

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside:

**Boom for  
bosses fuels  
workers' anger**

—centre pages

# NURSES SHOW THE WAY...

# BUILD

# THE

# FIGHT!

The nurses' decision to vote NO to a deal that would have cut the pay of lower grades by £1,000 has inspired other workers to start looking for a fight.

Right across the public sector workers are demanding action on long standing grievances.

The whole idea of social partnership with the employers is being questioned as the fastest growing economy in Europe only gives benefits to the rich.

There is a new mood about and this government is worried. But they also think they have found a way out.

They have called in the leaders of the ICTU and agreed a common approach to dampening down militancy. The union leaders are running around like firefighters, putting out every flicker of resistance.

Once again, for example, they are delaying strike action by nurses until July 1. They want yet another opportunity to have it called off.

Many of the same leaders are card carrying members of the Labour Party. They pretend to keep politics out of the unions.

But it is their politics which leads them to seek a deal with their friends in government rather than backing workers' anger all the way.

It is high time that the rank and file began to take matters into their own hands. The union leaders are paid for out of our dues. They do not own our unions—we should be making the rules and dictating strategy.

If there are more socialists organised in the unions at the moment, this could really help to bring change.

Socialists always stand for a fight because they knew that social partnership with the bosses was bound to be a fraud.

That is why we say: join the socialists and build the fight back.

## Traveller gets five years for £31 robbery

JUDGE Harvey Kenny told a circuit court hearing in Co Mayo that he was sentencing father of four Eddie Conroy to five years because, "shopkeepers had to be protected from people like him".

Eddie's crime? He stole £31 worth of food, coal and briquettes. In the eyes of the law of course, Conroy's real crime is that he is a Traveller.

The gardai, with the help of Independent newspapers, are hell bent on blaming Travellers for crime in the West of Ireland. No wonder Judge Kenny could get away with his outrageous sentence of Eddie Conroy.

In the same week Judge Cyril Kelly gave suspended sentences in Dublin circuit court to a businessman and a solicitor for their part in a £30,000 international mobile phone fraud.

Seemingly it's in the public interest to jail the poor and let well dressed conmen walk free!

## Corpo evictions

# The private landlords will gain

Dublin Corporation is sticking to its new 'get tough' policy on tenants in arrears. Eleven evictions were scheduled for May.

Last year over 100 evictions took place in the Dublin Corporation area.

Eighty five per cent of the Corporation's tenants receive Social Welfare.

Joan Cunningham from Mulhuddart, whose eviction was averted following a radio appeal, had a weekly income of £131.

Out of this she had agreed to pay £20 a week in rent and £12 in arrears.

### Arrears

The Corporation kicked her out because she could not pay off her arrears in one lump sum.

Of the 31,345 tenants, 77.5 per cent are judged to be in arrears.

More than half of these owe less than £75 each. Only 42.7 per cent owe more than £75 each and only 7.2 per cent owe over £900 each.

### Divide

The Corporation is trying to divide tenants by claiming that those who pay on time are in some way 'subsidising' those in arrears.

But the people who gain most from evictions are private landlords.

A family evicted by the Corporation would have to



The Cunningham family saved by a radio fund-raising appeal—but what about the others?

seek a private rented house, costing up to £400 a month - about five times the corporation rent.

The extra rent would probably be paid in full by the Eastern Health Board in what amounts to a huge subsidy to the private rented sector.

## Liz passes the buck

WHAT is the 'most left wing government in the history of the state' doing about evictions?

Liz McManus of Democratic Left, who is the Minister of State for housing, passed the buck, saying:

"Local authorities are responsible for...the collection of rents and the measures that may be appropriate where there is default in making rent payments."

## inside the system

# SITTING ON A TIMEBOMB

THE Department of Agriculture has confirmed that civil servants in a Dublin city centre office were almost literally sitting on a store of chemical sub-

stances. Staff at the Department of the Marine and the OPW were alerted to the stockpile when fumes permeated Spruce House in Leeson

Lane. The basement had been used to store confiscated illegal veterinary substances for use in prosecutions.

# Downsizing guru says he was wrong

Stephen S Roach became famous during the 80's for creating the logic of 'downsizing' - a theory bosses loved him for as they used it to justify sacking millions of workers around the world.

Now Roach, the chief economist with Morgan Stanley in America, says he got it wrong: "I must confess that I'm now having second thoughts..."

The theory of downsizing was used to justify the ruthless cost-cutting which swept the globe for a decade as the cult of corporate shrink-

age enabled companies to boost profits without selling more products or services.

'Slash and burn' sackings, performance related pay and heavy productivity pressures on remaining workers were extolled by Roach as a recipe for "boosting companies... remaking the corporate entity into

a leaner, more flexible and competitive organisation."

Today he says, "this was music to the ears of investors but at the end of the day, though some of the things that were done were good, it was wrong".

Don't worry that his morale has taken a knocking or that he might feel a teeny bit responsible for massive unemployment queues. Our intelligent economist feels that "it's been a powerful learning experience for me".

## Cork Junket

If you are looking for a county councillor in Cork over the next while, and you can't find one, don't worry they are working

hard! All 48 councillors are off to Brussels to see how the EU institutions work. The junket will cost £200,000.

Democratic Left councillor Joe Sher-

lock says he won't go. He'd have a tough time explaining it to the 400 families in Mallow who are without piped water because the council say they have no money. Maybe the councillors will bring them back wine.

## Things they say:

"We want a Middle East dominated by banks not tanks, ballots not bullets, and where the only generals are General Motors and General Electric."  
—Israeli Prime Minister Shimon Peres on his vision for a capitalist paradise in Israel.

"There's a \$15 billion adult market for lettuce, tomato and bacon burgers and we're going after it in a big way."  
—Chairman of McDonald's at the launch of its new 'Arch Deluxe' sandwich - marketed as the 'mature person's' burger.

"...this is not an environment where people are allowed to get in ... with welfare cheques. First of all, it's not an environment which they would be allowed to enter. Secondly, the schools of management at Sheraton can identify that type of customer."  
—Norman Turner, director of Sonas Centre Ltd, who is now demanding £50 million of public money for his casino in the Phoenix Park.

"To this day unfriendly commentators are trying to paint a picture of Fianna Fail as political bogeymen. That is utterly false."  
—Charles Haughey on the 70th anniversary of the Green Tories. Now who could those unfriendly commentators be?!!

"The Natural Law Party may contain loonies - but they're right to say this election is a farce and right to pull out."  
—A Belfast woman on the North's sectarian headcount.

# Offal market kept alive

By the end of April the government had agreed to pay offal renderers £2.5 million before May 21st.

It is an open attempt to prop up the market for bone meal and inferior meat, collapsing in the wake of the BSE crisis.

Agriculture Minister Ivan Yates declared that destruction of these products was out of the question, "and I know that this view is shared by the different elements of the livestock industry".

Many scientists have pointed to the use of mammalian meat and bone meal in farm feed for cattle as the most probable cause of BSE yet the minister agreed to the Federation of Irish Renderers' demand for a "breathing space".

The UK has banned the use of meat derivatives and bone meal in the foodstuffs for any farm animal including pigs and poultry.

### Stockpile

But Yates is paying renderers to stockpile their produce while he hopes to conjure up his own "scientific" rationale for their use after May 21st.

Says Yates, "We are making every possible effort to encourage clear cut scientific guidelines in order to produce the framework for continued commercial use of meat and bone meal".

# Mountjoy: 'an appalling institution'

A report by the Mountjoy Prison Visiting Committee has stated that they "cannot describe Mountjoy as anything but an appalling institution".

They say it faces "certain disaster" and that overcrowding has now reached crisis levels.

The prison can only accommodate 450 people, yet each day there is an average of 628 people in Mountjoy.

Conditions in the overcrowded prison are described as "unhygienic and grim".

A report on Ireland's prisons published by the EU last year was highly critical of tiny, poorly ventilated cells with no natural light which were generally filthy

and had no proper sanitary facilities.

The Visiting Committee was most critical of the medical service in Mountjoy.

There are just two part-time doctors employed and the committee found that they could each see up to 50 prisoners in an hour.

On one occasion they reported that 43 patients had been seen by one doctor in 40 minutes.

There are no psychiatric services in any of the prisons.

what we think

# Labour hands over schools

**THE Labour Party Minister Niamh Breathnach is trying to give the bishops control of our primary schools until well into the 21st century.**

According to a leaked document in the *Irish Times* she has reached agreement with the hierarchy of the Catholic Church to bring in new measures which will allow them to "manage schools in accordance with the doctrines, practices and tradition of the Catholic Church."

Under the new measure the bishops will continue to hold a majority on management boards.

## Appoint

They will be able to appoint the chairperson of the board—usually a parish priest who need have no formal qualification in education.

Of the eight other members of a school board, the bishops can appoint two people and two others who are co-opted must have "an understanding of, and commitment to Catholic education". In other words they must be endorsed by the local parish priest.

As if that is not enough, the bishop can dissolve the board if he feels that the Catholic ethos is threatened.

Breathnach is also giving the bishops power to hire and fire teachers on the basis of their religious beliefs and personal morality.

The Labour Party got elected to office on the basis

of bringing in a new pluralist Ireland.

But Breathnach is keeping the old sectarian face on education.

Just as the party bows down and accepts the demands of the rich, so too does it do the

same before the bishops.

## Resources

Working class pupils need major resources to be concentrated on their educational development.

But Breathnach is allowing the Bishops to use our schools to 'promote their ethos'.

In other words they are going to be given facilities to interrupt the normal curriculum to ensure that children are conforming to their particular religious outlook.

Parents have every right to teach religion or no religion at home. But schools should not promote one religious outlook.

Socialists demand that if education is publicly funded, it should be run by locally elected

boards of parents and teachers. Our schools should be open to children and teachers of every religion and none.

To win that, we are going to have to fight the alliance of Church and State that still dominates this country.

# The IRA: Will they...won't they?

**EVER SINCE Gerry Adams signalled his "absolute commitment" to the Mitchell principles, the media have been hounding him to know when the IRA ceasefire was going to happen.**

Adams' acceptance of the principles certainly does beg some questions. If Sinn Fein, for example, agrees to 'oppose any effort to use force' then where does that leave their relationship to the IRA?

On the surface it would seem like there is now little difference between Sinn Fein and other nationalist parties like Fianna Fail and the SDLP.

