

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

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Is revolution possible? See centre pages

NO HONEYMOON FOR REYNOLDS AND SPRING!

The Labour Party has voted to return Albert Reynolds to office.

In the last election workers voted AGAINST Fianna Fail. But the Dick Spring has decided to prop up the friends of Larry Goodman and let FF back to their own tricks.

In return the Labour Party Ministers have been awarded with their Mercedes and big salaries.

Every Minister in the new government starts off with a wage of £60,000.

Spring and Reynolds now hope that they will get a long honeymoon.

They want to pretend that they have a government that will bring change.

But the FF/Labour programme of government is a con.

■ There is a target of creating 30,000 jobs. But this target will not be met for a number of years.

Meanwhile unemployment is set to rise and rise.

■ There is a promise to cut the pupil teacher ratio in primary schools.

But the number of pupils on the rolls were about to fall anyway.

The previous FF administration had already promised to cut the pupil teacher ratio after 1993.

■ There is NO Commitments to free university education only a promise to look into how EC funds could be used 'to assist the cost of third level education'

■ There will be NO reversal of the Dirty Dozen cuts that McCreevy made in social welfare.

'Few Gains'

As Padraig Moran, the *Irish Times* Social Services Correspondent put it "there are few specific gains for people on welfare."

Meanwhile the new government will continue to pay out money to the speculators to shore up the Irish pound.

Ever since November last year, the Irish gov-

ernment has been paying out £5 million a day to buy back the Irish currency from the speculators.

And these speculators are not just greedy foreign bankers.

They include the Irish who play about on the Dublin Stock Exchange and big companies who want to make quick profits.

It is ordinary working people who have to pay for this madness.

Thousands of Irish workers will lose their jobs as interest rates go through the roof.

More and more people are finding that they cannot pay back their mortgages.

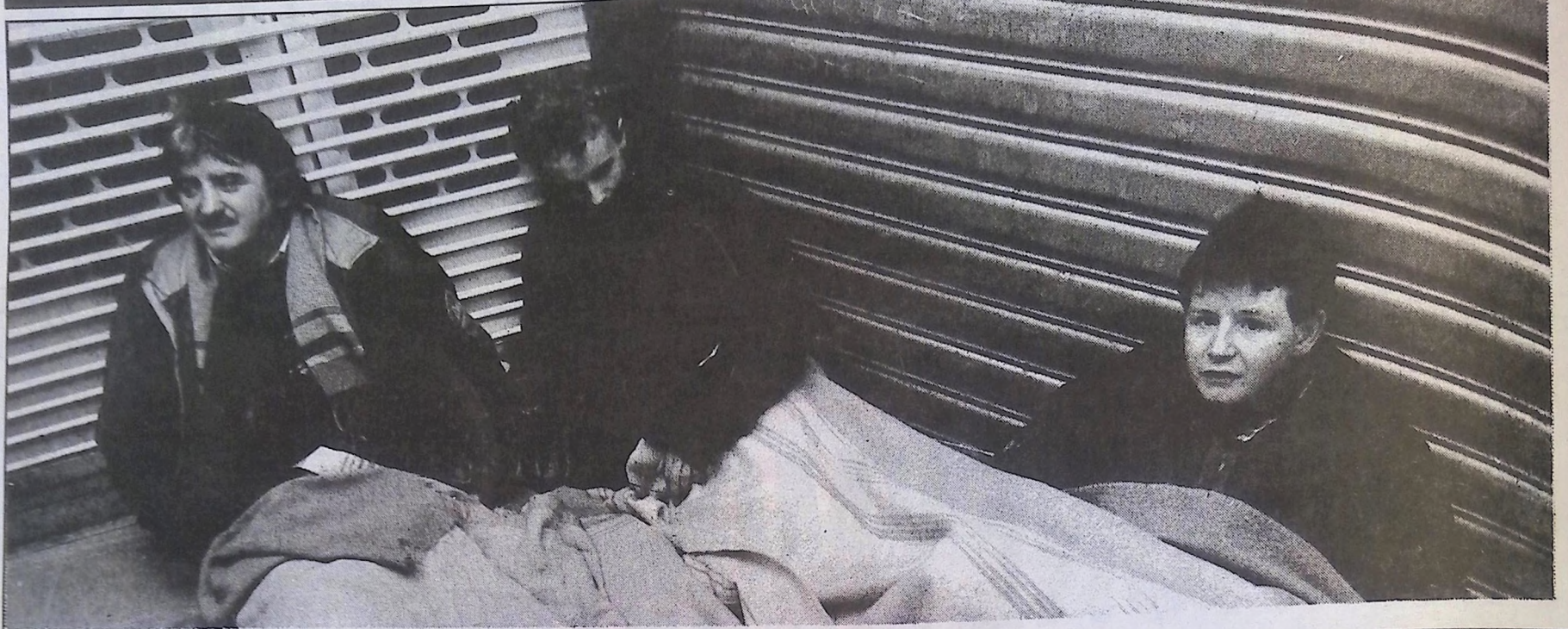
In a sane system the money that goes to the speculators could fund hospitals, nurseries and schools.

But now the Labour Party is telling workers to make sacrifices and pay up.

This is why we have to make sure that there is no honeymoon for this rotten alliance.



Thousands homeless as repossessions soar



How many more will die?

On New Year's Eve, 58-year old Monica O'Connor was found dead from hypothermia in her home in Sutton in Dublin. She had died on her couch, the only piece of furniture left in the house.

She was forced to burn the rest to keep warm because the electricity supply had been cut off a year ago.

An eviction notice from a building society had been pinned to her door. Monica O'Connor was

by **GER TUOHY**

the fourth person to die from the cold in Dublin in the space of three weeks.

Patsy Feery, a diabetic, died in a derelict wing of St. Brendan's hospital.

He had been sleeping rough for four years and was barred from the hostels for homeless people.

Two weeks earlier another couple had died on waste ground near the city centre.

The official number of homeless people in Ireland stands at 2,750.

Focus Point estimates that the actual number is closer to 7,000 while the National Campaign for the Homeless claims it is 30,000.

However, there are only 600 emergency hostel beds available in Dublin.

These are continuously full and people are turned away each night.

The State's response to the recent horrors of homelessness was to use the army to ferry homeless people to a temporary makeshift hostel.

The sick joke was that this hostel was located in St. Brendan's hospital, where Patsy Feery died.

One of the first people to avail of the service was a former patient of the same

hospital who had been discharged into "community care".

Providing more hostel accommodation will have no effect on the problem of homelessness.

Appalling conditions exist in many of these hostels. 75 per cent of hostel beds in Dublin are occupied by former psychiatric patients, dumped there because of the health cuts of the 1980s.

The latest survey by the Simon Community reports

that a high proportion of the residents in their hostels have health problems of all kinds.

Forty seven per cent have been hospitalised for physical illness in the past five years, and 39 per cent had been hospitalised for psychiatric illness during the same period.

The cuts in the health services and house building programme are the real reasons for the horrific deaths that will continue to happen.

EVICTIONS DOUBLE

THE number of repossessions doubled in 1992.

Threshold, the housing advice agency report a threefold increase in the number of people with mortgage arrears last year.

But this is only the tip of the iceberg.

The increase in interest rates last October meant that some people's repayments increased by as much as £100 per month.

This hardship and debt will translate to more court cases and evictions later in the year.

Dublin: 80 homes in 1992

LAST year, Dublin corporation built 80 houses, only one-seventh the number built in 1984.

There are 4,377 families on the housing list (this means one house for every 55 families).

The only major construction in the last five years has been of luxury apartments used as tax evasion scams for property developers.

These have often forced out working class communities from areas they had lived in for generations.

OIL DISASTER SHOWS... Profit still rules

THE Liberian oil tanker *Braer* ran aground off the Shetland Islands in early January.

It carried a cargo of 85,000 tons of crude oil—twice the amount carried by the *Exxon Valdez* which ran aground in Alaska in 1989 causing massive pollution.

The *Braer's* engines failed and it had lost all power, steering and radar when it ran aground.

The ship had a long history of maintenance problems.

A four man maintenance crew were retained on board for the voyage to work on the engines.

The loading of oil had to be stopped before it set off when a pipe used for powering equipment burst.

The *Braer* disaster is the latest in a long line of similar disasters. In 1990 alone there were over sixty. But only the worst of them get media attention.

Unsafe

The world fleet of 4,400 oil tankers is ageing fast. Their design has been shown to be unsafe.

In one class of tanker reinforcing girders were supposed to run the full length of the ship. They were omitted to save money—with the

result that the ships can and literally do split in two, as happened in the case of the *Derbyshire*.

But at the present rate of replacement it will take 200 years to replace the world's fleet.

With the price of oil falling and huge overcapacity in freight the oil industry bosses prefer to use low waged, poorly trained workers and obsolete ships.

Over the last ten years some 200 bulk carriers and some 300 lives have been lost.

As long as profit rules the underpaid Filipino and Pakistani crews will be as dispensable as the ships they sail in.

Abortion ban in Poland

BACKSTREET abortions are on the increase in Poland.

Before the fall of the Stalinist regime abortion was freely available. But it was used

as a means of contraception because of the lack of adequate alternatives.

there has been a significant increase in deaths from self administered abortions.

The Catholic Hierarchy are campaigning for even tougher limits which would ban abortion in all cases including rape.

But the majority of Poles oppose the ban on abortion. Over a million people have signed a petition calling for a referendum to repeal the restrictive legislation.

The Hierarchy has opposed this proposal saying that such a vote would amount to a plebiscite on morality!

GUINNESS GOOD FOR SOME

FORMER Guinness chairman Lord Iveagh died last June.

His Irish fortune was over £37million.

But this was the tip of a vast fortune of £560million.

Iveagh went into tax exile in Ireland because of what he felt were "intolerable" British tax rates.

