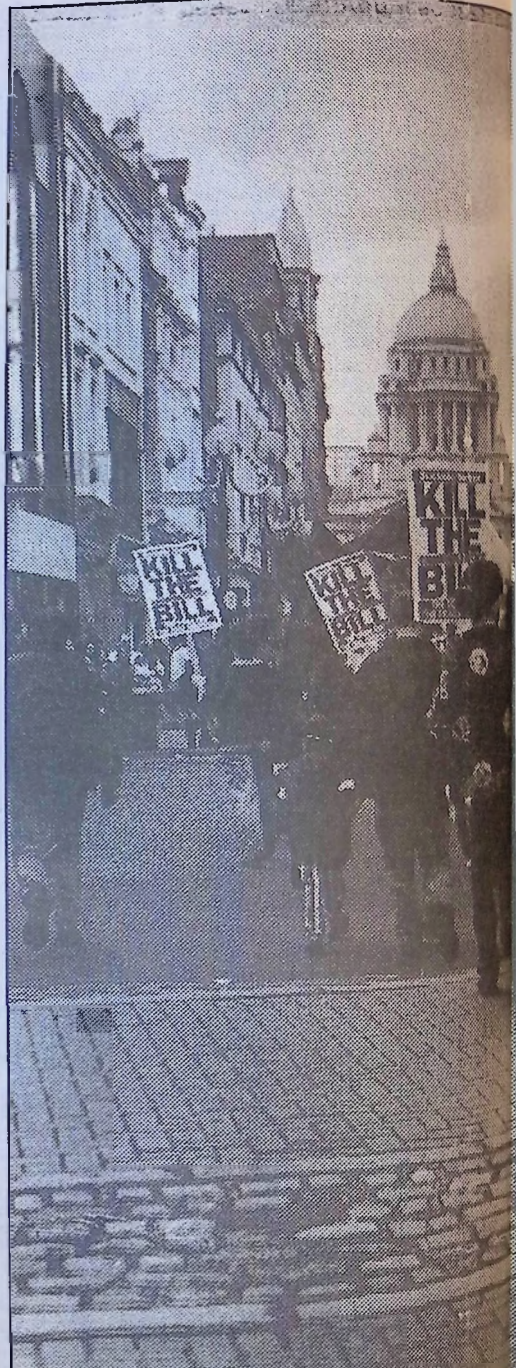
THE optimism about the "peace dividend"—the idea that more jobs will become available through tourism and investment—is not shared by Brian, a student at Queens from East Belfast.

"The peace dividend means nothing for the 350 Shorts workers laid off this week or the postal workers who face the dole after privatisation.

"The £3 billion subsidy the British Government give to the security forces and related industry was used to defeat the Republican movement and not to create jobs.

"The job losses in Rosyth in Scotland and Swan Hunter in Newcastle shows what we've got to look forward to.

"The peace dividend is a code word for part-time, low paid service sector jobs—the Big Mac dividend."



The way forward: young Protestant and Catholics oppose the Tories' Criminal Justice Bill

Brian talked about Catholic discrimination:

"There has been 'formal' talk of equality—but the reality is the opposite.

"Figures show there has been very little improvement since the days of Stormont."

Luke agreed.

"The Unionist politicians like to talk about the pendulum swinging so that Protestants are now the ones without the jobs.

"This is nothing but an attempt to tap into the anger and bitterness that working class Protestants feel over the unemployment level of unemployment."

"However there is a lot of Catholic discrimination."

Brian connected the dots:

"The IRA came out of the tent but that will have been pressed in some way."

"The Los Angeles riot showed that Black nationalism cannot end discrimination."

The Loyalist ceasefire...

From Belfast

conditions in the shipyard like every other workplace added to the mood.

"In the yard you were fighting against the management all the time—so you can't afford to fight each other.

"They, the bosses, would pull every trick to keep down wages.

"Nowadays its hard enough to get a job, no worker wants to see someone out of work cos of their religion."

Dave mentioned the contradictions that exist on his estate.

"There's no alternative being presented to the majority in this area.

John carried on the theme "The ending of the armed struggle opens up opportunities.

"Yes sectarianism will still be there but this can be undermined as workers are pushed into fighting for conditions and pay.

"This summer saw massive discontent over pay with battles at Montupet, the Timbryards and various other workplaces.

"But fights are bubbling all around now whether its nurses, civil servants and postal workers—the discontent is real."

There have been small demonstrations over police oppression mainly in nationalist areas.

"Unionists can't say its the IRA's fault whenever people mention job losses or living a hard life. "It is clear I am not poor and unemployed because of the IRA."

"People have political day-to-day views on unemployment and bad housing.

"Their anger is definitely directed towards the Tories but still vote for the Unionists who bail out Major over things like VAT on fuel.

"Obviously the nationalist parties cut little ice. Why should a United Ireland appeal to Protestants?"

Sonya, a student at a Protestant school added:

"You can be anti-Tory but Unionist cos there's no real choice.

"On the ground there is a chance that people won't feel the obligation to involve themselves in sectarian politics."

BOTH Brian and Dave felt that the ceasefire would expose the Unionist politicians.

Said Dave: "Unionists can't say its the IRA's fault whenever people mention job losses or living a hard life.

"It is clear I am not poor and unemployed because of the IRA."

Brian talked about the role socialists should play in the battle for ideas as the situation continues to change.

"People will fight back against the Tories but will not necessarily draw the right conclusion.

