

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

Bosnia: Is U.N. intervention the answer?

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The rich get richer but JOBS CRISIS GETS WORSE

Unemployment is devastating the lives of thousands of people in Ireland.

The emigration trail has been cut off and now people are having to make ends meet in Ireland. For many its a life of dire poverty.

The Fianna Fail/Labour Coalition is doing nothing about the jobs crisis.

All they talk about is supporting native Irish entrepreneurs.

It is a sick joke. The Irish rich are now making a fortunes on the Dublin Stock exchange—

but few jobs are being created.

This year shares on the Dublin stock exchange have risen by 22%. It is the fastest rising stock exchange in the world. And the rich are in a state of frenzy.

One reporter from the *Sunday Tribune* described the atmosphere amongst the stock-brokers.

"They are glued to their screens like football fans during the World Cup. One of the dealers even told him "I'm knackered, there's nothing like it before".

Amongst those who made a fortune are:

■ **Tony O'Reilly** who has made £12.3 million on share speculation.

■ **Ben Dunne**, who made £5 million overnight by buying shares in a property company.

■ **Craig McKinney** who made £1.2 million selling shares.

These are the native Irish entrepreneurs. They make fortunes without doing a day's work.

Wine lists

They don't care for the unemployed or the poor.

They are more interested in the wine lists of their fancy restaurants.

And they will never create the jobs that are so desperately needed.

In the next three years, there are forecasts of an extra 40,000 joining the dole queues.

This will happen even if 15,000 people are forced to emigrate each year.

The Irish jobs crisis is getting worse. We need to organise to bring real change to Irish society.

Production should be geared to human need not to lining the pockets of the parasites.

Socialism is the only way out of the jobs crisis.

The most overpaid man in the world



Meet Tony O'Reilly. This man is the most overpaid boss in the world.

International Business Week has claimed that he gives 'the least return for his pay'.

This over-paid lout earned \$115 million dollars in three years.

Every single day he earns £70,000 pounds. 650 single people have to survive on the dole on the money that O'Reilly gets in a single day.

It is disgusting. This greedy slob has also the cheek to tell his workers that they earn too much.

He demanded that Waterford Glass workers take a 15% wage cut -- or face a life on the dole.

This is the sort of Irish entrepreneur that the Coalition says is going to solve the jobs crisis.

But if you want a world where no one gets the right to be as greedy as O'Reilly, then join the socialists. Turn to page 9 and fill out the coupon to join the SWM.

ESB mugs pensioners

The ESB wants a 6.5 per cent increase in pension contribu-

tions from its staff. If they don't accept this they say they will

cut benefits for the company's 4,000 pensioners and widows.

SCHOOL BLOCKED

PUPILS at the South Dublin Project school have been forced to have classes in a ward at Stewarts Hospital.

Their school was burnt down but because it's non-denominational, they weren't let use empty rooms in the local Catholic school.

So school rooms remain unused and a much-needed hospital ward is otherwise occupied all because of the bigotry of the Catholic clergy.

SIPTU L.P. BAN

THE local branch of SIPTU voted to deny the Labour Party the use of Connolly Hall in Waterford for constituency work and clinics etc in protest over the recent betrayals such as the refusal to reverse the dirty dozen cuts and the imposition of the one percent levy.

The motion was moved by local Corpo workers and met the support of other industrial sections. Tony Ayton, the local branch secretary, who is a member of the Labour Party, said in the local media that despite the decision he will have to check with Liberty Hall about the situation.

Deficit

The Pension Fund is required to invest about 40 per cent of its money on the Dublin market.

The fund deficit was caused by losses on the Stock Exchange.

But ESB workers and pensioners are now being asked to pay for this gamble.

Students plan to fight dole cuts

The new Social Welfare Bill stopping students claiming unemployment assistance during the summer months is the latest attack on students' living standards.

Some years ago, similar legislation was passed in Britain by the Tory government. It resulted in a massive rise in cases of student hardship and poverty.

USI has estimated that it costs £4008 minimum for a student to survive for a year.

of Britain, Germany and the US, the possibility of a job has been massively reduced.

Signing on for the summer is a matter of survival.

Jason, a UCD student, told Socialist Worker:

"I'll have to go to Germany."

"I know I won't get a job, but at least I'll be able to sign on there."

"Emigrate or starve" seems to be the government's policy.

Last year in TCD only 29 out of 1630 first year students were from an unskilled

manual background.

If this bill is implemented, that number will be even less next year.

"The government's time would be better spent creating employment, rather than hurting those who are already hurt the most," said Louise Tierney, TCDSU Welfare Officer.

USI are planning a campaign to stop the bill.

Motions of support should be sent to: USI, 16 North Great Georges St., Dublin 1.

EXECUTIVES PAY:

Why don't this lot tighten their belts?

Skint? This lot make a mint!

The pay of top executives went up by 10 per cent on average in 1992, while workers' wage increases were limited to 3 percent under the PESP.

The top four

Four companies gave their executive directors increases averaging over 20 percent in 1992. They were:

- Clondalkin Group 39.6 percent
- Irish Permanent 39 percent
- Oglesby & Butler 35 percent
- AIB Group 28 percent

Throw these figures back at them the next time you're asked to accept wage restraint!

AIB gave its seven executive directors an average of £286,700 each.

The Iris Permanent gave their executives £256,000 each - including the suspended Edmund Farrell.

Bank of Ireland paid its executive directors £286,356 each and Cement Roadstone's figure was £284,800.

But Jefferson Smurfit topped the league, giving their executives £982,571 - and this was a decrease on the year before!

Bill Carroll of the I.M.I.



Tony Barry said directors' pay took account of profit targets, pay at competing firms and bonuses.

'Unfair'
He said it was "unfair" to compare directors' and



Gerry Scanlan workers' wages - after all the workers only create the profits!

And if there's a recovery in the economy the gap between workers' wages and top salaries is expected to widen further.



Roy Douglas



Stephen O'Connor

PERKS...
Directors' salaries are only part of their massive wealth. Most executive directors also get company cars, share options, interest free loans and other benefits. And if—like Edmund Farrell—you run a building society, they might even pay your mortgage!

Bigots target gays

Ireland's bigots are doing their best to recover from the defeats they suffered in the abortion referendum.

They have successfully lobbied the elitist Irish Medical Organisation to oppose all abortions. The IMO has one of the most reactionary records in Irish society.

In 1951 they linked up with the bishops to oppose the Mother and Child scheme which would have given free medical treatment to mothers.

But the bigots are also targeting gay people for their next battle. Family's Solidarity's Joe McCarroll has used the page of the Irish Times to claim that homosexuality is a "developmental disorder".

He also claims that legalising homosexuality would be irresponsible 'given the growing epidemics of Sexually Transmitted Diseases and AIDS'.

The attempt to blame gay people for the spread of AIDS is typical for extreme right organisations. In France, the fascist Le Pen has been using the same arguments.

Bigots like Carroll have little interest in preventing the spread of AIDS. His allies in Youth Defence have even claimed that wearing condoms leads to the spread of AIDS.

The danger now is that the bigots will intimidate the FE/ILabour Coalition into legislating the most limited form of legalisation of homosexuality.

Geoghagan Quinn has already hinted that she only intends to allow homosexual acts in private and she will enforce high age limits.

This is why there must be no let up in the battle to get the bigots off our backs.

N.H.S.:

Belfast demo against closure

About 5,000 people marched in Belfast on 24th April against the closure of the Jubilee maternity unit.

Catering workers at the City Hospital where the unit is located walked out to join in the demonstration.

Workers from the Royal Victoria Hospital also took part despite attempts to divide workers in different hospitals.

Local politicians spoke at the rally at the City Hall

afterwards to try to win votes in the May local elections.

They included Ian Paisley who has frequently supported the Tories, backing Major in a recent confidence vote.

CHEAP LABOUR

The Royal College of Nursing claims that 70 per cent of nurses in the North will not have a job when they qualify.

New nurses are needed in the NHS but the government says there is not enough money to employ them.

"They are seeking to erode the number of skilled nursing posts especially at the higher level," said Moira Thompson press officer for the RCN.

"If they can get away with cheap labour they will. It is all down to money."

Paisley and his like are false allies in the campaign to save the NHS. They are the people who blockaded the Brook Advisory Centre when it opened in Belfast.

In fact Paisley's concern is not for women's health but for the "sanctity" of motherhood. In his speech at the rally he quoted Napoleon on the subject.

The health unions should take the initiative away from the bigots and mount a serious campaign to defend the hospitals.

BIGOT OF THE MONTH

This month's award goes to Frank Millar, Deputy Lord Mayor of Belfast.

He used his casting vote on the Council to maintain a ban on 'over 18' films being shown in cinemas on Sundays.

Michael McAdam -- owner of the new Movie House in Yorkgate -- wanted the ban lifted for his cinema.

But after a tied vote at the Council the Unionist Millar cast his vote to uphold the ban.

Millar said he hardly ever went to the cinema but was still entitled to his opinion on the issue and was only trying to "protect the morals of the young".

But if Belfast youth need protecting it's from the narrow mindedness of bigots like Millar and not from anything 'immoral' they might see on the cinema screen.

WE THINK

Getting a real little army



The Labour leader, Dick Spring, is preparing a new law to allow the Irish army to fight in foreign wars.

He claims that as a result of the conflict in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia, it is necessary to change the Defence Acts to allow the Irish army to fight in UN sponsored missions.

Up to this the Labour Party has promoted itself as a champion of Irish neutrality.

In reality, Irish neutrality was full of holes. Ireland always backed the US during the Cold War. And when it came to the Gulf War, US warplanes were given full access to Shannon airport to re-fuel.

But despite this, the right wing parties saw the policy of neutrality as

an obstacle. They wanted fuller involvement with their EC partners. And Irish neutrality prevented them deploying troops in battle zones.

Now the Labour Party is going to help them get rid of the obstacle altogether.

Spring claims that the Irish army must support UN 'peace-making' missions.

Coined

The term 'peace-making' is one of those new expressions coined by military strategists to cover their real intentions. It belongs to the same vocabulary as 'collateral damage' or 'surgical strike'.

The UN is dominated by the major imperialist powers, principally US, Britain and France. Until 1989, the US hardly took the UN seriously.

But since then it has used the UN actively as a cover to promote its interests abroad. The Gulf War was fought in the name of UN resolutions.

