

# Socialist Worker

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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

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# VICTORY TO THE TEACHERS

# WE ALL NEED A PAY RISE

## CLERICS COVER UP CHILD ABUSE

**BROTHER AMBROSE Kelly** is the latest cleric to be convicted for child abuse. The principal of a Holy Family School in Galway he subjected children as young as ten to

oral sex and attempted buggery.

Kelly's crimes only came to light after a former pupil who was aged 45, saw a British television programme on child abuse and made a complaint about him.

At the time, propagandists for the church claimed that

they were being 'victimised' by the media, which was concentrating too much on stories of child abuse.

### Complaint

Kelly's activities came to light as early as 1965 when a complaint was made that he was involved in 'indiscreet behaviour'.

Instead of being hauled before the courts, Kelly was transferred by order to Liverpool where he started to sexually abuse other children.

The cover up by the Catholic Church of this child abuse is disgusting.

They have no right to talk hypocritically about the 'right of the unborn' when they protected people who abuse children.

## Bosses praise for Sinn Fein

THE MOST recent edition of "Business Contact" the magazine of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce praises the current economic policy of Sinn Fein.

In an article headed "Tiocfaidh Ar Lar" it seems that Dublin's capitalists are not from concerned that SF have been polling 11 per

cent of young voters.

Indeed the Chamber's spokesperson Declan Martin praises the "high energy level" and "willingness to listen" of local SF representatives in the city.

A SF spokesperson is quoted saying that the Dublin business community had "nothing to fear" from SF policies.

## Boycott the Sunday Indo

MARY ELLEN Synon is still writing her nasty right wing column in the Sunday Independent despite her disgraceful attacks on the disabled.

But now it transpires that the Indo's original defence of Synon was no accident.

### Claimed

Before the outcry over the article, the Independent Newspapers group turned down a request from the National Union of Journalists to provide wheel chair access to their Dublin plant.

They claimed that the expense involved was prohibitive.

Yet a week after the scandal over Synon broke, they changed their mind. But as one worker said "They put in a quick ad-hoc ramp at the back last week."

## PAY THE WORKERS BEFORE THE BANKERS

40 SIPTU workers in the Manor Mill in Maynooth have been told that there is no money to pay their redundancy packages and wages.

The redundancy package had been agreed upon by SIPTU and the Kavanagh family — the owners of the Mill only 6 weeks ago. However according to management there is now no money available.

### Behind

A liquidator has been brought into the Mill. Most of the workers have given over 20 years service.

Local opinion is right behind the workers and there is an angry mood around the area.

Most people are agreed that it is the workers rather than the usual creditors — such as the banks — who should be paid first by the liquidator.

## Flash floods, environmental destruction ...

# Profits fuel global warming

THE BIGGEST profits "in corporate history". That was the verdict of financial commentators on the oil companies' bonanza profit figures out recently

The world's top four oil companies are on course for a staggering £10 billion profit in just 12 weeks.

### Impact

The results came as the impact of global warming, which the oil companies bear a key responsibility for, was brought home to people across Europe.

The floods and storms that hit Europe were another sign of the disaster that global warming is bringing.

Scientists around the world have made it clear that the emission of green-

house gases like carbon dioxide from burning fossil fuels is responsible.

A new report by the official body representing the world's top 2,500 climate scientists warned that the global warming threat was even bigger than they had previously feared.

Yet governments have done nothing.

Three years ago, the countries at the Kyoto summit pledged a 5 percent cut in greenhouse gas emissions.

The world's biggest polluter, the US, refused even to agree this figure, even though, most scientists are calling for a 60 percent cut.

The Irish government have agreed to the Kyoto Protocol but they have done little.

The publication of the National Climate Change Strategy has taken 2 years and will do next to nothing to reduce emissions.

Most seriously, the government plans to rely on

voluntary agreements with industry on emission reductions.

But the experience around the world is that big business will not lower emissions unless they are forced.

If the government is serious about tackling the greenhouse effect, they should tax companies responsible for these emissions.

Emissions from agriculture accounted for 35 percent of all greenhouse gas emissions, the highest of all sectors.

### Reducing

The reduction of the national herd by 10 percent is one way to do this.

Yet, the government only talks about reducing the 'projected' herd.

Transport is the other area that the government has failed to tackle.

Public transport remains chronically underfunded.

Emissions from the transport sector are expected to increase by over 180 percent in the next 10 years.

Any serious fight against global warming demands massive investment in public transport to help curb car and lorry use and the development of renewable energy like wind and wave power.

Both are easily possible by taxing big business, who are the real cause of environmental destruction.



Floods the result of global warming

## Big Pro-Choice meeting

ALMOST 200 people gathered in Trinity College recently for the *Voices of Reason: Perspectives on the reality of Irish abortions*, conference.

The conference was the first national discussion on the reality of abortion in Ireland using the voices of Irish women who had experienced abortion.

### Launched

The conference launched a new book *The Irish Journey: Women's Stories of Abortion*. The book, introduced by Medb Ruane, allows Irish women, some for the first time, to speak about a subject that continues to be a taboo in Irish society.

Over 80,000 Irish women have had abortions in Britain in the past 20

years. This is the reality of abortion in Ireland.

Huge anger was expressed at the government who have ignored this issue for years.

It is now proposing to

have another referendum, despite the fact that in 1992 Irish people voted for legislation that would legalise abortion in line with the Supreme Court ruling on the x-case.

## Rest home

THE US invaded Panama a few years back claiming that it wanted to get rid of the then dictator General Noriega.

It now seems the US's real motive may have been a scheme to turn the country into a safe haven for discredited US-backed dictators across Latin America.

The country is now stuffed full of such dictators and former US clients from across the region.

Among the glitterati of the ex-dictators' social scene in Panama are Jorge Serrani Elias, former president of Guatemala, Abdala Bucaram, former president of Ecuador, and former military leader of Haiti Raoul Cedras.

### Holding

No wonder there have been angry demonstrations in Panama City with people holding placards demanding, "We shouldn't be the dustbin of the world."

## Clean needles needed

MILLIONS OF people in the world's poorest countries will unnecessarily die horrible deaths from liver disease because they can't afford clean needles.

The warning came from World Health Organisation officials meeting in Cairo. Officials heard that 20 million people a year in the Far East, South Asia, Africa and parts of Eastern Europe are infected with the hepatitis virus each year.

The single biggest reason is the use of dirty needles in hospitals and health centres.

Hepatitis causes liver disease, with around one in five of those infected eventually dying of the disease.

Dirty needles also lead to 150,000 cases of HIV infection worldwide.

The answer is simple and cheap — ensure all hospitals have sufficient clean needles.

But the International Monetary Fund's new-style "poverty reduction programmes" demand privatisation of health, forcing the poorest to pay for health-care.

## CELTIC TIGER: 3RD MOST RIGHT WING

IRELAND HAS been ranked number three in the world, behind Hong Kong and Singapore as the best capitalist paradise by the Heritage Foundation.

The Heritage Foundation is an extreme right wing think tank that promotes conservative

policies, 'traditional American values and a strong national defence'.

It placed Ireland number three on its worldwide index because the government makes a little attempt to interfere in the free market.

It praised the fact that Ireland

- Has the lowest taxes on big business in Europe.
- The constitution protects property
- Labour legislation is very weak.

## what we think

# Support the teachers

**MORE THAN** half the secondary schools in Ireland had major difficulties recruiting teachers this year. The main reason is the low rate of pay.

This is why the Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland are right to fight for a 30 percent pay rise and to strike from November 14th.

Compared with other graduate jobs, teachers' salaries are lagging way behind. After fifteen years in the classroom, a teacher is £10,000 worse off than many other graduates in the private sector or the civil service.

Teachers have given huge increases in productivity over the past ten years. They have devised new courses for the Transition Year and for the Leaving Cert. Under the new Education Act they will have to engage in more record keeping.

Like other workers, teachers are facing huge rises in accommodation costs. An average house in North Dublin now costs around £180,000. But the salary for teachers starts at under £15,000 and it takes 27 years to reach the top of the scale, which amounts to £30,000.

Teachers are 'early starters' who got far less out of the last pay round than nurses or Gardai. They need a catch up claim to meet the rising inflation.

The poor pay of teachers means that people with qualifications in science, maths and languages are taking up offers of better-paid jobs in private industry.

Last year 7% of schools had to drop subjects altogether because they could find no one to teach



**Ireland has one of the worst funded education systems in Europe**

them while in another 12% of schools subjects had to be taught by teachers who had no qualification in them.

The teachers' strike is a major revolt against the restrictions of social partnership which has tied down wages for over a decade while profits soared.

The media and the political establishment will come down hard against the teachers.

But a victory for the teachers will open the way for other workers to seek their share of the Celtic Tiger — while it lasts.

## ASTI has taken the right road

**ASTI HAS kept out of the last partnership agreement and left the Irish Congress of Trade Unions because it wants to get back its right to free collective bargaining.**

Its actions have already galvanised the rank and file of the other two teachers union who want a united fight for higher pay.

