

Socialist Worker

**HOW TO SOLVE
THE HOUSING
CRISIS**

FULL STORY PAGE 6-7

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RENT

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How to beat deportations

THIRTEEN asylum seekers from Romania, now living in Monaghan, have been granted refugee status after an appeal against their deportations.

The 13 were part of a group of 47 who were smuggled into Rosslare in container lorries last year.

The case shows up the hypocrisy behind plans to crack down on "trafficking" of refugees.

Of course there are unscrupulous profiteers who feed off the desperation of people seeking refuge here. But the real problem is that refugees are forced to resort to coming here as stowaways because immigration laws are designed to keep them out.

Now the government has been forced to concede that at least 13 Romanians branded as "bogus" have now to be granted refugee status.

Another seven have had their appeals turned down and the

remainder await a decision.

But the thirteen have been allowed to stay thanks to the support they received from the local Monaghan Roma Support Group.

Like the Costinas family in Dublin, the Monaghan refugees could count on solidarity from local people.

This support challenges the claim that John O'Donoghue's racism has wide support. The case also shows that local campaigns can prevent other deportations from taking place.

Flood Tribunal

Who backed Bovale?

THE LAND that Bovale Developments bought off JMSE, and that they jointly bribed Ray Burke to get rezoned, had some interesting backers.

Nora Owen, the former Fine Gael Minister for Justice, was involved in rezoning one of the six parcels of land.

She and two Fianna Fail councillors — GV Wright and Michael Kennedy — proposed the rezoning of land at Portmarnock for residential development.

Lands at Jamestown Little, Finglas were rezoned for industrial development following the proposal by two Fianna Fail councillors, Cyril Gallagher and Sean Gilbride in 1993. Planning permission for an industrial scheme on the property was granted in 1996.



The Bailey brothers

The same two councillors proposed the rezoning of the majority of a 100 acre site at Poppintree, Ballymun for residential development.

In 1995 the rest of the land was rezoned for industrial use following a proposal by Gallagher and Gilbride which was supported by Fine Gael councillor Anne Devitt.

Frank's wild years

DEVELOPERS Tom Gilmartin and Owen O'Callaghan have one friend that the media seems to have forgotten about.

Each week, former Fianna Fail Spin doctor,

Frank Dunlop, wastes an hour of television in a tedious discussion programme with Fergus Finlay.

But in a previous life some people considered Dunlop important. When the right wing PR man was 'special advisor' to Fianna Fail he was also in the pay of property developers.

Contract

While Owen O'Callaghan was bribing councillors to help him get the contract for the Liffey Valley Centre, he gave at least £650,000 to Dunlop.

This is the same developer that Bertie Ahern gave tax breaks for a shopping centre in Athlone in unexplained circumstances.

Frank Dunlop however, was not satisfied with payments from just one developer. He received at least £150,000 from Tom Gilmartin - the man who paid Paudraig Flynn - for help on his plans to build the Liffey Valley Centre.

O'Donoghue silent on passport scam

FIANNA FAIL justice minister, John O'Donoghue has been whipping up racism and deporting asylum seekers.

But if you are rich, it seems you can make a donation to Fianna Fail and get an Irish passport.

Now O'Donoghue has refused to give any information on the role of

Fianna Fail supporter Brian O'Carroll in procuring such passports.

O'Carroll arranged for a passport investor, Gerry Lindzon, to make an "interest free loan" to a Fianna Fail account in the names of Albert Reynolds and Bertie Ahern.

But O'Donoghue refused to answer a Dail question on how many times O'Carroll had acted as an intermediary between the Department of Justice and

passport investors. The Minister said it was "inappropriate" to give information about which advisor or agent was used by someone seeking citizenship.

But while the help given to wealthy immigrants is shrouded in secrecy, O'Donoghue has no problem branding 90 percent of asylum seekers as bogus in order to deflect attention away from the scandals in Fianna Fail.

GM food danger — don't let the market dictate

SCIENTISTS, including the British toxicologist Prof Tom Sanders, have attacked research suggesting that genetically modified (GM) potatoes could damage the immune system.

They said the research was substandard and unworthy of publication in a reputable science journal.

Doctor Arpad Pusztai, who carried out the research, has been told his theory must be proven before being published.

But surely the onus should be on companies producing GM foods to

prove their products are safe?

No other products, such as drugs, or chemicals in washing powders or shampoo, are released on the market before they are proven to be safe.

Why should Monsanto and other agribusinesses escape the same responsibilities?

Warnings

Scientists' warnings should be taken seriously and properly checked before GM products are released.

There should be a ban on GM crops until they are proven to be safe.

Some GM food may prove beneficial in the long run but at the moment

human need can be satisfied using conventional farming methods. There is such a surplus of food that farmers in the US and Europe are paid not to grow crops.

The free market, whereby food is produced for profit and not need, is responsible for poverty and starvation.

Food companies in Europe are not rushing to embrace GM technology to aid humanity. Instead they want to compete with US producers who have so far cornered the market in this new, and potentially dangerous production method.

As the Dail prepares to debate the issue of GM food here, we can expect them to bow to the demands of big business which puts profits before lives.

Clegg's regiment celebrated murder

WHEN para-rooper Lee Clegg was cleared of murdering Belfast teenager Karen Reilly recently, the British army claimed her death had haunted him ever since.

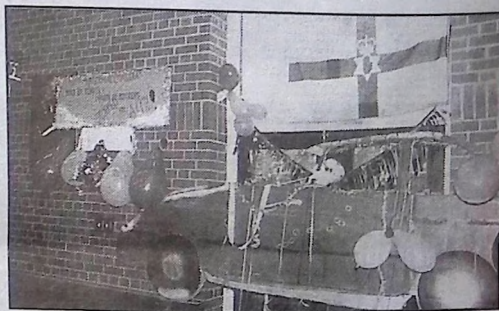
But no such remorse was evident from the soldiers in the aftermath of the killing in 1990.

Karen's stepfather Sean Reilly says that after identifying her body he saw three soldiers outside the hospital ward.

They were laughing about the incident and when he asked them to stop they ignored him.

Sean Reilly lashed out in anger at one of the soldiers:

"The doctor jabbed a needle into my arm. He told the soldiers I'd be quiet now."



The paras celebrate the murder of Karen Reilly with a party, the sign reads: "Vauxhall, driven by joyriders, killed by A-Company"

At that stage he thought Karen had only been run over.

He later found out she had been shot when the stolen car she was in approached an army checkpoint.

Clegg claims he only fired in self defence because he thought the soldiers were under attack.

But if Karen's death was just a "tragic mis-

take" why did the Parachute Regiment hold an Xmas "celebration" three months later by making a mock-up of the stolen car in their barracks, complete with blood stained dummies?

The truth is that amid all the demands for IRA decommissioning, British soldiers are still considered above the law when it comes to murders that they carry out.

Nelson cover-up continues

A JUDGE has allowed the British government to cover up details of its links to Brian Nelson, the intelligence agent alleged to have been involved in the murder of Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane.

The solicitor, who had defended Republican activists, was murdered ten years ago at a time when Nelson was active as the UDA's senior intelligence officer and as a British agent.

Murder

He was not charged with Pat Finucane's murder but was convicted of conspiracy to murder in other cases.

Geraldine Finucane is now suing Nelson and the Ministry of Defence for her husband's death.

At a hearing last December the

Ministry was ordered to answer seven questions relating to their involvement with Nelson.

But they appealed this order to the Belfast High Court where Justice Gillen has now ruled that they only have to answer one of the seven questions in full.

The Ministry of Defence will be allowed to conceal, among other things, the amount of money they paid to Nelson, as well as his exact military role and his method of reporting to the RUC.

They will only have to reveal the date they engaged Nelson as an agent.

By preventing full disclosure, Justice Gillen is effectively allowing them to maintain their excuse that they cannot be held responsible for Nelson's murderous activities after the date they engaged him.

what we think

Put a condom on the crosier

COMMENTS MADE by Archbishop Desmond Connell at a Pro-Life meeting in Maynooth College have provoked outrage around the country.

According to the Archbishop, when a child is planned through the use of artificial contraception the relationship between the child and parents is profoundly altered and the child may be unhappy and resentful.

He also linked the use of contraception to broken families, promiscuity and a blindness towards "the injustices of abortion".

Children, whose parents used contraception, were "technolog-

ical products".

The outrage that followed Connell's remarks shows just how out of touch he is with the vast majority of people. Most couples, including practising Catholics, use artificial contraception, regardless of what the Church says.

This huge shift in attitude reflects important changes in Irish society.

Workforce

In the past five years more married women entered the workforce than in the previous twenty years combined.

Instead of seeing sex as being always linked to procreation they want to decide for themselves if and when they want to have a child.



Connell's remarks on contraception stem from an appalling hypocrisy.

In the last few years the Church has been gripped by one child abuse scandal after another. The bishops did everything to cover up these scandals and

refused to pay compensation to victims for as long as they could.

But none of this stops them preaching to other people about their sexuality.

The real purpose of Connell's bizarre remarks was probably to lift the morale of his anti-abor-

tion shock troops.

Many were horrified during the C-case when Youth Defence tried to stop a 13 year old rape victim having an abortion.

