

Socialist Worker

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TDS MOVE TO CONTAIN CORRUPTION SCANDAL

Ray Burke's £30,000 cover-up

THE government has moved to cover up the scandal of corruption in Irish politics.

The new tribunal into payments for politicians will concentrate only on names from the past: Haughey and Lowry.

Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ray Burke, is to be left alone.

Burke's £30,000 gift from Joseph Murphy's building company will **NOT** be investigated.

His bizarre claim that no favours were asked or given for the payment will go unchallenged.

Meanwhile a candidate in the general election, Dr Peadar O'Grady, faces serious charges under the Public Order Act for speaking out against corruption during the election campaign.

As far as the government and gardai are concerned it's OK for government ministers to accept huge gifts from builders looking for rezoning.

But it is a criminal offence for a socialist to speak out against corruption.

Demonstration

Trade unionists, journalists and civil libertarians have called for the charges against Peadar O'Grady to be dropped.

Join the demonstration on Saturday 27th September.

Assemble at 3pm in Parnell Square, Dublin and bring your trade union banner.

**NEW
TRIBUNAL,
NEW
WHITEWASH:
TURN TO
PAGE TWO**

**Drop the charges
against Dr.
Peadar O'Grady!**

Paper attacks union rights

THE NEW Ireland on Sunday newspaper is trying to set up an Irish version of Wapping.

In the 1980s Rupert Murdoch set out to smash the print unions in Britain by setting up a scab

operation at Wapping in London.

Now Ashley Balbirnie, managing director of *Ireland on Sunday*, is refusing to recognise the National Union of Journalists.

Most of the staff are members of the NUJ

but the paper will deal with them on an "individual basis".

"We feel this system works best for us", said Balbirnie.

Workers

Some of the new paper's staff are former Irish Press workers

who occupied to defend jobs when that paper closed down.

Obviously Balbirnie wants to make huge profits without the annoyance of militant trade unionists.

This blatant attack on union rights requires a fighting response.

Unfortunately the

NUJ leadership appears to be adopting a 'softly, softly' approach to let the paper "establish itself" before pressing for union recognition.

The union should be standing up to the newspaper bosses instead of pleading for partnership.

Bosses survival guide

IT'S TOUGH being a boss, especially when the Labour laws are "increasingly giving the balance of advantage to the worker".

That was the message in a recent two-page 'Business Survival Guide' in the *Sunday Business Post*.

"Workers entitled to ever-increasing rights", complained the headline over one section.

"Casual workers, workers who are called 'permanent casuals', workers supplied to employers by agencies and part-time workers all can become entitled to various legal rights", the Post warned.

The survival guide set out to give employers some ideas for avoiding these nasty pitfalls.

"Get the work you need performed by a third party contractor hired on an arm's length basis", went one piece of advice.

On the opposite page, a bizarre drawing of a tribal warrior accompanied an article headed, "Hire staff properly to save trouble later".

Business

Employers were told to ensure that permanent contracts included a clause allowing for the variation of duties from time to time, "as the needs of the business require".

The paper also advised that fixed-term contracts should state that the terms of the Unfair Dismissals Act (1977 to 1993) do not apply to the job.

These contracts also include a 'force majeure' clause, whereby the contract can be suspended without payment in "special circumstances".

This advice to employers was designed to "avoid disputes later" by tying workers to stringent conditions from the word go.

Needless to say there was no advice to workers on how to organise against this exploitation.

No favours?

Who does Ray Burke think he is kidding?

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ray Burke, arrived in the Dail on the first day back to explain the £30,000 given to him by a Dublin building company.

Portraying himself as a tortured soul, hounded by the media, Burke insisted he had done nothing wrong by accepting the money from Joseph Murphy Structural Engineering Ltd in 1989.

He insisted he was before the Dail to "defend my personal integrity, the integrity of my party and of this government".

But Burke admitted that the money was handed over during the course of the 1989 general election campaign. He argued however that no favours were sought and none were given in return for the payment.

by **DAVE MACDONAGH**

Yet again another politician expects us to believe that business will hand over amounts of money like this and expect nothing in return. But Burke's own record shows why we should be just a little bit sceptical of this.

In 1974 he was investigated by gardai after a construction company, Brennan and McGowan, made a fortune out of a land rezoning.

Burke's name appeared in their accounts as having received a 'fee' of £15,000. It was listed under the heading 'planning'. Burke had supported the motion in favour of this rezoning.

Appointed

On his last day in office as Minister for the Environment in 1981, he appointed several people to An Bord Pleanála.

One of his appointees was John Keenan, who designed Burke's own house and who was Brennan and McGowan's architect



Ray Burke

New Tribunal, New Whitewash

A NEW tribunal has been established to look at payments to Charles Haughey and Michael Lowry and to examine whether or not these politicians paid taxes on all the money they received.

As everyone now knows, both Haughey and Lowry received massive payouts from Ben Dunne. But it is not quite so clear whether they paid the taxes that were due on these payments.

According to the government, the new tribunal will seek to collect any tax that was due from the politicians.

But the tribunal will not be looking at the wider issue of corruption in Irish politics.

Although it sets out to examine whether Haughey and Lowry gave any favours in return for the money they received, it will not even examine the payments made

to Ray Burke.

Burke's failure to explain the money he received and his involvement in planning scandals has been conveniently overlooked by the

government.

They are obviously more than happy to confine the investigations to has-beens like Haughey and Lowry, who they hope they can dis-

miss as two bad apples.

A tribunal that would set out to look at payments to the political parties in general is the last thing that any party in the Dail would want.

Planning bribe revealed

A BUSINESSMAN and former Fine Gael councillor has revealed that he was asked for money in return for having planning conditions altered.

Jim Fay said he was promised a reduction in levies imposed by Dublin County Council on an apartment block he was building in Blanchardstown.

Appealed

Fay appealed the levies which totalled £36,000.

He says he was then approached by

an anonymous intermediary who told him the £36,000 would be reduced to £7,000 if he handed over a £4,000 payment.

Fay says he was later promised a reduction to £6,000 if he paid £5,000. He approached a senior Garda investigating corruption in the planning process and—surprise, surprise—has heard nothing since.

'Legal Eagles' to net £40M

THE TOP lawyers involved in the new tribunal of inquiry are likely to get £40 million in legal fees. That figure is more than the sum of money lodged in the Ansbacher accounts in the Cayman Islands.

The figure would

also beat the estimated £30 million cost of the Beef Tribunal, of which £14 million has already been paid.

The excuse being given by 'government sources' is that the new tribunal may extend into several areas like the sale of Carysfort College and the Telecom

Ballsbridge site.

It could take several years of 'research' especially if the investigators have to spend time in the sunny Cayman Islands.

Fraud

The outcome of the beef tribunal was that Larry Goodman

remained untouched despite the fraud discovered in his industries.

And PAYE workers have had to pay his legal costs.

The new tribunal looks set to make 'legal eagles' even wealthier while corrupt politicians are once more let off the hook.

what we think

Unionists keep up hypocrisy over talks

THE START of all-party talks on the future of Northern Ireland has again been delayed because of the antics of Trimble's Unionist Party.

They are still using the issue of de-commissioning to refuse to negotiate directly with Sinn Fein.

Yet Trimble's concern about arms is highly selective. On Monday 15th September, he held a meeting with representatives of the PUP which has links to the Ulster Volunteer Force.

The day before the UVF put on an armed display in front of thousands of people in the Shankill to commemorate one of their volunteers, Brian Robinson, who had been shot by the British army.

Outrage

If the IRA had organised a similar display, Trimble and the press would have been howling with outrage.

Trimble is stalling on the talks because the Unionist Party does not want to see the slightest change in Northern Ireland.

Despite all their talk of consent, they have no interest in recognising the rights of the nationalist population.

Despite this, Gerry Adams has claimed that the talks "could be the beginning of the end of conflict in this island if the political will is there to reach an agreement."

He has repeatedly claimed that a settlement can be reached if a "De Klerk style figure" emerges from Unionism.

But even if Trimble's reluctance is overcome, the most that is on offer from these talks is a new power sharing executive at Stormont and a few cross border bodies.

These will be designed to give the Catholic middle class a say in the administration of the North.

The whole process will do nothing to undermine the communal politicians who want to keep workers divided.

All that these politicians want is a modernised form of sectarian conflict where Catholic and Protestant workers engage in economic competition against each other for low paid jobs in the multinationals.

Adams has got it wrong because he treats the Protestant workers of the North as the equivalent to the privileged whites of South Africa.

Yet the reality is thousands are experiencing poverty and unemployment.

Instead of looking for a deal between Adams and Orange Tories like Trimble, peace can only be guaranteed when unity between workers is forged from below.

