

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

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South Africa: What will the election change?

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DON'T PAY THE SERVICE CHARGES

Robbing the poor to pay the rich

The millionaire Taoiseach

REMEMBER Albert Reynolds?
Ever since he became Taoiseach,
he booked in with his local travel
agent.

At Christmas, he had his holidays
in Mexico and the Bahamas. For
Easter, it had to be Cyprus.

But you can say one thing for
Albert: He knows how to stand up for
his class: the Irish rich.

Reynolds owns 90% of the pet
food company, C and D foods.

This makes him worth at least £2
million.

One of the main suppliers for the
pet food company was Larry
Goodman.

This is the same man who got away with paying only one per-
cent of his tax bills in the 1980s.

Albert also knows all about living in a big house. His house in
Longford would easily have qualified for the Residential Property
Tax.

This mansion comes complete with its own swimming pool.
And as if that was not enough, he has his own apartment in
Ballsbridge which also qualifies for the Residential Property Tax.

So when the rich came whinging, Albert was just so understand-
ing. And he knew that those mild mannered people in the Labour
Party would just lie down and let themselves be walked over.



REYNOLDS and Spring
have again bowed to the
demands of the Irish rich.

In their last budget they brought
in a small Residential Property Tax.
It was supposed to raise only £5
million.

But it drove the Irish rich mad.
The O'Reilly controlled papers
like the *Irish Independent* pre-
tended that people were about to
be evicted from their homes.

Gay Byrne ranted and raved on
his radio programme—without
telling anyone that he might lose
£500 because of the size of his
mansion in Howth.

And then the Coalition just caved
in.

They cut the tax on houses val-
ued at £150,000 by a quarter.

Imagine a low paid PAYE

worker getting away with kicking up
a fuss—and having their tax bills
cut by that amount.

Now the Coalition plan to hit
working class people instead.

This year they plan to raise £30
million from taxes on social wel-
fare.

Mansion

A worker who is out sick on a
disability scheme will now suffer
far more financial hardship than a
millionaire who lives in a mansion.

There is no talk of these tax bills
being cut by a quarter.

As if to add insult to injury, local
councils are starting to send out
their service charge bills in April.

In Waterford, workers have al-
ready received bills for £120 a
week.

There the council has started to
choose carrot and stick tactics.

The city manager has hired a
Dublin Debt collector to chase
outstanding payments.

But he is also offering a raffle
for tickets to the World Cup for
those who pay up!

The councils should be told to
stuff their charges.

The response of working class
people should be "can't pay—
won't pay".

A campaign of non-payment
could force the councils to climb
down—especially if it is backed
by workers organised in trade un-
ions.

The rich can have their taxes cut
just by kicking up a fuss—our
class needs militant action to force
the government to change its
mind.

Beef Tribunal consultant was...

Paid to invent excuses

JOHN Hogan is a private sector consultant who has been paid £258,000 for his work on the Beef Tribunal.

He was "urgently" appointed three weeks after

Double scandal

THE Beef Tribunal has produced a scandal within a scandal.

The Tribunal was set up to investigate allegations of illegal payments made to beef baron Larry Goodman.

The Tribunal has dragged on with millions of pounds in taxpayers' money being paid to barristers.

The recent row was about the role of Attorney General Harry Whelehan.

Whelehan was on the State's legal team before being appointed Attorney General.

Rescue

He was paid £50,000 before the Tribunal even began and then went off to his new job without taking part in the proceedings.

Meanwhile Larry Goodman is still being bailed out.

Goodman's bankers are still prepared to back the company despite its profits falling last year.

Profits were £10 million and not the £30 million forecast when the banks agreed a rescue package.

The double scandal shows the true nature of the main bosses' party Fianna Fail.

Yet it's Jim Mitchell of the ailing bosses' party Fine Gael who appears as the "knight in shining armour" at the moment.

The Labour Party won a huge vote over a year ago by opposing corruption.

Now they are silent on the Goodman affair leaving right-wingers like Mitchell to steal the glory.

Albert Reynolds became Taoiseach and his original term of 25 days was soon extended to 258 days.

Hogan was a Fianna Fail activist in Sligo and worked as a volunteer in the party's head office during the last General Election.

His was a blatant political appointment—the job was not put out to tender as required and Hogan did not need a Tax Clearance Certificate.

Make Up

His job is to make up excuses for Fianna Fail's behaviour in the

Goodman affair.

Reynolds had gambled £250 million of taxpayers' money in insuring Larry Goodman's beef exports to Iraq despite expert advice that Iraq could not pay the price.

Hogan was employed to

invent a reason for insuring the beef.

He claimed it would be "good for farmers" but Irish farmers got nothing out of it since the beef exported had been slaughtered four years earlier and they had already been paid for it.

ALBERT'S PAL

CARR Communications are supposed to represent all parties in the Beef Tribunal.

But Carr boss Donal Creedon is Albert Reynolds speech writer and the firm's contract with FF does not allow them to work for any other political party.

Du Pont: Defend jobs and the environment

EIGHTY more jobs are under threat at Du Pont's Maydown plant on the outskirts of Derry. Du Pont management says that the jobs must go in its Hypalon plant for environmental reasons.

But the closure of the plant does not necessarily mean job losses.

Unfortunately Greenpeace's statement welcoming the closure of the plant, without any mention of its effect on the workers or their families was most unhelpful.

It is vital to hold on to the jobs, not just to protect the workers' living standards, but to protect the environment from accidents resulting from under-staffing.

The workers involved should be redeployed within the plant instead of being made redundant.

Du Pont workers have been worried for some time about health and safety in the plant as staffing levels have been considerably reduced in recent years.

Last year's explosions in two Cork harbour chemical plants show the dangers of poor safety procedures in high-risk industries.

Militant action is needed to save these jobs.

The main argument against a fight-back is that the company might pull out of Derry altogether.

But Du Pont have put a lot of money into the Maydown plant.

To walk away from it would cost them tens of millions of pounds.

Vulnerable

Anyway, it wasn't militant action that encouraged management to slash up to 400 jobs in the last year or so.

It was the opposite. When workers accept job losses, they make themselves more vulnerable to further attacks—as happened to the Digital workers in Galway.

In the wake of Du Pont's workforce had gone on strike to stop the pay off of 183 Polymer Engineering workers and 27 canteen workers

last year, management would have thought again before announcing the latest job cuts.

The Union officials haven't even suggested a strike ballot, but that is what is needed.

The worker's need to or-

ganise, and insist that the job losses be fought.

Defend

When members of the Derry branch of the SWM put a leaflet

into the Du Pont plant calling for action to defend the jobs, it was welcomed by many of the workers.

The time for a fight it now before it becomes accepted that the jobs will be lost.

Protest at Dump



TELECOM EIREANN: Privatisation U-turn

THE proposed plan to sell off part of Telecom Eireann to Cable & Wireless, a private British concern, has again shown the Labour Party's disregard for the wishes of the Irish public.

Dick Spring has reneged on his promise to oppose any attempt at privatisation of the public sector.

Choosing to call it a "strategic alliance" or "joint venture" does little to conceal its real intent.

After decades of investment in establishing a communications infrastructure the Irish taxpayer and consumer is to see the profits earned hived off to foreign investors while retaining the loss-making services at a further cost to us all.

Telecommunications is a public service.

Profits generated should be reinvested

to improve that service.

This sell-off of Telecom's most profitable sectors will inevitably lead to cut-backs in its services and the hoped for £450 million from the sale will do little to improve Telecom's finances in the long term, especially since the very sectors for sale last year earned the company £50 million, now up for grabs to the highest bidder.

As was seen in Britain in the 1980s the privatisation of public assets is a one-way street.

There is no going back.

As the drive for profit replaces a duty to the public, services will be first to go, followed by job cuts.

This proposal is the thin end of the wedge. It is irresponsible and shortsighted and will cost the country in the long term far more than the quick buck on offer.

Stephen Boyle

Major powers block toxic waste ban

GOVERNMENTS in eight major industrial countries have opposed the Basle Convention's ban on dumping toxic waste on poorer countries.

The eight are the US, Britain, Germany, Japan,

Canada, Australia, New Zealand and the Netherlands.

Together they undertake more than half of all waste exports worldwide.

Since the UN convention was signed in Basle five years ago Greenpeace has located 2,611,677 tons of industrial waste in de-

veloping countries.

Industries who oppose a ban claim they want to recycle waste.

But workers have died because of mercury recycling in South Africa and lead batteries are melted down without protective equipment.

As late as 1992 Swiss car

batteries were melted down in Slovenia by workers who still suffer from lead poisoning.

Some companies use mailbox addresses in Switzerland as a cover.

Zurich mailbox company Arcco-Intertrade tried to ship sewage to Albania as "humanitarian aid".

Sex education shelved

LABOUR education minister Niamh Breatnach has bowed to the bigots and backed down on promises to provide sex education in schools.

Instead she has set up an "expert advisory group" which will report back in two months.

Absent

The churches are absent from the group but so too are the teachers' unions.

Guidelines for sex education will come out in September but schools will be able to opt out of including it on their curriculum.

Since the Catholic Church controls the vast majority of schools most students will still be denied proper sex education.

Niamh Breatnach promised to provide sex education after the discovery of three dead babies abandoned by their mothers earlier this year.

Her climbdown will not help prevent further tragedies.

IRAQ THREE YEARS ON...

THREE years after the Gulf War Iraq is still devastated by the effects of George Bush's "war for democracy".

It is estimated that child mortality has now reached 230 a day as a result of war and sanctions.

The bombing of power stations destroyed all stocks of pharmaceuticals requiring controlled temperatures.

The United Nations itself admits that its sanctions killed 100,000 children under five in both 1991 and 1992.

The UN's Food and Agricultural Organisation says that "large numbers of Iraqis now have food intakes lower than those in the most famine stricken African countries".

A leading child psychiatrist in Norway, Prof. Magne Raundalen, says of Iraq's children:

"This is the most traumatised child population in the world, more so even than the children of former Yugoslavia."

