

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

'I had to work Xmas every year for £2.50 an hour'—The scandal of low pay
—CENTRE PAGES

Dunnes Stores workers show...



■ Dunnes Stores strikers at the beginning of September

WHAT A disgusting group the Dunnes family are. They make about £100 million in profit each year yet they do not want to pay a pension to the majority of their staff.

Margaret Heffernan acts like Lady Bountiful when she runs the charity *People in Need* but she can only do it because her staff work on Sundays for little extra pay.

Of course, Dunnes are not the only sharks in Ireland. At the Royal Dublin Hotel workers earn as little as £2.50 an hour and often do not get holiday payments.

Yet the owners have fancy apartments and property around the city and are making a fortune.

Welcomed

The media always tells workers that strikes are a bad thing and must be avoided in these days of social partnership.

But how else can you put manners on employers like these except by taking action?

The strikes of Dunnes and Royal Dublin workers should be welcomed by everyone who wants to see trade unionists stand up for their rights.

Thousands of working class people know this and this is why they give their full backing.

The tragedy is that our union leaders are not so sure that they should be organising these types of struggles.

Many of them are anxious to get back to the cosy partnership deals with the bosses and that is why they are planning to enter a new programme to restrain wages.

They are being encouraged in this by supporters of Dick Spring and Proinsias de Rossa.

The Labour Party and Democratic Left are now much more interested in making sure that entrepreneurs make a profit than in standing up for working people.

But no matter how much profits roll in, the Irish rich have no intention of solving the unemployment crisis.

That is why we need a real socialist alternative that matches the fighting spirit shown on the picket line.

A party that stands with the workers as much as Fianna Fail and Fine Gael stand for Larry Goodman and the beef barons.

IT'S RIGHT TO STRIKE!

what we think

The unionist politicians who back Billy Wright

David Trimble and Peter Robinson have suddenly come out against threats to expel people from their areas.

Their main concern is for Billy Wright and Alec Kerr, who have been given an expulsion order by the Combined Loyalist Military Command.

Trimble and Robinson did not rush to the defence of the 200 innocent Catholics who have been forced to leave their

houses during the Drumcree crisis.

But Wright and Kerr seem to be different. Wright, who

earned the nickname King Rat, has a fierce sectarian reputation in the Portadown.

Cold sweat

One senior Catholic politician told the *Irish News* that 'The very mention of his name can leave some of us in a cold sweat'.

Although Trimble refused to speak to Catholic residents of his own constituency in Garvaghy Road, he held a secret meeting with Billy Wright during the Drumcree crisis.

Alec Kerr is a former UDA commander who drove the JCB at police lines in Drumcree. Afterwards this action was given as the reason



■ Loyalist thug King Rat—Billy Wright

why the massed ranks of the RUC had to back down.

The official Unionists and the Democratic Unionist Party claim that the threat to Wright and Kerr is reason enough to get fringe loyalist parties expelled from all-party talks.

They are worried about the splintering of the Unionist vote and the way that people like Ervine and Hutchinson talk about the fur coat brigade who let down the Protestant working class.

Crush

They want to crush all signs of dissent in the Protestant working class.

One way of doing this was to whip up a fever of sectarianism during the marching season.

Another way is to split the working class loyalist parties.

As long as loyalist killer gangs were 'doing their job' of intimidating Catholics, the official Unionists could condemn

them but still reap the benefits of their dirty work. Once they went political they became a threat.

This is why the Unionist Parties always prefer people like Wright to even those paramilitaries who are searching for a different way.

They have certainly hit these groups on their weak spot.

Whenever Protestant dissent has been expressed through a radical form of loyalism, it has always been beaten back by raising the sectarian temperature.

David Ervine of the PUP is already sounding more sectarian as he answers the charge made by Wright that he is not really a 'hard line loyalist'.

These sinister developments show two things. They show the depth to which the Unionist middle class will sink to defend their privileges.

They also show why Protestant workers who are sick of these antics need to break from loyalism fully.



■ While South Korean former dictators are put on trial the police repression continues. This relative of a victim of the 1980 Kwangju assault on pro-democracy demonstrators is bundled away in a protest outside Seoul criminal court last month.

Beware of bosses bearing waffle!

THE bosses organisation, IBEC, is singing to a new tune. In a recent policy paper, *Social Policy in a Competitive Economy*, it claims that it wants 'policies to combat unemployment and social exclusion'.

It even claims that it is committed to a 'society in which the principles of equity and equality of opportunity play a central role'.

Pdraig Yeates, the industrial correspondent of the *Irish Times* was so impressed that he called the IBEC document 'an important contribution to the debate on a new national agreement'.

In reality, the employers' new

statement is just sweet waffle.

For all their concern for the 'principles of equity' they will never expel a member for paying poverty wages or closing down factories to sell off the assets.

But they know that words cost nothing.

The timing of the IBEC document is important.

They are aware that trade unionists are currently debating whether or not to go into a new programme to restrict wages and give up their right to strike.

So they are bringing out the soft cop style to suit the moment.

The employers have gained enormously from nine years of social partnership deals.

Today companies in Ireland are making a massive 54p in profits for every pound earned by workers.

This huge level of profits has produced no benefits for workers.

Promise

The promise that job creation would follow wage restraint proved to be a lie.

Today there are more people unemployed than there were in 1986—the year before the programmes started.

The union leaders are likely to be attracted to IBEC's embrace of the 'social market'.

In a document written by the ICTU some years ago, *Ireland 1900-2,000*, the ICTU argued

that their ideal was also 'a social market economy that was similar to Germany's'.

Today, however, Germany is demanding that its public sector workers do an extra three years before getting their pensions and has torn up laws which made it harder for employers to dismiss workers in small workplaces.

Instead of looking for a 'social market' with the bosses, our union leaders should be organising a drive to clean up low paid sweatshops and win £4.50 a hour minimum wage. They should put in a 15% catch up pay claim to make sure workers gain from the boom.

This is why we should forget the waffle and so NO to a new partnership programme.

LABOUR PARTY: Planning their next Coalition

THE Labour Party is already looking for new excuses for why they should be in Coalition again.

Pat Upton, the Labour TD for Dublin South Central thinks he has found one. He has recently argued that Labour should enter the next election in a pact with Fine Gael and Democratic Left. This way he claims that the 'centre left' would be opposed to the 'centre right' of Fianna Fail and the Progressive Democrats.

According to Upton, "Labour has always wanted a left right divide in Irish politics. In the next election we are likely to see this happen—even if it is not the full blooded divide that many hoped for in the past'.

Upton can only justify this idea by claiming that Fine Gael is 'now dominated by the ideas and policies of the Labour Party'.

But this is news to many Labour supporters. A year ago, for example, Dick Spring argued against a referendum to remove the right to bail. Today he is going along with Fine Gael's policy on the matter.

In opposition, Spring claimed he wanted to break the Golden Circle which fa-



■ Pat Upton

voured big business backers of right wing parties. Today he sits quiet when Dennis O'Brien a prominent Fine Gael supporter is awarded a contract for a cellular phone network.

The pro-Coalition supporters in the Labour Party have always tried to make out that one right wing party is far worse than the other.

When they joined up with Albert Reynolds some of them hinted that Fianna Fail's populism was more radical than Fine Gael. Today they turn it around and pretend that Fine Gael is more liberal and honest than Fianna Fail.

The reality is that the difference between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael is the same as between Tweedledum and Tweedledee. Labour and Democratic Left have joined in the game because they see no alternative to capitalism.

AS N.I.'S MULTI-PARTY TALKS RESUME...

Stormont talks avoid the real issues

AFTER A summer's break the multi-party talks are due to resume in Stormont buildings on September 9th.

Any illusion that they can bring peace has been shattered by the events during the marching season.

Even before Drumcree, the talks were used by Paisley and Trimble to stoke up anti-Catholic bigotry.

They even claimed that George Mitchell was unsuitable as a chairperson because of his "Catholic" religion.

The spectacle of Paisley getting rid of green furniture from the forum assembly room showed up the type of sick farce that was going on.

Divisions within Unionism and loyalism are now at an all time high after Billy Hutchinson of the PUP recently referred to the DUP as "scum".

Paisley will be even more interested in using the talks to try to marginalise the fringe loyalists than to attempt any agreement with nationalists.

Pretend.

There are other reasons why these talks cannot bring peace.

The whole process does not even pretend to be about getting rid of sectarianism.

Instead the language is all about respecting each others traditions and "accommodating diversity".

It is as much as saying that we have to all stick to our different camps.

Nor will the talks address the fundamental question of how the Northern state itself breeds sectarianism.

This state has always been founded on anti-Catholic bigotry.

Drumcree and the behaviour of the RUC shows that this is still the case today.

The present leader of the UUP, David Trimble is more right wing and hard line than even his predecessors.

In 1988, amidst protests at the Anglo-Irish agreement he published a pamphlet, *What Choice for Ulster?* where he advocated an independent Ulster.

Today he is even less likely to make concessions, seeing the Orange card as the main way to restore his dominance over Protestant workers.

Even if Sinn Fein are eventually allowed into these talks, the real issue is what would be gained.