Dana: sweet words and conservative values

"A VOTE for democracy" is how the media are portraying the decision of four councils to give Dana the nomination for the Presidency.

It is nothing of the sort. Dana is the only candidate outside the main parties who is being let into the Presidential race.

Anti Nazi League Carnival



Over a thousand people marched to the Anti-Nazi League carnival, Rage against Racism on Saturday 13th. The event was completely ignored by the Irish media. Determined to whip up a campaign against refugees, they refused to show that many ordinary people are disgusted by their racism.

David Norris, the gay campaigner who has championed liberal causes, is not being allowed to run.

Dana only got nominated because she got support from sections of Fianna Fail.

According to *Irish Times* Political Correspondent, Denis Coughlin "When Fianna Fail councillors rang Mount Street for advice on how they should vote, they were told that they

could nominate Dana if they wished".

Behind the polite image, Dana stands for a return to conservative values.

Fanatics

Her backers include right wing fanatics like T.C.G. Mahony who uses prayer meetings to warn against the dangers of communism.

Behind the guise of Christianity, Dana wants to attack every woman who wants control over her own body. For all her concern for human life, she has no record of opposing the death penalty in the US.

No one should believe that the Presidential election is "above politics" and is just about personalities. The right wing are using the election to try to recover ground lost in the divorce

referendum.

A high vote for the left wing candidate Adi Roche could be a signal that thousands want to defend the gains that have been made. Unfortunately, however, Roche will be told to avoid "controversial issues" by her Labour Party backers.

It will be up to socialists to expose the fundamentalist message behind the sweets words.

Defend the right to free speech!

National Demonstration

Saturday 27th Sept. 3pm

Parnell Square Dublin

Bring Union Banners

Phone (01) 872 2682 for details

■ Jail the corrupt politicians!

■ Drop the charges against Dr. Peadar O'Grady

Speakers include:

Michael Farrell (ICCL), John Gormley Green Party TD, Senator Joe Costello (Labour), Vincent Browne (Journalist), Mick O'Reilly (ATGWU), Carolann Duggan (SIPTU), Eamonn McCann (Journalist), (all in a personal capacity)

international news

AUSTRALIA:

Australian students show how to beat fees



Students occupy against fees

STUDENTS AT the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology are celebrating a significant climbdown over the introduction of up front tuition fees.

A 19 day occupation at the college has forced the university's management to reconsider its decision to charge up-front fees for undergraduate courses.

The college authorities have now agreed to conduct a referendum of all staff and students on the issue and to take the result of the postal ballot to a future meeting.

The college authorities also agreed there will be no victimisation of anyone involved in the occupation.

Hundreds of students and staff protested outside as the university council took its decision.

Staff at the college members of the National Tertiary Education Union also stopped work for two hours and held a 500 strong rally against fees.

They cheered the students as they finally left the university finance building they had occupied for nearly three weeks.

The militant occupation won widespread support and it shows fighting can win.

Committees

The occupying students formed committees to organise food, publicity, trade union liaison and building solidarity.

Rallies were held every few days and there were marches to Melbourne University and the state parliament.

The occupation became a national focus for student anger over fees.

It shows clearly that occupations are students most powerful weapon.

It cost the college \$50,000 a day in uncollected revenue and severely disrupted campus administration.

There are other lessons for this country too, as New Labour plans to both abolish grants and introduce tuition fees of £1,000 a year.

The Australian experience shows this is only the thin end of the wedge.

Fees paid back after graduation were introduced in Australia in 1988. They were supposed to be 20% of the average cost of a university course.

Ever since, the repayment threshold has gone down, while the cost has gone up.

This allowed the government to slash central funding to higher education.

In 1994 fees were deregulated entirely so that universities could charge extra, up-front, fees for any course they chose to according to "what the market would bear".

Prices vary from college to college, with elite courses like dentistry at Melbourne University twice the price of others.

CHINA

Bosses use privatisation to attack workers rights

"THE WORLD'S biggest privatisation" was how the press greeted the announcement by China's rulers they intend to sell off huge chunks of the country's state owned industry.

The plan, unveiled at the congress of the ruling Communist Party in Beijing last week, was hailed by western pundits as a final move away from "socialism" towards capitalism.

Western commentators re-

peat the line of China's president Jiang Zemin, that the 100 million workers in the country's state industries have led a pampered existence for years.

Now, say China's rulers, the need is to "modernise" and for workers to learn to live in the "real world".

The truth is somewhat different.

The 1949 revolution in China did smash the old landlords and warlords who had dominated the country.

But, despite the rhetoric about socialism from China's rulers, ordinary workers and peasants have never had the slightest control.

The Communist Party, like those in the former USSR and Eastern Europe, controlled power through the state bureaucracy.

Industry

This ruling class wanted to build up industry and compete militarily and economically with foreign rivals.

There was no democracy at all and workers were ruthlessly exploited. China was a state capitalist not a socialist country.

China's rulers built up industry by shutting the country off from the world market.

But, as this was proving less effective for China's rulers, from the late 1970s they moved to opening up to the world market, attracting for-

eign investment and encouraged a degree of market "reform" internally.

China has become a major world economic power in the 20 years since then.

Now, faced with international competition, its rulers want to push through a new restructuring in order to continue exploiting workers for profit.

The new privatisation plan means the wholesale closure of factories and industries.

They want to use mass sackings to boost profits, and the threat of closure and unemployment to drive workers to more flexibility and harder work.

And, just as in the West, it is also a way of enriching those at the top of society.

The children of some of China's top rulers are already wealthy businessmen, and will use their connections to grab chunks of the privatised industries.

JAPAN

THE WORLD'S bankers and economists were worried about the state of the Japanese economy last week.

Japan is held up as the powerhouse of the world economy, and by some on the left as an "alternative model" for the British economy to follow.

But figures announced by the Japanese government last week show Gross Domestic Product fell by 2.9 percent in the three months to June this year. That is the biggest drop since the oil price crisis of 1974, and comes as consumption in Japan is falling rapidly.

Rulers fear revolt

CHINA'S rulers are terrified that China's workers could fight back against privatisation.

The nightmare of revolt has haunted those at the top of Chinese society ever since the 1989 Tiananmen Square revolt.

In recent months China has seen the most significant rash of workers' protests since then.

Last year even the government admitted the number of strikes and protests had doubled compared to the previous year.

In March this year some 20,000 workers staged violent, and successful, protests in Nanchong, in the key Sichuan province.

In July, thousands of workers clashed with armed troops in the Sichuan town of Mianyang. Last week saw more vio-

lent clashes between workers and police in Duijiangyang, also in Sichuan.

One man interviewed by the western press in the streets of Beijing gave a glimpse into the explosive mix in China today.

"I'm afraid it will lead to much unemployment," he said of the rulers' new plans. "Already there are many, many people without jobs so that they don't have enough to eat."

He added "many workers are going on strike. There are workers going on strike all over the country."

This is an exaggeration, but it is the nightmare China's rulers fear.

NORWAY

Labour lose and the racists grow

NORWAY'S LABOUR didn't win enough votes to retain power and a centre right coalition looks likely to be in government.

In a dangerous development, the right-wing Progress Party got a worrying 16% of votes.

It is now the country's second biggest parliamentary party.

Racism

The Progress Party is a right wing, racist organisation. In this election, however, it did not mainly focus on racism.

Rather it sought to exploit disaffection with the record of the Labour government.

Labour prime minister Thorbjorn Jagland presides over one of the wealthiest economies in Europe and the government has plenty of cash from North Sea oil revenues.

But it refuses to use

that money for public services.

Like New Labour in Britain, it argues that public spending must be restrained for fear of boosting inflation.

As a result health and welfare spending have been held down, angering many Norwegian workers.

"The money is there and everyone knows it is," a Norwegian socialist told *Socialist Worker* on Monday.

Progress has managed to win votes by calling for higher welfare spending, and has coupled that with calls for a crackdown on immigrants and harsher prison sentences.

There is no reason why anger at the Labour government should benefit the right.

But to ensure that doesn't happen it is up to the left to put fighting for welfare at the centre of its arguments.

Working class loyalists shift to the right

RECENT OPINION polls show the fringe loyalist parties have grown in popularity. The Ulster Democratic Party and the Progressive Unionist Party now command 7% support compared to 16% for Paisley's DUP.

The PUP and the UDP won support because they responded to a real mood among Protestant workers with their attacks on the 'fur coat brigade'.

The reformed paramilitaries also argued that Catholic rights could be accommodated within the union.

But despite all their talk of class politics and moderation the PUP and the UDP are now returning to gut sectarian politics.

