

Socialist Worker

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inside

Rank and file conference

THE ALTERNATIVE TO SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP

Saturday September 25, Teachers
Club, Parnell Square, Dublin

Ticket £5 from the Rank & File Solidarity Network,
105 O'Hogan Road, Dublin 10, Tel: 8788170 for
details.

BEFORE THE BUBBLE BURSTS...

TIME FOR A PAY REVOLT

WE ALL NEED A 20% RISE

THE GOVERNMENT claims that pay demands by nurses, busworkers and teachers will kill off the Celtic Tiger.

There were no such warnings when other social classes pushed up their incomes from profits, rents or property sales. The only income that is controlled is workers' pay.

But low wages did not bring the economic boom.

If low wage rises were the key to economic success, Romania or Russia would now be paradises.

The Celtic Tiger was created by a huge influx of US investment which wanted to find a base inside Europe's single market.

In any case, more pay restraint will not guarantee that the boom continues.

The Celtic Tiger will fall with the collapse of an American bubble economy which is fueled by inflated share prices.

Now is the time for workers to hit hard to get their share of the Celtic Tiger. If we don't build strong and militant unions today, it will be harder to resist when the recession comes in the future.

Anyone who thinks the future lies in partnership with the bosses should look at Tara Mines,

This was held up by John O'Dowd, the joint chair of the National Partnership Council, as a model for other workplaces.

But today the workers at Tara Mines are working longer hours for reduced wages because their employers refused to cut their profits when a downturn hit the market.

The union leaders will do everything to stop the pay revolt. They want to keep their cosy relationship with the employers.

That is why they will try to stop workers co-ordinating their claims and launching demands for across the board increases.

But the unions are the property of the members not the officials. It is time to take them back for the rank and file.

81 dead in a dog fight

A MASSIVE military cover up by NATO has been exposed in Italy after nearly two decades.

Four Italian generals are to be tried for high treason after it was revealed that a passenger plane which crashed was the victim of a NATO dogfight.

In June 1980 a DC-9 flight from Bologna to Palermo went down, with all 81 passengers killed. For years NATO, the US and the Italian authorities insisted the plane crashed because of a bomb or mechanical failure.

Wreckage and radar tapes mysteriously went missing after the crash. The families of the deceased suspected a cover up and demanded an inquiry. The authorities held one, but stuck to their story.

Now the truth has come out -

Barred for being Protestant

DUBLIN'S CATHOLIC Archbishop, Desmond Connell has blocked a school from giving the job of Principal to a Protestant.

The school in Dublin chose a new Principal but Connell vetoed the appointment because the winning candidate was Church of Ireland.

The Archbishop used Section 37 of the Employment Equality Act which allows the Church to bar teachers who do not live up to the "Catholic ethos".

The Act was supposed to end job discrimination but Section 27 lets the Bishops off the hook.

It was framed by politicians who were too cowardly to stand up to the Church.

The Catholic Church still controls ninety percent of the South's primary schools.

Control

But the Bishops have far less control over the minds of most people in Ireland.

Archbishop Connell was laughed at when he recently condemned contraception. And the priest who called Olympic runner Sonia O'Sullivan a "slut" for having a child outside wedlock was forced to make a grovelling apology.

The primary teachers' union, the INTO, would win huge support if they took on Desmond Connell over this latest outrage.



UP TO four murders may have been committed in the Artane Industrial School, according to Survivors of Child Abuse.

Ex-Artane boy Barney O Connell says he saw a young boy pushed over the banisters by a Christian Brother.

The campaigners claim that the names of some boys have been wiped off the school record. They are demanding that a forensic team be sent into to examine the grounds of the notorious school.

the DC-9 was caught up in a "war-like scenario" north of Sicily after it found itself in a dogfight between NATO fighters and Libyan MiGs.

This was at a time when the US was on the offensive against Libyan ruler Gaddafi. A military aircraft had hidden behind the passenger jet to avoid enemy radar.

The DC-9 was then shot down. So either the NATO fighter cynically used the civilian jet as a shield, or it was a NATO jet that actually shot the DC-9 out of the sky.

Violent bigot to speak in Dublin

YOUTH DEFENCE have invited Joe Scheidler from Chicago, a violent anti-abortion activist to speak at a "Pro-Life" Conference in Dublin's RDS in mid-September.

Scheidler set up the direct action movement in the US in the 1980s which firebombed abortion clinics and attacked staff and patients.

Scheidler was known as the "green beret of the pro-life movement".

He declared 1985 the "Year of Pain and Fear".

This was followed by 15 arson attacks and six bombings against clinics.

Scheidler was convicted of using threats and extortion to stop women having abortions.

He now claims he has left his violent past behind and that he is coming here to tell Youth Defence to "calm down"!

Tactics

Youth Defence have used many of the tactics set out in Scheidler's book "Closed: 99 Ways to Stop Abortion", including:

- ★ Blockades of clinics, as carried out by Youth Defence at the Irish Family Planning Clinic;

- ★ Lurid colour posters of alleged

late abortions;
★ Buckets of dolls covered in red paint;

★ Picketing houses of clinic workers;

★ Jamming clinic phone lines to stop people making appointments.

They now want to use their RDS conference to rearm the anti-choice movement in Ireland.

They want to push through a referendum to roll back even the gains made by women after the x-case in 1992.

It is a disgrace that a major venue like the RDS is allowing a platform to a tiny minority of bigots who want to stop women having any control over their own bodies.

DIRT enquiry reveals...

Tax inspectors not to expose fraud

THE DIRT inquiry has lifted the lid on bogus non-resident accounts.

Put simply, the Irish rich avoided paying DIRT tax for over a decade by pretending to be foreigners.

These cheats lived in Ireland but filled out forms declaring that they did not live here.

They then opened non-resident bank accounts where they could hide their wealth away from the tax collectors.

How did the rich get away with it for so long? Was it because the tax inspectors had too few powers to catch them?

It is true that the 1986 Finance Act did not allow the Revenue to examine offshore accounts.

Lying

But the tax inspectors could examine the declaration forms to see if the person was lying about not living in Ireland. However, their bosses ordered them not to look at the forms.

In July 1986, Revenue

bosses issue Order SIM 263. This order told tax inspectors not to examine declaration forms and to "await further instructions".

They waited 12 years for those instructions.

So for over a decade the tax inspectors had the power to investigate massive fraud but their bosses told them not to do so.

Revenue bosses ignored report

SEAN MORIARTY thought he was doing his bosses a favour. In his job as Revenue Assistant Secretary in early 1992, Moriarty wrote a document showing how the rich were evading DIRT tax.

He revealed the operation of bogus offshore companies and "non-resident" accounts.

Moriarty's report put the spotlight on the farmers' bank, the ACC. He revealed that half of all ACC depositors claimed to be living abroad.

Strange

Moriarty pointed out that this was strange since ACC was mainly for Irish farmers and was hardly known outside Ireland. It had no international links and did not advertise abroad.

Revenue bosses were being clearly told that rich farmers were pretending to live abroad in order to evade tax.

Moriarty advised his Revenue bosses to call in the top bankers and force them to clean up their



Dermot Quigley and Christopher Clayton: Revenue bosses who ignored fraud

act. He pointed out that since the ACC was a State bank, the Minister for Finance could be brought to book as the bank's main shareholder.

But even though Moriarty was

high up in the Revenue, the people above him ignored his advice.

Revenue Chief Inspector, Christopher Clayton, told the DIRT inquiry he had "no time" to look at Moriarty's report.

Clayton also revealed that the

Minister for Finance wanted him to "go easy" on the DIRT cheats.

The Board of the Revenue Commissioners threw out Moriarty's plan and allowed hundreds of millions of pounds to go untaxed.

MAURICE O'CONNELL A banker and a hypocrite

MAURICE O'CONNELL is a prize hypocrite. He used to be the Governor of the Central Bank. If you were on the dole towards the end of 1993 you will remember you a "fraudster".

In November 1993 O'Connell told the posh Philosophical Society at Trinity College Dublin that "dole cheats" were "setting a bad example" to the rest of the workforce.

"These comments may not be 'politically correct' but they have to be made", he told the Trinity

toffs. But while this hypocrite was busy attacking the poor, his bank was covering up for the real cheats.

The Central Bank already knew that the rich were dodging tax by putting their money in offshore bank accounts.

Maurice O'Connell said so himself when he gave evidence to the Committee of Public Accounts.

Allied Irish Bank told the Central Bank about the DIRT tax fraud at least TWICE in the years before O'Connell's Trinity speech.

Deposited

*In 1986 AIB told the Central Bank that "up to £600 million" in offshore accounts was deposited by Irish residents.

*In 1991 AIB reported fraud worth "hundreds of millions of pounds" going back to the start of DIRT tax. The DIRT tax tribunal is set to blow the lid on the deal done between the banks and the Revenue Commissioners to keep their noses out of the offshore accounts.

We should make sure they nail hypocrites like Maurice O'Connell who have hounded the poor for "doing nixers" while the rich laughed all the way to the offshore bank.

