

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

**Inside:**  
**Malcolm X**  
 and the fight against  
 racism: see pages 6 & 7

## People before profits

# Fight for jobs

The Fianna Fail/Labour Coalition have a bloody nerve. They tell us that they are concerned about the jobs crisis.

So they should be. There are now more than 300,000 without work in the Republic of Ireland.

Almost 2,000 jobs are now under threat with the Digital closure.

500 workers are being thrown on the scrap heap in Aer Lingus. Hundreds more have been

thrown out of work at Waterford Glass.

Whose job is now safe? But the only answer of the FF/Labour Coalition is to create jobs for their own supporters.

Since they took office they have appointed 135 'personal staff' at an annual cost of £3 million a year.

The Labour leader Dick Spring has set the example. He appointed his own sister, Maeve, as a personal assistant in the North Kerry constituency on a salary of £21,500 a

year. They expect the rest of the unemployed to languish on the dole and wait until there is a recovery in capitalism.

### Dream

But the recovery is still a distant dream. Across Europe, millions are out of work and their numbers increase every day.

The days when the emigrant ship or plane offered way out of the jobs crisis are over.

It is now time to stand and



fight in this country. The unions and the unemployed organisations should be calling thousands onto the streets to protests at this jobs scandal.

Factories that are threatening closure should be occupied.

The multi-nationals and the Irish rich should not be let take

millions in grants and then fold up when they want and wreck the lives of their workers.

### Scrapped

If their system cannot provide, it should be scrapped in

the same way as the failed tyrannies of Eastern Europe.

There is no reason why the working week could not be cut to 35 or 30 hours so that there is more work to go around for everyone. But to do that we are going to have to start fighting.



## Nazi lies in Irish

Sixty years after Hitler's rise to power, fascism is once again on the rise in Europe.

Nazi apologists are arguing that we don't really know what happened in Germany and that the Holocaust is a Jewish myth.

Now a book in this vein, in Irish, has been published by publishers Coisceim.

According to a report in the Sunday Tribune, among its claims are:

- that pictures of Nazi concentration camp victims were actually victims of allied bombing;
- that stories of extermination in concentration camps were "fantasies".

The publishers have sought a grant from Bord Na Leabhair Gaeilge towards its publication.

All books in Irish that meet certain production standards are grant aided.

"Their attitude seems to be never mind the politics, we want to see Irish words on the bookshelves," commented Donal Mac Fhearraigh, a socialist from the Donegal Gaeltacht.

Messages of protest should be sent to:

- Bord Na Leabhair Gaeilge, 36 Pairc an Gharrain Cno, Dublin 14
- Coisceim, 127 Bothar na Tra, Dublin 4

## TB—cuts lead to more deaths

Tuberculosis accounted for 64 per cent of young deaths in Ireland in the 1940s. The scourge was thought to be a thing of the past.

Now Ireland has one of the highest levels of TB in Europe and for the first time in fifty years the disease is on the increase - at a rate of 18.5 percent per year.

In 1992, six hundred new cases of TB were diagnosed and 55 people died from the disease.

Overcrowding and bad ventilation in prisons cause the rampant spread of the disease there.

HIV/AIDS infection is also linked to the increase of TB because AIDS suppresses the body's immunity to disease.

Last month, Luke Clancy, medical director of Peamount Hospital, was prevented from giving an interview on RTE

But both the Reagan and Bush governments vetoed TB control programmes for inner cities on six different occasions. The result was 30,000 new cases and 2,000 deaths from TB in the US in 1992.

In the UK, immigrants account for 40 percent of the newly diagnosed cases.

### Fifth

Hostels for homeless people have become a breeding ground for TB. A BBC programme in January showed one hostel - a warehouse with hundreds of beds, 24 inches apart, covered in filth.

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Last month, Luke Clancy, medical director of Peamount Hospital, was prevented from giving an interview on RTE

about treatment for TB. The interview would have shown that, while in hospital, unemployed TB patients are forced to sign off the dole and apply for a separate welfare payment.

It takes between two to six months before this payment is made, so that when patients are most in need of money they are literally left penniless.

Some are forced to leave before their treatment is finished.

Many have no money to pay rent when discharged. One man had died nine months before his entitlement came through.

As Luke Clancy says: "It is possible and cost effective to get rid of the disease."

Today, there is no need for anyone to die from TB. It is both easily prevented and cured.

But savage cuts in health, social welfare and housing programmes have led directly to deaths.

For as long as working class people's lives are considered worthless, at least three million

people worldwide will needlessly die each year from the disease.

### No tests

Staff in Central Statistics Offices in Dublin were refused TB tests despite one woman in the CSO getting the disease.

She worked in Earlsfort Terrace, and staff there were screened and tested.

But workers in the other two CSO offices were refused screening - even though they regularly visit Earlsfort Terrace.

One CSO worker in Rathmines said management were trying to "sweep the whole thing under the carpet".

### THE THINGS THEY SAY

"The bombing raids have more to do with internal US politics than they do with Iraq's violations of UN resolutions."

"By bombing Baghdad again, Bush has painted Clinton into a corner and set the US policy for the foreseeable future."

Senior UN official explaining the US bombing of Iraq.

"There would have been no murder of anybody if it hadn't been for the bloody riot organised by those very nationalists."—Michael Mates, the "impartial" N.I. Security Minister.

"Those who pray on the less well-off will be dealt with rigorously under the law."—FF Minister Michael Woods. We anxiously await further developments!

"They are able to kill each other but they seem afraid that some other man might flirt with them!"—Senator David Norris commenting on the issue of gays in the army.

"I increasingly wonder whether paying unemployment benefit without offering or requiring any activity in return serves unemployed people or society well."—John Major defending the Tories' "workfare" plans.

"What about yourself, Paschal? How are you fixed?"

"You know there's ten million there. If you don't take it, it will go to the fellows down in Mayo, because Flynn is really rooting for them."—Alleged conversation between Reynolds and FF supporter, beef baron Paschal Phelan.

## Travellers under attack as...

# Councillors fuel racism

Some Dublin County Council officials have produced a racist report about Travellers.

The report says that Travellers are "lazy and irresponsible".

It says their life style has many "undesirable features"—from a dependency on social welfare to "lack of responsibility, thoughtlessness and carelessness".

Councillor Olivia Mitchell (FG) said that something must be done to "bring Travellers to the realisation that living in a caravan is not an acceptable way of life".

Councillor John Hannon (FF) said groups who have been advising Travellers on their rights have "a very unrealistic view" of how to sort out the accommodation issue.

The County Council manager Don O'Sullivan wants to reconsider providing halting sites for Travellers.

He said Dublin faced an "unfair, if not impossible" task of accommodating Travellers.

In reality the councillors are trying to whip up racism to provide an excuse for leaving

cause of the health risk.

Fifty families are looking for accommodation in the area, but the Council has only provided five new places at the Red Cow site.

One family from the area whose child is seriously ill with a kidney complaint was denied a place on the site because he was "too rude" to a Council official.

As well as living in lousy conditions, Travellers are routinely barred from shops, pubs and banks.

They are forced to sign on at a separate dole office, and are constantly harassed by the gardai.

Right-wing politicians use Travellers as scapegoats for society's ills, just as immigrants are blamed for these ills right across Europe.

But Travellers are not to blame for the crisis. The real enemy is a boss class which wants to make workers pay for its economic mess.



Tens of thousands of anti-racists marched through Paris last month. The organisers' main focus was on legal discrimination against immigrants. Many who joined the march made clear their opposition to the Nazi National Front and its leader, Jean Marie Le Pen. Over 500 Anti Nazi League supporters from Britain travelled to join the march. They also pressed the need to build a similar organisation to break Le Pen's Nazis in France.

## SICK SCHOOL PROMPTS PROTEST

Three teachers at Tullylease National School in Co Cork staged a one-day strike recently in protest at appalling conditions.

The school has eighty pupils in three classes.

Two classes operate in a building described by an INTO spokeswoman as "a relic" - it is 125 years old.

She said it is completely underheated. The teachers have to work with their coats on.

The third class is in a twenty year old prefab. The walls are rotting.

The teachers have to put black sacks over the windows to prevent water running down the walls.

Children suffer from headaches because there is no ventilation.

An RTE camera man arriving to film the strike had his foot caught in a mouse trap.

The school has no indoor toilets. The toilet is located in a shed which had no roof until two years ago.

The teachers' strike was fully supported by local people. Parents joined in the picket.

INTO's Joe O'Toole pointed out that since 1987 over £50 million has been cut from the primary schools building budget.

Teachers in a school in Milford in Co Donegal have forced the Department of Education to tender for the building of a new school.

They had threatened strike action over poor conditions.

## INSIDE THE COALITION

The new Dail got off to a flying start with only one-fifth of TDs turning up on the first day back.

By lunchtime Labour's Brian O'Shea was addressing only himself on the currency crisis!

Even Albert Reynolds is planning a disappearing act. He's taking some senior colleagues' advice and making himself scarce.

This includes cancelling his briefing to journalists on Thursday afternoons.

Flanna Fail fears that when Reynolds appears in the media, the Party loses votes.

But there's no truth in the rumour that Dan Quayle is coming out of retirement to replace Reynolds at press conferences!

Meanwhile Reynolds has set an example to Fitzwilliam Tennis Club by allowing one woman into his Seanad eleven.

No doubt this was Albert's "big gesture" to the Council for the Status of Women, on the day they produced their demands for a better deal for women.

On the same theme, Inside the Coalition believes there is a link between Flanna Fail TD Jim McDaid's desire to join the Women's Club of 84 and Labour TD Emmet Stagg's description of his elevation to Junior Minister as being "like a sex-change".

Maybe this is a govern-

ment of change after all.

Labour's Eithne Fitzgerald announced a new Ethics Bill when the Dail resumed - she said TDs would have to reveal details of their bank accounts to prevent a Marcos-style regime developing!

But the Ethics Bill came too late to stop Emmet Stagg giving his daughter a job at the Department of the Environment.

Although at £151 a week she's hardly in the same league as Kuwait's Al-Sabah family!

Meanwhile Niamh Breatnach appointed her daughter to a job in the Department of Education.

And Breatnach's new adviser in Education is Pat Keating, a former Christian Brothers headmaster.

Keating knows all about the needs of working class school kids - he went to a fee-paying school and one of his own children goes to the exclusive St Andrew's College!

Before the Dail resumed Labour's new Ministers had a bash at Iveagh House in Dublin.

One "left-wing" Minister seemed uneasy about eating smoked salmon.

But he tucked in anyway, saying "all we need now is the champagne".

To which a colleague replied: "The bubbly is on the way."

## FREE THE BEECHMOUNT 5!

In May 1991, the IRA fired a rocket at an RUC landrover, killing one officer. In the following months, five teenagers aged 17 to 19 were arrested.

They were held in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre for two to seven days without access to solicitors or doctors.

All five were subjected to physical and psychological ill-treatment. They were spat at, punched and beaten in the testicles.

One was a diabetic. The RUC threatened to withhold his insulin until he signed a confession. They also threatened to arrest or shoot relatives of others.

The only evidence against Liam Coogan, Mark Prior, Jim McCabe, Kevin Mulholland and Laurence Hillick is the confessions that were beaten out of them.

So far, none of them have been tried. Nearly two years later, their families are still campaigning for their release.

## FAT CATS GET FATTER

While workers' lose their jobs and their homes some people are doing very nicely, despite the recession.

Greencore chief executive Gerry Murphy had his salary doubled to £135,000 when the company was privatised.

The ten directors of Greencore were paid £842,000 last year - up by a staggering 156 percent from 1991.

Last year, the bank workers went on strike for a six and a half percent rise which management turned down.

But the directors of AIB awarded themselves a ten percent increase. They now

average £105,000 a year each.

The two executive directors of First National Building Society share £224,000 a year.