Adams' statement has only encouraged the Unionist Party to demand more.

The ex-UDR major, Maginnis, for example appeared on RTE's Question and Answers to argue that

they would be requiring "100 tons" of Semtex from the IRA to be handed over as proof of their good faith.

This is ridiculous nonsense. Socialists welcomed the IRA ceasefire when it was declared in September 1994. We felt that it gave a breathing space in which class politics could start to emerge.

We also feel that another ceasefire could provide better conditions where both class issues and the question of sectarian discrimination could more easily be addressed.

But the complete focus on IRA activity is most sickening hypocrisy.

Last year, for example, Colin Duffy was sent to prison after the RUC worked closely with the UVF gunman Lindsey Robb to frame him. Robb was later convicted of trying to import arms into Northern Ireland during the ceasefire.

At his trial he got a char-

acter witness from the same RUC officer who worked with him on the Colin Duffy case.

## Pressure

Yet there is no pressure to reveal and break the links between the police and loyalist groups prior to the talks.

Or look at the number of republicans who have been framed on false forensic evidence. Why are they not immediately released before the talks?

The truth is that the de-commissioning issue has been set up by Trimble and Paisley to humiliate a whole section of the Catholic population.

The Unionist parties were established on the basis that no concessions should be made to "disloyal" Catholics.

Whether it is a request for funding of Irish language schools or a demand for

links with Dublin, the answer is always NO.

This attitude brought significant benefits to the Unionist upper class. It helped them divide workers and so get cheap labour and plum jobs in the state.

But Protestant workers never gained. Working class division operated against all workers because it made their organisations weaker and more prone to right wing policies.

Adams mistake has been to seek an accommodation with Trimble and the Irish and British establishments. The more he grovels, the more they will demand.

## Signal

There should be a ceasefire. But it should be a signal for a new turn to forge workers unity around a hatred of what capitalism is doing to all workers.

In the course of those struggles, it is more possi-



■25 years of armed struggle a failure

ble to argue that every worker has to stand up against sectarian discrimination.

Looking for real peace to come from a gathering of Ireland's right wing politicians is a dead end. The real hope lies in promoting a fight by all workers against both sectarian states in Ireland.

# Contaminated lab shows fraud of British justice

**BRITISH JUSTICE** has yet again shown to be a fraud. After the Birmingham 6 case showed that forensic scientists like Skuse were producing inaccurate results, it now transpires that other forensic labs were doing the same thing.

From 1989, the British government's forensic lab was contaminated with chemicals used in the making of Semtex bombs.

## Checked

It meant that any substance checked in a particular machine would always show that it belonged to a bomber.

The Tories are trying to claim that this was all an innocent mistake.

But all the evidence shows that it must have been deliberate.

■The machine that was used for many of the tests was a cheap second hand machine that cost a mere £3,000 people. This is the piece of equipment that sent people to jail for up to 20 years.

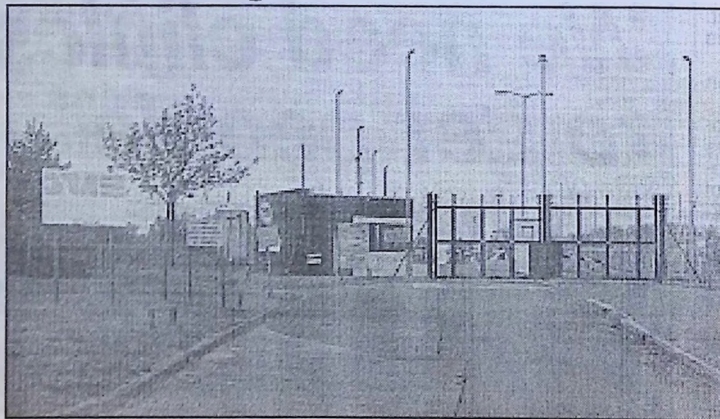
■Since 1989, it has never been thoroughly cleaned. This is the most basic procedure in any scientific lab.

■The British government already knew from the Bir-

mingham 6 and Maguire family cases that there were problems with forensic evidence but they did nothing to check their procedures.

The new scandal shows that courts should never rely on police forensic evidence. It can be used to stitch people up.

No one should think that Irish justice operates on a different basis.



# Breathnach cheap tricks

**MINISTER for Education Niamh Breathnach has again shown how little she means by equality of opportunity.**

Her two latest moves are, she says, designed to allow everyone access to third level but they will be of no help to those who really

need it. Her first initiative will see fees for part-time and evening students become tax deductible. This is a cheap attempt by her department to avoid the abolition of these fees as has happened for full time students.

It will do nothing for those who are out of work

or in badly paid jobs—these students will be left struggling to find anything from £1,000 to £2,000 a year if they want to study at third level.

Breathnach's second proposal is to allow tax exemption on fees to students attending private commercial colleges.

Again this is a cheap attempt to save money by avoiding creating more places in the State colleges.

The tax rebate will be used as a way of funding the profit driven private sector while the 20,000 PLC students are still left without any grant support, maintenance or rent allowance.

# IBM cuts the fat

**IBM Ireland managers basked in glory over the weekend of 8th May. They had just reported a 43 per cent increase in profits for 1995.**

Managing Director William Burgess boasted that "we've taken a lot of fat out of the company" to boost after tax profits from £4 million in 1994 to £5.7 million in 1995.

But a closer look at the cut "fat" reveals a big attack on workers conditions. The staff canteen, once subsidised, is now run commercially with employees paying inflated prices for food.

Although IBM's workforce still stands at 500 the

workspace was halved with the company moving out of two of the four offices it rented in Dublin.

## Pay

Today 65 per cent of staff work on performance related pay - five years ago the figure was 35 per cent. Financial director Peter O'Neill pointed out that the bosses had made sacrifices too.

"We thought the least senior managers could do was pay for their own papers", he explained.

# Performance pay

**"TONY O'Reilly's ego and pay-check are bigger than his accomplishments."**

So said *Forbes* magazine when it reported that O'Reilly was the fourth-highest paid boss in the US.

The Bean Baron's



'earnings' as Chief Executive of Heinz

over £75.3 million in the period of the five year survey.

"We won't try to justify what HJ Heinz has paid the f l a m b o y a n t Anthony O'Reilly since 1991", says the magazine which described Heinz' results as 'disappointing'.

## behind the headlines

# Does the North need a Labour Party?

by GORETTI HORGAN

IN THE coming elections to the Northern Assembly, some 72 candidates are standing on a Labour ticket. It is part of new moves to build a Labour Party in the area.

There are some things that no socialist could disagree with in the Labour group's platform. It is opposed to the cuts in the National Health Service.

It even stands a little to the left of Tony Blair by advocating a reduction of the working week to 35 hours.

But the Labour groups consciously avoids the issues which divide workers. It just fails to state what its view is on the role of the RUC, the British Army.

Nowhere in its manifesto is there a simple acknowledgment that discrimination against Catholics must end.

Instead, while, asking for a vote against 'the stale sectarian politics of the past' Labour does not put the blame for sectarianism where it belongs—on to the Northern state.

The best that Labour could say about any new political settlement was, as Militant Labour's Peter Hadden put it on BBC's Hearts and Minds programme, "when we work out our attitude to these questions we will put the common interest of working people first".

The 'Campaign Committee' of the new grouping consists of five independent labour councillors from across the North, two members of Militant Labour and a supporter of the old British and Irish Communist Organisation and two advocates of the British Labour Party organising here.

The BICO will be unknown to most readers. It was a small Stalinist group whose main mission was to argue in favour of a 'two nations' view of Ireland—one for Protestants and one for Catholics. How this was to be achieved short of ethnic cleansing was never explained.

Those who advocate that a British Labour Party do so as a way of strengthening the Union.

The new groups is trying to revive a party that is very similar to the old Northern Ireland Labour Party. This was founded in 1924 and then collapsed in the midst of the troubles in the 1970s. The reason for its failure are very relevant to today.

## Play Down

All Labour Parties believe that the only real change comes through parliament. They play down the importance of workers own struggles and argue that all efforts should be geared to getting MPs.

This means that garnering votes is all important. Messy and 'divisive' issues are avoided if they will loose votes.

When this approach is applies to the sectarian state of Northern Ireland it leads to real disaster.

The NILP began its life with two faces—one for Catholic workers and one for Protestants. One of its leaders Harry Midgely used radical republican rhetoric in Catholic area but then became a rapid unionist at the end of his life to garner a majority amongst Protestant workers.

In general the logic of electoralism drove the party increasing towards a Unionist stance.

It refused to condemn internment and could never take a stance in support of the Civil Rights Movement.

In 1975, for example, its manifesto complained that both Unionist parties had failed to defend the Union properly and that it alone could take up the issue because it saw the 'Union as being in the interest of working people'.

The party failed because did not build a socialist tradition which was willing to challenge both traditions.

It could not oppose discrimination against Catholics by showing how it was against the interests of all workers.

At the start of the century, the great Irish socialist, James Connolly condemned the 'gas and water' socialists in Belfast who only wanted to talk about economic issues.

He argued that socialist no matter whether they came from a Protestant or Catholic background had to oppose oppression. But that did not mean embracing Sinn Fein politics.

They had to advocate a fight for a workers republic where both the national and economic concerns of workers could be solved.

That still remains a better starting point than trying to re-build the failed Labour party tradition in the North.

**THE MURDER** of Josie Dwyer who was beaten to death by a group of 15 men armed with baseball bats, sticks and iron bars has highlighted the drugs crises in Dublin. Jose could not be described as a 'drugs baron'.

He lived in squalor and had just 87p, when he was killed.

Here ROISIN CRONIN argues that demanding more state resources is the way to tackle the drugs problem—not attacks by vigilante groups.

AT PRESENT there are estimated to be 7,000 heroin addicts in Dublin. 1,000 of these are from the south west inner city area.

This part of the city includes areas like Fatima Mansions, Dolphin House and Oliver Bond Flats.

Andre Lyder was involved in setting up the St Catherine's Combined Communities Group in 1992 in the south inner city.

According to Andre, "It's an area of real social deprivation. The whole area has been devastated by unemployment. It's been neglected for years. The traditional industries have all shut down and there's been nothing coming in to replace them."

## People

Overall about 222,000 people live in the area. It has a very high concentration of local authority housing. The unemployment rate is more than 30 percent. In some blocks of flats it's as high as 90 percent.

