

# Socialist Worker

inside:

**'General Motors spat us out': Packard workers speak out—centre pages**

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

## MASSIVE NO VOTE TO NOONAN'S SALARY SWINDLE

# PAY THE NURSES



**MICHAEL NOONAN says that he is in a "serious dilemma" over the nurses.**

**He values their work—but he does not want to pay them properly.**

If the nurses were part of the beef industry and wanted their EU fine paid for them, there would be no problem. £50 million is already being found and not a single beef baron will appear before the courts.

But when it comes to

decent hard-working nurses who are in the front line of the hospital cut-backs, suddenly the poor mouth is put on.

### Surprised

Many commentators have been surprised that nurses rejected their union leaders' ad-

vice and voted by an overwhelming 80% to turn down a £40 million package.

One industrial correspondent in the *Irish Times* has even tried to explain it by saying that nurses are "innocents" when it comes to the complexities of the *Programme for Competitiveness and Work*.

If this is innocence, then maybe the rest of the trade union movements needs some more of it.

Nurses voted NO to Noonan's rotten deal, mainly because they understood a simple word: solidarity.

The original offer would have cut the pay of first year nurses by staggering £1,000 a year.

### Principles

The so-called realists who lead our unions thought that the nurses had to swallow this because the package was "the best on offer".

They may have forgotten the most basic of trade union principles but their rank and file membership had not.

They were determined to stick together.

They knew that they neither had to accept pay cuts for younger members nor a package that would have put them on "flexible" work arrangements.

The nurses have given a lead to other workers.

The careerists who lead the ICTU have called for restraint even though the Irish economy is undergoing a fantastic boom.

ICTU President Peter Cassells has spent more time cajoling ESB workers into accepting 2,000 job cuts than he has in trying to organise young workers who are being paid yellow pack wages in non-union jobs.

The nurses are standing for workers'

rights in this country.

If they win, we all gain.

That is why they should not have to fight alone.

### Solidarity

This is why we need to start building solidarity now.

Trade unionists should be urging their unions to give them full backing and to stand ready to deliver solidarity action when the fight starts.

# As Bruton calls for pay restraint...

## Executive salaries soar

## A better deal for top-cats

AS SOON as the nurses rejected their pay package John Bruton made a speech calling for restraint.

But a week before, the management recruitment agency Inbucon announced major increases for executives and Bruton had not a word to say about sacrifice.

### Survey

The survey of 175 companies showed that Irish executives are now getting salary rises of 10% a year.

This is at a time when most workers are told to accept the equivalent of pay rises that are one third of that figure.

### Average

The average salary and fringe benefits for a managing director is now £78,424.



Bruton calls for restraint and refuses to pay the nurses whilst the bosses cream off more and more for themselves.

This does not include share options and is an average that includes small firms as well as large.

But for Bruton and Fine Gael this sort of greed is com-

pletely acceptable.

It is only when nurses and other workers start to demand their share that they start screaming about 'damage to the economy'.

THERE's a familiar argument doing the rounds in the board rooms and dining halls of Ireland's state owned companies. It is over pay, but for once the question of restraints and reductions is not on the agenda. The fat cats want more, not less, pay for themselves.

A new "Review Body on Higher Remuneration" is due to meet and adjust, upwards of course, the pay and perks of high officials across the state and semi-state sectors.

### Argument

They managed to find an argument in favour of increased salaries which goes something like this- you pay peanuts, you get monkeys.

The greed of these top people knows no bounds:

Alfie Kane, Chief Executive of Telecom Eireann, took home £200,000 in 1994, Gary McGann of Aer Lingus did just as well. Executive salaries in the E.S.B., C.I.E., An Post, R.T.E., Bord Gais, the A.C.C. and I.C.C. all average out at about £100,000 a year not including bonuses, pension payments and expenses. Nice peanuts!!

Seeing has the government has appointed Micheal Buckley to chair the review the executives can look forward to healthy increases.

Buckley is a senior executive in AIB and is one of the highest paid men in the country. He is part of a board of directors who received £3.4 million in 1994.

## The bankers' friends

ALLIED Irish Banks know all about the importance of keeping politicians on side.

In the early 1980s, it embarked on a programme of huge investment in the insurance market of London.

But one of its companies, the Insurance Corporation of Ireland, came a cropper and

threatened to take the whole of the AIB with it.

But the fearless champions of free enterprise found a way out: they went to the Dail politicians who swiftly passed a special law to subsidise the bank and so preserve a 'great national institution'.

So it is no surprise that the bank has revealed that it has been paying a grant to political parties recently. In fact to every political party in Dail Eireann.

### Labour

The hawkeyes of Irish capitalism have recognised that Labour or Democratic Left represent no threat to their £1 million a day profits.

That is why even DL got a grant of £7,000 -- a small token for services rendered.

### Workers

PAYE workers were once again called on to subsidise the rich scroungers.

## Beef who gained?

Fine Gael Minister Ivan Yates was asked in the Dail who gained from the irregularities in the beef industry which brought on the £50 million plus EU fine.

His answer: transcripts of the £30 million beef tribunal are still being studied to see if there are prosecutions to be brought.

This is the same Ivan Yates who named Larry Goodman as "the major culprit" in the beef industry. And this is the same

tribunal that reported over a year ago.

What a pity that the ICTU failed to listen to the hundreds of workers who signed petitions to demand a stoppage on the issue. Yates now feels that the heat is off.

## inside the system

### BIGOT BARDOT

Animal rights activist Brigitte Bardot recently used her column in the right wing French newspaper *Le Figaro* to launch a vicious attack on Muslim immigrants in France.

Claiming that France was enduring an "invasion" Bardot openly backed up the racist ideas of Jean Marie le Pen's National Front saying "my country, France, my Fatherland, my Land is ... again invaded by foreign, especially Muslim, over population".

### Worried

Bardot is worried she might be forced "to flee my country".

For French people the sooner this bigot flees the better.

## Mugging mortgage holders

The Consumers Association of Ireland has just published a report on the mortgage industry.

It claims that all the banks and building societies are guilty of

abuse of their position and profit by keeping customers in a state of confusion.

We must be mad to pay up to 55 per cent tax in PAYE and PRSI. Especially since those with a little cash are showing us plenty of ways to get around the Revenue.

Take the case of millionaire Ken Dart. Dart bought an Irish passport to avoid US taxes while living it up in Belize. Problem: the tax people would still get their share when Dart kicks

the bucket. So he's currently researching whether his brain can be kept alive after his natural death. This way he'd never be declared legally dead.

### Taxes

"His estate wouldn't have to pay inheritance taxes and the family would, presumably, get the lot," his brother Tom explained in the *Sunday Business Post*.

Apparently the research is costing Dart

millions of pounds. What a waste.

There must be thousands of workers past

and present who'd willingly pickle him for free - and look after the cash forever after.

larly mugging" mortgage holders. Fingleton shared £769,000 with two other directors in 1995 for successfully mugging a record number of customers.

## Show some concern

The Democratic Left Minister for Social Welfare was in fine reformist form when he spoke to the annual conference of Pension Lawyers recently.

You might expect this "socialist" to demand provision of pensions for all workers, including part-time and temporary workers.

But when it was pointed out

to De Rossa that part-time and other "atypical" workers tended not to have occupational pension cover all he could manage was a feeble "that is a matter of some concern to me".

## JOBS FOR THE GIRLS

JOHN BRUTON has appointed *Sunday Independent* columnist Patricia Redlich to the RTE authority.

Redlich is on of those "new feminists" who

want to see the clock turned back thirty years.

Four years ago she was, again, appointed by Bruton to train Fine Gael members in media relations.

She'll get a warm welcome to the RTE. authority by the likes of Garret Fitzgerald who also sits on Ireland's national T.V. station's most representative body.

## Explosion in Waterford

An explosion at an American owned resin-production factory at the end of April hospitalised four workers, two of them suffering from widespread burns.

The explosion rocked one of the plant's seven reactor 'kettles' and released large clouds of black dust into the vicinity. This has been the second such explosion in three years.

A previous fire in August

1993 saw the Company, Lawter International, in court on charges of breaching Health and Safety legislation. The Company pleaded guilty to all charges but was let away with a total fine of £1,500.

what we think

# The business types who want a return to Loyalist violence

THE Reverend Roy McGee who helped to broker the ceasefire of the UDA and UVF has warned that Unionist "business types" are trying to provoke a return to violence.

It is clear evidence that sections of the Unionist upper class deeply fear the political consequences that might flow from a permanent cessation of violence.

The Unionist Party is a monolith that belongs to the era of the Russian Communist Party or the Italian Christian Democrats.

It froze the political landscape of the North with an ice-cap of bigoted right wing policies.

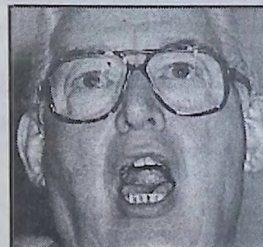
## Eroding

Before the Troubles began it was becoming clear that its material base was eroding.

The Orange employers who gave employment to "loyal" workers had begun to close their factories and shift into property speculation.

Their ideology that Protestants are superior to Catholics makes even less sense in an era where Protestant jobs have become low paid and insecure.

Although they were terrified



Trimble and Paisley whipping up sectarianism; Right: the Loyalist paramilitaries could call off their ceasefire



by the revolt of the Catholic working class, the Unionist upper class saw that the Troubles held certain advantages for them.

It supplied their supporters with well paid jobs in the security services.

