

Socialist Worker

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CLINTON'S

STATE

TERRORISM

THIS IS John Akot, a 35 year old Sudanese Christian, who is lying in an intensive care ward in Khartoum fighting for his life. He is a victim of Bill Clinton's state terrorism.

The factory which Clinton destroyed in Sudan produced drugs for medical use. The US have not produced a shred of evidence to back up their claim that it was making nerve gas. Instead they arrogantly tell us to believe their intelligence reports.

Three hundred of John Akot's col-

leagues have also lost their jobs because of Clinton's bombing.

One of the poorest countries in Africa has lost a facility which could save many lives.

When Clinton comes to Ireland, we will be asked to forget all this murder so that he can enjoy his games of golf.

The political establishment would like us to clap and cheer Clinton as a Man of Peace to boost his popularity rating back in the US.

But behind all the hype, remember John Akot and his fight for life. Just because the victims are poor and black is no excuse for state terrorism.

Doctor suspended over food research

THE SCIENTIST, Dr Arpad Puszati, who claimed his research had raised questions about the safety of genetically modified (GM) food for consumption by humans has been suspended for issuing "misleading information" based on incomplete research.

Granada TV's *World in Action* programme featured Dr. Puszati's claims that rats had suffered damage to the immune systems and had their growth stunted due to the consumption of GM

potatoes.

Companies like Monsanto who produce genetically engineered crops have made much of these allegations and claimed that there is nothing wrong with GM food. It is true that Dr. Puszati over generalised his research to claim that GM food is unsafe. However his main argument was that there has been no testing at all of the effects of genetically modified foods on humans even though these foods are being rushed onto the market.

He repeated his call for a five year moratorium on GM foods until proper research has been done into their safety

and long-term effects.

In any event other field trials and studies have shown the negative effects to the environment and to people's health from GM foods

For example another giant food company Novartis uses genetic engineering to introduce a gene into its GM crop, BT Maize. This new gene induces the plant to produce a poison which kills pests trying to eat the maize.

This same poison kills the lacewing insect which plays a beneficial role in controlling other agriculture pests and is also a vital food source for birds.

This maize has been approved for use

in the European Union.

While opposing the multinationals, socialists do not agree with people like Prince Charles who claims that GM food interferes with "realms that belong to God".

Humans have always interfered with nature and modified the genetic make-up of plants and animals. Without this intervention millions would starve.

There is no reason that science should not be used to modify crops after careful scientific research and public debate on the effects. This can never happen as long as companies like Monsanto and Novartis put profits before people.

Harney launches war on welfare

MARY Harney's war on welfare isn't due to be implemented until the first week of September, but the Department of Social Welfare has already started cutting people off from benefit by claiming they aren't seeking work.

Fraud crackdown joke

A CRACKDOWN on "benefit fraud" in Britain has turned into a farce.

The London Organised Fraud Investigation Team has produced just one successful prosecution in its two years of existence, and has only stopped benefit to two people over fraud allegations.

Each investigator was supposed to save £333,000 in fraudulent claims. Instead the 20 agents have spent £138,000 on plush cars and £100,000 on fancy new offices.

Harney's plan is to cut forty thousand people off the dole in twelve months.

This is not going to be done by creating jobs, or by providing extra training—a review of schemes is likely to cut funding for training.

Instead, Social Welfare investigators are going to call in as many people as possible for "interview".

Investigators

The Department has hired a hundred investigators to try and "save" £180 million on the social welfare bill.

They say that they "intend to be more stringent with claimants".

People will then be told to take the first low paid job available, or go on a scheme regardless of its suitability and as Harney said, "If they refuse

they will be cut off".

Socialist Worker has discovered a number of cases which show how this will work in practice.

One man in his twenties who had just qualified as an engineer was called in, he showed all his letters of application and reasonably expected to get a job from one of the applications.

He was told that he had to take a job as a gravedigger that week or his benefit would be stopped.

Another man who is a qualified sound engineer has had his benefit stopped after he didn't take a job for £2.19 an hour.

The INOU points out that, "The supposed extra training has no money, the scheme is suppose to be linked to the minimum wage but that doesn't come in until the year 2000.

"We are suspicious that people are receiving threatening interviews, and that the department will intimidate people off the live register".

More handouts to business

WHILE unemployed people are accused of living on handouts, the government has increased grants to big business.

Grants to industry by the IDA will total £134 million this year, a 12 percent increase on last year.

This will more than offset slight cuts in grants by Forbairt and Shannon Development, the other state agencies.

The IDA is one big welfare scheme for businesses. But you won't hear Mary Harney complaining about this drain on taxpayers' money!



Privatisation

Selling out to the fat cats

THE GOVERNMENT is selling off the ICC Bank and is considering the privatisation of Aer Rianta.

This follows the sale of Team Aer Lingus and the plan to float Telecom Eireann on the stock market next year.

Trade union leaders here used to rail against privatisation.

For example the Communications Workers Union ran a famous "Claws off Telecom" campaign just a few years ago.

Destruction

They rightly pointed out that privatisation under the Tories in Britain meant the destruction of jobs and services while company bosses make a fortune from share options and bonuses.

But the unions never pushed for a

real fight to stop the fat cats getting their hands on state companies.

Instead they argued for partnership deals with Fianna Fail to prevent the PDs from pushing their Thatcherite privatisation agenda.

But now Fianna Fail are in government with the PDs and both are pushing a privatisation agenda.

Scandalously the union leaders now accept privatisation as "inevitable" and are looking for employee share options (ESOPs) within the privatised companies.

They are selling a notion that Ireland can go down a different road to Britain and implement privatisation "with a human face".

But behind all the union leaders' partnership rhetoric, privatisation will result in vital public services being run in the interests of greed not need.

Dublin Bus workers showed how privatisation can be fought when they

rejected a viability plan that was paving the way for a sell-off.

Rank and file organisation was crucial in combatting the attempts by union leaders to sell the deal.

Privatisation puts air safety at risk

The privatisation of Aer Rianta would put the running of Ireland's airports in the hands of people whose only interest is profit.

The safety of airline passengers could come to depend on individuals who are accountable only to themselves.

The ESOP illusion

THE ICC Bank unions have accepted privatisation in return for an employee share option (ESOP) which would give the workers a 14.9 percent stake in the company.

They have adopted the model of Telecom Eireann where workers have just accepted an ESOP deal. But that deal involves major concessions on working conditions and the destruction of 2,500 jobs.

The main union in the ICC Bank is MSF. Their members in Irish Life have already been through privatisation.

After a long and bitter strike the Irish Life workers made major concessions on work practices while company directors made a killing.

That lesson should be remembered in the case of the ICC Bank.

Public Enterprise Minister Mary O'Rourke says she is not "ideologically committed" to privatisation and may instead look for a strategic partner for Aer Rianta.

But when Telecom Eireann got a strategic partner it paved the way for privatisation of the phone company, due to take place next year.

what we think

THE OMAGH BOMBING AND THE DEATH OF MILITANT REPUBLICANISM

THE OMAGH bombing is an outrage that should be condemned by every socialist.

The Real IRA which carried it out has shown its total contempt for the lives of working people. The cruelty of their action is only matched by their utter futility.

While condemning this terrible act, it is also vital that socialists understand its political roots.

The bombing has arisen from the bankruptcy of militant republicanism. Republicanism originally grew out of the fight against discrimination and bigotry in Northern Ireland.

Obliterating this simple fact by the type of psychological explanations advanced by commentators such as Fintan O Toole who claimed that republicanism is based on 'sheer nihilism' or 'a twisted mentality that will accept nothing short of the impossible' is absurd.

Tragedy

The real tragedy of republicanism is that it has never been able to provide a strategy to deal with the injustices it has sought to address. The philosophy of modern republicanism has been based a distorted reading of the events surrounding the 1916 rebellion.

Republicans argued that the military actions of a few individuals could change the course of history. This was always a futile strategy



■ **Death and devastation in Omagh**

— and it was just as futile when it was advocated by Gerry Adams as by the 32 County Sovereignty Committee today.

Every time the movement has reached a dead-end, it has split in the most bloody and violent way.

Today one wing of the republican movement around Adams and McGuinness are determined to make

their peace with the system at all costs.

Every other day, they try to attach themselves ever closer to the powerful, including the leaders of US imperialism who have wrecked havoc on people in Third World countries.

