

Socialist Worker

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The Myth of Ireland's Free Press

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NUCLEAR MADNESS

- 100 Skin Cancers a year
- 10 Deaths a year
- Plutonium for Nuclear Bombs

THORP TIME BOMB



Howlin's health con

BRENDAN Howlin the Labour Party health minister is dead chuffed with his decision to abolish the £6 hospital outpatients charge.

But the "reform" is a con. Because if you go to a hospital without seeing a note from your GP you will be charged £12 - twice what you pay at present.

But many working class people will have to pay between £10 and £20 to get a doctor's note in the first place. So Howlin's "giveaway" will leave these people paying more to get treatment.

FEES BONANZA

THE top 100 consultants with the Voluntary Health Insurance board earned an average of over £112,000 each in 1993.

The VHI paid out £41.3 million in total to its 2,550 consultants during the year.

But that was not enough for many of the doctors who topped up their fees with additional sums from VHI members through what they called "balance billing".

The fees bonanza was re-

vealed in a report from the Joint Oireachtas Committee on Commercial State-Sponsored bodies.

The chairman of the committee is Labour TD Liam Kavanagh. So what is this committed socialist going to do to stop rich consultants ripping off patients?

Nothing of course. Kavanagh said the committee wanted "100 per cent indemnity" for VHI members but did not want to pass laws to control fees.

THORP: a Chernobyl on our door step

THE British Tories claim that the Thorp project at Sellafield is safe. They are lying.

If Thorp goes ahead it could result in a disaster just like the one at Chernobyl in the Ukraine.

Thorp - the word stands for Thermal Oxide Reprocessing Plant - will separate the plutonium and uranium present in spent nuclear fuel.

This will create more Iodine-131, the chemical that caused huge increases in thyroid cancers in children after Chernobyl.

Sellafield's rotten record

SELLAFIELD was originally called Windscale. It was built on the Cumbria coast in the 1940s.

In 1957 there was a fire at the plant which released radioactive clouds over England and Northern Europe.

The public were only told about the accident three days later. In later years it resulted in children developing cancers as far away as County Louth.

Sellafield stores some 350 tonnes of radioactive waste - some of it in forty year old tanks.

People in Cumbria have plutonium levels in their bodies over three times the average of people elsewhere in Britain.

And children living near Sellafield are ten times more likely to get cancer than children in other parts of the UK.

CHERNOBYL STILL KILLS

THE Chernobyl disaster happened in the Ukraine in the mid-1980's.

Today children in the neighbouring Republic of Belarus are being born with leukaemia or with their vital organs missing.

And about 900 children attend a school in the Republic which is only open to children who have one of six major diseases.

If Thorp goes ahead in Britain it could turn Ireland into the Belarus of western Europe.

MARCH AGAINST THORP

Saturday 12th February, Assemble 3.00pm, Garden of Remembrance, Dublin

Racist snobs

EVERY ward in Galway City has a hard stand for travellers caravans—except wealthy Lower Salthill.

For years the locals claimed that there was "no suitable site" in their area.

Discharges of Krypton-85 gas will cause at least two fatal cancers and one hundred skin cancers a year if Thorp goes ahead.

British Nuclear Fuels - BNFL - have even refused to use technology that can get rid of Krypton-85 - because it costs too much.

The Tories have given Thorp the go ahead but Greenpeace and Lancashire Council have taken BNFL to court to have it stopped.

Massive protests are needed on both sides of the Irish Sea to stop this nuclear horror.

BOMBS AND PROFITS

ONE of the main reasons for building nuclear reactors was to create weapons grade plutonium.

Behind the rhetoric of the fuel "too cheap to meter" was a desire to make bombs that could kill millions.

Despite the end of the cold war our rulers East and West want to keep their nuclear arsenals.

And they also want to profit from the nuclear industry.

BNFL stands to make £500 million in ten years from Thorp. They are fully prepared to put these profits before the lives of ordinary people.

CRUEL SEA

THE Irish Sea is the most radioactive in the world.

Sellafield has pumped a quarter tonne of plutonium into the Irish Sea over the years. Eleven pounds of this chemical could make a nuclear weapon and an invisible speck can cause cancer.

Thorp will reprocess fuels from around the world.

Ships carrying this dangerous cargo will regularly travel through the Irish Sea, increasing the risks to people both here and in Britain.

But now these racist snobs are up in arms because the Bishop of Galway has donated the local "Bishop's Field" to the Council to build a site.

Some business people in Lower Salthill say they would refuse to pay rates and risk jail rather than



We Think

STOPPING THE NUCLEAR THREAT

THE Irish government claims that it is opposed to Thorp, but plans to do nothing to stop the project.

But mass protests can force the Tories to change their minds.

Plans for nuclear sites in Ayrshire, Mid-Wales and Northumberland were stopped by local opposition in the early 1980s.

Organised workers in particular have the power to stop the nuclear threat.

In 1983 the National Union of Seamen refused to handle nuclear cargoes and forced an end to official British sea dumping.

Socialists want to see a nuclear-free world. The power of workers should be used to shut down all nuclear plants.

Workers in the nuclear industry should be given safer jobs that benefit the majority of people and not the nuclear barons.

allow travellers into the ward.

Councillor Liam Madden claims travellers would cause "traffic congestion" - yet the proposed site is only for six families!

Meanwhile 50 traveller families live on a makeshift site in the city's Hill-

Fight Coalition work-fare plan

AFTER a year of Labour/FF coalition the dole queues are still stuck at 300,000. But the government now claims to have the answer.

The idea is simple. The unemployed will have to work for the pittance doled out to them.

These new workfare schemes will be known as Community Employment Schemes or CE's, but there's absolutely nothing new about the idea.

There will be little or no difference between a CE and an SES - or any other of the string of employment "initiatives".

So what do these schemes mean for unemployed people? You'll become part of a supply of cheap labour, digging ditches and shovelling shit.

But this doesn't come as a surprise to anyone who has been through similar schemes.

Shawn told Socialist Worker: "I've done them already, three of them, and I got nothing after them. They're useless."

Peter agreed: "Don't talk to me about those yokes. They're a rip off, a complete

waste of time."

And according to Tony: "There's no point in doing them. You just wind up back on the dole again when they're finished."

Those in favour of the schemes justify them by talking about "the right to work" and "restoring the dignity of unemployed people".

But just in case you don't agree with them there are proposals to make them compulsory.

The workfare plans must be resisted. It's time for all workers - employed and unemployed - to fight for the basic right to proper jobs, proper wages and a proper standard of living.

Tories' back to basics

THE sheer hypocrisy of Britain's Tories has been exposed by a spate of scandals.

Only last October John Major launched his "back to basics" campaign, in reality a desperate attempt to pull together the warring factions in his own party.

Instead it has had the opposite effect.

The centrepiece of "back to basics" was a vicious attack on single parents and a call for "family values".

But it seems that Tory ministers were not listening to their own advice.

Tim Yeo was forced to quit after it was revealed that he had fathered a child outside his marriage.

As one letter to the

press put it, "He resigned to spend more time with his families".

Any socialist will, of course, be delighted to see the Tories in such a mess.

Lashing

But, like a cornered dog, they are lashing out in all directions.

And they are targeting the most vulnerable sections of society - pensioners and single parents.

Bell's Basics

LABOUR TD Michael Bell wants to scapegoat single mothers.

He supported Councillor Betty Bell when she told Drogheda Corporation that single mothers "should be forced to name the father and show a birth certificate" before qualifying for a council house.

Councillor Bell's call echoes the Tory campaign in Britain which resulted in single mothers being quizzed about their personal lives in an effort to force them off the dole.

Disgracefully it seems to be Labour TD Bell who wants to lead a Tory -style "Back to Basics" campaign in Ireland.

Over the Rainbow

FRENCH Lieut-Col Alain Mafart is to be promoted to colonel.

So what? you may ask.

Except that Mafart was the secret agent jailed for 10 years in New Zealand for sinking the Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior in 1985.

So much for justice!

side area where they share two toilets and one cold tap.

But there is support for the travellers among non-travellers - members of a travellers support group chained themselves to railings at the Bishop's Palace in protest at the bigotry.

We Think

UDA plan 'ethnic cleansing'

The UDA have revealed plans for the 'ethnic cleansing' of Northern Ireland.

They want to limit Catholics to certain areas around the border in the event of a British withdrawal. On a map of their proposed new Northern State, the UDA have marked an area of mid-Ulster as 'ethnically cleansed'.

In a further reminder of Bosnia they talk of putting Catholics in interment camps and using them as 'bargaining chips'.

The UDA plan gives three options under the heading "What to do with these people":

■ **Expulsion** - the organisation says this would reduce demands on food but would give enemy forces extra men.

■ **Internment** - this would be a drain on resources but would provide a "useful bargaining chip in any negotiations".

■ **Nullification** - this is de-

scribed as "difficult again but reduces demands on food supplies and if all could be rounded up the process could be finished within one to two weeks".

There has not been widespread condemnation of the UDA plan.

Yet imagine if the IRA drew up plans to 'ethnically cleanse' Derry or Fermanagh of Protestants?

Food

Or if they talked about "Nullification" of Protestants to "reduce demand on food supplies"?