"When Shorts workers walk out we will be there but so will [Peter] Robinson.

"Socialists have to be there to break workers from ideas that hold back the class."

DAVE talked about how the anger could go in a more progressive direction.

The walkout at Harland and Wolff earlier in the year when workers—mainly protestant struck when the UVF murdered a catholic workmate was the example he used.

"The walkout is a sign that things are changing. Paisley has not been able to whip things up in the way he used to."

William agreed but added the

AS the anger boils over and workers take on the bosses and Tories it will be easier to make the argument to Protestants that the repressive legislation and the troops only keep both sections of the class down.

John was dismissive of the idea of a Loyalist workers' party but thought that a Labour Party could see a growth.

"A Loyalist workers' party would be severely limited.

"Either they would end up like the DUP who spend 90% of the time, talking about the safety of the union, the rest they talk about working class issues.

"Or they would likely face a situation where to make any impression they would have to appeal to both sides of the class.

"In a situation like Britain where people want to fight back, if the Labour Party and unions fought and responded to the mood we would see magnificent victories.

"The fact that the Labour Party backs things like the CJB and isolated themselves from rail workers shows how a traditional Labour Party would act here.

"What is needed is a Socialist Party that fights for workers interests and not afraid to mention the war—the class struggle and which side it is on."

The ABC of socialism

Can there be a Loyalist workers party?

WHEN Eddie Kinnear, a community worker on the Shankill, phoned Radio Ulster's Talkback programme to advocate the need for a loyalist working class-party the response was phenomenal. Talkback had more calls on the subject than on any other in its history.

Protestant workers are right to feel they have nothing in common with the middle class Unionist parties. The Unionists have never defended the interests of many of the people who voted for them.

All working class people in Northern Ireland are poorer because of the support the Unionists have given John Major's Tories in parliament.

Major wouldn't have been able to sack the miners or put VAT on fuel without Unionist support.

Two parties, the Progressive Unionist Party and the Ulster Democratic Party, already claim to speak for working class unionists and to reject the 'fur-coat brigade'. They certainly speak for loyalist gunmen; it was the PUP and UDP which held the press conference to announce the loyalist ceasefire.

Bigots

But the vast majority of Protestant workers see these parties and the UVF and UDA as sectarian bigots.

They murdered random Catholics as a political weapon. They attacked Protestant men and women who formed relationships with their Catholic counterparts.

When pressed, it becomes clear that what many people want is a more credible, more community based version of the Northern Ireland Labour Party (NILP). One that is 'strong on the Union' and still represents working class interests.

But this won't work. First, all Labour Parties promise improved living standards for workers but want to do this within the confines of the capitalist system.

In Northern Ireland, half the manufacturing workforce has disappeared over past decades. Capitalism has brought only poverty and misery.

Anyone who tries to make capitalism work today will have to tell the workers of the North to accept lower 'competitive wages' than those offered in the already low wage economies of Britain and Ireland. The experience of the Labour Party in the South has shown that this can only be done by attacking their own supporters.

The second reason why a new, improved NILP couldn't represent the interests of Protestant workers is very simple: there is no way of advancing the interests of Protestant or Catholic workers without also advancing the interests of their fellow workers from the other religion. Either all our boats rise together, or we all lose out.

Low wages

Just as men's wages are driven down by the low wages women are paid, Protestant workers suffer as a result of discrimination against Catholics.

While the average household income of Protestant families is higher than that for Catholics, overall household incomes in the North are over twenty percent lower than those in Britain.

In other words, any party which seeks to represent the interests of Protestant workers must also represent the Catholic working class.

And you cannot do that by being 'strong on the Union'. Every organisation that has done that ends up justifying oppression against Catholics.

The old Northern Ireland Labour Party never condemned the shooting of 14 Catholics by the Parachute regiment in Derry on Bloody Sunday—lest this implied a whiff of disloyalty.

They even refused to support calls for 'one man, one vote' at the start of the Troubles in 1969.

This happens inevitably because those who form a Labour Party which supports the union, identify with the British state and its institutions.

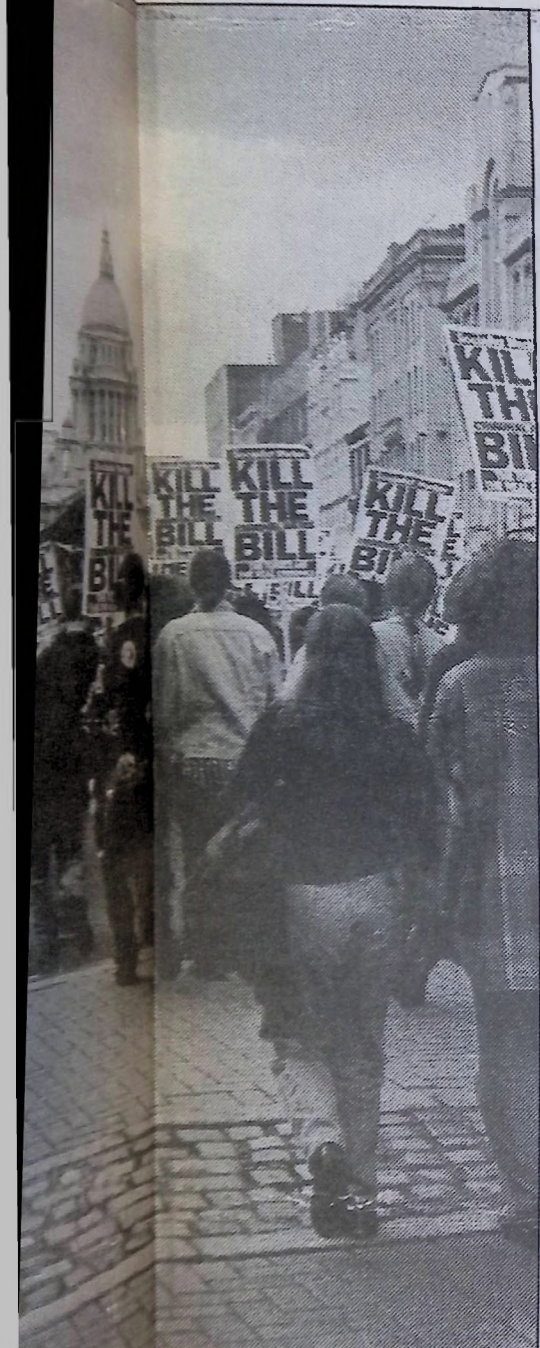
They see, or come to see, the RUC and the British Army as part of their side. When they are under attack, they cover for them. This puts them on a different side to Catholic workers who are right to fight back against harassment and sectarianism.