The rich have always recognised that this country is a haven for them.

Safety hazard

ROBERT Atkins, the Tory N.I. Minister responsible for road safety is a safety hazard.

He was caught speeding at 71 mph in a 30 mph zone in his home town of Lancaster.

He was banned from driving for three weeks and fined £800.

Atkins got off lightly compared to teenage joyriders shot dead at British Army checkpoints in the North.

Restrictions on abortion were imposed by the doctors' professional association and the government.

Access

This has made access to publicly funded abortions next to impossible.

The cost of a private abortion is between \$250 and \$800. The average monthly salary is \$200.

It is no wonder that

U.S. AIDS scandal

EVER wonder at the lack of significant progress in AIDS research?

The findings of a recent inquiry partially explain why.

It has been revealed that

Dr. Robert Gallo, the leading US researcher on AIDS, falsified his findings in order to promote his research at the expense of the work of a laboratory in France—the Pasteur Institute.

This fraud has meant that the millions of dollars in

royalties from the blood test developed as a result of this "research" has been shared between the US government, Dr. Gallo's employer, and the Pasteur Institute.

And probably has also meant that thousands have needlessly died.

★ Two people were arrested at the counter-demo against Youth Defence organised by the S.W.M. last November. Socialist Worker is pleased to report that the Youth Defence supporter pleaded guilty and the pro-choice supporter was let go free. Result: Pro-Choice - 1, Youth Defence - 0!

So where is the New World Order?

On January 20th, George Bush left office. Three years ago he proclaimed that there would be a New World Order after the collapse of the Berlin Wall.

Today war and the threat of war dominate whole parts of the world. In the former Yugoslavia 150,000 people have already died. But the Western powers can only propose a break-up of Bosnia which backs up the strategy of ethnic cleansing.

Instead of New World Order there has been a return to an old fashioned colonial rule.

The US, Britain and France use the United Nations as the fig leaf to cover their military interventions.

Vague humanitarian justifications are given but the break up of Iraq shows that they operate no differently from the way the British Empire dealt with that country in the 1920s.

Saddam Hussein is a thug. But he was armed and funded by the US, Britain and France when he served their purposes in weakening the Khomeini regime in Iran.

But now the attacks on Hussein are being used as an example to show any country what will happen if they defy the greed of the big Western companies for profits.

The US hopes to take on the role of the world cop in order to compensate for its economic decline.

But it would be wrong to see the US as simply the one big superpower. What is emerging is many different competing centres of power.

Japan has set out to build its sphere of influence in Asia. Its industries are

tied into a vicious competition with those of the US. It is once again re-establishing itself as a strong military force.

Germany has sought to extend its influence in Eastern Europe. Its support for Croatia is part of this strategy. It also hopes to turn the EC into an independent political force under its influence.

On the edges of the former USSR the smaller regional powers such as Turkey, Iran and Saudi Arabia compete for influence by supplying arms to various warlords.

The US is simply the biggest power that is struggling to control the spreading chaos for its own ends.

What we are witnessing is not a New World Order but a return to the way the world looked prior to the First World War.



MILLIONS STARVE TO HELP THE RICH

There is no New World Order when it comes to the Third World.

Famine and disease continue to stalk many countries. In the world today millions of children die needlessly because they cannot get medicine.

■ 3.5 million children die from pneumonia every year. But a five day course of antibiotics costing a mere

15p would prevent 85% of these cases.

■ 3 million children lose their lives from diarrhoeal diseases. A course of water tablets costing less than 10p could prevent many deaths.

■ 800,000 children die from measles. The vaccine costs less than 30p per child.

■ One quarter of a million chil-

dren are blinded by lack of Vitamin A. Capsules with the vitamin costs only 6p per child.

Saved

In all UNICEF estimates that for the bargain basement price of \$25 billion dollars the majority of these children could be saved.

But many Third World countries

continue to pay huge interest to the Western banking system.

That same banking system fleeces workers in the West for higher mortgages and pays its own workers poverty wages.

And the leaders of the Western powers want to spend the billions on new armaments for the wars they will fight in the next century.

Nothing shows more plainly why capitalism has to be abolished.

STREET ACTION BRINGS VICTORY

Homeless mothers living at Westside House, a refuge in Galway were told by Mayor McCormick in November 1992 that the hostel could "no longer cater for women and children".

They have been fighting to keep the place open since.

Two residents, Cathryn Loughnane, mother of twin babies and Sharon Sammon, mother of new born daughter, brought a circuit court injunction against local T.D.s to vent their anger at Galway politicians.

Because of cutbacks by the Western Health Board and the pittance allowed to run the hostel, Social Services decided to adopt the inhumane policy of closing the refuge from 12 noon to 6 p.m. each day and shut down the

premises permanently at the end of '92.

Cathryn Loughnane told *Socialist Worker* "We were forced to walk the streets every day for 6 hours while the hostel was closed. "That was not right."

Socialist Workers Movement in Galway took up the issue with a petition on their paper sale.

A day of action was called in December to coincide with President Robinson's visit to the city.

Picketing, lobbying and petition signing took place on the doorstep of the Social Service Centre.

As a direct result of action on the streets by the homeless mothers with support of students, trade unionists and workers the director was forced to agree to the hostel staying open on a 24 hour daily basis for another 6

months.

"We are going to take a long, hard look at the problem," he said, "but I hope that the appropriate authorities will also address the problem and put adequate resources into it."

A small victory for human dignity had been won.

Poor get poorer—official

THE gap between Ireland's rich and poor has widened dramatically.

This is the main conclusion of a report published by the Justice Committee of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors.

"The income of the better off has increased by substantially more

WORKERS PAY FOR CURRENCY CRISIS

INTEREST rates in Ireland have been sent through the roof to defend the Irish pound.

For over a 100,000 people who hold mortgages this is devastating news.

An extra £100 a month could be demanded in higher interest charges on the typical house.

But the rich speculators are not impressed with the sacrifice.

One senior banker said "98% of opinion in

Europe says 'Well of course, it has to go'.

Irish capitalism is caught in a dilemma.

It wants to stick with the German mark and maintain the value of the Irish pound so that its massive debt in foreign currencies does not increase.

But the higher the Irish pound the more difficult it is for Irish industry to compete on the British market.

So far it has decided

to pour money into the currency markets to keep up the value of the pound.

In November, the Irish state wiped out more than £200 million of its foreign reserves in this effort.

The currency crisis shows the madness of the system.

The system is based on chaos and greed — and they still want us to pick up the bill for the gambling debts.

than the income of low paid employees and people on social welfare", said Fr. Healy of the CMRS.

Fallen

The portion of tax revenue spent on social welfare has fallen from 27.5 per cent to just 21.9 per cent — and yet the numbers on social welfare

have increased by 94,000 over the same period.

The report reveals that Government department secretaries now earn more than 13 times as much as the average social welfare recipient.

These civil servants have enjoyed a massive 66 per cent increase in their salaries over the past six years — while the average social welfare payment has increased by

only 29.6 per cent.

Salaries for Irish managers in large Irish companies have rocketed £15,140 to £44,100 a year over the past six years — a rise of more than 50 per cent.

The average industrial wage has risen by £2,890 since 1986 to its present miserable level of £12,393.

So much for our classless society!

THE THINGS THEY SAY

"Coalition with *Fianna Fail* was the most obvious and realistic way for *Labour* to make any headway with its policy proposals." — An Phoblacht, paper of Sinn Fein

"The incoming *Fianna Fail/Labour* government is about to take the wraps off a package that could make Ireland the most truly classless society in the world." — The Daily Star, owned by Ireland's millionaire bean baron Tony O'Reilly

"I've resigned the party whip because of the leadership's stand on Coalition." — Labour Left winger, Emmet Stagg in April 1992

"Coalition with FF is the lesser evil and I will be supporting it." — Labour Party T.D. Emmet Stagg in January 1993

SOMALIA:

Guns for the starving

The horror of thousands of people starving in Somalia has shocked the world. But the invasion by 28,000 US troops will do nothing to end their misery.

Within days of their arrival, soldiers of the French Foreign Legion killed two Somalis who "failed to stop at a check point".

Then American helicopter gunships murdered nine people when they destroyed three trucks regarded as suspicious.

The US invasion is supposedly to prevent looting of food which we are told is the main reason for the continuing famine. This is a lie.

Atop UN official in Mogadishu told the Guardian "the operation stinks of arrogance."

"All this bullshit about 80 per cent of food being looted, it's all very well stage managed by the United States"

Save the Children has distributed 4,000 tons of food in the capital without losing one bag. Other agencies suffer losses of 2-10 per cent.

In many cases the agencies have managed this by working with Somalis.

Threatens

The invasion threatens these relationships. As a worker with Medecins Sans Frontieres explained:

"The troops are going to completely shatter the equilibrium that has been established."

"The figures of 95 per cent malnutrition and 80 per cent of food being looted are months out of date, and are being used to justify the arrival of the troops."

In fact the problem is lack of food and the US record shows they care nothing for the lives of

"It is an army of occupation. It is an invasion just like the last century"— Somali aid worker

ordinary Somalis.

In August 145,000 tons of food allocated to the country was withheld for eight weeks.

The reason? The shipments were covered by a budget that did not begin until October 1st.

There was no such hesitation when it came to sending in the troops.

But the shocking fact is that no one needs to starve in Somalia. A tiny proportion of the world's immense resources could end the famine.

The EC grain stocks for instance, could feed Somalia for eight years.

Profit

The reason these stocks don't reach the starving is that nobody would make a profit from delivering them.

The Western corporations that



monopolise the grain market rely on withholding food to keep prices artificially high.

Just five companies control 90 per cent of the world's wheat trade. The biggest, Cargill, has a

fleet of 14 ocean going vessels and 500 barges, which could easily ship sufficient food to Somalia.