Within a matter of months, we could see the former leaders of the IRA

who argued that the armed struggle was a 'cutting edge' joining a government of a state they oppose.

The Omagh bombing means that their ticket to office will be a new readiness to co-operate openly with the police forces on this island.

The other minority wing, the Real IRA, which now organises a quarter of the

former membership of the IRA, has fallen back the mystical belief that armed struggle changes the course of history.

But isolated from all support they can only act as a group of desperate fanatics.

These terrorists thought that political progress can only come from the chaos of a civil war.

For them working people are a passive mass, the objects of history forged by great men rather than people, who emancipate themselves.

Anger

All over the country, working class people in their thousands have expressed their anger at the Real IRA and forced them to call a ceasefire within days of Omagh. And as Ed Maloney of the Sunday Tribune has put it, "One way or another, it seems the days of the Real IRA over"

But the reaction of our rulers to the Omagh horror has been one of blatant hypocrisy. They say that they cherish human life and oppose terrorism.

But Tony Blair was the first to back the state terrorism of Bill Clinton in bombing a pharmaceutical factory in the Sudan, depriving one of the poorest countries in the world of their facilities to make antibiotics.

And Bertie Ahern had no words of condemnation for the murderer who wasted human life to deflect attention from the statements of

Monica Lewinsky.

Now the British and Irish governments are cynically using the Omagh bombing as an excuse for more repression. Measures that they had in the pipeline for years — such as removing the right to silence — are being pushed through.

Socialists are totally opposed to these new forms of repression. The reality is that the Real IRA has lost more from the massive working class rejection rather than from any of the repressive measures now being discussed.

All experience shows that the new forms of repression will not just be directed at the Real IRA but against anyone who opposes a system built on greed and profit.

Giving the police catch-all powers will only strengthen the state against a rising working class movement

In the next few weeks, socialists will be alerting workers to the dangers of the new repressive laws.

We shall make clear that our condemnation of Omagh is more than matched by our protests against Clinton's terrorism when he visits here in September.

But in the longer term we need to build a political alternative to the failed tradition of republicanism that has only spawned a craving for respectability on one hand and, on the other, a desperate terrorism that inflicted suffering for no purpose.

Socialist Worker Rank and File Trade Union Conference

**19th September 11am to 5pm
Teacher's Club Parnell Square
Creche facilities available**

MEETINGS ON:

- The Alternative to the Union Leaders' Strategy
- Trade Unionism in Northern Ireland
- Building the union on the shop floor
- Rank and File movements: The experience
- Establishing a Solidarity network

SPEAKERS INCLUDE:

Carolann Duggan, Brid Smith plus shop stewards from Building workers Against the Black economy; Busworkers Action Group; TEAM, Waterford Glass; Limerick Corporation, Fire Brigades Union, Northern Ireland Public Services Alliance

"When I ran for election in SIPTU, I found a huge groundswell of discontent. We need to organise this discontent and give it a focus. I think that this conference is a important first step in pulling together rank and file militants. I urge everyone who voted and canvassed for me to come."

—CAROLANN DUGGAN,
SIPTU Shop Steward.

I want to attend the Rank and File Trade Union conference

Name: _____

Address: _____

Tel: _____

Union Position: _____

Send a £3 Registration Fee. For the full programme and leaflets for fellow workers, write to Socialist Worker PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



news of the world

America

Wave of revolt

A NEW mood of workers' militancy is sweeping the United States.

A year after the victory at United Parcel Service, a wave of strikes is proving that win was not a one off fluke.

Workers won the recent strike at General Motors. Then strike action by 73,000 Bell Atlantic telecom workers on the east coast secured a big victory after only two days.

"The union had leverage, and they exercised it," was the verdict of Wall Street financial analysts on the strike. Now two more telecommunications companies are out.

Some 35,000 workers at telephone company US West Inc have been on all out strike since 15 August.

Issues

The workers are angry about many issues, including compulsory overtime and plans to link pay to performance for some workers.

Picket lines and strike rallies were held as the strike began. Hundreds of workers attended a midnight rally in Phoenix, Arizona.

Another 6,300 workers at Southern New England Telecommunications

Canada

Hitting the heart of business

IN A stunning example of how strikes can have wide ranging effects, a small dispute in Ontario, Canada, could hit the US's three biggest car companies.

Just 120 workers have begun a strike against low pay at Westcast Industries.

The company is the leading maker of exhaust manifolds and provides parts for Ford, General Motors and Chrysler.

A spokesman for Ford in Canada said, "Those parts go to the heart of our business."

He went on to admit that the strike would have an impact on Ford's production within two days.

Corp, based in Connecticut, also hit the picket lines from midnight last Sunday.

The workers are on strike over the way management pays workers differently according to when they started working with the company.

The two latest strikes show the impact of both the GM strike and the victory at Bell Atlantic.

Victory

Lee Sustar of Socialist Worker's US sister paper says, "The Bell strike was a major victory. It is the best major contract workers have won in 25 years."

Regional telecom companies in the US, known as Baby Bells, were formed in the 1980s out of the break up of the giant Bell monopoly.

They have cut their workforces back, just like BT in Britain, and are now spreading into new areas like the internet, mobile phones and giant call centres.

They have been employing non-union workers in these new areas.

But the expansion in the industry means that, although the companies are making big profits, there is an acute labour shortage and the bosses face stiff competition.

Bell Atlantic covers the east coast from Boston to New York and down to Washington.

It is the largest regional telecom company in the US.

But it was quickly humbled by the strike. Workers won a good pay rise and a double figure rise in their pensions.

Concessions

They won an end to mandatory overtime and a series of other big concessions, including permanent jobs for part time workers.

The company also made major concessions on union rights.

It agreed to transfer work done at non-union call centres to unionised workers.

And the company says it will automatically recognise the union in any section where a majority of workers join up.

The new mood sweeping the US has seen strikes by construction workers, public transport workers and airline workers in the last few months.

"One year after 200,000 workers at United Parcel Service won workers' biggest victory in two decades, workers are flexing their muscles again," says

Lee.

At the end of June some 40,000 construction workers walked off the job, marched through Manhattan and clashed with the

police.

Public transport workers in Philadelphia also won a victory after striking, and workers at the TWA and North West Air-

lines have staged unofficial wildcat strikes over the summer.

North West Airline workers could be set to trigger a major new confrontation.

They planned to strike at the end of this week when their current pay and conditions agreement expires-unless their bosses agree a decent new deal.

South Korea



A child looks on as riot police surround the Hyundai occupation

Repression and union leaders end occupation

THE OCCUPATION by over 5,000 workers and their families in South Korea's biggest car company, Hyundai Motors, has ended in a shoddy deal.

Several hundred of the workers who have been occupying the plant for over a month have refused to leave. They are livid at the sell out.

Hyundai has been forced to retreat from sacking the 1,569 workers it originally wanted to get rid of.

But leaders of the Hyundai workers' union, the semi-legal Korean Federation of Trade Unions, have agreed 227 workers will be made redundant.

Another 1,261 workers who are "exempted from dismissal" will be laid off without pay for a year and a half.

In return the company is promising to withdraw the le-

gal proceedings launched against the union.

This is the first time a South Korean union has conceded the principle of mass layoffs.

Sacked

The thousands occupying Hyundai's Ulsan plant since 20 July had halted the company's car production. They demanded that no one should be sacked.

Unemployment in South Korea is rocketing, with over 8,000 workers a day being chucked out of work.

Despair at the economic crisis is gripping workers. One casualty has been Changangkyu, a Hyundai worker threatened with dismissal who became ill during the occupation.

He was rushed to hospital but died of shock. Many workers believe he died because of the anxiety caused by fear of losing his job.

The occupiers kept up a

determined fight despite the government sending police in to attack the occupation.

Some 15,000 riot police with water cannon, teargas trucks and bulldozers were deployed around the plant.

This action was taken by former dissident Kim Daejung, now president of South Korea.

He was elected as the first civilian leader in over 30 years

to be an alternative to the pro-market repressive government that had been ousted under pressure from growing workers' opposition.

Now Dae-jung's government is fuelling that opposition by attacking workers.

■ Some 26 supporters of the International Socialists of South Korea have been arrested and face jail sen-

tences merely for discussing socialist ideas and resisting austerity measures.

The Committee to Defend South Korean Socialists has produced a factsheet on the case.