Billy Hutchinson of the PUP signalled the change when he said the party should pull out of the multi-party talks because nationalists were getting more concessions and Labour was selling out the Union.

This was a reference to Mo Mowlam's statement that consent in Northern Ireland could not be measured in numbers alone.

This simple point was apparently too much for a party that once claimed that Unionism could be modernised to reach an accommodation with Catholics.

Many, including the Adams wing of Sinn Fein, are surprised by this turn. They should not be.

Sectarian

For while PUP leaders like David Ervine describe themselves as supporters of Old Labour values, the fact remains that key members of their party consist of former sectarian killers.

This makes it different to any other left-wing developments in the Protestant working class. The Northern Ireland Labour Party and the Communist Party were mainly built around trade union activists.

Their politics were often inconsistent and made many concessions to Unionist ideas but the day to day existence of their members meant they had some understanding of unity between workers, at least at an economic level.

The UDP and PUP, by contrast, see themselves as a mirror image of Sinn Fein. They are impressed by how the republicans developed a political wing through focusing on local community issues.

They argue that they can do the same for "their" working class. They repeatedly stress they are unionists first and labour politicians second.

But this means they have to show their credentials as real unionists whenever a crisis develops.

Today The UDP and the PUP face a major problem as the Loyalist Volunteer Force consolidates itself.

The LVF, which is led by the sectarian rat Billy Wright, is estimated to number 100 activists. Its whole political agenda is

A tiny minority of bigots are determined to shift the whole political agenda to the right, if necessary by outright civil war.

summarised in the disgusting slogan "Yaba Daba Do: Any Fenian will do".

The LVF has grown because it can call on unofficial support from a fundamentalist group around Paisley.

Its original powerbase came from people who picketed the church at Harryville for months on end. These pickets were begun by Paisley son's — although he publicly withdrew afterwards.

The LVF can appeal to the sectarian underside of the reformed paramilitaries. Already, the UDA is said to have lost members to the LVF in recent weeks.

In early September, UDA representatives from Derry, Tyrone and Antrim met in Derry to pressurise the UDP, their political wing, to pull out of the talks too.

The mainstream loyalist paramilitaries have responded to the new threat by launching a feud against the LVF. But in order to do this, they have had to convince their own supporters that they are sufficiently hard-line. Hence the new rhetoric of sectarianism from Ervine and Hutchinson.

Today there are two opposing tendencies developing in the Protestant working class.

A recent poll shows a slim majority of Protestants are for talking to Sinn Fein. Many Protestants want an accommodation with their Catholic neighbours.

But a tiny minority of bigots are determined to shift the whole political agenda to the right, if necessary by outright civil war.

The ceasefire has brought a second opening for class politics in the North.

But no one should believe it will last forever.

The last few weeks have shown that class unity can never be forged through an unofficial alliance of Sinn Fein and the PUP as the respective representatives of "their" own working class.

It will take independent socialist politics to put working class solidarity first and to ward off the danger of civil war in the future.

Over the next few months, socialists have a terrible responsibility to show that they can build.

—Kieran Allen

Majority want talks with Sinn Fein

EVIDENCE IS mounting that a growing number of Protestants want to see an accommodation with their Catholic neighbours.

A recent opinion poll of 1,561 people for the BBC programme *Hearts and Minds* found that over 50% now favour direct talks with Sinn Fein.

The same poll showed that support for hardline politicians has fallen. The Ulster Unionist Party scored only 23% support compared to 28% during the last local elections.

But while many ordinary Protestants want to see a settlement, the leaders of Unionism are determined to maintain sectarian bigotry.

The Democratic Unionist Party has pulled out of talks claiming that it could never sit down with the "men of violence".

Yet Paisley's own record shows that this is gross hypocrisy.

Campaign

At present a loyalist campaign is underway in Ballymena to drive Catholics out.

Petrol bombs have gutted the homes of two families in Ballykeel Estate and forced one of them to leave the area they had lived in for 34 years.

by JENNY WILLIAMS

Although Paisley is the MP for the area, he has stayed completely silent about the attacks.

David Trimble and the Official Unionists are taking a more ambiguous line on the talks.

Their business backers want stability in Northern Ireland so that they can boost their profits.

But Trimble also realises that sectarianism has been the essential ingredient for keeping cross class support for his right-wing party.

This is why he keeps on putting up objections about de-commissioning and is only committing himself to "proximity" talks.

The crisis at the start of the talks shows that the desire for real peace will not come from a gathering of right-wing politicians.

Instead sectarianism is likely to intensify over



David Trimble

the next few months as Paisley and Trimble whip up bigotry over the slightest concession to nationalists.

"Over the last few months, there has been a real feeling of hatred in rural areas.

"There are many unreported fights between Catholic and Protestant youths. I don't see the talks getting up out of

this," one socialist from Newtownbutler told us.

The desire for peace from ordinary Catholics and Protestant needs to find a different focus besides waiting for the outcome of all-party talks.

Politics

They key here is the raising of class politics. Today thousands of workers want to see ac-

tion to stop the privatisation of the civil service.

They want an end to the Job Seekers Allowance.

They don't want to see an end to free Third level Education for their children.

Unity on these issues will create more favourable conditions to undermine the bigots.

in brief

★ **THE MAN** charged with shooting two RUC officers in Lurgan this June could suffer another of Britain's notorious miscarriages of justice. Colin Duffy (29) has massive amounts of alibi evidence.

He was only taken into custody after the RUC showed his picture to a woman witness, named him and then said "do you recognise this man?"

Duffy's solicitor is Gareth Pierce who represented the Guildford Four and many other prominent cases. She says all the ingredients for a miscarriage of justice are in place in his case.

The RUC was clearly under pressure to find someone to blame for the killings and Duffy appears to have been a handy suspect.

★ **AFTER** a two-year old Belfast girl was killed in a road accident and others were struck by passing cars the residents of Twinbrook and Poleglass lobbied the RUC for traffic calming measures.

Their request was turned down because the "ongoing paramilitary threat" made work in the area impossible. West Belfast children are obviously worth less than RUC men.

★ **SAVING** the environment is for the rich.

So says Northern Ireland Electricity which now wants users to pay an extra 15% for renewable energy from wind and hydro schemes. "The proposed new scheme will give consumers freedom of choice," said NIE. Not to the 25% of households that make do on less than £125 a week.

★ **ULSTER** Unionists shook hands with Sinn Fein last month.

Not in the Stormont talks —but after six Sinn Fein councillors voted to keep a new sports pitch closed on Sundays.

The Newry and Mourne republicans obviously accepted unionist arguments that sports and play can't be had on the Lord's day.

★ **How** much for a worker's life? A Ballymena quarry worker was killed in the rock crusher because management at RJ Maxwell & Sons had allowed him to work at the machine although its chute guard and tail pulley had been removed. The fine? £500.

Mother Teresa: Saint or dictator's friend?

FOR MANY people Mother Teresa symbolised all that was good in the Catholic church. She showed a desire to help the poorest section of society and to provide charitable hospitals and comfort for the needy.

Yet the life of Agnes Bojaxhiu was more political, than is often imagined. Mother Teresa often claimed that her role was not charity but the building of Catholic values.

On a visit to Washington to receive awards from the American government, Mother Teresa said:

"I think it is very beautiful for the poor to accept their lot, to share it with the passion of Christ. I think the world is being much helped by the suffering of the poor people."

The poor were supposed to show submission and gratitude in the hope of being rewarded in the afterlife. This view was supported by a claim from St Paul that "The powers that be are ordained by God."

This vision affected the way Mother Teresa's ran her various institutions.

When Dr Fox the editor of the leading medical magazine *The Lancet* visited her hospitals he wrote that, "No distinction is made between the curable and the incurable...the formulary included no strong pain killers. This along with the lack of diagnosis is what marks out Mother Teresa's approach."

A former Sister of Charity, Susan Shields recalled that "The needles were used again and again, and you would see nuns rinsing needles under a tap."

Conditions

Mother Teresa's hospital is not the only one to be run like this. These terrible conditions exist in many other hospitals in India and reflect how the poor are treated.

But Mother Teresa's own values meant that she saw this poverty as part of people's inevitable fate.

Far from seeking to overturn the system which crushed so many lives, she used her reputation as a champion of the poor to campaign for the views of the Catholic right.

When she came to Ireland in 1992 she addressed the crowd with "Let us promise our Lady who loves Ireland so much that we will never allow in this country a single abortion. And no contraceptives."

Her visit was organised by those who were trying to stop the changes in Irish society.

While many still admired her, few agreed with her demand that women should always accept pregnancy as a gift from God.

In her consistent campaigning against abortion, Mother Teresa found allies in some unpleasant places.