Many people would quite rightly be horrified and there would be outrage from every Tory politician in Ireland and Britain.

The reason why there is not an outrage is that our rulers want to present the IRA as the cause of all the violence.

Scandal

They want to hide the fact that the loyalist paramilitaries have killed more people than the IRA.

The real scandal is the growing evidence that sections of British Intelligence are working hand and glove with these thugs who drew up plans for ethnic cleansing.

The political correspondent of the *Irish Press* has recently

UDA's map of Ulster



revealed that a purported seizure of loyalist guns from Poland before Christmas was a deliberate put up job.

By pretending that Loyalists were involved in huge imports of arms, the British government were

hoping to create additional psychological pressure to give the peace process an extra shove.

Needless to say Dick Spring did not ask Patrick Mayhew any embarrassing questions about this little escapade.

Oppose this pay deal

The Fianna Fail/Labour Coalition are delighted with themselves. They have persuaded the union leaders to accept a pay deal which will cut the living standards of most workers.

The deal only offers only 2% for 1994 and 2.5% for 1995. This will be well below the rate of inflation.

According to Paul Tansey of the *Sunday Tribune* the government is set to get a 'private sector deal relatively cheaply'.

The Coalition also hope to hammer public sector workers. Ahern budget makes no provision for any general pay rise for next year. Many low paid public sector

workers will not get any catch up claim but will be stuck on poverty wages.

After the breakdown of talks last December, the union leaders crawled back to the negotiating table.

They have accepted the argument that Irish industry needs to be 'more competitive'. And they want their own members to take more sacrifices.

The union leaders believe that their sell-out will guarantee them a quite life for the next three years. They shouldn't be so sure.

Last year a new mood of militancy emerged among public sector workers as members of IMPACT

inflicted defeats on the government.

Ahern's attacks on the public sector will bring that bitterness back to the surface.

On the building sites moves are afoot to bring about a national strike this summer after anger exploded among the rank and file of the system of contract work.

Over the next few weeks socialists should be campaigning against the rotten PESP Mark 2.

In the longer term we need a network of socialists who can challenge these sell-outs.

AHERN'S CON JOB

Ahern's budget was hailed by the media as a masterstroke. But it is nothing of the sort.

■ The budget did nothing to tackle the growing unemployment crisis. Commentators have already

predicted that 400,000 people could be on the dole in 1996.

■ It threw out more subsidies to the bosses. £100 million in soft loans are being given to Irish business -- despite the fact that they have failed to create job after decades of tax breaks.

The budget's real aim is to encourage a low pay economy in Ireland.

Only those earning below £9,000 a year will have the penal levies removed. This is a direct signal to the bosses to keep wage levels below that figure.

Democratic Unionists?

Sammy Wilson of the Democratic Unionist party said the UDA plan was "a very valuable return to reality".

Wilson said the plan showed some people were prepared to take "radical action" to protect an "independent Ulster identity".

His remarks barely conceal the links that Unionist politician have with the UDA thugs.

Yet there are no plans to investigate these links and no calls on either the DUP or the Official Unionists to "renounce violence" before joining negotiations.

Fiendish fenians!

Those fiendish fenians are spreading more lies about King Billy.

Jan Paisley has denounced as Noraid propaganda a story that William of Orange had a lifelong sexual affair with a man.

The historian who made the claim said that the king never consummated

his marriage to Queen Mary and that his male lover was with him at the Battle of the Boyne and in his death bed.

Paisley has reason to be worried -- if the hero of Orangism was gay it makes a mockery of the DUP leader's bigoted Save Ulster from Sodomy campaign of a few years ago.

Flats are fire-traps

IN early January two men died when the house where they rented bedsits went on fire.

The four-storey house on the North Circular Road in Dublin was divided into sixteen separate bedsits.

It had no fire escape, no fire extinguishers or fire alarms. The windows were barred. Fire fighters had to saw through the bars to rescue some tenants.

The next door neighbour described how she heard people screaming inside and said: "the house went up in flames in a matter of minutes".

The landlord could not be contacted after the fire although he was always available when the rent was due. He would have received approximately £600 each week in rent for the house. Many people in rented accommo-

dation live in similar death traps.

In the past five months, five people died in fires in private rented accommodation in Cork city - in houses with dangerous, exposed wiring and windows barred to prevent escape.

Students, unemployed people and low paid workers have no option but to rent flats in this condition.

Declan Power, one of the men who died in the Dublin fire, was on the

Dublin Corporation waiting list along with 5,150 others.

Because the Corporation house building programme is at a virtual standstill, private landlords can get away with charging exorbitant rents for unsafe accommodation.

The Eastern Health Board "subsidises" them to the tune of £13 million each year.

RUC amnesty

The RUC man who shot dead 19-year old student Kevin McGovern in 1991 was found not guilty last month.

Justice Nicholson said that constable Hanley should not have shot

McGovern but "did not act unreasonably" and was "understandably very frightened".

Unlike Republican prisoners it seems RUC men get an automatic amnesty from the courts.

Interview with a socialist from RUSSIA

'Fight from below is the key'

RUSSIA HAS hardly been out of the news in the last month. In December's elections the party of the fascist Zhirinovskiy got the biggest share of votes.

That came after President Boris Yeltsin had used the army to crush the old parliament.

Now a key figure in the market "shock therapy" programme, former deputy prime minister Gaidar, has resigned from the government.

Socialist Worker spoke to a socialist from Russia about the crisis.

WHAT ARE living conditions like?

THEY HAVE been getting worse for the last two years. More and more people have been driven into poverty.

Now 30 percent of the population is living below \$30 a month and half below \$50.

A year ago that didn't mean a lot because bread, transport, heating and so on were still cheap.

But in the last six months everything has gone up. Rent has doubled. Fares have gone up fivefold since September.

WHAT WAS the reaction to Zhirinovskiy's success?

MOST PEOPLE were shocked, even some who had voted for him.

The Russian media takes it for granted that Zhirinovskiy is a fascist.

The number of hard Zhirinovskiy supporters is very small. It's a very soft vote.

I met a gay student who voted for Zhirinovskiy, regardless that he is an open bigot. He just wanted some kind of opposition.

At the university in Moscow we peti-

tioned against fascism two days after the election. A small number of people came up and said, "We've won." But the majority said, "Thank God someone's doing something."

Zhirinovskiy's vote was very patchy across the country. In the Far East and among Russian speaking people in areas where they are a minority, he got fairly high votes.

But in Moscow and Petersburg he came well down the lists. In the mining areas, which had been on strike two weeks before, he got virtually no vote at all.

But because of the level of racism in Russia and the way Yeltsin kicked 80,000 people from the Caucasus out of Moscow, it is possible Zhirinovskiy can harden up some of his soft support.

TELL US about the strikes.

THERE HAVE been two sizeable strikes in recent months—the miners' strike centred around northern Siberia, and a strike by oil and gas workers. Both ended in victories.

The miners hadn't been paid since summer. A small miners' union tried to present a compromise. But the government stalled.

The miners came out virtually spontaneously. From what we can tell there was very little organisation. Within a week the government climbed down.

There are small pockets of confidence. Workers on the Moscow Metro won index linked wages just with the threat of a strike.

The government hasn't gone on the offensive on a general scale yet. The crunch has still to come. Unemployment hasn't really hit.

Official unemployment is about 2 percent, unofficial maybe 3 or 4 percent—around 4.5 million out of a workforce of 130 million.

WHAT IS Yeltsin's strategy now?

I'M NOT sure he has a strategy. He said two different things after the election.

He said, "The reforms continue," then he echoed a lot of the things Zhirinovskiy talks about—protecting Russian speaking minorities in the former republics, putting Russian interests at the centre of foreign policy (code for rebuilding the Soviet Union), ensuring changes are not introduced too quickly.

He can hold these two positions because parliament is technically irrelevant. It doesn't have a vote on the budget or on who is in the government.

However, having already got rid of one parliament, Yeltsin has built expectations in the new one. He said presidential rule was just a transition.

So lots of people believe that when conflict between him and parliament blows up another coup is possible—either with Yeltsin as a figurehead or simply by the army without him.

The generals can say, "Let's get rid of these politicians, let's have efficiency, let's defend Russian national interests. We'll run the country for ten years. Once we've established order and rebuilt the economy, then we can have the luxury of democracy."

ISN'T ZHIRINOVSKIY in a no lose position? He can make a lot of noise without any responsibility and can hardly avoid becoming more popular.

THAT'S TRUE. His strategy is to wait a few years, realising he has support, but that his organisation on the ground is very weak.

So he says he supports the constitution and supports Yeltsin completing his term of office.

But he can come unstuck.

Firstly, there is the ethnically mixed character of Russia. Zhirinovskiy comes out with his open racism, but one sixth of marriages in Russia are between people of different nationalities.

Although there is quite open racism against people from the Caucasus, there is still a tremendous amount of integration.

Secondly, no one wants war.

When Zhirinovskiy talks about the



MINERS STRUCK and pointed to an alternative

need to stop crime, a lot of people agree. When he talks about fighting the third world war and expanding Russia's borders to the Indian Ocean, people get scared.

However, the most important thing is that Zhirinovskiy has already come out firmly against strikes, in favour of an authoritarian state.

