

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

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**Schindler's List:  
How the Nazis  
killed 6 million**

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# Low Pay Scandal

**'They offered me £2 an hour for factory work' —  
Sinead from Dublin**

**THOUSANDS** of Irish workers are being pushed onto low wages.

The employers are using the recession to drive down wages.

27% of workers in the South

of Ireland are on a basic pay of less than £160 a week.

In the North it is even worse. One third of workers are getting less than the European Union's Decency Threshold.

This is set at around £120 a

week.

Northern Ireland's civil service union claims that 40% of its members are entitled to family Credit.

Right across the country shop, restaurants and hotels

are insisting on single time for work on Sundays or Saturday nights.

The big multi-nationals that are being praised for rescuing Irish workers from the dole queues are also among the worst offenders.

■ *Fruit of the Loom*, the giant US multinational which has factories in Donegal and Derry pays only £110 basic, for a 39 hour week.

ing the employers to start paying decent wages.

The scandal is that our unions are doing very little about this situation.

In the South, they are recommending another three year pay deal where workers will be paid less than the rate of inflation.

## Miserable

They are even recommending that poorly paid building workers take a pay freeze for six months.

But it does not have to be like this.

In 1913 Connolly and Larkin found that same type of miserable employers that we have today in cities like Belfast and Dublin.

They had a very simple message. Organisation and solidarity could beat the boss class.

It is a message that the unions should start learning again today.

## Organise

When workers in one of the factories started to organise against these rotten wages they found that their union had a sweetheart 'no strike' deal with the company.

Ireland's right wing politicians are now saying that too many people are staying on the dole rather than taking any of the work that is going.

They want to force the unemployed to work for miserly wages by introducing 'workfare' schemes.

They never think about forc-

## But these get £1,000 a day



**Irish Permanent non-executive directors Muriel Scorer, Eileen Lemass, Brendan Halligan and Pat O'Neill**

MEET some of the overpaid bosses of the Irish Permanent Building Society.

They get nearly a £1,000 for every meeting they attend as non-executive directors.

Eileen Lemass was a

former FF T.D. and Brendan Halligan used to be the General Secretary of the Labour Party. Now that is a nice like Coalition arrangement!

But these are only the small fry in the Irish Permanent. Four of the executive direc-

tors—Roy Douglas, Peter Fitzpatrick, Peter Ledbetter and John Burke—earned an average of £335,000 each last in year.

That was thirty times more than a hospital domestic worker.

## OPPOSE THE SERVICE CHARGES

AT a special meeting in the Green Isle Hotel last month the new South Dublin County Council voted to impose a £70 service charge in this area.

The threat of abolition was enough to scare the majority of councillors into voting for this tax, which has been compared to the Poll Tax in Britain.

Tallaght/Clondalkin Branch of the SWM at paper sales have been hearing the anger of people at this tax.

## Sacked for being gay

DONNA McAnellan was sacked from her job at the Brookfield Centre in Cork for being a lesbian.

The Labour Court told her that even though the action was unfair the law did not cover discrimination against gay people at work.

Friends of Donna McAnellan protested at the Brookfield Centre on St Valentine's Day.

The case shows that despite the legalisation of gay sex we still have to fight for the rights of gays and lesbians.

They have willingly signed our petitions and most have said that they would support a non-payment campaign.

The SWM Tallaght/Clondalkin branch protested at the Green Isle where the important vote was taken.

We plan further action to stop these charges being forced on the working people of South Dublin.

## Child Support Agency:

# Tories target the poor

WHEN the Tories introduced the Child Support Agency last April they claimed that it would help women and children.

Instead it is the most unpopular law since the Poll Tax. All over Britain there has been a growing storm of protest. Hundreds of people have attended protest meetings in Belfast.

People are beginning to realise that the overwhelming majority of lone parents are not going to be better off as a result of the CSA.

Of the £530 million the agency expects to collect in

its first year, only £50 million will go to mothers and children. The rest goes straight to the Treasury.

This is because, as with all Tory laws, it's the poor who are being targeted. Any maintenance paid to a mother on income support is deducted pound for pound from her benefit.

In the North, men are having their dole cut by almost ten percent as the CSA takes £4.80 a week off their benefit.

The Tories say these men are "feckless" and call them "absent fathers". But the majority of men are not "absent" from their children's lives.

### Weekends

They have them at weekends and holidays, often more frequently than that. It's just that they don't fit the Tories' "Back to Basics" view of the world.

The media have tried to paint opposition to the CSA as coming mainly from miserly middle class men. They've tried to turn it into "a battle between the sexes". The reality is that it is working class women who are

suffering most from the agency's work.

Many fathers already contribute what they can financially to their children's maintenance, even when they're on the dole. The extra few pounds that goes to the woman on top of her Income Support is usually the difference between a life of intolerable poverty and one where it's possible to have a few "extras" - like enough coal or presents for birthdays and Christmas.

But why should women have to look to men for financial support? Women have every right to economic independence.

The Tories want to turn the clock back and force people to stay in unhappy marriages because they can't afford to split up.

The idea that the state should not pay out money to care for children is rubbish. In any society the children are the future. The care of children should not just be the responsibility of their own parents.

It is in all our interests to ensure children are not forced to live in poverty. It's time to scrap the Child Support Act.

## Stop SPUC's new attack

THE High Court has given SPUC the green light to hound two student unions for giving out abortion information.

SPUC have sent a receiver into the Union of Students in Ireland and Trinity SU to recover £29,000 awarded to the bigots in 1989.

This is despite the fact that abortion information is now supposed to be legal following the 1992 referendum.

### Crusade

USI President Tom Duke said:

"SPUC have been trying to silence us and close us down for over five years now and they appear to show no



Student Unions facing new attack

sign of relenting in their misguided legal crusade."

SPUC can be stopped if the student unions mobilise a campaign against the High Court decision—mass action on the streets forced the Supreme Court to change its mind over the X-case in 1992.

## Poster fine

THREE pro-choice campaigners were fined a total of £900 for flyposting in Cork.

Their "crime" was to put up posters giving the Abortion Information phone number.

Judge Clifford told Fintan Lane, Deirdre Lane and James McBarron that they were being fined £300 each because their flyposting was "sheer vandalism and far more serious than the normal type of vandalism."

The Judge has obviously forgotten about the pollution caused by fires at ADM and Hicksons near Cork last summer—those multi-million pound vandals were treated very leniently indeed!

# Bigots unite to oppose gay equality

UNIONIST and nationalist politicians have again shown that there is one issue they can unite on—to promote bigotry against gays.

Paisley and Seamus Mallon, Ken Maginnis and John Hume, were able to walk side by side—to vote against making sixteen the age of consent for gay men in the UK.

Hume and far right Unionist John Taylor voted to make eighteen the age of consent, but the rest of the bigots—including Mallon—voted to keep under-21 gay sex illegal.

The biggest scandal was that the attempt to bring equality failed by only 27 votes, thanks to 35 Labour MPs who accepted the bigots' claim that the law is needed

"to protect young boys".

The law says nothing about older men who have sex with teenage girls.

But all the evidence shows that most young people's first sexual experience, including gay men's, is typically with someone of their own age.

### Prevents

The bigots don't care about gay sixteen and seventeen year olds at risk of HIV infection because the law prevents them getting safe sex information.

The age of consent for



United against equality: Mallon and Maginnis

gay sex remains 21 in the North.

The Tories have said they'll have to "consider the position".

This probably means that, like the 1967 Abortion Act and the 1967 law legalising homosexuality in Britain, the new law will not be ex-



tended to the North for fear of upsetting Major's Unionist friends.

### Prejudice

This leaves teenage gays in the North open to more intolerance and prejudice.

It also leaves them

open to even heavier doses of police and British army harassment.

The six thousand people who nearly started a riot outside the British parliament on the night of the vote showed the kind of anger that all of us, gay or straight, should feel about this denial of sexual equality.

The police say they are going to enforce the law.

We need to get on to the streets to say that we won't allow them to.

We need to tell our bigoted politicians that we want a more open and tolerant society in Northern Ireland, not more of their repression.

Celebrate International Women's Day  
Stand up for your rights!  
**PICKET THE CHILD SUPPORT AGENCY**  
Tuesday 8th March  
Asylum Road, Derry

**WOMEN HAVE THE RIGHT TO INDEPENDENCE!**

## Dunsink's deadly dump

RESIDENTS of Finglas in Dublin are campaigning for two local authority dumps in the area to be closed.

The dumps at Dunsink and Tolka Valley are a death trap for local children. Three have been killed in recent years.

A boy was killed when he fell down a ventilation shaft at the Tolka Valley dump in 1982.

Some years later another boy was killed playing on the back of a Corporation dump truck.

And in 1985 a traveller boy died when a gas canister from the Dunsink dump exploded on a campsite fire.

The County Council say the Dunsink dump will not close until 1997 - after repeated broken promises since 1986 that it was to close.

The dump has grown and reaches to within 200 metres of Cappagh Hospital which is now infested with rats.

The dumps have caused widespread health problems in the Finglas area. Fr Denis Collins who is involved in the local campaign said, "we have a lot of people using inhalers in the school."

"During the summer the smell, dirt, dust and rubbish in the air is an environmental nightmare. We got families moving here and developing respiratory problems after a short time."

The same County Council that now demands service charges is also putting the lives of working class people in danger in Finglas.

