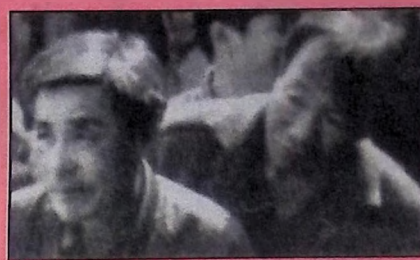


Socialist Worker

inside

Human misery behind the collapse in South Korea

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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p Solidarity price £1

AIB scandal shows that...

IT'S ONE

JAILED FOR STEALING A HAND BAG



BUT HE GETS OFF WITH £86M FRAUD



LAW

FOR

THE RICH

SABRINA WALSH is a drug addict from Ballymun in Dublin. She was recently sentenced to six years in prison for stealing a handbag.

Justice Flaherty said his sentence was designed to send out a "loud and clear" signal to eradicate the "cancer of crime".

Lochlann Quinn is the chairman of a bank which has robbed £86 million in taxes.

This money could have been used to cut the hospital waiting lists or to provide bet-

ter facilities for the mentally handicapped.

However, although Lochlann Quinn and his fellow AIB directors robbed far more than Sabrina Walsh could ever dream of, they are not being charged with any crime.

The difference between Sabrina Walsh and Lochlann Quinn is one of class. Quinn is one of Ireland's wealthiest businessmen.

He owns property in the International Financial Services Centre and several companies. His brother, Ruairi Quinn, is leader of the Labour party.

Lochlann Quinn is at the

heart of a Golden Circle that runs this country for the rich.

Around the time Sabrina Walsh became a drug addict, the Revenue Commissioners did a deal with the AIB whereby they turned a blind eye to tax evasion.

Fraud

The penalty for tax fraud is supposed to be five years in prison and a fine equivalent to the money defrauded.

Yet some of the highest officials in the State let it be known that tax fraud by the rich was acceptable.

The Irish rich had at least £600 million invested in false accounts to avoid tax yet not one of them has ever been prosecuted.

Not one banker nor one politician has been charged for engaging in or encouraging tax evasion.

Yet last year 119 cases were brought against people accused of abusing the Social Welfare system.

This country operates on the basis that there is one law for the rich and another one for the rest of us.

We need a strong revolutionary socialist alternative to put right these grave injustice.

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Keynes: the man who tried to save capitalism



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Truman Show reviewed and Twenty years of the Pope



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NATIONALISE THE BANKS

A banker's paradise

"THE COMMERCIAL fraud that comes to the public eye is just the tip of a very large iceberg," this is according to Tony Spollen, the former auditor of Allied Irish Banks.

Spollen resigned from his position in 1991 after raising the issue of wide scale tax fraud in the AIB.

The bank had systematically encouraged people to set up 53,000 fake non-residential accounts to avoid paying the Deposit Interest Retention Tax.

Interest

This is a minor tax on unearned interest which was opposed vigorously by Fianna Fail. When caught out the bank was able to do a deal with the Revenue Commissioners to pay less than 20 percent of the tax owed.

The £86 million that the AIB robbed this way could have been used to:

- Double the annual public transport budget
- Slash the hospital waiting lists.

DEADLY AGENT

AGENT ORANGE, the deadly chemical the US sprayed during the Vietnam War, has now infected a third generation.

Thanh Nam was born without legs in June 1997.

Sprayed

His grandfather fought the US forces from 1968 to 1972 in one of the areas most heavily sprayed with Agent Orange.

Le Cao Dai, medical researcher and head of the Agent Orange Victim Fund, believes continuing birth defects are caused by the chemical being either in the environment or in the parent's hormonal system.

The US dropped 50 million litres of Agent Orange between 1962 and 1971.



THE MINISTER for Finance, Charlie McCreavy and Cathal MacDomhnaill, Chairman of the Revenue Commissioners discuss the difficulty of paying taxes

Bankrolling the politicians

THE AIB went from being the least profitable bank in Ireland to the most profitable. It did this with the knowledge and the support of the Revenue Commissioners and the establishment parties in the Dail.

While the AIB is forgetful about its taxes it always remembers to pay off the politicians.

The bank has been generous in its donations to politicians. The average payment last year was £40,000. All the main political parties get money from

the AIB, including Democratic Left and Labour.

The ties between politicians and the bankers is even closer than these donations suggest.

Scandal

Peter Sutherland was chairman of AIB when the latest tax scandal took place. He was also a political advisor to the Fine Gael leader John Bruton and is a former Attorney General - the top legal officer in the country!

Miriam Hederman O'Brien is on the board of AIB. She was also the chairperson of the Government sponsored Commission for Taxation which was supposed to look at unfairness in the tax system. It never recommended increasing taxes on the banks.

The links to politicians help explain how the AIB was saved from bankruptcy in 1987. One of its subsidiaries, the ICI, ran up huge debts by speculating on the London insurance market and threatened to bring the whole bank down.

The government organised a special £60 million rescue scheme which was financed mainly by PAYE workers.

Now the AIB has repaid our generosity by robbing us again.

See no evil!

THE REVENUE Commissioners are adept at covering up the tax fraud of the rich.

They let the Goodman companies away with under the counter payments for many years. They never investigated the source of Charles Haughey's money.

Last year £41 million in Corporation Tax was written off as well as £61 million worth of PAYE money that the employers had stolen.

In - all the Revenue Commissioners wrote off £281 million worth of back tax from the rich, claiming it was uncollectable.

The Irish rich pay the lowest rate of tax in Europe on their profits. They have enjoyed two tax amnesties in 1987 and 1993 when they were asked to pay a mere 15 percent to clear their bills.

Yet this was still too much for those who think that wealth gives them a right to pay no taxes at all.

ONE OF THEIR OWN

THE DAIL'S latest inquiry team to "look into" at AIB includes the Fianna Fail TD Beverley Cooper Flynn.

Cooper Flynn should know all about tax evasion and bogus accounts. She made her cash flogging these accounts for National Irish Bank.

IFA president leads occupation... Why won't our leaders fight?

IN RECENT weeks a group of building workers in Dublin faced jail simply for picketing a site.

Yet at the same time a group of rich farmers illegally occupied the Department of Agriculture for two days. There was no condemnation of this action nor did the farmers face an injunction.

Imagine the outcry if a group of trade unionists occupied a government office for two days?

Right wing journalists and politicians would be calling for the gardai to be sent in and the union leaders would be under pressure to control their members. The farmers' leaders were not called to account—in fact IFA president Tom Parlon actually led the occupation.

The protest paid off when the Minister for Agriculture, Joe Walsh, held talks with the farmers' leaders and beef baron Larry Goodman.

They guaranteed the farmers an

increase in the price of beef to compensate for the collapse of the beef market in Russia. If only our union

leaders had the same resolve as Tom Parlon to lead illegal strikes and occupations to win decent pay increases.

BEEF SCAM HITS AFRICA'S POOR

SUBSIDISED IRISH beef is being "dumped" in southern Africa, driving local farmers into poverty.

European beef producers receive £2.50 in export refunds for every £1 worth of beef that is sold to South Africa.

Ireland accounts for 40 percent of beef sales to South Africa, so wealthy Irish farmers and beef barons like Larry Goodman are getting the lion's share of profits

from the scam. Meanwhile poor farmers face destitution in South Africa and Namibia and meat industry workers face unemployment, as local producers are undercut by subsidised Irish beef.

Now the European Commission is proposing to change the intervention rules to allow Irish beef producers even higher subsidies, as compensation for the collapse of the Russian market.

Schools cash crisis

THERE IS a serious funding crisis in Irish primary schools at present.

The government spends less per primary school pupil than any other state in the EU.

As a result, many children are being denied a decent education.

5,000 children enter post-primary schools each year with serious reading or writing difficulties

1,000 children per year fail to progress beyond primary school.

More than 200,000 primary school pupils are in classes of over 30.

Teachers in five schools around the country took one-day strike action recently in protest at the loss of teachers and inadequate funding for their schools.

Further strikes are planned elsewhere in the coming weeks.

what we think

WANTED: A PARTY TO TAKE ON THE RICH

IRELAND'S WEALTHY elite have become more brazen. The AIB scam for fiddling taxes shows that they will vandalise basic social services to satisfy their greed.

Today Ireland is the fastest growing economy in the world. Yet it holds the record for slashing the most hospital beds in Europe, per head of population.

Its primary schools receive the lowest funding in all the OECD countries.

Its streets are gridlocked because there are not enough buses to encourage people to leave their cars at home.

All of this because the Irish rich have aggressively insisted that they will pay little or no tax. Instead they have launched a successful war to redistribute resources away from the poor.

In 1987, the top 10% of the population received three and a half times the income of the bottom 10%. Today they are getting five times more.

For the first half of the Celtic Tiger decade, Charles J Haughey was the politician who promoted the policies that suited the wealthy elite.