In the next decade the UN will be used by the big powers even more widely. Initially, the UN will enter war zones on the pretext of 'humanitarianism'.

But no socialist should take this seriously. The German rulers, for example, used the pretext of humanitarianism to change their constitution to allow the German army to intervene outside its own border for the first time since WW2.

Spring is similarly used the same pretext to bring Irish military policy more closely into line with that of the EC rulers.

Socialists should be raising their voice loudly to protest at this new betrayal from the Labour Party.

Why do peace movements fail?

In April tens of thousands took to the streets to demand peace in Northern Ireland.

A new organisation Peace '93 was formed.

The organisation got overwhelming support from the press.

Politicians like Dick Spring, who wants the Irish army to fight abroad, was fulsome in his praise.

But within weeks the peace movement has virtually fallen apart.

two inquests took place in Northern Ireland.

In one inquest, the parachute Lieutenant, Andrew Oliver justified the murder of two teenage joy riders, by arguing that "I would describe using a car as a dangerous vehicle as an act of terrorism".

Lieutenant Oliver and his soldiers had executed the teenager Karen Reilly for the crime of car theft.

Border

The second inquest was into the shooting dead of the ATWGU shop

steward, Aidan McAnespie, by a British soldier at a border checkpoint.

The soldier claimed that his wet hands slipped on the trigger and he was let go free.

Both cases demonstrate that the British army believe that they can act with complete impunity when it comes

to taking the lives of Northern Catholics.

The peace movement made absolutely no comment on these inquests. It had nothing to say about the violence of the British army and the state forces in Northern Ireland.

Yet it is that violence which has led one in three Northern Nationalists to back Sinn Fein or the IRA.

The missing link

In May, Northern Ireland goes to the polls for the local elections.

Huge problems face workers throughout the North as the Tories are determined to push through a policy of privatisation. Council services are being run down and now the Tories are planning to allow their business friends charge for water.

On top of all that troops patrol the streets and met out a policy of harassment and repression.

Yet none of the parties standing in the local elections come

anywhere near to grappling with these problems.

Sinn Fein do raise the question of the oppression of Catholic areas by the security forces.

But they have nothing to say about workers unity to fight the cuts.

Instead, they prefer to issue joint statements with John Hume to raise the 'nationalist agenda'.

Over 60 Labour candidates will be standing throughout the North.

But while they oppose Tory policies and talk of workers' unity,

they have little to say about the repression.

They advocate that the British Labour Party organise in Northern Ireland.

This can only divide workers because it is seen as part of a strategy of strengthening the tie with Britain.

There is a missing link in the politics of the North. It is a party that can combine the struggle against oppression with a fight for workers unity.

Such an organisation remains to be built.

United

The IRA's tactics are completely counterproductive. Their bombing campaign in both Britain and Northern Ireland has only helped to strengthen the right wing.

But as long as people do not see a better way of fighting back against the violence and against sectarianism they will look to them.

The task of socialists is to show that united mass workers action offers a better way forward.

But because the peace movement does not even dare address the question of state violence, it is bound to fail.

Root

The reason the peace movements fail is that they never get to the root cause of the violence in Northern Ireland.

They come into existence to protest at appalling incidents like the Warrington bombing.

But they show no understanding of why these incidents took place.

In the same weeks that the peace movement was organising protests,

Bishops tighten their grip on schools

THE Catholic bishops are flexing their muscles about their right to control the country's education system.

Their document "Education for a Changing World" challenges the government Green Paper on education because it suggests a different type of management structure for schools.

The bishops have threatened that the state will "encounter constitutional difficulties" if it tries to lessen their power.

At present the Catholic Church has a complete stranglehold on education.

There are only ten multi-denominational primary schools in the Republic;

Catholic schools account for 90 percent of all primary and 60 percent of all secondary schools.

These are privately owned and managed by Catholic religious orders.

The ultimate power lies with the patron - the local bishop.

Monopoly

Priests chair the boards of 97 percent of all primary schools and they decide who teaches in "their" schools.

Despite this church mo-

nopoly, it is the state which funds education, pays teachers and building costs.

It provides the Church with an entire system free of charge whereby they can indoctrinate a captive audience of young people.

The bishops want this situation copper fastened.

They say "to teach religion only in a formal setting and not be free to promote it as a way of life in school is unacceptable".

They want religion to be a compulsory exam subject.

They ridicule the suggestion that the VEC might have a role to play.

Sadly the VEC has backed off in the face of this bullying.

The bishops should be told where to get off meddling in our education, health and personal lives for once and for all.

Lights for the Nazis

NEXT TIME you buy a biro or cigarette lighter you might pause if it is made by Bic.

A new book by French writer Blandine Hennion reveals that Bic is among French companies that have given aid to the Nazi National Front led by Jean-Marie Le Pen.

Bic supplied lighters

for free to the National Front, complete with the face of Le Pen stamped on them.

Aid

Delsey, the suitcase company, has also given aid to the National Front.

Accor, owner of the Ibis and Novotel hotel chains, has donated free

nights to travelling Nazi officials.

This is a long way from a substantial backing for the Nazis but Jaques Stern, former head of the giant Bull computer firm, admits:

"There is a current within the CPNF - the French bosses organisation - which feels close to the National Front in that it sees benefits in having an extreme right wing party in France."

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On The Merry Go Round

The Irish Permanent Building society looked like it was cleaning up its act when it sacked Edmund Farrell.

Farrell got money at very low interest rates to re-furbish his posh house in Foxrock.

And while Farrell was paying back very little, ordinary workers were forced to pay sky high interest rates to the money sharks.

When Farrell was sacked, the Irish Permanent appointed Ropy Douglas as its head honcho.

And lo and behold, one of the first things Ropy did was to borrow £190,000 from the building society at low interest.

The reason? You guessed it. To re-furbish his posh house in Howth.

Anger sweeps South Africa

THE response to the murder of the ANC and South African Communist party (SACP) leader Chris Hani demonstrates the continuing strength of the opposition to the apartheid regime.

For days before the funeral the media was full of stories of escalating violence and a possible race war.

The black youth, we were told, were out of control. Yet one young militant when asked if whites were the enemy replied, "No, no. Not exactly. It's de Klerk. It's the regime. It's the police".

The millions that protested were not just protesting against Hani's death but they were also demonstrating their anger against their lack of freedom, equality and justice.

And they were right to be angry.

Three years of negotiations have produced nothing but a few concessions—granted because the regime wanted to contain and incorporate the militancy of the black movement.

Majority rule is still only a dream.

Despite the abolition of many of the old apartheid laws, blacks still face systematic discrimination in every sphere of life.

The disposable income of the average black is only one eighth that of the average white.

Protests against the regime have been met with violence, imprisonment and death.

Despite all the talk of a race war, the number of deaths in the week after Hani's murder has been only 35—a frightening figure but in fact less than the average daily death toll for the year as a whole.

And 31 of those deaths were due to the actions of

"Wherever the ANC is, we will eliminate it":
Magnus Malan, South Africa's Defence Minister 1988.

the police and other state sponsored forces.

Up to 1.5 million people attended rallies throughout the country.

Over 100,000 attended the funeral in Soweto.

But most significantly was the massive wave of strikes that swept the country. Some 90 per cent of workers stayed



away from work in protest against the murder and again on the day of the funeral.

In some cases, like Volkswagen in Uitenhage, workers did not return to work after the first day's of action.

Even in the Zulu area of the Natal province where Buthelezi's Inkatha movement sent out vigilantes to try to intimidate people into

working, 80 per cent of workers went on strike.

"There is a feeling of unity, a feeling we are back on the move" a Durban trade unionist told *Socialist Worker*.

"It is hard to face the bosses and the police but we are fighting again rather than watching events happening outside our control".

WHERE IS THE A.N.C. GOING?

AT A rally in Soweto, Mandela was booed when he said that de Klerk had sent his condolences for Hani's murder

He was jeered when he said that "We have to work with people we don't like to build a new South Africa".

are involved in—whether they are mass demonstrations or strikes as having one objective—forcing the regime to speed up the pace of negotiations.

But to be able to negotiate with de Klerk the ANC have to show they can 'control' the mass movement. This means that they have to constantly try to dampen down the movement.

They are also trying to limit the aspiration of the black working class by arguing that they have to have a "transitional" powersharing regime which could last until the year 2,000.

This has now led thousands to look beyond the ANC.

"We are exposing our underbelly" was how one leading ANC member, Tokyo Sexale put it.

Organisations like the Pan Africanist Congress have gained support with their slogan "One Senter, One Bullet".

But while the PAC differs from the ANC in wanting to exclude all whites from the struggle, they also want to unite blacks of classes to achieve a capitalist South Africa.

They have also refused to take part in strike action against the reactionary black organisation, Inkatha.

The real alternative to the compromising politics of the ANC lies in the large socialist current which is strong in the black workers' unions.

Thousand of trade union activists do not want the outcome of their struggle to be a new Zimbabwe where the white elite keep their privileges and union rights are restricted.

In recent years the "workerists" in the unions have been pulled into support for the ANC and the SACP. But now there is a real chance to build an organisation which argues for combining the struggles for real democracy and

Organising murder

CHRIS Hani's murder was presented at first as the work of a maverick right wing gunman.

De Klerk "deplored" the killing.

But there is increasing evidence that the murder was an organised conspiracy.

Already eight people including a Conservative Party M.P., Clive Derby-Lewis, and his wife have been arrested.

Maverick

Derby Lewis is no maverick. In 1988 he was the guest speaker at a fringe meeting at the British Tory

Party conference.

One of the others arrested was a former policeman.

Responsibility for Hani's death can be laid against de Klerk's apartheid government and the security forces.

They launched a hate campaign against Hani as the Red menace of the ANC. The police refused him protection despite several at-

tempts on his life.

For years death squads closely linked to the security forces have terrorised the black population.

In 1991 the "Inkathagate" scandal exposed the links between the South African security forces and Buthelezi's movement.

It was revealed that the South African regime was

providing funds to Inkatha to build up a rival trade union federation to COSATU.

The slaughter of nineteen people in Sebokeng township before Hani's funeral looks like the "third force" operation that the South African security establishment have been involved in.

Having cleared the streets, the police disappeared for three and a half hours while the killers shot township residents at random.

Even when the government is forced to arrest white killers it deals with them softly.

Barend Srydom is a member of the Wit Wolf terrorist group who believed he was on a mission from God to kill enemies of apartheid. He shot seven black people at random in Pretoria.