But they're in the ha'penny place compared to the two in the Educational Building Society who share £360,000. Now we know why mortgage rates

are so high.

The fat cats get even fatter on perks like share options, bonuses and preferential loans.

Most also get a company car - a bottom of the range Mercedes starts at £25,000. Meanwhile the bosses' "union" IBEC still has the cheek to call for wage restraint for workers!



WE THINK

# RECESSION DEEPENS

**HOPES** of a recovery Western capitalism are fading fast. In January, unemployment in Germany increased by 230,000.

Count Otto Lambsdorff, the leader of the Liberal Party described the recession in Germany as "the deepest since the war".

The difficulties in Germany affect the whole of Europe. According to the *Financial Times* "business confidence across the European Community dropped to its lowest level since the deep recession of the early 1980s."

In Japan, the banks and big companies are still in major difficulties after the crash in over-inflated property prices.

In the US there had been stronger signs of a recovery. But the Clinton administration has had to turn their attention onto their \$300 billion deficit.

The US is now the world's biggest debtor and its rulers fear that if it is not tackled now, a future recovery will only be used to pay back its debts then.

The recession is bringing untold misery onto workers lives. The threat to the Digital plant in Galway shows what is at stake.

Workers in Digital stayed outside a union for more than 20 years. They believed that the company could guarantee them security and decent wages.

But the boss of Digital, Robert Palmer, regards all workers as 'unit costs' that can be discarded in a recession. He said recently that, "We have downsized our worldwide population by 35%".

In the deepening world recession, the labour leaders who have no alternative to capitalism get sucked into playing the multi-national games.

During the Digital crisis, Peter Cassells of the ICTU and the Labour Minister Ruairi Quinn spent their time arguing why the jobs of Galway workers were more important and more worth saving than those in Ayr in Scotland.

What none of the labour leaders in either Scotland or Ireland said was: Fight. Occupy the plant. Make the bosses pay by seizing their assets.

The multi-nationals will continue to rule when workers are divided by nation and region.

This recession shows that what is really needed is socialist politics that put class unity to the fore.



## WORKERS UNITY IN THE NORTH

**THE recession has also brought small signs of workers unity in Northern Ireland.**

■ In Britain when the unemployment figures topped 3 million, the Trades Union Congress only called a photo-opportunity for the press. But in Belfast, 600 workers came off their jobs to attend a lunchtime protest meeting.

■ When the sectarian thugs of the UVF threatened busworkers from the Ardoyne depot in Belfast, the bus garages of the city stopped work. (see report)

■ On 29 March tens of thousands of Catholic and Protest workers will march against the Tory plans for cuts in the health service.

All of these events are tremendously significant. Northern Ireland is one of the most divided societies in Europe.

Most Catholic and Protestant workers live on streets that are almost exclusively Protestant or Catholic.

The one area where people meet others from a different background is in the workplace.

The only thing that can unite Catholic and Protestant is class demands that target the Tory and Unionist establishment.

### Bitterness

This is something that the recent Sinn Fein conference did not show the slightest sign of understanding.

Sinn Fein President, Gerry Adams recognised that there is massive bitterness and poverty amongst Protestants.

But all he could tell them was that 'in an all-Ireland democracy they would command far greater weight than they do now with Britain'.

But what's the use having 'greater weight' when there is mass unemployment and poverty? Republican politics has nothing to say about breaking from the capitalist misery that is destroying workers lives North and South of the border.

And what makes Adams think that Protestants should stick together as an electoral bloc in this new Ireland?

Sinn Fein itself cannot break from communal politics. It voted down three resolutions supporting a woman's right to choose rather than challenge Catholic morality.

Republican politics has sprung from the oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland. But because it ignores class questions it can never take the anger against oppression beyond the ghetto.

The union leaders in the North talk a lot about the need for workers unity but in practice they do not set

out to achieve it.

Recently, AEEU organised a referendum on getting the British Labour Party to organise in Northern Ireland.

In a small turn-out, union members voted to call on the British Labour Party to organise here.

But a Labour Party can never bring workers unity in the North. Every Labour Party turns its back on the type of workers struggles we have seen in Belfast recently.

And in its desire to win votes it always fails to raise 'difficult issues' such as the presence of the British army and the antics of the sectarian security forces.

Arguing that a British Labour Party should be established here would only increase divisions among workers. It would be seen by Catholic workers as an attempt to strengthen the link with Britain and so ensure their continued subjugation.

### Alternative

There is an alternative to both republicanism and labour politics in Northern Ireland.

Revolutionaries support the class struggle of Catholic and Protestant workers because it creates the basis for unity.

But this unity will be built on only when the anger is directed at the two rotten capitalist states on this island.

To bring about that unity there should be no vagueness of taking up the battle against oppression and discrimination.

This means every socialist saying clearly that the bigots on the board of Queen's University, for example, who have organised a systematic anti-Catholic recruitment policy in employment should be thrown out of office because they tried to divide workers.

Moreover, we are not for more jobs for Catholics at the expense of less jobs for Protestants. Because we see an alternative to capitalism, we want a socialist Ireland where there is more jobs for everyone.

The labour leaders who have refused to raise these issues have done a disservice to the workers movement in Northern Ireland.

That is why we need to quickly build an alternative to them.

## Refugee Scandal

THE Irish government scandalous treatment of asylum seekers has been revealed with in a recent case of a Libyan refugee.

Marey Al Gatrani was held for 17 months in an Irish prison. His only crime was to be a political refugee from Libya's dictatorial regime.

He had been living in Ireland since fleeing his own country 10 years ago.

But the Irish Department of Justice served him with a deportation order and was sent to Wheatfield prison.

The case became such a scandal that the Irish High Court ordered his release last month.

Ireland has the worst record on the treatment of asylum seekers in the whole of Europe.

Only five out of more than 200 applications for asylum have been granted in the past five years.

The racism of the Irish authorities was revealed in Shannon recently. A group of Kurdish people tried to get off a plane and seek asylum in Ireland but they were set upon by the Gardaí and dragged back to the plane.

## BELFAST CITYBUS DRIVERS STRIKE

On the 9th and 12th February, Belfast's Citybus Drivers struck against threats from the Loyalist paramilitary UVF.

This action came after the UVF threatened workers at the Ardoyne bus depot in North Belfast. The drivers in North Belfast walked out after four armed UVF men boarded a bus, evicted the driver and burnt the vehicle.

In a tremendous example of workers unity and solidarity the North Belfast depot struck and brought the East and West Belfast depots out with them on a 12 hour stoppage.

In all about 300 drivers were involved in the action and no Citybus vehicles operated that day. There was a certain amount of anger at the Ardoyne depot before the threats as Citybus are about to close it down and transfer the drivers to different areas.

A driver from the Ardoyne depot told *Socialist Worker*: "People here have just had enough, first we have the closure then we have the threats. We've had enough."

The action on Tuesday was followed on Friday by another as the drivers stopped work for 3 hours to attend a protest rally in the city centre.

Here ICTU officials tried to portray the drivers action as protest against 'ordinary' acts of violence - robberies, assaults etc. It was left to a shop steward to spell out that the protests were against the threats from a sectarian paramilitary organisation, and also for the need for workers to stand together.

Another driver told *Socialist Worker*: "The Solidarity has been fantastic, Ardoyne has a catholic and protestant workforce, but these threats have just brought people closer together."

The Citybus action could have went much further, it could have been spread to Ulsterbus which is owned by the same company. But nevertheless, the action shows that workers in Northern Ireland can challenge sectarianism and that workers unity can be built in struggle.

### A PEEP AT IVOR

The Labour Party are trying to bring in a new Ethics Bill to force TDs to disclose their business interests.

One T.D. who does not want to disclose anything is Fianna Fail's Ivor Callely. He supported Alan Dukes' denunciation of his own government's bill as a 'Peeping Tom' law.

*Socialist Worker* has just been having a little peep at Callely's business interests to see why he is so embarrassed.

In 1989, Callely was associated with Euro-Cabin. When the company eventually collapsed an auditors report claimed that there were "serious irregularities" involved. Debts of £3 million were left, but Clean Mr Callely walked off scott free.

In 1992, Callely's company Apollo Engineering was found guilty of wrongful dismissal of two workers.

This is the type of ally the Labour party is now trying to work with.

## TALLAGHT HOSPITAL:

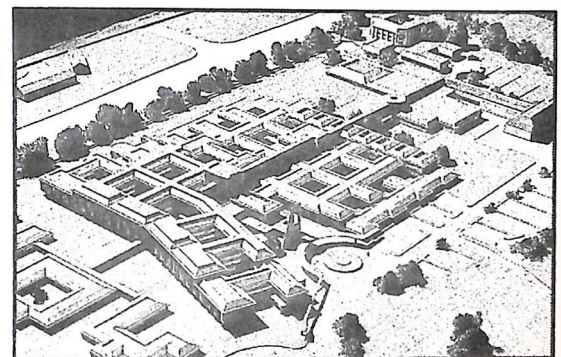
# Howlin's first broken promise

The Coalition broke it's first promise when it once more put off the start-up date for building the Tallaght hospital

And it was a Labour minister—Brendan Howlin—who announced the delay.

Fianna Fail made the promise in their election campaign after protests in Tallaght.

The sod was turned on the site for the



Tallaght Hospital model—still not started

hospital in 1986—near the site of the Square shopping centre.

The Square is long since up and running

but there's no hospital.

Then again there's more profits to be made out of shopping centres.



## South Africa:

# Deal with de Klerk won't end racism

A deal looks about to be stitched up between President F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela of the ANC which will deny power to the majority of blacks until the end of the century.

The agreement proposes that South Africa will be run by a black/white coalition of national unity.

De Klerk has stated that the "winner takes all" model of western democracies is "not appropriate" for South Africa and that minority rights — in reality, rights for privileged whites must be guaranteed.

For de Klerk to talk of defending rights is sickening.

His National Party introduced the apartheid system in 1948.

This system reduced blacks to third class citizens.

It classified all blacks according to tribal backgrounds as citizens of the "independent homelands" which it set up.

Black workers were reduced to the status of migrant workers with no right to vote.

The ANC sell-out to de Klerk follows a very successful series of mass mobilisation and a general strike that involved three million workers last year.

### Change

After the strike wave, the leader of the South African Communist Party Joe Slovo called for a change in strategy by the ANC.

He proposed that the white minority be offered a "sunset clause" whereby they could have automatic right to power sharing for five years.

This call co-incided with a suggestion from Mandela that there be a 'cooling off' period in the struggle.

by **BRENDAN O'DONOHUE**

In order to pave the way for agreement with the white minority rulers the ANC have turned their back on struggles from below.

The recent taxi-drivers strike in Johannesburg was not supported by the ANC.

However, the ANC leaders will have major difficulties selling their power-sharing agreement with de Klerk to their own supporters.

After ANC negotiators came back with the first draft of the deal they were even booed at the ANC executive meeting.

One black worker said: "A deal to share power with de Klerk is a betrayal, it is selling short the power of our struggle."

"Our people did not suffer detention, tears and death to be in government with wolves."

"We will argue in our unions and community organisations to block this settlement"

The deal will not only sell out the hopes and aspirations of blacks but will lead to more violence.



During the period of mass mobilisation in 1992, the de Klerk government was forced to cut its open links with Inkatha led by Chief Buthelezi.

This is an extreme right wing

black organisation which has close links with sections of South Africa's security establishment.

It was given a free hand to engage in murder of anti-apartheid and socialist activists.

After the mass mobilisations in 1992 forced de Klerk to sign a bilateral agreement with the ANC and sideline Buthelezi, the Inkatha began to go into decline.

Internal squabbles and division broke out in its ranks.

But now that the ANC have urged an end to mass protests, de Klerk feels more confident about bringing Inkatha in from the cold.

Plans are already afoot to involve these murderers in the negotiating process.

## FRANCE: Socialists face defeat

The Socialist Party government looks set to be humiliated in this month's elections in France.

