

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside:

Why is the Church in crisis?
—centre pages

1936: The Spanish Civil War
—page eight

Divorce Referendum:

Let the Bishops look after their own families...



DIVORCE IS A CIVIL RIGHT
VOTE YES

Goodman: Who was directing the fraud?

THE FIRST two Goodman executives who were involved in the massive company fraud have been sent to prison for six years.

They were involved in the swindle of £900,000 worth of meat in Rathkeale.

But they are only fall guys for people higher up in the company.

Even the judge accepted that Sean Goodwin and Anthony Butler never 'made the slightest gain personally from the dealings'.

After £35 million was spent on the beef tribunal, it has still not been revealed who exactly was directing the fraud operations.

The reason is that Goodman workers were deliberately discouraged from giving testimony against their employers.

One former Goodman worker in Ballymun explained how this happened.

"I got a letter from Liam Hamilton asking me to give testimony. But when I rung up I was told by staff at the beef tribunal that 'I could be walking myself into trouble'. They told me that I could be prosecuted for tax fraud and distributing poisoned meat."

THE EVIDENCE THAT COULD NOT BE GIVEN

THIS IS the story that the Ballymun worker was not able to give.

"Having commenced employment at one of Goodman's many plants in the early 80s, I quickly became familiar with all aspects of this industry.

"The plant in Ballymun was closed down several times and re-opened under different names, like Anglo-Irish Meats or Delta Traders.

"It was a way of getting around paying taxes.

"After only a few months in employment I was requested to stay back when the plant had officially closed.

Jelly

"Myself and six others would resume work under supervision.

"The first time we almost puked at the sight of what they brought out on hooks.



"What was once meat now resembled a jelly like substance.

"We pulled our tops over our noses trying to avoid the smell, unsuccessfully.

"We knew refusal to handle the stuff would result in instant dismissal.

"The so-called meat was destined for some poor unsuspecting country with compliments of the EU.

"Goodman can try to say that he was not a di-

rect manager of the plant.

"But I saw him there on four occasions.

Poisoning

"I eventually left the plant when I got very serious blood poisoning from the unhygienic meat.

"The experience has stayed with me a long time. It is one the reasons why I have decided to join the Socialist Workers Party".

Coalition scraps holiday boost

THE Government has scrapped plans to give many workers an extra week's holiday.

Thousands of workers including over 40,000 scheme workers would have benefited from the extension of statutory holidays from three to four weeks per year.

Extend

Irish workers have the lowest number of statutory holidays in Europe.

Workers in Denmark for example get six weeks per year by law compared to just three weeks in Ireland.

Plans to extend it to

four weeks by Labour minister Eithne Fitzgerald were abandoned after senior civil servants opposed them.

Eroded

Fine Gael's Richard Bruton, who is the head of the Department of Enterprise and Employment defended the decision by saying that the extra week would have 'eroded our competitiveness'.

Yet Bruton and his fellow TD's can look forward to months off every year.

The fact that a Labour minister could not stand up to unelected bureaucrats shows they cannot be trusted to represent workers' interests.

inside the system

Things they say

"When they murdered my son and four other innocent Catholics, I didn't think they could stoop any lower. How wrong could I have been?"—Parent of victim of U.D.A. attack on betting shop, reacting to Loyalist poster distributed proclaiming "Five Taigs down—Wouldn't it be great if it could be like this all the time".

"It could be a dangerous situation. It is always important that we have security forces that serve the Government of the day without fear or favour."—Minister For Defence, Sean Barrett, rejecting calls for union recognition for soldiers.

"We owe you our gratitude ... for the enormous risks that you have taken along the border over the years."—Peter Cassells, I.C.T.U. General Secretary, thanking the British Army!

"The truth of the situation is that Ireland Pre-Famine was a society in which something was going to give at some stage"—Michael McDowell P.D. excusing British capitalism.

"Such women dream of being raped."—Russian fascist—Zhirinovskiy, after he punched a woman in the face in the Russian parliament.