If there is any attempt to impose authoritarian rule, his support for it could undermine him.

CAN YOU foresee future flashpoints?

UNTIL SOME section of the ruling class can find a way out of the crisis,

there are going to be splits.

As soon as government measures translate into factory closures or driving down wages, figures within the ruling class will split.

But the most important thing is the fightback from below.

When—or maybe before—the government really moves on the offensive, there is bound to be resistance.

At the moment everything is incredibly brittle. It is difficult for people to have any faith in the institutions of society, any conviction in the ideas being peddled.

Another mass strike wave could change that very quickly. The question, then, will be what kind of ideas come to the fore.

France:

Workers' anger forces climbdown

WORKERS have forced the French Right wing government to retreat twice from plans to make them pay for the costs of the recession.

First was the smashing of the Cahill-style plan for Air France.

Then last month a proposal to increase funding for private education provoked a huge wave of revolt.

Private education is already hugely subsidised in France.

The salaries of teachers in this sector are paid from public taxes.

The right wing government had planned that this year 45% of new teaching posts would be in private schools.

Yet they only have 17% of the pupils.

Without state funding the private sector would collapse.

With state education starved of resources it was obvious that working class people were being asked to subsidise education for the rich.

The government tried to buy off the protests with a small extra funds allocation for the state sector and extra holidays for teachers.

Their attempt failed.

Part of the proposed new legislation was declared unconstitutional and was effectively dead.

Yet three days later, in the pouring rain, a massive demonstration in Paris of up to a million people still went ahead.

Four hours after the head of the march had reached its destination in the west of the city, marchers were still leaving the assembly point in the east.

The government had already been defeated. But these protests will ensure that they will be less confident in their attacks in the future.

Spain:

General strike against cuts and wage freeze

On January 27th a one day general strike closed down Spain.

The strike was called in protest against government plans to introduce what is described as "flexibility" in the labour market.

The Socialist Party, headed by Felipe Gonzalez has been in office for 12 years.

Gonzalez wants a three year public sector wage freeze and big welfare cuts.

His other plans include,

- fewer restrictions on companies sacking workers.
- the employment of so called "trainees", in reality yellow pack workers.
- less rights for workers to appeal their conditions to a labour court.

They are hoping to use

the fear of unemployment to ram home their attacks. Unemployment in Spain is even higher than Ireland with 23% of the workforce out of jobs.

But Spanish workers have started to fight back. In November more than half a million workers joined a protest strike and in December there were angry protests and strikes in Barcelona against the closure of the Volkswagen-Seat car plant.

Aligned

Both the UGT and CCOO unions backed the general strike in January. The UGT used to be closely aligned to the Socialist Party but the bitter-

ness among workers has forced them to loosen their links.

The CCOO, the Workers Commissions, has strong links to the Communist Party.

Only 17% of Spanish workers are in unions. But million of unorganised workers backed the strike.

The Socialist Party tried to break the general strike by a vicious media campaign. It also mounted the biggest police mobilisation seen in Spain since the death of the former dictator, General Franco.

But workers have not been intimidated. The General strike did not force the government to back down.

But many workers are demanding that there be an escalation of the action to break the back of Gonzalez's rotten government.



ZHIRINOVSKIY GETS support as crisis deepens

Anger grows against service charges

'We pay enough taxes without this'

THERE has been an angry response to plans to introduce service charges in the three new Dublin county councils.

Residents in Fingal will be charged £85 a year, in South Dublin £90 and in Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown £80 a year for services like water and refuse.

As one resident on a Swords council estate told *Socialist Worker*: "We're paying enough taxes already without this."

Another resident compared the charges to the poll tax in Britain, saying: "When

they saw the Tories doing it over there they must have decided to try the same thing here."

The charges represent double taxation on workers and make a mockery of Bertie Ahern's budget "tax reforms".

The county managers claim that the service charges are needed to clear the debts inherited from the old Dublin County Council.

But lack of funds has not stopped Fingal Council planning a new HQ in Swords. Nor has it stopped South Dublin Council from going ahead with a £9 million premises in the Square in Tallaght.

And councillors now enjoy an expenses bonanza of £1,000 a year tax-free for phone calls and stamps.

Fianna Fail environment minister Michael Smith granted increased expenses last year after councillors "revolted" over Smith's plans to limit expenses.

Service charges are really another way of taxing workers while leaving the rich alone.

No wonder the main support for the charges has come from the Dublin Chamber of Commerce, representing local bosses.

The bosses are furious that businesses still have to pay local rates which were abolished in 1977 for the domestic sector.

The rich now want their rates abolished so that workers can foot the bill for the county councils' debt crisis.

Instead of taxing workers, the government should put up the funds itself and get the rich to foot the bill.



Labour's betrayal

ONE year after entering coalition the Labour Party is presiding over the introduction of service charges.

Yet the growth in support for Labour before the last election was partly due to the anger against local charges.

Where non-payment campaigns were strongest - in Waterford, Cork and Limerick - Labour and the other left parties got big votes in the last local elections.

Labour also gained in Co Kildare, where local party activists had been to the fore in campaigns against charges in towns like Leixlip.

Former leftwing TD Emmett Stagg was part of these campaigns. But Stagg has turned his back on struggle.

One Kildare man who had campaigned with Stagg told *Socialist Worker* sellers in Dublin that his former ally was now against non-payment campaigns and had said:

"People are better off paying otherwise they could be jailed".

How to win

THE service charges can be beaten if people organise a campaign of non-payment.

Waterford City Council was beaten when it tried to introduce water charges in 1989.

Residents of Browne's Road and Lismore Park—pictured above—surrounded the scabs who were sent to disconnect the water supply.

A crowd of seven hundred locals besieged the scabs' van for eight hours!

Crucial to the campaign's success at the time was the backing of organised workers.

Waterford Trades Council had a policy of calling for strike action if anyone was jailed for non-payment.

The anger exists in Dublin to mount a similar campaign against service charges there.

Fear of such militancy is what has made even rightwing councillors so hesitant about voting for charges.

Oppose the C45 system

Building workers get organised

The C45 system does not mean a lot to most people.

But to building workers throughout Ireland it can mean a life of misery.

"It's time to start fighting"

COLT was set up just before Christmas.

"Seven of us got together first.

"Then we started to put the word around.

"People kept saying that they were glad that someone at last was doing something".

COLT encouraged workers to rejoin the unions. At the AGM of the Bricklayers union in Dublin new officers were elected who were committed to campaigning against the C45s.

The unions have now begun to respond to the campaign. Last month,

400 building workers turned up to a joint union meeting in Liberty Hall in Dublin. It was the biggest building workers meeting in the town since the 1964 strike.

Assert

Paddy Shaughnessy from the Bricklayers Union said:

"It is time to assert our collective muscle in defence of our basic rights. This is the time to start doing the business. Tonight we're starting a campaign which will culminate in a national strike."

The meeting voted

unanimously to carry out a ballot.

The campaign has come at a good time. There has been a pick up in the building industry in Dublin.

Over 20 major cranes now dominate the skyline. Workers are feeling a new confidence.

As one COLT member put it: "A strike would bring some hardship. But there is a difference between us and the building bosses.

"The new speculators are obsessed with making money.

"They will stab each other in the back. We can break through and win. We have to."

Now a national building strike is being organised to rid the sites of this evil.

The C45 is a tax document which building employers hand to many of their workers. It makes them completely self-employed and takes them out of the PAYE system.

A fight back against the use of C45's has come from a new organisation which works alongside the unions - COLT, the Committee of Labour Trades. COLT started off as a small group of bricklayers who began talking about the issue.

"We just felt we had to make a stand. You can just push people too far," said one of the COLT members.

Tool money

He went on to explain how the C45 system works.

"It means that you lose all your rights. C45 building workers get no holiday payments, no pension provisions, no wet money, no tool money or travel and subsistence allowances."

"Building work is often short term. But you find that when you are on a C45 you

are not entitled to social welfare.

"If you have an accident on the job, there is no insurance or mortality benefit for your wife and family. And that is a serious worry. Last year 13 building workers died on the sites. Hundreds were injured"

"Or look at the situation before Christmas. It was often raining for much of the week. You were left sitting around with no wage coming in".

The employers see obvious benefits in the system. Union sources indicate that they are making a saving of between 40% and 50% on labour

costs.

Over the last four years they have begun to really push the system throughout the country's sites.

Another COLT member explained how the C45s have affected workers' conditions.

"It has brought about a dog eat dog situation on the building sites. You get situations where people are competing against each other for different prices for the jobs.

"Apprentices are treated terribly. In the past, apprentices were always looked after in the building trade. Now you get people taking on young fellas who have not done the proper courses just for cheap labour.

"All the conditions that were won from the great building strike of 1964 have been eroded. You should see the canteens on most building sites today. They are primitive."

"I have not been involved in much before this. But we are not going to stop before we get rid of this evil."

Victories already

Even before preparations are made for a national strike, building workers have already chalked up a few victories.

In Waterford bricklayers on the Sisk supermarket site took industrial action and got rid of the C45 system. As one COLT member put it:

"For ten years the building bosses of Waterford refused to negotiate seriously with the unions. After a few days action, they changed their mind."

