

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

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Solidarity price £1

Behind settlement hype...

Would you trust First Minister Trimble to end sectarianism?



Tesco cashes in on cuts

TESCO have been condemned for "pressurising and manipulating" parents into shopping at their stores in order to obtain computers for their children's schools.

The Tesco Computers for School initiative is an

attempt by Tesco to cash in on the lack of decent computer facilities available in Irish schools.

Ireland has one of the lowest computer per student ratios in the EU—one per 75 students compared with an average of one per 24 students in most other EU countries.

The Tesco scheme allows one voucher for

every £10 spent at a Tesco, Quinnsnorth or Crazy Prices shop.

Under the scheme Tesco is offering 1,000 computers and related systems with a total value of £1 million.

Collect

However in order to obtain an Apple PC for example, a school must col-

lect 13,250 vouchers, which represents £132,500 of purchases at Tesco.

A Canon printer costs 3,500 vouchers, representing £35,000 spent at Tesco.

The scheme is putting huge pressure on parents to shop at Tesco.

Clearly the only thing benefitting from the scheme is Tesco's profits.

My mistake?

BUSINESS Plus is a new bosses' magazine which features Michael O'Leary of Ryanair on its front cover.

Inside O'Leary shows some new found modesty on the Ryanair strike.

"We thought the publicity would dry up and they would come back to work, I made a clear mistake."

O'Leary lives up to his disgusting "New Lad" image by saying, "I'd love to spend the rest of my life on a beach in Barbados, with a load of babes".



■ New lad tells all

Banks scandal...

State ignored its own controls

Banks said "Go Manx"

"THE opening and operation of any account with a financial institution outside the state by resident individuals or businesses is prohibited unless specific Central Bank permission has been obtained".

This was the wording of a Central Bank Exchange Control notice dated 1 April 1990.

But a recent *Sunday Business Post* article showed that the Irish rich and the bankers obviously treated the ruling

as an April Fool's joke.

A former Bank of Ireland employee in the Isle of Man branch revealed that the Central Bank allowed its own Exchange Controls to be flouted during the late 1980s and early 1990s.

Controls

The controls stated that only people needing offshore accounts for bona fide business purposes could get permission.

But the *Sunday Business Post* source said that

"99.9 percent" of the Bank of Ireland client base in the Isle of Man were not bona fide.

"They were people involved in business and enterprise.

"Some of them would have been quite high-profile people who would have been arriving quite literally with suitcases full of cash."

The banks avoided the issue of tax dodging by saying it was none of their business and was a private affair between the depositor and the Irish Revenue officials.

The offshore branches did not have to make returns to the Revenue Commissioners in Ireland

Digging the DIRT

ALLIED Irish Banks became the largest bank in Ireland in the 1980s because of big offshore accounts.

AIB had to pay £10

million in DIRT tax on behalf of its customers following a review of all its non-resident accounts.

Some 53,000 bogus non-resident accounts, containing nearly £600 million, were held in the bank by Irish tax dodgers. AIB also paid £3.7 million sterling to the Inland Revenue in Britain following an audit on deposits.

and they avoided giving advice that would reveal the depositor's name to the Revenue.

IT IS estimated that in the Isle of Man alone there is at least £1 billion of offshore Irish money. Border areas were a big source of these funds.

Wealthy people living in the South used to hide their money up North to avoid tax.

In the early 1990s the European tax laws were centralised. The banks warned their customers that tax harmonisation would allow the spread of information between EU

countries. The banks began to market the Isle of Man as a good place to put funds because it is not a member of the EU and is not subject to the EU controls.

But this became illegal under the Finance Act of 1995, which made it an offence to help someone set up an offshore bank account to avoid tax.

The banks got around this law by giving their Isle of Man phone numbers to customers while asking no questions.

A LEFT-WING JUDGE?

AT least one judge has been reading *Socialist Worker*. Judge Joseph Mangan of Dublin District Court, when a teenager was charged with begging, expressed surprise that begging was an offence.

He asked the Gardai to bring in "a few criminals in pinstriped suits for a change". We heartily agree but unfortunately he didn't throw out the begging charges.

Larry Goodman profits from BSE

LARRY Goodman's Irish Food Processors have just announced a huge increase in pre-tax profits last year from £3.5 million to £9.4 million.

This dramatic increase was due to £2.3 million Goodman received under the British BSE compensation scheme.

Despite this increase in profits, Goodman's company tax bill fell by almost half from £55,000 to only £27,000 last year.

Goodman himself personally pocketed £1.4 million of the profits as the major shareholder.

Goodman, formerly one of Fianna Fail's major financial contributors, cost the state £35 million in the form of the Beef Tribunal, which was set up to investigate his fraudulent activities.

Despite the huge evidence against him he has never faced any criminal prosecution.

Now the EU have an-



Still at large

nounced that the Irish State must pay £65 million for the crimes investigated by the Beef Tribunal.

It appears that the PAYE worker must pay the cost of criminal activities by Goodman while he walks free, and pockets more than a million pounds, while at the same time paying little or no tax.

May Day Menace

THE COPS intend to stage a national day of protest on May Day, to get a "substantial pay raise". Considering the importance of maintaining public order on demonstrations, *Socialist Worker* is happy to offer to steward the demonstration to make sure the extremist militants of the gardai stay within the law.

Celebrate May Day

May Day is workers day. Trade union bodies have organised May Day demonstrations in various cities. Below are listed those where details were available at press time. *Socialist Worker* will be on these parades with our placards and banners calling for a fight against "Partnership" and low pay and for a minimum wage and workers' unity against sectarianism.

- BELFAST: Assemble Sat May 2nd 11.00 College of Art
- DUBLIN: Assemble Fri May 1st 6.30pm Parnell Square
- CORK: Assemble Fri May 1st 7.30pm Connolly Hall

COMMEMORATION OF JIM CONNELL

(Author of the Red Flag)

Sunday April 26th 2.30pm
Crossakiel, Kells, Co Meath

Organised by Meath Trades Council

SOCIALIST WORKER PUBLIC MEETING

The Northern Settlement: Will it end sectarianism?

Speaker KIERAN ALLEN (Editor *Socialist Worker*)
Thursday 23rd April
Metropole Hotel
MacCurtain St Cork

what we think

Can the bosses settlement deliver peace?

MANY people throughout Ireland will be hoping that Mitchell settlement finally brings peace. The conflict in Northern Ireland has been concentrated in the working class areas.

During the thirty years of conflict, only seven people died in the wealthy area of the North Down Gold Coast compared to over 700 people who lost their lives in the small working class enclaves of North Belfast.

But while many hope for a "new start", the reality is that the agreement comes from right wing parties that have an interest in maintaining sectarian division.

The settlement bears all the hall marks of a bosses deal.

None of the sectarian institutions which caused the conflict are being dismantled.

The RUC will remain intact and merely have to undergo an examination by an independent commission that will report back in 1999. Harassment and abuse of young working class Catholics will continue.

The judges and the top civil servants who helped to organise discrimination will stay at their posts. There will be no investigation into the organised conspiracy by MI5 to establish loyalist death squads.

Instead there will be an institutionalisation of sectarian divisions.

At the first meeting of the North-

Stepping stone?

THE REPUBLICAN leadership say the deal is only a stepping stone on the road to a united, democratic, socialist Ireland.

But if Gerry Adams joins David Trimble in government, he will have to preside over cuts in social welfare, student fees and attacks on single parents. He will act as a figurehead at the top of a state that is still built on sectarian institutions.

Transitional

Those who argue that the agreement is a "transitional stage" claim that Catholics will eventually outnumber Protestants.

This is an argument used by right wing nationalists who want to discourage women having control over their bodies. It takes no account of the fact that women all over Ireland are limiting the number of children they have.

It is also a recipe for continuing sectarian conflict because it sees no hope of unity between Protestants and Catholics and wants one side to dominate the other.

Trimble can now boast that the union has been strengthened because the North-South bodies will only concern themselves with issues like 'animal health', waterways and, ominously, 'social welfare fraud'.

ern Ireland assembly each member will have to identify themselves as "nationalist, unionist or other".

Thereafter any decision will have to command the support of 60% of the assembly. This means that agreement will always have to be reached with Unionist politicians who are aligned to the right wing of the Tory party.

By establishing a political structure on the basis that Catholics and Protestants have different interests, the sectarian conflict will be prolonged.

Every decision on jobs, investment or the allocation of resources will be the source of an argument over "which side" gained.

The loyalist bigots who oppose the deal

A MAJORITY of the MPs in Trimble's own party are opposed to the settlement. The DUP is also aligning itself with LVF to "denounce the betrayal of Ulster".

These bigots were spawned by the sectarianism of the Northern state.

Unlike the business elements, many of them have a vested interest in maintaining the security apparatus that has been used to repress Catholics.

They have set out to win a base



Ahern and Blair shake hands on the deal. But what's in it for workers?

Overall the deal strengthens the grip of Trimble's Unionist Party over Protestant workers.

Throughout the negotiations David Trimble set the pace by tearing up proposals that were not to his liking.

Refused

The British Labour leader, Tony Blair, refused to stand up to Trimble on any significant point.

