

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

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**Support the TEAM**

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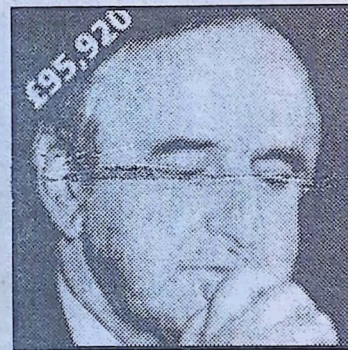
**After the IRA**

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## £267 a week rise for Reynolds

## 17% pay rise for Ministers

# WHAT A BUNCH OF GREEDY HYPOCRITES



**TOP politicians and semi-state bosses are awarding themselves huge pay increases while workers are told to accept more and more sacrifices.**

Albert Reynolds salary as Taoiseach will rise from £82,020 to £95,920.

This is on top of the fortune he earns from his pet food business.

Reynolds' salary increase of £13,900 is more than most workers earn in a whole year.

Dick Spring's reward for betraying Labour voters is a 17.6% increase. He will end up on more than £80,000.

No wonder he loves staying in plush hotels when he is on his foreign trips.

At the same time as the semi-state bosses are demanding sacrifices from workers, they too have just got huge rises.

Alfie Kane of Telecom and Garry McCann of Aer Lingus are now on a quarter of a million each per year.

These rises were sneaked in when the ceasefire of the IRA was announced.

Reynolds and Spring saw the ceasefire as an opportunity to feather their nest.

Bertie Ahern even had the cheek to complain that the £1,000 a year rise for TDs was "disappointing".

These greedy politicians have a nerve condemning the workers at Irish Steel and TEAM.

But we can still put manners on these parasites.

Every worker should be finding support for the locked out TEAM workers.

We need collections in workplaces to help them keep up the battle.

The rich are out to rob us. It is time we fought back.

# Hamilton's pay-off



**LIAM HAMILTON** was the judge who wrote a white-wash report on the Beef Tribunal.

Now he has been appointed the Chief Justice. He will get a salary of £95,920 a year.

It looks like a nice reward for clearing Reynolds of a charge of showing favouritism to

his friend Larry Goodman.

Hamilton could not have got the job because of his record of dispensing justice.

Hamilton convicted Nicky Kelly for the Sallins train robbery. Kelly was beaten black and blue by the police 'Heavy Gang'.

Later Nicky Kelly was released and compensated for the wrongful imprison-

ment. Hamilton accepted the arguments of SPUC that no information on abortion could be given out in Ireland.

It took huge demonstrations on the streets and a referendum to reverse that nonsense.

The appointment of Hamilton as the Chief Justice of Ireland shows that the system is rotten to the core.

# Bosses oppose sick pay scheme

**SHOPKEEPERS** and newsagents are opposing proposals to introduce a sick pay scheme for workers in the grocery trade.

The Joint Labour Committee is recommending three weeks paid sick leave for full-time workers and two weeks for those working over 18 hours a week, but nothing for those on less than 18 hours.

Even then, workers will have to serve two years' before they become eligible.

The first three days of sickness will not be covered.

## Attack

Although the JLC's proposals are extremely limited, employers are trying to make the scheme contributory.

In other words, workers will have to pay to be sick! In a disgusting attack,

Pat McKeown of the Retail Newsagents Association claimed that "this will be viewed as three extra weeks holiday by staff".

The grocers' organisation RGDATA is also opposed to the scheme.

These narrow-minded small shopkeepers also opposed the extension of legal protection and improvements in working conditions for part-time workers a couple of years ago.

# Waterford fights service charges

**RESIDENTS** of Waterford's Hillview Estate showed last month how service charges can be defeated.

A long-running non-payment campaign has led Waterford Corporation to employ outside contractors to cut of non-payers' water.

Last month a van carrying five of these scabs arrived at Hillview Estate.

After cutting off the water supply to one house, they were immediately surrounded by about a hundred local women.

By teatime around five hundred people were besieging the scabs in their van, which had its tyres let down.

Sixty Gardaí had to be called to escort the contractors out of the estate.

They laid into the crowd with boots and elbows flying. Men, women and children were knocked to the ground.

A megaphone belonging to the Socialist Workers Movement was trampled to

the ground.

Three people were arrested during the protest, so a crowd of about three hundred residents marched to demonstrate outside the Garda station.

## Victory

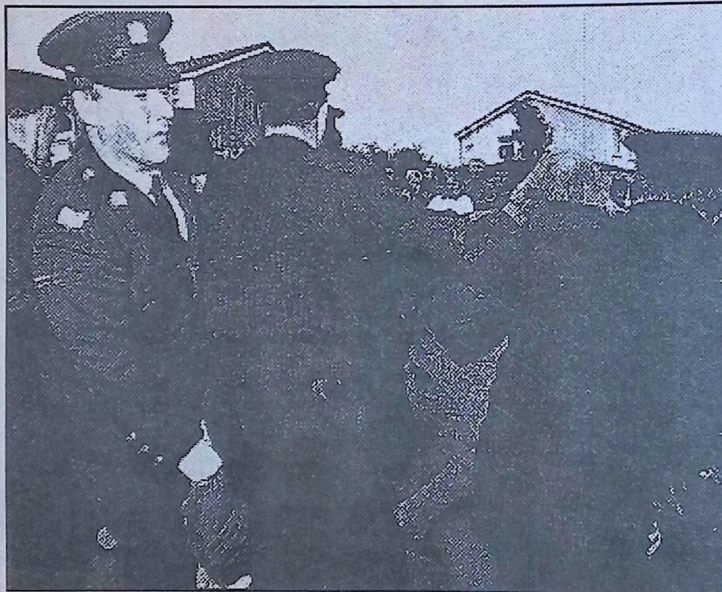
The three were later released without charge.

This magnificent victory shows that service charges can be defeated.

A militant non-payment campaign has meant that Waterford Corporation has been unable to collect up to £1.5 million in unpaid charges.

Residents in the three new Dublin county councils can follow the lead of Waterford.

For example, so far less



than thirty percent of people in Fingal County Council have paid the charges. Anti-charge activists

held a conference in Dublin in September to discuss ways of strengthening the non-payment campaign.

As the councils send out bills in October for the second half of the charges, the fight looks set to heat up.

# Rat infested

**FOR** most of us, if we wake to the sounds of nature at all, it's to the singing of birds, but the residents of the Gloucester Street/Moss Street flats in Dublin's inner city wake up to the squealing of rats.

Exactly sixty years after tenants campaigned for better living conditions, with rat infestation listed among their complaints, rats are still a problem in the very same area.

Night after night the residents are treated to a spectacle only Edgar Allan Poe could do justice to.

## Children

Rats dart about the yard, squealing, and crawl and fight over the rubbish bags in the bins.

Residents are afraid to open their back windows and those on the ground floor leave their windows closed even during the day.

In a complex that

houses small children and pensioners the dangers hardly need to be spelled out.

One Corporation worker told *Socialist Worker* that they themselves had requested that the rubbish bins be changed so that rats cannot get into them for food.

Another said that they were sick of reporting the problem to their superiors.

A campaign has been kicked off in conjunction with the local branch of the Socialist Workers Movement.

A petition was collected and a meeting will be called to discuss their next move.

Both groups are determined to see it through until their demands are met.

# The price of a worker

**THE COURTS** are placing a small price on the lives of Irish workers.

Last year Mahon Phillips in Waterford were fined only £525 for breaking laws which led to the death of one of their workers.

This was by no means the worst case.

In Killorglin District Court, Farm Modernisation Ltd had only to pay up £350 for a worker who died because the company broke the safety laws.

Industrial accidents are on the rise in Ireland.

The recent report of the Health and Safety Authority shows that 64 workers were killed at work last year.

This is 18 more death than happened in 1992.

No boss has ever been

sent to prison for endangering the lives of workers.

It is a different story for the rest of the population as 18 year old Jonathan Byrne found out.

He failed to pay the correct fare on the No. 45 bus from Deansgrange in Dublin—and ended up with a sentence of seven days in jail.

Jonathan was made to suffer far more than the rich, careless employers of companies like Mahon Phillips and Farm Modernisation who killed workers.

# Reaping their reward

★ **PROFIT** is, we are told, the reward for hard work and effort. Take Brendan Hopkins, a director of Independent Newspapers, for example.

As a director he had an option to buy Independent shares.

He bought 58,000 and immediately sold them off. For this sweat-inducing effort his profit was £57,000.

He has an option to buy a further 467,000 shares. You don't need Honours Maths to work out that he could make a tidy sum on these...no work required.

