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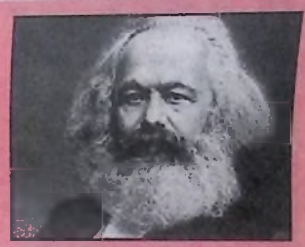
inside



MARX: THE MAN OF THE MILLENNIUM

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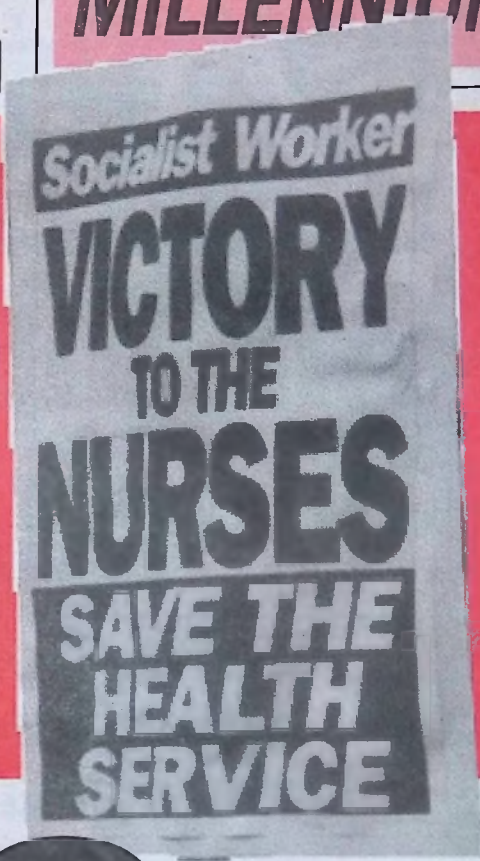
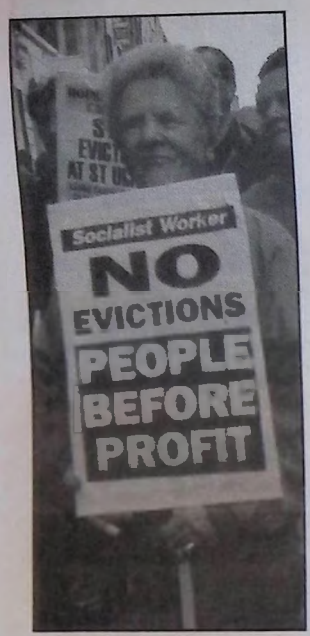
# NURSES STRIKE:




# THIS IS HOW TO FIGHT

# Victory in St Ultans Flats




**DUBLIN CORPORATION have agreed the purchase of St Ultan's Flats from Devondale Developments, the owners of the site.**

St Ultans was to be knocked down to make way for luxury apartments. The tenants Karl Byrne, Essie Keeling, Brigid Cooney and Bernard were to be evicted.However, the tenants, local residents and members of the Housing Action Campaign mounted round the clock pickets to prevent the eviction taking place. Within a week of the protests starting the corporation entered negotiations with the owners.

### Social

Dublin Corporation now plans to build up to sixty social housing units on the St Ultans site. Brigid Cooney and Karl Byrne have since been rehoused by the corporation with an option to return to St Ultans.

Essie Keeling who won a life time lease after a seven year long rent strike in the 1970's remains in St Ultans.

Essie has been promised alternative accommodation of her choice by the Corporation with an option to return to St Ultans.

A number of politicians have attempted to claim credit for the victory at St Ultans.

In reality it was people power and the determination of the residents Essie, Karl and Brigid that achieved this victory.

Jackie Cooney, sister of Brigid, one of the St Ultans residents said,

"It was thanks to the determination of the residents themselves, the great support from the people of Tom Kelly Flats, the local area and the solidarity of ordinary people signing petitions and joining the picket that won this. We would like to thank them".

★ **THE DEPARTMENT of Defence has put out a tender for forty tanks at a cost of £1 million each. This is to bring the army up to NATO standards.**

**This comes at a time when barracks are being closed and soldiers laid off. Nurses have been told that there is not enough money to pay them what they're owed.**

**But this right wing government can spend money on tanks because it wants to enter a dangerous and expensive military alliance with NATO.**

**Ahern's government decided last year that there would not be a referendum on entry to PfP despite promising one in their election manifesto.**

## Fianna Fail — corrupt and racist:

# Another TD pampered by the banks

**JOHN ELLIS, the Fianna Fail TD for Sligo/Leitrim is the latest entrant to the rogue's gallary.**

National Irish Bank wrote off his £243,000 debt to stop him going bankrupt and being thrown out of the Dail.

At the time, NIB were trying to take over the state owned ACC bank and Bertie Ahern's mate, Jim Lacey, was the chair of the bank.

### Bills

Charles Haughey also stepped in with £26,000 from Fianna Fail accounts to pay his bills.

There was no mercy however for the small farmers whose lives were destroyed when Ellis' company went under. Ellis threatened to bankrupt one farmer because of £2,701 owed in legal costs - even though he refused to pay the farmer money he was owed for 10 cattle.

***Ellis didn't suffer any consequences after his company crashed. In fact Albert Reynolds appointed him chairman of the Finance committee for his business skills and he is now chairman of the Dail committee on agriculture and food which earns him £10,370 extra a year.***

Ellis says he doesn't have enough money to repay the farmers he owed money to. But his declared earnings amount to more than £100,000 a year.

Just another FF scam artist who is following the footsteps of Haughey and Ahern.

*John Ellis*

## More crooked Cops

**SEVEN YEARS on from the Los Angeles Police Department beating up of black motorist Rodney King, it seems nothing has changed in the US.**

Two decorated officers from the Rampart Division which operates in some of the poorest parts of Los Angeles have been convicted for drug dealing and armed robbery.

### Lenient

One of the officers Rafael Perez decided to spill the beans to get a more lenient sentence.

Perez told of an unarmed 19 year old man, Javier Ovando, who Perez and his partner handcuffed and then shot at point blank range in the chest and head.

Ovando survived with permanent paralysis only to be convicted on assault charges made up by the officers and then sent to prison for 20 years.

He has now been released and will probably spent the rest of his life in a wheelchair.

## Refugees used as scapegoats

**WITH FIANNA Fail up to its neck in corruption, they are once again trying to deflect people's anger by attacking refugees.**

Plans have been drawn up to deport up to 500 refugees after legal changes have given Justice Minister, O Donoghue a free hand.

The FF/PD government have also announced an end to all cash payments to asylum seekers. Instead they will only be given food vouchers.

### Isolate

This will completely isolate refugees from any real contact with society and cause huge hardship. Already there are young families sleeping out in front of the GPO and in city-centre parks..

While the government has made much of the limited right to work that was introduced some months ago, it has made little difference to the lives of most asylum seekers.

Theoretically, asylum seekers who applied for refugee status before July of this year are allowed to work. But only 15 asylum seekers have managed to get a job.

Employers have to prove that they couldn't get an EU person to do the job and pay £125 for a work permit for the person before they can employ an asylum seeker.

Asylum seekers aren't allowed to do a FAS course or a third level education course because FF claim that 80 percent of them will be deported anyway.

This situation is an absolute disgrace , especially given the fact that there is a huge labour shortage in Ireland. Although the ESRI tend to over-estimate the growth in the Irish economy, they claim that 200,000 extra people will be needed over the next ten years.

As the gap between rich and poor continues to grow, Fianna Fail want to portray refugees as spongers. But given the level of corruption at the top of society, more and more people recognise that the rich are the real scroungers.

# A clinic run by bigots

**ONE OF the candidates in the Dublin South-Central by-election was at the centre of the 'Baby A' case, where a woman who attended the Aadam's Women Centre, agreed to give up her baby for adoption to the candidate.**

The EHB took the candidate to court and the baby was removed because it was found the mother was pressurised into adoption under pressure.

The Aadam's Clinic is a fake counselling agency which pretends to offer 'family planning' advice.

Their display advertisement ,which takes up most of a page in the Golden Pages, says "Unplanned Pregnancy - Full counselling on all options", listing offices in Dublin, London and Birmingham.

It gives the impression that they offer referrals to Britain for an abortion clinic.

The Aadam's clinic is also listed on a regionally based website described as "Women's Counselling Network".

### Contact

According to the website all of the women who contact them are "abortion minded". But after two or three visits it seems they change their minds.

There have been numerous complaints about these agencies where women are forced to watch explicit anti-abortion video, followed by intensive 'counselling" designed to make the woman 'decide' to keep her child.

## State slaughter

**THE EXECUTION date for Mumia Abul-Jamal has been set for 2nd of December. Mumia, who was a member of the Black Panthers, was convicted of killing a Philadelphia police officer despite overwhelming evidence that he is innocent.**

**But some of the relevent evidence has not been heard at his appeal. This includes the fact that the alleged confession was reported over 60 days after the shooting and that witnesses, who have since come forward, testified that they were coerced by police to lie about Mumia**

## what we think

# Why are the ICTU not supporting the nurses?

**THE NURSES have been left to fight alone. Their strike is the most popular struggle in recent times with two thirds of the Irish population backing them.**

But the ICTU has not lifted a finger to build solidarity.

Worse, it has not even issued a statement in their support.

Instead it has acted only as a mediator and pressurised the nurses unions to water down their demands.

The ICTU is supposed to be the general staff of the trade unions.

It should act as the collective leadership that mobilises the whole movement when a decisive struggle occurs.

No one has ever heard of the bosses organisation, IBEC, acting solely as a mediator.

It gets in there and fights on behalf of its class.

### Special

Nurses are a special case. The nature of their work means it is very difficult to walk out of the hospitals completely.

That is why thousands of nurses have worked for free – even though the government has used this to prolong the strike.

This special position means that the labour movement as a whole has a duty of solidarity to the nurses.