Order them for your workplace, union body, community group at 50p each, ten for £4, c/o PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

South Africa

OVER 21,000 car workers in South Africa have won a victory after their week long strike over pay.

The strike has shown the power that workers in South Africa have to humble the multinationals.

The car giants lost £20 million a day through the action. Toyota, Volkswagen, BMW, Nissan, Honda and Ford were among companies hit.

The workers, members of the National Union of Metalworkers of South Africa, won a three year pay deal which should mean above inflation pay rises.

But the speed of the car giants' cave in shows the workers could have won more.

The car workers' win comes after recent strikes by chemical workers, electricity workers and airport workers.

It is a sign of the increasing determination to fight with Nelson Mandela's government failing to deliver real change for workers.

After the horror of Omagh...

by SINEAD
KENNEDY

Don't let Fianna Fail take away our civil liberties

WHILE almost everyone in the country have condemned the horror of the Omagh bomb, the government is using the outrage to bring in new forms of repression.

The Dáil is being re-called to pass special laws only bring more injustice. Once they get the new laws through, sections of the Fianna Fail/Progressive Democrat cabinet want to bring in internment.

Draconian

Even Bertie Ahern has admitted that these laws are 'draconian'. Yet the reality is that the anti-terrorist laws will eventually be used against working people.

Politicians and the Gardaí have always used peoples sense of horror, fear and outrage to railroad in repressive legislation.

You only have to look at the history of Fianna Fail, who call themselves the Republican party.

In 1939 they introduced the

Offences against the State Act. It was suppose to be an emergency measure but it nearly sixty years later it is still being used.

In the early 80's, the government and the Gardaí - helped by the Independent Group of newspapers manufactured the idea that Ireland was undergoing a crime wave.

It was hinted that this crime wave was due to legal 'straitjackets' that prevented the Gardaí from fighting crime.

The 1984 Criminal Justice Act was passed which gave the Gardaí new powers of detention. The first draft of the Bill tried to remove the right to silence but it had to be dropped after huge public opposition.

The Department of Justice is now cynically using the outrage about the Omagh bomb to again try to get ride of the right to silence.

A spokesperson for ICCL, Michael Farrell, said "that the response of the Irish government is reminiscent of the actions taken by Britain in the wake of the Birmingham bombing".



■ Miscarriage of justice followed the Birmingham bomb

Gardaí have enough power

ALTHOUGH the Gardaí constantly complain about their lack of power to interrogate people, this is a myth. They have in fact considerable powers to detain for the purposes of interrogation.

Indeed in 1981, the Garda Commissioner claimed that 80 per cent of crimes in Ireland were solved by questioning suspects — in other words not by identification, good detective work or scientific evidence.

So what powers of detention do the Gardaí already have?

● Section 30 of the Offences against the State Act, 1939 already allows detention before charge for up to 48 hours. By wearing down the suspect with constant questioning and lack of sleep, the Gardaí can obtain their confession.

● 'Helping Gardaí with their inquiries'. Many people are persuaded to the Garda station voluntarily where they can be held for up to 12 hours.

● Public Order Act. Gardaí can arrest anyone they suspect of offending anyone of reasonable mind. This was supposed to be used against youth gangs who were terrorising old people.

But in a notorious case it was used against a Socialist Workers Party election candidate, Dr Peadar O Grady when it was speaking out against corruption during an election meeting.

So what will these new laws involve?

n The removal of the suspect's right to silence

The right to silence is linked to the presumption of innocence — the State has to prove its case against a person independently, instead of relying on a confession.

The right to silence is there to protect people against confessing to a crime they didn't commit.

The Gardaí arrest people because they believe they are guilty or they have a 'hunch'.

They interrogate them to try and make them confess. The right to silence is there to protect a person who might be worn down by lengthy bouts of questioning.

n Weakening defence cases.

If you forget to mention something to the Gardaí during interrogation, you cannot use it in your defence later on. It will be assumed to be a lie later in court.

So a young working class person who was too frightened to mention who they were with on a particular night, could

not ask this person for an alibi when they appeared in court.

n Guilty for not informing.

If you fail to give the Gardaí information of 'terrorist style' offences, you could be imprisoned.

There have been several cases like this in Northern Ireland. Taxi drivers who had their cabs commandeered by terrorists were told not to tell the RUC or else their families would be harmed..

Several of these people were prosecuted for withholding information.

The fact that they and their family were threatened with death was not an acceptable defence.

n 72 Hour Detentions.

People are more likely to be worn down and confess to crimes they did not confess after such long periods of interrogation.

Longer detentions also encourage the Gardaí to physically intimidate suspects as evidence of ill-treatment will have disappeared.

Emergency laws bring miscarriages of justice

The last time the government introduced emergency laws, it led to a series of miscarriages of justice.

In 1973, bombs were placed in Dublin and Monaghan just before the Dáil was due to debate the Offences against the State Amendment Act.

The vote on the emergency measure was in the balance before the bomb but afterwards it went through nearly unamimously.

No one has ever been convicted for the bombs — but there is some evidence that British intelligence were involved.

After the laws were passed. The Irish Times revealed that a 'Heavy Gang' had been es-

ablished within the Gardaí to beat confessions out of suspects. In a series of articles in 1977 they showed there were numerous complaints of Garda ill-treatment of suspects when in custody.

Amnesty International also issued a reported confirming the existence of the Heavy Gang and attacked the Irish government for its abuse of human rights.

Scandal

The case which showed up the scandal of repression was the CIE Mail Train robbery in Sallins, Co. Kildare. Three men - Brian McNally, Osgur Breatnach and Nicky Kelly - faced two trails for the crime. They were brutally treated while

in Garda custody, denied access to a lawyer and forced to sign false confessions.

The convictions of Brian McNally and Osgur Breatnach were quashed on Appeal because of their treatment in custody. Nicky Kelly had fled just before conviction.

He returned to Ireland after the other two convictions had been quashed, but despite the obvious similarities between his case and that of his two-accused, the courts upheld his conviction.

For years the Government relied on Lord Denning's 'appalling vista' judgement in the Birmingham Six case to block civil action for damages for their ill-treatment in Garda custody.

There have been many other forgotten cases of miscarriages of justice in the history of the state.

n In September 1982, Amanda McShane was interrogated in relation to armed robbery.

When her solicitor arrived at the Garda station where she was being interrogated, the solicitor found a document in the interview room, purporting to be a confession to her involvement. McShane said she had not confessed and denied any involvement in the robbery.

n In May 1984, Joanne Hayes confessed to the murder of a baby in Cahirciveen.

Other members of her family corroborated her confession after being held for a long period in custody. Even though scientific evidence showed that the baby at Cahirciveen could not have belonged to Hayes she was nevertheless charged with serious

offences.

n In February 1991, Damian March faced trial for what became known as the O'Connell Bridge murder.

When a number of witnesses contradicted statements which they had apparently made to the Gardaí, the prosecution dropped the case.

The charges were so outrageous that even the judge in the case said it should never have been brought to trial. He also inferred that there was harsh treatment while people were in custody.

All these cases feature people who were subjected to prolonged interrogation by the Gardaí as well as a failure to protect a person's right to silence. If the government gets away with its new plans for repression, there will be more miscarriages of justice.

Who gets to go to college?

TWO WEEKS ago thousands of students waited anxiously for the results of the Leaving Cert to drop through their doors.

The first question many asked was 'Had they a Place' — were they allowed to join the ranks of the college students.

At first sight, entry to college is based on merit. Those who work the hardest are supposed to be rewarded with points that reflect their ability or effort.

In reality, the biggest factor shaping entry to college is social class background. The children of manual workers are under-represented among university students.

In 1992, for example, only 3% of college students were the children of unskilled workers. By contrast a student born into a family of doctors or barristers was eight times more likely to get into college.

In all 40 percent of the Irish population are manual workers but only 24 percent of college places go to their sons and daughters.

Values

Teachers are often encouraged to believe that working class students are more likely to fail because they do not have the right 'cultural values' which the middle classes have. But separating culture off from material life is absurd.

How can you develop a culture of study, for example, if there is no extra room in the house to study and if you are required to take on odd jobs to fund the family?

In reality the upper classes do not rely on cultural values to get their children into college but employ a variety of techniques to ensure they succeed.

