

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

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# MARKET MADNESS



Panic in the dealing rooms

Right across Ireland thousands are out of work. In America 40 million are at risk from starvation.

In Somalia, somebody dies every minute.

Yet for the last few weeks those with wealth have been speculating on the currency markets.

Vast sums of money are spent daily swapping bits of paper. When there is a fortune to be made money is shifted from the pound to the mark or from the punt to the franc.

The world economy stays stubbornly stuck in the worst recession since the thirties. The currency crisis is a symptom of this malaise.

The 'New World Order' proclaimed so loudly a couple of years ago has turned into world chaos. The media reflect the panic of our rulers by saying that 'the world has gone mad'.

And in their panic the bosses are now planning to force working class people to pay for their crisis.

Across Europe governments are rushing through 'austerity' packages attacking wages, pensions, social welfare and jobs.

Capitalism offers no hope for the majority of the world's population.

But there is an alternative to the madness of the 'free market'. It is a society in which working class people democratically plan production for need not profit.

This is the basic idea of socialism which—far from being dead—is more relevant today than at any time in the past.

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# BEEF SCANDAL...

# Reynolds up to his neck in it

EC Commissioner McSharry has announced that he is "sick and tired" of tribunals and investigations.

That he feels this way should come as no surprise.

The Beef Tribunal has uncovered a mountain of fraud and corruption.

Between 1986 and 1989 Goodman paid the princely sum of £80,000 in corporation tax.

The Tribunal has now revealed that his real liability was in the region of £7.6 million. In short, he paid only about one percent of what he owed.

In these four years senior Goodman executives had received nearly £4 million in tax free scams.

Workers in Goodman

plants had their wages topped up by under the counter payments.

Irish Times journalist Fintan O'Toole describes how this was done: "The system was typically one in which the name of a fictitious haulier or farmer was invented.

A transaction with this non-existent individual was then concocted and an 'invoice' signed by this spiritual entity drawn up.

A cheque for this 'haulier' would then be written, taken to the bank and cashed. The cash would then be brought back to the plant and used to pay tax-free wages to employees."

Goodman's accountants, Stokes Kennedy Crowley, knew since 1987 of the under the counter payments.

They did not report on these payments because "different pressures seem

to have intervened to prevent this information being given".

Throughout all of this Goodman remained Fianna Fail's favourite entrepreneur. No doubt the £175,700 he donated to the party funds helped a little.

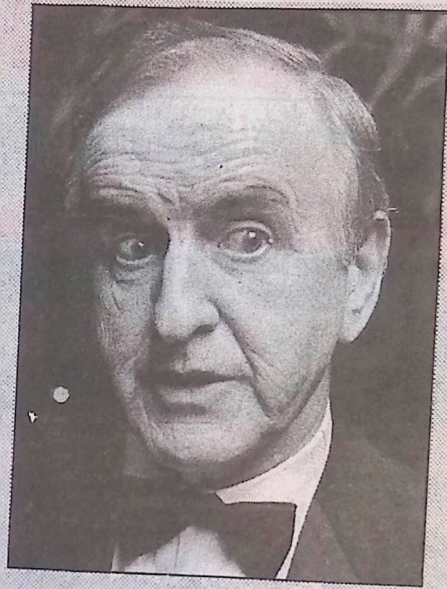
But payments to Fianna Fail party funds seem to be a way of life for the beef industry. Fianna Fail have received £374,700 in such payments.

## Admitted

And that's only what is officially being admitted.

Hibernia Meats, two weeks after receiving \$46 million in export insurance cover, made a donation of £25,000 to Fianna Fail funds.

Halal similarly made a payment of £25,000 to Fianna Fail twelve days before applying for \$25 mil-



Albert Reynolds

lion worth of insurance cover. Its largest previous contribution had been £1,000.

If the Tribunal is allowed to continue it will

no doubt uncover more dirt.

But already it's clear that Reynolds, Haughey and McSharry are up to their necks in it.

# Things they say

"This shows that the real loonies are running the country....Norman Lamont can have my job in pantomime while I do his."—Screaming Lord Sutch, Leader of the Monster Raving Loony Party.

"At the moment, the financial markets are calling the tune and not the sovereign governments this situation must be changed."—Reynolds, on the currency crisis.

"I have no idea what would happen to Jesus, Mary and Joseph if they knocked on the door of the Department of Justice."—Prof. Anthony Clare on the Irish State's attitude to those seeking asylum here.

"The EC economies, which only a week ago were heading along the admittedly troubled route to a single currency, are now heading in another direction. And nobody knows yet where it will lead."—Cliff Taylor, Irish Times economic expert.

"You know you're on the road, you're in your tour bus, and people are asking you for your autograph, and you've got a support act now with Senatore Gore, and a big PA system. We saw the Democratic Convention, that was a great gig, very zoo TV...Do you think all the glitz, and all the razzmatazz takes away from the seriousness of some of the issues you're talking about."—Bono talking to Clinton, US Democratic Presidential candidate

## IN BRIEF HOMELESSNESS

A recent survey by the National Campaign for the Homeless shows that out of 5,000 homeless people only 157 have been housed as a direct result of the 1988 Housing Act.

Yet when the Act was passed it was presented as the solution to homelessness in the South.

The reason for its failure is simple—the drastic cutback in the local authority building programme.

Only about 1,000 new homes are being provided this year, compared with 5,500 in 1986. With over 2,200 people on the waiting list, Dublin County Council will build only 55 council houses this year.

### KENNEDY

John F Kennedy was fond of a small Cuban cigar known as a Petit Upmann.

His former press secretary, Pierre Salinger, recently recalled how he was sent out to buy 1,000 of them - the day before Kennedy introduced his ban on importing Cuban cigars!

### WALSH

Dr Edward Walsh, President of the University of Limerick has suggested that trade unions should forego increases due under the Programme for Economic and Social Progress.

"On each occasion those in employment receive unjustified wage rises, the prospect for those who are unemployed is further damaged", he said.

Dr Walsh's salary in 1990 was over £55,000 a year. He too is due increases under the PESP. We expect a public announcement from him that he will forego these increases.

Or maybe he feels that in his case the increases are "justified".

# Paisley sent packing

PROTESTERS defending the new Brook Centre in Belfast sent arch-bigot Ian Paisley packing when he joined a picket at the Centre.

When Brook opened on September 12th, a handful of right-wing protesters turned up to oppose it.

## 'Abuse'

They claimed that the sex advice centre would mean "child abuse on the rates".

Ian Paisley joined the bigots from SPUC and other groups.

But they were outnumbered by about eighty Brook supporters.

Paisley has called Brook supporters "lesbians, sodomites, blasphemers, haters of Christ, and haters of morality".

When he tried to speak at the picket the Brook supporters, including SWM members, drowned him out with shouts of "get the bigots out—we want choice".

Paisley had to leave after only twenty minutes because he was totally outnumbered.

■ Belfast SWM.



# Down: 20,000 march against NHS cuts

20,000 people marched through Downpatrick on 12 September against the proposed closure of Down General and Downpatrick Maternity hospitals.

"The Big March" was the culmination of a series of fifteen rallies held in towns throughout County Down during the summer against the withdrawal of acute services from the area.

Tory plans to withdraw services from Down is only part of an overall policy of cutting services in rural areas while

centralising what is left in hospitals like Altnagelvin in Derry and the City in Belfast. Yet services in those hospitals are also under attack.

One City Hospital nurse told Socialist Worker that the hospital's 'Jubilee Maternity Unit' was to close—this would cut maternity services in Belfast by nearly a third.

Another major Belfast hospital the 'Mater' may also lose its maternity unit as well as its casualty service.

The £10 billion used by the Tories in a desperate attempt to

bail out sterling would easily finance NHS services like Down Hospital, Jubilee and Mater Maternity Units into the next century.

The massive rally in Down shows that people can and will mobilise against NHS cuts.

## Anger

Thousands of people including unions like GMB, NUPE, COHSE, the Royal College of Nursing, local community groups, schools etc. all dem-

onstrated their anger at the proposed closure and gave a clear message to the Times: "Get your Bloody Hands off our Health Service"

Those fighting to save Down Hospital now need to link up with those activists willing to fight to save services in Belfast, Craigavon and Derry - a recent ballot of workers in the 'Mater' Hospital showed that the overwhelming majority of hospital staff do not want the hospital to opt out.

Similar votes in the Royal Victoria Hospital and

Craigavon Hospital have been ignored.

A co-ordinated day of action should be argued for within unions to make the health boards take notice. Such action should be generalised to include the private sector like Shorts and Harland & Wolff.

Unions and local communities should stage mass demonstrations against privatisation of the NHS similar to the Down rally

Our National Health Service is under attack. We have to mobilise to defend it.



# It's their system in crisis

Throughout last month the currency markets of the major world cities were in turmoil.