### Collections

That is why from the first day of the strike, the ICTU should have instructed its members to raise collections for nurses who have received no strike pay.

But, even now, it should still go further. Instead of letting this strike drag on, the ICTU should call a stoppage throughout the public sector in support of the nurses.

This weak and corrupt government would not hold out for more than a day if the ESB, Aer Lingus, the buses and rail close down in solidarity with the nurses.

The ICTU leaders have not taken this course because they see keeping partnership with the employers as more important than the nurses winning.

Just before the strike began, the Sunday Business Post even claimed that some union leaders secretly hoped the nurses would not win because it might encourage a wider pay revolt.

### Property

But the trade union movement is not the property of the union bureaucrats.

That is why every union member should demand a national solidarity strike in support of the nurses.

More than 600 people marched to the Dail on the Share the Wealth march organised by the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed, among others. With £6 billion in surplus cash at the governments disposal this money should be used to benefit the disadvantaged in Ireland. Ireland has the second highest number of people living below the poverty line in all the industrialised countries.
Slogans like "£6 billion on the shelf - now it's time to share the wealth" and "Bertie Ahern, whats the score? one law for the rich and one for the poor" voiced the frustration people feel as the Celtic Tiger continues to boom but the unemployed, the disabled, pensioners, low paid workers and many others are not getting a share

highlights:

FRIDAY - Eamonn McCann and Chris Bambery on ***Socialism into the millennium***, Dr. Juliette Bresson on ***GM food and Genetic engineering***
SATURDAY Eamonn McCann and a relative of a bombing victim on ***State cover-up and the Dublin-Monaghan bombings***, Jack O'Connor (reg. sec. SIPTU) and Owen McCormack (Busworkers Action Group) debate ***Should workers sign up for Partnership?***, Sean Crowe (Sinn Fein) and Brid Smith (SWP) debate ***Which way forward for the left?***, Derek Beattie on the birth of black liberation ***From Martin Luther King to Malcolm X***, Terry Eagleton on ***Marxism and Culture***, Barbara Muldoon on ***James Connolly and the Irish Marxist tradition*** SUNDAY Marnie Holborrow on ***Marxism and Womens liberation***, Mark Walshe on ***Einstein and the revolution in science***, Ivana Bacik and Goretti Horgan on ***Why Women have the right to choose***, May Robinson (Women against Povery), Gerry Quigley (ATGWU, Derry Docks) and Colm Bryce (SWP) on ***Class and Poverty in Northern Ireland,*** Mary Smith and Merchants Quay Project speaker on ***The Drugs Crisis and vigilantes.***

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# news of the world

Indonesia

# Indonesia in turmoil over elections

**THERE WERE riots and protests as the Indonesian parliament met to choose a President. Some 41,000 police and security forces patrolled the streets while the parlaiment was in session.**

Victory went to Abdurrahman Wahid, even though he only scored 12 percent of the votes in the election.

The handpicked successor of the dictator, Suharto, was originally supposed to be B.J. Habbie. But Habbie has failed to bring econoimic growth and was seen to be mired in corruption.

He made a grovelling speech stating, that 'with all humility, I appeal for forgiveness for all my shortcomings and for my inability to reach perfection'.

The army still wield huge influence in Indonesia and they signalled their desire to ditch Habbie when the chief of the army, Wiranto, refused to stand as his Vice President.

The Indonesian parliament is far from a democratic body. Of the 700 seats, only two thirds or 462 are elected. The remainder include 38 from the Indonesian Armed Forces and 65 from 'interest groups'.

### Switched

After Suharto's supporters dropped Habbie they switched to the Muslin leader Wahid. Wahid is in poor health and has been friendly both to Suhartto's fami;ly and to the opposition.

He has also said that he will support the the IMF programme of economic restructuring and said that 'we are resolved in our committmenet to free trade'

The most popular candiadte in Indonesia was Megawatti who was a dissident under Suharto and still cultivates the image as a prodemocracy camapigner.

Megawatti also backs the IMF programme and even denounced Habbie for withdrawing Indonesian troops from East Timor.

But she has also been successful at mainatining a radical image. When news came through that she had been manouvereing out of winning the Presidency, riots broke out across Indonesia.

Thousands of wokers and students battled with the police shouting' Megawatti or Revolution'.

Two people were killed and eight others injured when a bomb exploded in the midst of the Jakartha demonstration.

In Surakarta. demonstators set ablaze the office of the Assistrant governnor. They also targetted opposition leader Amien Rais who had helped to put Wahid into office.

The protests frightened the already weak Indonesian ruling class and they offered the post of Vice President to Megawatti.

### Elites

As one Indonesian newspaper put it , 'In the end, it was either Megawatti or Mega-riots: Indonesia's elites keep the populist leader out of the top spot, but they made her Vice-President in order to head off the unrest'.

Megawatti offers an insurance to big business that she will help dampen opposition to the IMF programme of public spending cuts.

But in the process she will also destroy the illusions that millions of workers and peasants have in her and pave the way for the emergence of a geneuine left.

## OWNING HUMAN GENES

**A US biotechnology company, Celera Genomics, claims to have discovered one third of the entire DNA blueprint of the human body.**

**The research could open up major opportunities to prevent diseases like Cystic Fibrosis and diabetes.**

**But instead of making the research publicly available, the US company is applying for patents.**

**'Celera's million is to become the definitive source of genomic and related agricultural and medical information'.**

**Anyone wanting data on the DNA code will have to pay a subscription to Celera Genomics.**

**Slavery brought the sale of human being – but only capitalism could turn the building blocks of life into a commodity.**

France

# Thousands march against Capitalism

**FRANCE IS one again seeing a major revival of the left. Two weeks ago 100,000 school students marched to demand more teachers and better resources.**

Last Saturday some 50,000 people marched through Paris against unemployment and privatisation. They were also demanding a 35 hour week to boost jobs.

The protest heralded "a great social movement against capitalism", according to the march's key organiser, French Communist Party leader Robert Hue.

### Pressure

The demonstration was called by left wing parties to put pressure on the coalition government headed by prime minister Lionel Jospin's Socialist (Labour) Party.

The key force behind Saturday's march was the Communist Party.

It is a junior partner in the government, but it is also under pressure from workers at its base.

The government is caught between bowing to pressure from the bosses, and pressure from workers to deliver some of the promises which swept it to office two years ago.

*Demonstrators against Capitalism*

The key battleground is over jobs and the government's planned new law cutting the working week to 35 hours.

The government has already bowed to bosses by watering down the 35 hour law. Many workers will actually be worse off because of an increase in "flexibility".

A wide layer of workers are demanding the government toughens up the law. They are also demanding the government takes action against companies, like the Michelin tyre company, which are laying workers off.

The firm recently announced massive job cuts despite record profits.

Michelin workers headed Saturday's protest, and the anger has now forced Jospin to promise government action over job cuts by profit making companies.

### Joined

The Greens, also an important part of the government coalition, joined Saturday's march. So too did the major far left parties and a number of unemployed workers' organisations.

Communist Party leader Hue insisted the march was not "aimed at destabilising the government but at helping it resist the pressure of the financial markets".

But a sign of tensions in the Communist Party came this week. The Communist Party transport minister, Jean Claude Gaysott, backed the merger of the French Aerospatiale and German DASA companies, in a deal threatening job cuts.

But Michel Duffour of the Communist Party national executive denounced the plan and called on the government to freeze the merger.

These rival pressures represent how clashes between bosses and workers are moving towards sharper social conflicts.

Switzerland

# Far-right fill the vacuum

**THE FAR-RIGHT Swiss People's Party (SVP) have made major gains in the elections.**

The racist SVP, which is against immigration and wants to keep Switzerland out of the European Union, looked set to get 15 seats to make it the third party in the ruling four-party coalition.

The SVP got 23 per cent of the vote for the 200-seat lower house, up from 14.9 per cent in 1995, the Social Democrats (SP) 21 per cent, down from 21.8 per cent four years ago, the Liberal Radical Democrats (FDP) 20 per cent and the Christian Democrats (CVP) 15 per cent.

As Socialist Worker went to press it was not clear whether the results would alter the share-out of power in the coalition in which the SVP already holds the vice-presidency and defence ministry.

However, the SVP has already used the size of the vote to push through a tightening of the immigration law.

This is despite the fact that Switzerland has the toughest immigration law in Europe.

The party leader's Christop Blocher is a billionaire businessman who in the past praised a book denying the Holocaust took place.

### Platform

Like Haider in Austria, Blocher campaigns on an anti-immigration and anti-European Union platform.

Resentment against the Social Democrats ( Labour Party) who are in coalition led to them dropping eight seats.

After the last election they were the biggest party, but provided no change.

The far right are attempting to fill the vacuum.

# Eamonn McCann

## Lynch's mob

**THE GREAT thing about Jack Lynch is that he wasn't Charlie Haughey.**

That was the subtext of virtually all the obituaries in the national press. Fianna Fail, the main party of Irish business, is so mired in sleaze and scandal that some establishment commentators have begun to be fearful that it could lose the capacity to govern altogether. In a period of gathering economic tension, that sends a slight shudder of nervousness through the political system.

***So, the people at the top like to look back to a supposed golden era when decency, integrity and a modest way of living were the order of the day in political society, and the people were placid, knowing that they could trust the elite.***

Projecting Jack Lynch as the personification of this age of honesty carries the message that Haughey, Burke, Ellis etc. and the villains around them are an accidental abberation, an expression of individual wickedness rather than of the true nature of the system we live under.

***Root out and banish the exotic fraudsters who by deviousness and subterfuge seized control of an area of politics, and we will be able to revert to the quiet congenial circumstances of the Lynch era.***

Lynch does seem to have been a conventionally decent man in his personal life. But he wasn't averse to business giving him a return for favours rendered when in office. On retirement, he speedily acquired a selection of directorships—in Smurfit, Hibernian Insurance and Irish Distillers, for example.