49 percent of primary teachers voted against the Programme for Partnership and Prosperity — and that was when inflation was supposed to stay at only 3 percent.

### Pickets

Members of the TUI will also refuse to pass the pickets of the ASTI.

The leaders of the TUI and the INTO are desperate to stick with the social partnership agreements and are trying to prevent solidarity with the ASTI.

They claim that teachers can gain by taking part in a 'benchmarking' process, which evaluates different

jobs against each other.

But the benchmarking body is not due to report until 2003 and there is no guarantee that this will give an extra wage rise.

No one knows on what basis jobs are to be evaluated.

The whole process was pushed by the government to break relativities between different groups of workers and to stop 'wage drift' in the public sector.

Socialists should press for maximum solidarity with the ASTI. They should pressurise the other teachers unions to serve an immediate 30 percent claim.

They should back candidates in the INTO election who pledge full support to the ASTI.

The only way the ASTI will win is by winning over the rank and file of the other two unions.

As a first step they should call a national demonstration of teachers and publicly invite the other unions to join in.

They should also picket every school where they have even one member to spread the action though the educational system.

Solidarity is the key to defeating this right wing government.

## FIGHTING FOR DECENT EDUCATION

**EDUCATION MINISTER, Michael Woods, has attacked teachers for putting the education of children in danger.**

But this is pure hypocrisy. Fianna Fail's spending cuts have already undermined education.

### Student

Ireland spends less per primary school student than any other country in Western Europe, America or Australia

It spends 5 percent of its Gross Domestic Product on education compared to 6.1 percent for other OECD countries.

Across the country, there are countless stories of cold, damp, overcrowded buildings, classes in prefabs and no money for facilities like libraries and sports equipment.

The Education Department in UCD calculates that parents have to spend an average of £270 per year on a child in first year of primary school and £350 on a child in the final year.

When the state takes this shoddy attitude to funding schools, it's not surprising that students are dropping out at a younger age.

### Suffer

And it is the poorer groups which suffer most. One study showed that 85 percent of early school leavers are from working class origins and small farms.

A victory in the teachers' strike is a not only a blow against low pay but will also mark a step forward in winning a decent education system.

## Wage increases do not cause inflation

**"IF THE teachers win a 30 percent increase, it will cause more inflation and the Celtic Tiger will collapse".**

This is the refrain that the employers, government and even ICTU leaders repeat. It is an argument that is used against any group of workers who seek more.

But it is nonsense. Wages are only one component of a market economy. There have been huge rises in profits, rent, land prices — but none of the official experts have been screaming when the wealthy looked for more.

Irish workers have suffered a decade of wage restraint yet they still have the highest rate of inflation in Europe. If higher wages were the cause of inflation, how could this have happened?

Inflation occurs because there is no planning in a market economy. No one predicted the Celtic Tiger boom a decade ago. As a result, there are shortages of raw materials, transport facilities, skilled labour — all of which pushes up prices.

Inflation also increases due to international condition such as oil price rises or interest rates which workers have no control over.

Far from wages increases causing inflation, they are only a response to inflation which has already occurred.

# HEDGE FUNDS PUSH PERU TO BRINK

## Vultures who are screwing the poor

### Ecuador plunged deeper

THE intervention of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) just makes things worse, but it still presses on with policies that kill.

The IMF admits its policies do not work in its "Strategy for Ecuador" document exposed by journalist Greg Palast in the Observer recently.

The report is so damning it is marked "Please do not cite". The IMF forced Ecuador's government to borrow \$1.5 billion in 1983 to repay debts to international banks.

The IMF made the government increase the price of electricity and other necessities, and cut 120,000 jobs.

Ecuador also privatised its banking system. Both individual debts and interest rates rose massively as a result. Despite this past disaster the IMF is now imposing 167 new loan conditions.

The IMF has ordered Ecuador to raise the price of cooking gas by 80 percent by November this year, cut 26,000 jobs and halve real wages. Ecuador must also privatise its biggest water system and allow BP's Arco group to build an oil pipeline.

PAUL SINGER, Jay Newman, Michael Strauss. You will probably have never heard of them, but these three men are responsible for bringing misery and hunger to thousands of the world's poorest people.

They are all "vulture" capitalists who prey on the poorest countries in the world to make profits.

And they are sick enough to exploit Third World debt in order to do so.

Take the case of Peru. Paul Singer, Jay Newman and Michael Strauss are key figures involved with Elliott Associates, another outfit most people have never heard of.

Elliott Associates is a US investment or "hedge" fund that seeks to make money for its rich investors.

*It bought up \$20 million of Peru's debt in 1996 — but only paid \$11 million for it.*

Then, just like a bailiff would do, Elliott Associates set about getting back the debt it had bought.

It was prepared to push Peru to the edge to do so.

It did not care that half the population of Peru already live in poverty, or that debt repayments consume almost a third of the government's budget — more than either health or education.

Elliott Associates demanded, again like a bailiff, that the Peruvian government should pay it \$58 million — that is, all the debt plus interest.

When it didn't get the money it took Peru to court, and last month won a payment of \$65 million, including costs to cover its hot shot lawyer's legal fees.

*The repayments nearly crippled Peru. It nearly defaulted on its other debt repayments thanks to the menaces of Elliott Associates, and that would have spelt disaster.*

Peru is not the only country these vultures prey on. Panama, Ecuador, Poland, Ivory Coast, Turkmenistan and Congo are also victims.

by MATTHEW COOKSON

Elliott Associates made over \$130 million last year from squeezing these countries.

Another US company, the Dart Group, now owns 40 percent of the debt of Ecuador and also has a stake in the debt of Belize.

The government of Poland recently privatised the national telecommunications company to buy back \$942 million of its debt to get it out of the hands of these kinds of sharks.

Vulture capitalists just play the market.

### Debts

When poor countries are in economic crisis they can't pay back their debts.

So the vultures step in and buy up the debt cheap.

The governments of poor countries are temporarily relieved of their repayments. But the vultures then want their money back one way or another.

Some just wait for economic recovery.

Others insist on IMF-style "restructuring packages" — privatisation and cuts in government spending.

Others, like Elliott Associates, tear up restructuring agreements and just demand the money.

"These people are trading in misery," says Liana Cisneros, head of the anti-debt Jubilee 2000 Latin American Campaign.

"It may be just business to them, but to the Peruvians it represents school books, medicines and clean water."

'It may be just business to them, but to the Peruvians it represents school books, medicines and clean water.'

JUBILEE 2000



PERU IS not only being preyed on by vulture capitalists. Mass protests and riots broke out earlier this year against election rigging



## news of the world

### Ivory Coast

GENERAL GUEI was driven from office in West Africa's Ivory Coast. Guei seized power in a coup last December then held presidential elections to confirm his position.

When Guei simply declared himself the winner, thousands of supporters of opposition leader Gbagbo took to the streets.

After a few hours sections of the gendarmes, the armed police, came out in support of Gbagbo and defeated troops still loyal to Guei.

The gendarmes then escorted Gbagbo into the TV station so he could proclaim himself leader.

The courageous mobilisation by ordinary people was undoubtedly crucial to Guei's downfall.

But other much more shadowy forces are also involved. Gbagbo is backed by the government of France, the ex-colonial ruler of Ivory Coast.

However, the US is calling for fresh elections because it backs Alassane Outtara, a former IMF official who forced through pro-market policies as president in the 1980s.

Gbagbo, a former trade union leader, sometimes calls himself a socialist.

But he has recently made great play of Ivorian national-

ism, and has joined in the scapegoating of immigrant workers who now make up nearly half of the country's population.

### Kosovo

LOCAL ELECTIONS brought a landslide for Ibrahim Rugova and his Democratic League of Kosovo.

Rugova is regarded as a moderate Albanian nationalist who led the struggle for independence from Serbia throughout most of the 1990s.

His main opponent in the elections was Hashim Thaci—the leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) guerrilla group, which has now turned itself into the Democratic Party of Kosovo.

Thaci worked hand in glove with NATO during the Kosovo war last year.

His support plummeted in last week's election.

Former KLA commanders have used their military power to seize businesses in Kosovo.

There has been a spate of mafia-style killings between rival gangs since NATO took over last summer.

KLA leaders have also helped to drive out most of the minority Serb and Roma Gypsy populations of Kosovo through what every independent human rights agency has called "reverse ethnic cleansing".

Defeat of the party most closely associated with gangsterism and attacks on Serb civilians is significant.

It shows increasing numbers of people are weary of tit for tat nationalist divisions.

### Germany

THE GERMAN state was on the point of banning the Nazi NPD party.

The move comes against a background of rising opposition to the far right.

Thousands of people marched recently in Berlin and in Dortmund against the NPD, the most high profile Nazi group.

The German government, a coalition of Greens and an equivalent of Britain's Labour Party, is under pressure to ban the NPD, thus withdrawing the hundreds of thousands of pounds of public money it gets every year as an official party.

