

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

WARNING:
This government
can seriously
damage your health
see pages 6 & 7

We've had enough of

- 1% levy
- Social Welfare cuts
- Hospital charges

MAKE THE RICH PAY!

Don't let the Tories abolish

The biggest May Day march in Ireland this year was in Belfast. 1,500 people marched through the city centre.

The Tories want to abolish May Day as a public holiday and instead celebrate Lord Nelson Day!

May Day

Belfast May Day march saw large delegations from different groups of workers who are being attacked by the Tories.

Health workers and community workers marched to celebrate May Day and fight to save the health service.

There was also a large delegation of water workers protesting at Tory plans for privatisation.

Postal workers turned out to protest at plans to sell off the Royal Mail.

■ Socialist ideas got a good reception. 43 *Socialist Workers* and 12 *Socialist Reviews* were sold.

STUDENTS UNDER THE AXE

THE Minister for Social Welfare, Michael Woods, wants to cut students' dole unless they work for community and voluntary groups.

Under his scheme students will work 160 hours, at £2.50 per hour. It only runs for 10 weeks, giving students an average income of £40 for those weeks, and nothing at all outside of them.

The attack is the first step in introducing a "workfare" scheme for everyone.

For those not able to do this work the scenario is even grimmer—no income at all. One student rang the Department of Social Welfare to say her parents' income was too high to allow her to qualify for the scheme, and yet she found it impossible to return home.

Their reply was to say that they "had no obligation to such people."

Meanwhile fees are set to rise by 8 per cent in a number of

higher education institutions.

Register

Over the last ten years fees at Trinity College, Dublin have risen 300 per cent, nearly four times inflation. It now costs

over £2,000 a year to register for a science or health degree.

Orla Costello, TCD SU President says:

"What makes me angry is the rhetoric about accessibility to college by Niamh Breatnach and the provost.

"Of 7,000 undergraduates only 29 are from unskilled manual workers' families, and these fee increases coupled with the attacks on dole entitlements are going to make the situation even worse."

No bottle?

Fancy a bottle of Chateau Mouton Rothschild '83 at £86 a bottle?

Or maybe a more delicate Chateau Latour Premier for a mere £80.

Or maybe some Cockburn's Vintage Port 1970 for only £78.

The IMPACT union leaders can help you out. They have a special new scheme for their members called Inter-Vino.

Forget about old fuddy duddy ideas about unions defending members interests. Join the Yuppies before they too get out of fashion. Use the union to order your fancy wines.

The IMPACT Assistant General Secretary, S Mackell has thoughtfully informed us that,

"Inter-Vino also have a special customised box service that enables you to send your gift in a wooden box, personalised with your name or that of your branch".

Some IMPACT members might have to do a little saving. After all a Chateau Mouton Rothschild could cost half a week's take home pay.

But in these days of social partnership workers need to be able to aspire to reach the little luxuries of their union leaders.

Oh, and do hurry. Mr Mackell informs us that the special offer closes at the end of June which is "just in time for Father's Day."

Who says union leaders haven't any bottle?

Euroscab

Niamh Kavanagh - Ireland's winning entry in that premier of cultural events, the Eurovision Song Contest - was noticeably lacking in *universal spirit* last April.

At the time of their dispute she gave striking bank workers nil points. Budding songstress Niamh happily sailed through picket lines in the AIB Bankcentre, Ballsbridge, where she works as a computer operator.

The "woman may be a child again" in your eyes, Niamh, but in ours the woman is a SCAB!

Blood suckers

Workers at University Press in Belfast have been prevented from donating their blood.

Management decided that the normal practice of letting

them off work to donate blood was costing too much.

Workers responded indignantly. They voted by 114 to 9 to impose an overtime ban on this miserable company.

Crooks start young

AT UCD, the sons and daughters of the rich have been following in their parents footsteps.

The Commerce and Economics Society at the college has been rocked by the news that £2,561 is missing from the Society's accounts.

There are discrepancies for Freshers' Week, trips away and committee drinks expenses.

As the "Cardinal Newman" joke column in the UCD Students Union News said:

"Anybody hoping for a career in Irish business needs experience in corruption and fraud, so we can't send our young people out of here never having done a dishonest deal in their life."

Fight low pay

ALMOST one in three Irish workers are now earning less than £150 a week.

But now low paid civil servants are balloting for a one day strike to highlight the low pay scandal.

Clerical Assistants start on £142 a week—that is half the average industrial wage.

The bosses who run their departments have seen their salary jump from £35,695 in 1986 to £61,542 in 1993.

The Clerical Assistant grade was supposed to

be a start up, recruitment grade. But 75% of the workers are stuck on this grade with no hope of promotion.

The civil service is not the only area of the public sector that is relying on low pay.

Fast Food

Domestics in the Eastern Health Board now start on £164 and general labourers get £176.

Throughout Ireland, the bosses are using the recession to cut wages.

Many fast food restaurants pay only £2.00 an hour. One restaurant worker told *Socialist Worker*,

"It is sheer exploitation. They expect you to live on about £80 a week and be grateful to them for giving you a job."

"The way they treat workers is sick. They don't even put pockets on the trousers—in case you might be seen to stand around looking idle".

Women workers are mainly pushed into low

paid jobs. In the civil service about 82% of the clerical assistant grade are women.

When equal pay came in in the 1970s this grade was all female and they were ignored by the legislation.

Low pay civil servants work in lousy overcrowded conditions. But now the fight-back is starting.

The one day strike should only be a start.

The campaign has to be escalated to get this government to move on this scandal.

Bigot of the month

THIS month's winner is Dennis O Ceallaghan, the Parish Priest of Mallow.

O Ceallaghan used to lecture in Moral Theology in Maynooth and now gets a platform for his bigotry in the pages of *The Kerryman* newspaper.

Last month he wrote that "it is naive to proclaim that a gay life style should not be a problem. It is a problem and should be a problem."

But O Ceallaghan had no problem with Bishop Eamon Casey's life-style—in fact he has been vigorously defending the old hypocrite.

BELFAST WORKERS UNITE AGAINST HOSPITAL CUTS

PEOPLE from the Shankill and the Falls joined 1,500 Royal Victoria Hospital workers on Friday 14th May in a lunchtime demonstration against job losses and the rundown of services at the hospital.

The march was organised by health unions at the Royal Victoria Hospital.

axing £13.5 million from the health budget.

After the Royal's "opt-out" in April the Health Board and management at the hospital are going all out to destroy jobs and services.

This is forcing more workers to take a stand.

The need for unity against these kinds of attacks was the theme of the march.

Speaker after speaker at a rally held outside the EHSSB headquarters talked of other hospitals throughout the North which are also under attack in a bid to create a health service based on profit and not need.

Unite

A woman from a Shankill community group stressed the need for workers from the Shankill and Falls to unite to save the Royal, a hospital which has served both communities for years.

The rally concluded with the sound of hundreds of workers shouting slogans through the rain at the health bosses inside their HQ and the demo dispersed in a mood of militancy.



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WE THINK

BOSNIA'S HORROR

Why we need class politics in the North

FOR the last few months workers in Northern Ireland protested together against the Tory attacks.

People from the Falls and the Shankill marched against the run down of the hospitals while Derry and Coleraine workers have attacked the break up of the Direct Labour Units in their towns.

But the local elections were fought on an entirely communal basis. The highest turnouts were in areas where there was intense competition between nationalists and unionists.

Some will take this as evidence that nothing can happen in Northern Ireland until the constitutional issue is solved. But that is a wrong way of looking at it.

Firstly, the sentiment for resistance to the Tories

was never translated into serious action. There were protest marches—but there was no strategy to actually defeat the Tories.

If all the groups of workers facing some form of privatisation had undertaken joint strike industrial action the Tories would have been left reeling and a stronger basis for workers unity would have been established.

Defeat

Secondly, defeat provides the best breeding ground for sectarian ideas.

When it looks like the fight against privatisation is going down, people are more likely to ask which workplace can escape the axe. In Northern Ireland that means asking why are the Catholics or Protestants being favoured.

The Tories know this. Their aim is to make workers compete against each



other. In Northern Ireland that means making Catholic workers compete against Protestant workers.

Thirdly, elections are often about which politician

can best get more goods for their community. In the North, competition between communities means arguments over whether the Protestant or Catholic

Youth club gets the grant from the local council. That is why the election platform is often the worst arena for socialist to start building a base.

The North's local elections showed a new surge in the Sinn Fein vote. It reflects a resistance to the repression and militarisation of nationalist areas. It was a vote against UDA assassinations and the type of justice shown in the case of the para rampage in Coalisland.

The tragedy is that the republicans take that anger nowhere. They have no interest in making connections with the bitterness that many Protestant workers feel against the Tories.

Within days after the election they were bombing the centre of mainly Protestant towns like Portadown.

Nationalist politics today is about defending your specific community and your culture. Inevitably that will be reflected in the tactics of the IRA.

That is why it can never break the chain of sectarianism that the Tories have forged around Northern Ireland.

THE Western leaders are dropping Bosnia like a hot potato. As Clinton put it, the US, Britain and France are "back in harness" in their decision to recognise Serbian and Croatian war conquests.

The Western powers were interested in Bosnia only as a means of establishing their role as the world's policemen.

The butchers of the Gulf War had not the slightest concern about the horrors being inflicted on the former Yugoslavia.

The Vance-Owen plan which they championed made the war worse. After the Serbian and Croatian war lords fixed up an informal truce, the Croats turned on the Muslims in areas such as Mostar.

According to the Observer, the Croatian military commander Vladimir Primoricin claimed that "The Vance-Owen plan gave Mostar to the Croats". So they set about "ethnically cleansing" a city that was once an emblem of inter-community co-operation.

Ironically after the Vance-Owen plan was used to legitimate ethnic cleansing, its sponsors dropped it. Now they are covering their shift with talk of 'safe havens' and monitors but few are fooled by it.

Tragically many on the left went along with the call for more Western intervention in Bosnia. Even Noam Chomsky who spoke brilliantly about the role of the US war machine in Dublin recently supported the call.