The main winners will be the right wing UPF coalition of Jacques Chirac's RPR and Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's UDF.

The right wing parties want to bring in more privatisation, concessions to big business and further restrictions on immigration.

The blame for this defeat lies with the failure of Francois Mitterrand's Socialist Party to deliver on its promises.

When the Socialist Party was first elected in 1981 there was celebrations on the streets of Paris by 200,000 workers. But Mitterrand soon turned on his supporters.

Mass sackings threw thousands out of work. Austerity programme followed austerity programme.

The fascists, who only got 0.1% of the vote before the Socialist Party came to power, grew from the bitter disillusionment with the Socialist Party to gain 15% support.

The Socialist Party adapted quickly to the racist atmosphere it had helped to create. Interior Minister Mauroy denounced a strike in Renault where there is a high proportion of Algerian workers as being caused by troublemakers who followed 'Ayatollahs'.

The prominent Socialist Party member in Marseille, Deferre, claimed that the National Front were all talk but that the Socialist Party took action against the immigrant 'problem'.

Changes in the immigration laws led to the deportation of Mali refugees.

The Socialist Party also tried to pick up on France's old colonial role in the world. It sent its troops to the Gulf, Zaire, and Chad.

At the end of its period office, the Socialist Party of France — like that in Italy — stank of corruption.

The Socialist Prime Minister, Pierre Berégovoy, was found to have received an interest free £125,000 loan from a financier.

The Socialist government also organised for state companies to buy shares in the Adidas company which happened to be owned by one of its Ministers, Bernard Tapie.

All of this has played into the hands of the right. The UPF are planning a series of measures aimed at immigrants. Worse still, the fascist National Front is expected to maintain or even increase its vote.

The experience show how the high hopes that were put in the Irish Labour Party at the last election can be so quickly dashed.

It also shows why an alternative has to be built to them now before the right wing start gaining from the bitterness.

## USA: Clinton ditches promises

Anybody who expected Bill Clinton's Democratic administration to be better than Bush's must be sorely disappointed.

During his election campaign Clinton promised to cut taxes, allow Haitian refugees into America and end the ban on gays in the armed forces.

Already he has abandoned the first two and postponed the third.

When it comes to foreign policy, Clinton made no secret of his support for George Bush. The day after his inauguration he ordered the bombing of Iraq.

Clinton's was showing that the Democrats would continue to slaughter Iraqi civilians for the sake of oil profits.

The modest reforms proposed in Clinton's domestic programme have been watered down or dropped altogether. This is clearest over the issue of Haitian refugees.

In September 1991 the democratically-elected government of Jean-Bernard Aristide was overthrown. A reign of terror was unleashed on the population.

Nevertheless Bush refused to allow refu-

turning those who flee Haiti by boat will continue for the time being," he declared.

The following day the US coastguard blockaded Haiti to prevent people leaving.

Clinton's original promise to lift the ban on gays in the armed forces came after a gay sailor was brutally murdered. Alan Schindler, 22, was found in such a state that his mother only recognised him by a tattoo on his arm.

Clinton abandoned his directive in the face of a campaign from right wing senators like Sam Nunn - also a Democrat. Instead the ban will remain for a further six months and could still

be retained then.

Clinton has already dropped his promise of "quality, affordable health care" for everyone. Instead he plans to cut \$77 billion from health care spending.

The scandals surrounding Clinton's attorney general nominations show where his priorities lie.

### Servants

Clinton's first nominee Zoe Baird earned over half a million dollars a year as a corporate lawyer. Yet she paid two Peruvian immigrants just \$250 a week as servants. She even tried to avoid paying tax

and social security for them.

The woman who finally got the job, Janet Reno was formerly the state attorney for Miami where she ensured that four policemen who beat a black insurance salesman to death were acquitted. Like the Tories in Britain she has concentrated her efforts on getting 'absent' fathers to pay child support while cutting state benefits.

Clinton promised a cabinet that would include women and blacks to look like "the rest of America".

But his appointments are a collection of right wingers and millionaires.

Treasury secretary Lloyd Bentsen supported Reagan's tax cuts for the rich in 1980. Warren Christopher chaired the commission which cleared the Los Angeles police department of beating Rodney King.

Clearly these people are going to do nothing for the increasing numbers of Americans living in poverty. Nor will they improve the position of women, blacks, gays or immigrants.

## US miners fight

A strike by 7,000 miners in the US could test Clinton's attitude to trade unions.

The miners work for Peabody and Eastern — two of the country's biggest mine-owners.

The companies

have been to the fore in pushing back miners' conditions.

They have hidden behind networks of holding companies to avoid legal moves to force them to employ only union labour.

Now the miners are striking for new con-

tracts that could benefit tens of thousands of miners.

The US miners suffered the first defeat of the bosses offensive that spanned the 1980s — their strike could turn the tide against this new offensive.

## YUGOSLAVIA: West's plan backs ethnic cleansing

The Owen-Vance peace plan has proposed that Bosnia be broken into 10 autonomous units to be dominated by either Serbs, Muslims or Croats. Each village and town would be forced under this plan to declare its 'ethnic identity'.

In January, magazines such as the ECONOMIST were arguing that the 'worst of the war is over'. But this is now pie in the sky. The Owen-Vance plan has encouraged the warlords to speed up their ethnic cleansing before the final agreement is arrived at.

\* In the Krayina area, Croat forces launched an offensive to re-take territory held by the Serbs. 600 civilians were massacred.

\* In the Grnjl-Vakuf area that is west of Sarajevo, the Croat forces have attacked their former Muslim allies to try to win control of the area.

\* Serb forces have opened a 'humanitarian' corridor between Cerska and Tuzla. But in this dirty war, humanitarianism is almost always a tactic. The aim of the local Serb warlords is to encourage the Muslims to flee the area. 6,000 have now left through what one observer called "an ethnic cleansing corridor."

The Owen-Vance plan would mean the deployment of 40,000 foreign troops in the area for a period of ten years at a minimum. These troops — drawn from NATO — would patrol the ethnically pure cantons of Bosnia.

This would lock the people of the area into another decade of hatred and domination by local war lords.

The growing Western involvement in Yugoslavia has been encouraged by stories of mass rape.

Rape is being used as an horrific weapon of subjugation. But, tragically, journalists such as Maggie O'Kane and Robert Fisk have conveyed the impression that only Muslim women have been raped.

Croatian and Serbian women have also been subject to the horror of systematic rape. As the Belgrade based Women in Black against War who have demonstrated since October 9th 1991 put it "the women raped in war in Bosnia should not be divided nor valued differently on the basis of their nationality".

The campaign against rape should not be used to send in thousands more heavily armed NATO contingents into the area.

The problems of Yugoslavia stem from imperialist meddling and nationalist privileges.

Yugoslavia shows why nationalism offers nothing but an horrific dead end. The only answer to the horrors of war is, as Connolly argued, a revolution on the home front.



# Fianna Fail: the Bosses' party

Fianna Fail and the Labour party are entering a new, long-term alliance. In a major turn-about in FF strategy, the party's national director, Seamus Brennan is calling on supporters to give their second preference votes to the Labour Party.

Meanwhile, Labour left wingers are now trying to paint FF as a progressive party. Helena Sheehan, from the Labour Left has denied that it is a right wing party. She claims that it is a 'post-colonial populist' party instead.

Emmet Stagg has justified his turn about on Coalition by claiming

that partnership with Fianna Fail is a "lesser evil". He says that FF are much closer to Labour on economic matters than Fine Gael or the PDs.

This is a view echoed by members of FF itself. After the November election, Brian Lenehan claimed FF had its roots in a social radicalism while Bertie Abern spoke of both FF and Labour sharing a common social base, namely the working class.

But the entire history of Fianna Fail shows their unwavering commitment to supporting Irish capitalism. And the Labour leaders have always tried to pretend that it is a friend of the workers.

Here GER TUOHY looks at their record

## BEATING THE WORKERS

From the moment it took office in 1932, Fianna Fail sold itself as the party of the plain people of Ireland.

FF's populism attempted to unite workers and industrialists against dependency on Britain. But its radical, anti-establishment rhetoric masked its real aim - the building of Irish capitalism.

In the 1930s it encouraged Irish capitalists to invest in industry, through tax reductions and easy access to credit. Between 1926 and 1936, the nominal capital in Irish industry grew by 5 times.

FF encouraged the Irish bosses to take on workers at the lowest possible wages. In the boot and shoe industry juveniles made up 37% of the workforce in the 1930s.

Throughout this period 37% of men and 86% of women earned less than the agricultural wage.

The labour movement however, failed to understand the nature of Fianna Fail's populism and thought that FF could be pushed to the left.

Jim Larkin called on workers to vote FF and the labour leader, William Norton called on the "far seeing members of FF who are not wedded to capitalism" to pursue a policy of state control over industry.

But far from breaking with capitalism, FF's policy was to spur it on.

Because of their illusions in FF, the union leaders developed a cosy arrangement with the party which has lasted to this day.

In the 1940s, the leaders of the ITGWU linked up with FF to run an hysterical anti-communist campaign.

They even claimed that "the Labour party has allowed the virus of communism into its system too deeply to permit any hope of recovery".

The illusions in FF began to come to an end in the fifties when poverty and mass emigration showed just where Irish capitalism had led.

FF did a switch in policy, however, and began to invite in the multi-nationals. It hoped that this would give a new stimulus to Irish capitalism.

For a period it worked. In the 1960s living standards rose and FF introduced a number of important reforms such as free secondary education and limited grants for third level education.

They also laid the basis for a very limited welfare state, introducing by disability payments, Deserted Wives Allowance, and Unmarried Mothers Allowance.

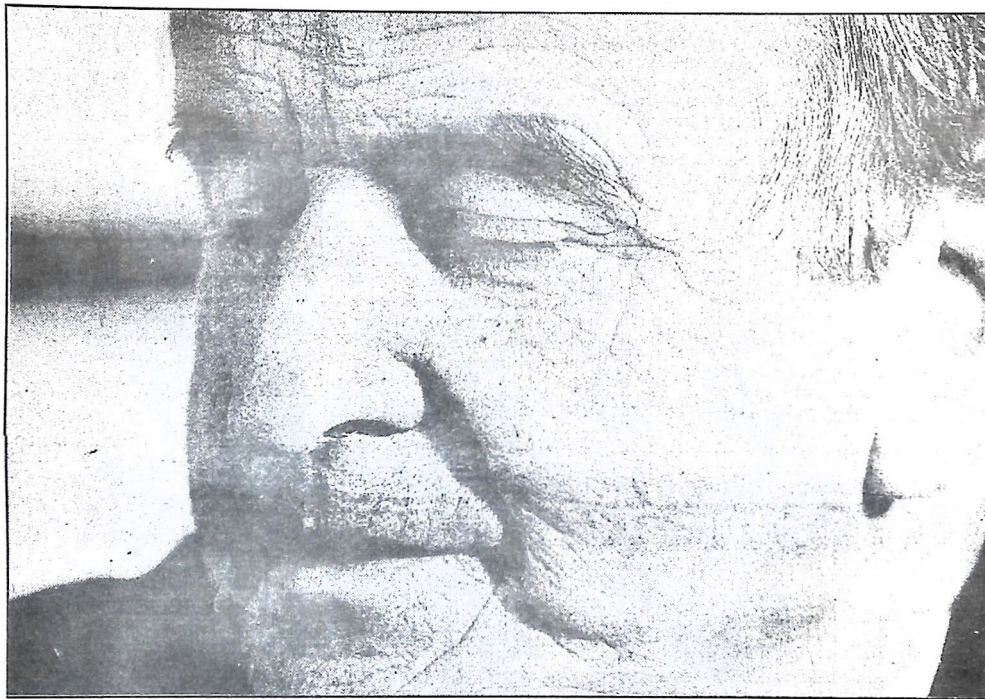
FF used these changes to re-build its base among workers.