Trimble can now boast that the union has been strengthened because the North-South bodies will only concern themselves with is-

suess like "animal health", waterways and, ominously, "social welfare fraud".

This is far less than was even agreed in the Sunningdale deal of 1974.

By showing that the British establishment is still on his side and that the Irish government makes concessions to him, Trimble hopes to strengthen his claim to represent the Protestant 'community'.

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

SOCIALISTS are for peace in Northern Ireland because it creates the best conditions for Catholic and Protestant workers to unite.

Any return to armed struggle could only heighten sectarian tension and bring more suffering to working class areas — for no possible benefit.

But instead of looking for unity at the top of society between right wing parties, workers' unity has to be forged from below.

This starts when groups like the civil servants stand together to oppose the threats from the LVF and the INLA.

It was evident on the picket line at Montupet when Catholic and Protestant workers fought together against wage cuts. But every institution in Northern Ireland encourages workers to retreat from class unity back into a communal identity.

This is why socialist politics are vital.

Articles 2 and 3 - the great diversion

IN MAY the South will be convulsed by a great debate on removing Articles Two or Three.

On one side, are right wing nationalists like the Ancient Order of Hibernians or Fianna Fáil's Eamonn O Cuiv who have no problem with the idea of a Catholic state for a Catholic people.

On the other side will be the mainstream of the political establishment, who want to make concessions to Unionism.

Articles Two and Three never influenced any Southern government to attempt to re-take the "national territory".

Former

They were introduced by De Valera in 1937 to cover the retreat of Fianna Fail from their republican ideals. Within five years of their introduction, Fianna Fáil were interned and torturing their former republican allies.

Socialists have no interests in defending a constitution that gave power to John Charles McQuaid and his successors.

But neither do we pretend that these articles were a cause of the conflict in Northern Ireland. Trimble only focuses on them to hide the sectarian structures in the Northern state.

The vote on the referendum is in a reality a vote on the overall settlement.

Socialists should use the occasion to oppose the bosses solution that will only institutionalise sectarianism.

Socialists oppose loyalism and argue that republicanism cannot offer a way forward.

Loyalism pretends that Protestants are superior to Catholics and demands that they give their allegiance to the monarchy and the British state.

The pan-nationalists alliance advocated by Sinn Fein aligns Catholic workers with their class enemies and leads to the inevitable sell-outs.

Against all that socialists advocate an Ireland where all workers gain as wealth is seized back from the Green and Orange Tories who dominate our lives.

The only time that Protestants and Catholics have forged a genuine unity in the past has been in revolutionary conditions.

This is what happened when the United Irishmen of 1798 dared to challenge the rule of aristocrats and princes.

It can happen again when there is a challenge to the rule of capital that oppresses us all.



Kurdistan

The myth of Western 'protection'

KURDISTAN is part of a land-locked territory known in previous times as Mesopotamia. It is a nation of almost 30 million people speaking numerous distinct Kurdish dialects.

It is a spectacular land of soaring mountains and scorching heat, populated by a people with an ancient culture.

But Kurdistan does not exist on any map. It is a land carved up between five nations—Turkey, Iraq, Iran, Syria and Armenia.

For over five centuries Kurdistan has not enjoyed national independence.

It was granted recognition briefly after WWI, but when the British discovered vast oil reserves, the victorious Entente powers divided Kurdistan with the Treaty of Lausanne.

With large deposits of petroleum and other minerals, Kurdistan is still a very wealthy country.

A large part of Iraq's oil resources are in Kurdistan, in the regions around Kirkuk and Hanikin.

Part of the important oil resources of Iran are also in Kurdistan, in the region around Kirmanshah.

Resources

Turkey's oil resources are almost exclusively in Kurdistan (in the regions around Batman, Diyarbakir and Adiyaman). Syria's oil resources are also mainly in Kurdistan, in the region around Cezire.

Moreover, the land is rich in mineral resources such as iron, copper, chrome, coal, silver, gold, uranium and phosphates.

Robbed of the wealth that is rightfully theirs however, the Kurds today are each minorities within a foreign country, and are persecuted by the rulers of Turkey, Iran and Iraq.

Initially the Kurds fought against two great empires, the Ottoman and the Persian empires.

The balance of power was not in favour of the Kurds, and they had no external support whatsoever. The Balkan countries, for example, attained their independence through the support of powerful Western states such as Russia, Austria, England, and France.

It was the English and the French that separated Arabia from the Ottoman Empire. These were the same powers that, in cooperation with the government in Ankara [Turkey], carved up Kurdistan again.

The Kurdish rebellions that followed World War I were opposed not only by Turkey and Iran but also by the French and the English, which had Syria and Iraq as

Japan

The end of the Asian miracle

"THE JAPANESE economy is on the verge of collapsing. If the economic situation continues to decline this will no doubt have a damaging effect on the world economy."

This announcement from Norio Ohga, president of the electronics giant Sony, sent shockwaves through big business and governments.

The Asian "Tiger" miracle is turning to dust. It offers a salutary warning to those who believed that ESRI predication that the Celtic Tiger is set to boom until the year 2,010.

Recession

If the second biggest economy in the world has entered a major recession, there is little prospect that the tiny Celtic Tiger will not be caught up in the consequences.

Richard Urwin, head of economic research at UK fund management house Gartree, said of Japan, "It was clear six to nine months ago that the economy was weakening.

"But it is only in the last few weeks that it has become apparent that it is falling down a black hole."

The scale of the crash is staggering. Industrial output fell 3.3 percent between January and February of this year, retail sales fell an annual 7.1 percent in February, and the economy did not grow last

year. The economy may even have shrunk for the first time in 23 years.

Major companies like Nissan, Mazda and Mitsubishi are being threatened with bankruptcy. Japan's computer industry is on the ropes as the prices of DRAM memory chips fall across the world. The banking system is overloaded with debt that cannot be repaid.

The crisis triggered similar falls in Hong Kong, Singapore, Thailand, Malaysia and the Philippines. No one knows what will happen next, but clearly the economy is mired in a deepening crisis.

Japan takes 20 percent of all Asian exports. It owns half the world's savings. If it pulls that cash in to shore up the economy, it will have repercussions everywhere.

Big corporations like Sony, Nissan, Mitsubishi and Hitachi are likely to cut back on overseas investment.

Economists fear Japan's economic troubles could drag the world further into an era of recession and instability.

This prompted US president Clinton to intervene, basically telling the Japanese ruling class to get its act together and take "bold action".

Clinton is terrified because the US stock market is grossly overvalued. The rich have engaged in an



How much is the yen worth now?

orgy of share buying and mergers in recent years to boast their earnings. But this is mainly unrelated to the real growth in the wider economy.

If Japan crashes this could have a major knock

on effect on stock markets across the world.

This is why Sony's Norio Ohga ripped into Japan's prime minister Hashimoto, comparing him to US president Herbert Hoover, who pre-

sided over the 1929 Wall Street Crash.

"If you look at what Hoover was saying at the start of the Great Depression and what Mr Hashimoto is saying at the moment, they are very similar," said Ohga.

A US economist commented, "We have entered a downturn—things are going to get very nasty very quickly here.

"The economy is no longer creating jobs. The party's over."

The desperation is ruling class circles is seen in the response of the Japanese government to the crisis.

The government has launched an advertising campaign with cartoon characters saying, "Hooray! Let's spend some money! Let's go skiing!"

But commentators say Japanese workers have little confidence in those at the helm of society and are keeping hold of their savings for fear of what might happen.

Free market disaster

TWO YEARS ago the leaders of the West and south east Asia met at the first Asia-Europe summit in Bangkok.

Politicians across the world paid homage to the "Tigers", and claimed that "labour flexibility" and the free market was the key to growth.

The same sort of praise for the Irish miracle was heaped on the Asian tigers then.

But look at those economic "miracles" today.

INDONESIA: Last month the Indonesian government announced the closure of another seven banks and put seven others under "official supervision".

The International Monetary Fund is refusing to deliver the second tranche of its \$24 billion aid package until dictator president Suharto agrees to the strict terms of their bail out programme.

Suharto fears rising unrest. Indonesia's education minister last week instructed university heads to ban all on-campus political activity after security forces and students clashed at Gadjah Mada University in Yogyakarta, east of Jakarta.

Analysts predict a fuel price hike due this month could spark more unrest.

SOUTH KOREA'S economic crisis has already cost 1.5 million jobs and the number is rising by 10,000 every day.

THAILAND: The Thai economy is deep in turmoil. Exports fell nearly eight percent in January compared with the same month last year. Local manufacturers have a "liquidity" problem—in other words they cannot borrow from the banks.

Unemployment is still rising, and food shortages continue alongside spiralling food prices.

As Sinn Fein Ard Fheis meets...

Adams and McGuinness give the deal a 'fair wind'

"THERE are two reactions to the deal. Many new voters for Sinn Fein support it, hoping that the "equality agenda" will deliver some changes.

"The Catholic middle class are particularly enthusiastic. They see new opportunities as the BBC starts to promote the Irish language.

"But among many republican activists there is real disillusionment. There is nothing in this deal for a Catholic living in Portadown. There is no change of substance. Did they fight for twenty five years to get a North-South body that discusses animal health?"

This is how one North Belfast socialist summed up reactions to the multi-party agreement concluded at Stormont.