But the lesson on Bosnia should be clear to all now. There is no 'international community' in a world system based on profit and greed. There are only cynical powers who use the suffering of the Bosnian Muslims for their own ends.

THE GOLDEN CIRCLE: STILL UNBROKEN

In opposition the Labour Party attacked the 'golden circle'—a web of sleazy links between business and politicians to get as many money grabbing scams as possible.

Little has changed. * When Irish Life was selling off its Mespil Road flats in Dublin Four, Reynolds two daughters were offered property at bargain basement prices.

* When Greencore was privatised, Davy Stockbrokers sold most of the shares to themselves—and wanted to claim a massive fee from the taxpayer.

Explain

Corruption is built into the Irish political system.

How else can anyone explain a millionaire Taoiseach who proposes a tax amnesty for 'hot money'?

Under this scheme the parasites who made a fortune with the Ballsbridge Telecom scandal last year could bring back their money from the Channel islands—with no questions asked.

Or take the case of Gerry Collins.

This former government Minister was living in a fancy flat in Dublin 4 and paying less than £20 a week—courtesy of Irish Nationwide.

Capitalism everywhere

promotes graft and corruption. In New York organised crime launders its money into property speculation.

In Italy, the Mafia are an alternative arm of the state. In Japan, the factions in the Liberal Party are organised around the takings from graft.

Greed

In a system based on greed you cannot expect people to stick by the rules of cricket.

In Ireland there is an additional reason for the corruption. Irish capitalists are small

time operators. To grow and survive they need the resources of the state.

And the best way to get state favours sometimes is to buy it.

The Labour Party has committed itself to promoting an 'entrepreneurial spirit' amongst Ireland's capitalists.

They may speak out about the corruption when in opposition. But they also know that you have to live with it in government.

That is why they have shut up about Ireland's golden circle.

Firefighters prepare for action

FIREFIGHTERS are to be the first group of workers to challenge the Tory 1.5% pay freeze.

In 1977, they won a formula to link their pay to the top quarter of male manual workers after a nine week strike. Firefighters in Northern Ireland played a militant role in that strike.

Now the Tories want to tear up the pay formula. At their union conference this year, FBU leader Ken Cameron said that, "Major says he got a bloody nose. Take us on and you'll get an even bloodier nose".

But already one group is getting ready to scab in Northern Ireland. The Reserved Firefighters Union claims to be a non-political and non-sectarian union.

It says that it is willing to run the fire service in the event of a strike to help the Tories out.

The FBU should start approaching all its members now to argue that all workers stand to gain from smashing the Tory pay freeze.

Paratroopers get off scot free

Six British paratroops have walked scot free after beating up customers at the Venue and Central bars in Coalisland last year.

Last May, the Parachute Regiment sealed off the town with the false claim that 'there was a suspect device' on one of the roads.

They then burst into two bars in the town shouting "Fenian bastards".

They smashed furniture and fittings, dragged people out by the hair and beat them with batons.

A woman who worked in the bar told the court that she thought they were a death squad.

The paras claimed that a

bottle had been thrown at them. But a police officer at the trial testified that it was a soldier who threw the bottle to set up the attack.

The incident was so seri-

ous that an army officer, Brigadier Tom Longland was relieved of his command in an unprecedented move.

But at the Cookstown court, the magistrate Maurice McHugh dismissed the charges of disorderly behaviour against the troops de-

spite claiming that they were not 'entirely innocent'

Meanwhile police officers in the Guildford 4 frame up have also been cleared despite the fact that Lord Lane, the then Lord Chief Justice was forced to admit that:

"There is no doubt that police officers seriously misled the court. In fact they lied".

The Guildford 4 were locked up for 15 years for a crime they did not commit.

Their "confessions" contained over 100 inaccuracies and contradictions.

Two of them, Paul Hill and Carole Richardson had alibis.

But still some of the police officers involved got off.

The courts will do everything to protect the army and the police.

RUC PAY OUT

The RUC have been forced pay up for a small amount of the brutality they have inflicted in Northern Ireland.

£200,000 is to be paid out for complaints against the police over a three year period.

Eighteen cases are for assaults that happened in RUC holding centres.

Workers fight in Dublin Bus

DUBLIN Bus general manager, Montgomery, is pushing for an all out attack on craft workers conditions.

He wants a deal that will abolish overtime and shift allowances, allow in private contractors and extend shifts to eleven and a half hours a day.

Forty-one jobs will be axed. Workers who keep their jobs will lose up £6,000 in take-home pay.

Craft workers were offered £41 a week extra to accept this rotten package. Instead, they rejected it and went on strike on May 24th.

Join Us!

If you would like to join the SWM or receive more details, send this slip to: SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

Does intervention work?

The truth about Somalia

SOCIALIST WORKER spoke to **RAKIYA OMAR** and **ALEX DE WAAL** of the African Rights Organisation.

Their recent report reveals the horrific reality of the US led intervention in Somalia.

They both previously worked for Africa Watch, an agency monitoring human rights. Rakiya Omar was dismissed for opposing the US intervention in Somalia and Alex de Waal resigned in solidarity with her.



The troops did not save lives

WHAT WAS THE EFFECT OF THE US INTERVENTION IN SOMALIA?

IT HAS done more harm than good.

There is no evidence to show that intervention has saved lives on a significant level.

Sending in 30,000 US troops has complicated the process of political reconciliation, done virtually nothing for disarmament and has meant the funds available for welfare have been misdirected.

Intervention has failed to tackle questions like public health and almost destroyed Somali agriculture.

The intervention was justified by the claim that eighty percent of relief supplies were being looted and this was the reason people were dying.

It was total bullshit. There was a conspiracy to concoct a highly misleading picture of what was actually happening in order to justify intervention.

Institutions such as the United Nations, the CARE relief agency and the US military wanted intervention for their own ends.

One reason for the UN Secretariat's support for intervention was to cover its previous shameful record.

The Pentagon was interested in defending its immense budget. They wanted to say, "We are the policemen of the world. We are the ones who will intervene to sort out conflict across the globe".

CARE claimed military intervention was the only solution at a time when the food supply situation was rapidly improving.

Now the claim that eighty percent of the food was looted is not defended by anybody. But it was obvious at the time as well.

The US should not have gone in.

MANY PEOPLE SAY THAT AT LEAST THE INTERVENTION STOPPED FAMINE DEATHS

IT IS plain wrong to say the intervention has saved thousands of lives.

The figures for death rates show quite clearly that ninety percent of the improvement in death rates occurred between August and November 1992. The US troops went in on 9 December.

In Baidoa, the centre of the famine region, the number of deaths fell from 1,700 a week at the beginning of September to 300 a week in mid-November.

They remained steady until Operation Restore Hope was announced when there was a brief rise before levelling out again.

The strategy of saturating the country with food, put forward by relief agencies, had worked.

But that does not mean the problems of Somalia had been solved. In many areas the

We Think

THE Coalition are rushing through a change in the Defence Amendment Act 1960 without a lot of debate. This obscure piece of legislation is one of a series of measures which prevents the Irish army taking part in foreign wars.

But the Labour leader Dick Spring is using the issue of Somalia to bring about a change. In June, Irish soldiers are due to go to Somalia as part of a UN contingent to replace the US army — at a cost of £4.5 million.

As the interview with Rakiya Omar and Alex De Waal shows they will be picking up on a colonial role.

Although it has been largely unreported nearly 200 Somalis have been shot dead by the US army — for such heinous activities such as demonstrating or throwing stones at US military personnel.

When the British army engages in that sort of activity in Northern Ireland there is, rightly, an outcry. But when it happens to black people in Somalia it is 'peace-enforcement'.

The Coalition could actually have sent the troops without changing the Defence Act. But they are thinking long-term. They want the freedom to join their post-Maastricht EC partners in UN sponsored wars abroad.

Just as Germany and Japan have used humanitarian pretexts to change their constitutions to allow their armies fight abroad, the Coalition are using the excuse of Somalia to open the door to joining UN sponsored wars like the Gulf war in future.

One Labour Senator, Pat Magner, has even called for an extra recruitment of 10,000 into the Defence Forces for this type of new role.

Now more than ever we need an alternative to Labour's treachery.

poorest sections of society still could not buy the food that was available.

Even in the capital Mogadishu where the US military were best entrenched, half of the undernourished children are not getting relief.

The US intervention protected food convoys but it completely ignored the issue of public health.

The problems of dysentery, bronchitis, pneumonia, TB, measles and malaria remained.

In October 1992 the principal cause of famine death was already disease. Simply bringing in more food does not solve the problem.

Somali doctors and nurses have been

outraged by the way public health has been ignored.

Perhaps the most lasting contribution the intervention forces will have made is they have drilled wells.

In a couple of years there might be around 34 wells—what a contribution from 30,000 troops!

One of the most hypocritical aspects of the whole operation is that the US ignored Somalia for months when the famine was far worse.

If the political will required for intervention had been shown eight months before, it could have been harnessed to do some really important work. Very many thousands of people could have been saved.

But Bush was running against a candidate who said "America first" so he was not going to risk doing anything abroad.

The height of the famine was June, July, August—and the West did virtually nothing.

HAS THE US INTERVENTION STOPPED THE VIOLENCE?

IN MANY places it has made it worse. There is less use of mechanised forces but the violence goes on.

Senior UN staff have admitted what is happening. Ian Macleod, the information officer for UNICEF, said recently, "We feel less secure now. Aid agencies were not targets last year."

There has been no serious effort to achieve disarmament—which can only proceed on the basis of trust and a political solution which will have to come from Somalis themselves.

Now there are quite healthy people in feeding centres who fear to return home because of the fighting.

The US troops were concerned by violence only if they were threatened. They had heavy weapons, they could knock over the militias.

But of course ordinary people had nothing. The violence was simply ignored by the US.

While Bush was visiting over the new year, paying tribute to his forces for "restoring calm", the troops watched as militias bombarded residential areas with machine guns, artillery and mortars.

Throughout December and January there was heavy fighting. In some places there are still battles with dozens of tanks and armoured trucks.

This is the Somalia the US is leaving.