In 1967 the *Irish Press*, run by the de Valera family, ran a banner headline Fianna Fail the Social Welfare Party.

But the reforms were not instigated because FF had workers interests at heart. They happened because the growing Irish economy needed a healthy, educated work force.

Irish capitalists didn't bestow these measures on workers either. Through higher taxes and greater social insurance contributions, workers ended up footing the bill.

The tax burden on the PAYE sector grew steadily through the 70s, account-



ing for 37 percent of all income tax revenue in 1978.

However, trade union leaders increasingly saw FF as a party of all sections of society and were invited by FF to become more involved in social partnership.

In the late 70s, the FF government adopted a strategy which placed renewed emphasis on Keynesianism.

The central thrust of Keynesianism was the idea of state intervention in the market in order to boost employment and growth.

This reinforced the idea among some on the left that FF intervened in the economy in the interests of workers and were somehow akin to a labour party.

But FF never hesitated to attack workers throughout this period. When the post office workers went on strike in 1979, FF sent in the Garda to baton charge the strikers.

### Protested

When workers in Waterford protested at the closure of the Paper Mills, FF sent the army into the town to try to intimidate them.

After Keynesianism economics was discredited in the 1980s FF didn't hesitate to switch to right-wing monetarism, involving

savage cuts in services and reduction of government borrowing in an attempt to make workers pay for the crisis.

Haughey prepared the ground for the shift by claiming that "As a community, we are living beyond our means".

But rather than discard the trade unions as Thatcher had done, he told workers to "listen to the advice of your union leaders. Give them the support they need in protesting your position".

Haughey knew he already had the support of some of those union leaders. At Haughey's first FF Ard Fheis as Taoiseach, he was led into the hall by the ITGWU band playing A Nation Once Again!

It was under Haughey that the 'industrial

FFs history is steeped in anti-union actions:

- The first FF government tried to stop women from taking jobs in industry with the Conditions of Employment Act, 1935. Marriage bans were imposed in the civil service. FF followed the teachings of the Jesuit theologian, the Rev E.J. Cahill who denounced 'unnatural competition between the sexes' at work.

- In 1935 De Valera sent troops to break up a strike of Dublin tram workers. The headquarters of the Dublin Trades Council was raised by the Special Branch and trade union activists were arrested.

- In the 40s and 50s FF tried to outlaw strikes in some industries, like the ESB;

- In the 40s FF tried to divide the labour movement by witch-hunting British based unions like the ATGWU;

- In 1965, FF jailed telephonists under the Offences Against the State Act. FF Taoiseach Lemass said @if they want to involve themselves in anti-state activities they cannot be expected to be treated differently to anyone else"

- In 1966, FF outlawed strikes in the ESB. But two years later when they tried to jail ESB workers, their law collapsed.

- The last FF government passed the Industrial Relations Act which outlawed strikes for political reasons, or in solidarity with other workers. Strikes over one person were also outlawed.

coalition' between FF and the union leaders was cemented. In 1987, the union leaders agreed to join in a Programme for National Recovery - later the PESP - where wage increases were held in check and 20,000 workers gave up their holds in the public sector.

The present Coalition between labour and FF is a continuation of the rotten policies of 'social partnership' which has bedevilled Irish labour since the 1930.

Because the Labour Party identifies socialism in terms of state planning and national economic development, they see FF as being on the same road, rather than being in opposition to themselves.

This is why even the left wing of the party wants to pretend that FF is a 'natural ally' rather than a vicious enemy.

## THE BOSSES WHO BACK FIANNA FAIL

- Larry Goodman has donated at least £175,000 to FF funds and regularly attended their Ard Fheiseanna. In return, the IDA selected him to become Ireland's chief meat exporter in 1987. He received £23 million from the IDA, £70 million in tax relief and £30 million in EC assistance.

- Haughey and Reynolds allocated £120 million to cover his exports to Iraq. FF's Ray McSharry used his position as EC Commissioner for Agriculture to get preferential treatment for Goodman from Dutch bank AMRO. Goodman owes 4 million in taxes.

- Dermot Desmond is the second biggest stockbroker in Ireland. He set up NCB having been guaranteed lu-

- crative contracts by FF. He gets millions from Irish taxpayers for consultancy work and selling off state companies. He received £1.25 million from the sale of Irish Life and £530,000 for the sale of Tara Mines. He passed on confidential information on Aer Lingus to a rival company, Celtic Helicopters, owned by Haughey's son.

- Tony Ryan: Chairman of GPA and owner of Ryanair, an anti-union company. He was given a special concession by Seamus Brennan to operate the London route. Ray McSharry is the current chairman of Ryanair.

- £250,000 in public money was paid to Tipperary Enterprises which was privately owned by Ryans company,

- Irlanda Holdings. FF bigot, Des Hanafin, is the chairman of Tipperary Enterprises.

- Noel Hanlon: Is financial director of elections for Reynolds. Hanlon owned the Longford ambulance factory which subsequently moved to Liverpool having attempted to smash union organisation. He was appointed to the board of Aer Lingus by Reynolds.

- Oliver Murphy paid over £50,000 to FF in 1987; twelve days previously his company, Hibernia Meats, had been sanctioned for export credit insurance by Reynolds.

- Bernie Cahill: Chairman of Greencore and Aer Lingus, the latter

- trying to force five hundred redundancies and savage wage cuts, is a close personal friend of the Haughey family. He is also chairman of Conor Haugheys company, Feltrim Mining.

- Michael Smurfit, the richest man in Ireland, bought the exclusive K-Club in Kildare with £500,000 grant aid. He benefited hugely from the scam sale of the Johnson Mooney & O'Brien site in Ballsbridge.

- Albert Reynolds owned the pefford factory in Longford which was granted £300,000 by the IDA. Women workers there earned £14 a week less than men.



# Malcolm X ... fighting

# BY ANY MEANS N

Across the world thousands of black and white youth are wearing Malcolm X hats and T-shirts.

Now there is a new film directed by Spike Lee on Malcolm X's life. Here BRIAN HANLEY looks at what this great black fighter, who was murdered 28 years ago, stood for.

In the United States Malcolm X has been the hero of the fight against racism.

Every black politician from Jesse Jackson to David Dinkins, the mayor of New York, claims to follow in his footsteps.

But Malcolm X denounced the very party to which these politicians belong—the Democratic Party—as “vultures”.

In his own life he was attacked by moderate civil rights leaders as a “dangerous troublemaker”.

Malcolm's politics grew out of the experience of black people in America in the 1940s and 1950s.

In the early part of this century most of America's black population lived outside the main urban centres, but during the first world war the demand for labour drew thousands of blacks into the cities.

After the depression of the 1930s the exodus to the northern cities increased.

There they found work in the huge auto plants of Detroit and in manufacturing and construction industries.

More often than not they got the lowest paid jobs and were crammed into ghettos. Many like Malcolm found only menial work and drifted into crime.

But the movement of America's black population from being predominantly rural to mainly urban was tremendously significant.

In the countryside blacks were often isolated and easy prey to racists. In the cities, no matter how ghettoised, blacks were in a much better position to organise and resist.

When Malcolm emerged from jail in 1952 the US was enjoying an economic boom. Industry was expanding and the demand for labour had strained many of the job reservation policies that existed before.

The boom raised the expectations of all workers in the US, black as well as white.

But the US establishment didn't want change. The industrial north was largely run by the Republican party and blacks faced a racist police force.

In Detroit in 1959, for example, white police officers went on strike after they were told to share their patrol cars with blacks.

In the southern states—presided over by the Democrats—little had outwardly changed for blacks since the 1870s. Most lived in utter poverty.

Restaurants, public transport and schooling were segregated under the apartheid-like “Jim Crow” laws.

Many blacks had no vote. When change came it came from below.

In 1954 the US Supreme Court had ruled that racially segregated schools were unconstitutional.

The case had been brought by the National Association for Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) on a civil rights group who relied on moderate legal methods.

The decision was a victory, but how could it be enforced?

The southern establishment had no wish to change, but thousands of black people's expectations had been raised.

It was in this atmosphere that, in 1955, a woman named Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white on a bus in Montgomery.

Normally that would have been the end of the matter, but Rosa Parks was a member of the NAACP.

## Boycott

She contacted some other members and they organised a boycott of Montgomery buses.

The Montgomery bus boycott lasted a year and despite intimidation and racist violence the majority of blacks in the city supported it.

The boycott won and Montgomery's buses were desegregated.

The civil rights movement was born. One of the leaders of the boycott was a Baptist minister called Martin Luther King. Racism in the south meant that one of the few places blacks could meet in large numbers were churches.

The leadership of the civil rights movement reflected this. Their politics were based on moderation, nonviolence and cooperation with white liberals.

At the start they concentrated only on

racism in the south.

King hoped the movement's willingness to suffer and not retaliate would wear down the establishment.

By now Malcolm was a minister in the Nation of Islam, the group he joined while in jail.

The Nation of Islam or Black Muslims, as they were known, were a religious group based in the northern cities. When Malcolm became a member the group was only a couple of thousand strong.

By 1960 it had 100,000 members.

Its attraction was not primarily religious. What captured people's imagination was the total rejection of white society and the celebration of black history and culture.

To the blacks in the northern ghettos—taught from birth that they were ugly, stupid and inferior to whites—this was a powerful message.

The Nation of Islam preached that blacks were destined to rule the earth and that white society was doomed.

In 1959 a television documentary featured Malcolm and the Nation's leader, Elijah Muhammed, outlining their views.

Malcolm was scathing of the civil rights movement's silence on northern racism, its reliance on white liberals and its nonviolence in the face of racist attacks.

The Nation was denounced from all sides as “black racists” and hatemongers.

In truth, the Nation of Islam's ideas were a reaction to the white racist ideas of supremacy.

Thousands began to join. Malcolm became a well-known figure and was invited to address college audiences across the US.

He was scathing about the idea that blacks could gain anything from white society. He told reporters:

“When someone sticks a knife into my back nine inches and then pulls it out six inches they haven't done me any favour.

“They shouldn't have stabbed me in the first place...”

“During slavery they inflicted the most extreme form of brutality against us to break our spirit, break our will... after they did all of this to us for 310 years, then they come up with some so-called emancipation proclamation...”

“And today the white man actually runs around thinking he is doing black people a favour.”

But while Malcolm could attack the shortcomings of the civil rights movement, the Nation of Islam didn't offer a clear alternative. It had a strict “non-engagement policy”.

This meant it abstained from politics.

Not only did it not cooperate with whites, but it also excluded work with blacks who weren't Muslims. So it didn't join any civil rights marches, demonstrations or sit-ins.

The Nation could articulate the anger blacks felt, it could offer them pride, but it could offer nothing to lead the movement forward.

By 1960 Malcolm was the best-known Black Muslim in America. He, like everyone else, was looking at what was happening in the south.

In 1960 over 50,000 students, black and white, were involved in sit-ins across the southern states.

As the southern establishment unleashed greater violence, new tactics of protest were invented like “freedom rides” to desegregate public transport and voter registration drives.

The civil rights movement was now a



mass movement. Over the next three years wave after wave of protestors went south. The brutality of the establishment reached new heights. Police harassed and beat protesters.

The Ku Klux Klan bombed black churches and meeting halls. Activists were murdered. Many were now questioning nonviolence and reliance on politicians like the Kennedys.

## Bankrupt

The Kennedys voted support for civil rights but were anxious to contain the movement. And nonviolence seemed bankrupt when faced by armed police and racists.

Many young activists found a voice for their frustration in Malcolm X.

He said simply defend yourselves “by any means necessary” and don't trust the “vultures” of the Democratic party.

But Malcolm was prevented from doing anything concrete by the Nation's “non-engagement” policy.

There were growing tensions between Malcolm and the Nation of Islam leadership as Malcolm expressed his frustration, saying:

“It could be heard increasingly in negro communities: These Muslims talk tough, but they never do anything unless someone bothers Muslims”.

