

Socialist Worker

inside

**Strikes, sit-ins
& resistance:
The new unrest**

—centre pages

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Irish Press, An Post, ESB:

Workers under attack

WE'VE GOT TO MAKE A STAND!

ACROSS THE board workers' wages, conditions and jobs are under attack.

In Packard workers have been blackmailed into working two hours extra a week—while 400 of their fellow workers are laid off. It is a sick arrangement.

In the *Irish Press*, the journalist Colm Rapple has been sacked for exercising his right to free speech.

This was the pretext for throwing 600 workers on the scrap heap so that the media barons who run our papers can get their way.

In An Post management have suspended over eighty workers for refusing to accept drastic changes in their work practices including longer hours and shorter breaks.

In the ESB plans are underway to slash a

third of the workforce.

The company also plans to bring in a new grade of "yellowpack" worker.

The new "utility" worker will enjoy no rights while the conditions of craftworkers will be undermined.

All of this is happening when there is supposed to be a recovery in the economy.

Meanwhile, Ireland's employers are having a whale of a time. Profits are up and they are awarding themselves special bonus payments.

Take the paper and packaging company Smurfits. Michael Smurfit and his brothers and sons have awarded themselves a 48% rise in their bonus.

Their bonus alone amounts to £430,571. Or look at Cement Roadstone Holdings. Six directors there saw their bonus rise by 80%.

For the past few years we have all been told to make sacrifices to get the country moving again.

Profits

But now that the profits are flowing, we are told that our "entrepreneurs" have to be rewarded for their talents—while the rest of

us accept more part time work and poverty wages.

The Labour Party and Democratic Left preside over all this and take the bosses side.

The Labour Minister Michael D Higgins speaks at great length about 'artistic expression' but he could not bring himself to denounce the *Irish Press*

managers for their attack on free speech.

Official

The key Minister in stitching up the Packard deal was Pat Rabbite.

This former trade union official told workers to bow down to their multi-national bosses.

These parties believe

in managing capitalism rather than overthrowing it.

This is why they keep repeating the message that there is no alternative to the bosses' demands.

We need a revolutionary socialist alternative to these sell-outs.

That is what the Socialist Workers Party is all about.

£138,500 FOR HIDING SMYTH'S ABUSE

Russell's golden handshake

THE scandal that brought down the last Fianna Fail/Labour government has now exposed the double standards in the current coalition.

Last November it was found that Matt Russell in the Attorney General's office had refused to act on the file of the paedophile priest, Brendan Smyth.

He had sat on the case for seven months.

Last month it came to light that Russell had ignored two letters from a solicitor for Smyth's victims looking for compensation and refused to act on these for a further six months.

He was rewarded for



Matt Russell - failed to act

this cover up by being allowed to take early retirement with a golden handshake of £138,500 and an annual pension of £33,700. Earlier this year a worker at Knightingales

in the Ilac centre was sacked because her cash register was alleged to be short.

Refused

She wasn't offered any pension or lump sum.

Her employer even refused to negotiate with her union.

Matt Russell had no problem getting early retirement but teachers who are far more accountable to the public are forced to strike in their fight for early retirement.

Russell's pension will increase by £3,000 each year, a stark contrast to the measly £1.80 a week increase given to old age pensioners in the last budget.

Russell is one of the small group of elite,

unelected civil servants who wield immense power. He earned £75,000 a year—a salary which bears no relation to most civil service workers' wages.

He attended Belvedere College, an exclusive private school.

During the Dail committee investigating the Smyth case he answered questions with an air of arrogance and contempt.

He demands to be addressed as Mr Russell.

It is obscene that John Bruton will not consider giving compensation to Smyth's victims but rewards the man who tried to cover up their abuse.

Their solicitor, Mr Lavery, summed it up: "Basically they're telling us to go and get stuffed".

Beatings won't solve crime

LAST MONTH a packed meeting was held in Derry's Creggan estate on violent crime. The meeting followed a spate of vicious punishment beatings of young men from the estate. In one beating, nailed baseball bats were used.

Many at the meeting welcomed the beatings, saying that the activities of the 'hoods' meant they didn't feel safe in their homes and could no longer walk the streets on their own.

The mothers of some of the 'hoods' who had received punishment beatings were also there.

They admitted their sons had been involved in crime, including crime against 'their own' who could ill afford to be robbed. But, they argued, beating them up was not going to solve the problems of young people on the estate.

SWP members agreed with speakers like Seamus Heaney of Creggan Community Initiative who argued that punishment beatings weakened the whole community by introducing a barbarism that breaks solidarity between working class people.

We argued that the only way to end crime was to end the system which breeds the poverty and alienation that causes young people to turn to crime.

inside the system

Fianna Fáil's jail junket

USUALLY if you go to prison you don't get paid for it. But you do if you're in Fianna Fail.

Members of Prison

Visiting Committees across the country seem to be dominated by Fianna Failers, a lot of whom get big travel expenses.

And the system is arranged so that party

members from outside the prison localities are being given posts.

Expenses

Dublin's Wheatfield Prison visiting commit-

tee has a member from Longford and another from West Cork. Limerick's committee has members from Cork and Galway, and Mountjoy has one in Wexford.

And these are all Fianna Fail. Dan O'Mahoney from Bandon, for example, draws expenses of around £200 once or twice a month for going to the 'Joy.

Corpo's ban on kindness

AN ELDERLY Dublin couple whose food van has fed thousands of homeless people have been barred from a hostel for the homeless.

Helen and Mick Malone were told by Dublin Corporation not to deliver any more food to the Benbart Street Hostel. The couple have worked flat out for the past two years, 6 days a week, to feed 80 people a day.

The Corpo's excuse? They say the Malones are "too generous" and excess food makes a mess.

Driven to suicide

AN INQUEST last month heard that an RUC man killed himself the week before he was due in court on a charge of 'gross indecency' in a public toilet.

He was a victim of his own police force's harassment of gay people.

The law on 'gross indecency' allows the police to arrest a man who makes even the most discreet sexual overtones to another man.

In the past, a smile or wink has led to conviction for an 'act of gross indecency'.

Probation officers also report that at least two other men are receiving treatment for suicidal tendencies after they had been 'outed' by tabloid newspapers reporting their convictions.

Both these men, like the policeman, are married with children.

Instead of arresting and harassing gay men, Northern society needs to ask why many still feel the need to hide their sexuality and to visit public toilets to find sexual partners.

Doing NIE-cely from power

sell-off

TWO MONTHS after slapping an increase of 6.4 per cent on bills Northern Ireland Electricity have announced a rise of 15.5 per cent in profits.

Last year NIE made £94 million profit thanks to the price rise and a 10

per cent cut in staff. Meanwhile the House of Commons has released a report outlining what a rip-off the privatisation of electricity was.

Rip-Off

It shows how the Tories were eager to sell the company to their business pals at a knock-down price therefore

screwing the public of millions.

Among the report's findings were:

- power stations sold off too cheaply;
- £18 million wasted on advertising;
- shares sold at too low a price;
- sell-off advisers having no ceiling on their fees.

None of this should worry the part time boss

of NIE.

David Jeffries earns a mere £50,000 a year for 3 visits a month to the company. This is the same Mr Jeffries who made a cool £350,000 profit on share options with National Grid while transferring shares to his wife to avoid tax earlier this year.

NIE have just announced another 200 job losses.

Don't vote Fox

IF YOU'RE voting in the Wicklow by-election, stay away from Mildred Fox.

★ THE recent case of a seven months pregnant woman being imprisoned for failing to pay a £25 traffic fine is only the tip of the iceberg.

A garda spokesperson said it was "a regular occurrence".

Muintir na hEireann were so impressed with young Mildred that they're supporting her.

This pernicious outfit is run by the former Fianna Fail member Richard Greene who claims that he has a lot of admiration for the French fascist Le Pen.

SAMMY FROWNS ON FUN

THE DUP claim to represent the "ordinary" Protestants of Northern Ireland. They say this is what distinguishes them from the fur-coat brigade of the Unionist Party. However their actions speak louder than their words.

Sammy Wilson, DUP councillor and notorious blgog, has come up with a novel way of relating to "ordinary" people-- shut their leisure centres.

He has pushed through a motion in Belfast City Council recommending the closing of Shaftesbury, Loughside and Beechmount leisure centres.

All three are situated in deprived areas with high unemployment. Altogether at least 200 jobs could be lost.

Consultants' private quotas

OVER-PAID hospital consultants are contributing to overcrowding in casualty wards.

Some consultants hold a quota of beds in the hospitals for their own patients, denying admission to more urgent cases.

Severe

Nurses who work in the chaos of casualty continuously have to put up with the results of the consultants' selfishness, as patients, often in severe pain, are denied admission

for a couple of days.

In March and April INO nurses in the Mater and Beaumont hospitals struck because of the overcrowded and unsafe conditions in the Accident and Emergency (A&E) units.

Patients sometimes have to wait 48 hours in casualty on a trolley or wheelchairs before being admitted as inpatients.

The completely inadequate casualty services stem from the closure of many hospitals in the 1980s with the loss of 1200 beds.