★ **ANOTHER** with an eye on his bank balance is Michael Smith, Bishop of Meath. He has demanded £500,000 for a site for the new Community College in Dunboyne. This is twice the value put on it by the State Valuation Office.

Bishop Smith had been hoping for a Catholic Church controlled school.

We are sure that Bishop Smith's price has nothing to do with the fact that the Department of Education decided on a state controlled school instead.

# Things they say



“I had a dream, or perhaps it was a vision, that Uchiya Ireland has production problems at the factory and when all the staff left for the evening, so many fairies or 'little people' came and completed

the work and everything was on schedule the next day. I believe this could only happen in Ireland so, obviously, I decided to establish our new company here.”

Mr. Uchiya, at the opening of his latest factory.

“The days of secret business deals done behind closed doors, the days when Government frequently seemed accountable only to the rich and powerful, must never be likely to recur.”—Dick Spring



# As Clinton plans to invade Haiti... US intervention offers nothing

THE US President, Clinton, has done a deal with the tyrants of Haiti. The US army is to invade the country - but the dictator, Cedras, is allowed to stay in the country with a big bribe from the US.

Clinton has used Haiti to demonstrate the power of the American war machine. But the deal shows that he has not the slightest interest in the welfare of the people of Haiti.

Since the 1991 coup which overthrew the democratically-elected president Jean-Bertrand Aristide, Washington has been making noises about "restoring democracy".

But the US ruling class opposed Aristide when he was elected as the representative of Haiti's poor.

He promised drastic land reform and the redistribution of wealth among the poor.

Aristide's proposals for reform drew the wrath of the US, which has been working hard to promote Haiti as a low-wage economy for US companies.

When Aristide proposed to raise the pitifully low minimum wages in the export-assembly industry, US companies raised shrill protests.

Instead of wholeheartedly supporting Aristide's return, the US has in



American officials disclosed details of alleged human rights abuses under Fr. Aristide's rule.

Accused by the *Washington Post* of "mob rule" Aristide bowed to the pressure of the US and the Haitian rich.

Even though his supporters opposed US involvement Aristide finally sanctioned the invasion.

The UN also pressurised him into agreeing to a blanket amnesty for those involved in the coup.

Cedras and his murderous allies would be allowed to seek exile in a friendly host country.

After all, France had already graciously received Baby Doc Duvalier. Haiti's former dictator and client of the United States.

## Neo-Nazi

As Aristide's position was weakened, the death squads in Port-au-Prince grew in confidence.

One group, FRAPH, the Front for the Advancement and Progress of Haiti, effectively took control of the streets.

This armed militia adopted a neo-Nazi salute and carried the flag of the Duvalier regime.

Its role was to terrorize the popular resistance to the junta.

As one commentator wrote:

"In Cite Soleil, the poorest of the sprawling slums of Port-au-Prince, the empty streets offer up a daily quota of bloodied bodies as a warning of the penalty for hope..."

Only when Aristide and his supporters were sufficiently weakened did the US consider invading.

In the words of Larry Birns, director of the right-wing Council on Hemispheric Affairs:

by CATHERINE CURRAN

## A bloody history

ALMOST every US President has invaded a Latin American country to bolster up the image of the US war machine.

■ In 1961, Kennedy attempted an invasion of Cuba and failed, in the notorious Bay of Pigs episode.

■ In 1965, Johnson invaded the Dominican Republic to prevent the restoration of left-wing president Juan Bosch.

■ Between 1981 and 1990, the US funded the Contra war against the revolutionary Sandinista government.

■ In 1983, Reagan launched a "multinational" invasion to overthrow the government of the Revolutionary Military Council in Grenada.

■ In 1989, Bush invaded Panama to rid himself of former client and partner in CIA drug-running, General Noriega.

The US army murdered thousands of shanty town dwellers in the process.

Nowhere did the US install democracy. Instead they made these countries safe for profits.

"The Clinton Administration wants desperately to avoid the kind of social confrontations that might ensue if President Aristide tries to enact the reform programme on which he was elected... All the US wants from Aristide is his legitimacy, not his policies."

For the ordinary people who supported Aristide, the US intervention offers nothing.

They see their only hope in a social revolution which does not compromise with US imperialism or the former Duvalier supporters.

In *Cite Soleil*, where Haitians live in huts made from discarded US food cartons, one man said:

"The US made a lot of promises, and where are they now? I believed them, and all I got was beatings. We are dying alone in the streets."

## A proud record of rebellion

THERE is a long history of rebellion in Haiti.

In 1789, Haiti, then the French colony of Saint-Domingue, was the most profitable colony in the world, supplying the world with record quantities of coffee and sugar.

It was also the worst place in the world to be black.

In August 1791, the slaves, under the leadership of Toussaint L'Ouverture, and Jean-Jacques Dessalines, cast off their chains.

After twelve years of struggle, they finally defeated Napoleon's armies.

They established the first independent state of the Americas, where "freedom" meant freedom for everyone.

The Haitian revolution, like the French revolution, was a revolution for social justice.

### Inspire

But it raised fears among the ruling classes everywhere that it would inspire

other blacks and slaves to rebel.

They encouraged the development of a local elite which would act in accordance with their own interests.

Over two hundred years later, the people of Haiti have again mobilised to resist dictatorship and imperialism.

This time, however, they have allies in the working classes of Cuba, Mexico, El Salvador and Nicaragua, all of whom have experience of resistance to the US and its

clients.

Today more than ever, the United States has reason to fear the revolution in its own backyard.

In the words of Bernard Aronson, a US policy-maker under Reagan and Bush:

"We'll be seeing economic crises spreading through a Latin America where the gap between rich and poor has never yawned wider—with political repercussions that could remind us that the age of revolutions may not be over".

## HANDS OFF CUBA!

"THE BEAST is wounded. It's time to go in for the kill".

These words of Jose Sorzano, former member of the US National Security Council and prominent Cuban-American conservative sum up American policy towards Cuba.

Bill Clinton is determined that his term of office will see the end of Castro's regime, a thorn in the side of the US ruling class.

Since the Cuban Revolution of 1959, in which Castro's rebel forces ousted the crumbling regime of the dictator Batista, the US has unsuccessfully tried to impose a regime more to its liking.

In the past, Castro managed to increase the living standards of people and push up levels of literacy.

But the Cuban economy col-

lapsed after the fall of the Soviet Union. The US increased the pressure on Castro.

The long-standing trade embargo was tightened.

Even basic medical supplies were blocked. Instead of welcoming Cuban refugees, the US navy picked them from the water and returned them to the US base in Guantanamo, which has become a prison camp for thousands of Haitians and Cubans.

### Revenge

The US is seeking revenge for the humiliations it endured at the hands of Castro's regime, and is making the Cuban people suffer.

Cuba is not a socialist country, despite the claims of its leaders. It is a state capitalist society where there is little freedom for organised

labour.

The tragedy of Cuba was that it was never able to break out of a reliance on one crop—sugar.

After it broke with the US, it became dependent on the Soviet Union.

Three quarters of all Cuba's exports went to the former USSR and in return it got cheap oil.

With the collapse of the Soviet Union, the main source of economic and political support for Castro's regime disappeared.

The effects on ordinary Cuban people were devastating.

In the countryside, tractors were replaced with oxen.

Less food was produced in the rural areas, and less consumer goods appeared in the cities as factories shut down.

Basic necessities such as soap became impossible to find.

Castro's measures to deal with the crisis have only increased class divisions.

Special shops were set up for tourists to increase foreign currency—but ordinary Cubans were excluded from these shopping areas.

Last year, Castro legalised the dollar in an attempt to bring millions of black market dollars into the economy.

Those with access to dollars are able to live comfortably while those without are left with worthless pesos.

The average monthly salary for a government worker now equals around \$2.

For these reasons, socialists should oppose the US attack on Cuba but should not have any illusions that Castro's regime is to be defended.

# Anger in the colleges Organise to fight!

## "PLCs—OFF OUR KNEES!"

by JOE CAROLAN

THIS academic year sees more and more students in Post Leaving Cert courses (PLCs), with over 15,000 people given no grant or assistance.

Original facilities and resources have been swamped, and colleges such as Ballyfermot and Colaiste Dhulaigh are now severely overcrowded.

Eugene Kenny, Liaison Officer for The Liberties Vocational School SU, spoke to *Socialist Worker*:

"PLCs are third level courses trapped in the framework of a secondary school approach.

Most PLCs share buildings with local schools, and this causes a lot of friction, teachers telling 21 year olds not to smoke, for example!