In 1962 police shot seven Muslims in Los Angeles. Malcolm travelled to LA to organise the Nation's response.

He saw a chance to build a nationwide campaign against police violence—one that could involve non-Muslims and gain widespread support.

He declared: “It was a Muslim mosque this time; next it could be the Protestant church, the Catholic cathedral, the Jewish synagogue.”

But the Nation's leadership vetoed the planned campaign.

Eventually the disagreements came to a head over remarks Malcolm made about the assassination of John F. Kennedy. Malcolm had remarked that “the chickens have come home to roost”.

In reality, Malcolm's frustration with the Nation of Islam's inactivity and its leadership's fear of his views led to his suspension from it in 1963.

By 1964 it was clear that the suspension was permanent. Malcolm began to reassess many of his previously held ideas.

In the next eleven months Malcolm trav-

## Malcolm's life

Malcolm X's story is best recounted in his autobiography.

Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska in 1925. His father was a Baptist minister and former member of the Marcus Garvey Movement, which called on blacks to return to Africa.

When Malcolm was four his house was burnt down by racists. Two years later his father was murdered.

His mother struggled to bring her family up in the midst of the great depression and she cracked under the strain.

Malcolm spent several years in state institutions before moving to Boston and from there to New York City.

After a succession of menial jobs he drifted into petty crime. He was jailed for burglary in 1946.

While in jail he became involved with the Nation of Islam. After his release in 1952 he quickly rose to prominence within the N.O.I.

In March 1964 Malcolm left the Nation of Islam because he disagreed with their politics.

Over the next eleven months Malcolm radically reassessed much of what he had preached as a Black Muslim.

Describing himself as a revolutionary, he began to try to develop a strategy for black liberation.

While addressing a meeting in Harlem on 21st February, 1965, he was assassinated.



# racism... NECESSARY

## WHAT MALCOLM SAID

### ON AMERICAN DEMOCRACY:

"No, I'm not an American. I'm one of the twenty-two million black people who are the victims of Americanism. One of the victims of democracy, nothing but disguised hypocrisy. So, I'm not standing here speaking to you as an American, or a patriot, or a flag saluter, or a flag waver - no, not!! I don't see any American dream; I see an American nightmare."

### THE REAL CRIMINALS:

"Unemployment and poverty have forced many of our people into crime; but the real criminal is in City Hall downtown. The real criminal is in the State House in Albany, the real criminal is in the White House in Washington DC."

### ON NON-VIOLENCE:

"Look right now what's going on in and around Saigon and Hanoi (Vietnam) and in the Congo and elsewhere. They are violent when their interests are at stake. But for all that violence they display at the international level, when you and I want just a little bit of freedom we're supposed to be non-violent. They're violent in Korea, they're violent in Cuba... but when it comes times for you and me to protect ourselves against lynchings they tell us to be non-violent."

### ON CAPITALISM AND RACISM:

"It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism."

### ON CAPITALISTS:

"You show me a capitalist and I'll show you a bloodsucker."

### ON THE DEMOCRATS:

"Why the Democrats have got the government sewn up, and you're the one who sewed it up for them. And what have they given you for it?... You put the Democrats first and the Democrats put you last. When you keep the Democrats in power, you're keeping the Dixiecrats in power... A vote for a Democrat... is a vote for a Dixiecrat."

## What he means today

The popularity of Malcolm X has reached new heights. His image is everywhere from T-shirts and baseball hats to bags of crisps.

This has led some commentators to see the whole phenomenon as hype or as a temporary fashion.

In reality the popularity of Malcolm X is a reflection of the continuing existence of racism at all levels of American society.

In 1990 the *Economist* magazine noted:

"The numbers are grim. Blacks are twice as likely as whites to be jobless.

"The median black family income is 56 percent of a white family's. Nearly a third of all blacks live below the poverty line.

"A newborn black baby is twice as likely as a white to die before its first birthday. The thirty-one million or so blacks are twelve percent of the US prison population.

"A black man is six times as likely as a white man to be murdered. Homicide is the leading cause of death among young black men."

As well as unemployment, poverty and discrimination, blacks face routine harassment and intimidation from the police.

The savage beating of Rodney King in Los Angeles two years ago showed this reality to millions around the world.

To thousands of young black Americans Malcolm's militant opposition to racism is as relevant today as it was in the 1960s.

condition that exists on this earth."

He began to identify with a form of socialism.

"It's impossible for a white person to believe in capitalism and not believe in racism. You can't have capitalism without racism.

"And if you find one and you happen to get that person into a conversation and they have a philosophy that makes you sure they don't have racism in their outlook, usually they're socialists or their political philosophy is socialism."

He continued to criticise the civil rights movement's nonviolence and the government's hypocrisy. He spoke out against the US's intervention in Vietnam and Africa.

His ideas were still developing when he was murdered in 1965. The entire US establishment breathed a sigh of relief.

It is impossible to predict what ideas Malcolm would have adopted had he lived.

He didn't live to see the uprisings in ghettos across the US in 1965 and 1966 or the growth of the anti-war movements. But we can say for certain that he would have been active in all these movements.

The US today shows signs of giving rise to new explosions. The riots in Los Angeles marked a turning point in the struggle against racism and unlike the 1960s the riots were multi-racial.

The conditions for similar explosions exist in all American cities.

Malcolm X grappled with how to build a movement to destroy racism and oppression in the 1960s.

Those of us who want to end racism and oppression today can take inspiration from his life and remember these words—as relevant now as in 1965:

"We are living in an era of revolution, and the revolt of the American negro is part of the rebellion against the oppression and colonialism which has characterised this era..."

"It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white, or as purely an American problem.

"Rather, we are today seeing a global struggle of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiters..."

CONOR KOSTICK



Teach yourself Marxism



## The Politics of Black Nationalism

"If we react to white racism with a violent reaction, to me that's not black racism."

"If you come to me and put a rope around my neck and then I hang you for it, to me that's not racism."

"Yours is the racism, but my racism has nothing to do with racism."—Malcolm X.

The first point to make about black nationalism is that it is a response to a society where racism is thoroughly institutionalised.

In the United States blacks bear the brunt of poverty and discrimination.

Under these circumstances, the desire of black people to organise themselves and fight for change cannot be termed "anti-white racism", or "reverse racism".

The aim of black nationalism is to achieve liberation from racism—not the oppression of white people.

The philosophy of black nationalism is best summed up by Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton in their book *Black Power*.

"Black power is a call for black people in this country to unite and to recognise their heritage, to build a sense of community."

"It is a call for black people to begin to define their goals, to lead their own organisations and to support those organisations."

"It is a call to reject the racist institutions and values of this society."

At different times in America's past, hundreds and thousands of black people have been inspired by such ideas to challenge the racist system around them.

Listening to the bold defiance in the speeches of Malcolm X you realise the American establishment hated him.

Yet at the same time as giving expression to a desire to change society, black nationalism has three related and fundamental weaknesses, which limit the struggle for an end to racism.

Firstly, the heart of black nationalist thought is that because racism affects all black people it is possible to build a movement of all black people against the system.

But while it is true that racism affects every level of

society, it is not true that all blacks suffer equally.

In America today there is a large black middle class, especially in the political structure.

While the mass of the black population has seen its living standards fall, one in seven black families have incomes exceeding fifty thousand dollars a year.

There are now around seven thousand top black officials—mayors, state legislators, Congress delegates, and so on. The Supreme Court judge is Clarence Thomas, and out of America's top generals is Colin Powell—both are black.

The class division between black people means that there is a conflict of interest within all black nationalist movements between those who have a stake in the system and those who want to mount a fundamental challenge to it.

So, for example, the black participants in last year's Los Angeles uprising found themselves fighting troops and police who were headed by a black mayor.

### Unite

The second fundamental weakness is closely related to the first. For in order to unite as many black people in the movement as possible, black nationalist leaders have always been ambiguous about their goals.

"Black power" can be interpreted to mean the need for a revolution... or it can mean more black people in top positions.

The civil rights movement of the sixties polarised between the Black Panthers who wanted to overthrow American society and those who interpreted "black power" to mean more black politicians. Even President Nixon and the Clairall company directors who sponsored conferences on civil rights could claim to support black power.

The deliberate confusion as to the goals of black nationalism leave it vulnerable to accommodating itself to the capitalist system.

Similarly there is great emphasis by black activists today on reclaiming African culture.

But while armed protests were necessary to allow colleges in America to have

courses on black history, the notion of an African-American culture is extremely double-edged.

There is a reactionary and divisive side to all national cultures, and African culture is no exception. For example cultural nationalist Maulana Ron Karenga believed:

"What makes woman appealing is femininity but she can't be feminine without being submissive. The role of woman is to inspire her man, educate her children and participate in social development."

Attempting to unite black people around an imagined African culture can end up weakening the fight to change society, as it can increase divisions amongst and between the oppressed, not just with respect to women but also gays, Koreans, Jews, Asians and so on.

Finally, the call for separate black organisations cannot help to bring revolutionary change.

Black people make up only ten percent of the population of America. For a revolution to succeed it will have to involve a much greater force than blacks alone.

The Marxist approach to the fight against racism has answers to the limitations of black nationalism.

Racism is structured into society by a capitalist class, actively seeking to divide the working class and provide scapegoats for the problems of poverty and unemployment.

White workers may accept racist ideas, but they don't benefit from those ideas—many whites also suffer poverty.

It is in the interests of all workers to fight racism, which is why there is a tradition of anti-racism in the white working class of America which stretches back to those who fought to end slavery during the civil war.

The revolutionary socialist tradition argues not just for unity between black and white workers, but actively participates in all movements against discrimination.

The answer to racism is the same as the answer to exploitation—a workers' revolution which smashes the police, the prisons and all the filthy structures of a decaying capitalist system.



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the Middle East, Africa and Europe. Pressed civil rights activists in Alabama formed two new organisations, a group (the Muslim Mosque Inc.) and Organisation of Afro-American

now argue that Malcolm moderates views. This is untrue. He remained a bitter opponent of racism in America's rulers.

He did grapple with how to get First of all—freed from Nation of discipline—he could engage in ac-

### Retaliation

the Ku Klux Klan and American threatened civil rights activists in Alabama. Malcolm sent a telegram to the publisher promising maximum retaliation.

Attitude to white anti-racism shifted. We learned that not all white people are racist. I am speaking against the racists."

He went on to say: "I will join with you if you don't care what colour you are, and if you want to end this miserable



# It's sixty years since the Nazis came to power

# Could Hitler have been stopped?

by SIMON GILBERT

It is sixty years since Hitler came to power in Germany.

Most people thought that the sheer horror of fascism would guarantee it would never be repeated.

With the spectre of nazism once again haunting Europe, it is worth recalling the reality of Nazi rule.

The Nazis' "final solution" was an act of genocide of such systematic ferocity and on such a scale that it became known by a single word: the Holocaust.

Millions were killed in the gas chambers, their bodies burned in vast ovens that worked day and night. Others were starved and forcibly created, closed and guarded ghettos in cities.

Over a million were shot by special killing squads in the first month of "Operation Barbarossa", the invasion of the USSR. They were shot in ditches and burnt alive in their synagogues. Huge pits were dug in the forests and filled with corpses.

Two million were murdered in killing centres (Chelmo, Belzec, Sobibor, Treblinka, Majdanek and Auschwitz) in 1942-43, which virtually eliminated the Jews of Poland.

One and a half million Jews from Western Europe, South East Europe and those in the remaining ghettos of Poland were transported and slaughtered between the Spring of 1942 and the Summer of 1944.

For those who did not die in the gas chambers the appalling conditions in the Nazi concentration camps meant that many more died of hunger, disease and arbitrary murder.

Two and a half million Poles, 520,000 Gypsies and 473,000 Russian prisoners were also executed. 100,000 people were murdered simply because they were physically or mentally handicapped.