They are also disgusted at the sight of these fanatical groups harassing and intimidating women outside Family Planning Centres.

Connell and these fanatics can still draw comfort from one source: the failure of repeated governments to legislate for abortion even though this was agreed in a referendum.

The real problem is not Connell's bizarre outlook on life.

It is that the Irish government are still frightened of the crosier and will not give women full rights to control their own bodies.

Why Red Oskar got the boot

THE SUN called him "The Most dangerous man in Europe". When Oskar Lafontaine resigned as the German Finance Minister, the rich could barely conceal their glee. "Red Oskar's gone, the euro's up", is how one newspaper summed up their mood.

Oskar Lafontaine was no revolutionary. Instead he was one of the few politicians who promoted "old Labour" policies to tackle the economic recession in Germany.

Lafontaine wanted to close down many of the tax loopholes which German businesses enjoy. Instead he argued that more concessions should be given to workers so that they could spend more and allow German industry pull itself out of recession.

Far from being full blooded socialism, this is a classic Keynesian form of "demand management" where the state intervenes in the economy to prevent a recession.

Lafontaine was also important outside

Germany because of his arguments with the head of the European Central Bank, Wim Duisenberg. The moves to a single market in Europe have been closely linked to a strategy of cutting back on public spending and privatising whole swathes of industry.

The unelected heads of the central bank took it on themselves to enforce this strategy. When Lafontaine challenged them he was told he was interfering.

Ruffle

Unlike other Labour Finance Ministers, such as Ireland's Ruairi Quinn, Red Oskar managed to ruffle the feathers of big business rather than being lauded by them. Yet his resignation is also a chilling reminder about how business will undermine elected governments.

As soon as Lafontaine promoted his mild Keynesian policies, the employers turned on the pressure. The great insurance giant Allianz led the way with threats to move their operations outside Germany.

The European Central Bank deliberately kept interest rates high, even though it added

to the recession, in order to get rid of Lafontaine.

The right wing press added to the crisis by whipping up a racist campaign against a proposal to re-define German citizenship so that it was not based on "ties of blood" but would allow immigrants who lived in Germany for many years to have voting rights.

Lafontaine's tragedy is that he never looked for a force that could counter the power of the bankers and corporate sector. Over the last few years, militancy among German workers has been rising. After a series of stoppages, metal workers have won a 4 percent pay rise against fierce resistance from the employers.

Yet Lafontaine never appealed to these workers to resist the backroom manoeuvres and instead he departed the scene quietly.

All of this has a huge significance in Germany. Across Europe millions are looking for an alternative to Labour parties that bow to big business. Lafontaine's resignation shows that in the crisis ridden capitalism of today, revolutionary methods will be needed to enforce even the slightest reforms on the rich.

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

This is the 100th issue of our fortnightly paper which has been the key to building our party in recent years. The Socialist Workers Party has been growing steadily and has gained respect as the only party in Ireland today which organises real action on the issues that affect the working class.

- On all the major issues that have emerged, the party is promoting a clear action programme that breaks with the political consensus.
- On housing: The SWP has campaigned for rent controls to stop landlords hiking up rents; an emergency local authority house building programme; and the nationalisation of building land.
- In the unions: The party is fighting to break Partnership 2000. It openly supports groups like the bricklayers who are defying anti-union laws.
- On Northern Ireland: The war is over but behind the continued sectarian bickering, all the main parties from Sinn Fein to the DUP want to cut taxes on profits. Only the socialists say: Tax the fat cats.
- As another major recession looms on the world economy, we need a strong socialist alternative.

- I would like to join the Socialist Workers Party
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Another Priest who abused children

The suicide of Father Sean Fortune who was due to be tried on charges of child abuse has opened a massive scandal at the heart of the Catholic Church in Ireland.

Fortune had been arraigned before the courts on 29 charges including ones for buggery, gross indecency and assault.

According to one of his victims, Paul Molloy, Fortune "would go up on the altar and give terrific sermons about drink, sex and sin and then interview young boys one by one and abuse them".

But while Fortune's crimes were enormous, he was also at the heart of a larger paedophile ring among the priesthood of Co. Wexford. Startling connections between Fortune and other priests who were involved in child abuse are now being made.

Fortune's associates included: Fr Donal Collins: He used to visit Fortune's 'parochial house' to deliver lectures to local youths. He was subsequently imprisoned for serious sexual offences against minors.

Fr Jim Grennan: He abused young girls aged between 11 and 12 on the altar of the neighbouring Monageer

parish church.

Other associates of Fortune included a regular visitor to his house who subsequently received a six month suspended sentence for indecently

assaulting a 13 year old boy.

It is believed that at least 10 priests in the Wexford area have either been charged with sexual abuse or are the subject of serious investigations.

How the Bishops covered up abuse

NO SERIOUS attempt has ever been made by the Bishops to bring the activities of the clerical child abusers to light. While they lecture ordinary people about the evils of the 'contraceptive mentality', they have gone to great lengths to cover up for their priests.

Four years ago Fortune's parishioners in the small village of Ballymurn in Wexford received a letter from Bishop Comiskey paying a warm tribute to Fortune and claiming he was on 'administrative leave'.

There was not a single reference to child abuse even though charges against him had just come to light.

Yet Comiskey was aware of Fortune's activities for some time and did nothing.

In 1988, Paul Molloy complained about Fortune's activities to another priest and was subse-

quently asked to come to All Hallows, an administrative centre of the Catholic Church in Dublin.

There he was asked to write down all he knew so that it could be sent in a letter to Bishop Comiskey. But nothing was done.

Nor did Comiskey do anything about Fr. Grennan who abused young girls. Despite the fact there was a Garda investigation, Grennan was allowed to continue as a priest. Instead the parents of the children were intimidated into near silence.

Fraud

As well as being a child abuser, Fortune was a fraud and a gangster.

He charged a £50 fee for 'petrol money' for every visit he made to one of his sick parishioners. He said he could heal them but that 'it would take time'.

He organised a number of state funded projects in Fethard on Sea which employed FAS trainees. Each of these trainees had to 'voluntarily' hand over £6 a week to him from their measly



Fr. Fortune

wage packets. Fortune made £6,000 over two years from the FAS workers.

When Comiskey was told about this fraud, he did nothing. In fact Fortune was only suspended from duties after Comiskey fled to America, apparently to

deal with an alcoholic problem.

At the time, many complained that the Bishop was being subject to 'media harassment'.

Only *Socialist Worker* argued at the time that "there is still much that needs to be learnt about how the cover-up happened"

Priests should not be running our schools

LIKE ALMOST every other parish priest Fortune was the manager of the local school in Ballymurn.

He was in charge of appointing teachers and ensuring that they conformed to his 'Catholic ethos'.

On one occasion he refused to appoint a popular temporary teacher to a full time position and put a different teacher in instead. Despite the fact that there was a six week boycott of the school, the power stayed in the hands of Fortune.

Over 90 percent of primary schools are in the hands of religious dominations and the vast majority are run by the Catholic Church.

In almost every case, parish priests with absolutely no qualification in education are in charge of schools.

Their main aim is to ensure that propaganda for the Catholic Church is instilled into the children.

Despite the high level of clerical child abusers, nothing has been done to remove them from this powerful and unelected position.

It is high time that schools got 100 percent funding from the state and were placed in hands of management boards that are democratically elected.

Trade war between the US and EU

Multinationals go bananas

BANANAS have suddenly become the focus for a huge row between the world's major powers. On one side stand the European Union, on the other the US.

The issues behind the row are simple. Clinton is using his muscle to bolster the interests of US based multinational corporations, insisting that nothing should stand in the way of their right to make profit.

World banana production is dominated by three major US multinationals. Chiquita, Del Monte and Dole control two thirds of the world's production of bananas. They now want even

more. The reason for their urgency illustrates exactly how capitalism operates.

In the early 1990s the big three made huge investments in banana plantations in Central America-in countries like Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua.

They hoped the collapse of the Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe and the USSR would lead to new markets and profits.

But as Eastern Europe and the former USSR have plunged into chaos and economic decline, no new market has opened up.

So the big three banana producers have millions tied up in their expanded plantations and desperately need to boost sales somewhere. The solution they hit on was to use their economic and political muscle to

expand their sales in the EU even though they already control 40 percent of the European banana market.

But European governments have agreements with countries in the Caribbean, Africa and the Pacific that give them a guaranteed share of the European banana market.

The smaller producers in these countries cannot produce bananas as cheaply as the vast Central American plantations of the US companies. "Free trade" would mean they would be driven out of business.

Market

The amounts involved are small. Caribbean bananas account for just 9 percent of the European market.

But the big three US producers want to grab that extra 9 percent of

sales in Europe and are ready to use whatever means necessary.

They have pressed the US government to use its

political clout to force Europe to abandon the quotas allocated to former colonies. The result has been a "trade war",

with the US imposing heavy import duties on a range of European produced goods unless Europe bows to "free

trade" in bananas.

The US and its multinationals are ready to devastate the lives of people in the Caribbean for profit.

Funding politicians to do their bidding

THE BIGGEST banana producer is the US multinational Chiquita. It was Chiquita which pressed the US government to act over trade with Europe. The company is headed by Carl Linder.