It allowed them to re-assert their claim to represent the "Protestant community" from

outside threats. All of this explains their new nervousness about the future.

## New Mood

Trimble and Paisley realise there is a new mood for class politics.

This is why they are more careful not to identify themselves too closely with the

hated Tory regime. They dislike the rhetoric of the Progressive Unionist Party and the Ulster Democratic Party because they talk about the "fur-coat brigade".

But for all their talk about class these parties have never broken from the bigotry of Trimble and Paisley.

Their base is among former

paramilitaries rather than among Labour or trade union supporters.

Although they talk the language of class and even describe themselves as "socialist", they see themselves as representing Protestant workers only.

They see their "community" as having opposed interests

to Catholics. And like other "progressive unionists" who went before them, defence of the link with Britain always comes before an assertion of class politics.

This means that when Paisley and Trimble bang the sectarian drum, the "progressive unionists" are always forced to go part of the way.

This is why a different sort of opposition needs to be built inside the Protestant working class.

## Declare

It has to start by asserting the common interest of Protestant and Catholic.

In practice, this will mean that it has to stand with groups like the residents of the Lower Ormeau Rd in their opposition to coat trailing marches.

It needs also to openly declare that the common interest of Catholic and Protestant lies in smashing both sectarian states in Ireland and establishing a socialist society where all workers gain.

In the 1930s, the Revolutionary Workers Groups showed that such an alternative was viable.

Today revolutionary socialists have to prove the same.

## Water charges: Council tries scare tactics

SOUTH Dublin County Council has been sending out letters to non-payers of the water charges in yet another cheap attempt to intimidate them into paying.

"Water Disconnection Order" is written on the top in red, but these letters are in fact grossly misleading.

The Council can only obtain a water disconnection order through the courts.

By sending out these letters the Council hopes to frighten people into paying.

The man responsible for this intimidation, John Fitzgerald, manager of South Dublin County Council, is moving on to a new lucrative post - that of the £70,000 a year Dublin city manager.

Meanwhile Fingal County Council has started to dock the water charges from the wages of council workers who have refused to pay.

This is an absolute disgrace. The unions in the Council, SIPTU and IMPACT, must make it clear that unless this is stopped immediately industrial action will be taken.

It is also an opportunity for these unions to unequivocally condemn these charges.

A report on Dublin's water supply last month recom-

mended the installation of water meters.

All new houses, it said, should have water meters installed. Existing houses however could not be installed with meters as this would cost too much.

So instead households would be charged on the basis of an estimate of how much water they would use.

And if householders aren't happy with that they can pay to get a water meter themselves.

## Confident

This shows how important our fight is. The greater the resistance to the charges the less confident they will be to try to force these changes.

The strength of the anti-charges campaign lies in the mass resistance on the ground.

The key battles will come when they attempt to disconnect water supplies and they will meet such resistance that their court orders will be meaningless.

## Bring Patrick Kelly home

MARGARET Thatcher is no doubt proud of the Tory Home Secretary Michael Howard.

Fifteen years ago Thatcher let Bobby Sands die on hunger strike, fighting for political status for Republican prisoners. Now Howard is standing by while another Republican, Patrick Kelly, faces death in prison from cancer.

## Refused

The Home Secretary has refused Kelly's application to be moved from Maghaberry prison near Belfast to Portlaoise prison six miles from his home.



Patrick Kelly

He is visited once a week by his partner Angela Rice who has to make a 15 hour

round trip for a one hour visit. She leaves home at 7am and does not return until 11pm.

Ian Paisley Jr gave a typically callous response to Angela Rice's plight. Speaking on the Spotlight TV programme, the junior bigot said of the 15 hour journey, "I can travel to Hawaii quicker than that".

Paisley went on to say that "Mr Kelly will have to live with the sins of himself".

Kelly's relatives are making a modest demand to have him transferred to Portlaoise prison. But if the Tories were serious about peace Kelly and the other political prisoners would have been released long ago.

## Sister Act

SR XAVERIA's appearance on Prime Time was an insult to her many victims.

What few realised is that the goodly nun had been coached prior to her appearance by Carr Communications.

## Image

Carr Communications, run by former RTE presenter Bunny Carr, is used frequently by TDs to improve their image.

Among its clients are such worthies as Albert Reynolds who felt a need for a different image during the beef tribunal.

Now doesn't the Lord work in some mysterious ways to get old Ireland to clean up its image!



Sr Xaveria

## No welcome for US death ship

IRISH navy officials must be beside themselves with joy. A US aircraft carrier which was used to slaughter Iraqi civilians is coming to Dublin to celebrate 50 years of the Navy.

One of those killed by USS John F. Kennedy was 42-year old hotel receptionist Amira Uyaael. On 18 January 1993 the Americans fired rockets from the war ship into Baghdad.

Since all this was known as precision bombing', Amira must have been a carefully chosen 'strategic target'.

Just like the 500 civilians who were burnt to cinders during the Allied's attack on

a Baghdad bunker.

The death ship will float into Dublin Bay on 2 July. It nicely sums up the absolute madness of this system.

## Fallen

US workers' real wages have fallen for the last 20 years and they've been told to tighten their belts. Meanwhile the American govern-

ment has invested billions of dollars in its war machinery.

It'll be a disgusting display. We'll be expected to marvel at a war ship which helped to plunge thousands of Iraqis into death and destitution.

On 4 July, presumably to celebrate Ireland's neutrality, U2 and the Cranberries look set to join the board

party and keep hundreds of loaded celebrities entertained.

Don't think you're in for a ticket? Don't worry. RTE will broadcast it.

And two city nightclubs are apparently fighting to become the official Officers' Club. Watch this space—*Socialist Worker* will keep you informed which club to steer clear of.

## behind the headlines

### Welfare cuts rock German 'stability'



German workers protest

IRISH union leaders are fond of holding Germany up as a model of a 'social economy' where the jungle capitalism of the Thatcherite model is modified by a system of partnership at workplace level and an extensive welfare state.

The British Labour leader, Tony Blair, uses the same sort of rhetoric when he talks of a 'stakeholder society'.

The sheer utopianism that lies behind this vague bureaucratic speech is now being exposed by recent developments.

Helmut Kohl has just announced spending cuts of DM 70 billion (£34 billion) for next year alone. He is trying to make deeper cuts in Germany's welfare state than even the Juppe plan in France which produced the huge strikes in December.

Kohl's plans include: a cut in unemployment benefit; a rise in the retirement age for women from 60 to 63 and for men from 63 to 65; a public sector wage freeze; a reduction in sick pay; the removal of laws hindering sacking in smaller firms. Thousands of trade unionists have already marched on May Day and now union leaders are warning of a hot summer that has not been seen for decades.

Germany's famous system of 'co-determination' was established after WW2. The Allies were determined to ensure that socialist and communist led unions would not re-emerge.

They set out to incorporate the unions into the running of German capitalism by placing employees on supervisory boards in firms. Capitalism has reached record levels with over 4 million out of work. This is the highest absolute level since the 1930s—although the workforce has expanded considerably since then.

Kohl and his supporters claim that the cause of the difficulties is the aftermath of re-unification. Huge bills have certainly come in as they seek to re-align Easter Germany's older industrial structure with that of the West.

But the crisis of the welfare state goes far deeper. Even before unification, business productivity in Germany grew at half the rate of the industrial economies since 1979. Its exporters have been losing out on the world markets for over ten years.

Kohl has constantly been warning German workers that they live in a 'leisure park' and that West Germany had to "adapt to the profound changes in its way of life with longer working hours."

The new attacks in Germany undermine the core arguments used by the ICTU. They claim that because of 'globalisation' workers cannot rely on old style militancy.

Instead they have to adopt the enlightened approach of showing their employers that partnership arrangements will produce more productivity where all classes will gain.

But the new turn in Germany shows that employers are only interested in 'partnership' when it restrains workers from using their strength in a boom. They have always known that social peace is temporary.

The free market which the labour leaders have now embraced means that even the most advanced form of capitalism will launch vicious attacks on its workforce.

And far from militancy being outdated, French workers showed in their strikes in December that huge stoppages is the only way to resist.

The summer months could see 'the French disease' spread to the heartland of European stability. It all depends on whether German workers can force their leaders into calling action—and if they do so, going well beyond the limits they set.



Helmut Kohl

### Growth

The result was fantastically high levels of growth which allowed German capitalism to provide an extensive welfare state.

But what the ideologues of the ICTU, Tony Blair and other reformists ignored was that no institutional arrangement could guarantee the persistence of this welfare state.

In the end, just like Sweden, the 'capitalist utopia' was bound to be undermined in an era of intense global competition.

Today German capitalism is in major crisis. Growth this year will be a mere 0.7%. Unemployment has reached record levels with over 4 million out of work. This is the highest absolute level since the 1930s—although the workforce has expanded considerably since then.

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by KIERAN ALLEN

# Residents of East Belfast campaign to remove UVF murals

AS REPORTS grow that a large section of the Ulster Volunteer Force is looking for a return to armed conflict, there are also strong indications of disgust with their activities amongst Protestant workers.

In the Cregagh area of East Belfast, residents have been campaigning against sectarian murals going up in their areas. Recently two UVF murals have gone up, one in Dromore Street just off the Cregagh

Road and one in the Cregagh gardens area of the Cregagh estate.

### Nailed

The UVF mural in Dromore Street which has been nailed up on a wall only survived two days before it was removed.

In Cappagh Gardens, the loyalist mural which says "UVF: For God and Ulster, East Belfast" has been painted on a gable wall.