In 1994 a survey of Oliver Bond/Bridgefoot Street flats showed that out of 260 households,

there were just three people in third level education.

## Severe

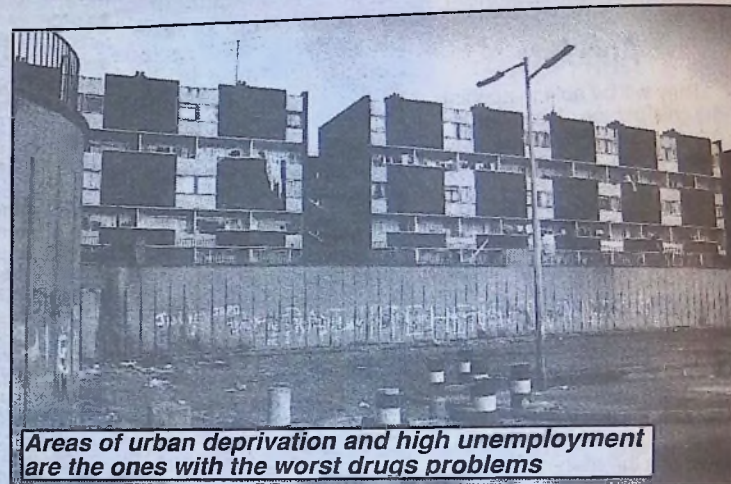
It is in areas like this that heroin is most severe. In fact the south inner city has the highest level of intravenous drug use in the country.

"It's no coincidence that it's in areas of high deprivation that you find a heroin problem", says Andre. The two go hand in hand."

In order to solve the problem, he says, "You have to tackle unemployment and there have to be decent facilities for young people. Major resources are needed if we want to get drugs out of the area."

St Catherine's have set up their own scheme to try to provide some alternative for young people in the area. They have launched a project to convert a disused factory into a community and sports centre.

At present there are no



Areas of urban deprivation and high unemployment are the ones with the worst drugs problems

# The failure of vigilantes

IN OTHER areas around Dublin people are also getting extremely worried when they see their kids or their neighbours' kids strung out on drugs. They are desperate for a solution.

It is this desperation that has led them to seek out scapegoats in their own areas.

In Kilcarraig, Drumcairn and Kilmartin estates in Tallaght, residents committees have been set up to ensure that there is a permanent 24-hour watch to keep dealers off the estates.

They have hung banners from their house proclaiming "Drug Free Zone" and "No Heroin Here" and have erected tents beside people suspected of being drug dealers.

They aim to get the dealers out themselves or to get the Corpo to evict them.

## Reaction

This reaction is understandable. People in these communities have seen their kids die because of drug abuse.

However, many of these tactics have been tried before. In the 1980s Concerned Parents Against Drugs grew out of big mass meetings in the inner cities. They marched to the doors of dealers and threw them out.

But ten years later the

drugs problem is worse than ever in the same areas.

Drug dealers can be forced out but they will still live in other parts of the city. The supply of drugs will continue because the demand remains.

## Abuse

If drug abuse is to be eliminated then the alienation that many young people experience and the horror of the conditions they live in that lead them to take drugs must be tackled.

Right wing politicians have no problems with vigilante groups. They are happy to see working class people turn on themselves and find individual scapegoats. It lets them off the hook of providing decent facilities for people to detox.

This is why socialists support those community organisations that are campaigning for proper funding and jobs for their areas.

If that is part of a fight against the system that wrecks so many lives, then we can tackle the misery that leads to drug addiction.

# We need clinics to get people off heroin

MANY are bitter they have been neglected by the politicians and state agencies.

According to one community worker from the South inner city,

"There are no clinical services in the area. We have been pushing for the Eastern Health Board to provide Community Drug Teams which would give a support network to addicts and their families but we haven't had any success yet."

If addicts want to get treatment they have to go down to the clinics at Baggot Street or Trinity Court.

"But they'll be wait-

ing six to eight weeks for treatment. This simply isn't good enough. If someone wants to try to come off a drug like heroin, they want to come off it now, not in two months time."

## Addicts

Carmel, a community activist from the north inner city, argues that addicts need clinics in their local areas.

"You can't make people travel outside. They need access to proper treatment where they live, and

back-up facilities have to be put in place."

But drug workers agree that treatment facilities are not enough.

According to Mairead, who works with addicts in Dublin, "We want to prevent people from taking drugs. Informing kids on substance abuse is important, but the Department of Education hasn't provided the resources for schools to be able to do this."

But Mairead also argues that if the drugs problems is to be solved, "We have to tackle the wider issues. The roots go very deep."



# news of the world

# Norway—workers demand a share

**NORWAY IS** facing its biggest strike wave for a decade, after tens of thousands of shipbuilding and engineering workers walked out last week.

Hotel workers and oil workers have already struck in the last month while building, chemical, telecom and other workers may take action.

The metal workers' fight over pay and pensions is the first industry wide strike since 1924, and the outcome will set a benchmark for other workers.

The first week was absolutely solid.

Big shipyards like Kvaerner, the company which also owns the Govan shipyard in Glasgow, were shut.

So too were key engineering plants supplying parts to BMW in Germany, Volvo and Saab in Sweden, and Jaguar and Rolls Royce in Britain.

Norway, like other Scandinavian countries, has highly regimented negotiations for national pay and conditions.

Every two years a deal is made between the employers' federation and unions, grouped under the umbrella of the LO, Norway's equivalent of Britain's TUC.

Local negotiations can then top up whatever is agreed nationally.

Employers in shipbuilding and engineering offered an extra 15 pence an hour—a real if tiny pay rise.

They also offered a cut in the age at which workers could retire on a wage indexed pension from 64 to 63. But this was only for workers with

by PAUL McGARR

48 years service—so only applied to those who started work when they were 15.

The deal was recommended by leaders of Norway's biggest private industry union but was thrown out by a 55 percent majority in a ballot.

The mood for a fight has been stoked by a boom with the economy growing at up to 5 percent for the last two years.

Unemployment has fallen slightly while profits are at record levels.

The strike wave comes after eight years of a Labour government which took office after a strike wave in 1986 broke the back of a Tory government.

Labour imposed wage restraint while year after year the gap between rich and poor grew wider and last week the government decided to increase VAT on food.

The outcome of the fight will depend on whether activity from below overcomes the union leaders' reluctance to fight.

## GERMANY



**BUS DRIVERS** on strike this week in the German city of Cologne. Banking, postal and hospital workers have also taken action against the government's austerity plan

There are some signs of rank and file activity, including a successful flying picket which stopped work on a ship in Tromsø last week. There have also been significant rank and file strikers' meetings.

The strike has begun to seriously affect the key North Sea oil sector, and the impact could grow if building workers, whose ballot ends on 30 May, join the action.

Last month Norway's

hotel workers, not normally considered a strong group, showed how to fight and won almost three times the pay rise offered to metal workers.

### Divisions

On the other hand, a section of oil workers struck and lost two weeks ago, after internal union divisions weakened the action.

Many of those now lead-

ing the metal workers' fight on the ground will be in or around the Labour Party.

The strikes and disillusion with Labour in office can open up an audience for socialist ideas to the left of Labour.

But defeat for the strikes could allow disillusion with Labour to feed in other directions. The right wing racist Progress Party saw its vote in local elections last autumn jump to almost 12 percent.

## VENEZUELA

**RIOTS AND** protests erupted in Venezuela after the government imposed an International Monetary Fund austerity package.

Buses in the capital, Caracas, were overturned and set alight last week.

Some 700,000 public sector workers struck in March and teachers and other workers have struck and marched in recent weeks.

There have also been riots in cities in the oil rich west of the country.

The unrest is sparked by the austerity plan imposed by the government which has seen petrol prices jump sixfold while inflation has cut sharply into living standards.

## CHOI FREED FROM JAIL

**WE NOW** have confirmation that South Korean socialist Choi Il-Bung was released from jail last month.

Choi was imprisoned for 18 months in 1994 for translating socialist books and attending a May Day rally.

The solidarity campaign with Choi has

helped to highlight some of the brutal truth about the "Asian Tigers".

Another socialist, Kim Dong-Cheol, will remain in jail until October.

Last weekend newspapers reported that South Korean police had arrested 13 people "in a crackdown on left wing movements".

## INDIA

# Right try to rule

**THE LEADER** of the right wing Hindu chauvinist BJP was declared prime minister of India last week and given until 31 May to form a government.

BJP leader Atal Bihari Vajpayee then announced a cabinet that includes an open Nazi, a member of the fascist Shiv Sena.

The Shiv Sena is a Bombay based organisation that has launched hideous pogroms against Muslims.

Although the BJP is the biggest party it may not be able to muster a parliamentary majority.

Both the defeated Congress party and the National Front-Left Front alliance say they will vote against it.

If the BJP is defeated that could mean some form of alliance between Congress and

the Left Front taking office.

The main left organisations, however, are not calling the mass demonstrations and protest against the BJP that could halt it from coming to power.

Instead the Left Front alliance, which includes India's two Communist Parties, is concentrating on parliamentary wheeling and dealing.

A BJP government would scapegoat Muslims, launch more attacks on the poor, Hindu and Muslim alike, and bring in more free market reforms.

Millions of ordinary Muslims and Hindus would be prepared to unite and demonstrate their opposition to this. The main reason for Congress's heavy defeat in the election was its pursuit of free market reforms.

# Bosnia—more ethnic cleansing

**CALLS FOR** the arrest of Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic are obscuring a much bigger crisis in the region.

Far from bringing peace, the Dayton agreement which the United States rammed through last November has prepared the ground for future conflict.

A leaked document from top US spies warns that optimism about the situation in Bosnia is misplaced.

It says that after the elections in September the country will be as bitterly divided along ethnic lines as at any time during the war.

The report adds that the Muslim-Croat federation, which was given 51 percent of Bosnia, is a figment of the US administration's imagination and the two groups are preparing for bloody confrontation.

While Western leaders insist that Karadzic must be tried for war crimes, they are ignoring the continuing ethnic cleansing and repression by others.

President Tudjman of Croatia is blocking the return of Serb refugees to Krajina

where Croat troops—encouraged by the support of the West—went on a burning and looting spree last year.

Tudjman, supposedly joint leader of the Muslim-Croat federation, is also backing his supporters in the city of Mostar who are keeping the city ethnically divided and refusing to restore Muslim rights.