Stopping the public subsidy would be a big step forward. But anti-Nazi activists know they need to go further. Major demonstrations have prevented the NPD from marching in several cities so far this year.

The rising anti-racist sentiment has thrown the Tory CDU into turmoil.

It wants to present itself as mainstream, but its right wing is flirting with playing the race card in the run-up to the next general election.

# Eamonn McCann

## Another crisis?

**NORTHERN NATIONALISTS** were apoplectic with outrage at David Trimble saving his own skin at the Ulster Unionist Council by putting a block on Bairbre de Brun and Martin McGuinness attending North-South ministerial meetings until such time as the IRA makes practical moves towards disarmament.

Far from facing Jeffrey Donaldson down, came the bitter complaint, Trimble had himself gone over to the "No" camp.

"The gravest crisis yet for the Agreement", declared a grim-faced Mitchel McLaughlin.

From the other side came a comparably sharp response. This time, the IRA wouldn't be let wriggle off the hook. The progress on decommissioning promised at Hillsborough last May would have to be delivered. Otherwise, all bets were off.

The possibility of the entire edifice collapsing within days was seriously discussed by agitated commentators.

Six days later at Enniskillen, all seemed somewhat more relaxed. Stormont minister de Brun met her Southern counterpart Micheal Martin in the presence of Seamus Mallon and launched a cross-border advertising campaign extolling the advantages of folic acid in the early stages of pregnancy. A worthy initiative, it goes without saying. But hardly the cutting edge of the ongoing dispute.

According to the *Guardian*, the "provisional" North-South gathering represented humiliation for David Trimble, a triumph for Sinn Fein. Strange, then, that the usually hyper-sensitive Trimble didn't seem too bothered. "A little bit of play-acting", he told Radio Ulster.

The more cynical observers reckoned that perhaps the whole episode had been a piece of play-acting, two troupes of political performers acting up for separate audiences.

Whatever the degree of deliberate dramatisation, the roots of the problem lay in the parallel contradictions in Sinn Fein and Ulster Unionist attitudes to the Agreement. One side had bought it on the basis that it buttressed the Union. The other sold it to its members as a sign-post to a united Ireland.

The series of potentially destabilising issues — flags, Patten, law reform, etc — have all reflected this deeplying fault-line running through pro-Agreement ranks.

### Accomodate

For the leadership of one side to accomodate the other would be to acknowledge that the other's understanding of the Agreement wasn't entirely fanciful after all. But to admit that would be to concede that they'd sold their own members a false prospectus.

So, neither party leadership can afford to reach out to the other. But each knows that without the other the house of cards will collapse. Thus the need for repeated interventions by the two governments to adjust the dichotomy and keep the show on the road.

Given the strength of the forces wanting the Agreement to work, the likelihood is that the institutions will survive, albeit as at present — in a state of constant instability characterised by sporadic outbreaks of violence.

But the confident prediction of pro-Agreement commentators in both Ireland and Britain — that the various parties, through working together, would gradually learn to trust one another and begin to slough off their incompatible ideologies — is likely to remain more pious hope than practical reality.

Even on the most optimistic assumption for the Agreement, then, we are in for long-term abrasion at the Orange-Green interface — even as the Executive parties implement a joint economic strategy based on a centre-Right consensus.

In this situation, the main task of those who are serious about building a socialist opposition to both sectarian Unionism and right-wing Nationalism is not to provide instant reaction when, for example, the Provos react to the uneasiness of their own members by lashing out at anyone who challenges their credentials.

While defending absolutely the right to free speech and robust debate, the first job of socialists is patiently to trace the connection between the impasse in which rank-and-file Republicans find themselves and the politics of the all-class Nationalist alliance which their leadership has constructed.

The way ahead lies not in renewed argument over armed struggle but in arming the working class with the revolutionary ideas without which no serious socialist movement can be built.

## Northern Ireland hit by ...

# Privatisation madness

**THE NORTHERN** Ireland Assembly has embraced the privatisation madness of the Blair New Labour government. In the last three years in Northern Ireland PFI deals worth over £230 million have been signed

PFI means private companies take over, build facilities and then lease them back to public bodies or run them and charge for their services.

Two areas where PFI is most used are education and health, headed by Sinn Fein ministers Bairbre De Brun and Martin McGuinness.

### "Innovative"

Martin McGuinness, opening the PFI-built St. Genevieve's High School in West Belfast, claimed, "PFI is an innovative procurement method which can compliment conventional public sector capital investment."

He even announced that the department has "plans for the extended future use of PFI."

### Jobs

A new scheme to provide computers for schools is also using PFI.

Last week applicants for jobs were advised that they might have to transfer to the new private company.

McGuinness claims that PFI means "value for money for the taxpayer."

But extensive studies on PFI in Britain show that PFI schemes cost taxpayers more money not less.

The costs of PFI are huge - sometimes five



Fighting PFI

times more expensive than private projects.

The government can borrow money much

more cheaply than private companies who have to borrow from the banks at commercial rates, often at

double the rate.

One study showed that the £2.7 billion cost of Scotland's PFI pro-

gramme is an amazing £2 billion more than if it had been paid for with public money.

## Letting the fat cats rip off the Health Service

**BAIRBRE DE BRUN** has signed PFI deals for the new Renal Unit at the City Hospital and the new Maternity Unit at the Royal Victoria Hospital.

She also claims that PFI is a way of getting much needed investment in the NHS.

But as the British Medical Association argues: "The largest hospital building programme in the history of the NHS is being funded by the largest acute hospital clo-

sure programme in the history of the NHS."

This is exactly what is happening in Northern Ireland. Local area hospitals have been closed in order to pay for PFI schemes in the five major hospitals. Waiting lists are growing.

### Cutbacks

Yet the Royal Victoria Hospital is not replacing nurses and other staff who leave because of budget cutbacks and 'efficiency saving'. This

means fewer beds.

A spokesperson for Craigavon Area Hospital, which was supposed to provide acute services for rural areas affected by closure of local hospitals, says that it is faced with redundancies and bed closures because of cutbacks.

Professor Allyson Pollock of University College London is one of the leading experts on the effects of PFI in the NHS.

He claims that on average there will be 30 percent fewer beds

because of PFI schemes.

Every PFI scheme so far has meant slashing jobs and attacks on the pay and conditions of remaining staff. It has also meant a run down in services.

It would be far cheaper for the Northern Ireland Executive to stump up the money to renovate our schools, hospitals, housing and transport.

However, to do so would mean taxing the multinationals and big business.

## Free speech in West Belfast

**ANYONE** supporting the democratic right to debate and dissent has to be deeply concerned at the intimidation of members of the Republican Writers Group (RWG) in West Belfast.

After calling for a 'community inquiry' into the killing of Real IRA man, Joe O'Connor in Ballymurphy, Anthony McIntyre

and Tommy Gorman have been subjected to veiled threats and pickets of their homes.

Gerry Adams, writing in the US paper the Irish Voice, claimed that McIntyre and Gorman are 'fellow travellers of the Real IRA'.

But Anthony McIntyre told Socialist Worker "I am on record as saying the Real IRA should put away

their guns, call off their campaign and cease to exist.

This slur is extremely dangerous and is being used to suppress peaceful dissent and free thinking."

McIntyre's partner, Carrie Twomey, who is six months pregnant, had to be taken into hospital because of the pickets.

Leading Sinn Fein members from the area are among the

pickers and the couple are concerned that the intention is to drive them out of their home — or worse.

Sinn Fein wants to stifle any dissent in republican areas and not just from those who criticise the party for entering Stormont.

Youth workers who criticise the vigilante nature of "Community Restorative Justice" have been warned to stop.

It is vital that everyone has a right to criticise what politicians are up to — whether they live in West Belfast or elsewhere.

If Sinn Fein succeed in silencing McIntyre, Gorman and the Republican Writers Group, it will become more difficult for anyone to make those criticisms.

## Austria

# Haider: The mask slips

THE IRISH government played an active role in lobbying the EU to lift its sanctions against Austria after the far right Freedom Party joined the government.

But just after the EU agreed to resume its ties, the mask of respectability slipped from the party led by Haider.

At the end of October Haider called for the 'elimination' of immigrants in Austria.

He said, "There are too many illegal immigrants, crimes and drug dealers. Our priority has to be to eliminate them uncompromisingly"

These chilling words reflect Haider's Nazi past. He inherited a 38,000 acre estate, which his parents took from Jewish owners who had fled Austria in 1939. At the age of sixteen, he had an article published in a neo-Nazi paper.

### Captured

He has publicly supported the 'orderly employment policy carried out in the Third Reich.' He has been captured on a video attending a rally of former SS officers.

So when Haider talks about 'elimination' of immigrants, few can have any doubts about what he really meant.

He has also called for a ban on all anti-government demonstrations and boasted that 'since I've taken office in Carinthia, no left winger has dared to demonstrate there any more!'

Recent revelations from a former police officer and Freedom Party supporter has shown that the party organised a close network of supporters inside the police who supplied them with information on their opponents.