Governments who claimed that they had no money left for social welfare suddenly found millions to spend in the currency markets.

In Britain, the Tory Chancellor Norman Lamont threw away £900 million in a failed effort to defend the British pound.

A fraction of that sum would have kept open the hospitals in Northern Ireland that the Tories are trying to close down.

The media has blamed a small number of tiny speculators for the chaos.

But those involved in the speculation were the run of the mill capitalist firms. The big firms spend a considerable part of their resources 'hedging'.

This means that they try to make quick profits by predicting changes in currency values.

It is estimated that every day \$1 trillion is traded on the foreign exchanges. Only 7-10% of this figure is accounted for in genuine movements of currency to pay bills for traded goods.

Speculation and greed is built into capitalism and does not just arise from just a few dozen yuppie dealers.

The currency crisis has blown aside some of the myths about the free market.

The defenders of the free market claim it is highly efficient system and is not wasteful.

But the interest rate hike in the Republic of Ireland alone will throw hundreds more out of work.

In Italy thousands of working people will have to defer their retirement age from 55 to 60 — so that their governments can protect 'their' cur-



rency on the markets.

There is nothing efficient about a system which scraps jobs and forces people to work longer so that the speculators on the markets are kept happy.

## 'Solve'

Throughout the 1980s commentators talked about how de-regulation and 'the rolling back of the state' was going to solve the economic stagnancy in Western Europe.

Today the same commentators are complaining that their governments are bobbing around like corks on a tidal wave unable to control

anything.

The currency crisis will only add to the difficulties that capitalism was already facing. It has forced a new discipline of sacrifice on national governments.

But this in turn will only cut back on the buying power of ordinary working people and so prolong the recession.

Thousands of people are now seeing the madness of the market. In this situation it is more vital than ever that a clear socialist alternative is held up.

But where should they look? In recent years a section of the demoralised left in parties

such as the Labour Party and Democratic Left spent their time talking about creating a 'social market' and developing a 'market with a human face'.

Those who once looked to Eastern Europe as their model of socialism switched to holding up the Social Democratic Party of Sweden as the way forward.

Recent events have shown that they have got it wrong yet again.

Under the impact of the currency crisis, the Social Democrats of Sweden have formed a pact with the conservatives to hold up interests rates at 50%, and slash pen-

sions and child benefits!

What is needed now is a clear break with these confused politics. The SWM argues that the alternative to the madness of the market is a democratic planned economy.

## Laughed

Two hundred years ago the aristocrats of Europe laughed at the idea of ordinary people electing their government and claimed it was completely contrary to 'human nature'.

Today our rulers claim that working people could never possibly comprehend the com-

plexities of a modern economy and tell us to leave matters to the bankers and capitalists.

But why could not working people elect representatives who can take decisions on whether scarce resources need to be allocated to schools and hospitals rather than missile sites and stock exchange casinos?

And how could they make more of a mess than the currency dealers who fiddle with millions while starvation stalks Somalia and thousands rot on the dole queues in Ireland?

It is time to organise against this rotten system. If you agree, fill in the coupon on page 9 to join SWM.

# CAN THE TALKS BRING PEACE?

THE possibility of a settlement emerging from the talks between the Dublin and London governments and the Northern politicians is greater now than at any time in the last twenty-odd years. All those involved have an interest in coming up with a settlement.

The ruling classes in London and Dublin desperately want stability, or at least a more "acceptable level of violence". The political parties in the North need some form of devolution to give them a reason for existence. War weariness is increasingly evident in working class areas of the

North, Catholic and Protestant.

Recent leaks have revealed the probable outcome of the talks. Some form of devolution—with a parliament in Belfast and some kind of power-sharing—may be set up. Similarly, there may be an executive role for the Dublin government, with Irish civil servants and politicians having a permanent presence in Belfast.

## Prop Up

This would allow the London government to play down the role of British imperialism in continuing to prop up the sectarian state in the North, play up the role of Dublin in "protecting Catholic interests", and further

marginalise the republican movement.

To facilitate this process, the Irish government may run a referendum to delete Articles 2 and 3 as a trade off for a new institutional role in Northern Ireland.

But whatever the settlement, and if it comes, it cannot bring peace to the North.

Every report of international human rights organisations agrees that discrimination against Catholics in employment and the sectarian nature of the security forces, especially the RUC and UDR/RIR, are the main causes of the continuing violence in the North.

The Fair Employment Commission says that Catholic work-

ers are two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than Protestants. In many nationalist areas, like Ballymurphy and Creggan, unemployment is as high as eighty percent.

Two hundred thousand new jobs might make a real difference to the way Catholics see the state in the North. But given the depth of the economic crisis, there's no way that even a tenth of that number could be provided. So Catholics will continue to suffer real hardship from discrimination.

The security forces continue to harass young people on a daily basis. Nationalists are still shot dead and no one prosecuted. The British government set up both

the Stalker and Sevens inquiries to try to deal with sectarianism in the RUC and UDR/RIR. They couldn't.

## Unity

Because they can do nothing about sectarianism built into the Northern state, any settlement the talks produce cannot bring peace.

Only working class unity can bring peace to the North. Working class people have to come together on a daily basis in the workplace. Working class unity can be seen in every little dispute, every strike.

With the recession biting deeper all the time, workers will find ourselves with our backs

against the wall more and more often. When that happens, we can decide to fight the boss, or we can decide to fight each other.

The resistance to the health cuts has brought thousands of Protestants and Catholics together. If the Tories try to introduce a Tap Tax—to charge for water supplies—a huge united fightback can be built.

Socialists need to organise to ensure that when the fight begins, it's against the bosses. But unity will only be real and lasting if it faces up to the reality of the discrimination against Catholics and the sectarian nature of the Northern state. THAT kind of unity CAN bring peace.



# SOUTH AFRICA:

# Only mass action can beat de Klerk

Last month's massacre of 30 pro-democracy demonstrators in Ciskei unleashed a wave of anger both inside and outside South Africa.

De Klerk is the man ultimately responsible for the massacre. Although the killings were done by Ciskei troops, it is de Klerk's government that props up the regime in Ciskei and other puppet "homelands". The black troops of the Ciskei Defence Force have white officers; their guns, uniforms and equipment are supplied by the South African army.

South African police and troops watched calmly while Ciskei troops opened fire on the march. When terrified marchers scattered in panic, the South African police went into Ciskei "to protect property".

Afterwards, the Ciskei ruler Brigadier Gqozo and his puppet master de Klerk tried to blame the ANC for the massacre. Even the so-called "liberal" *Sunday Tribune* accepted this disgusting lie: they blamed hotheaded communist agitators for provoking the Ciskei troops.

The march was part of the ANC's "Leipzig option" of mass action. They remembered how mass demonstrations in Leipzig and other cities brought down the Stalinist regime in East Germany in 1989. The ANC

planned to use the same tactics to unseat the puppet rulers in the homelands.

The homelands are key to de Klerk's federal solution to the South African crisis. They were created under apartheid to deprive blacks of South African citizenship. 75 per cent of blacks were crammed into less than 15 per cent of South Africa's territory. De Klerk wants the homelands to keep their autonomy in a new federal South Africa with a weak central government. The ANC wants straightforward majority rule.

But ANC leaders saw mass action as merely a way of extracting concessions from de Klerk at the negotiating table. Nelson Mandela argued that there is no question of the object of mass action being an insurrection.

Two factors make it harder for ANC leaders to simply turn the mass action off at will.

On June 16, de Klerk addressed the tribal assembly of the Kwazulu homeland, where Chief Buthelezi is the ruler. Buthelezi is also the leader of the police-backed Inkatha movement, which massacred 42 ANC supporters in Boipatong the next day. This was the 34th massacre in two years carried out by Inkatha.

Anger at de Klerk's obvious support for Inkatha forced the ANC to completely pull out of talks. They had to use radical rhetoric to stay in touch with the mili-



tant mood of their supporters. Now, despite the Ciskei massacre, they are planning to return to negotiation.

The second factor is the increasing level of industrial struggle.

## Paralysed

Last June, successive strikes by metal workers, railway workers, textile workers and municipal employees crippled Johannes-

burg. Then in August, a two-day general strike by four million workers paralysed South Africa's main industrial centres.

Even then, the ANC leaders wavered.

They whittled the initial strike call down from three weeks to two days. Trade union bureaucrats in COSATU tried to persuade the bosses to support a one-day shutdown - a joint strike by labour and capital!

But ordinary South Afri-

can workers know they have no common interests with bosses, who are trying to cut wages at a time when food prices are rising 30%.

Millions of workers have shown their willingness to fight for decent wages. Linking these workers' struggles against their economic exploitation with mass revolt against political oppression of blacks is the way to drive out de Klerk and his murderous puppets.

■ Kieran Glennon

## Brazil: Protests threaten Collor

Massive demonstrations have shaken the corrupt government of pro-market President Fernando Collor in Brasil.