DID INTERVENTION TAKE AWAY THE POWER OF THE SOMALI WARLORDS?

ON THE contrary it has bolstered people who terrorised Somalis, the people who are keeping the violence going for their own ends.

The UN and the US sought an agreement with Ali Mahdi and General Aidid. They were giving legitimacy to people who most Somalis consider to be war criminals.

The idea that the presence of foreign troops stops violence has been disproved again and again in Africa. It has been disproved in Somalia.

No doubt it would be disproved again in Bosnia.

To stop the fighting you need to address economic issues and have a long-term view.

There is no quick fix.

The Americans behave as if crime and

violence comes from people being evil but is because people are desperate. The Americans should know that if they started with their own cities.

I spoke to a black marine in Somalia about what was happening and the reasons for it and he said, "It's just like Mississippi, just like Alabama." The white officer was horrified but it was the truth.

HOW HAVE THE INTERVENTION FORCES BEHAVED TOWARDS ORDINARY SOMALIS?

THE INTERVENTION forces have a de facto policy of shooting first whenever a soldier feels under threat. The result is many people have been killed.

At daily security briefings attended by the intervention force officers, the UN and relief agencies indicate a death toll of at least one or two Somalis a day. A figure in excess of 200 killed is quite realistic.

During the demonstrations in February, which unleashed all the pent up grievances against the foreign troops, US troops shot dead at least ten people and wounded ninety.

The troops involved in the killings have received incredible lenient treatment. In February Gunnery Sergeant Harry Conde shot a Somali boy in the stomach after he tried to snatch his field glasses. Two other boys were injured by fragments.

Conde was demoted one grade and fined a month's pay. Afterwards he was complaining, "I came here to restore hope—who's going to restore my hope?"

Sergeant Walter Johnson shot and killed a 13 years old boy who had run alongside an army vehicle. Johnsons said he suspected the boy might have been holding a hand grenade.

All charges against him were dropped.

WHAT DID SOMALIS THINK ABOUT INTERVENTION?

MANY PEOPLE welcomed it because—quite rightly—they were absolutely fed up with the situation they faced.

They expected the intervention to bring about disarmament, political reconciliation, public health and economic reconstruction. They never imagined it would just be armed columns moving food.

Of course the UN, the US and the relief agencies who were so keen in intervention did not ask any Somalis their opinions.

They have no concern for ordinary people.

■ Operation Restore Hope, A Preliminary Assessment is available at £4.95 (sug) from African Rights, 11 Marshalsea Road, London SE1 1EP.

As the Coalition decriminalises homosexuality... Now fight for gay rights!

WE THINK

The Fianna Fail/Labour coalition will decriminalise homosexuality this year.

The proposed legislation is far from radical. Maire Geoghegan Quinn, who is responsible for drafting it, couldn't hide her own prejudices.

Her memorandum on the proposed change speaks of the "bizarre manifestations of homosexuality".

Despite this, decriminalisation is a move that should be welcomed.

Already, the clerical right-wing are whipping up a campaign of hate and hysteria against this reform. They want to ensure that Irish gay men and women continue to be branded as criminals.

The Family Solidarity leader, Joseph McCarroll, claims that gay people have a disorder, are abnormal and molest children. He says that legalising homosexuality will increase AIDS.

But the bigots of Family Solidarity and SPUC are also against promoting condoms. Their friends in RTE even tried to stop a government ad about condoms. They do not care about people who might die of AIDS.

Last year the Vatican stated that there are circumstances where it is perfectly justifiable to discriminate against gay people.

At the moment, a gay man can face life imprisonment with hard labour for what the law terms "unnatural acts". This could include something as trivial as kissing or holding hands, behaviour that heterosexuals take for granted.

These threats has meant that the majority of gay people have had to hide their sexuality because of fear of prejudice and physical attack.

Afraid

They are hesitant to come out at work because they are afraid their work mates will be hostile or their boss will sack them.

A survey of 400 gay men in 1988 found that 11 percent suffered discrimination at work and 60 percent felt they would experience discrimination if they were "out".

A recent issue of Gay Community News reported two cases where people were dismissed from their jobs for being gay. Frank Hickey was a rep for a medical supplies firm, "Pharmacia"; "Angela" was manager of a gym/leisure centre, both Cork based.

GCN states that "in both cases they were treated like dirt by their bosses in the way they were kicked out" and concludes that "the only explanation for their dismissal was bigotry".

In the past, this atmosphere has forced many gays to emigrate.

Michael, in his twenties, told Socialist Worker: "I had the shit kicked out of me at school, it was horrific. I was spat at, beaten up and kicked."

"A friend of mine who underwent a similar experience was told by a Christian Brother that he got what he deserved."

Michael recalls Family Solidarity being invited to speak in his school. "They were really vicious about gays. They said we were mentally deranged and were to be pitied. The guys who beat me up sat there listening to this."

The police and the courts have also orchestrated attacks on gay people. In the book *Out for Ourselves* which tells about the experience of gay people in Ireland, one man wrote of his direct experience of police harassment.

"Almost immediately, a car sped into the car park. It was obvious that they were Special Branch guards, in plain clothes...

by GERTUOHY



How gay liberation was born

One event from 1969 marked a turning point for gays in America.

On 27th June, 1969, police raided the Stonewall Bar, a gay bar in New York.

They loaded the customers into police vans. It was a routine occur-

rence.

Except this time a crowd began to gather, haranguing the police, and besieging them in the empty bar. The crowd freed everyone from the vans.

The police then sent in the Heavy Squad,

which had only been previously used in Harlem's black area.

Triggered

They only succeeded in triggering rioting which lasted for three nights, forcing the po-

lice to retreat.

The Gay Liberation front was set up in response to this.

The GLF was a fighting organisation whose slogan summed up the mood: "Out of the closet and onto the street."

We were roughly bundled into the car and taken into the police station.

"As we got out of the car one of them punched me in the ribs and I fell against the steps of the station. They were calling us queer and perverted and then I was kicked into the station."

In 1982 Charles Self, a gay man, was stabbed to death in his own home. The gardai used their investigation to compile a file on gay men.

Gardai turned up at the homes and work places of gay men saying they were sought in connection with the murder. Almost 1,500 gay men were questioned, photographed and fingerprinted.

Most of the questions had nothing to do with the murder but were concerned with the personal lives of those questioned - who they slept with or names and addresses of their gay friends.

Later the same year Declan Flynn was murdered in Fairview Park in Dublin, a common meeting place for gay men. The gang who beat him to death claimed they did so because he was gay.

The trial judge said that "this could never be regarded as murder", and although found guilty, the gang were released with a suspended sentence.

In July 1991 James Boyle was murdered in his home in Belfast. His murderer claimed he battered him to death because

he had made sexual advances to him. The court accepted the less serious plea of manslaughter.

The bigots who oppose decriminalisation want to perpetuate the conditions that give rise to these attacks.

The same bigots suffered a major blow last year when thousands showed their support for abortion rights. They can be beaten again.

Survey

A recent survey by a group of students from Ballyfermot showed that attitudes to gay rights in Ireland are changing.

The survey found that 78 percent of people believe that gay relationships should be legalised and 84 percent believe that homosexuality should be included and explained in the school curriculum.

Increasingly, young gay people are willing to fight the bigots. In February in UCD during Gay Pride Week a number of gay people were assaulted and Gay Pride posters were defaced with graffiti.

The Socialist Workers' Movement in the college organised a protest meeting. This campaign gave students the confidence to confront the bigots.

Paula, a UCD student, told Socialist Worker, "it was this experience of fight-

ing back that gave me the confidence to come out".

Last year saw the first Gay Pride march in Dublin for seven years, with five hundred people taking part.

Today, gays will not passively accept the routine police harassment that occurred after the Charles Self murder in the 80's.

The roots of gay oppression lies in the wide scale use of "family values".

"Family values" is all about controlling sexuality. Hypocrites like Bishop Eamonn Casey use this catch cry to try to keep women at home and to make men the 'providers'.

The capitalist system does not want to take on any of the cost of child rearing. It wants workers to be brought up, fed, clothed and housed on the cheap.

So in Ireland there are only nine workplace creches in the whole country. None of them are free.

Prejudice against gays is stoked because they do not conform to model roles of the sexes.

The right wing also want to divide workers and so they hold up gay people as scapegoats.

Socialists believe in sexual liberation - that people should be free to form relationships with whomever they please and live how they please without persecution from Church and State.

The history of class struggle shows that prejudice against lesbians and gays can be broken.

During the miners' strike in Britain in 1984 gay organisations held collections and sent delegations to the striking pits. The following year the South Wales miners' band led the Gay Pride march in London.

These miners are no different to any other section of the working class. The fight for their own rights had led them to make connections with other oppressed groups.

Similarly, the Stonewall riots didn't occur in isolation but against a background of wider struggles - against the Vietnam war, the civil rights movement, etc.

Seventy-six years ago the Russian Revolution abolished all laws against homosexuality. This happened in a backward, war-torn country. It showed in practice how a workers revolution could begin to eradicate the roots of sexual oppression.

**GAY PRIDE MARCH
SATURDAY 26TH
JUNE
ASSEMBLE: GARDEN
OF REMEMBRANCE,
2 P.M.**

WARNING!

The Fianna Fail/Labour government has been in office for less than six months. But already the Labour Party has turned its back on its own supporters and has set out to make the poor help the rich. Here *Socialist Worker* surveys the record of this rotten Coalition.

Howlin hammers health

Labour Minister, Brendan Howlin has tried to create a pay-as-you-are-treated health service. Hospital charges have been "re-balanced" to make working people pay more.

Every visit to an Irish hospital will now cost £6. In the past a £10 charge would cover all the treatment for one medical case.

Every overnight stay in a hospital bed will cost £20. Previously it cost £15.

A worker who suffers a heart attack now not only faces the shock of trying to recover—but of also paying a bill that takes up more than a week's wages.

Howlin claims that the new health charges will help to raise £20 million that will cut the waiting lists. But the

extra spending is peanuts. The chairperson of the South Eastern Health Board has recently revealed the scale of the crisis facing the health service in his area.