## We Think

# Unionist MPs whip up sectarianism

UNIONIST MPs are competing with each other to whip up sectarianism in the wake of the Downing St declaration.

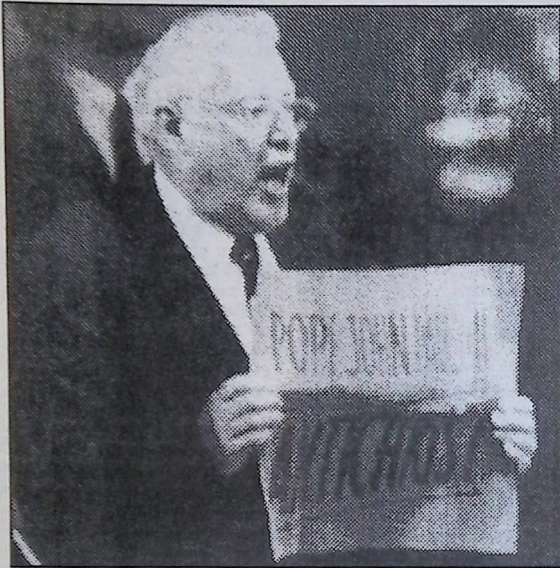
At a meeting in Portadown, Paisley listed out a number of Catholic sounding names who were working on the BBC to hoots of derision from his audience.

A few days after his rally, Cormac McDermott was murdered in the town of Ballymenia—one of the first Catholics to be killed there in recent years.

In the House of Commons, the Unionist MP John Taylor called for the vetting of the large number of Irish building workers who were employed in the Channel tunnel.

In a racist slur he claimed that they had "their chaplaincy and their Irish pubs".

Christopher McGimpsey from the Official Unionist Party



boasted about the 'constructive' meeting he had with the UDA to explain his party's policy on the Downing St Declaration.

Nobody should be surprised with these antics. Unionism has been built around a strategy of

portraying Catholics as disloyal and a threat

### Instability

But today there is a new instability at the heart of Union-

ism.

The Downing St declaration offers nothing concrete about lifting the discrimination and harassment that has affected nationalist areas.

But it did indicate a simple truth about British policy when it said that they have "no selfish, strategic or economic interest in Northern Ireland".

In the past Britain's rulers had a vital interest in the North. Key sections of British capital had investments in Belfast. The maintenance of military bases in the North played a secondary but important role during WW2.

The partition of Ireland was also a salvage operation designed to warn others who tried to break from the wider British empire.

Today this has changed. The Tories regard the Unionist establishment as political dinosaurs that they have to placate to keep themselves in power.

The open acknowledgement of this shift in Britain's interest began well before the Downing St declaration in a famous speech by Peter Brooke, the former Northern Secretary.

But now it is creating a major problem for the Unionist upper class who have who have held the loyalty of Protestant workers for decades.

As the DUP bigot, William McCrea put it "it is not very pleasant when you insist on your right to be a British citizen to be told that Britain has no interest in you".

As their connections with the British establishment loosen, the Unionist parties can promise to deliver less and less to their followers.

### Support

In order to hold their support together, the Unionist leaders will try to whip up more and more sectarianism. They will give the nod and the wink to the UDA and the UVF to get on with the job of killing in the hope of extracting more concessions.

But this can also mean that thousands of Protestant workers can quickly become disgusted with the antics of their Unionist leaders.

If the logic of Unionism leads to more and more horrific at-

tacks on fellow Catholic workers, then many can start looking for a different road.

That is, if there is a real alternative open to them. That will not come from republicans. Despite their talk about Wolfe Tone, Adams and the republican leadership only talk about the need to defend 'our' (Catholic) community. They want an alliance with Albert Reynolds who wraps the green flag around him to attack his own working class.

What is desperately needed is a socialist alternative that gets a base in both Protestant and Catholic areas.

And it can be done. Hundreds of Catholics and Protestants have signed petitions calling for the sacking of the racist Professor in Coleraine (see Page 12). Thousands have defied Ian Paisley and supported the ICTU peace marches at the end of last year.

Northern Ireland does not have to be immune to the radicalisation that is happening across Europe at the moment. That is why we invite our readers in the North to get active and join the SWM.

## Don't pay the Service Charges

LOCAL councils in Waterford and Dublin have agreed to introduce new service charges.

Each household in the County Councils area of Dublin will have to pay between £70 and £85 per household.

The Council agreed to push through the charges after the Fianna Fail Minister for the Environment Michael Smith threatened to abolish them.

None of the Labour Party councillors voted against the charges. But in the last local elections Labour pledged to resist charges for water or refuse collection.

The Green Party councillors voted for the charges. They tried to justify their decision on environmental grounds by claiming that there should be a 50p charge on every bag of refuse that was used.

It never struck them that those living in poverty might be forced to dump their rubbish over a wall rather than forego a meal for their children.

The service charges are scandalous. They are a form of double taxation.

PAYE workers already shoulder the main tax burden in Ireland. Last year they had to put up with a 1% levy while the rich managed to get through their third tax amnesty.

The services charges take no account of income. Those earning over £30,000 a year will find little difficulty paying their charge. But for those on a take home pay of £120 a week it can be a terrible blow.

The service charges can be beaten if there is a mass non-payment campaign. The bills will start arriving in April and meetings should be organised on housing estates to organise those who are refusing to pay.

In the early 1980s, the government had to back down from service charges in some of the main urban areas because few people actually paid up.

In Waterford, hundreds of people chased away sub-contractors that tried to turn off the water supply in houses on the Paddy Browne Road. Workers from Waterford Glass arrived to help out in the battle with the scab contractors.

That type of militancy can once again help to put manners on government that thinks it can ride rough shod over working class people.

## MASSACRE EXPOSES ISRAEL-PLO PEACE DEAL

THE massacre of 53 Palestinians as they were praying in a mosque has exposed the reality behind the PLO-Israeli peace deal.

The massacre was carried out by a fanatical Zionist, Baruch Goldstein.

Goldstein was one of 100,000 settlers who were encouraged to take up land to colonise the West Bank by the Israeli government.

Every settler in the area is allowed to carry weapons. But Palestinians are shot for merely carrying stones.

Under the PLO-Israeli peace deal, these settlers are allowed to stay on the West Bank. There are no serious plans to disarm them.

The peace deal also allowed the Israeli army to stay in the West Bank to 'protect' them.

The Israeli government's



reaction to the massacre shows how little has changed. Palestinian areas were immediately sealed off by huge numbers of troops.

Six more Palestinians were butchered by the Is-

raeli army on the same day as the massacre.

Peace will not come to the Middle East by deals which have been built on the demoralisation of the PLO.

Only a workers uprising

across the Middle East which topples the racist state of Israel and puts in its place a secular state where Jews and Arabs can live together will remove the conditions which drove fanatics like Goldstein to murder Palestinians.

# Western hypocrisy on peace

## Bosnia:

"I've always said that if anyone is in breach of the conditions they have agreed and of the NATO ultimatum, I would be the first to call in air strikes."

So said General Sir Michael Rose, current UN commander in Sarajevo as the conflict in former Yugoslavia broadened alarmingly.

General Rose has also called for another 5000 troops to be sent to Sarajevo. His aggressive stance is hardly a surprise, as General Rose is a former SAS commander; active in Northern Ireland; responsible for the storming of the Iranian Embassy; and Thatcher's right hand man during the Falklands war.

NATO has assembled the biggest collection of Western air power since the Gulf War and is ready to hit Serbian positions from bases in Italy.

## Withdrawal

Western politicians were claiming that this show of force was worthwhile as it has resulted in the withdrawal of Serbian forces from around Sarajevo.

In fact the world has become a significantly more dangerous place. One consequence of NATO's threats was that Russia quickly made an arrangement with Serbia, to bring in 800 of its troops to Sarajevo.

Russia Foreign Minister Andrei Kozyrev later boasted that "Russia cannot be ignored when major international diplomatic actions are being considered."

Vitaly Churkin warned that NATO could not expect to launch air strikes and avoid being drawn into "all out war". Even more extreme Russian na-

tionalists have called for backing Serbia to "total victory".

Despite all the talk of humanitarianism, the worlds major powers are clearly jockeying for position and influence in the region. Intervention from any side should be opposed as making an escalation of the conflict more likely.

In any case the UN has no solution for the area. Their latest aim is to partition Bosnia, with the parts containing majority Croats and Serbs being added to the current states of Croatia and Serbia. They want to combine this with a UN administration over an ethnically divided Sarajevo.

Amir Telibecirevic protested at the UN plans and told the *Independent*: "They want to split up Sarajevo. We are all mixed—Serbs, Croats, Muslims, Jews—and we want to stay like that."

Even if the UN brokered an agreement to their latest plans, it would lead to further divisions amongst the population and three hostile unstable states as neighbours.

## Solution

There is a solution to the warfare in former Yugoslavia. It lies with the ordinary working class people of the area who are becoming increasingly sick of the war and the nationalist politicians.

Mary Kaldor for the *Guardian* observed:

"Ethnic partition is based on



Russian troops march into Bosnia

the assumption ... that ethnic hatred is deep-rooted, especially after two years of war. My impression is different."

Most people do, even now, want to live together; they blame nationalists, gangsters and warlords, not their friends and

neighbours who happen to come from different ethnic backgrounds.