What is needed in is a working class party which faces up to the reality of the situation: that the whole state Northern state was founded on discrimination and exclusion of disloyal Catholics.

The only way we will advance is by uniting Protestant and Catholic workers against that state.

That will mean fighting for a change on the whole island. No sensible socialist could advocate a fight against the Northern state or to accept the church ridden institutions of the South.

Only a party that consistently stands up to sectarianism and bigotry—and that means one that opposes both rotten states on this island—offers a real prospect for change.



Protestant and Catholic workers unite to fight the Bill

nts feel over the unacceptable level of unemployment. "However there is no doubt that Catholic discrimination exists with the... Brian connected the IRA... upon the IRA came out... "The IRA will have to be... not but that will have to be... "The Los... riots... howed that Black... Government cannot end... crimina... ion."

By Aindrias O Cathasaigh

What did James Connolly really stand for?



THE NAME of James Connolly can be seen and heard all over Ireland. Not only are streets, stations and hospitals named after him, but various political traditions claim him for themselves.

Nationalists have always made him out to be one of Ireland's long list of national heroes.

The Labour Party and union leaders claim to stand in Connolly's tradition.

But neither of these claims are true. James Connolly was a revolutionary socialist.

Connolly was born in 1869 in the slums of Edinburgh.

After working in a series of dead end jobs, economic necessity forced him to join the British Army at the age of fourteen.

He served seven years,

mostly in Ireland, before deserting and returning to Scotland.

He immediately took an active part in the socialist movement. He stood in a local election in 1894, but without any illusions that elections could change things.

Disturber

"The election of a socialist to any public body," he wrote, "is only valuable in so far as it is the return of a disturber of the political peace."

That is a lesson that the Labour Party forgot a long time ago, if they ever learnt

it in the first place.

In 1896 Connolly came to Ireland and set up the Irish Socialist Republican Party.

This was not a party that waited for independence before beginning the fight for socialism.

It boldly said that the overthrow of the British empire was a job that only the working class could carry out as part of the fight for our own class freedom, for a workers' republic.

In 1900 Millerand, a leader of France's Labour party, entered a "partnership government" with the right wing.

Some socialists were reluctant to attack him but Connolly openly condemned him, as did his fellow revolutionaries Vlad-

imir Lenin in Russia and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany.

Connolly made clear at this time that socialism had nothing to do with politicians handing down reforms to the rest of us:

"Socialism properly implies above all things the cooperative control by the workers of the machinery of production."

Real socialism could only come from below.

Between 1903 and 1910 Connolly worked in America, where he was involved with the Industrial Workers of the World, a mass union that united thousands of workers—black and white, men and women, skilled and unskilled.

It had little time for negotiations and labour

courts. Its motto, "Solidarity Forever", summed up its commitment to beating the bosses through struggle.

On his return to Ireland Connolly's classic book *Labour in Irish History* was published.

It is a brilliant account

"The Dublin fight," he wrote, "is more than a trade union fight; it is a great class struggle" and it had to be fought with class struggle methods.

The Dublin workers paid no heed to laws and contracts, openly appealing for international soli-

financiers... erect barricades all over Europe" and fight for "the final dethronement of the vulture classes that rule and rob the world".

He believed that "the signal of war ought also to have been the signal for rebellion".

But not only did Connolly condemn the war, he condemned the labour leaders who sold out and supported it.

Workers should stand together across the world instead of fighting for their own ruling classes. As far as Connolly was concerned, "the socialist of another country is a fellow patriot, as the capitalist of my own country is a natural enemy."

Connolly continued the fight against the bosses, against the British empire, against the war.

In Easter 1916 he led the forces of the uprising against British rule.

After his capture he was executed by a British firing squad, strapped to a chair because of his severe wounds.

But the life, work and writings of James Connolly still provide an example for today's struggles.

His fight for socialism from below, instead of leaving it to politicians; his belief in real trade union fightback, rather than conciliation; his conviction that the working class, north and south, Catholic and Protestant, have to unite to fight against our rulers—all these are just as relevant today, years after Connolly's execution.

In a world facing desperate crisis, with the growth of famine, of war, of fascism, Connolly's vision of the workers' republic is needed now more than ever.