### Underlined

Tudjman's party lost control of Zagreb city council in elections last autumn. He has since vetoed four successive opposition candidates for mayor. Now he is to propose a bill allowing a minority party—his own—to rule.

Earlier this year Haris Silajdzic, Bosnia's former prime minister, claimed that "the Muslim-Croat federation is made up of two one-party systems" with no non-ethnically based parties or opposition rights.

The Dayton deal, and the 60,000 troops sent to enforce it, have shored up most of the nationalist leaders and set in stone

the divisions which could very easily see war break out again.

The US has so far regarded the Dayton deal as a success because it underlined its own power with regard to its European allies, boosted Clinton and cleared the way for US firms to get the majority of re-development contracts in the region.

Real peace will come only when workers unite in struggle across ethnic lines against the rulers who have whipped up nationalist hatred on all sides.

It is encouraging that there are signs of struggle.

This month 20,000 workers in the southern Serbian city of Nis struck and won payment of overdue salaries.

Their success encouraged thousands of factory workers in the capital, Belgrade, to blockade streets, raising similar demands.

Meanwhile Bosnian miners struck calling for their £35 a month pay to be increased to the £140 a month of electricity workers. After four days they won.

'SCIENTIFIC' RACISM

# The neo-Nazi psychology professors

by CATHERINE CURRAN

THE controversy over "scientific" racism recently erupted again as Edinburgh University lecturer Christopher Brand attempted to publish a book, "The G Factor", in which he claimed that Black people are less intelligent than whites.

Brand is one of a tiny group of neo-nazis currently sheltering in the psychology departments of a few universities dotted around Europe and the United States.

After the controversy surrounding Richard Lynn in Coleraine University forced him to retire early, it seemed that they had begun to disappear.

Now Christopher Brand has crawled out of the woodwork to re-plant the flag of socio-biology, declaring that "I am perfectly proud to be a racist in the scientific sense".

He argues: "It is a scientific fact that black Americans are less intelligent than white Americans."

He has also made the claim that young working class women are too stupid to use birth control and are therefore more likely to become single parents.

This leads him to suggest that they should seek partners with a higher IQ than theirs in order not to produce low-intelligence children.

Yet the myth of the IQ—the idea that we can measure human intelligence on a scale, and that this intelligence is hereditary—is something which has been long ago discredited.

The research which claims to support hereditary IQ was mainly carried out by Cyril Burt in the first half of the twentieth century.

Burt's so called findings were used to justify the notorious 11 plus exam system in Britain where children were selected at a young age for either academic or non-academic schooling.

But it has since been shown by a respected US psychologist, Leon Kamin, that Burt's figures were statistically impossible.

Furthermore, the two women who were reported to have assisted Burt in carrying out his research, were found to be non-existent.

Even Burt's official biographer was forced to accept the charges that the "scientific evidence" put forward by Burt was fraudulent.

Burt was simply advancing his class prejudices under the cover of scientific research.

In his first study of intelligence and social class he claimed that social background made very little difference to intelligence since this was primarily a genetic inheritance.

In order to back up his allegations, he produced evidence that the IQs of fathers and sons were very similar.

## Assumed

Yet when he was asked, fifty years later, how he had measured the intelligence of the parents, it became evident that he hadn't measured it at all. He had simply assumed it from the parents' social position.

The more recent attempts to rehabilitate Burt and to give some credence to the claims of pseudo-scientists like Lynn and Brand are part of a wider political agenda.

As the gap between rich and poor in our society deepens, the right wing need a justification which claims it is inevitable and genetically based.

Just as Burt covered his class prejudices with an aura of scientific respectability, so too Brand and Lynn do the same with racism.

The neo-nazis who put forward so-called scientific racism often claim to be misunderstood and persecuted individuals.

They allege that they are the victims of political correctness in the university departments and are being witch-hunted by loony militants.

## Boycotted

Nothing could be further from the truth. "Individuals" like Christopher Brand and Richard Lynn are part of a network of far-right racists who back each other up and draw on each other's ideas.

Brand, for example, is a Fellow of the Galton Institute, named after Francis Galton, who is seen as the founder of scientific racism.

The Galton Institute is funded by the Pioneer Foundation, an American organisation whose aim is to promote racist ideas. Professor Richard Lynn also received funding from this organisation.

The only effective way to halt the scientific racists in their tracks is to organise mass protests wherever they raise their repugnant ideas.

In Edinburgh, students boycotted lectures given by Christopher Brand. One student who was involved said: "I believe our actions had a big effect on the publishers withdrawing his book".

# IRELAND IS THE FASTEST GROWING ECONOMY

# Boom time for the rich fuels workers' anger

IRISH economists have always claimed that the benefits of a booming economy will trickle down to workers.

After workers made enough sacrifices through pay restraint they would eventually see economic growth working for them.

But all the signs are the boom in the Irish economy is producing a new polarisation between rich and poor.

On paper, Ireland's economic statistics are very impressive.

With 5% growth this year, it is the fastest growing economy in Europe.

Alongside Denmark and the grand duchy of Luxembourg, it is one of the few countries that can meet the criterion for EMU.

The boom is exaggerated because foreign multi-nationals are declaring their profits here—so they can pay little tax.

But what benefits there are go only to the rich.

## Yuppies

A key sign of what is happening is the property prices for big houses.

Property booms are always a bench market for the growth in yuppie income.

According to Sherry Fitzgerald prices of houses have risen by 15 percent this year.

But the real boom is in wealthy houses.

Last week for example, Paddy Fitzpatrick who runs a hotel chain, announced that he is selling his house for a staggering £700,000 plus.

Houses in Dun Laoghaire which were worth £100,000 last year are now selling for £170,000 this year.

The owners belong to the same class who are now squealing that they may have to pay a little more on the Residential Property tax.

According to Gunne Auctioneers: "The last major boom was in the 1980s and it was short lived. Now it seems that a quarter of a million suburban semis are a real possibility".

The other great sign of the boom is the pay of company directors.

Last week, for example, four

by GINO KENNY

'We are sick sitting back taking it'



Socialist Worker readers thinking of a house move could do worse than check out Adelaide House in Glenageary. According to the Irish Times, the three storey house stands on an acre of ground surrounded by over 100 trees which effectively screen the property from the main road.

directors from the Cavan building products group, Kingspan, shared out £843,000 between them in a "tax free royalty payment".

But even this astronomical figure is only part of the story.

## Luxury

On top of that they get "emoluments"—a salary plus benefit in kind.

These amounted to £305,000 each.

No wonder the bosses union IBEC said recently "directors are coming in line with their counterparts in Britain".

The huge salaries mean that sales of luxury goods are now booming in Ireland.

Fast cars, expensive restaurants and exotic holidays are mushrooming.

Ruari Quinn's decision to cut the tax on company cars by around £800 has led to a rush of 1996 cars appearing on Irish roads.

The BMW company, for example, is doing a flying trade. And according to Mercedes (Ireland) "car sales are up 7 percent from last year and we are expecting a better trade next year".

On top of it all, the biggest sharks, the two main banks have

never had it so good.

This year the Bank of Ireland and Allied Irish Banks have both declared profits of £1 million a day.

## Frenzy

The vast bulk of it has been earned in a small country of less than 4 million people: Ireland.

For the moment, the Republic seems to be going through the type of frenzied money making that hit Britain under the artificial Lawson boom of the 1980s.

The rich should remember that after the party—always comes the hangover.

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# COMMUNISM IN EUROPE—HAVE YOU NOTICED?

# for S nger

**'e sick of  
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ing it'**

WHILE THE rich are splashing out, most workers are looking on aghast at the greed and see few benefits in their wages.

But militancy is now starting to bubble under the surface. At recent union conferences, the leaders have faced major problems in arguing for a new Programme for Competitiveness and Work. This is the three year pay deal that limited wage rises to 3 percent. After the nurses threw out a new deal by an 80 percent majority, more and more workers are starting to look for a



Eric is an ESB worker who talked to *Socialist Worker*, "Workers genuinely wanted the PCW to work. "But now it has produced a yellow pack workforce. You are even told by trade union officials now that you are lucky to have a job".

### Redundancies

"There is supposed to be an economic boom underway at the moment. "But who is benefitting? You only have to look at the amount

of redundancies. "In the ESB, they are letting go 2,000 workers. 800 jobs are gone in Packard, 300 in Dundalk and there is more to come. "Workers' militancy has stagnated in recent years but at last we are now hearing threats to pull out of the PCW. It's about time." Last week TCD workers suspended strike action after they stopped management attacking pensions for full time staff. The snobs who run TCD wanted to slash an average of

£36 a week off the pensions of their lower paid staff. It took strike action to make them back off.

Amongst workers on the picket line the mood was one of disgust at the social partnership arrangements that have held them back while their bosses dine in the fanciest restaurants in Dublin.

One worker told *Socialist Worker*, "The country is booming and the Programme for Competitiveness is at an end.

"Civil servants, teachers, nurses and An Post workers want their unions to do something. "We are sick of sitting back and taking it."

### Refused

Another striker told us, "The union leaders have played down militancy, but where has it got us. It is time for them to get off their backsides." Gerry is on strike at An Post at the moment.

Here the management have refused to pay even the miserable PCW wage increase and then insulted the workers by hiring outside secretaries on a salary that was £100 above theirs. (see report page 11)

"Economic boom—what boom! They are pruning the tree at the moment—at the top—while workers are doing all the work at the bottom.

Another An Post striker told us, "We need a big victory—but win we need to we need to stick together."

# What do socialists say?

# What is Alienation?

ALIENATION sounds like it is just a posh word for "pissed off". However, the theory of alienation developed by Marx right at the start of his political life goes much a deeper than this.

In fact, it goes to the heart of what is wrong with our society.

When Marx wrote about alienation his primary focus was on the world of work. He saw that, for workers, work is something they do only as a means to earn a living. The work itself is meaningless, boring and monotonous. It involves the endless repetition of the same mechanical tasks.

Worse, it is usually physically and psychologically damaging. It leaves people exhausted, injured, ill and mentally impoverished.

The result is that the large majority of us devote the bulk of our lives to activity that harms us and which we resent.

We spend our days saying, "Roll on five o'clock," and, "Thank God it's Friday," literally wishing our lives away because real life begins only when work ends.

This was true when Marx wrote in the mid-19th century. It remains true today. It is true on the production line at Ford, but it is also true on the checkout at Dunnes, behind a desk in local government or typing in an office.