Protestors have demanded that Collor be impeached on charges of fraud, embezzlement and criminal association.

40,000 students marched in Rio chanting "Out, thief, out"! Approving office workers showered them with confetti and ticker tape. In Sao Paulo, hundreds of thousands demonstrated.

Now, Collor is isolated, with little or no support in parliament. Even the ruling class wants to get rid of him quickly. They fear a prolonged fight against Collor by workers could turn into a more general fightback.

Collor has pushed through savage policies. Real wages have fallen by 30% in three years. Unemployment is running at 30%. The International Monetary Fund is pushing for further austerity measures to ensure western banks continue to receive interest payments on Brasil's huge national debt.

Collor has tried buying off wavering deputies by increasing government spending in their constituencies. But even a rigged vote in parliament may not save him from popular anger. The crucial question is whether toppling Collor gives workers the confidence to fight on other issues.

## GREECE:

# Strikes shake Tories

GREECE'S conservative government has been rocked by a series of one and two day general strikes.

In Athens over 100,000 workers demonstrated outside the parliament buildings.

The strikes were in protest at the government's privatisation plans and a new bill which slashes pensions and health insurance. These cuts are in response to EC targets for European monetary union.

Other grievances are also being aired. Athens bus workers have been on strike for two months against job losses.

Their resilience in the

face of repeated police attempts to smash the strike has inspired other workers.

Bank workers and power workers are also on all out strike. Last month every bank was closed and Athens was suffering daily six hour power cuts.

Students too demonstrated against vicious education cuts. Several universities were occupied at the start of the new term.

## Rescue

But as the feeling of anger mounted, the union leaders slipped in to rescue the right wing government.

Once the new pension law was passed, they called off the strikes. Many strikers were fu-

rious. The government had made no real concessions.

Mitsotakis, the Greek Prime Minister, may have won this round but he's done so at the cost of stoking up a bitter anti-government mood. Support for the government has slumped below 20 per cent.

The trial of five Greek Socialists on treason charges was postponed because lawyers have joined the strike wave.

The five, members of *Socialist Worker's* sister organisation, OSE, were charged after producing a pamphlet defending Macedonia's right to independence.

The trial will now take place on 26th January next year.

The involvement of OSE in the current

strikes has broadened their support in the trade union movement. The railworkers union, hospital union, two national students unions and the Athens labour centre all backed a demonstration in support of the defendants.

## Campaign

An open letter condemning the trial has been signed by the trade union confederation GSEE, trade union leaders, PASOK MPs and numerous trade unionists.

In Ireland the campaign is supported by the Parliamentary Labour Party. British MPs, Tony Benn, Jeremy Corbyn, Bernie Grant and George Galloway are also backing the campaign.

## SERBS SAY NO TO WAR

THE despatch of 6,000 UN troops to Bosnia threatens to bring an escalation of violence to the former Yugoslavia, not an end to the horror.

But now the anti-war movement in Serbia have issued a statement against UN intervention. The statement came from the Centre of Anti-War Action in Belgrade. It said:

"The news of potential UN military intervention by the international community in the area of ex-Yugoslavia has caused great concern to the members and supporters of the Centre of Anti-War Action in Belgrade.

"The decision in favour of the use of violence in order to dis-

tribute humanitarian aid to the victims of war in Bosnia-Herzegovina has put us in a particularly difficult dilemma.

"What choice do the victims of this war have? Either to be left to their fate, ie to the war, or to accept help hanging from a bayonet."

An accompanying press release explained what the Centre of Anti-War Action has been doing.

"We have organised more than 15 massive demonstrations in Belgrade. The latest was on 15 July.

## Attracted

"Among the biggest was a rock concert on 22 April, entitled 'Don't Count Us' (for the army) which attracted 50,000 people.

"On 7 July 100,000 demonstrators unrolled a 1,300 metre

black tape. In the rest of our demonstrations the numbers of demonstrators were at least 8,000.

"Two of our protests are continuing for months now. 'Women in Black' demonstrations have taken place every week and candlelit vigils every night since February. Candles are lit in memory of those killed in the war.

"Three peace demonstrations have been organised - one in August 1991 in Bosnia, and two international demonstrations in Germany in September 1991 and July 1992.

"We provide help to conscientious objectors - information, moral support and legal aid. We collect money and clothes for Bosnia and Sarajevo and we are trying to help refugees - something which even in Belgrade is very difficult to do."



# Unemployment

# No forced labour on the dole

FF's Minister for Social Welfare, Charlie McCreevy, is drawing up plans to force the unemployed to work for their dole.

Last July the Dail Committee on Unemployment came up with this idea. One of the leading supporters of this plan is, unfortunately, the Labour T.D., Emmet Stagg.

Stagg claimed that a single person who got £55 in benefit should have to work two days a week.

At the moment the politicians are talking about a 'voluntary scheme'. But in reality it will open the door to forced labour.

The aim of FF is to cut the huge social welfare bill. Last year, the Irish state paid out £1,008 million in Social Welfare.

McCreevy hopes to use a forced labour scheme to drive people onto the emigrant ship.

The attacks on the unemployed have galvanised the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed into action.

In recent years, the INOU have concentrated on lobbying politicians.

But in early October they called a march against Workfare and cutbacks.

Thousands of leaflets were distributed to the dole queues arguing that 'The system has failed you -- don't fail yourself'.

## Fightback

This is an excellent start in organising a fightback against the attacks on the unemployed. But it has to be built on.

The key to beating McCreevy is to connect the anger of those on the doles to the power of the organised workers movement.

Thousands of trade unionists know that while McCreevy complains of social welfare spending, his FF colleagues are giving huge hand-outs to the rich.

If they were mobilised to support the unemployed McCreevy would soon back off.



## Dundalk devastated

Dundalk, once a booming industrial town in the 60s, has been devastated by unemployment.

When big companies such as Clarke's Shoes, P.J. Carrolls and Ecco had to cutback to keep their profits up, hundreds were thrown onto the Dole queues.

Out of a population of 25,000 people, over 4,800 are now on the live register, with many more dependent on these payments. Estates such as Muirtheimhne Mor and Coxes Demesne have unemployment rates double the national average.

Mary Murphy works at the Dundalk Unemployed Resource Centre in Clanbrassil Street, where they try and assist people to claim their full welfare rights.

Mary told SOCIALIST WORKER of the day to day hardship they deal with at the Centre and the effects the recent cutbacks will have:

"The worst thing about McCreevy's cutbacks is that they practically remove the scope of the Community Welfare Officer.

"Beforehand, the CWO could use his discretionary powers to write cheques of up to £200 to help people in urgent need, with things such as ESB bills or rent arrears.

"Now, a single payment of £100 per year is the limit. There are no allowances made at all, no loopholes or any flexibility. If people get into financial trouble again, the CWO is powerless to help them.

"At Christmas, the CWO was able to help with arrears so parents could get food and toys for the kids. It looks like that will not be "practicable" any more.

"As I say, if your house burns down on Friday, what will you do Saturday and Sunday?"

People on the dole live from week to week. And now with the recession in England, more and more are coming on to the system. "The days of 'I'm alright Jack' are over, as there isn't a family in the town without someone out of work: people are starting to think where it's all going to end"

When Jack Lynch was Taoiseach in 1979, he said that a government that allowed 100,000 people to stay on the dole had no right to govern.

Last month, the Finance Minister, Bertie Ahern, admitted that unless 125,000 young people emigrated over the next 8 years, that we could have half a million out of work by the year 2,000.

Since 1987, the wealth of this country, as represented by its GNP, has risen by 23%. For the Irish wealthy, the last five years have been an unparalleled success story.

But for those signing on, they have brought nothing but unwanted hardship and increased marginalisation. As the numbers increase, more and more unemployed are asking, Why should we suffer these vicious cutbacks whilst they get away with scandal after scandal?

# How do we solve the jobs crisis?

Here SOCIALIST WORKER nails the lies about the jobs crisis.

**LIE NO 1: We need to pull together to help the Irish economy so that jobs can be created.**

Nonsense. Ever since 1987 the unions, the employers, and FF have been pulling together to make the Irish economy more 'competitive'.

But the jobs crisis have gotten worsen. Social partnership has only meant that Irish workers are working far harder.

Productivity had increased by 25% even though only 4% more workers have been taken on.

The bosses are using economic patriotism to sweat more work out of us -- they have no notion of creating jobs.

**LIE NO 2: Irish Entrepreneurs are too heavily taxed. It costs too much to create a job.**

What a joke. The Irish bosses are the least taxed in Europe. They only pay 10% tax on manufacturing profits. And many of them try to avoid even paying that.

In 1989, the Irish state gave £1,500 million in tax breaks to industry. But unemployment continued to rise.

The Goodman Tribunal shows what the Irish bosses class are about. Throughout the 1980s, Goodman only paid 1% of the tiny corporation profits tax bill.