He may have dropped into the Glen Rovers clubhouse and shared a pint with the hurling hoi polloi on his visits back to Cork. It's doubtless a pleasant way to spend an evening. But his common touch and penchant for breaking into "The Banks" shouldn't blind us to the fact that, at the end of the day, Lynch knew which class he belonged to, and they recognised him as one of their own.

***(Haughey, too, of course, had a habit of breaking into the banks.)***

Like Haughey, Lynch ocasionally had a bad memory for banking matters. The Littlejohn brothers, low-grade operators for British military intelligence went on a rampage of armed robberies in the South in the early seventies, in an apparent effort to engender law-and-order hysteria and create the conditions for a crack down on civil liberties.

### Arrested

When the pair were arrested in 1973, it emerged that Lynch had been briefed about their role while Taoiseach—something he had earlier point-blank denied. His "explanation" was that it just must have slipped his mind...This seems a common failing in Fianna Fail leaders.

Lynch is particularly revered now for his role as Taoiseach in relation to the North. He saved the State, says Des O'Malley. What's certain is that his commitment was entirely to the 26-County State, not at all to a vision of a new society in the North, much less a new order across the island.

***Following Bloody Sunday, he was embarrassingly obsequious to Edward Heath. In a recently-revealed telephone conversation just hours after the massacre, he pressed the British Premier, not for acknowledgment that the killings were murder, but for moves to alleviate the pressure on the institutions of the Southern State.***

For the same reason, within weeks, his government had announced the establishment of the no-jury Special Criminal Court. His actions throughout were determined not by hostility to the perpetrators of Bloody Sunday but by anxiety at the anger arising from Bloody Sunday.

He was conservative in economic and social matters, at all times a man for maintaining political conditions in which business might flourish. It is for this that the legalised robbers of mainstream capitalism remember him with such gratitude.

## March against poverty

# 'We need to organise'

**MORE THAN 350 people joined the *Time to fight poverty, Time for workers rights* march in Belfast last weekend. They came from across the "communal" divide to oppose the continued attacks from Tony Blair's government.**

There was a strong feeling that this was a small but significant step in bringing class politics to the fore for the first time in decades.

***Joan, a member of the ATGWU from Craigavon, was one of many who felt it was time that "bread and butter issues" were addressed. "The religious divide is less important now.***

"This march is more in tune with the political atmosphere in Northern Ireland. I'm optimistic, but nothing will really change unless more people get out and get involved".

### Retired

William, a retired engineer from the AEEU also felt that more and more people are shifting away from sectarianism.

*Seventy firefighters attended the Belfast march*

"There's an atmosphere starting to come about", he said, "you can see among the people themselves that they're tired of this crap.

"You hear about things like Marks and Spencers putting 500 people out of a job but the politicians are not dealing with the issues."

***Mary from North Belfast said "I support the whole ethos of this march and this campaign. Industry is still closing down here and there's a great deal of poverty.***

"Blair hasn't made any difference - or if he has I haven't seen it"

The strongest delegation on the march was from the Fire Brigade Union. Seventy firefighters marched in uniform behind their union banner.

Stephen from the Belfast Fire Brigade explained why he thought the march was so important, "We're facing trying times in the fire brigade. They're doing away with manning levels and there are continuous cut-backs.

### Support

"The biggest thing today is to raise awareness across the public about what's going on. We need to get more people joining unions and more support for the unions across Northern Ireland".

Paul Loughlin from the Derry Trades Council wanted to see the march leading to stronger links between trade unionists in the north. "Poverty and low pay are major issues in the North", he said, "but working class people need to organise.

"The peace process is rapidly degenerating into a farce. There's still a lot of vested interests in keeping sectarianism alive.

"But there's also a strong interest in going beyond that. We really need to harness that and this should be the starting point".

## FIGHT THE FEES

**THE REINTRODUCTION of fees by the Labour government last year is really starting to bite and there was a strong student presence on the march.**

**Lindsay, a student from Jordanstown explained how "everybody's working really unsociable hours. I work 30 hours as a care worker on top of a full time degree course for just £120 before tax. Everyone has to do it and we're missing out on lectures. When it starts affecting you directly, you start to realise what's going on".**

**Shauna Henderson from Stranmills college said, "it's ridiculous that we have to pay fees. I'm totally skint all the time and when we leave college we're going to be stuck in debt. I think we need more student involvement in events like this." Carolyn Rainey was on the march with a banner and a delegation from the University of Ulster where she is deputy president of the Student Union. She said, "the situation is changing in the North but if real change is going to come, it's going to come from the bottom up. I would really like to think this march will lead to something more."**

**Even school students joined the march. Hannah who is in 5th form was full of optimism about the future, "People believe in supporting people like the fire brigade. They a deserve a fair deal the same as everyone else".**

## North and South – a workers fight

**MARY SMITH, a nurse from the South received a huge round of applause when she called for unity North and South in dealing with the common problems of underfunding for healthcare, education and transport both sides of the border.**

**Many Northern workers are following the progress of the nurse's strike in the South. They see it as the first sign of a major revival of trade unionism on the whole island.**

**Paul Carolan, from the National Executive of Firefighters in SIPTU headed up a delegation of firefighters from Dublin. He told *Socialist Worker* about the strong links between the firefighters' unions North and South. "We're well aware of the attacks on the fire service here and attacks on the community at large.**

**"In the south we have the so-called Celtic Tiger but the capitalists, especially in the private sector, have secured far more than the working class.**

**"At the moment it's 99 percent for the employer and 1 percent for the workers.**

**"Workers shouldn't be fighting against each other for a share - we should all be fighting together"**

Pakistan

# Generals take over again

**PAKISTAN IS once again under military rule. The elected prime minister, Nawaz Sharif, is under house arrest. He had tried to dismiss the head of the army, General Musharraf, when he was abroad but the move backfired.**

Just as the television was showing Sharif appointing a new army chief, the old army pulled the plug and the television screens went blank.

Ever since its foundation in 1947, Pakistan has been plagued by coups. The country owes its origins to the Muslim League, which was fostered by the British as a means of keeping control of India.

The founding charter of the Muslim League stated that one of its central objectives was 'To foster a sense of loyalty to the British Empire among the Muslims of India'.

When the state was formed, the Muslim League lost popular support and the army assumed an important role. Pakistan's generals had been nurtured and trained in Sandhurst and expected to reap the privileges of a military elite.

## Dominant

Once the British departed, the US became the dominant players. Traditionally they saw the Pakistani army as an important pawn in the Cold War and encouraged the generals to take a more active role in politics.

The first coup, which was led by Ayub Khan, took place in 1959. Years later, Ayub's brother, Sarar Bahadur, alleged that the CIA were fully involved in the coup.

The general argued that 'Democracy cannot work in a hot climate. To have democracy we must have a cold climate as in Britain'

He suppressed the unions and peasant organisation. He was finally overthrown in a mass uprising of students and workers in 1969. Right up to the bitter end, the US and the Western press supported their cold war ally.

The second coup, which took place in 1977, produced an even more brutal regime. General Zia's regime was actively supported by the US who used it to fight a proxy war against the Russians in Afghanistan.

Zia deposed the left of centre Bhutto government and subsequently executed him. In order to build a popular base, he claimed that he was imposing Islamic values on the country.

The model was Saudi Arabia which was another prominent ally of the US. Public floggings, amputation of the hands of burglars, stoning to death of adulterers, execution and torture of political prisoners – these were all the stock in trade of the Zia regime.

***Throughout all this process, the US helped to build up a bloated and aggressive army in Pakistan. Officers were trained with the CIA, and Pakistani generals were encouraged to offer themselves as mercenaries for the Gulf States.***

The CIA maintained a network of agents and made sure that the Pakistani army maintained close contacts with the Afghani guerrillas.

The third coup in Pakistan's history seems to have taken place without US involvement or support. The level of corruption of the last government means that the population seem largely indifferent.

In the past Pakistan provided the poor with subsidised food. But not any longer as everything is falling apart.

## Billions

The veteran socialist, Tariq Ali, describes what is happening.

"A country that spends billions to fund its arsenal of nuclear weapons forces its poor to eat grass. The suicide rate among the poor is rising. Last January, a transport worker in Hyderabad, who had not been paid in two years, soaked himself in petrol and set himself alight outside the press club.

He left behind a letter, 'I have lost my patience. Me and my fellow workers have been protesting the non-payment of our salaries for a long time. But no one takes any notice. My wife and mother are seriously ill and I have no money for their treatment. My family are starving and I am fed up with quarrels. I don't have a right to live. I am sure the flames of my body will reach the houses of the rich one day'.

Pakistani workers have overthrown one dictator in the past. As a new set of generals set out to rob the poor, that memory can provide an important source for resistance.

*by SINEAD KENNEDY*

# Blank cheques fo

# Pittance fo

**BERTIE AHERN spent over a decade writing blank cheques for Charlie Haughey but now he is running a government that will not pay the nurses what they deserve.**

The Fianna Fail/Progressive Democrat government want to defeat the nurses so that they can terrify other workers from making claims on the Celtic Tiger.

The government tactics have been filthy. At the very start of the strike Cowen ordered health boards not to pay nurses back money they have already earned.

RTE and the national media have also been used to whip up scare stories. They never highlight the fact that nurses are working for free to prevent suffering.

But the nurses demands are very modest.

Their main claim is for a 6 percent incremental rise after sixteen years, nineteen years and again after twenty two years.

At the moment a nurse is paid £22,339 at the top of her scale after ten years. No matter how much longer they work they will not rise above this, except for the normal pay rises for inflation.