Marx not only denounced this state of affairs, but also analysed its causes and consequences. First of all, he showed that alienated labour is not just a fact of life or a law of nature which we have no choice but to accept.

Rather it is caused by a specific, historically developed economic system in which society's means of production are owned and controlled by a small minority.

This forces the majority to work for the minority in order to survive.

There have been various forms of minority ownership in history. The latest and most developed form is capitalism.

Under capitalism workers have no access to the means of production except by selling their ability to work (their labour power) as a commodity to the employers.

The modern worker therefore performs alienated labour in a way that was not true of either "primitive" hunter-gatherers or medieval peasants.

### Plots

The hunter-gatherers worked collectively for themselves as and when they needed to.

Peasants had to work some of the time for their lords, but at least had their own plots of land and worked some of the time producing for themselves.

The modern worker works all the time for someone else, for a boss. Under capitalism alienation reaches a peak.

The reason this is so devastating for individuals and for society is that work is not just a necessary part of life (like eating or shitting). It is what makes us human beings, and is the very foundation of society.

It was through social labour that humans progressively differentiated themselves from animals.

It is above all through our work that we shape our lives, our personality and identity and construct our environment (which is why being out of work is not a solution to alienation).

The way work is organised is the main factor shaping the structure of society, including its ideas, morals, human relations and art.

Therefore, Marx says, the fact that labour is alienated affects every aspect of our lives and society.

It means we lose control of all the products that we create with our own labour, so that the whole world of humanly made objects confronts us as something alien-like the skyscrapers of New York or Canary Wharf.

It means that we are alienated from our fellow humans to the point where the colour of their skin or the sound of their name can be more important than our common humanity.

It means that sex and love become commodities to be sold on the market and that our most intimate personal relationships, between lovers, or parents and children, are distorted by the tendency to manipulate people as objects.

Since we relate to nature through our labour, alienated labour distorts our relationship to nature. We destroy the natural world on which we depend.

It means we can't see society straight. Institutions and arrangements created by human beings—prices of goods, markets, governments, laws—appear to be the natural order of things, beyond our control.

But there is also resistance to alienation. Every time working people join together to take control of some aspect of their work and lives the speed of the line, the length of the tea break, the conditions on the estate—they are beginning the fight against alienation. It is the aim of socialism to bring that struggle to a successful conclusion through real social ownership and workers' control of production and the state.

— JOHN MOLYNEUX

# What partnership?

ER since 1987, there supposed to have a social partnership between Irish workers and Irish bosses.

The union leaders allowed them to introduce the notorious Industrial Relations Act.

### Affected

This forced unions to hold secret ballots of every worker possibly affected by strike action.

It was so bad that the SIPTU union which went along with it was eventually fined over £750,000 in the Nolan's transport case—even though they held a ballot.

The judge just ruled that the

ballot was not conducted properly.

The deals gave the bosses a free hand to raise productivity. In the nine years since the deals were introduced, productivity in Irish factories has more than doubled.

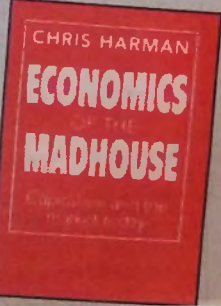
This has meant that the bosses do not have to take on more workers—but squeeze their existing workforce for more effort.

Now while directors cream off extra salaries and see their fancy houses shoot up in value—they keep workers tied up in knots by a deal which tries to remove their right to strike.

If ever the whole idea of social partnership was exposed for the lie it was, it is now.

# Out now!

**Economics of the Madhouse—Capitalism and the Market Today** by Chris Harman £3.50 + 70p p+p from: SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



## FIANNA FAIL 1926-1996

# The radicals who wanted to build Irish capitalism

by KIERAN ALLEN

**L**AST WEEK, the Fianna Fail party held an anniversary celebration at the RDS with laser lights to brighten the hearts of its conservative, middle class membership.

But the foundation of the party in the La Scala Theatre in 1926 was a very different affair. De Valera, Lemass and Frank Aiken, the former Chief of Staff of the IRA, wanted to break from the abstentionist position of Sinn Fein and enter Dail Eireann.

But there was also more to the split with the old Sinn Fein movement. While he was imprisoned after the Civil War, de Valera had come to the conclusion that unless republicanism took up economic issues, there 'was a real possibility of Irish politics splitting on class lines'.

In his speech to the first Fianna Fail Ard Fheis, de Valera went to great lengths to quote James Connolly and claimed that he 'sympathised fully with his passionate protest'. The party went on to call for a legal minimum wage and the break-up of the land of the graziers.

Fianna Fail were determined to build a republican base by using radical rhetoric and taking up social issues.

**M**any Irish workers and small farmers were desperate for an alternative. A year after the party was formed there was an actual outbreak of famine in Co Mayo.

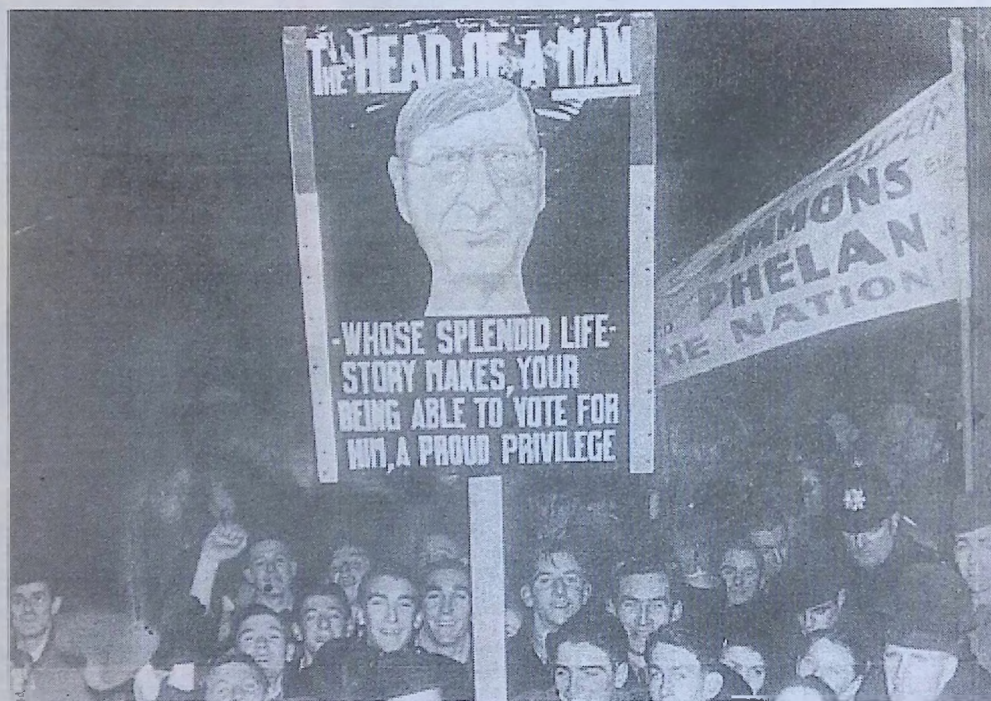
People only survived because of the plentiful supply of carrageen moss in the area. Every year, 30,000 people were emigrating.

De Valera claimed that Ireland at the time was an 'outgarden of Britain'. It was a fairly accurate description. 97% of all Irish exports went to Britain and most of it was agricultural produce. Ireland supplied live cattle and cheap labour to the heartland of the empire.

But for all its radical rhetoric the solution that Fianna Fail offered was also clear: they wanted to build up native Irish capitalism.

The Cumman na nGaedheal government had shown little interest in helping the small Irish manufacturing bosses. Instead, they put most of their efforts into supporting the big farmers who exported beef to Britain.

Fianna Fail promised the Irish capitalist class a strict policy of protectionism to help their weak industries to grow. They wanted to cut their in-



A De Valera election meeting

come taxes and provide heavy state subsidies to help them.

The party, however, grew because of the vigour of its radical rhetoric. In many ways the early Fianna Fail put the present day Sinn Fein movement of Gerry Adams in the shade when it came to denouncing the evils of the system.

One of the key targets of Fianna Fail was the banks. Fianna Fail's paper, *The Nation* claimed that the banks 'controlled our economic system and visited us with all those sorrows, wanton and without cause'. Frank Aiken claimed that the banks should not be let 'amass profit' but would have to issue cheap credit for the ordinary people.

The Cumman na nGaedheal was constantly attacked as a 'government of the rich'. Fianna Fail drew a sharp contrast between the suffering of the unemployed and government's support for the 'top hats' who got big salaries from the state.

Sean Lemass, the future Fianna Fail Taoiseach, outdid any present day republican in his attacks on the Free State army and police.

It was part of Fianna Fail policy to call for the abolition of the standing army and its replacement with a volunteer force who were armed and ready to defend their country.

Yet for all its radicalism, Fianna Fail was not attacking the capitalism system. Like many populists who came after them, they pretended that an Irish

capitalism would be more caring, more humane and more friendly to the poor than large scale British imperialism.

When they attacked the banks, they contrasted them to the healthy, productive operations of industry.

They pretended that you could have capitalism without the 'parasitic' profits of the banks.

Even when they charged Cumman na nGaedheal with being a 'government of the rich', they really meant the old Unionist hangers on and the big farmers. Fianna Fail never had anything against an Irish capitalist.

**T**he growth of the party was phenomenal. Within six years of its formation, it was in government. From 1932 to 1973, it completely dominated Irish politics, being only out of office for seven years.

Yet Fianna Fail's success was not inevitable. It certainly had the advantage of having members who had a record of fighting against British imperialism. There were also hundreds of thousands who hated the insult that the Treaty represented.

But a key element in Fianna Fail's success was the role played by the Labour Party. Fianna Fail became a majority party among workers because Labour was unwilling to either oppose imperialism or offer any sort of a fight

to workers.

The leader of the Labour Party at the time was Tom Johnson. He was so moderate that he won the praise of the *Irish Independent* for his parliamentary performance. The forerunner of the same paper had called for the execution of James Connolly just a decade before.

Johnson believed that workers had to respect the institutions of parliamentary democracy. He argued that labour leaders had to 'preach the gospel of faithful service for the uplifting of the nation'.

When a major campaign over land annuities developed, the Labour Party refused to support small farmers who did not want to pay money back to the empire.

According to Johnson, 'the tenants have no justification in law or morality in repudiating their liability to pay annuities'.