Opposition

Already there are small signs of opposition developing in republican heartlands.

"My aunt said she was not putting out the tricolour this Easter because she feels betrayed. She was not alone. If you walked down Ardmonagh drive in Turf Lodge there was hardly any flags out this year. Last year there were hundreds," a local resident told *Socialist Worker*.

The leaders of Sinn Fein are firmly committed to the Mitchell agreement but they are treading carefully to try to avoid a split.

This is why they are signing up in a "semi-detached way". As McGuinness put it, "We will give it a fair wind".

There will be token opposition to some aspects of the agreement but the wider strategy is to prepare for eventual entry into a cabinet presided over by David Trimble.

One main area of opposition will be on Articles Two and Three. For the past few years, Sinn Fein has positioned itself to both ally with Fianna Fail and to win over sections of the "grassroots" of Fianna Fail.

They see a campaign to defend Articles Two and Three as an ideal opportunity to appeal to Fianna Fail's green supporters and spread their own political base into the South.

But this can only be done by shifting even further to the right to meet the concerns of the conservative small business men who dominate the Fianna Fail grassroots.

Change

A similar process is at play in the North itself. In the next few weeks Adams and McGuinness will try to change Sinn Fein's constitution to enter a Northern Ireland assembly. Their aim now is to overtake the SDLP by making Sinn Fein acceptable to the Catholic middle class.

A recent meeting between Adams and the employers' or-

ganisation, the CBI, indicates the direction the party now wishes to go.

In recent times, some republicans argued that they were only "using" Clinton and Ahern to advance their real agenda — a united socialist Ireland.

The reality was always that they could never "use" the leader of the world's largest imperialist power to bring change for working people.

But it is now obvious that Sinn Fein's establishment friends leaned on it to accept a deal that falls short of even the Sunningdale agreement of 1974.

At the decisive moment in the negotiations Clinton rang Adams to give him an ultimatum about the settlement.

The republican leaders were told to either join the political establishment or to face marginalisation.

Today the Sinn Fein leaders are preparing to play the same role that Arafat plays in Palestine.

This will bring them into conflict with those who still want to smash the Northern state.



McGuinness and Adams— is the answer blowing in the wind?

Militarists have no alternative

THE OPPOSITION to the Adams leadership comes from militarists who mainly espouse right wing politics.

Republican Sinn Fein members, for example, acted as "bodyguards" on Youth Defence marches in the South. Among their favoured solutions to unemployment is a year's military duty.

Harking back to the days of the former Sinn Fein leader, Ruairi O Bradaigh, they advocate a federal Ire-

land as a way of overcoming divisions.

But the core of their strategy is a return to armed struggle. There is little doubt that a new campaign would be conducted in a blatantly sectarian fashion.

Avoiding

The Continuity IRA has already distinguished itself by leaving bombs in mainly Protestant premises while avoiding Catholic businesses.

Their counterparts in the INLA have shown an even more reckless disregard for working class lives.

If the IRA could not enforce a British army withdrawal through a determined armed struggle over two decades, the militarist splinter groups have no hope of succeeding.

A growth in support for these groupings would only represent a tragic re-running of history.

In 1975, the founder of RSF Ruairi O Bradaigh brought the IRA's armed struggle to a close with a truce with the British gov-

ernment. While the republican leaders were lulled by vague talk from the British of

"structures of disengagement", a policy of criminalising republican prisoners was put in place.

When the republican armed struggle resumed it did so in the most blatantly sectarian fashion when the South Armagh IRA murdered ten Protestant workers in Kingsmills in 1976.

If opposition to Adams takes this militarist direction now, it would only be a sign of despair.



From Chief of Staff to Cabinet Minister

THROUGHOUT this century republicans have shifted from armed struggle into conventional politics.

Gerry Adams is following an historical path that has run from Michael Collins to Proinsias De Rossa,

Republicanism is based on the idea that British influence in Irish affairs is the root of all evils that affect the Irish people. Even the most radical republicans believe that the

class struggle has to be effectively postponed until after the British role in Ireland has been removed.

But this leads to a central contradiction because it ignores how certain classes of Irish people have an interest in keeping the present set up.

Strings

A hundred years ago Connolly pointed out that the Irish rich were "tied by a thousand economic strings" to the British empire.

Today the unity of interest between Irish and British capitalism

is even more pronounced.

This is why the main capitalist party Fianna Fail is content to occasionally use green rhetoric but to shore up partition.

The other side of the coin is that by ignoring class division, republicans have been unable to relate to the struggles of workers,

This is why they are so weak in the South and also why they have not won even a handful of Protestant workers in the North.

All of this means that republicanism can never mobilise the

forces that can achieve its goals. It is forced into compromise and the compromises then provoke splits.

Michael Collins was a heroic military leader against the British but after he opposed land seizures and strikes by workers, he ended up compromising with his opponents.

De Valera stood out against the compromise but he then took over the Free State and started internment of his former republican allies.

One of De Valera's opponents was the IRA Chief of Staff, Sean Mc

Bride.

But after he abandoned the armed struggle to set up Clann na Poblachta, he joined Fine Gael in a coalition government.

The new generation that took up the armed struggle included the young Proinsias de Rossa.

Turning

Within ten years, the republican leaders were again turning to parliamentary politics.

Adams is now the fifth generation of republicans to make the shift from armed struggle into conventional

politics.

It shows that he only revolutionary challenge to the system can come from workers struggles.

As Adams prepares to join Trimble in a cabinet, it is necessary to look for a different road.

This means seeking to unite Catholic and Protestant workers in a militant fight that challenges the logic of capitalism itself.

It is only in the course of these struggles that opposition can be built to the sectarianism of the Northern state and the corruption of the South.

Papon trial: French rulers found guilty

MAURICE Papon, was recently sentenced to 10 years in prison for complicity in crimes against humanity because of his role in the arrest and deportation of Jews during the Second World War.

"This is a double verdict," Mr Arno Klarsfeld, a lawyer for the relatives of Papon's victims said. "It is a conviction of Maurice Papon, who turned Jewish children over to the Gestapo. Through him, it is also a conviction of the Vichy apparatus."

While jurors debated his fate, Mr Papon dined in a four-star restaurant and then slept in his rented villa. The relatives of the Jews murdered at Auschwitz awaited the verdict in the cold hall of the Palais de Justice. They said he never looked at them during the six-month trial.

Rene Panaras, a retired chemist whose grandparents were deported in 1942, was near tears. "If he is acquitted, a curtain will fall over our grief and pain again. My grandparents will be murdered a second time," he said.

Deportation

Papon was tried for having presided over the rounding up and wholesale deportation of hundreds of Jews in the Bordeaux region in order to satisfy the quotas demanded by his German masters.

In total 75,721 Jews were deported from France including 2,044 children under six and 8,700 children aged between six and eleven years.

Of these deported, 43,000 were immediately sent to the gas chambers. Only 3 percent or 2,566 were still alive in 1945.

Papon's part in this process was clear.

He authorised the rounding up of Jews in his region and signed the deportation orders on which were listed the names of every man, woman and child to be sent to the concentration camps.

In fact over 85 percent of the Jews deported from France were arrested and sent off by the French police. One eyewitness commented that the deportations took place without a German in sight.

But Papon was no a fugi-

tive from the law who was finally brought to justice after years in hiding. For many years Papon was the law.

As the Second World War drew to a close he found a place within a new regime, after he was recruited as a regional Prefect by De Gaulle's administration over the heads of the local resistance, who furiously came out against the nomination.

But the Gaullist regime wanted civil servants who had shown their hostility to socialists. Papon rose quickly through the ranks of the regime, and in 1958 was made Prefect or chief of police in Paris.

During his time in office, the brutality of the police knew no limits. On 17 October 1961, a demonstration of Algerians protesting against France's colonial war was attacked by the police and hundreds were massacred. Their bodies were thrown into the river Seine and the affair was covered up for many years afterwards.

It was as if Bloody Sunday has occurred many times over and the Irish population at large never heard about it. Papon also presided over kidnapping and murder of Moroccan opposition leader Mehdi Ben Marka, which was carried out with the connivance of the Parisian police. The same methods learnt under the Vichy regime was used to serve his new masters.

At his recent trial Papon's defence was that he had saved many Jews from deportation—that he was a kind of Oscar Schindler.

But the only people he "saved" from deportation were those who could prove they were not Jewish. Not a single Jewish person was saved from the death convoys by Maurice Papon.

The judgment on Papon is really a judgment on the Gaullist regime which protected him, while the real heroes of the French resistance were cast aside for fear of their communist sympathies.

The Gaullists—who are Fianna Fail's French allies—comfortably accommodated fascists and collaborators in the past. This is why it is no surprise that some of their local organisations are trying to make deals with Le Pen's Nazis today.

by SIMON BASKETTER

THE TRUTH ABOUT JUDGES

Unelected elite of the working class

EARLIER this month a woman seeking damages against Dublin Bus had her compensation claim reduced by the judge hearing her case.

The woman had slipped and injured herself while standing and waiting to get off the bus. The judge reduced her claim because, he said, she had contributed to the accident.

He said he couldn't understand why people couldn't sit patiently in their seats and wait for the bus to stop before standing up. Obviously this judge has never travelled on a bus. Otherwise he would know how ridiculous his suggestion was.