Charles Windsor's historic visit



Socialist Worker's society columnist Lord Snooty writes:

What an evening as I joined Ireland's best and finest in the £3 million soiree.

My old friend John Bruton had tears in his eyes as he confided, "This is the most important occasion of my life" after managing a graceful curtsy to His Royal Highness.

Green Party supremo John Gormley denounced the 2,500 protesters outside as "die-hards".

"The days when we organised protests are long-gone", he whispered

through a mouthful of ballotine of lobster with fresh prawns.

Prince Charles told me how Jonathon Porritt of the British Greens has been appointed one of his advisors. "He was impressed by my ability to talk to plants", the heir to the throne muttered.

Plastered

ICTU president Phil Flynn was the life and soul of the party.

The former Sinn Fein vice-president was fair

knocking back the chateau Mountbatten and led us all in a hearty rendition of *God Save the Queen*. "I'm a big boy now—I know what was expected of me", he quipped before dashing to the bathroom.

Poor Eoghan Harris, whose towering intellect made the Workers Party what it is today, was furiously pushing the wild Slaney salmon topped with its own mousse and crispy dill breadcrumbs into his pocket when he grabbed my elbow. "Don't suppose that Camilla woman is a Trot, eh?" he asked me in earnest tones.

what we think

A mood to fight—but no leadership

THERE IS a new industrial unrest in Ireland at the moment. In Dunnes, workers have voted by over 80% to strike.

For the first time in over a decade the tactic of the sit-in has returned, even if only for a brief period in the *Irish Press* and Sunbeam.

Traditionally moderate groups like teachers have surprised their own leaders by turning up in vast numbers to a demonstration outside the Dáil.

The reason for the unrest is that the bosses are opening up new attacks on trade union conditions.

Sackings

They want a more intense regime of work; they want longer opening hours; they want more sackings and the hiring of more contract workers.

In Britain, many of these attacks were pushed through in the 1980s under the leadership of Thatcher.

Union organisation was hammered and demoralised.

In Ireland the employers adopted the strategy of work-

ing with union leaders.

They made some gains at less cost to themselves.

But from their point of view not enough was won. Hence the renewed offensive.

But they are coming slap up against a tremendous mood for resistance.

For nearly a decade, workers have been lectured about sacrifice—but they have seen few results.

They hear the talk about a recovery in the economy—but wonder why it is always the bosses who get to have super-salaries and super-profits.

However a mood and a determination to fight are two different things.

Time and time again workers vote for action—but the relentless message comes from the union leaders that *There Is No Alternative*.

The missing link is a confident layer of shop floor representatives who can stand up to union leaders.

Whatever the outcome of the present disputes, it is already clear: we need to build this new rank and file leadership in our unions, which will defy the advice of the ICTU and the leaders of SIPTU and the ATGWU.

The key will be socialist politics. The bosses argue politics all the time.

They talk about the global economy, the values of the market, the need to compete against fellow workers.

The minority of socialist workers know that there is an alternative way of running society that is based on producing for people's need and not greed.

Recession

And they also know that even if Irish capitalists got all they wanted, they could not prevent their rotten system sliding again into recession again.

The way to make the link between socialist politics and a wider group of workers who want to fight is *Socialist Worker*. In the autumn this paper will host a major conference of trade union activists who want an alternative to the ICTU's disastrous strategy.

In the meantime, readers should take a few extra copies to sell. Building up a network of *Socialist Worker* readers will help to strengthen the mood of resistance that is growing.

Pastor Eric, Lord Mayor

BELFAST has been landed with yet another preacher as Lord Mayor.

Eric Smyth of the Democratic Unionist Party won the election for this high office and will make sure that the City Hall's reputation for bigotry and conservatism is upheld.

Good Sex Guide

Smyth is opposed to the slightest mention of SEX in public. In 1993, he was horrified to find a programme *The Good Sex Guide* beamed into his living room.

He denounced it as "filth and dirt" and called for it to be banned.

Instead of campaigning against poverty on his native Shankill Road Smyth is more concerned to chase after the really important things in life: like Belfast's shop for transvestites.

"It's against what man and woman were made for", thunders the preacher.

With politicians like these, workers can expect little from the City Hall.

Para murderer to be set loose

THE BRITISH government are making sure that the only Paratrooper ever jailed in Northern Ireland will be set free.

Lee Clegg murdered Karen O'Reilly and Martin Peake in cold blood.

Their only crime was to have stolen a car.

After the horrific killing, Clegg and his unit returned to their barracks where they hung up a model of the bullet ridden car outside their canteen.

On it they hung a notice: *Built by Vauxhall: Driven by Joyriders; Stopped by A Company.*

The car was festooned with balloons and a papier mache model of Martin Peake's head was stuck inside.

Yet despite this utter brutality key figures of the



Lee Clegg and the decorations for the party the Paras held to celebrate their murder of Karen O'Reilly and Martin Peake



British establishment have kept to Clegg's defence.

Among them has been Prince Charles who was recently feted in Dublin.

The grounds for releasing Clegg show up the sick hypocrisy of the establishment.

■ Clegg's case is going before the Life Sentence

Review Board after just two years.

Normally it takes ten years for prisoners to have their sentences reviewed.

Evidence

The Birmingham Six waited for over a decade despite overwhelming evi-

dence that they were innocent.

■ The campaigners for Clegg claim to have new evidence because the Ministry of Defence funded a report which showed that Clegg's bullets should have fragmented if he was guilty.

But independent ballistic experts have denounced the

new evidence as worse than useless.

The release of Clegg is being set up so that the morale of the Paras is kept up.

The British establishment want them to feel good about their record of murder, torture and beating.

Pringle release ends 15-year frame-up

FIFTEEN YEARS after being framed for the murder of a Garda, Peter Pringle finally walked free from the Special Criminal Court after the Irish state announced that it was not proceeding with a new trial against him. But the reaction of the Irish media to the release was very low key.

Some even wanted to imply that a guilty man had been freed on a technicality.

In reality the case was based on a frame up that was comparable to the Birmingham 6 or the Guildford 4.

He was arrested in Galway nearly three weeks after an armed robbery at the Bank of Ireland in Ballaghaderreen.

The robbery resulted in the deaths of two Gardai.

Peter was sentenced to death by the non-jury Special Criminal Court. His sentence was later commuted to forty years imprisonment by the then President, Patrick Hillery.

The only evidence against Pringle was a confession he was alleged to have made after 12 hours of interrogation: "I know that you know I was involved, but on the advice of my solicitor I am saying nothing."

Suspicious

This statement was noted by a Det. Sgt. Connolly in his notebook.

The notebook was only disclosed to Pringle in 1993.

Upon examination the alleged confession appeared in a note timed at 9.28am on July 21 1980.

Suspiciously, this note appeared before a note timed at 8.25am which clearly states that was when his questioning began.

Pringle also produced a language expert who testi-

fied that his alleged confession was incompatible with his speech pattern.

During his interrogation Pringle developed a nose-bleed.

However, according to Det. Sgt. Connolly he handed a blood-stained tissue which he had given to Pringle to another Garda to dispose of.

The other Garda denied that this was so.

According to the Court of Criminal Appeal, this conflict raised doubts about Sgt. Connolly's credibility as a witness.

No mention of Pringle's nosebleed or how he came to



Peter Pringle is free but Gardai still abuse their powers

be bleeding in the first place was made at his original trial.

Imprisonment

Throughout his imprisonment Peter was given little or no assistance by the authorities or the legal profession.

It was only in January 1993 that all the documents relating to his case were made available to him.

He only received legal aid in February 1994, having previously been denied this basic right.

Following his release Pe-

ter said, "Its nice to see they have made a sensible decision for once."

"There are other victims of miscarriages of justice in the system."

"I would hope that they will take hope from what has happened to me."

Awards against gardai soar

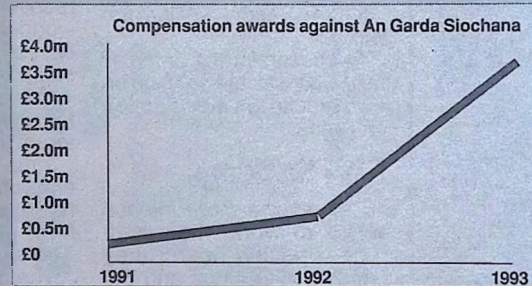
MID-JUNE sees the publication of the annual report of the Garda Complaints Board. It will probably contain some very disturbing information.

In 1993 (the last year for which figures are available) a total of 866 complaints were made against the Gardai.

But the real figures were much higher because over 360 complaints made in 1992 were still being investigated.

The Complaints Board also deemed 302 complaints inadmissible because they did not meet the strict criteria laid down by the government. So the full figure for 1993 was 1,439.

Complaints against the Gardai also tend to take a long



time to investigate. By the end of 1993, only 27% of the complaints lodged during the year had been fully investigated.

Throw

Gone are the days when the Gardai could claim to be 'known to everyone in the

community'. Instead today's police officer is more likely to throw their weight around.