Yet in 1992, having served less than four years, he was released by de Klerk as part of a "political amnesty".

All this has helped create a climate where Chris Hani's murder was not only possible but also respectable.

FRANCE: Racist killers let loose

RACIST police murdered three youths in a single week in France shortly after the new conservative government took office.

During the election the conservatives promised to "get tough" on immigration and increase police powers.

Charles Pasqua, notorious right winger, was appointed as interior minister.

The police took this as a green light to attack immigrants.

In Paris 17-year-old Zairian Makome M'Bowole was shot at point blank range by a police inspector while in custody.

Rachid Ardjouni was

also shot by a drunken policeman in Wattrelos.

In Camery 18-year-old Eric Simonte was murdered by police while they were handcuffing him.

Pasqua rushed to defend his police force, saying they "should be supported and they will be".

This should come as no surprise.

The last time the con-

servatives were in office, in 1986, Pasqua had the same job.

Then a young Arab was beaten to death on a student demonstration.

Black and white youths united in protests against the murders.

In Wattrelos 800 people surrounded the town hall chanting "police assassins".

Northern Ireland: Poverty fuels sectarianism

The *Belfast Telegraph* reported recently that 40 per cent of the Protestant population of Northern Ireland were giving some support to the Ulster Defence Association.

This, despite the fact that the UDA has embarked on a campaign of random assassination of anyone living in nationalist areas.

Here CONOR KOSTICK argues that these findings are a gross exaggeration and shows that the growing poverty amongst Protestant workers can push them to the left as well as to the right.

The shooting of four building workers in Castlerock in April by the UFF has appalled many people from Protestant backgrounds.

Paul, a student from Bangor summed up the feelings in his area at the recent rise in Loyalist paramilitary actions:

"Unless you're a real bigoted bastard, you won't support the UDA. 95% of Protestants hate it."

Jeff is a Coleraine hospital worker. The scene at the hospital when the bodies of the building workers were brought in sickened him.

"In the afternoon, I saw the girlfriend of one of the workers coming out of the intensive care unit and I knew he was dead. I had to stop for a while as a mark of respect. It was a tragic waste of life for no purpose."

But if there is revulsion against the activities of the UDA, there is also a new bitterness amongst Protestant workers. Thousands suffer unemployment and low wages.

The new mood of bitterness means that workers can be pulled dramatically to the left—or else the sectarians who try to scapegoat Catholics can get a real grip.

There are already signs that the UDA has experienced some growth.

Steve is a community worker in Protestant East Belfast. He reckoned that while the *Belfast Telegraph* figure was very exaggerated, there is no doubt that support for the UDA and its new youth wing, Ulster Young Militants, has grown.

"Five years ago they were a laughing stock. Nobody's laughing now. I've heard of incidents at schools where disputes and fights, have led to lads issuing threats in the name of the Young Militants. This hasn't happened before—that the usual school issues, bullying and so on, would have a paramilitary aspect."

One reason why the UDA has been growing is they are now far better armed. The revelations at the time of the Brian Nelson trial showed that not only did the

British Army have links with the Loyalist paramilitaries, but they knew about a large shipment of arms from South Africa, which is now in the hands of the UDA.

But more fundamental still is the increasing poverty and bitterness in large parts of Belfast. In the Lower Shankill area, two thirds of households have weekly incomes of less than £90 a week. In Ballymacarrett, 68 per cent of households are wholly dependent on benefits.

The structures of Northern Ireland that have consistently discriminated against Catholic workers have meant that the divided working class has experienced worse living standards than workers in Britain.

In 1989 the average weekly income to Catholic households was £199, to Protestant households £235, compared to £304 to British households.

Guarantee

One result of this is that the old structures that bound Protestant workers to the establishment are in tatters.

In the past membership of an Orange Lodge would virtually guarantee a job for a Protestant worker. "Today," says Ian, also a community worker in East Belfast, "they are not generally used, because they are not effective any longer. Long term unemployment has really shaken the Protestant community."

"They are now a community in retreat because of that. And one manifestation of that is paramilitary action."

All the politicians are seen with mistrust.

When workers unite

The key to building a socialist presence is to organise in the workplace and the unions.

It is in workplaces that Protestant and Catholic are most likely to mix. It is there that sectarianism can be broken down.

Both Janice and Paul changed their views as a result of work. "I met Catholic friends when I started part-time work. It changed my outlook," Janice said.

Paul added: "I was brought up in a strong Protestant background. I went on the 12th July march, I believed that Catholics had horns. But in a part-time MacDonald's job I realised it was rubbish."

More importantly, the common experience of exploitation at the hands of the managers, and the ability to stick together and defeat them, can make rapid changes in workers' views.

Historically, it has been in periods of intense workers struggles that large numbers of Protestant workers have broken from Orange ideas.

1907, 1919, 1932, and 1944 all witnessed massive struggles of a united working class, and gave strength to socialist and revolutionary traditions in the working class.

How enduring the unity, and whether sectarian ideas are broken down in the course of smaller disputes often depends on the active intervention of socialists.



Protestant workers face worsening living conditions

"The paramilitaries are seen as the only people who will stand up to the eventual decline and push to a united Ireland."

Sandra, a young Protestant worker, agreed: "It is all to do with poverty. Up in Shankill Road a lot of people are siding with the UVF against the police. The RUC are doing more checks, more harassment. Two years ago the UVF were a joke—now

they've shot more than the IRA.

"But even in my family people say 'they're doing something, we've sat back too long'."

Recent census figures that were leaked to the *Independent on Sunday* show Belfast is more divided than ever in its past. 90% of Protestant and Catholics live on streets that are exclusively of that religion.

Deprivation amid the plenty

POVERTY Amongst Plenty is a report just published by the "Community Development in Protestant Areas" group.

It looks at two Protestant working class housing estates in Belfast—Taughmonagh and Clarawood.

These estates are located in 'prosperous' areas. The level of deprivation is shocking.

In Taughmonagh, less than half the work force is in full time employment. The unemployment rate stands at 31.8 per cent.

Over two-thirds of the households have a weekly income of less than £110. Three-quarters of the over 16s have no formal qualifications.

In Clarawood, over half the households have a weekly income of less than £90.

The unemployment rate in five out of nine Protestant working class areas was in excess of thirty per cent.

The UDA tries to use the communalism that grows out of this separation to win a base.

They claim that Protestant areas are doing worse because the Catholics have got the better sports clubs or better housing scheme.

But these right wing sectarian ideas can be challenged provided there is a socialist presence amongst Protestant workers.

sectarianism, such as after Warrington and Castlerock, his workplace did not experience sectarian responses.

"This is because the union does deal with these issues.

"For example, when UVF slogans were being put up on the walls, we didn't go to management, we stopped it ourselves.

"Or when some people came to work in Rangers shirts, and others in Celtic shirts, what started as a bit of banter went a bit far.

"So I got everyone concerned together, and we agreed to stop it."

What did concern Jim was how the action of managers could stir up sectarianism.

In Shorts there was an example where a redundancy short-list had two Catholics taken off it, and two Protestants put on.

He believed that a senior manager then leaked this information, and the largely Protestant workforce walked out in protest.

The tragedy was that the stewards went along with this instead of organising a walkout against all assessments for redundancy.

off against the other.

Today there is a, massive mood of bitterness in Protestant areas. Thousands feel that they have little in common with the Tory squire Sir Patrick Mayhew or the Royal parasites whose luxury yachts are paid for while hospitals are run down.

This bitterness can be pulled back towards sectarian bigotry by the UDA. Every time the IRA bomb a town like Bangor the UDA gets more of a hearing.

But socialists could also direct the anger against the Orange and Tory

bosses.

The fightbacks over the NHS and the coming battles against the Tory pay freeze create opportunities for the socialist message.

But workers' unity will only be firmly established when there is a fight against both reactionary states in Ireland. The Catholic right in the South and the Orange bigots in the North have always mirrored and fed off each other.

Both states which produced the "carnival of reaction" have to be smashed.

D.H.S.S. WALK-OUT

Workers in a DHSS office in Ballymena walked out over threats from the UFF to shoot Catholic employees.

In Belfast as well as throughout the country meetings were held on the Friday morning and it was agreed to hold a one-day stoppage in solidarity.

In the Castlecourt Complex DHSS there was a one hundred percent turnout with non-union members also walking out.

The feeling was that even with a mixed work force everyone had been under threat at one time or another from paramilitaries on either side and so people were keen to support the Ballymena workers.

Since the stoppage the UFF denied making any calls in Ballymena and claimed the threats were a hoax.

WE THINK

There has been systematic discrimination against Catholic workers in Northern Ireland.

Today, for example, only 12 per cent of the workforce of Shorts and 6 per cent of Harland and Wolfe are Catholic.

But this discrimination did not benefit Protestant workers or turn them into a privileged race.

When the working class were divided, all workers lost out. Union organisation was weakened and the bosses played one group

SOUTH KOREA: A socialist speaks from the dock



Choi Il-Bung

SOUTH KOREAN socialist Choi Il-Bung was sentenced to two years in jail last November for publishing books freely available in the West.

He was sentenced as the country's rulers claimed to be moving from military rule to democracy and last month he was excluded from an amnesty for political prisoners.

This is part of the statement Choi Il-Bung made to the court.

NEITHER particular individuals nor particular developments led me to socialism.

Instead many developments and individuals combined to shock my mind. It was my reaction to this shock that made me what I am.

It seemed to me, who just hung around the edges of student activists' marches as they were disrupted with teargas, that the movement for freedom and democracy was represented by progressive Christianity.

Going to the United States was an escape from the oppressive social mood of this country and from my family.

I left in search of the religious truth and returned three and a half years later with an almost certain decision to break from religion.

But my ideas were basically academic until June 1987.

The factory occupations and workers' demonstrations of that year came as a big shock.

Though most intellectuals came to the June struggle with hatred for the government, almost nobody predicted the resistance of the masses would take place on such a scale and with such fury.

The rulers complained about the violence of the masses but kept quiet about the fact that the state used violence—the rape and torture of Kwon In Sook, the choking to death of Park Chong Choi and killing of Lee Han Yoi with a direct hit from a teargas canister.

'Liberal Democracy'

It is certainly true that there has been a relative democratisation. But there had to be resistance from below before it was given.

If it had not been for the masses' rebellion, there would not have been the concession of direct presidential elections in 1987.