Crisis in the peace process

JOHN TAYLOR'S resignation from the Ulster Unionist delegation to the Mitchell review marks the depth of the crisis in the peace process.

It means that most of the Unionist Party now refuse to contemplate sitting in government with republicans.

Trimble represents the more far-sighted sections of the Unionist middle-class who know that they have to share power with Catholic politicians in order to get any power back for themselves.

But the political base of Unionism rests on presenting any threat to the state as an attack on all Protestants.

Their reaction to the Patten Report confirms this. Even token change to the symbols of the RUC are seen as a concession to republicans.

The Unionists are being backed by the Tory party in Britain. A "Save the RUC" campaign is being run by papers like the Daily Telegraph and the Times.

Resolve

It seems unlikely that the Mitchell review will resolve the problem.

The hard-right Unionist politicians like Donaldson, Paisley and now Taylor, have shown that they are willing to wreck the peace. They are playing games with other peoples lives.

Most of them live in big houses in the leafy suburbs, far from the threat of attack.

But they are giving encouragement to extreme loyalists who are carrying out almost nightly pipe-bomb and petrol bomb attacks on

Catholic homes in towns like Larne.

Despite the cries from Unionist politicians, there is still overwhelming support for the idea of making the peace work.

Poll

A poll in the Belfast Telegraph last week found that 64 per cent of Protestants and 61 per cent of Catholics want the political parties to "jump together" and form the executive.

That this seems increasingly unlikely shows the enormous gap between the concerns of ordinary people and the narrow agenda of sectarian politicians.

Instead of waiting in hope for sectarian political parties to end sectarianism, working class people should start to fill that gap with the politics of working class unity.



photo: Paula Geraghty

1,000's protested outside the American Embassy at the killings in East Timor

East Timor and Kosovo — spot the difference

THE OBSERVER newspaper has revealed that the Australian Intelligence Agency was warning of a build up of troops in East Timor since July 1998.

In June 1999, the East Timor resistance got a leaked document from the Indonesian army about Operation Global Clean Sweep. This said that "Massacres should be carried out from village to village after the announcement of the ballot if the pro-independence supporters win".

Yet the US, British and Australian govern-

ments continued to arm the Indonesian government. Right up to the week of the massacres, the British claimed it would be illegal to cancel a £300 million deal for Hawk fighters.

When the massacres began, they did nothing until after the Indonesian army had won its aim — the expulsion of one quarter of the local population.

Mission

Even then they said they would only send in a small peace-keeping mission with the permission of the Indonesian army — who were the very people organising the killings.

Now remember what happened in Kosovo when the Western powers said they were fighting a "humanitarian war". Here they began bombing Serbia even before the refugee crisis began.

They never asked for permission to send in UN troops but insisted that NATO troops had a right to roam freely over both Kosovo and Serbia. What's the difference? In Kosovo, NATO wanted to expand its empire into Eastern Europe and so backed the Albanian side in Kosovo.

But Indonesia is a firm Western ally and a major purchaser of weapons. It's never about humanitarianism — only about colonial interests.

Tariq Ali and Chris Bambery on **SOCIALISM INTO THE MILLENNIUM**

Eamonn McCann on the **STATE COVER-UP OF THE DUBLIN AND MONAGHAN BOMBINGS**

Terry Eagleton on **MARXISM AND CULTURE**

Sean Crowe (Sinn Fein) and Brid Smith (SWP) debate: **WHICH WAY FORWARD FOR THE LEFT**

Owen McCormack & Paul Sweeny (author of *The Celtic Tiger*) debate **PARTNERSHIP AND THE TRADE UNIONS**

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Housing crisis

Government neglect means 10,000 homeless in Dublin

WALK AROUND Dublin any evening and you cannot help but be struck by the number of people wrapped in blankets sleeping on the street. This is the reality of the Celtic Tiger.

A new report by the Housing Initiative, "Counting In", reveals the full extent of this reality.

The report shows that there are at least 2,900 people homeless in Dublin, Wicklow and Kildare. If you include the statistics for the rest of the country the figure would be a whole lot higher.

This is almost double the number previously estimated by local authorities and it is increasing every month.

Greg Maxwell of the Dublin Simon Community said the finding that 2,900 people were homeless in the week of the survey means that 10,000 people could experience homelessness for periods in Dublin in any one year.

Estimates

Previous official estimates are that there were about 1,400 people homeless in Dublin and 2,500 in the whole state.

These figures will certainly rise unless something is done immediately.

It is an absolute disgrace that anybody in a country awash with money should be forced to sleep on the street. Minister for Finance Charlie McCreevy spends his days gloating about the fact that he has a £5.5 billion surplus he doesn't know what to do with.

In any decent society the first priority should be to make sure that everybody has a roof over their head.

The housing chaos has reached crisis point. More and more people are finding it next to impossible to get affordable accommodation. Over 100,000 people are now on waiting lists for local authority housing.

Since the late 1980's successive governments have slashed local authority building programmes.

Building programmes of the 1970's and 1980's were slashed in 1987 by the Haughey government. In 1975, local authorities built 7,794 houses but by 1989 this had fallen to a mere 768.

But still instead of building more local authority housing the government's only response has been to fast-track planning permission for builders with the newly proposed Planning Bill.

Already building bosses are



Fran and Ann sleep on the streets of Dublin

viciously opposed to this new Bill, which will also allow local authorities to buy up a maximum 20 per cent of a development to build "affordable housing".

But this is not a real solution. The only solution is to build genuine local authority housing and to forcibly buy up unused land from the building bosses.

**Housing Action Campaign
HOUSING FOR ALL MARCH
Saturday 16th Oct, 3pm
Assemble Garden of
Remembrance, Dublin.**

WHAT WE THINK

THE GOVERNMENT has no real strategy to deal with the housing crisis. They refuse to take on the building bosses and landlords who are making a fortune out of the housing shortage.

The Bacon Report was a miserable failure. Bacon recommended that landlords be given tax incentives so they would increase supply.

He rejected out of hand proposals for rent controls. But landlords already enjoy huge tax incentives and this has not stopped them increasing rents by an average of 30 percent last year.

The continuing crisis shows that the only solution is to break with the logic of the markets.

★ Rent controls should be brought in immediately. No landlord should be allowed to raise their rent beyond the rate of inflation and many should have their rents cut.

★ There needs to be a crash programme of public housing.

★ The banks and big business should be taxed to provide the resources.

Building land in major cities should be taken into public ownership. Instead of allowing developers to bribe politicians to get their properties re-zoned, the land should be nationalised to deal with the housing crisis.

Where did the wealth of the Celtic Tiger go?

ONE OF the biggest transfers in wealth has occurred in the last decade in Ireland. But instead of a trickle down effect, there has been a stream going to the top.

These are the conclusions that are drawn in a pamphlet *Workers and the Celtic Tiger: Why Partnership does not Pay* which has been written by Kieran Allen.

In 1987, when the most recent round of social partnership deals began, the share of the national economy going to profits, interest dividends and rent was 31 percent. Yet today this has jumped to 41 percent.

Declined

The share of the economy going to working people in the form of wages, pension and social security has declined from 69 percent to 50 percent.

"The US multinationals claim they are making a 25 percent rate of return on their investment in Ireland. This is more than double the rate for Portugal, three times Spain and five times Britain.

"The figures are exaggerated because they fiddle their books to claim more profit in Ireland but it

gives you some idea of the scale of the greed", Kieran Allen says.

Despite the huge level of profits, the employers are not investing in plant and equipment to guarantee workers a future.

The remarkable feature of the Irish boom is that investment actually fell between 1980 and 1994. One writer has even described the Celtic Tiger as an 'investmentless boom'.

The huge wealth is going in two main directions.

First, there has been a huge flow of funds out of Ireland. According to the Sunday Business Post journalist, Colm Rappole, 'about £3,700 for every man, woman and child' left Ireland last year.

The other area where the money went was speculation. The rich complain that 'greedy workers' are looking wage increase which will destroy the economy. But there has been an orgy of greed on the Dublin Stock Exchange for the past seven years.

Instead of creating more jobs, the rich have traded shares like they were gambling on a casino.

In 1997, for example, the value of shares increased by £14 billion. Of course, these were only paper values - but if you had the paper

and sold in time you made a fortune from doing absolutely nothing.

For worker it has been a very different story. They have been held down by partnership deals which have conned them out of decent pay rises.

The most direct scam has been the Consumer Price Index. Officially Irish wages are supposed to be tied to the rate of inflation which is measured by the Consumer Price Index. But the Central Statistics Office which draw the index up has claimed that 'there is no contradiction between rising house prices and low inflation'.

Last year housing was even shown to have decreased in the index because it only measures interest rates and takes little account of rented accommodation.

Workers have also not been compensated for the huge increases in productivity. In the ten years between 1987 and 1997, the net output of each employee increased by £97,000. But wages have only increased by a few pounds.

The pamphlet argues that the alternative to social partnership is that 'workers get the freedom to make claims against employers when they choose' Shop stewards

should 'take a mandate from their members and submit claims for higher pay rise and better conditions and report back regularly on negotiations'.