In some Local Authority housing schemes in Dublin, the C45 system has been pushed out due to union pressure.

And on the Ballymore site workers got rid of the C45 system after two workmates were injured when a wall collapsed. The company was given an ultimatum to go back on PAYE so that workers could get some protection.

Patrick McLaughlin: Framed by British justice

by Tracy Cullen

In 1985 a young unemployed Derryman, Patrick McLaughlin, went to England in search of work.

Instead of finding a job he was wrongly convicted of "conspiring to cause an explosion" and is now serving a life sentence.

This followed the discovery of an alleged bomb outside the Chelsea Army Barracks in London in November 1985. The bomb was unprimed and was planted by the INLA.

Inside the bag that contained the explosives was found some personal documents of a person who lived in a flat in the Harlesden district of London.

Unfortunately, Patrick had been present at a party in the flat the night before the explosives were discovered. Patrick later returned to Derry, in financial difficulty, where he was arrested weeks later and taken to England for questioning.

Even the prosecution counsel confessed that the evidence to convict Patrick was purely circumstantial. In fact, much of it has been fabricated.

Police claimed that Patrick's fingerprint was on the binliner surrounding the bomb.

However, only the police can claim to have seen his fingerprint.

They were unable to pin point it as they claimed the identification sticker had been "lost".

They also admitted that several other fingerprints occurred on the bag.

The other evidence the police used was that Patrick McLaughlin's name was written on a magazine which was found in a van which the police claim was used to transport the bomb.

However, Patrick claimed he had left this and another magazine in the Harlesden flat and suggested that police had planted it in the van. The likelihood of anyone leaving their name behind in a van used to transport a bomb is utterly ludicrous.

One police officer claimed that Patrick told him that he was aware a bomb was being made at the Harlesden flat in the course of the party.

But Patrick denied any knowledge of such an incriminating conversation. Even another police officer who was present at the same interview failed to recall Patrick making any reference to a bomb.

People who were present at the party were unable to give evidence in support of the defence through fear of subsequent threats, arrests or implicating themselves.

This evidence would have been crucial to Patrick but none of the witnesses could be subpoenaed, as by this stage they were outside UK jurisdiction -- in Ireland or the USA.

The fact that Patrick was so blatant about his whereabouts and identity suggests that he was an unlikely INLA member. But the judge did his best to have him convicted. He introduced irrelevant matters such as the horrific effect of the Harrods bombing in which six people were killed. He interrupted Patrick constantly in a hostile manner.

In his sum up to the jury, the judge devoted ten hours to emphasising the prosecution case as against two hours to the defence case.

The jury deliberated for 12 hours and repeatedly returned to the court for four times for guidance. The majority was 10 to 2 and although the two dissenters remained obviously reluctant, a verdict of guilty was passed.

Patrick McLaughlin is INNOCENT.

The INLA have consistently denied any connection or involvement by Patrick. At no stage was Patrick on the run.

Solicitor Gareth Pierce has said that if Patrick's case occurred today he would almost certainly be acquitted, especially in the light of the Birmingham Six, the Guildford Four and Judith Ward's acquittals.

British justice is under severe scrutiny and such a conviction could not be accepted on inaccurate circumstantial evidence.

As Patrick's sister Valerie told *Socialist Worker* "despite the release of the Guildford Four and the Birmingham Six, it should not be presumed that cases of blatant injustice have ceased".

Patrick McLaughlin is just another example of this continuing injustice.

■ The Friends of Patrick McLaughlin can be contacted at: 1 West End Park, Derry BT48 9JF. Tel 0504 268846



The myth of free press

Ireland's newspaper industry is in turmoil.

The editor of the *Sunday Tribune* has been sacked by the big business interests who owned his paper.

The Irish Press group have fought a major battle in the courts over who should be the main owner.

The press in Ireland have always claimed to be neutral and unbiased.

Their spokespersons have argued that they are not like the gutter press which dominates the British tabloid market.

But the bulk of the Irish media belong to a handful of bosses who rub shoulders with the rest of the rich all the time.

The claim that there is a 'free press' is a sham. The biggest press baron in Ireland is Tony O'Reilly.

His Independent Newspapers Group owns the *Irish Independent*, *Evening Herald*, *Sunday World* and the *Evening Herald*.

He also owns 10 major local papers such as *The Kerryman*, *Bray People* and the *Drogheda Independent*.

O'Reilly also jointly owns the *Daily Star* with the British Express Group of newspapers.

For many years, the *Dail Express* was the mouthpiece of Lord Beaverbrook who campaigned vigorously against independence for India.

When India won its independence, a picture of Britannia in chain swas placed on the masthead of the *Daily Express* and remained there for many years.

Today the Express Group are rabid right wing Tory supporters.

Their London paper, the *Evening Standard* regularly ran a rabid anti-Irish cartoon by JAK depicting Irish people as mad bombers.

But O'Reilly's association with the Express group has not prevented him running a hypocritical campaign to keep the British press out of Ireland.

He claimed that they showed 'scant interest culturally or intellectually in Ireland'.

O'Reilly's only interest in Ireland is profit and right wing politics.

He is already Ireland's richest man with a

grand fortune of £219 million.

Every day he earns the disgusting figure of £70,000 from all his commercial interests.

Even the *International Business Week* denounced him as the most overpaid boss in the world, giving 'the least return for his pay'.

O'Reilly's right hand man is Gerry McGuinness who is a director at Independent Newspapers.

He has been in management posts since he was 20, and was chairman of the same oil company as O'Reilly, Atlantic Resources, before he came to Independent Newspapers.

He is a member of four posh golf clubs at once.

Between them O'Reilly and McGuinness have used the Independent Group newspapers to push right wing politics in Ireland.

Contacts

O'Reilly once told *Forbes* magazine that "since I own 35 per cent of newspapers in Ireland, I have close contacts with the politicians".

His papers regularly attack public sector workers and demands law and order crack downs.

He gives a platform to two of Ireland failed right wing politician like Shane 'Yeo Ho Ho' Ross and Conor Cruise O'Brien to sound off.

But O'Reilly's greatest hypocrisy is his treatment of his own workers.

O'Reilly is also one of the major owners of the Waterford Wedgwood group.

He imposed wage cuts on the workers and while using his papers to denounce strikers who were defending trade union conditions.

The *Irish Press* operates on the same basis as the O'Reilly press.

The *Irish Press* used to be run entirely by the de Valera family to promote the interests of Fianna Fail.

The former FF leader, de Valera raised funds to set up the newspaper by pretending it was for the Irish 'national cause'.

But he made sure that control of the shares and profits of the paper was vested in the hands of his family.

Article 77 of the company rules specified that "the Controlling Director shall have sole and

absolute control of the public and political policy of the company and of the Editorial Management."

By the 1980s, the *Irish Press* and the *Sunday Press* were in desperate financial straits and were forced to link up with Ralph Ingersoll.

Ingersoll specialised in union busting in the US where he used to run 200 papers.

But he got away without paying the £1 billion he owed to the banks.

Since June 1991, Ingersoll has cashed in £404,000 in management fees.

This is what the average shopworker would get for a total 40 years work.

Vincent Jennings, who was an executive director by the time he was 30, was replaced by Ingersoll and left with a golden handshake of £250,000.

Ireland's two main newspaper groups are run on straight capitalist lines.

And instead of any 'editorial independence', the papers defend the profit and greed of the system that their owners batten off.

The sacking of Vincent Browne shows just how this works.

Browne was never a radical or a left winger. His only involvement in politics was as a member of Young Fine Gael.

But occasionally he ran articles that upset his owners.

The *Sunday Tribune* is owned by a consortium of big business interests.

The big shareholders are Martin Naughton of the Irish multi-national, Glen Dimplex, Martin Birtane a big property developer and Tony O'Reilly who owns a 27% stake.

The Chief executive of the company is Brendan Hynes.

Four days before he was sacked, Browne ran articles attacking the conduct of the *Irish Independent* and O'Reilly's hypocritical campaign against the British press.

Before that Browne ran a story showing how Brendan Hynes was involved in pay-offs to Irish politicians when he was an executive of Tara Mines.

It was too much for the big business backers. They did not mess about with any myths of 'editorial independence'.

Browne was unceremoniously given the boot.

THE BOSSES' PRESS

THE activities of the Irish media bosses are no different to their counterparts in other countries.

In Britain, the Thatcher government sent in the police to help the press barons smash the print unions at Wapping.

In return, the papers launched attack after attack on the Labour-run Greater London Council: Ken Livingstone was called the "IRA-loving, poof-loving Marxist", one paper published a report by three psychiatrists about his mental health, and a *Daily Mail* column started "Who does this monster think he is anyway?".

Both the UK and the US media fell over each other to present the Gulf War as a giant video game.

Blacked Out

They backed Bush and Thatcher with claims that 95 percent of the population supported the war and blacked out news that hundreds of thousands were marching against it.

The media bosses have always decided what gets into the papers.

When Colm Rappelle criticised O'Reilly's oil-rig enterprises he was asked to leave the *Independent*.

The *Daily Mirror's* new boss David Montgomery simply refused to include a piece by Paul Foot about Montgomery's background and declared Foot insane.

In Italy the media boss Berlusconi used his three TV channels to support the neo-fascists in the elections and to promote his supermarket chain.