Five hundred people blocked the West Link Bridge in Dublin last month.

They were protesting at National Toll Roads plc who own the bridge over the company's plan to build a 336 acre dump in Mulhuddart.

The dump is planned 850 metres from Wellview Estate and 2km from Corduff.

Tom Roche of National Toll Roads has tried to ease worries about the dump by suggesting "improved leisure facilities within the site area".

But local residents are not impressed and plan more protests against this health hazard.

We Think

British government hypocrisy on peace

The IRA's ceasefire was one of the first clear signs that they are thinking of dropping the armed struggle.

The fact that it lasted only three days shows the level of bitterness and distrust among many ordinary republicans about the intentions of the British government.

Yet normal opponents of the IRA such as the Catholic Cardinal Daly claimed that it was a sincere gesture.

But the ceasefire was dismissed out of hand by the British and Irish governments. They said they could never talk to the IRA until there was a permanent halt to their campaign. This is sick hypocrisy.

The British government spent a year in secret talks with the IRA when it was bombing the City of London.

Its intelligence service, MI5, ran agents like Brian Nelson who organised the UDA murder squads.

Everyday the British and Irish governments meet with butchers who have blood on their hands. They talk to the Indonesian generals who run a campaign of terror in East Timor. They have embassies in Turkey where the airforce blows Kurdish villages to bits from the skies.

The British government could produce an immediate peace in the morning by a few simple measures.

They could release the hundreds of prisoners who ended up in jails because of the North's sectarian history.

They could take the British troops off the streets and start withdrawing them. They could disarm the RUC instead of letting them walk off scott free from shooting young students like Kevin McCourt.

But Major is a hypocrite. He pretends to talk peace but he is more interested in keeping his tottering government together.



One thousand people took to the streets of Dublin in March to show their solidarity with those fighting fascism in Europe. The march was organised by the Irish Anti-Nazi League.

The Italian elections show why the building of the ANL is so vital.

After the Christian Democrats who ran Italy for years collapsed big business interests formed an open alliance with the Italian nazis. Berlusconi used his TV stations and papers to give the fascists a platform to spread their ideas.

In Ireland, there is no serious Nazi present yet. But there are already small signs of the British fascist party, the BNP, starting to organise at football grounds in Belfast.

And there are also racist professors like Richard Lynn in the university of Coleraine doing research on the intelligence of Black people.

The Anti-Nazi League should be built as a mass organisation to stop any efforts to get fascism established in Ireland.

Anti Nazi League Carnival

Bands playing include:
THERAPY; MANIC STREET
PREACHERS; THE LEVELLERS
Saturday 28th May, London
Coaches from major cities in
Ireland: Contact ANL, PO Box
4007, Dublin 1 for details

SACK O'HANLON— NOT STAGG

A RECENT opinion poll showed that 49% of the Irish people thought that Emmet Stagg should not resign.

They were absolutely right. Hundreds of the top politicians, judges and civil servants spend their weekends in the nightclubs of Dublin's Leeson St. Whether they are married or not makes no difference.

The fact that gay people have to go in secret to the Phoenix Park tells us more about the sexual repression of Irish society than anything else.

Socialist Worker holds no brief for Emmet Stagg. He has spent his time in office campaigning against corporation workers and threatening them with privatisation. He has made stupid claims that there is no homelessness in Dublin.

Issues

But Stagg was not being attacked for these issues.

He was being got at by sections of the police who hate the recent measure to de-criminalise homosexuality.

The right wing bigots who ran Irish society for decades still have a foothold in many powerful positions.

In March, they managed to ban a film on RTE about women who had abortions. One of their main champions Justice O'Hanlon uses his position as a £40,000 a year High Court judge to pontificate against the 'disgusting contents of condom vending machines'.

He is one of the people who supported SPUC in their attempt to seize money from the students unions.

It is people like O'Hanlon who should be sacked—not Emmet Stagg.

HOMELESS THREATENED

A proposed new Simon Community hostel in Cork is urgently needed.

The Simon Community is a voluntary organisation providing accommodation, food and work for homeless people.

The hostel is being objected to by developers such as P. J. Hegarty and the Chamber of Commerce.

These people once again put property and profits before people, and in this case homeless people.

Pressure can be brought on the Corporation by quickly mobilising the large numbers of working class people in Cork who support Simon's initiative.

A demonstration should be organised before the Corporation decision to stop these parasites in their tracks.

Calendar crime?

Paul Walsh (25), an active member of Sinn Fein, has been charged with being an IRA member after years of garda harassment on evidence which includes nothing more sinister than possession of a republican calendar.

He vehemently denied the charge.

This shows a blatant disregard for the fundamental right of individuals to express their political beliefs and is an attempt by the garda special branch to criminalise legal political activity.



Paul Walsh

COUNCIL TRUANTS

RECENT information on the attendance of County Councillors at their meetings have shocked voters and exposed certain public figures.

When these truants were questioned on their behaviour some more interesting facts came to

light. Cllr. Micheal Keating (FG) of South County Dublin who attended only 23 of his 58 meetings stated, "I don't attach much significance to attendance at meetings."

Why bother to run for election then Cllr.

Keating? Similarly in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown Cllr. Richard Conroy (FF) with a breath taking 14 out of 58 would seem to leave some questions, on the usefulness of such individuals, unacceptably unanswered. Turf them out and be done with it.

PLC STUDENTS FIGHT

POST Leaving Cert Colleges have mushroomed in Ireland over the last few years. 16,000 students are now taking courses that range from communications to child care.

But the Coalition government are trying to get away with education on the cheap. Many of the students are getting no maintenance grants and have to pay their own fees.

Now PLC students are starting to fight back. In March a small demonstration of 100 PLC students took to the streets in pouring rain to demand that the government pay them a grant.

Petitions were taken up when new students came to the Mansion House for an exhibition on the courses

which were available. Nearly a thousand signatories were gathered in a short time.

Eugene is a student of communications at the Liberties PLC in Bull Alley. He told Socialist Worker,

"We are looking for the same grant that other students in RTCs get. They get £15 a week maintenance if they are living at home and £45 if they are living in their own accommodation.

It would only cost the gov-

ernment £8 million."

Now PLC students are producing a leaflet on their case and are taking up more petitions in their colleges. They are confident that they can start building up pressure for change.

As Eugene put it, "This is about more than money. This government is treating us like sub-standard students."

"We are the poor students of the poor. It's got to change."

Gospel of greed

ON FRIDAY 25th March, 400 top company managers attended lectures given by US businessman Brian Tracy.

Mr Tracy had some very frightening things to say to the audience at Kilmalbeg Hospital.

He suggested some measures to ensure increased capitalist gain, "First of all, eliminate corporate income tax. Second of all, eliminate all the regulations and restrictions. . . Get the Government out of the way completely."

Tracy would have us believe that it would be better if large corporate companies ran the world and Ronald McDonald controlled the way we lived.

ITALIAN ELECTIONS:

Right cash in on anger

FOR the first time since the second world war a fascist party could form part of a European government.

The right wing "Freedom Alliance" won last month's Italian elections with the fascist MSI as a major partner.

The MSI itself won 14 per cent—more than 5 million votes. In previous elections they got only 5 per cent.

They were given a huge boost by the alliance with media tycoon Silvio Berlusconi's "Forza Italia".

The alliance of Italy's wealthiest businessman with a fascist party is a chilling reminder.

Big business support was crucial to the victories of Hitler and the Italian dictator Mussolini.

During the election the MSI tried to distance themselves from their fascist past to present a respectable image.

Their leader, Fini, changed the party's name to "National Alliance".

The press have also pretended that the MSI are not real fascists but part of the 'far right' or 'extreme conservatives'. But no one should be fooled by this.

Violence

The MSI was set up after WW2 by supporters of Mussolini. Its former leader until 1988, Almirante, was a Minister in Mussolini's government.

The MSI is steeped in a history of fascist violence.

In 1974, MSI members set up New Order—a terrorist group which murdered eight anti-fascists in Brescia. That same organisation planted a bomb in the Bologna railway station in 1980 killing 85 people.

In 1976 one of the MSI deputies fled Italy while under investigation for the murder of a Communist Party supporter.

The MSI still have nazi saluting thugs guarding their rallies and they still incite hatred against foreigners.

Already the leader of the Northern Leagues has denounced the 'fascist scam' and claimed that his tradition lies with the partisans—the anti-fascist armies who overthrew Mussolini. Even before the elections, the three parties were at each other's throats.

Unworkable

Berlusconi's economic programme is unworkable.

He has called on the tens of thousands of small employers in Italy who supported his election machine to take on one extra worker.

But it is one thing to vote for Italy's Rupert Murdoch—it is another thing for these employers to cut into their profits.

Finally, the MSI's electoral success is not yet matched by a similar growth in their street gangs.

When Mussolini came to

power he could call on 20,000 battle-hardened blackshirts who had burnt and bombed union headquarters across Italy.

The MSI has nothing like that yet.

The Italian working class is strong and militant.

Thousands of workers belong to the COBAS—rank and file union groups who want to fight much harder than the union bureaucrats.

Over the last year as the corruption scandals blew up, millions of Italian workers have taken strike action.

When Mussolini came to power in 1922 it did so on the backs of a defeated working class who had tried to make a revolution and failed.

But today the workers movement is on the rise—not on the decline.

The fascists' election success is a terrible warning—but there is time to stop them.



Berlusconi: Heads right-wing alliance

WHY DID THE LEFT FAIL?

BERLUSCONI based his campaign on an anti-communist witch hunt of the left wing "Alliance for Progress".

The alliance was led by the former Communist PDS but included the Greens and the anti Mafia network.

The left were presented with glorious opportunity to take power.

The Christian Democrats who held power since WW2 had collapsed amidst in a stink of corruption.

But the left refused to give any voice to the anger of workers.

Since the collapse of Communism in Eastern Europe the PDS has become

much like the Irish Labour Party.

They have done everything to reassure big business.