One is to use private schools where fees for boarding can cost up to £8,000 a year. Here students are guaranteed low class sizes and individual attention. 70% of students from private schools make it to college compared to 38% from community schools.

Some have concluded that because there is a bias in college entry towards the upper class, that students should have to pay for their fees.

The Labour government in

Britain, for example, uses this argument to excuse their re-introduction of fees.

But this is to misunderstand the nature of higher education today. In the past colleges were used as training grounds for the upper elite and were highly elitist institutions. Students in Britain, for example were used as scabs to break the General Strike in 1926.

Cheap

Today, however, Irish capitalism needs a cheap but educated workforce. Its reliance on the chemical and electronic industries means that it has to produce thousands of graduates who face the same privations as other workers.

In Intel, for example, graduates often work a four cycle shift and now many of them fear for their jobs as the recession hits the global microchip industry.

This means that while the upper class are over-represented, a significant number of working class people also go to college. Social class shows up in the manner in which they are forced to study and also in the type of education they receive in third level.

In the first place, poorer students are forced to work while wealthier students can take part in debating societies which still play an important role in developing political skills for right wing parties.

It is estimated today that a between a quarter and a third of students now work during term time — and these are predominately the working class students who are disadvantaged as a result in exams.

Secondly, working class students are heavily concentrated in the Regional Technical Colleges. The RTCs in Dundalk, Tallaght and Waterford are made up predominately from students from manual working class backgrounds. By contrast in the Royal College of Surgeons 56.2% of students come from higher professional background.

In a capitalist society working class people suffer inequalities in every area of their lives.

But instead of making these inequalities greater by re-introducing fees, we need to tax the rich so that there is enough money to provide decent grants and free education.

by KIERAN ALLEN

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U.S. BOMBINGS OF SUDAN AND AFRICA

CLINTON: THE BIGGEST TERROR

WHEN Bill Clinton comes to Ireland he will be welcomed with open arms by government as a man of peace. But the reality is that he is the Commander-in-Chief of the US armed forces which have brought untold bloodshed to millions of people around the world.

In recent weeks he has unleashed more terror on the people of Afghanistan and Sudan. As Monica Lewinsky was giving testimony to a Grand Jury, the cruise missiles were being primed for their deadly journey.

Clinton says that the factory he bombed in Sudan was producing nerve gas. But it is a blatant lie.

The factory manufactured antibiotics and the US Ambassador was even present at its opening.

Tom Carnaffin, a British technical manager who worked in the plant from 1992 to 1996 told the Observer newspaper,

"I have intimate knowledge of the plant and it just does not lend itself to the manufacture of chemical weapons. You need things like airlocks but this factory just as doors leading out into the street. The loss of this factory is a tragedy for rural communities who need medicines".

Hated

Today US imperialism is hated by millions of people in the Third World. The hatred goes far beyond the ranks of the Islamic fundamentalists, who have actually declined in popularity in many countries.

Among the acts of terror carried out by US forces in recent years were:

■ The 1986 bombing of Libya which hit a hospital and residential area, killing scores of men, women and children.

■ The mass slaughter in Iraq in 1991, when hundreds of thousands of civilians were killed to protect the oil profits of the multinationals. Since then the US and Britain have maintained sanctions on Iraq resulting in the deaths of 300 children every day for the past seven years.

Clinton's hypocrisy is shown by his refusal to act against Israel, which has undermined the Oslo peace accord by blowing up the homes of Palestinians to make way for Jewish settlers.

Clinton's attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan were a declaration of war on Osama bin Laden, a millionaire Saudi financier who has warned the US to leave Saudi Arabia.

But the US has no problem backing that other Saudi millionaire, King Fahd, who rules one of the worst regimes in the Middle East. Fahd helped found the brutal Taliban militia in Afghanistan which the US hoped to use to gain influence in Central Asia.

In fact Clinton's new enemy, Bin Laden, was once a leader of the Mujahedin guerillas who were backed by the US in their fight to get Russian forces out of Afghanistan.

The US is the world's biggest superpower and believes it can act with impunity. Clinton ordered the bombings to show that he is still the toughest kid on the block.



Sudan: the wreckage of American Imperialism

Islamic Fundamentalism America's new

THE WEST has constantly used the spectre of Islamic fundamentalism as justification for its murderous actions in the Middle East and North Africa.

If the "free world" does not keep control of the region, we are told, the fundamentalists will take over—just like they did in Iran.

Many people who would normally oppose US intervention in Latin America are worried about the spread of Islamic fundamentalism, especially because of its attacks on women and gays.

But the US did not bomb Afghanistan or Sudan because it was concerned for women's rights. For decades it has supported the semi-feudal regime of Saudi Arabia which bans women from driv-

ing cars and stones people to death for adultery.

Islamic fundamentalism grew in opposition to imperialism and to the corruption of local regimes.

It fostered the idea that Arab society had to rid itself of all "Western influences" and return to traditional Islamic teaching and the oppressive shariah.

Failures

The fundamentalists have often grown out of the failures of Arab nationalism and of the left.

In Algeria and Egypt, nationalist movements held the line against imperialism in the 1950s and 1960s. But when they came to power, these movements adopted a form of state capitalism, modelled on the old USSR.

The former liberators went on to ex-

AND AFGHANISTAN...

THE WORLD'S TERRORIST

by
**DAVE
McDONAGH**



The profits of war

CLINTON claims that the US actions are aimed at guaranteeing peace and security for the rest of the world.

We are told we live in a "post-Cold War" world, where weapons of mass destruction are outmoded and where the main threat comes from "international terrorists" and "rogue" regimes like Iraq.

But the US is spending the same on its armed forces as it did during the Cold War with Russia. Meanwhile, defence spending by Russia and its former allies declined by 80 percent between 1990 and 1996.

Spending

The US accounts for 40 percent of the world's military expenditure. Projected budgets for 1997-2002 call for an increase of 6.5 percent in military spending.

The arms producers have lobbied intensively to ensure that Clinton keeps the arms race alive:

■ In 1992 President Bush agreed that the production of B-2 bombers would be limited to 20 planes. But Clinton bowed to the lobbying campaign of the Northrop Grumman arms company and released funds to produce more than 20 B-2's.

■ In 1990 the Seawolf submarine project was being axed because the Russian submarine threat had declined. But Clinton resurrected the Seawolf and spent \$13 billion on the project in his first three years in office.

Since the Cold War ended, the US defence industry has taken over the market in global arms sales. Its share of the market grew from one quarter in 1990 to three quarters in 1995.

In that period, sales of US-produced arms abroad amounted to over \$250 billion. This resulted in the profits of the major arms companies jumping by 50 percent.

The Clinton administration has subsidised the merger of some of the biggest arms companies. For example, the Lockheed Martin merger cost the US taxpayer at least \$1 billion.

At the same time Clinton is cutting back on welfare and health spending. His neo-liberal economics are the inspiration that Harney uses in her attacks on the unemployed here.

Bill Clinton himself is the chief salesman for US-produced arms. When he is not ordering the air strikes himself, he is making sure that the corrupt allies of US imperialism are armed to the teeth.

fundamentalism: new bogeyman

exploit the working class in Algeria and Egypt. But the left in those countries was tied to Stalinism and failed to criticise the nationalist regimes. Many of the poor turned to Islamic movements instead.

Similarly in Palestine, the Hamas movement grew out of the betrayals of Yasser Arafat and the PLO.

Islamic fundamentalism does oppress women and gays but it is not the "new fascism". At the same time it does not offer any real prospect of breaking the grip of imperialism.

Islamic movements are based on a section of the middle class who want to create a religious utopia in Arab society.

Such a movement will always make compromises with capitalism. In Algeria none other than Bill Clinton urged the regime to incorporate the more con-

servative sections of the FIS by agreeing to implement elements of the shariah.

Islamic movements also help to head off workers' revolution, as the Ayatollahs did in Iran after workers overthrew the Shah.

But Iran shows how the Ayatollahs also had to fit into a changing world once they came to power. The increasing need for women in the workforce meant that the Islamic rulers could not keep complete control over women's lives.

Socialists support every fight against oppression, even if those fighting are influenced by fundamentalism.

Only by siding with the oppressed can we challenge the more reactionary ideas of Islam and win the oppressed away from the false utopia promised by the mullahs.

What do socialists say?

How could workers run the economy?

THE FOUNDATION of socialism, like that of every other society, lies in the economy.