Michael who works in the Mater Hospital explains what is at stake

"Nurses have had enough of everything. It's not just a question of pay. Although that is important.

"The atmosphere which is going on in this country, with the tribunals, the fact that Bertie Ahern was Haughey's right hand man, has combined with the anger at the way we've been treated.

***"The press say people will die because of us, but the fact is people were dying because there was no money going into the health service.***

"One month ago at the Mater, they said they were closing 50 beds because they couldn't get enough nurses."

## Agreed

Catherine, another Dublin nurse agreed.

"I'm a staff nurse on the top increment on about £22,000 a year. I'm 35 and have two children, but I'm never going to get a penny more if I stay in this job.

"There are something like 700 vacancies for jobs in the Eastern Health Board alone. We've got operating theatres closed. Acute beds closed. The health service is a disgrace.

"There's a huge nursing shortage. Nurses are going into other jobs where they can get decent pay and conditions.

"The government have only got themselves to blame for turning us into raving militants. I never thought that I would go on strike, it never entered my head until it finally happened. But now we're out we need to keep on fighting.

"It's about what the priorities are in this country. Is it looking after the sick or is it all about the TDs and their plush cars and handouts from business?"

## Unbelievable

Margaret from the Rotunda Hospital, agreed,"The conditions are unbelievable, no one wants to stay in nursing.

"All we want to do is care for our patients, that is the reason why we became nurses in the first place.

"But the government are making it impossible to give the care we want to.

"We're not asking for the earth. We've been pushed into this by a government, which has a cheek, as they are up to their necks in corruption."

# No parti the Celt

**THE GOVERNMENT claim that if the nurses win, social partnership will be destroyed. But there is no real partnership in the Celtic Tiger.**

Instead of sharing the wealth, the rich have organised massive tax scams.

Margaret from James Street said, "The politicians are robbing have been shown up as a scoundrels. This has just fue anger. This has been buildin years as public hospitals ha going down the drain.

"I think the strike has bro just how divided this country question of rich versus poor.

"Those who line their poc take from us – these are the one demn us. But now we're at lea

# Nothing less than the full demand

**NURSES ARE watching their union leaders carefully because they have a long experience of being sold short.**

The present strike has been four years in the making and nurses had to vote down proposals from union leaders several times before they got them to lead the fight.

Within days of the strike starting, the nurses were being told that they had to water down their demands to comply with Partnership 2000.

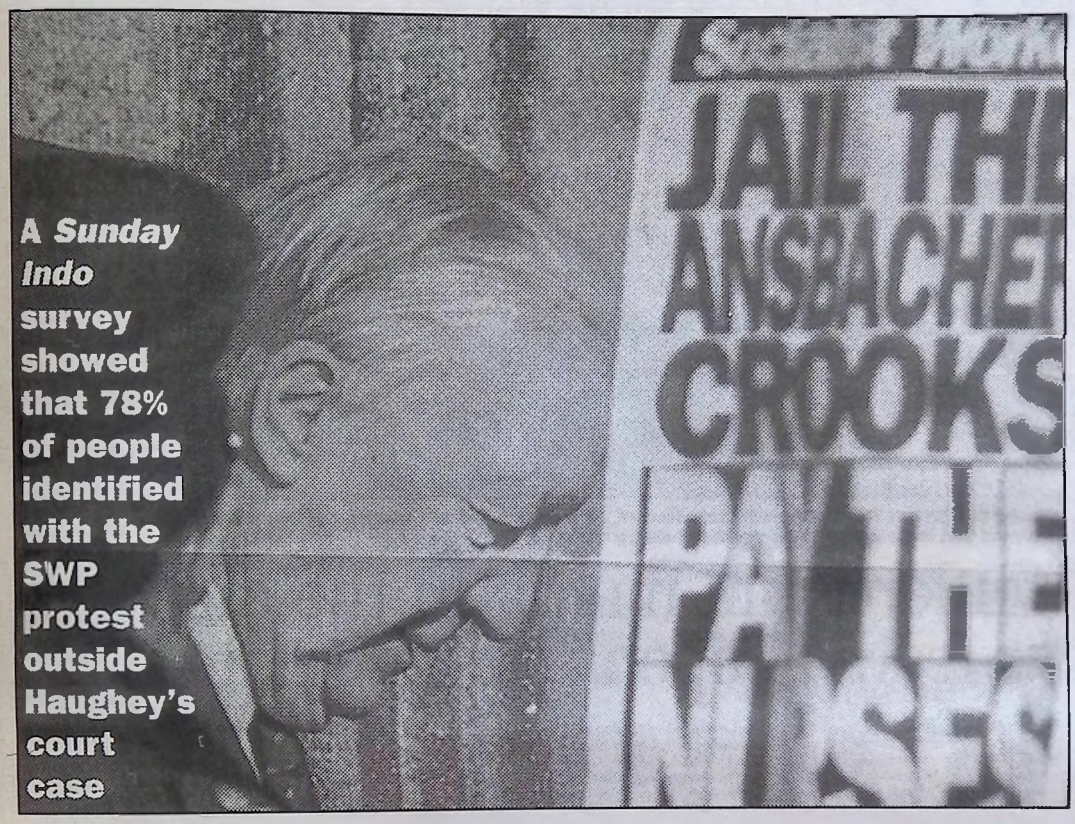
Supposedly neutral commentators were interviewed to expert view on the indus tions procedures.

One of those comment claimed that nurses were b alistic was the *Irish Times* tator, Padraig Yeates. But Y sues a very political agend

A former member of th Party, he still remains cl SIPTU leader, Des Gera belonged to the same party

At a recent labour histo ence, Yeates even introduc as "someone who has take nership shilling". Nurses be patronised by these experts.

# S for Haughey— for nurses




A *Sunday Indo* survey showed that 78% of people identified with the SWP protest outside Haughey's court case

## artnership in Celtic Tiger

he politicians are robbing us, and ve been shown up as a bunch of oundrels. This has just fuelled our ger. This has been building up for ears as public hospitals have been oing down the drain.

"I think the strike has brought out ist how divided this country is. It's a uestion of rich versus poor.

"Those who line their pockets and ake from us – these are the ones to con- emn us. But now we're at least standing up and the government can't ignore us. We are not going back to the old days anymore."

At the huge nurses march one banner summed it up. A nurse from Longford, carried a banner which said: "The tiger's health is not the nurses wealth":

She explained, "The banner says it all. We've lost out, while the golden circle have evaded tax and then they dare have a go at us! It's beyond belief."

A staff nurse from Wexford summed up the mood of many nurses when they were lectured about keeping social partnership,

"Partnership is a buzz word in Ireland, but we're not all equal partners . We've got our noses to the grindstone, they've got theirs in bank accounts in the Cayman Islands. We all deserve better than we're getting from the politicians."

Despite the media, the nurses have a huge amount of support because other workers who also know that partnership has been a sham.

### Banners

On the massive demonstration there were banners from the Irish National Teachers Union and the National Rail and Busworkers Union.

Crea Ryder a member of the Dublin North Central branch of the INTO explained,

"When we raised the issue of solidarity, there was unanimous agreement. We decided to organise collections in all the schools in our area because many of the nurses are not getting strike pay and must be under pressure. We also sent a delegation down to the march".

tors were interviewed to give their expert view on the industrial relations procedures.

One of those commentators who claimed that nurses were being unrealistic was the *Irish Times* commentator, Padraig Yeates. But Yeates pursues a very political agenda.

A former member of the Workers Party, he still remains close to the SIPTU leader Des Geraghty who belonged to the same party.

At a recent labour history conference, Yeates even introduced himself as "someone who has taken the partnership shilling". Nurses should not be patronised by these so called experts.

They should stick to their claims and tell their union leaders that the issue of increment payments cannot be taken off the table or deferred until the distant future.

The strike committee in St James Hospital in Dublin has also called on the union to ballot the members on any terms before the strike is lifted.

Jo, who works as a nurse at the hospital says,

"We do not want to be sold short. I am astounded with the press – they seem so much out of touch. The mood on our picket line is so strong that anyone trying to get rid of demands of higher increments will get a very hard time".

## Spinning Stories

**THE MEDIA have picked up on a small number of doctors who have made complaints against the nurses.**

**The Irish Independent even devoted a front page to an anonymous doctor from the Mater who claimed nurses were playing 'Russian Roulette' with people lives.**

**The Independent Group of Newspapers are run by Tony O'Reilly, the multi-millionaire who made large donations to Ray Burke.**

**He cares so much about the health service that he officially lives in the Bermuda to avoid paying tax.**

**RTE put on a consultant from Crumlin who even claimed that doctors had to 'stab' children with needles because of the nurses strike.**

**Jo, who works as a staff nurse in an Accident and Emergency unit said,**

**'That was really ridiculous. Doctors are trained to administer injections and do not always have to rely on nurses to do this.**

**"This consultant was insulting doctors as well as nurses."**

## what do socialists say?

# Who are the working class?

**"WHY ARE socialists supporting a middle class group?" This was the response of one irate Fianna Failer to the nurses strike.**

It is a common argument. Writers at the top research institute, the ESRI, often single out public sector workers for attack if they seek more wages.

They justify this by claiming that more than half the Irish workforce is now 'middle class' because they took advantage of education to gain a 'favoured niche in the class system.'

### Confusing

But the term middle class is highly confusing. It can refer to a routine white collar worker or to a Chief Executive.

*A consultant who earns £70,000 a year and orders around hospital staff is supposed to be middle class – but so is a nurse who is stressed out while she earns just over £20,000.*

Capitalism is a system that is constantly changing and as a result the working class itself undergoes change.

In the early part of the century white collar employees were very different to manual workers.

They lived in larger houses, had domestic servants and often emulated their bosses in many ways.