Protestors outside the building where Haider was speaking were attacked by Nazi skinheads. They shouted 'What Haider cannot do, we'll carry out on his behalf' and 'Inside they are talking, outside we'll get down to business!'

The Nazi fist is coming out because the Freedom Party has suffered a major set back in recent elections. Its vote in regional elections in Styria dropped to 12.4 percent which was under half the share of its vote when it got earlier in the year.

In response, Haider has tried to galvanise the Nazi cadre that make up a key element of the Freedom Party's base.

Like many far right parties, the mask of respectability is seen very much as a tactical phase.

Haider's real aim is to construct a fascist movement can take control of the streets through forming bands of storm troopers. As Le Pen has shown in France, these thugs will also be used to attack

by KIERAN ALLEN

strikers and trade unionists.

But like the Vlaams Blok in Belgium, Haider presents himself as a mainly electoral party for a period. When the votes increase, the hardened Nazi elements are held in check waiting their moment. But when parties like the Freedom Party come under pressure, the thugs are often let loose.

Haider's loss of support was the result of two factors. Firstly, the Freedom Party entry into government showed that they were just another tool of big business. Many of their voters were originally attracted to them as a radical alternative to the type of 'social partnership' state, which exists in Austria.

But they found that Haider's aim was to cut taxes on business and reduce money spent on the public services.

### Marched

Secondly, Anti-fascists have played a key role in exposing Haider. When the Freedom Party first came to power tens of thousands marched to call for their expulsion from government.

These demonstrations were supported by the Labour Party and most of the large unions.

Unfortunately the union leaders refused to move from demonstrating to organising strike action and this allowed the government to survive.

Anti-fascists demonstrations continued however on a nightly and then a weekly basis. They showed that Haider and his supporters in the police could be defied.

They also gave lie to the idea that only 'foreigners' were opposed to the Freedom Party.

The set-back which Haider has received is not necessarily fatal. Le Pen's vote often fluctuated in France before the fascists were decisively weakened.

The key moment came in December 1995 when French workers launched a general strike and raised the hopes of the majority of society that there could be a change for the better.

The revival of that type of militancy will also be decisive for destroying Haider.

## After the US elections ...

# This is real America

"Gore or Bush, what's your choice?"  
"Influenza or Pneumonia, what's your choice?"

• Studs Terkel

AS THE US election drew to a close, one candidate who had barely appeared on the media stood out as a real alternative.

Ralph Nader was fighting for a minimum wage of \$10 an hour, for universal health care, for an end to tax relief and grants to big business, an end to the death penalty and cuts in military spending.

"We need a foreign policy which, ten years after the demise of the Soviet Union, begins to side with workers and peasants for a change instead of continually funneling weapons to dictators and oligarchs," he said.

### Captured

Nader's reception has been electric. He spoke in Chicago to an audience of 10,000 alongside Eddie Vedder of the Pearl Jam fame. Vedder said he tried to write a song for the campaign but could not come up with anything better than Bob Dylan's 'The Times they are a Changing.'

Nader has captured a new mood of discontent because far from away from the Hollywood images, the real America is one of stark poverty, racism and a growing class divide.

In the last 10 years, these divi-

sions have become even starker. In 1990, a Chief Executive Officer earned 85 times, what the average worker receives. Today they earn 475 times the average US wage.

### Pretend

Clinton and Gore pretend to be friends of organised labour. They promised to bring in a health service where treatment did not depend on the money in your bank account. Today there are 10 million more people without health coverage.

The US economy has been booming for the past decade. But 47 million workers earn less than \$10 dollars an hour. The majority of workers work 160 hours longer per year than workers did in 1973.

Consumer debt is rising. This is not just because the contended middle classes want to spend money. Increasingly workers are borrowing to make up for low wages.

As Clinton and Gore continue to ramble on about "the best economy in a generation" anger is growing among workers. The bitterness at corporate greed that erupted at the huge demonstrations in Seattle last year, also found expression on the picket line. From the United Parcel Service to the strikes by Los Angeles janitors and Boeing engineers in early 2000, workers have disrupted the happy talk of "shared prosperity".

## Child Labour — American Style

CHILDREN ARE used as a source of cheap labour right across the US — in restaurants, manufacturing and farming.

The US ranks first among advanced industrialised nations for the number of children injured or killed on the job.

The Occupational Safety and Health Administration estimates that in the US 200,000 children are injured and 100 killed on the job each year.

Up to 800,000 children under the age of 16 are employed as farm workers. The booklet *Testimonies from*

*the Fields* describes the reaction of one outside observer at a Florida farm in 1997:

"The first field we visited could have been mistaken for daycare centre.

"There were many small children in the field with their parents.

"Some were sitting in dirt ... some were picking strawberries just like their parents ... At 12 cents a pound for strawberries, minus room and board, this daycare centre was part of survival."

On paper, US labour law bans most forms of child labour.

However, in practice, government labour inspectors make little or no effort to find the worse cases and at worse ignore them.



since the protests in Seattle last November

## US Economy slows down

IT LOOKS as if US capitalism's longest party may finally be coming to an end.

"Growth has slowed markedly in the domestic US economy in the past few months," the Financial Times reports.

"The manufacturing sector has in fact been contracting since mid-summer."

The US economy has kept the entire world afloat, especially since the financial crashes in East Asia in 1997 and in Russia a year later. The longest period of eco-

nomic expansion in US history has been underpinned by a booming stock market. Profits rose spectacularly thanks to a combination of a squeeze on wages and a wave of investment that cut costs even further.

High expectations of more profits kept share prices moving ever upwards.

Middle class investors who felt richer because the value of their stocks kept growing, also spent more helping to fuel the boom.

Now this process is beginning to go into reverse as inflation rises.

Combine this with an over inflated stock market and you have a recipe for trouble. This bubble may not necessarily end with a stock market crash as in 1929.

But the US may end up like Japan in the 1980s, where a bubble economy gave way to stagnation and recession for virtually the entire 1990s.

The severity and duration of the next recession is impossible to predict. But it is coming — and US workers will then have to fight to make sure they do not pay the costs for the last capitalist party.

# Is the America



...ttle last November there has been a growth in oposition to the system

**ns down**  
Combine this with an over inflated stock market and you have a recipe for trouble. This bubble may not necessarily end with a stock market crash as in 1929. But the US may end up like Japan in the 1980s, where a bubble economy gave way to stagnation and recession for virtually the entire 1990s. The severity and duration of the next recession is impossible to predict. But it is coming — and US workers will then have to fight to make sure they do not pay the costs for the capitalist party.

## US PRISONS — MODERN SLAVERY

**THE LAND of the Free is home to a quarter of the world's prison population. Two million people are behind bars - double the figure for 1990.**

Nearly one third of black men aged between 20 and 30 are under the control of the criminal justice system

**Locking**

California spends more on locking up its citizens than on educating them in universities. There is an continual media blitz about serial

killers, missing children, and "random violence". In reality, however, most of the "criminals" locked up are poor working class people who commit non-violent crimes out of economic need.

Violence occurs in less than 14 percent of all reported crime, and injuries occur in just 3 percent.

In California, the top three charges for those entering prison are: possession of a controlled substance, possession of a controlled substance for sale, and robbery.

Violent crimes like murder, rape, manslaughter and kidnapping don't even make the top ten.

Texas, the state governed by George Bush, leads the way on law and order. Since he took over in

Texas, the prison population there grew from 41,000 to 150,000. Texas also holds the record for executions.

Prisons are big business in the US.

The prison industry now employs more than half a million people, more than any Fortune 500 corporation, other than General Motors.

**Using**

Companies like Microsoft, Boeing, Trans World Airlines, and Victoria's Secret, are using low cost prison labour for every thing from manufacturing aircraft components and lingerie to booking reservations.

So huge is this industry, some economists have dubbed

it the "prison industrial complex".

There are also eighteen or so private prison corporations that control about 100,000 prison beds across the country.

In a Texas prison operated by one company, guards were videotaped beating, shocking, kicking and setting dogs on prisoners

As death row journalist Mumia Abu-Jamal argues, mixing the profit motive with punishment only invites abuse reminiscent of one of the ugliest chapters in US history.

"Under a regime where more bodies equal more profits, prisons take one big step closer to their historical ancestor, the slave pen," writes Jamal.

## what do socialists say? Was Karl Marx a communist?

**ALL OVER the former soviet bloc, Karl Marx was celebrated. His statue was raised in squares, his portrait hung in public buildings.**

As a result of the grim exploitation and oppression of these regimes, many have turned away from Marx. Right wing politicians like Margaret Thatcher used the tyranny of Stalinist countries to say that there was no alternative to the market.

But would Marx have supported these regimes?

In 1847 Marx, and his close friend Engels, were asked by one of the earliest working class organisations, the Communist League, to write down their alternative to capitalism as a manifesto. The book became the *Communist Manifesto*.

division. Separate "bodies of armed men" standing over society, backed by a monopoly of arms and control of the prison system, was a symptom of a ruling minority oppressing the majority.