These areas of East Belfast have been traditionally populated by mixed working class people and they are outraged by their appearance.

The NI housing executive says it has received several calls protesting and admits that the "overwhelming majority" want the mural removed.

### Delicate

Disgracefully, though, the NI Housing Executive says that they have made no decision yet about its removal.

In a statement they said:

"It was a delicate issue and there was considerable artistic merit in some of the murals and it is not just a case of removing unwanted graffiti".

This statement represents a blatant attempt to take the side of the sectarian UVF against local residents.

UVF murals are sometimes even associated with fascist graffiti from the group Combat 18 as is the case in lower Woodstock.

It is now up to local residents to unite to remove political poison themselves.

## Lotto should fund 'urban cowboys'

"Saddled with rogue urban cowboys." That was the headline by Sunday Independent columnist Jonathan Philbin Bowman.

He was of course talking about the notorious horse problem in Dublin. The government's forthcoming Regulation of Horses Bill will give local authorities new powers to impound horses which are neglected or left wandering.

Presently the councils in the Dublin area are spending £70,000 each on the horse situation. In the past few weeks horse owners from Dublin West took to the streets to protest against

the Bill.

A spokesperson for the Ballyfermot Pony Club said: "If horse owners were given facilities to ride and look after their horses the problem would be solved."

### Mistreat

In most working class areas horses have become a pastime for many. There are people who mistreat their horses terribly, but generally most treat their

horses well.

Take for example the Phoenix Park which has 150 stables left idle. What a good idea it would be to bring inner city kids to the park and leave their horses there.

The same goes for sprawling areas in Dublin like Ballyfermot and Clondalkin. These massive areas of derelict land are left idle.

The practical answer for local councils would be to teach people how to look after the horses and anybody who was unemployed and interested in horses could be employed by the council.

But the double standards of this country's government, which boasts what a great horse culture we have, were very apparent this month when Ivan Yates gave £15 million for the upgrading of horse racing tracks. People like Michael Smurfit and his rich pals can swan around Leopardstown.

To solve this problem which has been going on for years the National Lottery should fund the facilities instead of plush golf courses. They make enough money as it is out of working class areas.

—GINO KENNY

## letters

Send letters to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

# Hotels that pay £1 an hour

Dear Editor, I am writing to tell you of my experience as a part-time waitress. I am a secondary school student.

Most secondary school students are taking summer employment in Hotels, Guest-houses, Restaurants and the service industry.

### Managers

They accept these jobs for an average of about £1 an hour. The managers of these places know the students will work

for very little, for extremely long hour and that they will take of abuse from these quite patronising

managers.

I worked in a hotel and these were the conditions to which I worked under and left after a week

because I was subjected to verbal abuse by the boss.

### Tips

These hotel owners don't give the tips to the waitresses. Students are being

forced into these jobs more and more because of government cutbacks in social welfare.

Students please don't accept this. We should start fighting back.

If possible part time workers should join a union.

SCHOOL STUDENT, WICKLOW.

# Sorry no wheelchairs—this is a hospital!

A Newtownards woman was shocked when she asked the Ulster Hospital in Dundonald for a wheel chair.

Her seven year old son had just had micro-surgery and was in no position to walk about the place. The hospital's reply

was that they did not have any. She had to hire a wheel chair for her son to walk about the place.

This is the reality even before the Tories impose another 3% overall cut on health spending.

The Tory government has brought real hardship

to both Catholic and Protestant workers in Northern Ireland. But you will not hear a word about these sort of issues in the forthcoming elections.

From the word go it has been set up as a sectarian headcount to see who can pile up enough support for seats at the

negotiating chamber. Parties like the DUP have helped to keep the Tories in office — while Sinn Fein once urged people to keep Albert Reynolds in office even though he is brought in the same sort of health cuts.

All the more reason why socialists should boycott this contrived poll.

SEAN MCGIBBON, BELFAST



# news of the world

# Turkey—police kill May Day marchers



WORKERS DEFY state terror to march through Istanbul on May Day

**POLICE MURDERED** three workers on a 100,000 strong May Day march as it assembled in the Turkish city of Istanbul last week.

Police shot indiscriminately into the crowd when some demonstrators resisted being searched.

Ceramic worker Hasan Albayrak and textile worker Dursun Adabas were the first to be shot dead. Dozens of others were injured.

Police then drove an armoured car at high speed into the march, injuring many more.

The march went ahead despite the bloody repression. Workers stoned the headquarters of the fascist MHP party in anger as they passed.

There were more angry clashes with police as marchers dispersed from the closing rally.

Police fired on the unarmed marchers and shot civil servant Levent Yalçın dead.

Police attempted to stop other May Day marches across Turkey.

But 50,000 defied such terror to march in the capital city of Ankara. Some 30,000 marched in Izmir, and demonstrations took place in Samsun, Içel, Mersin, Izmit and other cities.

by KEVIN OVENDEN

The size of the marches, and the readiness of the police to attack them are an indication of the extreme instability in Turkey.

The Turkish government, a coalition of two Tory parties, faces a soaring budget deficit and has launched a series of savage cuts.

A new "stability package" to be announced in the next few days is likely to bring even greater attacks on workers' living standards.

A key part of the package looks set to be wholesale privatisation and wage freezes.

But these attacks have brought resistance.

Students are fighting against a fourfold increase in tuition fees.

Many workers have been forced to strike for higher pay because wages are not keeping up with inflation, which is running at about 80 percent.

A strike wave at the end of last year, the biggest in 15 years, brought down the government of Tory Tansu Çiller.

Her government was forced to make concessions to engineers, dockers and railway workers. Now others have taken up the strike call.

On 18 April civil servants struck across Turkey. The strike was 85 percent solid despite threats from prime minister Mesut Yılmaz that every civil servant taking part in the strike would face disciplinary and court proceedings.

The police took their cue from the prime minister and attacked marching civil servants in Ankara and Adana, making dozens of arrests and beating up strikers.

But the repression is a sign of the government's weakness, not its strength.

It is a minority government which was only formed after two months of horse trading in the wake of last December's election.

Every meeting of the State Security Council (a joint body of army leaders and government ministers) since the coalition formed has had to contend with how to deal with resistance—by students and workers, and in the war in Kurdistan.

The government is still unable to make any progress in its murderous war against the Kurdish minority in the south east of the country.

## Protests, strikes, demos across the world

MAY DAY last week saw protests and strikes around the world.

■**BELGIUM:** Government ministers were pelted with eggs and tomatoes when they tried to speak at a May Day rally.

The ministers are from the Socialist Party—equivalent of Britain's Labour Party—and members of the coalition government headed by Tory Jean Luc-Dehaene.

His government is pushing through a savage cuts programme which, like governments across Europe, it seeks to justify by the need to meet the European Union single currency criteria.

The cuts have provoked a wave of unrest.

Teachers, parents and students have been involved in a long series of angry strikes and marches over school budget cuts.

Postal workers and airport workers have also been taking action.

■**FRANCE:** Some 30,000 workers joined a May Day march in Paris, called by the Communist Party linked CGT union federation. The other main union federations, FO and the CFDT, did not back the protest.

Elsewhere in the country, especially in the south and west, important May Day marches were often several thousand strong.

The protests came as Tory prime minister Alain Juppé unveiled new plans

to slash welfare spending. He was forced to retreat on earlier plans when they provoked a wave of strikes and protest last December.

May Day in Paris was marred by the Nazis of Jean-Marie Le Pen's National Front being allowed to stage a 10,000 strong parade without facing any serious confrontation.

But, in an encouraging sign, May Day saw 3,000 people march against the National Front in Orange in the south, one of the three towns where the mayor is a Nazi.

■**GERMANY:** Tens of thousands of people joined May Day protests in cities across the country protesting at government plans to slash social and welfare spending. In Berlin riot police clashed with some demonstrators.

■**SPAIN:** As the new right wing government was finally sworn in, tens of thousands of people joined May Day rallies in cities around the country.

The government has promised to slash welfare spending, again using the pretext of the European Union terms for joining a single currency.

■**JAPAN:** Some two million people joined rallies across the country under the theme of "War on Unemployment". Around 80,000 people joined a rally in the capital, Tokyo.

The protests, organised by the Japanese Trade Union Federation, come as Japan is in its worst economic recession

since the war.

■**NEPAL:** Around 6,000 people joined an anti-government May Day march in the capital, Katmandu. Riot police also attacked a meeting organised by the UPF trade union.

■**SOUTH KOREA:** Over 15,000 trade unionists marched through the capital, Seoul, demanding an end to government repression of unions.

■**SWAZILAND:** Up to 40,000 workers joined a May Day rally.

■**YUGOSLAVIA:** Several hundred people joined an anti-government protest in the Serbian capital, Belgrade, demanding, "Bread, peace, democracy".

■**ITALY:** Around 300,000 people joined a May Day festival and march in Rome, which was also a celebration for the "left" victory in recent parliamentary elections.

But the new government has made it clear it plans to cut welfare spending.

■**CHILE:** May Day was the launchpad for a strike by 7,000 workers at the world's largest copper mine. "The strike is effective," admitted bosses at the state owned Chuquicamata mine as workers walked out demanding a 4 percent pay rise.

■**NORWAY:** Workers on North Sea platforms were set to strike, barring a last minute deal. The strike by oil production workers is in solidarity with scaffolding, paintwork and insulation workers who are demanding a better pay deal.

## TURKISH WORKERS: THE FORCE WHICH CAN BEAT AUSTERITY

THE BIGGEST problem facing the government in Turkey is workers' resistance to its austerity measures.