His philosophy is that "TV exists to sell advertising".

And obviously governments interfere directly with the media, too.

In Ireland, RTE tolerated the government gag that made interviews with Sinn Fein illegal.

RTE would not even defend their own reporters: Jennifer McGeever was sacked and Kevin O'Kelly even went to jail for interviewing members of Sinn Fein.

The Tories banned the Channel 4 documentary "Death on the Rocks" about the shooting of three IRA members in Gibraltar.

In Turkey, the government shut down the Kurdish paper *Ozgur Gundem* the day it printed the UN declaration of Human Rights.

Under capitalism, the media's job is to get across the ideas of the ruling class: that politicians and top executives have their cushy jobs because they are clever.

That ordinary people would not know what to do with their lives if there was no one there to tell them.

That the police maintain law and order, that striking bus workers are greedy, and that we have to tighten our belts for the economy.

The only time we see the media turn on the government is when public opinion swings around, as in the case of John Major and the Back to Basics campaign.

Most of the time there is as much difference between the various Irish papers as there is between Fianna Fail and Labour in office.

But the media are also forced to play a contradictory role.

Without modern telecommunications, the Eastern Bloc revolutions in 1989 and 1990 might not have happened one after the other.

Television has shown how millions of people spend their lives in the most appalling misery.

The news of mass strikes from Nigeria to South Korea are destroying the myth that there are no working classes in the less industrialised countries.

Documentaries about the frame-ups of the Birmingham Six and others have helped to expose the courts as the vicious instruments of state power that they are.

Mouthpiece

The problem is that we do not control the media but that they are the mouthpiece for those who rule us.

They are an important instrument in our rulers' quest to prop up a sick system.

This is not, however, to say that the media can actually control our minds.

In every period of social upheaval, people have seen how the press, radio and television distort the truth.

Even today surveys have shown that most *Sun* readers do not believe half of what they read in their paper.

But the media will only begin to reflect society when ordinary people start writing their own papers and make their own programmes.

That is why in periods of revolution workers have always tried to seize the media to present their version of the world.

In Portugal, in 1974 workers took over the Catholic radio station, *Radio Renascenca* and the newspaper, *Republica* and ran produced their own stories.

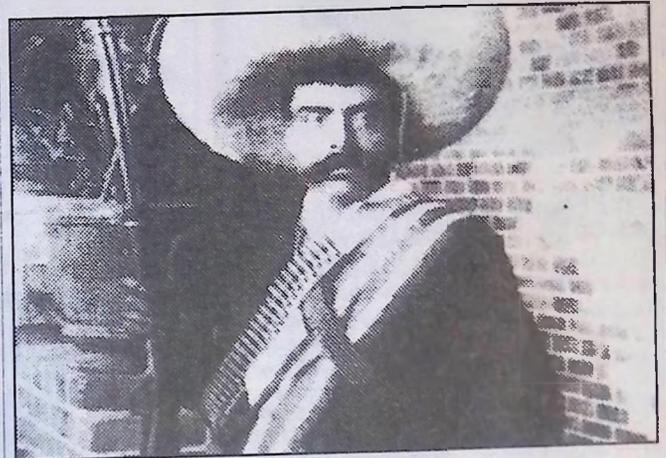
Press freedom in the real sense will only come about through a revolution that leads on to a socialist society, with true democracy from below, where nobody makes any personal gains out of controlling vital channels of information.

Ireland's



'Since I own 35% of newspapers in Ireland, I have close contacts with the politicians'—Tony O'Reilly, boss of Independent Group newspapers.

Emiliano Zapata and the fight for land and liberty



by Brian Hanley

AS 1994 began, peasant guerrillas seized control of several towns in the southern Mexican state of Chiapas.

The peasants in the region are descended from the native Indian population and live in abject poverty.

The guerrillas timed the rebellion to coincide with the coming into force of the North American Free Trade Agreement between Mexico, the US and Canada.

Recession

The Mexican government has pinned its hopes on getting out of recession on the NAFTA deal.

But for the vast majority of Mexico's population the deal only means more misery.

More than a fifth of the country's people live below the official poverty line.

As one guerrilla put it, "for the government it does not matter that we possess nothing, absolutely nothing, not even a home, not land, not work, not education."

The government sent troops and fighter aircraft against the guerrillas and seems to have ended the revolt for the moment.

In one town Mexican troops executed captured guerrillas and buried them in

mass graves.

The surviving guerrilla forces have vowed to fight on.

The insurgents called themselves the Zapatista National Liberation Army, after the revolutionary leader Emiliano Zapata.

Zapata was the leader of a peasant army in the Mexican revolution of 1910-1917.

As mayor of the village of Anencuilo, Zapata had begun dividing up village lands and distributing them among the peasants.

When government police attempted to take the land back for the local landlords, Zapata resisted them with arms.

Soon other peasant communities sought his help.

In 1910 Zapata drew up a political manifesto calling for "land and liberty".

The corrupt government of President Porfirio Diaz was dominated by the rich landlords and refused to consider reform.

War began, and in 1911 Diaz fled.

But his place was taken by middle class politicians who disliked Diaz's dictatorial rule but wanted to maintain the old order.

They sent troops to disarm Zapata's peasant army and another rebel leader Pancho Villa's northern insurgents.

They failed, and in November 1913 the peasant armies seized control of Mexico City.

But neither leader had a coherent plan of what to do next and withdrew their armies after a brief occupation.

The middle classes

wreaked a bloody revenge and war between Zapata and the government continued for four years and cost a million lives.

Zapata held out in his stronghold because his province of Morelos became a commune, with collective ownership of land and mass support from the peasantry.

But eventually the Mexican state crushed the revolt and murdered Zapata in 1919.

As a final insult, the party that has ruled Mexico since then, the Institutionalised Revolutionary Party (PRI), used the language of Zapata and spent a million dollars on a film of his life.

But the PRI is the party of state corporations and private industry.

It has presided over slave labour, peasant poverty and rigged elections.

Growth

In recent years Mexico has seen industrial growth and foreign investment, including that of Irish bosses like the Kerry Corporation who listed low labour costs as one of their reasons for choosing Mexico as a location.

Albert Reynolds visited Mexico in mid-January, hobnobbing with President Salinas, while Salinas' air force was bombing the guerrillas of Chiapas.

The guerrillas' inspiring revolt in January showed the true tradition of Zapata, and while it may have ended for the moment it is a signal of greater explosions to come in Mexico and across the Americas.

Kieran Allen reviews a new book about the Catholic middle class

In Search of a state: Catholics in Northern Ireland by Fionnula O'Connor, Blackstaff £8.95

In search of a state

EVERY nationalist politician from John Hume through to Bernadette McAliskey speaks about the rights of the Catholic 'community'.

Few talk about the class divisions between Catholics. A new book *In search of a state* shows how this image is a myth.

Its writer, Fionnula O'Connor was the Northern correspondent for the *Irish Times* for thirteen years. Before that she was briefly a member of the left-wing group, Peoples Democracy, that emerged out of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Every socialist should try to get hold of her book.

One of the main arguments of O'Connor's book is that there is a greater class division now among Northern Catholics than there has ever been in the past.

Before the 'Troubles', the Catholic middle class in Northern Ireland were very weak.

Community

They consisted mainly of the publicans, builders, head teachers and auctioneers who served their own community.

One Belfast woman, described the Catholic middle class of this period,

"I associated them with the Gaelgoiri (Irish language users) and clean faces ... small shopkeepers, say on the Falls Road whose kids went to the same school as me, the 'respectable people'".

Because the middle class were so small, it was easy to think that being a nationalist meant being working class or poor.

Direct British rule has changed all that. The British ruling class have long since stopped being closely bound to the Unionist Party.

Gone are the days when the leaders of the Conservative and Unionist Parties went on grouse shoots together. Instead, Britain's direct-rulers have sought to encourage the development of a Catholic middle class.

By and large they have succeeded. Today 60% of all barristers in the North are Catholic.

35% of the management of the civil service—the North's biggest employer are Catholic.

The Malone Road, Belfast's most famous street for the Protestant "fur coat brigade" is now predominantly Catholic.

One of the first Civil Rights marches was organised from Coalisland to Dungannon by the Catholic doctor, Conn McCluskey. Then, Dungannon was a town where the Orange Order controlled the establishment.

Now according to McCluskey:

"It's becoming a Catholic town, and Derry is the same and

the confidence everywhere, its completely changed."

The growth of this middle class has tremendous political implications. In the past the small middle class who lived outside the ghettos were portrayed as "the Castle Catholics".

They were seen as deserting their community and going over "to the other side".

Ingratiate

They tried to hide their origins or ingratiate themselves with the Unionist establishment. Right up to the 1980s, they were likely to vote for the moderate Unionist party, or the Alliance Party.

But today the Catholic middle class are confident in their culture. They want to assert their Irishness and see no reason to bow the knee to Orangeism.

They support Gaelic games and are openly proud of it.

They don't see why they cannot stand up for Amhran na bhFiann or commemorate 1916. Yuppie nationalism finds its symbol in John Hume with his jet-setting articulate European image

On the backs of the poor

THE nearest political parallel to the new divisions among Northern Catholics is with the Black movement in the United States.