In the factories of Sarajevo, Belgrade and Zagreb, workers have the power to end the war and kick all the warmongers out of the region.

## East Timor:

THE Western powers have put on a show of concern for the people of Sarajevo.

But their hypocrisy is shown in the way they have helped to arm and fund the butchers of East Timor.

East Timor is a half of an island that lies 300 miles north of Australia. It was originally colonised by Portugal but after they withdrew, the Indonesian military dictator, General Suharto invaded the island in 1975.

East Timor has been occupied by the Indonesian army ever since. Some 200,000 Timorese have been murdered. According to John Pilger who has entered the country secretly,

"Not even Pol Pot succeeded in killing proportionately as many Cambodians as the Indonesian military Generals have killed East Timorese."

The teaching of the language of East Timor is banned. Ethnic minorities such as the Chinese population are subject to genocide.

According to the Indonesian military commander in 1982 "It is Indonesian civilisation we are bringing to East Timor and it is not easy to civilise backward people"

Yet the Western powers have done everything to help the Indonesian generals. The British government sold £300 million worth of ground attack aircraft to the Indonesian army after the invasion.

When it was pointed out to him that the Hawk aircraft which were manufactured by British Aerospace were used in wholesale murder, Alan Clark, the former Tory Defence Minister said,

"I don't really fill my mind much with what one set of foreign-ers are doing to another"

David Owen who is the peace envoy to Bosnia claimed that reports of the killings in East Timor were 'exaggerated.'

At the time of the invasion, the British Ambassador to Indonesia sent a note to his foreign office saying that it was in Britain's interest that Indonesia should "absorb the territory as soon and as unobtrusively as possible."

As the killings increased in East Timor, the shipment of arms from the US doubled.

When a UN resolution was passed calling for an Indonesian withdrawal, the West did everything to block any action.

Yet East Timor and Kuwait shared one thing in common. Both had abundant supplies of oil.

In the case of East Timor, however, the favourite butchers of the Western powers had grabbed the oil supplies. That was what made the invasion right!

## GERMAN WORKERS FLEX MUSCLES

THIS month has witnessed the revival of militancy amongst the best organised workers in Europe—the German metalworkers. Their union, IG Metall, has 3.2 million members out of the 3.6million metalworkers of Western Germany.

Their campaign will decide who pays for the current recession in Germany, workers or employers.

The German engineering employers want plant bargaining; flexibility; a pay freeze and an end to the holiday bonus. They have threatened lock-outs in response to strikes.

The union wants a 6% pay increase and any change in working hours to be on their terms. They have already proven that the employers hard line can be taken on, by holding a series of short warning strikes.

However a major weakness on their side is the attitude of the top officials. Union leader Klaus Zwickel has repeatedly said "we do not want a big social conflict."

As a result the all-out strike will start on March 7th amongst just 10,000 workers of the Lower Saxony area. Not until two weeks later is it planned to escalate the dispute to 170,000 workers of the Hamburg, Bremen and Schleswig-Holstein regions.

Even so, unless the employers back down, the workers have the organisation and power to win a major victory. The stakes are high for all of German society, the government has just announced a public sector pay freeze.

The fight of the engineers is the key to a breakthrough for all workers, a victory could shift the political climate in Germany—channeling the anger at the Government and isolating the far right.

# South Africa: Will elections bring real change?



Does this mean the end of oppression of blacks?

APRIL's elections will bring black majority rule to South Africa for the first time.

Throughout this century white minority rule was guaranteed by the brutal apartheid system.

Only whites were allowed to vote and when blacks protested they were gunned down by the army.

Now the main anti-apartheid organisation, the ANC, is certain to form a government after the multi-racial elections.

But the extreme right, both black and white, are threatening

civil war. The "freedom alliance" of white fascists and black tribal leaders is boycotting the elections.

None of these organisations has much support. They will be marginalised in a multi-racial South Africa.

Instead they want to splinter the country into racially based "homelands".

The fascist AWB is calling for a whites only "volkstaat"—effectively continuing apartheid, while the self-proclaimed Zulu party, Inkatha, wants a Zulu kingdom.

Inkatha's power base is in the Kwazulu homeland. Prime Min-

ister and Inkatha leader Mangosuthu Buthelezi rule Kwazulu as a virtual dictatorship. His uncle, Goodwill Zuelethini, is the king.

## Poorest

The homelands are creations of apartheid, designed to keep blacks out of the cities and on the poorest land.

The dictators who rule them owe their positions to the white South African government.

They know that an ANC victory will leave them completely marginalised.

Although Buthelezi claims to

represent the Zulus, most Zulus support the ANC. Nationally, Inkatha's support is just three percent.

So they have launched a murderous campaign against ANC supporters—particularly Zulus.

In this way they hope to force the ANC to grant greater powers to their regional governments.

For years the South African regime has used Inkatha to intimidate the ANC.

Inkatha death squads have been backed up by the army and secretly funded by the government.

These butchers can only have been encouraged by President De Klerk's recent call for the ANC to be "cut down to size".

The ANC has responded to this intimidation by making concessions.

They have agreed to devolve powers to the provinces—a key Inkatha demand.

They have even agreed to consider the fascists' "volkstaat".

None of these concessions have been matched by Buthelezi or the Afrikaner right.

On the contrary, each concession has only encouraged them to demand more.

## Sinn Fein Ard Fheis

## Coming in from the cold?

ALMOST three hundred journalists turned up to the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis.

It was huge change from the days when Sinn Fein was banned from the airwaves in the South.

For years the media tried to portray Sinn Fein as a group of psychopaths. This helped to create the atmosphere where 18 of the party's members in the North have been murdered by political assassins.

The media turned out in strength to get some idea of how the party was going to respond to the Downing St Declaration.

But Sinn Fein insisted on further 'clarification'. They had every right to do so. The Declaration says nothing about removing discrimination and harassment in Catholic working class areas.

The Declaration is built around ambiguity and a clever play of words. In the House of Commons, Major could stand up and tell Unionists that it had copper-fastened their position while Reynolds told that Dail that it opened the way to a new Ireland.

The Sinn Fein Ard Fheis showed that the party is unlikely to accept the Downing St Declaration—but there were also signs that they not very far off accepting some deal that may emerge over the next period.

In an RTE interview at the conference, Adams argued that all sorts of options could be considered. He did not rule out an arrangement where both Britain and the South of Ireland would establish a form of joint sovereignty over the North.

The key to the situation for Sinn Fein is the activities of Albert Reynolds. Throughout the whole conference there was little criticism of the Fianna Fail



leader. Instead he was praised for addressing the 'core issue' in a way that no other FF leader had.

But this represents a fundamental misunderstanding of how FF works. All Fianna Fail leaders from De Valera to Haughey have indulged a rhetoric against partition.

## Concern

De Valera even kept the South of Ireland out of the WW2 because of Britain's support for partition.

FF did not do this from any concern for the position that Northern nationalists found themselves in. While de

Valera was denouncing Churchill, he was also hanging republicans.

According to the former RUC chief, Jack Hurmon FF offered the best co-operation on border security when Charles Haughey was in power—but Haughey still managed to engage in anti-British rhetoric.

The aim of FF has been to use the rhetoric against partition to unite the Southern population in a way that masked the class differences.

The only difference in the case of Reynolds is his timing. The British government is more seriously interested in getting some movement on the North than it has been for nearly twenty years.

The secret talks between the British government and the IRA are one sign of this.

Although the present Tory government may rely on the Unionists for votes, they have also distanced themselves steadily from the Unionist establishment.

## Recipe

What both Reynolds and Major want ideally is some form of joint sovereignty where the Southern government would pretend to look out for the interests of Northern nationalists and the British government would do likewise for Un-

ionists.

But this would be a recipe for institutionalising the divisions of the working class while making room for the section of the Catholic middle class to get their share of patronage. Sinn Fein have now positioned themselves to accept such an arrangement.

The attempt by Sinn Fein to move towards Reynolds was seen in an unreported incident. One Sinn Fein councillor called for the party to give the councillors in the South some leeway to accept service charges if they thought they were the best deal on offer.

He was only narrowly defeated after an impassioned speech by the Dublin City Councillor Christy Burke.

The Sinn Fein conference took place amidst growing tensions within the ranks of Unionism. But the party had little to say to Protestant workers.

Incredibly, Adams claimed that 'what Protestants needed was a de Klerk'. He may have been referring to the need for a politician who was able to compromise.

But the analogy spoke yards about Sinn Fein's attitude to the Protestant working class. They see them as a privileged class that are like the whites of South Africa.

But no Protestant worker employs a Catholic maid and few have swimming pools in their back garden.

What Protestant workers need is not a right wing compromiser like de Klerk but political leaders who stand up for their class interest.

Sinn Fein's Ard Fheis showed that although they had scored many victories in the publicity war they cannot make any real gains for the working class Northern Catholics they represent. And they never do so while they place communal politics above those of class.

## The real tax scandal

IRELAND's yuppies are up in arms.

Their target is the Residential Property Tax.

Home owners who have an income of more than £25,000 a year will have to pay taxes on houses valued at more than £70,000

The *Irish Times* thinks it is an outrage.

John Bruton thinks he can re-build Fine Gael by campaigning against it.

Gay Byrne has used his *Morning Ireland* show to attack it.

But the hypocrisy of the rich is sickening.

Gay Byrne, stands to lose £500 because of the size of his fancy house in Howth.