Thousands more socialists, trade unionists and gays were also killed.

How was this possible in an advanced industrial country with a parliamentary democracy?

Hitler's victory is often explained as the result of an authoritarian German "national character". So, the argument goes, he was swept to power on a wave of popular hysteria.

In fact, Hitler never won the support of a majority of Germans. He was particularly unpopular among the working class.

The fascist victory was the result of three factors - a cata-

strophic economic crisis, the support of big business and the complete failure of the working class parties to lead a fightback.

The Wall Street crash of 1929 heralded the deepest slump in history. Unemployment in Germany soared from 1.3 million to over six million by 1933.

That represented nearly a third of the work force.

Industrial production plummeted to 60 percent of its 1929 value and real wages fell by a third.

In desperation millions of people rejected the mainstream political parties. So, in the elections of September 1930, the Communist vote grew by a third to 4.6 million.

But this was completely overshadowed by the Nazi vote which rocketed from 800,000 to 6.4 million.

The core of the Nazis' support was among the middle classes of small shopkeepers, farmers and the self-employed, as well as the unemployed. Many of these people had been ruined by the recession.

But unlike the workers, they did not have any trade union organisation to fall back on. They felt crushed between the big industrialists and organised labour.

As Trotsky, one of the leaders of the Russian revolution, put it: "...the pauperised petty bourgeoisie befuddled itself with fairy tales concerning the special superiorities of its race."

Nazi ideology reflected these feelings by scapegoating Jews. Jewish financiers and Jewish communists were both blamed.

The clear aim of the Nazis, however, was to build a mass movement capable of smashing the workers' movement.

Hitler's street fighters, the S.A., started by breaking up left wing meetings.

They went on to attack Jewish businesses and murder political activists. By 1932 they were a formidable force



numbering 400,000.

Hitler understood the importance of street marches to his otherwise unorganised and atomised support.

"Mass demonstrations," he wrote, "must burn into the little man's soul the conviction that, though a little worm, he is part of a great dragon."

Having built a mass movement, the turning point came when he won the support of key sections of the ruling class.

## Slump

During the brief period of stability from 1924 to 1929 compromise between the workers and the employers had become institutionalised. This arrangement suited the capitalists at the time.

But with the advent of the

slump they wanted to decisively defeat the workers' movement in order to restore profits.

A succession of weak and divided governments failed to do this. So the bosses turned instead to the Nazis.

The move certainly paid dividends for the major corporations. Between 1932 and 1939 profits at BMW and Krupp trebled—at I.G. Farben, AEG and Siemens they doubled.

Meanwhile wages were held at the same low levels and the rate of industrial accidents rose from 33.9 per thousand to 56.5 per thousand.

But mass unemployment and ruling class support were not sufficient to guarantee Hitler's success. The decisive factor was the failure of the

and the KPD retained mass support. Even as late as 1933, in the last free elections, the combined left vote was larger than that of Hitler's Nazis.

If the two parties had organised their supporters jointly they could have smashed the Nazis on the streets.

The SPD had a million members and five million affiliated trade unionists. They also had a defence organisation, the Reichsbanner, numbering 300,000.

But the leadership was completely wedded to the constitution and to "legality". So at the decisive moments when mass mobilisation could have defeated the Nazis, they did nothing.

Instead they preferred parliamentary manoeuvres. So, in 1932 the SPD supported arch rightwinger Hindenburg as a "lesser evil" to Hitler.

But it was the same Hindenburg who appointed Hitler as chancellor the following year.

Even then the leadership refused to act. *Vorwärts*, the SPD newspaper, proudly declared that "... the social democrats... stand four square on the ground of the constitution and of legality".

None of this saved them from the concentration camps.

The Communists were at least prepared to fight the Nazis. Thirty-two of their members were killed in street battles during the summer of 1932.

The Communist Party leadership was just as shortsighted as the SPD.

Had they offered unity in action a mass movement could have stopped the Nazis. At the same time disillusioned SPD supporters could have been won to the Communists.

But the KPD, whose politics were by now totally dominated by Stalinist Russia, com-

pletely underestimated the danger of fascism. Instead they saw the SPD as the main enemy and labelled them "social fascists".

But if fascism already existed, why the need to fight against the Nazis, who only stood for a different form of fascism.

Even after the suppression of the SPD, the KPD commented that "the complete elimination of the Social Fascists from the state apparatus and the brutal suppression of its press do not alter the fact that they represent, now as before, the main social buttress of the dictatorship of capital."

The Communists cut themselves off completely from the mass of SPD supporters.

German workers were certainly willing to fight the Nazis. Hitler's appointment was greeted with spontaneous and violent mass demonstrations in the cities.

But no lead was given by the SPD and the Communists' strike call was too little too late.

Once in power Hitler moved quickly to smash the workers' movement.

Within months the KPD and SPD were dissolved and their leaders imprisoned. On 23rd March, 1933, Hitler instituted a dictatorship.

All the independent workers' organisations, including trade unions, were destroyed.

They were replaced by Nazi-controlled "labour fronts" with dictatorial powers.

A network of street monitors and workplace cells acted as informers for the government.

Despite all this, secret Nazi reports reveal a level of sullen resentment in the working class districts. A 1935 report, for instance, noted:

"The general situation is discussed daily in critical, disparaging or malicious terms—in places of work, in the hospitals, in public houses and on the trains and buses."

Today, the parallels with the 1930s are frightening. We are in the middle of the worst recession for sixty years—with no end in sight.

Fascist movements are once again getting substantial votes, particularly in France and Germany.

The lessons of Hitler's rise to power are clear. Mass anti-fascist movements are needed that will stop the fascists and ensure that never again will fascism raise its head.

**Out Now**  
**Fascism, Stalinism and the United Front.**  
**Leon Trotsky**  
**£4.95 plus 75 pence postage**  
**from SW Books,**  
**P.O. Box 1648,**  
**Dublin 8.**

## Topped

The first world war ended in a revolution which toppled the emperor in 1919. Workers threatened to take power as they had in Russia.

The ruling class survived with the help of the German Labour Party—the SPD. The SPD government used the army to bloodily suppress the workers' councils.

In 1923 the Communist Party, the KPD, missed another opportunity to lead a workers' revolution.

Nevertheless both the SPD

## Shortsighted

But the KPD could not stop the fascists alone.

The Communist Party leadership was just as shortsighted as the SPD.

Had they offered unity in action a mass movement could have stopped the Nazis. At the same time disillusioned SPD supporters could have been won to the Communists.

But the KPD, whose politics were by now totally dominated by Stalinist Russia, com-



# Jailed for being a socialist

South Korean socialist Il-Bung Choi has been sentenced to two years in prison for publishing books freely available in the West.

The South Korean government has used the National Security Law to prosecute him.

This law curtails civil liberties because of the supposed threat from North Korea. Yet the books Choi published oppose the undemocratic regimes both North and South.

They include *Permanent Revolution* by Leon Trotsky and *How Marxism Works* by Chris Harman. They also include books by trade union activists in South Korea.

Choi has been jailed just as South Korea's rulers are claiming to move away from military dictatorship.

Their new-found commitment to "democracy" was symbolised by the recent election of Kim Young Sam as the country's first president for more than 30 years with no military background.

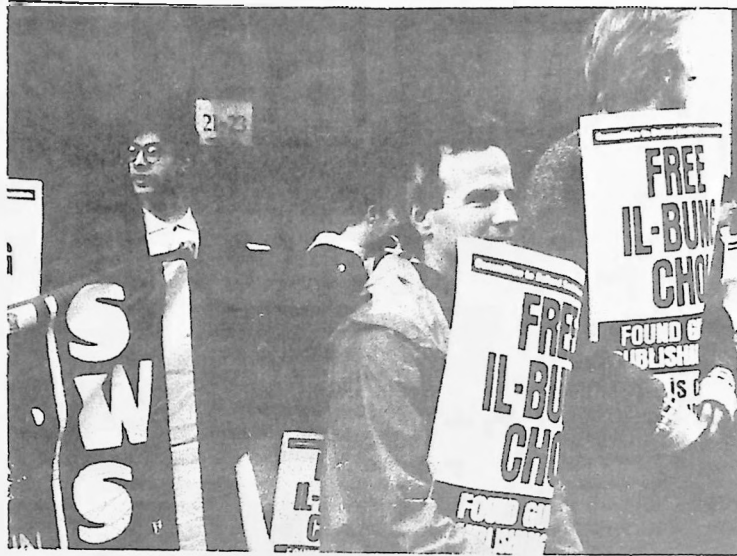
There are reports that the new president will give am-

nesty to some 7000 political prisoners upon his inauguration in February.

But amnesty will almost certainly exclude prisoners opposed to "the liberal democratic system" and who favour revolution. Il-Bung Choi is one such prisoner.

But big enough protests around the world could force the South Korean government to release Choi and other prisoners.

Protests against the Il Bung Choi case should be directed to the the South Korean Embassy in Ireland at: 20, Clyde Road, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4.



Demonstrators have gathered outside South Korean embassies throughout the world to demand the release of Choi.

In Dublin, 50 people picketed the embassy and a letter of protest was handed in.

The letter was signed by among others:

- Pat Rabbitte T.D. and Tony Gregory T.D.
- Charlie Douglas, Republic of Ireland Secretary of the ATGWU.
- Fintan O Toole, Irish Times Columnist.
- Johnny Walker from the Birmingham Six.

These protests must now be built on. Postcards and model resolutions for the trade unions are now available from the Committee to Defend South Korean Socialists c/o 117 Oxmantown Road Dublin 7.

## Defend Il-Bung Choi!

Choi is 35 and married with two daughters and a son.



At his trial he admitted he was a member of the International Socialists of South Korea.

Choi was a student at Seoul University before going to the United States in the early 1980s.

At his trial he explained how he started out as a Christian interested in liberation theology. He had become a Marxist through studying society, history and philosophy.

Choi said he was inspired by the history of people's

self emancipation from the Roman slave Spartacus to the 1987 workers revolt in South Korea.

Choi resigned his job as a lecturer in 1987 to found a socialist publishing company called Shinpyongron (New Review). His aim was to show that socialism has nothing in common with the tyranny in North Korea.

Choi has suffered years of police harassment which has made his wife ill and has seen his mother taken to hospital.

## What's On

### SWM Branches meet...

- BELFAST meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Central Hall, Rosemary St
- CORK meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Anchor Inn, Georges Quay
- COLERAINE meets every Thursday at 1.15pm in Room L126 University
- DERRY meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers Pub, Orchard St
- DUBLIN NORTH meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Conways Pub, Parnell St
- DUBLIN SOUTH meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Halfpenny Bridge Inn, Wellington Quay
- GALWAY meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square
- WATERFORD meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyzer St

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

### Socialist Worker Rallies

# Malcolm X and the fight against racism

Speaker: leading black socialist GARY McFARLANE (London SWP)

BELFAST

Monday March 15, 8.00pm Central Hall, Rosemary St

DUBLIN

Tuesday March 16th, 8.00pm Ormond Hotel, Ormond Quay

## News from SWM

In the first two weeks of February twenty-four people joined the SWM. Branches in Cork, Waterford, Coleraine, Galway, Belfast, Dublin North and Dublin South have all grown. Many new members joined after coming to the very successful tour of public meetings by Chris Bambery of the SWP on "Can there be a revolution in Ireland?"

As the anniversary of Hitler's coming to power approached in January, socialists all over Europe used the occasion to protest at the renewed Fascist activity. Demonstrations took place in Cork and Dublin. 120 copies of Socialist Worker were sold in Dublin on the day of the pro-

tests. In the North, the SWM was the only socialist contingent on the commemoration march of Bloody Sunday in Derry. The SWM issued a leaflet on "Armed struggle or Mass Action to get rid of the British army" where they argued against right wing drift in republican politics and the new emphasis on the bombing campaign in both Britain and the city centres of the North. When Belfast bus drivers stopped work against the harassment by the UVF, SWM supported the march and won a good hearing for its argument on the need for workers unity.