It is sometimes argued that Fianna Fail got its base, because Irish workers were too conservative for socialism. In reality, the opposite was the case. The Labour Party failed not because of its radical left wing policies — but because it was not socialist enough.

They allowed the party of Irish capitalism to show them up for cowards and moderates. Lemass used to joke about the Labour Party that 'so long as they cannot be accused of being pale pink, they seem to think they have fulfilled their function towards

the Irish people'.

**B**ut for all Fianna Fail radical republicanism, once it came to office it only stuck to one promise: to establish an Irish business class.

It put a small tax of 3% on bank notes—and then withdrew it a few years later. Instead of tacking even the banks, it established a Banking Commission that took years to report and then recommended no moves against them.

It never touched the Free State army or police force—but simply recruited ex-IRA fighters into them.

It encouraged the Irish boss class to carry through a mini-industrial revolution by hiring as many juveniles as they could and paying other workers miserable wages.

In the footwear factories in the 1930s, nearly 40% of workers were juveniles.

And when worker rebelled as they did during the Dublin Tram strike in 1935, Fianna Fail sent the old Special Branch in to raid their meetings in the Trades Council Hall.

To cover for all the tensions that were created, Fianna Fail forged an alliance Bishops.

On St Patrick's Day 1935, de Valera claimed that 'for fifteen hundred years Ireland has been a Christian and a Catholic nation. She remains a Catholic nation'.

The bishops were encouraged to discipline their flock to help gain respect for a government that had no greater aim than making sure profits rolled in for Irish business.

**T**he shift that Fianna Fail made from a radical anti-imperialist force to a right wing conservative party should not surprise us today.

Nationalists always compromise with the system because they do not base themselves on removing the exploitation of labour.

Today, Yasser Arafat or Robert Mugabe who led a guerrilla fight against the white regime in Zimbabwe behave no differently to Fianna Fail in the 1920s.

Suffering at the hands of imperialism does not in itself mean that you don't set out to run capitalism if you ever get near power.

The nationalism that was once a banner of revolt can also become the vehicle for enforcing supporting for 'patriotic capitalism'.

And while Gerry Adams is a long way away from ever taking office, it would still be as well for us to remember the journey the early Fianna Fail party made from militant republicanism to conservative capitalists.



# Resistance in the Third Reich



THE Holocaust was the worst atrocity in the history of humanity. Six million Jews were murdered in the death camps of Hitler's Germany.

A new book, *Hitler's Willing Executioners* by Daniel Goldhagen argues that all Germans were responsible for the Holocaust. The perpetrators were "Germans first and Nazis second". Goldhagen claims.

But the facts are the complete opposite.

Hitler never managed to win enthusiastic support of the mass of working class Germans for Nazism or the Holocaust.

Despite the neglect of Western historians, there is a proud record of working class resistance to Nazism in Germany—resistance in the face of murderous repression.

## Power

Prior to Hitler's coming to power in 1933, workers constantly opposed him. The SPD—the German Labour Party—had 900,000 members in 1928. But their leaders told workers to oppose Hitler constitutionally—at the ballot box and not to join with the Communists on the streets.

The Communists physically fought the Nazis. But under the influence of Stalin they refused to organise a united front with the SPD, seeing the SPD as "social fascists"—no better than the Nazis.

It was this fatal failure to build a broad anti Nazi movement, to fight together to destroy the Nazis which gave Hitler his chance.

Even so the Nazis never got a majority of workers' votes. Even as late as the parliamentary elections of November 1932, just two months before Hitler's ascent to power, the SPD and the Communists between them got more than 60 per cent of the vote in Berlin, for example.

## Protest

When Hitler's government was formed on 30th January 1933 there were immediate protest meetings, marches and demonstrations and a wave of strikes spread among dock workers of Hamburg and the northern ports.

The SPD leadership called on workers to be calm and "wait and see" if Hitler would abide by the constitution.

Too late the Communists called for united working class general strike but their appeals to the reformist leaders of the SPD and the trade unions fell on deaf ears.

Without credible leadership and organisation the protests were soon broken up by the police.

Illegal opposition continued throughout the Third Reich despite vicious repression.

## There is a proud record of working class resistance to Nazism in Germany

Between 1933 and 1939 there were 86 mass trials and many smaller ones, at which 225,000 people were sentenced to 600,000 years in prison for political offences.

On the eve of war in April 1939 according to a Gestapo report, 162,734 men and women were then held in concentration camps for political reasons and another 139,801 in prisons or penitentiaries for political offences.

Hitler's concentration camps were originally set up to deal with political opponents. Between 1933 and 1939 as many as a million left wing Germans suffered torture and incarceration for various lengths of times in the concentration camps.

Anti Nazi opposition continued right into the war despite huge repression.

## Resistance

In May 1942 some sixty members of a Communist influenced resistance group printed and fly-posted stickers bearing the slogan: "Permanent Exhibition: The Nazi Paradise. War! Hunger! Lies! Gestapo! How much longer?"

The stickers were widely distributed and hit their mark. The leader of the resistance group Harro Schulze-Boysson was arrested and executed in December 1942.

In the industrial Central German region where synthetic petrol and rubber—vital for the war effort—were produced, a number of factory groups who disseminated anti-Nazi propaganda formed in 1940.

A year later they linked together to form the "Anti Fascist Workers Group of Central Germany." More than 180 workers were organised in tight conspiratorial cells that resisted Gestapo infiltration until the end of the war.

There are countless, usually unrecorded, cases of German workers harbouring Jews from the Nazis.

There was nothing peculiarly German about the Holocaust.

It was big business that bankrolled and backed Hitler and his Nazi thugs so that workers' resistance could be smashed.

And as long as capitalism persists so long will the danger of Nazi revival and more Holocausts.

—KEVIN WINGFIELD

# Rebels without a cause

film:

Reviewed by  
PATRICIA  
McMANUS

The Irish film censor has a free hand in deciding what's good, and what's not so good, for the country's moral and psychological health.

There is no onus on him to publicly explain why, for example, he banned Tarantino's film *From Dusk till Dawn* or, for to demonstrate what constitutes an unacceptable level of violence or irresponsibility.

Socialists are opposed to this sort of arbitrary censorship.

## Caution

For this reason there is a certain need for an amount of caution when looking the American film *Kids* which has just opened here because some would like to ban it.

But to my mind this is an unbelievably crappy and thoughtless film, reflecting its directors half mystical and half nostalgic obses-

sion with teenage freedom and sexuality.

This is teenage America as the right wing likes to portray them—brutally mindless and amoral, intoxicated by the power of sex and unconscious of this society around them.

*Kids* is a trip through 24 hours in the lives of a gang of Manhattan's lower middle class teenagers. It's a loose, seamless story which focuses on teen stud and cherry picker, Telly, who's addicted to virgins or "little baby girls".

Jenny goes with a friend to take an Aids test, thinking she is there for moral support and she is stunned by the revelation that her test is positive. She has only had sex once—with Telly.

From here the movie



charts Jenny's search through the city for Telly who is in turn searching for his next victim.

He befriended a group of teenage skate boarders in New York and used them for dialogue, actors and one - 19 year old Harmony Korine - as a script writer. But what the film lacks is reality.

## Graphic

The films graphic depiction of teenage sex and violence was picked up by America's right wing media pundits and politicians who used it as an example of the need to force through a set of repressive censorship laws late last year.

The *Kids* of the title are the films only characters. Larry Clark (director) says he set out to tell their story straight.

But what the film lacks is reality.

## Cruelty

The slang speech, the pointless cruelty and grinding boredom of the characters seems credible in its self, but there is no context, no material basis or explanation given for their alienation.

Telly seduces, his pal rapes, all the males in the

group are viciously sexist, racist and homophobic while the females remain passive and tragic.

## Roots

There is no indication of the roots of their relentless hatred in a society which treats women as objects, sex as a symbol of power and gays and blacks as inferior less than humans.

Ultimately *Kids* is a wasted opportunity. The lead characters turn in impressive performances but you'll leave the cinema asking more questions than the film attempts to answer.

film:

# Personal or political?

Working class people are drinking and having a few laughs in a Protestant pub in Belfast. Suddenly an IRA bomb rips the place apart, killing and maiming.

From this opening scene, the Thaddeus O'Sullivan film *Nothing Personal* takes us on a 24 hour journey through the narrow streets of a divided city.

Loyalist youths retaliate with a petrol bomb attack on the nearby Catholic neighbourhood. The pitched battle which follows leaves one young Catholic man brutally murdered.

## Character

The main UVF character is Ginger, played by Ian Hart in an entirely different role to that of the young socialist he played in *Land and Freedom*.

It is 1975 and Ginger is unhappy at the truce being agreed between the local IRA and UVF. He wants more violence.

Ian Hart has said that the theme of *Nothing Personal* is the effect of a ceasefire on terrorists who have become so desensitised to killing that they cannot stop.

In the film the Loyalist businessman Lenny (Michael Gambon) orders the gang's commander Kenny (James Frain) to kill Ginger because he threatens the chances of a truce.

But if posing this 'dilemma' is meant to address the threat to the present Loyalist ceasefire it misses the point.

The Rev Roy Magee recently warned that the real danger of renewed UVF violence comes from 'busi-

ness types' - represented here by the 'moderate' Gambon character.

Today, wealthy Protestants are worried about the opening for class politics that has resulted from the ceasefire.

The Unionist ruling class benefits from seeing Catholic and Protestant workers at each others throats and has every reason to fear a united working class.

Indeed the film shows the contrast between the businessman and the working class characters. Lenny is about to buy a posh house in the Glenview estate while Tommy, the young UVF recruit played by Ruaidhri Conroy, is sick of the lousy wages he earns in a bakery.

## Reminders

There are constant reminders too of the similarities between working class Catholics and Protestants. They live in identical houses and socialise in similar run-down drinking clubs.

But the politics of the conflict are ignored as the film - despite its title - focuses on Ginger's 'personal' obsession with violence.

However, in its portrayal of that violence, *Nothing Personal* is a strong reminder of the sectarian horror that could re-emerge in the North if the politics of creed once more get the upper hand over the emerging politics of class.

music:

# Beethoven and the Music of Revolution

Classical music has always been used by snobs to show that art is founded on individual genius who bear no relationship to the society they live in.

But new discoveries about Beethoven have blown part this myth.