"The election of a socialist to any public body," he wrote, "is only valuable in so far as it is the return of a disturber of the political peace."

of the suffering and struggles of working people through the years and of the repeated betrayals of the middle class nationalist leaders.

Connolly worked as a trade unionist in Belfast at a time when the Unionists were whipping up vicious sectarian prejudice.

Catholics, socialists and supporters of home rule were forcibly driven out of jobs in the shipyards by Orange mobs.

But Connolly stood firm. He insisted that a united fightback by Catholic and Protestant workers could defeat the sectarian vultures.

Connolly's involvement in the Dublin Lock-out in 1913 was a fine example of socialist strike leadership.

When the bosses launched their all-out attack on the transport workers' union Connolly, together with James Larkin, didn't go through the usual legal channels.

They fought fire with fire.

At the start of the struggle he was imprisoned and only released after a week-long hunger strike.

arity - and getting it.

Connolly fiercely opposed the British proposal to partition Ireland and set up a sectarian state in the North.

The scheme, he said, "would mean a carnival of reaction both North and South, would set back the wheels of progress and would destroy the oncoming unity of the Irish labour movement."

But he was quite clear that the working class was the force that could defeat partition:

"To it Labour should give the bitterest opposition, against it Labour in Ulster should fight even to the death, if necessary."

Connolly stood against the world war that broke out in 1914, "... the most fearful crime of the centuries.

In it the working class are to be sacrificed [so] that a small clique of rulers and armament workers may sate their lust for power and their greed for wealth".

The answer, he said, was that "the working class of Europe, rather than slaughter each other for the benefit of kings and

Only workers will fight for freedom

REPUBLICANS have claimed that Connolly wanted to unite nationalists against British colonialism before starting the fight for socialism. Nothing could be further from the truth.

"The cry for a 'union of classes' is in reality an insidious move on the part of our Irish master class to have the powers of government transferred from the hands of the English capitalist government into the hands of an Irish capitalist government and to pave the way for this change by inducing the Irish worker to abandon all hopes of bettering his position," Connolly wrote.

He knew well that "the cry of 'national unity' paralyses the hand of the friend of progress and forbids open warfare against the Irish oppressor and reactionist who shelters behind Green or Orange flag."

Backyard

In 1916, Connolly linked up with the revolutionary nationalists of the IRB to strike a blow against British colonialism. Britain was the leading superpower of the day. Connolly believed that a blow that was struck in its backyard would encourage others across the world to rise up against war and imperialism.

But even then he advised his followers to hold onto their guns. He warned them that they might have to fight against the same people they were working with in 1916.

The real way to beat the British empire was as part of workers' revolution. As Connolly had put it earlier: "The Irish working class must emancipate itself, and in emancipating itself it must, perforce, free its country."

Today, no pan-nationalist alliance will get rid of partition and the sectarian state of Northern Ireland. In the words of James Connolly, "Only the Irish working class remain as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland."

What's On

Branches of the SWM meet around the country at the following times and venues:

Belfast Meets every Tuesday 8pm See SW sellers for details or contact national office	Dublin North Central Meets every Wednesday 8pm Conway's Pub Parnell St	Meets every other Mon 8pm in Clondalkin contact National number for details	8.15pm upstairs in the Purty Loft.
Cork Meets every Thursday 8pm Anchor Inn, Georges Quay	Dublin Phibsboro Meets every Thursday 8pm The Hut, Phibsboro	Dundalk Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Century Bar in Roden Place	Maynooth For details of time and venue write to the SWM national address
Derry Meets every Tuesday 8pm Badgers Pub Orchard St	Dublin South Central Meets every Thursday 8pm Trinity Inn Pearse St	Dun Laoghaire Meets every Tuesday,	Waterford Meets every Thursday 8pm ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.
Dublin Drimnagh Meets every Tuesday, upstairs Halfway House, Walkinstown Rd.	Dublin Southside Meets every Wednesday 8pm Clarkes Bar, 11 Wexford St Tallaght/Clondalkin	To contact the SWM in Athlone, Bray, Coleraine, Cookstown, Drogheda, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick & Athy, write to SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8; Phone (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB	

JOIN US!

If you would like to join the SWM or receive more details, send this slip to:
SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

MARXISM BUILDING THE RESISTANCE

Socialist Worker presents a weekend forum of political debates & discussion
11-13th Nov in Ormond Multi-Media Centre, Ormond Quay, Dublin 1.

	ROOM 1	ROOM 2	ROOM 3
FRIDAY			
6:30 - 7:45		Do our genes govern our behaviour? Paul O'Brien	James Connolly: Al Goode
8:00 - 9:30	RALLY - Building the Resistance TEAM Shop Steward, Waterford Anti Water Charges Campaigner, Kieran Allen (SWM)	Crime and Corruption - Who does the law protect? Joan Gallagher	
SATURDAY			
10:00 - 11:15	Will there be a revolution in Europe? Chris Harman	Is music turning radical? Eamonn McCann & Joe Carolan	
11:45 - 1:00	The fight for womens rights in Ireland Marnie Holborow & Ger Tuohy	Africa in Crisis: Is there hope amidst the horror? Catherine Curran	Is religion the opium of the people? Kevin Wingfield
2:00 - 3:15	Trotsky's fight against Stalin Richard Boyd Barrett	Who are the Irish ruling class? Mary Smith	Engels and the origin of the family Jonathan Pratschke
3:45 - 5:00	DEBATE: After the IRA ceasefire what next? Eamonn McCann & Sinn Fein speaker	Health & Capitalism - the sickness in the system Dr Peadar O'Grady	Marxism and Art Simon Basketter
7:00 - 8:30	Do all revolutions lead to tyranny? Pat Stack	Loyalist violence - can it be stopped? Jim Larmour	
SUNDAY			
10:30 - 11:45	Lenin, the Party and the Working class Kieran Allen	Is there a national identity? Goretti Horgan	
12:00 - 1:15	How do we save the Environment? Conor Kostick & Green Party Speaker	How do we stop violence against women? Cathy Bergin	The Politics of the SWM Marnie Holborow
2:30 - 3:45	The Holocaust: Could the Nazis do it again? Pat Stack	How socialists would run a strike Brid Smith	Is there an alternative to the market? Tadhg Carey
4:00 - 5:00	RALLY: BUILDING A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY IN THE 90'S Richard Boyd Barrett, Jim Larmour (Belfast SWM), Grace McCarney		