Injustice seen to be done

DURING the Birmingham Six's appeal in 1980, Lord Denning let slip why he was prepared to keep six innocent men in jail.

If he freed them it would create 'an appalling vista', he said.

"If they won, it would mean that the police were guilty of perjury, that they were guilty of violence and threats, that confessions were involuntary and improperly admitted in evidence."

These miscarriages of justice do not just happen in Britain. There have been plenty of Irish cases where judges sent innocent people to prison rather than contemplate the 'appalling vista' that the police were lying.

Pete Pringle spent 15 years in prison after a judge accepted a police statement that he said 'I know that you knew I was involved'. Pringle denied this and was only eventually freed after a judge admitted to him much later that this was spurious evidence.

Nicky Kelly was jailed despite clear evidence that a confession had been extracted from him through the beatings of a Garda Heavy gang. During one of the trials a judge was discovered asleep during the evidence.

But the fact that judges don't use buses should come as no surprise.

The Irish justice system is riddled with class prejudice from top to bottom. Nearly all judges come from wealthy and privileged backgrounds. Two of the High Court judges are the sons of judges. They earn salaries of £80,000 and more. They have little knowledge or interest in the lives of ordinary people.

Yet these men—and the overwhelming majority are men—are supposed to be impartial upholders of the law.

Arrogance

Judges are unelected and display extraordinary arrogance. In 1996, for example, Justice James Carroll called the foreman in charge of renovations at the Four Courts to his bench and told him that he would be imprisoned if there was any further noise from building work.

They are appointed by the government and never have to explain their decisions.

Being judge is the safest job in the country. Since the foundation of the state not one single judge has ever been sacked from his position.

Although judges deal with sensitive issues—such as the recent C-case which involved the rape of a 13 year old girl—unlike other bodies of professionals they receive absolutely no training for the job.

They say their background makes them more than qualified to decide such crucial matters.

But nearly all judges share the same privileged upper class background. Among the 22 current High Court judges for example the vast majority were educated in exclusive fee paying private schools such as Gonzaga, Belvedere College and Glenstal Abbey. Fees here can amount to as much as £3,000 a year.

Judges claim that they only uphold the law of the land and are servants of the people.

But they form part of a ruling elite that reflects the ideas of the rich and powerful and helps maintain their rule.

Exclusive

They live in an exclusive world. At their private yacht and golf clubs they socialise with leading politicians and the bosses of big industry.

Most of them will have close ties with the political parties. They need those connections in order to be appointed. Chief Justice, Liam Hamilton, for example, was a Labour Party supporter who was

These are the people who decide our fate

promoted after he produced a whitewash report which exonerated the beef barons and the politicians who backed them.

The class prejudice of judges is one reason why prisons are packed full of people who come from the poorest sections of society.

One study by the criminologist Paul O Mahony found that 80% of prisoners had been unemployed before being incarcerated. For 74% of prisoners the best ever job they had was in one of the two lowest socio-economic categories.

When the wealthy appear before the courts they rarely get imprisonment and many get away with making a donation to the court poor box.

Negligence

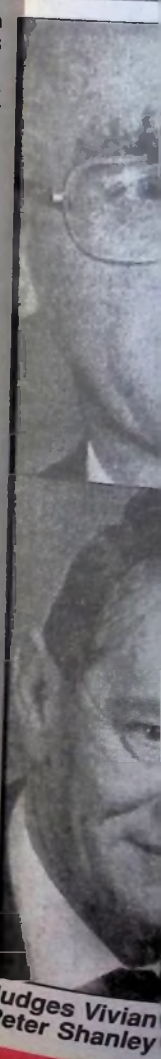
The boss of Zoe Developments, Liam Carroll, was told to apologise and donate £100,000 to charity after a young labourer was killed because of negligence on one of his sites.

Such a sum of money is not much to such a wealthy man. Although the judge called him a "recidivist criminal", Carroll was never threatened with prison or even a criminal sentence.

Criminal proceedings are rarely used against tax evaders and no one has ever been imprisoned for the offence. This is despite the fact that the state is owed more than £2.5 billion in unpaid tax.

The two most prominent tax evaders in the country, Michael Lowry and Charles Haughey haven't even been charged yet. Yet working class people are sent to Mountjoy for failing to pay their TV licences.

This is why it is no exaggeration to claim that the judges preside over a system that hands out one law for the rich and another for the poor.



Judges Vivian Peter Shanley

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by EIMEAR MALONY

enemies king class

are
people
decide

Paul Carney

Educated at Gonzaga college, Carney presided over the Kilkenny incest case in 1993. He was election agent for Progressive Democratic TD Michael McDowell.

He was appointed as a judge in 1991 when—surprise surprise—the PD's were in government.

Mella Carroll

Known as a strict conservative, Carroll is the daughter of a former Garda commissioner and is one of only three female High Court judges. She was appointed by Charles Haughey.

Among her high profile cases was SPUC's battle against Trinity College students over freedom of information on abortion.

Feergus Flood

Six years ago, in the Lavinia Kerwick case, he gave rapist William Conroy a suspended prison sentence.

Educated at Castleknock college, Flood is a former chairman of the fee-paying Sutton Park school and a member of the exclusive Howth Yacht club. He was appointed by Fianna Fail and the PD's.

Peter Kelly

Well known for his deeply conservative and religious views he attends Latin mass as often as possible.

He ruled that strikers in Crampton could be jailed if they picketed for direct labour. Fortunately, they ignored his ruling and went on to win their struggle.

Dermot Kinlen

Kinlen is the organiser of the annual Catholic service in St Michan's church in Dublin to mark the opening of the new law term.

He is reported to have resisted suggestions by the Law Society to hold an interdenominational service to mark the new law term.

Vivian Lavan

A former Fianna Fail adviser he was appointed to the High Court by Charles Haughey.

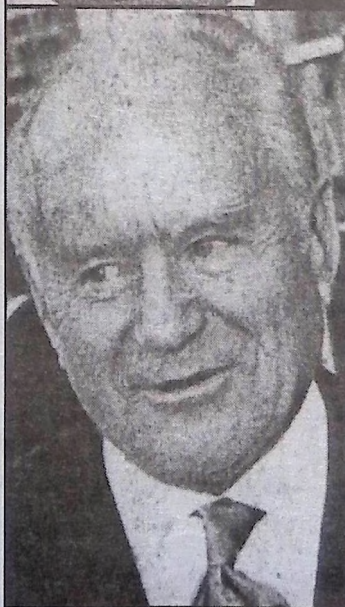
Educated at Terenure College and Roscrea College, he was regarded as one of the wealthiest barristers in the country before he was appointed judge.

Peter Shanley

Nephew of the former Chief Justice Tom O'Higgins, Shanley was educated privately at Belvedere College.

A Fine Gael supporter he was close to former Fine Gael leader Alan Dukes and represented Fine Gael on Dun Laoghaire council.

He was appointed High Court judge during the Fine Gael/Labour/DL coalition.



Judges Paul Carney (top), Peter Kelly and Fergus Flood.

What do socialists say?

'Crime' and how to end it

THE CAPITALIST class has a love-hate relationship with crime, as can be seen from glances at the capitalist media.

The newspapers dutifully condemn crime but they also delight in crime stories. "Sex Monster", "The Beast", and "Crime Rate Soars" are among favourite headlines.

TV and films are the same. There must be a thousand cops and robbers shows for every film or play dealing with a strike.

Nor is this just a matter of boosting sales and chasing ratings. The ambivalence reflects deep rooted class interests.

On the one hand the ruling class is officially, and in a sense genuinely, opposed to crime.

It needs the "rule of law" to prevent the poor helping themselves to the property of the rich. They do not appreciate being arbitrarily deprived of their Rolls Royces and diamond tiaras, even if they are insured.

Moreover, the smooth running of capitalism requires a degree of order in its business transactions, though this does not prevent numerous capitalists and capitalist officials committing all sorts of crimes.

Anti-social

On the other hand, the ruling class knows that crime does not really threaten it—a class *cannot* be dispossessed by any number of individual robberies—and it knows that it reaps considerable benefits from the existence of crime.

Every time the state is seen to deal with a crime it reinforces its claims to represent the general good of society against anti-social elements—to be the defender of the weak against the strong—and masks its essential function of defending the rich against the poor.

There is nothing like a real or imaginary crime wave for giving the state an excuse to strengthen its repressive powers.

There is nothing like the "law-and-order" issue for electing right wing governments and putting "moderate" and "soft" leftists on the defensive.

For the capitalists, crime plays the same role as the external "enemy". If crime did not exist it would be necessary to invent it.

But the ruling class need have no fears on that score, for the capitalist system produces crime like running produces sweat.

An economy based on competition, greed, exploitation and alienation cannot do otherwise.

Engels summed up the matter in a speech in 1845.

"Present day society", he said, "which breeds hostility between the individual man and everyone else, thus produces a social war of all against all which inevitably

in individual cases assumes a brutal, barbarously violent form—that of crime." Consequently, all those politicians' speeches promising a crackdown on crime are so much hot air.

Capitalist governments can no more end crime than they can end capitalism.