Any settlement, if it ever happened, would be a patched up compromise between communal leaders who want the divisions in the working class to continue as it lets them pretend to represent their community.

Such an agreement could only be made over the heads of ordinary working class people and would aim at keeping them passive.

The alternative lies in trying

to build unity from below.

At the moment there is a vicious sectarian mood throughout the North that has been encouraged by the bigots.

But the mood is volatile. People have been led into this dead end by the peace process itself because it encourages the idea that one side can only make gains at the expense of the other.

Express

Alongside the sectarian mood there is also a feeling for class unity.

For that mood to express itself fully, however, it will depend on socialists.

The events of the summer has shown that it is more necessary than ever for socialists from a Protestant background to oppose loyalism and from those from a Catholic background to offer something more than the bankruptcy of republicanism.

Waterside residents oppose sectarian attacks

CATHOLIC families are being intimidated out of the Clooney estate in Derry's Waterside in a sectarian campaign orchestrated by the UVF.

About two families a week have been forced out since the start of August.

One Catholic man was told to get out at gunpoint.

Two families who had

refused to move were petrol-bombed in the middle of the night.

Condemned

The attacks have been condemned by the

Clooney Resident's Association which says that the area has been mixed since it was built in the 1970s and that Catholic families are welcome there.

Paisley's sidekick in Derry, Gregory Campbell, however said that the attacks are "understandable" after the Apprentice Boys not being allowed to march around Derry's walls.

Unfortunately, some people in Catholic areas have responded to the sectarian attacks on the Waterside by attacking individual Protestants and one young man was badly beaten in the Glen area of the city.

Damaged

Christchurch, a Church of Ireland church on the edge of the Bogside, was slightly damaged in a sectarian arson attack.

These kinds of attacks have become more common in Derry and are part of a considerable increase in sectarianism since Trimble's whipping-it-up exercise at Drumcree.

Only the bigoted politicians benefit from such attacks. All working people should oppose them.



RUC attack residents in Gervaghy Road in July

Derry travellers fire bombed

"ATTEMPTED mass murder" was how one resident described the petrol bomb attack on the home of a travelling family in Derry.

Christopher and Julia Stokes and their twelve children were due to move into a house in Elaghmore Park, Galliagh at the start of this month.

But bigots in the area have been whipping up hatred against the travelling family, culminating in what another resident described as a "lynch mob".

About forty people from the huge housing estate picketed the house and covered the windows with placards claiming they had been "hoodwinked" over the allocation.

One of the women who had been involved in the campaign against the travellers changed her mind after she met the family and now supports their right to move in.

Bullied

She told the *Derry Journal*, the majority of residents were prepared to "give the family a chance" but had been "bullied into backing down by hard-liners".

SWP members took up a letter of support for travellers in the city centre and got the support of hundreds of people. It showed that many people in the city are opposed to this type of bigotry.

The letter was designed to let the family know that most people support civil rights for travelling people and that they are welcome in Derry.

Jack McDonald, the secretary of the South Antrim Young Unionists, is out to make a name for himself as a bigot. This time his target is travellers.

He is campaigning to have a traveller site in Newtownabbey closed down. In a vicious speech, McDonald accused the travellers of being "parasites" who are 'sucking the life blood' of society.

But the real parasites are to be found among the Tory supporters that the Unionist Party backs.

Two companies, owned by the fat cats who have taken over the privatised electricity industry in the North, have made £23 million in profits last year.

They were helped by the fact that they jacked up electricity prices by 20%. But there has not been a word of complaint from the Unionists.

Right wing politicians like McDonald always try to cover up for the real robbers in society. That is why this disgusting racist likes to put the boot into travellers.

Northern Ireland Electricity cut off more homes

NORTHERN Ireland Electricity is disconnecting 12 times as many people as the average company in Britain.

This shocking fact was revealed in a recent report by Ofreg, the electricity regulating body.

The main reason is that NI electricity prices are so high and wages are so low.

According to Majella McCloskey of National Energy Action "Disconnections are practically nil in other parts of the UK. We know from our research that it is people on low incomes who are most affected here".

This state of affairs is the direct result of Tory policies which the Unionist Party backs.

They have kept Major's government in power, hoping to get more leverage in all-party talks.

But the cost of this is major hardship for working class people from both Catholic and Protestant backgrounds.

international news

The Gulf:

Clinton orders air strikes on Iraq

UNITED STATES B52 bombers with Cruise missiles attacked southern Iraqi targets as we went to press.

More attacks were expected as US president Bill Clinton threatened savage reprisals against Iraq after Saddam Hussein's troops moved into Kurdistan.

In the five years since the Gulf War the region has been dubbed a "safe haven" by the western powers and has been a no-go area for Iraqi forces.

Last week, however, the Kurdish Democratic Party, led by Massoud Barzani, invited Iraqi troops to drive their rival, the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan, out of Arbil, the region's unofficial capital.

Barzani's justification for his invitation to the man who has butchered over 250,000 Kurds in recent years was that his rival was cooperating with Iraq.

Intervene

Saddam Hussein responded gleefully to the request to intervene.

His actions have provoked a massive problem for Clinton.

US policy in the Middle East is rapidly unravelling just eight weeks away from the presidential election.

This latest crisis follows

Kurdistan's civil war for oil profits

THE KURDISH Democratic Party and the Patriotic Union of Kurdistan have, since 1994, been fighting a civil war for control of Iraqi Kurdistan and the profits from the sanctions-busting trade with Turkey.

They cooperated with Turkish officials even as the Turkish government waged a genocidal war against its own Kurdish population.

For decades now Kurdish factions and parties have used and been used by the regional powers.

Turkey, Iran, Iraq and Syria have all combined a policy of repressing Kurdish populations within their own borders with supporting Kurdish resistance groups operating against their neighbours.

Sometimes the US and Israel have had a direct hand in events.

In the early 1970s, for example, the Shah of Iran, US National Security Advisor Henry Kissinger and the CIA used the Kurds to put pressure on Iraq.

The Kurds were armed and encouraged to fight for autonomy in Iraq but,

as the CIA put it, "Neither Iran nor ourselves wish to see the matter resolved one way or the other."

In 1975 the Shah suddenly withdrew support and the US did nothing as thousands of Kurdish fighters were butchered.

Gas Attacks

Ten years later, during the war with Iran, Saddam Hussein killed tens of thousands of Kurds in gas attacks, destroyed Kurdish villages and deported hundreds of thousands with the connivance of the US and Britain.

That has not stopped the Kurdish Democratic Party turning to Saddam Hussein for support.

There are 22 million Kurdish people, spread through Turkey, Iran, Iraq, Syria, Armenia and Azerbaijan.

They have been fighting for self-determination since it was promised by the victorious powers after the First World War.

Last week's events in Iraqi Kurdistan show once again that the cause of Kurdish freedom cannot be separated from the fight of workers throughout the Middle East.

bombs in Saudi Arabia, riots in Bahrain and Jordan and the election of a right wing government in Israel which is taking a harder line towards the Palestinians.

Now Clinton's strategy of "dual containment" of Iran and Iraq is in jeopardy.

If US forces attack the Iraqis, they will be intervening on behalf of an Iranian supported faction.

Scupper

If Clinton does nothing it will be a green light to the

man whom the US government dubbed the "new Hitler".

Clinton's first response to Saddam Hussein's action was to scupper United Nations moves to let Iraq sell oil in return for food.

This action will not hit



■ US forces killed tens of thousands of Iraqis in the Gulf War five years ago

Saddam Hussein or the Iraqi military.

It will sentence tens of thousands more ordinary Iraqis to hunger, disease

and death.

The United Nations Food and Agriculture Organisation said recently that Iraq was in a "pre-famine situation".

UNICEF, the UN children's organisation reports that 170,000 Iraqi children a year die from hunger and lack of medicine.

FRANCE:

Anger at racist deportations

SOME 15,000 PEOPLE demonstrated in Paris late August in protest at the French government's assault on immigrants fighting deportation.

Similar demonstrations, many thousands strong, took place the same day in several other cities.

The protests came after the country's Tory government sent armed police to smash up an occupation of Paris's St Bernard church by the immigrants and their supporters.

The attack has caused outrage, with a majority of people backing the immigrants' demand to be given residency papers.

This reaction forced the government to release most of the immigrants. Only a few have been deported, and those were on military planes after the CFDT union federation called on its members not to allow civilian planes to be used.

Attacks

The attempt by the government to play the race card comes amid new talk of a "hot autumn" of industrial unrest.

The government and bosses plan a range of savage attacks on wages, welfare and pensions.

Key union leaders have already warned that the government's plans could provoke revolt.

Rail workers in south-east-

ern France struck for two days last weekend over staff cuts. Teachers have announced plans for national strikes later this month.

Arms industry workers and one union at the EDF state electricity company plan a strike for next Tuesday.

The Force Ouvriere federation has called a national demonstration on 21 September "to test the fighting spirit." An opinion poll last week found that 75 percent of people expect this autumn to see mass strikes similar to those which shook the country last year.

The coming weeks will prove whether that kind of sentiment is to be translated into real resistance.