According to the last Annual Report, there "appears to be an increase in the proportion of complaints which allege more serious breaches of discipline, such as abuse of authority."

There is now growing hostility between the Gardai and many people in working class areas. A recent survey has shown that one third of Irish people have lost confidence in the police.

The rise in complaints against the Gardai now means that far more money is being paid out to their victims. In 1992 £713,000 of taxpayers' money was paid out to 28 victims of An Garda Síochána. The following year the figure leaped to £3,693,000.

One lawyer told *Socialist Worker*, "the increase in compensation paid out against the Guards is not the result of softhearted juries. In fact, the courts are less likely to make big payouts now than ten years ago. The increase is due to the fact that courts are waking up to the fact that some Gardai do abuse their powers."

Frame-ups and brutality

THE IRISH Gardai, just like the British police, have a history of framing suspects and beating people who are in their custody.

In 1978 Nicky Kelly, a member of the Irish Republican Socialist Party was arrested for the Sallins mail-train robbery.

Following beatings by the Garda 'Heavy Gang' set up to intimidate Republicans, he was convicted in the no-jury Special Criminal Court.

He was subsequently freed in 1993 and paid an interim compensation award of £50,000.

Derek Fairbrother received brain damage from a beating by the Gardai in Finglas in the late 1980s.

Fairbrother had been driving when a Garda car appeared out of nowhere and cut across his right of way.

He stuck his two fingers up at the Gardai.

He was dragged from his car and beaten by a Garda who repeatedly raised his baton above his head and brought it down on Fairbrother's skull.

Fairbrother was awarded over £300,000 in compensation.

The violence that is ignored

THERE ARE some cases which the Gardai virtually ignore.

Paula (not her real name) recently went to her local Garda station to report that her boyfriend had been physically abusing herself and her two-year child.

Far from receiving a sympathetic response, she had what she describes as a "humiliating experience".

She was told by the Garda on duty that there was nobody in the station to take a statement.

However, according to Paula, she could see and hear three Gardai in a back room discussing a hurling match.

"He told me to come back again, as I'd called at an inconvenient time. Even though I had a big black eye, it took me 40 minutes of refusing to budge before he finally agreed to take a statement from me."

For Paula the worst part was having to stand in the public office and explain "how he had punched me and smashed my head off the fireplace while people behind me waited to collect passport forms".

She says that "when they finally took a statement it was on a piece of scrap paper ripped out of a notebook. They had no information on Women's Aid.

"They couldn't even tell me how to get a barring order. I found out more from Pat Kenny's programme on wife-beating than I did from the Guards."

Socialist Worker welcomes

letters

PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Divorce - no five year waiting period

THE Government parties are cranking up to introduce punitively restrictive divorce legislation on foot of the November referendum.

Socialists must organise now to oppose the proposed five year waiting period which speaks to a hypocritical morality that is really about controlling and punishing individuals whose relationships have broken down.

The pious pronouncements of government and opposition alike, couched in terms of the need to "protect" children post-divorce, play straight into the hands of the regrouped

Catholic right who have made such concerns their main opposition platform.

These arguments don't wash with people without children trapped in empty and loveless marriages, and do nothing to

address the real issues concerning children and marital breakdown.

If anything, children suffer from the absence of easy and affordable divorce by being forced to live, along with their parents, in conditions of conflict and legal uncertainty.

MAJELLA DULLY, Dun Laoghaire

Peace Dividend?

ATA recent £400 per head investment conference in America, much publicity was given to the peace dividend of 20,000 jobs for Belfast.

Well, not bad, you might think, something good must come out of these gatherings until you find out that these jobs are all part of the Tories new job seekers' allowance scheme, where the unemployed are forced to work for their dole or they get taken off benefit.

I wonder what the next conference will discuss—how to force small children up chimneys again? MARK, Belfast

Labour Court fails TEAM

TEAM management are at it again, back for more. After last year's Labour Court agreement we were told that Team would be saved. And at great cost to the conditions of its workers. Less than six months later they want £8.3 million in savings in job losses and wage cuts.

We in Team have great sympathy for the Packard workers. We know how they feel.

Shambles

The L.R.C. should be seen for what it is—a shambles. It doesn't matter how well you present your case it always goes against you.

All the disputes at the moment have one thing in common.

Bosses are looking for longer hours and wage cuts for the workers. No wonder the employers don't mind going to the L.R.C. and the Labour

Court. They very rarely lose and when they do they soon come after us again.

We in Team bear witness to the dealings of the L.R.C. and the Labour Court. Every time we get near the goal they moved the goal posts.

Now we realise that the vital issue for us is to rebuild shop floor organisation. Rank and file leadership will be key for us in the future. Getting a decent shop stewards organisation is the way we will shape up for the attacks that the Team bosses will make in the near future.

TEAM SHOP STEWARD

around the world

Western troops pour into Bosnia



Taking away the dead and wounded in Sarajevo

Why UN intervention will not bring peace

The UN is the flagship for the leading Western powers who have been intervening in Bosnia for a number of years now.

They have not stopped the fighting and, if anything, have made the civil war worse.

The European Union sanctioned the division of Bosnia according to the scheme of Milosevic and Tudjman before the war began.

They then proposed a plan of 'cantonisation' claiming that each area of Bosnia be exclusively dominated by one group.

This only encouraged the ethnic cleansing. Now the talk of intervention means sid-

ing with the warmonger Tudjman and the Bosnian government against the Bosnian Serbs.

Massacres

This could lead to a defeat of the Serbs and an end of the fighting. But it would be at a terrible cost.

It would mean new massacres and renewed ethnic cleansing to drive the Serbs from the areas they are living.

It could cost thousands of lives, draw Serbia and possibly Russia into the war, and spread fighting throughout the Balkans.

The UN record

UN intervention in these sort of conflicts has often ended in disaster.

It was supposed to stop the fighting and feed the hungry in Somalia.

Instead it left 10,000 Somalis dead or wounded and only deepened support for local 'warlords' like General Aideed.

As a US general admitted, "We ended up regarding every

Somali as the enemy".

Western intervention in the Gulf was supposed to teach Saddam Hussein a lesson and free those oppressed by the Iraqi regime, like the Kurds.

Brokered

Some 200,000 Iraqis died, yet Saddam is still there and the Kurds face not only an

army of Iraq but also of Turkey—the West's ally.

The UN brokered a deal in the Middle East between Israel and the PLO.

But it has not led to peace.

Millions of Palestinians remain refugees after their families were driven from their homes by Israel's ethnic cleansing in 1948 and 1967.

BRITISH and French troops are pouring into Bosnia.

Thousands more are on stand-by as a "Rapid Reaction Force".

Their governments claim that the cause of the new escalation is the taking of UN hostages. But there is far more to it.

UN hostages have been held before and then released. This time round the hostage taking followed a major bombing campaign by NATO jets.

After the bombing NATO generals appeared on television to claim there was 'no collateral damage'.

They were referring to ordinary civilians.

But it was a lie. Just like in the Gulf War, NATO jets have murdered many people whose names or identities have never been reported in the Western media.

The real reason for the new escalation is that the European powers have decided to come down firmly on one side in this terrible and bloody civil war.

The media is now full of propaganda to justify this intervention.

But a lot of it is based on lies.

■ Lie Number 1: *The Serbs are invading Bosnia and should be thrown out.*

The Serbs fighting in Bosnia are not an invading army.

They live there. Serbs make up around one third of the multi-ethnic population of Bosnia and about 15% of Croatia's population.

They have been misled by nationalist politicians into fighting their Muslim and Croatian neighbours.

On all sides there has been "ethnic cleansing" and this has fuelled the war as people fight to get their homes and land

back. ■ Lie Number 2: *The Serbs are solely to blame for the start of the war.*

The Serb leaders began the war, but not on their own.

The President of Croatia, Tudjman is as much to blame for the start of the war.

Trained

Tudjman is seen as an ally of the West.

The troops and arms currently pouring into Bosnia are coming in via Croatia and Tudjman's own troops are trained by the US military.

Back in 1991 Tudjman signed a deal with Milosevic to partition Bosnia.

Both of them wanted a "Greater Croatia" and a "Greater Serbia". Both whipped up the national-

ist message of hate. Tudjman even adopted the symbol of the wartime Croatian fascist regime which murdered up to 200,000 Serbs.

■ Lie Number 3: *The Bosnian government are not involved in promoting divisions between Serb, Croat and Muslim.*

The current Bosnian President, Izetbegovic, founded an exclusively Muslim party, the SDA.

This did not propose a Muslim state as there was no 'parent state' like Serbia or Croatia to back one.

But *Guardian* reporter Ed Vulliamy has described how by 1992 Izetbegovic embraced "the language of ethnic sectarianism as eagerly as any".

Bosnia's Muslims have been the greatest victims of fighting up to now.

They began the war poorly armed but this has begun to change. Given half a chance, they are just as capable of committing

atrocities against civilians, as in the massacre of Serbs in the village of Bratunac in 1992.

■ Lie No 4: *The Serb leaders are fascists who should not be appeased.*

There are fascist groups fighting on the side of Bosnia's Serbs—but there are also fascist units within the Croatian army.