Consequently the working class will immediately set about using its political power to achieve the conquest of economic power—that is, to take into its hands all the major means of production in society.

Unless this is done fairly rapidly the workers will be unable to maintain their political rule.

The formal mechanism through which economic power will be established is a familiar one, namely nationalisation.

The banks should be taken into public ownership and there would be an imposition of strict exchange controls backed by other revolutionary measures to prevent the inevitable attempt at a flight of capital abroad.

From there the workers' state will move to the progressive take-over of the main firms and industries. The immediate task is to gain control of the decisive levers of economic power.

Labour

However, here it is necessary to distinguish sharply between this revolutionary nationalisation and the kind practised in the past by old Labour governments in the recent past.

Both are forms of state ownership. But in this case the state in question is an organisation of the collective working class, as opposed to the nationalisations of the past under a capitalist state—an organisation of the capitalist class.

So, firstly nationalisation will not simply be an action taken from above by the central state.

It will combine legal take-over at the top with workers' action at the base, in many cases through factory occupations.

Secondly, nationalisation will be without compensation, since the object of the exercise is precisely to break the economic power of the bourgeoisie.

Thirdly and most importantly, nationalisation will be under workers' control.

It is impossible to predict precise forms, but probably each factory or workplace will be run by an elected council which will be accountable to periodic mass meetings of the workforce.

A similar arrangement will apply to the management of whole industries, but with representatives from the trade unions and the workers' government.

Workers' control of industry is essential. A working class that is unable to control its own workplaces will not be able to control its own state.

If control of the new state industries is transferred to a privileged bureaucracy, then sooner or later this will come to exert a decisive influence in the society and class divisions will re-establish themselves.

by **JOHN
MOLYNIEX**

Of course, the ability of workers to run industry is often doubted. 'There will have to be experts', is the cry, 'and it is the experts who will really control things.'

Even under capitalism it is generally the workers, not management, who have the best grasp of the immediate production process.

Many of the skills of management are concerned not with production but with marketing, and maintaining the rate of exploitation-skills which will be redundant in the new society.

Once workers' ownership and control of industry are established it will be possible to proceed to the introduction of a planned economy.

Again it is necessary to distinguish between socialist planning and the state capitalist planning we are used to.

The plan will not be a rigid scheme imposed from above. The working class must be the subject, not the object, of the plan.

The planning process will begin at the base in workplace meetings, factory councils and workers' councils, with a determination of people's needs and priorities and an assessment of the productive capacities of each workplace.

Input

On the basis of this input from below the government will have to draw up a coherent plan matching capacity to requirement.

The whole plan will then have to be submitted to the working class for debate, and to its representatives in the workers' councils for amendment and approval.

It will be an intensely democratic process and unless it is democratic it will not work.

For, as the experience of Stalinist Russia has shown, bureaucratic, authoritarian planning leads to false information being fed in from below and formal rather than real plan fulfilment.

The achievement of a workers' planned economy will not only solve the worst economic problems of capitalism but will open immense possibilities for the future. But to be successful socialism will have to spread to other countries.

The unemployed struggles of the 1930's led to ...

Protestant socialists fighting sectarianism

THE IDEAS of Orangeism have often been challenged among working class Protestants.

Those who argue that the Orange Order is an expression of Protestant culture forget that there has been a long socialist tradition among Protestant workers.

In 1930 the Revolutionary Workers Group was set up in Belfast. Among its founders were Jimmy Kater and Loftus Johnston who were Protestant shipyard workers. They were joined by another Protestant, William Boyd, an unemployed docker.

Along with Arthur Griffin and Tommy Keehan, two unemployed Catholic textile workers, they formed the nucleus of the RWG.

In the economic slump of the time they concentrated on fighting for better conditions for the unemployed.

As they stepped up their agitation, two other branches of the RWG were set up in the overwhelmingly Protestant towns of Ballymena and Ballymoney in County Antrim the following year. Up to 1,000 unemployed workers attended their first meetings there.

The Labour Government in Britain under Prime Minister Ramsay MacDonald introduced cuts in unemployment relief.

Soon the RWG paper, *Workers' Voice* was selling 1,200 a week in Belfast alone. Thousands attended the daily demonstrations organised at the Unemployment Exchange in Belfast's Frederick St.

The RWGs had 300 new members in September 1931 in the midst of this agitation. The Orange bosses of Northern Ireland did not take this lying down.

In a bid to foment sectarianism they set up an extreme right-wing "Ulster Protestant League" which was supposed to "safeguard the employment of Protestants."

It also attempted to break up RWG meetings in Ballymacarrett, a shipyard district of East Belfast. However the platform was guarded by workers from the Sandy Row who beat back the attacks of the sectarianists.

Later there were running battles between the UPL and supporters of the RWG and the RUC weighed in to beat the communists off the streets.

In Ballymoney the UPL broke up RWG meetings dragging speakers from the platform. The RUC ordered the left wing speakers to leave town.

The Catholic Church and Orange leaders joined in a torrent of abuse about the left wing activity. This prompted the staunchly Unionist *Northern Whig* to declare in May 1931: "In so far as the Pope attacks Socialism and Communism, we must wish him well."



Protestant workers marching in Bodenstown in 1934. The banner reads "Break the connection with capitalism"

Despite this there remained a layer of working class militants in both the Catholic and Protestant communities organised by the RWG. This was to pay dividends the following year.

By 1932 the official unemployment figure had soared to over 72,000 although the real figure was closer to 100,000. For those who were not eligible for insurance the poverty was desperate.

The only alternative to the workhouse was a form of workfare — work for dole. This "Outdoor Relief" was a small payment, often in kind, which was viciously means-tested. Single people were not eligible for this relief.

The Revolutionary Workers Group set up an Outdoor Relief Committee in the summer. By autumn it had mushroomed into a movement organising demonstrations of 20,000. Two thousand workers on ODR schemes voted to strike for increases in payments and the extension of the scheme to single people.

Flying pickets shut down all work on the Relief schemes and the action was escalated with a call for a rent strike.

The movement culminated in a huge demonstration which was banned by the government. The RUC

laid siege to the working class areas of Belfast and attacked demonstrators amid a press orchestrated red scare.

Catholic and Protestant workers fought the police together in pitched battles for two days. The police fired on the demonstrators killing a Catholic and a Protestant and injuring many others.

Eventually the Belfast Trades Council stepped in and negotiated a compromise which involved concessions on the strikers' claims but led to a defeat for the single men who

that class unity was possible began to pull some sections of the republican movement towards socialism.

In 1933 the predominantly Protestant workforce of the Great Northern Railway struck against a 15 per cent wage cut imposed by the company.

The strikers displayed an amazing militancy as scab trains and lorries were stoned and halted. A blackleg train was even derailed, killing two scabs.

Eight hundred carters and dockers struck in solidarity and finally the strike was settled with the pay cut being halved.

A left wing split among republicans in that year attracted supporters both Catholic and Protestant who wanted to fight for a socialist Ireland.

Four of the five branches of the Republican Congress in Belfast were in Protestant areas and they organised a contingent to the annual commemoration of Wolf Tone in Bodenstown.

Five hundred marched behind a banner declaring: "Shankill Road Belfast Branch. Break the Connection with Capitalism. Connolly's message our ideal. Onto a Workers' Republic."

Amid scuffles, the right-wing IRA

leadership forced the banner to be taken down. Undeterred, the next day the contingent marched to Connolly's grave and one of their number, Robert McVicar, gave the following oration:

"We do not pretend to speak on behalf of the majority of Belfast workers. We are a body of Protestant workers, the vanguard of the working class . . . [who have come] to pledge our determination at the graveside of Connolly to do all we can to carry out [his] message . . . to break all connection with England and to smash Irish capitalism."

For a brief period the Republican Congress saw working class struggle as the key to defeating sectarianism.

"Sectarianism dies slowly when the fight against it is one of words. Sectarianism burns out quickly when there is team work in common struggle. Those who see in partition just a reflex of sectarian strife can see no way forward except in soft, foolish talk about toleration, charity, real religion, etc.

"Those who see in partition the link between Irish capitalism and imperialist finance, however, see in common struggle for the workers republic the solution of partition, and in the destruction of exploitation, the withering of sectarian strife."

But unfortunately the Republican Congress was still chained within a tradition which sought alliances with 'progressive nationalists' rather than basing itself entirely on the working class.