His lifestyle of bribery, scams and tax dodging summed up the outlook of one of the most aggressive capitalist classes in the world.

Since then the political culture has changed - but only in style.

Now the wealthy get their way through 'consensus politics'. On all the key arguments about the direction of the Irish economy there is an agreement that stretches from Democratic Left to the Progressive Democrats.

This is why none of the major parties raised the most obvious solution to the latest scandal - the nationalisation of the banks.

The two main Irish banks make over £1 million profit a day because they have connived in every possible scam to avoid tax.

According to a recent court case, the AIB turned a blind eye to money laundering from criminal sources. In the past, they processed bogus checks for the Goodman company. Yet none of the major parties dared to say they should be taken into public ownership!

Even after the latest scandal, there is a consensus in Dail Eireann to cut the tax on bank profits to a mere 12%.

In other words, that the banks pay a lower proportion of their income in tax than the cleaning woman who ties the plush offices!

It is time to break this consensus politics that protects the interests of the rich. We need a party that presses for their interests with the same determination that the political establishment now serves the rich.

Who are the peacemakers?

THE AWARD of the Nobel Prize to John Hume and David Trimble delighted the media.

Yet behind the hype, another myth is being created - that two great men rather than the mass of working people brought peace to Northern Ireland.

The Nobel Prize has often been given out to the wrong people. In 1973, Henry Kissinger was honoured as a peace maker - just as he was organising secret bombing missions over Cambodia.

Today David Trimble has also been labelled a peace maker. But he has turned the issue of de-commissioning into a major obstacle to stall the Belfast Agreement.

The reality is that peace did not come to Northern Ireland simply through the efforts of communal politicians.

It was the huge demonstrations of workers that demonstrated the desire for peace.

Walked out

When Maurice O'Kane, for example, was murdered in Harland and Wolff the largely Protestant workforce walked out in disgust.

After the Greysteele massacre in Derry, tens of thousands of workers of both religions answered the call of their local Trades Council to join together in protest.

These actions helped to undercut support for the paramilitaries in their own communities and pressure the politicians to open up the way for peace, the politicians drew up the structures which institutionalise and perpetuate sectarian division.

Keeping the peace means that workers will have to press their class demands in order to push sectarian competition aside.

FRANCE ERUPTS



"THROUGH STRIKES you can dream." That was the message of one of these in the French city of Bordeaux. Over half a million students took part in protests about classroom conditions.

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

THE SOCIALIST Workers Party is establishing branches all over the country. A new East Belfast branch is being formed immediately. And for the first time, Sligo will see an active SWP branch.

■ On all the major issues that have emerged, the party is promoting a clear action programme that breaks with the political consensus.

■ On housing: The SWP has campaigned for rent control to stop landlords hiking up rents; an emergency local authority house building programme; and the nationalisation of building land.

■ In the unions: The party is fighting to break Partnership 2000. It openly supports groups like the bricklayers who are defying anti-union laws.

■ On Northern Ireland: The war is over but behind the continued sectarian bickering, all the main parties from Sinn Fein to the DUP want to cut taxes on profits. Only the socialists say: Tax the fat cats.

■ As another major recession looms on the world economy, we need a strong socialist alternative.

- I would like to join the Socialist Workers Party
- I would like to receive more information about the party

Name:.....

Address:.....

.....

Tel:.....

Return this form to a *Socialist Worker* seller or post to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.



news of the world

Pinochet: keep him locked up

ONE OF the world's brutal dictators this week felt a tiny little bit of what it is like to be on the receiving end.

Almost exactly 25 years after the coup that brought him to power, General Augusto Pinochet was arrested last weekend at a Harley Street hospital in London thanks to the actions of two Spanish judges.

The question remained, at the beginning of the week, whether British home secretary Jack Straw will agree to send Pinochet to Spain, or whether he will bow to pressure from the Chilean government.

The US government is also putting pressure on behind the scenes, afraid that a trial of Pinochet will reveal

A regime based on torture

CARLOS REYES was a member of Chile's Socialist Party in 1973. His case is typical.

He says, "They came to my house and grabbed me. I was taken away from my family, where my wife and I was being taken."

"I was to spend the next two years being tortured in the torture chambers underneath the presidential palace."

"I was hung from racks and beaten up. They would play me tapes of babies screaming and tell me that I was hearing the voices of my own children."

"They would say that I was hearing my own son and daughter being slowly tortured and that they would be killed if I did not cooperate. They wanted names of people in the party, but I had none to give."

"They would treat me like I was just any animal. They would punch and kick me around in groups. I was hit with sticks and anything else they could find that would cause pain."

the US's dirty role in supporting the 1973 coup.

The Chilean government snivelled that Pinochet has diplomatic immunity and could not therefore be legally detained.

The Daily Telegraph declared that "such contempt for the law is shameful".

But Pinochet thought little about legality when he ordered the tanks onto the streets of Chile in 1973, kicked out a democratically elected government and had the president shot.

During Pinochet's 17 year rule he was responsible for the torture and murder of thousands of his political opponents. The majority were Chilean workers, socialists and trade unionists.

Immediately after the coup hundreds were taken to the football stadium in Santiago and tortured or shot. Famous Chilean folk singer Victor Jara had his hands and wrists broken before being shot in the back.

Many thousands more were tortured in the chambers beneath the presidential palace. Music was played so loud to hide the screams of the victims that it became known as "El Discoteca". Dogs were trained to violate women.

Repressive

But Pinochet's repressive tentacles spread further. The Spanish judge at the centre of last week's arrest is investigating a scheme through which military regimes in Latin America clubbed together to repress left wing militants.

British doctor Sheila Cassidy was tortured after she treated a man on the run from the military.

She was stripped naked, blindfolded, strapped to an iron bunk bed and given three sessions of electric shock treatment in order to find out the hideout of the man on the run. She was kept in solitary confinement for three weeks, imprisoned for another five and then expelled from the country.

Pinochet "should be kept in prison for the rest of his life" she said last week. "I just wish this had happened a long time ago."

Anyone who wants to know about the harrowing effect of Pinochet's coup and its aftermath should get out a video of the film Missing.

It shows brilliantly how the eyes of one American, played by Jack Lemmon, are opened as he tries to discover the whereabouts of his son caught up in the coup.



PINOCHET: 17 years of torture and murder

A thug backed by western politicians and businesses

PINOCHET WAS not a "tinpot dictator". His coup was backed by Western governments and Western business.

When the left wing government of Salvador Allende was elected in 1973 it promised major reforms. Big business and its friends in the US government were concerned.

US president Richard Nixon summoned the US ambassador to Chile. Nixon told him, "We have to do whatever it takes to crush that son of a bitch as quickly as possible." Henry Kissinger and the CIA then helped organise Pinochet's coup.

They were egged on by corporations with investments in Chile like telecommunications company ITT. It was Hawker Hunter fighter planes bought from Britain that bombed the presidential palace during the coup.

The Times newspaper, then edited by William Rees-Mogg, defended the coup at the time. It said, "There is a limit to the ruin a country can be expected to tolerate the circumstances were such that a reasonable military man could, in good faith, have thought it his constitutional duty to intervene." Once in power, Pinochet was one of the first world rulers to implement free market monetarist economic policies.

The "Chicago School" of economics professors saw Chile as a laboratory for their policies, supplying top figures to be Pinochet's economic advisors.

Margaret Thatcher sent an adviser to Chile for six months in the 1980s to study the "economic miracle". Cecil Parkinson went to Santiago in 1980 as minister of trade. He said, "There's a good deal of similarity between the economic policies of Chile and those of

Great Britain."

Relations between the Tories and Pinochet were even warmer when he backed Thatcher's war against Argentina in 1982 over the Falklands.

By the mid-1980s unemployment in Chile had reached 30 percent, 60 percent of the population were malnourished and real wages fell by 22 percent in only two years.

Visitor

Pinochet left office in 1990 but remained commander in chief of the armed forces until only last year. Before leaving office he changed the country's constitution to ensure he could never be prosecuted. He granted himself the position of "life senator" with immunity from prosecution. He remained a regular visitor to London.

British Aerospace entertained him for a week in 1995 after sign-

How Pinochet came to power

PINOCHET overthrew the elected government of Allende for one reason-it had tried to help ordinary people and so had challenged big business.

Allende's government tried to change things through giving land to peasants and by nationalising some of the big foreign companies that made huge profits.

It organised rallies and demonstrations of its supporters, many of whom wanted the government to go even further in its measures.

Employers organised strikes to cause chaos and bring Allende's government down.

But in response Chilean workers organised to keep the shops open. Time and again workers took to the streets to defend Allende's reforms.

The coup was a massive defeat.

On the day of the coup Pinochet suggested that Allende be stripped and flung out of a plane. In the end Allende was shot defending the presidential palace.

One of Pinochet's spokesmen simply said, "Marxism will be totally eradicated."

