## Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

## FIGHT PAGS M

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Revelino; Nick Kelly; Mark Dignam; Glen Hansard; Fallen Angels; Dr Millar; Sadre

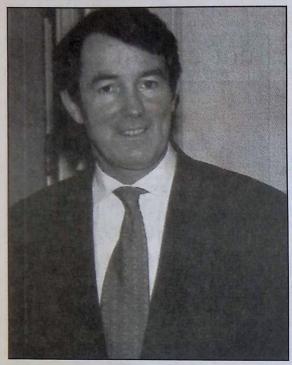
Assemble 2.30pm Garden of Remembrance, Dublin—March to Carnival at Civic Offices Park, Wood Quay

# Refugeesare

welcome here

We need houses and jobs for all!

## JAIL THESE GANGSTERS



#### **HAUGHEY**

■ Lied eleven times and cost the tribunal millions;

■ Evaded tax on a massive scale; ■ Took bribes from Ben Dunne and

others unnamed;

■ Appointed Des Traynor to the board of Aer Lingus so he could enjoy free travel to the Caymen

#### LOWRY

■ Lied several times to the Dail in his resignation speech; Ran two off-shore accounts to avoid tax;

■ Used the tax amnesty but failed to declare full extent of tax evasion; ■Built a house extension without planning permission to evade taxes.



## **How Fianna Fail looked**

HAUGHEY worked a system whereby wealthy backers of Fianna Fail were looked after. And many of the present cabinet were involved in the

CARYSFORT: Mary O'Rourke ordered UCD to buy land there at inflated prices. It just happened to be owned by one Pino Harris who provided transport for Fianna Fail election campaigns.

GOODMAN: Got huge grants and tax loans from the Haughey cabinet in 1987. He has never been prosecuted for the tax evasion in his companies. Goodman was a card carrying member of Fianna Fail and made large donations to the

Party.
NATIONAL CITY BRO-KERS: This company owned by Dermot Desmond got many by Dermot Desmond got many of the plum "consultancy" con-tracts from Fianna Fail includ-ing a study of Aer Lingus and

the privatisation of Irish Life. Desmond passed on the plans us to Celtic Helicopters owned by Ciaran Haughey.

SMURFIT: Had to resign as chairman of Telcom Eireann after it was revealed he attended meetings which discussed rent-ing sites he had an interest in. Also believed to be a financial backer of Fianna Fail.

#### **Why is Ahern** protecting Burke?

says he fully agrees with the McCracken Tribunal but he must not have read what it says.

McCracken argued, "The acceptance of large gifts or payments in a surreptious manner... by even one or two government ministers is deeply damaging to trust in politics."

So why has he appointed

Ray Burke as Foreign Minister?

Burke has admitted getting £30,000 from a builder. And he

has not explained if he paid tax on this huge donation. Like Haughey, Burke claims that this was a "normal" con-tribution and no favours were

Ahern is protecting him be-cause they were both Haugh-ey's right hand men. It looks like a case of hang together or hang separately.

#### The bird has flown Ansbacher:

Haughey was only one of the wealthy and famous people who used the secret Ansbacher account to send their money to the tax free Cayman islands.

In all £38 million was stashed away in this account.

But as soon as the name of the account was mentioned at the McCracken tribunal, the rich crooks moved their money out.
Why hasn't the fanatical law and order Justice Minister, John O'Donoghue used the Criminal

Assets Bureau to seize all the pa-perwork connected with the ac-count and investigate all who co-operated in the removal of the money? You guessed: Zero tolerance only applies to the poor.

#### **Where is** FF's zero tolerence?

Bertie Ahern is lying when he says that Haughey has nothing to do with Fianna Fail today.

Charles J Haughey canvassed for his son, Sean, during the last General Election. He toured around in official Vote Sean Haughey cars. While Fianna Fail prattles on about zero tolerance, they have stood over a situation where Haughey:

gets driven around in a state

ar;

■ sits on the Council of State

which advises the President;

■ has a special Garda squad as-

signed to protect him in his Kinseally mansion

## **Ben Dunne got**

THE MCCRACKEN report claims that Ben Dunne got no political favours for all his do-

He must have been blind to the evidence. LOW TAXES

Dunnes Stores is organised as a "trust" which means it pays less taxes than other companies. One estimate claims that the company had saved £100 million in taxes this way. Haughey set up meetings between Dunnes and the Revenue Commissioners —but McCracken claimed this was "normal" activity.

"normal" activity.
PLANNING PERMISSION

Dunnes Stores have never had a problem with planning permission when opening shops.

A Fine Gael TD Paul McGrath revealed that Lowry leaned on him when he tried to object to planning permission for a new Dunnes shop. new Dunnes shop.
ANTI-MONOPOLY RULES

In the 1980s, Ray Burke introduced a minimum price rule to prevent below cost selling.

But when Dunnes Stores launched the bread and milk wars, they were able to sell at below cost prices to beat their minutes.

vais. Ray Burke quietly dropped his law to facilitate Dunnes.

#### The end of free education

THE CELTIC TIGER is changing the habits of the Irish rich. In the past they boasted that they went to the same schools as the rest of us and "worked their way up". But not any more.

The rich are sending their sons and daughters to expensive private schools in big numbers.

So high is the demand that there is now a waiting list that covers entry to these schools well beyond the year 2,000. Here are some of their favourite choices.

Alexandra College: Fees are £1,850 plus an additional £3,330 for boarders. But you better take elocution lessons if you come from Dublin's Northside.

Belvedere College: Follow in the footsteps of Tony O'Rellly by paying an annual fee of £1,635. Give your son the right to wear the old school the when going for those important jobs.

Columba's College: You want your son to sound and talk like Ivan Yates? Boarding costs £6,315 in the snobblest school of all.

Middeton College: There are plenty of the better sort of people in Cork too, you know. Boarding costs £3,276 but the school boasts its own private nine hole golf course. THE CELTIC TIGER is changing the habits of

### **Bishops** boycott sex eduction

THE BISHOPS are trying to water down a new sex education programme due to start in primary primary schools.

A spokesperson even argued that the issue was already dealt with in religion classes.

#### Opportunity

The Relationships and Sexuality Education programme (RSE) at the Primary level is sup-posed to give children an oppor-tunity to talk about their relation-

ships and sex.
In a 1991 ESRI survey, only one in five children said that they were satisfied with the sex education they got in schools. They felt ill informed, and stated that most of their education on sex came from discussions among friends.

friends.

Less than five schools out of 3,202 have registered opposition to the new programme.

But the government is still giving into the clerical pressure by allowing local school boards, which are normally chaired by a parish priest, to decide how the programme will be implemented.

#### **Charged for speaking** Out against corruption MICHAEL LOWRY was Rathmines Shopping

first exposed for taking bribes from Ben Dunne in November 1996. Nearly a year later he still has not been asked to come to a Garda station to account for him-

It is a different story for Dr Peadar O'Grady. This election candidate for the Socialist Work-ers Party was arrested for denounc-ing the corrupt links between Haughey and Ben Dunne. Gardai arrived outside the

Rathmines Shopping Centre where he was holding an election meeting and told him he had to stop because of the Public Order

When he insisted on his democratic right to promote his election policies, he was immediately arrested.

The Rathmines police later claimed that Dr O'Grady assaulted a police sergeant inside their sta-

a police sergeam more tion.

This is a blatant attempt to frame an election candidate who tried to denounce the corruption which is exposed.

#### what we think

#### **Haughey and Lowry:**

for its "clarity" and "honesty" in pointing to the crimes of Charles J Haughey and Michael Lowry.

But it is the clarity that comes from catching a thief red-handed with their fingers

McCracken had little choice but to state the obvious fact that both these politicians lied and evaded their taxes.

However while Haughey and Lowry are exposed for the crooks they are, McCracken has also tried to protect the system which produced them.

Throughout the report it is claimed that no real political favours were given for the money that Dunne handed

#### Argued

The judge argued that Dunne was simply "an impetuously generous person". The conclusion drawn is that Lowry and Haughey were sim-

ply two "bad apples". Now, this is pure nonsense. Haughey dominated Irish poli-tics for over a decade and his

tics for over a decade and his key supporters are running Fianna Fail today.

Lowry was the chairperson and chief fund-raiser of Fine Gael. He was able to get Bruton to turn up like a messenger boy to collect Fine Gael's cheque from Dunne.

If both of these key figures in the main parties were involved in bribery and corruption, it is impossible that those around them did not know.

For years, top politicians

For years, top politicians have tried to pretend that they are above the sordid world of finance and were unaware of who gave donations to their McCracken's tribunal has shown this to be a lie — but then it failed to draw the obvi-

ous conclusion that if politi-

cians knew where the money

came from, they must have been influenced in their deci-

**Keep up the pressure to** 

break Partnership 200

sion making.
The reality is that Ahern and
Bruton are front men for big
business. The so called "normal" donations they receive are designed to ensure that they have party machines that

run this country in the interests

of profit.

If we want to root out corruption, we will have to tackle the system that still puts business interests above the



DICK SPRING is again de-nouncing the Golden Circle that dominates Irish politics. But his record when he was in office does not match the rhetoric.

Spring helped to introduce the tax amnesty scheme from which Lowry and, probably, Ray Burke benefited.