The conductor, John Elliot Gardiner, recently appeared on The South Bank Show to point Beethoven's music was influenced by the songs of the French Revolution.

## Famous

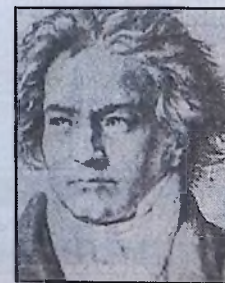
The first movement of the famous 5th Symphony, for example, picked up on a tune by the now forgotten revolutionary composer Gossic to produce one of the most powerful themes in classical music.

Gossic wrote a tune with these lyrics

*We all vow,  
sword in hand,  
to die for the republic  
and for the rights of  
mankind*

It was written to encourage people to defend the revolution against the attacks of the aristocrat.

Similarly, his 6th Symphony, Pastoral, picks up on the oddly titled *Hymn to Agriculture* again written around the time of the revo-



Beethoven

lution.

The 'experts' who dominate music colleges have argued that much of the passion in Beethoven's music came purely from a personal struggle against his impending deafness.

## Source

But the new discoveries show a different source.

At the start of the French revolution, thousands of ordinary people came together in festivals.

Revolutionary songs grew with the excitement and later the new regime began to more formally organise these occasions.

New instruments such as a more elaborate horn were invented to convey the sounds to vast crowds.

Much of excitement and the rousing effect of the music in Beethoven came from the revolutionary tunes developed by forgotten names like Cherubini, Gossic and Lefevre.

## Action

They were written as a form of incitement, an alarm call to action for the revolution.

According to Gardiner, some of the themes of the symphonies even include the code word/rhythm: Liberty, Liberty.

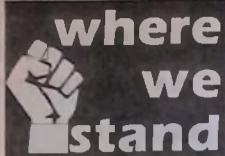
## Collapsed

When the Berlin Wall collapsed, the German government of Kohl looked for a particularly 'Germanic' piece for its celebration concert.

They used Beethoven's 9th Symphony, Ode to Joy.

We now know that Beethoven cared more about 'freedom' than any German spirit. Because France was the country of revolution, that was where he drew much his inspiration.

—KIERAN ALLEN



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—

**FYFFES:**

**Belize workers organise to fight \$1 an hour Irish bosses**

by ROÍSÍN CRONIN

MARCIANA Funez is a founder member of the United Banana Workers Union in Belize.

She visited Ireland earlier this month to highlight the terrible working and living conditions on the banana plantations and to talk about the workers' fight for union recognition.

She spoke to *Socialist Worker* about why she was involved in setting up this union.

Marciana was working as a trader when she first came into contact with the plantation workers.

"I saw that banana workers are forced to live and work in inhuman conditions.

"Their living conditions are very poor.

**Diarrhoea**

"One of the biggest problems is that they have to use contaminated water. There are no toilets. They have no running water.

"People dig wells at the side of the drains running through where they live. But the water in these drains is the run-off from the irrigation system in the plantation so it contains all kinds of fertilisers and insecticides.

"This is the water that they bathe in and cook with.

"Many people have developed infections as a result of this. Some people have died as a result of diarrhoea."

Whole families have to live together in cramped accommodation.

"It's common for eight people to have to share a tiny hut, you can't call it a house. They are just tiny huts made of wood and held together by bits of

cardboard and tar paper."

Child labour is also quite widespread.

"Although it's illegal under Belize labour law, 12 and 13 year-olds often work picking bananas alongside the rest of their families."

**Harassment**

There have also been many incidents of sexual harassment of women on the plantations.

Workers are paid \$1 an hour, which is the minimum wage in Belize.

But, says Marciana, "many workers find when they collect their wages that the company

refuses to pay them for the hours that they have worked".

In October 1994 the union was set up.

The company, however, refused to recognise it and fired 350 workers who had joined it.

"We were met with violence", says Marciana.

"My car was sabotaged. Union members were detained and intimidated".

Fyffes brought in ex-British Army soldiers to work as security guards on the plantation.

*In June 1995 a three-day strike for union recognition and decent conditions was smashed by the police who attacked the workers.*

The state has been more than happy to back up the company. According to Marciana, "the government wants to keep Fyffes in Belize.

They're the only buyer of bananas and an important

source of foreign currency for the economy".

The union is demanding recognition. At the very least they want a secret ballot on union membership.

**Support**

According to labour law in Belize a union must have the support of at least 51% of the workforce if it is to be recognised.

Fyffes has agreed to recognise the union if it gets proof of the workers' support for the Banana Workers' Union.

However Fyffes has refused to allow a secret ballot and as Marciana says, "we can't tell them who is in the union because they will fire them like they did before."

Marciana says that the company has set up its own organisation for workers on the plantations, Solidarismo.



Organising banana workers: Marciana Funez

"Solidarismo is a total sham. What it means for workers is that they agree to be in solidarity with manage-

ment. "They agree not to make trouble or fight for basic rights."

Marciana came to Ireland at the invitation of the aid organisation Afri to highlight what is going on in Belize and to meet with the chiefs of Irish owned and run Fyffes.

**Rejects**

The company has responded by saying that they recognised that there were problems on the plantations but that they were doing their best to solve them.

They point to the fact that they have provided housing for eighty workers in areas away from the spraying areas.

But the union rejects this, arguing that workers do not want to live in what would basically be a "company village" for the 400 workers, owned and controlled by the company.

What they want are decent conditions and union recognition.

**Huge profits from misery**

FYFFES have been in Belize since 1991, when the government invited them there. They are the only buyer of bananas in Belize and they manage two plantations and own one.

Fyffes is owned by the Dundalk-based McCann family. It is the eleventh biggest company in Ireland. Last year it made a profit of £42 million.

The six executive directors of the fruit distributors "earned" an average of £197,960 each last year.

Fyffes source their fruit from all over the world, seeking out the cheapest producers from Jamaica to Belize.

In 1989 Neil McCann, the

managed to be classified by the Revenue Commissioners as a manufacturer and are therefore only liable to pay corporation tax at the rate of 10%.

The McCanns are also friends of Larry Goodman. When, in 1990, there was a banana war in Honduras Neil McCann flew over in Goodman's jet to take on Chiquita who were blocking his access to even cheaper produce.

Fyffes dominates Europe's market in bananas. It sources most of its fruit at present from former colonies of Britain, France and Italy.

But with the backing of

the Irish government it has been pushing for a relaxation of the regulations governing the importation of bananas into Europe.

**Vicious**

It hopes to be able to bring more of what are known as "dollar bananas" from Central and South America, which are produced at even lower cost and would allow Fyffes to make even higher profits.

The experience of the banana workers of Belize clearly gives lie to the idea that Irish capitalism is any less vicious than capitalism the world over.

**Rewarded**

But Fyffes have found themselves more than generously rewarded for their kindness.

They bring in their bananas green from the country of origin, and they are ripened in ovens in Smithfield in Dublin.

On this basis they have

**SWP branch meetings—all welcome**

**BELFAST**  
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm Penny Farthing Bar Central Belfast

**CORK**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St

**DERRY**  
Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Bar at 8pm

**DUBLIN CLONDALKIN**  
Contact 872 2682 for details.

**DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL**  
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Conways, Parnell St.

**DUN LAOGHAIRE**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

**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 .....

Address.....

.....

Phone.....

**BRAY**  
Meets every Monday at 8pm in Royal Hotel.

**DUBLIN NORTH-WEST**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in The Old Brogue, Dorset St.

**DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd.

**DUBLIN DRIMNAGH**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Bentley Pub, Drimnagh Road

★ There are *Socialist Worker* members in: ENNISKILLEN; COLERAINE; LURGAN; CAVAN; DONEGAL; NAAS; LIMERICK; KILKENNY; DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA. If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

**DUBLIN RATHMINES**  
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond Street.

**DUBLIN SOUTH-CENTRAL**  
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St.

**DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm, Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village

**GALWAY**  
Meets every Thursday at 6pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

**MAYNOOTH**  
Meets every Thursday at 6pm in Class Hall D, Arts Block, Maynooth College

**WATERFORD**  
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.

**ALL WELCOME**

send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

# AN POST: Build the solidarity!

NEARLY 480 clerical workers in An Post, members of CPSU, are still on strike and morale is high.

Management had recruited two typist/secretaries from outside the service and created a new grade paying £100 more than An Post workers.

An Post have a long standing agreement with the NIHE in Limerick to recruit students on work experience programmes. A number of them are often related to the managers.

Workers would not be at all surprised if An Post managers were also hiring friends or relations for the new posts.

"The way they were recruited is very unusual. Nine An Post workers applied for the job in open competition but were told they were 'deficient'."

## Vacant

Workers had seen a whole number of higher Clerical Officer and Staff officer grades left vacant for long periods and decided to impose an overtime ban in protest.

When they refused to answer the phones on a nominated Friday more suspensions began and strike action followed.

After two weeks management offered some small concessions on grades but refused to guarantee that they would not appoint outside in the future.

Workers argue that internal appointments are the only avenue for promotion and management should fill posts from internal competition as in the past.

The agenda of Management is clearly to attack the union organisation and conditions of all the workers in

An Post so that flexibility can be introduced as the service is deregulated and privatised.

The clerical workers have had to face organised scabbing from the Association of Higher Civil Servants. They have even been coming in at 9pm in the evening to collect parcels.

The CPSU have written to the ICTU to protest --- but

many members want this scab outfit thrown out of the union movement.

Clerical workers have the sympathy of other workers in An Post.

In the first day of the strike, drivers who are members of CWU refused to cross picket lines in the SDS division in Clondalkin. It took union officials to persuade them to work nor-

mally.

The CPSU have put in an application for an all-out picket. But the problem is that it could take weeks to be granted.

## Stalled

Even then the whole matter will be stalled further as the different unions conduct a ballot.

The strike could be over—before an all-out action sanction is given.

"The union leaders are terrified of solidarity across the public sector.

"They are fearful of their funds. We are going to have to press them hard," one worker told *Socialist Worker*.

One way of breaking the deadlock is for the branch committee of the CPSU at

An Post to appeal directly to CWU workers for solidarity action.

CWU members have already told many strikers that they would like to respect their pickets but are obeying instructions from their leaders.

That is why a rank and file appeal to for solidarity from the CWU workers could transform the situation.

## NURSES:

# Ready to go!

THE Irish Nurses Organisation have set July 1st at the deadline for strike action.