For the first time the May Day marches were called jointly by four trade union federations: Türk-İs, DISK, KESK (civil servants) and the Islamic influenced Hak-İs.

Only the fascist controlled Turk Metal abstained.

The unity and the tremendous courage of those who marched shows the potential for a repeat of last year's strikes on a bigger scale.

It is this prospect which scares the Turkish bosses and is fuelling splits in the government.

Some MPs in the conservative Motherland Party have voted to bring corruption charges against ex prime minister Tansu Çiller, leader of their coalition partner, the True Path Party.

It is possible that new elections will be held soon.

One party hoping to

gain from the instability is the Islamist Welfare Party. Its base of support is the impoverished middle class and the urban poor who are often recent arrivals from the countryside.

But it is far from radical and supports the privatisation schemes which Islamic influenced trade unionists are taking to the streets to oppose.

### Power

It is against joining the European Union but favours building greater links with Arab capitalists.

All the mainstream parties agree on making workers pay for the economic crisis.

Workers displayed their power when they toppled the previous government.

If this is combined with the heroism shown on May Day, the movement has every chance of defeating austerity measures and stopping the government's bloody repression.

## TEN YEARS SINCE CHERNOBYL

## The cover up that is killing

TEN YEARS ago the world's biggest ever nuclear accident occurred at the Chernobyl nuclear power station in the Ukraine.

When Chernobyl blew it produced radioactivity 300 times greater than the nuclear bomb that was dropped on Hiroshima.

Some 30 firefighters and clean up workers died from its effects within weeks.

by SAM  
ASHMAN

But—in a grim echo of what we were told about BSE—governments, the press and the world's nuclear industry closed ranks to convince us that Chernobyl was safe.

In Britain, the chairman of the Central Electricity Generating Board, Lord Marshall, said at the time that the effects of Chernobyl would be "no worse than smoking a couple of extra cigarettes a year".

The International Atomic Energy Agency commissioned a report. It concluded that there was no evidence to link long term ill health to the fallout from Chernobyl.

This same line is also supported by the Radiological Protection Institute in Ireland. They recently invited over a so-called expert who claimed that the health damage from Chernobyl was more psychological than physical.

Yet radioactive fallout from Chernobyl has now been linked to cancer on a Scottish island.

Doctors on Benbecula in the Outer Hebrides say the number of cancer cases has more than tripled in the past 18 months.

They believe it could be as a result of eating contaminated vegetables over the last ten years.

Similarly, two major scientists have drawn more direct links between Chernobyl and thyroid cancer.

Dr Keith Baverstock of the World Health Organisation and Professor Sir Dilwyn Williams of Cambridge University travelled to Belarus one of the countries north of Chernobyl.

### Necks

They went to investigate an epidemic of thyroid cancer amongst children there.

Thyroid cancer is extremely rare in children. Before 1986 there were 20 cases in Belarus in as many years.

Since the Chernobyl disaster there have been 500.

The schools of Belarus are full of children with scarred necks because they have had operations to remove tumours.

Baverstock and Williams traced the source of the cancer to radioactive iodine that was spewed out from Chernobyl.

It landed on crops and in the forests. It floated through open windows where people lay sleeping. It was breathed in. It was swallowed with food. It was drunk in the water that many families in Belarus collect off the roofs of their houses.

People did not know they were in danger. They carried on working their fields, eating their crops

and drinking the milk from their cows.

Radioactive iodine was pumping out of Chernobyl for over a week.

Yet the authorities took days to distribute the "stable" iodine tablets that neutralise the effects of the radioactive iodine.

The story spirals onwards, dominated by secrecy, lack of money and lack of research at every turn.

Many of the children had tumours removed only to return to hospital when doctors discovered secondary growths.

Those secondaries could be prevented if doctors removed all the thyroid gland, not just part of it.

But that would mean patients being dependent on drugs for the rest of their lives. The paltry cost of a month's supply—£3—is too much of a disincentive.

The Horizon programme gave a glimpse of how powerful interests united to oppose Dr Baverstock and Professor Williams.

The International Atomic Energy Agency's earlier report was used to poor scorn on their findings. That report said there were no cases of thyroid cancer.

### Admitted

The report's author has since admitted he found 20 cases of thyroid cancer in 1990 but they were omitted from the report.

New worries are emerging.

Scientists are concerned about the effects of other radioactive contaminants like caesium.

Chernobyl was the first ever accident to spew out caesium. Its effects are unknown. It may be responsible for the high incidence of inflamed stomachs, or the high rate of cataracts amongst Belarus's children.

But Belarus's doctors cannot get funds to investigate caesium properly, or to investigate the growing rates of cancers they are having to deal with.

This craven lack of care and research is not specific to Eastern Europe.

As with BSE, governments and industry bosses are a powerful and lethal combination.

What happened at Chernobyl could happen anywhere where there is nuclear power.

How can there be a defence of nuclear power when there are plentiful supplies of coal and miners on the dole?

How can there be a defence of nuclear power when parents in Belarus say of their children, "Let's just hope they can live a little"?

# PACKARD ELECTRIC SHUT DOWN

## Anger as sea profits destroys

**"THEIR contempt for the workforce is unbelievable", said one Packard worker on hearing on a 9pm RTE News Bulletin that the Tallaght plant is to close.**

"We gave them what they demanded but they've just spat us out!", said Marie with tears of rage in her eyes as she looks back over 15 years of service for the company.

Dave was one of the 42 workers laid off in 1994 and finally given redundancy in 1995. He told *Socialist Worker*:

"I'm 46 now. I've not worked since I was laid off nearly two years ago and I don't see any prospect of me ever working again."

"The closure announcement was a bleak day for Tallaght. There are a lot of cases of husbands and wives with young families—they'll be very badly hit."

On Packard's promise of a redundancy deal Dave said: "You never know with that crowd. You can't trust them."

Last June workers were finally browbeaten into accepting a cost cutting plan that involved longer hours, less holidays, and 400 lay-offs.

Joe describes the atmosphere as the plan was put into effect:

"Immediately they began speeding up the lines—the pressure was enormous. Work that was previously done by 24 workers was now to be done by just 20."

"Some people couldn't cope with the constant pressure."

Cathy added: "If you wanted to go to the toilet you had to put your hand up and wait for them to give you a substitute. You could be waiting ages... they were in no hurry. They treated us like dirt".

### Security Pass

Joe added: "If you were late you had to report to security who would call your supervisor before you could start work. You weren't allowed to take a phone call in the factory and you even needed a security pass to go to the car park to get your lunch pack out of your car".

Anne says: "The bitterness was huge but we accepted it because we were promised the company would stay—well they lied."

Again and again workers point to the company's lies and broken promises. Dave again: "When 42 of us were laid off in 1994 we were given a guarantee that we would be taken back. A year later it took us threatening to put a picket on the gate for us to get a redundancy deal."

There is a lot of anger at DL and Labour: "Pat Rabbitte is a swamp donkey—he only appears when he's looking for votes. Labour has dirtied their bib. I voted Labour but never again!", says Dave.

Rose, who works part-time on the twilight shift, agrees: "Pat Rabbitte urged us to accept the deal last year."

"But he must have known Packard was planning to go. He didn't care what conditions we were working under just as long as he had his job. Packard were speeding up the lines, you couldn't keep up, conditions have been terrible. He just wanted our votes."

"And Labour... I always gave Mervyn Taylor my number one. Not any more. I'm disgusted."



Angry workers gather in the canteen as the news leaks out

## IT'S BETTER TO FIGHT

Packard Electric is part of Delphi, the world's largest manufacturer of automotive parts. Delphi in turn is owned by General Motors whose profits in 1994 were \$4.5 billion.

Two years ago, GM told all its subsidiaries that they would have to competitively bid against each other and against outside companies for contracts to supply parts to GM.

The fact that multinationals now invest, manufacture and market on a world basis—"globalisation"—led union leaders to argue that workers can't fight back against them.

### Accept

But the Packard case shows that if workers accept the demands of management this does not mean that their jobs are safe.

Packard Electric demanded \$4 million of savings through the loss of two days holidays, a wage freeze and the addition of an extra two hours on the working week in 1994-5.

Workers accepted sacrifices after union leaders like Brendan Byrne of SIPTU and Mick O'Reilly of ATGWU pushed them to vote three times until they finally said yes.

The company promised to invest £1 million in return. But it never happened.

When workers accept cost cutting measures here, management simply goes to workers in other plants and demands

advantage has gone, workers abroad have cut their costs!"

It only means the bosses will come back for more.

At the time of the big vote in 1995, one worker told *Socialist Worker*: "The union leaders had no alternative but to fight."

## Workers beat

On 18 February 1984 Guatemalan Coca-Cola workers found a letter on the notice-board telling them their plant was bankrupt and to be closed down as of that day.

After a night's debate, all 460 workers occupied the plant. Not an easy decision in Guatemala: four years earlier union leader Marlon Mendizabal had been machine-gunned to death outside the same factory gates.

But within days we saw provisions come in from other food plants, a sugar mill, chemical and textile factories, a laundry work-

ers' union, bank employees and a number of other organisations", said a representative of the International Union of Food and Allied Workers' Association (IUF).

### Action

The union spread the word to other Coca-Cola plants, demanding action. First came message of support from Belgium, Bermuda, Brazil, Britain, Cyprus, Japan, Mexico, Norway, Panama, Switzerland, Uruguay and the US.