But he never mentioned that on his radio programme.

The real scandal is that the rich in this country are not paying enough tax.

■ Every home owner in Ireland is given a mortgage relief on their tax bills.

But the rich benefit most from this subsidy.

The bigger the mortgage, the more tax relief is given.

60% of the tax relief on mortgage, VHI and life assurance goes to the top 20% of income earners.

Only 5% of the benefit goes to the bottom half.

■ The rich pay far less on

2% of their income on their house.

■ The Irish rich get off lightly on inheritance taxes.

## Raise

These taxes only raise half the amount in Ireland that they do in Europe.

A parent can leave up to £687,000 to their four

children without them having to pay a penny in tax.

■ The Irish rich have a long history of squealing and getting rid of taxes on them.

They got rid of the Wealth Tax in 1977 after it been in operation for two years.

## COALITION'S TAX BURDEN ON THE POOR

THE Coalition plans to raise far more money from the unemployed than from the rich.

The Residential Prop-

erty Tax will bring in £5 million to the government.

But six times that amount is being raised from attacks on those

who are out of work. Pay Related Benefit has been abolished.

This could cost someone who becomes unemployed £17 a week.

## FINE GAEL IN TATTERS

THE main right wing opposition party, Fine Gael, is in deep trouble.

Opinion polls show that it is getting less than 20% of the vote.

An attempt to get rid of John 'Brutal' Bruton has failed.

The reason is that Fine Gael has lost any role in Irish political life.

It stands for 'the free market' and 'self reliance'.

But the FF/Labour Coalition have already proved that they are working flat out to build up the Irish boss class.



Fine Gael has also started to lose its base among the big farmers.

Ireland's ranchers helped to form the fascist Blueshirts in the

1930s. They were terrified that FF's policy of protectionism would stop them exporting cattle to Britain.

Fine Gael grew out

of the Blueshirts. One of its leaders, John A Costello, said: "The Blackshirts were victorious in Italy, the Brownshirts were victorious in Ger-

many as assuredly the Blueshirts will be victorious in Ireland."

But today the big farmers are swinging behind Fianna Fail.

Farm income has jumped by 37% in the last two years. Inheritance tax on the big farms has been cut.

## Transfers

The big farmers are also due to get big transfers of European Union funds over the next six years.

Fine Gael also do not know how to handle the changes that are happening in Irish life.

Bruton himself wants to emphasise 'family values' but others like Alan Shatter reckon that they need to present a more liberal face.

When the Dail debated the issue of legalising homosexuality, the Shatter wing 'talked out' the opposition of the conservative wing of Fine Gael. The crisis in Fine Gael has been one factor which has helped FF to stay high in the opinion polls.

With an opposition like that, even Albert Reynolds can start to shine.

**'THIS FILM IS SO ACCURATE THAT YOU**

# Schindler's List

## how the Nazis killed 6 million



BRITISH soldiers remove bodies from Belsen concentration camp

### CAPITALISM PRODUCED THE HOLOCAUST

THE NAZI murder of six million Jews stands out as a crime without parallel.

In Auschwitz, the biggest of the death camps, murder was organised like a factory assembly line—with a huge bureaucracy to run it.

How could it have happened? Some try to explain the Holocaust by saying it was caused by something in the German "nature".

Others see it as an explosion of ancient prejudices, with the Nazis as successors to the European rulers who led pogroms against the Jews in the Middle Ages.

But the Holocaust was not simply a hangover from the past.

It was the product of the most modern form of social organisation—capitalism.

The Nazis were able to carry out such horrors because they gained control of Germany—the strongest industrial and military power in Europe—in a situation of deep crisis that tore capitalist Europe apart in the 1930s.

Hitler may have been a madman. But the heads of German big business, the army and the civil service turned to him.

They believed they could save their profits and power only if the working class was totally smashed, and Hitler led a movement that could do it for them.

He mobilised millions of middle class victims of the crisis.

These people—clerks, professionals, small shopkeepers, farmers—felt their lives were being ruined by the pressure from big business, especially the banks. But they also feared the workers.

Hitler blamed their plight on the Jews.

He claimed it was not German bosses but "Jewish finance capital" that was to blame for inflation and mass unemployment. He claimed "Jewish Marxists" ran the unions



"MURDER WAS organised like a factory"—shoes of the dead at Auschwitz

and the workers' parties.

Putting the Nazis in power and "cleansing" Germany of "Jewish influence" would put everything right.

Some sections of German big business believed the nonsense about a "Jewish conspiracy". Others did not.

But they were all prepared to hand the government to Hitler in January 1933 because his racist movement, with its 400,000 storm troopers and its millions of votes, could smash the trade unions and every other working class organisation.

Not a single union branch or shop stewards committee survived. Tens of thousands of socialists and trade unionists were rounded up. Many died.

In fact, Hitler did little for the middle class people who had voted for him.

The economy remained in the hands of the old ruling class—even if Nazi leaders were able to grab con-

trol of some industries for themselves. Big businesses continued to eat up small businesses.

There was soon disillusion and revolt among some of Hitler's street fighters. He quelled it by murdering their leader, Roehm, during the "Night of the Long Knives" in 1934.

But if Hitler could not keep all his followers happy, he could divert their frustrations by repeated attacks on Jews.

These grew ever more vicious, leading to the terrible "Crystal Night", in November 1938, when Nazi mobs ransacked Jewish homes and shops across Germany.

The Nazis knew only one answer to the crisis of German capitalism.

They required an empire to provide industrialists with raw materials and markets, and that meant war.

But war threatened immense suffering and Hitler needed scapegoats

more than ever. So in January 1939 he insisted war would be the fault of "international financial Jewry" and promised "the annihilation of the Jewish race in Europe".

German military expansion allowed the Nazis to carry out this threat.

First SS murder squads were deployed to massacre the Jewish population when the German army invaded the USSR in June 1941.

Then full scale extermination camps were established in conquered Poland.

Every day special trains brought thousands of people in cattle trucks from as far away as Paris and Amsterdam, Budapest and Odessa, as well as from Warsaw, Lodz and Cracow—all to be gassed and their bodies burnt.

The Nazis' aim was now to kill every single person of Jewish descent in Europe—together with Gypsies, homosexuals, the mentally handicapped and other people said to be "subhuman".

The "Final Solution" followed from the very character of Nazism.

Hitler had mobilised some of the victims of capitalist crisis, promising them a new society based on German "national solidarity".

But in reality he worked hand in glove with big business and left the existing structures intact.

All he could offer his followers was the chance to vent their hatred and to grab some of the spoils.

The dreams of the Nazi fanatics focused on murdering those made into scapegoats for capitalist crisis.

German big business happily went along with this, profiting from slave labour and the seizure of most of Europe. It was only military defeat that made the bosses embrace democracy once more after 1945.

The extermination of the Jews came about because in a crisis capitalism is prepared to turn to the most barbaric forces in order to save itself.

SCHINDLER'S LIST captures the Nazi murder of six million Jews in film.

It shows something we must never let it also shows the Holocaust was resisted.

We witness the Nazi "liquidation" of the ghetto in Poland in March 1943.

In scenes of unforgettable terror we stormtroopers rounded up tens of thousands of labour and then stalked and killed those who

We see the brutality of the "selection" process in which the Nazis chose healthy workers and sent the rest—including children—to their death in the Auschwitz concentration camp.

We see women prisoners at Auschwitz forced into showers, unsure whether they will be gassed, and how SS commanders routinely shot people trying to escape.

Holocaust survivors say everyone should see Schindler's List.

They describe how it is like being transported back in time, how it brings to life the most painful memories.

If anything, the film understates the Nazi brutality, but only because the horror was almost unimaginable.

To survive a day with any degree of humanity was a rebellion in itself.

The film shows too how big business profited from Nazi rule.

It tells the true story of Oskar Schindler, a German businessman, who went to Cracow to make his fortune two weeks after the Nazi invasion of Poland in 1939.

He lived in a house stolen from a Jewish family as the Nazis herded Jews into ghettos before taking them to the concentration camps.

We see Schindler wear a gold plated swastika and treat the local Nazi SS officers to expensive dinners and drinks in exchange for favours.

We see him revel in his success and remark that there was always something missing from his previ-

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Poldek rescued by

# 'CRY' ■ Holocaust survivor



"TO SURVIVE a day with any humanity was a rebellion"

**'Smash the bastards'**

\*SEE *Schindler's List* because it keeps alive the memory of those who perished.

But see it also because it exposes the lies of the new Nazis who try to deny the Holocaust in order to make their barbarism respectable today\*

■ LEE, New York

\*THE FILM stays with you. You cannot forget what you see. You feel upset and angry. People were crying in the cinema.

The point where the cattle trucks pull into Auschwitz, with the chimney pouring out fire and ash, is terrible.

Nobody should think this isn't to do with them. Whether you are Asian, black or white, it doesn't matter. This film will make you angry.

It made me want to smash the bastards.

Everybody has to see this film, and everyone who sees it has to join the ANL. We don't have to put up with the Nazi scum a minute longer.\*

■ HASSAN, London

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Pfefferberg, one of those  
y Schindler, says of the

film, "It is so accurately put together that you cry."

Some critics argue the director, Stephen Spielberg, should have focused more on the Jewish prisoners than on Schindler.

Yet the film is so effective precisely because we see and identify with many Jewish characters without getting to know them.