When the Italian stock exchange came near to collapse last year, Occhetto, the leader of the PDS, went to meet the big financiers to assure them of his support for a programme of privatisation.

But when groups of workers like the train drivers went on strike, the PDS denounced their 'economistic' selfish actions.

The left also announced that they would nominate the last Prime Minister, Ciampi, to return to his office if they won.

The same Ciampi was responsible for driving through the attacks on Italian workers wages.

The PDS made the exact same mistake as the British Labour Party—by trying to 'moderate' their policies they offered no hope of solving the massive crisis in Italian society.

They let the fascists give vent to the anger.

But Italian workers can still repeat the example of France.

After huge disillusionment with the left, voters looked to the right wing parties.

But when these could not solve the economic mess, the anger was turned on them.

DEFEND SOCIALISTS IN TURKEY

THE MONTHLY Turkish socialist magazine *Sosyalist Isci* (Socialist Worker) faces extinction at the hands of the Turkish government.

It has been fined about \$13,500 and its editorial director, Fero Firat, has been sentenced to 20 months in prison.

The paper's crime? Publishing, in September 1991, an article describing the political and cultural oppression of Turkey's Kurdish population.

In 1993, the government levied a total of \$1.5 million in fines against left-wing papers. Recently, the pro-Kurdish daily *Ozgur Gundem* was raided and more than 100 journalists and staff were arrested.

Gundem was unable to publish for three days and many of those arrested were tortured.

Send letters of protest to Prime Minister Tansu Ciller, Basbanalick, Ozel Kalem Mudurlugu, Basbanalick, Ankara, Turkey

FRANCE: THE TASTE OF VICTORY

AN attempt by the right wing government of France to pay young workers less than the minimum wage has been smashed by a wave of militancy.

The revolt began after the prime minister Eduard Balladur produced a plan for low pay jobs for everyone under 26. Employers were to be let pay them only 80% of the minimum wage.

It would have meant getting a wage of £330 a month.

But Balladur's proposals provoked a wave of anger—and it was not just about the money.

Chantal, a student from the second level lycee explained,

"This isn't the best generation to be born in, there's a war just two hours away and then there's AIDS and racism... if you don't shout nobody takes any notice"

50,000 people took to the streets of Paris in demonstrations that were supported by the most powerful trade union federation, the Communist Party CGT.

They found themselves facing a vicious police which had been whipped up by the right wing Interior Minister, Charles Pasqua.

Pasqua claimed that "Fear of the policeman is the beginning of wisdom"

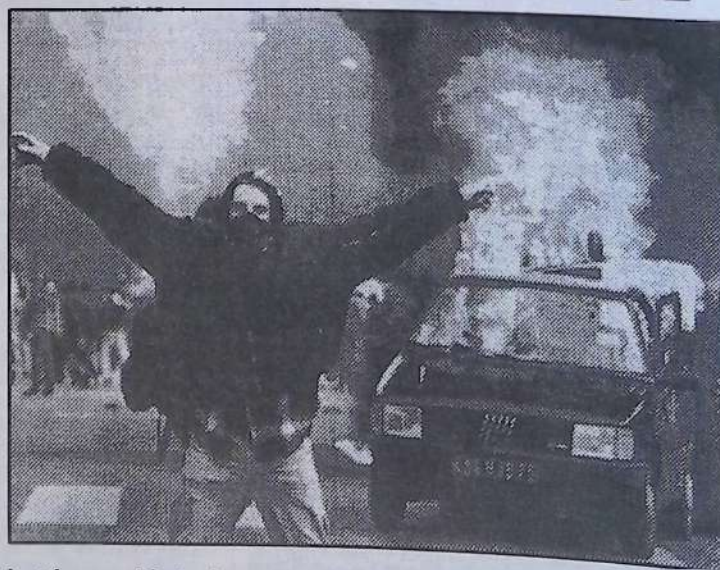
But the revolt against the police shook the right wing government.

Back Down

The hated riot police the CRS were driven back. Balladur and the right wing government were forced to back down.

They have now been forced to retreat four times.

Aer France workers



beat them over jobs, teachers beat them over plans to put more money into private education, fishermen forced them to come up with more subsidies and

now students beat them over their plans for low paid jobs. The lesson is that militant works.

France also shows how volatile the situation is in

Europe today.

Less than year ago, the right wing got a huge vote in the elections.

Today they are hated and on the run.

THE WAY TO SMASH LE PEN

THE revolts in France also show how the fascists can be driven back.

Le Pen's National Front got 10% of the vote in recent local elections.

But during the protests black, white and "beur"—children of Arab immigrant families—marched together.

One schoolboy from an Arab immigrant family summed up the mood,

"It's not just the 'youth SMIC'—Balladur's proposal for low wage jobs—it's the politicians, Pasqua and his cops, Le Pen and his fascists—everything"

That mood was summed up in the last demonstration in Paris.

Even after Balladur backed down, 40,000 people took to the streets to celebrate their victory.

One of their main demands was for the return of two Algerians who had been expelled from France after being accused of violence in Lyons.

The struggle showed how a new unity between black and white could be forged.

Amnesty report exposes violence of British army



PRESSURE is mounting for the IRA to call off its armed struggle. Politicians claim that they are the sole cause of violence in the North.

But a recent report by the human rights organisation Amnesty International on Northern Ireland shows us a different picture.

Amnesty International has a reputation for exposing and publicising human rights abuses worldwide.

Its most recent report deals with political killings in Northern Ireland.

It covers loyalist and republican killings but its section on the British Army and security forces makes shocking reading for anyone who believes they're doing a good job in difficult circumstances.

Inquiries

Over the last twenty years over 350 people have been killed by the security forces. Most of them were Catholics.

Of the killings that are investigated, Amnesty found that such inquiries were little more than a sham.

A typical case was that of 17 year old Gerard Maginn. He was shot dead when the RUC fired on a stolen car in which he was a passenger in November 1991.

The RUC claimed that they fired because they felt

paramilitaries in West Belfast. After the killing an RUC officer admitted that the area was patrolled 24 hours a day.

Yet two masked gunmen wearing dark glasses and gloves were able to park at one of the most patrolled junctions in the area without being stopped.

Despite the registration number of the car being given to the RUC, no checkpoint were set up to catch the fleeing gunmen. In January 1993 the UDA/UFF carried out a failed murder attempt on a Catholic taxi driver.

After the shooting Brian Feeney from the SDLP said that the place of the shooting "was beside Girdwood, one of the most heavily guarded army barracks in Belfast.

The place is festooned with security equipment and cameras and almost certainly the guys who did this shooting were seen.

Follow Up

"But there was no follow up operation in the area where these men were seen going into"

The most notorious case Amnesty investigated was that of Brian Nelson.

Brian Nelson was the top intelligence officer for the UDA. He was arrested in 1990 as a result of the Stevens Inquiry into the leaking of police files to the loyalists. Nelson was also, however, a long-time British army agent.

Nelson had been passing on UDA information every week to his army handlers, "informing them of UDA surveillance operations and their findings of plans to kill specific individuals".

The British army knew in advance what loyalist killings were planned. Nothing was done to inform the victims of the danger, let alone stop the killings.

Amnesty also suggests the British army overhauled and streamlined the UDA's records on suspected republicans, updating the information.

At Brian Nelson's trial, however, all the serious charges were mysteriously dropped, and as a consequence only fragments of the truth ever emerged.

WHY THE TROOPS MUST GO

Amnesty findings are unfortunately not surprising. They fit into a grim pattern of events.

Harold Wilson's Labour government ordered troops into Northern Ireland in 1969. At the time people in both Britain and Ireland were told two things: that the British troops would protect the Catholic population and that they would guarantee fair play and civil rights for all.

James Callaghan, the British Home Secretary at the time, even visited the Catholic Bogside area of Derry to tell the people: "I am not neutral, I am on the side of all people who are deprived of justice." Among the promises he made was that the RUC would be disbanded.

However it soon became clear that far from protecting civil rights demonstrators from loyalists, the troops were sent in to reinforce a police force and its Unionist masters who could no longer control areas of Derry and Belfast.

In August 1969 the IRA was a tiny bunch of ageing people on the sidelines of events. They had no guns to fire back with even if they

wanted to. Angry Catholics wrote "IRA... I Ran Away" on the walls of Belfast.

Dead End

The civil rights movement had reached a dead

end. The Northern state which was founded on a religious head count could not grant the basic reforms demanded for fair and equal treatment.

After August 1969, the Battle of the Bogside and

the assault on the Lower Falls in Belfast, the IRA began to move centre stage.

They were the ones who were prepared to take on the state, linking it into the traditional nationalist struggle and myths.

As the Derry socialist Eamonn McCann wrote, "We shall overcome" and "We shall not be moved" gave way to 'The Soldier's Song' and 'Kevin Barry'."

But the IRA's nationalist politics and their tactic of armed struggle led nowhere. Most of the major reforms that Northern Catholics won were gained in the period of mass struggle between 1969 and 1972.

Today the IRA campaign is completely counter-productive. Its bombings in the Shankill and Eniskillen have driven hundreds of Protestants into the hands of the racist UDA.

It has alienated the tens of thousands of Southern workers who at one stage burnt down the British Embassy in Dublin.

It has helped to foster an air of passivity in Catholic working class ghettos where instead of mass protests there is a feeling that small number of guerrillas in the IRA can get results by a few 'spectaculars'.

But the reasons that gave birth to the IRA still remain. A vicious sectarianism still exists. And the British army's role in the North has been to prop up the state that bred that sectarianism.

THE ALTERNATIVE TO THE IRA

MUCH has changed since the Northern conflict began.

Unionism is no longer the all-powerful force it once was.

Unionist leaders are treated with contempt by their one-time friends in London.

Unionist leaders hate each other almost as much as they hate the IRA.

They are divided over what they seek. Some want a return to Unionist rule.

Some want Northern Ireland to be independent. Some want more integration with Britain.

All are pipe dreams. There can be no return to Unionist rule. That has been swept away for ever.