Then the British TGWU threatened a stoppage at its Coca-Cola plants. Bel-

fast Coca-Cola workers' union had plans to donate the US\$100,000 collected by 30 members of the union to the plant to help it survive.

On 27 February, 13 Mexican plants stopped working. In Italy, a short strike by 100 workers during working hours in the Coca-Cola plant in Rome forced management to stop the plant to avoid a possible 350 jobs to be lost. The remaining 350 jobs to be lost were to be replaced and to give the union a right to

# DOWN TALLAGHT PLANT

# Scramble for stroys jobs

by KEVIN WINGFIELD & JENN WITT

## MULTI-NATIONALS CAN BE BEATEN

**WORKERS have fought multi-nationals for decades. In Brazil, for example, Toshiba workers kicked off a gigantic strike wave in 1978 to 1980. Action spread to other multi-nationals like Caterpillar, Siemens, General Electric, Volkswagen. Although some strike leaders were victimised huge pay rises were also won.**

**When you fight you can get the backing of other workers**  
Building support for workers fighting back across national frontiers is not a day-dream. For example, Liverpool dockers are fighting an attempt to smash their union organisation.

Ships loaded by scab labour have been blacked in parts in Europe and the US. And in one case a scab ship bound for Australia was blacked by dockers in all the Australian ports into which it called.

The fact is that workers for the GM empire in the US or Europe probably don't know about conditions in Tallaght. If the workers were in occupation, news would spread quickly and provide a basis on which to build international solidarity.

**Strikes can hit multi-nationals more quickly thanks to new production systems that are associated with "globalisation".**

Most multi-national plants are part of a Just-In Time system. To save storage costs, a car chassis maker will only receive the parts for a days work, then the finished chassis needs to be passed on as quickly.

This has two main effects. First, action by a small group of workers can cause bedlam right along the chain of production.

This year 3,500 workers in Dayton Ohio brought the whole of General Motors in the US to a standstill and forced the company to create 300 jobs.

### Organise

Second, it means that companies cannot simply hop from one country to another. They need to organise a layer of subcontracting firms around them first.

This is why Packard needed time to organise their exit from Ireland. The union leaders who argued for a 'strategic retreat' last year were not skilful strategists—but general who cannot read their enemies battle plans.

**Companies thinking of relocating calculate the likely costs. Workers' resistance can cost them and tip the balance.**

At the end of the day all capitalist concerns exist to make the maximum profits from their workers.

But every penny taken in profit is labour robbed from workers.

By fighting the boss workers can make the costs of pulling out high.

Had workers in Packard occupied the factory, taken delegations to Opel workers here and GM workers in Britain and Europe, sought the support of dockworkers, etc the fuss and disruption to GM's profits would have been enormous.

Even if it didn't finally stop them going it would make other multi-nationals think twice about ditching their workers.



## TO FIGHT

abroad  
But if we had a few shop stewards who would have stood up to them and shown we meant business, there would have been a fight. There was a mood for it.  
The tragedy of Packard is that this rank and file leadership did not emerge. It is a lesson other workers should learn.

## beat Coke

workers in the  
ise.  
By September no buyer had been found. The IUF gave Coca-Cola a 10 October deadline and threatened more action. By November, after some more hiccups, a contract was signed.  
On 20 March 1985 the first bottles came off the line. The plant is still up and running today, according to London's Latin America Bureau.  
None of this could have happened without international strike action. The links workers had built in previous years' action were crucial in pulling out others and winning this dispute.

## What do socialists say?

# What is exploitation?

**EXPLOITATION is rather like sin. Everybody says they are against it.**



It is seen as something done by a few especially bad, employers who take advantage of particularly vulnerable workers.

After all, the argument goes, most employers pay a fair day's wage for a fair day's work. So most workers have no cause for complaint.

On the face of it this can seem plausible. After all, the worker "voluntarily" works for the employer for an agreed period of time for an agreed sum of money.

So there is a fair exchange and, as we all know, 'fair exchange is no robbery'.

Of course workers' own experience contradicts this.

They can feel they are not getting a fair deal, that they are taken advantage of. But often they do not fully understand why and how this is happening.

This is where Marx's concept of exploitation comes in. For Marx exploitation has a precise meaning.

Marx showed that under capitalism exploitation was not the exception but the rule—that behind all those "fair wages" and "fair days' work" lies systematic exploitation.

Indeed exploitation is the foundation on which the whole system rests.

The bosses extract "surplus value" or profit from the labour of workers by paying them less than the value of the goods their labour produces.

So firms employ workers not in order to "give them a job" but to make a profit.

### Who reaps the profits?

To see just how that profit is extracted it is necessary to grasp what exactly bosses pay for when they hire a worker.

The employer buys the workers' ability to work or "labour power", as Marx called it.

This depends on us being fit to work. So we get paid maybe enough to keep a roof over our heads, and buy food and clothes, and have a bit over for leisure to keep us going.

But although labour power is paid for like other commodities, it is not the same as other commodities when it is put into action.

Labour is creative. It creates more value than it costs to keep workers going.

If human labour did not produce more than it took to reproduce itself, there would have been no development of the forces of production, no progress.

### Unpaid

That is where the profits lie. Say you work an average 40 hour week for £200. You may well make goods worth £200 in the first 20 or 30 hours, but that does not mean you can go home.

You still have to work maybe half your working week for no pay whatsoever.

This unpaid labour is the source of the bosses' profit or surplus value. This is how

capitalists accumulate their riches—off our backs.

Bosses deny this. They claim that profit is their reward for "risking" their capital. But this does not explain how they got the capital to "risk" in the first place.

All capital, even inherited, is ultimately the product of workers' labour.

The bosses also say that if workers feel exploited they can go elsewhere. This is another lie.

Workers may have some limited choice between employers but it is a choice between bosses who ALL exploit.

Marx's analysis of exploitation does more than show that capitalism is unjust.

It explains the conflict of interest, the class struggle, at the heart of the system.

The employers, driven by competition, strive always to increase the rate of exploitation by cutting wages, extending hours and increasing the intensity of work.

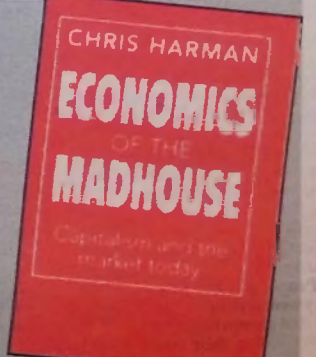
The workers, through trade unions, strikes and so on, strive to reduce it. But trade union action, necessary as it is, can only limit the rate of exploitation, not abolish it.

To end exploitation workers have to take over the means of production. That means revolution, workers' power and socialism.

— JOHN MOLYNEUX

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# 1926: THE BRITISH GENERAL STRIKE

# Nine days that shook an empire

by **PATRICIA McMANUS**

**T**HE British General Strike of May 1926 involved millions of workers. For the nine days between May 4th-12th workers across the country held rock solid showing massive enthusiasm and intense determination.

Called out to support their comrades in the mining industry—who were fighting a lockout on the slogan “*Not a penny off the pay, not a minute on the day*”—railway and transport workers immediately shut down bus services and the railway system nationwide.

The power that is always latent in the working class became a reality. As workers in the building, chemical, iron, steel and power industries joined the strike in solidarity with the locked-out miners, crowds flooded the streets of London to stop any scab transport and to support picketers.

Edmund Frow, an engineering apprentice in Wakefield in 1926, sums up the events of May of that year like this: “The General Strike was possibly the greatest class battle of the working class and the employing class this century. The gloves were off.”

The roots of the strike began in the summer of 1925 when Stanley Baldwin’s government announced an end to subsidies in the mine industry and the employers followed up with a demand for wage cuts.

When the Trades Union Congress announced an embargo on the movement of coal, the government backed down and set up the Samuel Commission.

But they used the nine months the Commission was sitting to set in place extensive strike-breaking plans and a nationwide stockpiling of resources.

**T**HOUSANDS of volunteers for the scab organisations like the Maintenance of Supplies were recruited.

In the face of this orchestrated activity the trade unions remained treacherously inactive, pinning all their hopes on avoiding a strike on a positive outcome to the Samuel Commission.

The report itself attempted to mask its demands for wage cuts and longer hours in vague proposals for the re-organisation of the mining industry.

Only the miners’ leaders completely opposed the report’s findings.

Ramsay MacDonald, the Labour Party leader, declared the report “a conspicuous landmark in the history of political thought ... the stars in their courses are fighting for us.”

Arthur Pugh, Chairman of the T.U.C. said “It appeared to me that sound tactics implied an acceptance by the Min-



ers of the report in substance, subject to subsequent negotiations.”

But while the union bureaucrats carried on with their time-buying negotiations, the pit owners were putting the finishing touches to their preparations and announced a lockout to start on May 1st.

It was only then, once their hand was effectively forced, that the union leaders staggered with heavy hearts into the strike.

**R**IGHT from the start they made a determined effort to dampen down and contain rank and file militancy, taking it upon themselves to decide who should work and who should not.

This resulted in the disastrous strategy of a strike in “waves”—one group of workers was to strike while other waited. It was hoped that this would produce some sort of compromise before a total stoppage occurred.

In the face of a state which was openly waging class war, the General Council of the T.U.C. described “our task” as being “to keep the strikers steady and quiet. We must not be provocative. The General Council of the T.U.C. wishes to emphasise that this is an industrial dispute.”

Pickets were encouraged to be doc-

ile and good relations with the police were encouraged.