Zimbabwe:

Striking civil servants force Mugabe to backdown

A STRIKE by up to 180,000 civil servants in Zimbabwe has forced massive concessions from the government. But strikers decided to stay out to win even more.

After nine days of all-out action, the government told the strikers it had "forgotten to implement" a previously agreed 20 percent wage rise and would now make sure the money was paid.

But this was not enough to secure an immediate return to work.

At the start of this week the strike was continuing as workers demanded a reinstatement of all those sacked during the dispute, pay for the strike days and a pledge of no

discrimination against strike leaders.

The humiliating climbdown over pay was in stark contrast to President Mugabe's bluster when the action started. "We don't take kindly to illegal strikes. This may be an opportunity for us to reduce the size of the public sector," he said.

The government then sacked junior doctors, nurses, mortuary attendants, firefighters and court staff for refusing to return to work.

But workers continued to strike solidly, despite being told to return to work at one point by union leaders. When the union leaders betrayed, activists organised to keep the strike going and to build demonstrations which pushed the strike forward.

Pressure

Pressure from below forced the main union federation to threaten a general strike from this Monday unless the government backed off.

Just as workers in Europe are told that the European Union and the

Maastricht treaty make cuts inevitable, workers in Zimbabwe were told that cuts in public sector pay were necessary because of International Monetary Fund conditions for loans.

But, as a striking nurse told reporters, "We are on strike to defend our conditions, to have enough for a meal and a house. We must defend such things when they are under attack from the government or the IMF."

In fact this demonstration of workers' power will make it less likely that the government will dare to push through the cuts and privatisation the IMF demands.

The strikes in Zimbabwe are an inspiration to workers in Africa and should also show us how to hit back against threats to pay and welfare.

Cyprus: Stoking up divisions

THE WESTERN powers frequently resorted to divide and rule to maintain their grip on their colonies. Ethnic or religious differences were exaggerated and tensions promoted to copper-fasten their rule.

One result of this has been the partition of countries. Ireland and India, for example, were partitioned prior to granting independence.

Another divided country is Cyprus, which hit the world headlines as protesters were shot in cold blood during a recent demonstration against partition.

Britain ruled Cyprus until 1960 and still maintains military bases on the island. At one time it would seem to favour Greeks in appointments and then Turks. In this way it stoked up distrusts between the Greek majority and the Turkish minority.

After independence the new government, continuing the policy of the British, discriminated against the Turkish population.

An extreme right-wing movement led by General Grivas conducted a hate campaign demanding union with Greece.

Sections of the ruling class in Greece saw it suited their regional ambitions to encourage these movements among Greek Cypriots.

Invaded

When a pro-Greek coup—encouraged by the Greek military dictatorship of the time—took power in Cyprus in 1974, the Turkish army invaded and occupied the Northern third of the island, ostensibly to “protect the Turkish Cypriots”.

Successive governments in Greece and Turkey have used the issue of Cyprus to deflect workers’ anger at home and as part of their regional rivalry.

That rivalry has increased with discovery of oil and gas reserves under the Aegean Sea which separates Greece and Turkey.

A dispute over sovereignty of an uninhabited rock off the Turkish coast almost led to full-scale war earlier this year.

The Greek government used that, and the situation in Cyprus as an excuse to increase the military budget which is now the second highest per head of population in the world.

Turkey also has a huge military budget and is bogged down in a dirty war against the Kurds. The Islamic Welfare Party heads the government.

It won votes last December because to promised to defend the poor.

But it faces growing disillusionment as it accelerates the privatisation programme.

The recent border clashes began when the Greek Cypriot regime encouraged a demonstration storming the border with the North but at the last moment called it off. The border clashes went ahead anyway and two Greek Cypriots were shot dead by Turkish forces.

Government ministers from both Greece and Turkey had visited the island in the last few weeks to accuse the other side of being murderers.

Both regimes on the island as well as both Greece and Turkey call for the re-unification of the island in a federation of Greek and Turkish Cypriots. But each of these regimes demand this re-unification under their auspices and see it as a means of extending their influence.

Any re-unification of Cyprus which is enforced by either Greece or Turkey will be a means to promote their influence in their regional-power rivalries.

Such a re-unification would not lead to a reconciliation of the two communities but a festival of jingoism.

This is why it is wrong to make a simple comparison between Ireland and Cyprus as some republicans do.

The issue in the North is the oppression of a Catholic minority by a sectarian state. The main issue in Cyprus is the rivalry between two regional powers that are willing to go to war with each other to promote chauvinism.

Pretend

Socialists should not pretend that the reactionary rulers in the area can unite countries on the basis of peace and justice. Instead we point out the hypocrisy of the rulers.

We seek to develop the maximum unity of workers across religious, ethnic and national barriers and the complete independence of workers from their rulers.

This is why organisations supporting the same politics as *Socialist Worker* in Greece, Turkey and Cyprus do not fall for pressing for unity of the island behind either of the reactionary regimes in the area.

Instead they argue against their “own” rulers jingoism and for working class unity.

—KEVIN WINGFIELD

THE SCANDAL OF LOW PAY

‘I had to work Xmas every year at £2.50 an hour’

HOUSEHOLDS all over South Dublin got a leaflet through their door last month.

Fergal Quinn was offering people “a job for life with Superquinn”.

He promised prospective employees “a better quality of life” on the princely sum of £3.44 an hour.

The same week CERT, the state tourism training agency, published its annual report.

It acknowledged that tourism jobs had a bad image.

That image is well deserved.

The average wage earned by workers in the hotel and catering industry is between £100 and £200 a week which is well below the average industrial wage.

Low pay is one of the biggest scandals in Irish society.

38 percent of the total workforce is officially low paid, in other words earning less than £130 per week. Two-thirds of these are women while half are under 25 years of age.

Next to Portugal, Irish workers are the lowest paid in the EU.

These appalling statistics indicate the need to demand a minimum wage that would help pull thousands of workers out of poverty and protect them from some of the worst excesses of the exploitation they currently face.

Booming

£4.50 an hour is the very least that workers deserve but even this demand will be resisted with great ferocity by the employers who claim that they can't afford to raise wages and threaten that jobs will be lost if they are forced to accept a minimum wage.

This argument is nonsense. The Irish economy is booming and profits are soaring.

The *Irish Times* estimates that Dunnes Stores enjoyed profits of about £45 million in 1995, Quinnsworth £30 million and Superquinn £13 million.

There is no shortage of money when it comes to increases in executive salaries. A recent survey revealed that Irish executives are now getting salary rises of 10 percent a year.

The average salary and fringe benefits for a managing director are currently £78,424.

Meanwhile politicians are considering awarding themselves another £10,000 a year a pay rise.

Under the Programme for Competitiveness and Work,

workers were forced to accept wage restraint while these people at the top creamed it all off.

Partnership

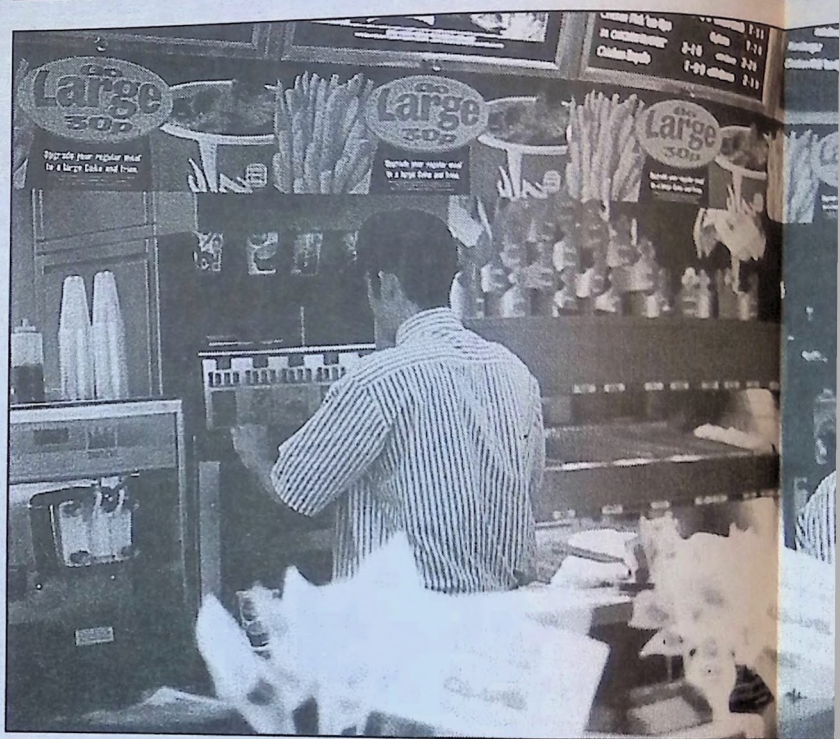
Social partnership with government and employers, has done nothing for ordinary workers.

It kept thousands of civil servants on low pay and was an obstacle to nurses fighting for increases.

We don't need any new programmes.

Instead we need to fight for decent pay increases for all workers and for a minimum wage to protect those at the lowest end of the scale.