But it also argues that workers need socialist politics to carry through the fight. As Carol Ann Duggan who wrote the introduction put it,

"When Ben Dunne and the other business people who used the Ansbacher accounts contributed to Charles Haughey's £23,000 a month expense account, they knew what they were doing. They bought a politician who pressed for policies to make them richer.

"Workers cannot buy politicians and they should not rely on great leaders from on high. But we can develop a strong socialist organisation that puts our class first."

**WORKERS AND THE
CELTIC TIGER:
WHY PARTNERSHIP
DOES NOT PAY**

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1648, Dublin 8.

Eamonn McCann

It's another unfair cop

"A POLICING service must reflect the community that it serves. It must be accountable to, and earn the respect of that community. It should be civilised, civilianised, unarmed and accessible to the general public and should be entirely free from partisan political influence and control".

According to an article published under his name on the day after the release of the Patten Report, this is what Gerry Adams wants for the North. But, strangely enough for a movement which is forever quoting parallels overseas, the article doesn't say where such an ideal "policing service" might be observed in action.

Indeed, there is no indication of any country, location or period of history where the police force has been commonly spoken of as "the policing service".

Adams is by no means the only politician or commentator to measure the Patten proposals against this abstract and fanciful standard. Their approach results from a refusal to acknowledge the centrality of class to the question of policing.

Bigotry

If the particular bigotry of the RUC is at the heart of the problem, why does the role of the police cause jagged-edged controversy in, say, London, Paris, New York? Why is it that black people are still brutalised and murdered by the police in South Africa, who in turn are still hugely hated by the black majority, despite the full implementation of the policing proposals of the 1994 all-party agreement?

Why is it that the Palestine Police Authority is every bit as vicious and contemptuous of the human rights of the Palestinian poor as were the Israelis they replaced on the West Bank and in Gaza?

How come the gardai are regarded with suspicion, at best, and frequently with outright hostility, in working-class areas of Dublin, Limerick, Cork?

It is a matter of mere observation that what these seemingly different societies have in common is that they are divided by class, and that the police represent the interests of the property-owning rich, and operate to keep the unruly poor in their place.

Last month, a major political row erupted, and rightly, over the IRA expulsion from Dungannon of four young people who appear to have been involved in break-ins and criminal damage to neighbours' property. According to Republican supporters, this proved the need for a "proper policing service".

But would the social conditions and the sense of exclusion underlying the behaviour of these young men be eased if the cops patrolling their estates were called Seamus and Saoirse and had been recruited by the "power-sharing" Dungannon council?

The notion of working class people in a class-divided society being policed by "their own" is a fraud and a delusion. If every aspect of Sinn Fein's policing proposals were implemented, the police in Dungannon still wouldn't represent the interests of working-class people, of whatever religion or political hue. They might, true, be better able to con the Catholic section of the working class for a time. But "con" and "for a time" are the operative phrases.

"Symbols" apart, the most bitterly-contested item in Patten's report is the proposal for local auxiliary forces funded by a hike in district council rates. This would allow, say, Derry City Council to buy in extra policing to patrol, for example, the Creggan estate. Unionists have gone ballistic about this, Sinn Fein and the SDLP seem to think it a splendid idea.

Thus, a debate about the privatisation of policing rages without the principle of privatisation even rating a mention. That just about sums things up.

The attitude of socialists is that people in working-class areas, whatever their religion, should organise to hold to account whatever police force emerges and make ready to oppose any such force when it tramples on their rights.

Urging people to imagine the police as part of "the community" doesn't come into it.

With its record of violence, bigotry and brutality...

SCRAP RUC THUGS NOW

THE REPORT from the Patten Commission will do little to change the nature of the RUC.

All that is proposed are mainly cosmetic changes to the name, badges and the flying of the Union Jack outside police stations.

Plastic bullets, which have killed

A few weeks ago I was down the Ormeau Road. People sat down to block an Orange march from coming through. The RUC tore people to shreds. The press said they were all Republicans. That's rubbish.

■ **RAYMOND MORRIS, Belfast civil servant**

17 people many of them children, will still be used. The hated Special Branch, long accused of collusion with loyalist paramilitaries will simply be merged with the CID. John Stalker, the Manchester police officer sent to investigate RUC's 'shoot-to-kill' policy in the 1980's described the Special Branch as "a force within a force", a law unto itself.

The military-type command structure in the RUC developed during the Troubles will remain intact. The Patten report does not even mention the issue of Orange Order structures in the RUC.

That hasn't stopped Unionist



One of the 'new unsectarian' RUC looks at the pictures in the Patten report

politicians shouting about the betrayal of the RUC. Ian Paisley announced his determination to lead a campaign to "destroy" the Patten Report. Other Unionist leaders have

pledged to set up a "Save the RUC" campaign. First Minister David Trimble said the report was a "gratuitous insult" to the RUC and would threaten the "identity and

cohesion" of the police. Trimble has promised to set up a working party to challenge the changes.

The Unionists will use the Patten report as another way to wreck the peace process and strengthen their own sectarian support. The new police board recommended by Patten simply plays into their hands. It will be made up of representatives from every political party in the Executive.

Unionist leaders have cried that this will give "former terrorists" control over the police. But in reality it will hand Unionists a veto over even the most timid reforms.

The Patten Report will do nothing to remove the root problem with the RUC.

A history of bigotry

THE RUC has never been an ordinary police force. From its inception in 1922 its role has been to defend a sectarian state.

Half the first recruits into the RUC came from the Ulster Special Constabulary, which in turn drew its members from the Ulster Volunteer Force.

Its role in the Troubles is far from the Unionist myth that it was caught between two sides. The RUC led the attack on civil rights demonstrators in Derry in October 1968, leaving dozens in hospital. It took part in the loyalist pogroms in Belfast in August 1969 and the attacks on the Bogside in Derry which fuelled the resistance of Catholic areas.

One of the first people killed in the current Troubles was Samuel Devenny, an innocent elderly man, beaten senseless by the RUC in Derry. It was because the RUC was so discredited by its role in the early Troubles that the British Army was brought in to restore order in the early 1970's. The RUC reserves, the 'B' Specials, were disbanded for their role in sectarian attacks.

From the late 1970's successive

British governments have pushed the RUC to have a greater role in combatting resistance to the state. Numbers were increased and the police were given more repressive legislation.

Throughout the 1980's and 1990's there have been continual reports of collusion and cover-up by the RUC. The latest is the case of Rosemary Nelson, the civil rights lawyer, who was repeatedly threatened by RUC officers before being murdered by a loyalist car bomb.

Harrassment

Diane Hamill, whose brother Robert was kicked to death by a loyalist gang in Portadown while an RUC landrover looked on, spoke on BBC Newsnight last week of the constant harassment her family has faced from RUC officers since she began a campaign for an investigation. An RUC officer on the same panel said she should report these incidents to her local police station!

Even in recent years, it has been the actions of the RUC in attacking peaceful protestors on the Garvaghy Road and the Lower Ormeau which has provoked widespread rioting in Catholic areas. When Mowlam and

Blair forced the Orange Order march down the Garvaghy Road in July 1997, the RUC, who had fired a handful of plastic bullets in Portadown, fired over 5,000 at mainly Catholic protestors over the next three days. Not a single police officer has been charged as a result of these or any other crimes.

Wannabe police

SINN FEIN have not condemned the Patten report but claimed that report would be considered in detail by their grassroots.

The main reason for this is that the republicans are attracted by the idea that their members could enter a police 'service' in local areas.

This shows how far they have travelled in their desire to join the establishment.

Socialists argue that the RUC is rotten to the core and that a reformed version will continue to oppress working class people.

While the main victims of the RUC are drawn from Catholic areas, there is no love lost for the RUC in Protestant working class areas.

Instead of encouraging working class people to join a reformed police 'service', it is better to rid society of discrimination that gives rise to a thuggish police force.

Abortion Green Paper

No referendum! legislation now!

IN THE week that the government's Green Paper on abortion was published over one hundred Irish women travelled to Britain for an abortion. This year 6,000 Irish women will have an abortion.

Despite the government's attempt to ignore it and the denial of Pro-Life groups, this is the reality of abortion in Ireland.

Irish women may be denied the right to abortion but almost as many Irish women have abortions as do women in other European countries where abortion is legalised.

The Green Paper itself states that at least 95,000 Irish women have had abortion in England and Wales between 1970 and 1998.

It further states that the figure is likely to be much higher, as many women do not give Irish addresses for fear of friends or family discovering they have had an abortion.

The publication of the Green Paper, eighteen months late, will see the abortion debate once again hot up, as the right continue to demand another referendum on abortion.

Roll back

Bertie Ahern, like his predecessor Albert Reynolds in 1992, is determined to roll back the Supreme Court judgement on the X case.

However the X case represented a fundamental change in Irish society.

Ten thousand Irish men and women took to the streets and forced the Supreme Court to allow a 14 year old rape victim go to England for an abortion.