Typical was the instruction from the Cardiff Strike Committee. It advised the strikers, “Keep smiling. Refuse to be provoked. Get into your garden. Look after the wife and kiddies.”

“If you have not a garden, get into the country. There is no more healthy occupation than walking”.

**A**T local level, Councils of Action were formed. But they did not break the limits set by the TUC and start to take the organisation of the food supplies into their own hands or confront the police.

On May 12th the union leaders

**“Keep smiling. Refuse to be provoked. Get into your garden. Look after the wife and kiddies. If you have not a garden, get into the country. There is no more healthy occupation than walking” — Official instructions to pickets**

showed the full extent of their treachery by calling off the strike.

If it went on any further they were aware it could start to move beyond their control.

They stopped the strike in its tracks leaving the miners to struggle alone until their defeat six months later.

The reason offered by the T.U.C. for their statement of May 12th ordering workers back to work was that the strike was crumbling. This was a completely phoney argument.

The Minister of Labour, who had little to gain from exaggerating the strength of the strike, reported on May 11th that there was “not the slightest sign of a break ... no overall tendency of the men to resume and no likelihood of a change.”

Instead “there are indications of a growing spirit among the rank and file that they will stay out until they are forced back.”

The real reason behind the T.U.C.’s decision to end the strike was a mixture of cowardice and cunning.

ALL union officials occupy a contradictory position where they must attempt to work within capitalism while retaining some semblance of working class credibility.

The T.U.C. leaders knew that the success of the General Strike would have demanded an open challenge to the authority of the State and a widening of the struggle from the economic to the political sphere.

Had the strike gone on for much longer the mass militancy that was being built at rank and file level by those who saw an open alliance of Government and business in the organisation of scab labour, would have come to threaten the authority of the union bureaucrats and perhaps their toppling altogether.

In the face of the high stakes involved

the depth of the T.U.C.’s treachery seems amazing.

But it was, in fact, a logical consequence of its traditional role of union bureaucrats and in 1926 it was exacerbated by the lack of any independent rank and file militant organisation.

The management of discontent has always been the traditional role of union bureaucrats and in 1926 it was exacerbated by the lack of any independent rank and file militant organisation.

This was partially to do with the attitude of the British left.

In the case of the Labour Party, this is not surprising.

Ramsay MacDonald of the Labour Party claimed that his social policy for “sane, well-considered socialism”.

He wrote in June of 1926 the “the General Strike is a weapon that cannot be used for industrial purposes.

“It is clumsy and ineffectual ... if fought to finish as a strike, it would ruin trade unionism and the Government, in the meantime, could create a revolution.”

For MacDonald, as for any Labour Party politician of today, industrial action on a massive scale is a fearsome prospect as it brings into being the chance that workers might discover industrial action to be more effective than the dead end of parliamentary politics.

**T**HE British Communist Party took up a far better position. Of the 5,000 people prosecuted for activities during the strike, 1,200 were its members.

But the bravery of the CP members was not matched by its political strategy.

The CP at the time was trying to cultivate an alliance with left wing officials like AJ Cook. Some of these officials were involved in an Anglo-Russian Trade Union Committee.

But their left wing rhetoric did not mean that they acted differently to the rest of the TUC.

The tragedy of the CP was that the influence of these officials meant that they failed to challenge the master tactics of the TUC General Council.

The party’s paper *The Worker’s Bulletin* used as a slogan “All power to the General Council”.

It was not until the huge opportunities of May 1926 had been lost that the Communist Party realised “What treachery the right wing leaders were capable of. We did not clearly understand the part played by the so-called “Left” in the union leadership.”

By then it was too late. The CP might not have been able to have changed the outcome of the strike but they could have won tens of thousands to revolutionary socialism—even in defeat—if they had argued.

The lesson of the 1926 strike for today is simple: we have to build rank and file organisation and never rely on left officials.

The building of these movements will always be connected to linking economic and political questions.



# A Temple to the trendies



**IN A recent interview in the *Irish Times*, Sinn Fein councillor Martin O Muelleoir proposed the establishment of Temple Bar style development in West Belfast as a way of rejuvenating the area, encouraging tourism and creating jobs for the local population.**

The assumption running through the interview was that the development of Temple Bar in Dublin had been such a success in terms of inner city development that it offered a model that it could be repeated in West Belfast.

## Class

While West Belfast like other working class areas in Belfast is certainly badly in need of development and funds the idea that Dublin's Temple Bar should be taken as a model is completely absurd.

Despite its trendy left bank image, Temple Bar's development has been primarily a result of its designation as a tax incentive zone where wealthy investors and businessmen are busy making a killing.

Massive tax breaks and allowances are offered to businesses who buy or rent premises in the area. A capital allowance of £170,000 is given for people who buy shops in the area which effectively means no tax whatsoever is paid on profits for several years. Businesses renting premises get double the normal tax-free allowance for the first ten years.

## Incentives

Similar incentives are offered to developers and those who buy flats and apartments in the area.

In a country where the rich get grants and taxbreaks to the tune of £1 billion every year Temple Bar is just another opportunity for the Irish rich to avoid tax and enjoy a profits bonanza.

Needless to say working class people in the city struggling to get or hold onto jobs are not in a position to benefit from these lucrative business opportunities.

So while luxury flats

spring up to cater for the influx of wealthy yuppies, working class people in areas like Sherriff Street and Oliver Bond continue to languish in dilapidated estates starved of resources and facilities.

Nor has Temple Bar broken any moulds in terms of creating jobs. Of course there is employment in the stylish shops, bars and restaurants. But behind the glossy image we find young people exploited in low-paid, part-time non-union jobs.

## Symptom

One symptom of the real character of Dublin's so called left bank has been the recent installation of surveillance cameras throughout the area.

So while enjoying the bohemian atmosphere of Temple Bar we can reside safe in the knowledge that big brother is looking after us.

Behind the trendy radical image, lies the greedy hand of commercialism and profiteering. The truth is Temple Bar is just another scam to benefit the rich.

The slightly off-beat atmosphere created by narrow streets, second hand shops and street performers, that once existed there, is fast being overtaken by glamorous shops, trendy bars and the greedy hand of commercialism.

Those who saw Temple Bar as a symbol of a more modern Ireland would do well to remember this.

## Change

For real change we need more than alternative style clothing and an artificial festival atmosphere. The real festival will begin when we take the money out of the hands of Ireland's pampered rich and put it into satisfying the needs of ordinary people.

by RICHARD BOYD BARRETT

# Richard III: Power corruption and lies

Reviewed by  
**RICHARD WILLMSEN**

**RICHARD III** is a film of a Shakespeare play which is very different from the recent spate of adaptations from the likes of Kenneth Branagh and Mel Gibson.

Set in a parallel 1930's England, it imagines the carrying to power of a fascist leader amidst the roar of tanks and gunsmoke of a society totally at war with itself.

The use of the 1930's brings the political themes of the play alive. It makes a refreshing change to the standard Shakespeare we are all taught, with ancient costumes and flowery language.

## Conventional

Its setting aside, the film is actually a remarkably conventional reading of the text. Richard is a villain bent on power at any cost who slimes his odious way to the top - the inalienable right of kingship is usurped when a bastard legacy cripples the state through deeds most foul.

As far as it goes, the play is magnificent; McKellan is a marvellous Richard and the text is pared back to just the right amount to convey the mechanisms of the actions without overburden-

ing us with the poetry.

The 1930's setting is terrifying and entirely plausible.

The decadence of the ruling elite, as society burns around them and they try and cling to privilege is detailed with great precision.

## Best

Until the last 15 or ten minutes, when it inexplicably turns into a cross between "Love Story" and "Die Hard 3", it is the best Shakespeare film for years.

There is, however, an alternative reading of the text which this Richard III ignores.

The central core of the film's sympathy lies with the rightful inheritors of the crown - the dead King's Queen and her sons and later on the (in the film) Brad Pitt type character of Henry Richmond.

But a different take on the play could have concentrated on Richard as a figure of chaos and disorder who briefly overthrows and



Ian McKellan as 1930s Richard III

therefore exposes the myth about the inherited virtue of Kings.

Many of Shakespeare's "bastard" characters can be seen in this light—a symbol of new powers amidst the decay of the old order, using patronage and ancient notions of rule to their own "unnatural" advantage.

In ensuring the continued relevance of Shakespeare's plays it is the vital that not just the setting, but also the reading of them takes on new meaning.

## Book

# Titanic: the untold story

**"A dog travelling in the 1st class compartment of the Titanic stood a better chance of survival than a child in the 3rd class compartment."**

*Titanic—the Untold Story* demolishes the myths surrounding the sinking of the luxury cruiser. Class not only determined how comfortable you were on the ship but ultimately your chances of survival.

The *Titanic* was built 85 years ago in Belfast as partition was taking place and its maiden voyage was to be from Queenstown, Ireland, to New York. The 1st and 2nd class passengers included many of the world's richest people.

Their accommodation was situated on the upper decks, accessed by four elevators. They had access to libraries, ballrooms, swimming pools, squash courts, gymnasiums, on-board gardens and Turkish baths.

The finest tapestries bedecked the walls and they could pick their cabin styles from a choice of 12 - everything from Georgian to Modern Art.

## Bleak

In bleak contrast the 1,100 3rd class passengers, many of them Irish emigrants seeking their fortune in the Brave New World, were crammed into the lower decks. With no single berth cabins they had a mere 84 twin berth cabins.

Profit was the uppermost thought in the minds of the owners, the White Star Line. They wanted the ship to break the record for the fastest Atlantic crossing. They even sent company chairman Bruce Ismay along to supervise the crossing.