Atrocities

Serbia's President Milosevic was happy at first to give encouragement to Serbia's Nazis to carry out atrocities but he has since tried to rein them in and last week arrested the country's leading Nazi.

Milosevic, Tudjman and Karadzic are all vicious nationalists who are trying to hold onto their power, after their former positions in the Communist Party collapsed. They are no different to the countless savage dictators who run other countries with Western backing.

The solution

THE ONLY real way to peace is for ordinary people throughout the region to unite against their rulers. This is not an impossible dream.

Before the war the former Yugoslavia was in a deep economic crisis. In 1988 there was an explosion of strikes as Serb, Croat and Muslim workers stood together against their Communist Party bosses.

These tried to save their skins by whipping up sectarian hatred. On Serbian TV, for example, there were adverts with the slogan: "For the good life: partition and then separation".

There was no real socialist organisation to counter this message of

hate.

But the possibility of revolt against the nationalist leaders remains. A wave of strikes in Serbia in 1993 and 1994 made Milosevic sue for peace and he has kept out of the war since.

Opposition

There have been strikes in Croatia too and the *Financial Times* has reported "growing opposition to the war".

The British magazine, the *New Statesman* also points to a new mood of

anger amongst Bosnian Serbs against the corruption of the Karadzic regime in the Serb "republic".

"When the war broke out, you couldn't hear a word against Karadzic," says a soldier. "Today everybody curses him".

A senior Irish officer with the UN, Commandant Carbery, indicated the same mood on RTE News.

He said, "I've talked to Croatian soldiers who've talked to their Serbian counterparts in the trenches 150-200 yards away. They've discussed family matters and what's happening in their villages.

Suffering

"They just want to go home. There is no support for this war on the ground."

On every side it is ordinary people who are suffering while the rich line their pockets and live it up.

Sooner or later, growing numbers of Serbs, Croats and Muslims can realise the only way out of this hell is for them to unite and fight the butchers and wealthy on every side.

Sit-ins, strikes and resistance...

The new

THERE HAS been a fantastic rise in workers' struggles in the last few weeks.

We have seen occupations in the *Irish Press* and Sunbeam in Cork, resistance in An Post and Packard, a national strike ballot in Dunnes Stores and massive demonstrations by teachers and busworkers.

Socialist Worker spoke to a number of socialists who have been involved in fighting the bosses.

Laura is a teacher and a staff rep in a special school on Dublin's Northside.

Owen and **Paddy** are bus drivers involved in the NBRU.

Richie is a prominent shop steward in Team Aer Lingus.

Joe works in Packard Electric in Tallaght.

Do you think the bosses are increasing attacks on workers?

Owen: Certainly in the semi-states it has got much worse.

You only have to look at Team last year and this year they are going for the ESB, Telecom, An Post.

Even in our job we are now being told that each bus garage, each bus route will have to become competitive. It looks like a prelude to privatisation and it has a huge impact on people's lives.

Paddy: There's a lot of management restructuring going on but even for bus drivers the whole job is changing.

A few years ago they brought in a yellow-pack grade to drive the Imp buses. The imagined difference is that they have less responsibility because they drive a smaller bus.

That's nonsense. A malaise has been injected into the system and will spread—if it's allowed.

Richie: We were locked out for six months last year. During that time there was also a maintenance strike in CIE where I used to work.

If I hadn't been in conflict with the Team bosses I would have been on strike in CIE. Management are attacking all jobs.

Now we have to work a 48 hour week and other bosses are taking a leaf from Team's book.

Joe: Packard has done the same to us. But it could have been different.

They got away with 1600 hours a week free labour for the last five months.

That's not on. We should have fought them from the start and done what they did in General Motors in



Standing tall - Irish Press workers occupied and defied anti-strike laws—but told to leave by union leaders.

Michigan.

They forced the company to take on more workers instead of increasing the working week.

We are always told "You can't fight the multinationals". But workers have to fight their own employers.

Otherwise what's the point in having a union?

Laura: Even in education there is a whole new agenda being set. Not just for teachers but also for the pupils.

They want to introduce an "enterprise" education system to train kids to fit whatever category of worker the market demands.

That means ignoring the real needs of kids.

But the whole thrust is to take away the control from the teachers and the early retirement issue is only one aspect.

It's very important that teachers fight for it.

Fighting back gives teachers confidence and the Government have another agenda: to take us on over the length of the working week, just like other industries.

If we win this issue it will have a knock-on effect for all workers and that's really what the Government fear most.

Owen: The great thing I found in my job was that nobody had a bad word to say about the teachers' strike.

To busworkers the idea of retiring at 55 or 60 years of age is very interesting. If the teachers can fight and win so can we.

Richie: The *Evening Herald* was shouting "fair play" to a teachers branch in Dun

Laoghaire for voting not to strike.

But they actually did vote for strike by 60%.

But the teachers' unions said there had to be a two thirds majority in favour.

That's crazy. Teachers are not generally seen as radical. But they are and they showed it by the strike and the 15,000 strong march.

Joe: It works both ways. If teachers win everybody gains.

If any group of workers lose we all lose.

You can see how the working week was extended in Team and then in Packard.

Richie: The confidence workers get from fighting does have a spin-off effect.

It might not happen overnight but over a period of time workers have started to fight back.

Are the unions giving a lead in your workplaces?

Joe: As far as I can see the unions are not giving any lead.

Certainly in Packard that's been how we have seen it.

We've been looking for a lead in our dispute for months but it's got to the stage that for a lot of people all they see is the union taking £1.90 a week.

We've got more information and en-

couragement from socialists outside the factory than we have from the union leaders that we pay wages to.

Laura: There's a lot of talk about strategy and tactics.

In my school the only strategy and tactics needed was motivating people, building confidence and having a bit of guts.

You know the feeling on the ground. People want leadership and you need the activity to go with that.

They keep telling us we have to be competitive and make profits.

And unfortunately some of their ideas filter down to shop stewards and that's a real problem.

But the union leaders can rally the troops if they are pushed from below.

Paddy: When 1,000 busworkers marched in Dublin recently the union leaders were shocked by the response.

They now have to fight harder on the issue because you can only lead



Teachers on strike - "if they win we all gain"

Owen: There is a link in all the disputes—Team, Packard and the teachers.

All the union leaders accept that you cannot fight the system.

workers up the hill and back down again so many times.

There is definitely a different mood now.

Joe: It took three votes to get

but no leadership:

Unrest



nearly one thousand workers to give in to Packard's deal last January.

We didn't back down. It was the union leaders who backed down.

We have to keep reminding ourselves that this company makes a fortune.

It's not just Packard in Tallaght. It's General Motors and they made \$4.2 billion last year alone.

Can workers become political or are they just concerned about their own jobs and conditions?

Joe: In Packard it might have started out that way. But nowadays everybody understands the sell-outs of Labour and Pat Rabbitte.

He must be the most hated man in Tallaght after how he has treated us. I think workers do become political. They begin to see the bosses have an agenda.

Laura: The isolation of all the disputes is the big weakness. The Government are terrified that all these struggles might be linked.

That's when you see them running to Schramm in Coventry to stitch up the Packard workers.

It's a real thing of divide and conquer. I bring this up all the time in my union.

Why are we not linking with the nurses' dispute, the busworkers' dispute?

We always seem to be in a "sinn fein" mode.

Owen: The support for Team workers last year was huge.

We got a great response from workers all over Dublin when we were building solidarity for Team.

And it has been the same for Packard. Working class people are being made more political by the intense attacks on their living standards.

Richie: Outside the Irish Press occupation the other day, there was a speaker from Team and from Packard.

And it was the first time you heard and saw the link being made on the media. That's really important.

Workers have to look to their own. We learned that lesson the hard way in the Team dispute.

The best support we got was from workers in Waterford Glass and ESB and not from all the politicians we lobbied.

Do individual socialists in the workplace make a difference?

Owen: Every strike nowadays is a political strike because it's against this whole idea that we have to make a profit.

Workers don't go around thinking "I must make a profit".

They want to look after their families and have some kind of a decent standard of living.

They don't accept the logic that providing a bus service, making parts for cars or teaching has to be competitive.

And socialists can make a difference by arguing with workers and pointing out all the contradictions that the capitalists create in society.

Socialists can make very practical arguments and give confidence to their workmates.

Paddy: Ideally leadership should come from the union officials.

If it doesn't come from them then workers have to make a stand for themselves.

Individuals make a big difference when it comes to standing up for yourself.

And there is more communication going on between workers in different jobs at the moment. That's a good start.

Laura: Since I joined the SWP the politics have really made a difference and have helped me carry arguments at work.

It's important to see how one dispute affects another and to make the links.

Politics helps you do that. And when another dispute comes up or even something like the Prince Charles visit, you can make clear arguments with other workers. You can see the big picture.

Since the teachers' strike people in my school keep coming up and congratulating me because I stood up to the union executive and argued hard that our school had the right to come out.

They had made special schools exempt from the strike.

We won against the union leadership and that has given workers a lot of confidence.

They also are more concerned about other issues in the school.