The offices were fairly small and clerks often had a close relationship with their employer. The vast majority were men who could aspire to promotion into higher grades.

However, the situation for the majority of white collar employees has changed. In 1958, the sociologist David Lockwood pointed to three major differences between white collar and blue collar workers - yet all three of them have disappeared today.

First, income. Lockwood argued that white collar employees earned more than blue collar employees. But it is no longer true.

A factory floor worker in Intel for example earns far more than an office worker in the local authorities.

Second, job security. Again there have been huge changes as occupations like teaching and banking officials now increasingly rely on contract staff who have little security.

Third, promotion. White collar workers were supposed to expect promotion into management. But it is no longer true.

There is certainly a shift between grades – but few of the mainly female workforce get into management.

Those who use the term 'middle class' often focus on people's lifestyle to pretend there is a major difference between groups like nurses and the rest of the working class.

But for socialists the key issue is what is the relationship to the means of production. Do you have to sell your labour – or do you live off the labour of others?

### Modest

Nurses, like most other white collar groups, rely on a modest salary.

Their working lives are controlled by a management hierarchy who try to intensify their work effort. They are subject to hire and fire like other groups.

Moreover, even their lifestyles are beginning to change.

In the past, a nurse could expect to start owning her own home before she was thirty – yet today that is extremely difficult.

She could also expect a certain respectability that came with being part of the Irish Guild of Catholic Nurses.

***A factory floor worker in Intel for example earns far more than an office worker in the local authorities.***

Today she is being lambasted in the press for being callous and 'putting lives at risks'.

All of these enormous changes are reflected the fact that the Irish Nurses Organisation is no longer a purely professional body but is an affiliated member of the ICTU.

There are, though, some white collar employees who formally get a wage but whose function is to manage, control and intensify the process of exploitation.

Office managers, professors, school principles or matrons all belong to a 'new middle class' who seek to exert an influence on the mass of white collar unions.

Sometimes they belong to the same union as other white collar employees and because they have more time off and more resources, they often rise to the top of the union machines.

This grouping will try to preserve the old professional ethos and will emphasize the differences with manual workers.

But this is not in the interest of the vast majority of white collar employees and it is the task of socialists to convince them of this.

PAUL McCARTHY

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## KARL MARX:

by SINEAD KENNEDY

# MAN OF THE MILLENNIUM

**KARL MARX was voted "Man of the Millennium" in a recent BBC internet poll. A new biography of Marx by *Guardian* columnist Francis Wheen has generated lots of publicity. So who was Karl Marx and why over 100 years after his death, does he still command so much interest today?**

When Karl Marx died in 1883, there were only a dozen mourners at his funeral, small considering the fact that he was one of only a handful of people who have fundamentally changed the way we understand the world.

Marx is often portrayed as a bearded old man who spent most of his time in the British Museum writing books that are difficult to read. Nothing could be further from the truth. As his great friend and collaborator Frederick Engels said at his funeral "Marx was above all else a revolutionist".

He devoted his life to the cause of socialist revolution. As a result he and his family were hounded and spied on by the police forces of Europe. They lived in miserable poverty, with the bailiff always at the door and survived only thanks to the generosity of Engels.

**MARX WAS born in 1818 into a well to do Jewish family in the German Rhineland. In 1835 he went to Bonn University to study law.**

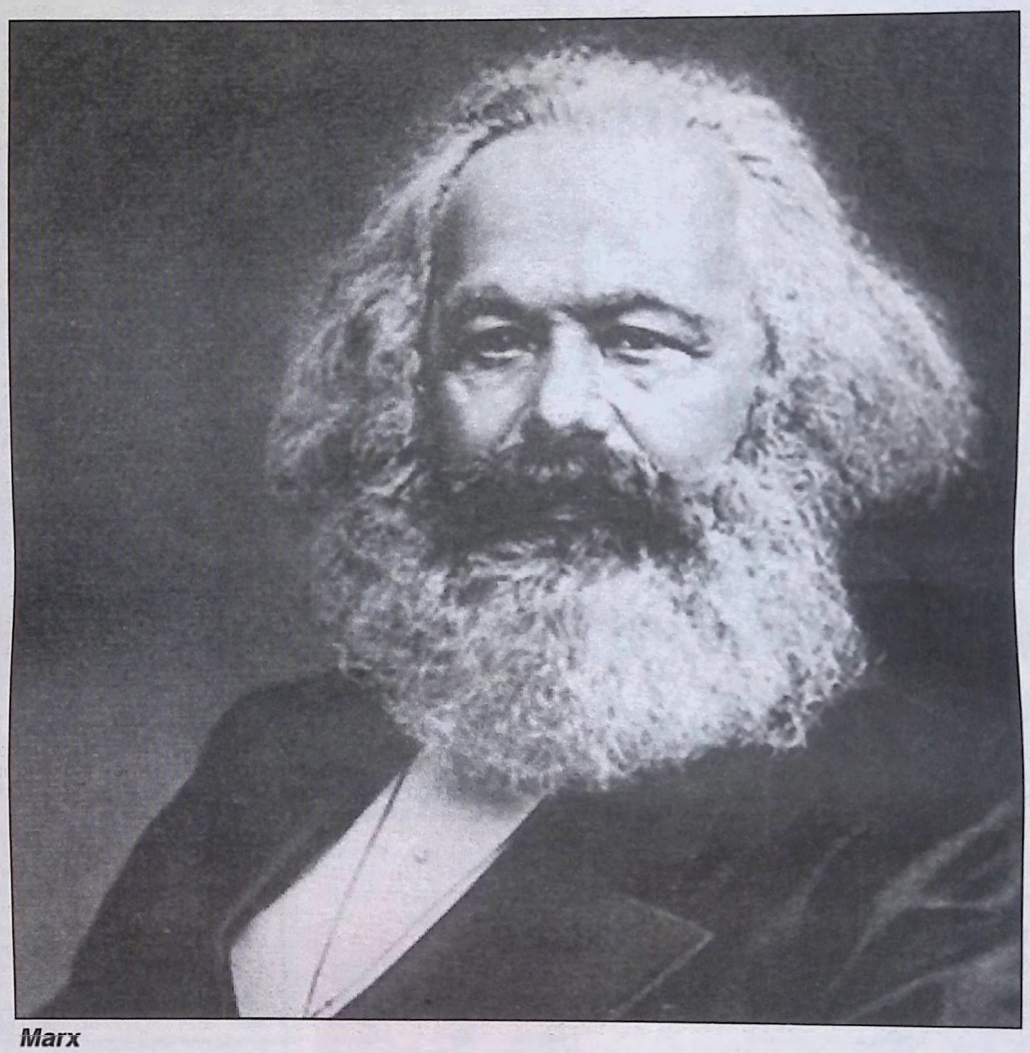
There he rebelled against his upbringing, getting involved in radical student politics. He later moved to Berlin to study philosophy. Here he had to come to terms with the work of the most influential philosopher of the day Frederick Hegel.

German philosophy in the 1830's and 1840's was a highly political business. Marx's Germany was not the country we know today. It was a politically divided, economically and socially backward country.

***Marx joined a group of intellectuals influenced by Hegel's work, who were known as the Young Hegelians.***

Many of these students looked to the ideas of the French Revolution which promised Liberty, Equality and Fraternity for all. Caught in the middle of a society that was torn between the old feudal order and the beginnings of the development of industrial capitalism they began to re-examine Hegel.

They abandoned Hegel's notion of God as the embodiment of reason, which he called the Absolute. Instead they argued the Absolute was humanity, liquidating God from the picture. They agreed with Hegel that the state should be the embodiment of reason but disagreed that the Prussian monarchy fulfilled this role. This gave them a radical way of approaching the world.



*Marx*

Marx was drawn into this intellectual and political scene. But he soon became highly impatient with their idealistic view of the world.

In 1841 he returned to the place of his birth, Trier, where he became editor of the liberal paper *Rheinische Zeitung*. This was a turning point for Marx. The local parliament tried to prevent peasants collecting wood in the forest.

Marx began to understand that the function of the state was not to rise above society and reconcile the differences of interest between the classes. Rather its role was to preserve the private property of the ruling class.

In 1843 Marx went into exile to Paris after the authorities banned the paper. During this time Marx read endlessly, particularly about the French revolution. But crucially he started to make contacts with working men's clubs.

At first Marx argued that the working class were the key to change because they suffered most under capitalism. Later, he saw that the working class were the first group in history that could emancipate themselves.

He also met Frederick Engels and a life-long friendship began. Engels had worked in his father's factory in Manchester and was shocked at the poverty of workers in the city. He described this in his book, *The Conditions of the Working Class in England*.

**All these ideas came together in Marx and Engels' most famous work *The Communist Manifesto*. It opened with the famous lines 'a spectre is haunting Europe — the spectre of Communism'.**

It was the first popular exposition of Marxism and became the world's best selling pamphlet. Its 40 pages provide the clearest case for revolutionary socialism. It explains how throughout history the driving force for change is not the actions of great men or ideas but the struggles between classes.

Capitalists rush into industry because of the prospects of profits and there is a crisis of over production as goods cannot be sold. This system of booms and slumps provides the basis for 'general revolutionary stirrings'.

But this massive increase in production also makes feasible a socialist society because for the first time in the history of humanity there is more then enough for everyone.

This can only be achieved, however, through a revolution that abolishes private property and puts the running of society into the hands of the working class.

No sooner had *The Communist Manifesto* been published in 1848 than a wave of revolutions swept across Europe against the ruling despotic monarchies. The working class was on the streets and setting up barricades in cities from Paris to Prague. Marx threw himself into the heart of the struggle, returning to Cologne to edit a radical newspaper.

The liberals who led the 1848 revolutions were terrified by the power unleashed by the working class and retreated from the demands for reform.