*Schindler's List* leaves you with a feeling of unbearable loss.

But it also leaves you with a determination to stop Nazi mass murder from ever happening again.

**Today's Nazis want a repeat**

THE film *Schindler's List* appears at a crucial time. It reminds us of the horrors of the Nazis just as Nazi organisations are growing again across Europe.

Two Nazis were jailed in Germany last month for burning a Jewish man to death while shouting, "Remember the Holocaust".

In Britain BNP councillor Beackon says of the Holo-

caust: "I don't think anyone was exterminated," but adds, "So what, lots of others died."

His would-be fuhrer, BNP leader John Tyndall, says "Hitler showed the way to a proper, fair and final solution to the Jewish question".

Across Europe the new Nazis are feeding off the bitterness produced by a capitalist system in deep crisis.

In Russia the fascist Liberal Democrat Party led by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy is now the country's largest political party with 24 percent support.

Local elections in Italy saw the fascist MSI poll forty percent in a number of major cities.

In France, Le Pen's National Front has about fourteen percent support nationally.

In Germany a number of Nazi organisations share about ten percent support between them.

These figures are horrifying when you consider Hitler's rise to power in Germany.

In May 1928 his Nazi party won 2.6 percent of the vote in the national elections. At the elections in September 1930 this rose to 18.3 percent.

Two and a half years later Hitler was in power.

Today's Nazis stand for mass murder and a repeat of Hitler's Holocaust. That is why they must be stopped.

## Join the Anti Nazi League

**March against racism and fascism in Europe**

**Saturday 12th March, Assemble 2.00pm, Parnell Square, Dublin**

**Speakers include: Franzel Frisson (Holocaust survivor); Joe Costello (TD); Des Geraghty (MEP); Senator David Norris; Brid Smith (ANL)**

**For details of buses from around the country contact: Anti Nazi League, PO Box 4007, Dublin 1 & PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB**

Join the ANL and get your college/Trade Union branch/school/Organization to affiliate to the ANL.

Join the March in Dublin on March 12th and bring your friends.

Organize a delegation from college/workplace/school/locality to join the march.

Take up a petition protesting at the use of EC money to fund the Nazi group of MEPs in the European Parliament.

Send a donation to the ANL or organise a fundraising event in your workplace/ college/ area.

To contact the ANL write to PO Box 4007, Dublin 1.

- ANL Sponsors include:** Brendan Archbold(Union Official IDATU); Paddy Armstrong (Guildford Four); Asher Benson(Jewish Chronicle); Barbara Bergin(Actress); Dr Bhamjee(TD,Lab); Christabel Bielenberg(Author); Bono(Singer); Declan Bree(TD,Lab); Prof Farrell Corcoran(DCU); Joe Costello(TD,Lab); Ciaran Cuffe(Councillor,Green Party); Gerald Davis(Artist); Dragonfly(Musicians); The Frames(Musicians); Franz el Frisson(Holocaust Survivor); Des Geraghty(MEP, Dem Left); Garry Hynes(Theatre director); Dr Declan Kiberd(UCD); Gavin Kostick(Playwright); Liri(Musicians); Eamonn Mc Cann(Journalist & Author); Tomas Mac Giolla(Lord Mayor Dublin); Christy Moore(Singer); John Mulvihill(TD,Lab); Mick O'Reilly(Union Official ATGWU); Fintan O'Toole(Journalist); Dr Helge Robinson(TCD); Gerry Ryan(Broadcaster); Twink(Entertainer); Shrine(Musicians); Amelia Stein(Photographer); Eamonn Walsh(TD & Councillor, Lab).

# TWO YEARS AFTER THE X CASE:

## What's happening to women's rights?

THE eighties saw a whole series of attacks on women's rights.

In 1983 SPUC forced an anti-abortion referendum on the government although abortion was already illegal here.

The amendment strengthened this law and equated a woman's life with that of a foetus. This victory gave the right wing the confidence to go on a rampage against women's rights.

- Phone numbers of centres giving information on abortion were banned.
- Women's health books were taken off library shelves.

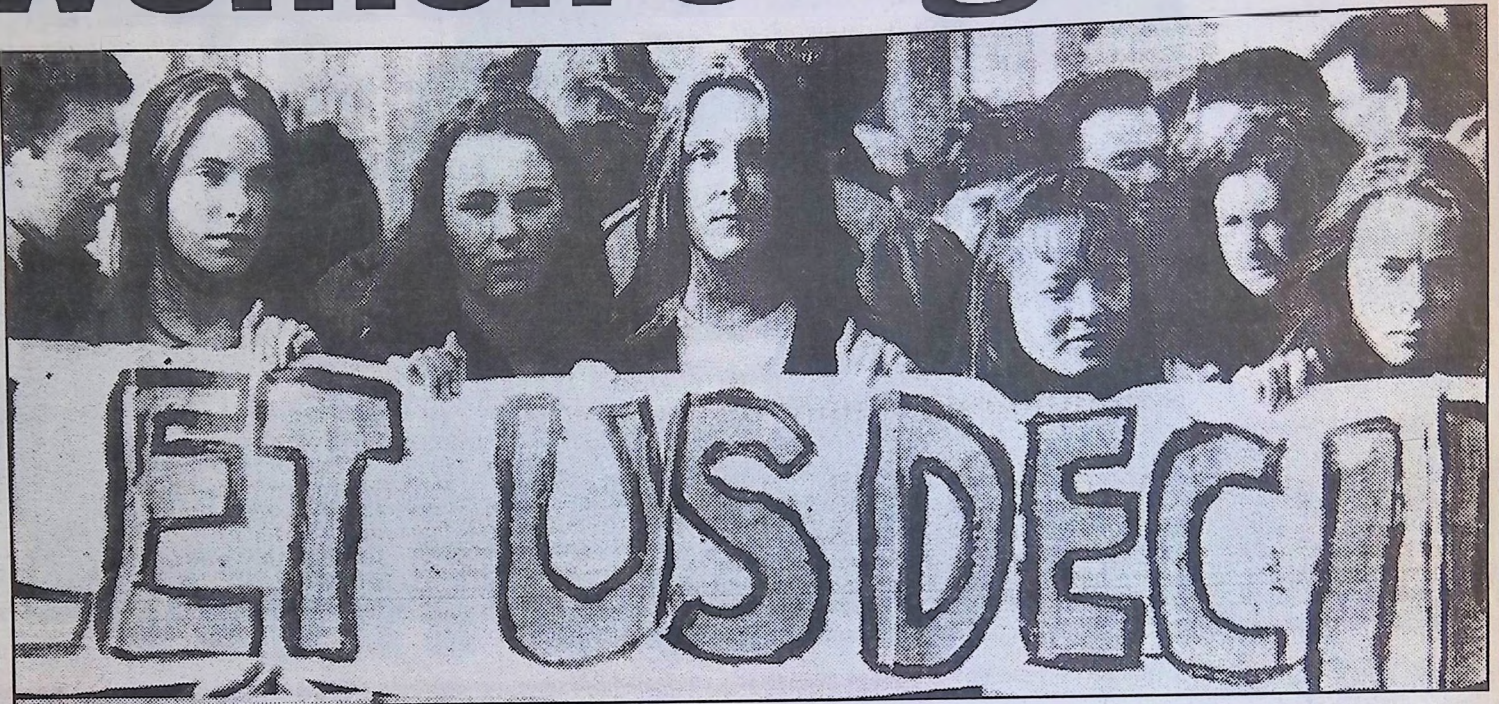
- Eileen Flynn was sacked from her job as a teacher because she was pregnant and unmarried.

- The 1987 divorce referendum was defeated by 2 to 1 because of lies put out by Family Solidarity.

There seemed to be no end to the roll-back on women's rights and no effective challenge to the bigots.

This created a climate of repression where people were afraid to talk openly of abortion, pregnancy or even sex.

This atmosphere was shown at its most tragic



with the death of Ann Lovett, a 15-year-old schoolgirl in Granard, who died giving birth outdoors.

### Response

The 14-year-old girl in the X case two years ago elicited a very different public response.

Tens of thousands of people took to the streets demanding that she be allowed to travel to Britain for an abortion.

Throughout that week there were pickets, demonstrations and marches almost daily. The high point was a huge march of fourteen thousand people through the streets of Dublin.

In one school in Dublin, two hundred girls defied their principal and walked out on a demonstration with their banner "Let Us Decide".

This explosion of anger on to the streets forced the highest court in the

state to back down and allow the girl to go to Britain.

### Reversed

The X case marked a watershed for Irish women. It reversed the reactionary tide of the 1980s.

The reverberations can still be felt today.

- Four months after the X case Dublin saw its first Gay Pride march in

seven years.

- Homosexuality was legalised last year.

- Condoms were finally made more widely available through vending machines.

As well as these concrete gains, the change was also shown in the public reaction to the way rape victim Lavinia Kerwick was so dismissively treated by the courts, and also in the

outrage at the treatment of the women used as slave labour in the Magdalen laundries years earlier.

### Aftermath

These changes in the aftermath of the X case didn't happen in isolation, but occurred against a backdrop of very real changes in women's lives in Ireland.

Women no longer see themselves only as wives

and mothers.

- Although the family is supposedly sacrosanct, Ireland has the lowest rate of marriage in the EU.

- The proportion of births outside marriage has jumped.