Activists

That did not simply mean that socialists and activists were imprisoned, tortured and murdered. It meant that every worker lost the most basic trade union and political rights that had been won over generations.

The coup sent shockwaves throughout the world and a huge international solidarity movement sprang up.

The coup had revealed starkly how international business, politicians and the military will pull together and use violence when they feel they are under threat.

ing a big arms deal with Chile.

Pinochet regularly had tea with Thatcher, when not visiting posh shops like Fortnum and Mason.

The British establishment defended the coup at the time, and they did so again this week. The Daily Telegraph wrote on Monday, "The main complaint against Pinochet is that he overthrew the elected socialist government of Salvador Allende". This statement, while literally accurate, is misleading. "Once in power, his [Allende's] administration embarked on a series of measures that were neither foreshadowed in his manifesto nor compatible with the Chilean constitution. Farms were confiscated and companies seized."

The Financial Times had the gall to say, "Pinochet was not the worst kind of military dictator. After ruling Chile for 17 years, Gen Pinochet handed over a thriving economy to a healthy democracy

Inward investment is built on sand...

Fight needed to resist the closures

IN MID OCTOBER a delegation of politicians from the North toured eleven cities in the US, offering the North as a low-wage, low-tax haven for foreign multinationals.

While they wined and dined with American businessmen, their strategy of attracting inward investment was unravelling as fears of job losses hit both traditional industries like clothing and new multinational firms, based on the computer and car industries.

The symbol of the inward investment strategy is Seagate, which now employs around 700 workers in Derry and Limavady.

However, last week, Seagate announced the closure of its plant in Livingston in Scotland, with the loss of 275 jobs.

Threatening

Fruit of the Loom, which employs clothing workers in nine plants in Derry and Donegal are threatening to lay off 2,500 workers.

One worker told *Socialist Worker*, "Farrelly, the US-based managing director, was over here last week for meetings, but he didn't speak to us.

All the union leaders are talking about is, what sort of package we might get."

This follows the closure of the City Shirt factory in Derry with the loss of 100 jobs.

Derry car components factory Transtec, owned by British gov-

**BIGOTS
AGAINST
CHOICE**

Precious Life, a Ballymena-based anti-abortion group plans to march in Belfast on 24 October.

The group have been responsible for closing down a pregnancy advisory centre on the Lisburn Road in Belfast for two weeks, after repeated pickets. They have also harassed pro-choice doctors by demonstrating outside their homes.

The march is aimed at intimidating the new Assembly into not extending the 1967 Abortion Act to the North. However this is increasingly unlikely. Mo Mowlam has said it is up to Assembly members to raise the issue themselves.

Pro-choice activists plan a counter demonstration on the day.

Assemble 3pm, Saturday 24 October, outside Tesco's, Belfast.



AROUND 275 workers lost their jobs at Seagate electronics factory in Livingston in Scotland

An action programme to fight the recession

ernment minister Geoffrey Robinson, has laid off workers for three weeks and there are fears that redundancies will be announced when they return.

Long-standing engineering factory Arntz Belting Company, has moved its most modern machinery to Germany and also laid off workers.

The remaining workers fear that the removal of the machinery is a prelude to complete closure.

The AEEU union members at the plant recently agreed to a management plan to work a six-day week, to boost productivity by 20 per cent.

This was subsequently withdrawn by local managers.

Prime minister Tony Blair says "There is nothing we can do", yet the Labour government is still boasting of the benefits of the market.

The same sentiments are echoed by trade union leaders. Derry AEEU official Uel Adair said "while we are opposed to this machinery being moved, legally there is nothing we can do to stop it."

But already many workers are questioning this idea that "nothing can be done".

WORKERS IN Northern Ireland need to press for policies which can tackle the looming economic chaos.

Socialists in Northern Ireland are already campaigning for an action programme to protect jobs and are demanding the government take firms who plan layoffs into public ownership.

The proposals which offer an alternative to the wait and see attitude of the politicians are:

■ **STOP ALL THE CLOSURES**

Nationalise factories which plan to close and use them to provide what people need.

Most multinational firms in the North have received massive grants from the Industrial Development Board.

Just two weeks ago the British government spent £1,000 million bailing out a gang of rich financial speculators who ran a gambling outfit called Long Term Capital Management.

That money could be used to save jobs.

■ **WORK FOR ALL**

The employers claim that job losses are necessary because of "over-capacity". People need the goods that the factories produce. The bosses won't make them because they can't make a profit. Clothing workers could make cheap, good quality clothes for kids. Computer firms could be used to provide computers for schools.

■ **CUT WORKING HOURS —NO LOSS OF PAY**

A 35 hour week with no loss of pay would create thousands of jobs across the North.

■ **STOP ALL CUTS**

The poor, the sick and the elderly suffer while the workers who could care for them lose their jobs.

■ **BUILD RESISTANCE**

Union leaders should be organising local and national demonstrations against job losses.

Any factory which occupied to prevent job losses would receive enormous sympathy from other workers.

Trade unionists must support every fightback against job losses.

This kind of action programme would immediately improve workers' lives and could begin to tackle the crisis. It also points to the way to end the madness of the market.

That will mean a direct assault on the capitalist system, the fanatical speculators and the multinational bosses who cause such devastation.

Picket on Manning gig

THE DERRY BRANCH of the SWP organised a picket of a concert in the city by "comedian" Bernard Manning, followed by a gig by socialist comedian Mark Steel.

Manning has been denounced by anti-racist organisations in England for stirring up hatred of black, Asian and Irish people with an act which consists almost entirely of "jokes" at the expense of ethnic minorities.

On The Mrs Merton Show recently, Manning said that he liked living beside Irish and Pakistani families "because they keep the flies off me".

Manning hit the headlines last year when two black waitresses who had been working at one of his concerts took court action against him, saying they had been distressed and humiliated by his remarks. The concert had been organised by Manchester police as a benefit for RUC victims of the Troubles.

Helen Sharkey of Derry SWP said, "He doesn't even pretend that his shows are 'just for fun'. He is a shameless bigot.

"And it would be shameful for us if he came here without voices being raised against him."

OUR UNIONS' HISTORY

A tradition of struggle not partnership

PARTNERSHIP IS a word much beloved of Labour politicians and trade union leaders. The leaders of unions such as SIPTU argue that it is only by bosses and workers acting in cooperation with government that economic prosperity can be ensured.

Anyone who dares to suggest that workers and bosses actually have very different interests is branded as out of date. But there is little that is particularly 'new' or 'modern' about the strategy of partnership. Union leaders have long sought a cosy relationship with the bosses and the employers

However a look at the history of SIPTU also shows that there has been a strong rival tradition in the Irish Labour Movement. SIPTU was formed in 1990 by an amalgamation of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union (ITGWU) and the Workers' Union of Ireland.

The WUI had been set up by disgruntled members of the ITGWU in 1924, under the leadership of 'Big Jim' Larkin. Historians have tried to portray this split as a personal quarrel between Larkin and the ITGWU leader, William O'Brien. However this argument does not stand up to the facts.

O'Brien was very much a trade union leader in the modern mould.

As early as 1919 he urged the ITGWU to "adopt all the best and most up to date methods of conducting business...the conduct of our movement is a great business and we must have it managed on business lines."

Weapon

Larkin was a revolutionary socialist. For him the union was a weapon for forcing concessions from the employers. As the union fell more and more into the hands of the bureaucrats, there was no place for those like Larkin and in 1924 he was forced out.

When Larkin formed the WUI in 1924 the vast majority of the Dublin membership went with him. These were the most militant men and women in the movement and they were sick of the antics of O'Brien and his crew. In the rest of the country most members stayed with the ITGWU.

Virtually all the officials sided with O'Brien. He was determined to make peace with the newly-formed Free State. In the face of an employers' offensive which began in 1923 just as Civil War began the ITGWU did little to organise resistance. However they went out of their way to crush the spectre of militant trade unionism.

by **MARK FORAN**

In mid-1924 a strike broke out at the Marino construction site after the 260 WUI men had been denied union recognition. The ITGWU were granted recognition, despite having only 12 members on site. This dispute was to set the pattern for more, at the Inchicore rail depot, Dublin fish market, the coal yards and in the cinemas.

In each case the ITGWU leaders colluded with the Free State Government and the employers. They broke picket lines, provided scabs and on occasions physically attacked members of the WUI. The WUI tried to appeal to the rank and file of the ITGWU but the forces ranged against them were now too strong.

There were no depths to which the ITGWU leaders were not prepared to stoop in order to maintain their position. In the 1940's they split both the Irish Labour Party and the Trades Union Congress to keep Larkin out. Anyone who opposed them was branded as a 'Communist'.

In 1941 O'Brien helped the government to draft bills that were aimed at holding down wages and weakening the unions (much like the Industrial Relations Act).

Their main opponent was again Larkin, who burned the bill in front of a demonstration of 10,000 workers.

The ITGWU leaders were only able to achieve dominance of the movement after a long and protracted struggle. The basis of that struggle was not personal but political.