Basic things like a student room or separate canteens are just not provided.

We organised our own student union in the Liberties—we were not going to be treated like 14 year olds anymore.

It's time that every PLC in Dublin started to form their own unions, and begin to get in contact with each other.

We need them to fight for decent grants, as a lot of people are in desperate low paid work, just to get through.

Many more are in debt to the banks, or have no option

but to drop out and sign on. It's not fair at all.

It's really hard on working class students, not just feeding yourself, but transport, fees and materials.

Some courses have expensive hidden costs—I have to buy my own film and videotape, which all adds up.

USI estimates that £8 million a year would provide for decent grants for 15,000 PLC students.

Then you contrast this with the £35 million spent on the Beef Tribunal—it's disgusting!"

■ *Socialist Worker* students in the PLCs will be building the campaign for decent grants and facilities.

Those interested in forming student unions and organising the fight can contact us at (01) 872 2682



## STUFF THE FEE HIKES

DESPITE Niamh Breathnach's rhetoric that third level fees are to be abolished, signals of a different kind are being sent by college authorities.

Tom Mitchell, of the Committee of Heads for Irish Universities, has proposed a £100 per year increase, for the next five years.

The Dept of Education favours a 50% increase in fees by 1999, to "cope with increasing demand".

Steven Faloon, the Welfare Officer of Trinity College, spoke to *Socialist Worker*.

"The fallout of these in-

creases will be catastrophic.

"This will effectively close the gates of education to thousands of people who just can't afford it. This is not the right way to deal with overcrowding.

"Already, students are put under massive pressure by the points race.

"For example, the entry requirements for the economics course has jumped by 25 points this year, and

it's going to get worse.

"Competition for limited places is already a nightmare without fee increases."

Student Unions should fight against any fee increases, and start to demand better facilities and more places from college authorities.

Socialist Worker Student Societies will be centrally involved in this years campaigns, and can be found in UCD, DCU, TCD, UCC, Maynooth, Queens and Magee.

## Rent rises and grant cuts

WHEN students in Northern Ireland arrive at college this year they will find 10 per cent less in their grant cheques than last year.

Along with a rise in rents for student accommodation this will bring real hardship.

The number of young people who are trying to stay in education because the alternative is the dole or an exploitative non training scheme is enormous.

Forty thousand students have enrolled at BIFHE, over 9,500 of them full time.

This is for a college with a few vending machines pretending to be a canteen, and little else in terms of student services.

But students aren't simply on the receiving end of Tory attacks.

Although the NUS leadership failed to organise an adequate campaign against the grant cut, there was action last year—marches and occupation—which forced the government to back down over it's attempts to break the union.

The issues for students aren't simply the conditions on campus:

Last year the Anti Nazi league launched a campaign against a racist psychology lecturer at Coleraine.

The fact that a professor could not only spout racist filth in his lectures was funded by an American far right group not only outraged but mobilised hundreds of students.

That campaign will continue till he is sacked.

The potential for student anger spilling over into activity is very real, what is missing is any lead from the bureaucracy of the NUSUSI.

SWSS groups in the North will be trying to fill that gap and trying to mobilise as many students as possible to improve the conditions they have to put up with.

## Stop the victimisation of Susan O'Keefe

FIANNA Fail are trying to make an example of anyone who dares to expose what Ireland's 'Golden Circle' are up to.

This is why the only person who has so far been prosecuted for the Beef Tribunal is the journalist who revealed the scandal of the scams and tax avoidance schemes at Goodman International.

The FF leader, Reynolds, who had most to lose in the Beef Tribunal has a long record of issuing writs against journalists. He must be delighted with this attempt to nail Susan O'Keefe.

Last months 200 journalists turned up to a meeting in Liberty Hall to express their solidarity with Susan O'Keefe. When Susan steps off the plane from Manchester in the next few weeks she is

likely to be arrested by the Gardai.

But already plans are afoot to build a protest campaign against this attempted victimisation.

Susan O'Keefe spoke to *Socialist Worker* about the case.

"As a journalist I always aim to deal with facts and the truth. The key issues raised by the programme have been investigated and confirmed."

SW: What have you been charged with, and what sort of sentence could you face were you to be found guilty?

"I don't know yet. I'm coming home to be arrested. Then I'll have the charges read to me. The broad context is that of "contempt". "I was asked for a list of names during the Tribunal, and refused to hand them over."

"The sentence depends on where the case is heard. A District Court could give

a £500 fine and/or twelve months in jail, a Circuit Court, £10,000 and/or two years in jail."

SW: How do you feel about the fact that the only prosecution to arise from the whole affair is that of yourself?

"I'm aware as a working journalist that theoretically I might have to protect my sources. Every day I get out of bed I face the possibility I could be prosecuted. That they have pursued the case in this instance is a possibility I have been prepared for."

SW: How important is it that journalists have the right to protect their sources?

"To me, if you are a journalist, you have to protect your sources. It is fundamental to the way we work. Our sources stand to lose jobs and houses. It's easier for them to come forward when journalists are seen as a service to the



public. I'm not protecting my sources out of laziness. We still have to check our facts, I've always aimed to do that."

SW: You've said that you are going to return to Ireland and face trial. Are you prepared to risk jail rather than reveal your sources?

"I will never reveal my sources. It's up to the Judge to decide if there is a penalty. Whatever the Judge decides will not move me from my position."

# After the IRA ceasefire: WILL THERE BE PEACE IN NORTHERN IRELAND

THE announcement by the Provisional IRA of a 'complete cessation of military operations' has been greeted with a great sense of relief throughout Ireland.

Crowds of people in the nationalist areas in Belfast took to the streets to celebrate. They hoped that the ceasefire would lead to the immediate demilitarisation of their areas.

They wanted the checkpoints and the watch towers to be removed.

They were looking for an end to raids and harassment from the 30,000 strong security forces which have saturated their areas for 25 years.

But the Tory cabinet in Britain have different ideas. They are still refusing to enter negotiation until they hear the word 'permanent' from the IRA.

The Tories are more interested in an IRA surrender than they are in peace.

If the word 'permanent' were used their next demand would be for the IRA to march up to Stormont to hand over their guns.

The roots of the violence in Northern Ireland never lay with the IRA.

The IRA only grew because of the anti-Catholic bigotry which lay at the heart of the Northern state.

Before the troubles in 1969, Scotland Yard—the headquarters of the British police—reported that the IRA "is not organised or equipped to play a significant role".

Yet two years later the IRA had one thousand armed volunteers in its Belfast Brigade alone.

They won recruits because demands for civil rights were met with internment, brutality and murder. That violence is still under the surface in the Northern state.

## Opportunities

This is why today an IRA ceasefire will not automatically lead to peace in Northern Ireland.

It certainly provides new opportunities—but unless the roots of the violence are tackled the violence can flare up to newer and more frightening heights.

Within days of the ceasefire there were signs that those who run the Northern state had not changed their attitudes.

■ Five days after the ceasefire a Catho-

lic man from Stewartstown, Co Tyrone was dragged from his car and beaten by the RUC.

Commenting on the incident, the long term opponent of both the security forces and the IRA, Fr. Denis Faul said,

"Some sections of the RUC have made no improvement since 1968 and they think that because the trouble is over, they can go back to their old bigoted ways of beating up Catholics".

■ Nine days after the ceasefire saw the end of the longest hearing in Northern Ireland's legal history when the Belfast coroner had to close an inquest on six unarmed men who were shot dead by special units of the RUC.

No police officer has been convicted of the killing. Two inquiries into the murder, the Stalker and Sampson Inquiries remain state secrets.

The killers are walking free because the head of the RUC, Sir Hugh Annesley, refused to testify at the inquest.

■ Twelve days after the ceasefire, three teenagers from the Ballymurphy Seven case were sent for trial on the basis of forced confessions.

The frame up against the other four broke down—but only after some of

them had spent three years on remand.

It is these type of incidents which led thousands over the years to join the IRA.

This sectarianism which lies at the heart of the Northern state has also spawned the hatred and bigotry of loyalist forces.

Immediately after the ceasefire was announced, Ian Paisley warned that 'this will be the start of the civil war'.

Paisley is trying to create a climate where there is a rise in sectarian violence.

Over the last year, the loyalist death squads have tried to kill a Catholic almost every two days.

They claim that all Catholics belong to a 'Pan-Nationalist Front' which is conspiring against them.

Like the racists who used to dominate the southern states of America they think that lynchings or murders will intimidate Catholics into accepting their lot.