Within the Protestant working class is a deep suspicion of the British government. There is deep resentment at the cuts and redundancies forced on them.

Despite the segregation of areas Belfast is not like Beirut. Protestants and Catholics work together, despite discrimination.

They belong to the same unions. They fight together again and again.

What is needed now is a set of politics that links Catholic and Protestant workers.

This means arguing that Protestant workers have no interest in the oppression of their fellow Catholic workers.

It also means arguing that Catholic workers should not go along with the middle class Catholic leaders who have used the long struggle to gain new positions of power.

Above all it means arguing for the smashing of both Irish states and the establishment of a workers republic where all workers gain.

THE KILLING OF PAT FINUCANE



ONE of the cases that Amnesty investigated was the murder of Pat Finucane.

Pat Finucane was a 39 year old civil rights lawyer. He was one of the main solicitors who dealt with those detained under Northern Ireland's emergency powers. He was shot dead by two masked men in February 1989 in front of his wife and three children.

The murder was claimed by the UDA/UFF. At the inquest an RUC Superintendent Simpson stated that

"His murder was unusual both for its ferocity and the fact that he was struck by all 14 bullets fired".

One of the weapons used in his murder was stolen from a British army barracks in 1987 by a member of the Ulster Defence Regiment.

An hour before his killing the roadblocks which had gone up near his home were removed.

Both loyalist and Republican detainees at the Castereagh RUC stations made statements to Amnesty that they had heard RUC detective say that Finucane was an accomplice of the IRA.

Five weeks before his death a detainee was told by a detective to pass on a message to Finucane. "He told me to tell him that he was a thug in a suit, a person trying to let on he is doing his job, and that he like every other Fenian bastard, would meet his end."

No one has ever been charged with Pat Finucane's murder and there has been no investigation into the threats made against his life by the RUC.

Keeping the red flag flying



ON 1 May, millions of workers across the world will celebrate International Workers Day.

Some will have to defy the police and armies to take to the streets. Others will use May Day as a show of defiance against a boss class who want to drive down their wages.

In was in America in 1886 that the first demonstrations were organised on May Day in support of workers demands for an eight hour day. 1886 was a year of tumult, 'the year of the great uprising of labour'.

Throughout the depression years of the 1880s, workers had suffered wage cuts and attacks on their conditions. But with the beginnings of an economic recovery, workers started to go on the offensive.

In 1884, a dying organisation, the Federation of Organised Trades and Labour passed a resolution that "eight hours shall constitute a legal days work from and after May 1 1886"

As an American historian, Norman Ware pointed out, what was "little more than an empty gesture ... because of the changed conditions became a revolutionary threat"

The call for a stoppage on May Day was taken up by the Knights of Labour. They stood for solidarity between all workers whether black or white, man or woman, skilled or unskilled.

The first May Day was a fantastic success. In the major cities of America, Chicago, New York, Cincinnati, Baltimore, workers walked off the job to demand an eight hour day.

One of the bosses in Milwaukee summed up what was at stake. He said the issue had become "my right to run my workers and your right to sell me your time and labour. Our whole civilisation hangs on these".

The bosses hit back by using the police and militias to cow the workers. On the 3 May in Chicago the police killed four strikers. At a rally that night held in Haymarket Square a bomb was thrown at police attacking the crowd.

The police used it as an excuse to ban demonstrations and arrest hundreds of strikers. They framed seven supposed ring leaders of the bombing and hung four trade unionists despite an international outcry.

Events in America in 1886 sparked workers and socialists in Europe into action. In 1889, the Socialist International was founded at a meeting attended by socialists and trade unionists all over Europe. It launched a great campaign for an eight hour day.

In 1890, a million workers took strike action in France on May Day and in Germany 10% of workers walked off their jobs. The movement around May Day gave the impetus for a new fighting spirit in the working class.

In Britain and Ireland from the 1890s onward there was a rise of New Unionism. Unions such as the Gasworkers and General Labourers spread over Britain and Ireland and organised the unskilled. They used militant tactics to spread the strikes from one group of workers to another.

In Ireland, the Irish Transport and General Workers Union was born out of this militancy. It was led by socialists like Larkin and Connolly.

Frederick Engels pointed out that "The new unions were founded at a time when the faith in the eternity of the wages system was severely shaken; their founders were socialists, either consciously or by feeling"

May Day is part of a tradition of workers struggle. In Ireland the ICTU have called two major demonstrations on May Day to celebrate the centenary of their birth.

Trade unionists should turn these demonstrations into a massive displays of anger against the poverty wages and unemployment that the bosses are trying to impose on us.

In Belfast and Dublin the ICTU has called marches on April 28th and April 30th. These can be turned into huge demonstrations if we start organising for them now.

SOUTH AFRICA:

What will the change?

SOUTH AFRICA goes to the polls on 27 April. It will be the first time that blacks who make up three quarters of the population have ever been able to vote.

The minority white right wing has fought long and hard to prevent this from happening. In 1985, the racist National Party to which de Klerk belongs vowed that the ANC "would be crushed like the terrorists that they are".

But the racists had to eat their words. What broke them was the power of black resistance.

The risings against apartheid began in 1976 when the school students of Soweto came out on the streets in their thousands because they refused to learn Afrikaans—the language of the white establishment.

Strikes

In the mid 1980s a union federation, the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) was born.

They organised huge strikes to raise the living standards of black workers and to demand an end to apartheid.

When the South African regime introduced a State of Emergency

to crush it, the employers became very nervous.

There was a large scale flight of capital from South Africa.

The National Party backed down. Nelson Mandela, in jail since the early sixties, was released and black people won the right to vote.

But all the time, De Klerk and the security establishment have tried to break the power and influence of the ANC.

They worked hand and glove with the Inkatha party.

The recent Goldstone commission of inquiry in South Africa has revealed that assassination squads were set up with police help to murder ANC activists.

Arms were imported from Namibia and Mozambique for use by Inkatha.

Huge amounts of money were spent on Inkatha to help them build up an image of an organisation that represented Zulu people.

But what prevented de Klerk from getting away with his dirty tricks has been the continuing mobilisations of black workers.

When Chris Hanne of the South African Communist Party was murdered in April 1993 millions of workers came out on strike in an explosion of popular anger.

The ANC had to work night and day to control the anger.

In the townships, Inkatha murder squads were beaten by Self Defence units which organised thousands of black teenagers.

The right to vote has been wrenched out of the hands of the racists.

Black workers have no need to feel any gratitude to them.

When Mandela is elected the new President of South Africa it will raise the confidence of black people, everywhere to stand up and beat back the racists.

THE APARTHEID OF MONEY



Wealth in Johannesburg contrasts with the squalor of a Cape Town settlement

THE elections will bury the legal apparatus of apartheid but voting alone can do little to dismantle apartheid's dire legacy.

And black workers want much more than just the right to put a mark on a ballot paper.

As Connie Zikalala, a trade unionist from Cape Town put it,

"My family has given blood for freedom. But it will not be enough if we just have the

vote and no food, a vote and a hovel, a vote and no hospital"

40 per cent of blacks are unemployed. Black incomes are one-tenth those of whites. Seven million of 28 million blacks live in shacks while 12 million have no clean water and 14 million cannot read.

Resources

South Africa is by no means a poor country.

Its vast mineral resources and strong manufacturing industry ensure that its per capita GNP at \$3,000 stands

well above neighbouring Swaziland's at \$800 and Lesotho's \$600.

The desperate poverty and inadequacy that the majority of blacks have lived with demands a massive redistribution of wealth and resources.

Four families—Oppenheimer, Rupert, Menell and Hersov—control 45 percent of the country's wealth.

The ANC's election campaign targets the dire conditions and poverty

Their manifesto promises to correct forty years of in-

justice, promising a "national public works programme to provide 25 million jobs, build a million homes in five years, bring running water and flush lavatories to more than a million families".

South African blacks will vote for the ANC as a way of getting the most basic necessities—a living wage and maternity leave and the return of land that had been forcibly acquired.

This is not a lot to ask for after forty years of misery and exploitation at the hands of apartheid.

REMEMBER THESE PRISONERS ON MAY DAY

ACROSS the world trade unionists are still being locked up for their activities.

Liu Jingsheng: A 39 year old worker from Beijing in China. He has been arrested for trying to set up an independent trade union. He has already spent fourteen and a half years in jail for being part of the 'Democracy Wall' movement.

Basile Houndjo, Houngue Mahoussi, Etienne Haoundjo tried to organise the peasants union MIBBE-AYE ("We reject poverty") in Benin. They have been taken into police custody and have not been seen since.

Cajuste Laxius, General Secretary of the largest union in Haiti. He was arrested in 1993 and severely beaten.

Marsinah, a 25 year old factory worker in Indonesia was tortured and raped and killed after she led a strike in a watch factory.

M'Bailao Mianbe President of the General Administration Employees Union of Chad was gunned down by four armed men travelling in a military jeep.

Munir Ceylan, President of the petroleum workers union in Turkey has been convicted and imprisoned for 20 months for writing an article defending the rights of Kurdish people.

For full details on these cases write to Trade Unionists Action 1994, Amnesty International, Sean McBride House, 8 Shaw St Dublin.

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THE events of 10 in the South Africa independent state swaza how how can smash the ra Bophuthatswana tyrant called Lucas had the support of can regime who black people prefer tribal homelands. In March riots homeland after civil on strike. The strik lated to demand th and won the suppo Then more 26 d men signed a memo began with a dema ignation of importa tors and officials of regime. It also endorsed mands of the strik ants—a fifty per cl and an immediate pa sion fund contributi A terrified Mang the neo-Nazi AWB to ernment's suppress th the "ANC communis The Nazis Bophuthatswana in t cars and started sho people of the street But they faced co determined opposi few hours the whole city was in revolt. Every workplac every township was police were forced to and a majority can protesters and help the AWB The international on the shooting wingers. It was absolut shoot them. They around firing auto at black people, kil The defeat of shock waves throu wing in South Afr

by PATRICIA McMANUS

Black workers smash the racists



Black workers smash the racists

THE events of 10 and 11 March in the South African nominally independent state of Bophuthatswana show how black workers can smash the racists.