Trimble's junket

IN 1993, councillors in the Craigavon area decided to take a junket to the US. They visited towns such as Macon in Georgia all in search of job creating investment.

Among the junketeers was none other than David Trimble.

The results of their trips have just been revealed. They managed to spend a grand total of



£40,000—and have just admitted that the only thing they gained was 'personal contacts'.

Paper bosses doing fine

While over 600 Irish Press workers are still jobless it's nice to know that some people are managing to get by in the newspaper industry.

This month will see the

selling off of the equipment that was used to print the Irish Press paper. According to Vincent Jennings the directors are hoping to get £500,000 from the sale.

Others doing O.K. in the newspaper industry include

On top of the world

GOOD news for the Third World? Remember Brian Wilson, director of AIB?

He reported previously that he can look forward to a pension of £150,000 per year when he retires.

Now Wilson has been appointed to the World

Bank where he will decide what countries are worthy of World Bank funds.

No doubt he will continue to ensure that Third World economies adopt austerity programmes aimed at cutting spending on health, education and welfare

Beware these joy-riders

■ Gerry McGuinness, chairman of Sunday Newspapers who owns the Sunday World. He has just made £733,000 in profits on his shares.

■ Tony O'Reilly, of Independent Newspapers who have just announced profits for the last six months of over £20 million.

★ CHARLES Windsor accumulated some more wealth courtesy of the London High Court last week.

It put a world-wide ban on a book by an ex-housekeeper of the Royal Family. All originals and copies of her diaries and manuscripts are to be handed over to the Royal tampon.

All profits from the estimated 90,000 sales are to be given to the prince and the judge also ordered that she should pay the pauper prince's costs.

The Royal Scrounger strikes again.

★ CATHOLIC and Protestant workers in Northern Ireland are earning far less than their counterparts in Britain.

In manufacturing industry the average male worker earns £70.70 less while a female worker gets £56.30 less.

These figures which have been compiled by Trade Indemnities P.L.C. show the real cost of sectarian division for all workers.

Shameless in Seattle

THE TOP three bosses in Waterford port have returned from a week-long junket to Seattle at a cost of £13,000.

They were sent by the Waterford Harbour Board at the expense of the taxpayers.

Dockers in the port are angry at the junket, especially when their wages and conditions have been slashed over the years.

Pay Hayden, Joe Dreehan and John Clancy have all led major attacks on the unions in the Waterford Port. They are campaigning to have more yellow pack workers recruited.

One docker told Socialist Worker "These people tell us that our rates are too high, that we are not competitive—yet they spend in one week what we get in a year to keep our families".

RICH CHEATS

ACCORDING to figures from the Revenue Commissioners just 2% of all households who paid Residential Property Tax last year valued their houses at over £250,000.

But those involved in the property market have questioned the accuracy of these figures.

If they are correct only 764 houses in Ireland are valued at over a quarter of a million pounds..

Undervalued

It is nonsense. Since last January alone, at least 83 houses have been sold for over this figure.

When the Revenue Commissioners investigated a sample of 200 houses, they found that most were undervalued.

Large numbers of rich people in exclusive areas are getting away without paying their tax.

we think



Beat back these bigots

THE ANTI-divorce lobby has formally launched their campaign. Over the next few weeks we can expect them to try to build a climate of fear to win a NO vote.

The leading figures in this campaign have opposed every progressive piece of legislation on sexuality in the last 25 years.

In the 1970s, key figures such as William Binchey and John O'Reilly fought against the legalisation of contraceptives in Ireland.

O'Reilly even got his own eight year old daughter to write a letter to a family

planning clinic looking for contraceptives as a trick to get them closed down.

They warned then that a 'contraceptive culture' would destroy Irish life. Today they make the same argument about divorce.

In 1980, O'Reilly denounced the Dublin Rape Crisis centre as an example 'of an ultra-permissive force' that should be denied funds.