Its leaders like Peadar O'Donnell argued that socialism must come by stages, and for the moment it a republic was all that could be gained. In practice the leaders of Congress wanted to force through a republic, but they argued against a workers republic.

In fact there was nothing that could attract a mass Protestant working class audience to the conservative and repressive institutions of the South.

When the tide of working class activism retreated the contradictions of these politics came to the fore and destroyed the organisation.

Today republicanism has reached a political dead end — split between a desperate wing which carried out the terrible Omagh bombing the others seek to join the government of a state it is committed to overthrowing.

One of the myths that has sustained republicanism is that Protestant workers are untrustworthy allies who are ever ready to back the Orange Order.

The growing involvement of Protestant workers in the socialist movement in Northern Ireland will be important in breaking the pessimism from which republicanism feeds.

"Sectarianism dies slowly when the fight against it is one of words. Sectarianism burns out quickly when there is team work in common struggle. Those who see in partition just a reflex of sectarian strife can see no way forward except in soft, foolish talk about toleration, charity, real religion, etc. Those who see in partition the link between Irish capitalism and imperialist finance, however, see in common struggle for the workers republic the solution of partition, and in the destruction of exploitation, the withering of sectarian strife."

continued to be denied payment.

What had prepared the way for this remarkable class unity was the previous period of organising by socialists.

The few score members of the Revolutionary Workers Group had gained the respect of significant numbers and were able to give the lead on unemployed agitation as the jobless crisis mounted.

This political activity and the proof

SUICIDE:**Biggest killer of Irish men under 25**

LAST MONTH Dr Michael Kelleher who pioneered research into Irish suicide rates died.

His passing coincided with the news that for the first time in the history of the state, the number of suicides by Irish males under the age of 25, was higher than the number killed in road traffic accidents, the commonest single cause of death in this age group.

Dr Kelleher has been to the forefront of suicide research world-wide since the late 1980's when, with Dr. Maura Daly, also deceased, he began to investigate deliberate self-harm in Cork City. He expanded into an examination of the whole question of suicide in Ireland.

Since then, this has become one of most controversial topics in the public domain as our level of young male suicide has spiralled. Ireland has the highest rate of suicide increase in Europe and has gone from a situation where it had one of the lowest rates in the world to level with the USA and increasing all the time.

It is one of the most puzzling aspects of the problem that, at the same time, the suicide rate for women has probably reduced.

Dr. Kelleher hosted the prestigious European Suicide Symposium in Cork in 1994. This bi-annual event brings together the world leaders in suicide research. He realised a profit from this venture and, with this, he set up the National Suicide Research Foundation to examine the problem scientifically.

The foundation was later awarded a unit grant by the Health Research Board and looks set to continue its monitoring of the situation in Ireland and other countries, at least for the next few years.

Increase

The reasons for an increase in suicide, such as that currently being experienced in Ireland, are complex and relate to social changes and their impact on vulnerable individuals.

Durkheim, at the end of the last century, remarked that there is always an increase in suicide rates at times of major social upheaval and that would certainly describe the situation in this country in recent times. Young people are often the first to show evidence of the effects of such pressures in a society.

The media tend to ascribe simplistic reasons, such as exam stress, to this complex problem. It is to Dr Kelleher's credit that, despite deeply conservative religious and political beliefs, he statistically destroyed many of these myths and was committed to presenting the true picture.

While suicide does not appear to strike any particular social class, he has stated that unemployed young men are at greater risk than the employed, with students having the lowest rates.

The National Suicide Research Foundation also showed that, in Cork, the level of non-fatal deliberate self-harm is socially determined, with the poor at greatest risk. The rate of attempted self-harm in an area is directly related to the unemployment rate.

The response to such problems lies in a complete re-examination of a society that can leave whole sections of people feeling the despair that is common to every suicide.

The investigation of biological vulnerability in individuals, while useful to some degree, should not be allowed to deflect from the social reality indicated by this work, which mirrors results from other countries.

Last year the Final Report of the Minister's Task Force on Suicide was also published. Dr Kelleher was one of the main instigators of the idea and a member of the Task Force.

The banal, non-specific recommendations were a major disappointment to those who hoped that the government would grasp the nettle and set out a comprehensive intervention plan, in line with the models developed in Canada and Finland.

In particular, those bereaved by suicide were hopeful of some type of official support. As it transpired, the report consisted of little but pious aspirations and a promise that each health board area would appoint a resource officer to tackle the problem.

To date, no appointment has been made and there have been no specific resources allocated. With Dr Kelleher's death, it seems likely that the situation may worsen even further, if that is possible.

film**X-files: Ignorance as hip understanding**

by **SIMON BASKETTER**

THE HUGELY popular *X-files* has moved to the big screen. The marketing men are already in overdrive for yet another over-hyped summer block buster.

Yet the *X-files* has a radical reputation, with government cover ups, conspiracy theories and the questioning of orthodoxy. Many even see the *X-files* as left-wing.

In fact beneath all the in-jokes, the *X-files* is one of the safest and conservative things around.

Radical

The problem with conspiracy theories is that they are a lot less radical than they seem. At best they reflect a distrust of those in power but they also reinforce the mystique of our rulers.

The hidden powers of the bosses become unbeatable and all we can do is "Trust no one" The other problem is that conspiracies frequently reinforce stereotypes.

There are two sorts of *X-file* plots. There is the



■ **Dullest couple in movie history get around to trying to kiss**

weird, monster stuff which has some unexplained psychic phenomena which nearly always has a reactionary explanation. Murderers are people are who are unfathomable and simply evil.

Dark forces threaten us all. They come from ancient eastern or Native American spirits.

Eastern European people are also supposed to have weird religions and possessions.

Much of this is just

racist prejudice pretending to be New Age. To put it another way the series often ends up with the sub text of "the Black guys did it."

Roles

The reinforcement of traditional roles is summed up in Scully, the intelligent independent woman scientist who still needs rescuing by the moody, macho, porn-watching hero.

The other *X File* plot is the government cover up of aliens. But of the

many crimes of the American state, making sure that mid Western farmers never get believed about alien abductions is of one of the most trivial.

The *X-files* taps into a sense of chaos in a crisis ridden world. With new sects, cults and myths spreading we are offered aliens to take the place of God. We get our confusion sold back to us.

In the middle ages this was done with relics but now it is in t-shirts. Peo-

ples concern over the misuse of science is turned into an idea that science can't explain things.

The *X-files* popularity comes from marketing this confusion, and by suggesting there are things we are incapable of understanding, making our rulers seem all powerful and pushing ignorance as hip understanding.

And by the way the dullest couple in movie history do get around to trying to kiss.

book**Liberty, equality, fraternity —and mass strikes**

Review by **GORETTI HORGAN**

MUTINEERS, the new novel by Jonathan Neale is a great read.

Set in the 1790s, a period dominated by the French Revolution's promise of Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, *Mutineers* is a celebration of the first mass strikes of early capitalism.

The strikes occurred in the Royal Navy and so the strikers became mutineers.

Forced

In Neale's novel you can almost smell the stale air in the packed decks on which the sailors were forced to live.

For every 600 men there were also some 200 women, most of

them prostitutes, all of them working for little more than food.

'Discipline' was the word used by officers - all from the upper classes—to describe their brutal rule of terror. Boys from rich families were officers from age 13 or 14.

Flogging

They used fear of flogging and constant casual beatings to humiliate and cow the ordinary poor sailors.

The ideas of the French Revolution inspired the sailors.

Many of them were Irish and had been sworn into the United Irishmen.

Although most of the characters in the novel are historical figures, by fictionalising them and adding Polly, a prostitute who becomes a revolutionary, Neale involves us entirely in the lives of

the mutineers.

We feel the power of solidarity which causes strikers who always dreamt of being men realising when they stood up to the officers that they had become men.

We experience the surge of joy of a woman who for the first time feels she is a human being, not a 'brute'. If you enjoy a good thriller or a bit of romance, if you want to be inspired to

keep fighting the parasites who live off the sweat of working people everywhere, you'll love *Mutineers*.

Mutineers, a novel by Jonathan Neale, £8.99. Available from Socialist Worker. Add 75p postage.

music**Revolutionary rock**

THE Manic Street Preachers have released their new single *If You Tolerate This, Your Children Will Be Next*.