They believed that a revolution would see a period where workers organised their own state: "the dictatorship of the proletariat" — that this state would inevitably "wither away" as the capitalist class lost power.

Once the workers had decisively gained control of production, they would not need a state, as for the first time in history the majority of producers would be making decisions about the running of society. There is no need for a repressive state in a society of equals.

Again the experience of the societies that claimed to be communist is the exact opposite. Under Stalin the state became more repressive not less. It is only necessary to point to the gulag's, the slave camps of the 1930's or 40's. The army was purged, and a new elite emerged, with enormous privileges to keep their loyalty to the Communist Party.

State officials, instead of being on the average industrial wage, as advocated by Marx and Engels, gained vast income advantages over workers.

In fact, Marx's own critique of capitalism provides the key to understanding the nature of the "Communist" countries.

They were based on exploitation of workers. In other words, they were component parts of a world capitalist system, with the unique feature that instead of lots of different companies the state itself took up the race for profits.

### Racist Election Fraud

**BLACK AMERICAN men have a one in eight chance of being legally barred from voting in this year's US presidential election.**

That's because of various state laws that strip people convicted of any offence of voting rights.

**Barred**

In all, some 3.9 million people are barred from voting under such laws.

That's about 2 percent of the population. However, the figure for black men is 13 percent.

The racism this reflects is worst of all in several Southern US states.

In Florida and Alabama almost a third of black men are legally barred from voting.

In Mississippi, the figure is 29 percent and in Virginia 25 percent.

### Opposed

If Marx and Engels' book is compared with the reality of Stalinism it shows that they were deeply opposed to what later became known as "Communism".

*For Marx and Engels a socialist revolution represented a deepening of democracy. Worker's control of society would involve not just the limited form of political democracy allowed by some capitalist states, but a thorough going popular control of all aspects of society.*

So, they wrote in the *Communist Manifesto* "the first step in the revolution by the working class is to raise the proletariat to the position of ruling class, to win the battle of democracy."

Under Stalin, by contrast, all aspects of working class democracy gained by the 1917 revolution were crushed. The "soviets" — councils of workers delegates — never recovered from the civil war and economic crisis of the 1920's. Instead of vibrant forums for debate between several parties and non-party activists they became institutions for rubber stamping decisions made by the heads of the Communist Party.

Elections in the 1930's became a farce, with only one candidate being offered to the electorate and that person invariably was reported as getting 98% of the constituency to vote for them. Stalin himself managed to win over 100% of the vote in 1947.

In the *Communist Manifesto*, Marx and Engels also argued that the state was a product of class

competition.

**Compete**

Like giant multi-nationals today, all the plans and efforts of these states were geared to trying to compete against their rivals. The main mechanism was though the arms race. The consequence was exactly the same type of exploitation, waste, environmental damage and alienation as existed in the West.

The collapse of state capitalism in 1989 was therefore no reason to mourn. In fact only by destroying the myth of "Communism" as represented by Stalin can the real message of Marx — that of freedom and democracy — rediscovered.

by CONOR KOSTICK



**THE IMF, GLOBALISATION AND RESISTANCE**

A Socialist Worker pamphlet by Chris Harman

Price £1 from Socialist Worker sellers or Po Box 1648, Dublin 8.

New biography of Noel Browne reveals ...

# How the Church stopped the Health Service

**A**T THE end of the second world war, Irish health care was a disaster and in serious need of reform. Noel Browne was a doctor who had himself suffered from the scourge of TB. He became Minister for Health in the coalition government of 1949.

Browne's party, Clan na Phoblachta, was a moderately left wing Republican party. It was led by the former IRA chief of staff Sean MacBride. It was one of a group of small parties - including two Labour Parties - in a coalition government clustered around Fine Gael.

Within eighteen months the new Minister had reorganized, improved, and streamlined the Irish Health Service to a degree never achieved before.

He had abolished queuing for tubercular treatment, provided financial help for patients and their dependents and built sanitariums for the treatment of TB.

He launched a £20,000,000 hospital scheme, designed to give Ireland one of the most up-to-date hospital services in the world. This comprised a national cancer service, a nutritional survey, and, last but not least, a Mother and Child Scheme. In fact, the last was the most important of all.

## Halved

The reason was an obvious one: Ireland's infant death-rate was the worst in the whole of Europe. During the previous fifty years, other European countries had at least halved the death-rate, many bringing it down by more than three quarters.

"Ireland alone is a clear exception to this rule," stated a World Health Organization report which showed that Ireland's death-rate was still seventy-five per cent of the rate common at the end of the last century. That meant an infant mortality rate that was nearly treble that of England and Wales.

BROWNE'S PLANNED to give a free medical service to all mothers and children, without any means test. He wanted to give mothers with specialist gynaecological care and to introduce a

health education programme.

To avoid friction with the religious authorities, the Browne specified in advance that the "education" would be physical and not moral. Doctors, it was directed, were to help in the promotion of these new measures.

But the medical profession proved to be far more concerned with money-making than with social welfare. Terrified of losing fees they launched a



violent attack on the scheme.

The views of the medical profession are, perhaps, best reflected in a letter that one Dr John Stanely of Merrion Square, Dublin wrote to the Irish Times. He denounced "this insidious effort to enslave medical practice" and went on to blame the Russian revolutionary Lenin for the idea of the Mother and Child scheme!

But the most dangerous opponents of the scheme were the Catholic hierarchy.

Ireland was supposed to be a Catholic state for a Catholic people.

Archbishop John McQuaid had formed a close partnership with the Fianna Fail leader, Eamonn de Valera to control all aspects of Irish society.

**THE MEASURE of his influence was seen in the 1937 Constitution, which de Valera introduced.**

This recognised the "special position of the Catholic Church" and stated that "The most Holy Trinity" was the source of all authority. Divorce and contraception were banned. Women were defined solely as homemakers and mothers.

De Valera had even sent McQuaid

the proofs of the constitution for his approval before they were presented to the cabinet.

Control of the hospitals and the schools were vested in the hands of the church. Many books were banned and a law was passed which gave the state the right to exclude married women from the workplace.

**THE LABOUR movement was by no means immune from the influence of the Catholic Church.**

In 1951 one of the two Irish trade union congresses sent a telegram to the Pope claiming that their affiliated unions were 'humbly prostrate at the feet of his Holiness'.

During the 1940s, McQuaid used the Catholic Standard to witch hunt socialists and to split the labour movement.

When Browne's scheme became public, McQuaid launched a campaign against the "totalitarianism" of free health care.

He denounced the Mother and Child scheme as 'socialist medicine'.

He wrote to the Vatican saying, "The attack is directed from Communists elements in Europe and in the Irish Workers League ... When I broadcast on the issue I took occasion to give the warning that the attack on the church in Ireland would come under the guise of social reform."

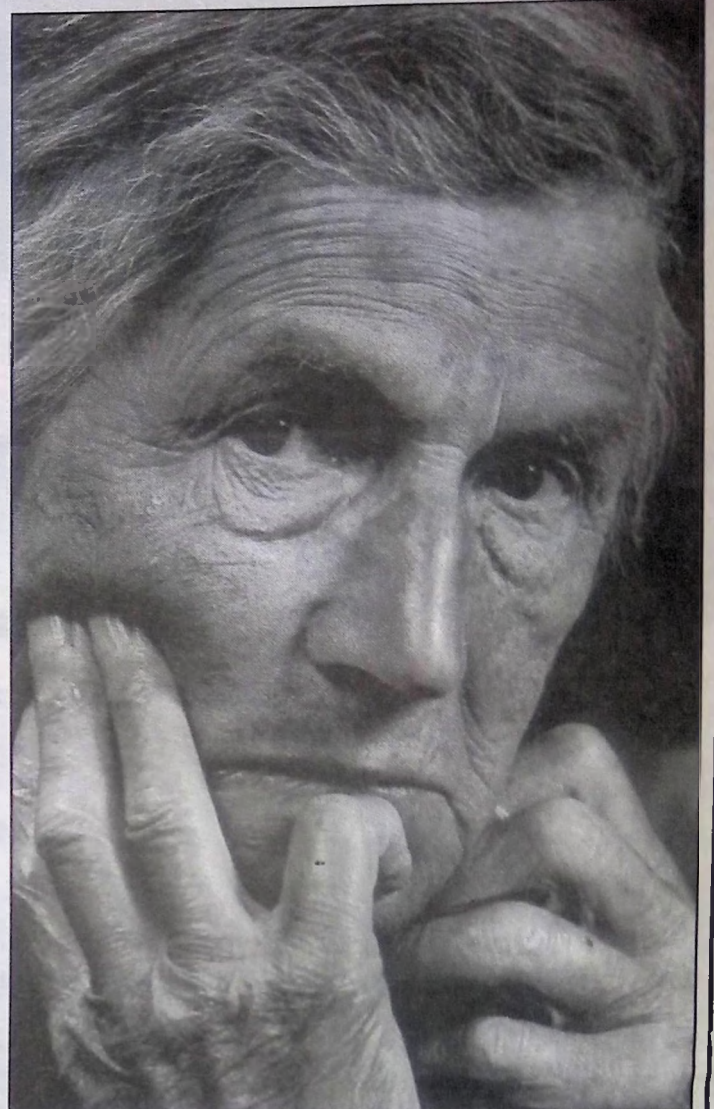
The Bishops set up an inquisitorial court, composed of the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Ferns, and the Bishop of Galway and having summoned the Health Minister before it, they duly interrogated him.