It is one that is still being fought out today in the working class movement in Ireland and all over the world.

The argument is still the same and the answer is still the same, fightback not phony 'partnerships', revolution not reform.

STRUGGLE THAT BRINGS HOPE

THE GIANT conglomerates, the chaebols, which dominate the South Korean economy have not yet got the confidence to sack large numbers of workers.

The government of one time dissident Kim Dae-Jung passed laws making sackings easier in February of this year. But attempts to lay off workers in heavy industry have met stiff resistance from organised workers.

A month long occupation at Hyundai Motors' giant plant in Ulsan in the summer forced the company to scale down losses from 1,568 to 277. "The management blew it. The other chaebols will have to think twice about mass sackings," said a top South Korean business analyst.

That was followed by occupations against job losses at six factories belonging to Mando industries which ended in confrontation between workers and riot police.

There have been a string of workers' protests against job losses in banks, hospitals and industry throughout this year.

Unsafe

The militant Korean Confederation of Trade Unions (KCTU) has half a million members, mainly in heavy industry.

It was illegal until early this year. During the military regime of the 1980s workers in South Korea did the longest hours and had the most unsafe working conditions of any industrial workers in the world.

An explosion of strikes and demonstrations in 1987 brought down direct military rule. Over 3,000 strikes in the following two years increased wages fourfold.

Kim Dae-Jung, elected president last year, has been forced to legalise the KCTU. And the Federation of Korean Trade Unions (FKTU), which was set up by the generals, has evolved into an independent but moderate union grouping. Strikes and occupations have shown the power organised workers have in South Korea and in every other country to beat mass sackings.

They have the potential to draw behind them the desperate mass of South Korean society.

SUICIDES, SOUP KITCHENS

Human misery crisis in South Korea

"THE MURKY waters of the Han River traversing Seoul are crimson as an alarmingly increasing number of Koreans are committing suicides."

According to figures compiled by the police, there has been a sharp rise in suicides along the river since the financial crisis started last year.

That is how the South Korean daily Korea Herald this summer highlighted the human misery slump ripping through the largest of the Asian Tiger economies.

A few weeks earlier it had reported two "collective suicides" by whole families struck by unemployment.

They are just two of the tragedies behind the cold statistics of economic collapse.

Since South Korea plummeted into recession at the end of last year unemployment has increased fourfold to over two million - that is before mass layoffs in heavy industry.

Every day 90 companies close and 8,000 workers lose their jobs.

This is in a society which in the last few years has grown used to full employment. South Korea is a modern industrial society - part of the OECD club of rich nations. It grew spectacularly in the 1970s and 1980s and is now more urbanised country than France.

by **KEVIN OVENDEN**

But the consequences of mass unemployment are even worse than in the West.

The dole is only paid for six months to those who contributed to unemployment insurance schemes. It does not cover temporary and part time workers or those in small firms.

Less than half of those sacked are entitled to any benefit at all. After at most six months everyone made redundant has exhausted their savings and has nothing to live on.

There is an enormous social crisis in South Korea-and it is getting worse.

The crisis has a human face. People are losing their jobs, their homes, their families. It is a tragedy of human proportions.

Psychiatrists are being overwhelmed by the number of people who are seeking help. The official number of suicides is rising.

The dole is only paid for six months to those who contributed to unemployment insurance schemes. It does not cover temporary and part time workers or those in small firms.

Less than half of those sacked are entitled to any benefit at all. After at most six months everyone made redundant has exhausted their savings and has nothing to live on.

'I just can't express my anger in words'

SHIN JOONG-woo was a construction worker at Changdae Construction until he was sacked in January. His family's experience is common.

He has split up with wife and they have handed their children over to the care of relatives who are in a better position to feed them.

Shin eats at soup kitchens and, like 1,500 others sleeps in Seoul railway station or nearby parks.

"With the construction industry dead, a day worker like me gets pretty hopeless," he says. White collar workers have been hit first and hardest. Park Do-il, aged 27, thought he had a job for life when he started at Daedong Bank in 1991.

The government shut it in June. His shares are worthless and his redundancy pay went into paying loans from the bank. "I just can't express my anger in words," he says.

Lee Jung-ij faces the sack from Commercial Bank of Korea in the next few weeks. "I can hardly sleep at night or concentrate on my work during the day," he says. "There won't be any job opportunities for me at my age (46)."

"My children are still in high school and college but my financial situation is miserable. The value of 3,000 Commercial Bank of Korea shares I bought years ago for

£14,000 is now one tenth of what I paid." Lee will have to pay back £9,000 he borrowed from his bank as part of a special employee welfare programme, as soon as he is sacked.

A quarter of a million students who graduated in the last twelve months have failed to find work. Over 180,000 students will graduate in February. Recruiting agencies expect only 1,000 of them will find jobs with large public or private

companies. Seoul's 20 big hospitals have sacked 100 out of 1,000 staff. The police have had to deal with 20,000 unemployed people. The dole is only paid for six months to those who contributed to unemployment insurance schemes. It does not cover temporary and part time workers or those in small firms.

Resist the repression

SOME 26 supporters of international Socialists of South Korea were arrested earlier this year. Some have been jailed for one or two years for the "crime" of reading socialist books and discussing political ideas.

The Committee to defend South Korea Socialists urgently needs money to run an advert in the press to call for an end to the repression.

Rush donations and requests for factsheets to the Committee to Defend South Korea Socialists, c/o Po Box 1648, Dublin 8.

He is bewildered. He has a job, but it is not what he needs. He is a socialist and he is being repressed.

He is a socialist and he is being repressed. He is a socialist and he is being repressed.

He is a socialist and he is being repressed. He is a socialist and he is being repressed.

He is a socialist and he is being repressed. He is a socialist and he is being repressed.

He is a socialist and he is being repressed. He is a socialist and he is being repressed.

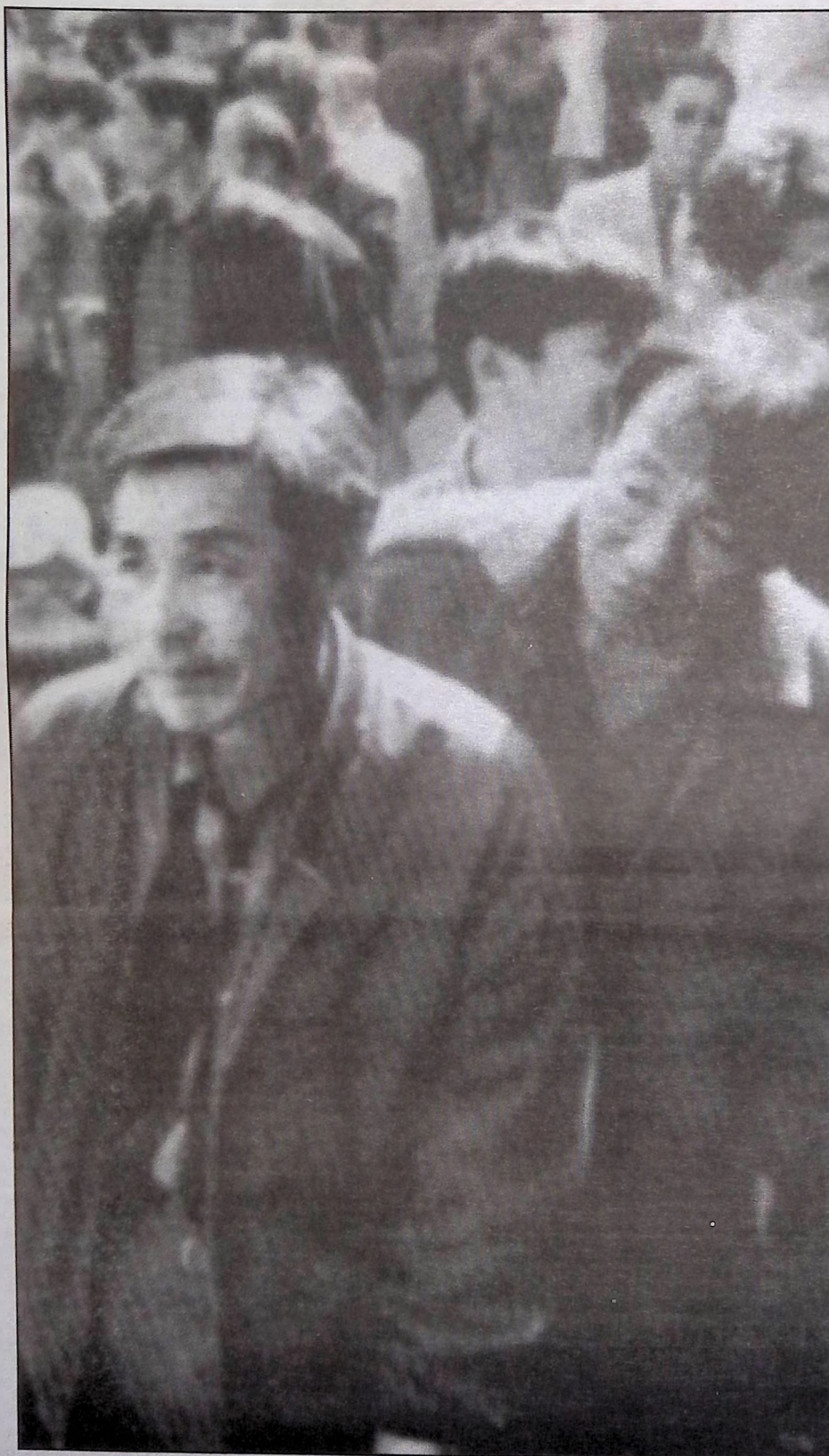
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TCHENS, DESPAIR

every behind outh Korea



JUST ONE of South Korea's growing dole queues

what do socialists say?