One of the many dictators she supported was Nicolai Ceausescu, the Romanian dictator who



Mother Teresa

was executed after an uprising in 1989.

Ceausescu introduced laws against abortion and threatened women who tried to control their fertility with stiff prison sentences.

Another of Mother Teresa's friends was the Duvalier dictatorship in Haiti.

This hideous family of Papa Doc and Baby Doc Duvalier imposed one of the worst regimes of terror in the world.

Whenever there was anger against the rich and privileged, Mother Teresa either urged forgiveness or openly took their side.

In 1984 the Indian town of Bhopal was the scene of a major industrial disaster when the Union Carbide plant exploded. Two and half thousand people died immediately.

This was not an act of God but the act of the bosses of Union Carbide who had ignored every single safety procedure in the pursuit of profit.

But when Mother Teresa came off the plane in Bhopal she said three words "Forgive Forgive Forgive."

This stance put Mother Teresa at odds with others in the Catholic Church. In recent decades a strong liberation theology movement developed in the church in Latin America. Many nuns and priests suffered for their beliefs at the hands of the death squads.

In Nicaragua, for example, several nuns were murdered by the US backed Contras because they supported peasant co-operatives.

Yet throughout the long conflict Mother Teresa repeatedly supported and visited the Contras.

Her whole life was dedicated to pushing the most reactionary version of Catholicism. What mattered was not the condition of the poor but the strength of the church.

People looked to Mother Teresa as a symbol of the fight against poverty.

Yet to alleviate poverty we need to take power away from our rulers, not look to those who justify their rule.

BY SIMON BASKETTER

Election candidate arrested for de

Drop the charges against Dr O'Grady

by EILEEN MALONEY

ON SEPTEMBER 30th, child psychiatrist Peadar O'Grady will stand trial in Dublin's District Court. Dr O'Grady has been charged with "offensive conduct" under the Public Order Act.

His "offensive conduct" was to speak out about political corruption. This trial is of crucial importance to everyone who believes in the right to free speech. It is that democratic right which is in fact on trial.

Dr Peadar O'Grady was arrested four months ago while holding an election meeting outside the Rathmines Shopping Centre.

While his supporters canvassed passersby, he began speaking about corruption in Irish politics and in particular the links between Charles Haughey, Michael Lowry and Ben Dunne.

Within a few minutes he was approached by a Garda and told he "could not say things like that." Dr O'Grady showed that he was an election candidate by giving the garda an election leaflet with his name and photograph clearly displayed.

A recent opinion poll showed 89% of people shared Peadar's belief that corrupt politicians like Haughey and Lowry should be jailed.

He said he had every right to promote his views.

When he continued to speak, he was arrested under the Public Order Act and taken to the Rathmines Garda station.

Everything Dr O'Grady said that day has since been confirmed by the McCracken report. It's been proved that both Charles Haughey and Michael Lowry received huge sums of money from rich businessmen.

Evaded

It's also been proved they evaded tax and lied to the people they claim to serve.

A recent opinion poll showed 89% of people shared Peadar's belief that corrupt politicians like Haughey and Lowry should be jailed. Even Judge Brian McCracken has recommended they be prosecuted and punished.

But while Dr O'Grady faces serious charges, the DPP is delaying taking any action against Haughey or Lowry.

The 32 year old Child Psychiatrist is also charged with assaulting a Garda while he was in the station. He vehemently denies this charge.

A juryless political trial

DR O'GRADY'S case will not be heard by a jury. He is to be tried by just one judge despite the fact that the charges carry a potential jail sentence of one year.

The right to a trial by jury on serious charges is one of the key cornerstones of democracy.

But unfortunately the new Public Order Act, under which Dr O'Grady was arrested, deprives

people of a right to a jury in these assault cases.

In view of the serious implications of the case the DPP have chosen to bring the case at the Circuit Court where are juries.

The fact that he chooses to have the case heard before a political trial without having methods exposed before on citizens.

What is the Public Order Act

WHEN THE Public Order Act was first introduced into the Dail, the Tanaiste, Mary Harney made the following statement:

"In recent years, there were very serious riots throughout Britain. There was also serious public disorder occasioned by the miners' strike and a strike in the printing industry as well as public demonstrations on a large scale against the poll tax.

"We do not have that kind of problem in Ireland. However, legislation should be in place in advance of such problems."

When the Public Order Act was first introduced, its main purpose was claimed to be the eradication of street crime.

However, as Mary Harney marks make clear there was a intention to arm the Government with a powerful repression weapon with left wing dissent.

The Public Order Act gives the Garda the power to arrest people on charges of using insulting words on placards carrying such words.

Protestors

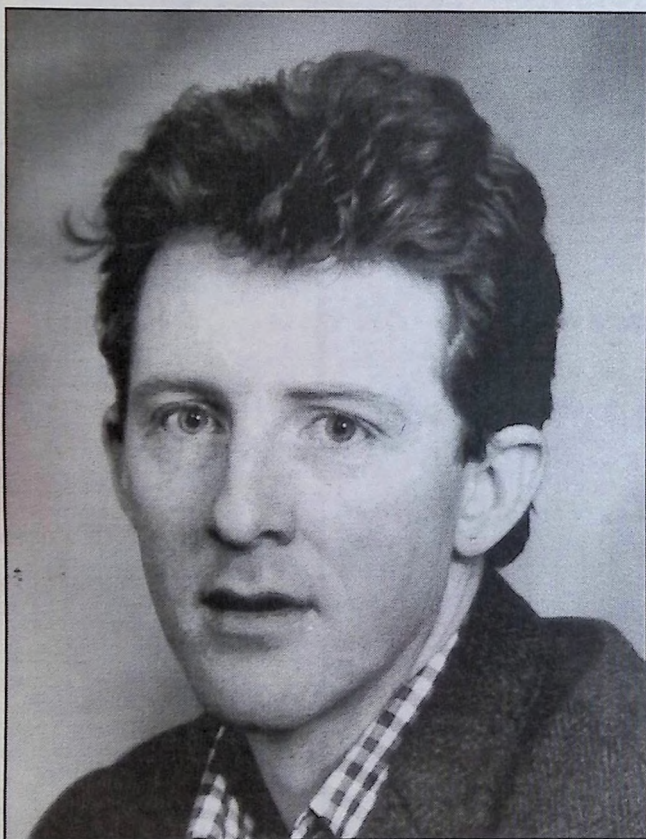
The Act has been used against many rights protesters and three against TEAM workers who were being Dublin arrested.

Now in this case the serious de ment it is being used to suppress

Speaking about corruption speech during an election. Speaking about corruption rich and powerful may be deemed sulting words by the DPP. This is truly is won by the state. This is truly gerous.

denouncing corruption

Charges Peadar



Dr Peadar O'Grady

"We, the undersigned express our grave concern at the use of the Public Order Act to prevent Dr Peadar O'Grady holding a public street meeting as part of his campaign to win a seat in the General Election.

"While we are not necessarily supporters of the Socialist Workers Party, we believe that every party has a right to promote their views without fear of interference by the Gardai."

Dr Wendy Savage (Consultant Obstetrician, London);
Dr Ian Banks G.P.;
Dr Juliet Bresson (Public Health Doctor);
Dr Dino Bressan (University of Melbourne);
Dr Jacqueline Walters (University of Melbourne);
Dr M. H. Hall (Consultant Obstetrician, Aberdeen);
Dr Philip Tyndall (Child Psychiatrist);
Fiona Tyndall (Midwife);
Dr Tom O'Connell (Public Health Doctor);
Dr Fiona Stevens (Lecturer, UCG);
Dr Tara Conlon G.P.;
Raymond Byrne BCL, LL.M, Barrister at Law;

Peadar Kirby BA, BD, M. Dip in Ed.;
Paul Mc Namara BA, M. Phil.;
Eddie Holt (Lecturer);
Brian Trench (Lecturer);
John Horgan (Lecturer);
Carolann Duggan (SIPTU);
Patricia McKenna MEP
John Gormley TD (Green Party);
Michael Farrell (ICCL);
Deirdre Tobin, Solicitor;
Blainaid Tonra, Teacher;
Dr Patrick Troy G.P.;

Maurice Sheehan (MANDATE);
Brendan Archbold (MANDATE);
Brian Higgins (MANDATE);
Eamonn McCann (Journalist)
Joe Bowers (Northern Ireland I.C.T.U Executive Member);
Mick O'Reilly (ATGWU);
Jennifer Todd (Lecturer);
Eamonn Stater (Lecturer);
Kevin Honan;
Joe Cleary (Lecturer);
Luke Gibbons (Lecturer);
Tadhg Foley (Lecturer);
Sean Ryder (Lecturer);
Liam O Dowd (Professor);
Dr Sean Horgan (GP);
Ms Olive Lennon (Physiotherapist);
Dr Moayyad Kamali (Psychiatrist);
Ms Mary Mullan (Social Worker);
John Sharry (Social Worker);
Dr Maurice Gervan (Psychiatrist)
Jannelle Gervan (Medical Lab Technician);

Dr Ed O Mahoney (Psychiatrist);
Dr Colm McDonald (Psychiatrist);
Dr Jo Howly (Psychiatrist);
Dr Melanie Gallagher (Psychiatrist);
Dr Louise Connolly (Psychiatrist);
Dr Lena Kelly (Psychiatrist);
Brendan Fox (Chairperson, Galway Council of Trade Unions);
Tom Browne (Secretary, IMPACT, Galway);
Peter Bunting (President, NBRU);
Pat Fitzpatrick (Green Party)
Pat Cunningham (CWU)

Build support for the national demonstration

A DEMONSTRATION in support of Dr O'Grady will be held on September 27th.