The single is about the Spanish Civil War and is written from the perspective of a worker who went to fight the fascists.

The Manics are the most political band of the 90's.

Coming from the small mining town of Blackwood in south

Wales they were radicalised by the miners strike in 1984-85. The miners lost and the pits were closed only to be replaced with a pot noodle factory.

Attacked

Their records have constantly attacked our rulers and their institutions.

Songs like "New Art Riot" expose the hypocrisy of the ruling class, who sell arms to bloody regimes yet at the same

time denounce people who fight back.

They have always believed that change does not come through parliament but through working class action.

One of the missing member Richey Edwards' heroes was Leon Trotsky. For him Russia was never socialist but "Washed up in power abuse."

Look out for their new album is *This my Truth, Now Tell Me Yours* which comes out in September.

—**TERRY CONNOLLY**



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.

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.

2,000 people march in Dublin to say...

Refugees are welcome here

AROUND 2,000 people turned out in Dublin to protest against the rise of racism in Ireland in a march organised by the Anti-Nazi League.

The march was supported by several trade unions branches with banners from SIPTU, IMPACT, ATGWU and MANDATE.

Speakers included Mohammad Haji from the Association of Refugees and Asylum Seekers, Senator David Norris, Patricia McKenna from The Green Party and Kieran Allen from the Socialist Workers Party.

Mohammad Haji told the crowd how one refugee from Burundi had seen his father's throat slit, his wife and children taken away and his eldest daughter sexually assaulted.



"What really angers me is that refugees who want to work are forced into low paid illegal jobs... Everyone should have a right to live where they want"
—EMILY BIRMINGHAM



Part of the 2,000-strong ANL march and Carnival

Yet the Irish government is now trying to deport Burundian refugees.

David Norris denounced the way in which the racist Aine Ni Chonail was given a public platform in the media for her minority views.

Tom McCann from the Irish Travellers Movement spoke about the racism that Irish travellers have endured for so many years.

Carolann Duggan from SIPTU called for refugees to be allowed to work. She said "that racism has always been used to divide workers and stop them stand together against attacks from employers."

The march reflected the huge opposition that exists to Fianna Fail's campaign to label refugees as 'scoundgers' even though they are not allowed to work.

Minister for Justice, John O'Donoghue has claimed that the majority of refugees are bogus and is pushing for 'fast track' deportations. The reality is that the is less than 5,000 refugees in Ireland.

The majority come from Congo, Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia Nigeria and Romania. All countries ravaged by wars and famines.

Tony O'Reilly's Independent group is at the centre of the racist campaign to bolster

up the right wing political establishment.

The Sunday Independent for example accused Nigerian refugees of organising a plot to falsely claim they were tortured.

March

Socialist Worker spoke to some of the people on the March and asked them why they came along.

Deirdre Balfe-Ashworth

from Dun Laoghaire said that "as a mother and a grandmother I am sickened by the way refugees were being treated in Dublin".

"Irish People have a very short memory. Thousands of Irish people have gone to Britain and America until a few years ago, so its about time we welcome people in here. I hope that if my grand children had to go away, they will get better treatment than immigrants are getting here."

Damien from Baldoyle said that "nobody wants to be a refugee and leave their home and family. They come here because they have no choice.

"They have had to flee famines and war. It sickens me to read these papers like the Evening Herald who claim that all refugees are frauds. Their headlines are there to inflame anger"

Emily Birmingham was also angered by the portrayal of refugees in the media. "People are not born racist but the media creates this atmosphere of fear by blaming poverty on refugees".

Tara Mc Guinness, from Dublin said that she was appalled at the way that refugees are being treated and exploited.

"What really angers me is that way that refugees who want to work are forced into low paid illegal jobs for £1.50 an hour washing dishes in restaurants. If you into the kitchens of many restaurants and pubs you will find immigrants being treated really badly. Everyone should have a right to live where they want."



"People are not born racist but the media creates this atmosphere of fear by blaming poverty on refugees"
—TARA MCGUINNESS

The carnival concluded with bands including The Chicks, Heavy Flow, Rumble, Yemanja, King Sativah and the Happy City Samba School giving a free gig in the Temple Bar Music Centre.

What do we do now?

Show you are against racism and fascism.

Wear a badge or a sticker and get your friends and workmates to do the same. Order them from the Anti-Nazi League.

Petitions

Take up a petition to demand that refugees be given the right to work and get people you know to sign them. Bring them around your estate, school or workplace.

Trade Unions

Get your trade union branch to pass a motion condemning racism and to demand the right to work for refugees.

Join the Anti-Nazi League

Send a £2 membership fees to the Anti Nazi League PO Box 4007, Dublin 1 and you will receive the ANL badge and literature.

RAGE AGAINST RACISM

COMEDY NIGHT

WITH **Jeremy Hardy** and Guests

Anti Nazi League

Sun 6th Sep 8.30pm £7 & £5

AT THE BAGGOT INN

RACIST FREE ZONE

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—all welcome**
- ATHLONE** Meets every fortnight. Contact (01) 872 2682 for details
 - BELFAST CENTRAL** Meets every Thurs 8pm, Garrick Bar, Chichester Street.
 - BELFAST SOUTH** Meets every Weds at 8pm, Queens University Students Union Club Room.
 - CORK** Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.
 - DERRY** Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8.00pm.
 - DUN LAOGHAIRE** Meets every Tues at 8.30pm in Christian Institute.
 - ENNISKILLEN** Meets every fortnight. Contact (01) 872 2682 for details
 - GALWAY** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square
 - LIMERICK** Meets every fortnight. Contact (01) 872 2682 for details
 - 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 Artane/Beamount Recreation Centre opp Artane Castle
 - DUBLIN RATHMINES** Meets every Tuesdays at 8.30pm in the Black Forge (formerly the Benitley), Drimnagh Rd
 - DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL** Meets every Wed at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St.
 - DUBLIN RATHMINES** Meets every Weds at 8 pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond St.
 - DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL** Meets at 8.30pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.
 - DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN** Meets Monday at 8.30pm in Job-stown Community Centre, Tallaght
- There are Socialist Worker members in: BRAY; CLARE; DONEGAL; DUNDALK; DROGHEDA; KILKENNY; LURGAN; OMAGH; ROSCOMMON; SLIGO; TRALEE
- Contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

News & reports—politics; the unions

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Lifts strike

'Determined to win'

THE NATIONAL strike of 150 lift maintenance workers continued as the lift companies dug in their heels.

The workers are demanding a £35 pay increase without strings.

The lift companies, which have been united by the bosses' organisation IBEC, insist on a deal which would remove meal allowances, travelling time and other payments.

This would result in many of the workers seeing no benefit whatsoever from such a deal.

What was won on a pay increase would be lost on withdrawal of extra payments.

As one lift worker told *Socialist Worker*, "We are deter-

mined to win this.

"We are not going to let the lift industry managements take away our conditions and leave us in the cold. We are sticking

this out until we win!"

■ **Lift maintenance workers in Pickering's voluntarily agreed to increase the level of service to the lifts in Ballymun.**

They are working two half days a week to repair lifts and keeping an emergency service going.

A number of residents had taken Dublin Corporation to the High Court for failure to provide working lifts during the dispute.

This was a dangerous tactic as it appeared to demand that the Corpo bring in strike breaking contractors or the army.

Many residents were clear that there must be no strike breaking and no wedge driven between the residents and strikers.

Socialist Worker supporters organised a bus load of residents to the Pickering's picket with a message of support for the strikers demanding the lifts company met the strikers demands.

The unpaid cover provided by the strikers for Ballymun tenants has relieved much of the hardship while the strike continues.

■ **Schindlers Lifts in England were forced to back down when they tried to impose similar changes to pay and conditions last March. When 200 lift maintenance workers there, members of the AEEU, organised industrial action for a pay increase the company offered a large increase in basic pay (37%) but massive changes in work practices including loss of travel time, total flexibility and longer working hours. A total strike forced the company to climb down and pay 7% with no strings. The same company trick can be beaten here.**

"It makes us really annoyed to be told we are partners with these people. Partnership 2000 should be known for what it is — a political and industrial sell-out"

Shop stewards at the plant have now taken the initiative to demand that the company pay out five and a half weeks for every year's service.

When they heard one of the managers was flying in through Dublin airport, they travelled up and insisted on meeting him in the VIP lounge. This forced the company to at least enter negotiations with the workers.