Thirty years after Martin Luther King started the Civil Rights Movement the situation for the mass of Black people is worse now than it ever was.

A newborn black infant is now twice as likely to die before the age of one than a white.

The real victors from the struggles against racism have been the black middle class.

In 1964, there were only 100 Black mayors in the whole of the United States.

Today there are 7,000.

The number of blacks in professional positions has doubled in the last twenty years.

Now one in seven Black



Today, middle class Catholics see no reason to bow the knee to Orangeism

All of the achievements of this class have been made under Direct British rule.

While the unemployed and working class youth of the ghettos faced harassment and repression, the Catholic middle class found a new space for themselves.

This difference of experience translates into different political outlooks.

Time for class politics

THE NEW-LOOK PROVOS

THE Catholic middle class of the North are no different from the US black middle class.

They see no reason to talk about "smashing the Northern state".

They are more worried by why they have to stand for *God Save the Queen* at the end of a good night at the Balmoral Golf Club.

The Catholic middle class are happy to wait for decades for a united Ireland.

Persuaders

They see any call for a troop withdrawal as "unrealistic".

What they want is direct involvement by Dublin in the

THE interests of the Catholic middle class and the mass of Catholic workers are now more directly in conflict than ever before.

The Catholic middle class have a direct interest in stressing their distinct and separate identity from "Protestants".

They want to exaggerate cultural differences and talk about the importance of their Irish "identity".

To make more gains within Northern Ireland they want a nationalist alliance that stretches from the Bogside to the chambers of Dail Eireann.

Catholic workers have different interests. They want the RUC off their backs. They want the British army out of their areas.

They also need to see an end to poverty and unemployment.

They need to fight against the Tory wage freeze and the tax hikes.

To win, they are going to have to take the anger against oppression out of the ghettos and translate it into a general fight against the system.

That will mean uniting with Protestant workers.

Every time there is a common fightback against the Tory attacks, it will become easier to show Protestant workers that they should turn their back on Paisley and the sectarian bigots who offer nothing.

The pessimists will say that this can never be done. But the experience of the 1930s shows that thousands of Protestant workers can move quickly from Unionism to class politics.

Difference

The differences between the Hume-Adams document and the Major Reynolds proposals is only one of the degree of tilt to the Catholic "community".

The aim of the Provo leadership today is to repeat the pattern of Fianna Fail.

After leaving down their guns, they hope to become the party of the Malone Road as well as the Falls.

Racist funds for NUU

THE University of Ulster has accepted a grant of £33,000 from a far right racist organisation to study IQ differences between Blacks and Whites.

The US based, Pioneer Fund has given the money to Professor Richard Lynn, a professor of psychology to try to find evidence for his racist theories.

Lynn is the only academic in Britain and Northern Ireland to have accepted money from the racists.

According to Lynn, "The difference in IQ between whites and blacks is about 15 points".

This type of racist rubbish has been used before with IQ tests. One of the first

IQ propagandists in the United States claimed that 'the dullness' of Spanish American people 'was racial'.

The British right wing psychologist, Hans Eysenck, claimed that the Irish suffered from low IQ. All of this quack science has been disproved.

But Lynn has clearly got other interests that go well beyond the bounds of scientific research.

The Pioneer Fund which is backing Lynn is a sinister organisation which promotes a white master race philosophy.

Lynn has written for its magazine, *Mankind Quarterly* which is run by Roger Pearson, who has a long history of far-right activity.

In one book, Pearson advocated the breeding of a 'supergeneration' based on

the selection of the sperm of the fittest and most capable white males.

A previous editorial advisor to the magazine was the Nazi scientist Baron Otmar von Verschuer.

A spokesperson for the Anti-Nazi League denounced the racist activities at the Ulster University.

"This has nothing to do with academic research. It is all about giving a respectable cover to racist and fascist ideas."

"Reports have already reached us from a number of people in the Coleraine area of activity by the fascist BNP. Their stickers have started to appear around the place"

It is time to start organising against this filth"

The Anti-Nazi League is mounting a regular petition against Lynn's links with the far right.

Anti Nazi League March against Racism and Fascism

Dublin 12th March
2pm Parnell Square

For details of Buses from around the country contact the ANL at PO Box 4007, Dublin 1.

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

Athlone

Meets every Tuesday. For details of time and venue write to the SWM national address.

Dublin North Central

Meets every Wednesday 8pm Conway's Pub Parnell St

Wednesday 9th: Stop THORP: How do we save the Environment?

Wednesday 16th: How do we solve unemployment?

Wednesday 23th: Two years after the X case: Have womens rights changed?

Wednesday 2nd March: South Africa: Can the ANC bring peace?

Dublin Northside

Meets every Tuesday 8pm The Old Brogue, Dorset St

Tuesday 8th: Stop THORP: How do we save the Environment?

Tuesday 15th: Two years

after the X case: Have womens rights changed?

Tuesday 22nd: Can the working class change the world?

Tuesday 1st March: How do we solve unemployment?

Dublin South Central

Meets every Thursday 8pm Trinity Inn Pearse St

Thursday 10th: Stop THORP: How do we save the Environment?

Thursday 17th: Why does the church control our schools?

Thursday 24th: How do we solve unemployment?

Thursday 3rd March: South Africa: Can the ANC bring peace?

Dublin Southside

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

Meets every Wednesday 8pm The Junction Pub in Camden St

Wednesday 9th: Stop THORP: How do we save the Environment?

Wednesday 16th: Why does the church control our schools?

Wednesday 23th: Two years after the X case: Have womens rights changed?

Wednesday 2nd March: Will the Trade union leaders ever fight?

Tallaght/Clondalkin

Meets every Wednesday 8pm Tallaght Welfare Society next to Foxes Covert in Tallaght village

Wednesday 9th: Two years after the X case: Have womens rights changed?

Wednesday 16th: How do we solve unemployment?

Wednesday 23th: Will the Trade union leaders ever fight?

Wednesday 2nd March: South Africa: Can the ANC bring peace?

Waterford

Meets every Thursday 8pm ATGWU Hall, Keyser St

Thursday 10th: Stop THORP: How do we save the Environment?

Thursday 17th: Two years after the X case: Have womens rights changed?

Thursday 24th: How do we solve unemployment?

Thursday 3rd March: Why does the church control our schools?

Belfast

Meets every Tuesday 8pm See SW sellers for details or contact national office

Tuesday 8th: Will the Union leaders ever fight?

Tuesday 15th: What will socialism be like?

Tuesday 22nd: South Africa: Can the ANC bring peace?

Tuesday 1st March: What's behind the attack on Political Correct?

Derry

Meets every Tuesday 8pm Badgers Pub Orchard St

Tuesday 1st: Neither armed struggle nor the Downing St. Declaration—the socialist alternative

Tuesday 8th: Will the Union leaders ever fight?

Tuesday 15th: What's behind the attack on Political Correct?

Tuesday 22nd: South Africa: Can the ANC bring peace?

Cork

Meets every Thursday 8pm Anchor Inn, Georges Quay

Thursday 10th: Stop THORP: How do we save the Environment?

Thursday 17th: Two years after the X case: Have womens rights changed?

Thursday 24th: How do we solve unemployment?

Thursday 3rd March: Why does the church control our schools?

Join the Socialist Workers Movement

Socialist Worker

Stand up for your rights!

Join the Socialists

RIGHT across Ireland, thousands of people are looking for a real alternative.

And the Socialist Workers Movement has been very active in building the type of organisation that is needed.

As soon as proposals the new Dublin County Councils' announced they were discussing plans for a service charge, *Socialist Worker* sellers hit the housing estates taking up a petition and calling for non-payment.

The response was very good.

In Tallaght, the local SWM branch established a Tallaght against Service Charges group.

They plan to hold a march in the town on

Saturday February 12th at 12 noon.

Branches of the SWM have also been active throughout Northern Ireland.

SWM students in Queen's University held a white line picket against the Tories plans to cut the grants.

In Derry, SWM speakers got tremendous reception when they argued that the Downing Street declaration gave nothing to working class people at a forum where the SDLP and Sinn Fein gave their reactions. 35 papers were sold afterwards.

When the news that the Thorp plant had finally opened, SWM members on Ireland's east coast began a cam-

aign for a major protest.

Hundreds of people signed an SWM street petition and 85 papers were sold in Dublin on one Saturday afternoon.

Large contingents are now expected to join the anti-Thorp march which leaves Parnell Square in Dublin at 3 pm on Saturday 12 February.

The Socialist Workers Movement is now engaged in a major recruitment drive.

If you are sick of the sell-outs of the Irish Labour party or want to see workers unity in Northern Ireland then join the socialists!

Fill in the coupon on this page today.

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 _____

Football:

Why Busby was idolised



by Brian Hanley

TO generations of football fans the name of Matt Busby who died last month, conjures up images of three great Manchester United teams.

To many people his story is one of triumph over tragedy and the creation of a club based on exciting football, and respect for the fans who followed United.

Many of the fans, myself included, who gathered outside Old Trafford the day after his death, also felt that respect is missing today.

Matt Busby's early life was no different to thousands of others who play football. He came from a mining village in Lanarkshire in Scotland, the same district that two other great managers, Jock Stein of Celtic and Bill Shankley of Liverpool grew up in.