He says that there are 1,200 people on the waiting list for some operations now compared to 800 last year.

A worker in one Dublin geriatric hospital told how there are now 40 patients in a unit being looked after by one nurse and one attendant.

"Many of the workers are doing 12 hour shifts. The hospital has just started to recruit "banking attendants" to cut costs. These are temporary workers who can turn up on a day to day basis and be sent home if there is no work for them".

One in three nurses in many Dublin hospitals are now on temporary contracts.

This is the sick service that Howlin's hospital charges want us to pay for.

This government attacks



What you can do

Workers have an opportunity to deliver a serious blow against the Coalition's attacks.

The government is weak as shown by its vacillation over the 1 per cent levy.

When faced with anger and the possibility of strike action they announced a tax amnesty for the rich that could replace the levy.

Then the Cabinet split

over the issue of the amnesty.

The trade union leaders are under pressure to fight the attacks on workers.

That is why Billy Attley talked about industrial action over the levy.

And it is also why IMPACT and the CPSU leaders called for stoppages over public service pay.

The bitterness over La-

bour's betrayals threatens to split over into industrial action.

Every trade unionist should put pressure on the ICTU to act.

And when union leaders do call action we should build to make it as successful as possible.

Now that the government is weakening, it's time to push them over.

PASS THIS RESOLUTION

"This Branch/Section condemns the imposition of the 1% levy. It believes that the PAYE worker already carries the major burden of tax in this country. We call on the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to organise a one-day stoppage to demand its removal"

Another 'temporary' levy

PAYE workers are being asked to pay an extra 1% levy by the FF/Labour government.

Only those with incomes between £9,000 and £20,000 are being asked to pay. The wealthy are getting off scot free.

Right throughout the 1980s, different government have put "temporary levies" on the PAYE sectors. In 1980, a "temporary" health levy was introduced. It is still with us.

Irish workers now pay out 8.75% of their income on levies. The PAYE workers are being made carry the can for state spending.

But the rich are having their tax bills cut—with Labour's agreement.

■ Last year DIRT tax on unearned interest stood at 27%. Now it has been slashed to 10%. No wonder the banks and building societies are flooded with money.

■ The Business Expansion Schemes have been extended. These are tax scams which allow the wealthy invest £25,000

in the shares of companies and get a refund of £12,000 in that tax year.

The PAYE tax payer pays half the cost of their shares.

And while PAYE workers pay for

everything, the rich are also engaged in massive tax evasion.

The Association of Tax Inspectors estimate that there is £2,500 million due in unpaid taxes.

Dave McDonagh who successfully moved a resolution at his CPSU conference calling for a one day general strike on the issue said,

"People are really sick of the Labour

Party. There was overwhelming support for the call for action. Every trade unionist should now be turning the pressure on the ICTU to get action to have this levy removed"

Phones: Workers foot the bill

ONCE again Irish workers are being forced to foot the bill for big business.

We already have the highest phone rental charge in Europe—now we will have the second highest local call charges too.

As Caroline Gill of the Consumers' Association explained, the new phone charges are "a case of Telecom hitting householders to please their business subscribers".

The cost of a daytime local call of 15 minutes will soar from 11p to 47.5p. Even the decrease in the unit cost

from 11.7p to 9.5p will be wiped out by VAT of 21 percent.

At the same time international call charges will drop forty percent and trunk calls by 25 percent.

Luxury

As a result Irish businesses are expected to save £100 million.

Telecom expects to make £63 million on the new local charges and VAT increases and lose £81 million on the other charges.

In other words, a direct transfer from private to business customers.

A Telecom spokesperson arrogantly told people to "leave their personal calls to the evening".

But for many the phone is not a luxury.

The Samaritans and organisations working with the elderly are concerned that high costs will put people off calling.

At a meeting in Ringsend community centre Fianna Fail TD Eoin Ryan

job losses.

But Telecom has already cut 5,000 jobs since 1985, with another 1,000 expected to go in the next two years.

This, despite raking in £79 million in profits last year.

The Ringsend meeting was packed to overflowing with 200 people.

Speakers from the floor attacked the "golden circle" of businessmen and politicians.

The f



Labour Minister now taken workers w tion.

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Stagg—the rat who turned

Ministers have to threatening with privatisa-

g recently told a La- eting that if Dublin orkers did not give rtive union practice" privatised.

Winger

er left winger, said: ouldn't have said that two years ago. Minister two years



A few years ago there were 1,200 maintenance workers in Dublin Corporation.

Today there is only half that number.

Joke

One union member told Socialist Worker,

"The service is a joke.

But workers are not to blame. In my area in South Dublin there is only one glazier employed.

In the North Inner city, there is only one carpenter.

"We are not going to be made scapegoats for turncoats like Stagg"

poration workers for the run down service.

ty dozen are ve and kicking'

r Minister, Joan en lying through ver for the La- t-tack on Social ents.

Coalition has re- ne dirty dozen cuts ast government. to the Irish National e Unemployed "the alive and kicking an exchange near ty dozen cuts that

the Labour junior Minister is still implementing are :

■ Cuts in the Exceptional Needs payment. In the past people on social welfare could seek help with their ESB or gas bills. Now it has been restricted to, one payment of a maximum of £100.

Dole

■ People getting Redundancy Payment of £12,000 or more are now disqualified from claiming dole for nine weeks.

■ People on supplementary welfare allowance have to increase their own rent payments from £3.50 to £5.00.

The Coalition has also been adding to the welfare cuts.

School leavers can no longer sign until nine weeks after they leave school.

Disability benefit has been made subject to tax.

The Coalition's attacks on social welfare are part of a general attack to transfer money from the poor to the rich.

Keynes

The man who tried to manage capitalism

The ideas of the economist John Maynard Keynes are becoming somewhat fashionable again. The long recession has discredited the monetarist argument that capitalism, complete with privatisation, wage cuts and fully free markets will work wonderfully.

by ANN MARIE O'CONNOR

Keynes was born into the Victorian world of the prosperous. Educated at Eton and Cambridge, he went on to make his fortune not once but twice, having lost the first one in 1920. He also became one of the most influential economists of the century.

Keynes' main argument was that the government could spend its way out of a recession. It would be relatively painless to borrow money for public investment in building schools, hospitals and the like.

This would create jobs and the wages workers earned would be spent in local shops. The shopkeeper would pay his workers' wages and they in turn would spend the money somewhere else.

This is what Keynes called the 'multiplier effect' of public spending. It created demand in the economy for various kinds of goods, so stimulating firms to produce and invest.

Pick Up

The economy would pick up again and the government would eventually pay off its borrowing with increased tax revenue. The result, a booming economy with full employment.

Keynes began working on his theories when he saw that the wage cuts imposed after the collapse of the British General strike of 1926 were not helping to get the economy moving.

He came to argue that employment and economic well-being depended on the level of demand for goods and services. Therefore, the contradictions and crises of capitalism could be overcome by stimulating demand through government intervention and spending.

Keynes' major work *The General Theory of employment, Interest and Money* was published in 1936. In it there is a muddled recognition that an economy based on money and the anarchy of buying and selling could break down.

But Keynes only looks at the symptoms. A fall in consumer demand is an important factor which serves to accentuate the crisis. But it is also an effect of that crisis not the cause of it.

Keynes' main problem lay in seeing economic instability as the result of external circumstances: foreign politics, harvest failures etc and not as inherent to the capitalist system itself.

Under capitalism there's a contradiction between what benefits the individual capitalists and what benefits the system as a whole. Each capitalist is forced to invest in larger and larger amounts of machinery and equipment in order to compete with rivals. At the same time, the bosses

are trying to keep down the number of people working for them to a minimum. The result of this on the system as a whole is that there's a fast growth of investment in machinery and a much slower growth, or sometimes even a decline, in the number of people working within the system.

The car manufacturing industry in Britain, for example, has experienced a massive increase in more efficient machinery and at the same time a halving of the work force in the last ten years.

For individual capitalists that's not a problem, but for the system as a whole it is. Machinery alone cannot make profits. The real source of profit is paying workers less than what they produce.

If investment grows quicker than labour which is the source of profits then the rate of profit bosses get back from investment is falling.

The implication of this is that when capitalism is accumulating more and more means of production with the profits it has made, at a faster rate during a boom, it's cutting its own throat because the rate of profit is falling. A point is reached at which a crisis occurs.

Sometimes this can be slowed down. Over the last century, however, there's been a growth of non-productive activities such as advertising, marketing and more importantly arms spending.

By spending massively on arms governments have used up profits that would otherwise have been used for productive accumulation which eventually would have caused the rate of profit to fall and therefore an economic recession.

The post-war boom was fuelled by military spending. This came to an end in the 1970s as the big arms spenders were forced to cut back their military budgets temporarily.

Profit rates began to fall and the bosses had a hard time finding the profits they needed if any spending on new equipment was to take place. The arms spending became an increasing burden.

The Keynesian myth about the possibility of a crisis free capitalism feel apart. Only in 1970 Paul Samuelson, Nobel Prize winner, adviser to US presidents and Keynesianist, told a conference of economists that they had solved the problem of crises: "The National Bureau of Economic Research has

worked itself out of one of its first jobs, namely business cycles." Three years later capitalism experienced its first major international recession since WW2.

So why did Keynesianism fail? Firstly, consumption or rather lack of it does not cause a recession. The gap between what is produced and what consumers want to buy will be filled by employers reinvesting their profits in new plant and machinery if the return on their investment, the rate of profit, is high enough.

Therefore a drop in consumption occurs as a result of recession when bosses find the rate of profit too low for investment.

Secondly, Keynes made the assumption that bosses would invest their profits back into their industry. But even when you stimulate the economy you can't force them to reinvest.

Scarce

Among conservative British businessmen in the 1960s, it was said, when business is bad money is too scarce to allow investment, and when business is good there's no need to invest.

Although this slightly exaggerates the situation, lack of investment was a big problem in the Keynesian economy of the late '60s and early '70s.

It wasn't that there was a shortage of funds, for profits had soared in the early stages of the boom, but rather that the bosses found it more profitable to invest in housing, consumer credit, financial services and overseas investment.