The IRA ceasefire has exposed for once and for all the lie which was promoted for years by the media and the politicians: that IRA terrorism was the cause of all violence in the North.

Real peace will only come when the root cause of the violence of the last 25 years is tackled—the sectarianism of the Northern state.

## When Republic

UP TO now republicanism has always struggled as the only way to bring c

Martin McGuinness once claimed that it was the 'cutting edge' of any struggle.

After the Brighton bombing of the Tory Party conference, the Sinn Fein leader Danny Morrison stated that if they had got Thatcher, 'the IRA would have changed the course of history'.

In reality, this assessment of the armed struggle was always wrong.

Our rulers have always been able to replace figureheads like Margaret Thatcher or Airey Neave.

After both of them departed from the political scene, little changed in Northern Ireland.

When it came to a purely military struggle, the IRA could never match the forces of the British Army and RUC.

Their achievement was that they were never beaten—but neither had they a hope of winning.

By the end of the armed struggle, less British soldiers were being killed in Northern Ireland than were being killed in road accidents in Britain and the Continent.

## Protests

The IRA was never able to make the type of gains that came out of the huge street protests between 1969 and 1972.

It was the strikes and demonstrations throughout Ireland after Bloody Sunday which led to the fall of the hated Stormont regime.

The IRA exerted a pressure on the system—but it simply pushed the British government into creating new openings for a Catholic middle class.

Today, for example, 30% of managers in the Northern civil service are Catholic—but in the ghettos of West Belfast and Bogside working class Catholics still face unemployment and discrimination.

As it continued, the armed struggle became more and more counter-productive.

The bombing of the Shankill, for example, drove hundreds into the arms of the loyalist death squads.

Socialists share in the relief that this wrong tactic is finished.

If the armed struggle had been dropped in favour of a different form of struggle which tried to mobilise street protests and workers action, we would be delighted.

Tragically, that is not what is about to happen.

The republicans are swapping the armed struggle for an alliance with Reynolds and the SDLP.

## Will there be a loyalist backlash?

AS SOON as the ceasefire was announced graffiti appeared in loyalist areas claiming that 'the war was only starting'.

Within hours of the IRA announcement, John O'Hanlon was murdered by the UVF. New threats were issued to bomb Dublin.

During the last IRA ceasefire in 1975, the loyalist death squads stepped up their campaign and murdered many Catholics in bombings like the Strand bar in Belfast.

For the past few years, the media have claimed that loyalist violence was 'reactive' to the IRA. The ceasefire shows that this is a lie.

In reality, loyalist violence has existed because it has received hidden support from within the Unionist establishment and British security services.

UDA and UVF spokespersons have been able to boast in "Fortnight" magazine about their connections in the business and professional classes.

British army agent Brian Nelson provided the UDA with many of its weapons by importing them from South Africa.

This is why these killer squads will never be broken up by the RUC or British army. Even after recent riots in North Belfast, where UDA supporters appeared with masks and baseball bats, the RUC set up a 'liaison committee' with the political representatives of these thugs.

The only way that these death squads will be destroyed will be when the mass of Protestant workers turn against them.

When people in the Village area rose up against the gruesome murder of



Margaret Wright, the loyalist paramilitaries had to watch while their drinking club was bulldozed down.

## Back off

After Protestant and Catholic busworkers marched off the job following a UVF death threat, the UVF had to back off.

In November and December of last year, the ICTU organised the biggest

peace rallies ever seen in the North. Tens of thousands of Catholics and Protestants joined in—despite Paisley's denunciation of the ICTU as a 'republican organisation'.

But tragically, the ICTU has done nothing while the loyalist death squads have stepped up their campaign against individual Catholics.

The UDA/UVF have gained a small base in the poorest Protestant working class areas by turning peoples anger

against unemployment and deprivation onto Catholics.

If the unions used the new opportunities presented by the ceasefire to campaign for workers unity, pointing out that the Tories are the real enemy, they could start to undercut support for the sectarian thugs.

If on top of that there was a socialist organisation offering a fight against both rotten states in Ireland, Protestant workers could be won from loyalism.

Their use the press... tant JC Adar role in at the t ping u prepar Worl politici Repr praisin when ing per Ever fire s shadow of the £15,000 In the both Ir partitio But n the fic undern The l armed liance move e Ever a Lastir Fein ha Dublin that bri land. But t armed s of those in Dubli lition w The s quoted saying be betw Even lise peo de-mili sations that the

# PEACE IRELAND?

## Where are the Republicans going?

Republicans always regarded the armed struggle as the only way to bring about change.



Their hope is that they can also use the Irish American lobby to pressurise Clinton to move a reluctant John Major forward.

Adams has praised Clinton for his role in peacemaking in Ireland—just at the time when Clinton was stepping up his blockade of Cuba and preparing to invade Haiti.

Working with these right wing politicians carries a cost.

Republicans are now regularly praising Reynolds just at the time when he is despised by many working people in the South.

Even the timing of the IRA ceasefire seemed designed to overshadow the debate on the findings of the Beef Tribunal and the huge £15,000 pay hike for Reynolds.

In the past, Sinn Féin opposed both Irish states which grew out of partition.

But now Gerry Adams denounces 'the fiction that Sinn Féin is out to undermine the Southern state'.

The logic of trying to replace the armed struggle with seeking an alliance of nationalist forces is to move ever closer to Fianna Fáil.

Ever since its document *Towards a Lasting Peace* was produced, Sinn Féin have accepted the view that the Dublin government will be the agent that brings change in Northern Ireland.

But the logic of replacing the armed struggle with getting the ears of those in the corridors of power in Dublin is to try to move into coalition with Fianna Fáil.

The *Sunday Tribune* has already quoted one senior Sinn Féin leader saying that 'the next Coalition will be between FF and Sinn Féin'.

Even when Sinn Féin try to mobilise people on the streets to demand de-militarisation, these mobilisations will be limited by the fact that the republicans now consider

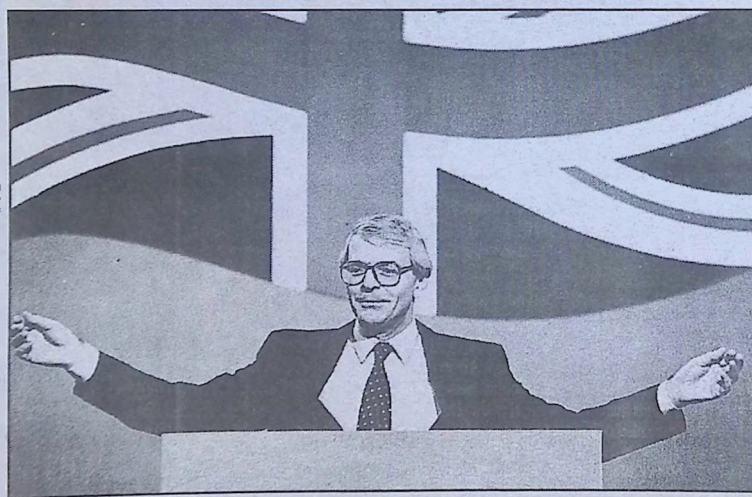
that the real levers of power lie at the cabinet tables.

The reality is that neither Clinton or Reynolds have the slightest concern about ending the discrimination against working class Catholics.

They only want to use the 'cause' to bolster up electoral support for their right wing policies.



## Dealing in divisions



**THE CEASEFIRE** has given the British and Irish governments an opportunity to bring forward their plans for a settlement of the Northern conflict.

The outline of that settlement was revealed by Patrick Mayhew to a meeting of the Comber District of the Orange Order.

Mayhew told the gathering of sectarian bigots that there could be a return to a Northern Ireland Assembly on two conditions.

There has to be a 'parity of esteem' between the Catholic and Protestant community so a simple majority at this assembly would not be acceptable. Some version of the type of power-sharing which the middle class SDLP favours would have to be granted.

There would also have to be an all Ireland institution which would have some 'executive' power.

The plan represents a diluted version of 'joint authority' where the British and Irish rulers would share responsibility for the North. Over the longer term there might be a greater 'pooling of sovereignty'.

### Structures

Leading Official Unionists have not ruled out 'structures for North-South co-operation'. Many Northern businessmen already think that they can make more profit in an 'island economy'.

Significantly, neither has Gerry Adams ruled out joint authority as an 'interim measure'. If there were major changes in the RUC, the re-

publicans might even accept some version of this plan.

The former civil rights leader, Michael Farrell, has claimed that the RUC could be advised by the US police and the Gardaí and might even recruit some ex-IRA members.