Socialist politics have shown me how to argue that the Government have a different agenda, that they don't give a damn about the kids.

They have the money for education. They just prefer to spend it on the Golden Circle like Goodman and top civil servants' retirement.

Then people begin to believe that "Yes, we can do something about that. We're not powerless". And that has a massive knock-on effect.

Richie: In my job at the start when I argued socialist politics workers probably thought I was a raving red.

But they have an awful lot of respect for the positions I take and they look more to the shop stewards now than to the union officials.

Owen: It's all about confidence.

If enough people are pushing the union leaders from below we could really change things.

Joe: The union officials always say "You are the union".

We should take them seriously on that and start building a real rank and file fightback.

DUNNES STORES:

When shop workers fought apartheid

As Dunnes workers vote by 86% to go on strike, Eugene Kenny tells the story of a great strike in the same shops against apartheid a little over ten years ago.

ON 19th July 1984 something very special happened.

Workers at Dunnes took a political stance against oppression of black workers in South Africa by the apartheid regime.

The 11 workers who went on strike, ten women and one man, acted on a union instruction not to handle South African produce.

To be very precise, it was two Outspan grapefruit worth 56p that triggered a strike that would last for two and a half years.

Handled

Public awareness of the situation in South Africa was very low at the time.

As one striker put it: "Some people even came up to us saying 'fair play to you for not handling South African goods, because I wouldn't handle anything a nigger handled', but people changed as the strike went on".

The government's policy was to officially condemn the South African regime.

But they did nothing to stop Ben Dunne and others importing South African produce.

IDATU was the union representing the workers, but incredibly, members of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union constantly broke the picket line.

The strikers were undaunted.

The more they fought the more they came to oppose all injustice.

As one striker said

of them: "The Dunnes Stores strikers have written themselves into the history of our liberation struggle."

The picket was lifted as the strike was nearing its second year, on 1st March 1986.

In all 18 months had been consumed by picket line duty, six days a week for 52 weeks.

The dispute was temporarily suspended until such a time as a solution was found.

On January 1987 an embargo on South African produce was implemented.

Won

The strikers had won.

It had taken a lot to finally bring the government of the day to its senses.

As Brendan Archibald, the union official involved, asked:

"Why do politicians have to be dragged screaming and kicking into action to simply condemn torture, condemn murder, condemn the starvation and the shooting of children and the enslavement of an entire people."

When the strikers went back to work on 5th January 1987, three of the eleven refused to sign the contract.

The others stayed on for a while but were eventually to leave due to management pressure.

It's now almost eleven years since the strike and a lot has changed, a new South Africa is in transition.

It has to be remembered that most of the Dunnes strikers were in their late teens and displayed brilliant militancy.

They showed the Dublin working class what heights could be achieved, what victories could be won—it's a lesson that needs to be remembered when Dunnes is taken on again today.

at the time, "You didn't have to go to South Africa to find exploitation."

As the strike passed its first year, it entered a new phase as workers visited numerous European cities, in Germany, France, Russia and Britain looking for solidarity.

On 10th July 1985, the strikers went to South Africa, their invitation coming from Bishop Desmond Tutu and the South African Union of Churches.

When they arrived the South African police refused them permission to enter the country and they were sent back on the same plane to Heathrow.

This was one of the turning points.

The state that endorsed racial hatred censored all news coverage as part of its "state of emergency".

But news of the expulsion of the Dunnes workers was heard by millions.

Back in Ireland companies like Clery's, Bests, Roches and Superquinn were all quietly removing apartheid goods from their shelves.

But a few token gestures were not going to silence the strikers.

A battle was under way not just to change government policy, but to change people's ideas of apartheid.

The picket line was now receiving a host of visitors.

Former political prisoners from South Africa came regularly.

Arthur Scargill took time off from building solidarity with his own miners' strike to visit.

Archbishop Tutu gave great hope to the strikers and said

The fight for women's equality in the nineties

Babes, Barbie



New assertiveness or just plain old sexism?

or liberation?

"I LIKE my hair like I like my men—great looking and easily changed" is the slogan on a current advert for shampoo. It's a slogan that advertisers think will click with many women. And they may probably be right.

It is common to hear similar attitudes elsewhere. 'At least Madonna's a woman who's in control' or 'If you push hard enough you can get your own way' are some that run on similar lines.

The argument gets a hearing because there has been a sexual revolution within the lifetime of most women. Images, attitudes and subjects of discussion that are commonplace today were not mentioned in the Ireland of the 1950s.

Sexual freedom is now symbolised by the recent poster on every bus stop of Demi Moore on top of Michael Douglas advertising the film, *Disclosure*.

The demand for women's equality is supposed to be met by turning women and men into sex objects.

Ogling the Chippendales is held up as a sign of sexual control.

The symbols have also changed. In the 1960s, the media made much of the slogan 'burn your bra'—although it trivialised the real demands of the women's liberation movement.

But now we have Wonderbra ads—thought up by a woman and supposedly a sign not of women's oppression but of assertiveness and control.

The idea is that women's oppression need no longer concern us. Women can compete on equal terms with men. Instead of changing the world it is enough to change your lifestyle. It is all about finding an individual solution and leaving behind the 'old' radical and political message.

These arguments about

confidence and assertiveness are reinforced by new post feminist writers who are getting a lot of media coverage.

Katie Rophie made her name with a book *The Morning After* which argued that date rape (rape between acquaintances) was a figment of the feminists' imagination. Rophie's view was that 'there is a grey area in which someone's rape may be another person's bad night'.

For Rophie rape and sexual harassment are much exaggerated. Buy a new dress, put on some lipstick and snap out of it seems to be the general message.

Naomi Wolf is another writer in a similar vein. In *Fire with Fire* she argues that women need to show their power and if they are strong enough they can gain equality.

She talks of 'powerfeminism' which to her means "learn from Madonna, Spike Lee and Bill Cosby: if you don't like your group's image in the media, decide on another image and seize the means of producing it".

These ideas have many sources. First and foremost, they come from the growth of a new layer of upper middle class women from the social developments of the 1980s and 1990s.

In 1991 in the US there are 2.3 million women with a personal income of over \$50,000 a year. 12% of white women



Madonna—in control?

there hold executive or managerial positions.

Whereas in the early 1970s less than 5 percent of business masters degrees went to women, by the mid 1980s that had risen to 40 percent.

The upwardly mobile always pretend that it was their 'individual effort' rather than their privileged background that got them where they were.

When they apply this view to women's equality they naturally think in terms of individual assertion.

Second, the new ideas emerged in an environment where there was a 'backlash' in the culture of the US and elsewhere

The right wing climate which grew under Reagan stressed the need to roll back public spending, particularly on welfare benefits.

Single parents—especially young black women—have been targeted as 'welfare queens'.

The vicious onslaught

against 'political correctness' and positive discrimination reflect attempts by white middle class men to claw back the limited changes that were made in the 1960s and 1970s.

The success of the backlash should not be exaggerated. It has barely hit Ireland where the movement for greater reform is still on an upward swing.

Elsewhere, there is no chance of women being pushed back to the 1950s.

There may be a lot of 'new lads' about who read magazines like *Loaded*.

They dress up their sexism by pretending to be ironic but they cannot persuade women to return to the home the way the bigots would like.

Instead women are joining the labour market in huge numbers.

They make up many of the new 'flexible' workers which the media keep going on about. In Ireland women's employment since the early

1980s has grown at twice the rate of men's.

These material conditions have brought the huge cultural change where almost every film and television programme shows women in more independent roles.

But if the 'backlash' cannot remove the material changes, it can create a more unfavourable climate of ideas.

Women's problems become their own fault. If the burden of the family is too great, there are only individual solutions.

If welfare is under attack, women just have to accept more responsibilities in the home as well as going to work.

The new arguments about individual assertiveness as the way to get equality reflect this climate.

They come from people who do not want to fight the right wing drift—but rather adapt to it and even try to make gains within this climate.

Socialists reject this whole approach. Of course, we encourage people to stand up for themselves.

But there is a difference between an assertiveness which develops from political awareness and collective struggle and one which is simply about 'getting ahead' of everyone else.

Being assertive in itself does little for the millions of working class women who are tied to part time contracts or low wages.

No matter how confident they are with individual men whom they have relationships with, there are still bosses who treat them as 'unit costs' and inflict stress and poverty on both their lives.

We also live in a society

which promotes the individual family as the only place where children can be raised.

The capitalists who run industry want a workforce that is educated, replenished and fed. But they resist any attempt to put resources into the 'burden' of child care.

They will demand money for arms or grants to industry but will resist every effort to make them pay for workplace creches or any public responsibility for children.

Changing that structure can only come from collective action by men and women—rather than individual shifts in attitude.

Similarly the sexual openness is a step forward. No matter how distorted the new discussions and advertising are, they reflect a change from the time that the Bishops could persuade people to hide their sexual feelings as shameful.

But capitalists are quite happy to use greater sexual openness where once they counselled repression—so long as they can make a profit.

The more sex becomes a commodity, the more everything connected with it—and even the sex act itself becomes a commodity.