#### Scandal

He justified the passports-for-sale scandal even though he knew that the money went di-rectly into Albert Reynold's fac-tory. He did nothing to reverse the Supreme Court decision that all cabinet decisions had to remain confidential — even though this helped Haughey to cover up his support for Goodman and others. Spring is only denouncing corruption today because he wants to re-build a Labour Party that was devastated because of its sell-outs. If he ever gets back into office, he will preside over the same system he did He justified the passports-for-

The alternative is to push for workers' action to tackle the power of big business. In the early eighties, the establishment were terrified by the huge tax marches that expressed the anger of PAYE

workers.
Tragically, these marches were called off by a union leadership that listened to the advice of Labour leaders like Spring and Barry Desmond. They argued that tax inequalities had to be sorted out in the debating chambers of Dail Fig. debating chambers of Dail Eir-

eann.
The revelations today show that this strategy has been a failure. The rich are as arrogant failure. The rich are as arrogant about evading tax as they were a decade ago. It is time that rank and file trade unionists forced their leaders to call for the jailing of Haughey and Lowry. But in doing so we should also demand that the whole tax burden is shifted onto the big business backers of the main parties. IRELAND vies with the United States for having the highest growth in inequality of incomes.

This is the finding of a recent paper from the ESRI, entitled *The earnings distribution and Return to Education in Ireland 1987-1994*. It provides additional evidence that the Celtic Tiger

boom is increasing class di-

The report shows that the numbers who are officially on low income have risen from one fifth to nearly one quarter of the workforce.

#### Income

Only the United States has a higher number who are of-ficially on low pay. The American rulers pride them-selves on their "labour flexibility" policies and the absence of protective legislation

tion.

These figures tear a hole in the argument that the Partnership 2000 agreement protects the low paid.

The reality is that by tying the hands of the trade unions, they have given the employers a free hand to introduce "Yellow pack" grades. grades

grades.

However opposition to Partnership 2000 is rising. The other side of the boom has been a growing level of confidence among workers.

As companies declare astronomical profits and take on

tronomical profits and take on extra staff many workers feel they are in a better position to

get more than the agreement The growing anger among

workers is causing concern among Ireland's elite. They are desperate to maintain the agreement which has guaranteed such success for the

wealthy.
This why the most recent economic commentary from the ESRI written by Terry Baker calls for extra tax cuts for workers in the November budget.

#### Restraint

Baker has traditionally called for restraint from work-ers but now he sees tax cuts as a way of taking pressure off Partnership 2000. Workers will of course welcome cuts in PAYE tax - but there is no reason why they should ac-cept tiny wage rises as a trade

off.

Businesses have seen Corporation tax on profits, cut by 4 percent in the last two years — and they did not have to accept a cut in profits.

The naked greed of the employers during the Celtic Tiger boom shows that social partnership is a fraud. Now is the time for workers to press through local claims that break the P2000 agreement.

The electricians have recently won a 33% pay rise. Groups like the nurses and paramedics also won sub-

paramedics also won sub-stantial increases.

These gains should set benchmarks for other workers

#### Defend the right to free speech!

■Jail the corrupt politicians! ■Drop the charges against Peadar O'Grady

lational Demonstra

**Saturday 27th September** 

**Parnell Square Dublin Bring Union Banners** 

Phone (01) 872 2682 for details

Dr Peadar O'Grady has been charged under the Public Order Act for speaking out about corruption while holding an election

meeting outside the Rathmines Centre. Dr O'Grady was a candidate for the Socialist Workers Party in Dublin South East.

If the police get away with using the Public Order Act to stop an election meeting. it will represent a grave attack on civil lib-

Trade unionists and everyone concerned about free speech should build for this demonstration.

Playing with tokens
THE UNIONIST MP, John
Taylor, has welcomed the decision of Queen's Students'
Union to remove notices that contained the Irish language.
He claims that it will lead to a more "neutral environment" that Protestant students will find more hospitable.
But the union's bi-lingual policy was massively endorsed in a referendum in 1994. Students recognised that sectarianism was not caused by a few people speaking Irish or putting up posters which contained the language.
Taylor's concern is pure hypocrisy, In the past he has aligned himself with the French nazi Le Pen in the European parliament.
Taylor's real aim is to keep Protestant and Catholic students divided over tokens that make little difference to their lives.

Orgasnise

Next year, students need to organise against the Labour's government's decision to introduce fees and abolish grants.
Instead of debating which language the posters are produced in we need to organise against the fees, it is far more important to mobilise all students to fight these attacks.
A united campaign of huge demonstrations and sit-ins will be the best answer to bigots like Taylor.
And if the slogans are writtened to follow.

BOSNIA:

## West backs Bosnian Serb president of hate

**UNITED STATES** 

## Strikers beat back UPS bosses

STRIKERS at United Parcel Service have beaten back one of the most hard-nosed com-

panies in the US.
The victory of the 185,000
strikers, who are members of
the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union, draws a line under two decades of devastating defeats inflicted on the US labour movement. It could mark a turning point

for US workers who have suf-fered over 20 years of falling wages and worsening condi-

tions.

UPS bosses have been forced to climb down from their previous tough stance.

The UPS workers' pension fund will remain in union hands. Bosses wanted to run the fund and use it to double the fund and use it to double

company profits.

The company has been forced to pledge 10,000 full time jobs. It had said it would

time jobs. It had said it would only take on an extra 1.000 full time workers.

Workers will get pay rises of up to \$4.10 an hour over the next five years.

UPS is one of the biggest companies in the US and made \$4 billion profit over the last four years. It could easily afford to meet the workers' demands.

UPS management had hoped to smash the union in the company.

#### **Attack**

The firm had been to the forefront of attempts by US bosses to drive down wages, attack conditions and replace secure full time jobs with part time workers.
But two weeks of an all out

But two weeks of an all out strike remained solid.

Bosses were flabbergasted as their actions backfired. The strike cost the firm more than half a billion dollars.

Opinion polls showed 55 percent of Americans supported the strike as millions of workers identified with the fight. Today nearly a quarter of all American workers are in jobs which are temporary, part time or subcontracted. The strike won widespread supstrike won widespread sup-port from other workers.



■The tactics which knocked back the bosses

#### Bloodshed as Moi hangs on

ing at the beginning of this week as fighting spread across the coast of the east African coun-

Kenyan president Daniel arap Moi blamed the kill-ings by armed gangs 100 to 200 strong on opposition forces

But there are strong signs that Moi's own ruling KANU party is behind the violence.

Security forces, which normally respond ruth-lessly to opposition pro-tests, were slow to react when the violence broke

out two weeks ago.
Since then nine policemen have been killed.

Local police have reacted by arresting a leading mem-ber of Moi's KANU party. Elections are scheduled for this year and KANU is trailing badly.

The Economist reports that the coastal violence may be "merely the ruling party's pre-election warm up".

#### Denounced

Moi has tried to appear as a figure who can stop the violence and has denounced "tribalism" as the cause of the killings.

But divisions between people in Kenya do not go back to the dawn of time.

The British sowed divi-

sion between different peo-ples in Kenya to head off a powerful strike wave and independence movement in the 1950s.

in the 1950s.

Moi and other politicians have played on those divisions since to preserve the rule of the rich.

The International Monetary Fund is set to make the tension and suffering worse by suspending credit to the Kenyan government.

That can only increase despair and provide fertile ground for Moi to play off different groups of people unless recent united protest by workers and the poor grows to pose an alternative.

WESTERN leaders were quietly trying to build support for Bosnian Serb president Biljana Plavsic this week.

The moves came as Plavsic engaged in a bitter power struggle with former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic who NATO governments have indicted for war crimes during the Bosnian civil war.

Plavsic does not offer a break from the policies of ethnic hatred which fuelled four years of fighting.

#### Benefit

She has tried to benefit from the growing bitterness among ordinary Bosnian Serbs at the hardship caused by the war and the failure of the NATO imposed Dayton Accord.

Her supporters seized control of the Bosnian state television studios from sup-porters of Karadzic last

weekend.
Plavsic told a 5,000 strong rally that she aimed to bol-

ster support in the army.
She added, "We got fed up with lies," referring to the years when Karadzic led the Bosnian Serbs.

But throughout those years she was Karadzic's loyal deputy.

#### Backing

She stood alongside him at the centre of the policy of ethnic cleansing.

As war broke out in 1992 ne remarked on the cramped living conditions of Muslims in the city of Sarajevo, "It is the habit of Muslims to live in this way. They like to live on top of one

another. It's their culture.
"Western leaders are giving tacit support to Plavsic because she says she ac-cepts the Dayton plan to

cepts the Dayton plan to partition Bosnia.

They are continuing what they have done over the past seven years, backing those who they think will best represent their interests irrespective of whether the result is greater blooded. sult is greater bloodshed.

#### TURKEY

#### 11 POLICE ON MURDER CHARGE—AS REPRESSION CONTINUES

THETRIAL of 11 police officers for the murder officers for the murder of a left wing journalist is casting some light on the degree of repression in Turkey. Police arrested Metin Göktepe of the Evrensel newspaper in January 1986.

He was held in a sports stadium along with thousands of mourners for two left wing prisoners who had died on hunger strike.

who had died on hunger strike.

Metin was later found dead from severe head injuries.

The trial has gained national prominence in Turkey because, unusually, prosecution lawyers managed to force some of the accused police officers to appear in court.