Liberal democracy under the rule of the DLP means the freedom of rulers to commit massive corruption and the freedom to conduct cover ups.

It means the freedom of big capital to commit fraud.

It is the freedom for the head of Hyundai, Chung Joo Young, and the head of Dae Woo, Kim Woo Jung, to visit North Korea while the student Lim Soo Kyong and priest Moon Kyu Hyun are in prison after visiting North Korea.

It is the freedom to discourage free expression of opinion, freedom to ignore election pledges, freedom to trample the workers of Hyundai Auto and Hyundai Heavy Industry by mobilising the thugs in uniform.

In sum, liberal democracy means "liberally" exploiting and oppressing and "democratically" sharing the spoils among the big capitalists.

North Korea

Were the International Socialists and I provoked or controlled by the North Korean state or its followers? The most defining characteristic of our group is the theory that character-

ises North Korea, China, the ex-USSR and former Eastern European countries as state capitalist.

The prosecution understands this very well.

It charged us not with benefiting North Korea, but with propagandising against the establishment.

Organisation

I began to run Shyngpyongron—a forum for anti-Stalinist, leftist theory—in January 1989.

It published detailed books with a high level of theory. There was no organisational base, a shortage of funds and massive market pressure from big companies.

The publication company went bankrupt in June 1990.

The collapse of the Eastern European states sent the South Korean left into an endless maze of confusion.

I concluded it was necessary to build an independent organisation. I therefore met Lee Seong Bok and others and we agreed to build such an organisation.

That is what made me what I am today.

The Crisis

I cannot help thinking the reason the South Korean government oppresses us is that the liberal democracy of the Republic of Korea has no self confidence.

There are certainly plenty of reasons for South Korea's rulers to lack confidence.

Every presidential candidate in the elections described the situation as a general crisis.

This recession is fundamentally different from those which eroded the economy temporarily while South Korean capitalism enjoyed a boom for the last 30 years.

After enjoying its youth for 30 years, South Korean capitalism is beginning to grow senile like Western capitalism.

The structural and permanent nature of this recession is shown decisively by the chronic instability of the financial system.

President Kim Young Sam's "Korea Disease" is an incurable disease.

Of course, there might be temporary recoveries and favourable turns. But a fundamental cure is impossible because the main reason for this crisis is in the world economy.

To South Korea's rulers I would like to advise the rulers this:

Declare frankly that the workers are your enemy. Declare war against them every year. And then declare war against us, saying that the International Socialist bastards are benefiting the enemy and could start a big fire.

If the prosecution and the court can give just one clear answer to the many questions which I asked, then I will admit everything. If not, I am not guilty.

■ Fax letters of protest to the editors of the following Korean daily newspapers: Han-Kyoreh Shimnum (00) 82 27100310, Dong-A Ilbo 82 2 361 0434, Joong-ang Daily News 82 2 757 5388.

If Annie M 10 years ol

LAST year the Bishop Casey affair shocked Ireland when it emerged that money had gone missing from the parish funds in Galway to help support a son of the bishop. But now powerful elements in Irish society are calling for the case to be forgotten about. They are trying to stir up a backlash against Annie Murphy. Here GER TUOHY shows how the Annie Murphy case is only a small part of the story of how Irish unmarried mothers have been treated.

WHEN Annie Murphy was interviewed on the Late Late Show in April she was insulted and subjected to a character assassination.

Gay Byrne and supporters of Bishop Casey in the audience attempted to portray her as a "loose woman" with no sense of responsibility, who seduced an innocent man.

But there is nothing unusual about the attacks that have been launched on Annie Murphy and her recent book, *Forbidden Fruit*, now an Irish best-seller.

Unmarried mothers have always been hounded by the bishops and told that they should be ashamed of themselves.

In the past, women in Ireland were even imprisoned for life in psychiatric institutions for the crime of being pregnant outside of marriage.

Some indication of how unmarried mothers were treated comes through in Annie Murphy's own book.

After the birth of her son, Peter, Annie Murphy stayed in St Patrick's Home for Unmarried Mothers in Dublin, which was run by the Catholic Church.

She describes how "we were only able to see our babies when the bell rang at meal times".

When she fell ill and was unable to walk because of blood clots and infection the doctor told her she was "a faker and a whore" and refused to treat her.

Had Annie Murphy become pregnant in Ireland a decade earlier she might have faced an even worse experience.

She might have ended up in an institution such as the Mary Magdalen Home Laundry in Galway. The laundry took its name from Mary Magdalen, the prostitute in the Bible story who befriends Jesus Christ.

For about one hundred years, single women who became pregnant or who were accused of stealing or loitering

were banished there, often by their own families.

One woman was imprisoned there because she returned home late from a dance. Up to a hundred women were housed there at any one time.

The Magdalen Laundry was only one of 22 similar institutions in Ireland at the time.

A local man told *Socialist Worker* that, as children, he and his friends were encouraged to throw stones at the women over the walls.

The women were used as slave labour in the laundry. One of their main tasks was to wash the clothing and linen for Bishops like Eamonn Casey.

A former staff member, Richard Hackett, described how "all the women would be lined up and there was a row of washbasins along one side of the wash house... and they'd be washing all the clergy's stuff by hand on washboards".

Barbed Wire

The women were never paid for this work and were forced to live in horrific conditions. They had little chance of escaping and were sent back to the laundry if they tried.

Another former worker, Anna MacGill, tells of how "they were locked in at night, when they went to bed. You looked out a window and all you saw was barbed wire and railings.

"There were beds all on top of one another, about sixty or seventy beds in this long dormitory".

One woman who was incarcerated there for many years wrote of how they were treated in a letter to RTE: "The cruelty we got, slaved like blacks. Some of the girls were dragged by the hair of off, simply if they gave the least back answer or were too slow at their work.

"You got a small bag of sugar for the week and if you gave any trouble at all it would be stopped. We got a bar of soap and a half a crown at Christmas.

"We often stole up to the back kitchen of the convent to eat out of the bucket."

Patricia Burke-Brogan was assigned to the Magdalen Laundry in 1963. She was then a novice in the Mercy Order of nuns which owned and managed the laundry.

Although she only stayed there for one week, it left a strong impression on her. She has since written a play, "Eclipsed", based on her experience there. The play was given high awards at a recent Edinburgh Fringe Festival.

She told *Socialist Worker*: "They had no legal authority to keep the women there, but if there was no family member willing to take them out they had to stay for the rest of their lives.

"There were beatings, like in any prison. What I found horrific about it all was the way their children were taken from them and put into industrial schools and adopted."

A caller to the Marian Finucane radio programme a number of months ago who had stayed in a similar institution described how she was separated from her baby: "One morning I was given a little pink outfit that her adoptive parents had sent in. I dressed her and I was given my case and I got into [the car]. "There was a priest driving—and a nun in the back with my daughter. They dropped me at my grandparents. That was the last I saw of my daughter. She was in the back seat asleep in pink and I was on my own."

The Magdalen Laundry didn't close until the 1980s. Eleven of the women who were incarcerated there still live in a house in the convent grounds today.

One of the women who was locked up there said, "The nuns were so cruel and so were the priests and Bishop Browne wouldn't do a bit about it."

Bishop Browne was one of the most influential bishops in the Catholic Church in Ireland until he died in 1976. He regularly spoke at meetings of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union to denounce socialism.

He denounced every effort to bring about a free public health system in Ireland as a move towards a "slave plantation mentality".

But while this hypocrite called for the defence of "family values" his agents were subjecting the unmarried mothers of the Magdalen Laundry to a life of terror.

Eamonn Casey succeeded Browne as Bishop of Galway in 1976. Women in Annie Murphy's situation were still living in the Magdalen Laundry at this stage—less than two miles from his "palace" at Taylor's Hill, one of the wealthiest parts of Galway.

As the laundry was owned and run by the Catholic Church, Casey must have been aware of it.

The treatment given to the Magdalen women finds its echo in the treatment of Annie Murphy today. Casey had also harangued her in an attempt to force her to give up her son for adoption. Hypo-

critically, this was at a time when he spoke publicly in favour of Cherish, a support organisation for single mothers who keep their babies.

Later, during the 1983 anti-abortion campaign, he issued a pastoral encouraging people to vote against abortion, and protect the sanctity of the family, while conveniently ignoring his own family and giving them the minimum of financial help.

As Annie Murphy says in her book:

...they'd have l up in the Magd

...rphy was der...



Bishop Hypocrite

The thoughts of an Irish bishop

- "I'd be grateful if you'd come to Killarney and help Mary polish the silver. I do like to have a nice table for my priest friends."
- "Isn't God telling you what to do by punishing you like this" when she was ill after the baby was born.
- "I went to give her the last rites... I told her 'This is what comes of disobeying God and using birth control pills'" to his relative who almost died because of blood clots in her lung.
- When confronted about his son: "Let's face it. You have her word against mine and I'm an Irish bishop".
- "But I do really believe that contraceptives make couples behave selfishly and put sex before love."
- "[If I hit someone] won't I do them the honour of giving them the last rites of Holy Mother Church. Imagine being sent to heaven courtesy of abishop?" On driving at 65 mph in a Mercedes.

A LIFE OF PRIVILEGE

The Bishops are pledged to obey the vow of poverty. But Annie Murphy's book lifts the lid on a life of privilege.

She writes, "To be near Eamonn had its perks. The best food and French wines were served by soft-shod nuns with humble demeanour and downturned gaze. How could Eamonn tolerate such servility?"

The bishops lived like old style lords.

"Mary and I, in flowery pinafores, served grapefruit, prawn cocktails and oysters. There were medallions of lamb and salmon and game bird and special fruit stuffing. The French wines were never-ending."

Annie Murphy tells of one dinner Casey held for his priest friends:

"Women attended to their needs as they smoked, told jokes, some of them smutty in an adolescent way, swore alarmingly at each other and played poker for money. God's name only came up in expletives."

excuses the role of the Church in the absolute misery it has inflicted on women's lives.

Those bigots who oppose abortion, divorce and contraception yearn for the "good old days" of the 1950s—when women were outcast and imprisoned in institutions like the Magdalen Laundry.

It is time we washed their dirty linen in public!

when he cherish, a gle moth-

abortion al encour- abortion the family, his own minimum

her book:

"In a religion that spreads pictures of the Virgin around like confetti, women do not count."

The attitude of the Bishops was best summed up by a piece of advice from a previous bishop of Galway:

"If your girls do not obey you, if they are not in at the hour appointed, lay the lash on their backs. That was the good old system and that should be the system today."