Because the Chippendales, *Cosmopolitan* and page three of the *Sun*.

Instead of the illusion of sexual freedom where women and men view each other as objects, socialists point the finger at the stultifying and destructive effect that class society has on all relationships.

Only a society where there is no competition, inequality or alienation can truly produce sexual freedom and liberation—not just for women but for all humanity.

COMMENT

Where are the marches going?

A COUPLE of Sundays ago a nationalist parade was allowed to travel through the centre of Castleterg in Tyrone three weeks after a similar parade had been stopped by the RUC.

A group of Loyalists staged a counter-demonstration. Sinn Fein constituency representative Barry McElduff described the events as "a victory for people-power".

The march had been organised by the Castleterg Nationalist Rights Committee, which had been formed for the purpose implied in the name—to insist on the right of Nationalists to march through the 50 per cent Catholic town.

Their point was perfectly valid, Loyalist demonstrations have proceeded through Castleterg for decades. The denial of the same right to Nationalists was straightforward sectarian discrimination.

That said, there's more to it.

The number of Nationalist marches has multiplied in recent years, commemorating events in the Troubles such as internment and the hunger strikes, and generally asserting the greater self-confidence of Northern Nationalists about their position in society.

Mobilise

It isn't fanciful to talk now of two marching seasons alongside one another, each serving to mobilise its 'own' community.

The question which arises for socialists is not whether Nationalists have the same right as Loyalists to march but whether this is a sensible or worthwhile way of proceeding for people who are out for real change.

Some Nationalist marches do demand change—the release of prisoners, the demolition of watch-towers and so on, objectives which many who have no time for Nationalist ideology will support on their own merits.

But these marches, too, place the issues solely in the context of Nationalist politics and have the character of communal gatherings.

The increasing tempo of Nationalist marches since the IRA ceasefire last August also provides Sinn Fein members and supporters

with a sense of activity and involvement at a time when Republican politics are being conducted more and more in a way which relegates the masses to the role of distant spectators. There's an element of giving the punters something to do while the real business is conducted elsewhere.

The result is that only specifically Nationalist concerns are highlighted, and in ritualistic style.

Thus, the "victory for people-power" at Castleterg was a victory of sorts for Nationalist people right enough. No doubt it gave a buzz of achievement to all who took part. But how valuable an achievement was it really?

An unfair imbalance was righted. In this, one respect, parity with local Loyalists was established. But would this local victory, if generalised over all the issues of contention in the North, be sufficient to satisfy the yearning for a better life which sparked off the civil rights movement and sustained a struggle over a quarter of a century?

Meanwhile, the Protestant people the marchers had established parity with seethed behind police lines and produced aggro to the extent of "minor scuffles".

Nothing that happened affected in any way the fundamental imbalance in the Castleterg area where, as everywhere in the North, workers from all sides are indeed being treated increasingly equally—like dirt.

It's that imbalance which socialists, as opposed to Republicans, want to confront.

We support the right to march of Nationalist people. But there are other reasons to be on the streets, to do with jobs, wages, union rights, the NHS, attacks on social welfare, the oppression of women, the hounding of gays.

These are issues which raise the question of what type of society we want to live in, rather than a 'fair' distribution of the tiny influence workers can have in the capitalist society we live in already.

It's not a question of being against marches. The question the foot-soldiers who follow the banners should be asking is, in what direction is Republicanism leading us? Where to? And with whom? And how far?

—EAMONN McCANN

BOOK

Gerry Adams speaks

GERRY ADAMS' *Free Ireland: Towards a Lasting Peace*, is an updated version of *The Politics of Irish Freedom* which appeared several years ago.

In the first edition the SDLP were denounced as "a kind of Uncle Tom element that the British government needs in order to stabilise the situation". Now the SDLP are roundly praised for their part in the Peace Process.

However, much of the new book is the same. Adams once again explains the background to the Republican struggle and outlines the history of the two states on the island of Ireland.

But his approach is riddled with contradictions.

One of the conclusions he draws from history is that the fight for socialism has to be postponed until after the British withdraw from the North and the country is united. In fact he tells his readers that "the republican struggle should not at this stage of its development style itself as 'socialist republican'".

Dole queues

He never says what a united capitalist Ireland would offer to workers. There might be more green flags but the dole queues would be as long as ever.

Nor does he understand that Northern Protestants can and have been won from loyalist ideas into a fight for a workers' republic. Instead they are condemned to a passive role until after the struggle for Irish unity has been completed.

He claims that the South is a neo-colony, economically crippled by its dependence on Britain. But this ignores the fact that the Southern state has always sought to promote native capitalism.

And it does not explain why Sinn Fein state sees it

political representatives as the main people who will pressurise Britain's rulers to come to a settlement.

He states that Sinn Fein as a party are intent on establishing a democratic socialist republic but doesn't mention the chasms of political thought and ambition to be found in national liberation movements; that there is often a huge gap between someone like Gearoid ó hEara, who has "no problems with capitalism", and an activist in West Belfast who wants to see in a new Ireland.

He says that this new Ireland will stand as a bulwark against imperialism. Why then is Sinn Fein currently courting Bill Clinton who

maintains an embargo on trade with Cuba because it dared defy the might of the US?

He cites as examples of the way forward what has happened in Palestine and South Africa and actually says that what the unionists need is a De Klerk.

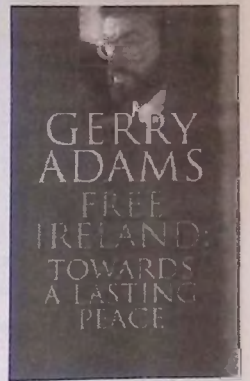
Power

He doesn't mention the fact that the PLO are now doing Israel's dirty work for them or that nothing has changed for the millions of South Africa's blacks since Mandela came to power.

It is worth mentioning that Gerry Adams has proven himself to be an astute politician. The contra-

dictions and ambiguities which appear in his book have more to do with a thought out policy on his part than an inability to grasp what, for instance, James Connolly meant when he talked socialism.

What comes across clearly enough though is Adams' desire to see Sinn Fein become a major political force North and South. But the wide range of voters he talks about targeting is pretty much a carbon copy of the policy Fianna Fail followed after the defeat of the IRA in the civil war, and that, despite all the talk of socialism, is the clearest indication of the shape the Sinn Fein party intends to take in the years to come.



Free Ireland: Towards a Lasting Peace by Gerry Adams, Brandon, £7.95

FILM

Highlanders against the crown

ROB ROY is based on the life of the Scottish chieftain, Rob Roy McGregor, who was double crossed in a deal with the marquis of Montrose and forced into a guerrilla war with the crown.

The film is set in the 1700s, at a time when the big highland clans had been defeated and the survivors were struggling to live under English rule.

It's a romance and adventure story which takes a few liberties with the truth along the way; but it is beautifully filmed, strongly played and it's clear pains were taken to make the settings as realistic as possible.

Bawdy

The language is fairly bawdy and the living conditions, of the clanspeople in particular, are displayed without much sentimentality.

Rob Roy and his clan are portrayed, perhaps a little naively, as men of honour



Rob Roy and his clan: Men of honour

whose word is their bond; and the people they find themselves in conflict with are cold, calculating and cruel.

What comes across viv-

idly though is the brutality of the crown's redcoats when they are unleashed on the highlanders.

Not to be taken too seriously, the film provides a

little over two hours of good entertainment and sheds some light on a historical episode rarely covered in cinema.

■ ISLA BOAG

FILM

Bullets over Broadway

Reviewed by Ciaran Kennedy

WOODY ALLEN's latest contribution to the film industry is *Bullets over Broadway*. The story is about Mafia involvement in a Broadway production in the roaring 20's.

A leading New York gangster agrees to fund the theatrical production of a struggling script-writer who has been turned down by every other 'reputable' source—because his play is considered to lack mass appeal—and consequently box office revenue.

The gangster won't fund it unless his girlfriend has the leading part—though she couldn't act if her life depended upon it.

So you have the great dilemma: in order to have a chance of success, the pro-

ducer is subjected to conditions which are likely to ensure the play's failure.

His artistic integrity is compromised, all because he is economically dependent.

Suggest

As rehearsals progress, various members of the cast suggest changes.

The bodyguard—assigned to protect his bosses' girlfriend—thinks "it's a lot of crap, that real people don't talk like that!"

He suggests that he'll rewrite it so ordinary people on the street understand what it's about.

The producer takes umbrage



Roaring twenties

at such criticism, but eventually eats humble pie.

He finds that the corrections lead to greater harmony amongst

the cast and more favourable reviews from critics.

The effect is that the bodyguard rewrites the script from scratch—proving himself to be the more creative—despite being perceived as having the least potential.

One of the producers' friends claims that "all art is qualitative, and cannot therefore be popular".

Since he himself has not yet had a hit on Broadway—because of the criteria of box-office sales—he must consequently be a genius.

The film is certainly thought provoking. It covers the influence of patronage and the economic control of artistic creations.