This was a massive defeat for Pro-Life groups like SPUC and Youth Defence and today their main comfort is their ability to manipulate Bertie Ahern and Fianna Fail backbenchers who are all eager to establish their pro-life credentials.

The Green Paper is being hailed as being "thoughtful" and "balanced" by many on both sides of the issue.

But it is becoming increasingly clear that this is just another stalling tactic by a government too desperate and cowardly to confront the issue.

They only want to stay in office with the support of anti-abortionists like Harry Blaney and Mildred Fox.

After two and half years of work the Green Paper sets out seven options, including legislation in line with the 1992 Supreme Court judgement, legislation to restrict the Supreme Court, or more liberal legislation on abortion or a referendum for a complete ban

by **SINEAD KENNEDY**

on abortion.

Yet the Paper makes no recommendations and all options are considered equally. The Paper has to go to a All-Party Oireachtas Committee which has an indefinite amount of time to deliberate.

This is a complete white wash. There is no need for another referendum. In 1992 the Supreme Court judgement in the X-case accepted that women who are suicidal do have a right to abortion.

In a three part referendum that same year, there was an overwhelming vote in favour of the right of women to travel for abortions, in favour of abortion being available and against a move to reverse the Supreme Court judgement.

People voted to make abortion available here for women who are suicidal because of an intolerable pregnancy.

Successive governments have done nothing to legislate. Then in 1997 another 13 year old rape victim was dragged through the courts. In order to be seen to be doing something, a working group on abortion was set up to contribute to the Green Paper.

A referendum to prohibit abortion will not stop Irish women from wanting to have abortions.

What a prohibition on abortion will mean is that hundreds of Irish women will be forced to continue with unwanted pregnancies.

Others will have to scrape together a few pounds every week in a desperate attempt to raise the £600 / £700 needed to travel to Britain and pay for the abortions.

The World Health Organisation estimated that around 300,000 women die every year from back street abortion.

Nurses who work in the casualty department of Irish hospitals can tell you horrific stories of women coming in bleeding severely after trying to abort themselves with knitting needles.

This is the reality of abortion in Ireland.

It is time that women in this country had access to free, safe and legalised abortion

ARMED BY THE US AND BRITAIN...



INDONESIA'S RULERS TO CRUSH DEMOCRACY

THE INDONESIAN army is backing the militias who have murdered up to 20,000 people in East Timor. Over 150,000 people out of a population of 800,000 have become refugees.

About a third of the population of East Timor has been slaughtered since Indonesia occupied it in 1975.

Now 98 percent of the people of East Timor have braved physical attack and intimidation to vote in the largest turnout ever recorded in a referendum anywhere on earth.

A massive 78.5 percent voted for independence.

Violent

Eurico Guterres is the leader of the Thom militia, one of the most violent. Before the referendum he threatened to turn East Timor into a "sea of fire" if people voted for independence.

After the vote he said, "We may have been defeated diplomatically but we will fight on."

The militias claim mass support but in reality comprise about a dozen gangs - with names like the Bats, the Scorpions and the Red and White Iron (the colours of the

Indonesian flag). They have at most a few hundred members.

Richard Lloyd Parry of the *Independent* reports, "Their leaders are a handful of East Timorese, some disaffected former members of the independence opposition, businessmen, politicians and gang leaders with a financial stake in continuing Indonesian rule."

They have been able to devastate large parts of Dili and towns like Maliana only because they have the support of the Indonesian army and police force in East Timor.

The militias were set up last December at a meeting with Commanders from the elite Indonesian commando unit, Kopassus.

The leaders of Kopassus were all trained in Australia and America. Again in July they met and the militias were given logistical and intelligence support as well as guns for 2,000 men.

There are over 17,000 Indonesian troops and 6,000 police in East Timor. They have encouraged and joined in the killing spree. Some of the military made a fortune out of the economy of East Timor but it is not just concerns over their own stolen wealth that worries them.

The Indonesian military are afraid that if they are forced to leave East Timor other secessionist movements in Indonesia as well as democratic forces, workers and the poor

will feel encouraged to struggle.

There has already been a major general strike on the island of Aceh to demand independence.

In cities such as Jakarta and Sumatra, a workers movement is growing in militancy. Organisations such as KOBAR have encouraged

Keen to go in

The States that want to intervene militarily in East Timor want to promote their own interests, not those of the people who live there.

The Australian government has said that it will provide upwards of a quarter of the troops for a "UN peacekeeping mission".

But Australia has been one of the most consistent backers of Indonesian rule in East Timor. It

aged workers receive from improve the golf courses. Hard-line must



Dili destroyed offered to train Indonesian soldiers after the 1991 massacre, where troops on 3,000 protesters.

Blood on their hands

"LABOUR WILL not permit the sale of arms to regimes that might use them for internal repression or international aggression." Those are the words of Robin Cook, New Labour's foreign secretary on 28 July 1997.

Yet in the first year of the Labour government Cook's department approved 58 out of 64 licences for arms exports to Indonesia, which was still under the rule of dictator General Suharto.

By the end of 1998 New Labour had agreed 92 arms contracts with Indonesia. They included the ongoing supply of British Aerospace's Hawk jets to the Indonesian airforce.



A British Hawk Jet

The Indonesian defence attaché to Britain admitted last year that Alvis armoured personnel carriers were used against the East Timorese.

Television pictures have shown British built Tacitica water cannon trucks in action against student protesters.

Even the British foreign office admitted a few weeks ago that Hawk jets were used in East Timor.

Yet the New Labour government did not stop a single sale of

Hawks to Indonesia massacres.

America has a huge arms dealer. After the invasion of 1975 military aid to 1991 over 300 arms been approved by administration. The 1991 massacre 270 people were American made.

There has been a US arms sales "counter insurgent" 10 Bronco and other.

It was only the Clinton and Blair halt direct sales to they have already orders and will run they can.

what do socialists say?

Should workers have the right to strike?

THE MEDIA regularly denounce strikers as irresponsible louts who just want to cause trouble. They argue that workers should resolve their disputes 'peacefully' in negotiations rather than take strike action.

But no group of workers ever decides to go on strike just for the hell of it. A strike means having to survive on meagre money with the threat of losing your job at the end of it if you don't succeed.

Workers would prefer if their demands could be met by just asking for them politely. But the 'procedures' that are offered in a class society do not allow this.

The Labour Relations Commission and the Labour Court, for example, accept the logic that companies have to be competitive.

This is why they recommended that workers at Tara Mines take an effective pay cut.

Often they only respond to workers grievances when they fear industrial action is looming.

Power

Workers have to resort to strike action to get their rights because if they just sit in negotiations, employers hold all the power.

Bosses can use the threat of relocation to another country, where workers are prepared to work for less, to have their way.

In times of high unemployment they use the threat of redundancies to hold workers to ransom and force them to work for a pittance.

Only by striking and withdrawing their labour can workers be in a position of

power and hit the bosses where it hurts - by hitting their profits.

But the employers say that strikes only hurt ordinary people.

Denunciations of the bus workers began the minute they announced their plans to go on strike.

Yet even though taking the buses off the roads will cause some disruption to other workers for a short time this is not the whole story.

The immediate problems on the days of the strike are nothing compared to the delays and inconveniences that workers put up with every other day as a result of the underfunding of the service.

Concerned

If the employers were so concerned about disruption to the public they would provide a proper service and pay their employees properly to their work.

In reality the 'concern' they show is just an attempt to isolate the strikers by turning public opinion against them.

But it doesn't always work. A lot of workers, rather than being angry at strikers, will be excited to see them taking a stand and wish they could do the same thing in their own job.

Even if the employers are successful in winning the Public Relations battle, workers can still win. Strikes need not rely on public support - the crucial thing is to use the most effective tactic to undermine the ability to make profit.

Workers often find it a lot harder to win support for what are described as 'sectional demands' or demands that will only benefit the workers involved. They are portrayed as greedy and self serving.

Socialists, however, not only defend every worker's right to strike, as the only

way they can stand up to their employers - we actually welcome strikes.

Strikes for trade union principles involve ordinary people organising themselves to fight for their needs ahead of the bosses' greedy desire for profits.

They have a radicalising effect that can have an impact long after the strike has ended.

Bosses can use the threat of relocation to another country, where workers are prepared to work for less, to get their way.

Workers learn that to win their demands they can only rely on themselves and the solidarity from other workers.

They learn that there is a need for unity that transcends the racism and sexism is bred by the system.

When they don't work the bosses machines become useless. No goods are produced, profits disappear and the real source of the wealth becomes clear.

A run in with a cop who is forcing scabs through a picket line is worth a million books on the role of the state under capitalism.

But crucially many workers learn that as an organised group they have the power to take on the government and the bosses.

Some will see that this power can also be used to reshape society into a system where ordinary people become more important than profits.

This is why the Russian revolutionary Lenin, argued that 'strikes are schools for socialism'.

by GRACE LALLY

SAULERS AIM DEMOCRACY

aged workers to fight the peanut wages they receive from firms such as Nike. Impoverished peasants have also dug up the golf courses of the rich to plant vegetables. Hard-liners in the army believe this movement must be crushed by unleashing the same

type of terror that brought the Suharto dictatorship to power.