Catholics have every right to demand changes in the sectarian RUC and to have recognition for their aspirations.

But this type settlement offers nothing to Catholic and Protestant workers. It is not going to uproot the bigotry that is built into the Northern state.

The fact that Mayhew addressed his remarks to an Orange Lodge shows that he thinks that this organisation

will still play a major role in the North.

Any settlement agreed between the Tories and Albert Reynolds will be based on the idea that there is an unbridgeable gulf between the identities of Catholics and Protestants.

It will try to institutionalise and manage those divisions.

The British government will claim to act as 'protectors' of the Protestant community and the Irish government will pretend to be 'protectors' of the Catholic community.

In reality the only people they each will protect will be their middle class allies who deal in communal politics.

The levels of poverty in Northern are not going to be removed by any flow of funds from the US or the European Union. Northern Ireland already has the highest rate of long term unemployment and infant mortality in the UK.

The proposed \$200 million aid package from the US is the equivalent of only three weeks spending by the British state in Northern Ireland.

In this situation any settlement will only provide new structures which would give a platform to politicians from both sides to argue why their communities should not bear the brunt of the cutbacks and redundancies.

Every time there are grants for youth clubs, or talk of closure of hospital wards the communal politicians would be getting onto their friends in London or Dublin to exert pressure.

This type of settlement would perpetuate the idea that every gain for Catholics would have to be at the expense of Protestants and vice versa.

## THE WAY FORWARD

**THE CEASEFIRE** opens up space for a fightback to develop and creates new opportunities to build a major socialist organisation.

Many already understand that the previous tactics of republicanism have failed. Soon thousands can come to understand that attempting to be allies of Reynolds and Clinton will do nothing to end oppression.

Without the armed struggle, it has become easier to point to the real source of the violence in Northern Ireland.

Many Protestant workers can also come to see that their real enemy is capitalism and that they have an interest as workers in standing up against the oppression of Catholics.

A party that shows that all its efforts are geared to bringing about workers unity, in a fight that is designed to smash both rotten states in Ireland to establish socialism can grow quickly.

But there are also huge dangers. If all that is on offer to Protestant workers are the politics of communal hatred and poverty, then the Loyalist bigots can get an even bigger base.

A settlement that is cooked up between Reynolds and Major will not remove these dangers—it will only serve to confirm the idea that Catholic and Protestant workers are bound to compete and hate each other.

A growth in Loyalist forces could also produce a mirror image in the re-emergence of right wing nationalist bigots in the South.

The stakes are high. Either we leave it to right wing politicians to come up with new arrangements which perpetuate sectarianism or we build a party that will eventually overthrow them.

## FRANCE 1934—THE FIGHT AGAINST FASCISM 60 YEARS AGO

## Resistance and Revolt

By Conor Kostick

THE YEAR 1934 began as a very grim one for workers in France.

Unemployment had risen dramatically in the depression of the previous five years, and workers confidence in their ability to win strikes had ebbed away.

The number of strikes was only just recovering from its low point of just 1,000 a year—nearly all provoked by wage cuts.

In Germany Hitler had been in power for a year. All parties other than the Nazis were banned.

All Communist and Socialist leaders were either dead, in exile, or locked up.

The French fascists were confident that their turn was coming. On February 6th they launched an assault on the parliament.

Thousands responded to their call and battled with the police the whole evening. A hundred and twenty people died.

## Resigned

The Republican government resigned and handed over government to a far right politician.

It seemed as though the events of Germany were repeating themselves.

French workers were shocked by the fascists confidence and a mood of resistance ran through working class areas.

The two main working class parties in France at the time were the Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

These were bitter rivals. The So-

cialist Party always betrayed workers by entering coalition governments with the right.

The Communist Party declared the Socialists to be as bad as the fascists.

But the rank and file members of both parties insisted that they unite to stop the fascists.

At first the Communist Party leaders and Socialist Party leaders called

marches on separate days.

But when the main union federation called a general strike against the fascist threat on February 12th, both parties joined in. The strike was

an enormous success.

Workers who had never been on strike before now felt the urgency of joining in.

That afternoon, the Communist Party march and the Socialist Party march met in the streets of Paris.

In an unforgettable moment the two columns saw each other and with cries of "Unity! Unity!" joined together in massive and tightly packed demonstration.

The impact of that day of unity was immense.

It led to the merger of the two main trade union federations into one organisation that began to grow rapidly.

## Overtook

After the defeat of the fascists in 1934, the Socialist Party, Communist Party and the middle class Radical Party agreed to create a Popular Front to maximise their votes in the coming election.

In the months that followed a profound change overtook the country. Workers began to believe that they could fight back against poverty and fascism.

Even the middle class became more hopeful that the left parties could do something to end the recession.

On May 3rd 1936 the Popular Front scored an astonishing victory in the general election. The Socialist Party had won 146 seats, the Communists 72.

That night spontaneous gatherings in the streets celebrated. Everyone took up the chorus of the Internationale. "At last, things will change" were the words on the demonstrators lips.



Shop workers join the wave of occupations

## The struggle explodes

LEON BLUM of the Socialist Party headed the new government. As he slowly set about choosing Ministers and drawing up policy, the government was overtaken by an avalanche of working class struggle.

In April 1936 there had been 32 strikes in France. In June there were 12,142. Fascist papers sellers were overwhelmed by the rise in working class confidence, they were driven from the streets and their meetings broken up.

Workers turned up in large numbers and displayed tremendous enthusiasm on all the marches and meetings called by the left parties.

One eyewitness caught the mood: "As soon as the pressure began to slacken the sufferings, humiliations, rancour and bitterness silently accumulated year after year immediately gathered a force sufficient to burst all bounds.

It was about daring at last to stand up straight, after bowing down so long, after accepting every insult and every indignity in silence for months and years. About getting off their knees. Speaking up for themselves. About feeling like human beings for a few days at least."

Everywhere workers were going on strike. From the oldest and best organised sections such as the engineers and miners, to new groups like

shopworkers, bankworkers and even hairdressers at the elite salons of Paris.

The employers were reeling. They couldn't break the movement as they hoped to, by using unemployed people as scabs. There was too great a sense of solidarity in working class communities, and in any case the workers were using a decisive tactic. They were occupying their workplaces.

In over two-thirds of the deluge of strikes, the workers take over their factories, offices and shops.

## Hostage

Often the workers would hold their managers hostage in order to make them pay for past arrogance.

The advantage of occupying the workplace was that there was no way scabs could be brought in. It also meant that everyone was fully involved, with daily mass meetings, and elections for all the organising committees.

The feeling among the strikers was of liberation:

"What a joy to enter the plant with the smiling authorisation of a worker guarding the gate. What joy to roam freely through the shop where we were once chained to our machines. Joy to hear music, songs and laughter instead of the pitiless din of machinery. At last, for the first time, different

IN THE space of a few months French workers became aware of their power.

The unions grown explosively from one million members in 1935 to 2.5 million in 1936 and on to 5 million by 1937.

The Communist Party membership rose from 163,000 members to 380,000 members in just five months.

The strike wave of June 1936 in France looked as though it was the prelude to revolution.

## Spirit

But the workers did not have the leadership their spirit deserved.

The Socialist Party was committed to trying to run capitalism.

Although they intro-

duced legislation to improve the position of the working class, at the same time they were determined that the employers should get the factories back.

memories will haunt these heavy machines, souvenirs of something other than silence, constraint, submission. Memories which will keep a little pride in our hearts, which will breathe just a little human warmth into all this cold metal."

The new government did not evict the workers, not because of any socialist principles but because as Blum admitted "any effort to have the workers forcibly removed from the factories would have led to violent

## BETRAYED!

The banks refused to lend money to the government and at the same time 8 million francs worth of gold was taken out of the country.

The Socialist Party leaders pleaded with the bankers, who insisted they be allowed a say in government policy.

## Withdraw

Blum gave in. He also refused to allow weapons to be sent to help the Spanish revolution which had just begun.

These efforts to appease the rich were in vain.

The bankers continued to withdraw funds from the Exchequer.

Just a year after its election, the Popular Front government collapsed.

It was worn out from attempting to stop strikes and its lack of funds.

Over the next two years, with ups and downs, the strike wave subsided.

The ordinary working class militants who had created the movement were not organised in their own revolutionary party.

They had left the leadership of the movement in the hands of the Socialists and the Communists and had been abandoned.

clashes or bloody warfare."

As a result of their movement the workers had not only fought off the threat of fascism but had also vastly improved their lives. They won wage rises of around 20%, a reduction in the length of the working week without loss of pay and two weeks paid holidays.