Linder is a longstanding right wing supporter of the US Republican Party and was an enthusiast for 1980s president Ronald Reagan.

But Linder has been quick to

make sure that whoever is in the White House dances to Chiquita's tune. A string of US political figures, both Republican and Democrat, have received funding from Linder.

The US insists on the right of its companies to sell bananas produced in Central America wherever they want, but imposes heavy import duties on other goods, such as textiles, produced in the very same countries. And free trade and movement for big business does not

apply to people.

The US has savage, racist immigration controls. It is currently deporting people who fled from Guatemala, in the wake of the hurricane which devastated the region last year. The US is keen on the right of business to move production and goods freely across the globe.

Yet when workers choose to move, or are forced to by war, famine and poverty, they are also scapegoated and deported.

**Eamonn
McCann**

If you've friends like these...

ROBIN LUCAS was gang-raped four years ago in a prison in Dublin where she was doing thirty-three months for bank fraud. Three men burst into her cell, beat her up, handcuffed her, and then took turns to rape her. They were prisoners, who, it seems, had paid off the guards to gain entrance.

No Irish politician will have raised Ms. Lucas's case with American officials during the recent St. Patrick's Day gathering in Washington.

Because it wasn't in Dublin, Ireland, that this appalling atrocity happened, but in Dublin, California. And while the Irish who trek across the Atlantic to pay their respects to US leaders are past masters and mistresses at reciting tales of woe from the old country, they'd never be so churlish as to mention human rights abuses in the US.

Manners

Maybe they think it bad manners to criticise how a host runs his own house. However, US politicians seem afflicted by no such reticence here.

On the contrary, some seem ever-ready to pontificate in detail about how unfair things were and are here, and about the necessity for change.

Many are capable of not blushing as they urge all sides to put old hatreds in the past, treat every citizen with respect and accord equal rights to minorities.

The unspeakable assault on Ms. Lucas wasn't an isolated instance. Amnesty characterises the general treatment of women prisoners in the US as "shocking, degrading and dangerous", and points out that the majority are young blacks and Hispanics, overwhelmingly from very poor backgrounds.

Of course, it's not just women. Black men in the US are still more than twice as likely as whites to be jobless—a statistic which might ring a bell with some of those who clustered eagerly around Clinton on March 17th.

A young black man in the US is more likely to be in prison than at college. One in every three young black males is currently either in prison, on probation, or on parole. What does that tell us about the criminalisation of an entire community?

We can be fairly sure that nobody raised any of this, either, over the green beer and bacon sandwiches at the hooley in the White House, just as nobody will have raised another Amnesty Report from last year, which found that the New York City Police Department routinely violates international human rights standards.

The NYPD will have been mentioned only in relation to pleas from Sinn Fein for the scrapping of a boxing tournament scheduled for Manhattan, featuring teams from the NY police, the Gardaí and the RUC.

Gerry Adams suggested that "unwittingly, the NYPD has not grasped the import of including the RUC in the invitation".

Amazing, these outbreaks of unwittingness affecting police forces. The Lawrence Inquiry report explained (away) the racism of the London police as "unwitting". Any day now Ronnie Flanagan will report a similar affliction upon the RUC in Portadown.

Alternative

There is an alternative diagnosis, evidenced by the case of Amadaou Diallo, 22, from Guinea, gunned down in Brooklyn on February 4th by the NYPD. Four cops fired 41 shots at close range, hitting Amadaou 19 times, in the aorta, spinal cord, both lungs, liver, spleen, kidney and intestines.

He was unarmed and interfering with nobody, and dead before the ambulance arrived.

Community groups and socialist organisations have demanded action against the cops. But only 4.5 percent of complaints against the NYPD are ever upheld. Fewer than one percent of officers are ever disciplined. A criminal conviction is virtually unheard of.

Now where have we heard all this before?

Anti-racists in New York would have as much logic as Gerry Adams on their side if they appealed to the RUC to show solidarity by refusing to box against the NYPD: ie, none at all.

Politicians who go to the US hoping to ingratiate themselves with people of power can't say a word against the way the same people use power. In the end, they compromise the very principles they claim to stand for at home.

Nationalism is the cause of this contradiction. Internationalism is the cure.

THE PEACE PROCESS IN CRISIS

Decommissioning: A great red herring

AS YET another deadline for forming a shadow executive passes, decommissioning has once again emerged as the major stumbling block on the Good Friday Agreement.

Some Unionist Party leaders argue that the IRA must begin the process while others such as John Taylor demand that a "substantial amount" of weapons be handed over before Sinn Fein gets a seat at the cabinet table.

Demand

It shows that the demand for decommissioning is as long as a piece of string.

The reality is that it has become a cover for keeping the Unionist Party together.

The Unionist Party is a Tory party that has a large electoral base amongst working class Protestants.

It can only maintain this by pretending that all Protestants are under siege and that if there was ever a Sinn Fein minister 'the Protestant way of life' might be in danger of collapse.

The demand for decommissioning is also blatant in its hypocrisy.

There are at present 150,000 licensed guns in the hands of private citizens. These are overwhelmingly middle class supporters of the Unionist Party.

David Trimble was so intent on keeping these guns that after the Dunblane massacres in Scotland, he intervened with John Major to insist that legal handguns need not be handed over in Northern Ireland.

Trimble insists that decommissioning is necessary to preserve the peace in future. But in

other peace agreements there has been no decommissioning. Neither Nelson Mandela nor Yasser Arafat were asked to hand in guns before they joined their cabinets.

Threats

The demand also ignores how one of the main threats to peace comes from the machinations of the security forces.

The largest consignment of loyalist guns ever smuggled into Ireland was organised by a British intelligence agent, Brian Nelson, who reported regularly to his MI5 handler.

These guns were later used to murder 250 people as the UDA and UVF embarked on a campaign to 'out-terrorise' the IRA.

Yet despite this, no serious attempt has been



Thousands of workers demonstrated for peace

made to examine the scale of collusion between the loyalist paramilitaries and the 'securicrats' who operate behind the scenes.

Socialists oppose decommissioning for the simple reason that a sectarian state which operates in the interests of the rich has no God-given right to hold a monopoly of weapons.

Our real problem with Gerry Adams and Sinn Fein lies beyond the decommissioning issue.

It is that they genuine-

ly want to be part of a cabinet that will preside over attacks on both Protestant and Catholic workers.

If they ever enter such a cabinet, they will try to preserve their popularity by deflecting cuts from 'their side' on to the supposedly more privileged 'Protestant side'.

Outbreed

And while working as conventional politicians administering a state they once promised to over-

throw, the only major aspiration of Sinn Fein will be that Catholic babies outbreed Protestant babies so that a united Ireland eventually emerges by 'majority consent'.

All of this can only amount to a recipe for playing the game of sectarian politics.

Just as Fianna Fail made the same transition from gunmen to Holy Joes, so too will Sinn Fein emerge as pure brokers for 'the Catholic side'.

Mackies scandal - lessons for workers

MACKIES INTERNATIONAL was once the major employer in West Belfast but it has now been allowed to go into receivership.

Mackies is a brand name known all over the world as a leading manufacturer of textile machinery. It is more famous locally for the fact that while under the Mackie family ownership, the firm practised discrimination not only against Catholics but also their shop floor workers.

Grants

Since 1990, courtesy of the IDB, Mackies have received something in the region of £40 million in grants.

In 1992 Mackies was saved from bankruptcy by the then Tory

Government, under the pretext of saving jobs in this high unemployment area of West Belfast.

In reality this was a political manoeuvre engineered by the Tory Junior Minister to face down the threat of the IRA who had vowed to destroy Mackies.

Mackies again played on the high employment rate in the area and secured further millions in IDB grants to build a foundry plant with the expectation of creating 100 new jobs.

The new plant never materialised despite Mackies receiving T&EA grant funding for training.

Mackies also brought in a consultation company Knox Darcy to "drag the company into the 20th century".

But far from making the company more economical it was obvious to the workers there that their bullying tactics were going to destroy Mackies.

Shop floor workers were regularly made redundant while more

and more managers were recruited.

Any time the trade union works committee attempted to voice their concerns at the way the company was being run, they were completely ignored.

Earned

The chief executive of Mackies, Sul Sahhota, who earned over £200,000 in wages and pensions last year, underfunded workers pensions by £2 million.

The company was supposed to make up this money by paying monthly instalments of £25,000. It never paid up.

Two years ago, Bill Clinton appeared in Mackies and told workers there was a bright future coming with the peace process.

The scandal today shows why we should welcome the peace - but use it as an opportunity to organise a party that presses for workers rights.

The trade in human organs

OVER THE past fifteen years, transplanting human organs has become a standard and remarkably successful medical procedure, giving new life to hundreds of thousands of people with failing hearts, kidneys, livers and lungs.

But very few countries have sufficient organs to meet patients' needs. In the United States, for example, some 50,000 people are on the waiting list for a transplant: 15 percent of patients who need a new heart will die before one comes available.

Now reports are emerging about how rich would-be recipients are willing to travel far and pay a high price to get organs, while many surgeons, brokers and government officials will do nearly anything to profit from the shortages.

This huge growth in the demand for organs was as a result of the discovery of cyclosporine in the early 1980's.