But what of socialism? In the speech quoted above Engels also maintained that a socialist society would "put an axe to the root of crime".

To many this might seem a far-fetched claim. But provided we understand by "socialism" what Marx and Engels understood by it, and don't confuse it with Russian-type state capitalism masquerading as socialism, then it is not hard to see how crime could be abolished.

A fully socialist society, in the Marxist sense, would be a society in which there was an abundance of the necessities of life (quite within reach of modern technology), and in which goods were distributed according to need—that is, truly equally.

In such a society, economic crime would become progressively pointless and impossible.

Assume, for example, that everyone wanting a car could have one supplied free and that all cars were designed for use, not prestige or status.

There would then be no reason to steal cars—they couldn't be sold—and if some eccentric wanted to accumulate cars for personal use it would both be glaringly obvious and not matter much.

Alternatively, assume that cars are discontinued and that instead there is a free and comprehensive public transport system which takes everyone wherever they want to go.

Again, the opportunity and motive for crime would disappear. Socialism would mean that eventually all goods and services would be put on this kind of footing.

This leaves crimes against the person, committed not from economic motives but from anger, passion, jealousy, bitterness, etc.—crimes such as murder, rape and assault.

Proportion

Even today these are only a tiny proportion of crimes and they too have social roots—roots socialism will put an axe to.

Again let's take an example. At present one of the main causes and arenas of such crime is the restrictive capitalist family, which binds people through social pressure and economic dependency in relationships they find intolerable.

Socialism will abolish this oppressive family by spreading the responsibility for child care and housework and cutting all ties of dependency.

People will be free to live, or not live, with who they want.

In fact socialism will humanise and liberate all personal relationships. This cannot help, at the very least, but greatly reduce all crimes against the person. The conclusion is simple.

The only real fight against crime is the fight against capitalism—itsself, the biggest crime of all.

by JOHN MOLYNEUX

FREDERICK TAYLOR

He made workers into machines



THE TIME and motion man with the stop watch and the clipboard has been the curse of generations of manual workers throughout this century.

The continuous drive for greater efficiency and speedup affects white collar workers today.

The man with the clipboard has been replaced by computers that monitor workers' output.

A new book, *The One Best Way*, tells the story of Frederick Winslow Taylor, nicknamed "Speedy" Taylor, who invented "scientific management" or "Taylorism" during the last decades of the 19th century in the US.

Taylor's 1911 book, *The Principles of Scientific Management*, became the bible for a generation of bosses worldwide and was translated into a dozen languages within two years.

Bosses grabbed onto Taylor's ideas because they fitted with their desire to force change on the way in which people worked.

Taylor was a monster. His one "big" idea was to make workers into machines that he could speed up at will.

As one of Taylor's disciples gushed, a worker was "a little power plant ... a mighty and delicate and complicated machine."

"The physical body of the man is constructed on the same mechanical principles as the machine is, except that it is a very much higher development. Take the human arm—look at the flexibility of motion there..."

Taylor bullied his staff. One mechanic complained that he was screamed at. Taylor called him "a coward, a damned quitter. I had no guts. I was a yellow dog."

Taylor's "model" worker, whom he boasted of, was a man he labelled "Schmidt", who he found while working at the Bethlehem Steel Works in 1899.

In fact the man's real name was Henry Noll but Taylor decided that "Schmidt" conjured up the image of a "dumb immigrant" to the businessmen he lectured to.

For Taylor, Noll was "a man of the mentally sluggish type, a man so stupid that he was unfitted to do even most kinds of labouring work".

In fact Noll could read and write and had attended grammar school. His misfortune was to come under Taylor's whip.

Normally a stockyard labourer at the Bethlehem works could shift 24 tons of pig iron per man in a ten hour day.

Taylor knew Noll was trying to save up to build a house so he offered him a bonus rate if he could work as hard as he could. "And what's more, no back talk."

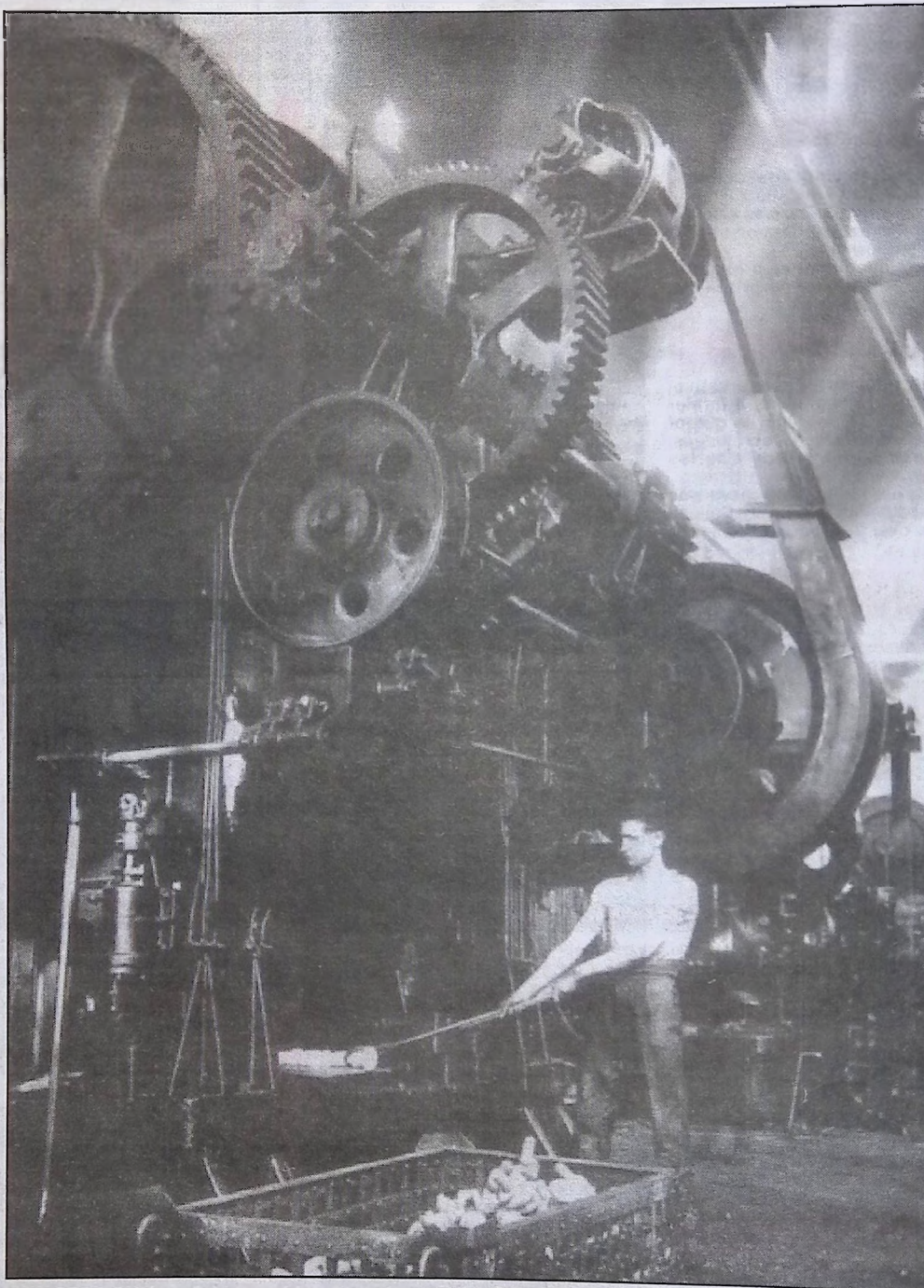
Taylor got Noll to load 47 tons a day for a 61 percent pay "differential". This became the new "norm" for the job. Of course it was completely unrealistic.

Noll was later discovered by researchers. His wife left him four years after Taylor's experiment when he took to drink, and he was old before his time.

IN ANOTHER notorious episode Taylor "scientifically managed" women workers who inspected bicycle ball bearings.

He decided that the women spent too much time "in partial idleness, talking and half working, or actually doing nothing".

He fired those who he admitted were "most intelligent, hardest working and most trustworthy" because he deemed



DWARFED BY the mighty machine. A worker in the Italian Fiat factory in 1934. fascist Mussolini glorified the power of machinery.

their reactions not quick enough.

He then sped up the work of those remaining and had the women seated so far apart that they could no longer talk to one another.

Taylor succeeded in cutting the workforce, 35 women now doing the work previously carried out by 120.

But all the women were eventually sacked when overproduction in the ball bearing industry made them redundant.

Why was Taylorism such a vogue amongst capitalists at the time?

As capitalism expanded, with more output and bigger factories, it needed a workforce which could be moulded to fit large scale production.

Previously industrial labour had been

concentrated mainly into small workshops.

These skilled workers measured their work and were paid for what they did by the day rather than the minute or second.

WORKERS TRIED to exercise some control over the rate of their exploitation. This was known as "soldiering".

If they thought the boss was demanding too much, or that they were working too fast, they would collectively agree to slow down.

It was "soldiering" that Taylor set out

to break forever.

Taylor was born in the middle of the last century into a very wealthy Philadelphia family.

After dropping out of college he took an unconventional turn and at the age of 19 was apprenticed as a machinist in a small pump works.