The Turkish parliament recently passed a partial amnesty freeing six newspaper editors from prison

prison.

But more than 150 independent journalists and publishers remain behind bars and restrictive press laws remain in force.

#### Criticism

The government wants to quell international criticism of Turkey's human rights record.

But at the same time it wants to repress the insurgent Kurdish movement in the south and workers who have staged successful strikes and protests over the last few years.

#### FRUIT OF THE LOOM:

## Jobs axe is simply 'on hold'

of the Loom have told the company's 3,500 workers in Derry and Donegal that their jobs are safe "in the short

But there is good reason to prepare a fight against any company moves to shift production out of Ireland.

Last year, the company discussed a secret plan to move 800 jobs from Derry and Buncrana to a low-wage country in Eastern Europe, North Africa or the

#### Repay

This plan is simply on hold. Fruit of the Loom only waited because it would have had to repay \$29 million to industrial de velopment agencies north and south, on top of thousands of pounds for redundancy pack-

But after 2004, Fruit of the Loom will be able to move out without any penalties and it has no qualms about cutting down operations at home



Fruit of the Loom workers in Buncranna

Its American plants have sacked one quarter of their entire workforce in the past two

The Kentucky operation shed 1,480 sewing and assembly jobs a few weeks ago.

Many of the American jobs

have gone to Mexico, the Caribbean and Morocco. None of these workers got the type of golden handshake given to the McArthur brothers.

Unfortunately, the SIPTU official for the area, George Hunter, is encouraging a false

sense of security by claiming that Fruit of the Loom is "totally committed" to its Irish opera

Yet there are good reasons not to believe the company's assur-

Fruit of the Loom asked its

workers in January 1993 to forsake a 3 percent pay rise under

the national pay agreement.

It would give them an extra day's leave and create 2,000 new jobs, it said. Only 1,000 of these

Since 1991 workers have been put on three-day weeks on three occasions, robbing them of a third of their pay.

#### **Strike**

The most recent one started in June 1996 when management sent a letter saying "I am unable to give guarantees as to when short-time working will come to

an end."

It lasted over Christmas until January 1997.

SIPTU should give workers the whole story and tell Fruit of the Loom that it could face a major strike if it makes any attempt to close down the factor. tempt to close down the facto-

Workers at Molins factory in Derry occupied in the 1980s and held on to the machinery when management tried to pull out. Their jobs are still there today.

## **Orange** bigots demand

YET another umbrella organisation for bigots has been formed in

Northern Ireland.
The Uster Civil Rights
Movement (UCRM), emerged
in the last eight months to help
force through Orange pa-

rades.

It has become a meeting point for thugs associated with the Loyalist Volunteer Force and Paisley's DUP.

The UCRM is not concerned with civil rights but is all about keeping Catholics in their place.

all about keeping Catholics in their place.

The two leading UCRM members are Kenny McClinton and Clifford Forbes. McClinton butchered two people while he was a UFF member.

two people while he was a UFF member.

Now styling himself as a pastor, McClinton mediated for rioting LVF prisoners in the Maze who had daubed "Yabba dabba doo—any Fenian will do" over graffiti of Fred Flintstone with a gun.

Another UCRM member, convicted extortionist Mark Fulton, leads a group called the "Rat Pack" after Mid-Ulster loyalist Billy Wright, known as King Rat.

The sickening makeup of the UCRM was evident at a recent meeting in Derry, organised by the brother of UFF man Geoffrey Deeney who was jailed for the 1993 Greysteel massacre. Deeney, fresh out of jail, has also joined the LVF.

#### Banner

Banner

Convicted murderer Billy McCaughey held a banner in front of the platform which said "Harryville Protesters on Tour".

Other men in paramilitary uniform carried UVF banners. The link between murderers and politicians could not have been clearer. The DUP was represented by former Derry mayor Richard Dallas, east Belfast councillor Robert Clelland, and councillor and Apprentice Boy William Hay. Hay said he knew that "Billy Wright's people" were at the rally. Dallas agreed that "thugs" were at the meeting and described the UCRM as a cross-party, single issue group with one aim: "We've had enough, it's time to claw back our share of what's going."

UCRM leader Pauline

ing."
UCRM leader Pauline Gilmore said she was not con-cerned about LVF members in the movement. "Protestants are not our enemies, she said.

## Gerry's \$500 a plate dinner with US bosses

**GERRY ADAMS, Martin** McGuinness and Caoimhghin O'Caoilain will hold a \$500-a-head fundraising dinner in New York's posh Plaza Hotel during their fundraising tour in early September.

Martin McGuiness justified the event by saying "It is clearly important that American voices in support of the equality agenda are also heard.'

The US fundraising tour will see the Sinn Fein trio hobnob-bing with wealthy Irish-American businessmen.

They want to be seen as a re-



■O Caoilain and Adams

spectable party with the ear of White House officials.
Adams and McGuinness think this will give them more clout at the Stormont talks on September 15th, even though Blair has

made it clear that the Union is

In the meantime, Sinn Fein is taking an uncritical stance towards US big business.

#### Refused

It is now calling for more US investment, even though computer components company Seagate has refused to recognise trade unions ever since it set up in Derry.
Sinn Fein also refused to join

calls for an occupation of the UTA factory in Derry when 600 workers were laid off, because it did not want to rock the US

This seems to be the price of looking to one imperialist power to get a deal done with another.

#### One law for Orangemen

The sectarianism of the RUC and the judicial system in the North were clearly seen in

Derry courts during August.

Richard Dallas, the former Unionist Mayor had pleaded not guilty to blocking Craigavon Bridge and a number of other roads during the Drumcree stand-

off of July 1996.

Despite the mayhem caused, he and his fellow Orangemen were charged with very minor offences like "obstructing the traffic" and "taking part in an illegal

#### **Private**

Dallas changed his plea to guilty in a virtually private court hearing held during an officially announced one-hour adjournment. He walked free, fined only £175 and bound to keep the peace for a year, In stark contrast, a 12 year old boy from the Bogside was remanded in custody by the same magistrate, charged with riotous assembly on the night of July 13th this year, a night when there was only minor disturbances.

His solicitor objected to the charge, which implies he was involved in organising a riot, and which carries an automatic three year sentence.

The boy spent three days in a prison setting before his frantic parents succeeded in getting him released on hail

Northern Ireland Elec-tricity, which made £60 million in profits last year, left a disabled

left a disabled woman sitting in the dark despite her pleas for help. Alice Caldwell (37) suffers from spinal arthritis and a brain tumour. When her electricity went off she rang NIE who refused to come out. "I can't even

get myself a cup of tea. Their customer care is null and void. I thought it was abominable," she said.

The Independ ent Loyal Orange Institution in Orange institution in Ballymoney is trying hard to keep the town's leisure centre closed on Sundays, in line with a proud tradition that has kept playgrounds kept playgrounds and parks padlocked on the one day when workers can have a bit of fun together with their kids. "The Sabbath Day

was instituted by the command of Almighty God, it is not the plaything of mere man," said Grand Master Course Dawson "It George Dawson. "It is not surprising that those who oppose our Protestant heritage should seek to destroy this

'ancient landmark'."

A 90-year old woman had to wait eight days for a hip operation after being badly injured in a fall. Belfast City Hospital, a so-called NHS centre of excellence, simply couldn't find her a bed. Yet Blair's solution is not to put more beds into hospitals. He

wants to "move out" the "bedblockers" instead. 'Bedblockers" are elderly people who don't recover from operations as quickly as young people. They will now be kicked out of hospital sooner under new govern-ment plans.

Northern Secretary Mo Mowlam boasted in

ployment in the North was at its lowest level for 17 years—and conveniently forgot to mention that the Jobseekers Allowance shaved ance shaved thousands off the

But as usual, nationalist areas are well above the 8 percent average. Strabane has a 14 percent unemployment figure, com-pared to Ballymena's 6 percent and employers are still flaunting fair em-ployment laws.

Not surprising, maybe, because the Tories' Fair Employ-ment minister Baroness Denton herself refused to sack an Orange bigot in her own office who had intimidated a Catholic worker.

#### How did India gain independence?

FIFTY YEARS after Indian independence the myth remains that it was the non-violent moral persuasion of Gandhi that got Britain to leave.

But mass struggles, riots,

strikes and mutinies were what forced the British to quit. They did not go gracefully.
Following the First World War. for example, agitation against repressive British legislation culminated in huge struggles.

Islation culminated in huge struggles
In 1919 the British responded by massacring protesters at Amritsar in the Punjab region which had witnessed remarkable Muslim-Hindu-Sikh unity.

This repression failed to halt a tide of risings between 1919 and 1921.

Strikes by tens of thousands

Strikes by tens of thousands of jute, rail, steel, textile and tea plantation workers also led to mass unionisation across in-

It was on the back of this radicalisation that the Indian National Congress launched its own first India-wide campaign of non-cooperation with the British in 1921.

Congress was a moderate organisation based on Indian businessmen and the educated middle class. It won the support of many workers and peasants but tried to stop the movement seeking demands which might threaten private

The Second World War led The Second World War led to a new wave of radicalisation. In response the Congress launched a Quit India movement between 1942 and 1943. It sparked huge clashes with the police and army.