Until then, transplantation had been a risky and experimental procedure, a last ditch effort to stave off death.

The problem was not the complexity of the procedure but the body's immune system which frequently rejected the newly transplanted organ. The discovery of cyclosporine changed all this and transplants became highly successful procedures.

Over 70 percent of heart transplant recipients were alive four years later. 81 percent of patients who received a kidney from living donor were using that kidney four years later. Transplantation spread quickly from developed to less developed countries.

Kidney transplants are by far the most common, since kidney donors can live normal lives with one kidney.

With demands for organs so strong there is a worldwide shortage of organs.

There are also powerful cultural and religious taboos that discourage donation, not only in countries with strong religious establishments but in more secular ones as well.

But when it comes to organ transplantation, money talks.

India has an abundant supply of kidneys because doctors and brokers bring together the desperately poor with the desperately ill.

Rich foreigners and the Indian middle class readily pay between \$2,500 and \$4,000 for a kidney and perhaps twice that for the surgery. The donor will receive between \$1,000 and \$1,500.

Most of the poor Indians who sell their organs feel they have to submit to a

by SINEAD KENNEDY

degrading practice in order to get badly needed money.

China is the centre of the Pacific routes to organ transplantation because it has adopted the tactic of harvesting the organs of executed prisoners. Executions are even timed to meet market needs.

China keeps the exact number of executions secret but Amnesty International calculates on the basis of newspaper reports that there are at least 4,500 a year and perhaps even three to four times as many.

The motive for all such practices is money. Wealthy Europeans and Asians who travel to India, China and other Third World countries pay handsomely for their new organs in hard currencies.

This international trade in organs has convinced many of the poor, particularly in South America, that they or their children are at risk of being mutilated or murdered.

Stories are often told of foreigners who arrive in a village, survey the scene, kidnap and murder several children, remove their organs for sale abroad and leave the dissected corpses exposed in graveyards. These anxieties are shared by a number of outside observers who believe that people are being murdered for their organs.

The report of the Transplant Committee of the European Parliament unequivocally asserted that "Organised trafficking in organs exists in the same way as trafficking in drugs."

"It involves killing people to remove organs which can be sold at a profit. To deny the existence of such trafficking is comparable to denying the existence of ovens and gas chambers during the last war."

Almost all major national and international medical bodies have opposed the sale of organs and the transplantation of organs from executed prisoners, but no medical organisation has been willing to take action on the issue.

The international trafficking in organs shows the depths to which capitalism is willing to descend in the pursuit of profit. As long as we have a system that puts people before profit, these horrific practices will continue.

THE BACON REPORT SHOWS...

The government solution to the housing crisis

THE HOUSING crisis is now spiralling out of control. House prices are rising at 26 percent and rents are increasing at over 20 percent per year.

In 1987 a worker on the average industrial wage could afford to buy a house.

Now a couple both earning the average wage can't get a large enough mortgage to buy a home.

There are over 50,000 people on housing lists yet Dublin Corporation still receives over 80 applications a week from people with children who are looking for accommodation.

This has led to a 50 percent increase in the housing list in just five years.

Yet in the same period the number of places available has decreased by 50 percent.

This is because the government has cut back on funding for local authority houses.

As pressure grows for more tax concessions for big business less money is available for vital services like housing.

But the crisis isn't just in Dublin. In Donegal, 2,000 people are on the housing lists, in Sligo there are 1,000, and in Galway the list has doubled to 800 in three years. In

The cost of the crisis

OVER 6,000 people are homeless or living in emergency accommodation. This is the harsh reality of the housing crisis. According to Focus Ireland, the number of people homeless in Ireland has rocketed, increasing by 60 percent in the past three years.

Yet bizarrely the Department of the Environment claim a 9.1 percent drop in the number of homelessness.

With less and less affordable accommodation available, more and more people have ended up sleeping on the streets.

Ain't nothing going on but the rent

THE INCREASE in house prices and the shortage of public housing means that landlords are making a fortune out of rising rents.

While rents in Dublin rose by an average of 25 percent last year, the standard of accommodation is falling rapidly.

Tenants are being evicted at a higher rate than before while landlords flout the law with impunity.

It is compulsory for landlords to register but only 23,000 properties are on the list, less than a quarter of

the rented accommodation in Ireland. 5,000 of these registered properties did not even have a rent book.

Of the 6,000 registered properties visited by the Department of the Environment last year, 72 percent were found to be substandard.

That means that either there was no running water, no cooking facilities at all, or more than three flats to a toilet.

Yet there has never been a single prosecution for failing to register a property or for not providing a rent book.

While the government refuses to invest in public

housing, it is lining the pockets of these private landlords through the rent allowance programme.

Private

This year £100 million pounds will be handed over to private landlords through the rent allowance scheme. This compares to £8 million in 1989.

Sometimes the money is paid out for sub-standard accommodation.

The Southern Health Board foots a private landlord's bill for a crumbling £100-a-week house which was so dilapidated that the tenant was forced to spend



At £220,000 these houses are out of reach of many

Waterford there are 1,400 applications, yet the corporation plans to build just 90 homes a year.

Local authorities say that they don't have any land to build on.

Yet all local authorities have the right to buy land by Compulsory Purchase Order.

The problem is that they have to pay market prices and in the Celtic Tiger that means hugely inflated prices.

The other reason why there is a major problem is that the local authorities have been sell-

ing off their land banks to private developers over the years.

They did this to make up the shortfall in funding the central government.

But now it means that they have not got the land to build with the massive housing shortage.

Dublin Corporation is building 300 houses in the next three years, and will run out of land in 18 months.

This is while there are 20,000 people on its waiting list who are desperate for a house. One worker in D

nights in a hostel for the homeless while her daughter moved into a caravan at the doorstep.

The landlord refused to meet inspectors from the Corporation to discuss the condition of the building.

Yet the Health Board said it could not refuse to do with any individual landlord even if they were charged with exorbitant rents because it only had power to assess a tenant's eligibility for a rent allowance.

The reality is that the major political party is willing to take on the power of landlords who are exploiting the housing crisis.

BY SIMON BASKETTER

Government has no the housing



out of reach of most workers

of their land banks to private developers over the years. They did this to make up for a shortfall in funding from central government. At now it means that they have not got the land to cope with the massive housing crisis. Dublin Corporation is only building 300 houses in the next few years, and will run out of land in 18 months. This is while there are over 100,000 people on its waiting list who are desperate for a home. One worker in Dublin

Corporation's housing unit told *Socialist Worker*, "In the past the private rented sector used to offer a safety valve for the Corporation. But now most of the people coming into the office have been thrown out by

private landlords, because landlords are selling to get the high property values or just putting up the rents.

The problem isn't lack of resources, but that the resources aren't being used."

Doing all they can?

THE Government says that it is doing all it can to sort out the housing crisis, by putting into place the recommendations of the Bacon report.

But this report does not advocate any major improvements because it dares not interfere in the market.

Instead Bacon calls for the planning process to be speeded up to create more houses.

There is plenty of land zoned for residential development, but it lies idle due to a lack of water and sewerage services.

It is estimated that there is about 3,200 acres of land in Dublin zoned for residential development.

If the government invested massively in providing these services and took this land into public ownership, it would solve the crisis.

Similarly Bacon advocates a 50 percent increase in tax allowances to deal with escalating rents.

In reality this would only amount to an extra £1.50 a week for a single person and even that would probably be swallowed up by landlords who took advantage of the situation.

The government also says it will provide cheaper mortgages for affordable housing.

But only 400 people will benefit from this scheme next year and even though interest rates may be lowered, the government is doing nothing to control the price of the actual houses bought.

For a factsheet on how to stop the housing crisis contact Grace Lally (Housing Action Campaign) (01) 4735071

what
can be
done?

MINISTER OF State for housing Bobby Molloy said: "Nobody has come up with any simple solution, because there isn't any." But this is because he does not want to interfere with the rich or the market.

Yet the housing crisis can be solved by a number of socialist measures.

★ **A crash programme of local authority house building.**

A massive investment in building public housing could be undertaken by local authorities if the rich were taxed. Direct labour units should be established to undertake the building programme and local authorities should pool their resources to come up with practical designs.

★ **Nationalise unused building land:**

All unused and undeveloped building land should be nationalised to provide a land bank for public housing. The Kenny Report on the housing crisis in 1973 advocated this.

★ **Rent Controls:**

At the moment landlords can charge what they want. Landlords should be forced to register and provide decent accommodation, and they should be prosecuted if they don't. But most importantly there should be the introduction of rent controls. By enforcing fair rents, as is done in Germany and the Netherlands, we could stop landlords making a fortune out of tenants who can't buy a home because the government won't build houses.

What do socialists say?

Why the economists get it wrong

THE ECONOMIC and Social Research Institute recently advised employers not to take on new contracts because the growing labour shortage meant that workers might be able to achieve more than the 3 percent wage increases granted under Partnership 2000.

The statement was an outrage. The ESRI has never urged restraint on the AIB which made £816 million in profit in 1998.

It never protested when Charlie McCreedy cut the Capital Gains Tax from 40 percent to 20 percent, allowing company directors to make a fortune from selling their shares.

The only restraint it urges is wage restraint.