Do our genes determine our behaviour?

A NEW book *Divided Labours: An Evolutionary View of Women at Work* by Kingsley Browne argues that discrimination and social conditioning are not to blame for women's failure to achieve parity in the workplace. The imbalance is supposed to be deeply rooted in how men and women evolved differently.

Recently scientists have also announced that they have discovered a 'maternal instinct' gene.

Certainly questions about evolution and our genetic make-up are important. Every living thing inherits a certain number of genes from its parents. These play a role in determining physical features, but that role is far from simple.

The fingerprints on the left and right hands of each individual human being are 'determined' by the same genes. Yet fingerprints differ on each side. Even identical twins who share the same genetic makeup, have different fingerprints.

This raises an obvious question: if genes do not uniquely determine something as simple as fingerprints then how can they determine something as complex as human behaviour?

Most socialists agree that human beings have evolved and that our biological make-up is a result of natural selection. The genetic make-up that underlies our bodily functions are also clearly passed down. That evolution has resulted in human beings having certain abilities.

Needs

We have arms and legs. We have also certain needs to eat and sleep. Human beings have a sexuality, emotions, the ability to use language, and consciousness as a result of our biological evolution.

But our biological make up has also given us an ability to make tools. This means we are social animals who can only survive by co-operatively working on our environment.

Once this occurs many of the factors which shape human behaviour are the result of social factors not biology.

Browne, argues that men are genetically more competitive and are therefore more likely to engage in risky activity. Women on the other hand are supposed to be genetically more maternal. Their main motivating force is to spend time with their children and they therefore have an aversion to competitive situations. Browne has obviously never spent time in a children's playground.

Even the most cursory glance at history shows that in most pre-class societies, women occupied central positions. The matrons of a tribe often decided the key questions about when to harvest crops. It was only with rise of a nuclear family that women began to be excluded

"For most of our history we did not have classes, women's oppression, systematic war and violence racism etc . . ."

from the wider public society. This type of family was in turn linked to the growth of private property and notions of inheritance.

Looked at from this point of view, women's oppression has little to do with genetics. In universities today academics make careers out of teaching what they call socio-biology or evolutionary psychology. Such people take capitalism - with its competitiveness, violence, racism, women's oppression as natural and then argue that these things must be built into our biology.

They make up a tale about life among our ancestors and how this or that behavioural characteristic helped them survive.

Yet serious research has shown that for most of our history we did not have classes, women's oppression, systematic war and violence racism etc. . .

All claims about behaviour being related to our genetic makeup are emerging for political reasons. When capitalism was expanding from the 1940's to the early seventies, even defenders of the system accepted that social problems like women's oppression had social roots and had to be tackled by social action. This began to change when the system entered into an expanded period of crisis, as it has been for most of the past twenty-five years.

If the blame for social problems can be shifted onto biology, it all becomes very convenient for those at the top of society. As the author of *Divided Labour* argues, 'the goal of full polarity between men and women is unrealistic and can never be achieved and therefore nothing can be done'.

The more we understand about our genetic makeup the better. However, as so often happens with science and capitalism, when knowledge about our genetic structure becomes entwined with the financial and ideological concerns of capitalism, it leads to few insights.

by SINEAD KENNEDY

John Maynard Keynes

The man who tried to save capitalism

Capitalism is in crisis. According to Bill Clinton, the world economy is facing its biggest meltdown since World War Two.

Will Hutton, the editor of The Observer, writing about the huge drop in the dollar recently, noted that "there is no moment in twentieth century economic history when currencies as large as the US and Japan have oscillated in value so violently and suddenly".

Now many economists are looking again to the ideas of the British economist John Maynard Keynes in the hope of finding solutions.

Keynes published his most prolific work *The General Theory of Employment, Interest and Money* in 1936, during the biggest slump in the history of capitalism. He argued that State intervention in the economy could help to sustain a permanent boom.

His ideas dominated economics from the 1940s until the crisis of the 1970s. Indeed much of the analysis of the economy advanced by Labour Parties during the post-war boom was based on Keynes' theories.

However Keynes was no socialist. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he made his money as a stock exchange speculator.

He was openly hostile to Marx. He wanted to rescue capitalism, reform it, rather than see workers overthrow it and establish a socialist society.

However Keynes did expose two of the central pillars of the gospel of free market economics. He stressed how ridiculous it was that our lives are dependent on the wild fluctuations of financial markets.

"Speculators may do no harm as bubbles on a steady stream of enterprise . . . but the position is serious when enterprise becomes a bubble on the whirlpool of speculation. When the capital development of a country becomes the by product of the activities of a casino, the job is likely to be ill-done."

In a 1933 lecture, when unemployment in Britain was at 20 per cent and even higher in other industrial countries like Germany, Keynes denounced capitalism in trenchant terms, "...we have to remain poor because it does not 'pay' to be rich. We have to live in hovels, not because we cannot build palaces, but because we 'cannot afford' them."

Keynes' theories exposed the arguments of the supporters of the free market. The problem with classical economic theory is that it assumes a perfectly competitive market for goods and labour exist.



KEYNES TRIED to control the excesses of the system to help profits

In the real world they do not.

The free marketeers operate on the basis that the ability of people to buy goods is equal to the supply of goods. Therefore there can never be an economic crisis caused by overproduction. This argument assumed that any money saved would be reinvested.

However as Keynes pointed out just because some people save money for investment, does not mean that others will borrow it to invest.

He also points out how, far from being "risk takers", capitalists will only invest if they feel they will increase their profits in the longer term. In fact they often refuse to invest in times of economic instability and the result is that goods go unsold. Companies go bust and workers get sacked.

Keynes was also critical of the argument that if you cut workers' wages you will increase profits and pull capitalism out of crisis.

This is the same argument used by Mary Harney today to justify poverty

wages. She argues that creating a low wage economy is the key to economic success.

Keynes slammed the policy of cutting wages and raising interest rates that was adopted by the major capitalist countries of the world in the face of the 1930s economic collapse.

An individual capitalist may increase their profits in this way but if every capitalist does it, workers' wages will decrease across the board and they will be unable to buy the goods they produce.

This starts a vicious circle, companies go bankrupt, workers get thrown out of their jobs and the crisis gets deeper and deeper.

Left to itself the free market produces permanent unemployment and under-investment. Keynes wrote: "There is therefore no ground for belief that a flexible wage policy is capable of maintaining a state of continuous full

employment".

The economic slump of the 1930s proved him right. As the ruling class cut wages and raised interest rates, the slump deepened.

However when it came to practical solutions Keynes was far weaker. He was critical of a Labour government cutting the dole by 10 per cent in 1931. But at the last minute however he shied away from any public attack on the government.

He wrote, "Our methods of control are unlikely to be sufficiently delicate or sufficiently powerful to maintain continuous full employment."

Nevertheless Keynesianism became the established ideology of the post-war era just as capitalism entered a long period of expansion from 1948 to 1973. Many believed that Keynesian policies had removed the possibility of a general recession for ever. But suddenly in 1973 capitalism entered into a new phase of periodic recessions and crises.

The fact is that the Golden Age of capitalist expansion was not the result

of Keynesian economics.

All the economic studies have shown that the economic policy of the post-war period, of Keynesian intervention in the free market, was not designed to keep the market expanding but to stop the booms getting out of control.

For example in Britain from the 1950's on, the government would intervene with credit squeezes to slow down the economy every three to four years.

Keynes argued that the only way to control the madness of the market was state intervention. He called for governments to cut interest rates when faced with recession, the very arguments being made today by the World Bank and the IMF.

Keynes thought that cheaper loans would encourage capitalists to borrow more money and finance new investments.

Keynes also thought that governments themselves should borrow money to stimulate demand in the economy. This only worked in the 1930s through enormous arms production under the conditions of the Second World War.

In reality, there were two central flaws in Keynesianism. First, it was built on the notion of a nation state controlling the economy. But as the system expanded, multi-nationals increasingly operated across borders.