The current attempt to slur Annie Murphy and rehabilitate Eamonn Casey

ocked her alen laundry

WILLIE CUMMING



Teach yourself

Marxism



Why is our socialism international?

On the first of May 1890 the first international working class celebration of May Day took place.

Hundreds of thousands of workers throughout the world marched as part of the campaign to win the eight hour day.

In London alone, between 250,000 and 300,000 demonstrated. Since then May Day has been the day on which the principle of socialist internationalism is reaffirmed.

So why are socialists internationalists? Is it just some sentimental notion?

Marxists start from an understanding of existing society. Even a casual look should make it quite clear that capitalism today is an international economic system.

It is no longer the case that manufactured goods can clearly be said to come from a particular country. Car manufacturing is a typical example. A Japanese car may well be assembled in England using parts made in Ireland, France or elsewhere... possibly even Japan. Ripened bananas are one of Ireland's major food exports!

Capitalists when investing will invest where they think they will get the biggest profits—not because of sentimental attachment to one country or another.

Digital's decision to concentrate its manufacturing in Scotland was not influenced by all the appeals of the Coalition government to the Irish-American lobby.

But despite the international basis of capitalism workers are encouraged to think in national terms. Division is one way that the ruling class maintain control—division between men and women, between workers in the capital city and those outside of it, etc.

Because of the more obvious differences of language and culture it is even easier to encourage rivalries between workers of different nationalities. It may seem like common sense to talk about defending "Irish" jobs. But what is often described as common sense is in reality "bosses' sense".

When workers accept a reduction in wages because of a threat by their bosses to move production to another country, who wins? Certainly not the workers in either

country, who are held in check by their bosses' threats.

But internationalism goes beyond the day to day struggles of workers.

Socialists are internationalists because the idea of socialism existing in one country is an impossibility.

Marx, writing nearly one hundred and fifty years ago, saw that the full exploitation of all the technical and scientific resources and achievements of human beings was necessary for the building of socialism.

This would only be possible on a world scale.

A revolution that remained confined to one country would of necessity fail because they would not be able to tap those resources necessary to abolish classes.

And as Marx put it the result would be "want is merely made general... and the whole filthy business would necessarily be restored"—in other words the revolution would fail.

Socialism and capitalism are mutually opposing, irreconcilable systems. In the event of socialist revolution, all the forces available to the remaining capitalist powers would be thrown against it.

After the 1917 revolution in Russia the country was invaded by fourteen foreign armies all trying to smash the emerging workers' state. And if not smash it, to ensure that the influence of the revolution would not go beyond the borders of Russia.

Mutinies

But the ability of the capitalists to intervene is itself restricted by the confidence and organisation of the workers in the capitalist states.

It was the blacking of munition ships by British dockers and mutinies by the soldiers that played a major part in stopping the British intervention in Russia.

And it is those actions that give a clue as to how a revolution can spread internationally.

There is no doubt that revolution will not break out simultaneously throughout the world. A workers' revolution would probably occur first in one country—as in fact it did in Russia. But the very first task of that revolution would be to ensure that it spreads.

To believe that an interna-

tional revolution is possible is not a utopian dream.

As mentioned earlier, capitalism itself is an international system. But that also means that the crisis that would lead to revolution in a country in the first place would itself be international. And the very fact of a successful revolution would help deepen that crisis.

Hatred of the war and a longing for peace were some of the major factors leading to the Russian revolution. But those sentiments were also felt by millions of other workers, German, French, British and others.

The fact that a successful revolution did not occur in those countries does not mean that conditions were not right for it. To understand the failure of revolution you must look at the politics, leadership and organisation of the working class in each country.

But the principal way that a revolution would spread would be by the power of political example.

Again looking at the Russian revolution, it was greeted by a huge wave of support. For millions of workers there was an example of a real alternative to a world of war, hunger and misery. Everything suddenly seemed possible and it was worth fighting for.

Its effects were felt even in Ireland. A demonstration of 10,000 workers in Dublin welcomed the revolution. Red flags were raised over occupations of creameries in Tipperary and Limerick and the coal mines in Arigna in Leitrim. The strike committees called themselves Soviets.

Seventy-five years ago it often took months for news of events to filter through. Today, with modern communications, from television to fax, news of a revolution could be relayed almost instantly and its effect made greater.

The US justified its intervention in Vietnam by talking about the "domino theory". They saw clearly that if the Vietnamese defeated them it would be a huge boost to anti-imperialist struggles and would lead to further defeats.

They were right. The heroic resistance of the Vietnamese was not only an inspiration to anti-imperialist struggles throughout the world. It was a spark that helped mobilise millions in the late 1960s, most notably in France in 1968.

Internationalism is not an optional extra, it is central to socialism.

Out Now!
Is Human Nature a Barrier to Socialism
by John Molyneux
50p
from SWM branch bookstalls or
SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

BOSNIA:**The road to hell**

PEOPLE have been shocked by the TV pictures from Bosnia.

They have seen families reduced to charred ashes as drunken soldiers set fire to their houses.

Names such as Srebrenica or Sarajevo have become household words because of the images of refugees scrambling desperately to get on trucks.

These pictures have brought the reality of war home to millions in a way it was never seen during the Falklands or Gulf wars.

But the Western media also present the Serbs as the only real villains of the war. This is to ignore the real brutality of what is going on.

In central Bosnia the ethnic cleansing has been mainly carried out by the Croats. In Vitez, 200 Muslim civilians were murdered by a Croatian militia, the HBO. The scenes of the carnage match those seen in Srebrenica.

In Mostar and Jablanica in western Bosnia Croatian and Muslim forces are also engaged in a largely unreported bloody war.

And while the Muslim forces are clearly the underdog, they too have engaged in 'ethnic cleansing'. In the area around Zenica, Muslim forces drove 700 Croats out of a nearby village.

What is happening in Bosnia is an orgy of killing by people from all sides who have been whipped up by a nationalist hysteria.

The old communists of the former Yugoslavia began to play the nationalist card when their privileges came under attack. In the mid 1980s, Yugoslavia entered an economic crisis. It had run up huge debts to the world banks and was suffering massive inflation.

The rich tried to save their own skins by engaging in financial scandals. In the Agro-Commerce consortium in Bosnia, for example \$200 million was swindled.

Serbian, Croatian and Muslim workers took to the streets to protest. In 1987, a third of a million workers were on strike.

To divert this anger, the rulers started to bang the nationalists drum.

Milosevic of Serbia took the lead but soon Tudjman of Croatia also began to talk of a 'Greater Croatia'. Neo-fascist groups like the Serbian Radical Party or the Croatian HOS began to gain support with the connivance of the authorities.

It was in this atmosphere that places like Sarajevo which was one of the most cosmopolitan and ethnically mixed areas of Eastern Europe developed a frenzy of hatred.

But despite their hostilities the leaders of Croatia and Serbia agreed on a secret deal to carve up Bosnia between them.

According to the *Financial Times*, "On 25 March 1991 both men (Milosevic and Tudjman) met secretly in Karadjordjevo, in Serbia. There an agreement was reached to ... carve up Bosnia-Herzegovina which would be shared between Serbs and Croats".

The war in Bosnia is now being fought so that new maps can be re-drawn for nationalists politicians and thugs.



The writing on the wall—War-torn Sarajevo

U.N. INTERVENTION BRINGS NO SOLUTION

CALLS for UN intervention in Bosnia have now grown.

Clinton is under new pressure from his own officials to start bombing Serbians.

And the butcher of the Falklands, Margaret Thatcher is again banging the war drums.

The calls for UN intervention are also being echoed by many on the left. Joe Duffy, who formerly protested against Reagan's war in Nicaragua, is now using the columns of the *Daily Star* to call for the Western forces to get stuck in.

Declan Kiberd, a left nationalist intellectual who writes in the *Irish Press* has argued that an 'International Brigade' should be sent to fight in Bosnia.

But these calls ignore a number of simple things. Any force that is sent to Bosnia will be dominated by the generals of the Pentagon and the NATO war machine.

The calls for intervention amount to

calling on the butchers of the Gulf War to bring peace to Bosnia.

It is a crazy idea. When a few religious fanatics in Waco Texas defied the FBI for a few weeks they were attacked with tanks and chemical gas.

A US led military intervention in Bosnia would make Waco look like a picnic.

Already, UN intervention in Bosnia has increased the scale of the conflict. In January, the *Economist* magazine was argued that the "war was being wound down". But that was before the effects of the Vance-Owen peace plan was known.

Breaking Up

This plan calls for the breaking of Bosnia up into ten cantons with three each being controlled by Croatian, Muslim and Serbian forces.

The plan not only legitimated the 'ethnic cleansing' that had already been carried out—but it encouraged the war

lords to grab some more territory.

The *Guardian* correspondent, Ian Traynor, has showed exactly what this effect this plan had on Central Bosnia: "The Croats claim the territory is rightly theirs as the region is awarded to them under the new map of Bosnia drawn by Cyrus Vance and Lord Owen."

"The Muslims who form a sizeable majority in the contested territories are having none of it."

"The result is dozens of charred, abandoned village, polarised towns overrun by drunken, brutal militia men and 500 dead or wounded in the past few days."

Those who favour intervention ignore this evidence and claim that theirs is the only "practical solution". But every one of their proposals is a fraud:

■ **Surgical strikes against Serbia.** There are no such things as "surgical" bombings.

The military propagandists invented the term "surgical strikes" to cover up their massacre of thousands of civilians

during the Gulf War.

The war in Bosnia is being fought around a maze of villages that often lie next to each other. The proposals of people like Col E.D. Doyle, the armchair general from the *Irish Times*, that leaflets should be dropped to civilians and then the cruise missile sent in is simply a horror fantasy.

■ **Arming the Bosnian Muslims.** The UN originally proposed an arms embargo to stop the war. In reality, the former Yugoslavia is awash with weapons. But now there is a new proposal to send in more guns to the Muslims.

These weapons might help the Muslims to win a few battles against the Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats. But it would not stop "ethnic cleansing". The Muslim armies would only seek to extract revenge from the other sides.

In the past, Germany helped to the unofficially arm Croatia when it appeared to be the "underdog". The result to-day is the massacres in places like Vitez.