At the same time he slashed hundreds of full time jobs in the beef industry and replaced them with contract workers.

**LIE NO 3: The Irish state has been relying too much on the multinationals. They need to help Irish industry more.**

The multi-nationals have been making a fortune in Ireland. Reynolds is telling the truth when he says that Ireland is the most profitable location for US companies in Europe.

But the Irish state have never 'discriminated' against their friends in the Irish boss class.

Between 1981 and 1990, Irish owned firms were paid £669 million in state grants. They did not create more jobs but actually decreased the number working for them.

**LIE NO 4: Special job creation schemes could help to solve unemployment.**

It is the same old story. The bosses are not interested.

Last year, FF came up with a Jobs Training Scheme. They claimed that it would take 10,000 people off the dole.

In the end, only 57 people got places on the scheme. The bosses claimed that it was too much trouble to operate

The plain fact is that Irish capitalism can never solve the jobs crisis.

The system is in a complete mess. It has to be scrapped.



# The rise of Europe's New Right

# Nazis cash in on

The attacks by nazi gangs on refugee hostels across Germany last month has shown the real face of the far right in Europe.

The attacks were not isolated - since January over 2,000 such attacks have occurred.

In the State Parliament elections earlier this year the nazis gained 15 seats in the area around Stuttgart and 5 in Schleswig Holstein.

This is not confined to Germany. Nazi gangs have carried out attacks in Scandinavia, Switzerland and Eastern Europe.

In Denmark a nazi bomb destroyed the offices of the Socialist Workers Movement's sister organisation and killed one of its members. In Austria the Freedom Party, who praise Hitler, won 22% of the vote in Vienna last year.

In Italy the racist Northern leagues polled 9% of the vote and in Naples Mussolini's granddaughter and Fascist candidate was elected with 12% of the vote. The Flemish nazis, the Vlaamsblok, won 13 seats and polled over 20% in the area around Antwerp.

## Mainstream

Worst of all in France, the Front National of Jean Marie Le Pen got 14% of the vote in the local elections.

The Front National has become part of the political mainstream. Behind Le Pen's respectable image, the success of the Front National has bred racism. Now in opinion polls 42% express dislike of North Africans and 27% dislike of Jews.

In areas of major Front National support like Marseilles in Southern France, attacks on North Africans are commonplace. le Pen's statements that the "Holocaust is a minor detail of History" gives confidence to those who desecrate jewish cemeteries, like 2 years ago at Carpentras.

Why almost 50 years since the end of the second World War is fascism on the rise again? The answer lies in the economic crisis of the New Europe.

Two years ago after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, the promise was of the Free Market bringing prosperity. Now economic

crisis ravages the old Eastern bloc while recession threatens over the Giants of Europe like Germany.

In what was East Germany, unemployment is at 40% and rising. There is an estimated shortage of 2 million houses. In the big cities across Germany rents have increased massively. The dream that a united Germany would bring prosperity has been shattered for millions. Racism has grown from that despair.

## Deflect

But its growth has not been automatic. The Conservative government of Helmut Kohl have deliberately used racism to deflect anger from themselves.

The anger of German workers over the worsening situation has led to mass strikes, which involved both German and immigrant workers.

Government Ministers were attacked by angry crowds in the East. The Kohl government wants to see that anger directed somewhere else. But again, it hasn't been automatic.

If the opposition Social Democrats had exposed the racism of Kohl, the whole racist argument could have been cut into. But it too jumped on the racist bandwagon. The SPD has called for "special collection camps" for immigrants.

After the Rostock attacks it backed calls for tighter immigration controls. This only boosts the Nazis. They simply claim to have said it first and to be actually doing something about it.

In France the betrayal of working class peoples hopes has laid the ground for the growth of Le Pen's Nazis. Just 11 years ago Mitterand's Socialist Party was elected after 20 years of conservative rule.

Workers drank champagne in the factories, and thousands danced on the streets of Paris. Millions of people expected a real redistribution of wealth.

The Socialist Party promised to raise welfare benefits, extend workers rights and tax the rich. Within a year these hopes were



Nazi demonstrators in (Left to Right) France, Italy and Germany

dashed. The Mitterand Government caved in to the threats of french big business.

The Socialist Party embarked on a vicious austerity program, used riot police against strikes and forced through cutbacks.

Today there are 2.7 million unemployed and large numbers in poverty.

The Front National which couldn't get enough signatures to stand Le Pen for president in 1981, has taken full advantage of

the demoralisation by blaming immigrants with slogans like "2 million unemployed, 2 million immigrants too many".

The Socialist Party has caved into racism. It has promised to limit immigration, deport "illegals" and in many cases pandered to the myths about "lazy, criminal foreigners".

Last summer the then Socialist Party Prime Minister, Edith Cresson, talked about hiring special planes to deport immigrants.

Le Pen's response "We are of imitations!"

The Conservatives have about deals with the Front National used disgusting, racist language.

The result is that now the can turn out 10,000 supporters of Arc" march in Paris and members, making it the party since the war.

# Are immigrant to blame?

All the mainstream political parties and the media have condemned the Nazi attacks. But they all agree on one thing - the presence of immigrants has contributed to the violence.

The picture is painted of a Europe under siege from vast numbers of outsiders and while immigrants flood in, they argue, the far right will continue to grow.

Already the German government has announced plans to tighten immigration controls.

The idea that immigrants are flooding into Europe because of liberal asylum laws is a myth.

## Provision

In Germany for example less than 5 per cent of applications for asylum are accepted. Germany is 20th in the league table for allowing refugees right of entry

and has no provision for legal immigration at all.

Refugees, mainly from Yugoslavia, Romania and Turkey are herded into camps and then distributed to hostels throughout the country while their cases are dealt with.

They are given £3 a day for food and £3 a month for everything else.

Despite all the talk of an influx less than one in every 100 people in East Germany are foreign born.

The German Government has encouraged workers to come to Germany for years to do menial jobs. The picture is similar across Europe.

The Government demographic Institutes of France, Germany, Italy, Belgium and the Netherlands estimated last year that between 2.8 and 4.2 million immigrants would arrive in Western Europe over the next 5 years.

That is 1% of the EC population.

At the same time, on our declining population in 11 What is more the population age in the EC countries is a million by the year 2010.

## Myth

The idea of immigrants causing unemployment is a myth. Just for - almost 400,000 immigrant workers are responsible for the unemployment.

The rich can move anywhere and capitalists can move the globe freely. The same right.

That is why immigration clearly No to Immigrants are welcome here.

## Rostock: The roots of despair

Much of the coverage of the attacks in Rostock has concentrated on the support the Nazis received from local people.

Many local people did come out and applaud the Nazis. But very many more did not.

Hundreds of locals joined the 20,000 strong march through the town in protest at the attacks.

All of the city's trade unions backed the march.

Rostock represents in miniature the situation across much of Germany. Rostock has a population of 250,000 and an unemployment rate of 50 per cent. Before unification 55,000 people worked in the town's shipyard. Now just 5,000 work there.

20,000 people live in the housing estate where the attacks occurred. A Rostock socialist told Socialist Worker:

"there is just nothing to do there. It is seven miles from the town centre. There is nothing but two or three supermarkets. The only youth clubs were closed down straight after unification because of the Council's cuts.

People don't trust the politicians and the Nazis have exploited this feeling. But Socialists can build on those who opposed the attacks and point the finger at the government not the refugees!"



by BRIAN HANLEY

# the crisis



Le Pen's response "We said it first, beware of imitations!"  
The Conservatives have publicly talked about deals with the Front National and used disgusting, racist language.  
The result is that now the Front National can claim 10,000 supporters for its "Joan of Arc" march in Paris and claim 100,000 members, making it the first mass Nazi party since the war.

## ants

That is 1% of the EC population.  
At the same time, on current trends in the birth rate, some countries will have a declining population in 10 years time. What is more the population of working age in the EC countries is set to fall by 8 million by the year 2010.

### Myth

The idea of immigrants causing unemployment is a myth. Just look at Ireland - almost 400,000 unemployed North and South but hardly any immigrant population. Immigrants are not responsible for racism - they are its victim.  
The rich can travel anywhere they like, and capitalists can move millions across the globe freely. Workers should have the same right.  
That is why all socialists should say clearly No to immigration Controls - immigrants are welcome here.