VENUE:
Marxism 94 will take place in the Ormond Multi-Media Centre, Ormond Quay, (Near Capel Street Bridge) Dublin from the Friday 11th to Sunday 13th November.

FOOD:
Food and refreshments will be available throughout the weekend

TICKETS:
Tickets cost £6 waged, £3 unemployed/ students and a special school-students price of £2.

ACCOMMODATION:
You can be put up for the weekend with members of the Socialist Workers Movement if required.

Please let us know of any special requirements.

CHILDCARE:
A free creche will be available for the weekend. All childcare places must be booked in advance.

ENTERTAINMENT:
Bar, music and entertainment on Friday and Saturday nights.

BOOKMARKS:
We will have one of the largest selections of socialist books in Ireland on sale at Marxism.

For more details phone us at (01) 872 2682

Booking form

Name.....

Address.....

.....phone

Student/unemployed School student

Do you want us to arrange accomodation for you? Yes No

Any special requirements:

.....

Do you require creche facilities? Yes No

If you require creche facilities please state the number of children in each age group

Up to 18 months _____ 18 months to 5 years _____ 5 years and older _____

I require _____ tickets and enclose the sum of £ _____

(Make cheques and postal orders payable to Marxism 94)

Please return this form together with a cheque or postal to:
Marxism 94, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Vietnam: The war the U.S. lost

ON 30 April 1975 the North Vietnamese Army (NLF) entered Saigon. The US, the world's greatest superpower had been beaten by a peasant army.

The NLF's victory was celebrated by the left throughout the world because it allowed the Vietnamese to determine their own fate.

It also created a "Vietnam syndrome" which made the US wary of foreign invasions for over a decade and a half.

Bao Ninh joined the 27th Youth Brigade of the NLF at the age of seventeen.

Of the five hundred who went to war with the brigade in 1969 he is one of ten who survived.

His first novel, *The Sorrow of War*, has been a huge best seller in Vietnam and has gone through five English editions in the last year.

Even the best American accounts of the war portray the Vietnamese as "Charlie", "Gooks" or "VC".

This is the first opportunity for most Westerners to see the North Vietnamese as human beings, experience the camaraderie between Bao Ninh and his mates such as "Lifty Think" and Cao and hear their reasons for fighting against the US-backed dictatorship in South Vietnam.

'Collateral Damage'

Bao Ninh's book demonstrates that there is no such thing as "collateral damage" despite what the US military says.

In 1970 an American patrol entered the tiny village of My Lai.

By the time they left four hours later they had slaughtered four hundred unarmed civilians, after raping the women of the village.

More than two million Vietnamese died during the war. Nearly one million were interned by the Americans in concentration camps, known as "collection areas".

The Sorrow of War was written by a man who has witnessed the obscenities he describes.

This is a beautiful, haunting book. It stands alongside the greatest war novel of the century, Remarque's *All Quiet on the Western Front*.

The Sorrow of War should be read by all those journalists who peddle Bill Clinton's lies about the "democratic" invasions of Panama, Iraq and Haiti. Perhaps then they might be shamed into telling the truth.

Perhaps. □ JOHN SERGE
■ Bao Ninh, *The Sorrow of War*, Secker & Warburg, £9.45

Jenny Williams reviews Ken Loach's latest film

Ladybird, Ladybird

LADYBIRD *Ladybird* is the story of a real woman whose children were taken from her by the Social Services.

Apart from the names this is as good a documentary as you'll get about life as a single mother in Tory Britain today.

Ken Loach's latest film tells the story of Maggie, a woman with plenty of problems and very little control over her own life.

The British Social Service's idea of a solution is to trample her into the ground a bit further by taking her children away from her.

Adoption

Sean, the eldest, is listed for adoption when Maggie returns from a Karaoke night to find the house on fire.

Her kids are in hospital after being rescued from their locked bedroom.

She loses the other three children when she refuses to go live in a Social Services-run Family Centre.

By the time she gives birth to her sixth child she is branded such a monster that the baby is taken directly from her in the hospital.

It does not matter that Maggie has found a new flat together with the baby's father, Jorge, who

helps her to steer clear of total breakdown.

But Jorge, who bought the baby's suits from his first pitiful wage packet, is an illegal Peruvian immigrant.

While the judge declares Maggie unfit for motherhood, Jorge is served with his deportation order outside the courtroom doors.

The end? Go and see for yourself.

As Ken Loach said: "It's one of these stories where it's very hard to smile too much".