The real reason for sending in the troops is not to feed the starv-

ing but to assert US military might.

The Americans want to establish a regime sympathetic to their requirements.

That means either a long term military presence reminiscent of

19th century colonialism—or more likely, they will bolster one of the warlords and then get on

That would mean more fighting and a continuation of the famine.

Bosnia: UN can't bring peace

by SIMON GILBERT

The American government and their European allies are pushing for military intervention in Bosnia.

There are already 22,000 UN troops there, but our rulers want to impose their solution by force.

The gulf war shows what a US invasion could mean. In six weeks in 1991, the US dropped 85,000 tons of bombs on Iraq and Kuwait.

For all the barbarism of the conflict in Bosnia, nothing has so far matched the horror of the February 1991 massacre on the Basra road.

There thousands of retreating Iraqis were murdered in one day, in what one US general called "a turkey shoot".

US secretary of state, Eagleburger admits that aid efforts in Bosnia would be suspended in order to enforce a "no-fly" zone.

In other words he wants aid workers out of the way when US planes start dropping bombs.

The media have

backed the war drive with a barrage of stories about Serbian atrocities. Clearly Serbia is the main US target.

But it is not just Serbs who are responsible for the desperate situation in Bosnia.

Croatia, the West's potential ally, has joined in the carve up. In fact the Serbian leader, Milosevic, and Croatian president, Tudjman, planned the division between them.

Partition

As early as March 1991 the two met to discuss the partition of Bosnia. Serbia has annexed large parts of Bosnia in an attempt to create a greater Serbia.

Croatia has followed suit. In the areas it controls the Croatian flag and currency have been imposed.

This means that the United Nations force would either have to side with Croatia, in which case they could become involved in a long and

bloody war driving Serbs out of Bosnia.

Alternatively the troops could police the existing carve up. This would suit Serbia which controls 70 per cent of Bosnia.

It would also suit Croatia currently occupying western Hercegovina.

But the Muslims who make up 44 per cent of the population would be left with a fraction of the territory.

Western intervention has so far done nothing to bring peace nearer. German recognition of Croatia helped fuel the war drive in the summer of 1991.

UN sanctions have helped to bolster the Serbian ruler Milosevic. In the recent elections he was able to blame food and medicine shortages on the sanctions.

By most accounts the war is likely to spread to Kosovo and Macedonia.

But EC backing of Greece's refusal to recognise Macedonia can only encourage the Ser-



bian leadership to invade.

Peace cannot be imposed by force from the outside.

The Western powers will not address the economic collapse that gave rise to the war.

UN plans to "cantonise" Bosnia will only serve to institutionalise ethnic divisions.

Only the mass of ordinary people can stop this war as they grow sick of it's consequences. There

are already some hopeful signs.

Milan Panic is an opportunist politician, but the hundreds of thousands at his Belgrade election rallies were there because they wanted peace.

So do the 100,000 Serbs who have dodged the draft.

What is needed is for workers from all the nationalities to unite against the rulers who have used them.

THE REAL WARLORDS

THE US is trying to pose as Somalia's saviour, but in reality it is part of the problem.

The huge number of weapons in the country were supplied by America and Russia during the cold war.

One of the factions in the civil war, the Somali National Front, is led by supporters of former dictator Siad Barre.

For 14 years Barre was backed by the US despite one of the worst human rights records in the world.

The fact is that the US government cares no more for the people of Somalia now than it did then. They are using the concern that millions of people feel in the West as a cover.

Their real aim is to establish the right of the US to intervene anywhere in the world. The former Yugoslavia is being lined up as the next target.

But we have seen what the new world order means in practice. In 1989 24,000 troops invaded Panama, supposedly to help free the people from dictator Manuel Noriega.

Up to 7,000 civilians were killed, but the new government is as corrupt and cruel as the old one.

Last year the slaughter of hundreds of thousands of Iraqis was supposed to end tyranny in Kuwait. But the restored regime is worse than ever.

Out Now

Hope Amidst the Horror by Mark O'Brien

Price £1.75 post free from SW Book, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

As North's violence rises...

'Peacekeepers' back the thugs

by
KIERAN ALLEN

LAST MONTH Belfast City Council announced that it is erecting a stain glass window in City Hall.

The window is to "honour" the role of the British Army in Northern Ireland.

But recent comments by the British Army GOC in Northern Ireland, John Wilsey, show that there is little to honour.

The British Army was "certainly not ashamed" over the Brian Nelson affair, said Wilsey.

Brian Nelson was a former British soldier who was recruited to join the UDA. He quickly moved up the ranks of the UDA and acted as its intelligence officer.

At his trial he admitted that his principal role was to set up Catholics who were suspected of republican sympathies for assassination.

One of his main victims was the prominent lawyer, Pat Finucane.

Nelson also organised a major sup-

ply of arms from South Africa for the loyalist terror gangs.

The apartheid regime supplied the arms in return for stolen plans on missile systems from Shorts.

Nelson's handlers in British Army intelligence were kept fully informed on the arms smuggling.

They allowed it to go ahead knowing that the arms would transform the UDA and the UVF into efficient assassination squads.

The results are now clearly visible.

Last year, loyalist paramilitaries killed more people than the IRA. The UDA claimed that its targets are anyone in the "republican community".

Loyalist terror is being used as a political weapon to punish areas which show any support for republicans.

Far from operating as a peace-keeping force in Northern Ireland the British Army has bolstered up sectarianism and prolonged the horrible violence.



**'COMMUNITY
POLICING'
RUC-STYLE**

THE Bloody Sunday Initiative is a Derry based organisation that was set up to commemorate the 13 people shot by the Parachute Regiment in 1972.

Paul is a student who is a member of the group. Talking to *Socialist Worker* he stressed that "the Bloody Sunday Initiative is not a republican group but a human rights organisation."

In December last year their offices were raided by the RUC. Paul describes what happened:

"One of the people in the room was at the window and he said here's the cops. The next thing we heard glass smashing and a lot of shouting downstairs.

They came running into the room with their weapons level to their shoulders, pointing straight at our head and shouting abuse.

They threw us all to the ground, in different parts of the room, facing into the walls and made us kneel.

They then pulled on these plastic forensic suits over us which've got hoods on them so you could only see for a very limited space.

They were really hyped. They kept us kneeling for an hour. Anyone who moved got kicked and one of the group had to be taken to hospital the next day.

I, for one was shaking uncontrollably - partly because it was such an awkward position".

They were taken to Gough Barracks in Armagh because the Castlereagh Interrogation Centre was apparently full! Some were held for four days but Paul was released after about two days.

He was driven back to Derry by three RUC officers. He describes what happened,

"They went on about how dirty Catholics are in their houses in the Bogside, how Derry people are all physically ugly. I thought they were really seriously in need of help. They were really sick. They were some of the saddest low life I had come across in a long time."

Bombings show the politics of despair

The IRA was born out of the struggle against the sectarian security forces. Since 1969, nearly ten thousand of its members have been imprisoned.

The republicans want to bring about change and that makes them fundamentally different from the loyalist paramilitaries that want to restore naked sectarian rule.

But tragically neither Sinn Fein or the IRA have anyway of bringing about a solution. Recent developments indicate that its tactics are based on political despair.

Throughout the 1980s, the republicans swung to the left. They called themselves socialists. Leaders like Adams argued that the armed struggle had to be combined with electoral activity and social agitation.

In reality, the left turn was rhetorical. Adams sought to build a "pan-nationalist front" that linked Sinn Fein with the "grassroots" of the SDLP and FF. Social agitation became little more than community work that aimed at laying an electoral base.

Now, however, the Adams strategy has come to a dead end. Adams had hoped to make a major breakthrough in the South but in the last General Election where Sinn Fein fielded candidates in almost every constituency it got less than 2% of the vote.

The result is a virtual return to the

tactics of the 1970s. The left rhetoric is being dropped as Adams claims the election of Bill Clinton could bring about a 'breakthrough' in Northern Ireland. He is also calling for either EC or UN to get involved.

Intensity

More significantly, the militarists inside the republicans are now making the running. There has been a new emphasis on city centre bombing in Northern Ireland and the campaign in Britain is being sustained with a new intensity.

Republican strategists claim that the

bombing campaign will cost Britain so much that it will force an eventual withdrawal. It is nonsense.

In the 1970s an extensive bombing campaign in both Britain and Ireland did not bring a troop withdrawal any nearer.

In reality, the IRA bombing campaign is completely counterproductive for bringing about a troop withdrawal.

The bombing campaign arises from the fact that the republicans have nothing to say to Protestant workers who want answers to the increasingly desperate situation they face.

Wages inside the Protestant working class have fallen as the skilled jobs

in Harland and Wolff and other major industries have been swapped for underpaid public sector jobs.

Major contradictions could open up over what exactly loyalty to the British state and its monarchy is supposed to mean.

Destroyed

But many of the town centres which have been destroyed recently in Bangor, Lisburn and Coleraine are overwhelmingly Protestant.

One Protestant trade unionist told *Socialist Worker* that "The bombings make my job of fighting bigotry against

Catholic fellow workers more difficult. Pensioners are left homeless and young families have no roof over their heads."

In areas like West Belfast or the Bogside, there was a cheer for the millions done in bomb damage to the Baltic Exchange in the City of London.

People see it as revenge for the daily harassment and insults of the army.

But the hype turns into apathy and despair when the chemistry of bombmaking brings no real change. Instead of mass protests against the presence of the army and the RUC, mobilisations are now confined to commemorating anniversaries.

One of the IRA bombing missions in Britain was carried out on the same day that tens of thousands of British workers were marching in support of the miners.

It symbolises the fact that republican activists see workers there as simply "Brits" whose anger against the Tories cannot be turned into opposition to the role of the British army in Ireland.