Right

In 1983, the same forces played off the politicians of Dail Eireann, to push through an amendment to the Constitution which gave a one day old foetus the same right to life as a full grown woman.

Many of the bigots have even opposed sex education and the Stay Safe pro-

gramme in schools because it warned children about the danger of child abuse.

Up to recently they had the ear of the top echelons of Fianna Fail and the Irish state.

They could work behind the scenes in shadowy elite groups like the Knights of Columbanus to get their way.

But they suffered a major defeat in 1992 when mass demonstrations around the country forced the government to let the 14 year old X case victim go to Britain for an abortion.

Since then the bigots have been split. One group around Hanafin and Binchey in the Anti-Divorce Campaign want to keep to the old respectable strategy of lobbying behind the scenes and making them-

selves presentable to the media.

Others in the No Divorce Campaign want a more militant strategy of taking to the streets.

Formed from elements of Youth Defence, they look to the American far right as their model of how to organise.

Both groups operate as the shock troops of the Bishops and their political agenda is the same.

Openness

They hate any openness about sex.

They want men and women to return to the most traditional roles of 'breadwinner' and 'housewife'.

They want a country where people's lives are controlled from above. One

where every choice about sex or relationships is shrouded in talk of guilt and sin.

If the Bishops are allowed to dictate how we should live our lives, then it is easier for bosses to also tell us to accept our lot.

The split in the anti-divorce lobby shows that they are much weaker than in 1986 and can be beaten if a major campaign is mounted against them.

At this year's conference of the country's largest union, SIPTU, delegates voted overwhelmingly to recommend a YES vote on divorce. So too has the ICTU.

Now is the time to flood the workplaces with leaflets and posters from the unions to carry the arguments that can beat back these bigots.

SUPPORT THE WELLING PRISONERS

Locked away for fighting back

NINE MEN were recently given sentences of between sixteen months and three years each after being found guilty of riot at an anti-Nazi march in 1993.

But their only crime was to defend themselves from a police assault on the demonstration.

Karl Anacoura was sentenced to three years. Karl and his girlfriend, Jackie are both members of the Anti-Nazi League and were involved in organising the march.

At his trial, the judge said that Karl was "whipping up the support of others to go on the march."

Karl described what happened on the demonstration: "Me and Jackie marched together. We got separated by all the pushing and shoving."

"I ended up on the floor and a riot cop cracked me with his truncheon. I threw five or six bricks - but only to stop them charging."

The police were heard on video evidence describing the demonstrators as "a little bunch of scrotes".

When riot police charged the crowd, many on horseback, they were heard to re-

mark, "They don't like the feel of hard wood".

Judge John Rogers QC praised the behaviour of the police: "The vast majority behaved in impeccable fashion in the face of immense provocation. I am sorry that they were ever put in this position in the first place".

But the 60,000 people on the march know the truth.

They know that the defendants have been punished for daring to fight back, and for having the courage to stand up against the BNP thugs.

But as Karl said,

"They will never break my spirit. I still want to fight racism and the Nazis. I've been on the receiving end too many times."

Adopt a prisoner

THE WELLING prisoners need your support. Write to them and send messages of support putting your name and address on the back of the envelope.

THREE prisoners are being held at HMP Elmsley, Church Road, East Church, Sheerness, Kent ME12 4EY.

They are: Karl Anacoura RN0599 who was sentenced to three years. Sanjiv Karla RN0598 who got two years and Steven Kelly RN0318 who got 16 months.

Books and magazines can be sent through the post, as can postal orders, made payable to HMP Elmley with the prisoner's name and number on the back.

FIVE are being held at HMP Canterbury, 46 Longport, Canterbury, Kent CT1 1PJ.

They are: Mark Gay RN0594 who was sentenced to three years, Paul Gay RN0593 who got two years and eight months, Charles Ryder RN0595 who got 16 months, Russell Wild RN0597 who got three years and John McFeely RN0596 who got two years.

Canterbury prison only allows books and magazines in the post if sent direct from a publisher or a bookseller. Postal orders should have the prisoner's name and number on the front.