Second, Keynesianism emphasised management of consumer demand rather than control over capital. Yet even if the state can expand demand at certain points, it cannot force capitalists to invest unless the rate of profit is high. Yet as Marx argued, there was a general tendency for the rate of profit to fall as companies increased the level of investment while relying on fewer workers to generate profits for them.

All of this has implications for today as Keynesian ideas are undergoing a resurgence. Even arch-speculator George Soros thinks financial markets require some controls. As the Financial Times put it, "His message is: 'Stop me before I kill again'."

But if the free market doesn't work and Keynesian economics cannot provide the cure, the real solution has to be sought elsewhere. Keynes himself once hinted at a more radical solution when he mentioned "the comprehensive socialisation of investment" as "the only means to secure full employment".

This suggests that governments take over companies like Fruit of the Loom, which lay off workers and refuse to produce goods. If capitalists refuse to produce for the benefit of society, their companies should be nationalised. If necessary production should be reorganised to respond to human need.

Redistributing the wealth of millions to workers will enable us to buy goods and lift demand. All of this would come at a price. It would destroy the profits of the capitalists and jeopardise their position in society. Therefore we cannot expect them not to resist and protect their own interests.

That is why these steps have to be imposed from below by the working class. This requires a revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism across the world

POPE JOHN PAUL II

Twenty years of God's politician

THE 78 YEAR-OLD Karol Wojtyla, has been God's representative on earth for twenty years.

Old and enfeebled Pope John Paul II continues to fulfil his evangelical mission. To celebrate his anniversary, the Pope issued an encyclical which quoted from Galileo, the scientist convicted of heresy and sentenced to imprisonment by the Church.

In his encyclical, *Fides et Ratio*, the Pope said that philosophy and faith cannot contradict each other. He says that many people, especially the young, "stumble through life to the very edge of the abyss without knowing where they are going".

Yet the Pope's own commitment to providing leadership in this confusion has led to some strange directions. Recently he visited Croatia for the beatification of Cardinal Alojzije Stepinac. Stepinac collaborated with the Nazi regime while Jews and Serbs were being brought to the concentration camps.

Morality

The last twenty years has seen an ultra-conservative papacy. John Paul's teachings on sexual morality, priestly celibacy, divorce and abortion, his ban on women priests and his condemnation of homosexuality have all been part of a concerted effort to roll back the clock.

"God's Politician" has seen it as his role to hold the line against any progressive idea. The clearest example is his response to the crisis in the Latin American church.

The struggles of the late sixties led to tremendous pressures inside the church. On one hand, some of the bishops cooperated openly with military regimes. In Chile, for example, the hierarchy concelebrated mass to display their support for *yet on the other hand there was the growth of the liberation theology movement throughout the continent. Here the church attempted to respond to the pressures from workers and peasants by supporting movements for change.*

When the Pope was elected in 1978 the radical tide had begun to turn and the ruling class were on the offensive across the world. The eighties was to be decade of Reagan and Thatcher, and the Pope was their theological equivalent.

Despite having lived his formative years under Stalinist repression, Pope John Paul had no sympathy for the liberation theology of the Peruvian Gustavo Gutierrez or Brazilian Leonardo Boff and instead condemned

by SIMON BASKETTER

their teachings.

He denounced the priests who took part in the Nicaraguan regime and gave full backing to the church hierarchy who supported the Contras.

The Vatican's theological watch-dog, the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith, headed by the ultra-conservative Cardinal Ratzinger, sternly reprimanded any priest who espoused liberal values.

John Paul refused to back the late Archbishop of Salvador, Oscar Romero, in his outspoken defence of the poor. While many Latin American Catholics consider Romero a modern saint — he was gunned down by government assassins while saying Mass in 1980 —, the Pope considers him as merely "zealous".

As recently as 1992, he removed a reference to Romero's "martyrdom" from the agreed text of a speech to the Conference of Latin American Bishops.

In his very first encyclical, *Redemptor Hominis*, the Pope claimed that he would oppose everything which, in his own words, had to do with "having" rather than "being".

Obsession

His target here is the supposed obsession that Marxism has with ownership of the means of production. But this very vague notion is accompanied by a claim that women are more caring than men. "Perhaps more than men, women acknowledge the person, because they see persons with their hearts."

In reality this philosophy means more comfort for the powerful than for the powerless. While John Paul has been trenchant in his criticism of liberals, he has often avoided attacking dictators.

On his travels, the Pope kisses the ground of every country he visits. But when he visited East Timor, which is occupied by Indonesia, he knew that to kiss the ground would enrage the then government because it would imply that East Timor was an independent country. He kissed a cross instead.

Galileo may have received an apology of sorts but the church under Karol Wojtyla is still fighting to uphold the status quo.

film

Are we prisoners of the media?

by DAVE MCDONAGH

IMAGINE HAVING every aspect of your life being filmed unknown to you. This is the slightly bizarre plot of *The Truman Show* where Jim Carey finds himself the unwitting prisoner of a soap opera.

Millions of viewers have watched him since birth and every moment of his life is broadcast live using secret cameras. His family and friends are all actors and his home town is just one giant television set.

Truman has no idea that he is the centre of so much attention until at the age of thirty a number of incidents suddenly make him realise that things are not all what they seem.

Tradition

This film belongs to the Hollywood tradition of the "little guy up against the system".

We find ourselves cheering on Truman as he tries to escape from the clutches of his television creator who has made him a virtual prisoner.

The Truman Show has been described as "post-modernist" in its portrayal of an all-powerful media. According to this view the media has entered every area of our lives, com-



JIM CAREY reacts to the logic of post modernism

pletely distorting our view of the world so that we can no longer tell image from reality.

One postmodern writer, Jean-Paul Baudrillard, even claimed that the Gulf War was a television invention!

However while the media does tell lies and distort the truth, it cannot

completely hide the reality of our lives. Every day our own experience comes into conflict with the images of the television world.

Far from being media dopes, people constantly struggle to change the world.

To be fair *The Truman Show* does show the hero

fighting back against the powers that enslave him. Yet the target of the film is the media which is seen as a law unto itself and not as an arm of the ruling class.

Despite this, *The Truman Show* is funny and uplifting. If you hate Rupert Murdoch you'll love this film!

magazine

Big Issues about magazine

THE **BIG ISSUE** has been saved but its original ethos of campaigning on behalf of the homeless is disappearing.

Just over a month ago the directors of the *Big Issue* had rescinded on an agreement to provide a £200,000 grant to cover the magazine's debts. They were told that there were no funds to pay them and were asked to work without the promise of payment.

The staff soon learnt that the debt was closer to £600,000. The directors of the *Big Issue* had spent the last 18 months taking over new premises. They had begun two new publications that had little to do with the interests of the poor. One was *Web Ireland*, a business Internet magazine and the other was *Irish Construction Times*, a trade magazine.

This was the last straw for the staff. The first to walk out was the entire advertising staff, followed by five members of the editorial

staff. One of the main reasons for their decision was that the magazine was no longer fully supporting its sellers.

In recent months, the magazine has undergone a qualitative shift. Pages that focused on the homeless were scaled down or scrapped.

Policy

Column's such as *Gimme a Break* have disappeared completely. The current editorial policy is to promote light articles on movie stars rather than hard hitting articles on injustices.

One of the former staff told *Socialist Worker*, "The directors and management have lost sight of the ethos and idealism of *Big Issue*. If they had any moral courage they would have resigned when the government grant did not come through".

One former vendor who is still homeless has been protesting outside the *Big Issue* offices. He is calling for all senior management to resign and for the

sellers to be given a bigger role.

At one point he left his bag on the steps of the office. After, informing him that it was private property *Big Issue*

called the police.

The *Big Issue* originally promised that it could tap the consciences of the wealthy to promote self help among the poor. It

received sponsorship from the US embassy, for example. But today the logic of the market is turning the magazine into a straight forward commercial concern.

journal

Shaking the ruling class to its core

We are entering into a period of what Lenin described as one of wars and revolutions.

This year we have already seen one revolution, in Indonesia.

The current issue of the *International Socialism Journal* offers an important analysis of this event.

The revolution in Indonesia has shaken the ruling class to its core. Clare Fermont's "Indonesia: the inferno of revolution" examines the economic and social background to the revolution. She also explores the aftermath of the revolution, the role of Amien Rais and different forces challenging for power.

There is an interview with Indonesian trade union activists and socialists about their experiences during the revolution and their assessment of tasks for the future struggles ahead.

Chris Bambery gives a first hand account of the continuing crisis in Indonesia and an assessment of President Habibie's government.

Tony Cliff offers an open letter to Indonesian socialists where by drawing on the Marxist traditions he suggests the best strategy for building a revolutionary party there.

In addition to the articles on Indonesia, John Molyneux provides a wonderful and spirited theoretical defence of modern art.



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.