In Trinity College Dublin,

the SWM proposed an occupation campaign to protest at overcrowding.

In a quickly organised student demonstration in Dublin against overcrowding, SWM members in UCC, Dublin City University and Queen's University helped to get delegations along.

A delegation even arrived from Swansea University in Wales organised by SWP students.

During the occupation, a Students for Socialism conference was held in TCD with 60 people in attendance. Five people joined the SWM afterwards.

Across Ireland SWM has become the main fighting socialist organisation. If you are sick at the antics of the Irish Labour Party or you stand for workers unity in the North then SWM is the organisation you should join. Fill in the coupon on this page today.

## FASCIST FILTH REMOVED

On 1st February, Chris Bambery gave a talk in Queen's University on the Rise of fascism in Europe.

After the talk those present went down to picket Gardiner's Newsagents to protest at the fascist literature they had on sale.

A fascist group called International Third Position is currently operating in Belfast. Posters have appeared promoting race hatred and denying that the Holocaust took place. There have also been reports of fascists trying to recruit at football grounds.

After the picket, the Gardiner's bookshop manager removed the fascist literature from the shelves and gave an assurance it would not re-appear.

# What we stand for

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

### FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

### FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

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

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

### FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

### FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class. Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states. We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

### FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

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

### FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

## Join Us!

If you would like to join the SWM or receive more details, send this slip to:  
 SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 722682

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_



**BOOK:**

# Africa: Slavery and starvation

WILLIE CUMMING reviews *The Scramble for Africa* by Thomas Pakenham, Abacus, £9.99

Even a casual glance would be enough to convince anyone that Africa is the sick continent of the world.

Taking any standard of wealth, the African continent is almost always at the bottom—a continent ravaged by war, famine and disease.

During the last decade, seven million children died each year of malnutrition-related causes—five million were African.

The crisis in Africa is the extreme end of the general world economic crisis.

But to understand why it hits Africa hardest, you have to look to the origins of the problem—the division and domination of the continent by the imperialist powers in the late nineteenth century.

For that reason Thomas Pakenham's book *The Scramble for Africa* is timely and welcome.

In 1880 the African continent, with the exception of Algeria and the Cape Province, was ruled by Africans.

Yet within twenty years, under the slogan of the "three c's"—commerce, christianity and civilization—six European powers had divided almost all of Africa between themselves.

The "three c's" were nothing but a fig leaf. In reality the colonisation of Africa is a story of unrelenting barbarity and horror.

## Excuse

The continued existence of the slave trade was often used as an excuse for intervention. Yet the colonists themselves often used slaves.

Stanley, the famous explorer—who championed the anti-slavery movement in Britain—raided villages for slaves for one of his expeditions.

It is no wonder, as Pakenham puts it, that "it was the Arab (slave) raiders they met who identified as a matter of course with Stanley's expedition, giving them food and looking after the sick".

Even cannibalism could be justified. One officer commented on the activities of his native troops after a battle: "It's terrible but exceedingly useful and hygienic."

This brutality was not passively accepted. Many fought back and inflicted major defeats on the European armies.

The defeat of the British by the Zulus at Isandlwane helped bring down Disraeli's government.

News of the Italian defeat at Adowa provoked rioting in most Italian cities and drove the prime minister from office.

But superior resources triumphed. As a contemporary

writer cynically put it, "whatever happens, we have got the maxim gun, and they have not".

Revolts were put down with savagery. An extermination order was issued against the Herero tribe—men, women and children—when they revolted against the brutality of the German settlers.

Armed guards were put on the water wells—over twenty thousand people were driven into the desert to die of thirst.

Pakenham describes all of this brilliantly in his book. The problem is that there is no overall explanation of why any of it happened.

Pakenham's history is the story of the actions of greater or lesser men but offers no real explanation of their actions.

For this we have to look at the theory of imperialism developed by the Russian revolutionaries, Lenin and Bukharin.

Competition is inherent to capitalism. Initially confined within the borders of national states, huge monopolies developed which were able to dominate their internal market.

Firms became so large that the nation state became directly involved in protecting their interests.

This combined with a movement towards the internationalisation of the productive forces. Continued expansion required going beyond simple economic competition.

War and rivalry for territories were a direct consequence of a world divided between competing states.

The scramble for Africa showed that new states had emerged to challenge British domination of the world. Africa became the battleground for these antagonisms.

Africa is no longer directly colonised but imperialist powers still dominate the region.

The US intervention in Somalia has not helped the starving people there.

The US simply wants to install a regime which will serve US interests.

That's what the CIA did when they backed the coup that installed Mobutu as leader of Zaire.

Today Mobutu—one of the world's richest men—motors around in his old Belgium paddle steamer while his people suffer the effects of 5,000 per cent a year inflation.

The devastation of Africa is rooted in the colonisation of the 19th century—today the US and its allies only offer more of the same.

**Film:**

# Chaplin a challenge to the system

by JOHNNY CLARKE

SEE CHAPLIN, it's a must.

Robert Downey Junior's performance is magnificent.

From the moment he staggers onto the stage of east London's Hackney Empire as a comic drunk to the moment of his triumphal return to America 60 years later, Downey is Charlie Chaplin.

It's a powerful display of acting made more staggering when you realise what Downey had to play.

Chaplin was not only one of the greatest clowns of this century but also one of the greatest artistic phenomena of the century.

He, through his tramp character, was to become the first artist who spoke to ordinary people across the world. Before Monroe, Brando and Bogart there was Chaplin.

In 1913 Chaplin was a talented musical star. By the end of the First World War he had become, as John Lennon would have said, more famous than Jesus Christ.

The then new technology of film took Chaplin's tramp all over the world.

During the war soldiers on all fronts and of all nationalities identified with the tramp.

British soldiers even created a song about him, "The Moon Shines Bright on Charlie Chaplin".

The mass of ordinary people loved Chaplin. Why? Because every comic gesture was there

to challenge the rottenness of the system.

Chaplin's art had class written right through it.

The musical impresario Fred Karno said, "Comedy is knowing who you are and where you come from." Chaplin never forgot.

He had grown up in real poverty in south London. He had lived in the workhouse and his mother had been committed to a mental asylum.

It was these bitter experiences that gave him his edge.

*The tramp was always seen to be challenging the policeman, the official, the rich and powerful.*

Ordinary people loved him for it and made him the world's first superstar. By the age of 30 he was a multi-millionaire with nearly 70 films to his credit.

Many popular artists have started their careers expressing anger from below, only to lose their edge later.

For Chaplin the effect was to heighten his sense of unease at being rich at playing poor.

The anxiety never left him. In old age he would often visit his old haunts in south London.

The unease led to his most creative period when he made his best films, *Modern Times* and *The Great Dictator*.

*Modern Times* exposed the inhumanity of capitalist production. *The Great Dictator* was a satire on the rise of fascism



Hated by the ruling class

- Chaplin was a committed anti-fascist.

His unease led to a deepening of his social criticism not a lessening of it.

The ruling class hated him for it.

A campaign against Chaplin began in the late 1930s. The FBI had a file of 2,000 pages covering his political and personal associations.

When Chaplin got caught up in a paternity suit it was used to discredit

him. But his popularity continued.

However, by the early 1950s under the impact of the Cold War, the mood changed.

In 1952, while Chaplin was out of the country, the US government revoked his residence status. Chaplin had been effectively exiled.

In his autobiography Chaplin was circumspect about his political affiliations.

But to be hated so much by FBI boss J Edgar Hoover must place the man with the bowler hat and cane on our side.

Chaplin's films, including *Modern Times* and *The Great Dictator* should be available from most good video stores.

By far the best book on Chaplin is the biography by David Robinson: *Chaplin, his life and art*. (Paladin, £9.99)

## New Books from S.W.M.

# Labour's record of failure

MARK SWEENEY reviews: *Why the Irish Labour Party Fails* by Conor Kostick, a Socialist Worker pamphlet, £1 from PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Working class people in Ireland are sick of financial scandals, lack of women's rights and cuts in jobs and services.

They're looking to fight back. The massive rise in support for Labour at the election is symptomatic of this mood.

But those who put their faith in vague promises of "change" will soon have their illusions shattered as the new government attempts to cover the cost of devaluation.

Conor Kostick's pamphlet shows why this is inevitable, and that Labour's history is a sorry succession of attacks on those they purport to represent.

Even a majority Labour government would

be no different. Conor exposes the folly of left wing parties worldwide who attempt to tinker with capitalism.

He shows the experience of Chile in 1973 when Allende's elected government was overthrown by the army and thousands died in the bloody repression that followed.

He also details the record of current socialist governments in France, Spain and Aus-

tralia to show that real power is vested not in parliament but in the hands of the ruling class.

For decades the Irish Labour Party slavishly bowed to the Catholic Church on "moral" issues.

Dick Spring once used the gardai to smash an ESB strike.

Labour was in the 1981/82 coalition with Fine Gael when it attempted to introduce a

savage budget of austerity measures.

This is the party which supposedly stands in the proud tradition of James Connolly. In this pamphlet, the truth is laid bare—they have never stood in that tradition.

Today the so-called left of the party, like Emmet Stagg and Michael D. Higgins, do complete U-turns as soon as ministries beckon.

Stagg now supports Coalition—only last year he opposed the idea. And Higgins now backs Section 31 censorship which he once opposed.

The bottom line is that capitalism cannot be reformed, it has to be overthrown.

And this can only be achieved by building a revolutionary party based on working class struggle. Labour will never do it for us.

## How Marxism Works

THERE is a widespread myth that Marxism is difficult or obscure.

Supporters of capitalism say that any attempt to develop a rational understanding of the world is bound to fail. Academics say that theory is only for the likes of themselves.

It's hardly surprising then that there are many people

who hate the system under which we live, but see no theory to guide our fight against it.

In fact the basic ideas of Marxism are quite simple. They explain our society as no other set of ideas can.

They make sense of a world wracked by crisis where poverty exists in the midst of plenty.

How Marxism

Works sets out Marx's basic ideas, their relevance to the world today and how they can guide the struggles of millions.

How Marxism Works, Chris Harman

Special offer £2.00 from your local SWM branch, or from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Add 50 pence for postage.





# ISSUE WORKERS OCCUPY AND STRIKE

Workers at the Issue chain of shops are on strike demanding their jobs back.

The UK parent company went into liquidation in February with the loss of sixty jobs. Workers were given only four days' notice.

The local management and the UK liquidator refused to even discuss redundancy terms with the workers' union, IDATU. So far, no redundancy money has been paid.

Nor have the bosses handed over unpaid wages, notice pay or holiday pay.

The shops re-opened two weeks later "under new management". Of fifteen staff taken back, eight were managers. Workers with eight years' service were told they were "unsuitable".

The shops were re-opened as non-union. Shop steward Tony Ruth described the move as "an attack on organised labour".

Fifteen workers occupied the Henry Street branch on February 13th. The shop steward said it was "our only way of getting back at them for what they've done to us".

After three days, the workers left the shop. In the mean-

time, workers in other branches were working to rule in solidarity.

Union members from all shops then voted nineteen to three for an official strike.

During the official "cooling-off period", Issue workers joined in the picket of Japan, another clothes shop in Henry Street. Workers there are facing similar union-busting attacks by bosses. Their shop steward has been sacked.

Building on this kind of solidarity is the key to success for the Issue strike.

The strikers are leafletting shoppers, asking them to boycott Issue. Getting work-



ers in An Post and Dublin Corporation to support the strike could help the Issue workers to win.

Donations and messages of support to: Tony Ruth, c/o IDATU, 9 Cavendish Row, Dublin 1.

## B+I

**B&I Ferries have forced through cuts in manning at Dublin docks, blaming devaluation as the cause.**

Despite 52 dockers taking strike action, the number of men will be reduced to 36.