Bophuthatswana was run by a tyrant called Lucas Mangope. He had the support of the South African regime who pretended that black people preferred to live in tribal homelands. In March riots started in the homeland after civil servants went on strike. The strike quickly escalated to demand the right to vote and won the support of students. Then a mere 26 dissident policemen signed a memorandum which began with a demand for the resignation of important administrators and officials of the Mangope regime.

It also endorsed two key demands of the striking civil servants—a fifty per cent wage rise and an immediate payment of pension fund contributions. A terrified Mangope called on the neo-Nazi AWB to help his government suppress the rebellion of the "ANC communist rabble".

The Nazis came into Bophuthatswana in their Mercedes cars and started shooting at black people on the streets.

But they faced courageous and determined opposition. Within a few hours the whole of the capitalist city was in revolt.

Every workplace closed and every township was rebelling. The police were forced to choose sides and a majority came over to the protesters and helped to drive out the AWB.

The international press focused on the shooting of three right wingers.

It was absolutely correct to shoot them. They had just driven around firing automatic weapons at black people, killing over fifty.

The defeat of the AWB sent shock waves throughout the right wing in South Africa. One textile

worker described the effect, "We have seen Nazis humiliated. All these people who strut around with guns and think they are gods have been forced to grovel in the dust. They are rubbish and everyone knows it. If we are strong then they will be weak."

The uprising in Bophuthatswana had an immediate effect in Natal, the area controlled by the Inkatha party led by Buthelezi.

Opinion polls show that Inkatha has only the support of 35% of Zulus.

The majority of Zulus have become urbanised and are expected to support the ANC. After Bophuthatswana,

the more radical ANC members were demanding that the medicine given to Mangope, "Vitamin ANC" should also be given to Buthelezi.

Terrified

It was the fear of a new uprising in Natal that forced the South African government to send its troops in to take over Natal. De Klerk was terrified that an uprising in Natal would lead to mass strikes throughout South Africa.

But the South African Army in Natal is no friend of the ANC. They are led by generals who supplied weapons to Inkatha.

They have already begun searching ANC controlled areas for weapons. They will try to stop the ANC campaigning effectively to uproot the influence of Inkatha.

The real answer to the right wing in South Africa is workers action. One metal workers from Johannesburg put it like this.

"The AWB and their allies may try another coup. I am sure they will carry out more murders. But they can triumph only if we let them.

"Every murder must be met by strikes and mass mobilisations. If there are moves towards a coup, we should see every worker on the streets"

CAN THE ANC DELIVER?

MANDELA has started to compromise with the National Party by agreeing to a power-sharing government when the majority of his people wanted to run the white rulers out of South Africa.

The ANC has made it clear that it is not prepared to challenge the power of big business. Mandela has told businessmen in London:

"There will be no expropriation of property or investments. Foreign investors will be able to repatriate dividends and profits"

In order to keep the money markets happy, the ANC has promised not to raise the overall level of taxation nor to increase government spending beyond six per cent of GDP.

But to spend on every black person what is spent on whites today would mean more than doubling social spending. The ANC argue that they can increase black living

standards with the help of loans from the World Bank and the IMF.

They are wrong. Any loans would be tied to 'economic adjustment' programmes.

Under IMF stabilisation and World Bank structural adjustment programmes, Tanzanians faced a fifty percent fall in real income in the early 1980s. In Ghana over the same period the fall was forty percent.

In such a scenario even the tiniest of expectations, like that expressed by one township dweller "for some water, maybe a toilet" will be in doubt.

This has implications for the potential outcome of the elections for the ANC.

On the one hand the ANC maintains mass support among black workers by wide-ranging promises of social reconstruction, but on the other it repeatedly attempts to impose stability by bringing the mass movement to heel.

Last month Mandela called

on township residents to end their rents and services boycott even though conditions in the townships gave them little reason to do so.

The mass of workers are willing to accept these conditions only on a temporary basis.

The elections are now the focus of the activity, hopes and expectations of many.

But if the elections don't deliver real change, the anger of the vast majority whose hopes had been raised will not be dispersed easily.

All those who have struck or demonstrated in support of the ANC will be faced with the reality that the capitalist market will remain tyrannical even in black hands.

As Sipho Kubheka, General Secretary of the South African Paper and Printing workers Union said:

"The labour movement has to fight for its independence. The ANC will not be able to address the contradictions between capital and labour."

The ABC of Socialism

Who creates the wealth?

IN Ancient Rome when slaves were forced to work by their owners and robbed of all the work they did, it was obvious that they were exploited.

Modern capitalist society by contrast is "free".

Workers don't wear chains, nor are owned by anyone. But exploitation still continues, in a more subtle form.

Because the capitalist class own all of the factories, offices and equipment needed for production, workers are left with the option of either selling their labour-power, or suffer poverty on the dole.

When a capitalist employs a worker, they pay a wage—most of which goes on basics like food, clothes and accommodation.

In return the capitalist gets the results of our work.

The difference between the value of the work done and the value of our wages, Marx called "surplus-value".

This surplus-value is the source of the capitalists profit.

Techniques

In fact, because modern techniques of production are so powerful, a capitalist gains far more surplus-value than slave owners ever got from their slaves.

Under slavery, a slave-owner lost all their investment when the slave died—usually through starvation.

Under capitalism, the boss simply hires another worker.

So when people praise the millionaire bosses for their risk taking, initiative and enterprise, socialists make two objections:

Firstly, to own millions means owning wealth created by workers in the past.

The richest woman in Britain, the Queen, is not rich from her entrepreneurial skills but from generations of exploitation and plunder across an Empire.

Secondly, when a millionaire opens a new factory, they're not doing it out of concern for the workers to have jobs—but in order to get people to labour for



them. The workers employed have nothing to be grateful for, they're being taken on so that the company can accumulate more wealth.

The two examples most held up in Ireland, of entrepreneurial success are Michael Smurfit and Tony O'Reilly.

Smurfit's claims that his success is due to his special instincts:

He says that he started getting his "sense of business", when he was seventeen.

He was "not only reading the *Financial Times* regularly, but understanding it."

Now, when he is doing a deal, his nose starts to twitch: "I can't define it and it's not something you can pass on to anyone else."

In fact his wealth was obtained rather less mysteriously.

His dad, Jefferson Smurfit gave Michael the money to open a box factory in Lancashire.

He, in turn had become wealthy off the proceeds from twenty-four years of exploiting the staff of the General Box Company, Clonskeagh.

Today the source of the Jefferson Smurfit Group's wealth is not Michael Smurfit nose, but the 32,000 people in 200 factories, day after day being paid a lot less than the value of the work they are doing.

O'Reilly's case is similar, he is worth an estimated £219 million, and has a \$57 a year job as President, Chairman and Chief Executive of Heinz.

This wealth was not obtained by earning his way up from selling jewellery out of a barrow on O'Connell bridge.

As a Managing Director of the Irish Sugar Company and Erin foods he earned his initial break thanks to the efforts of the workers of those companies.

His fabulous wealth today came from an extra twist.

He got other capitalists to give him money so that he could break into companies like Independent Newspapers, and gain a portion of their profits.

Fortune

That money lent to him in its turn was created out of the labour of workers. O'Reilly's financial manoeuvres gained him a fortune which was still derived from exploitation.

A revolution by the working class will lead to a situation where for the first time in thousands of years there will be no more exploitation.

When the working class gets control of their factories and offices, decisions about production will be made for once by the people who are actually doing all the work.

Instead of being compelled to work ever harder for the benefit of a tiny minority, workers will be able to organise production at their own pace, guided by a consideration of what people need.

Such a society will be vastly more wealthy than today, as all the resources currently unused—the empty workplaces, the people on the dole, the money wasted on competition and armaments—all of this would be available to us to advance humanity in a rational and collective manner.

HEROES OF THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT

by TADHG
CAREY

Rosa Luxemburg

"Your order is built upon sand. The revolution will rise again, clashing its weapons, and terrifying you with its clarion call, I was, I am, I shall be"

SEVENTY five years ago on January 1919 the body of Rosa Luxemburg was found in the Landwerh canal in Berlin.

Her skull had been smashed with a rifle butt by a German army officer.

Like her comrade Karl Liebknecht, Rosa was murdered after the uprising of German workers had failed.

Throughout all her life Red Rosa was hated by the German rich and their friends in the officer class.

Rosa Luxemburg was born in 1871 into a Jewish family which faced horrific anti-semitism in Poland which was at the time under Russian Tsarist rule.

At the age of 16 she joined a small revolutionary group in Poland.

Three years later she had to flee to Germany after the police caught up with her.

From there on she began to play a leading role in arguing against reformism inside the socialist movement.

Reformism is the belief that socialism can be achieved through slow changes brought about by parliamentary means and by gradual tinkering with the capitalist system.

This is still the view of Labour parties worldwide.

At the time all socialists in Germany were organised in one party—the SPD.

The leading supporter of reformism in the party was Eduard Bernstein.

Bernstein claimed that the growth

of big monopolies meant that capitalism was less chaotic and was not prone to economic crisis.

This meant that socialists had to look for gradual change.

The unions could win economic concessions and a Labour party in parliament could bring in legal reforms.

Luxemburg demolished this argument in a small pamphlet she wrote, *Social reform or revolution*.

The big monopolies only raised the scale of capitalist competition higher.

The bigger companies try to use their own governments and states to put up tariff barriers leading to greater conflicts between countries.

Rosa compared the unions to Sisyphus—the legendary Greek god who was compelled to roll a huge stone to the top of the hill, which constantly rolled back on him again.

The 'unions were the organised defence of labour against the attacks of profit'—but they could never abolish the system of exploitation itself.

Fighters

Rosa argued that it was the revolutionaries who would be the better fighters for reforms because they did not accept the limits of capitalism.