But it also deals with the interplay of characters and personalities in a cast, with the inevitable compromises in individuality in the interests of collective action.

where we stand

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class. Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states. We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders role is to negotiate with capitalism - not to end it. We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

news & reports—politics; the unions—

Crisis at the Irish Press

THE ACTIVITIES of the Irish Press management have shown up the real values of those who own the media. They are not interested in free speech—only profit.

Colm Rappale was sacked because he contributed to a debate on the newspaper industry.

According to the *Sunday Business Post* the article "consisted largely of utopian socialist theorising".

In reality, he only pointed the finger at the disastrous management who run his paper.

The terrible twins, Eamon de Valera and Vincent Jennings have run the paper into the ground.

They have imposed successive pay freezes while awarding themselves enormous salaries.

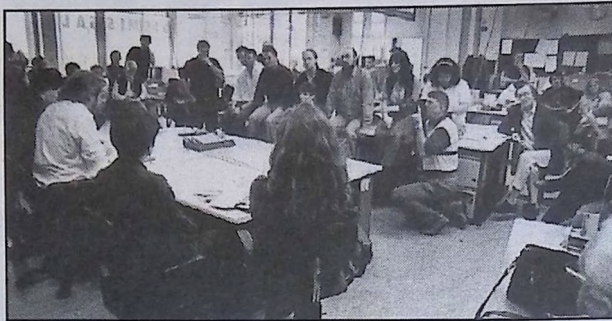
They have locked out staff in 1985 and 1990 and so caused drops in circulation.

They left a brand new building in Parnell Square worth £1 millions worth of equipment idle.

The real reason for sacking Colm Rappale was to break union organisation.

Rappale has been a prominent union activist.

The management know that if they can sack a journalist for writing his opinions the union would be humiliated and unable to defend itself.



Sitting-in for jobs PHOTO: MICHAEL GALLAGHER

THE CRISIS in the Irish Press cannot be seen in isolation from what's happening to the media globally.

Over the past few months, competition between giant media conglomerates has intensified massively. This is a direct result

of the bid by Rupert Murdoch, boss of News International, to gain world dominance in new media markets. Murdoch has just

signed a series of billion-dollar deals, including a \$2 billion link with MCI communications, the world's second largest long-distance telecommunications company.

Apart from controlling such lucrative sources of income, the world's media giants are locked into a battle to see who will win the race to build a profitable information superhighway and who will provide the most profitable products or software to sell down it.

The digital revolution means that almost every media product can be dispatched—at the speed of an encyclopedia per second—across a worldwide network of optical fibres, or beamed from satellite dishes, or broadcast by radio.

Mania

The new mania for buying up smaller companies is part of the mad dash by large corporations to control as many channels and sources of information as possible.

The people who produce our newspapers and dominate our television are only interested in money. They care little about diversity of news and information. They try to turn all newspapers into rabid propaganda sheets for capitalism.

HOW TO WIN THE CAMPAIGN of Irish Press journalists has been magnificent.

They have produced their own broadsheet sold on the streets. Huge solidarity collections have been organised with over £1,000 coming from NUJ chapels in the *Irish Independent* and RTE.

When news of the Rappale sacking came in, journalists occupied the building. But tragically the NUJ leadership urged them to leave, fearing a fine under the Industrial Relations Act.

In reality, the journalists could have mobilised a bigger wave of solidarity if the law had been used against them.

Throughout the campaign, the journalists have received ambiguous support from the politicians in Dail Eireann who are hoping for better coverage of themselves in future.

Warned

But as Denis Smyth the TEAM shop steward who spoke at the *Irish Press* rally at Dail Eireann warned, "These same TDs turned up on our protests—but they let us down in the end".

If the journalists are to win they will have to rely on their own strength. They should call for a solidarity stoppage of all journalists in the national press because a defeat at the *Irish Press* will worsen the conditions of everyone else.

Instead of allowing the press to be taken over by another media mogul, they should mount a campaign for it to be taken into public ownership. The capitalist owners have shown they have no interest in free speech and a well organised union could prevent state bureaucrats behaving like de Valera or Jennings.

When the *Irish Press* occupation ended, all the donations presented were handed over to the Women's Aid refuge centre. It was a gesture that showed who is looking for a better society.

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

- BELFAST CENTRAL**
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Penny Farthing Bar, Upper North Street
- BELFAST SOUTH**
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Queens Students Union.
- CORK**
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay.
- DERRY**
Meets in Badgers Bar at 8pm
- DUBLIN BALLINTEER**
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Ballintheer House.
- DUBLIN BLANCHARDSTOWN**
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Blakestown Community Centre.
- DUBLIN COOLOCK**
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd.

- DUBLIN CLONDALKIN**
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Loch and Quay, Clondalkin.
- DUBLIN DRIMNAGH**
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Bentley Pub, Drimnagh Road
- DUBLIN FINGLAS**
Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Rosehill Community Centre.
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL**
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Conways.
- DUBLIN RATHMINES**
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond Street.
- DUBLIN RINGSEND**
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Ringsend Community Centre
- DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL**
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the Trinity Inn.

- DUBLIN TALLAGHT**
Contact 8722682 for details of meetings
- DUN LAOGHAIRE**
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub.
- GALWAY**
Meets every second Thursday at 8.00pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre

- Square—contact national address for details.**
- NEWRY**
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm—contact national address for venue.
- WATERFORD**
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU hall, Waterford.

There are *Socialist Worker* members in: ENNISKILLEN; COLERAINE; LURGAN; CAVAN; DONEGAL; NAAS; LIMERICK; KILKENNY; DUNDALK; BRAY; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA. MAYNOOTH.

If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

OUT NOW!

THE CASE FOR SOCIALISM
The Politics of the SWP

The best beginner's guide in Ireland to all the basic ideas of Socialism—economics, history, oppression and the class struggle.

The case for socialism
A Socialist Worker pamphlet

£2.00 plus 75p postage from Bookmarks, P.O. Box 1648 Dublin 8

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

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

Name

Address.....

Phone.....

Socialist Worker Women's Liberation Today

Saturday 17th June
11am-5.15pm, Teachers Club,
36 Parnell Square, Dublin

Marxism and post-feminism
The family—who benefits?
Is the personal political?

Speakers: Marnie Holborow, Sheila McGreggor (SWP Britain), Joan Gallagher

Cost £4 (£2 unwaged), Creche and sandwiches available

Name

Address

Phone

Please send me tickets waged unwaged

I enclose £

PO Box 1648, Dublin 8 Tel (01) 872 2682

send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

86% strike vote at Dunnes

DUNNES STORES workers have voted by a massive 86% for a national strike.

Mandate, the shop-workers' union, has served strike notice and plans to place pickets on 62 stores throughout Ireland on 19th June.

There was a huge turnout at the mass meetings held to vote for the strike.

Hundreds have joined the union in the last few weeks. Strike committees are now being set up all over the country as the union begins to move into action.

Workers are angry at the company's concerted effort to force through Sunday trading without paying premium rates.

Refuse

Dunnes have always been rotten employers.

They refuse to negotiate with the union on basic conditions like sick pay and pensions.

They expect their workers to be at their beck and call and don't give any guarantees to part-timers over basic working hours.

The strike could hit Dunnes when they are at their weakest.

Margaret Heffernan, the boss of the company is involved in a major conflict with her brother Ben Dunne.

On many shopping estates Dunnes face competition from their rivals, Crazy Prices.

Recent experience also suggests that the pickets could stop customers shop-

ping even if Dunnes try to stay open with scab managers.

The bar strike last year

during the World Cup showed that in working class areas there is massive respect for picket lines.

Workers should stand firm against the company and build links with other workers.

Solidarity collections and visits to other workplaces could help strengthen the determination of pickets

and build confidence.

The main danger now is that the issue will simply be brought to the Labour Re-

lations Commission.

This body has consistently recommended against workers.

An Post: All-out action needed

MANAGEMENT at An Post have been operating a vicious policy of suspensions to break union resistance to their plans for more productivity.

They want the number of clerical workers cut back by 20%.

But they want to replace those who go with part time temporary workers.

They also want to push through shorter breaks and a longer working week.

On top of all that they have demanded that their staff go on to counter-automation.

And while pushing this through, they refused to negotiate on a 3% productivity rise that is available under the Programme for Competitiveness and Work.

An Post has come under severe criticism recently for the delays in postal deliveries.

The man responsible for this is John Hynes. Hynes, who is a former officer with the FCA, has made a holy mess.

He is on a super-salary which is not publicly disclosed while many An

Post clerical workers are eligible for Family Income Supplement.

Up to now the union's strategy has been to levy those at work to raise financial support for those suspended.

But the management kept suspending more

and more to put pressure on the union.

In Dublin Bus workers tried a similar tactic a few years ago and it failed as it led to division.

What is needed is an escalation of the action to an all-out strike.

The new equipment is

meant for work with the National Treasury Management Agency which is responsible for currency transactions.

Solidarity

All out action by An Post workers could really

hit these services hard.

It would also create the basis for wider solidarity action from CPSU members.

This type of action will have to be pushed for against the advice of the union officials.

One of the officials in-

involved, Blair Horan, even had the nerve to threaten his own union with legal action if resolutions critical of him were not removed from the union's conference agenda.