There have been cuts in all areas of B&I since the takeover last year by Irish Ferries. The company also plans to cut jobs in the clerical area. Altogether, one third of the workforce will be made redundant.

According to the dockers the cuts will affect safety, particularly in the tying down of cargo. The company argues that working conditions 'are out of line with market conditions'.

As usual profits seem to come before people and safety.

## GALWAY NURSES WIN VICTORY

Nurses at "The Galvia" hospital in Galway have won a pay dispute after threatening strike action.

After rejecting a series of inadequate offers by management, the eighty nurses have won the right to be paid the same rate as nurses in public hospitals. Before the dispute they were getting sixteen percent less.

The pay award will be made retrospective to last summer, when the dispute began.

The building of support among other workers was very important - temporary "bank nurses" at the hospital had agreed to back the nurses.

The strike shows that workers who are willing to fight and to strike if necessary can win.

## STRIKE THREAT REINSTATES WELLMAN WORKERS

Workers at Wellman International have won a victory in a dispute over new technology.

Twelve workers refused to operate the machinery, which threatened jobs and earnings.

When management cut them from the payroll, other workers voted ninety percent in favour of strike action, forcing the bosses to back down.

They had to reinstate the twelve workers and suspend use of the new machinery.

## TCD STUDENTS OCCUPY

Students at Trinity College Dublin won a number of demands following their occupation in February.

After occupying an office in the college for over two weeks, they won:

- longer opening hours in the library
- the re-opening of the 1937 Reading Room - giving 250 extra seats and more books

■ more money for computer terminals

■ cheaper photocopying facilities.

Students' Union president Orla Costello said the occupation has left a core of 40 activists who can rebuild the Union.

Many of these are first years, new to activity. The occupation is an example to every student who wants to fight for better conditions.

## Fight against pay freeze at GEC Plessey

Workers at the GEC Plessey Telecommunications at Ballynahinch, are fighting a pay freeze imposed in January 1992.

Since GEC took over Plessey in 1988, they have pushed through mass redundancies.

Agreements on redundancy pay were torn up. Pension and sickness schemes were also attacked.

These attacks helped boost GPT's profits last year to £127 million. GPT boss Peter Gerswin was rewarded with a 300 per cent pay rise.

GPT have refused to discuss even a cost-of-living pay increase with workers.

One worker told *Socialist Worker* "They seem hell bent on living by fear and threats to workers."

Shop stewards from the Ballynahinch site have met with workers from other GPT sites in England. They are planning a co-ordinated fightback.

On the same day, a demand for a pay rise was made by all sites. Despite union officials' reluctance, the shop stewards warned that if GPT turn down the claim, a strike will follow.

The workforce is angry at the way they have been treated. But they feel that a campaign in solidarity with GPT workers in England is the key to a successful fightback.

# AER LINGUS WORKERS FACE ONSLAUGHT ON JOBS AND PAY

The board of Aer Lingus has launched a vicious attack on workers' jobs and wages, as part of a cost cutting plan.

The board wants five hundred redundancies and a pay cut of ten percent. It plans major cuts in TEAM, Aer Lingus's maintenance operation (see box).

Unions have rejected these proposals and demanded an injection of capital by the government.

The government only put £68.6 million into Aer Lingus last year, yet it blew £500 million trying to protect the punt from devalua-

tion. An angry meeting of eight hundred workers in February was addressed by twenty politicians from all parties. All said they supported government funding.

TEAM shop steward John Courtney demand action, not promises. "Where's the beef?" he asked.

Aer Lingus workers are angry at having to carry the can for management failures.

Last year, the company lost £100 million when GPA share prices collapsed. This is a third of the £300 million that analysts believe Aer Lingus needs.

Rather than looking to politicians who will probably break their promises,

Aer Lingus workers should look for support from other workers.

They should take a leaf out of the British miners' book.

When they were faced with pit closures and 30,000 job losses, they organised support from workers elsewhere.

Two demonstrations - 100,000 on the first and a quarter of a million on the second - helped stop the Tories' attack.

Thousands of workers in Aer Lingus suppliers will be affected if the company collapses.

These, and other workers, should be mobilised for a national demonstration. Workers are already an-

grateful at the continuous attacks on jobs and pay.

Such a demonstration would be the best way to tell

the government and the Aer Lingus board that staff won't stand for redundancies and pay cuts.

## TEAM TARGETTED

TEAM has been targeted for especially severe cuts in the company's new plan:

- 375 redundancies out of 2,000 workers
- removal of a 20 percent shift allowance
- removal of an £11 per day weekend working allowance
- cuts in overtime rates
- a 15 percent "retention pay" plan, where

the company will withhold part of workers' pay for eight weeks.

This amounts to a compulsory interest-free loan from workers to the company.

TEAM shop stewards rejected this savage plan.

Management went ahead with the cut in the shift allowance.

Workers responded with an overtime ban

# Privatisation beaten in Derry

A strike of 21 contract security guards in Derry has won an important victory. The strike has forced a reversal of the privatisation of security in both the BBC and Derry City Council.

The security guards were all employed by Security Services Ltd. They were paid £1.70 an hour, with nothing extra for night, weekend or bank holiday work. They got no sick pay, holiday pay or

other benefits.

One of the strikers told *Socialist Worker* "We just couldn't take it any more - grown men working for that kind of money. We had to take a stand, to try to improve things."

The strike was for union recognition and higher pay.

It was supported by the local Campaign for Decent Wages which helped the men get organised into the ATGWU, with picket duty etc.

The strike won support from other workers in Derry, many of them

threatened with privatisation themselves.

The Council Cleansing Dept. - due to be privatised later in the year - went on a two hour strike in solidarity with the security guards.

## Announced

Dockers also struck for an hour in solidarity. The Tory government has just announced that the five ports in Northern Ireland are to be privatised.

Solidarity was also strong from other groups

of workers. Catholic and Protestant united at two rallies to make the point that all workers, whatever their religion are affected by privatisation and low pay.

Collections were taken up in many workplaces for the strikers. More than £700 was raised in street collections.

After less than a week of the strike, the BBC caved in and agreed to bring the men who has been providing security at Radio Foyle onto the BBC workforce.

Derry City Councillors also voted that in future

all Council security work will be carried out by direct labour.

This reversal of privatisation is a huge victory and one which should give heart to workers everywhere who are faced by privatisation.

The security guards in Derry have shown that low paid workers can fight back and can reverse privatisation.

As one of the strikers said "We've shown that privatisation can be fought. We showed that things can change, if workers are willing to take action."

# ISSUES FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT by Kieran Glennon

## Fighting low pay

Irish bosses are getting away with paying thousands of workers lousy wages, according to a recent report by the ESRI.

The report uses figures collected in 1987. At that time, the average wage was £198 a week.

The report defines low pay as being less than £130 a week.

More than a quarter of all workers were paid less than that.

The picture is even worse for part-time workers. The report says over a third of them are low paid.

Some are as much as £1 an hour below the cut-off point of £3.25 an hour.

The report highlights the extent of low pay. But when it goes on to look at the links between low pay and poverty, it draws mistaken conclusions.

It says that only twenty percent of low paid workers are in households below the poverty line.

It implies that because there are people worse off than themselves, the low paid have nothing to complain about.

The report's definition of poverty is based on social welfare payments. But as far back as 1985, the Commission on Social Welfare said that these payments were completely inadequate. It

recommended that payments be increased dramatically - which they weren't.

So when the report defines low pay as £130 a week, and poverty as £48 a week, it is not surprising that it "finds" that very few low paid workers are poor.

The report is equally dismissive of the position of low paid women workers.

## Risk

On the one hand it shows that forty percent of all women are low paid, and that women are twice as likely as men to be low paid.

But it goes on to say: "The higher risk for women

is a secondary factor."

Why? Because many low paid women are part-time workers, who are "supplementing" their male partner's earnings.

Here the report fuels the sexist stereotype of women working outside the home just to earn "pin money" for themselves.

Their low paid status doesn't matter because their main role is to be home makers.

The reality is that most women no longer want to be dependent on a male "breadwinner" and have become just as much part of the working class as men.

The ESRI report helps to undermine the idea that a new "classless" society is emerging.

For years, the ruling class has been pointing to the increase in "white collar" working as evidence that the old working class is vanishing.

But the report shows that many "white collar" workers are severely underpaid.

Over half the workers in the commercial/financial sector, 45 percent of workers in services, and 58 percent of shop workers are low paid. Some civil service workers have to rely on Family Income Supplement to top up their wages.

## Banks

Socialists maintain that "white collar" workers like these are just as much part of the working class as workers in more "traditional" industries.

The bank strike last year showed that white collar workers are well able to fight against low pay and exploitation.

But what is the best way to improve the position of low paid workers?

Many people, including the ICTU, have called for the setting up of a National Minimum Wage. But legal protection like this will not solve the problem.

A number of industries here are already covered by Joint Labour Committees. These JLCs lay down statutory minimum wages. But Ireland has the worst record in the EEC for protecting minimum wages.

In Dublin alone, ninety thousand workers are covered by JLCs. But there are only ten inspectors to ensure that these workers get their legal rights.

Far more are employed to harass social welfare claimants.

No wonder a recent survey of bosses covered by JLCs found that a majority were in favour of retaining the JLC system!

The experience of the US shows that what starts off as a minimum wage in law can often end up as a maximum wage in practice.

Even if there was a minimum wage, workers would still have to fight to implement it.

In reality, many trade union leaders call for purely legal protection in order to avoid mobilising their members for a real fight against low pay.

Action by workers - like those at Bewleys in Tallaght last year - is the only way to ensure decent wages.



# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

## Inside:

# Malcolm X

## and the fight against racism: see pages 6 & 7

# Stop the Tory vandals

# SAVE

# THE

# N.H.S.



### Anger is growing in Northern Ireland against the Tory plans for more health cuts

Over 3,000 workers from the Royal Victoria Hospital marched recently against cuts in acute services.

And 1,000 people attended a mass rally against plans to close the maternity unit at South Tyrone Hospital.

The RVH cuts will hit services like accident and emergency, trauma and cardiology.

And if South Tyrone's maternity unit is closed, women will have to travel 50 miles to Daisy Hill in Newry.

The British Tories think that health care has to be run like a business. They want to turn hospitals in profit making institutions that tender for how 'competitive' their services are.

The health cuts are now putting nurses under severe strain. Newly qualified staff nurses are being asked to train in student nurses.

The G.P.s. in the Northern Ireland are being told to manage their own budgets. This means that treatment will be based on what the doctors can afford and not what the patients need.

More protests are being planned against the health cuts. NIPSA and UNISON have called a march in Belfast for Monday 29th March against the RVH opt-out.

The hospital will opt out on the 1st April, threatening 2,000 jobs immediately. Unions fear that the hospital will be completely closed by the year 2,000.

The UNISON Shop Stewards committee at

the hospital said:

"The Eastern Health board is trying to set community against community and hospital against hospital.

We intend to set the people against the Eastern Health Board -- they have betrayed us all."

The protest on 29th March should be built for throughout Northern Ireland. Delegations should be organised to the march from every major workplace.

The march should be turned into one of the biggest ever seen in Belfast so that the Tories see united anger of masses of Catholic and Protestant workers.

The march should also be seen as a spring-board to build for strike action in support of the hospital workers.

Some union leaders claiming that a campaign to win "public opinion" can save the hospitals by itself.

But the Barts hospital in London faces closure despite a big public campaign.

The occupation at the University College hospital showed a better way forward. When the health boards tried to close down one of the wards, the nurses occupied it and kept it open.

Strikes and occupations need not alienate the public. After all most of the public are workers who have to use the public health service.

The anger over the health cuts shows that Catholic and Protestant workers can unite on class issues. What is needed now are socialist politics which turns our anger against the Tory and Unionist bigots that kept us divided in the past.