WORKERS ALONE CAN BRING PEACE

In the midst of the horrors of the First World War, James Connolly wrote,

"War is a relic of barbarism only possible because we are governed by a ruling class with barbaric ideas. The working class in all countries cannot hope to escape the horrors of war until ... that barbarous ruling class is thrown from power"

At the start of WWI, the idea that it would take a workers revolt to bring peace, sounded completely utopian.

Others on the left such as the founder of the British Labour Party, Keir Hardie and the theoretician of the German Social Democrats, Karl Kautsky, argued for peace conferences between the warring sides.

But WWI came to an end when workers in Russia and Germany launched revolts in 1917 and 1918 to stop the war.

In every war the phoney excitement that is whipped up by the nationalists gives way to a sickening revulsion against the killings. It then becomes possible for workers to turn against those rulers who have divided them.

In the former Yugoslavia today, there are

already signs of an immense war weariness.

Inflation in Serbia, for example, is running at 9,000 per cent. 40 per cent of the population have been thrown out of work.

Profit

People like Milosevic encourage people to make sacrifices and to die for Greater Serbia but also profit from the spoils of war.

Key figures in the Belgrade regime have accumulated a fortune in black market speculation and have deposited their gains in dummy companies in Cyprus.

When the Jezda bank in Serbia collapsed

in a financial scandal, the regime became very worried about the prospect of social unrest. They feared that the thousands who had marched against Milosevic in the past might take to the streets again.

In the Croatian capital of Zagreb, there was a recent half hour stoppage by workers over falling living standards.

This war weariness is unfocused at the moment. There are groups of courageous pacifists who have called peace demonstrations.

Some of them have warned that the calls for sanctions against Serbia only make their

job harder as it unites the population around their rulers.

Many of these pacifists have little ideas on how to connect up their opposition to war with masses of people who have not thought much about politics but are sick of the breadlines and poverty.

It is the job of socialists in the West to support and show solidarity with these movements. We do not know how long it will take for the weariness against war to turn into riots and rebellion against the rulers.

But we do know that every body who backs the call of people like Lady Thatcher to send in the US warplanes and cruise missiles is not offering a solution. They are only proposing to add more bodies to the hell that is now Bosnia.

Help us build a socialist alternative to sectarianism

A socialist alternative is desperately needed in Northern Ireland.

In the 1930s, the small Revolutionary Workers Groups were able to pull the Falls and the Shankill together to fight against unemployment.

That sort of unity can be built again.

There has been a rise in sectarian killings as groups like the UDA equip themselves with weapons from South Africa.

But thousands of Catholics and Protestant workers have marched together against the health cuts and against privatisation.

We need to build a socialist organisation quickly to promote these fight backs.

The Socialist Workers Movement believes that a workers unity can be forged in the North which challenges all discrimination and the sectarian nature of the state.

We have grown over the last year in Belfast, and have been able to have a modest influence on a number of is-

APPEAL

sues there.

Our recent activities include: putting a leaflet on the importance of worker's unity to a rally of striking bus workers; putting up hundreds of posters to build for the demonstrations in defence of the NHS; mounting an anti-fascist picket which succeeded in getting a shop to remove fascist literature; setting up the initial "Campaign for Information and Choice" which organised a march of 300 people in support of the Brooke Centre.

Now we need your support to increase our activities and

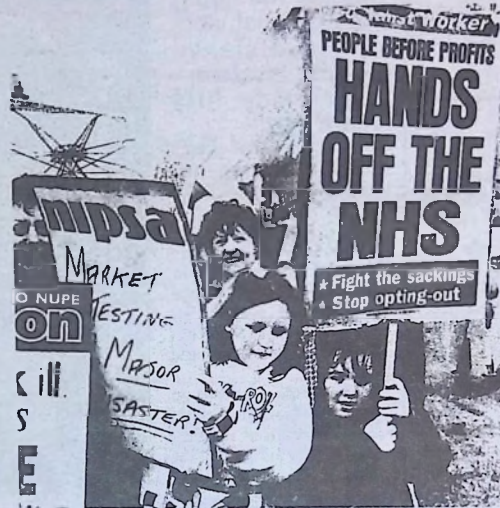
strengthen the socialist tradition in the North.

We want to establish an office in Belfast to help us organise: to increase our ability to produce leaflets and placards in support of protests and demonstrations; as well as to show that there is a socialist answer to the violence.

To do this, and to buy office equipment for the party, we need to raise £2,000 by July.

We can achieve this if all our readers to make a contribution, no matter how small.

Rush donations, Trade Union and workplace collections to: Socialist Worker Appeal, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Or PO Box 103, Belfast BT15



Demonstration in defence of the NHS, March 29th

What we stand for

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. It has to be overthrown. The machinery of the capitalist state—parliament, courts, army, police etc.—is 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 SWM 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. Workers' revolutions are needed to win real freedom in the East. 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 SWM aims to build such a party in Ireland.

What's On

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

Belfast	Derry	Dublin North	Dublin South	Galway	Waterford
Meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Central Hall, Rosemary St.	Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers Pub, Orchard st.	Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Conways Pub, Parnell St.	Meets every Thursday 8.00pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.	Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square.	Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyzer st.
3rd May: The Fight for Socialism	4th May: The Labour Tradition in Northern Ireland	5th May: Can there be Workers' Revolution in the Third World?	6th May: Can Socialism Come through Parliament?	5th May: Can workers plan an economy?	6th May: The Politics of Malcolm X
10th May: The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx	11th May: Is the U.N. a Force for Peace in the World	12th May: Bosnia: How Do We Stop the Slaughter?	12th May: Socialism versus the Greens	12th May: Will revolution mean violence?	13th May: What do Socialists say about law and order?
17th May: Do We Need a Labour Party in Northern Ireland	18th May: Bosnia—How do we Stop the Slaughter?	19th May: Is Socialism Democratic?	19th May: Can Socialism come through parliament?	27th May: What do socialists say about religion?	20th May: The Backlash Against Women's Rights
24th May: Bosnia—How Do We Stop the Slaughter?	25th May: Why Do Socialists Look to the Working Class	26th May: Is Cuba Socialist?	26th May: Marxism and religion.		27th May: Can There Be Workers' Revolution in the Third World?

To contact the SWM in Bray, Coleraine, Cookstown, Drogheda, Dundalk, Kilkenny, Limerick, Navan, write to SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

SWM News

Protest at Labour's betrayals

Last month a noisy group of demonstrators marched to the Labour Party conference in Waterford. The protest had been organised by local trade unionists.

Among the protesters were members of the TEEU who had organised a regular picket on the 'clinic' of the junior Labour Minister Brian O'Shea over the 1% levy on PAYE workers.

SWM members organised a bus to join the picket and the Galway SWM were active in building support for a UCG Students Union bus.

One of those who travelled on the bus said, 'It really sickened me the way the Labour Party went along with FF's plans to cut off students from the dole. I don't know what I am going to do over the summer. They are already thousands of Irish students going to look for work in Munich and

Solidarity

Last month Belfast saw a series of demonstrations against Tory plans for trust status for the NHS hospitals.

SWM members in Dublin organised a bus to travel to one of those demonstrations to bring home the message that on both sides of the Irish border workers



The bus included a delegation of shop stewards from the hospitals in Dublin.

After the demonstration SWM held a public meeting on The Fight against the Tories with a Dublin health worker speaking. Two people joined the SWM.

Meanwhile Waterford branch has also been busily engaged in solidarity work.

They organised a social for the Nolan's strikers and raised £250

Strong Showing

IN Galway RTC SWM member Antone Rafferty polled third out of ten candidates, receiving 280 votes in the students' union presidential election.

Resulting from the election campaign, based openly on a socialist platform, the Galway Branch now has an active SWSS group in the college comprised of three new branch members.

One new member commented as she joined: "It's not that we don't want to fight back.

But up until now nobody, not even our unions, have provided us with a tangible lead"

Join Us!

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

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

SURVEY

Women at work

by GORETTI HORGAN

SINCE the publication of the Second Report of the Commission on the Status of Women a debate has been raging in the letters pages of the newspapers and on RTE Radio programmes like the Gay Byrne Show and Marian Finucane's Liveline.

The debate is about the gulf between the lives of women who work outside the home and those who don't.

Many feminists argue that the recession is leading to women being sent back into the home.

A new book, commissioned by the Equal Opportunities Commission for Northern Ireland, makes a different argument. Women's Working Lives shows that women are not being forced out of the work force by the recession. It shows that family responsibilities and lack of child-care facilities are the main reasons for women not working full time.

Women now make up 49 per cent of the work force in Northern Ireland. The number of women in paid employment has continued to rise even as the number of men at work has fallen as a result of the recession.

The study confirms that women are more likely than men to work part-time but questions the view that part-time women workers are not fully part of the work force.

In 1989 one-quarter of all employees in the North were part-time, while two out of five women employees were part-time. The official definition of a part-time worker is someone who works less than 16 hours a week.

Of the 1,000 women surveyed, 87 per cent worked sufficient hours to qualify for full statutory rights as employees—although many of them didn't realise this.

And when the researchers looked at why women are more likely than men to work part-time, the needs of the family were top of the list.

Eighty-eight per cent of all part-time women workers in the North are married. While nine out of ten childless women work full-time, only 44 per cent of women with children under ten do so.

The reason for women not taking up paid employment is clearly related to the lack of decent childcare facilities.

The women cited difficulties in getting childcare for after school and holiday time as the reason they had to go part-time.

While definitely not written from

a socialist viewpoint, the Women's Working Lives study backs up some important socialist arguments about women's lives today.

For example, it reveals that only 29 per cent of families in Northern Ireland today have the traditional male breadwinner/woman homemaker set-up. Two out of three families have both parents working or both parents unemployed.

The study also looked at women's work in the home. It found that in most cases women were still responsible for housework and childcare.

But in families where both partners are working full-time, 60 per cent of the women reported that childcare was shared more or less equally, while 40 per cent reported that housework was equally shared.

The book's editors also criticise the "dual market" theory advanced by many academics and even by some trade unionists as being based on an outdated "demarcation between characteristically men's work and typically women's work".

The theory of the dual labour market argues that the working class is splitting into two—a core of skilled permanent workers, mainly men, usually well-paid, and a periphery of less skilled, badly paid, unorganisable workers, mainly women or young people.

Facts

This theory does not seem to fit the few facts outlined above. The editors are sure that it doesn't fit the hundreds of facts contained in their study.

Indeed, they argue, the "dual labour market" idea served only to reinforce oppressive attitudes to women's work and act "as a pitprop for traditional stereotypes of men and women".