The British decision to flee was forced by a further rebellion between 1945 and 1946 that surpassed even the Quit India movement.

India movement.
At the end of 1945 the Brit-At the end of 1945 the British authorities decided to put on trial Indian National Army prisoners for fighting alongside the Japanese during the second world war. The INA had been formed in 1942 from Indian prisoners in Japanese camps

The British put a Hindu, a Muslim and a Sikh together for the first trial.

the first trial.

Countrywide protests saw massive intercommunal unity. Then, in February 1946, Royal Indian Navy sailors in Bombay mutinied over racist abuse and poor food, demanding the release of all INA prisoners.

#### Mutiny

The leaders of the mutiny tied together the flags of the Congress, the Muslim League and the Communist Party to indicate their unity.

Thousands of people brought food for the rebels and the mutiny spread to naval bases all over the country to involve 20,000 sailors. Some 300,000 workers struck in support across Bombay.

The revolt terrified the leaders of the Congress as much as the British.

Congress leaders wanted a



mass movement to pressurise mass movement to pressurise the British, but one which they could control. So both the leader of the Muslim League, Jinnah, and Congress leader Patel successfully persuaded the sailors to surrender. Patel wrote, "Discipline in the army cannot be tampered with. We will want the army even in free India."

Gandhi was similarly hostile.

Gandhi was similarly hostile. Gandhi was similarly hostile. He condemned the sailors for setting a "bad and unbecoming example for India" and said, "A combination between Hindus and Muslims and others for the purpose of violent action is unboly"

Throughout this period the British had backed the Muslim British had backed the Muslim League, a movement of pro-British Muslim landowners. A first the League had little influence among the mass of the India's Muslims.

But as it became clear that the leaders of the independence movement wanted to maintain the disparities of

ence movement wanted to maintain the disparities of wealth in India, the Muslim League increased its influence. Turning on radical rhetoric and demanding an independent Muslim Pakistan, the League encouraged communatism and religious strife.

League encouraged communalism and religious strife.
When the British cabinet in decided in 1946 it would have to go, the Muslim League intensified its campaign of communalism. Violence flared as Hindus and Muslims clashed. In Calcutta 10,000 died in just one day of violence.
Rather than encourage the strike movement as an alter-

strike movement as an alter-native to communal strife,

Congress agreed to partition of India as Brittan left in 1947.
The nationalist leaders of the what became the independent states of India and Pakistan feared the power of a united mass movement of workers and passants

workers and peasants.
They were more willing to accept communal slaughter than risk the possibility of social revolution.

cial revolution.

Far from Indian independence being won by Gandi's pacifism, it was born in a terrible bloodshed that could have been avoided if Hindu, Muslim and Sikh were united in the struggles that Gandi feared.

BY KEVIN WINGFIELD

# 3 5 U G = :

THE Independent group of newspapers has em-barked on a major campaign against réfugees.

The Evening Herald has led with headlines such as Refugees costing £20,000 a day while the Sunday Independent has claimed that Immigrants spark housing crisis.

The Independent Group, which is owned by the millionaire press baron Tony O'Reilly is trained to the state of is trying to get working class people to turn their anger on

people to turn their anger on immigrants and not the bosses. The hysteria against refugees is also being whipped up by Fianna Fail Justice Minister, John O'Donoghue.
O'Donoghue advocated a zero-tolerance policy during the last election but has turned a blind eye to the allegations of bribery that surround members of his own cabinet.
In order to cover for his fail-

In order to cover for his failures, the Department of Justice is issuing regular press relases about the number of 'illegal immigrants' they are turning away from Ireland.

from Ireland.

O'Donoghue claimed that 400 were 'caught' in August and turned away.

But these figures are the result of a dramatic change in immigration policy. Ever since the state was founded there has been no passport controls between Ireland and Britain.

Free movement of people was

Free movement of people was allowed because of the high numbers of Irish emigrating back and forth to British forth to Britian.

O'Donogue now insists that

passports can now be required for entry from Britain and Northern

Ireland.

In reality this provision is being used by the Gardai to single out black people for interrogation.

A Derry woman told *Socialist Worker*, "It was shocking to see how the Gardai came on the Belfast bus going to Dublin and singled out two black men.

"They were taken off the bus near Dundalk because they had no passports.

no passports

"But neither did the rest of us. When I tried to protest I was bun-dled back on the bus."

This official racism has given the green light to thugs and big-

#### Abuse

Several refugee families have been forced to leave their houses after racist abuse and attacks. Deirdre, from the Stoneybatter

area of Dublin explains how the racist are whipping up an athmosphere of hate.

athmosphere of hate.
"Many refugeees collect their rent allowance and social welfare cheques in Charles St.
"All the time there is remarks being made against them—saying that they are the cause of the

long queues.
"But there were queues long

before the refugees arrived.
"A few of my black friends

have had 'Heil Hitler' shouted n their face.
"Something needs to be done before this begins to get out of

hand"
"I am glad that tthe Anti Nai

League is organising the Rue against Racism Carnival in Do-

lin.
"It's a brillant idea to bng

peopel together.
"It could not have come #a
better time."

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## RE WELCOME HERE



MARK DIGNAM is one of the musicians playing at the Anti Nazi League Rage Against Racism carnival. Mark told the ANL his feelings on racism:
"Regardless of distance or differences, we are all
the same kind of think-

ing, feeling, wishing bag of blood and bones, in search of a life worth living, and often struggling to achieve that in any way we can.
"There is a danger of

us not being able to realise the human wealth a diverse and multicultural society would bring to our little Island. "What is needed is for

us to utilise the talents of each member of our changing society.



Mark Dignam

BREN BARRY is a member of the band REVELINO also playing at the ANL carnival. Bren had this to

## TANDING UP

ALTHOUGH born in Ire-land, Jake is black. He has noticed an increase in rac-

noticed an increase in racism since the election.

Two months ago he was at a bus stop with another black man when a white youth began abusing them.

"After a while he tried to kick my friend but I stopped him.

He followed us onto the bus and continued to abuse us.

"He was saying things like 'You should be sent home' and 'You're robbing the country'. But other people on the bus supported us saying 'There's no need for that'.

"He then belted my compan-

"He then belted my companion on the back of the head. He defended himself and other passengers came to our help. "The driver pulled the bus in to the side of the road and put the racist off. The good thing was others came to our defence."

fence."
While physical attacks don't happen every day, abuse is not unusual.

Jake said the campaign in

the media has stirred things up.
"It's got worse in the last
while. There was a particularly
bad case during the election

campaign.

"The radio news covered a

The radio news covered a walkabout by politicians in Temple Bar. Two homeless couples claimed they had been made homeless to make way for 'hundreds of black families'. "That claim went out unchallenged across the country."
Jake blames politicians for jumping on the bandwagon. "They raised refugees seeking asylum to make it an issue—to get elected. Some of the Fianna Fail people were particularly bad.

ularly bad.
'And the press and some of

the journalists with their sen-sationalism. Derek Davis fea-tured the claim that Asian families were cruelly killing sheep in their back garden. It was an ignorant reference to Halal slaughter."

#### **Impression**

Jake points out that the story Jake points out that the story was taken up by the papers and the impression left that Asians spend their spare time slitting the throats of sheep. He wants to see the Anti Nazi League carnival be a big

success.
"I think the Carnival is a good idea. It's a great way of breaking down barriers. I put up posters in my workplace."
Ismail is a Somalian refugee.

He fled devastation and is seeking refuge in Ireland where his case is now being considered.

"I've noticed more abuse the lest few months."

last few months.

last few months.

"Most people you meet are fine but some are stupid. They blame us for everything that is wrong in Ireland.

"The newspapers tell them we're living in luxury—it's not true. I didn't leave my country because I wanted to sponge in Ireland.

"I am not allowed to work. I can't even have a driving li-

can't even have a driving li-cence. I didn't take anything from anyone in Ireland. I just want to work and make my life here."

## What you

★ Join the Anti-Nazi League Cost of membership: £2. Contact ANL, PO Box 4007,

TO Order posters and leaflets for the carnival invite an Anti-Nazi League speaker to your school or workplace to explain the reasons for this carnival.

Show you're against racism and fascism. Wear a badge or sticker and get your friends or workmates to wear one too.

Petitions: Take some petitions against racism and get people you know to sign them.
Bring them round your estate, school/college

or workplace.

You could set a stall and get other people to help out.

\* Leafleting: Order a pile of leaflets for Rage Against Racism and distribute them

wherever you can. Take some posters and put them in local shops, community centres and workplaces.

Graffiti; If there is racist graffiti in your are, organise a group of people to paint it

Meetings: Invite an Anti Nazi League speaker to your school/college or workplace to explain the reason for the

"I think it's very important to build an anti-racist culture in Ireland.

"Ireland has been very quick to export people out of the country—why shouldn't it be reciprocated?

NICK KELLY will be appearing at the carnival too and he told the Anti Nazi League:

"Racism is never justifiable.

"The fact that Irish people with their unique historical experiene of both the ugliness of rejection and the warmth of acceptance means that we have no excuse but a particularly big opportunity to speak out and stand up to intolerance and bigotry

#### **Soccer Against** Racism kick off

AROUND 250 people attended a seven-aside soccer tournament on the 17th of August organised by a new group set up to combat racism in Ireland. SARI or Soccer Against Racism in Ireland says it hopes to

SARI or Soccer Against Racism in Ireland says it hopes to fight racism through sport.