And they are using East Timor as their stomping ground to see if they can turn back the clock against the revolution that toppled Suharto.

300 YEARS OF OPPRESSION

1701: East Timor becomes a Portuguese colony.

1965-6: Western backed coup in Indonesia brings the Dictator General Suharto to power.

1974: Mass student protests shake the regime for the first time since the coup

November 1975: The East Timorese independence movement, Fretilin, declares independence from the collapsing Portuguese Empire.

Indonesian troops invade the following month, hours after Suharto meets Henry Kissinger.

May 1998: Suharto overthrown.

January 1999: The Indonesian government is forced to say it will respect the referendum result on East Timorese independence.

Indonesia said at the time that it was necessary to support the invasion to protect oil treaties.

The Financial Times reports, "Australian companies have agreements with the Indonesian government for 50 percent of the proceeds from oil exploration in the Timor Sea, just south of the Timor island."

Giant Australian minerals firm BHP also has interests in East Timor.

The Australian government and the interests of its big business friends would be at the centre of any UN intervention.

go in for their own profits



Dili destroyed by Indonesia

It was the only Western country to recognise Indonesia's annexation of East Timor in 1976. The Ambassador to

Workers' action is the answer

THE PEOPLE of East Timor showed immense bravery even to vote in the referendum and there courage should be supported by workers across the world.

The Australian labour movement has led the way with dockers refusing to handle Indonesian goods.

Airline workers have made it impossible for the

Indonesian Airline to operate.

The nurses union has called for a boycott of Indonesia and the Australian Congress of Trade Unions has called a series of marches and protests across the country.

Martial

In Jakarta, during the week martial law was introduced in Indonesia, thousands of students took to the streets to protest against Habibie's govern-

ment. They demanded that the cronies of the old regime be brought to trial and demanded that the new security legislation be scrapped.

Large sections of the crowd chanted for the repression in East Timor to be stopped.

There are 94 million workers in Indonesia.

They have already shown the power to topple one dictator.

They are the force that can bring liberation to East Timor and Indonesia itself.

DEMONSTRATION

**TIME TO FIGHT POVERTY
TIME FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS
Assemble 12 noon Art College Gardens,
York St. Belfast Sat. 23rd Oct.**

Increase benefits — £5 an hour min. wage — 35 hour week Full trade union rights — Abolish student fees — End privatisation — Welfare not warfare — Abolish the 11-plus — Stop hospital closures

**Rally at City Hall to be addressed by Liverpool Dockers, Eamonn McCann & trade union and community activists
Leaflets/posters/transport phone 01232 290586**

On the anniversary of the Second World War...

ON September 1st 1939, Hitler's army invaded Poland. Two days later the British government declared war on Germany and the Second World War began.

Ever since, the rulers of the Western powers have presented it as an "all in it together" fight against fascism.

This is reinforced by propaganda, history books and countless war films. There is no doubt that most workers saw fascism as the enemy but the leaders of the world's major powers saw matters very differently.

They were not motivated by horror at the Nazis but by economic and territorial rivalry. They saw Hitler as a competitor who threatened them, but they also saw him as a force for order and stability. Newspaper tycoons in Britain made sure Hitler was portrayed in a good light.

Foreign secretary Lord Halifax was sympathetic to Hitler. In July 1939 an aide to Hitler reported Halifax saying that he "would like to see as the culmination of his work - the Fuhrer entering London at the side of the English king amid the acclamation of the English people".

Ireland stayed out of the war and refused to allow Jewish victims of fascism enter the country. DeValera even sent his commiserations to Germany after Hitler's death in 1945. Ireland remained neutral during the war for two reasons.

The Irish ruling class didn't want to get involved in a fight between the big powers in which it would be swamped and the vast majority of workers did not want to fight alongside the colonial interests of Britain.

The Irish Government used the war as an excuse for repressive measures. Censorship was the norm and socialist newspapers were banned.

They introduced a draconian Trade Union Bill and imposed a Wages Standstill Order but did nothing to halt the huge profits made on the black market.

Elsewhere, while the working class was expected to put everything into the war, the ruling class was able to live it up. Food was rationed, but it was easy for the rich to get what they wanted.

At the height of the Battle of Britain one of Churchill's private secretaries maintained a full social diary.

Over eight days John Colville went to two society lunches, dined out in the West End twice, went to the theatre, nightclubs, and a weekend in the country playing tennis.

Later, during the Blitz, workers in London had to fight to get any shelter from the bombs. But Tory MP "Chips" Channon was "billeted" at the Dorchester Hotel. He described how "half London seemed to be there. I gave [fellow Tory MP] Bob Boothby a champagne cocktail in the private bar.

"Our bill must have been immense, for we had four magnums of champagne.



Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin: all friends together at the Yalta carve-up

WAS IT A WAR FOUGHT AGAINST FASCISM?

London lives well. I've never seen more lavishness, more money spent, or more consumed."

The leader of Britain's war effort, Winston Churchill was not an anti-fascist.

In 1927 Churchill told Italian fascist dictator Mussolini, "If I had been an Italian I am sure I should have been wholeheartedly with you in your triumphant struggle against the bestial appetites and passions of Leninism".

Workers also remembered Churchill's record at home. As Home Secretary in 1910 he had ordered troops to fire on striking miners at Tonypandy in the Rhondda.

Churchill's main aim in the war was to defend the British Empire against competitors.

Britain was a declining

industrial nation, eclipsed by the US—which was determined to come out of the Second World War as the dominant imperialist power.

If the British government was really fighting a war for democracy it would have given independence to all the peoples in the colonies.

Yet Churchill insisted, "I did not become his majesty's first minister in order to preside over the dissolution of the British Empire." On the outbreak of war, the British Viceroy declared India at war without asking any of its people.

The government put down calls for independence and Gandhi and the other nationalist leaders were locked up after they launched a "Quit India" campaign.

The rebellion that followed was the biggest threat since the mutiny of 1857. But the British brutally crushed it and throughout the rest of the war there was large British army presence in India.

Defence of the British Empire had a profound effect on the war. Churchill concentrated much of his forces on the Mediterranean, North Africa and control of the Suez Canal.

These held the key to the oil rich Middle East and India which were at the heart of the empire. Churchill constantly put off the allied invasion of France and this unnecessarily prolonged the war.

By 1942 Russia faced 200 German divisions on a front

that stretched from Leningrad to the Caucasus. Russian leader Stalin demanded the Allies open a second front in Western Europe to relieve the pressure. But Churchill persuaded the US to put off help while he sorted out British interests elsewhere.

Historian Angus Calder writes that in the first months of the war, although the government had "rejected peace terms offered by Hitler in October as repugnant to British honour, Britain and France seemed uninterested in making a serious move to defeat Hitler".

Many French rulers feared a workers' revolt more than they feared Hitler.

Between 1936 and 1938 a Popular Front government had been in office in France under the Socialist Leon Blum, sup-

ported by the Communist Party and there was a massive wave of working class unrest.

The French ruling class was terrified and coined the slogan, "Rather Hitler, than Blum."

As war broke out, the French government banned the Communist press, but allowed fascist papers to continue printing. Communists and anti-Nazi refugees from Germany were put in camps. Writer Arthur Koestler was one of those locked up.

He wrote that those he met in the camps represented the "toughest, most active and most violently anti-Nazi part of the French working class".

The head of the French army, Gamelin, was virulently anti-Communist and feared his own troops more than Hitler's.

When the German army broke through the French lines in May 1940, instead of pouring troops to the front, Gamelin withdrew units and stationed them around Paris to "maintain order".

The French ruling class then collaborated with Hitler under the Vichy regime.

As historian Gabriel Kolko argues, the Vichy regime co-operated with the Nazis, "partially because the French assumed that the Nazis would win the war and create a permanent order in Europe, but also because Vichy's leaders recognised that many of their goals were mutually compatible."

Towards the end of the war the priority for the Allied leaders was to cement their hold over "their" parts of the world.

They made sure that the struggles to get rid of the Nazis did not grow over into a working class challenge to the whole capitalist system.

In Italy in the autumn of 1944 the partisans, who had liberated parts of the north, were publicly told by the Allies that there would be no help for them until the following spring.

This was an invitation for the Nazis and the Italian fascists to go on the offensive, which they did. British troops were diverted to Greece, where a Communist led uprising had ejected the Nazis.

Churchill told the army commander entering Athens, "Do not hesitate to act as if you are in a conquered city where a local rebellion is taking place." His aim was to root out a left wing led resistance movement and transfer power to an old monarchy.

The British shot down Greek workers and restored Greece's pre-war leaders and monarchy.

Stalin, vying to be a world power alongside the US and Britain, had Soviet troops stand by while the Nazis put down the Warsaw uprising in 1944.

At the end of the war Churchill, the US president Roosevelt and Stalin carved up the world into "spheres of influence".

They imposed "stability" at the end of a gun.