So he is hardly going to be to the fore in pushing militancy.

Defeat at Packard

AT THE beginning of June workers at Packard Electric in Tallaght voted to accept 400 indefinite lay-offs and work a 41 hour week.

This followed threats from the company that it would close if the workers did not agree.

The vote represents a major defeat. One worker told *Socialist Worker*: "I'm not among the 400 to be laid off. But I dread going back now. The management have the whip hand. It will be hell."

The deal was recommended by the union officials, Mick O'Reilly of the ATGWU and Brendan Byrne of SIPTU. The shop

stewards committee also recommended the deal, but at the eleventh hour two stewards resigned rather than go along with this.

O'Reilly and Byrne had throughout argued that multi-nationals cannot be fought and that workers would have to accept sacrifices to save their jobs.

Split

With no expectation that the unions would organise a serious fight to save jobs and conditions the workforce was split.

Half faced long term lay-offs and many of these saw the hope of redundancy payments next year as the best that could be got.

One worker on the day shift told *Socialist Worker*: "There was a complete lack of leadership from the unions—this is what led to a majority accepting. The mood was terrible. We were being put against each other. We were being told if we didn't vote to accept, we would be putting in danger the redundancy deal for those laid-off."

Yet over the past few months there was a mood of resistance but it has not been organised. Last January workers had voted twice to resist the bosses. But they kept being told to make a "strategic retreat".

It is now clear that there was nothing strategic about the approach of the ATGWU leader, Mick O'Reilly who occasionally engages in left wing rhetoric. It was based on raising the white flag all along.

Workers at Packard will now have to slowly re-build their shop steward organisation. Key to that will be socialist politics which give an alternative to the dead end approach of the union leaders.

Vote Morris

THE ELECTION for the General Secretary of the TGWU in Britain and Ireland is coming to its closing stages.

One candidate, Jack Dromey, is being backed by the media and is the favourite of the new right wing British Labour Party leadership.

The other, Bill Morris, has represented the union's left wing policy but has failed to deliver solidarity with struggle.

Socialists should support Morris in this election as a victory for Dromey would mean that the union would be tied to the moderate policies of a new British Labour government.

The Irish region of the union has backed Dromey, claiming that Morris has cut back on union democracy.

But the stance of the ATGWU Regional Secretary, John Freeman, is completely hypocritical.

Morris has been prevented from speaking at workplaces in Belfast and the distribution of his literature has been discouraged.

In the South, branch committees have been told not to recommend Morris lest it break the 'consensus' with Freeman.

The ATGWU is drifting to the right and a strong Morris vote would be a signal that there are many prepared to resist the new road the union is going down.

CPSU Conference:

Low pay deal has strings attached

NEW PROPOSALS aimed at dealing with low pay in the Civil Service were announced at the Civil and Public Service Union conference held in Galway last month.

The 'model' promises to upgrade all Clerical Assistants to Clerical Officer level and excludes the introduction of a 'yellowpack' grade.

'Flexibility'

It also allows for 'long service increments' for CO's and Staff Officers and higher scales of pay for 25 per cent of people in these two grades.

These proposals appear to be a step forward but there are strings attached.

The Department of Finance, which pays Civil

DEMOCRACY AT STAKE

CPSU's General Secretary John O'Dowd got away with deleting fifteen motions from the agenda of conference because delegates were not allowed to amend standing orders.

The motions reflected the anger of members at the officials' failure to stick by union policy.

Obedied

Some motions were passed condemning the leaders and calling for policy to be obeyed in future.

John O'Dowd and some of the other officials tried to compare the attacks from members with David Schramm's attacks on Packard workers!

But O'Dowd's salary of £40,000 a year is closer to that of a company manager than it is to the low wages of his members.

Servants, wants to discuss 'flexibility and change' as well as the right to hire many more part time or contract staff.

In reality the government wants to bring in harder working conditions

and casual work while appearing to do something about pay.

They should be told that Civil Servants deserve these increases and upgradings without any strings attached.

United Technologies demands 'flexibility'

MANAGEMENT at United Technologies Automotive in Derry are trying to attach ludicrous conditions to a miserly three per cent pay offer.

Boss David Campbell is still trying to force through a shift system—despite three separate votes of the entire workforce against it.

Plus he now wants "flexibility"—workers agreeing to be switched from job to job as management sees fit, but staying at the same pay-rate.

This would mean workers on different rates doing the same job alongside one another.

Management's offer in return for this drastic change in working conditions is a once-off, taxable "bonus" of £100! They have been told to stick it.

UTA bosses are obviously hoping to wear the workers down.

This makes it all the more necessary that there is a follow-through from the petition in April calling for a mass meeting to consider union representation.

A militant rank-and-file leadership is needed to fight off management at-

tacks.

Despite around 500 workers signing the petition, the AEEU has refused to call the meeting.

District Secretary Uel Adair says that "proper procedures" weren't followed. But he doesn't say

what the "proper procedures" are.

Workers have a democratic right to meet together to collectively decide their attitude to management's offer and decide on who is to represent their views.

Co. Wexford: Firefighters strike

FIREFIGHTERS in County Wexford are in dispute about pay and conditions. Pickets have been placed on stations in Gorey, Enniscorthy, New Ross and Bunclody. It is the first such strike since the early 1980s.

The Army has been called in to scab but are only able to cover four of the county's five stations.

The 52 part-time firefighters want the council to reverse proposed cuts of £100,000 in the local budget of £1 million. Even though there is a national retainer for part time staff, some conditions of payment are agreed locally.

Wexford Co. Council want the firefighters to be paid for the 15 minute period closest to the call out time, as opposed to one hour at present. So the workers stand to lose out badly.

SIPTU are planning a demonstration in support of the strikers at council meetings in Wexford.

The strikers have received good support from around the county but this needs to be built on with national collections from fire stations.

Send messages of support and collections to Mick Wall SIPTU Wexford Tel: 053-42848

Socialist Worker

inside:

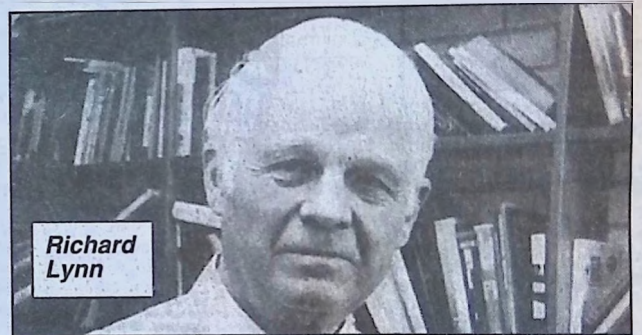
War in Bosnia: Why is it happening?

—page five

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Press publicity grows for hate professor

Media makes racism respectable



Richard Lynn

OVER THE past month two newspapers have given respectability to the racist professor, Richard Lynn.

Both the *Irish Times*

and the *Belfast Telegraph* have interviewed Lynn, professor of psychology at the University of Ulster in Coleraine.

Lynn claims women are less intelligent than men and that blacks have less brain power than whites.

He also says the Irish are less intelligent because emigration has 'depleted their gene pool'.

Lynn has worked at UUC for 22 years but much of his independent research has been funded by the Pioneer Fund.

The Fund's president,

Harry Wehler claims the Fund is not racist and most of its money focuses on 'problems of heredity in the human race'.

He is lying.

In 1981 the Pioneer Fund gave \$59,000 to the Institute for the Study of Man to buy and house the papers of racist researcher Donald Swan.

Nazi Flag

When the police raided Swan's New York apartment in 1966, they found a Nazi flag, a German helmet and photos of Swan with members of George L Rockwell's neo-nazi organisation.

The Pioneer Fund also supported Ralph Scott who toured the US in the 1970s giving anti-Civil Rights lectures. President Reagan appointed Scott to the Iowa Civil Rights Advisory Commission,

Lynn should be sacked

PROFESSOR Lynn is being protected by the management of the University of Ulster. They say that he has to be given free speech.

But they stop the Anti-Nazi League holding meetings in their college.

As a result many students are unaware of Lynn's racism.

When the ANL held a march in Coleraine last year they were attacked by a small group of thugs who brandished copies of a fascist newspaper.

Lynn's poisonous message encourages the tiny number of fascists in Northern Ireland.

Instead of protecting him the Coleraine authorities should give him the sack.

Science or 'Paki-bashing'?

RICHARD Lynn claims to be a respectable academic but, as the historian Eric Hobsbawm wrote he is trying to demonstrate 'scientifically that paki-bashing is what makes humanity advance'.

Lynn is against the proposed race relations legislation in the North. He is even against Equal Opportunities Commissions.

"Do we really need equal opportunity boards where women can go and complain if they have not been appointed to some top job?", he asked.

but Scott had to resign when the historian Barry Mehler exposed his sordid past.

Lynn is also an associate editor of the racist

magazine, *Mankind Quarterly*.

In 1969, it carried an article claiming that 'there is no example of a Negro nation that has in

any way contributed to civilisation or modern man'.

It also wrote that the Holocaust was an 'exaggeration'.