One in five babies are now born to unmarried women. Women who become pregnant no longer feel obliged to marry to escape the "scandal".

- Women are having fewer children. Fertility rates have decreased by one third in the past ten years.

- A recent study by the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace found that 68 percent of Irish Catholic women feel anger at the way women are treated by the Catholic Church.

Only eleven percent were satisfied with the way the church portrays women.

This change in attitudes is linked to the fact that more and more Irish women are going out to work.

Women now make up 32 percent of the work force. In the past twenty years the number of women at work increased by 36.8 percent, while in the same period the number of men at work decreased by 3.4 percent.

These fundamental changes in women's lives has changed their expectations about themselves and what they expect from life.

## CHANGE COMES FROM THE STREETS — NOT THE DAIL

THE last election was greeted as a great breakthrough for women's rights, with more women being elected to the Dail than ever before.

But the women TDs have not delivered much for women's rights.

Niamh Breathnach, the Minister for Education, has been trying to get more women on to the boards of RTE and VECs.

So far she has failed.

But even if she were successful it wouldn't tackle the real problems with the education system for working class women.

The Catholic Church is still in control of the schools and most young working class women and men are denied access to third level colleges.

### Derisory

Joan Burton, the Junior Minister for Social Welfare, has given unemployed women a derisory increase of £1.67 in their weekly dole.

She has also tried to fax widows' pensions.

All of the women TDs

in Leinster House haven't been enough to confront the bigots and introduce the promised abortion legislation.

Their cowardice has given groups like SPUC an opening to regain confidence to attack the student unions over distributing abortion information.

The reality is that anti-sexism cannot be legislated into existence or imposed from above.

The march of fourteen thousand people two years ago has done more for women's rights than two years of women TDs.

Similarly, liberalisation does not occur in an au-

tomatic, gradual way.

Already the hope that divorce will be introduced before the end of this year has taken a blow with the defeat of the innocuous Matrimonial Homes Bill.

Labour Party TD Michael Bell has taken a leaf out of the Tories' "Back to Basics" campaign.

He is insisting that a single mother must declare the father of her child before she will be housed.

While this shows that the right wing are still waffling in the wings, they have not been able to mount a backlash against women's rights.

The right wing are still nursing a bloody nose. But it is imperative that they never claw back the gains made in the aftermath of the X case.

Those gains must be built on by fighting in all the struggles of working class women.

### Action

Socialists draw the link between the demonstrations over the X case and the subsequent strikes in the banks and health boards, when mainly women workers took action for the first time to defend their basic working conditions.

In these situations women experience the strength of their collective power, fighting alongside their workmates against exploitation.

The starting point for a struggle against women's oppression is the point where ordinary women are at their strongest.

Such struggles do more to break down sexism and combat women's oppression than any attempts at tokenistic "gender balancing" by Niamh Breathnach or Mervyn Taylor.

The X case proved that it is action from below which brings real gains for women.



# What's On

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

<p><b>Athlone</b> Meets every Tuesday. For details of time and venue write to the SWM national address.</p> <p><b>Dublin North Central</b> Meets every Wednesday 8pm Conway's Pub Parnell St</p> <p>Tuesday 8th: <b>Public Meeting, 8.00pm Kinlay House, Lord Edward St:</b> The fight for women's rights</p> <p>Wednesday 16th: Workers' struggles in Europe</p> <p>Wednesday 23th: South Africa: Can the ANC bring peace</p> <p>Wednesday 30th: Abortion: A Woman's right to choose</p> <p><b>Dublin Northside</b> Meets every Tuesday 8pm The Old Brogue, Dorset St</p> <p>Tuesday 8th: Stop THORP: How do we save the Environment?</p> <p>Tuesday 15th: Two years after the X case: Have women's rights changed?</p> <p>Tuesday 22nd: Can the working class change the world?</p>	<p>Tuesday 29th: How do we solve unemployment?</p> <p><b>Dublin South Central</b> Meets every Thursday 8pm Trinity Inn Pearse St</p> <p>Thursday 10th: What did Trotsky stand for?</p> <p>Wednesday 16th: The roots of racism</p> <p>Thursday 24th: Abortion: a woman's right to choose</p> <p><b>Dublin Southside</b> Meets every Wednesday 8pm The Junction Pub in Camden St</p> <p>Wednesday 9th: Can the United Nations bring peace?</p> <p>Wednesday 16th: The roots of racism</p> <p>Wednesday 23th: Abortion: A woman's right to choose</p> <p>Wednesday 30th: South Africa: the politics of the ANC</p>	<p><b>Tallaght/Clonsilla</b> Meets every Wednesday 8pm Tallaght Welfare Society next to Foxes Covert in Tallaght village</p> <p>Wednesday 9th: The fight against fascism</p> <p>Wednesday 16th: Abortion: a woman's right to choose</p> <p>Wednesday 23th: The fight against unemployment</p> <p>Wednesday 30th: South Africa: Will the elections bring real change?</p> <p><b>Maynooth</b> Meets every Wednesday 1pm Maynooth College. Tutorial Room 4</p> <p>Wednesday 9th: Spain 1936: When workers took power</p> <p>Wednesday 16th: Maynooth College: Education institution or factory?</p> <p>Wednesday 23th: Where does racism come from?</p>	<p>Wednesday 30th: Can socialism end unemployment?</p> <p><b>Waterford</b> Meets every Thursday 8pm ATGWU Hall, Keyser St</p> <p>Thursday 10th: The fight against fascism</p> <p>Thursday 17th: Abortion: a woman's right to choose</p> <p>Thursday 24th: The fight against unemployment</p> <p>Thursday 31st: South Africa: Will the elections bring real change?</p> <p><b>Belfast</b> Meets every Tuesday 8pm See SW sellers for details or contact national office</p> <p>Tuesday 8th: Can students change society?</p> <p>Tuesday 15th: Fascism is a danger once again</p> <p>Tuesday 22nd: Can there be peace in the Middle East?</p> <p>Tuesday 29th: What do socialists say about crime?</p> <p><b>Derry</b> Meets every Tuesday 8pm Badgers Pub Orchard St</p> <p>Tuesday 8th: Why the Child</p>	<p>Support Agency should be scrapped</p> <p>Tuesday 15th: Fascism: is it a threat again?</p> <p>Tuesday 22nd: South Africa: What will the elections change?</p> <p>Tuesday 29th: Drugs: Cracking up or cracking down?</p> <p><b>Cork</b> Meets every Thursday 8pm Anchor Inn, Georges Quay</p> <p>Thursday 10th: The fight against racism</p> <p>Thursday 17th: Socialism and religion</p> <p>Thursday 24th: Why does the church control the schools?</p> <p>Thursday 3rd March: How Franco came to power in Spain?</p> <p><b>Dundalk</b> Meets every Wednesday 8pm McConville's Pub</p> <p>Wednesday 9th: Why the Labour Party fails</p> <p>Wednesday 16th: The North: Why the Declaration fails</p> <p>Wednesday 23th: Will the trade unions fight?</p>
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To contact the SWM in Bray, Coleraine, Cookstown, Drogheda, Galway, 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.

# People before profits



1,500 people took part in an angry protest in Dublin to demand that the Thorp plant be shut. In a small follow up demonstration in Cork, 80 people braved lashing rain to register their anger. The protests followed startling revelations in the *Evening Herald* which reported on a new piece of research which showed a clear link between Sellafield and birth defects in the Dundalk area. The research which was carried out by Dr Patricia Sheehan. She studied 319 girls who had attended the St Vincent's Secondary School in the 1950s. It showed that five of them gave birth to Down's Syndrome babies and 33 more babies were born with serious handicaps. Five mothers had stillbirths and seven babies died within six weeks of being born. At the time the girls attended the school a cloud of radioactive gas had been released from

Sellafield. The British government kept the leak secret until several years after. At Dublin protest, Conor Kostick from the Socialist Workers Movement attacked Albert Reynolds for having put his name to an EC document that gave funding to THORP. John Bowler, from Greenpeace called on the Irish government to take legal action to get THORP closed. Joe Carolan, an unemployed member of the Socialist Workers Movement from Dundalk pointed to the results of the Sheehan research and condemned the system that put profit before people. At the time of going to press, the British courts are deciding whether or not THORP can go ahead. If they give permission there needs to be more protests outside the British embassy. Major and the British Tories have to be told that they are not going to be let build another Chernobyl which is a threat to the lives of Irish and British people.

## Build the Socialist Workers Movement

The SWM was the main organisation that helped to organise the anti-THORP march. Its members had been gathering petitions on the streets in the weeks running up to the march. Hundreds of copies of *Socialist Worker* with its headline THORP TIME BOMB were sold. On the demonstration itself 140 copies were sold. After the march several people immediately joined the SWM. One new member said, "I was impressed. This organisation is not just about talk. It gets out there in the streets and starts organising. This country is full of people who really want to change. It's not just about THORP. We have to fight to rid this country of unemployment." The SWM is now engaged in a major recruitment campaign. Over a hundred people turned up to hear Yunus Baksh, a British socialist speak in Dublin on "Why you should be a socialist". Several people joined during his speaking tour around the countries. Two new branches of the SWM have been established in Dundalk and Maynooth. If you want to get active and start organising to bring some real changes in this country, then fill in the coupon on this page and join the SWM.