Finally, increasing demand in the economy means increasing demand for imports as well as home produced goods, putting further pressure on the balance of payments.

Keynes developed his theory in the inter-war years when the world was more divided into national economies.

Today in a more integrated world economy, it is difficult for any single government to increase demand and still ensure that its capitalists reap the benefits.

When Mitterrand tried to reflate the French economy in the early 1980s, rival capitalists from Germany and Japan got the main advantage.

The contradictions of Keynesianism were ultimately an expression of the contradictions of the capitalist system, although they didn't appear immediately as such, but rather appeared in the form of an economic, political and ideological crisis of the Keynesian welfare state.

The only way to abolish recessions and the hunger, poverty, homelessness and disease that go with it is to get rid of the capitalist system that creates them.

The birth of socialism

Conor Kostick looks at the re-issue of a famous pamphlet by Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Utopian or Scientific*.

The great French Revolution of 1789 was carried out under the slogans "Liberty, Fraternity, and Equality".

People fought to get rid of the privileges of the old aristocracy and establish a society where human progress could take place on a rational basis.

By the turn of the century this inspiration was turning sour. For the new society was one dominated by a new ruling class, the capitalist class. For them "Liberty" meant freedom from the constraints of feudalism, it meant the freedom to compete, the freedom to exploit.

As a result of their disillusionment with the failure of the ideals of the Revolution, increasing numbers of people began to develop a criticism of the new society that emerged.

Saint-Simon, Fourier and Robert Owen were amongst the first to express their bitterness at the new oppressive regime. They were called the Utopian Socialists.

Marx and Engels had to challenge their ideas to clear the way for a thorough understanding of socialism. However Engels starts his pamphlet, *Socialism Utopian or Scientific* by paying them great tribute for being the first to analyse and attack the new society.

Saint-Simon argued that within the classes who fought against feudalism, there was a fundamental divide, between the capitalists and those with no property.

The French Revolution he said, was not just between two sides, but three. The nobility, the capitalists and the poor. Which for 1802 says Engels "was a discovery of the greatest genius".

Fourier showed how contrary to the previous promise of a society ruled by pure reason, the world was run in a spirit of speculation and a shopkeepers mentality: "The civilised order gives ever vice practised by barbarism in a simple fashion, a complex, ambiguous, equivocal, hypocritical form", he wrote.

Fourier was also the first to declare that in any given society the degree of woman's emancipation is the measure of the general emancipation.

In England, Robert Owen established a famous co-operative of 2500 people at New Lanark. There was no police, lawsuits or need for charity.

Children went to school from the age of two. The workers only worked a 10 1/2 hours (compared to 13 or 14 elsewhere). He paid full wages throughout recessions.

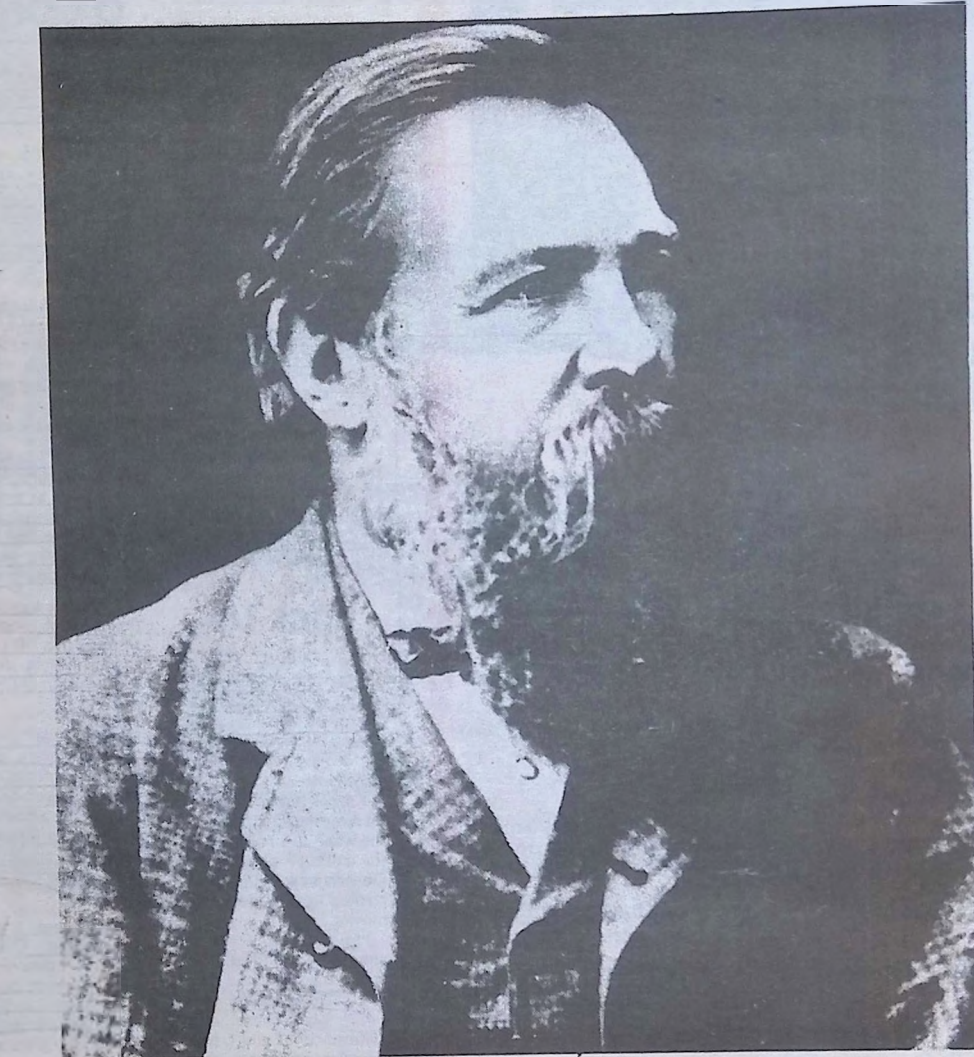
This made him popular, even with the ruling classes. However it wasn't enough. He observed that his factory was producing daily an output which fifty years ago would have taken 60 000 people to produce. This wealth was not going to the workers, but it should.

With his next step he went beyond being a philanthropist to advocating "communism", declaring that those who produced should share the wealth between them.

Inspired by Owen's beliefs, hundreds of people set up communes, including one in Rahaline, County Clare. The Rahaline commune provided child care from 6am to 6pm and collective housekeeping.

However the communes failed. They had to buy machinery on the market and sell their goods there. They were all either overtaken by the more ruthless capitalist producers, or else tried to keep up and demoralised their own members.

The Utopian socialists believed that the



Engels, together with Marx, founded revolutionary socialism

wrong ideas have come to dominate society. They believed that if everyone was re-educated in a more socialist way of thinking, then a new world will be possible.

Many people today who would like to challenge the injustices of capitalism also believe that re-education is the key.

But Engels points out that the main problem with this analysis is that it doesn't explain why the new way of thinking should be adopted now. Why not 500 years ago? Or perhaps it will take 500 years for people to come round?

The other weakness in this strategy of re-education is in the way it views the exploited and oppressed.

They are seen as victims whose salvation lies in understanding the new outlook as expressed by a small elite who have discovered it.

This weakness was inevitable in the very first people to criticise capitalism, for they lived in an period before workers had ever held a general strike; carried through an uprising or formed soviets.

The aspirations of the Utopian socialists were great ones, but they were never going to mount a serious challenge to the capital-

ist class. A far more powerful version of socialism emerged with Marx and Engels.

Marx and Engels both became radicals as a result of defying the extremely oppressive Prussian monarchy of King Wilhelm. Police and officials were everywhere attempting to suppress dissent, censorship was universal and heavy handed.

Intellectually a battle was taking place in the colleges. As part of the suppression of radical ideas the King had the philosopher Schelling come to Berlin and deliver a series of lectures attacking the ideas of Hegel. Both Marx and Engels joined the "Young Hegelian" movement to defend a radical interpretation of Hegel.

The experience of the French Revolution was at the heart of Hegel's philosophy. He believed that far from being fixed, or changing only very gradually, sweeping transformations of society, revolutions, could take place.

He proposed a "dialectical" view of history. One where every society was riven into conflicting parts, so that there was an inner motive force at all times driving society towards change.

Different parts of society would be subsumed by ever new development and rebirth. Thus a constant struggle was taking place; being resolved into new struggles

and further evolutions.

The flaw in Hegel's scheme was he believed the conflict in society to be a result of the rivalry of differing ideas.

But his method meant that Marx and Engels were uniquely equipped to see the significance of the workers struggles they were to come across in exile.

Unlike their socialist predecessors, Marx and Engels were shaped by the stormy revolutionary upheavals of the 1830's and 40's.

In 1831 the first worker's rising took place in Lyons; between 1838 and 1842 the national working class movement of the "Chartists" reached it's height in Britain.

When Engels arrived in Manchester in 1842 the city was still in ferment from a general strike three years earlier. He was impressed by the determination of extremely militant strikers, whose efforts to resist a lockout resulted in armed clashes.

Attending Chartist meetings Engels heard speakers demand the Charter for workers rights, and that workers should be armed to make sure they kept them! Even more impressive for Engels, was the flourishing growth of ideas inside the working class movement.

He noted that "the bourgeois, enslaved by social conditions and the prejudices involved in them, trembles, blesses and curses himself before everything which really paves the way for progress; the proletarian has open eyes for it, and studies it with pleasure and success".

At the same time, Marx was attending meetings of revolutionary workers groups in Paris. Independently of each other at first, Marx and Engels made the great discovery which has since been known as historical materialism.

Hegel was right to see all societies as riven by conflict, but the conflict was not just a battle of ideas, it arose from the real difference of interests between the exploiters and the exploited.

"The ultimate causes of all social changes and revolutions are to be sought, not in men's brains, not in their growing insight into eternal truth and justice, but in changes in the modes of production and exchange. They are to be sought, not in the philosophy, but in the economics of each particular epoch," Engels wrote.