Taylor later admitted that his privileged background helped him. Had he been born a worker "he would have been unable to initiate his reforms" because of "social pressure in the form of threats, criticisms and ostracism".

By the age of 23 he was a "gang boss". But despite his efforts "every solitary man turned right around and joined the rest of his fellows and refused to work one

bit faster".

He cut their rate in two but the men responded by industrial sabotage, literally throwing a spanner in the works.

Taylor vowed to find a way to "find some remedy for this unbearable condition". He spent the years that followed developing scientific management. He earned millions.

Taylor said his method was for the good of all and would lead to "the final result of completely harmonising the men and the management, in place of the war that existed under the old system".

Part of Taylor's project would in modern times be called "de-skilling".

Taylor believed that giving workers a college education was a waste of time.

Much better to go straight into work: "They then begin to learn the greatest lesson in life, that almost nine tenths of the work that every man has to do is monotonous, tiresome and uninteresting."

"All we want is for the workers to obey the orders we give them, do what we say, and do it quick."

Taylor's methods were adapted to the early mass assembly lines of the car industry.

One of Taylor's early converts in Europe was George de Ram, the mechanical director of the Renault car factory in Billancourt, outside Paris.

One of Henry Ford's sidekicks, Jane Couzins, was Taylor mad, after Taylor delivered a four hour lecture to manufacturers in Detroit.

But for the workers it was "another step towards industrial slavery" and functioned like "a slavedriver's whip".

It is no surprise that Italian fascist dictator Mussolini was a fan.

In 1927 Taylor's widow was invited to Italy by Mussolini to celebrate the "achievements" of her husband.

TAYLOR'S WIDOW boasted, "I was invited (to Mussolini's chambers) to be received by him and to receive his photo in exchange for one of my husband's. As he said, he wanted one of the great man who had revolutionised industry and management."

Wherever Taylorism was introduced it provoked resistance of one sort or another.

In 1910 workers struck against Taylor in the government arsenal in Waterstown, near Boston.

"Every time I turn I find a man with a watch watching me; if I go after anything he is watching me; when I come back he is watching me," one striker explained.

Another, who had been in the job 38 years, said, "I think I have worked long enough for anyone to tell that I have been faithful to my work."

The strike triggered a special Congressional inquiry in which the brutality of Taylorism was laid out for the record.

In 1913 the Renault workers of Billancourt also downed tools against Taylorism. The bitter and bloody strikes in the US Ford factory in the 1930s were in part triggered by Taylorism.

Taylor's influence still shapes the world we live in. It will not be until the modern day "Schmidts" rise up and take over the factories and offices that we shall finally crush the tyranny of the speedup.

McQuaid's sectarian legacy

JOHN CHARLES McQuaid, who died twenty five years ago, held J. Edgar Hoover, the head of the FBI in the highest of esteem, particularly for his espionage work against suspected communists.

McQuaid had little to learn from Hoover. He controlled his own intelligence system with an iron hand during his 32-year reign as Archbishop of Dublin and Primate of all Ireland from 1940-1972.

He received covert information from his right wing religious supporters that ranged across all sectors of society - from the Cabinet room to the trade unions.

Particularly vigilant on his behalf were his "obedient servants" in the Knights of St. Columbanus.

McQuaid was an extreme sectarian who was determined to build a Catholic state for a Catholic people. He was active in right-wing groups which aimed to check Protestant influence in the professions, especially medicine.

He also shared the anti-Semitic views of his one time teacher Fr. Denis Fahey. From his early career McQuaid cultivated a close political and personal relationship with Eamon de Valera who shared his vision of a Catholic Gaelic Ireland.

Fianna Fail wanted a close relationship with the Church because it was a good way of hiding their failure to establish the republican ideal of a 32 county independent Ireland.

When Fianna Fail came to power McQuaid was simply a headmaster, albeit in one of the country's most prestigious schools, Blackrock College, where De Valera and his sons were educated.

By 1940 McQuaid was appointed Archbishop of Dublin at the age of 45, a highly irregular appointment. His appointment was secured by De Valera in a series of secret cables between the Vatican and Dublin.

McQuaid's collaboration with De Valera culminated in the drafting of the 1937 Constitution

Article 44 granted the Catholic Church a special position in the State. It allowed the Church to control both the public and private lives of its citizens as divorce, abortion and contraception were all outlawed. The Constitution also defined women solely as homemakers and mothers.

Afterwards McQuaid wrote to De Valera that "My chief feeling is one of gratitude that you have been able to put into effect as the natural law so many clauses on which we laboured very much and into the small hours of the night".

McQuaid's attempt to influence the State and enshrine Catholic moral teaching did not end with the Constitution.

He systematically undermined and subverted all attempts by the Minister for Health Noel Browne to implement a free, non-means tested health scheme for mothers and children, referring to it as "socialistic medicine".

McQuaid effectively stalked Noel Browne until he was sure that he was isolated in Cabinet and paralysed in the face of the medical profession.

McQuaid, however, could not have succeeded had he not won the former IRA leader and founder of Clann na Poblachta, Sean McBride, on to his side.

But there was also resistance to McQuaid's rule. The "Mother-and-Child Scheme" had huge support among the working class and despite opposition from the bishops Noel Browne was re-elected while the rest of his party Clann na Poblachta fell apart.

The tragedy was that Browne received no real support from the union leaders. The leaders of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union were very close to Fianna Fail and they only supported an amended scheme that FF brought in that was in line with Catholic social teaching.

McQuaid's reputation never really recovered from his opposition to the Browne's Scheme. But much of the system which he presided over is still in place. The Irish state still hands over the education of its citizens to religious groupings. Our hospitals are still mainly run according to a Catholic ethos.

We still have a constitution that is dedicated to the Most Holy Trinity.

And all the modernisers who say they want rid of Articles 2 and 3 are still frightened to tackle the sectarian legacy of John Charles McQuaid.

by SINEAD KENNEDY



McQuaid with one of the few politicians to stand up to him, Noel Browne

anniversary

One hundred years since the birth of Paul Robeson

The voice that shook America

ONE HUNDRED years ago this month Paul Robeson was born in the USA.

The son of a runaway black slave, Robeson became one of America's most celebrated concert singers, made movies, was a pioneering stage actor and a fighter against racism.

In his youth Paul Robeson was only the third black student to be enrolled in Rutgers University. There he became the leading college American football player of his generation despite surviving brutal attacks from his white teammates.

After studying law at the prestigious Columbia Law School he was set for a lucrative career as a lawyer. However he soon left the profession, sickened by its entrenched racism.

He became an actor and starred in the stage production of "Showboat". In this and the later film version, he made famous the sad lament "Old Man River". A poor black from America's deep South sings of his oppression and longing to escape.

You and me we sweat and strain

Bodies all aching and raked in pain

Tote that barge, bring that ball

Get a little drunk and you land in jail.

Folks get weary and sick of trying



Paul Robeson in Showboat, his best known role but one he denounced as demeaning

Tired of living but scared of dying

But Old Man River he just keeps rolling along.

He made the song his own and in his later life he transformed it from a cry of despair into an anti-racist anthem of defiance and liberation.

He played Othello in London with Peggy Ashcroft as Desdemona.

Theatre goes at the time believed it was the best portrayal of the Shakespeare's masterpiece ever staged.

Tolerate

However, the production was prevented from travelling to America because producers there would not tolerate a black actor kiss-

ing a white woman.

He played in a number of Hollywood films but became disillusioned at the racist stereotypes black actors were forced to play. He disowned the part he played in the film Showboat as racially demeaning.

He commented in 1937, "I find I cannot portray the life nor express the living

film

Jackie Brown reviewed by Conor Kostick

Thriller packs a punch

JACKIE Brown is the much awaited new film by Quentin Tarantino.

It has many of the features of Reservoir Dogs and Pulp Fiction, including snappy, earthy dialogue and a brilliant soundtrack. We're told as much about the characters by the music they put on to drive to, as by their actions.

Focus

Once again the main characters are criminals, with a plot from Elmore Leonard's book *Rum Punch*.

The focus of the film is on Jackie Brown, a forty-four year old black air stewardess, working for the worst company in the industry.

As one of the cops points out to her early on, she is in a miserable low paid job, with no prospects. This is not



JACKIE BROWN - AIR STEWARDESS WITH A DIFFERENCE

the usual background to the main figure in a slick gangster film.

Her character is played brilliantly by Pam Grier, with the stewardess' obligatory smile fooling those people trying to use her.

There is no question that she is smart and tough, particularly in the way she handles the cops, and the more dan-

gerous arms dealer, played by Samuel Jackson.

Style wise the film is full of echoes of the "Blaxploitation" films of the 70s but it is not open to any suggestion of racist stereotype precisely because of the strength of Jackie Brown.

Rather, Tarantino has infused the film with the better elements of black

urban culture.

The plot is spelt out and fairly predictable. Reservoir Dogs was shocking because it was without any comfort whatsoever, Pulp Fiction was completely out of control at times.

Jackie Brown is definitely worth seeing, but unlike its predecessors you won't need to see it twice to figure it out.

by KEVIN WINGFIELD

hopes and aspirations of the struggling people from which I come... One man cannot face the film companies. They represent about the biggest aggregate of finance capital in the world."