It will start at 3pm at Parnell Square. Speakers include: Micheal Farrell (ICCL), John Gormley (Green Party TD), Senator Joe Costello (Labour), Vincent Browne (Journalist), Mick O'Reilly (ATGWU), Carolann Duggan (SIPTU), Eamonn McCann (Journalist)

It is vital that as many people as possible turn up to show their support for Peadar and to show the political establishment that such victimisation won't be tolerated. Several unions and or-

ganisations have already pledged support for the demonstration, including the CWU, SIPTU Waterford branch, SIPTU Education branch, Dublin Trades Council, Cork Trades Council and the Waterford Glass Shop Stewards Committee.

The NBRU will also be sending along a banner. It is important that there are as many trade union and community banners there in support of Peadar. So if there are no banners currently available, make one now.

Peadar O'Grady's campaign needs funds for his legal defence. A barrister has been hired to represent Dr O'Grady and he has already made several court appearances. Donations can be sent to Dr Peadar O'Grady Legal Defence Fund: Account No: 36696032. Sort Code: 93-12-33; A.I.B. 64 Grafton St, Dublin.

What do socialists say?

Will the boom go on and on?

IRELAND has the fastest growing economy in Europe. For the past three years it has been growing at a feverish 7% a year.

Record levels of inward investment have flowed in and up to 50,000 jobs a year have been created over the past few years. Unemployment which was once one of the worst in Europe is now coming down to the EU average.

This has caused Ireland to be dubbed the "Celtic Tiger" after the east Asian Tigers - the so-called miracle economies which grew at a fantastic rate in the eighties.

The comparison between Ireland and the Asian Tigers was never exact. Nevertheless recent developments in Asia show what can happen here.

For the past two months a spreading crisis of speculation has forced the Thai, Malaysian, Filipino and Indonesian governments to devalue their currencies.

A £12 billion rescue scheme organised by the IMF and the Japanese government failed to stabilise the situation.

By early September panic selling hit Asian financial markets and dragged Hong Kong and Singapore into the crisis.

It was the boom in the Asian Tigers that prepared the way for the crash.

The drive by Japanese companies to reduce costs by shifting some of their operations to the low wage economies fuelled the boom.

This encouraged massive borrowing from foreign banks - much of which

went not into investment but into property speculation.

As the boom slowed down the underlying problems of the economy were exposed. Saddled with huge debt, the competitive edge has been lost. The slowdown has left many factories working at less than 60% capacity.

First the over-inflated property market began to collapse and several financial institutions went or got close to going bust. Then boom turned to slump and confidence became panic.

Confidence

Today the confidence of the Irish rich in their Celtic Tiger is illustrated in comments from media "experts" like this from the *Irish Times*:

"Ireland's economy can maintain its tigerish mode for decades to come through investments in its scientists"

This confidence is belied by the fact that all booms, including the most recent Asian boom, turn into slumps.

The Irish boom originally developed because the rich were offered exceptionally favourable concessions.

Corporation tax on manufacturing or internationally traded activities is guaranteed to remain at 10% until 2010.

This is the lowest rate in Europe.

Wage costs have been effectively held down by years of 'social partnership'. Trade union leaders have used their influence to get workers to accept low pay increases.

The social partnership arrangements also allow employers to squeeze more productivity out of a young, educated workforce.

Output per worker has grown at 3% a year since the early eighties - higher than the EU average.

The result is rising profits made from each worker. In 1995 for every £100 earned in wages, £75 was made by a capitalist in profits. Today the profit figure has risen to £83 per £100 wages.

This has made Ireland by far the most profitable target in Europe for US investment.

With those inducements the level of Foreign Investment has been high but clustered in a narrow range of industries.

In addition many of the jobs that have been created over the last three years are part time or temporary.

At first the inward investment was in electronics and pharmaceuticals.

The expansion today is in financial services, and tele-marketing and "customer services"

But this leaves the Celtic Tiger exposed to the vagaries of the world market.

The *Economist* comments: "A global contraction in computers or financial services, for example, would hit very hard".

The profits of the boom are no longer going into investment in industry.

Instead credit has exploded as speculation and the property market rise.

But like the boom in east Asia, the Irish boom has exposed huge disparities between rich and poor and provided an impetus for a revival of the workers' movement.

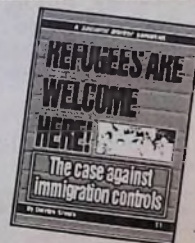
When the crunch comes we must make sure that it is the bosses and not the workers who pay for the crisis.

—KEVIN WINGFIELD

Out now!

Refugees are welcome here—The case against immigration controls.

This pamphlet answers the racist myths and gives all the arguments to beat racism
£2.00 post free from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



Martin Smith looks at the new series: *The Nazis: A warning from history*

THE NAZIS: A Warning From History is a fascinating new six part series which started this week. It uses interviews and never before seen colour footage of the Nazis. It shows how a small Nazi party on the fringes of German politics transformed itself into a mass party and ruled one of the most advanced capitalist countries in the world.

And it takes on one of the most popular myths surrounding the rise of Hitler "that the Nazis were an unstoppable force because of Hitler's spellbinding oratory and charisma."

It shows that Hitler was anything but superhuman and the rise of the Nazis was far from inevitable.

One person interviewed in the series describes hearing Hitler speak at a meeting at the University of Munich in 1921. "He started to speak and I immediately disliked him. I found him rather comical, with his funny little moustache. I was not at all impressed by him. He had a kind of scratchy voice and he shouted so much."

Hitler would have remained an unknown, sad and bitter ex-corporal if it was not for the political and economic situation Germany faced between 1928 and 1933.

Germany was defeated at the end of the First World War in 1918. The previous year Russian workers had risen up in the first successful workers' revolution, led by Lenin's Bolshevik Party.

The Russian Revolution had a massive impact on events in Germany. Thousands of German workers and soldiers attempted to copy the Bolsheviks.

The German armed forces mutinied. Workers took part in mass strikes. The Kaiser was forced to abdicate and the country was in the grip of a revolution.

The workers' uprising was smashed by the ruling class which used troops and armed mercenaries called the Freikorps. The first time the Nazi symbol of the swastika appeared was when the Freikorps detachments marched victoriously into Munich in 1919.

The series shows footage of the battle between socialists and troops in Munich. After the defeat of the German Revolution, a variety of far right organisations grew.

They all tried to appeal to ex-soldiers and the middle classes, they hated socialism, they were violently anti-Semitic and they opposed the Treaty of Versailles.

The Treaty of Versailles, signed by Germany at the end of the war, meant German rulers had to give up part of their territory and pay the Allies reparations every year.

One of these far right groups was the German Workers Party. It was a tiny organisation and Hitler was only its fifty fifth member. But within two years he was its leader and changed the party's name to the National German Socialist Workers Party, or Nazis for short.

The documentary has some of the earliest footage of Hitler, and it shows how he was protected by the state after had led a failed coup (the beer hall putsch) in 1923.

Hitler spent the next seven years trying to build his organisation. But, according to a secret government report of 1927, the Nazis had "no noticeable influence on the great mass of the population".

They only polled 2.6% in the German general election of May 1928. Nobody should underestimate Hitler's powerful impact on events. But this was not due to individual character.

Hitler and the Nazis were shaped by



Hitler (inset) used intimidation on the streets to build a power base

How the Nazis came to power

the circumstances of their time.

The economic and political situation in Germany changed radically after the 1928 election.

The Wall Street stock market crash triggered the most serious economic crisis Germany had ever faced.

Over five million people were unemployed.

By 1932 industrial production collapsed by 42 percent and many businesses went to the wall.