EXPLO



‘I have to take any

Socialist Worker spoke to some low paid workers:

HELEN, 20:

‘I'm a waitress in an “exclusive” Dublin hotel. I'm getting £3.50 an hour. Mind you there are a lot of 15 or 16 year olds working with me during their school holidays and they only get £2.50.

I do a 40-hour week, sometimes starting at 7.00am, which means I have to get a taxi to work which is quite expensive.

Shift

The worst thing is the split shifts. This means that I could have to work the 7am to midday shift and then be back in for 6pm working until about midnight or 1am if it's the weekend.

Sometimes I'll have to be back in the next morning for 7.

It's hard work and the wages are very poor. One thing that really annoys me is that the service charge doesn't come to the staff — the hotel keeps that.

AISSLING, 16

‘I've left school but I'm too young to get the dole.

I need money so I've no choice really but to take any job I can get.

I work in a cafe for £2.50

an hour but I also do a few mornings a week for a guesthouse on the southside.

They give me £3 an hour but I really earn it.

Extra

Last week myself and the other general assistant

were told to get the whole place cleaned in two hours. We worked really hard but it took a half an hour extra.

Of course we weren't paid for it and when I pointed it out the boss said it should only take two hours.

She said it was up to me

The regulations that

LOW PAY in Ireland is regulated by the Joint Labour Committees.

These committees, comprised of trade unions and employers, set down minimum pay and conditions for specific occupations. They apply to only a small number of areas and most workers

don't even know of their existence. The JLC system is totally inadequate. First of all the rates just are very low.

Contract

The starting rate for shop assistants is £2.41 an hour while contract cleaners are entitled to just £3.72 an hour.

Even though the

rates are low many employers totally ignore them and the Department of Employment and Enterprise, which is responsible for enforcement, has rarely prosecuted anyone for non-compliance.

In 1995 a group of security firms challenged the JLC terms of employment set for their industry.

W PAY

by DEIRDRE CRONIN

EXPLOITATION!



Why a £4.50 minimum wage won't destroy jobs

ECONOMISTS say that the bosses can't afford to pay any more than they currently do.

But a number of studies show that a minimum wage will not lead to the destruction of jobs as right wing economists claim.

■ A study in the US found total employment in the fast food industry in New Jersey actually grew after a rise in the minimum wage.

■ A rise in the minimum wage in California in 1988 increased the average pay of teenagers by 10 percent.

'any job I can get'

to get the whole
worked really hard
k a half an hour

erse we weren't
it and when I
out the boss said
I only take two
d it was up to me

whether I wanted to con-
tinue but there was plenty
more work.

Desperate

This was really clever on
her part because she
knows I'm desperate for
more work and more
money.

It really, really disgusts

me working for £3 an hour
when this place charges
£35 a night for a bed.

They're making loads of
money.

I know I'm being really
exploited but I've no
choice. The alternative is
to work as a lounge girl but
some of my friends only
get £1 an hour for that.

CAROLINE, 24

Up until recently I
worked in a small,
local supermarket.

I was there for eight
years.

I started at £1.50 an
hour, made it up to £2.50
and was on that rate for the
last three years.

This was my full-time
job. I did over 40 hours a
week.

Flexible

I had to in order to make
it worthwhile working and
anyway you were ex-
pected to be flexible.

I worked seven days a
week with one Sunday in
three off.

I had to work Xmas day
every year.

And whether it was
Xmas, weekends or over-
time, it was still £2.50 an
hour.

The owner is making a
packet, he's raking it in
every day of the week.

Now he has a whole load
of young ones in and he's
only paying them £1.50.

Looking back on it, I
don't know how I stuck it.

that don't work

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secuted
or non-
ce.

a group of
firms
ed the JLC
employment
their industry.

The terms included
an hourly rate of £3.65
and unsocial hours
payment.

Claimed

The firms claimed
that because the
agreement had been
struck with IBEC, the
bosses' organisation
of which they were
not members, it did
not apply to them.

The High Court

found in their favour
and declared the
agreement null and
void.

It's clear that an
alternative way of
tackling low pay is
urgently required.

The trade union
movement should
immediately raise the
demand for the
introduction of a legal
minimum wage that is
properly enforced.

What do socialists say?

Who were the Zapatistas?

THE ORIGINAL Zapatistas were followers of Emiliano Zapata, who is one of the world's best known revolutionaries.

Zapata, who came from a peasant background in Mexico, led the Mexican revolution which began in 1910.

He was the hero of Marlon Brando's famous film *Viva Zapata!*, and numerous other films which have depicted the battle of the Mexican poor against their repressive rulers.

Zapata's name has lived on to the present day not only in films but in recent struggles of the poor in Mexico against terrible poverty.

The 1910 Mexican Revolution was one of the great anti-colonial revolutions.

Mexico had long been an independent state. But it was heavily dependent on foreign capital, originally from Britain but increasingly from the United States.

The Mexican ruling class and Mexico's president Porfirio Diaz, dreamed of achieving progress to end their country's economic backwardness.

Diaz ruthlessly followed a policy which welcomed in foreign capital—particularly US firms, and for a period growth was impressive.

Some Mexicans became rich or richer. Foreign capitalists, who owned mines, factories and railways, became even richer.

But for the mass of people there was increasing poverty.

Millions of peasants were thrown off their land and forced to work for starvation wages.

And Mexico's integration with the US economy meant in the slump of 1907-08, thousands of poor Mexican labourers returned home when their jobs north of the border disappeared.

But in 1910 revolt spread through the country.

Zapata led this rural insurrection of previously independent village communities in the centre and south of the country who had been stripped of their

land by government.

Zapata declared the peasants would not lay down their arms until they were guaranteed their land and the end of repression.

The call for "land and liberty" inspired thousands who joined the peasant armies in both the south and the north of the country.

In the north the revolt was headed by Pancho Villa, who led troops of Indian frontiersmen who had been deprived of their land.

Zapata redistributed land to his peasant followers in the south, while Villa expropriated landlords in the north in order to pay his forces.

Grasped

In 1913 Villa and Zapata took the capital, Mexico City.

But unfortunately Zapata and Villa lacked a strategy which could unite the poor and peasants under working class leadership.

They withdrew from Mexico city, and various factions of the old ruling and middle classes eventually grasped control of the state. They used the state machine to defeat and, in 1919, murder Zapata.

Looking back at the revolution, Lenin and Trotsky's Communist International wrote:

"The Mexican experience is both characteristic and tragic. The agricultural workers have revolted and made revolutions, only to see the fruits of their victory stolen by capitalists, exploiters, political adventurers."

And it concluded, "The peasants, oppressed and duped, should be educated in the idea that neither they nor the workers can be emancipated unless they ally with the revolutionary proletariat

against capitalism."

But despite the defeat, the memory of the magnificent struggle of the Zapatistas lived on in the memories of the dispossessed who would continue to face repression, injustice and poverty.

And over 80 years after the Mexican revolution the word Zapatista would again strike fear in the heart of Mexico's rulers.

The poor southern state of Chiapas flared in an uprising in January 1994 which denied the government control of much of the area.

The revolt was in response to years of falling living standards and growing impoverishment of the people.

The free trade agreement with the US added to the poverty of a state where 60 percent of the population earn less than the minimum wage of just \$10 a day.

The cry of "Viva Zapata" became a symbol of the cry of the oppressed across Latin America and the world.

The new Zapatistas donned red bandannas as a symbol of resistance and took up arms in a rebellion against the dire poverty created by the market.

Unfortunately the strategy followed by modern Zapatista leader, "sub commandante" Marcos—despite his personal bravery—had weaknesses.

Marcos's strategy relied on the peasantry as his fighting force, but had little to say to the mass of urban workers whose numbers and strength had grown out of all recognition since 1910.

Marcos, unlike Zapata, did not aim to topple the state but to "confront" it and force it to reform.

Zapata retreated in the absence of a strategy. But for Marcos retreat becomes unavoidable if the state failed to respond. "We will retreat to the forest. We have resisted for 10 years.

"We can plunge into the catacombs for another 10 years or more." But those who fought back had learnt a vital lesson from the message of the original Zapatistas—that it is struggle from below which is the only hope.

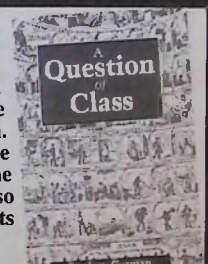
— JOHN REES

A Question of Class

WE ARE told that class divisions are a thing of the past—that we are moving towards a "classless society".

This book demolishes the myths and shows that inequality and class divisions are as fundamental today as they have ever been.

Lindsey German is the editor of the monthly *Socialist Review* published by the Socialist Workers Party in Britain. She is also author of *Sex, Class and Socialism*, now in its second edition



£3.50

Available from SWP branch bookstalls or from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel (01) 872 2682 Add 60p for post

John Maynard Keynes

by RÓISIN CRONÍN

Why Keynesian economics failed

From the end of the Second World War until the early 1970's the leading figure of conventional economics was John Maynard Keynes.

His theories were supposed to account for the great boom in the Western economies which meant that full employment was nearly a reality.