**Marx learned an important lesson — workers have to develop their own independent demands and their own organisation.**

He wrote, "It is our task to make the revolution permanent until all more or less possessing classes have been forced out of their positions of dominance, until the proletariat has conquered state power."

Following the defeat of the 1848 revolutions, Marx fled Germany and spent the rest of his life in London. It was there that he wrote *Capital*, which laid bare how capitalism works.

As soon as the workers movement revived, Marx became a central figure in he International Working Men's Association. Later known as the First International, this brought together trade unionists and socialists from across Europe.

***Marx also insisted that the First International oppose oppression and he campaigned actively for the Fenian prisoners and Polish independence. He drafted the rules of the First International which opened with the lines, 'The emancipation of the working class must be conquered by the working class themselves'***

The event which was to have the biggest impact on Marx was the Paris Commune of 1871. Here workers seized power briefly for the first time.

It vindicated Marx's belief that workers could change the system and create a far more democratic society. Marx's pamphlet about the Commune, *The Civil War in France*, is a brilliant description the workers struggle. It also argued that the working class had to dismantle the old state institutions and create their state under direct control of the working class.

***After the defeat of the Commune, Marx, plagued by ill health, withdrew from active political life. But right up to his death in 1883, he continued to argue for the self emancipation of the working class.***

Understanding Marx is not simply an intellectual exercise. His ideas are indispensable to making sense of a world that seems to be getting more irrational and chaotic every day. But there is no point in gaining a deeper insight into the world unless it is a means of changing the world. This is the heart of Marx's writings.

Francis Wheen's book gives a good insight into Marx the man but if fails to fully understand Marx as a revolutionary.

After his death in 1883, Engels wrote "Mankind is shorter by a head, and that the greatest head of our time".

in my view

# The Pope who aided the Nazis

**POPE PIUS XII has been exposed in a new book as a collaborator with the Nazis. The book claims that the Pope, displayed a "secret antipathy towards the Jews". He believed that the Jews were linked to a Bolshevik plot to destroy Christendom.**

Eugenio Pacelli lived in Germany from 1917, when he was appointed Papal Nuncio in Bavaria, until 1929. He knew what the Nazi party stood for, and was elected Pope in 1939, having never condemned any aspect of its ideology.

He did however find time to condemn the German revolution and to write this about the revolutionary Levine, who was executed in 1920. A "young man, of about thirty or thirty-five, also Russian and Jew. Pale, dirty, with drugged eyes, hoarse voice, vulgar, repulsive, with a face that is both intelligent and sly."

When he became a Cardinal, he and the German diplomat Franz Von Papen signed a concordat in 1933 that granted freedom of practice to the Roman Catholic Church. In return, the Church agreed to separate religion from politics.

## Atrocities

Throughout the war Pius XII was consistently besieged with pleas for help on behalf of the Jews. Within the Pope's own church, Cardinal Theodor Innitzer of Vienna told Pius XII about Jewish deportations in 1941. In October 1941, even the Assistant Chief of the U.S. delegation to the Vatican asked the Pope to condemn the atrocities. The response was that the Holy See wanted to remain "neutral".

***In late August 1942, after more than 200,000 Ukrainian Jews had been killed, the Ukrainian leader, Andrej Septyckyj, wrote to the Pope for help. The Pope replied by quoting verses from Psalms and advising Septyckyj to "bear adversity with serene patience."***

*Pius XII refused other appeals stating that he was "unable to denounce publicly particular atrocities."* And the Vatican Secretary of State responded on the Pope's behalf stating that it was impossible to verify rumours about crimes committed against the Jews.

The Pope's indifference to the mistreatment of Jews was clear. In 1941, for example, after being asked by French Marshal Petain if the Vatican would object to anti-Jewish laws, Pius XII answered that the church condemned racism, but did not repudiate every rule against the Jews.

When Petain's puppet government introduced "Jewish statutes," the Vichy ambassador to the Holy See informed Petain that the Vatican did not consider the legislation in conflict with Catholic teachings.

Pius' defenders point to some interventions he did make. For instance, when it became clear that the Allies were going to win, he advised the German and Hungarian bishops that it would be to their political advantage to go on record as speaking out against the massacre of the Jews.

## Visas

***In 1939 he obtained 3,000 visas for European Jews to enter Brazil. But these visas were only granted to Jews who had been baptised and converted to Catholicism.***

***BUT two-thirds of these were later revoked because of "improper conduct," -meaning that the Jews started practising there own religion once in Brazil.***

After the invasion of Italy, Pius XII knew that Jewish deportations from Italy were impending. The Vatican even found out from the SS the fate of those who were to be deported. Yet the Pope stayed silent.

On October 16th 1943, the Nazis arrested 1,007 Roman Jews, the majority of whom were women and children. They were taken to Auschwitz where 811 were gassed immediately.

Settimia Spizzichino, who was the only Roman Jewish woman to survive, said: "I came back from Auschwitz on my own. I lost my mother, two sisters, a niece, and one brother. Pius XII could have warned us about what was going to happen . . . He played right into the Germans' hands. It all happened right under his nose. But he was an anti-Semitic Pope, a pro-German Pope. He didn't take a single risk. And when they say the Pope is like Jesus Christ, it is not true. He did not save a single child. Nothing."

Despite all this history, the present Pope John Paul II wants to declare his predecessor who collaborated with the Nazis a saint.

**—Hitler's Pope - The Secret History of Pius XII , by John Cornwell**

*SIMON BASKETTER*

film

# The Blair hype project

*by SINÉAD KENNEDY*

**In the 1940's Orson Welles' fake broadcast, *War of the Worlds*, created mass hysteria, as people across the US believed they were witnessing an alien invasion.**

Some of the media hysteria surrounding the *Blair Witch Project* echoes this.

Two penniless film-makers Eduardo Sanchez and Dan Myrick set up an internet site with video footage of three non-existent film-makers who went into a Maryland wood to investigate the existence of a local witch.

They were never seen again but months later their footage was allegedly retrieved.

They then released a movie of the fake footage - supposedly at the request of one of the parents - showing what supposedly happened in the woods.

*Don't believe the hype*

## Milllion

Interest in the website soared with reportedly 200 million hits on the site.

The media loved the concept. But they also loved the angle of the two poor young film makers living the American dream as their low-budget film hits the big time.

*The Blair Witch Project*, however, is one gigantic media created con.

According to *Time* magazine it was filmed on the incredibly low budget of $35,000. It then grossed $137 million at the US box office making it the most profitable movie of all time

But the figure of $35,000 is about as true as the Blair Witch herself. Even Sanchez and Myrick admit as much.

It was first screened at the Sundance Film Festival earlier this year. To bring the film to print for this screening, they admit, cost $80,000.

Artisan, a large distribution company, then bought the film for $1.1 million hoping to make a quick profit like they did with the arthouse film "p", shown earlier this year.

***"They just took it over" admits Sanchez, "did re-mixes, transfered the print. I think its pretty fair to say we spent - with pay deferrals and everything - around $500,000 to $600,000. That was before a P&A budget of another million. Then right before the release, Artisan threw another $8 million at TV advertising."***

So it is more accurate to say that the actual budget for the *Blair Witch Project* was closer to $15 million than $35,000. Its still a huge profit but not that different from any other low budget Hollywood film that unexpectedly becomes a hit.

Both Sanchez and Myrick admit that the film is now very different from the one that they screened at Sundance. Left as it was, one critic said, it would have been lucky to receive a cable TV release.

After Artisan bought it, they organised a test screening. Without any of the internet hype the audience tore it apart. Artisan knew that the film would only scare if people believed it to be true.

They demanded huge changes to the film.

The ending was changed to make it more punchy and less obscure and the sound effects were re-mixed and recreated putting in more cracking branches etc. They took over the website and rebuilt it from scratch.

The Blair Witch Project shows how any film no matter how unbelievable and unwatchable can be made into the latest 'cult' movie once the Hollywood spin-doctors turn their myth-making machines into overload.

theatre

# Dolly West's soup kitchen

**FRANK MCGUINNESS' latest work, *Dolly West's Kitchen*, which is currently running at the Abbey, is a fantastic play. Irish neutrality, nationalism and the effects of a conservative society are all explored.**

**On the surface, the play seems like a straightforward historical work. It is written from a sense of outrage at de Valera's visit to the German embassy after Hitler's death to express his condolences.**

**Set in Co. Donegal during World War II, it contains characters from the Irish, British and American armies, all of whom are fond of spouting rhetoric about the greatness of their countries.**

**McGuiness completely satirises this, portraying the Irish army captain as a spiteful and petty man.**

**But the story is about more than just neutrality. As with much of McGuinness' work, the treatment of gay people by society is also a theme.**

**The Irish army captain, who seemed so narrow-minded earlier falls for one of the American soldiers, and in coming out, becomes a much more likeable and interesting character.**

**But the conservative nature of Ireland in the forties means that the couple must leave for America to be truly 'out'.**

**Towards the end of the play the political themes resurface, with the main character, Dolly describing the destruction of Italy by Mussolini's fascists. She fled Italy as she didn't feel like being left to the mercy of the fascists or the Allied forces.**

***Dolly West's Kitchen*, is a comic play but it also shows the horrors of war.**

***—PAUL MCCARTHY***

## 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.

## SWP Branch meetings

**ATHLONE:**
Contact 01- 872 2682 for detail

**BRAY:**
Meets every Wednesday at the Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm. 3 nov. Cancel the 3rd world debt 10 nov. Rosa Luxemburg and the Mass Strike

**BELFAST CENTRAL:**
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St.

**BELFAST SOUTH:**
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union

**CORK:**
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket - 4 nov. Can Socialism come through Parliament. Mon 8 nov. Rosa Luxemburg and the Mass Strike.