The following year he sang for Republican troops in Spain during their last-ditch defence of Madrid from Franco's fascists.

Robeson's civil rights and left wing activities had drawn him close to the only substantial left wing force at the time—the Communist Party. Unfortunately, despite his private reservations, he publicly defended Stalin's Russia.

In 1950 he called on black Americans to refuse to fight in Korea. "The place for the Negro people to fight for their freedom is here at home."

In the atmosphere of growing cold war hysteria the US ruling class were taking their opportunity to smash the left.

Senator Joe McCarthy was organising a witch-hunt through the House Committee on UnAmerican Activities.

Hundreds of famous names in Hollywood and beyond were blacklisted for alleged Communist connections.

Intimidated

Thousands more were investigated, intimidated or victimised out of their jobs.

Robeson was top of the hit list. He was prevented from working in the theatres and concert halls of America.

His records were banned from the airwaves and taken off the shelves. His films were not shown. He was made a non-person.

It was made clear that if he capitulated, his fame and fortune would be restored. Courageously Robeson stood his ground. He could not work and his passport was withdrawn so he could not travel abroad.

When in 1958 he was eventually allowed travel abroad he settled in Britain.

He played Othello and gave concerts but soon his health was broken and he went into physical and mental decline.

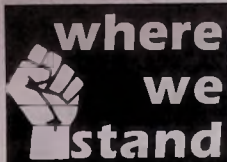
In these last concerts he always featured "The Ballad of Joe Hill" — a song celebrating the murdered union organiser.

From San Diego up to Maine

In every mine and mill Where working men defend their rights

It's there you'll find Joe Hill

It's there you'll find Joe Hill.



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.

NIPSA

Civil servants stand up to paramilitary threats and mangelment intimidation

EARLIER THIS month, hundreds of workers in Northern Ireland's Social Security Agency (SSA) and other civil service workplaces walked out in protest at threats from the Loyalist Volunteer Force and the Irish National Liberation Army.

Their action, including a 300-strong rally in Belfast, was a show of strength—even more so after management threatened to dock pay and discipline workers who took part in the walk-outs.

The head of the Child Support Agency Pat Devlin—a former president of civil service trade union NIPSA—still has not withdrawn his threat to punish and even suspend workers who have taken action.

One union activist said, "It's bad enough being threatened by paramilitaries. But management have treated us disgracefully.

"Casual workers who are due to be transferred were told that if they took action there would be no job after the move."

Threat

Another NIPSA member takes up the story.

"On Friday, people walked out immediately when they heard the threat to our colleagues in other offices.

"In Child Support Agency building, 700 out of 900 workers came out as a gesture.

"Throughout the North, Social Security Agency workers suspended direct

in this. We got two half-hearted circulars, that's all.

"We never intended to show up NIPSA but that's what happened. Our full-timer, Bumper Graham only contacted our branch on Tuesday to say 'don't go to this rally, you'll break the public order laws.'"

"To be fair, though, on Thursday management told him to pull us into line and he told them to take a long walk off a short plank," one worker said.

The action of the workers was attacked by Billy Hutchinson of the Progressive Unionist Party.

He accused workers in the Shankill Road SSA of leaving claimants without money over Easter.

Socialist

One NIPSA shop steward responded "Well, he always says he's a socialist and yet he doesn't empathise with the plight of workers on the Shankill Road.

"It's all very well talking about building a peaceful society but as far as I know he was very quiet on the LVF threat."

The workers were equally incensed with the threats from both the INLA and the LVF.

"The DHSS as a whole is an 80 per cent Catholic workforce, compared to others like the Department of Finance or of course the Northern Ireland Office.

"That probably played a part in the LVF threat. But

they won't drive a wedge between people. We've got a mixed workforce in the CSA tower and to us any threat is unacceptable, no matter where it comes from."

The workers at the Child Support Agency are now preparing to defend themselves against management bullying.

Escalate

"If there is punitive action we will escalate our action and they know it because we've got a strong union. At one time people were saying 'why bother with a union?' But the general mayhem with all the

changes here has crystallised the need to have one.

"The DHSS has the highest percentage of trade union membership. I'm not being snug here, but we knew our members would support the walk-outs and turn out for the rally.

"We've been fighting a battle royale in here and we've been steeled for this sort of thing", one union representative said.

The action in standing up against the paramilitaries is also feeding into mood to build a more determined union.

"People feel we're being used as guinea pigs for the privatisation of other parts

of the DHSS.

"But we've faced them down on a number of occasions over the past three or four years.

"They wanted to introduce alternative working patterns which would have meant signing away our rights to turn us into casual employees.

"We fought for a year and a half. We made it clear we would take industrial action that would damage them.

"We've still got our rights today. But there are other things coming up, like the proposed amalgamation of the CSA with the benefits side, for which we need to be prepared."

Help Socialist Worker raise £10,000

"The contribution made by Socialist Worker to the rank and file—in particular producing posters and leaflets at a moments notice—is invaluable. Especially for the disputes at Crampton's and Zoe's."

"The articles in Socialist Worker generated interest in our struggle and our case was carried into the national press."—
Dublin Regional Council member, BATU

Make cheques or postal orders payable to "Socialist Worker" and send to:

PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Or: PO Box 354 Tomb St. Belfast

To lodge directly:

Socialist Worker, Account no: 85173030 at AIB, 37/38 Upr O'Connell St, Dublin 1. Sort Code:

93-11-36

Or: Socialist Worker, Account no: 00812073 at First Trust, 31, High St, Belfast. Sort Code: 93-80-92.

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

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

Name

Address.....

Phone.....

SWP branch meetings

BELFAST CENTRAL
Meets every Thurs 8pm, Garrick Bar, Chichester Street.

BELFAST SOUTH
Meets every Weds at 7:30pm, Renshaws, University Street

CORK
Meets every Tues at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Commarket 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 8pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

MAYNOOTH
Meets every Thursday at 6.30pm Class Hall D Arts Maynooth college

WATERFORD
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.

DUBLIN NORTH-WEST
Meets every Tuesday at 8:00pm in The Snug, Dorset St.

DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm Artane/Beamont Recreation Centre opp Artane Castle

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Black Forge (formerly the Bentley), Drimnagh Fd

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL
Meets every Wed at 8:30pm in Conways, Parnell St.

DUBLIN RATHMINES LOWER
Meets every Wed at 8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond St.

DUBLIN RATHMINES UPPER
Meets every Mon at 8pm 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

OUT NOW:
Refugees are welcome here, The case against immigration controls by DEIRDRE CRONIN, available £2.00 from SW paper sellers and branch bookstalls plus 50p postage from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



news & reports— politics; the unions

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

Mackies

Strike to stop victimisation

MACKIES Engineering workers in Belfast struck twice earlier this month against "time and motion" inspection.

Workers are required to report what they are doing and the time taken so management can organise speedups and try to squeeze more productivity out of them.

Just before Easter, management made allegations against a shop steward of sexual harassment. Workers believe this was a crude smear to sack a militant in the factory.

One worker told Socialist Worker "It's terrible in there. They

think they can walk all over us. They wanted to bring this in without even talking to the unions about it, so we had a mass meeting and walked out.

"Nothing happened and now they've sacked the shop steward, over another disciplinary matter, just before we finish work for the Easter holidays.

The workers, members of the ATGWU and AEEU, will need to respond to the latest victimisation by escalating the action.

Local Authorities

LOCAL authority craft workers are fighting management's refusal to pay £25.26 due under an "analogue" agreement which links their pay with the private sector.

The 4,000 craft workers are employed in local au-

thorities, health boards and voluntary hospitals.

Their strike ballot is to be completed on 22 April and is expected to return a massive majority for strike action.

Another 30,000 general operatives outside Dublin, mostly members of SIPTU and IMPACT, are expected to return a mandate for

strike action in a knock-on claim.

And another 3,000 craft workers in VEC technical colleges could also join the action. Union activists need to ensure that the strike vote is fully mobilised in the run up to 22 April.

Strike notice is then expected to be served to start on 11 May.

Roche Ireland

WORKERS at Roche Pharmaceuticals in Co Clare have continued their strike in support of nine sacked workers.

The Labour Court recommended that the nine should remain on full pay without attending work for the next 18 months, to be given

jobs as they become available.

In a letter to SIPTU, Des Ryan the company's human resources director, accepted most of the Labour Court's recommendations but refused SIPTU's demand for immediate reopening of the voluntary severance programme.

SWP members poll high in union elections

SIPTU

SWP member Carolann Duggan scored 24,842 votes in the election for General Secretary of SIPTU.

This was a very good vote considering that the SIPTU headquarters and almost all full time officials actively campaigned against her.

Her rival candidates availed of the union data base to send out their literature to the homes of shop stewards.

The same facility

was not offered to Carolann Duggan.

Platform

Pdraig Yeates of the Irish Times called it "a very credible vote for a candidate standing on a revolutionary socialist platform".

Yeates had previously written extremely biased articles against Carolann.

The three campaigns that Carolann Duggan has run in SIPTU have now opened a huge audi-

ence that is opposed to Partnership 2000.

According to the Sunday Tribune, "Those who believe the union has shifted to a more militant stance argue that the creditable performance of the Socialist Worker Party candidate Carolann Duggan has sent a shock wave through the union."