But instead of organising to build the fight, the union leaders are already trying to patch up a deal with the government, even though Health Minister Noonan says that no new money is available.

According to the *Irish Times* industrial correspondent,

Pdraig Yeates 'nurses union leaders and the Minister for Health are optimistic that renewed talks may avert a national strike.

Rank and file nurses are already getting angry at these manoeuvres.

## Action

"Most of our members are already asking: why are we waiting. This has been going on since the start of the year. The union leaders have pushed us to vote twice for rotten deals—and they still are not organising for action," one nurse told *Socialist Worker*.

The latest argument that government Ministers are using is that the management in the public sector are inexpe-

rienced at arranging 'productivity deals'. This, they claim, is why the last nurses deal failed and why the nurses unions need to be patient.

But nurses have already rejected attempts to squeeze more productivity out of them.

## Appraisal

The last deal included an appraisal system where nurses performance would be monitored by health service bureaucrats.

The deal, which was thrown out by a huge 80%

vote, also demanded more 'flexibility' on shift arrangements. This was designed to cut back on Sunday bonus pay and save the government millions in the long term.

"We should not have to give more productivity concessions," one nurse told us. "We are already working under stressed out conditions. To cut back on waiting lists this government is trying to push patients through hospi-

tals as quickly as they can. And it is nurses who are putting up with the extra pressure"

The Coalition are terrified of the nurses taking action. They already know that it will be hugely popular. Many public sector workers are also waiting to see what the nurses will gain—in order to put in claims of their own.

## Demand

This is Ministers are pushing the union leaders to stitch up another deal.

Some unions are now trying to organise special meetings to try to see what can be sold to the membership. They have shown that they are out of touch.

But it is already clear what nurses want. They will put up with no pay cuts for younger nurses.

They want decent pay rises without any big lengthening of their pay scale. They want early retirement from around 35 years of service.

Nurses should demand that the ballot for strike action goes ahead immediately.

They should start to strengthen their union organisation at hospital level by electing more shop stewards. They should also ensure that their union are led by those who opposed the last deal and want action now.

## Ambulance drivers demand equality

AMBULANCE drivers outside Dublin are being paid £1,500 less than their equivalents in Dublin. After five years, they come out with the scandalously low figure of £11,400.

Now many are asking: if the nurses are willing to pursue a claim for decent pay, then why not us?

Ambulance drivers were originally put on a parity with county council lorry drivers. But increasingly they had to engage in more specialised training.

The Labour Court has recommended that they get parity with their Dublin colleagues but management are trying to get them to make extra concessions before they concede this modest demand.

They want them to do more training without extra pay. They want their wages to go

through Paypath—something their Dublin colleagues have not accepted.

The non-Dublin Ambulance drivers threw out this insulting offer by a 4 to 1 vote. They are now pressing for a decent rate of pay and the resolution of other long standing grievances.

They also want an eating on site allowance like their Dublin colleagues and a better rate of shift rate pay. They want a full independent review of their pay and extra money for acceptance of items such as pay path.

As one worker put it, "There is no promotions in this jobs. Many of the chief ambulance officers come straight out of the army and have a pension higher than our top basic rate. It is about time we fought for our rights."

## IMPACT CONFERENCE:

# Growing mood of anger

WITH 27 out of 153 motions on the agenda, the Programme for Competitiveness and future national deals dominated the recent IMPACT conference in Ennis.

One delegate's comment, "Tell the fat cats the last three agreements were for them, the next one is for us," caught the mood of delegates perfectly.

Speaker after speaker spoke of their frustration

and how the PCW had failed to deliver on pay, taxation or jobs. Many delegates spoke about the nurses's claim.

## Democracy

The speaker who said, "If we had an ounce of the spirit, guts and willingness to fight shown by the nurses, we would be unstoppable" got the biggest applause.

Speakers argued that there should be no new

agreement without the settling of outstanding claims. They demanded that any new agreement allow for special claims.

Senior officials urged caution and spoke of possible difficulties. They said their hands should not be tied. But one delegate replied, "I'm sorry for you if it is extremely difficult to go back and negotiate again, but that is what the members want. And that is democracy".

A special seminar is to be held to discuss the union's strategy and prepare a shopping list of demands in advance of negotiations.

Unfortunately, a resolution to pull out of social partnership deals was withdrawn at the last moment.

But still the IMPACT conference was the most militant in years. The ICTU line of peace with the employers is under its greatest challenge in years.

## Fight the water charges

ABOUT one hundred activists met in Dublin in mid -for a Conference of the Federation of Anti Water Charge Campaigns.

The campaign has over 12,000 paid up members defying the double taxation.

Since last September, the three Dublin county councils—Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown, Fingal and South Dublin—have been summoning non payers to court to seek water disconnection orders.

The cases have been ongoing since November. But after six months, involving 25 appearances by the three Councils in court—sometimes for a full day—only 22 disconnection orders have been issued against supporters of the campaign.

And not a single household anywhere in Dublin has been cut off.

Tony Moriarty of the MSF union pointed out how working class people pay most of the tax collected in Ireland. In 1995, he told the conference, of all income tax PAYE workers paid 86.7 percent, while the self employed paid only 11.6 percent and farmers manage to get away with only paying £70 million of 1.7 percent of the total.

The large scale evasion of tax by the Irish rich and the low level of corporation tax of company profits represented a pool which could pay the water charges many times over.

## Prevented

The conference agreed not to campaign for the removal of the Residential Property Tax as this mainly affected the rich.

Waterford anti service charge campaigner John Cluno, told the conference how workers in Hillview in Waterford had poured on to the streets from local houses and workplaces to prevent scabs from disconnecting non-payers water supplies.

The water charges were uncollectable in Waterford because of mass action on the streets, he argued. A mass movement in the localities linking up with work places was the way forward.

Deirdre Cronin of the Ballinteer/Dundrum Campaign argued that while standing candidates in elections could help raise the profile of the campaign it should take second place to building a mass movement in the localities and large protests against disconnections. Deirdre went on to argue that any decision on electioneering should be postponed until nearer the day.

Joe Higgins, chair of the campaign, and his supporters, argued for preparation for fielding candidates for the next year's general election should begin now. In the euphoria after his good showing in Dublin West a majority of delegates supported him.

But with elections a year away, the real priority for the campaign is to build mass action to stop the threat of disconnections now.

## TCD workers win first round

Workers at Trinity College have won the first round of a three round pensions contest.

After they closed down Trinity for two days in May, the Labour Court delivered a recommendation that workers currently entitled to an occupation pension should retain that right.

This put the management in an embarrassing position because they put considerable energy into attacking pension rights.

The downside of the recommendation was that the court recognised could alter the previous expectation of new workers who were taken in as of April 1995.

The college was also obliged to seriously consider pensions for part-timers which it has been extremely reluctant to do until now.

For the first time in many years meaningful trade unionism has now emerged in Trinity as a result of the strike. The success shows that workers in Trinity can move very quickly from passivity when it comes to standing up for their rights.

The numbers on the picket line and the high level of morale came as a real shock to the over-confident macho henchmen who are supposed to manage Trinity.

The union decided to suspend industrial action for the summer. But if part-time workers do not get their rights by then, then the action will have to be resumed.

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside:

Does Northern Ireland need a Labour Party?

—PAGE FOUR

## N.I. ELECTIONS...

# A sectarian farce!

**NORTHERN IRELAND'S press and media have reported a distinct lack of interest in the elections at the end of May.**

Yet the overwhelming majority do not want to go back to the violence of the last 25 years.

They want to see some settlement that will guarantee peace.

Many have simply realised that these elections are not about advancing the peace process—but about delaying it.

The only reason they are taking place is that the Tory government allowed David Trimble to throw up yet another obstacle.

Trimble was anxious for elections because they gave him an opportunity to stoke up sectarianism.

He could pretend, once again, that Protestants were under threat and that everyone had to stand behind the massed ranks of the Unionist fur-coat brigade.

He despised even the mild unionist labour rhetoric of the Progressive Unionist Party and the Ulster Democratic Party

and wanted to wipe them out before they got established.

In the run-up to the election, a number of 'Unionist business types' even intervened amongst loyalist paramilitaries to argue for a return to violence.

### Prospect

All the time Trimble's aim was to keep the Unionist monolith together by holding out the prospect of a return to Stormont.

The election to a Northern Assembly is being presented as the first small step backwards.

*It is important to support a boycott of these polls. No real choice is on offer.*

The whole point of the exercise is to line us up into two sectarian camps to see who has the biggest group before the wheeling and dealing at the

negotiating table begins.

Even by the most limited standards of democracy elsewhere, this election does not measure up.

The representatives who are chosen cannot decide on anything.

According to Trimble they will become a 'sounding board' to test how negotiations are going. In other words, they will be a sectarian chorus to back up 'their side'.

None of the vital issues that affect working class people are even discussed. Neither Trimble nor Hume are called on to say where they stand on a minimum wage or hospital closures.

If they were standing anywhere else, everyone would know that there was not an ounce of difference between them when it comes to promoting capitalism and conservative 'family values'.

That is why the only answer we can give to this sectarian farce is to treat it with contempt and boycott it.

## Elections won't save the NHS

While the news media were dominated by coverage of the elections, news of the catastrophic effects of the Tory-imposed 3 percent cuts in health spending was relegated to brief mentions.

### Closed

The Royal Victoria Hospital announced that all its operating theatres are to be closed for the summer.

Daisy Hill Hospital in Newry announced ward closures and job losses.

Down and Lisburn Health and Social Services Trust slashed ten thousand home help hours. The Foyle Trust was reported to slash

25% from its home help budget.

The situation is so bad that the Northern Health and Social Services Board admitted that hospital trusts in its area have written to all nursing staff asking them to take six weeks unpaid leave.

One health care worker told *Socialist Worker*, "This 3% cut comes on top of 1 and 2 percent cuts over the last few years.

The NHS has been cut to the bone.

Accountants and managers are eating up money that should be spent on patient care.

"It is like we are getting all the cuts suffered by

the NHS in Britain since 1979 telescoped into a few years. Some peace dividend!"

But none of this concerns the North's sectarian politicians who are scrambling for their seats at the negotiating table.

### Organised

It is down to workers themselves to start getting organised.

The ICTU should be calling stoppages to allow workers to express their outrage at what is happening.

It is high time that Catholic and Protestant workers started to fight together on the common issues that concern us all.