Everywhere they turn, the republicans look into a cul de sac. They do so because they have no way of connecting the anger that arises from oppression in the Catholic ghettos with the day to day concerns of working people in Northern Ireland, Southern Ireland or Britain. Now more than ever an alternative has to their disastrous strategy.

A Socialist Answer

A socialist alternative in Northern Ireland cannot simply see itself as the left of "the anti-imperialist movement".

The People's Democracy led by Michael Farrell, one of the first socialist organisations in the North, did this and after some time virtually disappeared.

Socialists stand for working class unity between Catholic and Protestant. There is common suffering on the Falls and the Shankill

Road.

Almost 40% of the population in Northern Ireland are on Family Income Support -- the highest percentage in the whole of the UK.

This common suffering provides the basis for unity.

But unity cannot be built if the oppression of Catholics is ignored. Catholics are more likely to be unemployed and be on worse pay. On top of that they face harassment from the sec-

ularian security forces.

Socialists argue that Catholic and Protestant workers have to unite as a class to oppose the Tories and their system.

To bring about that unity discrimination and the activities of the British army and RUC have to be opposed.

The simple message of socialists is that the more we are divided, the more all workers lose out.

We live in a world of famine and food mountains.
The talk of the 'peace dividend' after the Cold War has been replaced by images of war on our TV screens every night.

In a world of abundance and wealth tens of millions of people rot on the dole throughout the EC.

In the Third World last year one million children died of measles and three million died of diarrhoea.

Socialists argue that the solution to these and other problems faced by humanity is revolution. For many years cynics and pessimists argued that revolution wasn't possible.

They claimed it was outdated and belonged to the era of the French Revolution 200 years ago or the Russian Revolution of 1917.

The revolutions that swept Eastern Europe in 1989 put paid to this argument.

Beginning with the Solidarity movement that swept Poland in 1980-81 to the fall of Ceausescu the Stalinist tyrannies of Eastern Europe crumbled very quickly.

People in the West saw the evidence with their own eyes. Massive crowds that filled the great squares of ancient European capitals; the demonstrators who tore down the Berlin Wall.

Here was the evidence that nothing is set in concrete, that times change and people change and that even brutal dictatorships can be swept away by the tide of history.

Recessions

Capitalism is a system with crisis built into it. It is characterised by booms, slumps and recessions.

It is also a system with class struggle built into it.

During a boom workers feel confident to fight for a better deal. During a recession they have to fight the bosses to protect what they have.

This struggle can sometimes develop to the extent where workers by their own actions bring the current system into question and move towards revolution.

But could revolution happen in Western Europe? The truth is that Western European history is littered with examples of great revolutionary upsurges from below.

The inspiration of the Russian Revolution of 1917 and the impact of the First World War sparked off a wave of revolutionary workers movements throughout Western Europe.

The First World War itself was not brought to an end by the military defeat of Germany.

Not a single allied soldier set foot on German soil.

The war stopped because a revolution in Germany brought down the German monarchy and paralysed every town and city in the country.

A Workers' Republic was declared in Bavaria. The whole of Europe was affected.

In Italy there was a factory occupation movement that lasted two years.

In Britain the cabinet discussed its preparations for the coming revolution and British army tanks were used against strikers in Belfast and Glasgow.

Much of Europe was on the brink of revolution as the Bolshevik 'red menace' swept the continent.

But the revolutionary wave was defeated. The Russian workers were left standing alone, so their revolution withered and died too.

Since then there have been many occasions when capitalist society has been weakened from below.

In 1926 there was a general strike in Britain.

In 1936 Spanish workers held power in much of the country. That year also saw a revolutionary upsurge in France.

Then in 1975 the fascist junta in Portugal was overthrown by a combination of revolt in the armed forces and revolt in the cities by workers.

But the events in France in 1968 is by far the most important example.

Here we have a modern European country, the type of society we are told that can never experience a revolution, which is thrown into turmoil and paralysed by the biggest general strike in world history.

The general strike that erupted in May 1968 involved over nine million workers. It began as a student protest against the university authorities over lack of facilities and authoritarian rules.

It quickly developed into a full scale revolt with students building barricades and occupying university buildings.

The government responded by sending in the police who brutally repressed the students.

The police violence caused anger throughout France and trade unions called a one day strike and demonstration in protest.

The trade union leadership had intended only a one day strike. But the movement quickly developed its own momentum.

Occupied

Workers occupied their factories and offices until their own demands were met - over nine million workers joined the strike.

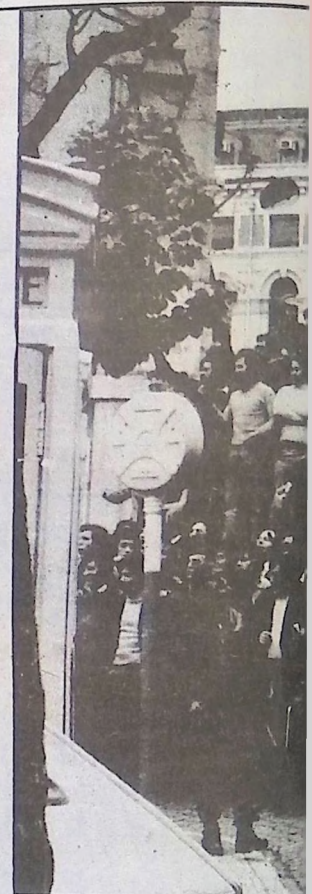
Any general strike raises the questions of power and control - vital services like food supplies must be maintained so workers find themselves making decisions about production and distribution, decisions that are normally out of workers control.

So for a brief period in the summer of 1968 French workers started groping towards the exercise of power.

Gas and electricity workers joined the strike but decided to maintain supplies vital to day to day living - power was cut only at specified times as a show of strength to the government.

REVOLUTION

What is it?



Similarly, water workers joined the strike and the water supply came under the control of the strike committee.

Transmit

A postal workers' strike committee in central Paris agreed to transmit urgent telegrams where human life was at stake.

Printworkers continued to work but refused to print what they considered

to be rightwing propaganda.

Action committees sprang up all over France - there were 450 such committees in Paris alone.

Some were based in factories - others were based in working class areas.

They began to carry out activities such as street cleaning, distributing food supplies, collecting money for strikers' families and producing information and propaganda.

Industrial workers led the movement, but the rest of society followed.

Football players occupied the headquarters of the French Professional Football Association.

They raised the red flag over the building and demanded, 'Football for the Footballers'.

Three hundred dancers and stage hands of the Folies Bergeres joined the strike and occupied the theatre.

Those who would have normally considered themselves 'middle class' or 'professional' were drawn into the movement.

Scientists, researchers and graduate engineers joined in the ferment of debate and discussion.

The government was paralysed. The bosses feared using the police or army against the strikers because no one knew if they would obey their officers.

Both the police and the army had become influenced by the mood of revolt.

There were rumours of committees being set up inside the army and at least one army unit issued a leaflet stating that they supported the strikers and would not obey army orders to move against them.

Mutiny

There was also reports of a mutiny on the aircraft carrier Clemenceau.

The President of France, Charles de Gaulle, panicked and briefly fled the country to West Germany where he consulted the head of his armed forces.

De Gaulle returned and called a general election.

This is what the Socialist Party, the Communist party and the trade union bureaucrats had been waiting for.

They used the elections to demobilise the movement.

They argued that things would be settled at the polls and persuaded key sections of the strikers to go back to work.

The movement divided and demoralisation set in.

On the basis of this demoralisation, the right wing parties beat the left in the general election.

Barcelona 1936

"It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle.

"Practically every building had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flags of the Anarchists.

"Every shop and cafe had an inscription saying that it had been collectivised; even the bootblacks had been collectivised and their boxes painted red and black.

"Waiters and shopwalkers

looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. Almost my first experience was receiving a lecture from an hotel manager for trying to tip a lift boy.

Worth

"Down the Ramblas, the wide central artery of the town where crowds of people streamed constantly to and fro, the loudspeakers were bellowing revolutionary songs all day and far into the night.

"And it was the aspect of the

crowds that was the queerest thing of all. In outward appearance it was a town in which the wealthy classes had practically ceased to exist.

"Everyone wore rough working class clothes, or blue overalls or some variant of the militia uniform. All this was queer and moving.

"There was much in it that I did not understand, in some ways I did not even like it, but I recognised it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for."

■ GEORGE ORWELL *Barcelona 1936*

UTION... Can it happen?

by SEAN McVEIGH



Festival of the oppressed

Socialists argue that revolution is necessary for two reasons.

Firstly there is no reformist or parliamentary road to socialism.

We know this because of the experience of labour parties in government in many different countries.

At best such governments merely tinker with the system, at worst they pursue policies no different from the conservative parties.

We also know from the experience of the coup in Chile in 1973 that capitalists will use the state machine to try to defend their system.

Socialism must therefore be won through struggle, which will ultimately involve insurrection.

But there is a second reason why revolution is necessary.

Capitalism divides people, it teaches men to look down on women and whites to look down on blacks and in Northern Ireland it separates Catholics from Protestants.

Workers heads are filled with all sorts of right-wing ideas - what Karl Marx called 'the muck of ages'.

It is in the course of struggle for power that workers become fit to govern and throw off the old ideas.

In France in 1968 there was no attempt to seize power, but nevertheless the same process was at work.

What emerged then and in all great

workers' struggles was what Lenin described as a 'festival of the oppressed'.

The development of such situations involves great changes in the psychology of millions of people, new hopes emerge and a new sense of personal and collective power develops.

Old ideas like racism and sexism diminish as new bonds of solidarity and unity are forged in the struggle against

the common enemy. In changing the world workers change themselves.

The real issue is not whether or not a revolutionary situation can develop in the West, history shows us that it can.