As the journey proceeded many ships telegraphed warnings of iceberg clusters to the *Titanic*. Ismay told the cruiser's captain to ignore them.

At about 10pm on Friday, April 12, disaster struck as the *Titanic* hit an iceberg.

As the 1st and 2nd class passengers donned their life jackets and prepared to climb aboard the life boats the crew were ordered to keep the third class passengers locked in the lower deck.

The call "Women and children first!" went out of the window as the rich went back for their jewellery and their dogs. The only 3rd class passengers were the ones who broke through grilles and forced their way on to the life boats.

## Bulk

By the time the bulk of 3rd class had arrived on deck the last of the life boats had left. They could have carried 1,200 people, yet only 713 were saved.

The British inquiry into the sinking was farcical along Bloody Sunday proportions. Explaining the higher number of deaths amongst the poorer classes, Lord Mersey concluded that they were "unwilling to part with their baggage."

The ruling class rallied to the side of White Star Line and out of £17 million claims against them, they paid a mere £663,000.

The sinking of the *Titanic* resulted in an appalling loss of life. It was the avoidable result of the pursuit of profit and the class-ridden system.

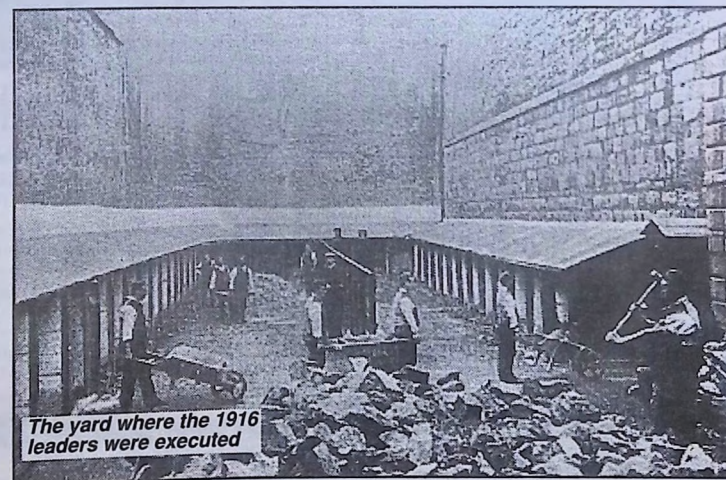
Right up to the present day capitalism is littered with such cases. From the sinking of the *Herald of Free Enterprise* to the scandal of BSE lives are taken on the altar of profit.

Those who want to fight such a system should read this 50-page pamphlet and use it as another argument for ending it.

*Titanic - the Untold Story* by Joe Baker and Michael Liggett, Glenraed Publications, Belfast, £2.90 stg./IRE3.30.

## Exhibition

# The ghosts of Kilmainham



The yard where the 1916 leaders were executed

**IN THE early years of capitalism an issue for the ruling class was how to impose their discipline on the emergent working class. New prisons with the individual cells and strict routines were built.**

Their objective was to "reform" the prisoner by breaking any sense of individuality or resistance. Even the paths in the exercise yards were laid out so that prisoners would have as little human contact as possible.

## Famous

So when the rich of Dublin were building the Customs House, the Four Courts and the many other buildings for which the city is famous, they were also building Kilmainham Gaol.

A new permanent exhibi-

tion has just been opened on the history of the jail from its building in the late 18th century to the release of its last prisoner, DeVelera, at the end of the Civil War. During the famine thousands like 18 year old Nicholas Cullen were jailed for, as the prison register on display puts it, "attacking a bread cart".

There is a wide range of artifacts from the table where Robert Emmet supposedly was executed to memorabilia of the 1916 Rising. There is also a section on crime and punishment which looks at the so-

## Wander

If you are going to the exhibition I would highly recommend the tour of the jail.

It's fascinating to wander the corridors that have that have been the location of so many of the major events in the fight against British imperialism.

During the tour there is an audio-visual documentary chronicling the uprising and revolts in Ireland's history.

The tour and the exhibition are a great way of spending a few hours.

—by GINO KENNY

**where  
we  
stand**

Workers create all the wealth in capitalist society. A new society can only be constructed when they collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution.

**FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM**  
The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion.  
To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

**FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:**  
The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

**FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION**  
We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.  
We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry.  
We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

**FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:**  
Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.  
Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.  
We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

**FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:**  
Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism - not to end it. We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:**  
To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party. This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system. The SWP aims to build such a party in Ireland.

news & reports—politics; the unions—

# SWP Conference

The Socialist Workers Party held its annual conference at the end of April. Here we report on the main debates.

## Trade Unions

MARNIE HOLBOROW introduced the session on how socialists organise in the unions.

"Last year, the SWP argued that there was a new mood of militancy developing. This year we need to recognise that it has started to boil.

"We are still in a situation where workers want to fight and do not have the confidence yet to take unofficial action. But there is now a serious breach opening up between the union leaders and the rank and file. Socialists have to start build seriously and quickly.

"This starts in our own workplaces. Socialists have to build a base by involving members in small struggles and selling Socialist Worker"

## SIPTU

The session went on to discuss the SIPTU union in some detail. The traditions of the union have always been to clamp down on left wingers by trying to ban them from union office. The tradition stretched back to the 1940s when the old ITGWU split the union movement on anti-communist lines. But socialists should not regard SIPTU as a no-go area. The hold of the bureaucracy is far more brittle than might first seem. One delegate said,

"One of Atlee's hacks tried to witchhunt us. We pointed out that he was a member of the Labour Party. We also brought along a lot of workers to the branch meeting and they quickly shut up."

The conference instructed all SWP members to run for shop steward positions and to contest branch and NEC positions when they had won a base in their own workplace. They should be open about their socialist politics and challenge the dominance that Labour Party officials have over SIPTU.

## Socialists and elections

KIERAN ALLEN introduced the session on elections. He argued that the disillusion with Labour could still go to the left. The extreme right in Ireland are tied to the crisis in the Catholic Church. They have not been able to capitalise on Labour betrayal as some of their counterparts on the continent.

"In a period where workers are starting to recover but still lack a degree of confidence there will be many illusions in getting people into the Dail.

"But the Goodman case shows that it is the rich who control the TDs—not the other way around. A few left wing TDs will not change that—it is going to take serious action from the mass of workers.

"We do not want to see a rerun of the Workers Party where the only emphasis was on getting people into the Dail—rather than organising through struggle."

He argued that the SWP were not against contesting elections—but they would do so on a very different basis to other left parties. They would not select 'personalities' and concentrate on building them up to the detriment of involvement in wider struggles. They would always insist that the Dail could only be a



## The North

RICHARD BOYD BARRETT introduced the session on the North. He said that the ceasefire had exposed new splits and divisions within the two communities. For the first time in decades there was a real audience for class politics.

"Republican strategy is bankrupt. They either continue an armed campaign and face growing isolation and repression—or they seek to enter conventional politics where they get very little. Two years after the first euphoria around the ceasefire it has been

shown that looking to Clinton and Reynolds has brought very little.

"Loyalism is also more divided and splintered than it has ever been. We are completely opposed to loyalist ideas which pretend that Protestants are superior to Catholics.

The splits are a distorted reflection of a growing awareness of class.

"Socialists in the North have now to move away from abstract propaganda. They have to take up concrete issues and connect the fight to a major recruitment campaign that is based on a distinct Marxist argument about sectarianism."

Goretti from Derry spoke about the local Trades Council called a 2,000 strong march which opposed a return to war but blamed the Tories for wrecking the peace.

"There were hundreds of Protestants and well as Catholics who

agreed with that".

## Possible

Mark from Belfast argued that it was possible to go down the Upper Ormeau Rd and take up petitions against the sectarian Orange March. "There are many Protestant workers who can be won to a principled opposition to these sectarian marches."

Colin from East Belfast told how local people in his area organised to paint out a loyalist mural because it was sectarian.

## Fighting the grip of Fianna Fail in student politics

JOAN GALLAGHER kicked off the session on students. For the first time in decades, the Union of Students in Ireland has fallen under the control of Fianna Fail.

"Fianna Fail never declare themselves openly when they stand for elections. But there is a co-ordinated strategy to capture control of student unions.

They have whipped up a witch-hunt against the left on USI marches while pretending to be apolitical. Now they are moving to close down any separate meetings for women students"

Joan argued that Fianna Fail had been able to take over the union because the 'soft left' had decided not

to fight them openly. It is the result of the failure to raise politics in student unions.

Kitz from Cork argued that the left had to get really organised. Socialist students had to intervene on the political issues that arise in lectures and tutorials.

## Crisis

Today there is a crisis of ideas in society and it is even more concentrated in the colleges.

One Belfast delegate endorsed the call for SWP to be more upfront in its arguments. "When the organisation Saoirse, which campaigns for the release of political prisoners was banned, we held a protest meeting. But we never hid the fact that we disagreed with republicanism."

The conference resolved to place extra resources into building a serious left in the colleges in the coming year.



Socialist Worker editor  
Kieran Allen



## Building the Party

BRID SMITH introduced the session on building the SWP. She picked up on previous discussion and argued that the SWP must enter its second phase on recruitment.

"We have been saying for some times that there were major opportunities for socialists. We have built a 300 strong organisation—but it is still too small for the tasks ahead. We believe that a French style general stoppage will hit this country in the future. We have to be ready.

"The party is now launching a new phase of recruitment. We want everyone who supports our ideas to join us.