The bishops then simply read out a letter:

"In their opinion the powers taken by the State in the proposed Mother and Child Health Service are in direct opposition to the rights of the family and of the individual and are liable to very great abuse... If adopted in law they would constitute a ready made instrument for future totalitarian aggression.

"The right to provide for the health of children belongs to parents, not to the State. The State has the right to intervene only in a subsidiary capacity, to supplement, not to supplant.

"Gynaecological care may be, and in some countries is, interpreted to include provision for birth limitation and abortion. We have no guarantee that State officials will respect Catholic principles



Noel Browne: Fought against the Hierarchy

in regard to these matters. Doctors trained in institutions in which we have no confidence may be appointed as medical officers under the proposed services, and may give gynaecological care not in accordance with Catholic principles..."

Then, having dismissed the Health Minister, they summoned the Taoiseach before their Tribunal.

John Costello, however, was flattered and informed the Dail that the Archbishop of Dublin had "kindly sent for him."

Browne wrote in his autobiography Against the Tide that "The hierarchy had become the factual instrument of government on all important social and economic policies in the Republic.

Our prospects for the preservation of an effective Cabinet and a badly needed health scheme were now changed utterly".

**JOHN HORGAN, shows in his new biography of Browne that he was prepared to compromise. And at one point he introduced the idea of a charge for the scheme.**

But such was the power of the church that no compromises were allowed.

The hierarchy had condemned the scheme, Costello told the Dail. Therefore the Irish Government had to comply and reject the Mother and Child Scheme. Archbishop McQuaid wrote Costello's speech for him.

Costello declared "As a Catholic, I obey my Church authorities, and will continue to do so."

"There is going to be no flouting of the Bishops on Catholic morals and social teaching," confirmed the Irish Labour Leader, William Norton.

"In Ireland a conflict between the spiritual and temporal authorities is damaging to national unity," added Sean MacBride, ordering his party colleague, Noel Browne, to surrender his office.

**T**HERE WERE protests in Dublin against the abolition of the scheme. But Noel Browne made little effort to mobilize people in favour of the scheme. He still believed that good medical care would come from enlightened politicians rather than from change from below.

In a desperate move, he even went so far as to join Fianna Fail briefly. But having failed to mobilize people in his support, he lost his seat at the next election.

Afterwards Browne moved back onto the left. He was the first politician to speak in favour of abortion rights in the Oireachtas. He was the first to denounce the treatment of children in industrial schools.

In 1971 he made a speech to the Labour Party which attacked the church over the sexual abuse of children. But the press simply ignored that part of his speech.

Browne campaigned against America's war in Vietnam and the death penalty with vigour.

Right to the end of his life he was fighting injustice.

His weakness was that he never looked to the strength of the workers as the real force for change. Nevertheless he stood out as a beacon for socialist ideas.

Fifty years after the defeat of the Mother and Child scheme, Ireland still has a religious run two-tier health system.

For that to change will take the labour movement will have to overcome the cowardice of the 1950's and fight for a free health services that excludes private medicine.

● Noel Browne: Passionate Outsider by John Horgan, Gill And MacMillan

by Simon Basketter



## in my view

# Poisoned for profits

'IT'S JUST as if someone had stuck a knife into Zoe's body. I really do think she has been murdered.' So said Helen Jeffries as her 14 year old daughter, Zoe, died from the human form of BSE.

The culprits were big business. They dominate the meat industry that poisoned our food.

No one knows how many people could die from variant CJD, the human form of BSE. Seventy seven have so far died in Britain and at least one person has died in Ireland.

The recent death of a 74 year old man has opened up the possibility that the incubation term of the disease is longer than previously thought and that the disease is not being recognised in older people. Many deaths which have been classified as a form of Alzheimers, could in fact be a variant of CJD.

The origins of BSE are still unclear. But what turned BSE into an epidemic was using cattle remains as an ingredient in cattle feed.

Scientists broadly agree that cows, if left alone, eat grass. They can be induced to eat other things, but as with humans, they can be squeamish if they can see what they are eating. The commercial feed known as MBM, which stands for meat and bone meal, is heavily disguised.

MBM didn't just make the cows into cannibals it spread the disease like wildfire.

The threat of BSE crossing the species barrier was known in the late 1980s yet the public was told there was no risk.

### Goodman

While Larry Goodman was being cleared of wrong doing by the beef tribunal, the Beef industry and the politicians insisted that beef was safe.

While MBM made from cattle remains was banned from cattle feed, it was allowed for poultry and pig and sheep feed. It is now likely that there is BSE in lamb precisely because of this cross feeding.

But the meat industry has no shame. The British meat industry, with government backing, deliberately exported BSE-infected material to some of the world's poorest countries. When British MBM was banned in Europe, producers protected profits by driving up exports to countries outside Europe.

In Ireland, there have been fewer cases of BSE in cows but the numbers are rising.

The total so far this year now stands at 104. This exceeds the annual total for any of the previous four years when increasing numbers of cases were reported.

The total number of cases recorded here since 1989 stands at 551.

And what happens to the carcasses wouldn't fill anyone with confidence in the Irish meat trade.

### Dumped

There are literally being dumped in the soil even though the deadly substance which carried BSE is difficult to destroy. In one case in Co Galway, a BSE infected cow was buried next to a group water scheme.

The government tried to keep secret the scientific reports that pointed out that this practice wasn't particularly safe.

The most risky products for BSE were those eaten by the poor. The reprocessed meat in burgers and pies are the most likely to contain BSE. The government has played down the threat of BSE in Ireland because it wants to protect the profits of the beef industry. It puts those profits ahead of the lives of the poor.

We live in a world where people are starving, yet there are mountains of food. Yet that food is polluted, processed and packaged in ways that generally, makes it bland and unhealthy. And in the case of beef, deadly.

It is perfectly possible, with proper planning, for the whole world to enjoy a healthy diet.

But while food production is in the hands of big business then the food we eat will most likely be poisonous for the sake of profit.

by SIMON BASKETTER

## film

# Hypocrisy in high places

TERENCE DAVIES has characterised his new film *The House of Mirth* by Edith Wharton as Jane Austen with the gloves off. The film is a dark bitter revelation of class tensions and hypocrisy amongst New York's high society around the beginning of the 20th century.

The central character, Lily Bart (Gillian Anderson) belongs to the nineteenth-century tradition of self-deceiving heroines destroyed through oppressive social conventions.

Lily is a 29-year-old orphan, beautiful, intelligent, witty, but dependent upon an allowance from a rich aunt and expected to secure her place in upper-class New York through marrying a rich man.



TOP OF the Class

This is a society in transition; old money is being challenged from the upcoming middle classes.

A society that plays a deadly game with complex, unwritten rules, which have nothing to do with ethics or morality. The consequences for

losers are ostracism and banishment.

While *The House of Mirth* has a similar feel to *The Age of Innocence*, another Edith Wharton novel, which director Martin Scorsese turned into a film, Davies forgoes the author com-

mentary that Scorsese employed. Therefore, we are not told that Rosedale is a Jew.

Viewers who haven't read the book may think him merely an edgily ambitious and not be aware that Lily shares the anti-Semitism of her class.

Unlike the *Age of Innocence* there is more at stake in the *House of Mirth*. Lily is conned by one of her rich friends

into owing thousands of pounds.

These debts force her to move into a dingy boarding house and try various jobs in her struggle to survive.

*The House of Mirth* is a subtly observed, passionate and moving film that lingers with you long after the credits have rolled.

— SINEAD KENNEDY

## music

# Balladeer of injustice



Christy Moore — workers' balladeer

THROUGHOUT HIS successful musical career Christy Moore has railed against both internal and external demons. The external world of injustice and inequality both in Ireland and abroad has fuelled much of Moore's music.

The dark internal world of depression and alcoholism has come to shape much of Christy Moore's more recent lyrical outpourings.

One Voice-My Life in Song is very much a trip through the music of Moore, with the lyrics of over 250 songs printed with commentary on

each song by Moore himself.

Moore thinks of himself as "an ordinary man/nothing special nothing grand."

The book begins with the early story of the young firebrand who faithfully took the baton from Luke Kelly as the popular chronicler of injustice in Ireland. It ends with the mid-

dle aged sober (Moore is now 55) man who still seems as angry as he ever was.

Moore has not grown politically soft, although the overt republicanism of his early music may have disappeared somewhat.

He still sings eloquently against injustice towards the travelling people and those wrongly convicted of crimes in Britain or closer to home.

### Workers

Moore moved from smoky bars for republican or workers benefits to huge popularity.