The real argument is whether or not socialists will be organised and prepared.

The lesson of the past is the necessity for a revolutionary party to be in place to take it forward to victory.

A thirst for learning

"SUCH a thirst for knowledge sprang up all over the country that new schools, adult courses, universities and Workers' Faculties were formed everywhere.

"Innumerable fresh initiatives laid open the teaching of unheard of, totally unexplored domains of learning.

"In this period too the museums were enriched by the confiscations of private collections: extraordinary honesty and care characterised this expropriation of artistic riches.

"Not one work of any significance was lost.

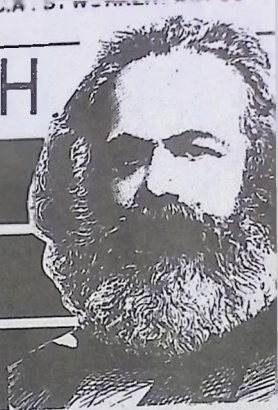
"Every evening the theatres, now nationalised, presented their customary repertoire, but to a new sort of audience.

"The ballet companies, organised for the delight of an aristocracy long since shot, gave their performances in the midst of the terror; the gold vaulted theatres were thronged with working men and women."

■ Victor Serge, Russia 1917

DAVE McDONAGH

★ Teach yourself Marxism



Do we need violence?

Many people reject the idea of revolution because it involves violence. The Labour Party for example argues that we should look for peaceful change through elections.

But socialists start from the position of wanting to end the capitalist system. It is capitalism that is the main source of violence in society.

There is the violence of war which has claimed at least 100 million lives this century. There is the daily violence of production for profit which exposes workers to injury, disease and even death.

A system that puts profits before people also results in the 'hidden' violence of famine. And the poverty and frustration caused by capitalism leads to communal bloodshed in India, racist attacks in Germany and crimes like murder and rape.

In such a system the ruling class will not simply give up its power peacefully. The state must be smashed. As Karl Marx put it "the working class cannot simply lay hold of the ready-made state machine and wield it for its own purposes."

He said the state was not a neutral force existing above society. Rather it is an instrument by which the ruling class keep control over the workers they exploit.

This was a lesson that Chilean workers learned in 1973. Then the elected socialist government of Salvador Allende was overthrown in a military coup with the backing of big business.

The Pinochet regime that took over murdered 30,000 people including Allende.

In Ireland our rulers are just as willing to use violence to pursue their rule. In 1979 gardai baton-charged striking postal workers in Dublin. In 1986 corporation workers were on the receiving end of a brutal attack.

Gardai were also used against H-block protesters in 1981 and to break up a women's peace camp in the Phoenix Park in 1984.

The likes of Smurfit, O'Reilly and Goodman will not give up their wealth without a fight. But that does not

mean that any attempt at revolution will be drowned in blood. Nor does it mean that a small group of revolutionaries should take up guns now to do the job on behalf of workers.

Revolutions do not begin with acts of violence by the revolutionaries. Rather they arise from the class struggle and erupt when the class antagonisms in capitalism boil over.

For socialists, mass action by workers - general strikes leading to workers' councils is the key to a revolution.

But even when there is mass action, the timing of an insurrection is crucial. Workers can only seize power when the revolution reaches its climax.

That is the point at which the working class is strongest - when a majority favour revolution.

It is also the point when the rulers are divided and weakened and least capable of fighting back.

Then it is possible to win over sections of the army and take power with little bloodshed.

Isolated

The mass of soldiers are drawn from the working class. In periods of social peace they are isolated in barracks.

The officers hope that drilling will encourage mindless obedience to their orders.

But a revolution affects every corner of society. Soldiers have to be used to break strikes and attack demonstrations. Bitterness and resentment grows in the ranks of the army.

If workers fraternise with the troops the discipline of the officers can be broken.

This is what happened in Portugal in 1975. The crack Copcon regiment was used to break strikes because the officers

thought that it was the most loyal regiment in the army.

But within months the regiment had become the strongest base of the Portuguese revolutionary left.

A revolution also increases the divisions inside the ruling class. They become paralysed and act indecisively when they are confronted by the majority of workers.

The Russian revolution reached this point in October 1917. Workers had set up workers councils - or soviets after the first revolt in February. By October a majority of the delegates were Bolsheviks.

As a result the insurrection in Petrograd cost only a handful of lives. In contrast the first world war, which was effectively ended by revolution, had cost millions of lives.

The key issue in a revolution is the strength, daring and unity of the working class. If it is seen as the class which can offer a future out of the growing mess society is in it can pull other sections of society to its side.

This means that the rich have less scope to whip up reactionary forces against the revolution.

If on the other hand the workers revolt is indecisive and wavering they terrify the rich but are unable to break their power.

This is what happened in Italy in 1919 when revolution stalked the land but the leadership lay in the hands of the vacillating Italian Socialist Party.

The failed revolt caused such a fear among the rich that they started to back Mussolini's fascist forces. Simultaneously the middle class gave up hope in workers bringing any real change.

This is why Trotsky argued that those who 'half make a revolution dig their own graves.'

Revolutions therefore do not necessarily involve an orgy of violence. The more determined workers are and the more resolute their elected leaders act, the less chance there is of wholesale violence.

Behind the fancy packaging Coalition means ...



More attacks on workers

Will the Labour/Fianna Fail Coalition bring changes for working people?

No. You only have to look what the Labour Party Ministers did when they were last in Coalition in the mid eighties.

The Labour Minister for Health, Barry Desmond, closed eight public hospitals in 1986.

The Labour leader, Dick Spring sent in the Gardai to attack ESB strikers in Cork.

Unemployment doubled during Labour's last term of office.

The Labour Party turned on their own supporters and demanded that they make sacrifices so that Irish capitalism could make more profits.

With the looming crisis in the Irish economy over the state of the currency, the Labour Ministers will be even quicker this time at starting the attacks on working people.

But in Coalition with Fine Gael, the Labour Party had less seats than they have now. With more power in the Dail, can't they keep a check on Fianna Fail?

The key issue is not the number of seats. The issue is whether or not you join with the right wing parties to manage capitalism or not.

The experience of even majority Labour governments today in Europe shows that Labour Parties do not bring real reforms.

After ten years in office, for example, the French Labour Party is so hated today that the fascists are able to grow significantly.

But when the Irish Labour Party starts off in Coalition with the right wing FF party they are saying openly that they want to see the interests of workers subordinated to that of capital.

So the FF/Labour programme for government does not contain a single measure which will bring increased costs for the bosses.

By going into Coalition with FF, Labour is showing that it accepts the maxim that what is good for the bosses is good for the country.

Far from keeping a check on Fianna Fail's excesses, Labour in coalition will move further to the right and lead the attacks on workers.

The Programme for Government talks of using state-backed resources to create jobs - isn't this a good approach?

The idea of using the state to promote economic recovery harks back to the ideas of the economist John Maynard Keynes.

Keynes examined the capitalist crash of the 1930s and argued that the market could not be left to its own devices.

The state had to intervene to increase the demand for goods and jobs and get capitalism out of its own mess.

Today, Keynes ideas are becoming fashionable again.

The US President Clinton has been elected on a programme of 'supply side' Keynesianism which stresses the need for more state training schemes for the unemployed and more state led investment strategies.

But Keynesianism will no longer work because the world economy is far more integrated.

National governments can reflate their economies but this only sucks in goods from competitor countries.

If the big capitalist states can no longer ride out the recession through state spending, then weak countries like Ireland certainly cannot.

In any case the FF/Labour programme is nothing more than a re-packaging of Fianna Fail's existing policy on jobs.

The 30,000 'new jobs' will be in community-based employment schemes. This will replace the Social Employment Schemes.

The new scheme will involve more handouts to bosses in the form of wage subsidies.

This will only result in new low-paid jobs as employers use the scheme as a source of cheap labour.

The 'jobs fund' of £250 million in 1993 is much less than what Labour and F.F. promised separately in their election manifestos.

And it's based on money from the EC Cohesion Fund which is already in the pipeline. So there is no new money.

The most radical promise on jobs is a restructuring of government departments, to include a new Department of Employment and Enterprise.

This may give jobs to some top civil servants but not to the 300,000 on the dole.

But won't the new government at least bring about social reform-like legalising divorce and homosexuality?

Much has been made of the Labour Party's "influence" in the new government's reform package.

In reality Labour have squeezed very little out of Fianna Fail in this area.

The programme will include legislation to legalise limited abortion following the 'X-case' judgement.

But this was decided in a referendum anyway.

In any case it was mass action on the streets, and not pressure from Dick Spring, that won this reform.

The right wing Justice Minister P Flynn had already talked about a divorce referendum before the recent election.

And the reform of the laws on gay sex is not even mentioned in the programme.

It talks about ending discrimination

against gays and refers to "updating" Irish law in line with Europe.

But it's four years since the European Courts told Ireland to lift the ban on homosexuality. And there's still no sign of this happening.

There is talk of expanding childcare facilities.

But this is being done by giving "incentives" to employers rather than providing state-run crèches.

The reforms are nothing more than "fancy packaging" to sell the coalition deal.

They will cost less than the interest paid on the Irish debt.

The aim is to implement reforms that don't cost very much to cover up for attacks on workers' living standards.

The main reforms are the result of people fighting on issues like the x-case.

Even Fianna Fail can no longer ignore the mood of anger against bigots like Family Solidarity.

But isn't Fianna Fail the lesser evil when compared to Progressive Democrats or Fine Gael?

There is a myth among sections of the Irish left that FF is a 'natural ally' of the Labour Party.

The tiny Irish Communist Party has called for second preference votes for FF. Sinn Fein have even welcomed the present Coalition as a more 'natural' and 'realistic' arrangement.