Custody

The film smashes right through the idea of clean-cut, black-and-white custody cases where the good social services take a child away from a parent too unbothered to look after him or her.

In Loach's view social workers have two functions.

They "help people in need and they sweep up the crumbs", patching up "the worst excesses of a market economy".

We didn't want to be part of the right-wing attack on the social services", he said, adding that they need more money and resources, not less.

But they wanted to tell the story from Maggie's point of view.

Thankfully Loach's films always are political.

As bitter a story as "La-



dybird *Ladybird* may be it hammers home the point that the courts are state institutions intent on blaming the Maggies of this world for the mess they're in, only to leave them to clear it up on their own.

But first they have to be fined, humiliated, torn from their kids or sent to prison for nicking twenty pound's worth of food after the dole money runs out.

A sick society, and

Loach's characters are in the thick of it.

Loach's films underline the resilience of the working class, its resistance and solidarity, at a time when resistance and solidarity are urgently needed.

Interview: Paddy O'Gorman

Queuing for a living

PADDY O'GORMAN has brought the voices of ordinary people to radio listeners for the last five years.

He travels around the country with his tape recorder, talking to people in dole queues, outside pawn shops, courts and prisons.

He meets unemployed people, Travellers, drug addicts, criminals and prostitutes.

His radio programme, *Queuing for a Living*, vividly exposes the horrors of the capitalist system as it impacts on ordinary people.

He has just brought out a new book telling about his own life and those he has talked to for his radio programme.

When interviewed by *Socialist Worker*, Paddy O'Gorman was forthcoming about himself, his beliefs and attitudes.

He was a member of the Labour Party in Britain and campaigned for Peter Tatchell in 1983.

Obviously someone who is motivated by a belief in social justice, he describes his broadcasting philosophy as one which "seeks to get past the usual power structures".

This explains the format of his programme.

He bypasses official spokespersons to get to the people who are affected on the ground.

He adopts a critical attitude towards social workers believing that they exhibit "very protective attitudes towards the poor".

He denounces the attitude that the poor are incapable of speaking for themselves.

Disdain

He explains his disdain for community spokespersons:

"I avoid them: more often than not they are self-appointed and pushing a politicised line."

For O'Gorman, the queue is "a great barometer of how important one is considered to be".

He points out that Travellers' queues for dole payments move slowest of all.

In the course of making his programme he has been surprised by the number of people in this country who are illiterate.

It is quite common to encounter bright, articulate people in their twenties and thirties who can't fill in social welfare forms.

Poverty

According to O'Gorman, "the roots of drug addiction, crime, single parenthood etc lie in poverty and unemployment".

He is certain that if there were more jobs there would be fewer unmarried mothers.

With regard to crime, he agrees that it is appalling to see working class people serving sentences for shoplifting while corruption and illegal activities go unpunished at the other end of society.

He believes that this reflects the fact that the

poor don't count politically.

He notes that "when an issue like mortgage relief comes up the middle class are able to make their influence felt".

Change

The unemployed won't cause political change by themselves, in O'Gorman's view, as they are "politically very weak and sometimes exhibit a tendency to look for personal solutions to the problems faced".

He agrees with Mike Allen of the INOU that to win change they will have to form an alliance with those in work.

In terms of his own politics, he describes himself as having "no strong party political feelings".

He is emphatic, however, that "a major shift of resources to working class people is required in Irish society" as the only way to alleviate the suffering he sees every day.

In the meantime he will continue to make his programme and give a voice to the voiceless.

DEIRDRE CRONIN



Horror in the Somme

Conor Kostick reviews 'Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching Towards the Somme' by Frank McGuinness playing at the Abbey Theatre

ON THE morning of July 1st 1916, 100,000 men left their trenches beside the Somme.

They moved forward at a steady pace, in straight lines, two or three paces between each man, a hundred yards between each wave.

By the end of the day 20,000 of them were dead and another 40,000 wounded or missing.

It was one of the most horrific blood baths of the war.

The 36th Ulster Division was made up of volunteers from Northern Ireland.

They had been given one of the most demanding tasks and suffered greatly.

The Inniskillings lost more than any British regiment of the line has ever lost in a single day.

Over five thousand five hundred officers and men from the Division were killed.

Maimed

Towns such as Ballyclare with a population of just 2,500 found themselves mourning the deaths of 30 men and the maiming of over a hundred.

Frank McGuinness' play, "Observe the Sons of Ulster Marching Towards the Somme" now showing in the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, is an attempt to deal with the battle's impact.

A troop of eight soldiers,

six of them members of Carson's UVF are brought together for the First World War.

They have mostly volunteered in order to help fight for King and Empire.

When the men get leave, they try to come to terms with the bitter experience of the trench war.

Even the most hardened Orangemen are wondering whether their faith in Ulster, King and Empire was enough justification for what they are going through.

In the end their only certainty is their loyalty to each other.

By the end of the play you are shocked and saddened by the fate of so many men, who went to their deaths for no better a slogan than "Ulster".

If you have a story from your workplace phone (01) 872 2682

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

SHORTS WORKERS STRIKE BACK!

Blooms hotel PESP strike



Photo: JONATHON PRATSCHKE

THE STAFF of Blooms Hotel in Temple Bar in Dublin issued strike notice after their demands were ignored by management for over two months.

Management had refused to pay the 3 per cent increase agreed in the PESP three years ago.