Once classes had developed, every stage of history was shaped by this clash of interests, and whether new societies emerged or were suppressed was an outcome of class struggle. In today's society the revolutionary class were the workers.

Engels writes that once this was grasped "socialism no longer appeared as an accidental discovery by this or that intellect of genius, but as the necessary outcome of the struggle between two classes produced by history—the proletariat and the bourgeoisie.

"Its task was no longer to manufacture as perfect a system of society as possible, but to examine the historico-economic process from which these classes and antagonism had of necessity sprung and to discover in the economic situation thus created the means of ending the conflict."

Engels pamphlet sets out to provide just such an examination of capitalism and its contradictions.

He shows how it is founded on the exploitation of workers. He points out that the high regimentation within an individual factory only gives rise to the anarchy caused by each firm organising independently of each other.

Instead of the powerful forces of production being at the disposal of humanity, they seem to dominate us, causing unprecedented recession and poverty in the midst of plenty.

So long as society has a whole does not have control over production, then so long as we'll witness recessions and the blind, violent and destructive resolution of competition between capitalists.

With the victory of the working class, the tremendous potential for production will be released. As the anarchy of capitalist production dies away, so too will the political authority of the state, and the division of society into classes. Humanity will be free.

"To accomplish this world-emancipating act is the historical mission of the modern proletariat. To grasp the historical conditions of this act and therefore its very nature, and thus to bring the conditions and character of its own action to the consciousness of the class that is destined to act, the class that is now oppressed—this is the task of scientific socialism, the theoretical expression of the proletarian movement."

Available now: Frederick Engels, *Socialism: Scientific or Utopian*, £3.00 from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Socialists Walk Free

Five socialists on trial in Athens for defending the rights of the Macedonian minority in Greece were acquitted last week.

Panos Garganas, Kostas Pittas, Angelos Kaladoukas, Tasia Kyrkou and Litsa Yidakou faced jail for producing a pamphlet - *Crisis in the Balkans: the Macedonian question and the working class*.

Macedonia was divided between Greece and Yugoslavia at the time of the First World War.

The Greek government claims there is no such thing as a Macedonian minority and denies them their rights.

It brought the charges after organising huge nationalist demonstrations at the start of the war in former Yugoslavia.

But the defence cam-

paign proved stronger. The five, members of Socialist Worker's Greek sister organisation OSE, won support from the Greek TUC and national unions, from MP's, academics and authors.

'Discord'

They were acquitted on all charges, despite the government prosecutor's insistence that Panos Garganas and Kostas Pittas be sentenced for "inciting the Greek people to discord".

"We defended the Macedonian minority and its rights, and put the blame for the threat of war on the Greek capitalists and their allies". Said Panos.

"The international solidarity was mentioned in court many times.

"Thanks to all our supporters for helping us get this result it was triumph."

Help us build a socialist alternative to sectarianism

S.W. £2,000 appeal

THE Socialist Workers Movement believes that a workers unity can be forged in the North which challenges all discrimination and the sectarian nature of the state.

We are attempting to build a socialist organisation, capable of promoting workers struggles, and providing an alternative to the politics of sectarianism.

Our appeal is for money in order to establish premises in Belfast.

We also need to buy new office equipment for the party.

We are off to a good start with £650 raised so far.

We need the support of readers of Socialist Worker to reach our target of £2000 by the end of July.

Help us grow. Send donations and cheques (to 'Socialist Worker') to: Socialist

Worker Appeal, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8; or PO Box 103, Belfast BT 15.

'Support this appeal'—Kelly



Jimmy Kelly, Waterford Glass ATGWU convenor and senior steward (personal capacity).

"There has always been a tradition of workers unity in Belfast."

"Now more than ever it needs to be built upon. I urge every socialist and Trade Unionist to give to this appeal."

Rush donations, Trade Union and workplace collections to: Socialist Worker Appeal, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Or PO Box 103, Belfast BT15

What's On

Branches of the SWM meet around the country at the following times and venues

Athlone

Meets every other Tuesday at 8.00pm, upstairs in Hooker Bar.

9th June: The rise of fascism in Europe.
23rd June: Public Meeting

Belfast

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Central Hall, Rosemary St.

1st June: Can elections change anything?
8th June: Can Trade Unions be revolutionary?
15th June: Is Cuba the last socialist country?
22nd June: What do socialists say about immigration controls?
29th June—Public Meeting: The Fight For Gay Liberation.

Cork

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay.
1st June: Do revolutions lead to violence?
8th June: Socialism and the environment.
15th June: What do Socialists say about Law and Order?
22nd June: Is Socialism Utopian?
29th June—Public Meeting: The fight for Gay rights in Ireland.

Derry

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers Pub, Orchard St.
1st June: Why Labour fails in the North.
8th June: What do

Socialists say about immigration controls?

15th June: Is Socialism Utopian?
22nd June: Is Cuba the last socialist country?
29th June: Socialism and the environment.

Dublin North

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Conways Pub, Parnell St.
2nd June: May '68—lessons for today.
9th June: Is Socialism Utopian?
16th June: Can Trade Unions be revolutionary?
23rd June: Is Cuba the last Socialist country?
30th June—Public Meeting: The fight for Gay rights in Ireland.

Dublin South

Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.
3rd June: Will Socialism be democratic?
10th June: The politics of the Spanish Civil War.
17th June: Can Trade Unions be revolutionary?
24th June: Is Socialism Utopian?
30th June—Public Meeting: The fight for Gay rights in Ireland.

Galway

Meets every Wednesday at Currans Hotel, Eyre Square.
9th June: Is Cuba the last Socialist Country?
16th June: Can Trade Unions be revolutionary?

23rd June: What do socialists say about immigration controls?

30th June: Is Socialism Utopian?

Waterford

Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyzer st.
3rd June: Is Human Nature a barrier to socialism?
10th June: Can Trade Unions be revolutionary?
17th June: Is Cuba the last Socialist country?
24th June: Is Socialism Utopian?

To contact the SWM in Bray, Coleraine, Cookstown, Drogheda, Dundalk, Kilkenny, Limerick, Navan, write to SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

What we stand for

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. It has to be overthrown. The machinery of the capitalist state—parliament, courts, army, police etc.—is 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 SWM 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. Workers' revolutions are needed to win real freedom in the East. 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 SWM aims to build such a party in Ireland.

SWM News

AFRICAN SOCIALIST ON SPEAKING TOUR

Manny Tanoh is an African socialist from Ghana.

Last month he did a series of meetings for the SWM on 'Why is Africa in crisis'.

The largest meeting was in Dublin where 100 people turned up to hear him and one person joined.

In Waterford 20 people turned up and a lively discussion followed

among workers who had been contributing to a development project in Africa. One person joined afterwards.

Since 1989, there has been a huge rise in workers struggle in Africa.

In Togo, there has been a sporadic eight month long general strike.

Liberal opponents of the military dictators have jumped on the bandwagon of these protests.

Now there are multi-party elections in many parts of Africa. But some of the liberal

rulers are as equally willing as the military rulers to bow to the dictates of the IMF.

"It's like beauty contest before Shylock" is how Manny described the situation.

SWM establishes branch in Athlone

The Midlands is the latest area to see SWM activity.

Over the last few months a regular Socialist Worker sale has been established in Athlone.

In April, the SWM held its first public meeting in the town and a number of people joined the organisation.

The branch hopes to attract people from

around the Longford/Roscommon area.

The branch holds meetings every second week in the Hooker Bar on Tuesdays

Join Us!

If you would like to join the SWM or receive more details, send this slip to: SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

Name _____
Address _____
Phone _____

COMMENT

Is cultural imperialism the problem?

by MARNIE HOLBOROW

"A BLEEDING process with a vengeance" is how Marx described what the British did to India. Imperialism is not only the brutal robbing of raw materials, land and people. It also casts its shadow on literature, language and culture.

The rulers of empires tried to justify colonialism by presenting their activities as a "civilising mission".

Take the novel of Robinson Crusoe written in 1719. This is not just a quaint story of a shipwrecked man who befriends the native islander. It is an echo of the heyday of the slave trade and colonialism.

Crusoe takes the island for himself, "civilises" Man Friday and brings him back to the metropolis. The ideas of the novel are unthinkable without the drive for new colonies.

Many of the classic novels of Victorian England were shaped by the idea of empire, best summed up by Kipling's racist phrase "the white man's burden" to "serve the captive's need".

Today, too, there is a similar battle to impose a racist culture on us. In the US there is a campaign to enshrine English in the Constitution as the official language. This is an open attempt to crush multiculturalism in education.

In Britain too the Tories' new curriculum is advocating Standard English (by which they mean middle class English) and prioritisation of the "classics"—British only, of course.

So how can imperialist and racist ideas be fought?

Some see the main problem as the "westernisation" of the world. The wealthy "core" countries, they claim, have imposed their system and culture on "periphery" countries.

The only way to combat these Western, Eurocentric ideas—so the argument goes—is to return to indigenous and traditional roots.

This means promoting a national culture against cultural imperialism. This argument sees the problem of civilisation wrongly.

The main line of division is not between the West and the Third World. The real divisions are within national boundaries, not between them.

Even in the so-called third world, the ruling elites have far more in common with other rulers in the West than they do with people in their own country.

They are often not puppets of western imperialism or some latter-day indoctrinated colonials. They act on their own behalf and in their own class interests—seeking to stabilise their own states.

In Kenya, for example, the richest twenty percent have earned 13.6 times as much as the poorest, in Brazil 12.3 times. Mobutu in Zaire, having creamed off wealth from copper production and diamonds, has enough to pay off the national debt and money left over for his private army besides.

With this kind of wealth, rulers have been only too happy to continue, after independence, to ape upper class traditions and life styles in the West. There are still British type "public schools" in the heart of Africa—only this time to educate the native elite.

Similarly in the West, it is only a few who are partaking in the spoils from the third world. Many workers in

the West share the same fortunes as those in the developing countries.

Men and women lost their jobs in Detroit and Calcutta as the recession set in. Shoemakers in Taiwan and Naples and Clonmel have the same worry. Life expectancy rates in the heart of the West, Harlem in New York, are the same as those of Haiti.