But those who placed their trust completely in working through parliament "do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower road to the same goal, but a different goal.

Instead of the establishment of a new society they take a stand for the surface modifications of the old society"

The 1905 Russian Revolution was a tremendous inspiration for her.

The revolution began as a small



strike over bonus payments for printers and escalated from a mass strike to the setting up of workers councils.

After 1905, Rosa Luxemburg wrote a book called *The Mass Strike* to bring the lessons to a German labour movement that was increasingly turning its back on workers struggle.

Where most other socialists saw

strikes solely as a defence mechanism, she pointed out the revolutionary potential of mass strikes.

Strikers

When strikers come up against the police, they can begin to ask whether the state really is neutral and who holds power in our society.

That socialism had to be created from below, by the self activity of

the working class was at the centre of her politics.

Workers create all the wealth in this society and have the collective power to smash their own exploitation.

This is what she meant by saying that "where the chains of capitalism are forged, that is where they must be broken".

GERMANY: FROM WAR TO REVOLUTION

ON February 1914, Rosa Luxemburg was arrested for inciting soldiers to mutiny.

The words she used were, "If they expect us to murder our French or other foreign brothers, then let us tell them: No, under no circumstances".

On August 4, 1914, Luxemburg's worst fears were realised.

The First World War started.

To her horror the reformist leaders of the SPD backed the war.

All its deputies voted for war credits for the Kaiser's armies.

Rosa was imprisoned for most of the war.

But even while languishing in a

German jail she held firm to her belief that the war could only be stopped by a workers uprising.

Somme

As thousands died hourly for a few feet of Belgian soil in the Battle of the Somme, she wrote,

"The madness will cease and the bloody spectre of hell will disappear only when the workers of Germany and France, of England and Russia finally awaken from their frenzy, extend to one another the hand of brotherhood, and drown the bestial chorus of imperialist hyenas with the old, mighty and thunderous battle-cry of labour: 'Workers of all countries unite!'"

These were not just stirring words, she was proven right.

From mid-1918, anti-war rebellion in Germany began to erupt.

Workers and soldiers councils were established.

Finally in November 1918, up to 80,000 sailors in Kiel mutinied.

Within a few days the movement had grown into a general strike in the ships and factories.

It sounded the death knell of the war and the start of the German Revolution.

Though her party, the SPD, had voted for the war, it was not until three weeks before her own death and near the defeat of the revolutionary upsurge that Rosa Luxemburg established an independent

revolutionary party, the German Communist Party.

The fact that Luxemburg hadn't built such a party before this meant that socialists had no real influence to direct the spontaneous workers uprising.

Decisive

In Russia on the other hand Lenin for over a decade had patiently built the Bolsheviks until in 1917, the majority of workers were either members of the Bolsheviks or supporters of the revolution.

In Germany at the decisive moment of the revolution the movement was provoked into an attempt to take power by the

sacking of one of its representatives.

The uprising did not carry the full support of the working class.

Many were still loyal to the SPD. This made it easier for the SPD to sabotage the movement.

The counter-revolution viciously hit back. In the coming months thousands were slaughtered.

The SPD government saw to it that the army went around the country drowning the revolution in streams of blood.

With her own death, Rosa Luxemburg proved what she had always argued.

Those who want gradual change in society, really stand for capitalism not socialism.

What's On

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

- Athlone**
Meets every Tuesday. For details of time and venue write to the SWM national address.
- Dublin North Central**
Meets every Wednesday 8pm Conway's Pub Parnell St
Wednesday 13th: What did Trotsky stand for
Wednesday 20th: Will there always be nationalism?
Wednesday 27th: What causes war?
- Dublin Northside**
Meets every Tuesday 8pm The Old Brogue, Dorset St
Tuesday 12th: What do socialists say about crime?
Tuesday 19th: What causes war?
Tuesday 26th: South Africa: What will the elections change
- Dublin South Central**
Meets every Thursday 8pm Trinity Inn Pearse St
Thursday 14th: Can the working class change the world?
Thursday 21st: Will there always be nationalism?
Thursday 28th: South Africa: What will the elections change?
- Dublin Southside**
Meets every Wednesday 8pm Clarkes Bar, 11 Wexford St
Wednesday 13th: South Africa: What will the elections change?
Wednesday 20th: Italy: Where is fascism coming from?
Wednesday 27th: Is nationalism stronger that class?
- Tallaght/Clonsilla**
Meets every Wednesday 8pm Tallaght Welfare Society next to Foxes Covert in Tallaght village
- Bray**
Wednesday 13th: Can the working class change the world?
Wednesday 20th: Where does nationalism come from?
Wednesday 27th: What causes unemployment?
- Maynooth**
Meets every Wednesday 1pm Maynooth College, Tutorial Room 4
- Waterford**
Meets every Tuesday 8pm ATGWU Hall, Keyser St
Tuesday 12th: Israel and the Palestinians: Can there be peace?
Tuesday 19th: What is Political Correctness?
Tuesday 26th: Where does nationalism come from?
- Belfast**
Meets every Tuesday 8pm See SW sellers for details or contact national office
Tuesday 12th: Drugs: Cracking up or cracking down?
Tuesday 19th: South Africa: Will the elections bring change?
Tuesday 26th: From Malcolm X to the Black Panthers: The fight against racism
- Derry**
Meets every Tuesday 8pm Badgers Pub Orchard St
Tuesday 12th: Why the Child Support Agency should be scrapped
Tuesday 19th: Drugs: Cracking up or cracking down?
Tuesday 26th: Fascism: is it a threat again?
- Cork**
Meets every Thursday 8pm Anchor Inn, Georges Quay
Thursday 14th: Is human nature a barrier to socialism?
Thursday 21st: What do we mean by the working class?
Thursday 28th: South Africa: What will the elections change?
- Dundalk**
Meets every Tuesday 8pm McConville's Pub
Tuesday 12th: Women's liberation and socialism
Tuesday 19th: South Africa: What will the elections change?
Tuesday 26th: Environment in crisis

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

May Day Socials
Keep the red flag flying
Waterford
Roxy Theatre, O'Connell Street, Waterford
Sunday 1st May 8 til late
Music by:
Francie White and the Blues Breakers
Dublin
Saturday 30th April, Conways Pub, Parnell St.

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.

JOIN US!

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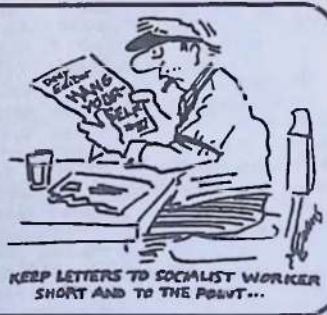
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LETTERS to the editor

Agree? Disagree? You can send your letters to: Socialist Worker, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



What are Irish troops doing in Somalia?

WHEN UN troops went to Somalia in the first place, the argument was made that they were necessary to ensure that food supplies were not disrupted by warlords.

Iwas always sceptical. After all, the last UN intervention, in the Gulf War, resulted in the deaths of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis without bringing democracy to the region or liberation for the Kurds. US-led interventions are motivated by military and strategic reasons rather than humanitarian ones.

This quickly emerged in Somalia when US troops found themselves killing the very people who they were supposed to be helping.

Now that the Irish troops have been involved in fighting it's time to raise the question once again of exactly whose interests the UN's military intervention serves. Dictators such as Saddam Hussein and General Aideed, who in the past have been supported by the West, find their popularity increasing in the face of attacks from UN troops. All troops should be withdrawn from Somalia at once, and



if Ireland wants to help the people there we should send them food, not bullets.
□ MARK SWEENEY, Dublin

NO SACRIFICE FOR THE RICH!

WE are reminded daily by our political masters and bosses to tighten our belts and increase productivity or lose our jobs.

Wage cuts have replaced wage gains in many industries. However, not everyone is being forced to cut back in the face of recession.

It seems there are those who have found a way to defy the laws of economics and logic to actually prosper in bad times. Michael Smurfit, millionaire boss of Jefferson Smurfit Corporation, is to receive a whopping £1.25 million bonus in the near future. This is on top of his £566,000 annual salary. Big profits earn big bonuses, we are told. The truth however is different, and exposes the lies and greed of the bosses. Jefferson Smurfit Corporation actually lost money last year, and the year before, to the tune of a massive £206 million! Obviously incompetence in high places is a highly rewarding talent, but only the chosen few can indulge in this absurdity. While Smurfit is hailed as one of our leading lights and an example to all, mere mortals such as the unemployed are accused daily of milking the economy dry for collecting a paltry £55.60 a week. Who is milking who?
□ STEPHEN BOYLE, Dublin

Pay restraint won't create jobs

AFTER signing on the other day I was handed a copy of "The Bru", the newspaper of the Irish National Organisation for the Unemployed.

This calls the recent "Programme for Competitiveness and Work" "a pay deal for those fortun-

nate enough to have jobs, and cold comfort for those without". It claims that "if one percent of the national wage bill were devoted to funding new jobs there would be enough money to create twelve thousand jobs". It also calls for the

"link to be made between wage moderation and actual job creation". The recent fiasco over the one percent levy shows why all workers, employed, or otherwise, must reject these arguments. The bosses use the threat of unemployment to drive down

wages. The recent pay deals are terrible for those in work. But they are only accepted by workers who are demoralised and divided. The INOU should know better.
□ RICHARD WILLIAMSON, Dublin

Book:

Retreat from revolution

Mick Doyle reviews a new book about the early years of the Irish state

RETREAT From Revolution, subtitled *The Dail Courts, 1920-24*, charts the birth and the final consolidation of the Irish judicial system.

It traces its progress from the court's first appearance in the early days of the War of Independence, through the Truce, the Treaty that followed it and the Civil War. Its development mirrored the defiance, confusion and ultimate disillusionment taking place on a large scale during those years.

The war being waged against crown forces often drove the RIC into barracks and left the task of administering law to the republicans. They operated in competition with British courts and were soon hearing the lion's share of cases.