A leaflet produced by the workers states: "We were 'sold' by the Ryan Group of Hotels to Blooms Hotel in 1991 on the express condition that our pay and conditions would be maintained.

"They are breaking that agreement". All sixty workers came out on strike and Blooms responded by employing scab labour. But support from the public is strong.

Not many have passed the pickets and others

who turn up at the hotel for appointments claim that the management told them nothing about the dispute.

Confident

The strikers believe Blooms are losing money hand-over-fist and they are very confident that they will win.

Nine out of ten bar delivery drivers turn back when they talk to them.

One man on the picket line, Paul Oglesby told Socialist Worker:

"We intend to stick it out. With morale as high as it is there's no reason we can't beat them on this".

Dublin Corpo workers face Beatty's attacks

DUBLIN Corporation are claiming that there are too many General Operatives in the Housing Maintenance department.

They are ordering them to leave their own depots and move into parks and libraries.

This will be the start of new attacks on their wages and conditions.

Tradesmen will also be left without helpers or will be forced to go looking for a General Operative who may be attending 5 or 6 tradesmen at the same time.

productivity agreements and are demanding the analogue payment with no strings attached.

Beatty's attempt to further increase the overburden of work on G.O.'s and trades in the Housing Maintenance department must be stopped.

All workers in the Housing Maintenance, G.O.'s and trades should refuse to allow the Corporation to make any transfers without agreement.

We should walk out in the event of anyone being victimised.

If we stand united we can beat back Beatty's plans.

'Efficiency'

This is the Corporation's hatchetman Beatty's idea of efficiency

Craft Unions have already refused to negotiate

Around the Colleges

Waterford RTC

AT THE start of term hundreds of students in the Waterford Regional Technical College found their courses had been transferred to the Good Shepherd, an old convent purchased by the College.

The first students on site found an old building half of which was still occupied by nuns, lacking male toilets, a library, a shop, proper canteen facilities, proper classrooms, computer rooms, disabled access and a students' union office.

Legal Studies 1 students refused to put up with this and held a strike.

After a week the College backed down and the transfer of courses is now delayed until better conditions are in place.

Standing up and insisting on our rights is the only way to prevent college authorities treating us like cattle.

U.C.C.

POST GRADUATE students in Cork returned to hear that many of their teaching hours were being cut.

Many had come to depend on the meagre money they got for teaching to survive.

A well attended meeting of the student union decided that they should get organised. Plans are now being drawn up for strike action.

IRISH STEEL

CONDITIONS at Irish Steel are dire since the return to work.

A worker at the plant told Socialist Worker about what is happening.

"We are being forced to work long hours for less pay. There is pandemonium at the moment because of the pressure. We have a slogan at the factory. It simply says 'Welcome to Hell'.

"Because of the deteriorating conditions, there are workers taking sick leave, which means that their opposite number must cover the shifts left vacant.

"The jobs are becoming more unsafe. I am a mill worker which means cleaning up all the shit left behind. Our health and safety is becoming a major concern for us all. There is only so much we are prepared to take"

What went wrong at TEAM?

WORKERS at TEAM have started to return to work after a four month lock-out.

They can hold their heads high because they saw off management attempts to inflict a wage cut and slash overtime rates.

But they will also go back to conditions that are much worse than those at the start of the summer.

The pressure on TEAM workers was massive. Their leaders were pilloried as 'Airheads' by *The Star*.

When they organised protests at the airport they were condemned by a Bishop.

In the end, the government put a gun to their head by threatening closure with the appointment of an Examiner.

Even so, hundreds of TEAM workers voted "no" to the deal in a second vote.

They were right to fight to the last.

Socialist Worker spoke to many of those active in the campaign about the lessons of their struggle.

D E R M O T pointed out that the conditions

meant "sticking my nose in the dirt.

"I lost a job in the past for refusing to work half of what they're demanding now."

Des agreed; "The LRC proposals mean that quality and safety of aircrafts will deteriorate.

"At the same time the acceptance of the deal allows the government to push on with its attacks on workers in the rest of the semi-state sector.

"The same week that we were ending, we saw the plan for 2,000 redundancies at the ESB. There must be a hidden agenda."

M A N Y of the workers at TEAM did not start off as militants, despite the myths of the press.

Most believed that there could be a partnership between employers and employees.

They had been willing to make productivity concessions to the company.

They were surprised by the force of the onslaught against them.

As one worker put it, "it took us a long time to realise what we were up against.

We were not just fighting the company but the state in general"

One of the shop stewards on the negotiating committee believes that "the problem was we put more militant action on the long finger.

"We saw it as our trump card but we put it off, put it off, put it off...until it was too late to use it."

"If I could do it again I would just have one or two of us doing the negotiations and the rest of us out rallying support."

Back in July a strong mood of solidarity was growing up in Dublin.

Shop stewards from the ESB power station in Ringsend said workers there were prepared to strike in solidarity with TEAM workers.

T H E NBRU offered to call on its members in CIE to participate in a day of action for TEAM.

The failure to turn this solidarity into action was a turning point for the dispute.

In August the Dublin Trades Council called a special meeting to discuss calling industrial action in support of TEAM.

But full time officials from SIPTU and other unions worked overnight to sabotage the efforts.

They turned the meeting into a witch-hunt of socialists like those in SWM and claimed national group officers of the unions would have to discuss the issue.

In the end, they did absolutely nothing to build solidarity with TEAM.