Most importantly of all, the workers had shaken off their despair and cynicism. The urgency of marching against the fascists had woken work-

ers almost overnight to their ability to change events.

Instead of being resigned to their situation getting worse, they were now fighting hard against the employers. In the teeth of the thirties depression French workers were winning unequalled demands.

Solidarity and comradeship flowed from one end of France to the other. The working class were on the move again.



# GET INVOLVED COME TO A SWM MEETINGS

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

**Belfast**  
Contact Socialist Worker for full details  
Thursday 28th September: Is the world overpopulated?  
Thursday 5th October: Workers resistance in the South  
Thursday 12th October: South Africa - have the ANC brought change?

**Cork**  
Meets every Tuesday 8pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay  
27th September: Why Irish Steel workers are right to fight.  
4th October: Is the world overpopulated?  
11th October: South Africa - has the ANC brought change?  
18th October: Why we are against privatisation.

**Derry**  
Meets every Tuesday 8pm Badgers Pub Orchard St.

**Dublin Drimnagh**  
Meets every Tuesday, 8pm upstairs Half-way House, Walkinstown Rd..  
27th September: Is the world overpopulated?  
4th October: Why TEAM workers are right to fight.

**Dublin Southside**  
Meets every Wednesday 8pm upstairs Clarke's Pub Camden St.  
28th September: Is the world overpopulated?  
5th October: Why TEAM are right to fight.  
12th October: Do revolutions lead to tyranny?  
19th October: South Africa - have the ANC brought change?

**Dublin Phibsboro**  
Meets every Thursday 8pm upstairs in the Hut.  
29th September: Why TEAM workers are right to fight.  
6th October: South Africa - has the ANC brought change?  
13th October: Is the world overpopulated?

**Dublin North Central**  
Meets every Wednesday 8pm upstairs in Conways (Parnell St.)  
28th September: Why TEAM workers are right to fight.  
5th October: What is a revolution?  
12th October: South Africa - has the ANC brought change?

**Dublin South Central**  
Meets every Thursday 8pm upstairs in the Trinity Inn (Pearse St.)  
29th September: Is the world overpopulated?  
6th October: South Africa - has the ANC brought change?

**Dun Laoghaire**  
Meets every Tuesday 8.15pm upstairs in the Purty Loft  
27th September: Does the media control our ideas?

**Tallaght**  
Contact SW for full details.  
Wednesday 28th September: Why we need an alternative to Labour  
Wednesday 5th October: Is the world overpopulated?

**Waterford**  
Meets every Thursday 8pm AGTWU Hall, Keyser St.

To contact the SWM in Athy, Bray, Coleraine, Cookstown, Craigavon, Drogheda, Dun Laoghaire, Galway, Kilkenny, Letterkenny, Limerick write to SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

## MARXISM 94 BUILDING THE RESISTANCE

A weekend forum of political debates & discussion,  
11-13th Nov in Ormond Multi-Media Centre, Ormond Quay, Dublin 1.

### ★ HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE:

- EAMONN McCANN: After the IRA ceasefire: What Next?
- PAT STACK (SWP Britain): Do all Revolutions lead to Tyranny?
- PAUL SYMONS (Ex Yorkshire miner): Does Militancy work?
- FORUM: The fight for women's rights in Ireland today
- DEBATE with the Green Party: How do we save the environment
- RALLY: Building the Resistance: TEAM Aer Lingus shop steward; Dublin Bus shop steward; Campaigner from Anti Water Charges Campaign; Kieran Allen; (editor, Socialist Worker)

### ★ OTHER MEETINGS INCLUDE:

- The Holocaust: Could it happen again?
- Is music turning radical?
- Does the media control public opinion?
- How do we stop violence against women?
- Fighting for workers' unity in the North
- Trotsky's fight against Stalin
- Who does the law protect?
- James Connolly
- Are Socialists opposed to religion?
- Engels on the origins of women's oppression
- Madness and society
- Students and revolution
- Lenin, the party and the working class
- Who are the ruling class?
- Is there a national culture?
- War and famine in the Third World
- Art and revolution

Tickets £6 (£3 unwaged) For further information or tickets phone (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Organised by Socialist Worker

# 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.

# LETTERS to the editor

Agree? Disagree? You can send your letters to: Socialist Worker, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



## RODDY DOYLE AT BALLYMUN LIBRARY

I recently went along to the Ballymun library where Roddy Doyle was reading a collection of some of his works to an audience of about 200.

Roddy Doyle is well known for writing about working class characters and situations. Last May his Family came to our screens. The series received much media attention and caused much controversy.

Many were angered and offended by the series, saying it was an insult to Irish family life and to working class people - especially the people of Ballymun where it was filmed.

Some of these came to attack Roddy Doyle for choosing their area and creating such "unrealistic" characters.

The language and violence were criticised. But Roddy Doyle pointed out that Family was not a representation of Ballymun life but one family trying to cope under enormous pressure.

Thankfully there were people in the

audience who understood why Family was made and why it was about time that this side of family life was shown.

One young woman praised Roddy Doyle for showing up such issues as violence against women in the home and the effects long term unemployment can have on a family that can't cope.

She said that those that were against Family were not willing to accept that these issues existed and wanted them swept back under the carpet and forgotten. The series ex-

posed the hidden, reality of many people's lives.

So many people were able to identify with the character Paula that 700 calls were made to Women's Aid after the first episode alone!

Many of these didn't even know such a help line existed before the series was shown.

Roddy Doyle's Family was a moving, powerful and necessary series and for that we should congratulate him.

Grace McCarney  
Dublin

## Too many people?

Last month's Cairo Conference on Population and Development (attended by delegates from 182 Governments) discussed, mainly, contraception and abortion.

Brendan Howlin, Minister for Health, spoke at the conference about the availability of a comprehensive family planning/information service. Never mind that such a comprehensive service is not available in Ireland - he was after all, speaking in the context of the Third World!

The conference ignored the reason why people in the Third World have large families. All the evidence is that birth rates decline with economic development and economic security.

World food production was not fully examined. The two myths of "too many people" and "too little food" have been debunked by the U.N. In a Population Fund Report, the U.N. reports that "during the past ten years, the world's food production has increased by 24%, outpacing the rate of population growth."

That people die from hunger because they haven't the cash to pay for food is an indictment of the system we live in. People are not the problem: they are the solution.

Yours  
Margaret Quinn Cork

# 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 \_\_\_\_\_

# Blame it on the genes

GENETICS is one of the big growth areas of scientific research at the moment.

Its more enthusiastic supporters think that by studying our genes they can explain virtually everything.

Claims have been made about the discovery of genes which cause people to be gay or to be violent.

Recently the editor of *Science Magazine* even went so far as to say that drug abuse, homelessness and even unemployment are caused by people's genes.

This type of claim which has a scientific aura is useful to our rulers. It allows them to blame the ills of society on those who suffer the most rather than on how society is organised.

It is like claiming that a TEAM worker is on the dole because of their genes, not because of management.

These ideas are not new but were first formulated earlier this century in the Eugenics movement. Eugenics literally means "better breeding".

Scientists like Charles Davenport in the 1920s claimed that "pauperism", "criminality" and "feeble mindedness" were biologically determined.

Another eugenicist, Carl Brigham, claimed that "American intelligence is declining and will proceed with an accelerating rate as the racial admixture becomes more and more extensive".

This led him to support racist immigration controls and intelligence tests because such people could "drift easily into the ranks of the anti-social or join the army of Bolshevik discontents".

The notion that there were biologically "inferior people" who had the wrong genetic make up often led to support for the Nazis in the 1930s.

The secretary of the American Eugenics Society, Frank Osborn, for example claimed:

"The German sterilisation programme is apparently an excellent one. Taken altogether recent developments in Germany constitute perhaps the most important social experiment which has ever been tried."

Now eugenics is back in a big way. The Human Genome Project is an attempt to map a typical human's DNA—the basic chemistry that creates our genes.

Each human being has a distinct DNA pattern with three billion base combinations so to get any sort of general pattern you would have to analyse several thousand human DNA patterns and even then most, if not all, of the information could be useless.

Billions of pounds are being poured into this project and huge fortunes are to be made by the leading scientists who run it.

Many of them have high positions in the biotechnology companies which will reap the benefits of any discoveries.

Socialists don't oppose all genetic engineering. Scientists have developed bacteria to produce insulin and other chemicals vital in treating diseases.

However, pinpointing the genes which cause cystic fibrosis and other simple, single gene inherited conditions was done through a targeted approach where researchers knew what they were looking for.