But in fact FF is the most serious right wing party in Ireland. It was the party which began its life determined to represent the interests of manufacturing capital over that of the big farmers.

Even today it gets far more funding from big business than any other party.

It is the first preference choice of Goodman, Smurfit or O'Reilly.

Some sections of the Irish left claim that FF are not as openly committed to policies like privatisation as the P.D.'s are.

But in reality Fianna Fail have presided over attacks on workers' livelihoods, including privatisation.

They privatised Irish Sugar - now part of Greencore - and also Irish Life.

And they didn't do this because of pressure from their junior partners, the P.D.'s. They did it to allow their rich pals to make millions on the stock exchange.

In one sense Fianna Fail can do the job better than Fine Gael or the P.D.'s

They are better at selling attacks on workers to the trade union leaders.

Fianna Fail has long had a cosy relationship with the ICTU.

From De Valera in the thirties to Lemass in the sixties, F.F. were the party of "national development".

They were able to persuade the union leaders that 'Labour had to wait' until after the Irish economy had developed.

With economic expansion in the 1930s and in the 1960s they were able to grant some reforms and so pose as the party of the "plain people".

But the 1992 elections signalled the fact that the illusions in FF were break-

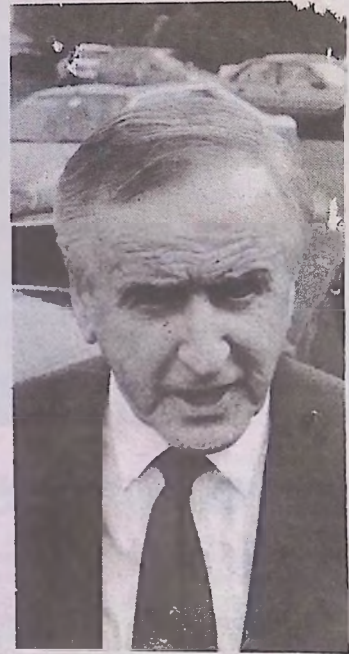
ing down.

In desperation, Brian Lenihan, who denounced Mary Robinson as a closet Red during the Presidential election, revived the idea that F.F. had their roots in a "social radicalism" and were closer to Labour than to the other parties.

The Labour Party has fallen for this argument and so has given F.F. a lifeline.

The ICTU leaders will be pleased because the new deal allows them to continue their cosy relationship with Fianna Fail.

And the Labour Party's presence in government adds a "left gloss" to Fianna Fail's populist image.



Reynolds

Shouldn't we welcome the consensus that the coalition represents?

The Labour/F.F. coalition adds a new twist to the idea of "social partnership".

We have had several years of such partnership between the ICTU and Fianna Fail in the PNR and the PESP.

Now the Labour Party - the ICTU's "political wing" - is coming on board.

But under the PESP, unemployment has reached 300,000.

The main aims of "social partnership" are industrial "peace" and wage restraint.

Industrial "peace" means that the ICTU failed to lead a fight when jobs and wages were attacked in Waterford Crystal or when a wave of lay-offs was announced in Galway recently.

Across Europe consensus has come under strain as governments try to cut back to keep within the terms of Maastricht.

This has led to huge strikes and protests in Italy, Greece and Germany.

Dick Spring insists on keeping within the terms of the Maastricht Treaty.

As recession deepens that will mean more attacks on jobs and services.

"Consensus" is simply a code-word for Labour and the ICTU trying to persuade workers to accept these attacks.

But why is the rest of the Left in the Labour Party not opposed to Coalition?

There is no doubt that left-wingers like Emmet Stagg have pushed the deal within the Labour Party. It was Stagg who proposed that Spring have a 'free hand' in the negotiations with other parties.

And Democratic Left have not come out strongly against it.

Pat Rabbitte said that Labour's arrangement with FF was 'understandable'.

The Labour Left have always been influenced by the idea that Russia represented a form of socialism. When that collapsed they decided that the only 'realistic' strategy was to make capitalism work.

Class struggle was never very important for people like Stagg and Michael D Higgins. They concentrated on elections. But now they believe that class struggle is completely dead and that 'consensus' with the bosses is the only way forward.

The Labour Left is out of touch with the new mood of anger in Ireland.

Many who voted for Labour are now angry that their "vote for change" has been wasted.

Callers to a recent radio programme slated Emmet Stagg for accepting the deal. RTE even had to assure the listeners that the poll was not a 'fix' but a random sample.

But what is the alternative to the Labour Party's strategy.

A party has to be established that builds on the new mood of anger in Irish society.

That can only be done if that organisation is completely loyal to only one section of Irish society: the Irish working class.

The jobs of socialists is to support every workers struggle and to turn the mood of anger against the new FF/Labour government.

Such a party can be built in Ireland today. Over the last few months the Socialist Workers Movement has begun to grow significantly. New branches have been established.

The task now is to speed up the pace of growth. The next year or so will see an increase in the pool of bitterness in Irish society.

It is only if there is a left alternative to the sell out policies of Labour that we can ensure that it is not the right wing bigots who can gain from this bitterness as they have gained in other countries in Europe.

SWM expands in 1993

THE Socialist Workers Movement began 1993 in a mood of optimism.

Revolutionary ideas are making sense to a growing number of people.

The organisation has continued to recruit steadily.

Our Dublin branch has had to divide into

two branches—Northside and Southside—because of increased numbers.

A new branch has been set up in Coleraine, and we are starting to organise in Athlone.

Socialist Worker is reaching a wider audience than before.

In Belfast, for example, our branch sold 25 papers at a recent Billy Bragg concert, and on an estate sale in the Queens

University area, 29 papers were sold.

Even during the pre-Christmas shopping madness, our Dublin branch continued to sell an average of 20 papers each on their two weekly street sales.

In the last days of 1992 several new people joined the SWM. One new member who joined took 10 papers to sell in Tallaght and sold them out quickly. He told

Socialist Worker:

"I have a lot of mates around the Labour Party. They are really fed up with Spring getting into Coalition with Fianna Fail. They are looking for an alternative".

Meetings are now being planned in the new year for Maynooth.

As the crisis deepens, North and South, the prospects are better than ever before for building a fighting socialist organisation.

Opposition to the Tories' privatisation campaign, or to the new coalition's attacks on workers, has to be organised if it is to be successful.

That means having politics that present a real alternative.

The SWM has those politics. If you want to get involved in the fight, fill in the coupon below. Join us!

Why I read Socialist Worker

A student in Galway explains what the paper means to him.

"As a student in UCG I'm told how lucky I am to live in 'trendy' Galway—the night clubs are so cheap in Salthill!

"My experience tells me this is rubbish. The college is overcrowded, the private caterers charge way over the top for coffee, and everything is just so expensive.

"I've been getting *Socialist Worker* for a while and it's helped me to explain things. I don't always agree with everything it says but I don't like to miss it.

"I sometimes leave it lying around in class to get people talking about things. It's amazing what a bit of 'red ink' can do.

"Because things are so bad in the college, my classmates nearly always give a positive reaction.

"Recently there has been real change of mood. The feeling of frustration

that's been around for so long is turning into anger.

"It's a class issue and I feel that *Socialist Worker* fights for our class.

"Expectations can be

really high in college about getting a good job afterwards.

"But with the system in crisis, it can't provide us with a proper education,

never mind about jobs.

"My classmates are worried about the future and are willing to discuss the alternatives to a life on the dole.

"Most of us seem certain that Labour can't provide the answers.

"There has been a change and I hope the momentum keeps going."

SWM Meetings

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

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

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

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

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

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

Out Now!

"One fact alone sums up the history of the Labour Party. From 1932 to 1977, for forty five of its seventy five year history, it was led by two men who were also members of the secretive, all male, right wing Catholic organisation, the Knights of St Columbanus"

Order your copy of WHY IRISH LABOUR FAILS for £1 from SW Books, P.O. Box 1648 Dublin 8

Why the Irish Labour Party Fails

by Conor Kostick

A *Socialist Worker* pamphlet

Socialism for Students

Two days of discussion and debate organised by the Socialist Workers Movement
February 5th & 6th, Trinity College Dublin

Friday Night

7.30pm Room 4050A Arts Block, Trinity College
The Fight for Women's Liberation—Does Socialism Need Feminism?

Speakers:

LIZ McMANUS (Democratic Left)

MARNIE HOLBOROW (Socialist Workers Movement)

Saturday

Time:	Room 3051 (Arts)	Room 3071 (Arts)
10.00-11.15	Malcolm X and the Politics of Black Nationalism—Orla Costello	Marxism and History—Conor Kostick
11.30-12.45	State Capitalism In Russia—Johnny Joyce	Does our Biology Govern our Behaviour—Dierdra Malloran
1.15-2.30	Northern Ireland: The Socialist Answer—Chris Bambery (Socialist Workers Party, Britain)	The Roots of Violence Against Women—Anne Marie O'Connor
2.45-4.00	From May '68 to Tianenmen Square: Students and Revolution—Richard Boyd Barrett	The Rise of Fascism In Europe—Cathy Bergin
4.00-5.00	Final Rally Socialism in the '90s Speaker: Kieran Allen (Editor " <i>Socialist Worker</i> ")	

SOCIALIST WORKER FUTURE FOR SOCIALISM WEEKEND

Belfast 13/14 February

Friday 13th 8pm: Debate between Henry Patterson (Democratic Left) and Kieran Allen (Socialist Workers Movement) on: The Future for Socialism
Saturday 14th from 10am: Meetings on Malcolm X, The Crisis in Loyalism, Will Socialism Liberate Women, The Rise of Fascism, How do ideas change, Russia: the Collapse of Stalinism
Queen's University Students Union
Tickets: £2 from: SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Take your friends a copy of Socialist Worker

Socialist Worker has built itself a reputation as the fighting socialist paper in Ireland.

Now the drive is on to increase the regular sales of the paper.