There is a common pattern of economic experts making similar pronouncements.

The Department of Economics in UCD, for example, wrote to the Minimum Wage Commission urging them not to grant a minimum wage for young workers lest it increase unemployment.

None of the learned economists saw any irony in College Professors who earn over £50,000 a year for light work duties telling young employees in fast food restaurants that a wage of £5 an hour would bring economic disaster.

Experts

The reality is that economics under capitalism cannot be viewed as a science in which neutral experts give advice more or less as mechanics know how to fix cars.

In a class society, the closer an academic subject gets to examining the nature of exploitation, the less able it is to proceed in a scientific fashion.

Instead, economic experts appear as propagandists for the rich, donning the mantle of neutrality and a pseudo science to give their statements extra weight.

Classical economics began with the writings of Adam Smith, a Professor of Moral Philosophy in Glasgow. Smith associated with some of the leading inventors and manufacturers of his day and produced his famous Wealth of Nations to support the case for enterprise.

As he was writing at the very birth of the industrial revolution, Smith made some genuine attempts to show how capitalism worked and also on occasions even expressed some sympathy for the poor.

So he recognised, for example, that "labour alone is the ultimate and real standard which the value of all commodities can at all times be estimated and compared".

Smith also argued for a "liberal reward for labour" and on one occasion argued that the state had to prevent the "mean rapacity" of the manufacturers disturbing the "tranquillity of anybody but themselves".

Nevertheless, Smith also presented an idealised picture of capitalism of his day, which has long since become outdated. In Smith's model, no individual capitalist could dominate the market and so each were forced to act as 'price takers' who worked towards greater efficiency in order to survive.

Yet modern capitalism is based upon two or three major firms dominating individual sectors of the economy and using their contacts with the state machine to maximise their profits.

Profit

Nor could Smith explain how if labour was the source of all value, where profit came from. He dared not examine how workers produce more value than they are paid for, creating a surplus value otherwise known as profit.

The contradictions in Smith's Classical economics led to a retreat from any real scientific inquiry.

Later economists like Malthus thundered against the use of Poor Laws to sustain those who might otherwise die of starvation.

The poor should "be taught to know that the laws of nature, which are the laws of God, has doomed him and his family to suffer for disobeying repeated admonitions".

Modern economists rarely use such language, preferring instead to resort to pseudo scientific arguments to claim that a minimum wage might introduce 'inflexibility in the labour supply'.

Nevertheless, they come from the same ideological tradition. An ideology does not simply mean holding political beliefs.

Rather it amounts to producing a system of ideas which masks, rather than examines the crucial contradictions in society. In this way it conforms to the outlook of the dominant class.

Such an ideological outlook prevents our modern economic expert asking extraordinarily simple questions: Why cannot the rich take a cut in their profits to grant workers a minimum wage or a higher wage increase?

Whenever the ESRI makes its learned pronouncements, we should remember the story of the little child who shouted, "But the emperor has no clothes on".

KIERAN ALLEN

THE FIGHT FOR WOMENS LIBERATION

INTERNATIONAL Women's Day this year was marked only by wine and cheese receptions at low key art exhibitions. This is a far cry from the early seventies when thousands of women marched for equal pay, equal education and job opportunities, free contraception and abortion on demand, and free 24 hour crèches.

Yet women's rights have not been achieved. Women still earn only 80 percent of men's average earnings. There are few creche facilities and the pressure on young women to conform to their assigned role is still immense.

So what has become of the movement for women's liberation?

The modern movement for women's liberation grew out of the civil rights struggle in America in the 60's. A mass movement against black oppression was the spark which ignited a wave of radicalisation and rebellion against the old social order. A generation of young women first became politically active in radical organisations such as the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) and gained the confidence to speak out on their own behalf.

From the outset, however, the student movement had fatal political weaknesses which would eventually force many of the women involved to abandon it. It was mainly a white middle class movement which saw students as the force which would fight 'on behalf' of the oppressed and change society. Rather than attempt to give any real political leadership the SDS adopted the slogan "let the people decide".

In practice this meant pandering to the most backward ideas. When the Black Panther theoretician Eldridge Cleaver wrote about how he first learned to assert himself through raping women, the men in the SDS applauded rather than condemned him. At one student anti-war demonstration in 1969 women on the platform were jeered off by a chorus of "take her off the stage and fuck her".

There were no links with the organised working class which would counteract the elitism and individualism of the movement.

As militancy began to wane in the 70's, the student movement began to disintegrate into hippie politics which saw individualist lifestyle choices as the only alternative to the system.

The women who had become radicalised by their experiences in the student movement continued to fight their oppression but men now became the main focus for their anger rather than the system itself. This shift was best exemplified by the National Organisation of Women (NOW). This was set up in 1966 by Betty Friedan and became the main force in the women's movement. In her book "The Feminist Mystique" she outlined NOW's liberal agenda of pushing for legal reforms to end discrimination. Although legal reforms were badly needed it was squarely focused on the needs of middle class women who wanted a greater individual stake in the system but had no interest in changing the capitalist system itself.

Although NOW spoke of a sisterhood of all women it never attempted to address the needs of working class women and the emphasis on "consciousness raising" as a means to gain liberation held little appeal for most women.

In Britain, where trade union membership among both men and women was much higher than in America, the fight for women's rights was at first more closely linked to working class struggles.

The strike of women sewing



Action is the way to win women's rights

Whatever happened to the women's movement?

machinists at Ford in 1968 for equal pay became the model for many women who were fed up with the sexism and double standards they suffered. Women joined the unions in their thousands.

The increase in militancy among women was closely linked to an increase in working class militancy generally at that time. In 1971 the unions called huge marches to demand women's rights on International Women's Day.

However when the recession hit in 1974 the Labour Government turned on workers and dealt a death blow to the women's movement in the process. Socialist feminist ideas began to lose their appeal as the working class, including women workers, became demoralised.

Divorced from actual working class

struggle, the women's movement fell down the same blind alley as the American movement. Women in the trade unions became more concerned with gaining important positions in the union bureaucracy and in parliament than leading rank and file men and women in struggle.

Feminists became fengrossed by internal squabbles about the way forward, while ignoring the real issues which were facing working class women.

The debate which took place between the lesbian and straight feminists, and which led to a bitter split in the movement, served to

highlight just how alien the feminist movement had become to most women.

In 1979, while the TUC organised a march of 80,000 men and women to defend abortion rights, a group of radical feminists were arguing that men were the main enemy and "giving up fucking is about taking your politics seriously".

The triumph of the right wing during the Reagan/Thatcher era led to a further rightward turn in the women's movement.

Increasingly feminists adopted a theory of patriarchy which argued that all men had a vested interest in the oppression of women. Radical feminists like Brownmiller in America declared that "rape is a conscious process of intimidation by which all

men keep all women in a state of fear".

Some feminists joined forces with the far-right to campaign for a ban on pornography arguing that "Pornography is the theory; rape is the practice".

Yet the argument that women's oppression sprung from the attitudes of individual men rather than from the structures of a class society fitted well with middle class women's view of the world. Increasingly, these women made substantial gains and were able, within limits, to alleviate their oppression on the back of other women.

Nannies and au pairs were employed to do their house work. As they edged their way into management, the lifestyles of these privileged women depended on the low wages paid to their working class 'sisters'.

One expression of this shift was a form of post-feminism which argued that girl power was achievable by individual effort. Natasha Walters, for example, praised Margaret Thatcher as "the great unsung heroine of British feminism" because she "normalised female success".

These shifts help to explain why the feminist movement which once had the support of millions of women across the globe became a shadow of its former self and increasingly divorced from the concerns of working class women.

However if feminism today is more centred in the academic world, there is also a different tradition of fighting for women's liberation.

The first International Women's Day was organised by Clara Zetkin and the socialist movement. Ever since, there has been a different tradition of fighting for women's liberation that differs from the feminist approach.

The socialist movement does not see all women as sisters. Instead it recognises that there is a fundamental divide between employers, like Margaret Helfernan, and her mainly female staff.

Similarly, instead of seeing individual men as the problem it targets how family life under capitalism is central to the oppression of women.

Responsibility for raising children is devolved onto the individual family rather than society as a whole. To fit in with this model women are constantly presented as either alluring sex models or caring mothers who will take full responsibility for the home.

For the right wing, this model has to be backed up with strictures on abortion divorce and contraception which prevent women having control over their bodies.

Genuine liberation for the majority of working class women means having to confront this society rather than trying to win a place in it for a few privileged women.

That starts with both women and men fighting the bigots to win the right to control our bodies. But it needs to go further, to re-organise society on a basis where resources are devoted to child care rather than, say, the hideous waste of money on advertising. This in turn can lay the basis for overturning the restrictive role models that have been imposed on women.

Alexandra Kollantai, one of the leaders of the Russian Revolution, summed up the socialist aspiration for women's liberation, "In place of the indissoluble marriage based on the servitude of women, we shall see the free union, fortified by the love and the mutual respect of two members of the workers state, equal in their rights and obligation".

by GRACE LALLY

in my view

Kubrick's last laugh

ONE OF the world's greatest film directors, Stanley Kubrick, has died. For Kubrick the road to fame and untold riches was clearly mapped out. He only had to abide by Hollywood's rules: stick around town, stay in the public eye, make a film every two years, deliver them to the studio on time and on budget, and ensure that a few, at least, were commercial.