Refugees from many different countries formed teams for the event. Irish groups such as Amnesty International and Hot Press magazine also sent teams.

The streets around Blackhall Place where the tournament was held, were covered with racist posters.

But anti-racists quickly tore them down.

The immigrants who spoke to members of the Anti-Nazi League all said they were delighted that such an event had been organised.

organised.
All of them said they had directly experienced racism on the streets of Dublin; the most common attack was people shouting racist abuse from passing cars.
Most complained that the police did absolutely nothing when such attacks came to their attention.
In some cases they actually accused the refugees of "causing trouble".

#### Out

Refugees are welcome here-The case against *immigration* controls. This pamphlet answers the racist myths The case against and gives immigration control all the arguments to beat racism

£2.00 post free from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Hitler' shouted in

needs to be done

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#### As the Chinese Communist Party has its 15th congress Emma Murphy asks ...

## Was Va a socialist?

ollowing the death in May of China's premiere Deng Xiaoping Western commentators have wondered what path the country is going to take now. Will "socialist" China con-tinue to open itself up to the market?

But China is not a socialist state now, and it never has been. As one writer on China put it: "Marxism has acquired a very bad name in China, which is quite understandable, though somewhat unfair: after all, it was never

The myth of socialist China finds and in the figure of Chairman Mao.
In the sixties and seventies many leftwingers who were disillusioned with
Russia under Stalin, looked to Mao's

Millions of copies of Mao's Little Red Book—filled with thoughts of the chairman—were sold world-wide and

his pronouncements assumed the sta-tus of a political philosophy.

But even the revolution that led to the founding of the People's Repub-lic of China was not a workers' revo-

The Chinese Communist Party was set up in 1921 as a tiny organisation of 57 members but it soon found a

Rapid industrialisation after the First World War led to the growth of an urban working class and the success of the Russian revolution inspired workers to organise.

he post-war years also saw the growth of a nationalist movement in China. The Guomindang, was backed by China's industrialists and led by Chiang Kaishek. The Communist Party supported that aim of national liberation and in 1922 it entered the Guomindang.

Guomindang.

The original idea was to work inside the broad anti-colonial movement and to put forward independent socialist policies. As Lenin had argued before

this:

"A resolute struggle must be waged against the attempt to clothe the revo-lutionary liberation movements in the backward countries, which are not communist, in communist clothes The Communist International... must unconditionally maintain the independence of the proletarian movement."

Unfortunately what Lenin warned against was about to happen. In Russia, the failure of the European revolutions led to the disintegration of workers' power and the growth of the power of the state bureaucracy

under Stalin.

The Comintern, formed to spread workers' revolution, became instead an

workers' revolution, became instead an arm of Russian foreign policy. China was its first casualty.

In 1923 the Chinese Communists were ordered to accept the Guomindang leadership uncritically and the Guomindang was admitted into the Comintern as an associate party.

Mao Zedong, who had just been



elected to the Communist Party's central committee endorsed this line wholeheartedly.

"The present political problem in China is none other than the problem of the national revolution ... The merof the national revolution ... The mer-chants, workers, peasants, students and teachers should all come forward to take on the responsibility." The Communists may have wel-comed Chiang Kaishek with open arms but he didn't

return the fa-In 1926 he

launched the Northern Expedition—a military campaign aimed at conquering part of China.

Peasants and workers soon joined in to create a nation-wide revolutionary movement.

was pure fantasy.

But at every step Chiang suppressed workers' uprisings.
When he entered Shanghai he immediately joined forces with local war-

lords.
Together they brutally put down workers who had organised a general strike in support of national liberation. In the year he spent consolidating his power an estimated 230,000 people lost their lives and the Communist Party was almost completely destroyed.

orced by defeat to retreat from the cities, Mao led a raggle taggle force of 10,000 on the famous Long March. Hounded by their former Red Army was forced deeper and deeper into the country.

As it was uprooted from the cities,

the Communist Party began to change.
The stress was no longer on work-

ers' power and class struggle, but on military might.

"Every Communist must grasp the truth," Mao said, "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun.....

having guns, we can create Party or-

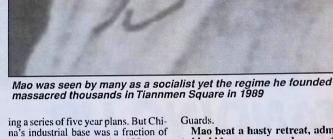
ganisations."
The Red Army's recovery from the Long March was astounding.
After a few years the CCP built up a huge guerrilla army made up of peasants disillusioned with the Guomindang's inability to deal with Japanese advances.

But by 1930 the proportion of workers in the party had dropped to 1.6%.

Ignoring the economic realities, Mao set fantastic

the masses to meet the targets. What followed

targets and party cadres were instructed to exhort



ing a series of five year plans. But China's industrial base was a fraction of what Russia's had been in 1928.

After the failure of the first five year plan, Mao launched a second frenetic economic drive which became known The Great Leap Forward". The whole basis of this plan was to jump-start the economy through a massive effort to mobilise the human resources.

Ignoring the economic realities, Mao set fantastic targets and party cadres were instructed to exhort the masses to meet the targets. What followed was pure fantasy.

Party cadres simply reported that the impossible targets were being met and the fe-ver spread. Soon Zhou Enlai, Mao's right hand man announced that the targets for the had been reached in

the plan's first year!
But fiction aside, the reality of the Great Leap Forward was huge suffering for workers and peasants. The economy was plunged into chaos and a series of natural disasters combined to cause widespread famine which killed between 30 and 50 million peo-

But while millions starved Mao's personal doctor gives this description of his birthday party in 1959:

"The finest, most expensive delica-cies Chinese cuisine can offer [were served]. And as so many of my countrymen starved, I sat .... celebrating the oth birthday of the absent emperor

Despite the failure of the Great Leap Forward, Mao was elevated to the status of a God, with pictures and statues of him everywhere, and poems and songs written comparing him to the ris-

ing sun.
More disasters, orchestrated by Mao,

He launched the Cultural Revolution to try to eliminate his rivals within the bureaucracy.

But it very nearly became a real revo-lution as ordinary people began to take seriously the anti-capitalist slogans and the calls for equality raised by the Red

Mao beat a hasty retreat, admitted he'd been wrong and reasserted the primacy of the party in every-thing. It was at this stage that Mao brought Deng back.

A party member since 1926 he'd been out in the cold for some time. But now—a tried and tested organisation man—he was needed to restore the authority and prestige of the party.

By 1970 the economy began to grow

again, under the slogan "grasp revolution and promote production."

Mao made diplomatic approaches to the US and invited Richard Nixon to visit China.

In the country private plots for peasants were no longer denounced but

The elements that were later known as Deng Xiaoping's "reforms" began.

ao died in 1976 and after a power struggle, Deng took over. He continued with the economic programme set in train a decade earlier, calling for "less empty talk and more hard work" and assuring the US that the "honeymoon would last for a long time."

The Chinese people have never lived in a socialist society. The system put

in a socialist society. The system put in place by Mao was dictatorship and state capitalism.

That state capitalism has gradually been giving way to private capitalism and this trend looks set to continue.

China now is a country of huge inequality.

Recent economic changes have made millionaires of some, while an estimated 100 million people roam the country in search of work.

But there are encouraging signs of

dissent.

Last month the country witnessed its biggest workers' protests since Tiananmen Square when tens of thousands of workers in the town of Mianyang threw up barricades and clashed with the army.

Their fury erupted when bosses announced that three textile factories were

to close.

This is where the real hope of the struggle for socialism in China lies.

only be based on the working class making the revolution that would free all the oppressed.

Nor could it be called a peasant's revolution: after years of guerrilla war, the peasants who joined the People's Liberation Army had lost contact with their roots and no longer expressed

y 1949 Mao's armies had defeated the disorgan ised and corrupt Guomindang. But this nationalist revolution had nothing to do with Marx's idea of socialism.

Marx argued that socialism could only be based on the working class

peasant interests. As has been the case with most national liberation struggles, they were led, primarily, by intellectuals from the

In power the Communist Party began to nationalise private enterprises and absorb into its ranks their former owners and directors.

Just like Russia under Stalin, in Mao's China the state bureaucracy became the new boss class.

It continued to exploit workers in an attempt to develop heavy industry and make the country's economy competi-

The results were often disastrous.

Mao tried to imitate Stalin by launch-

#### Anyone for President?

THE DATE for the presidential election has been set for the end of October and several potential candidates have thrown their hats into the ring.

Albert Reynolds is tripping over himself to look like a statesman and pay the money for his libel trial bills. No way is Albert going to stand aside to let John Hume have a clear run. This should come as no surprise really. The

no surprise really. The presidency seems to be viewed by most politicians as some kind of a prize. It's a nice little retirement package after years of 'service' to the state.

And this is basically true. The

The presidency means very little. It's no more than a symbolic

figurehead.

However, that's not to say that the election of a president can't be

a president can't be significant.
Certainly the election of Mary Robinson in 1990 was important.
Mary Robinson emerged at a period of significant social change in Ireland.

In many ways she represented the desire of many people to



■Mary Robinson

move away from the old De Valera image of holy Catholic Ireland.

Her election was immensely symbolic—she was a liberal who was openly pro-women's rights, pro-traveller, pro-gay rights.