## 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 \_\_\_\_\_

**Book:**

**CONOR KOSTICK** reviews a new biography of Leon Trotsky



## Trotsky's fight against Stalin

IN many ways the world we live in today is similar to that of the 30's. Fascist movements have returned to Europe in the midst of the longest recession since WW2.

The crisis is not as deep as the 1930s—but there is much to be learnt from Trotsky's writing about this period. Most important of all is Trotsky's opposition to the rule of Stalin in Russia.

Today many right wing writers claim that the 1917 revolution led directly to the dictatorship of Stalin. This view implies that all revolutions must end in tyranny.

Trotsky was one of the main architects of the 1917 revolution. He knew that its aim was to bring about the democratic rule of the working class.

He argued that Stalinism did not arise from some "original sin" in the Bolshevik party. It grew out of the particular conditions that the revolution found itself in.

Trotsky's view was that the workers of Russia had suffered terribly as a result of civil war, economic blockade and ultimately the failure to spread the revolution to countries like Germany.

As a result new forces emerged in the Communist Party, reflecting the interests of different classes.

A right wing associated with Bukharin, argued for a policy of enriching the wealthier peasants.

### Strengthen

Trotsky believed that they would eventually lead a revolt that would restore capitalism.

Around Trotsky there grew a Left Opposition which gathered ten thousand supporters. In October 1927 100,000 people demonstrated in favour of the Left Opposition in Moscow.

The Left Opposition policies stood for increased democracy; building up industry to strengthen the working class; and spreading the revolution internationally.

A Centre group emerged around Stalin which reflected the interests of the growing party bureaucracy.

Trotsky believed that this group would vacillate between the left and the right.

After 1928 however this began to change.

The Left Opposition went into crisis as Stalin began to take more and more control.

The crisis was caused partially by the huge levels of repression that Stalin began. Yet the Russian revolutionaries had organised against worse repression under the Tsar.

The collapse of the Left Opposition was also accelerated by their faulty analysis. Stalin had started to act in a way that was very different to how Trotsky had predicted.

At the time Trotsky had no precedent for what was happening in Russia.

His experience of a bureaucracy was that of the Trade Unions and Social Democratic parties. He believed that Stalin's apparatus was like these organisations.

He thought the Stalinist bureaucracy would hesitantly support workers and then sell out in the end to the right wing.

In fact with the benefit of hindsight we can see that by brute force, Stalin's bureaucracy forced itself into power against both left and right. It had become a state capitalist class and executioner of the revolution.

Because Trotsky's supporters saw Stalin attacking the rich peasantry and building up industry they were confused as to where the main enemy lay, and capitulated to him.

Trotsky himself refused to give up on the goal of international socialism. He wrote passionately in favour of a new revolution against Stalin in his last completed book "The Revolution Betrayed".

For this he was hounded, exiled and assassinated by Stalin. He witnessed the murder of his friends and relatives and massive defeats for workers in Spain and Germany. Nevertheless, a short time before his death he wrote that his faith in socialism was "not less ardent, indeed it is firmer today than it was in the days of my youth."

This biography arms you with an understanding of how to stop fascism, and the nature of Stalin's Russia. It also gives you the inspiration of reading about the life of one of history's most unbreakable revolutionaries.

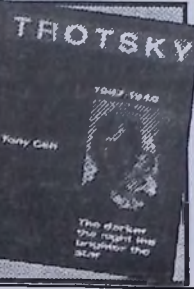
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**Film:**

# Upper class love triangle

**THE Age of Innocence** marks a departure for Martin Scorsese from pre-occupations with modern American street life to the world of Merchant Ivory.

The film is set in nineteenth century New York, adapted from Edith Wharton's prize winning novel of the same name.

It takes place among wealthy, mannered upper class New Yorkers.

It exposes the confines and boundaries of this elitist society in the 1870s.

The society pretends to be concerned with order and propriety - but this is a mask for malice and pleasure in other's scandal.

The film centre on the frustrations of a love triangle amongst Newland Striker, May, his fiancée and then wife, and May's cousin, Countess Olenska.

Newland is content and set to marry May, but after encountering the Countess his world is shattered.

### Passions

She triggers off passions in him which he must deny because of his commitment to May.

Through Countess Olenska we can see the torture that this society can cause as she struggles to understand its quirks when her own views are more liberated.

The society won't tolerate people rebelling from their code and if someone is on the edge of a rebellion they are snubbed, ignored and scandalised.

The scenes are spectacular particularly at the dining scenes

**'Age of Innocence' reviewed by Christine Jones**

where thirteen course meals are standard in this society.

But this authenticity in detail might be expected from a film whose budget was an estimated \$30 million.

The film becomes a little laboured at times.

You are made feel how specific the conventions were then and the restrictions start to appear ridiculous and farcical.

Scorsese fans may be startled by this jump in subject matter.

But the *Age of Innocence* is not so different from *Taxi Driver* or *Good Fellas*.

These earlier films looked at the deep rooted corruption of society whether in the Mafia or the streets of Manhattan.

But that corruption reaches to the very heights of society.



Edith Wharton on whose book Martin Scorsese's film is based

**Book:**

# Inequality in Class

**THIS book is a good read about what is happening in Irish schools.**

Written by two Irish sociologists, Sheelagh Drudy and Kathleen Lynch, it examines in some detail the class inequalities in education.

It also provides a detailed analysis of the different approaches to education.

The authors highlight the three main ideological standpoints evident in both government reports and the work of Irish educationalists.

Firstly, class, gender or other differences are not considered to be important factors in determining the shape and direction of the education system.

But this is absurd. 90% of the children of the professional middle class get their Leaving Cert but only 37% of the children of semi-skilled and manual workers do.

Last year the Provost of Trinity College admitted that only three of its students came from unskilled manual working class backgrounds.

Secondly, success or failure at school is explained in terms of individual attributes.

The dominant view is that intelligence is fixed and measurable. IQ tests are preferred and used as a basis for selection.

Cyril Burt, who faked his experiment to prove that intelligence was based on hereditary, is still regarded as a respectable authority by many in the Irish education establishment.

Finally, it is believed that those with measured talent should be rewarded highly.

### Lose Out

Drudy and Lynch believe that these views of Irish education establishment reflect and reinforce their own class position as members of the intelligentsia.

The fact that Lynch and Drudy question them is to be welcomed.

Their book examines for the first time in a serious way how working class people lose out.

School textbooks, for example, almost always reflect a mid-

dle class life style.

The father is dressed in a suit and tie and drives off to work with a briefcase.

Lynch and Drudy quote one study which shows that 87% of working class mothers believed that working class life styles were never reflected in education.

### Reward

Lynch and Drudy's criticism of the use of intelligence testing is particularly good.

These tests measure a very narrow view of intelligence.

Many of the tests in Ireland are based on the Drumcondra Verbal Reasoning Test.

These reward people who are conventionally thought to have a good vocabulary.

Not surprisingly, working class pupils tend to score lower on these tests than middle class pupils.

As Drudy and Lynch quote: "IQ tests have served as an instrument of oppression against

the poor - dressed in the trappings of science rather than politics" (I. Reid).

Poverty is singled out as the key factor for understanding inequality in education.

The authors however avoid outlining in any detail their own approach to education.

It needs to be emphasised that education is shaped according to the needs of capitalism.

Education is primarily an instrument of social control.

It instills in children the idea that class society is the natural order of things.

While education remains part of the capitalist system - and subject to its needs - it can always be used against the working class.

Only under socialism will education truly become an instrument for the liberation of the human personality.

■ **"SCHOOLS AND IRISH SOCIETY"** by Sheelagh Drudy and Kathleen Lynch, Gill & MacMillan.

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

## INDUSTRIAL NEWS

# Vote No to pay con deal

THE ICTU has come up with a new national pay deal after having walked out of negotiations with the Coalition just before Christmas.

The deal they have got is the worst that has ever been produced in the last six years.

It includes a five month pay freeze for workers in the public sector and a six month freeze for construction workers.

On a basic wage of £175, workers will only get an increase of £3.50 in the first year.

That is before tax.

That is not going to spring many workers from the poverty trap.

The Programme for Competitiveness and Work will mean a cut in real wages. Inflation in 1993 was exceptionally low.

But inflation is not going to stay at 2% for the next three years.

The PCW does not offer any increases above 2% for any year.

No wonder the business correspondent of the *Sunday Tribune* wrote that the government had got a deal "relatively cheaply".

The ICTU and the government have claimed that the deal will help tackle the unemployment crisis.

This is pure hypocrisy. The Coalition have already cut hundreds of jobs at Aer Lingus and plan to cut 2,000 at Telecom.

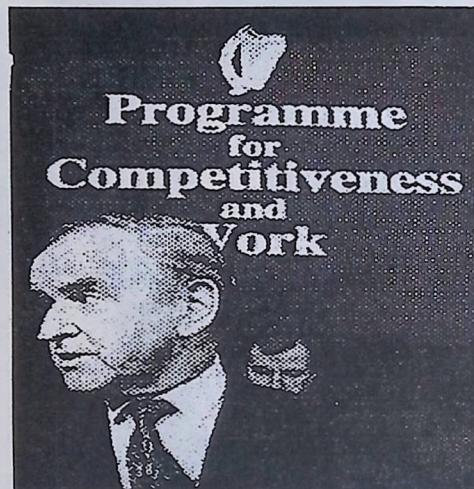
### Dead End

They only offer places on dead end training schemes.