"We want to connect this new phase of recruitment to clear political argument and discussion. Our motto is: Recruit quickly but

follow it up with hours of argument to win revolutionaries.

"The new recruitment has to be linked to building roots. The key here is our paper.

"Every branch has to be systematic in building up a network of supporters in their area. We should put meetings back a bit and go door to door in local areas."

She called for a renewed drive to push up estate sales to give the party roots. Conference also agreed to instruct branches to send regular bulletins into local workplaces.

## JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

If you want to join Socialist Worker, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

Name.....

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# Trinity College workers pensions fight

Workers at Trinity College have found it necessary to take industrial action in an effort to force management to resolve a long standing pension dispute.

Following a Labour Court hearing of the outstanding issues on Monday last, they decided to withdraw services since both sides remained so far apart.

For over a year no substantial approach has been made by management.

They stuck to their "offer" to cut pension expectations of existing workers by an average of £34 instead of £36 per week on retirement.

The kernel of the problem involves the concept of "co-ordination" which College authorities insist they must impose.

They made this move in the summer of 1994 without any consultation, despite a collective bargaining agreement between the unions and the college.

## Breach

Workers perceive this move by management as a breach of trust by the College.

They knew that if the issues was not resolved it

would lead to further attacks on working conditions.

Pensions are the corner-

stone of workers rights which have been won at considerable cost by previous generations of trade

unionists.

No current trade unionist worth their salt could contemplate a surrender.

"Co-ordination" sounds relatively harmless but actually involves a reduction in pension entitlements.

This is because management say that workers cannot have a pension which is of equal value to the level of wages they retired on.

The workers at TCD have shown that they will not fall for these nice sounding terms.

They need now to quickly escalate their action to bring this arrogant management to task.

★ College authorities also stirred up right wing students to launch a red baiting campaign against SIPTU in TCD.

Anonymous posters bearing the Hammer and Sickle appeared denouncing the union

and claiming that they were wrecking conditions for students.

Scandalously, the TCD Students Union, which has done little to fight for students rights this year, refused to come down on the side of SIPTU.

Trinity Socialist Workers Stu-

dent Society, however, replied with hundreds of petitions and posters.

As one student put it, "We are determined not to see return to 1926 when British students were used as scabs during the General Strike. Workers and students should unite."

## Dangers for civil servants

WHEN the CPSU meets for its annual delegate conference, one of the big issues for the discussion will be the government's plan to re-organise the civil service.

The plan was launched amid great fanfare by Ruairi Quinn and the top bureaucrats.

Rank and file civil servants were also treated to information meetings on the plan.

"It was like a super-market video.

"They had all this music to give an exciting feel. It lasted only twenty minutes and you learnt very little except that we were all to relate to 'customers' said one CPSU member.

## Linked

That word alone indicates that senior management have been looking at developments in Tory Britain.

The Tories hate words like 'citizen' and 'people' and use a new language that always talks of 'clients' and 'customers' to give the impression that everything is geared to the free market.

But behind the change of language there are also serious dangers for civil servants.

First, the new plan allows for far greater 'flexibility'. But the small print of that has not been spelt out.

"We have lost one typist in our job and because of the embargo we are blacking extra work. But what happens when the industrial action ceases?"

"Management will then use the clause of flexibility to get us to cover for extra work—particularly if they push through the idea of capping the number of extra posts."

The Strategic Management Initiative has also been launched even though the CPSU voted down a deal on re-structuring just over a

months ago. Under the plan a quarter of Clerical Officers can be upgraded.

But this will be at the discretion of senior management.

"Union activists are already being told that promoting industrial action, as we did on the embargo, is not going to be good for their career prospects.

"Can you imagine what will happen when they get this through?" one civil servant told us.

Department secretaries are also been given the right

to sack workers.

Up to now it had to go to the Minister directly.

## Big Stick

This will give them a big stick over workers, particularly if they also manage to get in an appraisal system to assess performance.

Newly recruited staff

will also face greater hurdles.

Press reports indicate that the management want a "real" probation period where they can sack workers they do not like.

The CPSU should start alerting its members to the dangers of the new plan and begin preparing for action if it is necessary.

## Airmotive strikers fight on

CRAFTWORKERS at Airmotive are continuing their strike action outside the plant in Rathcoole.

The dispute has been going on for five weeks and all the 82 strikers of the AEEU union are claiming a ten per cent 'approval' status at the plant.

Supervisors of the 'approval' work got the ten per cent demand which is normal practise in this line of work.

Workers in the plant are now on protective notice and last week the company laid off 27 workers, and are threatening to lay off more.

## Refused

The strikers have told the company that they want to meet with a third party without any preconditions but the company refused.

One worker told *Socialist Worker*: "The company said it would cost £160,000 to give us the ten per cent but yet they bought eight company cars a few months ago."

Another worker said: "The company made a £2 million profit last year but workers have faced constant attacks."

The strikers need to spread the action to the plant and look for solidarity from other workplaces.

## An Post workers stamp on bosses

FIVE hundred clerical workers have taken strike action at An Post.

The strikers, members of the CPSU, took the action after management hired secretaries from outside the workforce for jobs with a £100 pay rise.

Management ignored previous agreements with the union, and positions usually filled by promotions of members of the CPSU were filled externally.

This is a real insult to the low paid staff that An Post normally relies on.

Promotion is often the only way out of the low pay trap presided over by Labour and Democratic Left in government.

Management have tried to attack the wages and conditions of staff for years.

Since 1991 they have refused to pay workers the 3% due under the PESP, while they are expected to make profits of over £7 million this year. Workers are also expected to work an extra two hours without overtime.

## Confident

When the union executive, which is supposed to be left wing, disgracefully came back with a shabby compromise, the workers voted 300 to 70 to reject the deal.

The mood on the pickets is confident, but it is vital that the fight is carried on, and escalated.

The success or failure of the strike depends on other workers who are still working, and those all over the country.

As *Socialist Worker* went to press, members of the CMU were set to take action, and attempts should be made to get the CWU, the largest Union, to give support.

The CWU have also been involved in several disputes in the sorting office recently.

The bosses' offensive in An Post is being mirrored all over the country.

At a time when the nurses, the teachers, and the civil servants are looking to militant action, calls for solidarity have never been more important and relevant.

## Master plan for jobs crisis—give 'em the sack!

A KEY jobs agency which is supposed to produce a master plan for dealing with the unemployment crisis is in dispute with its own staff.

Pickets have been placed by SIPTU on

the Institute for Action and research on Work and Employment which is run by the influential cleric Fr Sean Healy.

The Institute sacked one of their

workers and did not bother to go through even the limited procedure.

This is one way not to go about solving the unemployment crisis.

## SPY IN THE KITCHEN

WORKERS at the Talbot Hotel in Wexford have been on strike after management organised video surveillance on them.

Eight workers were dismissed after the bosses claimed that a secret video, caught them stealing food from the hotel.

## Beef Baron

The hotel is owned by major beef baron, Bert Allen, who would probably not let a camera near one of his meat plants in a million years.

The bosses attitude

was so obnoxious that security staff even tried to tear company shirts off the back of one worker as he was being sacked.

The food involved is a couple of sandwiches—and the workers claim that they were NOT stealing.

They argue, quite rightly, that they were subject to a gross violation of their civil liberties.

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside:

1926 General Strike: Nine days that shook an empire—pages eight

## MAY 30th:

# Don't vote in this sectarian election



Trimble and Paisley: whipping up sectarian tensions

**NORTHERN** Ireland goes to the polls on May 30th for one reason: David Trimble and Ian Paisley wanted a chance to whip up sectarian tension.

They will use the next few weeks to push workers into one of the two communal camps.

They will claim that they need every Protestant to stand behind them—or else they will face doom.

The hysteria they will create will be fertile ground for loyalist gunmen to argue for a return to armed struggle.

A return to sectarian violence—possibly on a worse scale than we've seen before—means

little to those people who live in the leafy suburbs of Belfast or near the golf clubs of Newtonards or Newcastle.

### Return

*But if they get a return to violence, it's working class people who suffer—and die.*

Some of the key issues that face all workers, Catholic and Protestant, will be ignored in these elections.

There will be no talk about the health cuts, unemployment or

poverty wages.

*That is they way Trimble and Paisley want it.*

*They want to hide their support for Tory policies by pretending to represent a community under threat.*

And when the elections are over, they will argue that the assembly should be used to take one step nearer to returning to Stormont.

The plain fact is that the Northern Ireland state was built on sectarianism.

It needs a divided working class in order to survive.

This is why it has always denied any real rights of political

expression to Catholics.

*When Stormont existed only one opposition bill ever became law: the Wild Bird Conservation Act!*

The few oppositional currents that are standing in this election duck this central issue.

### Afraid

Both the Labour and Women's Coalition do not say where they stand on this history of sectarianism.

They are afraid to show the slightest disloyalty to the idea of a Northern state.

So, we're back to the same old

sectarian head count.

We're expected to vote to say in which "camp" we belong.

In an election which is about one issue only—the future shape of the North of Ireland—we can either vote for the Nationalist side and their "all Ireland bodies" or vote for the rest to maintain the status quo.

Socialists refuse to do either. We belong to neither camp.

We want working class unity; we want an Ireland where workers of all religions and none can live next door to each other without any problem.

But lasting unity cannot be built on the basis of ignoring the democratic rights of any section of the class.

Nor can it be built without facing up to the need to overthrow both sectarian states on this island.

*This election aims to only divide working class people further.*

**Don't vote for dividing the working class! Don't vote in this sectarian headcount!**