In 1991 he became the first solo artist to sell out ten consecutive nights at the Point Theatre in Dublin.

His political edge may not be as sharp as it used to be, but at least there is still an edge.

And in a month that has seen the release of the young Celtic spoiled brat, Ronan Keating's "Life is a Roller coaster" socialists should have no question over which book they would prefer to receive as a Christmas gift.

■ by DAVID LYNCH

## theatre

### THE OCTOBER Arts festival in Ennis staged a magnificent one man show, Adolf.

At the start of the play the house lights go down and the spotlight reveals a huge swastika with just a table and chair for comfort.

Barking uncontrollably in a schizoid rage is Adolf Hitler, a brutal welcome for what is to be a portrayal of his last brutal hours alive.

Hitler notices the audience whom he feels compelled to lecture and pass down his teachings.

He tells us that we are "the next generation" and we can "rebuild" his former glories. Yet he himself would rather die "than rot in a Brazilian rat hole" and carry on his teachings.

The play manages to subtly highlight the various hypocrisies of his regime.

Before he leaves to commit suicide, Hitler tells us "if you knock I will let you in" and gives one final salute.

When the lights go

up, the crowd applaud what was a truly terrifying and intense performance.

Then a de-moustached and wigless actor, Pip Utton, asks the crowd for a "fag". "Mind you when I asked an audience in New York the entire Village People came up on stage".

The audience laugh, somewhat relieved after his portrayal of the demon incarnate.

But "Pip" continues with his informal "chat", such as how the "great" in Great Britain meant something and how the British empire was "given" away.

He continues with this rant until he comes to the conclusion that what we need "is a strong leader to sort it all out! To hell with democracy!".

It seems that we have now come full circle from where we started in the play. This was a fantastic piece of theatre with a powerful anti-Nazi message. Go and see it if you ever get the chance as I found it really inspiring.

— GORDON I FORDARD



## 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 here.

# The anti capitalist conference



# marxism 2000

Nov 17 - 19, Trinity College Dublin

## FRIDAY

6.00pm-7.15pm

7.30pm-8.30pm

8.30pm

<p><b>Is overconsumption destroying the planet?</b> Owen McCormack</p> <p><b>The rise and fall of state capitalism</b> Dave Lorden</p> <p><b>Freud</b> Peadar O'Grady</p>	<p><b>How do we beat Third World debt?</b> Rory Herne and speaker from Ivory Coast</p> <p><b>Drugs: How criminalisation has failed</b> Mary Smith</p> <p><b>Imperialism and the arms trade</b> Barbara Muldoon</p>	<p><b>GLOBALISATION AND ANTI-CAPITALISM</b> Speakers: Kevin Danaher (Author of Globalise This and leading US anti-capitalist activist) Chris Harman (Editor of British Socialist Worker)</p>
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## SATURDAY

<p>10.00am - 11.15am</p> <p><b>Asylum seekers, immigration and the Celtic Tiger</b> Steve Loyal and Melisa Halpin (ANL)</p>	<p><b>Is thought a prisoner of words? The Marxist theory of language</b> Marnie Holborow</p>	<p><b>Hollywood's dream factory</b> Simon Basketter</p>
<p>11.45am - 1.00pm</p> <p><b>Direct action and protest</b> Kieran Allen</p>	<p><b>Yeats and Irish society</b> Terry Eagleton</p>	<p><b>Forum on education</b> John Price (Campaign Against Selection); Crea Ryder (INTO candidate for General Secretary)</p>
<p>2.30pm - 3.15pm</p> <p><b>The US boom: Has new technology solved the boom/slump cycle?</b> Chris Harman</p>	<p><b>The War of Independence: Ireland's unfinished revolution</b> Conor Kostick</p>	<p><b>The real Jesus</b> Kevin Wingfield</p>
<p>3.45pm - 5.00pm</p> <p><b>Leninism in the 21st Century</b> Chris Bambery</p>	<p><b>GM foods: Why we should stop them now</b> Kevin Danaher</p>	<p><b>Do Western workers benefit from the oppression of the developing world?</b> Willie Cumming</p>
<p>7.00pm - 9.00pm</p> <p><b>Republicanism from armed struggle to conventional politics</b> Eamonn McCann</p>	<p><b>As a new left emerges in America: Could the US go socialist?</b> Brian Kelly</p>	<p><b>Could there be a planned economy?</b> Chris Harman</p>

## SUNDAY

<p>10.00pm - 11.15am</p> <p><b>Rank and file trade unionism and the fight against Social Partnership</b> Owen McCormack (Busworkers Action Group); Jimmy Kelly (ATGWU)</p>	<p><b>Karl Marx: Life of a revolutionary</b> Kieran Allen</p>	<p><b>Fianna Fail and workers: Can their electoral base be broken?</b> Deirdre Cronin</p>
<p>11.45am - 1.00pm</p> <p><b>Anarchism: Does it offer an alternative to Marxism?</b> Richard Boyd Barrett</p>	<p><b>Cuba and US imperialism</b> Aoife ni Fhearghail</p>	<p><b>Chomsky and the media</b> Sinead Kennedy</p>
<p>2.00pm - 3.15pm</p> <p><b>What's changed for women in Ireland?</b> Goretti Horgan</p>	<p><b>Trotsky</b> Brid Smith</p>	<p><b>Gandhi and non-violence</b> Mark Walsh</p>
<p>3.15pm - 4.30pm</p> <p><b>Loyalism in crisis</b> Colm Bryce</p>	<p><b>Haider and the fight against Eurofascism</b> Grace Lally</p>	<p><b>The politics of the SWP</b></p>

4.30pm  
**FINAL RALLY**

## SWP branch meetings

- **ATHLONE:** Contact 01-872 2682 for details
- **BRAY:** Meets every Wednesday at the Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm
- **BELFAST CENTRAL:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Kitchen Bar, 16 Victoria Square, near Cornmarket
- **BELFAST SOUTH:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union
- **BELFAST WEST:** West Belfast Branch meets Divis flats Community Centre Falls Road, Monday 7.30pm.
- **CORK:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Donoghue's Pub, Drawbridge St.
- **DERRY:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.
- **DUNDALK:** Contact 01-872 2682 for details
- **DUN LAOGHAIRE:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in the Christian Institute
- **DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre (opp. Artane Castle)
- **DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways Pub, Parnell St.
- **DUBLIN KILLBARRACK:** Phone 087 6235071
- **DUBLIN CABRA:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Aughrim St Parish Hall, Prussia St
- **DUBLIN BALLYMUN:** Phone Kevin at 8622209
- **DUBLIN DUNDRUM:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Dundrum Family Recreation Centre
- **DUBLIN RIALTO:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR
- **DUBLIN RATHMINES:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Tom Kelly flats community centre, Charlemont Street.
- **DUBLIN HAROLDS X:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Innon the Park Harolds Cross
- **DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:** Phone Simon 087 6561455
- **DUBLIN TALLAGHT:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre
- **ENNISKILLEN:** Phone 01-872 2682 for details
- **GALWAY:** Meets every Wednesday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba) 8.30pm
- **LIMERICK:** Phone 01-872 2682 for details
- **SLIGO:** Meets fortnightly on Saturdays, phone 087 6329511 for details
- **TRALEE:** Phone 087 6329511 for details
- **WATERFORD:** Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

Tickets for Marxism 2000 cost £10 or £5 (unwaged) return this form for tickets.

NAME:.....  
 ADDRESS:.....  
 TELEPHONE:.....

Return to Marxism 2000, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

- I want \_\_\_\_ tickets to Marxism 2000
- I need accommodation (accommodation will be with Dublin SWP members)
- I need \_\_\_\_ places in the creche

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news &amp; reports/politics/industry/the unions (01) 8722682 /fax (01) 872 3838 e-mail swp@clubi.ie / www.clubi.ie/swp



PHONE REPORTS ABOUT STRIKES/LOCAL CAMPAIGNS/PROTESTS

**Aer Lingus**

# Pay revolt at the airport

**AER LINGUS** workers are in open revolt against pay restraint. A co-ordinated stoppage is needed to win pay increases for different groups. Here *Socialist Worker*

**Clerical Workers**

## 'We would be better paid if we worked in McDonalds'

**CLERICAL** workers are the latest group of workers with Aer Lingus to take action over low pay. Over 1,200 workers were involved in the four hour stoppage on Friday 27th of October.

Action by clerical staff came just over week after, 15,000 cabin crew staff grounded the entire Aer Lingus fleet for 24 hours.

Catering workers have also been involved in work stoppages, staging a series of lightning strikes throughout October.

**Low rates**

All three groups of workers are fighting against the abysmally low rates of pay in Aer Lingus.

"We would be better paid if we worked in McDonalds", one worker told *Socialist Worker*. "I've worked for Aer Lingus for almost four

**Cabin crew**

**FOR THE** last three weeks, the Aer Lingus cabin crew have been attending the LRC.

They are very annoyed at the lack of progress.

One of their representatives told *Socialist Worker*, "Progress is

painfully slow and it is not good enough. The company are not coming to terms with the idea that they may have to do a pay deal and we are very frustrated with the pace of talks.