But Kubrick was too stubborn to play that game. No, he would not live in Los Angeles, nor churn out films to suit others.

Studio executives could not see his works in progress; they could be viewed only when complete, at a time determined by him alone. Not even Spielberg has been given such latitude by a studio.

He moved to Britain in the early 1960s and never returned to America. His reclusiveness only enhanced his mystique.

Reputation

But his reputation rests, too, on a refusal to spread himself too thinly.

Shortly before his death, Kubrick completed *Eyes Wide Shut*, a story of sexual obsession and jealousy, starring Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman.

It is only his 12th major film in 44 years, and only his second since 1980.

His first major film, *The Killing*, made in 1955, is a terse, hard-bitten thriller that still casts a shadow over films such as *Reservoir Dogs*.

It is perhaps one of the greatest B-movies ever made, with a harshness that was daring for its time.

In 1958 he made *Paths of Glory*, which is a brilliant pacifist polemic against the First World War. It shows the horror of the experience of French soldiers in the trenches. In fact, it was so good that it was banned for over twenty years in France.

When Kirk Douglas sacked Anthony Mann from directing *Spartacus*, Kubrick stepped in, and worked with writers who were blacklisted by McCarthy.

He replaced some of Douglas' pompousness and heightened the politics of the film about a slave revolt.

It was his experience of studio interference on *Spartacus* - particularly when they cut a gay scene between Lawrence Olivier and Tony Curtis - that led him to leave Hollywood.

In Britain he dared to bring Nabokov's *Lolita* to the screen, and almost managed to get away with making it a comedy.

Then at the height of the Cuban Missile Crisis, he brought out *Dr Strangelove - or how I stopped worrying and learned to love the bomb*, a black comedy, where the lunatics have taken over the world.

In the trance-like *2001: A Space Odyssey* (1968) he

Much of Kubrick's work was about the inability of those in charge to have complete control.

created the modern science fiction film. *A Clockwork Orange* despite controversy, is a savagely brilliant essay on violence and moral choice.

Much of Kubrick's work was about the inability of those in charge to have complete control.

In *Dr Strangelove* the Generals think they run the world when in fact they are destroying it.

HAL, the computer in *2001* is supposed to be the ultimate slave but is uncontrollable. The aversion therapy of *A Clockwork Orange* produces the opposite reaction.

In *Full Metal Jacket*, boys are supposed to be turned in killing machines, but in reality their training and the Vietnam war make them dysfunctional and destroys them. And in *Spartacus* despite the threat of death, the slaves will not submit.

Kubrick is often proclaimed as the ultimate director who demanded complete control.

He would reshoot and re-edit his films endlessly to get the correct effect. But filmmaking by its nature is a collective process.

Genius

The dazzling chase scene in *The Shining*, the natural lighting in *Barry Lydon*, and the effects of *2001*, were not produced purely by Kubrick's genius but by technicians, lighting teams and camera crews in co-operation.

At the end of the day even Kubrick couldn't escape Hollywood.

His death has prompted the studios to go into a marketing overdrive for *Eyes Wide Shut*, mostly based around the prospect of seeing Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman naked.

Shortly before his death, Kubrick had to re-edit the film to ensure a low enough age certificate to make the film commercially viable.

But the tendency of Kubrick's films not to be safe and studio friendly, may mean he gets the last laugh after all.

SIMON BASKETTER

album

Singing inner city blues

THIS YEAR marks the 15th anniversary of the death of Marvin Gaye. He died tragically after being shot by his mentally disturbed father on April 1st 1984.

Gaye's 1971 album 'What's Going On?' has been re-released to commemorate the occasion and has received very favourable reviews in the mainstream press.

Not so well known is the unwillingness and resistance Gaye's record company, Motown, put up to the original release.

The US at this time was in turmoil. There was huge popular feeling against the Vietnam War.

The hangover from the student protests and inner city riots was still tangible. The civil rights movement was in disarray, having suffered assassinations and savage state repression.

Gaye's own life was in turmoil. His marriage to the Motown boss's sister was on the rocks and his singing partner Tammi Terrell had just died in his



arms from a brain tumour while on stage.

Gaye began working on the album as a 'concept' album that would capture the spirit of the time - anti-war, pro-ecology and a hymn to the unity of the people.

Pawn

He thought that the album would establish him as a great artist and not just a pawn in the Motown hit factory. The album would also reflect his own inner demons.

Songs like 'What's Happening Brother' and 'Inner City Blues' dealt with the realities of life in the ghetto. Gaye sings,

*R o c k e t s ,
Moonshots, spend it on
have-nots*

*Money we make
before we see it, you
take it*

*Make me wanna
holler they way they do
my life*

*This ain't living, No,
No, No.*

The album was completed in 1970 but when the Motown executives heard

the tape they were shocked into disbelief.

Throughout the sixties, Berry Gordy had taken Motown under his paternalistic suffocating management and changed it into a successful label with two thirds of all its releases reaching the Top 20.

It achieved this by crossing over into mainstream white America with singers like Diana Ross becoming a black Barbara Streisand and the Four Tops playing show tunes in Las Vegas in tuxedos.

No wonder he refused to release it, fearing it would upset his growing white middle class audience.

But Gaye did not give up and when he eventually threatened to leave Motown, they released the album in 1971.

'What's Going On?' built on the sweetness and drama of Motown's established production techniques and added rich orchestration and arrangements that brought a new depth and mystery. Its flawless music and singing has only intensified with time.

— SHAY RYAN

film

The legacy of slavery

BELOVED, THE new film starring Oprah Winfrey, is one of this year's most extraordinary films. It is a powerful condemnation of 19th century slavery in America, based on the wonderful novel by Toni Morrison, a black American author.

Morrison has never been interested in telling a conventional historical story.

She has spent her entire career questioning the basis of historical writing, particularly in the representation of black people. She wants to tell the stories of ordinary people, particularly women and their struggle against oppression.

Beloved was inspired by the story of Margaret Garner, a black slave who decided to kill her children rather than

see them returned to slavery. Garner's story had a huge impact on people of her day and her story was taken up by the anti-slavery movement.

To make a film out of Morrison's notoriously difficult novel is a real challenge, as the novel depends on subtle imagery and language to tell its harrowing story. Winfrey spent ten years trying to get studio backing to make a film true to a novel that everyone said was 'unfilmable'.

The film certainly rises to the challenge and captures the spirit of the novel.

The main character, played by Winfrey, is Sethe, an escaped slave who yearns for a life of freedom and safety. Although she escaped the horrific plantation "Sweet Home", the legacy of slavery haunts her. When she settles in her new home the

Oprah Winfrey in *Beloved*

ghost of the child she was forced to kill returns to haunt her. Through Sethe's story we learn the human cost of enslavement and we get a glimpse of what it means to have your person owned by another individual.

The savagery and cruelty of slavery is told through a series of stark flashbacks. The result is one of film's most powerful depictions of the brutal horror of slavery

and its consequences.

Although the film is concerned with the personal tragedy of slavery, it still manages to convey a wider sense of what happened - the defiance of the slaves and their continuing lack of total freedom after abolition.

In an interview about the film Winfrey declared that she wanted people to come out the film feeling "a sense of

devastation". She, and director Jonathan Demme, have certainly achieved that.

Yet *Beloved* is also a story of passionate resistance in the face of inhuman brutality and oppression. It is a story that has to be told and a film that must be seen.

— Sinead Kennedy



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.

No to performance related pay

Watch the Union leaders

THE Government is in a panic about the possibility of a new pay battle in the Public Service.

They are trying to divide workers by breaking pay links between different groups and imposing Performance Related Pay instead.

Since being forced to pay a nine percent increase to the Gardai last year, the government has faced the threat of industrial action by fire-fighters and nurses.

Demanded

The fire-fighters in particular demanded that the link between their pay and that of Gardai be maintained.

Now Bertie Ahern has told the unions that he wants to break the system of relativities between different groups in the Public Service.

Under this system a particular grade or group of workers is used as a

"marker group" by other public service workers. When the marker group gains an increase the other groups put in a claim to maintain parity.

There is also a system of "analogues" linking the pay of certain public service craft workers with that of equivalent grades in the private sector.

"There is no going back to the old ways of leapfrogging claims," said Ahern at a recent meeting with union leaders.

Instead Ahern wants to introduce Performance Related Pay.

He claims that historic links do not take into account changes in the duties of the marker groups which justify them leaping ahead of groups that have claimed parity.

This was the argument used by the Government to rule out knock-on claims resulting from the Garda pay award. The Garda, it was argued, had been paid for productivity measures they had already conceded.

The Dublin fire-fight-

ers responded to this by pointing to thirteen productivity measures they had conceded without extra pay.

Claims

Ahern claims that Performance Related Pay is crucial to making the Public Service respond better to the needs of its customers. This is sheer hypocrisy.

The government would be better off responding to people's needs by taxing the rich to put money into hospitals and schools. How can a nurse or a teacher be

expected to perform better if they are denied the resources for the job?