#### Confidence

Her election marked a growing confidence among those who among those who wanted to see things

move on.
This was typified just two years later in the X case marches when thousands turned out to support a woman's right to choose

right to choose.

But Mary Robinson was not the cause of this radicalisation, as some people would have us believe, but a reflection of it.

That is why her victory in 1990 was so sig-

ficant. None of the candi-

dates mentioned for the presidency repre-sent anything of the same importance.

Dana is the hope of

Catholic fundamental-ism. Her main support lies among the ranks of the likes of Family Soli-

darity.

Dana's supporters
believe her victory
would represent a major step towards rolling
back the 'liberal

back the 'liberal agenda'.

But their choice of candidate is also a reflection of how weak they are

they are. Picking a sickly sweet Eurovision win-ner from 1971 just about sums up the nos-talgia they share for the safety of 'old Ireland'.

The distance be-tween Dana and Albert is by no means huge.

His government slapped the injunction on the fourteen year old rape victim.

It collapsed in the face of the scandal over the cover-up of the Brendan Smyth affair.

#### **Passports**

Reynolds was the Taoiseach who was implicated in the passports for sale affair; where passports were issued in return for in-vestment in his family

That same company, C&D pet foods had to be taken to court to get equal pay for women workers there.

Of course, even though he's made it clear that the Irish people deserve nothing less than a President Albert Reynolds, it's not a foregone conclusion that he'd even get the Fianna Fail nomination.

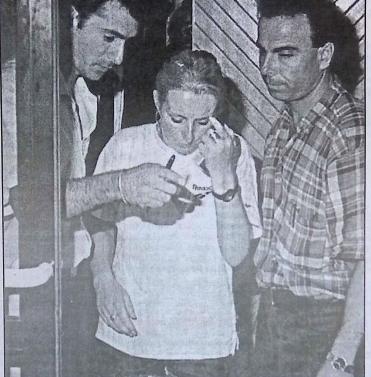
Fianna Fail nomination.
Hopefully the divisions in Fianna Fail will re-emerge as Michael Kennedy and Maire Geoghegan Quinn also vie for the post.
But despite the cynicism the race for the Presidency could still become a significant issue.

While socialists reject the idea that's usually put forward about the importance of this figurehead as a leader and a representative of the nation, Mary Robinson did show that who wins the election

who wins the election can be important.
If a clear left-wing candidate was to emerge, a vote for them would be important, because any victory for the left would increase the confidence to fight and to change things.

## Booze, fags and a rotten messag

media



#### The demonising of **Annette Mangan**

**OVER THE last few** weeks Annette Mangan has been demonised by the media.

media.
Having made a false allegation of rape against three Irish soldiers in Cyprus, she is now serving a four-month sentence in Cypriot jail.
Most commentators

have been quite clear in putting forward the view that it's no more than she

putting forward the view that it's no more than she deserves.

What's been forgotten in all of this, however, is the fact that her allegations came after two of the soldiers had photographed her naked in bed with one of their friends. Some have even implied that this is just what a crowd of drunken lads get up to, and sure what's the harm in that.

If 'our boys' can't let their hair down every now and then what's the world coming to.

Nobody should belittle the enormity of the humiliation that Annette Mangan has suffered.

It's not something that should be ignored.

While the press has splashed Annette Mangan's face all over the newspapers, they've also used the case as a

the newspapers, they've also used the case as a backlash against all rape

The implication is that if one woman lies about rape then what's to say most other women don't lie too. The Sunday Tribune, managed to link the case to Lavinia Kerwick's case.

He blamed feminists for exploiting rape cases and for demonising men who rape.

More than anything else the Mangan case re-flects the general oppression that women face, and their treatment as objects.

It has shown that there remains a horribly anti-woman attitude which says women in-vent stories of rape and that rape accusations should accordingly be treated with suspicion.

BRIDGET JONES'S Diary is Britain's best

selling paperback. Everywhere you look someone is reading it.

Touted as "Fever Pitch for girls"—not necessarily a good thing—it compiles Helen Fielding's columns in the Independent about the trials and tribulations of a middle class thirty something.

It is easy to see why the book is popular. Bridget is an independent single woman with her own job, flat and problems. Each diary entry starts with a rundown of her weight, alcohol and cigarette intake, and how many 1471 calls she's made to see if any men have rung.

It is full of observations about the sorts of trivia and

about the sorts of trivia and about the sorts of trivia and insecurities that most women do worry about at one time or another-cellulite, stressful parents, sexist men, pressure from married friends to get a boyfriend and start having

It is also funny in places-though not at all as funny as it is hyped to

be.

But despite its popularity Bridget Jones's Diary is
a deeply insidious book.

There is nothing but trivia

in Bridget's life. Insecurities are cause for celebra-tion, rather than features of oppression which make many women deeply un-

#### Sassy

Even the trivia is middle class trivia-how relevant to most women's lives is Bridget's guilt trip in the supermarket where, instead of being a "functional adult" buying food to feed children, she fills her basket with goose fat, Grand Marnier and vanilla pods? On the surface this is the story of a smart, sassy, independent woman, but the real message is an old one-

real message is an old one-women, no matter how successful, cannot be fulfilled without a man.

Bridget's time appears to be mainly taken up with how to get, then keep, a



men.
It is a trend that is indeed
Fever Pitch or Loaded for
girls. New Laddism simply
conceals old sexism, and
so does this sort of postfeminism meets Mills &
Roon

Boon.
Is this really the most that women can aspire totaking no interest in the world, celebrating ignorance, self in-

ebrating ignorance, self indulgence and waiting for the perfect man?

The book is popular because it tells women that their insecurities and fears are common and acceptable but with its fairy tale ending it simply preys on those feelings.

Apart from being a pernicious book that reaffirms backward ideas about women (and men), it is boring. Never mind getting a man, Bridget, how about getting a life?

#### Haughey's crooked career

#### Reviewed by KEVIN WINGFIELD

"I didn't have a lavish lifestyle...There was no room for any sort of extravagant lifestyle".

This is how Charles J

Haughey described himself to the McCracken Tribunal. It was typical of the lies that he spun all his life.

that he spun all his life.

The son of an army officer who died early of TB,
Haughey grew up in relatively poor circumstances.

But he built a political
career in Fianna Fail that
spanned four decades and
he amassed huge wealth.

Fallen Idol: Haughey's
Controversial Career, by T
Ryle Dwyer, throws no new
light on the career of the
former Fianna Fail leader.

It is a rehash of a previously published book with
a chapter tagged on which
summarises the evidence
to the McCracken Tribunal.

The book details the rows, splits, pushes, shoves, stroke pulling and arm twisting that took Haughey to the top of Fianna Fail and kept him

Fianna Fail and kept him there.

But it doesn't get beneath the surface and explain how a second rate gangster could remain the most successful politician in Ireland since De Valera.

In the sixties, Haughey—having married the daughter of Sean Lemass—was the leader of the new breed of business oriented Fianna Failers, the "men in mohair suits".

They wined and dined bosses in the construction industry and formed Taca, FF's business supporters club.

FF's business supporters club.
As he rose in the party, Haughey's undoubted skill as a "Mr Fixit" made him an ideal go-between between business and the state.
It's hardly surprising that in doing favours for the "big

fellas" there should have been a little something in it for himself.

And of course it's not just

Haughey.

The type of mutual backscratching that he engaged in is increasingly favoured by all governments. In recent years the Irish state has taken to backing a few favoured firms to

a few favoured firms to compete within Europe; under the "pick a winner" strategy.

#### **Promoted**

In the beef sector it was Larry Goodman that was going to be promoted on the world market.

Successive govern-ments favoured Goodman and turned a blind eye to the fiddles his companies were engaged in. T Ryle Dwyer's book looks into some of these questions.

questions.

But it treats Haughey as an individual phenomenon

and this makes it unsatis-

and this makes it unsatisfying.

So why didn't the press expose Haughey? Here is a clue.

In 1982 following leaks in the press, Haughey's government put phone taps on two journalists.

This became a scandal later but T Ryle Dwyer tells the following story which is less well known.

"Charlie [Haughey] complained to Hugh McLoughlin, the publisher of The Sunday Tribune, about [Geraldine] Kennedy's articles.

McLoughlin in turn told Conor Brady, the newspaper's editor, to keep a tighter control of Kennedy and to go easy on Charlie".

With such a compliant press is it any wonder Haughey got away with it for so long?

Fallen Idol, Haughey's Controversial Career, by TRyle Dwyer, Mercier Press, £7.99

-ROISIN CRONIN

A REAL SOCIALISM, IST AND WEST: e SWP welcomed the tak-up of the USSR as e end of the East AN END TO ALL

on against gays ;; an end to

CERS' LINITY IN

RADE

A REVOLUTIONARY

## Urban Cowboys need facilities not licenses

Malahide Horse Show in his sumptuous mansion in Kinsealy. He paraded around like an aristocrat among the horsey set who live a life of privilege.

It is a different story for the hundreds of working class teenagers who own horses in areas like

Dublin Corporation have announced that they are im-plementing the new Control of Horses Act this month and this will make it impossible for children to keep

horses is one of the few out-lets for kids in Ballymun. And they have become jus-tifiably famous for it.

The teenagers and their orses have featured in films like Into the West and a Channel Four documen-tary, Urban Cowboys. tary, Urban Cowboys.
Some months ago a photographer from Vogue magazine staged a public exhibition on the subject called 'Pony Kids'.