Alois Pfaller describes what it was like. "People walked around with spoons in their pockets in the hope of getting a meal from the charity soup kitchens that sprang up."

German society was divided between the left and the Nazis.

Alois joined the Communist Party. Many others, particularly those from middle class backgrounds, joined the Nazis.

The middle class were attracted to the Nazis because they were squeezed by the recession but, unlike rich business men,

The workers' uprising was smashed by the ruling class which used troops and armed mercenaries called the Freikorps. The first time the Nazi symbol of the swastika appeared was when the Freikorps detachments marched victoriously into Munich in 1919.

they did not have huge savings to fall back on.

The Nazis used this anger and bitterness and directed it at the Jews. In 1930 the Nazis got their election breakthrough. They got 18% of the vote. Two years later they increased their vote to 37.4% (the highest it would ever be in free elections).

The Nazis were the biggest group in the German parliament but they did not

have an overall majority. The Nazis never won over the vast majority of organised workers.

But they gained by the divisions between the two main workers' parties, the Social Democrats and the Communist Party.

Crucially, the documentary shows how the

Nazis were literally helped into power by big business.

The Nazis were financed by big German industrialists like Krupp, Thyssen, Siemens and Bosch. Hjalmer Schacht, the former head of the Reichsbank, and a number of other financiers and industrialists petitioned President Hindenberg asking him to appoint Hitler as Chancellor.

One German banker explains the feeling of the rich. "Young people at the time were joining either the Storm Troopers or the Communists."

Those in business preferred the Nazis because they were for order. You couldn't tell if the Nazis were something good with

a few bad side effects or something evil with a few good side effects."

But with his appointment as chancellor in 1933, Hitler swept away all forms of democracy and smashed the German working class.

The series gives a brilliant analysis of how the Nazis came to power and the impact they had on German society from 1933 to 1945. But it does not really answer the question of whether Hitler could have been stopped.

Workers did have the power to stop Hitler. In 1928 the Nazis only got 2.6% of the vote. By contrast the Social Democratic Party (Labour Party) won nine million votes and had some 900,000 members.

The German Communist Party won three million votes in 1932 and had 260,000 members. The combined vote of the SPD and the Communist Party was always greater than Hitler's.

But they failed to unite against the Nazis. The SPD was totally committed to working through parliament and denounced strikes and demonstrations.

It even accepted Hitler's appointment as chancellor on the grounds that it was "constitutional".

Josef Felder, who was an SPD MP at the time and later sent to Dachau concentration camp, says,

"Hitler was the legally chosen chancellor. We believed we were the legal opposition. The SPD could carry on as if normal. We believed we could have controlled him through parliament, total lunacy!"

The Communist Party claimed that the SPD was a bigger enemy than the Nazis and even called the SPD 'social fascists'.

One Communist at the time says, "Our line was it didn't matter if Hitler gets to power. That's good. He'll soon prove himself incompetent and then it's our turn."

This was a disastrous policy. It created unnecessary division between German workers and wrote off the millions of rank and file SPD members who were desperate to fight the Nazis.

Things could have been different, however. The series gives a flavour of working class struggle of the period. It also tells of the bravery of ordinary people like Alois Pfaller who tried to relaunch a Communist youth group after Hitler came to power.

He endured 11 years in a concentration camp, and even after the most brutal torture refused to name his accomplices.

"I'd have let them beat me to death but I would never have betrayed anyone. I would have rather died miserably," he said.

It shows two students who leafleted their university denouncing the Nazis, knowing they would be arrested but who believing their actions would spur others to fight back. Over 2,000 Jews were kept in hiding in Berlin alone.

This was in a society where the Nazis sent people to concentration camps even for talking to Jewish people.

By showing some of these acts of bravery, both big and small, this series helps dispel the myth that all Germans supported Hitler.

The Nazis is not just a historical documentary series.

As yet there is no Nazi movement in Ireland, but we cannot be complacent

Nazi parties have gained support in countries across Europe. Le Pen's Nazi National Front in France got 16% of the vote and there are now 1,200 Nazi councillors.

In Austria the Nazi Freedom Party is the main opposition party. The Nazi National Alliance in Italy gained 14.5% of the vote in national elections last year.

Our slogan must be "NEVER AGAIN!"

■ The Nazis: A warning from history is on Wednesday, 9pm, BBC2.

Lady Diana: Princess of the rich and powerful

THE DEATH of Diana has given rise to the most astonishing display of mass sentiment, comparable only to the grief displayed when Ayatollah Khomeini, the leader of Iran, died a few years ago.

Millions of people have identified with this woman that they did not know and feel a sense of loss at her death.

Diana won much of that sympathy by revealing just how callous the British Royal family really are.

She was also seen as someone willing to upset the establishment by visiting AIDS patients and campaigning against landmines.

But even so, the basic truth about her life is that it had nothing in common with those of the workers now mourning her.

Diana may have clashed with the rest of the royals but she shared their life of privilege.

She spent an average £10,000 a month on clothes and her walk-in wardrobe at Kensington Palace spanned the width of ten terraced houses.

The "grooming" bill for her hair and makeup came to over £3,500 a week.

Visits to the sick and charity work were an exception to her jetsetting life and frequent holidays.

Even her supposedly secret visits to hospitals made it to the front pages of the tabloids.

The fact that Diana was a mother is sometimes held up as a reason why there should be a real bond between her and working mothers.

Servants

But Di had nannies, servants and later public schools to bring up William and Harry. She had no difficulty leaving them for months on end while she crossed the world on her shopping and sunbathing trips.

Even the anti-landmine work she engaged in was at a shallow and inconsistent level.

Dodi Al Fayed's wealth was based on arms deals. Nor did Diana speak out against the biggest transgressor, the US, who have refused to sign a deal against landmines as they believe it necessary to use them in South Korea.

Immediately after her death all the high and mighty rallied around to encourage a sense of loss. Tony Blair called her the "people's princess" and made arrangements for the mass spectacle that was her funeral.

Here, Bertie Ahern encouraged us to sign a book in respect to her. Gerry Adams and Sinn Fein even got in on the act by sending their con-

Visits to the sick and charity work were an exception to her jetsetting lifestyle and holidays. Even her supposedly secret visits to hospitals made it to the front pages of the tabloids

lences. But the sense of respect and reverence generated by the media was a fraud.

On the Sunday morning when her death became known a number of newspapers were caught out in their real attitude to the great lady.

So the Observer rather unfortunately wrote that Diana was "a woman who if her IQ were five points lower would have to be watered on a daily basis."

The Sunday Mirror "special" was equally caught out writing "it is a pity Gucci don't make designer zips, then when Princess Diana was on the verge of opening her ill-informed mouth she could just zip her trap shut."

If the grieving of the upper classes is insincere and self-serving, the same cannot be said of the millions of workers somehow feel they should be saddened.

Here the analysis Karl Marx gave of religion is useful. He argued that when people are alienated from their own labour and life activity they can turn to religion as "the heart in a heartless world". Gods become a distorted reflection of a feeling that their own lives are miserable and humdrum.

In the same way many people live a vicarious life through identification with supposedly "glamorous" people, even when these people are parasitic on workers taxes.

This identification is something that the media and big business take great pleasure in promoting and is why socialists shouldn't be carried along with the Diana bandwagon.

—CONOR KOSTICK

book

Baring the truth about life on dole

THE FULL Monty is the new film about former steel workers in Sheffield, who become male strippers.

Its director, Peter Cattaneo, says, "We wanted to make a working class film that working class people might actually go to see."

Socialist Workerspoke to ANDY HARTLEY, who used to be a steel worker in Sheffield after he had been to see the film.

THE FULL Monty is the funniest film you'll see this year. It's absolutely brilliant.

"It really struck a chord with me as an ex steel worker.

"I saw the film at a cinema in Meadowhall, which was the site of the last big steelworks in Sheffield.

"The film begins with a promotional film of Sheffield the 'city of steel', with its 90,000 steel workers and promises of a prosperous life for all.

"Then it shows the devastation of 25 years later by showing a empty, decrepit steelworks.

"That is just what it was like. I worked half a mile from where the film is set in the east end of Sheffield before I was made redundant when the Tories decimated the steel industry in 1980.

"Now there is hardly anything left in the area except a few small firms

paying reduced wages, and derelict buildings.

"One of the early scenes shows the characters nicking a girder. 'I'm liberating it,' one says. That's just how we felt when we were laid off.

"I could completely understand the sense of desperation and inadequacy the men in the film feel. I spent 14 months on the dole and went round knocking on the door of every firm begging for work. But you end up feeling, 'why bother to get up in the morning?'"

Damaged

"The film shows how being thrown on the dole has damaged the men's confidence.