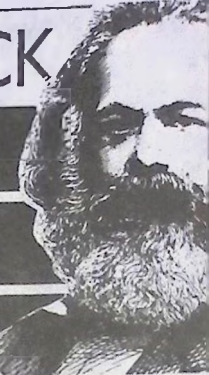
## The fascists can be stopped

The growth of fascist support is alarming. But they are far from unstoppable. In the last year several mobilisations have shown how it is possible to beat them back.  
After the first Nazi attacks on hostels in Germany last November, tens of thousands demonstrated across the country and various anti-racist and anti-nazi committees sprang up in many towns. Over 100,000 people marched in Berlin for example.  
In Italy 100,000 people demonstrated in Milan against the rise in racist support. In Sweden 5,000 anti-nazis stopped a fascist march in Stockholm. 10,000 stopped a nazi rally in Oslo, the capital of Norway.  
Even though nazis have attained their highest level of popular support the potential to beat them exists. Anti-racist marches have consistently outnumbered those of the Front National in France.  
But to be successful, the anti-fascist movement must learn the lessons of the past.  
Firstly, although the fascists try to use elections to gain support, their real aim is to build a mass movement on the streets that can terrorise the opposition into submission. They try to give their supporters a sense of power by attacking immigrants or socialists.  
This means they have to be fought with more than argument. Their meetings, marches and rallies should be physically stopped. The biggest possible numbers should be mobilised to do this.  
When this happens, the fascists learn that they cannot parade as supermen. The respectable element that is attracted to the fascists thinks twice about getting involved and the fascist thugs have to come to the front.  
Second, fascism represents a threat not only to revolutionary socialists but even to the most moderate labour leaders. This means that revolutionary socialists can work to form a united front with Labour Party supporters against fascism.  
In Europe parties like the French Socialists and German SPD have disgraceful records on opposing racism. But thousands of their ordinary supporters can be drawn into a movement to stop the nazis.  
Finally, fascism is a product of a system in crisis. It can grow when millions of people see no way out of misery and poverty.  
A socialist organisation which argues for workers unity, like that shown in this year's German mass strikes, and which points the finger of blame at the bosses can begin to be an alternative for some of those who may otherwise be attracted to the nazis.  
And it can begin to argue that if we are to end forever the threat of fascism, we also need to end the crisis ridden system that breeds it.

CONOR KOSTICK



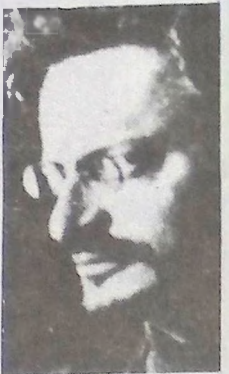
Teach yourself Marxism



## Trotsky on fascism

As fascism rises once more in Europe many people are asking how do we avoid a repeat of Hitler's rise to power in the thirties.

The clearest answer to that question is in the writings of the revolutionary Marxist Leon Trotsky.  
The starting point for Trotsky's analysis was to clear up the confusion as to what exactly was the threat posed by Hitler. He argued that fascism represented something more than the growth of a virulent form of racism.  
After all, Mussolini had come to power without extreme anti-semitism. Nor was fascism simply a military dictatorship replacing a democracy - it was something much more dangerous, a mass movement of a particular class, the middle class.  
Unlike the capitalist class who own the factories or the working class who have only their labour power, the middle class can be utterly ruined by a severe recession.  
Small businesses find themselves bankrupt, people who had savings put aside see them wiped out by inflation and the collapse of financial institutions.  
Under such circumstances, in a frenzy of despair, this class along with sections of the unemployed can look to drastic solutions to their plight.  
In 1932 there were 8 million unemployed in Germany. The Nazi Party offered them a solution. It claimed to be both equally against the big business men and the unions.  
What the Nazis did was draw this despairing class together into a mass fighting force which physically controlled the streets until it could vie for state power.  
In practice this movement was aimed at crushing and atomising all working class organisation.  
By proving itself capable of this, it could obtain support from the capitalists in order to take power. Trotsky summed up the class nature of fascism by the phrase "plebian counter-revolution".  
Despite the rapid growth of the fascists, in all of his articles Trotsky insisted it was possible to stop them. For they were a much weaker force than the working class.  
A few thousand workers can bring the railway system of a country to a halt, or the power stations, or the communication system; a few thousand shop keepers and middle-management represent almost nothing in comparison, just "human dust".  
The fascists were only a force if they could draw their supporters together in marches and rallies. The



Leon Trotsky: Argued for a United Front

save them from the concentration camps. It is an important example to those on the left, who believe the Reformist parties will shift to the left "under the logic of events".

The alternative to the SDP was the Communist Party, again a massive Party, which gained up to 6 million votes at this time.

The Communist Party members were also very determined to fight, and often engaged in bitter confrontations against the Nazis.

However, after the defeated revolution in Germany and Russia the Party leadership had become a bureaucratic machine, and following the initiative of Stalin declared that the SDP were the main enemy as they were "social-fascists".  
This, Trotsky explained, had two consequences. One was to underestimate the effect of the real fascists coming to power.

### Decisive

The Social Democratic Party had between 7.8 million votes and had decisive influence in the working class.

Despite this it was a Party whose leaders were completely committed to the running of the capitalist system.

They had shown this when they put down the German Revolution of 1918-23. They were responsible for the execution of the revolutionaries Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg.

The Social Democratic Party's leaders were afraid of the rise of fascism and initiated various campaigns against the Nazi's.

But they were equally afraid of working class actions which they did their best to dampen down, relying instead on the police and state bans.

Trotsky predicted that this would be disastrous, as the Nazis were the last Party to respect legality nor were the police going to put their necks on the line against people who might become their future employers.

When the workers' movement responded to Hitler becoming Chancellor, the SDP demobilised them, announcing in their paper that the Party "stands on the grounds of constitution and legality".

This capitulation didn't

For example, the Communists used the slogan "after Hitler us". Yet far from causing a revolution, Hitler's victory led to the complete destruction of working class organisation.

The other effect was that they could not draw the millions of SDP supporters into common activity against the fascists.

Trotsky argued that the correct strategy of the Communist Party should be to approach the SDP with practical fighting agreements, which would unite the working class and bring pressure onto the SDP leadership.

This proposal, the "united front", was not one of merging the two parties politically but of demonstrating together to prevent the fascists marching.

The tragedy of the Thirties in Germany is that the working class was misled by its main Parties, while Trotsky's supporters were insufficient in number to prevent the defeat.

One of the most important lessons from the period is to build a revolutionary alternative to the reformist Parties as swiftly as possible, so that in the future, when different forces and parties are thrown into the balance, the Nazis can be beaten.



# Does 'human nature' mean we can't have socialism?

by GERTUOHY

The majority of people are dissatisfied with a society that creates poverty, homelessness and war, but many claim that because human nature makes people greedy and selfish, socialism is not possible.

This commonplace view that human beings are naturally selfish and greedy stems from the way capitalism is organised.

Because the motor of capitalism is competition it creates artificial divisions between workers, between black and white, men and women, gay and straight, which it constantly reinforces. These divisions are in turn wrongly seen as fundamental human characteristics.

The ideas people hold cannot be isolated from the society in which they develop. As Marx put it "material life conditions the social, political and intellectual life-process in general.

"It is not the consciousness of men that determines their being, but on the contrary it is their social being that determines their consciousness."

The view that human nature is fixed and static is not only unscientific, it is also contradicted by events of history. There are enormous differences in what various societies have viewed as "natural".

To Ancient Greeks, homosexuality was the highest form of love. Today the Right-Wing try to convince us that it is completely unnatural.

The Iroquois, a native American tribe, could not understand the seizure and fencing of property, because in their society there was no private ownership of land.

Anthropologists such as Eleanor Burke Leacock and Peggy Sanday studied hunter-gatherer societies. Leacock says of the Montanais-Neskapi tribe of Canada that "the emphasis was on generosity, on co-operation, on patience and good humour, but also on never forcing one's will on others".

This both surprised and disgusted the 17th century Jesuits who spent years trying to introduce hierarchies and violent punishment in order to convert these "savages".

The reason these early societies were so egalitarian is because survival required the collective participation and cooperation of every one of the tribe's members.

Their material conditions of existence shaped their behaviour and personality into very different attitudes from those of the missionaries who encountered them.

Such pre-class societies comprise 90% of human existence. Surely, if there is an unchanging human nature its characteristics would have been laid down in this period and not in the relatively short period of class rule?

In other words, co-operation and harmony would seem more "natural" than competition and aggression.

Even today, in a society where we are supposed to strive to get ahead at the expense of others, for every example of competition and greed there are numerous examples of cooperation and generosity.

There is the self sacrifice of parents to provide the best for their children; people who care for elderly and disabled people at home; the bravery of firefighters who risk their own lives to save



others.

If people were innately selfish none of these would be possible. It is capitalist society which downplays and ignores this behaviour.

"But" runs the argument for human nature "despite occasional acts of kindness, isn't it undeniable that people are naturally aggressive and that this has led to a long history of wars that are still continuing today?"

To see organised war as a collective manifestation of aggressive feelings is a fundamental mistake. It fails to ask why individuals are suddenly possessed with a desire to attack others.

## Aggression

In reality, warfare has little or nothing to do with prior individual feelings of aggression, but is a calculated political move for economic gain, such as control of oil supplies in the Gulf.