Officials performed their duties under difficult and dangerous conditions. Hearings were held in houses, barns and out-houses and were frequently raided by the police or army. They relied on local IRA units to carry out their decisions, a task the volunteers applied themselves to with reluctance.

Under pressure from Griffiths to enforce judgments Cathal Brugha, then Minister of Defence, said that he had "no time for courts, police or their ilk".

But what began to emerge in 1920 was part of a vision Arthur Griffith had long held of a new, independent Ireland. The poor, despite having been told for centuries that the country belonged to them, had no place in that vision.

Griffith was petitioned by landowners whose property was falling into the hands of small farmers and farm labourers. The author of this book, Mary Kotsonouris, has every sympathy with Griffith in his desire to restore order and protect property.

Protect

But her account is worth reading for the light it throws on how republicanism was used to protect the rich. Kotsonouris describes the long agitation that accompanies the war of independence with all the fear that might have been expressed in the drawing rooms of the 'Big House'.

"Unbridled fury was vented on land, cattle and, frequently, on the ranchers. There was little hesitation in using a patriotic guise to claim solidarity in these acts, such as branding appropriate beasts with the initials 'SF' or 'IR' or hanging a tricolour on the lands that were seized. As ever, patriotism was at hand for scoundrels to take refuge in."

Griffith came to the landowners' rescue and republican courts made it clear that nothing had changed. Citing an instance following protests against the first Dail court decision in Co Mayo, the author fairly gloats: "An IRA unit under Tom Maguire rounded up some of the younger rebels and detained them on an island in Lough Corrib. After a week there they were ready to agree to promise unequivocal obedience to the orders of the court."

Indeed, such was the zeal of these courts in executing their decisions that they were praised by Unionist MPs in the House of Commons.

Apart from its difficult beginnings the reader cannot help realise the similarities the system bore to the one it was attempting to replace.

Its administrators were drawn from the upper and middle classes, with priests frequently sitting in judgment, and in some cases from the old order itself. Describing a ceremony to mark the transition of power from the British authorities to the Irish the author tells us: "One of the most intriguing survivors in the Upper Yard on 11 June 1924 must surely have been Mr Justice Evelyn Wylie who had, as a British officer, prosecuted William Cosgrave at the court martial following the 1916 rebellion."

She goes on to say: "Also prominent among the dignitaries present was James Campbell, the Attorney General who had refused Wylie's request that the captured men should be allowed defence counsel."

By the time De Valera came to power members of the Irish judiciary were once again sporting the much hated wigs and gowns.

As the author herself puts it, "In harmony with most legal systems of the time and of long after, they were primarily concerned with the protection of property rather than the well being of persons."

Retreat from revolution by Mary Kotsonouris, Irish Academic Press

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**Classic:**

The cry of unity

Chanie Rosenberg reviews the re-issue of Ignazio Silone's best book

A YEAR after the publication of Ignazio Silone's *Fontamara* in 1933 it became a best-seller in 14 countries, moving many to become active revolutionaries.

After its disappearance for many years, Redwords has now re-published this magnificent classic.

Fontamara is the tale of a small village in Southern Italy under the heel of Mussolini's fascism in the 1920s. It starts with the centuries old unchanging cycle of the peasants' lives—grinding poverty, perpetual double crossing by their urban exploiters, and bread-line survival.

It leads on to the rapid changes brought by new superexploiters, who are backed at every stage with new laws and new taxes levied by the fascist government.

The two souls of the peasant vie with each other to find a way out. One is to fight for salvation for your own self and family against the other peasant families suffering the same plight.

The other is to unite and fight together against the exploiters for the benefit of all.

Fontamara traces the transition from the one to the other brilliantly, as the pressure on the peasants becomes intolerable.

In fact, that is the whole purpose of the book.

The mayor in *Fontamara* steals the water that irrigated the peasants' tiny plots by diverting the stream from the village to his own lands.

The women march to town to protest to the mayor and extract a promise of three quarters of the water for the mayor and three quarters of the rest for *Fontamara*.

They fail to comprehend the arithmetical trick but go home.

When the waters are actually divided and the peasants see that they have been given practically no water at all there is uproar.

There is no way the peasants can agree to the theft of their water as their food supply depends on it—the unirrigated land pays the debts and taxes.

The peasants' dilemma is embodied in a landless peasant, Berardo, who, being bolder than the rest, they look up to as their leader.

Berardo was suspected of being behind the burning down of the mayor's fence enclosing stolen common grazing ground.

But he falls in love and stops caring for the peasants interests. He goes to town to earn money and marry.

However, a police report on his previous conduct, prevents him getting a job and he eventually land in prison, together with a revolutionary he meets.

A day and night of fervid discussion in prison with the revolutionary brings him back to the revolutionary path, but this time not to the saboteur's cry of 'fire' but to the socialist's cry of 'unity'.

To secure the revolutionary's freedom Berardo takes the blame for his illegal literature and is tortured.

Their intensified persecution, and what happened to Berardo, rapidly turn the peasants from a quarrelsome collection of "each against all" into a communal group of revolutionaries.

Rise Up

In a nearby village the peasants rise up against their exploiters.

In *Fontamara* they unite to produce a revolutionary paper which they distribute in surrounding villages.

A bare outline of the plot of the book cannot begin to give a flavour of its passion, its bitter humour, in great artistry.



FONTAMARA
IGNAZIO SILONE

Ignazio Silone was born in 1900 and brought up in the small town of Pescina, the son of a small landowner and weaver.

He was forced to leave Italy after Mussolini's March on Rome in 1922, but returned in 1925 to engage in illegal work. He spent a number of brief periods in prison.

There could not be a more fitting background for the production of a great novel of political propaganda against fascism.

Fontamara, by Ignazio Silone, £5.00 + £1 p+p from: SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

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**Film:**

Raining Stones

Garret Dowling reviews Ken Loach's new film

KEN Loach's *Raining Stones* is his latest film dealing with the realities of life in Britain today.

Set in the north of England, it deals with an unemployed Lancashire labourer's desperate attempts to try and make ends meet and provide his daughter with a dress for her first communion.

What should be a fairly easy thing to do is in fact a struggle made all the harder by Bob Williams' (played by Bruce



Jones) van being stolen at the start of the film. Various nixers, such as cleaning drains and stealing the turf

from the local Conservative Association, don't solve any problems. In fact cleaning drains only

seems to land him deeper in the shit!

The local parish priest offers a second-hand dress but his offer is refused because Bob's daughter is going to have "a proper dress like everybody else".

In the end he turns to a money-lender.

Problems get worse when the moneylender gets nasty.

The film is both funny and sad and cannot but make you feel angry.

By showing the realities of life for millions of people in Britain (and Ireland), it avoids being condescending or patronising.

The dress problem is solved and there is a "happy ending", but the real problems remain.

The film is, through its realism, an indictment of the system we live under.

It's also very good.

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

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Builders unite to fight C45 attack

by DAVID DUNNE

BUILDING workers are planning a national strike against the C\$% system.

Up until recently C45s were used by sub-contractors waiting for their official tax clearance certificate (C2), but now employees are being pressurised into the scheme.

The pressure is coming from employers who are trying to cut their costs at the expense of the workers, who are losing their rights rapidly and are faced with a "take it or leave it" situation.

The rights being lost include the 39 hour week, holiday pay, sick benefits, social welfare benefits and numerous protective laws which don't apply under the C45.

The loss of 'wet pay' seriously affected builders particularly in bad winters, whereas builders still employed under PAYE were able to claim benefit.

There is bad news for apprentices, previously well looked after in the trade, because employers have realised they can cost and pay smaller wages to C45 workers.

In a recent estimation by construction unions the figures show over half the

70,000 workers in the trade are employed in the C45 scheme, the numbers are increasing steadily.

Recent meetings in Cork,

Limerick, Waterford, Kilkenny, Wexford and Galway held by Construction Unions' National Campaign against C45s showed an overwhelm-

ing majority vote against the scheme.

One plumber told *Socialist Worker*:

"It's going to lead to a dog eat dog situation, as those who are honest will be screwed by cowboys in the trade."

"Some lads being taken on are told to start up on the C45 or forget about the job altogether," claimed a Union shop steward on site in Dublin.

As there were 12 deaths and hundreds of injuries last year in the industry, many fear that the removal on injury and mortality benefit is one of the lowest blows.

This injustice must stop now. Support needs to be built for the strike in April.

NOLANS STRIKE: Striker's car shot at



AS the strike in Nolans Transport in New Ross moves into its second year, the campaign of violence against the strikers has taken a vicious turn.

Already, the strikers have had rubble dumped beside their caravan, and pickets were beaten up by company thugs.

In early March, one of the striker's car was shot at. He found a bullet from an air rifle lying on the passenger seat; it appeared to have been fired through the car window.

This represents another step in the efforts to intimidate the strikers. The company has been found guilty of unfair dismissal for sacking workers for joining a union.

Despite the continuing violence, SIPTU have still failed to call for blacking action against Nolans.

It seems that even being shot at is not enough to force them to make a serious effort to win the strike.

Irish Rail Strike

MANAGEMENT in Irish Rail are threatening to press ahead with attacks on train drivers' conditions.

They want to reduce manning levels on trains and cut back on overtime.

The changes were due to be imposed just after Easter.

But drivers from both SIPTU and the NBRU

are resisting the attack.

They have the backing of other groups of Irish Rail workers.

An AEU shop steward said:

"Management would be foolish to take on the drivers. They are united against this."

He felt the company might even try to lock other workers out.

"But this will only unite us all against them."

Teachers

TEACHING staff in DIT and RTC colleges staged two one-day strikes as part of their pay claim.

Most teachers are stuck on the middle grade of a three-grade system. When they reach the top point of the pay scale, they cannot get further incremental pay rises.

The teachers want recognition for the fact that their work is as demanding as that of university lecturers. They also want the right to promotion to the next grade up.

After the second strike, the Department of Education made a proposal for settling the dispute—but it fell far short of the teachers' demands.