Philip de Souza EJ3496 has been in prison ever since being arrested and so has served much of his 22 month sentence. He is expected to be released soon. Until then he is also in HMP Elmley.

The Anti Nazi League is running an Adopt a Prisoner campaign for workplaces, community groups and individuals to send cards, money and letters of support. For more information on how you can help contact Anti Nazi League, PO Box 4007, Dublin 1.



Soldiers want to join ICTU

THE GENERAL Secretary of the soldiers representative association, PDFORA, has proposed that it affiliates to the ICTU.

PDFORA was set up to fight attacks on soldiers pay and conditions. It's establishment followed a campaign by the soldiers wives on these issues.

The Irish army has started to bring in 'yellow pack' soldiers in recent years who are employed on five year contracts.

They want to break the idea that the army should give pensionable jobs. They want a leaner and fitter fighting machine that could eventually be used to cope with strife in Ireland.

fence Minister, Sean Barret, even warned of a 'dangerous situation' if soldiers start to get involved in politics.

Soldiers should demand that proper alternative jobs are

created in any run down of the army.

And their warnings about the government's future strategy on defence should be well heeded.

Explosion at Cork Chemical Plant

AT MIDNIGHT on Thursday 5th October people close to the IFI fertilizer plant near Cobh heard a bang and saw orange flames leap forty feet into the air.

The plant managers said there "was nothing to worry about". But an internal report from owners ICI by two safety in-

spectors has revealed that "productivity comes before safety." Neither the County or Cork City fire services were notified, but the explosion was heard up to five miles away.

Derry Chambers, of Cork Environmental Alliance said "Investment in plant safety seems to be

on hold, pending a new gas contract which is due to be signed in 1988. This is jeopardising the health of the workforce and local people." The Trade Unions at the plant should be vigorously fighting for safety investment, both to secure their jobs and to prevent a tragedy in the future.

Ball-busting Owen

LAST MARCH Minister for Justice Nora Owen revealed plans to further limit Irish civil rights when she announced she was seeking to challenge the constitutional position on bail laws.

Owen is attempting to push through legislation which would prevent those charged with offences from obtaining bail.

She claims this will dramatically cut down on crime. Along with her, Fianna Fail are calling for more judges and 600 new prison places.

Naturally, the Gardai are backing these calls all the way.

But a report published two weeks ago by the Law Reform Committee completely rejects this argument.

According to the report only 3,201 (9%) of offences committed in 1993 were committed by people out on bail. It also said that 25% of offences committed by people on bail were minor offences.

Speaking about people who would be held in prison for crimes they haven't actually committed, the report claimed the plan proposed by Owen would have a 50% failure rate.

Even the supreme court has admitted her claims have no validity.

If Owen and her likes told the truth for once they would be forced to acknowledge that poverty and not so-called lenient laws is responsible for the bulk of crime in our society.

BELFAST CITY COUNCIL DECREES...

Conference hall for the rich...

BELFAST CITY Council is planning to close a number of Belfast leisure centres and to sell off parks.

The Council will decide in November where the hatchet is to fall but it looks likely that nine centres are threatened with the loss of the whole or part of their services.

During the 1980's Thatcher's Government built most of these centres in deprived areas of both east and west Belfast.

The Tories had hoped that these facilities would justify their presence and pacify the two communities.

But now that the peace process is in train our rulers are trying to take away one of the few facilities that the working class of Belfast can still enjoy.

Leisure centres are widely used by the community. In areas of huge unemployment the centres offer an outlet and an important asset to community life.

They have some brilliant facilities with saunas, indoor basket ball courts, full sized swimming pools and modern gyms.

Remove

Many women's groups, disabled and youth groups use the centres on a daily basis. For most of them their closure will remove one of the few social outlets they can afford to enjoy.

Oliver from the Whiterock centre said, "They are jammed all day. You get for example lots of old folk who come down for their session. You can't take that away from people".