In civil service departments, performance is based on the priorities of the government. As one CPSU activist pointed out, these are not always in the interests of the public.

"How does it benefit the majority of people if civil servants are told their pay depends on how many people they hound off the dole or how many refugees they deport? The resources should be put into chasing wealthy tax dodgers, instead of the poor."

Social workers

Action over underfunding

SOCIAL WORKERS in the Eastern Health Board have begun a series of one-day stoppages in protest at the growing crisis they are facing.

They are demanding immediate investment by the government into services for children and families.

The Tutt report commissioned by the EHB over 2 years ago revealed what social workers had already been well aware of, namely, that there was a desperate need for more funding. Tutt claimed that an additional increase of £10.6 million per year was needed in order to bring funding even to the level of that in Northern Ireland. And that was without taking into account the capital investment that is

needed for shelters and other community care centres.

Social workers, who are dealing every day with the worst realities of life in the Celtic Tiger, are increasingly frustrated by the government's disgraceful neglect of the most disadvantaged people in our society.

One striker explained how social workers are being placed in an impossible situation where "parents could be screaming at us to take their child into care and we are absolutely powerless. Children are effectively being written off because the money just isn't there to help them".

Since the government failed to implement the recommendations of the Tutt report, social workers have been involved in on-going industrial action. They have

been refusing to put children into B&B's or hospitals when proper shelter is unavailable.

Require

They have also refused to implement the 1995 Childcare Act, even though they welcomed its introduction, because to implement it effectively would require much greater resources.

They were pressurised by the union leaders of IMPACT to abandon their action because of intimidation by the courts who threatened social workers with jail for failing to implement court orders. Instead of supporting its members against these attacks the union has cho-

sen to back down.

Without union backing social workers may now face sacking if they refuse to put at-risk children into grotty B&Bs. As one worker pointed out "if any parent put their child into places like these the Health Board would be notified immediately".

The hypocrisy of the government is glaring. The constitution claims to "cherish all the children of the nation equally" but progressive legislation is a dead letter when the government refuses to tax the rich to make it a reality. Over 2,000 children are currently on waiting lists for services in the EHB area.

HOUSING ACTION MEETINGS

CORK HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE
Wed. 31st Mar., 8pm Moores Hotel at 8pm
Speakers: Maura O'Neill (Regional Co-ordinator Threshold)
Dave Lordon (SWP)
Grace Lally (Dublin Housing Action Campaign)

SCR HOUSING ACTION COMMITTEE
Tues. 6th Apr., St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto at 8pm

PUBLIC MEETING
Women's Liberation and Socialism
Smyth's Pub, Fairview
Tues. 30th March at 7.30pm

SWP Branch meetings - all welcome

ATHLONE:
Contact 01- 872 2682 for details
BRAY:
Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at the Mayfare Hotel at 8pm
Mar. 25th: Perspectives Meeting: Building the SWP
BELFAST CENTRAL:
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St.

BELFAST EAST:
Contact 01- 8722682 for details
BELFAST SOUTH:
Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in upstairs Renshaws, University St
CORK:
Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket
DERRY:
Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Badgers Bar, Orchard St.

DUNDALK:
Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details
DUN LAOGHAIRE:
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Christian Institute
Mar. 23rd: Perspectives Meeting: Building the SWP
Mar. 30th: Genetic Engineering: Why Big Business is Ruining Our

Health?
Apr. 6th: Can their be a Revolution In Ireland?
DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre opp. Artane Castle
Mar. 30th: Does the Media Control our Lives?
Speaker: Paddy Moen
Apr. 6th: The Fight Against Racism Today
DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St.
DUBLIN NORTH WEST:
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in the Snug, Dorset St.
Mar. 24th: Genetic Engineering: Is Big Business Ruining our Health?
Speaker: Colm O'Riain
Mar. 31st: Can Socialist Planning Work?
Speaker: Kieran Allen
Apr. 7th: The Fight for Women's Liberation?
Speaker: Sinead Kennedy

DUBLIN RANELAGH:
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Tom Kelly Flats, Charlemont St Community Centre
Mar 25th: The Black Panthers April 1: Was Cuba Socialist? April 8 Marxism and Art
DUBLIN RIALTO:
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto
Mar. 23rd: Genetic Engineering: Is Big Business Ruining our Health
Speaker: Sheila Delane
DUBLIN RATHMINES:
Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.
Mar. 24th: Where does Racism Come From?
Speaker: Michelle Whittaker
Mar. 31st: Genetic Engineering: Is Big Business Ruining our Health
Speaker: Ger Quinn
Apr. 7th: The Revolutionary Ideas
Speaker: Paula Geraghty
DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St.
Mar. 25th: The International Socialist Tradition
Apr. 1st: The Crisis of Capitalism: Booms and Slumps

Speaker: Owen McCormack
DUBLIN TALLAGHT:
Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Jobstown Community Centre
ENNISKILLEN:
Meets fortnightly on Saturdays at 4pm. Phone 01 - 8722682 for details of venue
GALWAY:
Meets every Thursday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square 7.30pm
Mar. 25th: The Origins of the International Socialists: Trotskyism after Trotsky
LIMERICK:
Contact 01 - 872 2682
MAYNOOTH:
Meets every Wednesday in Classhall D, Arts Block, Maynooth College
UCD:
Meets every Tuesday at 1pm (See posters for room no.)
TRINITY COLLEGE:
Meets every Thursday at 7.00pm (See posters for room no.)
WATERFORD:
Meets every Thursday in at 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.
Mar. 25th: Building the SWP
Apr. 2nd: Socialism and War
Apr. 9th: The Fight for Women's Liberation

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.....

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Union.....

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email: swp@clubi.ie web: www.clubi.ie/swp

ESB

Strike action shows how to defend shop stewards

MANAGEMENT in the ESB were stopped in their tracks from victimising shop stewards after a magnificent wave of industrial action throughout the company.

The crisis began after a SIPTU shop steward in Moneypoint was suspended for instructing members not to lock up a workshop. This instruction arose because management were trying to change the conditions of work.

One union activist at Moneypoint told *Socialist Worker*,

"There is a big overhaul of the plant coming up. Usually when this happens there are all sorts

of disputes over working conditions. Management wanted the shop steward off side because he was a good rep.

It was a disgraceful attempt to victimise someone who stood up for their members."

As soon as the word about the victimisation spread, unofficial pickets appeared on the gates of Moneypoint and won solid support from all workers. "The great thing was that the crafts and the general workers stuck together. There was even a group of American workers over and they refused to pass the picket".

The action terrified the political establishment and within hours the former ICTU President and director of the ICC bank, Phil Flynn, was sent in to bring about a resolution. He had no option but to recommend that the shop steward be immediately re-instated.

Further

Flynn's decision gave confidence for workers to push matters further.

Since December two shop stewards in a neighbouring plant at Tarbert have been suspended after a row with a supervisor. They were both members of the Fitters Association which has a wide network of members throughout the ESB.

As soon as the SIPTU steward was re-instated, they placed unofficial pickets on power stations across the country.

Typically, the strike faced a media attack. The former student radical, Joe Duffy, devoted most of his RTE programme to attacking the pickets.

"It was almost like he dragged up every hospital patient he could find to claim their lives were at risk during an ESB strike. He never mentioned the issue of emergency provision. You would think there was never any cut-backs in hospital services and that only workers were to blame for a run down in the service", one listener told *Socialist Worker*.

Despite these media attacks, many ESB workers respected the pickets. Despite all their talk of respecting procedures management were again forced to back down and within hours the stewards were re-instated, pending

a further investigation.

Many commentators have claimed that the action of ESB workers was "a throw back to the bad old days of the seventies". But it was really a further sign that the militancy of the rank and file is returning.

Throughout the past few years a macho management culture has developed where shop stewards are being bullied for defending their members. The lightning action by ESB workers showed how manners can be put on these managers. It also augurs well for the future of union organisation at the ESB.

As de-regulation is pushed through more jobs are set to go at the ESB and a further process of rationalisation is in store. The most recent strike has shown that workers may not take all this lying down.

Probation officers

150 PROBATION officers, members of IMPACT, are balloting to take strike action in April over a staff shortage crisis.

The union took the decision to vote on industrial action at its AGM over the failure of the Government to implement an independent report on the probation service, which recommended the recruitment of over 75 officers.

Although the result of the ballot will not be announced for at least three weeks, an overwhelming majority in favour of industrial action is expected.

JAIL THE CORRUPT POLITICIANS

500 trade unionists marched through Dublin to demand jail sentences for corrupt politicians.

There were banners from SIPTU, ATGWU, BATU, CPSU and the INTO.

Speaking at the rally afterwards, Dave McMahon, a building worker who was jailed for picketing said,

"I was sent to prison for two days for demanding the right to direct PAYE employment. I was even asked to apologise to the judge, but I refused. Why aren't the corrupt politicians sent to jail?"

Jimmy Kelly, the convener of Waterford Crystal, who chaired the meeting said,

"This march is only the start of a major movement. The ICTU leaders should stand up and give a lead on this one. But we are going to have to force them from



below. Everyone on this march should raise resolutions in their branches to call for an ICTU stoppage to finally send the corrupt politicians to jail."