The method, according to Keynes, was to manage capitalism by greater state intervention.

John Maynard Keynes was born in 1883, the same year that Karl Marx had died. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge, where he studied under Alfred Marshall, one of the leading economists of the time.

He made a fortune on the stock market, lost it in the Wall St. Crash of 1929, but then made another fortune in the 1930's after borrowing some money.

He acted as an adviser to the British Treasury during the Second World War and was a representative at the Bretton Woods Conference which led to the setting up of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Keynes' most important and influential work was *The General Theory of employment, interest and money*. Although it was first published in 1936 it was not until after his death in 1946 that Keynes became such an influential figure.

Before Keynes, economics was dominated by the marginalist or neo-classical school.

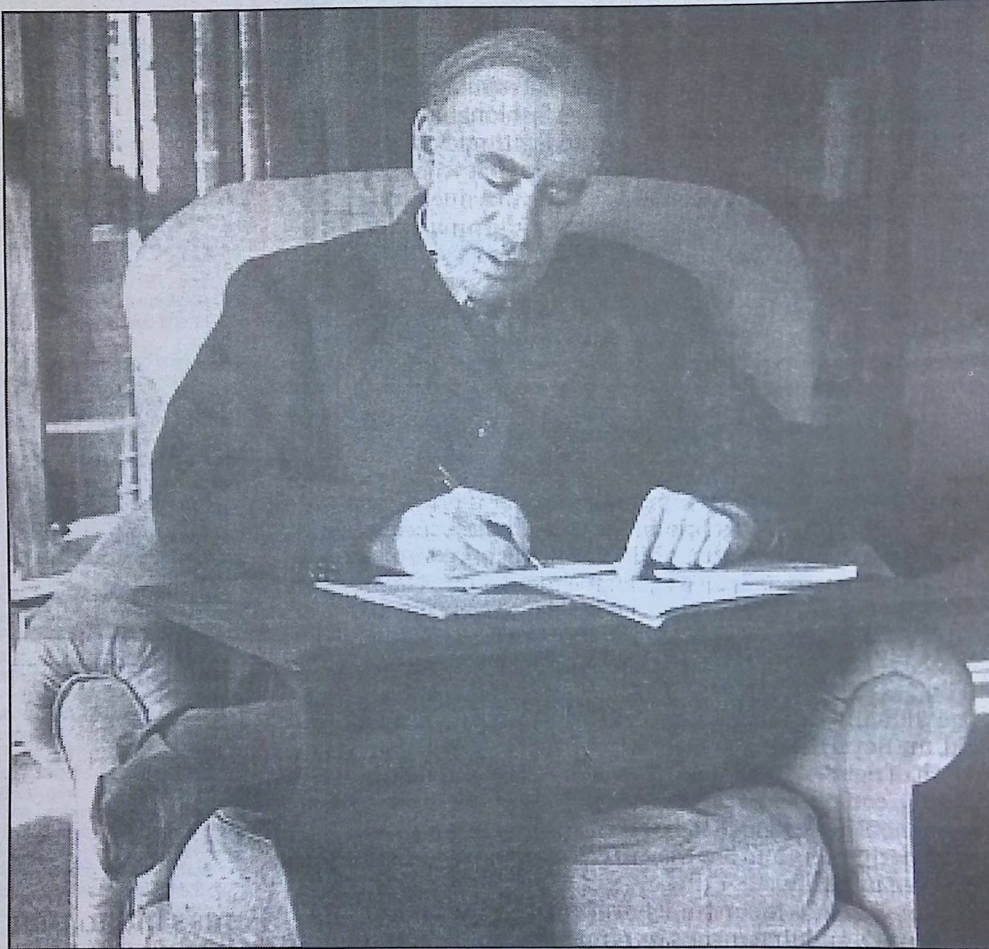
At the base of their theories was the belief in what Adam Smith had called "the invisible hand of competition". In other words, that the anarchy of the market eventually produced some stable order.

An economy, they said, would always reach equilibrium. This followed from what was known as Say's Law, which said that supply would create its own demand and that therefore slumps only happened if there was a distortion of the market.

The marginalists said that if producers tried to charge more for goods than consumers were prepared to pay, markets would not clear and there would be excess supply of goods. In this case market pressures would force sellers to reduce their prices.

This applied in the market for all commodities, including labour. If workers demanded wages that were too high the market had to ensure that they were brought to their senses. In periods of slump, this meant that wage cuts were absolutely necessary to get the economy going again.

Keynes' *General Theory* argued against this notion that wage cutting was the way to get rid of unemployment. In fact, according to Keynes, lower wages would discourage investment and lead to higher unem-



■ Keynes thought that slumps could be eliminated and unemployment removed from capitalism

ployment.

When he came to Dublin in 1933 he made one of his more radical speeches where he attacked the orthodox view that

"We have to remain poor because it does not 'pay' to be rich. We have to live in hovels, not because we cannot build palaces, but because 'we cannot afford to'. With what we spent on the dole in England since the war we could have made our cities the greatest works of man in the world"

Keynes also challenged Say's Law about supply creating its own demand.

This was based on the idea that when rich people did not spend their money they would invest it in capital or machinery to create new wealth.

But in reality this was not the case — money can also be saved or hoarded.

Slumps, Keynes saw, occurred when investment was too low. Government intervention, he believed, could remedy this and prevent slumps from occurring.

When there was a fall-off in investment because of 'lack of confidence' Keynes claimed there had to be direct government spending which

would put more money into the economy.

This spending could be financed by borrowing as it could be paid back when the economy began to boom again.

In this way governments would encourage investment from private firms by helping to influence their expectations about what was going to happen in the economy.

Keynes was absolutely right to argue that wage cuts — or poverty wages — would not get an economy out of a mess. The monetarists who dominated Thatcher's Britain in the 1980s cannot explain the last big recession there even though they had ten years to implement a policy of low wages.

Keynes was also perceptive to see that there was a tendency in the long run for investment to fail.

But although Keynes seemed to see this was an inbuilt tendency in capitalism, he still believed that capitalism could be reformed. It was merely a question of implementing the right kind of economic policies.

After the Second World War most European governments whether they were left wing or right wing claimed

to be following Keynes theories and believed that this was why their economies were booming.

But in fact the economic policies being followed were a strange form of Keynesianism.

Certainly the budget deficits that we would have expected to be central to the growth weren't there. Keynes had been had in favour of government borrowing to finance expenditure.

Yet most governments had large surpluses during the fifties and sixties.

The truth was that the long boom up to the seventies was the result of the huge levels of arms spending which had provided private firms with markets and the expectations of high levels of profits.

And if Keynes was not responsible for the post war boom, neither did his theories of state intervention prevent the recession that followed each other in 1973-74, 1980-82 and 1990-92.

The problem was that Keynes never understood just how contradictory capitalism is.

What is rational for one capitalist government, can make no sense

when all of them adopt the same policy.

So in 1979, Martin O'Donoghue—Fianna Fail Minister for Economic Planning—tried to apply a classic form of Keynesian and borrowed heavily to stimulate growth. On the surface it did not appear a bad idea.

But every other underdeveloped country from Mexico to Brazil were adopting the same policy, so pushing up interest rates and creating extra competition for Irish goods on the world market.

More fundamentally, every capitalist only thinks of themselves and seeks the fastest and quickest way of making profit. This normally leads them to try to find new types of machinery which can help to reduce their wage costs.

The first capitalists who do this are often quite successful as they manage to grab more of the general pool of profits than their competitors.

But eventually the others follow and after a period there is a very high level of investment in machinery.

There is then an immense contrast between the scale of the investment and the relatively smaller workforce. The workers simply cannot generate enough profit to match the scale of the investment.

They may create more wealth and produce more goods which are sold. But the proportion of profits to the amount of capital investment starts to decline.

When this happens, capitalists start to scale back their projects. This in turn causes chaos for supplying companies and more and more workers get laid off.

This only adds to the problem of overproduction as they do not have the money to buy the goods which are produced.

In a sane society, growing levels of accumulation of technology and wealth is not a problem.

If it is organised according to the needs of the people, hours of work can be cut and people can have more leisure time. More and more goods can be produced for free.

Keynes never saw this because he was an ardent defender of capitalism.

He hated the fact that many of his friends moved to Marxism and claimed that his theory was 'moderately conservative in its implications'.

Above all Keynes thought that he could manage capitalism just by using governments.

He failed to see that far from being able to control capitalism, they are mainly at its disposal.

Why does child abuse happen?

THE discovery of the bodies of the two 8 year old Belgian children who had been abducted, sexually abused and starved to death has produced massive public revulsion. Marc Dutroux, a convicted paedophile, has been charged with their murders.

The press claims that Dutroux operated an international paedophile ring which may also be responsible for the disappearance of a number of other children. But little evidence has been produced for this so far.

Recent conferences in Sweden and Dublin about child prostitution, child abuse and neglect have used the Belgian case as a backdrop. It has also been used by some politicians and the media to obscure the reality of child abuse.

Typical

The truth is that despite the horrifying details of the case, it is not typical of child sexual abuse. Most physical and sexual abuse of children is not perpetrated by organised paedophile rings but by adults who are well known to the children.