Busby was a Catholic and suffered from the sectarianism still rife in Scotland in the 1920s.

As a teenager he went to work in the mines, joining the general strike of 1926. When the strike ended after nine days, the miners stayed out another six months. They returned in bitter defeat, starved into submission and betrayed by the rest of the Trade Union leaders.

Busby was a talented young footballer and found this a way to escape from life down the mine.

He travelled to England, playing for Liverpool and Manchester City before being appointed manager of Manchester United in 1946.

By the time he retired in 1969 he had introduced teams like the fantastic "Busby babes" who were almost wiped out in the Munich air crash and the 1960's team of Charlton, Law and the greatest of all, Georgie Best.

Why was Busby so idolised? Partly because of the teams he created, but also because he seemed to stand out as someone decent in a corrupt world.

All the divisions of our society are re-created within football. It is an overwhelmingly working class game, but huge profits are made from the fans.

Today Manchester United is a private limited company, trading on the stock exchange; charging ever increasing prices to ordinary fans, while developing luxury executive boxes for companies to hire for their directors.

And it's not just Manchester United that behave this way - all the major football clubs do. Behind the scenes agents and managers accept bribes and pay-offs while the ordinary fan has to shell out £35 for a new, ever-changing team strip.

This is not to say that football in Busby's day was any less corrupt but the rip off of the fans has accelerated over the last twenty years.

At best, football provides an escape from life's other pressures for ninety minutes a week. It's a reflection on the society we live in that so much can depend on our team getting the right result.

At worst it's a game where working class people are encouraged to hate each other because of who they follow - and where racism and sexism rear their ugly heads.

In the last few years ordinary fans have begun to campaign for their rights in the wake of the Hillsborough disaster. Fanzines have launched campaigns against racism which have definitely had an impact.

There are more women fans now attending football in Britain than ever before, having some effect on the sexism so prevalent in the game.

As long as we live in a society based on profit, those who run football will see it as another way of ripping off working class people.

Film:

IN THE GRIP OF TYRANTS

'Farewell my Concubine' reviewed by Jenny Williams

"Farewell my Concubine" is the latest of the new wave of Chinese films to reach Ireland. The film is banned in China itself by the tyrants responsible for the Tiananmen Square massacre.

It is based on the story of a singer, Dieyi, who begins his training for the Beijing Opera under a master as authoritarian and brutal as any of the feudal landlords who dominated China in the 1920s.

By the 1970's when the film ends, Dieyi is gay and a well known opera singer. In between, the film shows four major periods in China's recent history through Dieyi's eyes.

During the Japanese occupation, Dieyi is forced to sing for their generals to get Xiaolou, his stage partner and heart's desire, out of prison.

After the Japanese were driven out, the Chinese Communist party finally came to power in 1948. A huge peasant army surrounded the cities while their leaders proclaimed that the liberation from class rule had finally come.

It was a myth. The producer of the opera company found little difficulty adapting to the "New Society's" principles.

"For better or for worse we Manchus have ruled for three centuries", he says, "but let's see what their money looks like". He would go far with that attitude.

Mao, the Communist leader, was rather pragmatic about the socialist nature of his revolution in 1949. Because China was so backward, he argued that "the capitalist sector will still be an indispensable part of the whole national economy".

By the 1960s, it became obvious that China was not breaking out of underdevelopment. Mao called for a frenetic production effort and started the Cultural Revolution.

The film picks out some of the horrors of the Cultural Revolution, but mainly through Dieyi's and Xiaolou's actors' eyes. The public character assassinations and sheer terror that ordinary workers and peasants had to face is not shown.

Dieyi's adopted son denounces him to the authorities claiming that he is a symbol of the 'Old Society'. Xiaolou is questioned by the Red Guards.

He tells them what they want to hear about Dieyi's politically



unsound past, in front of an empty auditorium with a Red Guard loud hailer taking the place of the voice of the people. The Cultural Revolution finally tears apart Xiaolou's and Dieyi's lives.

Sadly, Kaige - the film's director - does not include the fact that a real alternative to the party's hollow mass campaigns was emerging at the time. In 1966 and 1967, disillusioned, angry workers took power in dozens of cities and factories.

In Shanghai, in the 'January revolution', workers kicked out the Stalinist cadres and set up their people's commune. It was bloodily defeated.

Xiaolou and Dieyi meet up again 11 years later, in 1977. Their personal stories climax. In the end, this personal side is still where the emphasis lies in the film.

Go and see and bring a pillow for a riveting and extremely eye-pleasing two and a half hour film.

Film:

The Piano reviewed by Carol O' Dwyer

"THE Piano" is a story of Ada, a woman who is devoted to music. Written and directed by Jane Campion, the film is many things: a self discovery, an inner voyage, an exploration. Holly Hunter, Sam Neill and Harvey Keitel form the ingredients of a love triangle.

The film is the story of a woman's struggle to survive in a world where she is not at one with herself or with mankind.

She has not spoken a word since she was six years old. The piano is her voice.

She is shipped to New Zealand and finds love there, not with her husband of a prearranged marriage, but with George Baines, who awakens in her the something that is called love.

The piano represents Ada's alienation. She is the symbol of repression—repressed commu-

nication and repressed sexuality. It is Baines who holds the key to unlock both.

Women on the whole in the film are victims of their environment.

Ada is transplanted halfway across the world to a future husband whose only welcoming

comment is "She's stunted".

Their wedding ceremony is a smiling photo upon a wall. It is not surprising that Ada should succumb to an adulterous relationship, which is not seen as sinful but as liberating.

She breaks free from the confines of lamp bulk shaped

addresses and black bonnets and emerges as perhaps the most coherent character in the film, and yet she does not have to utter a word.

In the words of the daughter, "Mother says most people speak rubbish and are not worth listening to."

Through this film we get a simplistic view of the Maori culture. The Maori women crowd around Ada's "pale like angel" skin. Maori men are presented as lacking comprehension who cannot appreciate a light-hearted pantomime.

However, in the end, the film is a Maori victory. Baines, his face painted, has surrendered himself to the Maori culture.

The film is a celebration of sensuality. It is erotic and explicit. It is a living poem, as expressed through the daughter's crisp accent.

I did not love this film. It failed to make any kind of impact but it's certainly different. Judge for yourself.

International Socialism Journal

Bob Geldof has described the "Politically Correct" movement as "the New Nazis". He joins academics and politicians from both right and left who attack what they claim is a new form of tyranny.

John Molyneux gives a timely reply to these arguments in the new *International Socialism Journal*, outlining a socialist view of P.C.

The *ISJ* also has articles on the politics of jazz, the late historian E.P. Thompson and the crisis of Tory Britain.

£2.50 + 50p post from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

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

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

WARD INTERNATIONAL



The strike of workers at Ward International in Athlone is going into its fourth month.

Management tried to impose changes in pay and conditions and refused to even

take part in conciliation talks. They also refused to let the Labour Court get involved before Christmas.

Despite office workers abandoning their union colleagues, and various haulage firms crossing pickets,

the strike by SIPTU and TEEU members is holding up. The ICTU has imposed an all-out picket.

Making sure that Ward products are blacked effectively and that pickets are not crossed will be the way to ensure victory.

DUBLIN BUS

Drivers in Dublin Bus are demanding that management introduce a cashless bus system in response to a spate of attacks. The workers' unions say almost 100 drivers are currently out sick as a result of robberies and assaults.

However Dublin Bus boss Bob Montgomery is opposed to a cashless system because it would mean extra costs to the company. Such systems operate in parts of Europe and Britain.

Not only do cashless

buses remove the main causes of assault on drivers - money - but they represent a major improvement in the drivers' working conditions.

Drivers need not worry about collecting and paying in correct amounts of money.

Montgomery's attitude is one of contempt for the drivers.

In a recent TV interview he announced that assaults in connection with cash only represented 30% of total attacks. But this is contradicted by the workers themselves.

One NBRU shop steward told *Socialist Worker* that in his garage he knew of no-one who was out sick

on an assault that wasn't related to cash or attempted robbery. "I don't know where he got his figures, but no driver in the city believes him".

Workers are angry about the daily risks they face and outraged at the attitude of Dublin Bus bosses.

The only response so far has been to install a limited number of protective screens on some buses.

Most drivers are cynical about the protection afforded by them.

The management will have to be forced to concede a cashless system.

Workers should demand their unions begin a campaign of industrial action to win this.

TEAM WORKERS RESIST ATTACKS

by Kieran Glennon

Workers at the Aer Lingus subsidiary TEAM are resisting new attacks by management. Company bosses have demanded changes in work practices to try to save money.

They want to bring in extended shift-working so as to cut down on

overtime.

They also want to hire and fire people at will, depending on the amount of maintenance work on hand. In addition, 250 jobs are to be lost.

Management has threatened 900 lay-offs if the workers do not accept the changes by February 28th. The TEAM workforce showed its willingness to fight this onslaught at the end of January when 150 clean-

ers and "pushers" took unofficial action against "mobility and flexibility" measures. Although they returned to work, an overtime ban stayed in place.

TEAM has won a number of maintenance contracts recently; its hangers are described as "chock-a-block" because it has cut its prices.