This was the New World Order that shaped the world for decades to come and it was a betrayal of everything ordinary workers had fought for.

by SIMON BASKETTER

in my view

Roddy Doyle's little bit of Bolshevism

FOR THOSE of you who are slightly suspicious of the "literary merit" of Roddy Doyle's work, you may find yourself pleasantly surprised by his latest offering, "A Star Called Henry". Believe the hype, this is a brilliant novel.

Born into Dublin's slums in 1901, Henry Smart's life is one of continuous struggle. Without glamorising the grinding poverty in Dublin at the turn of the century, Doyle brings the reader on an often amusing journey through the town.

Henry and his little brother really are "princes of the streets."

Their first political act is to tell the parasitic British Royal family to "f**k off". The chase that follows is hilarious and educational for the young Henry.

Rescued from the mob by their one-legged, brothel bouncer father, the Smart men avoid arrest because "there is nothing as slow" as an angry Dublin cop. They escape due to their father's knowledge of the underground rivers.

Perhaps Roddy Doyle is tipping his hat here to James Joyce because like Stephen Dedalus who wended his way through the labyrinth, Henry's journey is similar but subterranean. This knowledge stands to him in years to come.

Henry wants to be educated and attends school but because the Smart brothers are undesirables the nuns throw them out.

The task of teaching Henry how to read and write ultimately falls to James Connolly.

With the Citizen Army Henry plays his part in the rebellion of 1916 in the G.P.O. Doyle is quite brilliant on revealing the class tensions between the different participants.

Business

As the looting starts some of the Volunteers are so appalled that "Irish" businesses are being robbed that they threaten to shoot the looters.

What follows is as good a class analysis of 1916 as you are likely to read in a work of fiction.

In a scene reminiscent of Reservoir Dogs, the men all have their rifles pointing at each other, with Henry and his comrades defending the urban poor against the more middle class and rural elements in the building.

Here Doyle pokes fun at the 'sniveling, sentimental poets' who couldn't understand why ordinary people living in dire poverty decided to loot.

In the end it is Connolly who defuses the volatile situation stating that it was not the time to be shooting each other.

In this five second period of the whole revolution, the Rebellion, the War of Independence and the Civil War all take place.

Doyle's politics are overtly left-wing. Along with Pat

Doyle pokes fun at the 'sniveling, sentimental poets' who couldn't understand why ordinary people living in dire poverty decided to loot.

McCabe and Frank McCourt he has come across some unfair criticism for not writing about the intricacies of the Celtic Tiger.

But by writing a book of this kind Doyle is dwelling on a working-class character who is on the offensive in the fight for a more just society.

Henry's wife, Miss O'Shea, is also woman of conviction.

Being dragged from the G.P.O. she defiantly shouts that she can fight as good as any man and during the War of Independence and she proves it.

But there is one major weakness about the book Roddy Doyle has a real understanding of working class anger - but he cannot get to grips with the dynamics of revolution.

This comes out most clearly in his presentation of the fight for independence which revolves solely around the activities of gunmen like Henry Smart.

Although Henry travels all over the country, there is no trace of people seizing land or occupying their factories or stopping munitions getting to Black and Tans through strikes.

The fight against the empire and the fight for the working class are seen as totally separate.

Personal

Despite this, the spirit of the times and the personal experiences of people who lived through the period in the slums is captured brilliantly. Infant mortality was extremely high, T.B. was rampant.

The conclusion that Doyle comes to is that "there are no children in Dublin" because the ones that survived were old before their time.

Henry's mother thinks of "all" her children who have died as she looks at the stars in the sky at night, but none of them shine like Henry, who was described as always being "a bit of a Bolshevik".

SHAY KILLILEA

film

Sex, lies and Stanley Kubrick



Nicole Kidman

IN MARCH of this year cinema lost one of its most visionary directors. Stanley Kubrick died just days after completing his 13th film, *Eyes Wide Shut*.

Film producers went into overkill following his death with media hype and provocative trailers promising explicit sex between husband and wife actors Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman.

Control

Many of Kubrick's films examine the question of our ability or inability to control our lives. Some malign fate, social agency or human flaw will always intervene to impose its will upon us.

Eyes Wide Shut continues with this theme focusing on the domestic relationship between Dr. Bill Harford and his wife Alice.

The film happens over three days before

by SINEAD KENNEDY

Christmas. Bill and Alice live a privileged life in their Central Park apartment in New York.

The film begins with the couple dressing to attend a black tie party in the home of one of Bill immensely rich and powerful patients, Victor Ziegler.

At the party Alice is propositioned by a handsome Hungarian while Bill flirts with two models who propose to take him "to the end of the rainbow".

Bill is later called by Ziegler to help a young woman who overdosed on a cocktail of coke and heroin while he was having sex with her.

The following evening the couple argue about sex and fidelity. Alice tells Bill about her sexual fantasies with a navel office, she saw but never spoke to.

Bill becomes consumed by jealousy and begins a journey into the end of night involving a succession of unconsummated sexual encounters - with his dead patient's daughter, a beautiful prostitute, the underage daughter of a costumier and an orgy on Long Island.

Underworld

The next day Bill repeats this journey into the sexual underworld of New York under the guise of daylight. But this time it becomes even more sinister as he discovers a world of sexual repression and exploitation where the rich prey on the poor.

Eyes Wide Shut is a film about trust and mutual knowledge

between two people, conscious reality and our subconscious dreams and fantasies and how they become part of who we are.

However the film collapses at the end where Kubrick creates - unusually for him - a happy ending.

Confronts

After the orgy which results in the death of a young prostitute, Bill confronts Ziegler about his involvement, but she is dismissed by Ziegler as just "another dead hooker".

Kubrick appears content to leave unexamined a world where poverty stricken young women die by hands of wealthy men who exploit them for sexual pleasure.

Kubrick was a amazing film maker.

But as has often been said Kubrick's self-imposed isolation left him out of touch with reality and therein lies the problem with *Eyes Wide Shut*.

It is a compelling but nonetheless incomplete film, afraid of its own questions.

music

The magic of Mingus

"IT WAS a lonely day in Selma, Alabama. People gathered there to march and walk for freedom." These are the opening lines of the latest Mingus Big Band album, *Blues and Politics*.

It is an original interpretation of the music of Charles Mingus.

Mingus was one of jazz's great band leaders. Firmly rooted in jazz, Mingus was also influenced by blues, gospel and classical music. From the 1950s until his death in 1979 he created diverse and wonderful music.

Mingus was an uncompromising opponent of racism. In his autobiography he says, "I always thought no matter what kind of work people did, they should stand up and fight discrimination."

His music reflected the

struggles of the times. The Mingus Big Band has taken some of his more political pieces and reworked them.

One of the most powerful tracks on the album is "Haitian Fight Song" - a tribute to Toussaint L'Ouverture, the leader of the Haitian slave rebellion.

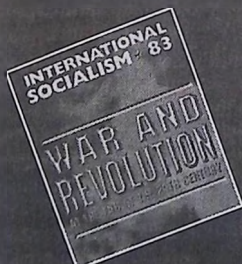
Angry

Mingus said the piece could easily have been called "African-American Fight Song", that he had to be angry to play it, and by thinking about racism and injustice the notes would follow. Other songs on the album are about the Cold War, the imprisonment of civil rights protesters and atomic war. The music is often complex and requires serious listening.

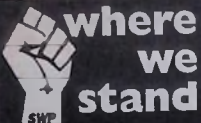
But for much of August it was number one in the jazz charts. The Mingus Big Band is helping keep the spirit of Mingus alive.

—MARTIN SMITH

INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALISM
JOURNAL



OUT NOW!
FROM PO BOX 1648,
DUBLIN 8, £3:50p
INCLUDING p+p.



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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion.

To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class.

We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.

We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry.

We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

SWP Branch meetings

ATHLONE:

Contact 01- 872 2682 for detail

BRAY:

Meets every Wednesday at the Mayfare Hotel at 8.30pm

BELFAST CENTRAL:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St.

BELFAST SOUTH:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union

CORK:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket

DERRY:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.:

DUNDALK:

Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details

DUN LAOGHAIRE:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Christian Institute

DUBLIN ARTANE /

COOLOCK:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre opp. Artane Castle

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St

DUBLIN NORTH WEST:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in the Vietnamese Centre,

Hardwicke St (off Parnell Square).

DUBLIN RANELAGH:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Tom Kelly Flats' Community Centre, Charlemont St.

DUBLIN RIALTO:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto

DUBLIN RATHMINES:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in O'Connell's Pub, Sth. Richmond St.

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St

DUBLIN TALLAGHT:

Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre

ENNISKILLEN:

Meets fortnightly on Saturdays at 4pm. Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue

GALWAY:

Meets every Thursday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba) 8.30pm

LIMERICK:

Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at 8pm. Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue.

TRALEE

Meets fortnightly on Mondays at 5.50pm in Harty's Bar, Tralee:

WATERFORD:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

news/reports/politics/industry/unions

Construction Industry

Stop the slaughter on building sites

THE DEATH of a 22 year building worker on a site in Clondalkin has ignited the anger of thousands of building workers in Dublin.