Marxism 98

A world in crisis Revolutionary ideas in action

Friday 13th — Sunday 15th November
1 Parnell Square, Dublin 1

WHAT ARE the ideas that can make sense of today's world. What are the ideas that can point the way forward for a better world?

Marx always insisted that theory is a starting point for action. "The philosophers have described the world in various way — the point is to change it."

With this in mind the SWP has organised a weekend of socialist ideas and discussion called **Marxism 98**. The point is to examine and discuss ideas that can arm us to change the world.

Already great interest has been aroused in Marxism 98

Marxism 98 will take place from Friday 13th to Sunday 15th November in central Dublin.

With over 30 meetings on a wide range of issues of relevance to the fight for socialism this year's promises to be the best yet.

- HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE:**
- GLOBAL RECESSION: WILL THERE BE A 30'S STYLE SLUMP?
— Kieran Allen, Eamonn McCann, Pat Stack
 - FROM PARIS TO DERRY—THE REVOLT OF 1968
— Eamonn Mc Cann
 - THE MARXIST THEORY OF HISTORY
— Professor Brian Manning
 - DO ALL REVOLUTIONS END IN TYRANNY?
— Pat Stack
 - HAS FEMINISM FAILED TO LIBERATE WOMEN?
— Marnie Holborow
 - SHOULD WORKERS SUPPORT PARTNERSHIP?
— Paul Sweeney and Owen Mc Cormack
 - CAN SOCIALIST PLANNING WORK?
— Alex Callinicos

"I want to make it to all the historical meetings," said Shane from Sligo. "I came to last year's Marxism and the discussion there really excited my interest in socialist politics."

"I'm particularly looking forward to attending From Michael Collins to Gerry Adams - Are Republicans joining the establishment?"

"I've quite a few friends who would be influenced by Republican ideas but after the Good Friday agreement and Sinn Fein entering

the hated Stormont, they're asking a lot of questions. I hope to get a couple of them up to Dublin for Marxism."

Shane also expressed an interest in the Debate: Should workers support partnership? between Owen McCormack and Paul Sweeney of SIPTU as did Ciara from Tallaght:

"A lot of people are asking questions about Partnership 2000 and the prospect of new partnership agreements. I want to be on top of the arguments about this."

John, a bus driver from Dublin said, "I've been buying Socialist Worker regularly for the past few months."

"A lot of what the SWP says makes a good deal of sense but this programme has a lot that I would like to check out."

"You don't get these ideas discussed anywhere else as far as I can see. For example Do all revolutions lead to tyranny and Can

socialist planning work? These are vital questions I think we have to be clear on.

"I'll also go to hear Eamonn McCann and the others at the opening rally: **Global recession: Will there be a 1930s style slump?** I think a lot of people are asking that question right now."

Anna told Socialist Worker, "I'm very excited about Marxism 98. I can't wait. There's such a lot of ideas that I want to get to know."

Anna is very interested in Freud. "On my course at college they teach you human beings are set in a certain mould."

"I want to hear a Marxist account of Freud's theories."

Che Guevara still inspires interest thirty years after his death. Anna said, "I'm going to look out for From Che to the Zapatistas. Che Guevara was a heroic figure. But his efforts ended in failure. Was that inevitable? I hope this meeting can answer that question."

Tickets for Marxism 98 cost £8 and £5 (students and unwaged). There is a free creche and accommodation available **SW Books** will have a bookstall with the largest selection of socialist books in Ireland at the event. For tickets send this form to Marxism 98, Po Box 1648, Dublin 8.

Name:.....
Address:.....
Tel:..... Union:.....
Tick boxes: Money enclosed:

SWP Branch meetings - all welcome

- ATHLONE:** Contact (01) 872 2682 for details
- BELFAST CENTRAL:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St
- 27th Oct: Alienation: Why we don't like Mondays. Speaker: Linda Moore
- 3rd Nov: 1917: When Russian workers took over. Speaker: E Molloy
- BELFAST EAST:** Public Meeting: The Revolutionary Ideas Of Karl Marx. Thursday 29th Oct 8.00pm Avonell Leisure Centre, Avonell Rd
- BELFAST SOUTH:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Queens University Students Union Club Room
- 28th Oct: Who was Leon Trotsky? Speaker: Dave Jackson
- 4th Nov: What will a future socialist society be like? Speaker: Colin McCausland
- BELFAST QUEENS UNIVERSITY:** Thursday 1 00pm Mature Students Room: Che Guevara and the politics of revolution. Speaker: Stuart Halliday
- CORK:** Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Dennehy's pub, Cornmarket
- 29th Oct: Was Russia socialist?
- DERRY:** Meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Sandinos
- 26th Oct: see public meetings
- DUBLIN ARTANE /COOLOCK:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30 in Artane/Beaumont Recreational Centre opp Artane Castle
- 27th Oct: see public meetings
- 3rd Nov: The German Revolution. Speaker: Melisa Halpin
- MAYNOOTH:** Meets every Wednesday at 6.30pm in Classhall D.Arts
- Block Maynooth College
- 28th Oct: Racism. How do we fight it
- 4th Nov: 1917: When Russian workers took power. Speaker: Kevin Wingfield
- DUBLIN TALLAGHT:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Jobstown Community Centre
- DUBLIN NORTH WEST:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in the Snug, Dorset St
- 29th Oct: 1936: Revolution and Civil War in Spain. Speaker: Willie Cumming
- 5th Nov: The Asian Tigers: From boom to revolution
- DUN LAOGHAIRE:** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Christian Institute
- 27th Oct: Can socialist planning work?
- 3rd Nov: Was Russia Socialist?
- DUBLIN RATHMINES:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St
- 28th Oct: Connolly and Syndicalism
- 4th Nov: The Permanent Revolution
- DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St
- DUBLIN UCD:** Meets every Thursday 5pm. Ring (01)8722682 for venue.
- Oct 29th: Was Russia Socialist?
- Nov 5th: Is Human nature a barrier to socialism
- GALWAY:** Meets every Tuesday in UCG room AC213 8.30-9.30
- Oct 27th: The fight against racism. Speaker John Connolly
- SLIGO:** Contact (01)8722682 for details
- WATERFORD:** Meets every Thursday in at 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Keizer St
- 29th Oct: Will capitalism crash? 5th Nov: Chile 1973

Public meetings

- THE NORTH 30 YEARS ON... FROM CIVIL RIGHTS TO SOCIALIST POLITICS**
- Speaker: Eamonn McCann
- BELFAST:** Tuesday 20th Oct. 8.00pm Garrick Bar Chichester St
- DERRY:** Sandinos, Monday 26th Oct
- DUBLIN:** Tuesday 27th Oct. 7.30, ATGWU Hall Middle Abbey St
- WILL CAPITALISM CRASH? THE CASE FOR REVOLUTION**
- CORK:** 29th October, 8.00pm Moores Hotel
- GALWAY:** Thurs 29th Oct, 8.00pm Currans Hotel Eyre Sq
- WATERFORD:** 29th Oct, 8.00, ATGWU Hall Keizer St

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

Name.....
Address.....
Phone.....
Union.....

Brickies defy High Court to fight sub-contracting

The dispute involving two bricklayers at the O'Connors building site in Ballsbridge, Dublin is continuing despite a High Court order banning the brickies from picketing the site.

The workers are protesting against the presence of sub-contractors on the site.

The protest is part of an on-going campaign by Building Workers Against the Black Economy to rid the building industry of sub-contracting. Sub-contracting is a means by which building contractors get out of paying workers holiday pay, wet time, pension rights and employers' PRSI.

Sub-contractors are far less accountable for their actions and the working conditions of their employees than the main contractors. Many force workers to take cash in hand to avoid their tax re-sponsibilities and ignore health and safety regulations.

Result

The result has been sixteen deaths on building sites over the last six months.

Sub-contracting is also a means to undermine workers organisation by forcing workers to register as self employed under the C-45 scheme and deal with them as individuals rather than as a group.

The workers involved in the dispute have been threatened with imprisonment by the High Court if they continue their protest.

The response from bricklayers to these threats has been a massive show

of solidarity. Mass pickets involving up to one hundred brickies have effectively shut down the site at Ballsbridge and another O'Connors site on Conyngham Rd.

Only a small number of scabs working for a sub-contractor have chosen to break the strike crossing the picket with the help of a heavy Garda escort.

Action spreads

TWO BRICKLAYERS have been picketing a McCabes building site off Thomas St in Dublin for over two weeks to demand direct PAYE employment.

McCabes took on the two brickies and then informed them some time later that they would have to work for a sub-contractor.

McCabes actually paid the workers wages but later claimed that this was an advance payment and that their real employer was someone else they had never met. The dispute has now escalated to another one of McCabe's six sites in Dublin where the company is doing work for the Eastern Health Board.

Again a bricklayer who was employed by McCabes was told he had to work for a sub-contractor. He refused and demanded direct PAYE employment.

The workers at the Thomas St site have also not been paid the full amount owed to them in wages by McCabes.