The attack on working conditions shows that management intends workers to carry the cost

of this price-cutting.

But TEAM workers have won a number of victories over the last year.

United

United action reversed overtime cuts last February and won 300 workers their jobs back when they were laid off last summer. Continuing this tradition is the best way to see off the latest attacks.

NESTLE

Clerical and supervisory workers in Nestle in Tallaght are still resisting management's attempts to introduce an "integration and harmonisation" plan.

The plan was due to come into effect on January 10th, but was rejected by SIPTU members. They voted unanimously not to implement any changes in work practices if management tried to go ahead.

This threat was enough to scare management off - for the time being. But the company is still trying to push the package through.

The plan involves redundancies, redeployment and loss of earnings for some workers, and a freeze on increments for up to four years for others. All workers will lose a day's holiday and many will have a longer working day.

Management was happy to bring the issue to the Labour Court's conciliation officer. No wonder - he recommended virtually no

change in the company's position. A full Labour Court hearing is unlikely to bring any joy for the workers either.

The company's attacks will not be stopped by looking to such third parties but by maintaining unity in the workforce - not only among the "staff", but also with production workers.

Nestle management has always got its way in recent years. Solidarity now can ensure that "the needs of the business" do not continue to override the needs of the workers.

TRINITY STAFF WIN KEY DEMANDS

Part-time cleaning staff in Trinity College, who had previously been denied pro-rata pension rights, won these rights when the SIPTU membership in Trinity, at all levels, mobilised and threatened strike action.

The government's Higher Education Authority backed down immediately when union members in Trinity initiated a one-hour stoppage which was to lead to an all-out strike during exam time in the college.

This means that part-time cleaning staff, some of whom work up to 30 hours a week and have been working for as long as 35 years, will now be entitled to pro-rata pensions upon retiring.

It also shows that there is a willingness to fight for basic rights, and that all staff at all levels recognise that an injury to one is an injury to all. The immediate surrender of the government authorities also shows that when workers mobilise against the bosses, their demands can and will be won.

VOTE RED INSTEAD

The Socialist Workers' Movement is standing candidates for the Student Union elections in the colleges.

In UCD Paula Geraghty is standing for President. She said "the students are willing to fight if the union give them a lead. The overcrowding here means that the library can only hold one out

of every five students. The students are angry but the union isn't doing anything. I stand for a fightback".

Ben Walsh is standing in Trinity College. He told us that the union was becoming more and more bureaucratized.

"They do not want to mobilise the students. They use student apathy as an excuse. But the students want to fight. It's the union that is stopping the students - not the other way round."

In DCU and St Pats candidates are also standing. Alan Kelly, standing for President of DCU said "conditions here are appalling and getting worse with the expansion of the college.

There is only one seat in the library for every 10 students. The competition at exam time is a nightmare. The union is pathetic. The college authorities are laughing all the way to the bank. We need to mobilise the students from the ground

up and fight back. The students are sick of being pushed around".

In Queens the Tories are trying to get rid of the Students Union. Gary McMonagle is standing for the student executive.

"The Tories hate the union because they know it is the only thing we've got to fight back with. Without it they will walk all over us.

But the union has pissed most students off. What's the point in a union that doesn't fight. I'm standing for a fighting Students' Union in Queens".

P & O FERRIES

Seafarers on P & O ferries in Larne are facing attacks on pay and conditions.

In Britain, management is trying to impose wage cuts of up to 22 per cent and changes in pay scales. Extra shifts could mean up to five weeks extra work a year for many work-

ers. Larne P & O workers face similar threats. But the company's plan can be stopped. Already, workers at Felixstowe have voted 86 per cent in favour of strike action.

United action across all P & O's operations will be essential for the attacks to be beaten off.

Issues for the Labour Movement

by CONOR KOSTICK

BURSTING BERTIE'S BUBBLE

For the moment the Government is basking in headlines such as "Full steam ahead" and "Best ever public finances". With the signing of the PESP for a three year period, it might seem as though they are set for a period of stability and progress.

Hundreds of millions of pounds are claimed to be available for the Government to spend, thanks to Bertie's sound management.

However when you look behind the headlines at the real figures, it's clear that Bertie's money is not going to last.

There were three sources for the extra government income last year, all of which are one-offs:

The one percent levy, meant that workers provided a huge injection of funds to the government. The average amount of tax paid by each household, directly and indirectly, rose twice as fast as average income increases. This was a blatant money grabbing operation which has had to stop because of the resentment it caused.

The tax amnesty brought the government £150m. Again there was nothing subtle about this income. Already Irish business pays the least tax in Europe, and with the amnesty, rather than prosecution the Government proved nothing was going to change in this respect. They have also given a green light to those bosses tempted to avoid further tax payments.

Devaluation, was desperately fought against by the Government, who rushed back from their holidays to deal with the crisis. Ironically, against their

own plans, it has increased government revenue. £280m was saved on the cost of the debt, while people with deposits in high interest rate accounts found their real income rising, which gave the government higher real returns on their DIRT payments.

So Bertie Ahern knew very well, he couldn't afford a huge give-away budget. As UCD economist M. McDowell explained to the *Irish Times*:

"The real message of the Exchequer returns for 1993 is that fiscal retrenchment rather than a tax and spending give-away are the only serious option for the country in 1994."

Not only are government finances less healthy than we're told, but the real state of the economy is not good. Ireland did manage a better than average growth compared to Europe, however this did not translate into better living standards or less unemployment.

Kieran Kennedy in the *Irish Banking Review* points out that "for Ireland to catch up with EC income levels, the growth rate of GNP per capita of 2% a year higher than Europe would have to be sustained for another 25 years."

He adds that "to reduce unemployment and raise living standards it would be necessary to contemplate a GNP growth rate of 6-7% per year for 10-15 years at least."

Recession

These sort of growth rates are a fantasy in the current recession ridden world.

In 1992 employment in manufacturing rose only 0.1%, last year it rose 0.3%. However investment in manufacturing is falling. An EC survey showed that total investment in Irish business fell 7.3% in 1991, 1.9% in 1992 and 1.6% in

1993. What this means is that there is no hope for a dramatic improvement in the employment picture. The *Irish Times* recently concluded: "growth in the Irish economy of 3% next year, would on past evidence, do little to increase the total employment in the economy. This is partly because Irish GNP growth figure tend to be artificially inflated."

What all this means, is that the current government perspective of national consensus and progress has a foundation of wishful thinking rather than fact.

For the moment all is calm on the industrial front, but before the current PESP deal is out, reality will have smacked the government in the face like a wet fish.

By then the employers and the government will find themselves facing a working class increasingly fed up of the recession and ready for a fight.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

INSIDE:

Interview with socialist from Russia

TURN TO PAGE FOUR

Declaration offers nothing to workers

LOYALIST murder gangs have resumed their killings. Their targets are ordinary Catholics. Their aim is to intimidate and terrorise a whole population.

Faced with this terror, many will hope that the Downing St declaration can bring some peace. The problem is that it does not get at the roots of the conflict in Northern Ireland.

■ It says nothing about the role of the British troops in the North, or about the harassment and repression suffered every day in nationalist working class areas.

■ It says nothing about poverty and unemployment that affect both Catholic and Protestant workers.

John Major and Albert Reynolds head the most anti-working class governments these islands have seen in recent history.

They are trying to drive down the living conditions of their "own" working classes. Why should workers in the North expect anything good from them?

The Downing St Declaration sets down a pattern where the Protestant and Catholic working class are to be policed and kept in their separate communities.

Politicians who claim to represent 'their own communities' will be given an opportunity to set up structures where they compete against each other.

Every time there is a hospital to be closed down or jobs to be cut, they will use those structures to argue that 'the other side' should make the sacrifices.

For the thousands of peo-



These Tories won't bring peace

ple who reject the deal on the nationalist side the alternative does not lie in armed struggle.

Futile

The IRA military campaign is futile. The only ef-

fect of the bombs in mainly Protestant towns is to drive more people into the ranks of the loyalist paramilitaries.

The only time that ordinary working class Catholics made gains was when the mass action of the Civil Rights movement forced the

abolition of Stormont and the removal of the hated B specials.

Those type of struggles today could take the anger out of the ghettos and make links with ordinary Protestant who are being targeted by the Tory attacks.

Paisley whips up sectarianism

PAISLEY and the DUP have been organising a series of 'Save Ulster' meetings to attack the Declaration.

They want to whip up sectarianism in order to get Protestant workers to blame Catholics for their growing poverty.

At a meeting in Omagh, the DUP MP, William McCrea compared the Protestant people to the whites in South Africa.

Uniting

There is no comparison.

Protestant areas like Glencairn which has 70% unemployment have no privileges to defend over Catholics.

Their only interests lie in uniting with Catholic

workers against the Tories.

And they would do so if the trade union started to give a lead.

Last November tens of thousands of Protestant workers defied Paisley and joined the ICTU peace marches.

But now the ICTU has gone silent as if they were hoping that Major and Reynolds were going to solve the problem of the North.

If they started to call their members out for a united fight against the Tory pay freeze and tax hikes which add up to £12.50 to the average household bill, they could strike a real blow for peace and class politics.

In the process they could help to send Paisley and his bigots packing.