**DERRY:**
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.

**DUNDALK:**
Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details

**DUN LAOGHAIRE:**
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Christian Institute - 2 nov. Can Socialism Come through Parliament. 9 nov. The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx

**DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:**
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre opp. Artane Castle - 2 nov. Cancel the 3rd World Debt 9 nov. Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx

**DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:**
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St

**DUBLIN NORTH WEST:**
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in the Vietnamese Centre, Hardwicke St (off Parnell Square). - 3 nov. The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx. 10 nov. Cancel the 3rd world debt

**DUBLIN RANELAGH:**
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Tom Kelly Flats' Community Centre, Charlemont St. - 4 nov. The fight for Women's Liberation Today. 11 nov. The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx

**DUBLIN RIALTO:**
Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto - 2 nov. Cancel the 3rd World Debt. 9 nov. Can Workers Run Society?

**DUBLIN RATHMINES:**
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in O'Connell's Pub, Sth. Richmond St. - 3 nov. The Revolutionay Ideas of Karl Marx. 11 nov. Rosa Luxemburg and the Mass Strike

**DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:**
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St. - 4 nov. Rosa Luxemburg and the Mass Strike. 11 nov. The Revolutionary Ideas of Karl Marx

**DUBLIN TALLAGHT:**
Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre. - 2 nov. Rosa Luxemburg and the Mass Strike. 9 nov. Can Socialism come throught Parliament?

**ENNISKILLEN:**
Meets fortnightly on Saturdays at 4pm. Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue

**GALWAY:**
Meets every Thursday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba) 8.30pm

**LIMERICK:**
Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at 8pm. Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue.

**TRALEE**
Meets fortnightly on Mondays at 5.50pm in Harty's Bar, Tralee: 1 nov. Nurses: The Lessons of the Strike. 8 nov. The Spanish Civil War

**WATERFORD:**
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

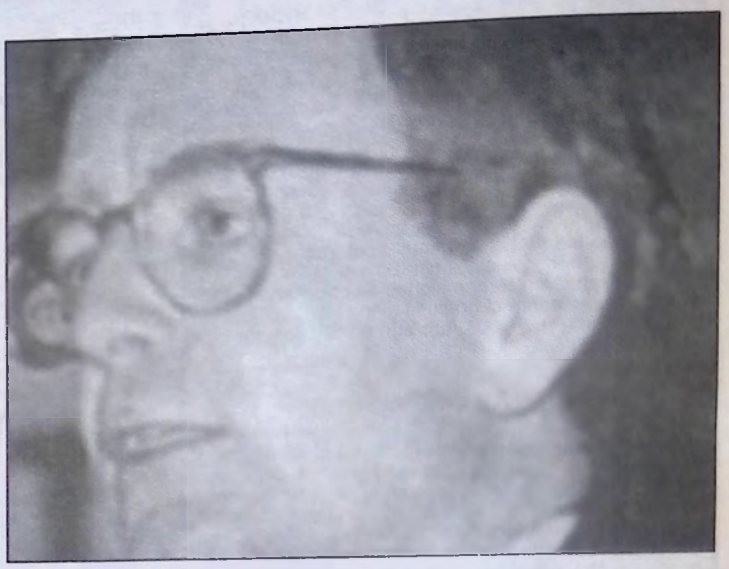
**MAYNOOTH:** Wenesdays 6.30 Class Hall B - 3 nov. Malcolm X and the politics of black liberation. 10 nov. The Fight for Women's Liberation Today

## LESSONS FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

# Myths about Partnership

**THE IRISH Congress of Trade Unions meets in November and will vote to enter talks for a new partnership deal. The largest union SIPTU has about 40 percent of the votes and it has already agreed to new talks. But there is also considerable opposition.**

**One union, MANDATE, is already against any new deal. At rank and file level, many are asking why wages are the only item to be controlled in a booming economy. Here KIERAN ALLEN challenges the partnership myths.**



*Peter Cassels ICTU*

***WE NEED PARTNERSHIP BECAUSE IT HAS CREATED JOBS.***

**SINCE 1990, half a million jobs have been created in Ireland. The reason was not because the unions pretended that the employers were their partners.**

The boom meant that the bosses needed more workers. The new jobs show that the bosses do not really believe in partnership.

Many are part time contract jobs where workers are deprived of their rights. As a result 16 percent of the Irish workforce are now part time.

The unions have also given an unofficial promise not to rock the boat with US computer companies. There has been no serious union recruitment campaign in their plants. Only one in ten of the new jobs are unionised jobs.

If there is supposed to be partnership between employers and workers, why are workers being denied their right to join a union?

***IF THERE IS NO SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP THE CELTIC TIGER WILL COLLAPSE***

**THE CELTIC Tiger started because of a huge influx of US investment.**

US computer companies needed a base inside the EU to outsell their Japanese rivals.

They choose Ireland for a variety of factors –it offered a low tax haven, an educated English speaking workforce, and cheap labour.

Today Ireland has a higher rate of US investment per GDP than any other country in the world.

Today many commentators believe that the US has become a bubble economy with stocks and shares being over-valued.

A downturn in the US economy will have devastating effect on Ireland.

Even if workers accept social partnership, this will not keep the boom going.

The boom is being shaped by conditions in the world economy rather than by Irish wages.

***WORKERS HAVE GAINED UNDER PARTNERSHIP BECAUSE OF TAX RELIEF.***

**THE REAL issue is the share that workers get of the national economy.**

Few people think there is great cause to celebrate today because we all wear shoes or watch television

But this has not stopped employer's spokespersons saying we have never had it so good because people have mobile phones or more new cars.

The share of the national cake going to wages, pensions and social security has actually fallen by 10 percent in the last ten years while the share going to profits has increased by the same amount.

Instead of a trickle down effect, there has been a steady flow upwards to the rich. The tax relief is irrelevant because every other sector of society has gotten tax reliefs but their income has not been controlled.

In 1987 when partnership began tax on profits stood at 50% but is set to drop to 12.5 percent.

Yet profits have risen dramatically while wages have been held down.

***PARTNERSHIP DEALS PROTECT THE POOREST SECTIONS OF SOCIETY.***

**IT IS UNTRUE. Ireland has the second highest proportion of its population below the poverty line of all the industrialised countries.**

The poorest have lost out most from the run down of public services that happened as a direct result of the tax cutting policies.

The same union leaders who claim that partnership protects low paid workers also promote new low entrant grades. In Dublin Bus, for example, new drivers earn £70 less than older drivers—because union leaders pushed a viability plan.

### DIDN'T THEY DO WELL

**Union leaders who advocate wage restraint for workers are being rewarded with plumb jobs when they retire. The two main advocates of the last Partnership 2,000 deal were Billy Attley from SIPTU and Phil Flynn from IMPACT.**

**★ Attley now sits on the board of Telecom. This year he got a £35,000 bonus just for attending meetings.**

**★ Flynn is also the chairperson of the ICC bank and stands to make a fortune when it is privatised. He is also on the board of Harcourt Developments, a property developing company.**

## Join the socialists

# ON A ROLL

**SOCIALIST POLITICS are on the move. Last week, 40 people joined the Socialist Workers Party and in one weekend 500 copies of Socialist Worker were sold on the streets.**

The nurses strike and the march against poverty in Belfast has created major openings for Socialist Worker politics.

The hacks of the O'Reilly controlled press are getting irritated at the growth of socialist politics. *The Sunday Independent* ran a smear piece on SWP after noticing that 'the last few weeks have seen members taking to the streets on an unprecedented level'.

The not so funny Gondola man, Brendan O'Connor, wrote, 'I noticed them last week apparently fighting against Partnership for Peace and Partnership 2000, for the nurses and against Charlie Haughey — all at same time'

His explanation of this level of activism was that SWP members all have long hair and do not work.

Which is a bit strange considering that it was SWP members in SIPTU who raised the issue of a national strike over the tax dodging rich; SWP busworkers who opposed the sell-outs on pay and SWP nurses who are fighting hard to step up the strike.

SWP is now launching a major drive to build a party that can turn workers anger into real action.

The party is open to all who agree with socialist politics and agree to promote a paper, Socialist Worker, which challenges the millionaire press.

If you've had enough of the Ansbacher crooks or want to see working class unity in the North, now is the time to get involved.

❑ I would like to join the SWP
❑ I would like to receive more information

Name:.....

Address:.....

.....

.....

.....Tel:.....

Return this form to a *Socialist Worker* seller or send to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

Tel: (01)8722682; fax (01) 8723838; email: swp@clubi.ie web: www.clubi.ie/swp

Waterford

# Victory for solidarity strikers

**WORKERS AT the Ardkeen hospital have scored an important victory through solidarity action.**

The strike began when electricians and plumbers demanded that they be made responsible for call-outs at the weekend.

Management were being called in for emergency break downs and so reaped the benefit of double time at considerably higher rates of pay.

Often the management were unable to solve problems of short circuits and blocked toilets and left them to craft workers to solve the next day.

The net result of the workers' demands will be to save the hospital money and to guarantee an efficient service. But this did not stop management putting up stiff resistance.

Workers had tried to negotiate on the issue for two years.

They refused to go to the Labour Court as they did not accept its neutral status. Eventually their union, the TEEU, agreed to organise an official strike.

### Scabs

Management tried to bring in scabs who were paid over the odds. But large pickets stopped the scabs for two hours until the Gardai eventually forced them though

The key to victory was the support shown by ATGWU members who worked at the hospital as cleaners and in non-nursing grades.

Craft workers in St Dympna's in Carlow came out on strike as they were part of the South Eastern Health Board as well.

Throughout the strike 24 hour pickets were maintained.

This magnificent working class solidarity and determination forced the management to back down.

However in a vindictive act at the end of the strike, they withdrew the contract with ISS which employs many of the non-nursing staff.