John McDonnell who won the election has been forced to relate to the discontent by promising to op-

pose any "minimalist interpretation" of Partnership 2000.

But SIPTU leaders

have backed away from a fight over the dismissal of Ryanair workers.

ATGWU

SWP candidate Jimmy Kelly polled extremely well in a re-run ballot for the ATGWU executive.

Despite a major smear campaign, he came within 31 votes of winning the seat.

Jimmy Kelly's candidacy was opposed by the Irish Regional Sec-

retary, Mick O Reilly who was involved in a voting pact with a Northern moderate Norman Cairns.

Jimmy was not even given an official list of the shop stewards in the union.

But once again the genuine left showed it can muster a real audience

Students

CAMPAIGN TO STOP COLLEGE FEES

THE government intends to reintroduce third level fees through the backdoor by increasing registration fees.

In 1996-97, registration fees were £150. Then last summer months they were increased to £250.

USI have learned that a further increase of £150 is planned for this Summer, bringing the total cost to £400.

There is also a plan to increase fees for post-graduate and modular students by 3 to 4 percent to justify the increase in undergraduate fees.

Many students work part-time on low wages to finance their studies or teach up to 12 hours a week in the colleges for around £30.

Launched

A "Stop the Fees" campaign has been launched in the colleges.

This group is opposed to all fees and is against all further increases in registration fees.

Organised meetings are taking place in the colleges and a picket has been called for 1pm Wednesday 22 April outside the Dail.

TEAM

Reject 'final, final' offer

WORKERS at TEAM Aer Lingus are expected to vote to reject the "final final" offer from management.

But the union leaders have argued for a strategic alliance and employee share option (ESOP) similar to the one for Telecom

Eireann.

The company needs virtually 100 percent acceptance of its buy-out package to clear the way for the sale of TEAM to the Danish company FLS.

In return for lump sums workers will have to relinquish all rights they have won at Aer Lingus and ac-

cept pay and conditions below what they have at the moment.

FLS has failed to secure any long-term commitments from Aer Lingus that it will place its aircraft maintenance work in Dublin.

If Aer Lingus joins a strategic alliance with a

bigger airline, like BA, the work may go elsewhere.

TEAM workers have been told that the company will be a "stand alone" operation within the FLS group.

FLS has already cut its British aircraft maintenance operations from 2,600 to 1,100 workers.

Minimum wage

Don't rely on Harney

BEHIND the facade of the Celtic Tiger, Ireland has one of the highest proportions of its workforce on low pay in the OECD countries.

Fifty-five percent of the low paid are aged under twenty-five. Yet the employers are screaming because the government has promised to implement a minimum wage of £4.40 an hour.

Although their profits are mushrooming the bosses are opposed to a measure that would give some benefit to a quarter of the Irish workforce.

So much for "social partners"! But the report of National Minimum Wage Commission is riddled with problems.

■ The figure of £4.40 that Mary Harney has accepted is not going to be introduced until 2000. By that time, inflation will already have eroded its value.

Irish inflation figures are artificially low because of direct manipulation of the Consumer Price Index. House prices, mortgages and rent, for example, are not included in the official figure for inflation.

■ The implementation of a national minimum

wage will be tied to the acceptance of another partnership deal. It will be a form of blackmail to get workers to accept even more wage restraint.

■ The minimum wage does not apply to job entrants who are receiving training. If employers can claim there is a training component for any worker regardless of age, they can get away without paying the minimum wage for a year.

■ Provision has also been made to calculate the minimum wage on the basis of weekly earnings in some cases. This means that overtime rates and

shift allowance could be used by employers to claim they are paying the minimum wage.

■ The government has also given themselves a let out clause if there are economic difficulties associated with entry to the European Monetary Union. As Britain is not entering EMU and as most exports from Irish companies go there, employers can easily claim special exemptions.

The Fianna Fail and Progressive Democrat government is only accepting a minimum wage because they know anger among workers is rising.

Telecom Eireann

Campaign against the share scam

THE Telecom Eireann share deal (ESOP) has been hailed as the new model for workplace partnership.

But Telecom have withheld the 2.5 percent Partnership 2000 rise due since last November pending agreement on ESOP.

The unions will get shares if they agree to a 5.3 percent pension contribution, the scrapping of a bonus scheme and 2,500 redundancies.

Conditional

The shares are also conditional on an open ended Transformation Agreement—the "staff responsibilities" clause means acceptance of all changes needed to "stay ahead of the competition".

So management will continually squeeze more out of the workers while holding on to the 5 percent.

Reaction to the deal shows there is a huge gap between the union leaders and the rank and file.

But a campaign is needed across the CWU, CPSU and other unions to make sure the ESOP is thrown out.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

REFUGEES ARE WELCOME HERE

No racism

No deportations

JUSTICE Minister John O'Donoghue is trying to expel many refugees from Ireland.

At the beginning of March, almost one refugee a day was deported.

A further seventy refugees now face immediate expulsion.

Most refugees who have come to Ireland have faced persecution and even torture. The prospect of returning to

the country that repressed them fills many with dread.

One of the first refugees to be deported slashed his wrists but the Gardai took him to Dublin's Mater Hospital and then bundled him onto a plane.

O'Donoghue has the backing of key sections of the establishment for his racist policy.

Officials at the Department of Justice have long sought to

prevent Ireland becoming a multi-racial society.

They even call the place where non-Irish people must report the Aliens Office!

The Supreme Court has ruled that any refugee who has stopped in any other EU country on their way to Ireland can be sent back there.

But even the official figures show that 60 percent of refugees fall into this category.

Deport

By using this ruling O'Donoghue hopes to deport the majority of refugees from Ireland.

Yet O'Donoghue has no problem giving shelter to the former Mexican Prime Minister, Carlos Salinas de Gortari who fled his country on charges of corruption and conspiracy to murder.

Salinas was friendly with the former Fianna Fail leader, Reynolds and has lived in an exclusive Dublin residence.

As in everything else it's one law for the rich and another for the poor and persecuted.

and put in prison.

"A relative helped to obtain my release but in exchange I had to leave Zaire. Many of my friends are still in prison and some have been killed by the security forces while still in prison. I have had no contact with my family since I left.

"I would like to live in Ireland because I feel safer here. I am young and able bodied and I want to work and not claim welfare. I feel I can make a contribution to this country."

A Refugee speaks out

"I CAME from the Democratic Republic of the Congo, formerly Zaire. I never knew Ireland existed before I arrived here in August 1997.

"I had to leave my country because of my political beliefs. I was against what the government were doing in Zaire.

"Because of that I was arrested

Racist attacks in Dublin



ON THURSDAY April 9th at 11pm, 17 year old Zairean Landu Kulabutulu (above), was savagely assaulted in racist attack on Dublin's Liffey St.

Landu was struck in the back of the head with a bottle and then set upon by a gang of youths who dragged him to the ground and kicked him repeatedly, while they shouted racist abuse.

He was left on the ground half unconscious with blood streaming from his head until two French tourists came to his aid.

Landu received 16 stiches in his head as result of the attack and is now afraid to go out because of fear of further attacks.

This attack is only one of a litany of racist attacks that have occurred recently.

Cele from Congo, was attacked and had a dog set on him on his way home from a prayer meeting.

On Easter Monday Denis from Sierra Leone was attacked in broad daylight by two men calling him a "Black Monkey".

Alex Belo of the Democratic Republic of Congo Solidarity group told *Socialist Worker* "The police show no interest in doing anything about these attacks and often don't bother to come out and investigate when they know the victims are asylum seekers".

Mande Bedel of the African Refugee Network told how on one occasion he and his friend, Denis, went to Kevin St Garda station to call an ambulance for a friend who had cut himself and were verbally and physically attacked by the Gardai.

The racist hysteria which has been whipped up by the government and the media trying to scapegoat refugees leads directly to this kind of racist violence.

Fianna Fail's hypocrisy

FIANNA Fail's attitude to immigrants is riddled with hypocrisy.

In the past they encouraged people to leave Ireland because they saw emigration as a safety valve to reduce class conflict.

The former Fianna Fail deputy leader Brian Lenehan even claimed that 'we can't all live on a small island'.

Lenihan and Haughey linked up with right wing Irish American politicians to get nearly 100,000 illegal Irish immigrants into the US.

When O'Donoghue was in opposition, he also presented himself as a friend of refugees.

He attacked the law which prevented refugees working while applying for asylum status and called for free legal aid

for them.

But O'Donoghue did a U turn because he sees refugees as a useful scapegoat to help cover up the corruption inside his own party.

By attacking refugees he wants to draw attention away from the organised political bribery of big business and from all their schemes to shift the tax burden onto PAYE workers.

Demand

He knows that if a worker calls a refugee a "scrounger" then they are less likely to demand that the criminals who ran the Ansbacher account are locked up.

This is why we should support the rights of refugees and focus anger on the super-rich who are running this county.

SUPPORT THESE PROTESTS

NO RACISM: NO DEPORTATIONS

DUBLIN DEMONSTRATION:

Saturday 25 April 2pm.

Assemble Department of Justice, Stephen's Green.

CORK DEMONSTRATION:

Saturday 25 April 1pm. Assemble Daunt Square.