"One of the characters is struggling to see his child, another becomes impotent and another tries to commit suicide.

"They will consider anything to regain a bit of



EX STEEL workers try to regain some dignity

dignity. They become strippers because they want to regain a sense of being someone again.

"The film captures that sense of inadequacy without being patronising to the men involved.

"At first the men take the piss out of their former foreman. But the film shows how his feeling of power over the men is an illusion once he too is on

the scrap heap.

"He may be used to his skiing holidays, but now he can't even tell his wife he's on the dole.

"There are some hilarious scenes, like when the

men start dancing when they face the indignity of queuing up to sign on.

"The film had the audience rolling around with laughter. I would urge people to go and see it."

tv

Drama fits the mood

"WE DON'T chase window cleaners or minicab drivers: we see how the other half lives"

This is the motto of Revenue special investigator Shaun Southern.

He hunts down wealthy tax cheats in the new BBC 2 drama *Hold-ing On*.

Set in London—and completed before the recent election—the series brings together a random group of characters against a backdrop of Tory-inflicted misery.

They include Alan—a victim of 'care in the community'—whose mother is left to look after him despite his mental illness.

Sally is an office worker who ignores her sister's advice to "grow a thick skin" and instead stands up to her sexist boss.

But just as we are

by DAVE
McDONAGH

cheering her victory comes the sudden brutal twist that ends the first episode: Sally is stabbed to death by the increasingly unstable Alan.

Alan's mother berates the doctor who had refused him care:

"Is he psychotic enough for you now?", she asks.

On the evidence so far, *Hold-ing On* is driven by notions of solidarity and social justice.

As such, it fits with the popular mood that recently swept the Tories from office.

■ *Hold-ing On* is on BBC 2 at 9.30pm on Tuesdays.

music

Why Chumbawamba are top of the pops

by DAVE
RENTON

SOMETIMES IT feels that chart music is a total waste of time. Groups are either pompous and nostalgic like Oasis and Kula Shakur or formulaic and banal like the Spice Girls and Boyzone.

Compared to this it is wonderful to see Chumbawamba succeed. They've been on Top of the Pops and at number two in the charts with their new single, Tubthumping.

Chumbawamba have been slated by the press for supporting alcohol and drugs, and supposedly for telling the fans to kill the po-

lice.

But what the press don't understand is that young working class people buy Chumbawamba's records because the band reflect something about their lives.

Like Pulp with their song Common People, Chumbawamba have tapped into a popular mode which want things to change.

Sexism

The band have been together for 12 years. They've brought out dozen good albums, covering topics from the poll tax to homophobia and sexism.

During the Great Miners' strike of 1984 Chumbawamba spent

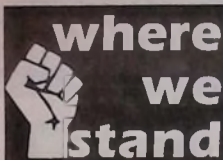
months on the road touring for the miners.

When the fascist BNP grew in the 1993-4 the band sang *Enough is Enough*, with the lyrics, "Give the fascist man gunshot".

Tubthumping is about "spreading subversive information". A "tubthumper" is, as the band say, "an orator, a ranter, a soap box speaker".

Chumbawamba's next album, promises to have tracks about the Liverpool dock strike, Catholicism and Blair's New Labour.

When you see their single up the charts, just remember what the band themselves said: "Who'd have thought it ... scum like us?"



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.

SIPTU 2000:

Few answers in new report

AS SIPTU prepares for its biannual conference in October, it has published a report about the unions future called *SIPTU 2000: A World Class Union*.

The project was set up in 1993 by Des Geraghty who says he stands for a more open and democratic union.

Various surveys and consultations were carried out to see where the union should be going. The results show that there is a deep feeling of unease in the union.

A survey of shop stewards saw that members perceived the union as "remote, complacent and ineffective with the concept of 'trade union fat cats' being quite prevalent".

But the survey team

Social Partnership deals have eaten away at the heart of trade unionism by barring the union from raising claims that could add to company costs.

have few answers.

Instead their report is written in the language of management and gives the impression that leading SIPTU is like running a company.

One of the report's main recommendations is that

SIPTU develop 'necessary management structures'.

The latest buzzwords from management consultants are used throughout the report.

So SIPTU is supposed to become a "world class union", to be more "flexible" and even to win greater "market share".

What the report lacks is any real specific proposals.

The rate of recruitment to SIPTU halved between 1995 and 1996.

Yet the report makes no call for fighting trade union movement which would recruit members by campaigning for a £5 an hour minimum wage.

There are many references to participation by the members.

Undemocratic

But there are no references to undemocratic practices in the union

For example, the banning of three resolutions for this years conference which came from the left wing Education Branch.

Above all, the key issue of social partnership has been ignored.

Social Partnership deals have eaten away at the heart of trade unionism by barring the union from raising claims that could add to company costs.

Changing SIPTU will mean opposing the rotten deals that a bankrupt leadership have pushed for so long.

letters to the editor

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



Racism at the border

TWO WEEKS ago four of us travelled by bus from Belfast to Dublin. The bus was stopped at the border and an immigration official boarded.

Without saying a word he went straight through the bus to the only two people who weren't white, a young Asian woman from Australia and a friend from Belfast who is black.

Both were asked to produce their passports and told "If you don't produce evidence of your nationality you will be taken off the bus".

When we challenged this blatant racism, (not one other person was asked for their passport) the majority of the people on the bus agreed to support us.

The immigration officer was told that if he took one person off the

bus he would have to take everyone.

We were then told that the bus was being held until our friend produced a passport.

This wasn't an isolated incident or the racism of one immigration officer.

Three garda cars were called while we were being held, and when we told them about what the immigration officer had done, we were told: "Yeah, that's the procedure, those are the guidelines."

Protest

Our protest was eventually successful and the guards were forced to let the bus continue to Dublin.

Last week the Minister for Justice in the South told the press that over 500 people had been held at the border in this way and that this proved the danger of illegal immigration.

At least one of these people was a black man from Manchester, visiting his mother's family in Dundalk.

Our friend was nearly another.

How many more people have faced the same racist treatment?

The bus driver told us that this was happening every week now.

People are being removed from buses as they cross the border, with no access to information about applying for asylum or refugee status.

They are simply put on the next bus back.

This should leave no one in any doubt about the nature of immigration laws. That they are always used in a racist way.

This is pure scapegoating and not a few people on the bus that day made the comparison with Nazi Germany.

—Colm Bryce, Derry

MARXISM
ninety seven

November 14th-16th
ATGWU Hall, Abbey St.

A weekend of debate and discussion organised by the Socialist Workers Party With over thirty meetings and debates. Tickets cost £8(waged) and £5 (unwaged).

For more information or to book tickets contact PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Tel (01) 8722682.

News from the SWP:

OVER THE last few weeks the SWP worked flat out to build the successful Anti-Nazi League carnival.

That event has begun to turn the tide on the racists by showing there are hundreds willing to demonstrate to defend the rights of refugees.

After the carnival more than a dozen people joined the SWP and many others left their names for further information.

The SWP has also recruited people who were involved in the Carolann Duggan election campaign in SIPTU.

Three people joined at a recent social in Waterford.

Over the next few months, the SWP will be re-launching its recruitment campaign.

After the experience of Labour in Coalition it is clear to many that an alternative working class party is needed.

But convincing them to join the SWP requires argument and discussion about why the revolutionary road is the only one to take.

As a first step an all out effort is being made to build Socialist Workers Student Societies in the colleges.

A major meeting for trade unionists has also been organised with Pete Camara of Teamster for a Democratic Union speaking about the experience of the UPS strike in America.

The meeting will take place in the ATGWU Hall, Abbey St on Wednesday 29th October.

SWP branch meetings

- BELFAST**
Meets every Thurs contact 8722682 for details
- CORK**
Meets every Weds at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.
- DERRY**
Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm
- DUN LAOGHAIRE**
Meets every Tues at 8pm in Christian Institute.
- ENNISKILLEN**
Meets every fortnight Contact national address for details
- GALWAY**
Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre 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
- DUBLIN DRIMNAGH**
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Black Forge (formerly the Bentley), Drimnagh Rd
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL**
Meets every Wed at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St.
- DUBLIN RATHMINES**
Meets every Wed at 8.30pm in 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;
DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA.
If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

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Management in hot water at Mater sit-in

SEVENTY NON-NURSING staff at the Mater Hospital, members of SIPTU, held an unofficial sit-in of the coffee dock last week.

For over two and a half years the workers, mainly porters, have been promised a designated common room.

"We want a place to have a bit of grub in cleanliness," said one porter, "a proper shower and a kitchen with facilities for a hundred."

Until now the staff have been expected to use a filthy room. "Rats wouldn't even go in it," said another porter.