F O R Denis Smyth, a leading member of the negotiating committee, the main lesson of the dispute is that "ICTU is misrepresenting the interest of its members.

"You cannot place any trust in Trade Union officials, most of them let us down."

Some unions, like the ATGWU, the ESBOA and the TEEU, did more by way of offering money and verbal support.

This was a great gesture of solidarity—but they could have done more.

The ATGWU and the craft unions had hundreds of members in the ESB.

But they never campaigned to bring these work-

ers out in solidarity with TEAM.

This would have meant defying the ICTU and calling official action independently of them.

Terry's advice for ESB and other semi-state workers facing similar attacks is "to avoid being dictated to by the full time officials."

"Keep your fingers on the shop stewards, go to all the meetings."

"And elect honourable people."

T E R R Y also said "our strongest allies have been Socialist Worker.

"That's why I spoke at your meeting."

"Of all the people I was truly glad of their support, it was the Socialist Workers.

"This is a comment made by even the most conservative guys.

"They say that you were there for everything.

"Your paper told the true story.

"The rest are owned by the rich for the rich.

"Your victory is that people who would have thought themselves middle class will look at socialism again."

THE decision of workers in the missile division to walk out after the announcement of over 350 redundancies last week is the best example of how to fight to maintain jobs at Shorts.

Shorts have a cheek!

Four years after privatisation and the promise of "more jobs for Belfast" there has been over a thousand redundancies, with pay cuts, loss of bonus and short time working for many others.

To top all this off, Shorts directors have awarded themselves one hundred percent pay increases for performance!

Brian Corland's salary has doubled to around £300,000 per year, with questions to be asked about the one billion in government grants to be accounted for.

These are the issues the trade unions should address in Shorts.

An organised fightback with strike action over redundancies could give confidence to other groups of workers under threat, but more than that it would undercut the bigots and sectarians who seek to divide us.

It was complete hypocrisy of Peter Robinson to complain of job losses in Shorts.

This man and his party have done their best to drive a wedge between workers by calling for a vetting system to be imposed on Catholic workers.

It is only by uniting as workers that we can successfully take on and defeat the bosses.

Workers at Shorts have plenty of engineering skills. Instead of producing missiles they could be making wheelchairs or hospital equipment.

The Tories and the bosses of Shorts should be made to pay the cost of redeployment.

WORKERS at GPT in Ballynahinch won an increase of 4 per cent on basic pay last month.

They rejected by a two to one majority the company's offer of performance-related pay.

The company's offer would have meant that lower paid workers wouldn't get an increase and higher paid workers would have got only bonus increases.

The 250 workers, 80 per cent of whom are women, were in the process of balloting on strike action before the company made an across the board offer on the basic rate.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Student Day of Action

Dublin: November 17th
Assemble 2.00pm Parnell Sq,
Belfast: 20th November

Close the Colleges

All Out on November 17th

IT IS TIME FOR STUDENTS TO TAKE TO THE STREETS AND START PROTESTING.

■ Student poverty and hardship has exploded in the last ten years. Maintenance grants have fallen in real terms.

At the same time, fees have been raised by 172% since 1983, and are set to rise by £100 a year for the next 5 years.

■ There is massive overcrowding in the colleges.

Libraries and facilities are swamped, staff and equipment are scarce.

Colleges cynically take in more students than they can graduate, their priorities fixed on taking in more fees and reducing "unit costs".

■ There is a vicious competitive system

that turns education into a rat race based on the points system and exams.

And at the end of it all, there are few jobs.

More and more students are having to do post-grad courses where they are paid a pittance by the authorities for teaching.

■ Unemployment benefit has been cut from students.

They expect us now to emigrate in the summer and take on jobs at

£2.50 an hour while we are studying.

The old myth of students as middle class and financially comfortable has disappeared.

Students, now more than ever, have more in common with workers already fighting this corrupt government.

We should turn the big USI demonstration in November into the biggest display of anger that this government has ever seen.

FF GREED-STUDENT POVERTY

ALBERT Reynolds knows how to live it up. He has got a £267 pay increase.

This makes him one of most overpaid Prime Ministers in Europe.

Since he has come into office, Reynolds has made 29 trips abroad. The total cost of these trips has been £250,000.

Ten students have to live on a grants which are worth no more than Reynolds pay rise.

According to USI, the average student needs £4,271 to live on for a year.

But the maintenance grant today amounts to only £1,486.

Reynolds and this Coalition should be told to give up on greed—and leave a little more for the workers and students of this country.

WE THINK

STUDENTS have a massive power to change society. Protests in the Sorbonne University in Paris led to the great rebellion of May 1968.

Students were instrumental in igniting the Civil Rights Movements in Ireland and America.

In 1989, millions of students toppled the Eastern European dictatorships, and rose heroically in China.

However, as the events in Tiananmen Square show, students on their own cannot win.

Strength

It is when they link with the muscle of radical workers, that they have the strength to win their demands.

Workers in TEAM can close down an airport. Workers in the ESB can cut the

nation's electricity. Ten million workers in France, May 69, nearly carried off a revolution.

Socialists argue for student-worker unity. The struggle for a better society is fought in the college and the workplace, and when the struggles are united, we can be unstoppable.

Control

Fees can be abolished, grants can be increased, decent childcare facilities, equipment and library places, can be provided.

But to win these demands, we have to take on the same system that throws thousands of people out of work, and gives a minority control of our wealth.

That is what the Socialist Workers are about. Join us and get involved in the fight.