But now this may all end because of a petty vindictive piece of legislation.

Under the new act horses must be kept in stables, their owners must be at

their owners must be at least 16 years old, and must pay £25 for a licence.

#### Failure

Failure to meet the re-quirements of the act will first lead to the horse being

first lead to the horse being impounded, and ultimately being put down. The corporation is planning to start rounding up unlicensed horses immediately.

One anonymous official summed up the attitude of prejudice that pervades Dublin Corporation when he said, "Next week, the pet of the month could be elephants or crocodiles. Do we have to provide facilities for them?"

Vicky McElligott, who set up the Ballymun Horse Owner's Association, is not impressed by this ridicu-lous suggestion.

She sees the new act in class terms. "We simply can't comply with the regu-lations. Working class ar-

Ballymun has roughly 200 horses owned by local children. Vicky is clear on what this issue means for working class areas,

eas don't have equestrian

#### Owned

"What this is saying is that we're second class citi-zens, that we shouldn't be allowed have horses. We don't go to riding schools, we couldn't afford it. We've

we couldn't afford it. We've had demonstrations through town, we've lobbied, but the act is still going ahead."

The Department of Agri-culture has allocated two million pounds for this scheme. But the money will only be used to insert mi-croching into the animals so crochips into the animals so that they can be monitored,

After all, the rich get large handouts for their leisure pursuits. The K Club, for

One of the other main aims behind the act is to

Huge amounts of money are about to be poured into turning Smithfield into the Temple Bar of the Northside of Dublin, with expensive

and pounds for holding cap-tured horses.

Supporters of the new act argue that it will stop horses from being neglected, and that roaming horses are a danger to people and a nui-

But if the authorities wanted to take away the dan-ger of roaming horses, they could provide the facilities for kids to take care for their

They could give large grants to groups like the Ballymun Horse Owners Association to build stables and establish full veterinary

example, got a £600,000

abolish the horse market that takes places regularly in Dublin's Smithfield market.

Owning and riding horses is one of the few outlets for many working class kids

restaurants and 'high cul-

ture.

The idea of working class kids buying horses in the middle of a yuppies' paradise isn't what Dublin Cor-

As Vicky says "Everyone has their own ideas about

what will happen there, but working class people won't have any say, that's for

The Ballymun group have organised their first horse show for September 31st. If Dublin Corporation de-cide to enforce the law, prob-

ably every horse there will be impounded.

But many will be sup-porting the event as an act of defiance against a vindic-tive government that has little interest in supporting working class leisure activi

#### letters to the editor

Agree? Disagree? You can send your letters to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.



#### Kitt's crocodile tears at water charges

THE government's double standards on the water charges are continuing. Before the election a mem-ber of the Balinteer Anti Water Charges group wrote to Tom Kitt, Flanna Fail

TD to compalin about the threat by the local council to publish non-payers names in Stubbs Gazette of debt defaulters, looking for his sup-

Kitt replied in a letter expressing his anger against "the threatening tone" of the council's letter and "strongly supported" the protests.

Now with Flanna Fail he is part of the new gov-ernment he has gone to ground. Surprise, sur-

#### The price of Michelle's success exploits do depend on ar-tificial means of attaining fitness, reducing her body to the level of a machine.

MICHELLE de Bruin has continued where she left off in the Olym-pics by winning med-als at the European

championships.
The sports minister
Jim McDaid initially announced there would be
no official welcome

home for her, prompting a storm of protests. This was largely be-cause people at the top in this society want the rest of



Suspicion persists that De Bruin took drugs, whether or not she did her

sportsmen and women.

There is actually not a huge difference between the taking of drugs and the physical abuse inflicted on the body by other means. If Michelle de Bruin pays a heavy price for this abuse in 20 years time or so, all her medals will be precious

PADDY MOEN, DUBLIN

#### from News

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY members have been working hard to combat the rise of racism. A local meeting in Rialto attracted 45 people where it heard a speaker from the newly formed Irish refugee organisation.

Copies of the new pamphlet, Refugees are welcome here, are being widely distributed and are getting a good re-

The central priority of the party is now to build for the Anti-Nazi League carnival on September 13th.

The carnival provides an important focus to help roll back the tide of racism.

Over the next two weeks branches should:

visit local youth clubs, community groups and workplaces to advertise the

hold regular stall in areas to publicise the event.

In Dun Laoghaire, the local SWP branch organised a meet-ing on Travellers' rights after the local council tried to move against Travellers who parked in Cabinteely in Cabinteely.

In Belfast, SWP has been ac-tive in highlighting opposition to the introduction of university

Pickets have now been or-ganised on Library Board premises in Derry and Belfast.

Meanwhile recruitment to the party is rising.

Three people joined the Dun Laoghaire branch; one each joined Dublin North West, Drimnagh and Tallaght.

#### SWP branch meetings

BELFAST Moets every Thurscentact 8722682 for details

CORK Meets every Weds at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Commarket

DERRY DERRY Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm OUN LACCHAIRE Meets every Tues at 8pm in Christian Institue.

GALWAY Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

Square
MAYNOOTH
Meets every Wednesday Arts
Block Maynooth college
WATERFORD
Meets every Thursday at 8pm
in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.

DUBLIN NORTH-WEST Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm in The Snug, Dorset St. DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm Contact 8722682 for details

details
DUBLIN DRIMNAGH
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm
in the Black Forge (formerly the
Berdey), Drimnagh Rd
DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL
Meets every Wed at 8.30pm in
Corways, Pannel St.
DUBLIN RATHUNES
Meets every Wed at 8.30pm in
O'Connells Pub, Richmond St.
DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL O'Connells Pub. Richmond St. DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL Meets every Thur at 8pm in the Trinity Inn., Pearse St. DUBLIN TALLAGHT/ CLONDALKIN Meets Monday at 8pm in the Steering Wheel, Clondalkin

There are Socialist Worker members in:
COLERAINE: LURGAN: CAVAN: DONEGAL: NAAS: KILKENNY:
DUNDAL K; ATHLONE: DROGHEDA.
f you would like to get in touch, contact our national office
(01) 872 262, PO Box 1 48, Double 18

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If you want to join the Socialist Workers

Party, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

## news & reports— politics; the unions send in your reports: telephone (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

**ABOUT FIVE** hundred domestic staff are bal-loting for industrial ac-tion in the Royal Victo-ria Hospital in Belfast.

This comes as almost three quarters of domestic supervisors have entered their second week of

a work to rule and overtime ban.
The ballot among UNISON
members is taking place because of a management attempt at "restructuring".
This would cut £1.5 million

from the support service budget of the hospital.

The remaining supervisors in the TGWU are also to ballot for

industrial action.

A domestic worker told Socialist Worker:

Workers have had enough of workers have had enough of this undermining by senior man-agement, and it was only a mat-ter of time before the workers took action."

Management have agreed to talks but the date set was September the 18th.

According to UNISON this month long delay is an indication of management's lack of urgency

on the issue.

As one worker put it, "Management have no interest in the workers. Their only interest is in mak-

ing money".

Meetings with porters, security guards and others are now being organised to gain their sup-port for more industrial action.

#### SIPTU Vice presidential CANDIDATES standelection Nor have any of the full time officials been willing to challenge the undemocratic prac-

union.

ing for the Vice President of SIPTU are talking a language that has not been heard in the union for years.

In a bid to stop the rank and file candidate, Carolann Duggan, winning her rivals have tacked left

The favourite candidate of the union establishment Des Geraghty now claims that he wants "to bring SIPTU back to the members"

He also says that he wants a £5 an hour minimum wage and the Industrial Relations Act 'reviewed"

But all indications are that the rhetoric is hollow. All the

candidates who are full time officials—Geraghty, Greene and Hunter—refuse to talk about action to achieve the £5 an hour minimum.

Only Carolann Duggan has argued that SIPTU should guarantee previously unorgan-ised workers the full backing of the union if they join up and take industrial action for £5 an

#### **Proposed**

The rest of the candidates are advocates of the disastrous Partnership 2000 agreement.

Geraghty has even proposed that shop stewards and manag-ers be trained together as a way of strengthening the partner-

was a decision to prevent the annual conference of SIPTU discussing a resolution to pull

out of Partnership 2,000 because of its failure to grant automatic union recognition. While Carolann Duggan is

tices that have gone on in the

The most recent example

campaigning on limited resources, Des Geraghty has been able to mailshot individual letters to the homes of shop stewards. When questioned about this.

he claimed that the addresses came from his personal data-

The bureaucracy which dominate the union from Libcerty Hall has attempted to spread a rumour that Carolann Duggan is trying to organise a split away to another union.

This is despite the fact that she has publicly stated that switching unions does not benefit workers and that it is al-ways better to fight for change inside SIPTU.

Carolann Duggan is a revo-lutionary socialist, a member of the Socialist Workers Party She has never hidden her politics and has urged trade unionists to become political.

Her rivals are equally committed to their own political outlook — but have chosen to play down their affiliations.

Des Geraghty, for example, is a former MEP for Democratic Left while George Hunter is a member of the Labour Party.

The contest in Ireland's largest union is really about two very different visions of trade lutionary socialist and the other from the old left in Labour and Democratic Left.