The divisions on a world scale are not those of North and South or East and West but those of class.

This has a number of implications for how we view culture. There is no 'national culture' that will not be dominated by the images, aspirations and ideals of the local ruling elite.

Look at the Irish case. In the 1950s and 1960s, the writer Daniel Corkery was very influential because he encouraged a break from English culture and a return to the culture of the 'hidden Ireland'.

But the 'hidden Ireland' that Corkery claimed existed during the period of colonisation was one where there was peace between the Gaelic chief in his castle and the peasant in his hut.

Rural Ireland was held up as an idyllic place that was least corrupted by British influence and the Pale in order to promote the need for harmony among all classes of Irish people.

The 'gombeen' who fumbled his pennies in the greasy till while paying poverty wages and denying union rights was perfectly happy with the type of literature produced by the state funded publishing house, An Gum, for books in Irish.

Ignore

Appeals to national identity, or "indigenous styles and models of development", ignore this wider economic reality. Very often they are no more than nationalism in a new guise.

Yet nationalism, far from working against international capital, has worked happily with it. Ghandi may have praised homespun cloth made in the traditional Indian village, but his Congress Party acted hand in glove with the big Indian capitalists who wanted to build up heavy industry.

Those who argue for alternative development today, like Gandhi's "return to the village" did, imply that there was a golden age before imperialism in which national traditions afforded a rosier way of life.

Yet the truth was that village life was far from idyllic. Very often it meant poverty, disease and early death. Its superstitions held people in ignorance and fear. It was a bit like De Valera's "cosy homesteads"—they never really existed.

Marx argued about India that, brutal though Britain's pillage of the continent was, there was no putting the clock back. Returning to some imagined past is as self-defeating as believing that yanking up the railway tracks is dealing a blow against imperialism.

There is another side to the extension of capitalism across the globe. Alongside those rulers who have pushed its expansion has grown a truly world working class on a scale unimaginable only a few generations ago.

That international working class holds the hope for the future.

And for this class, it makes as much sense to read the Osmami's novel *God's Bits of Wood* which deals with the strike of railway workers in Senegal as it does to read James Plunkett's *Strumpet City*.

Music:

RAP FOR REVOLUTION

THE growth of rap in the eighties has been the most exciting musical event of that decade.

From its origin in the black ghettos of America, rap has erupted across the globe.

On its journey it has affected, and been affected by, national cultures.

Whether it be in Crumlin, Compton or the Caribbean, rap finds a willing audience among those who are dissatisfied with much of the bland dross that passes for music.

For musicians, it offers radical alternatives to the accepted norms and a chance to re-work vocals and instruments into fantastic musical hybrids.

The recession has produced some of the most exciting bands since the punk era.

Marxman—an Anglo-Irish four-piece—blend a mixture of hip-hop and traditional Irish instruments to produce a sound which is both danceable and articulates a firmly socialist message. One which is neither clumsy or soggy.

Their song *33 Revolutions per Minute* leaves the listener in no doubt about their ideological leanings.

Their first single, *Sad Affair*, a track about British imperialism in Northern Ireland, was unofficially banned by the BBC. The following

two singles *Ship Ahoy* and *All About Eve* deal with the issues of slavery and violence against women.

On songs like *Droppin Elocution*, Marxman pour scorn on those like the Labour Party who are attempting to tinker with the capitalist system.

Rage Against the Machine are another band who aurally terrorise the bosses machine. Aptly named *Rage* deliver a synthesis of Zack DeLa Rocha rhyming, with strident guitar and boomerang bass.

Their target is the racism, police brutality and oppression that exists in the US today.

Township Rebellion links South Central with Johannesburg; *Know Your Enemy* is a blistering attack on a system that demands submission, conformity and compromise.

The *Disposal Heroes of Hipocrisy* hailing from San Francisco deliver a mellow jazz influence rapping that is as much influenced by Gil Scott Heron as by Public Enemy or Ice-T.

Their musical style however in no way detracts from their meaningful and unvarnished lyrics. Their album *Hypocrisy is the greatest luxury*, deals with poverty and the roots of violence in America today.

The Winter Of The Long Hot Summer is a scapels sharp strike on the Gulf War. Their reworking of the Dead



Marxman: deliver a hard socialist message

Kennedy's "California Uber Alles" surpasses the original in its condemnation of the Governor of California.

While music will never fundamentally change the

world, bands like these, as well as *Arrested Development*; *The Goats*; *JC001* etc. proves that there is an audience who want to listen to a radical alternative to

that which capitalism provides us.

Socialism in the nineties will be rapping on and on, as Public Enemy say: "louder than a bomb".

Indecent Proposal reviewed by Simon Basketter

Gimmicks and sexism

Indecent Proposal is a top box office hit in America at the moment. But it is a rotten movie.

The hype is all about how a film can explore difficult moral issues of our time.

But the reality is simpler. The film has essentially one idea: Women are for sale.

The director Adrian Lynne has a long track record with this idea. He made *9 1/2 Weeks* and *Fatal Attraction* which were full of sexist rubbish.

His own ideal of the "feminine" woman is his wife:

"My wife has never worked. She's the least ambitious person I've ever met.

"She's a terrific wife. She hasn't the slightest interest in doing a career—she kind of lives this with me and it's a terrific feeling. I come home and she's there."

Lynne knows there is money to be made in showing women as chattels if you can cover it up as exploration of contemporary values.

The perfect couple (Demi Moore and Robert Redford) have failed hard times when comes Robert Redford offer a million dollars to spend one night with Moore.

The moral dilemma is

not really hers but her husband's. Of course he accepts. After their night together Moore leaves her husband to go with Redford, but in the end because he is a good man the millionaire returns Moore to her former owner.

The movie is badly written and acted but it doesn't really make any difference. It is like watching a two

hour pop video. It is full of slick gimmicks.

However the film operates on a simple and offensive basis: Look at Demi Moore. She is desirable. Do you want to own her? Good, now watch somebody buy her.

Indecent Proposal wears its sexism like a badge. Sex scenes with Moore rolling around in

money just emphasise the point of the film.

At one point whilst Redford woos Moore a receptionist sits reading Susan Faludi's book *Backlash*.

Right-wing

This movie knows it's right-wing and is proud of it.

Just to add insult to injury the millionaire quotes a speech from "Citizen Kane".

There used to be a time when Hollywood could make great movies out of horrible subjects.

Now it masks pernicious ideas as good entertainment. Avoid *Indecent Proposal* and warn your friends.

Sacred Hunger

Reviewed by WILLIE CUMMING

THE slave trade is the background to Barry Unsworth's Booker Prize winning novel "Sacred Hunger".

Slavery was a central part of what was known as the "triangular trade"—bringing manufactured goods from England to West Africa; trading these goods for slaves which were sold to the plantations of the West Indies; returning to England with sugar and tobacco and a huge profit.

Mayors

Liverpool was the world centre of this trade. Its first slaver sailed for Africa in 1709. By 1730 it had fifteen ships in the slave trade; by 1771 there were 105. Twenty-six of the city's mayors were slavers themselves or were associated with the trade.

The novel follows the fortunes of the maiden voyage of the appropriately named slaver the "Liverpool Merchant".

The vicious brutality of the trade is clearly depicted with the capture, branding and imprisonment of slaves with the cooperation of the local native rulers.

But the sailors too are victims. Some were pressed ganged or kidnapped to serve on the ship.

Discipline is enforced by brutal floggings.

When the sailing ship hit calm wind and supplies begin to run low, some of the sailors are reduced to begging food from the captive slaves.

As slaves were literally worth their weight in gold it was important that they be

kept in good health. A dead slave was worth nothing, a sailor was replaceable.

It is this contradiction that allows the sailors and the slaves to unite and mutiny against the captain.

They sail to America where they attempt to establish a model community where black and white can live together as equals.

Power

Unsworth doesn't romanticise this community. The real difficulties are clearly shown, but so too are the possibilities.

All of this would alone have made an interesting novel.

But what gives it its real power is the contrast that Unsworth makes between

life on the ship and the lives of those that benefited from the slave trade.

Behind their wealth is the blood and horror of the trade in human beings, and yet they manage to put this reality out of their minds.

The situation is brilliantly summed up by Unsworth in a passage that still has relevance today.

"Picturing things is bad for business. We have graphs and tables and balance sheets and statements of corporate philosophy to help us remain busily and safely in the realm of the abstract and comfort us with a sense of lawful endeavour and lawful profit."

"Sacred Hunger" is a marvellous book that couldn't be too highly recommended.

■ SACRED HUNGER by Barry Unsworth. Penguin, £6.99. Bookmarks Club special offer price £5.40.

If you have a story from your workplace phone (01) 872 2682

Industrial News

Around the Conferences

CPSU

The CPSU conference in May voted to ballot members for a one-day strike on June 28th to demand that the government pays the PESP deal in full.

The conference also called on the ICTU to organise a one-day stoppage to reverse the 1 per cent income levy.

A motion was also passed committing the union to fight for equal rights for gays and lesbians working in civil service departments and semi-state bodies.

20 copies of *Socialist Worker* and 50 copies of a fact sheet on tax were sold at the CPSU conference.

IMPACT

Delegates voted unanimously for a campaign of industrial action to start on 5th July.

The issues include the failure of the government to appoint an arbitrator; the blockage of PESP claims; and the failure to implement existing arbitration findings.

The unanimous vote reflects anger at the failure of the PESP to deliver on even its limited objectives. It also reflects a general anger at the "golden circle" that dominates Irish society.

"I'm sick of talking, I want my money and I want it now," was the comment of one delegate from the Eastern Health Board.

Despite this the conference also mandated the executive to enter into negotiations for a new pay agreement.

The union leadership is using the threat of industrial action to strengthen its own negotiating position.

However, whether or not the industrial action takes place will depend on rank and file activists pushing for it. Meetings around the country will provide a real opportunity to argue for all-out industrial action.

PAT THE BAKER:

Fighting for union rights

The strike for union recognition at Pat the Baker in Ballyfermot, Dublin is now going into its third month.