Kieran McCarthy, editor of *Social Worker*, says that it is important to realise that most abuse takes place within families and that the 'stranger-danger idea is the exception rather than the rule'. This means that child sexual abuse is far more prevalent in our society than if it were limited to the 'stranger in the park' assaults.

Research carried out by RTE and the Irish Society for Prevention of Cruelty to Children last year found that one in eight adults surveyed had been sexually abused in childhood.

Another survey found that 18% of Irish girls and 11% of Irish boys had had an inappropriate sexual experience with an adult before the age of twelve.

While these may not all have been serious and traumatic cases of sexual abuse, it shows that child abuse is by no means limited to the occasional 'evil monster' like Dutroux.

Emotions

Despite child sexual abuse provoking very strong emotions, little light has been thrown on why it occurs.

The fact that the majority of sexual abuse occurs within the family contradicts the accepted view of the family as a centre of love and protection from the outside world.

The roots of child sexual abuse lie in a combination of material circumstances and the institution of the family itself.

Research consistently shows that two thirds of children who had been abused in 1988 lived in rented, mainly local authority, accommodation and that the unemployment rate among fathers of abused children was more than twice the national average.

Relief

The family is seen as the centre of relief from the alienation of work and a hostile world. But, for many, it cannot live up to expectations of emotional fulfilment and it becomes an arena where despair and anger, often because of economic pressures, can spill over. This frustration can lead to arguments and aggression which is meted out on the more vulnerable members, women, elderly grandparents and children.

The family is also the place where society reinforces stereotypical roles of men, women and children.

Men are expected to be dominant and aggressive and children are viewed as the sole responsibility and property of their parents. Coupled with this, capitalism turns everything into a commodity.

Even something as personal as sex is bought and sold as in prostitution and pornography. Sex is used to sell almost every product imaginable through advertising.

Minority

It should not surprise us that with the combination of alienation, poverty and distorted sexuality a small minority of people fail to cope and break down under these tremendous pressures.

Child sexual abuse is the most extreme and vile example of the way sexuality is distorted in this society.

Despite this we are encouraged to believe that the tragedy of child sexual abuse is caused by the evil of a demonic abuser who is seen as an aberration and not a product in some way of a distorted society.

Meanwhile the press barons who try to sell ever more newspapers by a daily diet of crime and horror ignoring the greatest of all child abuse—the poverty and malnutrition that takes the lives of millions of children each year, in ugly and brutal deaths.

— GER TUOHY

book

CONOR KOSTICK reviews Leon Trotsky's *History of the Russian Revolution*

Revolutionary Classics

When workers took power

The History of the Russian Revolution is not just a classic revolutionary work, but it is one of the greatest achievements of the written word.

Trotsky creates wonderfully vivid portraits from all the layers of Russian society.

At the uppermost level of Russian society were the Tsar and his close supporters. Facing catastrophe arising from the Great War but too committed to their privileges to allow reform, they stubbornly and stupidly watched as their whole administration slid into the abyss.

Mystic

In their final days the superstitious Tsar and Tsarina put state decisions into the hands of Rasputin, a peasant mystic whose drunken behaviour was symptomatic of the decay at the top of Russian society.

Then there were the Russian representatives of big business.

They were willing to be seen as opponents of the Tsar once he had fallen, but were anxious at the radicalism of the revolution and ever watchful for the opportunity to crush the workers' movement.

Above all, Trotsky brings to life the solidarity and heroism of the working class.

It was a mass movement of women textile workers

that brought about a soldiers' mutiny and the fall of the Tsar in February 1917.

Troops were sent to drive the crowds of workers from the streets.

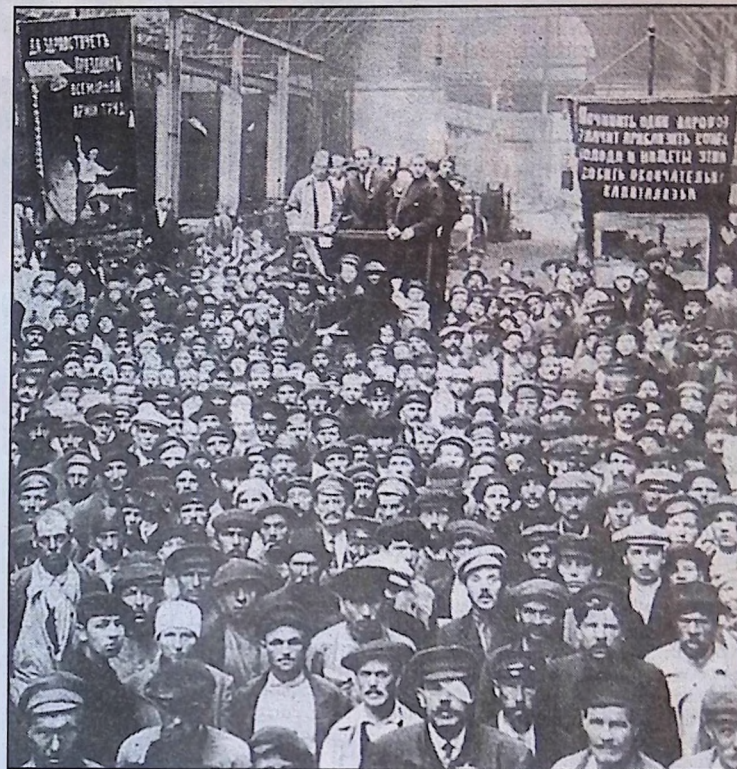
But discontent was so fierce that even the most conservative Cossack forces allowed demonstrators to mingle with them, winking as the workers ducked past their horses.

Workers

Soon soldiers were helping workers fight the police. After five days all of the Tsar's authority had collapsed.

Most of the book details the events from February to October, during which the workers' movement witnessed mass strikes; betrayals of their interests by one party after another; premature risings and an attempted coup by the generals. In the space of nine months the Russian workers underwent a lifetime's worth of experience.

That workers eventually took all power into their own hands was in no small part due to the Bolshevik party.



Workers in the Putilov factory in Petrograd in 1920

Trotsky's history is also a history of how Lenin and the Bolsheviks gave guidance and leadership during the twists and turns of the revolution, coming to be the only party that the majority of workers trusted.

Revolution

Trotsky himself played a vital role in ensuring the

success of the revolution.

The involvement of the mass of workers in shaping events led to a flood of debate, discussion, clarification.

Workers flocked in their thousands to hear Trotsky speak at the Circus Moderne.

So many would come that Trotsky would have to be passed over the heads of the

packed crowds to the platform, from which he would explain the latest developments and argue the need for workers to take all power into their own hands.

The book finishes on the greatest achievement of the working class to date.

Inspiration

The October insurrection in Petrograd, when worker, soldier and peasant were fully aware of what they had achieved and could look over the city saying "at last, this is ours."

Reading this book is as close as you can get to being a participant of those stormy days and is a lasting inspiration for the future possibility of revolution.

book

Myths about football violence

By Damian McLoughlin

IF ONE event of football hooliganism stays in people's minds, it was the terrible night in the Heysel Stadium in 1985 when 40 Juventus fans were crushed to death as a wall collapsing after during riot by rampaging Liverpool fans.

It seemed football was no longer a game—it had become Frankenstein in an amphitheatre of hate.

A new book, *Everywhere we go*, looks at football violence from the inside, giving an insight into the world of the football hooligan.

The authors, Dougie and Eddie Brimson claim to have been hooligans themselves.

The book makes one or two good points. It attacks the way that fans are treated like cattle herded from coach to stadium and back.

It argues that the law and order measures will not end football violence.

But the book pretends to be written by 'ordinary guys' to peddle right wing myths about violence. It argues that pride in Eng-

land is ingrained no matter what the 'do gooders' say and that supporters will always carry 'their bullish pride into the crowd'.

This is nonsense. Waving the flag and hatred of foreigners is whipped up by papers like the *Daily Mirror* who presented the England versus Germany match as a rerun of the Second World War where 'Fritz' had to be put down one way or another.

Supporters

The book gives a platform to BNP supporters to explain their plan for disrupting the England versus Ireland match in Lansdowne Rd.

It uses the 'boys will be boys' argument to claim that violence is natural and

even enjoyable. Violence is supposed to be part of male bonding. But this does not explain why hundreds of thousands of men go to football matches every week and do not engage in violence.

Escapism

The reality is the football game is ninety minutes of escapism from the pressures of life.

It stands out because the rest of the week is so humdrum and people want a sense of community and hype from the game.

When that does not happen a minority turn to violence.

And then they often spew out the racist and sexist crap because that is ingrained in the system.

Dougie and Eddie Brimson don't want to look at these issues.

That is why their book, for all its talk of real life experience, tells you little about why hooliganism really happens.

video

THE SUMMER has brought some really good videos into the stores. Here is the *Socialist Worker* guide to the best of the pick.

LES MISERABLES:

Set in World War Two, a re-working of Victor Hugo's classic novel. Jean Paul Belmondo plays the central character who rescues a Jewish family from Nazi persecution in occupied France. Jumps back and forth between the present and Hugo's novel to find parallels in his life. Brilliant.