Workers saw this clearly as a lock-out and as a dangerous precedent for how contract workers who stood up for trade union principles might be treated.

They refused to accept this dictate and maintained the pickets. Within twelve hours, management backed down.

### Model

The Waterford strike is a model for how workers can start to win back some of their share of the Celtic Tiger. Regular mass meetings were held and solidarity action was organised.

If the rest of the union movement adopted this style rather than prattling on about how the bosses are their partners, then we might all see some victories.

## Putting manners on the boss

**BRICKLAYERS IN Waterford staged a three day strike at Drumlane Properties after it was discovered they were employing non-union labour.**

A BATU official and a local shop steward had approached the site which is owned by a Wexford building company to check on union cards.

### Interfere

They were told by the general foreman that he was not going to let unions interfere in his business.

When this was reported back to bricklayers, there was outrage.

*A general stoppage of all bricklayers on Waterford sites took place and 150 picketers converged on Drumlane Propertues.*

After three days of picketing a 'gentleman's agreement' was concluded. The firm was to employ union labour and there was to be no more messing about!

Aer Lingus

# Free flights for Haughey But workers get threats for action over safety

**BAGGAGE HANDLERS at Aer Lingus took unofficial action recently because of concerns about health and safety.**

Most baggage handlers have an ordinary driving licence for their own cars. But inside on the ramp at Dublin Airport they are asked to drive trucks and buses.

The Aer Lingus management give them a small amount of additional training and then assured the workers that they are covered to drive these heavier vehicles..

However after a couple of recent accidents, concern has grown among workers. They are not so sure that they are fully covered legally, particularly as sometimes they are asked to take buses out onto the public road way in the airport.

### Clarify

A group of 116 baggage handlers staged an hour and a half stoppage to demand that management clarify this issue and give them more training.

Twelve flights were delayed, including one on which the Chief Executive of Aer Lingus, Gary Cullen was flying.

The workers were also protesting about a change in how injured workers are treated. Baggage handling involves hard, physical labour with some risk to those involved.

Up to now injured workers have been reassigned to light duties where work was available.

But after a recent agreement negotiated by SIPTU leaders, these workers are now threatened with being moved onto work that receives less pay.

The stoppage by the baggage handlers brought an assurance from management that there would be no change in how injured workers were treated.

### Vindictive

But management also showed a very vindictive side.

Although shop stewards gave them a promise of a 'cooling off' period, all 116 workers received a note withdrawing their normal privileges to get stand by flights.

This happened in the same week when it was revealed that the Aer Lingus Chairman was still providing Charles Haughey and his wife with free first class trips!

However pressure from workers forced them to eventually back down on this stupid threat.

## Overtime ban over conditions

**CLERICAL WORKERS at Aer Lingus have been on an overtime ban over poor conditions.**

A canteen at the airport which was run by Campbell Catering has been withdrawn.

Concern is growing generally at the fact that a semi-state body is providing terrible facilities for its staff.

Lockers and shower facilities for baggage handlers are appalling.

Aer Lingus is set to be privatised next year and management seem to be penny pinching to push profits up. But workers have little interest in going along with a charade that means more bonuses for the fat cats.

Tesco

# Workers ballot on rotten deal

**WORKERS HAVE been balloted over whether or not to accept the latest round of attacks by management on working conditions.**

Supervisors and other middle managers as well as full time workers have been all forced to re- apply for their jobs as mangement seeks to cut costs by increasing the number of staff without permanent contracts.

Some staff with up to thirty years service are being asked to re-apply for new contracts.

In a cynical attempt to divide the workforce part-time staff were offered a flat rate increase from £2.60 to £4.02, while full time staff on different wage levels were offered a percentage increase of between 11% and 15%.

Despite the obvious divisiveness of this MANDATE trade union recommended an acceptance of the deal.

### Redundant

It is believed that management are also seeking to make back storesmen ,who deal with stock intake, and butchers redundant.

This has caused an angry reaction on the shop floor with one worker telling Socialist Worker that Tesco planned to "sort out staff and get rid of people they don't like".

Fire-fighters

# Fuelling confidence

**FIRE-FIGHTERS in Northern Ireland are watching how the threat of strike action has won a major victory for fire-fighters in England.**

Three local Labour fire authorities, West Yorkshire, Manchester and London tried to attack conditions but backed down in the face of large votes for strike action.

London and Manchester announced plans to break conditions contained in the Grey Book by employing new recruits on worse entitlements to pensions and other conditions. Manchester pressed ahead with a cuts package.

But last week the plans were in ruins. London announced that it was backing off just as union reps met to plan strike action. West Yorkshire and Manchester backed off days later as strike ballot results were expected to deliver a majority for strike action.

### Bouyant

"This shows they are not confident." said Paul Skorzewski, FBU branch secretary in Clerkenwell in London. "This should lead to a more buoyant mood in the stations."

These victories should mark a turning point. But the employers have not backed off completely. Other regions, including Northern Ireland, are still facing the threat of attacks on their fire authorities.

Firefighters should be prepared to answer any cuts with a massive vote for action.

Bricklayers

# Attempt to arrest workers

**INTIMIDATION OF bricklayers is continuing at McNamara sites in Dublin. At the New Library site in Trinity College, attempts were made to arrest the strikers, who had to retreat onto the site.**

**Then, the construction company got the college authorities to hand over control of security at the site. The boundary was then pushed out to the Lincoln St gate, effectively locking out the picketers.**

**It is a clear case of Trinity College taking sides with the employer in this dispute.**

**Last Tuesday, at the Clare St site, the police attempted to help force a lorry past the picket.**

**All workers should show solidarity with the bricklayers who are fighting subcontracting and poor safety standards in their industry.**

**Visit the pickets at government buildings, Trinity College and Clare St.**

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p Solidarity price £1

inside

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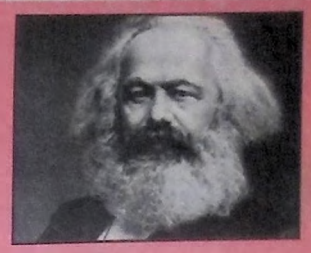


# MANDELSON: FRIEND OF THE FAT CATS

**PETER MANDELSON is one of the most hated figures in Britain and now he has been made Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. He is hated because he stands for everything that is wrong with New Labour.**

He was responsible for spending millions on the useless Millennium Dome while the NHS and education, the things that Labour are supposed to promote, continue to disintegrate. He is the main architect of Labour's adoption of Tory policies.

That is why public spending on hospitals, education and welfare is now the lowest of any British government since the 1950's.

This is even worse than it was under Thatcher!

Pensions are also the lowest in Europe.

Just last week the government announced that pensions would only increase by 73p a week this year.

Mandelson has said that he is "Labour's champion of privatisation."

### Privatise

He wanted to privatise the Post Office and air-traffic control.

It was a disgrace that he was brought back into the cabinet in the very week when the Paddington rail crash showed the real cost of privatisation.

It is only ten months since Mandelson was forced to resign after he was caught taking a £373,000 loan from Geoffrey Robinson to buy a yuppie house in Notting Hill. It wasn't an accident.

Mandelson is a friend of the rich.

***He has cultivated friendships with Elizabeth Murdoch (daughter of Rupert), Prince Charles and Princess Margaret, Bob Ayling head of British Airways, Lord Holllick who owns the Daily Express and dozens of other millionaires.***

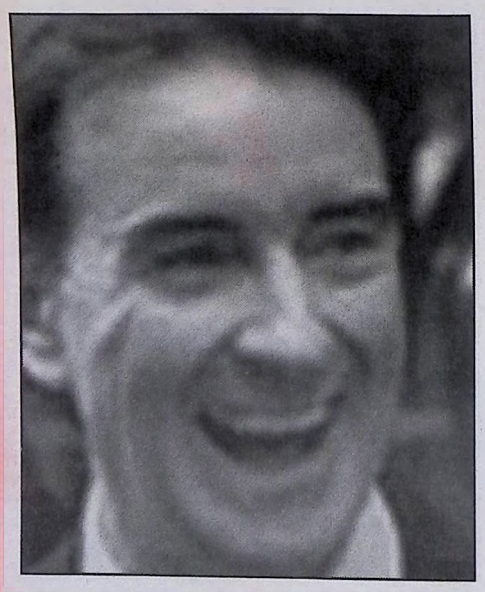
### Popular

Mandelson and Blair claim to have discovered a 'Third Way' in politics, neither left nor right, but a popular consensus in the middle ground.

The truth is that their policies continue the Tory arguments of blaming workers and the poor while grovelling to the rich.

Mandelson argues that "individuals and trade unions have to fit in with business."

That's why he watered down the trade union rights legislation last year to give bosses the 'right' to sack workers who went on strike.



## Build the socialist alternative

**WHILE NEW Labour talks peace in Northern Ireland, they have continued to sell arms to dictators and killed innocent civilians in Kosovo and Serbia.**

They are subsidising arms exports to the tune of £1.1 billion every year while they are closing hospitals here and cutting funding for the fire service and welfare.

Mandelson knows next to nothing about Northern Ireland and is only here as a way of getting back into the British cabinet.

The main parties in the Assembly offer no alternative to Mandelson's pro-business agenda. They share it. Their vision for society is one of low wages, low taxes for business, and no union rights to attract multinational investment.

The alternative to these watered down Tory policies is genuine socialist politics which puts people before profit.

This is the only politics that can promote unity between working people.

While the Mitchell review of the peace process stumbles, conditions are worsening for working class people.

There is more job insecurity, continual cuts in funding, fees for education, longer hospital waiting lists and privatisation.

### Anger

The anger and resentment felt towards Mandelson and New Labour will be mis-directed if it leads into illusions in local politicians who feed off sectarianism.

It should be directed towards the building of a socialist party, which aims to organise resistance to New Labour.