Martin Roche, member of the Youth Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, says:

"*Socialist Worker* gives political expression of the hard rough realities of the lives of ordinary people"

Albert McCready, an ATGWU shop steward at Nissan says:

"I look forward to reading *Socialist Worker* each month. Its news and analysis of events at home and around the world is of great service to the labour movement"

If you believe that a *Socialist Worker* should be seen by more people, why not take a few copies for your friends or workmates? You only pay for copies you actually sell. Fill in the slip and send to: *Socialist Worker*, PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8 or telephone (01) 722682

Please send me _____ copies of *Socialist Worker* to sell

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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 _____

Royal soap-bubble bursts

by CONNOR KOSTICK

The British monarchy is in terminal crisis. The wedding of Charles and Diana in 1981 now seems to belong to a completely different era.

Then millions were fed every aspect of the day in a massive newspaper and TV operation.

At the time Archbishop Runcie said "this is stuff which fairy tales are made of".

Today the bubble has burst. Even staunchly royalist newspapers the Sun and the Daily Telegraph question how long they can survive.

The current crisis of the monarchy helps destroy two related myths. That the royal family and all its ceremonies represents ancient and immemorial past traditions, and that British and Unionist workers have always backed them.

In fact the huge public ceremonies and mass following of the royals activities is relatively modern.

Throughout the early part of the nineteenth century virtually no section of society supported the monarchy.

Grand royal ceremonies were seen as farcical, if not dangerous, as royal influence was still strong enough to be able to dismiss ministries.

When George IV died, his obituary in The Times stated: "There never was an individual less regretted by his fellow creatures than this deceased king."

Later changes however brought the monarchy back into favour with Britain's governing capitalist class.

By the end of the century, the whole globe was the battleground for fierce rivalry between the strongest capitalist nations.

Ironically, the political weakness of the royals allowed them a new role. For great ceremonies were no longer seen with hostility by Britain's rulers.

Instead they could be used to try and unite the nation in its rivalry with other powers. From the end of Victoria's reign Imperial parades took place.

Mocked

The family who had previously been mocked were now portrayed as majestic by the new mass circulation papers.

Rituals were invented as a useful focus for national and imperial pride, as a means of uniting the working class and middle class behind their own capitalists.

Similar developments took place in the other imperialist countries. Russia and Germany both held fantastic displays around their monarchs.

Even republican France and America invented traditions which played the same role in

Bastille day and the celebrations of the founding of the USA.

Edward VII was particularly creative in imagining new occasions for public display of the monarchy. He revived the state opening of parliament, and the lying in state of dead members of the family.

The role of the monarchy continued to evolve throughout the thirties.

Germany and Russia had lost theirs to revolution, so Britain was unique in being able to use the existence of the royals to emphasise stability and continuity in a period tense with the pressure of recession and crisis.

Until very recently the British monarchy continued to serve the same function. As William Reece-Mogg wrote in the right wing Daily Mail:

"The monarchy provides Britain with a head of state, a focus of loyalty, a constitutional authority of the last resort, a symbol of our nation and an honourable example."

Not only that, but in an alienating and empty world, the lifestyles of the royals could bring glamour in to peoples homes in the same way as some soaps.

Scandals

Now the bubble has burst, and not just because of scandals such as Diana's suicide attempts. There are much more fundamental reasons.

The past years of recession have seen enormous bitterness build up in the working class. The Tories have been quite clearly seen to be helping the rich, for example with the Poll Tax.

Employers such as Maxwell have robbed their pensioners without them receiving compensation, whilst £60 million pounds could be found for Windsor Castle.

Against this background it is not just the royals who are losing support. Recent surveys show a massive decline in public confidence in all institutions of government, especially the judiciary and the police.

Because it is the role of the monarchy to be so visible to the public they very quickly came to be seen as snobbish, arrogant, extremely wealthy and extremely mean.

With £6,500 million assets at a time when there are record repossession payments, the Queen exemplifies all that is rotten about the royals.

The crisis of the monarchy has its roots in the recession and the increasing awareness by workers of the class nature of British society, and at the same time their spectacular and accelerating decline makes that awareness all the more strong.

The Last of the Mohicans is based on a novel of the same name written by James Fenimore Cooper in 1826.

The original book presents Native Americans as double dealing, blood thirsty savages.

The modern film gets rid of this 19th century nonsense and shows up the French and British rulers as a group of treacherous murderers.

The film is set in the North-Eastern province of the American colonies, just before the War of Independence (1776).

Tension

While the main feature, for commercial reasons, is a love story, the real plot centres on the course of action that Native American leaders such as Hawkeye — played by Daniel Day Lewis — should adopt towards the colonial powers.

Director Michael Mann manages to capture all the tension of a social order thrown into chaos under the impact



FIRST signs of revolution, in Last of the Mohicans

of the colonial wars between the British and the French.

The aristocrats who lead the French and British armies employ two strategies in their mutual struggle

for dominance.

The native Americans are either enslaved or induced to fight for either side.

The white frontiersmen who see themselves as in-

dependent, are similarly enlisted in a struggle that has more to do with the ambitions of the European powers than the day-to-day lives of the settlers.

Yet the brutal repre-

sentatives of King and Country never manage to fully subordinate the native people or the settlers.

The outcome for the native Americans is tragic as they are drawn into a conflict which, whatever the outcome, will mean the ruin of their society. Although they are never submissive, the onslaught of colonialism faces them with the choice of accommodating or perishing.

The seeds of revolution are sown, however, as the pressure of war forces the British to tighten their grip on the settlers.

By imposing laws and taxes, the British limited their freedom to trade and establish their own society.

Survival

By forcing them to fight, the settlers' very survival was threatened.

It is this conflict which leads to the ferment of revolutionary ideas about freedom and democracy.

The settlers' mutiny forebodes the end of British rule in America and gives a glimpse of the new ideas which are beginning to pave the way for the American Revolution.

The film is breathtakingly beautiful and well worth watching.

Vasco Purser takes issue with Emmet O'Connor's new book on Irish Labour

Rehabilitating Fianna Fail

A Labour History of Ireland, 1824-1960 by Emmet O'Connor, Gill and MacMillan

Irish Labour took a disastrous turn in the late 1880's.

That's according to Emmet O'Connor's new book on the history of Irish Labour.

Throughout the nineteenth century workers took a full part in the national movement.

Native Irish industry was stunted by Britain, Irish workers felt under pressure from mass production in Britain, and so saw their salvation in independence.

By the late 1880s (according to O'Connor) Irish labour had exhausted itself politically as an independent force.

However it was just this period when 'New Unionism' swept Britain, and soon afterwards, Ireland too.

These unions were organising semi and unskilled workers, often for the first time.

Their methods were the strike and blacking of goods and were often

much more political than the old craft unions.

Ben Tillett, a socialist, led the London dock workers. O'Connor's argument is that a weakened Irish labour caught onto this new mood as a lifeline, restructuring itself with the formation of the ITUC in 1894.

But in doing so they abandoned their natural nationalist allies for a concept of labour organisation based on the British model.

Urban

It reflected urban, economically developed, imperial Britain, and bore no relation to conditions in underdeveloped rural Ireland.

Included in this 'Anglo-centric' view that labour borrowed was a notion of seeing "nationalism as a problem rather than an opportunity".

On this basis the book traces the Irish trade union movement both North and South up to 1960.

It is this which he says helps explain labour's abstention from the national question, famously in 1918, but also through the 1920's allowing Fianna Fail to eclipse Labour as the radical party.

Unions continued to see themselves as strong industrially, and with this muscle could win improvements as they did in the U.K.

O'Connor argues that while this may have been true for the stable industries, lower-paid workers in unstable employment were much better served by a strong state intervention.

This would provide employment stability and more centrally regulated wage agreements.

Fianna Fail's efforts to split the Irish Labour movement in the 1940s are explained away.

Yet a close alliance of Sean McEntee, a Fianna Fail Minister and William O'Brien led to a vicious anti-communist campaign from 1943 onwards.

A Congress of Irish

Unions was formed around the ITGWU to fight the "virus of communism".

O'Connor claims the split had little to do with Catholic nationalism but arose from the need of low paid workers for the State protection that Fianna Fail was offering.

It is all quite a neat view of Irish Labour history especially as all the failings are put down to foreign ideas of labour organisation.

It is also completely wrong.

First reliance on industrial muscle and militancy are not particularly British ideas.

Inspired

Connolly's arguments for a militant ITGWU strategy in the early 20th century were taken from the American Industrial Workers of the World who were in turn inspired by the Russian Revolution of 1905.

The idea of a militant class struggle belongs to

all workers world wide and is foreign to none.

Second, the British based unions did not abandon Irish workers because they were Irish.

The bureaucracy that emerged among the new unions equally failed to meet the needs of British as much as Irish unskilled workers.

Third, O'Connor's book leaves Fianna Fail smelling of roses for taking the low paid under their legislative wing.

This is pure nonsense. Fianna Fail turned down demands for equal pay for women until 1973 and drove women out of the workforce.

It jailed ESB workers in the 1960s.

It certainly went out to build an alliance with the union bureaucracy but it did this in order to control Irish labour.

O'Connor's book reeks of nationalism. It will become part of a new revisionism that tries to rehabilitate Fianna Fail as the 'natural ally' of labour.

BEWLEYS STRIKERS WIN VICTORY

After a two-week strike in December, workers in Bewleys in Tallaht won an important victory over low pay.

Management had refused to pay the legal minimum wage for the catering industry.

They also denied the workers double time for working on Sundays.

Other workers in Tallaht made collections in nearby shops and factories.

Despite the use of scabs the cafe was virtually empty during the strike.

In the end, the boss conceded the striker's demands. He agreed to pay the minimum wage, plus any future increases.