"Hostilities" today don't break out between individuals but are whipped up by the propaganda and lies of states which sends working-class men off to slaughter one another.

Nor has war been a feature of all societies. Columbus described his meeting with native Americans in 1492:

"They do not bear arms and do not

know them, for I showed them a sword, they took it by the edge and cut themselves out of ignorance".

This didn't prevent him from capturing them as slaves and murdering them later.

Capitalist society has built itself up through wars in the competitive struggle for profits. It has also created the violence of condemning millions to poverty and starvation.

The Worldwatch Institute found that 1.2 billion people — 24% of the world's population — lived in "absolute poverty" in the 1980's.

This at a time when the human race now has at its disposal more than enough technology, raw materials and knowledge to fulfil everyone's basic needs without difficulty. If workers controlled society all human beings could progress in comfort and plenty.

A more recent variation of the argument about human nature is that covered by the term Sociobiology. The advocates of this view believe that human behaviour can be explained by our innate genetic makeup, and the way that the more favourable genes survive and propagate themselves.

So for example, if men play a disproportionately prominent role in society it's because there was a bias in nature to

select men for leading jobs.

Or if there are elites in society it is because the people with the more natural talent and intelligence have been selected to the most advantageous positions.

The most prominent advocate of these ideas, E.O. Wilson, in his book *Sociobiology: The New Synthesis* argues that genetic bias means that:

"Even with identical education and equal access to all professions, men are likely to continue to play a disproportionate role in political life, business and science".

## Justifies

Made slightly more sophisticated by reference to Darwin's concepts, Sociobiology is just as flawed and reactionary as the crude arguments for human nature. It is a theory which completely justifies the current inequalities in society and argues there is no point in trying to change it.

One easy way to refute these arguments is to look at people like Ronald Reagan and Dan Quayle — are these men really an example of nature's most highly selected humans?

There are two huge flaws in Sociobiology. It claims that behaviour is

hereditary, that leadership, talent and intelligence are all passed on. Yet there is no evidence for this, and in fact the evidence points entirely in the opposite direction.

A highly honoured scientist of intelligence in his day, Sir Cyril Burt, claimed that his work on identical twins showed that they had the same IQ even when they had been separated early into different backgrounds. So intelligence must be genetic.

Embarrassingly for the Professor and politicians who rushed to embrace his conclusions he was later shown to have entirely made up his results! In fact background, access to decent facilities and early education is decisive in shaping how well you will do at tests.

The other objection to Sociobiology is one that Marx used in refuting Adam Smith's belief that humans had a natural propensity to truck and barter.

Marx pointed out that if our behaviour was fixed by our genes then history and class struggle would never have developed.

You can study bees for thousands of years and despite the sophistication of a hive's organisation, you will never witness the queen being overthrown.

On the contrary for humans, over the last ten thousand years there has been a fantastic variety of human cultures, beliefs and attitudes. Great empires have risen and fallen, transformations in society have swept the planet.

If behaviour is reducible to our genes none of this can be explained, since we are genetically identical with human beings who lived ten thousand years ago.

Marx's view that human behaviour is shaped by the material conditions of existence is a revolutionary one. For in changing society people themselves change.

The problem of creating a socialist world is not that workers are too selfish, aggressive or stupid to build a better society, but that at present they don't have the confidence to do so.

This can change. The working class is a class which of necessity is collective.

Every day workers meet together at work. Production is a collective act. When workers take action against attacks they can discover their own power, and their need for unity.

As the revolutionary socialist Rosa Luxemburg put it, a mass strike can be like an electric shock, teaching workers more in a few days than in years of humdrum existence. The experience of fighting back contradicts ideas that workers previously accepted.

Marx argued that not only was revolution possible, but that it was necessary. A few people introducing reforms can never rid society of the current muck and filth, but millions of workers making a revolution will in the process remake themselves.

Collective control of society will mean a new world — one that won't be stifled with the demand for conformity and greed. Individual differences, distinctions and potentials will blossom.

To the idea that human nature will somehow crop up again and claw back these gains Trotsky retorted:

"Mankind will not have ceased to crawl before God, Tsar and capital only in order to surrender to human nature and dark laws of selection".

Future generations will laugh at the values that were considered natural under capitalism.



# News from SWM

## The Socialist Alternative

SWM's weekend rally for socialist ideas looks like being the biggest ever.

The major speaker this year is Arthur Scargill, President of the National Union of Miners in Britain.

During the miners strike some years ago, Irish workers collected thousands of pounds in solidarity with the miners struggle.

Arthur has stood out against the retreat from socialist politics that has been represented by people like Neil Kinnock.

Most recently he led a walkout of the TUC when the head of the CBI, the bosses union, was invited to speak.

Arthur will be speaking on The Future for Socialism.

Other major events at the weekend include Duncan Hallas speaking on the 75th anniversary of the Russian Revolution.

Duncan is a leading member of the Socialist Workers Party in Britain and has written several articles and book in defence of the Russian Revolution.

Another highlight is a

debate between Eamonn McCann and Declan Kiberd on Can Irish nationalism be a radical force?

With over 20 meetings and debates Marxism '92 will be an exciting forum which will show that the ideas of socialism are very much alive.

Tickets for the overall event are now available. As spaces at some meetings are limited, weekend tickets should be booked as early as possible by filling in the coupon at the bottom of this page.

### 'Vital signs'

SWM members took an active part in a recent summer school organised by Democratic Left

called 'Vital Signs — is the left Alive'.

The mood at this conference was one of overwhelming pessimism and doubt about the validity of socialist ideas as speakers searched for a 'post-Marxist' alternative.

Henry Patterson one of the leading theoreticians of the party argued for a retreat from class politics by claiming that the working class is far too 'segmented' and divided today.

He called on socialists to pursue a 'democratic agenda that

linked brought people together from all classes'.

'Just because you have a sports car and a holiday home' he claimed, 'does not mean you cannot be part of the

struggle'.

Pat Rabbitt, the Democratic left T.D. claimed that socialists have to press for devaluation of the Irish punt to meet the present currency crisis.

The gathering showed tremendous signs of division and doubt on the way forward.

Only 80 people turned up for the event but SWM managed to sell 10 papers and met two people who were interested in hearing more about an organisation that argues that class politics is very much alive.

### Unemployment

SWM members throughout the country have been

## SWM MEETINGS

BELFAST meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Central Hall, Rosemary Street.

CORK meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Anchor Inn, Georges Quay

DERRY meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers Pub, Orchard Street

DUBLIN meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Conways Bar, Parnell Street

WATERFORD meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyzer St

GALWAY meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

To contact the SWM in Bray, Dundalk, Kilkenny, Limerick, Navan write to SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Telephone (01) 722682

active in taking up petitions outside the dole offices and on the streets against McCeevy's Social Welfare cuts and against the threat of forced labour on Workfare schemes.

The response to the petitions has been overwhelming.

In Galway over a hundred signatories were collected within one hour and 20 copies of SOCIALIST WORKER were sold.

In October SWM are organising a series of public meetings on 'Capitalism in Crisis: Fight for the Right to Work with Kieran Allen and Jimmy Kelly, the chief shop steward of Waterford Glass speaking.

The dates of the meetings are as follows:

Cork: 1st October  
Metropole Hotel

Dundalk: 6th  
October ATGWU Hall

Dublin: 7th October  
Kinley House

Waterford: 8th  
October ATGWU Hall

## What we stand for

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

### FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system. It has to be overthrown. The machinery of the capitalist state—parliament, courts, army, police etc—is there to defend the interests of the capitalist class, not to run society in a 'neutral' fashion. To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

### FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWM welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. Workers' revolutions are needed to win real freedom in the East.

We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

### FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.

We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry.

We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

### FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

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

### FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

### FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

# MARXISM 92

A weekend of discussion, debate and meetings  
November 20, 21, 22  
Organised by the Socialist Workers Movement

### Highlights include:

RALLY WITH ARTHUR SCARGILL ON THE FUTURE FOR SOCIALISM

THE POLITICS OF MALCOLM X

FORUM ON WOMEN'S RIGHTS: FIGHTING THE BACKLASH

PLUS:

DEBATE WITH DECLAN KIBERD ON CAN IRISH NATIONALISM BE A RADICAL FORCE?