## Heart Disease

It was not achieved through projects whose most likely outcome will be to blame illnesses like heart disease on our genes rather than on the real cause—stress and poor diet.

This can only give governments an excuse to cut back on health care or discriminate in employment and insurance on the grounds that diseases are caused by our genes and not by the rotten conditions we live under. Without the technological developments through science, socialism would be impossible. Genetic science can help us understand our bodies more.

But until science is controlled and directed by the majority of humanity, time and resources will be used in a way which will only back up the lies of the ruling class, rather than making the world a better place to live in.

□ DONAL MACHEARRAIGH

Play:

# Strumpet City

*THE Risen People* is opening at the Gaiety Theatre in October. It is directed by Peter and Jim Sheridan and should not be missed. Here MICK DOYLE looks at James Plunkett's book, *Strumpet City* on which the play is based.

A LITTLE over eighty years ago Dublin city was rocked to its foundations by a battle that was fought out between the rich and poor.

A torrent of anger burst through the dams of church and state and threatened to sweep those institutions away, and to change the face of this country forever.

The 1913 lock-out sparked off a wave of strikes, marches and running battles with the police.

All over Dublin workers were mobilising, standing shoulder to shoulder, with Jim Larkin at their head.

The poor, starved and humiliated beyond endurance, were pushing at the door of equality.

The rich were trembling with fear.

No work of fiction chronicles the hardships, the passion and the ultimate disillusionment of that movement like James Plunkett's



Rashers and Hennensy in *The Risen People* playing at the Gaiety in October.

*Strumpet City*.

It's more than a historical novel. It's a lesson in politics, a blueprint for revolution.

It covers the period 1907 to 1914, and says more about the city in those days than any other book, no matter what the oyster-popping, cane-twirling Joycean scholars try to

tell you.

## Carefree

The conflict is seen from several viewpoints that range between the carefree or indifferent rich to the poorest of the poor.

The reader is taken on a tour of the city, from genteel drawing rooms with polite conversation

and musical evenings, to tenement houses that reek of urine and sweat.

Although the novel concentrates on the labour movement in particular, other movements and organisations feature.

Arthur Griffiths' Sinn Fein is seen as an enemy by those who are locked out and the whole idea of

unity under the banner of nationalism is torn apart.

William Martin Murphy, a man who more than anyone else represented the employers and who two years later would howl for the blood of James Connolly, was himself a constitutional nationalist.

And this great nationalist received financial assistance from his peers in England which helped to maintain the lock-out.

Scab labour too played its part.

The army and police are drafted in to keep the trams running and to do battle with the emerging Irish Citizen Army.

They carry their vendetta into the tenements themselves, smashing up furniture and terrifying women and children.

The Catholic Church sides with the bosses and rails at the workers for sending their hungry children to "godless English" homes.

When the confrontation was over, the movement Larkin had built up and led was in ruins.

The workers had been starved into submission and many of the most prominent organisers would never work in Dublin again.

Despite this, though, 1913 is not thought of as a complete defeat.

It is recalled with pride and anger by a class who will never forget what has been done to them.

# Cromwell: Our chief of enemies?

THE name of Oliver Cromwell still arouses controversy in both Britain and Ireland.

He was the leader of the English revolution that saw the monarchy toppled, the House of Lords abolished and an English republic established in 1649.

This republic saw unheard of press freedoms and radical ideas that would put most of today's liberals to shame.

For this reason it's an episode in history that English conservatives would like to forget.

The revolution which Cromwell presided over has always been defended by socialists in Britain. But their enthusiasm always faced one major hitch: what about Ireland?

Wasn't Cromwell the man who ordered the massacre at Drogheda, banishing the native Irish "to hell or Connaught"? Wasn't it Cromwell's army that finally reduced Ireland into a colony?

This new book by Jason McElligott, a member of

the Socialist Workers Movement, looks at what really happened at Drogheda and how Cromwell's reputation in Ireland has fared in the 345 years since.

## Reality

Drogheda was the first battle of Cromwell and his New Model Army since landing in Dublin in August 1649.

The reality of what happened there is very different to the story presented in Irish school history books.

Drogheda was defended by a garrison of soldiers loyal to King Charles of England. King Charles had crushed all forms of free speech and rights to reli-

gious belief beyond that of the established church.

Nearly two-thirds of the garrison at Drogheda were English soldiers. The Irish "rebels" were a collection of native and old English aristocrats who were concerned over "their" land.

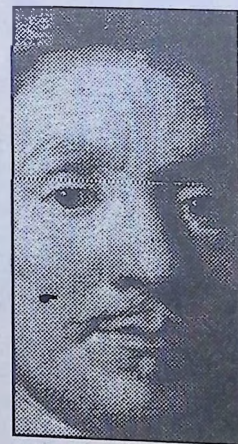
Cromwell was careful not to involve the mass of the Irish people. In those days armies usually supported themselves by living off the local people.

Cromwell had two of his own soldiers hanged outside Drogheda for stealing a chicken.

Instead of creating enemies of the Irish, peasants flocked into his camp with provisions for which they were paid a fair price.

The book does not try to deny that a massacre took place at Drogheda—but that in the context of the day, it was no worse than many sieges.

After Drogheda the New Model Army quickly defeated the rest of the "rebels" at Newry, Wexford and finally Clonmel.



In all these places there were favourable terms laid down for surrender.

## Resurrected

During the nineteenth century Cromwell's ghost was resurrected by both nationalists and unionists for their own reasons.

In the nationalist camp the 1640s came to be seen as the beginning of the "national struggle".

The massacre at Drogheda became, in school history books, one

of the most barbarous episodes in the world's history. To the unionists Cromwell was presented as someone who knew how to deal with Catholics.

In fact Cromwell was a revolutionary who wanted to see the emergence of a capitalist society. Like many other capitalist revolutionaries he had progressive and reactionary sides.

George Washington, one of the leaders of the American revolution, supported equal rights and democracy—but still had no problem with slavery.

Daniel O'Connell fought for Catholics to get a vote, but was viciously anti-trade union and the Irish language.

It should be no surprise that Cromwell should be both a scourge of old oppressions and the creator of new ones.

Only the socialist revolutionaries that emerged two hundred years after Cromwell could fight for a world that would clear 'all the muck of ages'.

□ VASCO PURSER.

■ *Cromwell: Our Chief of Enemies*, Jason McElligott, Dundalgan Press (W. Tempest) Ltd., Dundalk, 1994.

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

## INDUSTRIAL NEWS

# High noon at TEAM



**THE Craft Unions at TEAM Aer Lingus have recommended rejection of the Labour Court Recommendation.**

Management still dictate that its terms are the only way forward, and that it will close TEAM unless the workers give in.

The end of Labour Court, LRC and ICTU interventions has now been reached, and the long battle is now reaching a crucial point.

Resistance by the workers so far has already forced management to back off.

The 48 hour week and the 10% pay cut the LRC originally proposed have been defeated.

However, new proposals drastically reduce the conditions of all workers there, including:

- A pay freeze (including increases due) to July 1996
- Flexibility on starting times as a way of getting compulsory, unpaid overtime, drastically cutting earnings
- Longer hours in the peak periods, staff being rostered on alternative five and six day weeks, creating the basis for an 88 hour fortnight.

■ No official start back date for the still locked out workers, though management continue to send away work to the Third World.

They are attempting to weaken the union, and may victimise members.

### Arbitrator

The role of ICTU in sabotaging support for TEAM has been appalling.

As one TEAM shop steward said,

"Serious questions have to be asked when the President of Congress [Phil Flynn] is considered suitable as an independent arbitrator between management and unions".

Bill Attley, general secretary of SIPTU, has gone one stage further, attacking workers' demonstrations.

He wrote to Frank O'Reilly, head of the craft union TEAM stating that "we must protest vehemently at the action of your members who mounted what could only be described as a

blockade of Aer Lingus Head Office this morning."

Attley, on a salary of over £70,000, seems to know which side he's on. Instead of joining the union bashers, he should be earning his money by fighting for SIPTU members locked out.

The bias of the print media and RIE has been crystal clear to anyone involved in the dispute.

One *Evening Herald* front page printed the opinions of a

tourist from Florida, obviously an expert, who said "back in the States these guys wouldn't get away with this, we'd run them over"!!!

### Media War

The media war against the TEAM is being orchestrated by management.

John Behan, in a warning to Denis Smyth, Chief Shop stew-

ard, said:

"This is not going to be like last year. We will control the media, and we're not going to negotiate with you.