Bigots Bean Uí Cribin and Bean NicMhathuna are currently arguing that the Constitution of the Republic is not being upheld because many women are being forced out to work by economic necessity.

Of course, many women are forced to take low-paid, horrible jobs from economic necessity.

But one of the most striking findings of the study, for me, was the attitude of the overwhelming majority of women to their jobs.

Ninety-five per cent said they "liked the stimulation of going out to work" and only five per cent were definite that they wished they didn't have to go out to work.

Overall, the conclusion which has to be drawn from reading Women's Working Lives is that women are now an integral part of the work force.

That means that along with male workers they have the power to fight the bosses' system.

■ *Women's Working Lives*, J. Kremer and P. Montgomery (eds.), HMSO, Belfast, 1993. £11.65.

Fifty years after the Warsaw Uprising

When the ghetto fought the Nazis

THE Warsaw ghetto uprising—which ranks as one of the most inspirational acts of resistance against fascism—took place fifty years ago

Mark Edelman—a survivor of the uprising—describes it in his book "The Ghetto Fights".

On April 19th 1943, the Nazis marched triumphantly into the ghetto to roundup the last sixty thousand Jewish people for transportation to the death camps in Treblinka and Oswiecim.

The Nazis expected no resistance from the starved and demoralised inhabitants, but the soldiers of the SS were met with a hail of gunfire, home-made grenades and explosives. The one machine gun the resistance possessed fired short bursts to conserve scarce ammunition.

The fascists attempted to retreat under tank cover, to no avail—two hundred were killed with the loss of only one partisan.

The fascist leaders were horrified that the "cowardly and despicable" Jews which they portrayed in their propaganda could defeat the soldiers of the glorious Reich which was to last for a thousand years.

Revenge

In revenge Himmler ordered the ghetto to be burned to the ground. But it took four weeks to subdue the resistance with flame throwers, tanks, artillery, planes and the death of two thousand fascists.

The Jewish resistance, practically unarmed, destroyed the myth forever



Men and women of the Warsaw Ghetto taken to the death camp at Treblinka

of the invincible Nazi war machine.

Marek was a leading member of the Jewish workers' socialist movement in Poland called the Bund.

It was members of the Bund, the Communist Party and Zionists which united and formed the Z.O.B.

In his description of life in the Jewish ghetto Marek demolishes some myths which are still widely held about it.

Firstly he dispels the idea that the Jews meekly went knowingly to their deaths:

"A normal human being with normal mental processes was simply unable to conceive that a difference in the colour of eyes or hair or a different racial origin might be sufficient causes for murder."

The Jews deliberately

starved in the ghetto were literally dropping dead in the streets from hunger. The Nazis then offered three kilograms of bread to those who volunteered to report to assembly points for transportation to "work camps".

Thousands flooded to the points to get their life-saving bread and took it with them to Treblinka.

In the ghetto itself the Jews were divided by the same social systems that existed outside.

Fought

There were religious and non-religious Jews, Zionists and anti-Zionists, working class and middle class, those who fought and those who collaborated.

The Bund were firmly anti-Zionist, believing that Jews should fight with the workers of each country

for socialism. They also despised the leaders of the Jewish Council who collaborated with the Nazis.

They even condemned the president of the Council for committing suicide because "he had no right to act as he did... It was his duty to inform the population of the real state of affairs and dissolve all public institutions, particularly the Jewish police".

The Jewish police were particularly hated and were targeted by the Z.O.B. for assassination as a prelude to the preparation for the uprising.

Although the Jews fought alone, Marek dismisses the argument that the Polish resistance was so anti-Semitic that it refused to help.

In an interview in 1977 Marek—then a member of Solidarity—said simply that the Poles were so badly

armed that they were unable to help, a fact vindicated by history one year later in 1944 when the Poles in Warsaw, still fatally unarmed, rose up against the Germans and then were left by the advancing Russian army to be slaughtered.

The socialist ideals of Marek and the Bund ring through in the manifesto of the Z.O.B. when the ghetto was on the verge of destruction:

"Poles, citizens, soldiers of freedom. We the slaves of the ghetto convey heartfelt greetings to you.

"We shall never surrender. It is a fight for our freedom as well as yours.

We must continue our mutual struggle against the occupier until the very end.

"Long live freedom! Death to the hangman and the killer! Jewish Armed Resistance Organisation."

■ BRENDAN DONOHOE

Reservoir Dogs reviewed by Ben Walshe

A shock to the system

"...WE give the police something to do, someone to chase, some reason for rushing about in their expensive machines.

"And the public—how they watch the news and listen for the latest reports on our exploits, how they talk to each other about it and relish every detail!"—Harry Harrison on crime.

One of the first scenes in *Reservoir Dogs* takes place immediately after a failed robbery, the basis of the film.

Two fleeing gang members, colourfully pseudonymed Mr Orange and Mr White, are driving from the scene of the crime.

Mr Orange has been shot and is close to hysteria with pain and fear.

The situation is unbearably tense, and at this point any other film-maker would back down and switch to another scene.

Here, the camera stays relentlessly focused on this, the



smearings of blood and the tangible panic.

The catalogue of betrayal, torture and murder which unfolds in this film is riveting precisely because we are spared nothing: violence is not glamorised as a struggle between good and evil, or as a necessary means to an end.

A climax is reached when another gang member, Mr

Blonde, tortures a captured policeman for no reason other than sadism.

While the other characters do not go this far, they are all self-serving, brutal and mercenary, the inevitable, twisted products of a capitalist society where greed and self-interest are considered normal.

Joe (Quentin Tarrantino), organiser of the operation

could be a managing director or a company chairman; dictatorial, shrewd and ruthless in his running of the gang.

Early scenes where the crime is organised are reminiscent of corporate capitalism: a business breakfast and a boardroom. The members are experienced professionals. The structure and the style of capitalism are being admitted, not

challenged, by the criminals even as the police, the minions of capitalism, try to apprehend them.

The trappings of capitalism are also in evidence. There are no women in the film, aside from a handful of background or walk-on appearances, and the men are abusive about women.

Racism and homophobia feature heavily in their conversation.

Reservoir Dogs shows capitalism at its most extreme, its most blatant and its most brutal. It is shocking and disturbing in its portrayal of the violence inherent in the system.

The brutality and violence of this perverted capitalist system serve to remind us how the institutions of capitalism brutalise and exploit us all.

Reservoir Dogs has moved from the fringe to the mainstream as its unflinching style has found appeal.

Its profound effect on the viewer means that it requires courage to watch, but it is a production of great value that

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

Industrial News

SISCO

Workers in Sisco Turbine Components in Carrigtwohill, Cork were blocked from picketing by a court injunction.

They were objecting to the transfer of parts from the company's Blackrock site, when they are on short-time working. SIPTU members walked out in protest.

Just like in Irish Rail, the court took the boss' side to undermine workers' action.

O'CONNELL COURT

AFTER a ten month strike O'Connell Court nursing home workers in Cork have won a partial victory.

They were originally sacked for refusing to do nurses' work for which they were not qualified.

Last month, an Unfair Dismissals Tribunal awarded the six workers £6000 each as compensation for losing their jobs.

However the nursing home boss, Dave Williamson, is appealing to the Circuit Court.

The workers fear he may use the compensation award as an excuse to shut the home altogether. Williamson is already listed in *Stubbs Gazette*, the bankruptcy register.

The workers fear he may declare bankruptcy to avoid paying their compensation.

APPLE

Shop stewards at Apple Computers in Cork rejected management plans for wage-cuts.

Instead of having three separate shifts each day, the bosses wanted to make workers do three 12-hour shifts a week. They also intended cutting allowances for shift work and for night-time working.

Changing shift arrangements is one of the bosses' new tactics for cutting workers' pay. Workers at Airmotive, an Aer Lingus subsidiary, rejected plans to introduce similar 13-hour shifts.

The changes in Apple would have meant a 20 percent pay-cut for 700 workers.

Even if the wage cuts had gone through, the company was refusing to guarantee that there would be no redundancies.

Two years ago, the workers made a number of concessions in order to save jobs. Now the bosses are trying to squeeze them even more.

IRISH RAIL: COURTS BACK THE BOSSES

But workers can beat the law

A STRIKE by rail workers at Heuston Station, Dublin was undermined when the High Court showed its usual favouritism to the bosses.

The workers, members of the NBRU, had been on strike for two days when the judge gave an injunction hanning them from picketing.

Management claimed the union had broken the 1990 Industrial Relations Act by not giving a week's notice and by not balloting its members. The Act also bans pickets in disputes involving only one

worker.

An NBRU shop steward had been transferred out of Heuston as a disciplinary measure. But strikers told *Socialist Worker* that this was only a symptom of the problem.

The strikers said management have a record of heavy-handed behaviour. They sent workers on quality awareness programmes and promised more give and take, but when the strike started they went straight to the courts.

The strikers were also critical of the attitude of SIPTU leaders. While SIPTU members at Heuston were sympathetic to the strikers, their union leaders told them to pass

the NBRU pickets.

Getting support from SIPTU workers could have strengthened resistance to management and the courts.

The strike shows that the state and the legal system are not neutral. Instead they act on the bosses' behalf.

Damage

The aim of the Industrial Relations Act is to damage workers' right to strike. It forces workers to delay strike action and restricts their ability to picket. The courts are always quick to give injunctions against strikers.

The state has backed the

bosses even more in the past. Dick Spring used gardai to break an ESB strike in Cork in the 1980s.

In 1979, a striking post-office worker was beaten up in a garda baton charge.

To ensure victory in strikes, workers must see the law as a bosses' law. They must be prepared to break it if they want to win.

NBRU members showed how to do this by taking unofficial action in protest at the injunction.

Up to forty Dublin Bus drivers walked out at Phibsboro garage, twenty more came out at Clontarf and fourteen trains were stopped. NBRU members in Bus Eireann also took



Courts kept the trains running

port workers had taken such solidarity action.

"But it would have been ten times better if it had been official action, and if it also involved SIPTU members," he said.

An NBRU shop steward said that this was the first time in years that different trans-

port workers had taken such solidarity action.

"But it would have been ten times better if it had been official action, and if it also involved SIPTU members," he said.

Belfast printers' fight

EIGHTY SIX print workers at the Northern Publishing Office plant in East Belfast returned to work on Saturday 10th April after being locked out the week before and told they had been sacked.