DUNCAN HALLAS (SWP Britain) ON: THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION 75 YEARS ON

plus:

- Women's Liberation**
- Women's Rights Forum: Fighting the Backlash
- Does Socialism need Feminism?
- The Origins of the Family
- October 1917—75 Years On**
- 1917—When Workers Took Power
- Lenin and the Revolutionary Party
- The Rise of Stalin
- Ideas and Society**
- Marxism and Religion
- Do Our Genes Govern Our Behaviour?
- What's Wrong with Post-Modernism?
- Crime: What Do Socialists Say About Law and Order?
- Northern Ireland**
- Paisley and the Crisis of Unionism

- Could a Labour Party Bring Workers' Unity in the North?
- World in Crisis**
- Can South Africa be Reformed?
- Were the Revolutions in Eastern Europe Worth It?
- Yugoslavia: Can the U.N. Bring Peace?
- After the L.A. Riots: What Now for the U.S.?
- The Fight Against Racism**
- Fascism: Can It Be Stopped?
- The Politics of Malcolm X
- The Revolutionary Tradition**
- Marx's View of History
- Marxism and Democracy
- Fight For Socialism**
- The Revolutionary Alternative (Final Rally)
- Recession and Crisis: Do Socialists Have an Answer?

**Venue:** Friday Night: ATGWU Hall, Abbey Street, Dublin  
Saturday and Sunday: Institute of Adult Education, 2 Mountjoy Square, Dublin  
**Tickets:** £5.00 & £2.50 (unwaged)  
Creche facilities available  
Social on Saturday Night

■ If you are interested in receiving a full programme, tickets or further details send this slip to: Marxism '92, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel (01) 722682

Name.....  
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## Join Us!

If you would like to join the SWM or require further details, send this slip to: PO Box 1648, James's St., D 8

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# 1907: When workers' unity shook the Orange bosses

SEAN McVEIGH reviews Austin Morgan's *Labour and Partition, The Belfast Working Class 1905-23*, published by Pluto Press.

SOCIALISTS have long argued that sectarianism in Northern Ireland could be broken in the course of struggle against the common enemy—the bosses—and by the intervention of socialists in these struggles.

Austin Morgan disagrees. He prefers to emphasise labour representation in parliament as a way to combat sectarianism.

So he mistakenly attributes the decline of sectarianism in places like Glasgow and Liverpool to "the pull" of a nationally organised Labour Party, and totally ignores the role of successive waves of workers struggles this century which to a large extent has broken the back of sectarianism in these cities.

This means that Morgan has to dismiss the 1907 Dock Strike, which, for however brief a period established unity between Catholic and Protestant workers in struggle against the state that seeks to keep them divided. Morgan calls all this "historical mythology".

Morgan couldn't be more wrong. In 1907 Belfast was one of the fastest growing cities in the British Isles and was the industrial centre of Ireland.

It was also a city with sectarianism built into its fabric with Catholics largely excluded from the skilled jobs.

Protestant workers suffered too, making up over 50% of the unskilled workforce, at a time when unskilled workers in Belfast got some of the worst wages in the British Isles.

Into this situation stepped Jim Larkin as organiser for the National Union of Dock Labourers in January 1907. Larkin met with immediate success organising the 4,600 dockers and carters into NUDL, despite the fact that Catholics tended to predominate in the deep sea docks while



Protestants tended to work in the cross-channel docks.

The NUDL began pressing for union recognition and wage increases, and there followed a series of strikes, lockouts and mass mobilisations that was to shake Belfast to its foundation.

Strikes by dockers, carters and coal fillers sparked off a series of sympathy strikes and strikes by other unions for their own claims.

During the summer of 1907 mill workers, sailors, tobacco workers, engineering workers all struck. Dockworkers in Newry struck after they refused to handle

goods delivered from Belfast.

The workers of Belfast Catholic and Protestant rallied behind the strike movement and in support of the dockers.

## High Point

The high point of the mobilisation came in July with a massive demonstration in support of the dockers by over 100,000 people—one estimate at the time put it at 200,000.

The demonstration began in Protestant East Belfast, made its way to the Falls

Road and then on to the Shankill. The local Tories began to panic with one right-wing newspaper saying:

"We are on the eve of an experience something akin to that which has paralysed Russian cities during this last couple of years".

The local police, the Royal Irish Constabulary, became infected with the atmosphere of revolt that swept the city and began to fragment.

Constable Barrett, who refused to protect scab carters, led hundreds of Belfast police in a mutiny. They refused to obey orders, held mass meetings and put for-

ward their own demands for better wages and conditions.

The ruling class responded to these developments by sailing nine Royal Navy warships up Belfast Lough and flooding the city with troops from non Irish regiments.

The troops were stationed in all working class areas of the city. The effect of the troop deployments on the Falls led to rioting in which two people were gunned down by troops.

It was a classic case of divide and rule. This was a turning point in the strike movement. Nationalist politicians who had ignored the strike movement for most of the time, now emerged as supporters of the strike.

Joe Devlin, a sectarian and anti-socialist, jumped on the bandwagon after the police mutiny and riots.

The Tory press redoubled its efforts to portray the strike movement as a Catholic revolt and branded Jim Larkin and the dockers union "fenians".

The bosses didn't hesitate to bring politics into the dispute Larkin and the strike leaders did. They had fought throughout to 'keep politics out of it' believing that the struggle could be kept on the 'economic level'.

Events were to prove Larkin wrong. In the face of the police mutiny, the troop deployments and the Falls riots they were paralysed.

They had nothing to say to thousands of workers who looked to them for guidance. Confusion set in along with strike weariness and the movement lost momentum.

Calls for arbitration and compromise by local and national trade union leaders fell on ready ears.

The 1907 Dock strike shows that workers unity between Catholic and Protestants can be achieved in the course of struggles from below.

But if that unity is to be maintained and the struggle advanced towards challenging the system itself, then a revolutionary socialist organisation with roots in the working class must be built.

Such an organisation would not run away from politics but would on the contrary politicise struggles, so that divide and rule tactics would not get the foothold that they did in 1907. Morgan's book does nothing to help that process.

## BOOK REVIEW:

# Tales from the assembly line

Rivethead: Tales from the Assembly line by Ben Hamper

To many people the American working class has been bought off by the American Dream.

The image exists of a group with a generally right wing outlook, low levels of unionisation and an inability to fight back against their bosses.

In this light Rivethead: *Tales from the Assembly Line* gives a welcome alternative. Ben Hamper shows in extremely humorous ways how workers on the assembly lines of

General Motors Auto Plants adapt to and survive the relentless and mundane nature of their jobs, in the same way as workers do anywhere in the world.

## Survived

In *Rivethead*, Hamper describes how generations of his own family had rivets in their blood, and how he survived in a world that was "sorta like 'Nam'", without the Motown soundtracks and

mosquito netting with games of rivet hockey, dumpokeyball or by just avoiding shifts to take part in heavy drinking sessions.

Although a very funny book, Rivethead also shows how the repetitive work on the line could destroy people, driving workers to nervous breakdowns.

This again is handled with a touch of humour, in the case of Roy, who blowtorched his pet

mouse.

The book chats in a personal way, about the ups and downs of the U.S. economy.

## Closure

It moves from times when workers could leave one job on a Friday afternoon and walk straight into another Monday morning up until the final closure of GM plants in Flint.

Ben Hamper provides a breath of fresh air in looking at the lives of American workers, and gives a great insight into how the working class works the system as best it can, inventing scams to make life more bearable.

■ JAMES CONWAY

## FILM REVIEW

# Bringing it all back home

Bob Roberts. Written and directed by Tim Robbins

"BOB Roberts" shows a cynical, manoeuvring and vote-hungry politician on his run for the US Senate. A spoof documentary, the film profiles Roberts, "The Man of the People", a right-wing folksinger and self-made millionaire.

The film follows his campaign as he tours the state of Pennsylvania playing folk concerts singing back-to-old-values songs for supporters and votes. He manipulates the crowds with his charm and charisma.

The media are determined to promote the star regardless of

what he represents. Roberts' campaign is run strongly on the anti-drug stance, naturally, and a return to patriotism. He is also readily available for photo sessions with sick children.

The film takes a sinister turn when an investigative journalist uncovers some of the shady dealings that are going on in the Roberts camp, and his campaign and support are shaken.

## Excellent

Then we see the lengths to which Roberts is prepared to go to regain his lead in the race.

Robbins is excellent as the forever smiling rebel turned conservative. The film is layered with black comedy.

The most amusing part is Roberts' lament to the world of market speculation with a promotional video for the song, which is a replica of Bob Dylan's "Subterranean Homesick Blues".

While singing, Roberts is throwing away cards reading "By Any Means Necessary Make Millions".

At times the film tends to be one dimensional as the central characters are so obviously shady.

The film may also fail to get the joke across to the people it is actually sending up and they will not recognise themselves here. But it is, however, highly entertaining and wonderfully acted and observed.

■ CHRISTINE NOONAN



# STUDENTS Fight back in the colleges

Report by  
**RICHARD BOYD BARRETT**



Students returning to college face a grim prospect, as the government targets education as an easy option for cutbacks.

Across the board, fees have gone up this year between 10 per cent and 15 per cent. But the introduction of a means test for European Social Funds (ESF) Grants means that fewer students will qualify for financial assistance, making it impossible for many to gain access to third level education.