DEVIL IN A BLUE DRESS:

For fans of detective fiction, Denzil Washington plays a private investigator who is hired to find the fiancée of a wealthy politician. Great twist at the end which shows up some hard realities of US society in the fifties.

LAND AND FREEDOM:

Ken Loach's epic of the Spanish civil war reaches the small screen. A stunning film that rescues the truth from all the myths about why the fight against Franco was lost.

PANTHER:

Your chance to see the film that was hardly shown in Dublin. Traces the birth of the great revolutionary movement among American blacks and how the FBI plotted to crush it.

where we stand

Workers create all the wealth in capitalist society. A new society can only be constructed when they collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution.

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion.

To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry. We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class. Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism - not to end it. We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party. This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system. The SWP aims to build such a party in Ireland.

TAYLOR SCANDAL SHOWS UP:

Ireland's tax free paradise for the rich

NO ONE should shed any tears for most of the savers who lost their money with investment broker Tony Taylor. These were not people with two or three thousand put by for a rainy day.

They were mainly businessmen and farmers who wanted to invest in the offshore banks on the Isle of Man and Jersey to avoid tax.

They were friends of Taylor's from his public schooldays at Rockwell College, or were introduced to him at the exclusive Grange Golf club in Rathfarnham.

Others were introduced by Des Hanafin of SPUC, a former associate of Taylors at Taylor Asset Management.

SPUC

It was probably from that source that the St. Vincent de Paul were induced to invest the half million legacy it received in 1991.

The scandal is that Taylor's activities have been known about for some time. Complaints were made to the Irish Brokers Association but they did nothing about it.

The stock brokers who regularly lecture workers about sacrifices for the good of the economy are normally involved in avoiding tax.

They tried to make their operation respectable by setting up their own 'professional' Irish Brokers Association which was supposed to regulate their 'trade'.

But one of its founders was none other than Tony

Taylor who has now absconded with millions.

In the last ten years there have been many prominent investment company scandals. The most prominent was that of Russell Murphy, a chartered accountant and a director of the Bank of Ireland.

When he died money invested by personalities such as Gay Byrne and Hugh Leonard was missing. Murphy had used their money to support a lavish lifestyle.

Taylor was no different. He enjoyed the fine life, a 300 SEL Mercedes, good food, and was known to

bring clients to major golf tournaments in the U.S., where they would stop off at his timeshare apartment in Virginia.

People were taken in by Taylor and his like because of sheer greed.

Earn

He boasted that he could earn his clients a 26% return on their capital at a time when bank interest was offering 5%, or a portfolio of investments in the Stock Exchange could earn 15% if you chose well.

Yes we do feel sorry for the poor who have to do without the £200,000 robbed from the St. Vincent de Paul. For the rest of them its just a squabble among thieves over their ill gotten gains.



■ Tony Taylor—did a runner

THE FOCUS of Ireland's growing scam industry is the International Financial Services Centre.

This was set up by Charles Haughey in the mid 80's with a promise to revitalise the inner city area and provide 7,500 jobs.

It was another broken promise.

Dublin has become a major offshore haven where wealthy people can deposit their money tax-free. It is also likely that the IFSC is used to launder the income of organised crime.

Avoid

The only condition for investing in the IFSC, is that you are a non Irish resident. It plays the same role for foreigners that the Isle of Man and Jersey plays for the Irish rich, who wish to avoid paying Tax or hide their income from the authorities.

The banks merely store the share certificates or property deeds for assets held abroad. Because they are registered in Dublin the assets are tax free in their country of origin.

Only half the number of jobs that were promised materialised. Parts of the original project which were supposed to include an open air market, riverside park, and cinemas and museums have quietly been forgotten. Instead the working class area of Sheriff street was being demolished to make way for yuppie flats.

Tax and financial scams

THE TAYLOR scandal is just the tip of an iceberg on Ireland's bloated financial sector.

The five major banks will make over £1 billion in profit in 1996. A major function of the banks is to channel funds abroad to evade tax in this country and to provide facilities for non-Irish residents to do the same here.

The scale is enormous. When Larry Goodman lent £23 million to Tipperary farmer Joe Kenny, the money went through 13 different banks in Dublin, Belfast, Guernsey, jersey and Luxembourg before reaching a bank in Cyprus.

Now Kenny is refusing to return the money and Goodman is suing him. The Kenny/Goodman case may lift the lid on the insider dealings of the Golden Circle.

Scandals

Occasionally these scandals are exposed in the newspapers, but we hear little of the legal scams which are available to the business executives of this country. Their share options can turn them into

millionaires overnight.

When the Irish Permanent Building Society converted into a publicly quoted company, Ray Douglas, it's Chief Executive, was given options over shares to a value of £800,000.

In December 1995 Gerry McGuinness, a director of Independent Newspapers made a profit of £222,000 in one day when he bought and sold 140,000 shares at an option price.

The Business Expansion Scheme is another way the rich escape paying any tax. Up to £25,000 a year can

be invested in a BES scheme and the government will refund £12,000 in tax.

Profits

The banks have realised there are huge profits to be made servicing this sector of the economy.

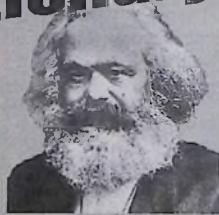
But it is totally unproductive. It creates no investment or jobs.

In fact, it sucks investment and resources away from areas that could expand the economy and improve the living standards of all.

SWP branch meetings

Socialist Worker Public Meetings

The revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx



- BELFAST: Wed 18th Sept 8.00pm Central Hall, Rosemary St
- CORK: Tue 17th Sept 8.00pm Connolly Hall
- DERRY: Tue 17th Sept 8.00pm Playhouse Theatre, Artillery St
- DUBLIN: Wed 18th Sept 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Mid Abbey St
- ENNISKILLEN: Thur 26th Sept 8.00pm White Star Bar
- GALWAY: Thur 19th Sept 7.30pm Curran's Hotel, Eyre Square
- WATERFORD: Thur 19th Sept 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Keyser St

BELFAST

Meets every Wed at 8pm Central Hall Rosemary St.

CORK

Meets every Tues at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.

DERRY

Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm

DUN LAOGHAIRE

Meets every Tues at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

ENNISKILLEN

Meets every fortnight Contact national address for details

GALWAY

Meets every Thursday at 6pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

MAYNOOTH

Contact 8722682 for details

WATERFORD

Meets every Thurs at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.

DUBLIN NORTH-WEST

Meets every Tues at

8:30pm in The Old Brogue, Dorset St.

DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK

Meets every Thurs at 8.30pm in the Artane/ Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd.

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Lowes Pub, Dolphins Barn

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL

Meets every Wed at 8:30pm in Conways, Parnell St.

DUBLIN RATHMINES

Meets every Wed at 8pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL

Meets every Thur at 8pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.

DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN

Meets Tues Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village.

★ There are **Socialist Worker** members in: ENNISKILLEN; COLERAINE; LURGAN; CAVAN; DONEGAL; NAAS; LIMERICK; KILKENNY; DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA. If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

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Dunnes stores strikers show the way

'Last summer, after our last strike, they made an agreement but it never came through—we've been treated disgracefully'—Louise, The Square, Tallaght

'You work your arse off here for no thanks... I'm on £3.50 and only come out £115 a week. 16 and 17 year olds only get £1.80 an hour'—
Fionnuala, The Square, Tallaght

SEVEN THOUSAND Dunnes workers placed pickets on their stores on September 2nd.

Last Summer Dunnes workers struck for three weeks to force the company to negotiate on pay, Sunday trading, pensions and other conditions. But just over a year later they are out again.

All the issues which were to be resolved by a Labour Court recommendation are still in dispute.

Dunnes boss Margaret Heffernan and other board directors, have consistently refused to give to the workers what was recommended by the Labour Court.

Last minute negotiations failed the day before the strike started. But the 150 shop stewards who turned up to a meeting that day were determined not to give in without a proper deal being struck.

Solidarity

As one of the shop stewards told *Socialist Worker*, "The solidarity between us all is fantastic. We went back too early last time on a promise from the company."

"But we don't trust them

at all now and the mood here today is to make sure we win this time."

Dunnes Stores is the biggest private sector employer in the 26 counties.

They have a huge share of the retail market and plan to open another "flagship" store in Blanchardstown in October.

And their ads for jobs in Blanchardstown promise:

- a sick pay scheme;
- a pension scheme;
- minimum hours and full-time jobs.

"We got a great laugh out of that ad. Everything they listed was part of what we are striking for and young workers shouldn't be conned by Heffernan", one of the pickets in Dublin told *Socialist Worker*.

This time make sure the job is done...

ONE THIRD of Dunnes workers in Dublin voted against the last deal that the union officials recommended.

The way that Dunnes behaved after the strike showed that they were right to be suspicious.

As soon as the strike was over, management harassment was stepped up in many stores.

Scabs were favoured in all sorts of small ways.

Crucially, the Dunnes's management felt confident to tear up an agreement that they had signed.