MOVE THIS MODEL RESOLUTION:
"In the light of the recent scandals which have revealed an extensive network of corruption and

bribery, this union/branch/ committee calls for the jailing of politicians who have misused their office in return for political donations or for private gain.

"We express our outrage at the fact what while PAYE workers were told to show restraint, those who bribed politicians were able to benefit

through tax concessions and access to favourable public contracts.

"We therefore resolve to:

a) call for the jailing of politicians found to have taken bribes.

b) call upon the ICTU to organise a one day stoppage to press for the jailing of corrupt politicians.

Scaffolders

HUNDREDS of scaffolders walked off sites throughout Dublin to attend a SIPTU meeting in Liberty Hall.

The scaffolders are demanding that they be recognised as a craft and paid the equivalent wage. At present scaffolders earn only £6.25 an hour while many craft workers are making over £16 an hour.

The scaffolders are also looking for a greater say on the implementation of health and safety laws on the sites. At present they are often blamed for accidents yet they have little control over what happens.

They are protesting at the fact

that the SIPTU union official Eric Fleming was removed from the Health and Safety Authority.

After the meeting, they marched to a Zoe Developments site where it was believed scaffolders were being paid under-the-counter wages rather than being given proper union conditions.

"We have taken this action because we are sick of the way scaffolders are treated. It is time the employers showed us some respect" one union activist told *Socialist Worker*.

The union officials managed to persuade the meeting to defer wider strike action but a number of workers voted against this approach.

Union recognition

THE UNION leaders are claiming that they have won a major victory over union recognition.

Ever since SIPTU suffered a defeat at Ryanair, they have been pinning their hopes on a High Level group which was set up under the Partnership 2000 agreement.

Now a report issued by this group advocates that where workers want 'professional representation' they should be given access to the Labour Court. The court could in turn make a recommendation which would be binding on both the union members and the employers.

The union leaders believe that this deal will open the way to a new partnership agreement after the

present one runs out at the end of this year.

But these proposals do not amount to union recognition in any real sense. They leave no room for elected shop stewards to take up issues on day to day basis with their management.

There is no provision whereby employers are forced to recognise that workers have a collective grievance and that there has to be negotiation to remove these grievances.

They effectively give access to the Labour Court only in return for a removal of the right to strike from workers.

By presenting union recognition as a form of 'professional representation', the report pretends that unions are based on industrial relations experts rather than the collective activity of the rank and file.

All of this suits the union bureaucracy who are more interested in collecting union dues than in building a fighting union.

When Jimmy Somers, the President of SIPTU, was asked how the new proposals would apply to multi-nationals, he replied that "if the IDA told these companies about the central role unions played in the Irish economy and their responsibility" they might grant recognition.

But genuine union rights have to be fought from below rather than being established by state bureaucracies.

SIPTU leaders ducked that fight in Ryanair when they scuppered the solidarity action of Aer Lingus workers. They should not be let use these pathetic proposals as a way of selling a new partnership deal.

TCD

SOCIALIST Party Workers Party member Fiona Heskin scored 1,032 votes, over 34 percent of the vote, in the recent student elections at Trinity College.

She ran on the slogan 'For a return to student radicalism.'

It proved enormously popular among the students not only in Trinity but also in UCD. Another SWP member ran on the same slogan and secured 32 per cent of the student vote recently.

The left is making a major comeback in student politics.

The students unions have been dominated by the right for the past ten years. In the early nineties Fianna Fail made a concerted effort to set out and capture the national students union USI.

Destroy

In recent years they have had a policy of working with 'pro-life' students to destroy all vestiges of left wing politics in the student movement.

For a period they were highly successful. But things are starting to change. More and more students are looking for a radical alternative.

Even USI recognised this. They called a national demonstration to demand higher grants last year. Over 2,000 thousand students turned out. Many carried placards saying "Double the Grant: Tax the Rich".

Mark Walsh will be running on similar policies in Maynooth in the next few weeks.

So much for student apathy, it looks like radical student politics is back on the map.

Women's Refuge Strike

TWO ONE day strikes have taken place by nine IMPACT counsellors at the Aoi bhne as Women's refuge in Coolock.

They are seeking the implementation of an independent report into the pay and other conditions of counsellors at the centre. The report recommended an increase in the scale from its current range of £10,000 - £17,000 to £15,130 - £19,707.

The refuge is independent but it is funded by grants from the Eastern Health Board. IMPACT says that EHB has to approve the pay rises before management puts them into effect.

The EHB has refused to sanction the pay increases, because it says the refuge and not the EHB is involved.

The refuge was originally based in houses in Ballymun, but moved to a new centre in Coolock in early 1997. The counsellors had sought improvements in pay and conditions at this point and the claim went to the Labour Court.

The Labour Court recommended that most of the issues be frozen for 12 months, until the centre was up and running. IMPACT rejected the Labour Court proposals and an interim agreement was reached whereby all grades and salary scales would remain in operation as per EHB.

This was agreed in April 1997. An evaluation began in November 1997 and its report was issued in April 1998 but has still not been implemented.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

50p

Solidarity price £1

DEMONSTRATE
'Demand a Living Wage'
Saturday 10 April
Newcastle upon Tyne
(officially called by UNISON)

Supported by the TUC, ASLEF, AMO, AUTT, BFAW, BECTU, BIFU, CWU, FBU, GMB, GPMU, MSF, NATFHE, RMT, NUJ, PCS, TSSA, UCATT and NUS
Bus from Belfast leaves 1.30am on Saturday morning from Glengall Street, beside the Europa. Return on the 8.30pm ferry from Stranraer.

FOR DETAILS RING 01232-799204 OR (01504) 303662

ROSEMARY NELSON:

Murdered for fighting 'institutionalised sectarianism'



Rosemary Nelson was murdered because she fought against 'institutionalised sectarianism' in Northern Ireland. Her killers want to end the peace so that they can roll the clock back to outright loyalist rule.

One of Rosemary Nelson's final acts was to support the holding of a public meeting in Belfast which linked the killing of Stephen Lawrence and one of her clients, Robert Hamill.

Stephen Lawrence was a black murder victim which British police did nothing about because, as an official inquiry put it, they were riddled with 'institutionalised racism'.

Robert Hamill was kicked to death in Portadown by a loyalist mob while the RUC sat in a landrover just yards from the scene. He was a victim of the 'institutionalised sectarianism'.

As Rosemary quite rightly said, "Robert was targeted because he was a Catholic. We are seeing racism dressed up as sectarianism".

There was open collusion in her murder from the RUC.

The loyalist bomb which killed her was a highly sophisticated device even though such groups have only been able to use pipe bombs up to now.

Saturated

The area around her house had been saturated with security forces on the night before the bombing.

Just as the security forces helped to organise the death of another 'troublesome' solicitor Pat Finucane, so too has Rosemary Nelson fallen victim to those who want to cover up their own role in murder and bigotry.

In recent weeks the media have whipped up a frenzy over decommissioning. But they have failed to look at the source of the hatred

that spurs the violence in Northern Ireland.

The plain fact is that Rosemary Nelson was murdered by thugs who draw their inspiration from a long tradition that sees Catholic as second class citizens.

Her killers want to draw Protestant workers into a spurious campaign for their so called right to tramp the Garvaghy Road so they can lord it over the local residents.

But they are not going to succeed. There are now too many Catholics and Protestant who want an end to the type of bigotry that led to the death of this human rights lawyer.

The greatest tribute to her life is to support the campaign to expose the role of the RUC in the death of Robert Hamill and to stand up to the bigots who want to march down the Garvaghy Road.

Public meeting
Stephen Lawrence:
Police racism, cor-
ruption and the
fight for justice

Speakers: Duwayne Brooks,
friend who was with Stephen
when he was killed
Diane Hamill, Robert Hamill
justice campaign, Eamonn
McCann, SWP, Chaired by
David Carlin, Anti-Nazi
League

FRIDAY 26 MARCH
7.30PM, TRANSPORT
HOUSE, 102 HIGH ST,
BELFAST (BESIDE ALBERT
CLOCK)

DEMAND A £5
HOUR MINIMUM
WAGE

THE NEW minimum wage is due to be introduced on 1 April in Britain. Trade unions have been campaigning for a rate set at half the average wage, currently £4.79 an hour.

Tony Blair has betrayed the hopes of millions of Labour supporters by setting the minimum at just £3.60 an hour and £3 for those aged 18 to 21. A third of all workers in Northern Ireland are stuck on wages of less than £4 an hour.

The demonstration against low pay in Newcastle-upon-Tyne is a chance to bring together workers' anger at the direction of the Labour government.

Trade unionists in the North are organising transport to Newcastle. The bus to Newcastle has been supported by Derry Trades Council, and by the Fire Brigade Union who have made a contribution to the cost and are sending their union banner.

Collections are going on in the post office, civil service workplaces and among university workers, so that low paid workers can attend.

Campaigners have been on the streets of Belfast to demand a £5 a hour minimum wage and to publicise the Newcastle demonstration. Peter Black, TGWU convenor for Belfast City Council, says "We've got the lowest pay in Western Europe. One quarter of workers earn less than £5.00 an hour. No one is putting low pay on the agenda. Workers have got together in the past, such as in the fights against unemployment in the 1930's. That is the kind of struggle we need today."