They staged a demonstration to the headquarters of the bosses union, the Construction Industry Federation during a city wide work stoppage.

A rank and file committee, the Dublin Alliance of General Construction Workers (DAGCU) called the action to demand an end to the murder of workers on building sites.

In the last 18 months 36 workers have been killed on construction sites across the country.

The Government Minister responsible for the Health & Safety Authority, Tom Kitt, had the nerve to say that "only nine have been killed so far this year".

"All of the deaths have happened because of the rush to make profits in this booming economy" one of the rank and file organisers told *Socialist Worker*.

He is absolutely right because in the vast majority of cases death and injury could be avoided.

But there is no profit in health and safety and the building bosses continue to ignore the rules and regulations of the Health and Safety Authority.

Inspectors

This body was set up by the Government but is completely underfunded and understaffed with only 5 appointed inspectors to check on over 1,200 building sites.

Tom Kitt of Fianna Fail continues to pay lip service to the unions when they campaign for health and safety.

But in reality his Government has done nothing to protect the lives and limbs of the workers whose blood and sweat makes the building bosses stinking rich.

The CIF continue to promote the use of subcontractors on sites and oppose any moves for direct employment. And when death or injury occurs, they take cover by using the excuse that the subbies are responsible.

"The death of a young worker from Achill Island was the straw that broke the camel's back", one shop steward said.

"We cannot stand idly by and watch our fellow workers sacrificed by the self-congratulatory attitude of Tom Kitt and the CIF.

We feel sorrow at the death of our comrades but anger at the bosses and the politicians who refuse to stop the slaughter of workers in name of profit.

"If a building boss who is guilty of negligence which causes the death or serious injury of a worker was put in jail, it would very quickly focus their minds on making the necessary changes.

The response of the building workers is fantastic and it should become standard policy to call out all sites in the event of a death or injury of a colleague.

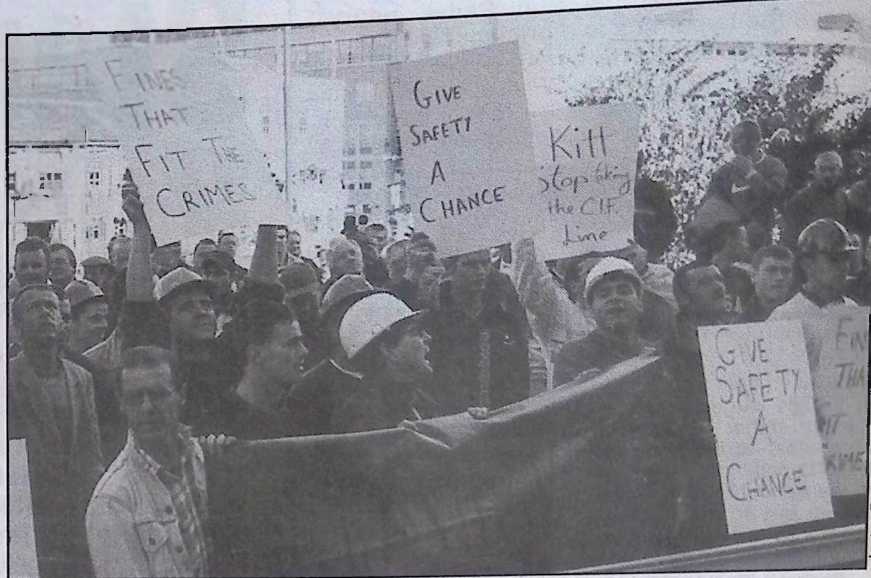


Photo: Paula Geraghty

Over a thousand building workers marched in Dublin to protest at the deaths on the building sites

Fight to defend the bricklayers' union

BRICKLAYERS HAVE once again been hauled before the courts because of their battle against sub-contracting.

High Court Judge O'Sullivan has granted an injunction against Neville Farrelly and Gerry Kennark, who are officers of the Dublin branch of the union, and two other union activists stopping them "interfering" with the McNamara construction company.

McNamara's is one of the last remaining major companies using sub-contract labour. Union activists are opposed to this because it allows employers to get out of making important payments to workers and absolves them of full responsibility for health and safety.

Struggle

McNamara's claimed that BATU waged an 'industrial war' against it—but in fact the struggle against sub-contracting is being carried out by an unofficial rank and file group.

A sinister development in the case was the use of a private security company to monitor leading union activists.

On a Monday night the security firm turned up outside the union's office and started to photograph activists.

They were surrounded by workers and the police were called.

The same firm has also been involved in photographing individual union members as they walked about the streets in their private lives.

McNamara's claim they have gotten photocopies of cheques

from BATU which, they allege, were used to fund the dispute.

But union's benevolent fund is quite small and this begs the question: how could a five month old dispute be financed from such a small fund?

More seriously, the judge made no attempt to query McNamara about how they obtained photocopies of cheques from a bank account used by the union.

Charles Haughey was able to

go to the courts to impose a restriction on the tribunals from interfering with his private life by trawling through his accounts.

Yet when a High Court heard how a big builder gained access to a union account by surreptitious means — he never even inquired into its legality.

"This is an attempt to break up the bricklayer's union" is how one union activist put it "But it will be firmly resisted".

Fulflex 'Staying out until we win'

WORKERS AT the Fulflex factory in Limerick are now nine weeks out on strike and still determined to fight.

The mood at a mass meeting of strikers last week was absolutely solid for 'staying out until we win', according to one of the workers.

Management at the factory have been hiring trucks to drive through the picket lines taking products from the rubber factory. But in at least one case, the workers were able to convince the hire company to cancel the contract because of the scabbing.

Management also took out advertising space in the local papers. "They are lying through their teeth to try to discredit us", a Fulflex shop steward told *Socialist Worker*.

"If you were to believe them, everybody in Fulflex earns at least £400 per week and an annual bonus of £2,000.

"But to earn that sort of money

you have to have long service of 25 years and an absentee record of less than 4 days per year. Nobody really earns that and the average wage here is more like £250 per week."

Fulflex is a huge multinational rubber company. Each time they want to bring in changes to work practice they use the argument of a volatile market internationally and make out they are just scraping by.

But as one worker said, "They would never give the union their profit figures because they say they are a private company. But we know they make a fortune and we earn it for them".

Recently the strikers were refused payments from the Department of Social Welfare despite the fact that they have been locked out by the company.

SIPTU in Limerick have appealed for solidarity funds for the ninety workers at Fulflex. Donations and message of support should be sent to SIPTU, 4, Church Street, St. John's, Limerick.

(01)8722682; fax (01) 8723838; email: swp@clubi.ie web: www.clubi.ie/swp

Nurses

The Labour Court recommendation is 'a kick in the teeth'

AFTER 5 years in negotiations, the Labour Court deal for nurses has finally been published.

The immediate response from nurses has been complete outrage. "An insult", "a disgrace", "a kick in the teeth" are just some of the calmer responses that nurses voiced at a recent INO meeting in South Dublin to discuss the deal.

One nurse demanded to know "Who are these faceless people deciding all this in the labour court?"

All that's being offered is a pathetic rise in special allowances and an extra day off after 5 and then 10 years service.

Feeble

The feeble attempt to cover the gaping holes in the deal by lumping in a once off payment of £1,250 has just added insult to injury. Nurses didn't wait this long and hold off on strike action for this.

As one nurse argued "what's the point of having an extra day off? You need money to spend on days off.

Are we supposed to just stay in bed?" The issue of a pay rise is not even referred to in the Labour Court deal.

Nurses who spoke to Socialist worker were in no doubt that the deal would be rejected outright and the union leaders are planning to ballot for strike action immediately.

But rank and file nurses are becoming increasingly frustrated with the union leaders cowardly stance on the issue of a strike.

Adamant

The unions are adamant that any strike must be limited to three basic demands: increases in long service increments and special allowances, and restructuring of promotional grades.

Winning these demands, however, will only benefit a minority of nurses in the higher grades.

Staff nurses who make up 80 percent of the INO membership stand to gain absolutely nothing. The unions are afraid to push for a pay rise for fear of going beyond the limits of Partnership 2000.

Penneys

WORKERS IN Penneys stores have voted overwhelmingly against Sunday trading. Despite this the management are intent on opening all their stores on Sundays.

One of the managing directors, Brid O'Donoghue, is somebody who doesn't need to work on Sundays. Alongside her job in Penneys she also

Rank and file nurses organise

RANK AND file nurses are beginning to get organised on the ground to push the union leaders to demand more.

One nurse in St. James hospital told Socialist worker "Everyone is saying 'can we not push for much more than this? but the union leaders just bear down — NO! NO! NO! There's huge dissatisfaction. But what we have to do now is channel people into action'".

Most nurses are determined to go ahead with a strike but work needs to be done to push the union leaders to raise demands that will unite all the workers involved.

If you would like to get in contact with nurses who want to organise to push these demands in the unions you can ring 01 8722682 for more details.

Junior Doctors



'Too tired to care'

THREE HUNDRED junior doctors, who are public hospital doctors in short term temporary training posts, marched on the Dail demanding a reduction in their working week, and health service reform.