SIPTU members want to be represented by a union of their own choice rather than a company-union "works committee".

Since the strike began, management have tried various tactics to break the strike.

Before it even started, they offered each worker £22.50 extra a week to leave the union. This was rejected.

Extra security guards were hired. Thousands of pounds worth of closed circuit surveillance equipment was installed. Two different public relations consultants have been taken on.

The local gardai have escorted scabs past the pickets. On several occasions, they have threatened to arrest strikers.

In the middle of May, the company announced it was making the strikers redundant. It offered to have a meeting with them on May 18th. The workers turned down the offer because no SIPTU rep. was allowed attend.

Despite these attacks, the strikers are determined to hold out.

Pat the Baker has a rotten record on a number of counts.

It was formed in 1959 by Patrick Higgins. All the shares in this £25 million business are held by him and his family.

In 1986, Pat the Baker was forced to withdraw an advertisement from RTE radio because it was sexist. The head of the grocers' organisation RGDATA described it as "appallingly insensitive".

In 1990, two workers were sacked from the main bakery in Granard, Co. Longford for trying to organise a branch of SIPTU. Following this, the "works committee" was set up.

Higgins obviously knows that if workers were organised, it would affect his profits. In 1990, these amounted to £347,000.

In contrast, workers at the Ballyfermot plant bring home just £125 a week.

The strikers feel spreading the struggle is the way to win. They have leafleted branches of Crazy Prices and Quinns worth asking shoppers to boycott Pat the Baker products, including KVI and Five Star bread.

The SIPTU Women's Committee said it was also going to leaflet shoppers.

The strikers have also asked workers in those shops to support them by refusing to handle the company's products.

In the Students' Union shop in TCD, workers and S.U. officers agreed to cancel the shops order for Pat the Baker bread, despite an area manager begging them to change their minds.

Depots

Spreading the dispute to other Pat the Baker depots would also help the strike to win. Workers some depots have shown an interest in joining SIPTU.

B+I STRIKERS WIN BACKING

Eighty years after the 1913 Dublin Lock-out, striking workers in Dublin port are trying to overcome the use of scab labour imported from England in a bid to break a strike.

Maintenance workers in B+I have been on strike since March 1st over the privatisation of the company's maintenance operations. Management had told them that they were being transferred to a new private contractor, even though the issue was still before the Labour Court.

As the strike goes into its

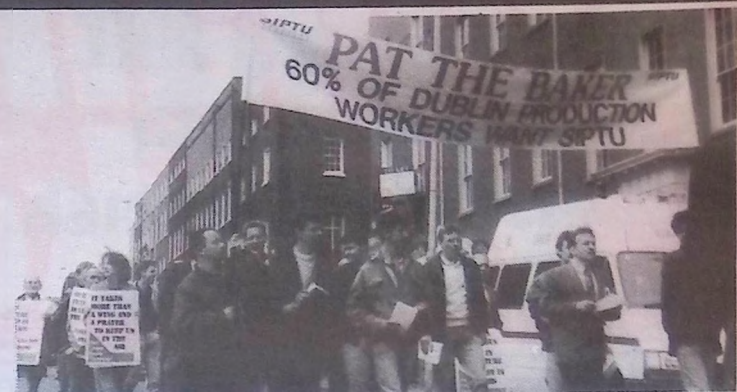
third month, the strikers have won backing from other groups of workers in B+I.

Support

Dockers, checkers, drivers and ships' officers all voted to strike from the Whit weekend in support of the maintenance workers. In some cases, the vote was 8 to 1 in favour of striking.



Cranes maintained by scab labour



Pat the Baker strikers on the May Day march

SIPTU officials should be leafleting these depots to persuade workers there that being in a union offers them better chances for decent pay and conditions than crawling to Higgins' tune.

Other unions like IDATU and INUVGATA, which organise workers in supermarkets, should instruct their

members to refuse to handle Pat the Baker products.

Extending and escalating the strike in this way would increase the chances of victory.

Donations and messages of support to: Pat the Baker Strike Fund, c/o Brian O'Neill, SIPTU, Liberty Hall, Dublin 1.

NOLAN'S

The Nolan's Transport strike for union recognition is continuing.

Last month, almost the whole executive of SIPTU joined the picket line in a gesture of solidarity with the strike.

The move was welcome - but it is by no means enough to win the strike.

As a leaflet from the Waterford SWM put it, it is time to turn the 'rhetoric into action'.

The Nolan's strike could be won very quickly if SIPTU issued an instruction to black Nolan's Transport from every union job where it has members.

This form of blacking is now contrary to the Industrial Relations Act.

But it is high time to defy this rotten act that the ICTU originally went along with as part of its 'social partnership' arrangements.

PASSPORTS

Civil Servants at the Belfast Passport office, members of the CPSA, took one day strike action at the beginning of May against privatisation.

A UK wide ballot for action, won a majority of five to one.

The one day strike in Belfast was solid with almost all of the 65 full time workers supporting the strike and picket.

One passport worker and local CPSA branch activist told *Socialist Worker*:

"People here know what's at stake. The Tories realized that they might be able to turn a profit, so that means privatisation which means that our jobs could be on the line."

"Practically no one in this office has ever been on strike before. The fact that we're on strike to-day shows how seriously we are taking the situation."

ISSUES FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT by Jim Larmour

Should the British Labour Party organise in the North?

OVER the past few years there has been an increase in campaigns calling for the British Labour Party to organise in Northern Ireland.

On every May Day or demonstration you would get the token leafletting of the march, and to be honest it was something that I gave little thought to.

What really took me by surprise, though, was the events I witnessed last year at a Transport and General Workers' Union summer

school in Eastbourne.

Almost every delegate from the North who contributed to a debate on the Labour Party's relationship with the unions proceeded to call (to a fair deal of applause) for the British Labour Party to organise in the North.

The common theme was that there was a complete lack of a political party in the North that represented the interests of the working class as a whole, as opposed to the existing parties who were seen as completely sectarian.

Since this event has moved on more rapidly and

we've now had the AEEU balloting its members on this issue, with a slight majority in favour of the link, and press reports of MSF planning the same.

Agree

While socialists would agree on the need for a party in the North which fights in the interests of the working class, a brief look at the issue shows that the British Labour Party is not the answer.

Firstly, the call for representation is essentially a unionist response and will only divide

workers, because it is seen as part of a strategy of strengthening the links with Britain.

Secondly, because such a party looks to the ballot box for a mass vote, it would completely fail to tackle issues such as oppression, state violence, the role of the British army and the RUC and the whole nature of the Northern state.

These issues would be swept under the carpet for fear of losing votes from the Protestant working class.

For examples of this we need look no further than the old N.I. Labour Party: precisely because it failed to tackle these issues, it was seen before its

demise as only being little more than a paler shade of unionism.

On a more general point, if we look at the record of Labour and social democratic parties we see why they cannot provide any answers to the working class.

Smashing

These parties argue not for smashing capitalism, but for reforming the existing system. Past records show this idea to be totally utopian.

Unemployment still rose steadily under Labour in Britain, workers were still sacked

and their conditions attacked, precisely because Labour's priority must be first and foremost the market economy and the needs of capitalism.

I need not go into a lecture in Marxist economics to show that there will always be a conflict between labour and capital.

For examples of this, look no further than the Irish Labour Party.

Despite all the great pre-election promises, workers are now disillusioned at the betrayals of promises.

Now I'm quite sure that no one attacks working class con-

ditions for the sake of it (unless you're a member of Fianna Fail or a Tory!), but this is precisely because under capitalism Labour's priority must be to safeguard the needs of the bosses, with big business pulling the strings.

Labour sees no other choice than making cuts in workers' standards.

What we really need in the North is a party that stands in the tradition of revolution, not reform - a party that stands against all forms of oppression and argues that it is in the interest of all workers to fight for class unity to smash the sectarian state.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

The birth of socialism

see page 8

FIGHT BACK AGAINST THE TORIES

THE TORIES are set to bring more misery to the lives of workers in Northern Ireland.

They want to increase the VAT on domestic fuel so that pensioners will be forced to choose between eating and keeping warm. When the vote was taken in the House of Commons, the Unionist M.P.s did not turn up—and so a divided Tory party got their way

The Tories have also drawn up plans for a full scale privatisation of industry in Northern Ireland. If they have their way the electricity, water and gas industries will all be privatised.

That way they hope that bigger profits can be made for their rich friends. The privatised BT is now making £78 profit a minute

and its chief executive Ian Vallance is earning a grand total of £675,000.

But for the workers privatisation means more job cuts. 600 jobs in Direct Labour Units throughout the North have been slashed as the Tories have pushed through a policy of privatisation.

In Belfast, the Eastern Health Boards have revealed the full scale of the Tory vandalism on the health service.

£13.5 million has been slashed from the 1993-94 budget. Hospitals like the Royal Victoria and the Jubilee are facing a severe run down.

The Tories want workers to compete against each other to see who can perform the most "cost-effective" operations. And they hope that the sectarianism that is so prevalent in Northern

Ireland will help to keep the workers divided.

Bigots like Ian Paisley have spoken on a platform to defend the Jubilee hospital in South Belfast—but he has not a word to say about the Royal Victoria in West Belfast.

Jobs Lost

Sinn Fein also sees itself as primarily defending 'its' community. It claims that 'jobs lost in West Belfast are less politically sensitive to the British and Unionists than jobs lost elsewhere'.

This is nonsense. For the Tories, all workers in Northern Ireland are there to be pushed around, sacked or made work for low pay.

Socialists stand absolutely op-

posed to the discrimination, harassment and repression that has been inflicted to areas like West Belfast.

But the principle division in Northern Ireland is not between the poverty of the Falls and the Shankill. It is between the vast majority in these areas and the Tory scum who will stoke up division to protect their privilege.

That is why workers unity is so desperately needed today.

And if we unite now to take on the Tories we can take advantage of the divisions in their ranks.

They have been hammered in the local elections and they face resistance from Timex workers, teachers and fire-fighters.

There's never been a better chance to put them on the run.