The action began after

"We'll back the rest of the branch, because they would back us"

management failed to respond to a SIPTU deadline.

The seventy workers went up to the coffee dock, wanting to make tea and coffee, but were refused hot water.

They promptly sat

down and refused to work until management responded.

Maintenance workers sent colleagues over and were ready to join the sit-in upon word from the shop steward.

"We'll back the rest of the branch, because they would back us", one of them said.

After about two hours of the unofficial action, management gave a written undertaking that the staff would have some facilities by September 20th, a designated common room for January 1st

1998 and free hot water in the meantime.

But a discussion amongst the workers wanted the wording of the letter clarified

"We've been fobbed off too many times in the past," explained a porter.

Letter

Soon after another letter was rushed over.

With cheers and a sense of victory the workers accepted its contents and finished the sit-in.

"Not a bad result," said one porter "but let's see what they come up with."

Cork Trades Council

Cork march for union rights

ONE THOUSAND trade unionists marched through Cork to demand union rights.

"It was the biggest trade union demonstration in years" said Noel Murphy of the Cork Trades Council.

The march was organised after two workers in the US multinational TNT were sacked after they tried to organise in the Communications Workers Union.

One of them, Tony

Moore, had just won a prize for developing the company's business. Workers at TNT can do a 55 hour week for as little as £175 a week.

After they were sacked, the company started to make concessions to the workers to keep the union out.

They brought their case to the local trades council and it did a magnificent job in organising the demonstration.

The march assembled outside Connolly Hall in

Cork and marched around the city.

A large contingent from the Dublin Trades Council attended the event.

Afterwards the rally was addressed by Martina Ryan, the shop steward from the Early Learning Centre who won union recognition after a long strike.

Other speakers included Chris Hudson, of the CWU, and John Bowen, the President of the Cork Trades Council.

Anglo-Irish Beef

Ballot for action at Goodman Plant

OVER FIFTY workers at the Anglo Irish Beef Processors meat plant in Waterford have voted to take strike action in a claim for increased wages.

An overtime ban has been in place at the Waterford factory since April.

The plant is owned by the Goodman Group.

In the past Goodman's

links with Charles Haughey and Albert Reynolds enabled him to dodge his taxes and work scams on the European Union.

But while these aspects of Goodman's activities have been publicised, his anti-union practices are less well known.

In 1990, Goodman made an attempt to de-recognise the union at his Waterford plant.

Ever since November

1996, when several workers joined SIPTU, they have been met with an extremely hostile response.

Goodman refuses to accept the 'last in first out' principal in redundancies and tries to hold the fear of victimisation over the workers heads.

Demanding

Now, however, the union is standing up to him.

Workers say they have not been paid the full terms of national agreements over many years.

They are demanding a 5.7% wage rise to compensate.

They also want proper rates of overtime. Goodman believes in taking 'flexibility' to the limit to avoid overtime payments.

SIPTU is demanding time and a half for weekdays and double time for weekends.

SIPTU also wants to establish a proper sick pay and pension scheme at the plant.

Action on the strike ballot has been deferred until the end of September.

But the days when Goodman could walk over his workforce are coming to an end.

TEAM Aer Lingus

Workers win victory

WORKERS AT TEAM Aer Lingus scored an important victory after management was forced to restore wage increases due under national agreements.

The company had not paid the increases for three

years.

Workers balloted by nine to one in two ballots for strike action..

At first the company tried to tie them up in legal knots with the Industrial Relations Act.

But workers responded by organis-

ing an unofficial ban on overtime.

"The victory shows that industrial action brings results.

"This is an important lesson for a group of workers who suffered defeat in the past," one shop steward told *Socialist Worker*.

TEAM management, however, is as vicious as ever.

They have been told by the Employment Appeals Tribunal to re-instate the victimised shop steward Denis Smyth, but now they are appealing the issue to the courts.

Social Security Agency

Industrial action over privatisation

WORKERS IN the Social Security Agency across the North have begun balloting for industrial action to oppose plans to privatise sections of the department.

Last week, the SSA panel, made up of NIPSA shop stewards, voted to organise a campaign of industrial action to stop social security offices being sold off to private consortiums.

The new Labour government is pushing ahead with Tory plans to sell off sections of the SSA to private companies, such as Group 4.

In August the Northern Ireland Office an-

nounced that it had invited three private firms to tour SSA offices to assess which sections they want to bid for.

A NIPSA shop steward from Belfast told *Socialist Worker*:

"Everywhere else where these companies have been involved in privatisation they have attacked union conditions.

"They have ignored the TUPE legislation which is supposed to preserve existing conditions when you're privatised.

Profit

"It's obvious that they are only going to be concerned about making a profit and the only way

they can do that is to cut people off benefit and reduce our wages. We have to make sure that we stop them."

Strike

Workers are balloting for a half-day strike at the end of October and are implementing a policy of non-cooperation with the private companies.

Workers in the SSA should make sure that there is an overwhelming vote for strike action.

But as the shop steward from Belfast said: "A half-day strike isn't going to be enough.

"We have to make sure that this is just the start of a bigger campaign."

Tesco

WORKERS IN Quinnsnorth are balloting for industrial action to demand a 'goodwill' bonus from the company which has been sold to Tesco.

Quinnsnorth got £640 million in the takeover but management is refusing make any bonus payment to its staff.

Their stance has been backed by the pro-employer Labour Court.

Workers at Quinnsnorth have good reason to show

concern for their future.

When Tesco moved into Northern Ireland, they shut down the off-licence chain and closed two factories with the loss of 300 jobs despite promises of consultation with workers.

Fears

Tesco have so far not revealed their business plan.

Already they have announced that Lifestyle is to be sold off in a management buy-out.

There are fears

that more changes could follow.

MANDATE members, who form the majority of the 7,000 strong staff, see the issue of goodwill payments as an important opening battle for the future.

Older members know that when Quinnsnorth took over Five Star in 1979, workers received a two week bonus payment.

Once again they are determined that the big retail giants will not simply play with their lives but will be forced to pay up.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

Inside:

How the Nazis came to power: PAGE EIGHT

Unionism in crisis: PAGE FIVE

Solidarity price £1

FIGHT STUDENT POVERTY



North: Labour to scrap grants

THE LABOUR government is about to scrap the grant system for students.

From now on students will be forced to take out loans of up to £2,400 each year to survive.

Labour is following the Tories in dismantling the principle of free education.

They are insisting that students pay fees next year. All of this stops students from working class backgrounds going to college.

Debt

If a university education means having to incur a large debt, many will prefer to start earning money immediately.

The Labour Party claims that students come mainly from a middle class background. But this is nonsense.

Even the Dearing Report admitted that in Northern Ireland "higher education attracts more students from poorer backgrounds."

Today a third level degree is not a ticket to a life of privilege.

Instead it often leads to poorly paid jobs in computing, teaching or administration.

We need large national and local demonstrations to halt these attacks.

When Thatcher's Education Secretary, Keith Joseph, tried to introduce fees in 1984 huge demonstrations forced him to back down.

The Labour government must be told to tax the rich to fund education.

Look for example at the Ulster Bank. Last year they made £194 million in profits yet their chairman George Quigley sat on the Dearing Commission which recommended fees for students.

A Stop the Fees campaign has begun in a number of colleges in Britain and Northern Ireland.

It wants to see militant protests to defend the principle of free education.

If you agree, then get involved.

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South: Student housing crisis

STUDENTS returning to universities in the South face a massive accommodation crisis.

Although rents have risen to £40 for a one room flat, the maintenance grant has not increased. It is still worth only about £40 a week!

The crisis is so bad that a landlord in Waterford was offering accommodation which involved sharing a bed.

The press and right wing politicians are trying to scapegoat refugees for the housing crisis. But the reality is that the market system is directly to blame.

Over the last ten years the number of council houses being built has halved, forcing many

to look for private rented accommodation.

The Celtic Tiger boom has led to huge speculation on the property market.

Houses that formerly accommodated students have either been sold or are charging greatly increased rents.

Untaxed

Landlords who are supposed to register for a tiny fee of £40 a year are refusing to do so in order to protect their untaxed earnings.

The accommodation crisis for students is just one aspect of a crazy system that is driven by greed and profit.

The students unions should

be fighting hard to demand better accommodation and more grants.

But tragically USI has been taken over by a clique of Fianna Failers who pretend to be 'non-political'.

Last month they praised the new Minister for Education Michael Martin even though he increased the registration fee for students from £150 to £250.

But all of this can be changed if we get organised.

Socialist Workers Student Societies are getting active in many colleges.

If you want to see a fighting student union and want to put people before profits, then get involved.