This time around Dunnes workers should fight to the finish until the company is beaten. The strike should not end until all the demands have been won.

The key issues are:

- Dunnes must be forced to create hun-

dreds of extra permanent jobs as an immediate first step.

These new jobs must be given on existing conditions and people not forced to work Sunday.

At the moment only 10% of non-management staff have a full time job.

- There has to be a proper pension scheme for all staff. Part timers deserve a pension scheme as much as full timers.

- The 3% pay rise must be backdated fully to September 1995. The wage rates that are established now must also apply to newcomers who join the store.

- The union should make no concessions on reducing access to overtime. The 3% is our's of right.

- There has to be a proper procedural agreement so that workers can appeal against management decisions.

For hundreds of Dunnes workers this is their first strike. And most of them have been recruited to the union, MANDATE.

Fund raising

They are rostered in for picket duty and fund raising activity.

Workplace and street collections are being taken up to give support and solidarity to the strikers.

This is very important to build links with other workers and strengthen the picket lines.

On the first day of the strike pickets everywhere were solid. And this has to be kept up. Dunnes bosses may try to squeeze the union but the workers have the power to force through a victory this time.

Organised strike committees, picket rosters and

workplace collections will make the strike solid.

As we go to press Dunnes Stores representative Andrew Street is still willing to talk to the union but he will have to come up with the goods before these workers go back.

Many of the shop stewards have learned from last Summer's strike that they have to win on the key issues and get cast iron guarantees before they settle to go back.



PHOTO: JONATHAN PRASCHKE



PHOTO: JONATHAN PRASCHKE

DUNNES TOFFEE NOSED BOSSES

THE DUNNES handbook for its staff gives an insight into the snobs who run Dunnes Stores.

- Staff are told to 'see that their hands and nails have a cared for look'.

- Women are told that "It may be advisable to use a deodorant to maintain your standard of personal freshness".

- Those who wear make up are told that it "look pretty under artificial light".

- Men are not supposed to wear earrings and are told to have short hair.

Royal Dublin Hotel on strike

Time to build

THE DUNNES strike means that a major new audience will open up for socialist ideas.

All trade unionists and socialists should be working flat out to build collections. We should organise workplace collections and socials immediately, because the Dunnes management are hoping that they can break the union financially.

Even before the strike, SWP members got a great reception on the streets for the demand for a minimum wage of £4.50 an hour.

Socialist Worker is now sponsoring a lobby outside the ICTU Special Conference in September to argue that the unions should get out of social partnership deals with the bosses and launch a unionisation drive to clean up the low paid sweat shops.

The lobby will take place on Thursday 26th September between 12-30pm and 2 pm at Liberty Hall.

In Derry, SWP has been on the streets supporting a family which have been attacked by local bigots.

Meanwhile recruitment to the party is growing over the last two weeks. 3 people joined in Waterford, 3 in Limavaddy, 2 in Tallaght, 4 in Dublin North West, 1 in Artane, 1 in North Central, 1 in Drimnagh.

FORTY workers at the Royal Dublin Hotel are currently striking for decent pay.

Tourism is booming in the city with 25 new hotels being opened in 1996. But workers are being paid a pittance and are under constant harassment from management.

There is no intelligible pay structure in the hotel and all the pay rates are very low. House porters get only £2.50 an hour; waitresses get £3.60 an hour; and kitchen porters get £3.59 a hour.

There is no security of employment and staff are expected to work over the weekend for wages that are below the poverty line.

Some people doing the same jobs even get different rates of pay.

There is no sick pay scheme and holiday pay is arbitrary. These low paid jobs are advertised through F.A.S. One worker has only

received a 76p rise in six years.

Workers finishing at 2 a.m. are not given taxi fares but told to walk home.

The union involved SIPTU is now looking for a 3% pay rise which even the Labour Court recommended.

Afford

The owners of the Royal Dublin Holland and Gilmore can well afford to pay. They own the Portmarnock Country Club and also owned some of the apartments in

Ballsbridge which threatened to evict pensioners.

The owners claim that they cannot afford the rise. But at the same time they have enough money to build 32 extra suites in October.

The General Manager, John Kavanagh did his utmost to stop workers joining a union. He even called a mass meeting to try to persuade them. They even ordered workers to appear one by one to dissuade them to stay out of the union. But the majority of workers resisted this pressure and joined SIPTU.

"I have to break the pickets because I need money to feed my goldfish"—
Royal Dublin Hotel scab who cares more for fish than fellow workers.

Action need to reduce pupil-teacher ratio

NIAMH Breathnach's efforts to fiddle the number of teachers employed in schools is likely to cause a strike by the primary teachers union, the INTO.

Some months ago, Breatnach announced amidst great fanfare that she was employing extra teachers in deprived schools. As it turned out, she was simply deploying teachers from other schools.

Now around 100 schools are to lose a teacher even though class sizes are very high.

At the moment, Ireland has the highest pupil teacher ratio in Europe. With a fall of over 10,000 students entering schools this year, Breatnach had a glorious opportunity to do something about this.

But instead she was interested in playing games with the figures rather than doing anything.

At the moment the INTO are calling a strike in 60 to 100 schools. But this action is completely inadequate.

There needs to be action across the union to lower the pupil-teacher ratio.

The bosses are using non-union Spanish workers to scab on the strike. These are mainly students who have come over to learn English. In an ominous move, scabs have also been brought in from Portmarnock to try to break the strike. But this form of scabbing can be beaten back with mass pickets. At the moment there is a tremendous mood in the working class to back struggle. The Royal Dublin Hotel workers can really put some manners on this rotten company. ■ The Royal Dublin is not the only hotel where the union are having to organise a fight. In the Gresham Hotel new function rooms are not operating a service charge which the workers usually get. Strike action may now take place there unless management back down.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside:

Northern Ireland talks avoid the real issues

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The Unionist politicians who back Billy Wright

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FIGHT THE JOB SEEKERS ALLOWANCE!



OCTOBER 7th is the deadline for the Tories to fully introduce their most vicious attack yet on the unemployed. From that date on the Job Seekers Allowance system goes into place.

Lawrence from Norwich in England explains what it is all about:

"The J.S.A. could mean people losing benefit if they do not dress 'appropriately'. It is a vicious circle. You need money to buy clothes, but you can't get money unless you get a job. I can't afford a suit—even one from Oxfam".

'Prove'

The Job Seekers Allowance is all about putting pressure on the unemployed to "prove" they are looking for work.

In some cases, diaries are handed out to the unemployed and they are told that unless they can show what they did to find work each day, they will be cut off all benefits.

Already some poverty agencies have estimated that 150,000 people could be cut off unemployment benefit

and income support.

This is going to cause immense frustration and even violence when people sign on and find out they cannot get their payments.

Already heavier glass is

being fitted into dole offices because the Tories know the trouble that is likely to follow.

Bonus

The Tories are also trying to change the wages system of people who work in employment exchanges.

They want to put them on a bonus system where they

get paid more for showing 'productivity'.

Showing productivity means knocking claimants off benefits. In Britain the civil service union has called strike action over this vicious system.

At the moment the Tories are like robbers that come into a house.

As soon as the inhabitants have been alerted, they try to grab whatever they can and run.

They know that they are on their last legs and want to lash out in any way that they can against the poor.

They want to protect their rich friends who have gained from privatisation and demoralise us with ever more attacks.

The main reason why they are still in office is because of the support they get from David Trimble and Ian Paisley.

These politicians seek to divide workers in Northern Ireland.

They are natural Tories who want Major to stay in office to stick the boot into the poor.

What can be done?

AN IMMEDIATE and powerful campaign needs to get underway against the JSA.

Already the Welfare Rights Centre in Newry has produced an excellent leaflet and is calling for action. In Derry the local Trades Council are calling a public meeting to discuss organising protest action.

Over the next few weeks we need to work hard to ensure:

- That there are major demonstrations in Newry, Derry and Belfast against the JSA.
- That NIPSA, calls strike action and urges their members not to work the scheme.
- That local groups of trade unionists and unemployed are set up to defend anyone cut off benefit.

What the JSA means

THE FIRST stage of the Jobseeker's Allowance came in April in England.

It replaces the old system whereby the unemployed got unemployment benefit, non-means tested, for the first 12 months of being unemployed.

It was paid for from national insurance contributions. After 12 months people got income support which is means tested.

Now unemployment benefit entitlement has been cut to six months only.

■ In October the JSA will be introduced in full.

■ It replaces both unemployment benefit and income support.

After the first six months the JSA is means tested. That means if you have redundancy of £8,000 or more you are not entitled to any benefit.

And if your partner is working full time—defined as over 16 hours a week—you are not entitled to a penny either.

■ People aged 18-25 will get a lower rate of benefit.

■ The JSA will not be index linked with inflation.

■ Claimants with adult dependants will be disqualified from claiming extra benefit for them. Some people will be £70 a week worse off.

■ The time you can study while receiving benefit will be cut from 21 to 16 hours a week.

■ If people refuse low paid jobs or government schemes their benefits can be cut altogether.

■ People can be penalised if they are judged to have the "wrong attitude", wear the wrong clothes, or have the wrong haircut.