Also according to USI, staff shortages and bureaucratic confusion over responsibility for ESF grants has affected the normal grant system, making it likely that many students will not receive their grants until Christmas.

The ESF grants will be refused to families who have not paid council rates and taxes. In reality this represents a further attack on the worst off in society.

For those lucky enough to get grants the situation is equally abysmal.

In UCD, for example, on-campus accommodation

costs £35 per week. The average grant works out at only £38 a week.

With over 400,000 unemployed throughout the country, there is also little chance of students picking up part-time work to see them through the college year.

Last year TCD Student Union estimated that the shortfall between a student's actual cost of living for the year and the maximum higher Education grant was around £1,000.

Outside colleges, rented accommodation is sparsely available with many families on waiting lists for corporation housing forced into rented accommodation.

## Overpriced

The flats available for students are few and far between. Even those available are overpriced and in poor condition as landlords take advantage of students' desperation to find living space.

Inside, the colleges themselves, despite exorbitant fee increases and larger numbers of students, re-

sources and services remain unchanged or are being cut. The introduction by college authorities of unit costing and quotas means that fewer students will be allowed through to complete their courses, while the actual number of students entering college has gone up.

Working on the basis of profit making enterprises rather than as institutions of education, the colleges are therefore conning students out of their fees without any intention of letting many through to sit their degrees.

In and out of the colleges, socialists must argue the need to combat these attacks on students. Education is a right not a privilege and should not be made subject to the same market that leaves millions starving in Africa and thousands standing on the dole queue.

The policies of conciliation and compromise pursued by students' unions over the last few years have utterly failed the student population, often acting as a smoke screen behind which the government and college authorities have been getting away with murder.

Only by hitting the government and college authorities where it hurts can students hope to win. SWSS groups working in the colleges have argued consistently that it is only by involving the mass of students in demonstrations and occupations that we can force the government to back off.

The attacks on students are part of a more serious attempt by the bosses to make ordinary people pay for the costs of the economic crisis.

Students, therefore, need to take the fight outside the colleges and link up with the struggles of workers against the effects of recession.

As the Labour Party and Democratic Left shift rightwards and accommodate the logic of the market, students and workers need to build a fighting socialist alternative that can offer a way out of the mess created by the bosses.

## 'Socialist Worker' interviews Orla Costello, President TCD Students Union

*SW There is currently an injunction on distributing Abortion Information.*

*You ran your campaign on a pro-information and choice platform. Are you prepared to*

*defy the law and give out information?*

OC Yes. Sixty eight per cent of students voted in favour of distributing Abortion Information in 1990-91. In my own election manifesto I promised to uphold that student mandate and I will do so this year.

Students recognise that this is an issue of censorship and a woman's right to control her own body.

Ireland has one of the highest abortion rates in Europe, higher than countries with legal abortion. Students realise that censorship will not change that situation.

It will only ensure that women travelling to England are left feeling alone, guilty and ignorant about what to expect.

*SW Why do you think that students particularly should take up the issue of abortion?*

OC Well its not just students. I think this is a ban

that has to be challenged inside and outside the colleges.

But while the information is available elsewhere, I think it is important that students take a principled stand on the issue.

*SW How do you see the role of students' unions generally?*

OC Obviously unions are there to defend the interests of their members.

The problem is that in recent years unions have taken to lobbying and getting reps on college boards.

This has failed because a small number of students cannot stand in for the rest and win demands.

Last year student officers at TCD admitted that college authorities laughed at their proposals. To win you need to mobilise from below and involve the maximum number of students.

Only through demonstrations and occupations can students hope to fend off cutbacks

and defend conditions.

*SW What do you think of the argument that students are a privileged minority?*

OC Its simply wrong. Already this year before college has even started the union is inundated with students unable to find accommodation.

In TCD last year we found that the average cost of living for a student was double the maximum grant, leaving many in debt.

*SW How do you think students can respond to these problems?*

OC Well firstly we need to realise that students don't live in isolation.

The grim prospects facing students are part of a wider attack on the working class as capitalism falls further into crisis.

Student unions can win small reforms. But we need to build a socialist alternative that links up the struggles of students with those of workers.

## No to 'Tap Tax'

### Dublin shop strike

Five IDATU members are picketing two units of Japan shops in Dublin.

The staff of Japan all joined the union recently and are fighting for recognition.

Management have threatened to put union members on a three day week and to suspend their shop steward.

Sadly five unions were intimidated out of the union and are now scabbing. Management at the Henry St shop have mounted an "alternative picket" with a placard advertising 25 per cent reductions.

But many shoppers have supported the strikers and other shop workers have provided tea and snacks.

Japan has other outlets around the country. If the strike was spread to these shops it would force the management to recognise the union.

The Tories plan to privatise water in the North.

This will mean extortionate water charges, massive job losses and a lowering of standards of water cleanliness.

That was the experience of privatisation in England and Wales.

There, water bills are around £200 a year. Those unable to pay have been brought to court and fined and one home in a thousand has had its water supply disconnected.

### Complaints

Last year there was a 130 per cent increase in complaints about water standards in England and Wales—the £1,500 million profit made by the ten big privatised companies would be more than enough to raise water standards.

Unions like NUPE representing water workers have estimated that the recent threat to privatise water in Scotland will mean 7,000 job losses, while privatisation in England and Wales has led to attempts by water companies to renege on union recognition.

The Transport and General Workers Union has launched a "keeping water public" campaign in the North—this campaign should link up with those fighting NHS privatisation.

The Tory's privatisation policy is already in trouble in the North with the recent delay in selling off Northern Ireland Electricity until 1993.

Now's the time to step up the fight against privatising our public services, to fight against NHS privatisation and stop the 'Tap Tax'.



# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

## Counter-Demo:

DEFEND WOMEN'S RIGHTS!  
No to the bigots' march!  
Demonstrate Dublin,  
25th October  
(Look out for posters)  
Called by the SWM

## Abortion Referendum...

# Don't let the bigots turn back the clock!

Ireland's bigots are shaping up for a fight. They want to roll back the gains made by Irish women after the 'X' case.

The 'pro-life' movement has demanded a new amendment to copperfasten the Constitutional ban on abortion.

This would outlaw abortion in all cases, including rape and cases where there is a threat to the woman's life.

U.S. bigots are flooding the country with propaganda material to back up SPUC's efforts.

They plan to send speakers here, including Father Paul Marx, who carries a dead foetus in a jar.

So twisted are these people that they plan to use a teenager 'abortion holocaust survivor' on a platform in Cork.

Irish bigots have been dispatched to Britain to harass women going to abortion clinics there.

The Youth Defence group has started to harass people handing out abortion information in Dublin streets.

The bigots also want to turn back the clock on other issues.

A group called 'Parents against Stay Safe' has come out against the Department of Health's new programme to combat child abuse. PASS claims that Stay Safe does not conform to "Christian Values".

Contributors to the bigots' paper, *The Irish Democrat*, have called for the ban on homosexuality to remain and have blamed gays for the spread of AIDS.



They are also against divorce and they claim that sex education is a plot to introduce "American psychotherapy" into Ireland.

Meanwhile, the hierarchy which ganged up to protect Eamon Casey still have the cheek to lecture us on morality!

Dr Desmond Connell, Archbishop of Dublin, "prayed that the people would reject abortion".

Albert Reynolds has said he won't consult the bishops on the abortion issue.

But despite the rhetoric Reynolds is caving in to the right-wing on a series of issues.

On abortion itself, his cabinet committee has "considered" a new anti-abortion amendment.

Reynolds has once more put divorce on the back burner. Even if new plans are put forward they are likely to be highly restrictive, with divorce remaining a privilege for the better-off in society.

### Loyalty

Seamus Brennan's new Education Bill includes a requirement on teachers to give an oath of loyalty to the Church. And Reynolds has told Gays

and Lesbians that the legalisation of homosexuality was "bottom of the list of priorities".

Looking for a 'consensus' with Reynolds is hopeless.

The upcoming referendum should become the focus for stepping up the fight for women's rights and freedom of choice.

And it's not just a question of women's rights or gay rights—it's also a class question.

It is working class people, often in areas of mass unemployment, who are most affected by lack of choice.

Dr Paddy Leahy, interviewed in *Hot Press*, told how he had helped girls in Dublin's Ballyfermot to go to England for abortions.

### 'Reality'

He said that the judges and bishops were out of touch with reality.

"It's alright for Judge Hamilton to sit in court and make pronouncements. What if it had been his daughter?"

"No matter what pronouncements they make, there probably

isn't a judge in the country who wouldn't facilitate an abortion for his thirteen year old daughter if she was raped.

"Perhaps they think it's only underprivileged people who should be denied that right".

This gives the lie to the right-wing notion that the "liberal agenda" is a smokescreen used to hide the "real issues" like unemployment.

But we need to fight for jobs and for women's rights.

The majority of people stand to gain from both struggles.