#### Three Lakes Hotel

## support

THE STRIKE at the Three Lakes Hotel in Killarney is approach-ing its sixth month and morale on the picket line is still high.

The still high.

The strike began when the hotel was taken over by Donnie Ring and the Donaghue family as a going concern. Workers expected that their wages and conditions would be maintained by the new owners. the new owners.
But it was not to be. The

new company, which has al-ready an interest in the Tow-ers Hotel and the Munster Joinery, was determined to attack existing agreements. Soon after the takeover they

tried to make one worker redundant and demote another in a way that would have effectively cut that worker's wages by 40 percent.

They also abolished staff meals and de-recognised the union.

Thirteen workers have mounted a picket on the hotel for the past number of months. The company claims it has cost them over £4 million but the workers are un-

At first Three Lakes tried to bring in six scabs to take their place. But many local people and tourists refused to go into the hotel. Pickets have

go into the hotel. Pickets have also stopped goods arriving. The new management expected that the strike would collapse after a few weeks. But as one picket said, "We got nowhere with this management. We are here for as long as it takes."

Strikers stepped up the action by picketing the Towers Hotel which was taking business from the Three Lakes. However, they were brought

ness from the Three Lakes. However, they were brought before the High Court and stopped doing this.

The company, however, was forced to give a written undertaking not to take business from the Three Lakes.

Solidarity with the strike around Killarney has been high. A march in support of the strikers was organised the strikers was organised and now the local Trades Council is holding a benefit for the strikers in August. Meanwhile the family which have taken over Three

which have taken over Three Lakes are opening a new hotel in Dublin. It is the Viking Lodge Hotel in Francis St. The Kerry TD, Jackie Healy Ray who is an admirer of Charles J Haughey has even been signed up to open it.

It is vital that trade unionits in Dublin show calidority.

ists in Dublin show solidarity with the Three Lakes strikes by organising pickets and demonstrations outside.

#### Otis Lifts

#### anagement take a fall

OTIS LIFTS showed the reality behind the talk of partnership when they took their employees to the High Court for refusing to work overtime.

In an action that was reminis-cent of Victorian England in the nineteenth century, Otis sued 11 workers for conspiracy, defama-

workers for conspiracy, defaultation and damages.

The legal attack arose from a meeting held by lift engineers in Barry's Hotel in June where they decided to press for a decent wage rise to bring their pay to £11 an hour.

They agreed to ban overtime working as a way of pressuris-ing the company to concede to their demands.

In a statement issued after the meeting, the workers justified their claim for a pay rise by stating, "The Celtic Tiger is alive and well and thriving in the lift

industry.

"All we are asking for is a share in the success that we have contributed so much to. Is that

for Otis it was too much. No-tices appeared threatening disci-plinary action and several work-ers were issued with a formal

Make sure you have a ballot

EVERY member of SIPTU is entitled to a vote in this elec-

tion. During the last election many workers who sup-ported Carolann Duggan complained that their workplaces were not given an adequate opportunity to

This time shop stewards should insist that ballot boxes are provided in the workplaces for all shifts.

notice.

Management wrote to the leaders of the TEEU demanding that they give an instruction to their members to call off the overtime ban. Unfortunately, the union officials complied.

When this intimidation failed,

Otis went to the High Court to demand that the eleven workers pay them substantial damages.
And all of this because they

refused to work overtime which

is supposed to be voluntary!

The case was so outrageous that even the High court threw it out. Workers are now continuing their unofficial overtime ban.

#### **Aer Lingus**

**WORKERS** at Aer Lingus have rejected a pay offer that would have given them a 5.5% increase above the Partnership 2000.

The award was made by a supposedly inde-pendent arbitrator, the former union official and now bank director, Phil

Workers objected to the fact that the offer was linked to a framework that would have given Aer Lingus £42 million in savings.

The savings were to have been at workers expense.

They involved a restructuring of pay scales and possible training in front line areas.

As one worker told Socialist Worker:

"If this had gone through you would not have known whether you

would be working be hind a desk or on the runaway."

Pilots have already got a 9 percent increase and

other workers believe they should receive a similar rise without accepting worse condi-

#### **TEAM**

#### Re-vote shows huge majority for action

**TEAM** workers have once again balloted by nine to one to take industrial ac-tion because the company has not paid them wage rises due under national agreements since 1996.

Workers are also demanding a restoration of their incremental salary

This is the second ballot to take place on the is-

The company had threatened the union with the use of the Industrial Relations Act over the way the last ballot was conducted.

Unfortunately, union leaders brought in a barrister to ponder the mat-

ter for some weeks.

However the new vote shows that the anger in TEAM has not gone away.

For the last few weeks workers have imposed their own unofficial overtime ban.

This has forced the company to make a new offer but workers are still not satisfied with it.

#### Tesco

#### Workers ballot on industrial action

Crazy Prices, Quinnsworth, Prices, Lifestyle and Stewarts shops are to be balloted on industrial ac-

This follows a national meeting of shop stew-ards in both MANDATE and SIPTU which de-manded the ballot on a series of half day

The meeting heard that the Labour Court had rejected a claim that workers should receive some of the £60 million

goodwill payment re-ceived by ABS when it sold the chain to Tesco

earlier this year.

One shop steward told Socialist Worker, "The workers built up the the goodwill. They should get a share of the payment.

#### **Payment**

"At the time of the takeover there was un-official stoppages in a number of stores over the issue. That feeling has not gone away."
But the meeting was

even more concerned with Tesco's plans which

threaten jobs in the

threaten jobs in the chain. Tesco management have kept the workers in the dark.

A shop steward said, "We believe they intend to sell off bits. Stewarts in the North and Lifethle are under threat

style are under threat.

'There are strong rumours that Tesco will

contract-out security.
"We are angry and we want straight answers.
We want guarantees over future employment and conditions.
"The feeling at the

"The feeling at the meeting was very strong and I think there will be a big Yes vote in the ballot."

# ocialist

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

Inside:

Threatened job cuts at Fruit of the Loom

-Page 5

Solidarity price £1

The Blair government's plans to introduce £1,000 fees for university and replace grants with loans is provoking widespread anger in the North.

The Tories cut education spending by reducing grants and forcing students to take out loans. Blair wants to finish off the Tories job by getting rid of free education.

The government has backed down on fees for gap-year students - those who defer the offer of a place for a year.

#### Ruling

Though the ruling will only apply to those who work for the voluntary sector during their year off. That's around 10,000 students dents.

The rest face debts of up to £10,000. On top of the £1,000 fees due to be introduced in 1998, Labour

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plans to abolish grants, forcing university students to take out loans of £2,400

each year.

Dave, who is starting his second year at Queens University said, "I'm already in debt. The grant is so small

now that I had to take out a £1,600 loan and an overdraft to get through last year.

#### Cheque

My next grant cheque will just cover the overdraft from the bank. Abolishing the grants is

going to leave me with mas-sive debts when I finish uni-

The Dearing Report, which recommended the fees, admitted that in North-ern Ireland "higher education attracts more students from poorer families."

Students from working

class families are most de-pendent on grants. They will be even more depend-ent on loans, which make up the biggest part of the debt.

## he grant is so small versity." /ho really benefits?

EDUCATION Minister, Tony Worthington, says students should pay fees be-cause they get higher wages when

they graduate.

But getting a degree is no guarantee of a high wage. The biggest single employer of graduates is the National Health Service, which is re-

nowned for low wages. The vast majority of teachers are stuck on low pay scales. The people who really ben-efit from university education are the bosses; who exploit the skills of well-educated work-

The priorities of universities are increasingly being dictated

At Magee University in Derry, funding for social sci-

ence courses is being cut in fa-vour of business and comput-ing courses, designed to meet the needs of multinational companies like Seagate. George Quigley, head of the Ulster Bank, which employs hundreds of university gradu-ates, was on the Dearing Com-mittee which recommended mittee which recommended the fees along with other chief

These same bosses are not prepared to contribute to the cost of education.

cost of education.

They continually demand lower taxation. In his first Budget, Labour Chancellor Gordon Brown reduced business tax in Britain to the lowest in Western Europe.



#### Militant action can stop these fees

The only way to stop fees and maintain grants is through mas-sive student protests.

Socialist Worker **Public meetings** 

#### Is there a Socialist alternative to Blair?

DERRY: 8pm Wednesday 3rd September, Tracey's Bar Waterloo St.

BELFAST: 8pm Thursday 4th September, Holiday Inn, Brunswick St.

ENNISKILLEN: 8pm Wednesday 3 September, Enniskillen Library

When Thatcher's Educa-tion Secretary, Keith Joseph, tried to introduce fees in 1984, huge student demon-strations forced him to back

The National Union of Students is currently ballot-ing each Student Union ex-

decutive on the question of demonstration against fees. They are asking them to choose between national or

local demonstrations.

The National Union of Students is pushing for regional protests aimed at lobbying MPs.

It is essential that national demonstrations are called to show the depth of the anger at the fees.

Local action should be used to help build support for a national demonstration, not used as a subsititute for it

#### Campaign for free education DEFEND FREE EDUCATION No university fees -**Maintain our grants**

PROTEST

Belfast: 3pm Thursday 11 September, Belfast Education and Library Board, Academy St

Derry: 3pm Tuesday 16 September, Western Education and Library Board offices, Central Library, Foyle St

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