McCabes is obviously worried about paying them as it would involve admitting that he was the one who employed them in the first place.

One of the brickies involved in the dispute

described the building industry as "a form of gangster Mafia employing subbies who are not registered, in order to evade tax and PRSI contributions. Its a disgrace when two married men with mortgages can't pay a proper stamp for security in the future."

He blamed the political establishment for collaborating with this scam:

"Parties in government like Fianna Fail who have claimed that they represent ordinary workers have allowed this to escalate over the years, probably because they are receiving donations from these builders to party funds."

What we think

THE BUILDING industry has reached the height of the boom and already a number of the large firms are short on future orders.

Over the last year, bricklayers have scored spectacular victories over the employers and ended sub-contracting on many sites.

But many of the big firms are now watching carefully how the disputes at O'Connors and McCabes are progressing. If these cowboys inflict a defeat on workers with the help of the High Court, the building bosses will try to roll back the gains of the last year.

The bricklayers can win through the power of the mass picket. That is why solidarity from other workers is essential.

But faced with the coming downturn in the industry, they will need to go further and start organising other grades across the sites. Strong militant trade unionism that links the skilled and the unskilled into one struggle will be the key to the future.

Dublin Bus

Workers protest against gridlock

OVER FORTY Dublin Bus workers joined a two hour morning protest outside Dublin Bus head office in October.

The drivers demanded a properly funded public transport system and opposed the threats of privatisation and contracting out of services.

The action was called by the Busworkers Action Group, a rank and file body of bus drivers.

One driver told Socialist Worker, "Dublin is grinding to a halt because of a complete lack of adequate public transport. The gridlock could be eased if there was proper provision of buses but instead of developing public transport Dublin Bus

and the government are doing their best to obstruct it.

"I don't blame the passengers for getting angry and frustrated. We are given impossible schedules and the service falls apart with long gaps, delays and overcrowded buses.

"We have some of the lowest subsidies in Europe. Nearly all the costs of running Dublin Bus are met from fares. Only 4 percent is subsidy. That compares with a 75 percent subsidy in Rome or 70 percent in Amsterdam.

Angry

"Bus drivers are the victims of this. Not only do we have to put up with the strains of trying to keep up with the timetable in Dublin's traffic, we are the ones that must face angry passengers.

"We want to see a properly funded, efficient bus service for the city with good conditions for the workers that make it run.

"If we got that, everybody would benefit."

The Busworkers Action Group has spearheaded opposition to CIE's "Viability Plan".

Transport Minister Mary O'Rourke has now threatened deregulation and contracting out if the drivers do not come to

heel.

But one bus driver said the recent action in Dublin "can show the company and the government our strength of feeling on the issue. And our union leaders ought to take note."

Bus Eireann drivers in Tralee struck for three days at the end of September in a dispute over rosters and procedures.

The strike which was unofficial shut down the Bus Eireann operations there for the three days.

Nuses

FIVE HUNDRED Nurses, members of the INO and SIPTU, at Cork University Hospital are on an indefinite work to rule in protest at over crowding on the wards.

At the moment there are 550 beds, which at least thirty fewer than patient needs. Most hospitals

have a similar shortage of beds.

The action was originally voted for on July 1st but management were given time to implement new measures to solve the problem. Nothing was done so the nurses have taken action to force a resolution to the overcrowding.

Queen's University

Fight redundancies

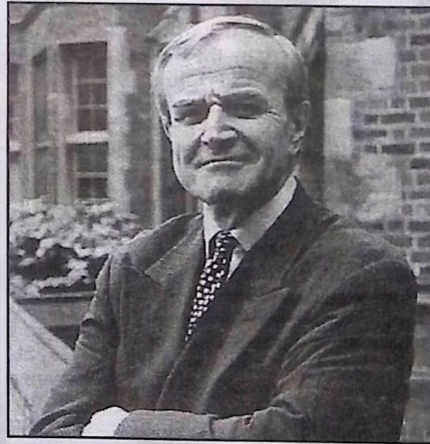
Queen's University have targeted for redundancy 107 lecturers whom they have labelled "research inactive".

The Chancellor George Bain wants academics at Queen's to carry out money making research in order to have big profits rolling into Queen's.

Motives

The Pro Vice Chancellor at Queen's, Malcolm Andrew, is open about the financial motives. He stated that "people who are not performing significantly in research cost the university money".

A letter of protest has been signed by many lecturers furious at Bain's cutbacks. Their letter states that "little consideration in the selection process was given" to the overall role that many teaching staff, who are set to be sacked, play in the life of Queen's.



DRIVING cutbacks: George Bain

It has been suggested by Edna Longley, Professor in English, that the "failed researchers" may be among the best teachers and that the prime duty of the university was to teach despite the need for excellence in research.

Promises of education, education, education, helped Blair kick out the Tories.

The AUT should take a lead from the example

of lecturers' in the NATFHE union who have balloted for strike action to fight proposals for job cuts and worse pay and conditions at work.

The United for Free Education campaign demo on 18 November should be the perfect opportunity to link together the lecturers' fight to save jobs and the students' fight against the imposition of tuition fees.

Lifts

Bosses break deal

SIXTY WORKERS at Otis Lift, who are members of the TEEU, went on strike to force the implementation of an previously agreed deal.

The agreement which ended a long strike stated that the normal benefits that workers get should stay in place until the end of the year. While workers had to give up travelling time, they got a 18% increase and avoided giving up their lunch breaks.

However, the bosses have tried in a number of firms to avoid implementing the deal.

Cutting

As *Socialist Worker* went to press workers at Schindlers Lifts were on strike to force that company to implement the deal.

Schindlers are also the main force in a new bosses body, the Irish Lift Contractors Association. This is a William Martin Murphy type association designed to take on the unions.

But the Otis workers have faced them down as one lift worker said: "The employers are breaking up, but we're now closer together."

Housing crisis

THE RATHMINES branch of the Socialist Workers Party, along with local residents, recently picketed the offices of Dublin Corporation to highlight the case of Antoinette Brennan.

Antoinette, her daughter aged 11 and her son aged 8 are being forced to share a tiny senior citizens flat in Rathmines Ave. The flat is so small they are all forced to share the same bed room.

"This wasn't so bad when the children were younger, but now we find ourselves on top of each other - the children find it especially difficult to have nowhere to take their friends in private", Antoinette told *Socialist Worker*.

As a result of the picket, Brendan Kenny, Head of Housing and Community Services, agreed to come out and see the conditions she is forced to live in.

"All of this has thought me one thing", Antoinette said, "I am no longer a voice in the wilderness and both myself and my neighbours feel hearted by what can be achieved when we stand together".

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Keynes: the man who tried to save capitalism



page 8

Send a message to Tony Blair

PAY THE NURSES TAX THE FAT CATS

THE MASSIVE pay rises awarded to the bosses of Northern Ireland's health trusts is an insult to every NHS employee.

Ulster Hospital boss John Ferguson's salary has risen from £66,000 to £92,000 – an increase of over 39 per cent.

Christy Colhoun, head of the Antrim-based Homefirst Trust took a 26 per cent rise to £83,000. This is at a time when poorly paid health workers are restricted to 2.7 per cent, and a string of hospitals across the North are threatened with closure on grounds of "efficiency".

The pay offer is so bad that seven out of every ten nurses are thinking of quitting their jobs.

When the trust system was introduced by the Tories in 1994, we were told that bringing a "business ethic" into the NHS would improve efficiency and bring a better service for everyone.

But the only major improvement has been in the bank balances of the faceless bureaucrats at the top.

Mo Mowlam, says that the pay rises for the top executives are "scandalous" - but then added that "there's very little I can do". This however is nonsense.

Her government could start by paying the nurses a decent wage. Susan, who is a nurse in Belfast, told Socialist Worker, "The nurses are the backbone of the NHS. Without us the whole service would collapse."

Managers

"The government talks about paying the right salary to attract high quality recruits, but that only seems to apply to managers. We do huge amounts of unpaid overtime to provide cover whenever it's needed. Is it any wonder the Service is facing a recruitment crisis?" Tony Blair claims pay rises have to be "affordable". But the government could easily find the money.

Why doesn't Labour take money off company directors or the fat cats who made fortunes under the Tory schemes of privatisation?

Why doesn't Mo Mowlam bring in special measures to limit the salaries of the trust executives and leave more money for the nurses?

Speakers at a recent conference of Royal College of Nursing stewards called for strike action if the nurses do not get decent pay.

It is the only way to make this government do something for workers.

THESE GREEDY BOSSES



JOHN FERGUSON: This bureaucrat is getting a whacking £26,000 increase for closing the hospital in the north Down area. His increase is more than most nurses get in a year.



CHRISTY COLHOUN: This greedy boss has got a £17,000 pay rise. Yet three weeks ago he was criticised in the Social Services Inspectorate report into the suicide of war hero pensioner, Fred McLernon.

UNITE TO FIGHT THE CLOSURES