The conditions of their return were unclear as Socialist Worker went to press, but the company had backed off attempting a scab operation.

The dispute began over pay. Members of the GPMU print union had asked for a

£6.50 a week pay rise and an extra day's holiday.

The company offered £3.50, with no extra day, and the union imposed an overtime ban.

When management asked a worker on the night shift to do overtime he refused and was sacked on the spot.

The rest of the night shift struck and sat in the canteen until the police were called to evict them.

The following morning, the day shift joined the strike and set up a 24-hour picket.

The strikers held a ballot and their strike was made official.

Within the next two days everyone had a letter from the company telling them they had

been sacked. The firm then advertised in the local press for a new work force.

Shop steward Billy Cleary told *Socialist Worker*, "Management said they can't afford the pay rise we've asked for, but we know they can."

"The board recently gave themselves a £36,000 bonus." Pickets were clear about the significance of the strike if bosses tried to bus in scabs.

"If it comes to that," said one, "every trade unionist in Belfast should be here to help us out."

By April 15th they had their jobs back and nine people previously not in the union had joined up.

SWM joined the picket each day, and thirteen copies of *Socialist Worker* were sold.

TEAM

Management in Aer Lingus are still determined to go ahead with job cuts, even before the government announces how much money it will invest.

In TEAM, the maintenance subsidiary, management advertised for 145 redundancies. To ensure there was little resistance, they offered 6 weeks' pay for every years service.

This is roughly 6 times the statutory redundancy terms. So many applied that management cut the offer in half.

BRITISH TELECOM

BT management have announced their biggest ever attack on workers' conditions.

They want to force 7-day working on workers in the Personal Communications Division.

Weekends will be treated as ordinary days.

They also want to abolish overtime.

A new management

structure will be set up to give bosses complete control over engineer's jobs. Performance-related pay will be introduced for engineers.

BT workers at a National Communications Union meeting in England called for resistance to the attacks.

They want NCU leaders to call a 1-day strike and demonstration.

They vowed: "We intend to give BT a bloody nose."

Bakery workers strike

NINETEEN workers at the Pat the Baker depot in Cherry Orchard, Dublin have been on strike since the end of March.

The strike is over union recognition. The strikers are members of SIPTU, but management has refused to recognise the union despite a Labour Court recommendation in 1991.

The boss, Higgins, wanted workers to be represented by an internal works committee. He threatened to shut the company rather than recognise a union.

The works committee is completely in the boss' pocket. The Dublin workers were not even asked to elect their own representative on the committee. Instead, Higgins appointed one, who they didn't see for two years.

However, the committee still claims that workers in Pat the Baker are happy with its performance.

But some workers in Cherry Orchard are bringing home as little as £125 after a six-day week. They are also denied extra pay for working on Sundays and bank holidays. Any cleaning up that is done after baking

finishes is done on their own time.

Even before the strike began Higgins was playing dirty. The strikers claim their canteen was bugged. Youth Defence supporter Fr Michael Cleary was sent in to talk them out of striking.

Most of the company's workers are based in Granard, Co Longford. In a bid to turn them against the strikers Higgins issued them with protective notice, claiming the strike would threaten his contract with Quinnsworth, which buys half the company's bread.

To ensure that the Dublin workers had no contact with those in Granard he barred truck drivers from going on to the Granard site.

On April 24th the Works Committee sent a sixty vehicle convoy to picket SIPTU headquarters at Dublin's Liberty Hall.

Afterwards they were given a Garda escort to Cherry Orchard where the guards held back pickets while delivery vans went inside.

The strikers got an all-out picket from ICTU.

Building on this solidarity, and getting Quinnsworth workers to black Pat the Baker products, would be the best way to win the strike.

As one striker said: "If we get the supermarket workers on our side, we'll have this won in a week."

Donations and messages of support to: Jim Halligan, c/o SIPTU, Connolly Hall, Waterford.

Donations and messages of support to: Brian O'Neill, c/o Pat the Baker Strike Fund, SIPTU, Liberty Hall, Dublin 1



NOLANS TRANSPORT

THE strike for union recognition in Nolans Transport in New Ross is still going on.

Pickets are still being attacked by company thugs. The shop steward was attacked and needed medical attention on 19th April.

SIPTU responded by merely calling for Garda protection for strikers!

The union has failed to call solidarity action for fear of breaking the Industrial Rela-

tions Act.

The whole workforce in Rosslare port are SIPTU members. If they refused to load Nolans trucks, the company would be crippled.

Similar blacking action by trade unionists elsewhere could bring a swift victory for the strike.

Donations and messages of support to: Jim Halligan, c/o SIPTU, Connolly Hall, Waterford.

ISSUES FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT by Kieran Glennon

Can there be social partnership?

Since the start of the Programme for National Recovery in 1986, followed by the PESP in 1989, a new notion has become popular: social partnership.

This is the idea that government ministers, bosses of industry, trade unionists and farmers can act together in "the national interest".

For workers, it also involves accepting pay increases that are centrally agreed instead of rises that are won from their own immediate employers.

Supporters of social partnership say such centralised bargaining benefits low paid workers. They tend to be less

well organised, and so less able to win decent pay from their bosses.

Last year's public service agreement gave higher percentage increases to lower grades.

However, this approach ignores the knock-on effect of successful local pay battles.

Where a strong group of workers wins a good increase from their boss, this can increase other workers' willingness to fight. When weaker workers' confidence is raised, they too can win better wages.

The main problem with "social partnership" is that the parties involved do not share a common interest.

The government is not involved as a neutral arbitrator. It is also the single biggest

employer in the country. Over 200,000 people work in the public services.

When the government's finances are squeezed, it responds just like any other employer: it attacks its workers' pay.

Public service workers were due an extra three percent under the PESP last year. Instead they got a flat £6.50 a week in January this year.

The £120 million which the government saved was money taken out of workers' pockets.

The balance of the PESP is due next December. Public service workers have no guarantee that the government will not impose another deferral.

Employers see agreements like the PESP as a way of limiting the pay increases for workers.

But if it suits them, they will stab their supposed "social partners" in the back.

During the currency crisis last winter hundreds of employers pleaded "inability to pay" to get out of paying the three percent due under the PESP. Many more said they could not afford the local bargaining increases also due under the PESP.

Top bosses obviously feel that the terms of partnership agreements only apply to their workers, not themselves.

Arnotts directors got a 15 percent rise, AIB bosses got 28 percent and Irish Permanent directors got a whopping 39 percent!

The so-called "social partners" are supposed to be committed to other improvements,

apart from pay.

More money was to go into reducing hospital waiting lists, improving teacher-pupil ratios in schools and increasing social welfare payments.

Yet Tallaght hospital remains unbuilt, hospital charges have gone up, and McCreevy's "dirty dozen" welfare cuts remain in place.

Sacrifices

All the sacrifices workers have made were supposed to help job creation.

But since the start of the PESP unemployment has risen from 245,000 to over 300,000 - an increase of nearly twenty percent.

So if workers suffer so badly

at the hands of their supposed "partners", why do trade union leaders stick to the idea of social partnership?

It is mainly because they have turned to the pessimistic ideas that trade union action can no longer win.

After the defeats of the 1980s like Ranks, Clondalkin, Gateaux or the miners' and printers' strikes in Britain, top union officials concluded that there was no point in fighting any more.

They felt that the idea of workers uniting to struggle for better pay and conditions was a thing of the past. Their defeatist attitude led them to think that the most they could look for was to negotiate a national agreement and hope their "partners" would stick to

it. Even then, workers in large unions like MSF, the ATGWU and IDATU opposed the PESP.

Since then, events like the bank strike, or the strikes last year in An Post and the ESB, have shown that rank and file union members are willing to fight.

But their union officials prefer to demobilise and demoralise.

Seven years of social partnership have shown that it benefits everyone except workers.

The lesson is clear: the government and the employers are not in the same camp as workers. Their interests are directly opposite to ours.

There can be no partnership with our opponents.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

Bosnia: Is outside intervention the answer?

see page 8

As the Tories destroy workers' lives...

It's time to

unite and

fight

Workers unity against the sectarians: See p5

John Major's Tory government is destroying the lives of working class people in Northern Ireland.

People are dying on hospital waiting lists, while a recent report showed that seventy per cent of nurses who qualify in Northern Ireland must go abroad for work.

Education cuts mean that ten thousand students at Queen's University Belfast must compete for only six hundred library places.

Ten thousand people are registered homeless, while the Housing Executive has just sacked seven hundred housing repair workers.

John Major recently opened a

brand new RUC station in Strabane. It cost £10 million, but they can't find the money to create jobs for Strabane which has an unemployment rate of around sixty percent.

While spending millions on the police, the government simultaneously cuts £13 million from the budget of the Eastern Health Board.

The case of Mrs Barbara Graham shows the impact of the health cuts on the lives of ordinary people.

Wait

Mrs Graham—a retired catering worker from East Belfast—was forced to spend £8,000 on a private heart operation.

She had tried to get treatment on the NHS but after waiting a year to see a consultant she was told she

would have to wait another three years to get an operation.

Mrs Graham's husband had died in 1989 from heart disease after waiting for surgery for nearly four years.

Mrs Graham spoke to *Socialist Worker*:

"The only way I could afford my heart operation was because my husband had worked at Shorts aircraft factory for fifty years and had built up a pension.

"We had planned to use the money for our retirement, but with the situation now with the waiting lists I had no choice but to spend it on the operation.

"It's okay these people talking about private health insurance, but for most people this isn't realis-

tic—for most people the NHS is their insurance.

"They've paid for it all their working lives. Now the government is taking it away. It's not fair, people at the top don't have to spend years on a waiting list.

"My husband would be alive today if we had a proper health service."

This is the reality of life for workers in Northern Ireland, both Catholic and Protestant.

Fight Back

But there are signs that people are beginning to fight back.

The recent demonstrations in Belfast, Newcastle, Armagh, Dungannon and Larne show the anger people feel on the issue of

the NHS.

Also the recent strike at the Northern Publishing Office plant in East Belfast shows workers are more willing to take strike action over pay.

But the anger that people feel over cutbacks and the recession can easily be taken advantage of by right wing and sectarian forces.

We have seen the far right grow in similar conditions in Europe.

It's up to socialists to organise now from the left to make sure this doesn't happen.

That's why Northern Ireland needs a revolutionary socialist party that intervenes in workers' struggles and argues for workers' to unite and fight against the Tories, and the sectarian state.