Instead of jobs, they are drawing up new plans to introduce workfare to force thousands of the unemployed to work for cheap labour.

The new programme has also got an "inability to pay" clause.

The employers can



plead poverty because of the recession to get out of paying even the miserly increases.

During the last programme 50% of SIPTU members never got the last 3% increase under the local bargaining clause.

Even before this agreement is signed, one section of the bosses is threatening not to pay up.

The Irish Medium and Small Enterprises Association have publicly stated that they will not honour any of the pay terms.

### Attack

Nor is anything going to be done to halt the attack on workers joining unions.

## HOW THE DIRTY DEAL WAS DONE

"THE fastest way to cause an industrial revolution would be to take workers who pay tax and dues to Government buildings during the negotiation of a national agreement," writes Jackie Gallagher, the industrial correspondent of the *Irish Times*.

Gallagher was an inside witness on how the dirty deal was done.

20 officials from ICTU unions turned up every day for negotiations. It cost their unions £1,000 for every official who was present.

### Quizzes

Most of them, "spent their time playing cards, having quizzes and on one occa-

sion having a sing song".

Wine was served regularly with meals. Every evening the bureaucrats enjoyed a steak sandwich.

The total cost of this charade amounted to £250,000 according to Gallagher.

Next time you hear them tell us about sacrifices for the good of the country, ask them about the steak sandwiches...

After the defeat of SIPTU at Pat the Baker the union leaders tried to establish an automatic right to join a union.

They were told to get lost. They accepted.

This deal is based on the idea that Irish workers and bosses share a common interest in com-

peting against workers in other countries.

### Benefit

But every German worker and French worker is also being told that they must be "competitive" or lose their jobs.

It is a con from which only the bosses benefit.

Bosses like Tony O'Reilly who earns the modest sum of £70,000 a day.

Or Larry Goodman who got away with only paying 1% of his tax bill. Irish workers have nothing in common with these sharks.

That is why we should VOTE NO to this con deal.

## NOLANS TRANSPORT, NEW ROSS:

# A year on strike

SIX workers have been on strike at Nolan's Transport in New Ross, Co Wexford, for over a year.

They are fighting for their right to join a union.

For the past year the strikers have had to live on the weekly strike pay of £36 plus some other donations from the solidarity fund.

The pay at Nolan's Transport is terrible. The workers joined the union to improve on the basic pay of £2 to £2.50 an hour for an average of fifteen hours a day.

The strikers have been attacked. Recently a mound of mud and stones was dumped on the lay-by where their caravan is parked.

But they are determined to fight on. One of the strikers, Chris Halligan, said, "We're here to stay. We can't



walk away from it now."

The tragedy is that the strikers' courage is not matched by the SIPTU leadership. They have refused to impose blacking of Nolan's. They do not even organise mass pickets on Nolan's.

The SIPTU Regional Officer Tony Ayton claimed that "because of the Industrial Relations Act the day of the mass picket is over".

But it is time for SIPTU to defy this terrible law that they originally supported in

order to get a centralised pay deal with the government.

If SIPTU launched an all-out campaign of blacking and mass pickets, Nolan Transport would be quickly brought to its knees.

■ **FIREFIGHTERS in Wexford have voted for strike action.**

The County Council tried to cut back on stand-by payments.

But the firefighters have said that they will not stand for any cut in their wages.

## DCU workers vote to defend contract staff

WORKERS at Dublin City University voted overwhelmingly to take strike action against the treatment of contract staff recently.

Two contract workers were let go after working for over two years at the college. One of the workers had been put on nine different contracts. The management claimed that they were not "suitably qualified" for permanent jobs.

Cuts in funding to colleges has meant a greater use of contract staff. In the DCU library half of the staff of 41 are on temporary contracts.

In some departments temporary staff carry out the bulk of the teaching on lower pay and longer teaching hours.

After the strike vote, management backed down and offered compensation. The issue is by no means over but a new wave of confidence has returned to the union.

## LARNE PROTESTS AT HOSPITAL CLOSURE

The people of Larne are outraged at the Tory plans to close down the Emergency Department of the Moyle Hospital.

It means that people will have to travel 20 miles to Antrim for treatment.

The Northern Ireland Health Board says that it cannot afford to keep the hospital open. But last year it had an unspent surplus of £18 million.

The anger against the closure is being led by the

Moyle Hospital Nurses Action Group. This is a rank and file group based at the hospital.

Last month they organised a very successful Day of Action which brought Larne to a standstill. A thousand people turned up to march and every shop in the town closed. Teach-

ers and pupils marched from the schools to join the lunch time protest.

Farmers blockaded the town with tractors which carried union placards. Workers at the nearby Ballylumford Power station took time off to join the protest.

One nurse who spoke at the rally called for "people power to be used to stop the Tories dismantling the health service.

*Socialist Worker* spoke to one nurse who was involved in organising the action.

"We've had great support from the people of Larne who know what is at stake and are behind us all the way."

She also referred to the fact that Ian Paisley had spoke from the platform.

"I think it was a mistake. He is just interested in publicity. The DUP have been involving themselves in the campaign but we didn't need or want their help. If anything they are hurting the campaign by keeping people away who don't want to be associated with the DUP"

## Pickets on Waterford Docks

The bosses at Waterford docks are attempted to destroy the conditions of the dockers.

Waterford Multi-Ports - a subsidiary of Bell Ferry - made dockers redundant some time ago.

But now they are hiring workers from outside Waterford on a one ship, one contract basis. This has led to a complete cut in wages and manning levels. The new yellow pack workers are only getting 50% of the wage of the former dockers and manning levels have been cut from 32 to 16 on livestock ships.

Unofficial pickets have now been mounted by dockers who are in the ATGWU. The tragedy is that the union is doing nothing to get solidarity action from other dockers who are employed by Bell Ferry.

But if action is not taken now the rich businessmen with strong FF connections who dominate the harbour board will move on to destroy the conditions of all dockers.

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

## Britain's BNP Nazis did this

# SMASH FASCISM

This is the face of Muktar Ahmed.

He was set upon by a gang of 25 racists in Bethnal Green, east London in February.

He now lies critically ill in a hospital bed.

Muktar was just walking down the street when he was attacked from two directions.

The racists beat Muktar to the ground.

Then they kicked and beat him, concentrating on his head.

In their frenzy to kill him they fractured his skull in three places.

This attack took place in an area where the fascist BNP is trying to

build a base.

One of their members Derek Beackon won a council seat in the nearby Isle of Dogs.

Since his election, racist attacks have grown by 300%.

That is what fascism is all about. It wants to find scapegoats for all the ills of poverty, bad housing and unemployment.

### Terrorise

Its thugs hope to gain control of the streets to terrorise those who resist.

It hopes in the long term to get the backing of big business when it wants to crack down on the unions.

Everywhere that Nazis grow attacks like those on Muktar Ahmed happen.

In Germany, there have already been 1,400 racist attacks this year.

The previous year Nazi thugs launched an horrific attack on a Turkish hostel in Solingen and murdered five people.

In Russia, the fascist Zhirinovskoy got 25% of the vote. He has said:

*"When I am President, Russian soldiers will wash their boots in the Indian Ocean."*

Now immigrants are being driven out of Moscow.

In cinemas across Ireland, *Schindler's List* the film about the Holocaust, is on view. It shows the

type of barbarism that the fascists want to bring back to Europe.

But the fascists can be beaten this time.

Millions of people want to fight back against them.

They have taken to the streets to stop them organising.

The victory that stopped the fascist David Irving organising in this country last year shows just what can be done.

But we have to go much further. Fascism breeds from a capitalist system that is stuck in recession.

Those who want to fight back against racist and fascist ideas have to show where the real roots of poverty and unemployment lie.



### SACK THIS RACIST PROFESSOR



THIS is Professor Richard Lynn from Coleraine University. He claims that black people are less intelligent than whites.

He is a racist.

Lynn has received a £30,000 grant from the extreme right wing Pioneer Fund in America.

The research is to prove that black people have IQs fifteen points lower than that of whites.

Lynn has submitted several articles for a magazine, *Mankind Quarterly*, run by Roger Pearson, renowned for his previous far right activity. Nazi scientist Baron Otmar von Verschuler was a past editorial adviser to the magazine.

Now the Anti-Nazi League has launched a campaign in Coleraine to get Lynn sacked. Fifty Coleraine students have already joined the ANL.

Angry ANL campaigners picketed Professor Lynn's lecture in February and forced Lynn to abandon his class.

At a student union general meeting a motion was tabled demanding Lynn's immediate resignation or that he be sacked. The motion was postponed for further discussion once additional information has been amassed.

A spokesperson for the university told the *Belfast Telegraph* that "Professor Lynn's research is being conducted in a personal capacity and is not a registered research project of the university".

This is a pathetic response to the campaign that has been mounted against Lynn's racist research. Lynn is working at Coleraine and is using the facilities of the college to carry out his research. If the college wants to disassociate themselves from Lynn, they should SACK him.

At present petitions are piling up at Coleraine, Magee and Jordanstown and will be sent to the new chancellor, Rabbi Julia Neuberger.

Extensive research is being carried out on the Pioneer Fund and as we go to press the SWM is pushing the ANL to organise a protest rally on the Coleraine campus.

With the rise of fascism all over Europe, so-called research like Lynn's is unacceptable. Lynn should not be in a position to propagate his racist ideologies under the guise of "science".