One TUI activist told *Socialist Worker*:

"It's going to take a long time, but the strikes are absolutely solid—only two teachers crossed the picket in the whole of Dublin."

Waterford

DOCK workers at Waterford Port have placed unofficial pickets on the new Frank Cassin wharf.

The pickets are protesting against the employment of non-union dock labour who are being bussed in from around the country.

Under a new yellow pack scheme these dockers are working for only two thirds of the established union rate in Waterford port.

The employers are Waterford Multi-Port—a wholly owned subsidiary of Bellferry.

One of the strikers told *Socialist Worker*, "The ATGWU should make this strike official. They should not be hamstrung by the Industrial Relations Act."

"They should be calling on their union members at Bellferry not to co-operate in any way with this non-union operation"

A victory for the workers would stop any further attempts to bring in new cheap labour schemes.

TEAM Aer Lingus

THE bosses at TEAM Aer Lingus think that they were sold a pig in a poke.

They had demanded that workers accept 13 hour day shifts, a pay freeze and time and a quarter for overtime. They did not get any of these.

Instead after lengthy negotiations an agreement was reached which brought some changes in workpractices and also voluntary redundancies.

But now the company have claimed that "having looked at the agreement in the cold light of day, they found it of little value."

One worker summed up the reaction at TEAM. "The agreement was signed sealed and delivered. The management can take a running jump".

British Telecom

IN December, 85% of British Telecom operators voted to strike against BT's proposals to abolish night allowances, weekend premiums and cuts in Bank holiday pay.

This brought management back to the negotiating table. But there have been few welcome developments for workers.

It is obvious that the Union of Communications Workers officials are willing to forego some of the operators hard won gains in order to maintain good relations with management.

Now the bosses of BT have come up with a new scheme — Release 94 — which is a voluntary redundancy package supposedly offered to those who wish to leave to provide a more "efficient" and

'streamlined' workforce.

But in Northern Ireland BT have tried to force out unwilling engineers while refusing to release operators who want to leave.

Release 94 may be used as a distraction from the allowance issue which BT may be hoping to slip in by the back door. It could also pave the way for casual employment and staff agency temps.

One UCW member told *Socialist Worker*:

"There is a growing feeling of anger among BT workers. At union meetings many workers have called for action."

The consensus is that neither the latest offer on allowances nor Release 94 should be accepted. The only way to fight is to stage walk-outs. This would hurt the company who are facing increased competition from Mercury and cable companies"

Nestle

PRODUCTION workers at Nestle in Tallaght staged a half-hour work stoppage at the end of March.

As part of their claim for a 3 per cent pay rise due under the last PESP, they refused to co-operate with the company's ISO9000 quality programme.

When the company said it would dock them half an hour's pay, they stopped work and stayed in the cloakroom until their tea-break was due.

Issues for the Labour Movement

by KIERAN GLENNON

Whose side are the union officials on?

MANY socialists and trade unionists have asked themselves this question, particularly after their official has recommended a worthless deal.

The answer to the question is: neither.

Socialists argue that society is split into two main classes: employers and workers. Trade union officials don't fall into either category.

They don't suffer like their members from low pay, the threat of redundancy or from being pushed around by the boss.

And although union offices may employ large numbers of people, it is not this that gives the officials their economic and social status.

Instead, the role of the official is to balance between these two main classes. Essentially, their job is to act as a mediator between bosses and workers by being professional negotiators.

This explains why, at the drop of a hat, they go running to conciliation

officers or the Labour Court. Endless meetings with such third parties mean that the officials' professional skills become more important than the collective power of the rank and file members.

The same process lies behind the new Programme for Competitiveness and Work.

If wage levels were determined by a simple head to head battle between employers and workers, the officials would be left on the sidelines. So in order to preserve their own position, the officials push the idea of "social partnership"—the PNR, the PESP and the PCW.

All this P'ing in the wind serves to disguise the officials' unwillingness to really take on the bosses. Instead we get a load of palaver about "the national interest" and "all in it together".

Threat

To an extent, they're all in it together. During the PCW talks, the *Irish Times* reported how the union officials and the employers' negotiators would share steak sandwiches and even a friendly singsong.

The prospect of workers going on

strike is a direct threat to such cosy arrangements. A picket line puts the power back in the hands of the rank and file members and upsets the machinery of negotiation. That's why officials are so keen to avoid strikes.

They have largely given up on the idea of workers' demands being won through industrial action. This is the legacy of defeats suffered in the recent past—the 1984-85 miners' strike in Britain, the Waterford Glass strike in 1987 and so on.

Industrial action is now dismissed as being "old-fashioned", and talks and negotiations are all that is left. And if those don't work the officials shrug their shoulders and say they tried.

However every so often they need to wave a big stick at the employers. In such cases they will stage a carefully controlled strike—usually a token action like a one-day stoppage.

But once the employer has been suitably scared, it's back to work and back around the table. The militant talk is then put back on the shelf to gather more dust.

This happened last year in the run-up to the PCW.

The public service union, IMPACT, staged two strikes in the health serv-

ice. Although thousands of workers were involved, both strikes were called off when further gains could have been won.

The officials wanted to give their members a chance to let off some of their anger at the government, while at the same time, putting manners on the government negotiators.

No Strike

But then the same officials recommended acceptance of a Programme that contains a no-strike clause for the public service.

Many workers are quite rightly disgusted at the sellouts of the bureaucrats and the huge salaries they earn. But how can we counteract their betrayals?

The way to get round the restraining influence of the officials is to build up a strong rank and file confidence against the employer, as well as a tradition of solidarity with other workers regardless of what union they are in.

The principle of James Connolly was that the fighting spirit of workers is far more important than even the most perfect union machine.

The very militant Clyde Shop Stewards said in their day, the officials should be supported only so long as they rightly represent the workers, and the rank and file should act independently of them when they don't.

Officials should be elected by the members, not appointed by head office. If they don't deliver the goods they should be un-elected and replaced.

They should not be paid more than their members earn. Above all, they should be subject to their members' instructions.

But at the end of the day, there is only one answer to the existence of the union bureaucracy, a strong and confident workforce.

In the longer term, even the most democratic union organisation has to sit down for negotiations with the employers. Inevitably any large union is going to develop a group of full timers cut off from the rank and file.

That's why the real task of socialists in a workplace is to not just to build strong union organisation, but a party that can lead workers to take over the running of the whole of society.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

SACK THIS RACIST PROFESSOR

The rich aren't paying- so why should we?

STUFF VAT ON FUEL

FROM the start of this month the Tories insist that we pay tax on every watt of electricity, every cubic metre of gas, every drop or lump of coal we use.

As usual with Tory policies, it is the poor who will pay most. Working class people are more likely to be living in damp housing which

costs more to heat.

Anyone living in a Housing Executive house has to use smokeless fuel. This can cost £4-£6 a week more than the ordinary coal which people living in owner-occupied houses can burn.

As if all this wasn't enough, tens of thousands of the wealthiest people in Britain and Northern Ireland escaped VAT on fuel altogether by

paying their bills in advance.

Up to £1,000 million was handed to the gas and electricity companies before April 1st. This allowed them to avoid VAT at 8 percent this year and 17.5 percent from next April.

How many working class people can afford to pay their fuel bills one year in advance.

It's more of one law for the rich and another for the poor.

Chancellor Kenneth Clarke had the nerve to claim his tax rises would not really hurt. He said the average family would be "only three pints of beer a week" worse off.

Everyone knows it is getting more and more difficult to make ends meet. Pensioners are only getting between 50p and 70p a week more to help them meet the new VAT charges. Those on Income Support are getting nothing.

The Tories could not have got this measure through without the support of the Unionist Party.

The Unionist Party come from the same class as the Tories. They do not give a damn about working class people. All their talk about maintaining 'the constitutional position' is really only about keeping their little privileges.

Instead of letting the Unionists and the Tories divide us workers should unite to fight this hated tax. We should be lodging big pay claims as a compensation.

We should also turn the coming Mayday in Belfast into a massive display of united workers anger.



RICHARD Lynn, Professor of Psychology at the National University of Ulster, has got links with the fascist organiser David Irving.

Both are members of the Chelsea Group. This is a far right think tank that gives a respectable cover to racist ideas.

Lynn claims he is doing research on why Black people are less intelligent than whites. The research is funded by another neo-Nazi foundation.

The Pioneer Fund in America gave £30,000 for Lynn's supposed research.

Lynn has also written articles for a far right magazine in America, Mankind Quarterly, which is also run by racists. The Nazi scientist Baron Otmar von Verschuer was a past editorial advisor to the magazine.

Now the Anti-Nazi League in Belfast are mounting a major campaign to expose the activities of Lynn who lectures to hundreds of students in Coleraine.

The British fascist party the BNP are trying to get organised in the North. They hope to use the sectarian divisions that have been fostered between Catholics and Protestant to get a platform for their racist poison.

In the Coleraine area, fascist graffiti has started to appear. The town was once used as a base by Martin Webster, a leading member of the fascist National Front in Britain.

Lynn's racist propaganda can only help to make fascist ideas respectable. This is why it is so important to demand that he be sacked from his post in Coleraine.

SACK LYNN!

Assemble Town Hall,
Coleraine May 7 at 2.30
Organised by the Anti-Nazi League

MEANWHILE in Belfast members of the Anti-Nazi League have been leafletting supporters of the Crusaders team in Belfast.

Their target is the BNP graffiti that has started to appear around the ground. One or two Nazis have taken to bringing a BNP banner to the matches in the colours of the team -- red, white and black.

The ANL leaflet with the headline 'Kick Fascism out of Football' was distributed to hundreds of supporters who are drawn mainly from the Shore Road area of North Belfast.

The leaflet pointed to groups like Rangers against the Nazis and Spurs against the Nazis as examples of football supporters groups who set out to clean their terraces of Nazi scum.

When the ANL approached the Crusaders official supporters club about the activities of the BNP they got a sympathetic hearing.

One official told the ANL, "We don't know who these people are. But when we do we will kick them out".