Many carried banners with slogans such as "Too tired to Care" and "Exhausted Doctors Make Mistakes", and "Tired Doctors Kill Patients".

Junior doctors are notoriously overtired, and become burnt out but they have been traditionally forbidden from striking by their consul-

tant bosses and the trade union leadership.

Women especially are discriminated against, in that 72 hour shifts are death to family life.

In 1987, junior doctors, struck for the right to a limit on hours to 65, and won after two weeks — but consultants angrily criticised the strike, and split the major medical trade union.

Conditions

Conditions for junior doctors have been hammered constantly, by consultants demanding extra work beyond the agreed 65 hour limit, and one team on doctors in Bantry Hospital are currently doing a 140 hour week.

Salaries start at a surprisingly low £16,000, with overtime paid at one third of normal time after twenty hours, and not paid at all after sixty five hours.

As one Asian doctor put it, "How can you expect a

wife and kids to follow you on six month temporary training posts around the country, they never get to see you, and the reason is a £3.50 an hour overtime cheque!"

Foreign doctors are heavily discriminated against, and are often subject to racist abuse.

Doctors on the march unanimously raised their hands when asked from the platform how many of them had made life and death decisions after completing a 70 hour shift.

A young female doctor from Beaumont hospital told Socialist worker "I would love to go on strike, one hundred percent!"

"I know the junior doctors have great public support, people know, when their Mom goes into hospital, the difference between the care she's going to get, from a doctor at the end of a seventy two hour shift and a doctor at the beginning of a twelve hour shift".

N.I. Postal Workers

POST OFFICE workers across Britain have rejected the latest management pay offer.

It is a marvellous result against a deal which would have meant giving up weekend overtime rates and handing management more control over shifts.

The deal included an 18 per cent pay rise, on basic pay, but required workers to give up overtime rates at weekends.

Network

Opposition to the deal was led by a loose network of local branches. In Belfast, the anger at the deal forced the branch to come out against it. The result of the ballot now needs to be built on. A Royal Mail worker at Belfast Mail Centre told Socialist Worker, "The result has given us confidence to keep fighting. The deal was all about replacing pay rises with productivity based pay, to prepare for privatisation. We could see that it was a con."

"The pay rise they offered was going to be paid for by cutting shift allowances and we could see that it divided workers by putting them on different rates. The union leaders are really out of touch. 400 people have already signed a

letter calling for them to resign. They might come back at us with a rejigged version of the same deal. But we'll be more determined to fight it."

The new pay deal came after a wave of wildcat strikes in 1996 in the Post Office.

The Tory government wanted to privatise Royal Mail but were terrified about the threat of strikes.

It is the same for New Labour, so they have gone ahead with partial privatisation and tried to use the union leaders to push through 'flexibility' measures.

Dairygold

WORKERS AT Dairygold in Mallow staged an unofficial strike in September after a worker was sacked for not working under new conditions. Management had tried to impose the change in work practices without any agreement.

After a strong show of strength from workers, a special SIPTU meeting was convened and it was agreed to go back to work and demand that the union call an official strike.

Nurses need a 20% pay rise

A PROPOSAL from a number of staff nurses for a 20% pay rise across the board was greeted enthusiastically by nurses at a number of meetings in Dublin.

The response of the union leaders who refused to take a vote on the proposal just added to the frustrations.

Strike

One nurse demanded to know "how quickly can we go for the 20 percent rise and shorter working hours? The strike has to be sharp and effective."

"We're being hemmed in by these three demands. We

could get a lot more." she said.

Another senior nurse told Socialist Worker "I'm extremely disappointed. They're trying to divide the majority. The work we do, I think we should have more than 20 percent. Now is the time to go all out for everyone."

For most nurses the issue at stake is the future of the health service if things do not change more dramatically. One nurse angrily threatened "how do you think you are going to get nurses to come back and work for these wages?"

Another nurse agreed "conditions are atrocious. We get no respect. I'm not happy with the way we're being treated".

Dublin Bus

Fight for the 20% pay rise

BUSWORKERS voted for a series of strikes to win a 20 percent pay rise. It should be the start of a major pay revolt that has been looming for some time.

NRBU voted to go on a one day strike action for two occasions and then to escalate it to all out action. SIPTU have voted to commence an all-out strike immediately.

"It is outrageous that most drivers have to look for overtime and rest days in doing one of the most stressful jobs going, just to get by in the week. We need some real movement in pay to compensate for the fact that busworkers work unsociable hours in cities that are now nightmares to drive around in," one busworker told Socialist Worker.

The rank and file Bus Workers Action Group are fully backing the strike call. In a leaflet they produced for an election for union positions they wrote,

"TDs are seeking an extra £200

per week. The Chairman of CIE can look forward to a Government pay review boosting his pay to £200,000 per year. Yet some of our colleagues, the newly recruited drivers qualify for Family Income Support because their wages are so low"

At the moment Dublin bus is having huge problem holding onto to new drivers,

"They do their training in the depot and then they are sent out on the roads. But soon they often think to themselves do: I have to put up with all the hassle, the abuse and stress just for a miserly wage?"

"New drivers are also angry about the fact that if you came in after certain date you can end up driving a double Decker bus for a wage

that is £70 less than someone who started a little before." another driver said.

The low wage rate for new drivers was a direct result of a viability plan that was pushed through recently but many drivers believe that this should now be reversed.

Management threatened that the strike would be broken either by private hackers or the army. But effective picketing could prevent this.

The army is also unionised today and the government will be very nervous about sending troops in to break a strike which soldiers sympathise with. If the army is used, they should be met by mass pickets and an open appeal to PDFOR., the soldiers union.

The busworkers are absolutely right to go for a 20% increase. After all if politicians can spend as much on expenses as driver get in a year, it is time for change.

CARRY THOUGH ON THE ACTION

MOST busworkers see no point in purely token gestures. They want to see the action carried through until victory is won.

That means keeping up the pressure on the union leaders. At the moment, SIPTU leaders have even promised more militant action than the NRBU. But the SIPTU leadership desperately wants to keep partnership agreements and will not want to rock the boat too much.

In the past, they have often talked a militant rhetoric but have not carried through. The same applies to some extent to the NRBU.

The key thing is for worker to get control of the strike and not leave decisions in the hands of a few leaders at the top.

Proper strike committees should be elected at garage level to organise effective picketing.

Workers should also insist that that any offer is put to a full ballot before action is called off.

Socialist Worker

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Housing crisis, student poverty, low pay...

STUDENTS FIGHT BACK

ACROSS IRELAND, students starting back at college this year, are facing worse conditions than ever before. Accommodation is more difficult to find and rents are insane.

In the South, if you do qualify for a grant it is hopelessly inadequate. Fees are being reintroduced through the back door with registration fees going up again to £278.

In the North, the reintroduction of fees will prevent many people from attending college at all.

But Bertie Ahern and Tony Blair don't care. Tony Blair is prepared to spend millions on weapons to go to war but says there isn't enough money to make education free for all.

Bertie Ahern is sitting on £5 billion in spare cash but he doesn't think improving the education system is a worthwhile way to spend it.

This why we need to get organised in the colleges now, to start putting the issues of student hardship on the governments' agenda.

The first step is to make sure there is a massive student presence on the Housing Action Campaign march on October 16th. The march is demanding rent controls, security of tenure and an increase in local authority housing to solve the housing crisis.

In Belfast there is a major march to end poverty on October 23rd. Students should join the march that is being backed by the Fire Brigade Union and key figures from the Women against Poverty network.

Mass action like this will force our governments to get



The students in Indonesia have shown the power that students have to make a difference. Last year they led the revolution which overthrew Suharto and have been fighting ever since alongside the masses of urban poor in Indonesia.

Since the bloody repression in East Timor began they have stood up bravely against the military to support the right of East Timor to independence.

If they can defeat a brutal dictator who ruled with an iron fist for over 30 years than students in Ireland should have no problem taking on Blair and Ahern and their rotten cronies.

their priorities straight. By linking up with other working class people who are fed up with the same housing crisis and low pay that students have to put up with we can really get results.

But the fact that our governments always put the interests of big business ahead of the needs of ordinary people is not just a coincidence. Governments the world over put profit before people.

That's why we have famine and poverty when there is enough wealth to feed and house everyone in the world. According to the UN there are three multi-millionaires who own more than the whole population of sub-

Saharan Africa.

If their wealth was taken off them, the income of a major part of that continent would double.

But to do that you need socialist politics. Unless you see a real alternative to the existing crazy system, it is harder as a student to motivate yourself to fight. Socialism unites people, regardless of race, religion or sex, in radical action against the system.

It argues that it is possible for the mass of people to democratically control their colleges and workplaces rather than leaving all decision making in the hands of tiny elites.

And that is something worth fighting for.

JOIN THE SOCIALIST WORKER STUDENT SOCIETY

Name.....

Address.....

Tel.No.....

Student No.....

College.....

Return to SWSS P.O. box 1648, Dublin 1 Phone 0872927067