When he refused to pay the Sunday allowance, the workers refused to work on Sundays. They also won a free food allowance.

After the strike, Bewleys tried to claw back some of the concessions, by limiting the food allowance, and keeping on one of the scabs.

The workers threatened further strike action to reverse these vindictive acts.

As one of them said, "anything they try to do, we undo it."

A lump sum payment to the Tallaht strikers was also given to workers in other Bewleys outlets.

When they heard why, workers in those outlets rejoined the union.

At the time of the strike, workers in Fort Ice Cream Parlour in the same shopping centre were pursuing a similar wage demand.

Their employer had resisted, until they also served strike notice. Rather than endure a shut-down, the boss conceded immediately.

Low paid workers 2, employers 0!

Bus workers resist attacks

Dublin Bus workers have voted massively in favour of strike action over management plans to forcibly redeploy over 150 bus workers.

These operate the cities remaining TPO (two person operated) routes.

Dublin Bus boss, Bob Montgomery had said he would break three previous agreements and move the workers to other grades,

some on lower pay and worse conditions.

NBRU members balloted almost six to one in favour of strike. SIPTU are expected to receive a similar mandate.

The result showed that other workers were prepared to support their TPO colleagues. The workers saw this attack as just the first attack on all workers by Montgomery.

Montgomery also wants to replace Double Deck buses with mini-buses on many of Dublin City's

routes. He claims this will provide a better service to the public. In reality it's real aim is to cut wages and worsen conditions.

The successful ballot to strike in support of the TPO staff has given everyone confidence that they can resist managements planned attacks.

*SIPTU members placed official pickets on the Sligo depot of Bus Eireann. They were acting in support of a colleague who was sacked last October.

Waterford workers take a blow

Waterford Glass workers have been forced to take a heavy blow.

In January they voted to accept the Labour Court recommendation to save the company.

The plan included:

- wage cuts which could amount to 25% of some workers wages
- a peace clause which bans industrial action for three years
- a promise by management not to out source production for only one year.

Originally, the Joint Negotiating Committee made up of senior stewards called for a rejection of the plan. But the wider shop stewards committee overturned their decision and called for acceptance.

The glass workers had come under tremendous pressure. They had been laid off for nearly six weeks. Some departments have been working only one week in three for

over a year.

The tragedy is the vote to accept the package opens the way for new attacks.

According to the *Sunday Tribune* "the company is not ruling out further demands for cuts on top of those which the workers considered".

Galvin's track record has been one of proposing 'survival' plans only to come back afterwards and demand new cuts. This is how he whittled down the Guinness workforce in Dublin to a shadow of itself.

Galvin himself earns more than £100,000 a year and has an inflation proof pension of more than £75,000.

The glass workers should realise that they signed an agreement with a loaded gun to their heads. As soon as the balance of forces turns, they need to go after bloodsuckers like Morgan Stanley once again. If they don't, there will be continual demands for more sacrifices.

O'CONNELL COURT STRIKE CONTINUES

THE marathon strike in the O'Connell Court nursing home in Cork is continuing, with no sign of reinstatement for six sacked workers. The strike began on July

6th last year when workers were sacked for refusing to make medical reports on residents.

Up to then, two trained nurses had been employed to report on residents health. Over the Christmas pe-

riod, the owner tried to blame the strikers for the home's heating being turned off.

Claimed

He claimed oil company

delivery men refused to pass pickets.

This was a blatant lie, attempting to undermine public support for the strikers.

Nine hundred gallons of heating oil were delivered

on December 9th.

The strike continues to draw great support. Hospitals and other workplaces in Cork collected £1300 before Christmas, and a further £600 was collected in Dublin.

An unfair dismissals hearing is scheduled for February 4th.

However, the strikers feel that even if the decision goes in their favour, the strike could go on after that date.

Jobs demo in Galway

An "Action West" demonstration was held in Galway in December to protest at unemployment.

The campaign was jointly organised by SIPTU, Galway Trades Council and Galway Centre for the unemployed.

Unfortunately only

one hundred people turned up to the demo and rally. Publicity beforehand was almost non-existent.

SIPTU told *Socialist Worker* that all branches in the area had been asked to participate, but SWM paper sellers found that many SIPTU members working in the town that day were unaware of

the event.

Even the SIPTU General President scheduled to speak at the rally failed to attend.

Thousands of people could have been mobilised.

What should have been a marvellous day of action across Galway was a miserable rally instead. Speakers told the

crowd that this was the last event in "Action West".

Instead of the end of the campaign, it ought to be the beginning.

What is needed now is a massive national demonstration called by the INOU and the unions against the jobs massacre.

LAST year, B+I Shipping was bought by Irish Ferries.

Since then, working conditions have worsened for sailors on both passenger and cargo ships.

The company tried to reduce manning levels of officers on passenger ferries.

Instead of the one week

on, one week off system, they wanted two weeks on, one week off.

The ships officers threatened to strike in order to block these attacks.

Management also plan to replace Irish crews on five container ships with foreign crews.

What outraged workers

was not a false notion of "foreigners taking our jobs", but the fact that crews drawn from African and Asian countries are paid as little as £10 per week!

Anxious workers ringing their union were told that Seamen's Union officials were "in conference".

Time to fight on overcrowding

Despite years of protests and campaigns, third level students are still being denied access to the most fundamental of needs: library space. The Higher Education

Authority recommends a norm of one seat to every 3.75 students. Yet many colleges fall far short of this guideline.

A random survey by *Socialist Worker* showed that 10000 TCD students have to compete for 1950 library

seats (a ratio of more than 5:1).

UCD students are worse off, with only 750 seats for over 8500 students (over 10:1).

Many students then find that even if they do get a library seat, they cannot get

at the books they need.

While TCD library has three times as many books as UCD, nearly twice as many books are on open access in UCD.

A TCD Student's Union officer pointed out that in-

stead of lavishing money on 400th Anniversary galas, the college should be pouring resources into library facilities.

While TCD opened up one new library in 1992, they closed two others.

Further building plans will be hampered by the government's refusal to release funding.

USI Welfare Officer Eamonn Waters said student leaders will be meeting to co-ordinate a national cam-

campaign against library overcrowding in the second term.

There is a clear need for students to apply pressure on the new government.

Activists in all colleges should mobilise now, drawing in as many students into the campaign as possible.

GALWAY NURSES FIGHT BACK

NURSES at Galway's private hospital - "The Galvia"—are working for 16% less pay than nurses in medical hospitals.

Management refused to implement a Labour Court finding.

The nurses planned a day of action with pickets and emergency cover.

They took the argument for solidarity action to the temporary nurses - "bank nurses" - who make up 20% of the nursing staff at the Galvia.

These bank nurses work for even less pay than the permanent staff, have no contract or conditions of service

at what is happening", one of the nurses told *Socialist Worker*.

"The managers are now bringing in unqualified "care assistants" on to the wards at hourly rates even less than what the bank nurses were getting."

INO regional organiser John Delamere has warned: "with the level of feeling there is on the pay issue, industrial action cannot be ruled out."

But if the 14,000 strong INO do not take the lead, the nurses themselves will call for the strike action necessary to win.

Promised

Management promised to pay-up if the action was called off.

The INO cancelled the day of action but no pay increase has materialised.

"The nurses are an-



If you have a story from your workplace or college for inclusion on this page, phone (01) 722682 with the details

Socialist Worker

Inside:

Is revolution possible?: see centre pages

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p



TORIES FEED

PRIVATE GREED

Householders throughout the North could be charged up to £300 per year when the local water service is privatised in 1995-96.

Electricity has already been privatised and there are plans to sell off Northern Ireland Airports and the Northern Irish Railways.

With the recent announcement that nine hospitals and community units are to opt out of the NHS, the Tories are planning to put most of the North's public services in the hands of private companies.

Vital services like water, transport and healthcare are to be run on the basis of profit and not need.

Axing

This will mean the axing of jobs and services.

Already the workforce at Aldergrove Airport has been cut by one third in the run up to being privatised next year.

In Britain the privatisation of public services has meant devastating job losses and a deterioration of services.

More than 22,000 people have had their water supply cut off be-

cause they are unable to pay the 'tap tax' - the majority of those cut off are unemployed, on low income or are pensioners.

Meanwhile private companies like Yorkshire Water are making £1.5 million a week in profits.

The privatisation of the health service in Britain has had a catastrophic effect on healthcare.

Most of the hospitals that have opted out have axed routine operations until April 1993.

This means that people waiting for hip replacements or similar operations will be left in chronic pain.

This is what patients can expect in the run up to opting out in the North.

Belfast City hospital in an effort to balance its budget in preparation for opting out has cut the number of routine operations carried out.

Only four of its six operating theatres are in use, the other two remain idle because management refuses to employ permanent theatre nurses and other specialist theatre staff.

A city hospital nurse told *Socialist Worker*:

"There is no way that waiting lists are being cut if the theatres

are not working".

While Royal 'pensioner' Princess Margaret could enjoy the best healthcare that money could buy in a private London hospital, a 72-bed geriatric unit at Mullinure in Armagh has come under the axe along with 200 healthcare jobs.

A campaign to stop closures in the area has been launched in Armagh and there are plans for mass street demonstrations similar to the 20,000 strong demonstration held in Downpatrick last September.

Anger at attacks on the health service is clearly there in local communities and amongst workers.

Action

Trade unions have to take the lead as health workers are the key to stopping the destruction of the NHS.

Union activists should be arguing for action to fight every attack on health workers and health services in the run up to the introduction of trust status in April.

Stopping the privatisation of the NHS and linking up with water, rail and airport workers to stop the introduction of privatisation to these services is the only way to defend the NHS and safeguard public services and jobs.

Their privatisation hit-list:

Hospitals	✓
Water	✓
Electricity	✓
Airports	✓
Railways	✓