"If we can't make progress soon we will have to review our position".

**Baggage Handlers**

**ONE OF** the groups of Aer Lingus workers awaiting a result from the Labour Relations Commission are the baggage handlers.

They were told by their union that they had achieved a good deal. But as details of the deal on offer are revealed it looks like the latest offer will again be thrown out by the workers.

The deal offers increases from £14 to £30 per week, depending on the grade of worker and their point on the pay scale. But it seems workers may be paying for their own increases.

As one of the baggage handlers told *Socialist Worker*, "They are getting us to finance our pay deal ourselves by shortening the pay

scale. The reality is that Aer Lingus will not part with the money to pay us. And this is after they have announced their huge profits for the last year."

The company are using the talks to push through major changes in work practices — including introducing new shifts which will mean instead of 11 shifts they could have up to 40 different ones.

They want unbridled implementation of new technology, without specifying what that means and they want to change night rosters which will eat into workers' rest days.

"We are a long way off what would be acceptable to us and it looks like our unions are misreading the mood here. We won't just take any offer on pay especially with so many strings attached", according to one of the workers.

**Catering staff**

**THE LEVEL** of anger is also running deep among the catering workers. "We are so sick of low pay over the years that we won't settle for anybody fobbing us off", one of the catering reps told *Socialist Worker*.

The new Chief Executive of the company, Michael Foley, came around the workers to introduce himself and tried to tell the workers he had no role in their pay and conditions.

"We have refused to lift the threat of action because we don't accept their word on anything. The anger is huge out here", according to one of the caterers.

As we go to press the catering and clerical workers plan to take action for four hours to press for their claims. And the other workers agree.

According to one of the baggage handlers, "Time is of the essence.

"We should have never called off our action but should keep up the pressure on the company now, just like the caterers are doing. They are dead right".

work from 6 pm through the night to 5 am the next morning."

*Clerical and catering staff were originally due to call further action one day strikes but deferred the action for one week to allow talks at the Labour Court on their pay claim.*

Up to now Aer Lingus have offered nothing to the workers in real term. The offer of increases worth up to 26 percent at the bottom of the clerical staff grade is tied to significant cost-cutting measures in return.

These include the reduction of overtime rates from double time to 1.6 of the basic rate. The company also wants to reduce annual holiday leave for new staff from 26 days to 20, the statutory minimum.

"We will give the a try but they are going to have come with a pretty good offer, pretty soon or we will be left with no alternative but to go ahead with our strikes," said one Aer Lingus clerical worker.

**Refuse Charges**

## Fight set to escalate

**THE DUBLIN** City Manager has confirmed that the new wheelie bin system for the Dublin Corporation will be followed by the introduction of refuse charges next year.

Dublin city councilors have already voted in principle to introduce charges but have yet to strike a rate.

However, it is almost certain that the new charge will amount to £150 a year. This may take the form of a flat charge or a pay per weight scheme.

This is on top of the £30 per household charge that Dublin Corporation is levying for the introduction of the new wheelie bin system.

The experience elsewhere in the country makes clear that if charges are brought in they will increase every year and lead to the privatisation of local

authority refuse collection.

Dublin Corporation is trying to justify the charge by claiming that the money is needed to deal with the country's waste management crisis.

This is nonsense. When Fianna fail abolished domestic rates they promised that local services would be paid for by central government funds.

The budget surplus now stands at a record £4 billion.

This money came overwhelmingly from working class people through PAYE and indirect taxes such as VAT.

So workers are being asked to pay twice for something they have already paid for.

Meanwhile big business and large-scale agriculture that produce 90% of the countries waste are having their taxes cut in every budget.

Local groups have already begun to organise against the new charges inspired by major campaigns already underway in Dun Laoghaire, Drogheda and elsewhere.

They are calling for mass-non payment of the charges and organising public meetings across the city.

In Dun Laoghaire, the Campaign Against Service Charges is expecting a large turnout at a demonstration calling for the abolition of charges at the annual estimates meeting of the council.

**PROTEST:**  
Abolish Refuse Charges Now!  
Tues Nov 21st,  
7pm.  
Dun Laoghaire/  
Rathdown Co.  
Council.  
Marine Road, Dun Laoghaire.

**CIE**

## Dirty deal at the Dart

**"WE'RE NOT** in revolt. We're just looking for justice". So says an NBRU member in Fairview Dart depot.

While Dublin chokes on traffic, the government is imposing worse conditions on the vital DART service. Government money needs to be spent on improving the much needed public transport system.

Instead DART drivers are having to take up the shortfall themselves.

They have had enough of management's determination to run down their work and wages.

In Fairview they have voted 41-11 for strike action to take effect at the end of November.

But things may come to a head before that.

Dart Drivers work practices are being completely changed by the new Irish Rail viability plan.

**Bonus**

Up until now, drivers' pay was made up of bonus payments, overtime and special payments for the one man operation of trains on top of their basic.

This money could amount to more than double the basic wage. Drivers could earn up to £33,000.

They work a long week for this — up to 60 hours in some cases.

But the extra payments were gains that they had won over the years.

Now management wants to "rationalise" all this and introduce annualised hours.

The drivers fear that this may only be preparing the ground for privatisation.

Management want them to work a flat 42 hours, five over seven days, no overtime for weekend work and for a fixed £29,000 p.a.

On top of this they are bringing in B Link drivers, Iarnród Eireann's yellow packs, who will pick up the extra work for the extension of the Dart line but who will be on less money and worse conditions.

These six new drivers are being introduced to Fairview shortly.

**Tara Mines**

## Vote for strike action

**NEARLY 80** percent of the 220 miners employed by Tara Mines have voted in favour of strike action over the use of contractors at the Navan mines.

The strike is set to take place later this month and in the meantime talks are taking place in the LRC.

Last year the company agreed to a deal which put limits on the use of contract miners and to phase out their use by September 1999.

The drivers have proposed that they will accept all these changes but are seeking 41 hours per week as the upper limit.

But management are not budging.

They are insisting that the new roster be worked with the new men immediately.

The drivers say that unless the issue of the working week is resolved they will refuse to work with the new arrangements and will walk off the job, in unofficial action if needs be.

If they take action, every person in Dublin should support them.

A decent public service means proper wages for a shorter and safer working week.

But instead of phasing them out, the company have actually taken on another 3 contract miners and broken the deal they agreed to.

Instead of training up new miners locally, as they agreed the bosses in Tara Mines are pressing ahead with their own agenda and ignoring the union.

That is why the issue is crucial for the miners to fight and get the company to honour their commitments to the workers.

# Socialist Worker

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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

50p

Solidarity price £1

## TAX THE RICH

# End student poverty

A NEW survey from USI has found that Ireland has the "worst system of student financial support in Europe". And it is no wonder, £49 a week is the maximum grant that a student can get.

Soaring costs means that more students are living in poverty. Rents have risen by 94 percent between 1997 and 2000 and the grant have only increased by 9 percent.

### Spending

Over half Ireland's student population are now working 17 hours or more — often at the minimum wage — to make ends meet.

The Government wants to keep spending on education to a minimum.

That's the advice they get from the major institutions of capitalism, such as the IMF and the World Bank, who see spending on health, welfare and education as wasteful.

Yet Ireland has the least excuse for inflicting poverty. The government has accumulated a £6bn surplus over the last two years.

A simple way to tackle student poverty is to bring the grant into line with the minimum social welfare payment and to extend it to more students.

USI estimates that this would cost the government £162 million.

That would be less than the current plans to re-equip the army.

And it could be raised by increasing the corporation tax on profits, which are the lowest in the EU.

## Occupy for free education!

THOUSANDS of students are due to take part in mass demonstrations to press for improved grants.

But we need to learn from the experience of previous campaigns when the government just waited until the protests faded away.

On the other hand, student nurses won a huge victory when they forced the government to abolish fees.

Their campaign was sparked

by a sit-in in Galway and ended with an occupation of the Department of Education.

To make the government concede, similar militancy will have to be shown — and on an even bigger scale. The demonstrations should be the springboard for a wave of college occupations.

Occupations are much harder to ignore than a march. They can easily become centres for attracting solidarity and publicity. And as the student nurses showed, they can win

**THE HIGHER Education Committee in Northern Ireland has recommended a graduate tax to pay for the abolition of fees.**

This proposal was backed by all parties, including, scandalously, Sinn Fein.

Students will have to pay into a Northern Ireland Student Endowment (Charitable Trust) once they earn over £25,000. This is likely to mean even more students with higher debts.

The politicians who favour a

graduate tax also want taxes on profits be cut to the same level as the Celtic Tiger.

They want young workers to pick up the bill that should be carried by the rich. SDLP's Education Minister Sean Farren looks set to endorse the recommendations for a graduate tax.

Activists from Jordanstown and Queens have called a rally and march to Farren's office to protest at the graduate tax at 2.30pm Wednesday 15 November. Assemble at Belfast City Hall.



Marching for a better education