Socialist Worker will report on the outcome as soon as it gets news.

Hartman factory closure

WORKERS at the Hartman factory in New Ross got a shock when they came back after their two week summer holidays — their factory had been closed down without the slightest warning.

The only notice the workers got was a faxed announcement to the local SIPTU headquarters.

Security guards from the MCM company in Cork were moved in to patrol the perimeter with rottweiler dogs.

"They seemed to take great pleasure in taunting the workers with their dogs" one union member to *Socialist Worker*.

Vigil

Workers at the plant immediately mounted a 24 hour round the clock vigil at the plant to ensure that the company does not move out valuable machinery.

Many are well aware that company has always treated its workforce in an arrogant and cruel fashion.

"They treated us with contempt, always trying to change the rules without consultation. The average workers was coming out with only £190 a week before tax," one representative told *Socialist Worker*:

Builders

Bricklayers root out sub-contracting

Bricklayers have stepped up their campaign of industrial action to root out sub-contracting from the building sites.

Employing sub-contractors means that building companies get out of paying for holidays, wet time, or sickness benefit. It forces workers into competition with each other.

Two weeks ago pickets appeared in O Farrell Clere in

Stepaside, Dublin to demand that two bricklayers on the site be hired directly. Seven members of BATU from the surrounding area left their jobs to help out on the picket line.

Within three hours the strike was won and the bricklayers were given direct employment.

A week later pickets appeared at a site near the Halfway House on the Navan Road. Up to twenty bricklay-

ers from all over town demand the removal of the sub-contractor, Mick Lynch and the use of PAYE labour.

Management threatened the strikers with a court injunction but they were told in no uncertain terms that workers would not be respecting the law and they might have another Crampton's situation on their hand.

As we go to press, it looks like another building boss has bit the dust.

SIPTU

STRIKE THREAT

Hospital workers and local authority workers are due to take strike action from September 7th in pursuit of a claim for higher wages.

The strike notice follows a majority vote in the summer to throw out a recommendation from the union leaders to give productivity concessions in return for the wage rise.

The general workers are entitled to get 80% of the rise given to craft workers.

But management originally wanted them to accept re-deployment, yellow pack grades, flexible rostering and a worse sick pay scheme in return.

"Why should we give these concessions for something we are entitled to anyway" one shop steward told us.

The SIPTU leadership are due to meet management in late August in a conciliation conference. Already they are hinting that if the re-deployment issue is removed they will yet again try to sell the productivity deal.

Call off

This means they could easily call off the strike.

"We have to watch them like hawks. The reality is that the Gardai got a pay rise without giving any major productivity. We should be in the same situation."

Derry picket

GET OUT GINGRICH

AROUND 20 people picketed Newt Gingrich in Derry on 13 August.

Gingrich is the right-wing Republican Speaker of the House of Representatives in the US.

Abolish

He was elected in 1994 after campaigning to cut welfare to single parents, abolish food programs and resist gay rights and a woman's right to choose abortion.

The protest, called by Derry SWP, chanted "Welfare-slasher Gingrich not welcome here" as he was forced to enter and leave a local museum by the back entrance.

Gingrich plans to run for

President in 2000 and was on a visit to Derry to try to locate his Irish roots. No appropriate ancestors could be found, however.

He was invited to Derry by John Hume and greeted by all available local politicians, including Sinn Fein councillors.

Hume attacked the protesters on the day claiming that "these politicians are essential to the peace process and getting jobs and investment to this city."

One of the protest organisers argued that multinational investors are only interested in the low wages and lack of union rights in the North.

They argued with Hume that "Seagate walked out of Clonmel, they can do exactly the same in Derry."

Socialist Worker Rank and File Trade Union Conference

SOCIALIST WORKER has organised an important conference for rank and file trade union activists to discuss building a solidarity network in the unions. Anger with the union leadership has been growing constantly since Partnership 2000 was imposed on workers. Now many want to link up together to develop a real alternative to their strategy.

"You often feel that the union leaders are acting like consultants to management rather than representatives of the workers. In the Dublin Bus, the NRBU and SIPTU officials have worked to-

gether to get the membership to sign up to a viability plan which would have meant introducing yellow pack labour.

"But they are way out of touch because the membership kicked the plan out. Now they are doing a survey to see the reasons why the deal was rejected. It is like they were an opinion poll organisation rather than a fighting union." one member of the Busworkers Action Group said.

Vibrant

The Busworkers Action Group is a vibrant rank and file group that has called unofficial action and was mainly responsible for getting out the vote to reject the deal. Many of its members want to see links with other rank and file militants.

Dave McDonagh is a former member of the CPSU executive who is organising to bring workers to the conference.

"Our union had a left wing leadership up to this year. A group called the Poison Chalice group managed to win a majority on the executive and promised to take the union in a different direction.

"But when they got into office very little changed. No real action was organised and even conference resolutions to take up collections for the Montupet strikers were never implemented.

"It shows us that you cannot change the union from the top down. You cannot just capture positions at the top — you have to build among the rank and file and deliver on action rather than talk"

A rank and file paper, *The*

Organiser has now been established in the union to forge an alternative to the union leaders.

Dave O'Sullivan is a shop steward with the bricklayers. He has been involved in many battles to remove the scourge of sub-contracting from the sites around Dublin.

"I think this conference is a great opportunity to build a solidarity network. We will have rank and file militants from all over Ireland, from different industries to help share experiences.

"Already there is a lot of interest among bricklayers. We want to see unity across the unions to break P2000 and bring back a fighting spirit. I have already sold several tickets to the conference and hope to sell many more before the closing date"

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BOSSES MARKET MADNESS WILL COST OUR JOBS

THE FINANCIAL markets of the world are in turmoil as the world edges ever closer to a major slump. And it is working class people who are being set up to pay for the new crisis.

The free market was supposed to bring success to Russia where the communist system failed.

But the country is a disaster zone today. The economy has actually shrunk by 40% since 1990.

The result is that miners and teachers have not been paid wages for months.

Much of the banking system has gone bankrupt after they took out high interest loans they cannot pay back.

Now the Russian government has announced that has placed a moratorium on paying back the £1 billion loaned it by Western banks.

Meltdown

But Russia is not the only part of the world that is in chaos.

Signs are already emerging of a

major meltdown in Latin America after oil rich Venezuela was forced to devalue its currency.

All of this chaos will have repercussions for workers throughout Ireland.

In recent years, millions have flowed into the stock exchanges as the rich speculated on share prices. They bought and sold bits of companies like they were in a casino, chasing up the prices to astronomical heights.

But the growing turmoil in the world markets means they are selling off shares quickly and rushing back to hold government bonds — pieces of government debt which bears them steady interest.

Chaos

The closing down of export markets and the chaos on the stock exchanges will lead to a wave of redundancies.

Working class people will be asked to accept job losses and pay cuts while the rich will still pick up their profits. We need to organise quickly to build a political alternative to a system that brings so much suffering to suit the few billionaires who hold the money.

The socialist alternative

THE BOSSES have had it good during the Celtic Tiger but now they will ask us to pay for the coming recession.

We need a powerful workers movement that says No.

That means outright resistance to redundancies and wage cuts. It also means getting rid of the nonsense that the employers are our social partners.

But we need more than trade unions—we also need socialist politics to promote an alternative to this global chaos. That alternative has to rest on three things.

■ First, workers control of production. We should decide how production is organised and made efficient.

■ Second, planning for human rather than the chaos of the market.

■ Third, more democracy so that our representatives are not bought by big business.

Why does capitalism fail?

THE 1930s style slump that is engulfing parts of the world economy shows why capitalism has failed.

The present economic system leads to waste and inefficiency as valuable investments are written off.

Over hundred years ago, Karl Marx explained why capitalism could not escape devastating slumps.

Because of competition, each individual firm desperately tries to expand so that they can invest more and outdo their rivals.

But this expansion is never planned. There is no co-ordination to ensure that workers can

buy the products that are produced. In fact in their desperate bid to push up profits each individual company pushes down 'unit costs' even though this means that people can buy less goods overall.

Once the boom comes up against these limits, individual companies and whole economies start to go bankrupt. This starts off the type of chain reaction we have seen since the collapse of the Asian economies.

Marx also argued that the only solution to this chaos is for workers to take control of the economy out of the hands of the greedy and organise it to meet human needs. How right he was!