"We'll put your members out on the street, until such time as they'll crawl back under our conditions."

The Labour Party has completely failed the workers at TEAM, standing with their Fianna Fail partners instead of with those fighting for their jobs.

Labour has now lost any respect it achieved in the Northside, and many will never trust them again.

The potential for solidarity action still exists. Workers in Telecom, the NBRU and the ESB realise that if TEAM is defeated, they are next in the firing line.

TEAM workers now need to escalate the action by making a determined effort to appeal over the heads of the union leaders for a one day stoppage at the airport.

Huge collection for the TEAM workers need to be organised throughout the unions. Resolutions should be put looking for massive collections at the workplaces.

## Dunnes Stores picket

**WORKERS in Dunnes are still picketing stores that open on Sundays and support from the public is holding.**

Management broke an agreement by introducing Sunday work without consulting union members.

The resulting ballot for action got almost total support.

The workers insist that Sunday work should be voluntary and triple time be paid to those who agree to do it.

They say the pickets will stay until their demands are met.

Dunnes claim that they can't afford to pay Sunday rates, but a glance at company profits knocks that particular claim squarely on the head.

Dunnes Stores is currently worth £1 billion and has made the same amount in profits over the past ten years.

The family trust is worth £600 million. Directors get £106,000 a year while the average worker gets about £8,000.

## Irish Sugar

**WORKERS at Tuam Engineering are the latest group of workers to face a blackmail threat from this government.**

Management have been demanding cuts in earnings under threat of redundancy.

According to one shop steward workers stood to lose up to 20% of their pay.

He told *Socialist Worker*, "They came to us with these demands on one hand and a redundancy notice on the other.

"It is just like a TEAM situation all over again"

Tuam Engineering is part of the Greencore-Irish Sugar group. SIPTU members throughout the company have voted overwhelmingly to resist these threats and to stand up in solidarity with the Tuam Engineering workers.

If management try to press ahead, there could be a national strike across the industry.

## Northern Bank

**STAFF at Northern Bank have started a series of one day strikes to stop management from increasing through changes in working conditions that would lead to many staff working longer hours for less pay.**

The bank was recently taken over by the National Australia Bank, who tore up all existing agreements.

The bosses want to open the bank longer and re-grade workers downwards.

Northern Bank made £51 million profit last year and has put aside £30 million to pay for redundancies after the cutbacks.

One bank worker told *Socialist Worker*:

"The bosses are doing well at the minute.

"They don't need to make us work more hours to keep going. It's just greed."

Already the dispute has seen an increase in union membership and workers are optimistic about success.

## TEAM Aer Lingus Campaign Fund Solidarity Concert

With:

BRUSH SHIELS  
RAY KENNEDY & PLATFORM  
EILIS MOORE  
TED McKENNA  
ANTHONY DUNNE & BAND  
M.C.: MICK McCARTHY

Tuesday October 4th, 8.00pm  
Wexford Inn, Wexford St.  
Cover Charge £4.00

## IRISH STEEL

**THE media are telling a pack of lies about the craft workers at Irish Steel.**

The craft workers were accused of putting the company's future in jeopardy by not accepting the 'recovery plan'.

Yet the company was losing £1 million a month before the recovery plan—and losing £2 million a month now. Some recovery!

The press claims that the craft workers acted undemocratically. But the craft workers voted against the deal three times. The last time they voted by 60 to 22 against.

The workers never said they would abide by the deal—it was their officials who gave the ICTU the promise that they would.

### Dangerous

Management have attacked the 'outdated' practices that the craft workers want to maintain. But demarcation is not a trivial issue.

Under the plan the electricians were asked to work a dangerous machine known as a caster. Filtrifiers were expected to work on the foundry floor, drive cranes and do welding work.

Management want a completely flexible



workforce so that they can squeeze out more profits. The craft workers are right to resist their plan.

The actions of the SIPTU leaders have been a disgrace. They tried to call a march in support of the company's plan. But when the SIPTU workers showed that they wanted to blame the company, they cancelled the march.

A magnificent and united march of 200 craft and general workers went ahead instead on an unofficial basis.

## Northern Ireland Electricity

**WORKERS at Northern Ireland Electricity Shop Electric stores are set to take strike action against attempts by management to cut wages by up to forty percent.**

The bosses have threatened to sack any member of staff who doesn't accept the cuts.

NIE claim that they cannot afford to keep paying the wages if they are to keep the shops open.

Yet NIE profits have risen from £67 million to £87 million and some of the executives have had huge pay rises. One of them got a 150 percent pay rise and now earns £159,000. The workers voted by a huge 95 percent margin to reject the pay cuts even after management threats.

As one shop steward told *Socialist Worker*, "People aren't angry, they're furious.

"At every stage management have just tried to intimidate and frighten people but that's just made it worse."

The day after the bosses announced that they were considering sacking people there was an immediate walkout by manual workers, who weren't even affected by the pay cuts.

This anger and solidarity are in a strong position to put some manners on the NIE management and defend the wages and jobs of all the workers.

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

## March against the Criminal Justice Bill!

Saturday 8th October, 2.00pm  
College of Art, York St, Belfast

# PEACE: DON'T TRUST REYNOLDS OR MAJOR

EVERYONE in Ireland breathed a sigh of relief when the IRA announced the end of its military campaign at the end of August.

The response of the Tory cabinet, though, was one of pure hypocrisy.

Instead of taking up the peace offer, they played with words.

Major was more interested in appeasing his right wing backbenchers than in demilitarising the North.

But while socialists are glad to see the back of the armed struggle, there is every reason to be cynical about the strategy which

has replaced it.

Sinn Fein has become part of a nationalist alliance headed by Albert Reynolds.

They want this alliance to negotiate a settlement with Major.

There is nothing in this for working class people, North or South, Catholic or Protestant.

### Right wing

How could there be when Major and Reynolds head two right wing governments devoted to cutting jobs and public spending.

Any settlement THEY negotiate will be good for governments which are good for big business.

The type of development we really need—a programme to build houses, to expand and modernise the health service, to update the railways, to improve our environment—none of this is even up for discussion.

Any jobs which are created by new US investment, for example, will be low paid and lousy.

They will be like most of the other jobs created in recent years for which we are told to be grateful for.

The only argument that is permitted within the 'process' will concern fair distribution of the jobs between nationalists and unionists.

There is little likelihood,

too, of real change when it comes to undoing the sectarianism of the Northern state.

Republicans may talk of an all-Ireland settlement or nothing, but Reynolds has spelled out that the border is here for as far into the future as can be seen.

### Harassment

Yet the guns of the British army and the RUC are still on the streets.

The loyalists' death squads are still on the loose. House raids and harassment continues.

The working class has a higher interest in peace than any other section of society.

Working class people have done almost all the fighting and dying and the long years in prison.

We cannot leave our future to be sorted out by right wing politicians who are just looking for ways to institutionalise and manage the sectarian divisions.

Workers need to use the opportunity created by ceasefire to forge a unity between Catholics and Protestants from below.

That can only be done by campaigning AGAINST what Major and Reynolds represent.

■ FOR FULL REPORTS ON THE CEASEFIRE SEE PAGES 6 and 7.

## Beat the Bill!

THE Criminal Justice Bill is a vicious attack on peoples rights.

It increases police powers to a ridiculous extreme, allowing them the right to stop and search people in the street.

The bill allows for the locking up of children as young as ten in private prisons.

It makes it easier for the courts to get guilty verdicts and harder for people to get bail.

It lets landlords use violent thugs to evict squatters.

Major is out to attack all those who don't fit in with the Tory view of the world.

Parts of the bill are aimed at preventing raves and street parties.

Clause 63 talks about music "wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of beats".

Apart from its ignorance it's pure bigotry.

However the main thrust of the bill is to prevent protest: from picket lines to marches against a hospital closure.

Clause 61 says that if a senior police officer "reasonably believes that two or more persons are trespassing ...with the common purpose of remaining there for any period... he may direct them to leave."

Refusal to do so carries a fine of £2,500 or three months in jail.

The police are also allowed to declare a five mile exclusion zone round any area they "reasonably believe" may about to have a protest or rave on it and prevent people from travelling to it.

At a time when there is even less of an excuse for repressive legislation in Northern Ireland rather than reducing their powers of the state the Tories are increasing them.

But the bill can be beaten.

The government has already had to postpone the bill to this month because of 80,000 strong protests earlier in the year.

By uniting in exactly the sort of action that the bill is intended to stop we can not just beat the Criminal Justice Bill but strike a blow against Major's fragile government.