These plans for the closure of some centres gives a glimpse of just how brutal the Unionist councillors and the Tory government can be to the working class in the North, regardless of whether they are Protestant or Catholic.

Leisure centres likely to be shut down include the Shankill, the Falls, Ballymacarret and Beechmount.

Hours

Other centres like the Whiterock will have their opening hours drastically cut.

This will mean they will be inaccessible during the day, cutting off swimming, keep fit and child minding facilities for the working class right across Belfast.

But while they are attacking these basic facilities, Belfast Council are looking to pour more money into their flagship conference centre at Laganbank.

This lavish 'state of the



Leisure cuts for the poor

But workers organise resistance...

ALREADY workers from both side of the sectarian divide have been meeting to plan resistance to the job losses and cuts in service.

Shop stewards have been making submissions to the Belfast City Council and preparing for action if the cuts go ahead.

As one steward put it, "You never think about it in terms of 'the other

side'. We are all workers fighting for our jobs and services".

A fightback on this issue could really show in practice how workers from both Protestant and Catholic communities can fight together.

Defend

Each area should call a public meeting to defend the centres. Workers from both sides of the di-

vide should be invited to address the meetings and demonstrations called to force the city councillors to back off.

The council will try to stir up sectarianism by playing one working class community against another when it comes to closures.

But many stewards are already aware the working class unity is vital on this issue.

take from the poor to give to the rich.

Afford

"How many people from these underprivileged areas will be able to afford to go

to see the Opera or whatever is on at the Laganbank place?"

"These people are being denied access to a proper leisure service and it's just not on. The money being thrown at the conference centres is incredible and yet it would

cost no more than £130,000 to keep a centre like the one in Ballymacarret in East Belfast open for one year".

The council's plan will also mean a loss of up to 80 jobs in leisure and the dismissal of all the security staff.

Labour hypocrisy on service charges

THE LABOUR Party has proposed that service charges be abolished.

In a policy document on local government finance, a party commission chaired by Joe Costello said that the service charges were a "blunt instrument" for raising revenue and that they had not been a success.

Instead they propose diverting money raised from motor tax, residential property tax and lottery funds to the local

authorities. But this is complete hypocrisy on the part of the Labour Party.

Admitted

While they have admitted the water charges are wrong, they are still

happy to sit in a government that is sending ordinary working class people before the courts for refusing to pay their water rates.

Their about turn on water charges shows the effect the mass non-payment campaign is having on Labour and Democratic Left.

The opposition on the ground is enormous—in South Dublin and Fingal County Council, 60% of

those eligible have not paid.

But most importantly the opposition is organised.

Determined

Hundreds of people turned up to meetings in Baldoyle and Blanchardstown where hand-delivered warnings of court action has been received by non-payers.

One campaigner said,

"The mood is very militant. People are very angry about the charges and are determined not to give in".

Court appearance by non-payers will be accompanied by mass pickets.

Any attempt to turn off water supplies will be resisted.

It is this militancy that has Labour and Democratic Left running scared.

behind the headlines

The illusion of Nationalist unity

by EAMONN McCANN

AT MEETINGS in Derry to mark the anniversary of the October 5 march in the city in 1968—generally taken as the event which launched the civil rights movement—Republican speak-their message that nothing fundamental has changed.

Catholic nationalists are still being denied their rights, it was said. This is clear from the refusal of the British Government to recognise Sinn Fein's mandate. Thus the slogan of the march along the original October 5 route was: "All party talks now!"

There's truth in this, of course. Sinn Fein's electorate mandate should be recognised. It's hypocrisy for Major and Mayhew, members of a government which supports vicious dictatorships and bloody wars around the world, to pussy-foot around about "decommissioning".

Delusion

But the notion that the "nationalist community" remains a beleaguered minority shut out from power and influence, and that it must remain united to push forward towards an all-Ireland solution, is a delusion.

Worse, it's a delusion designed to lock the Catholic working class into an alliance in which its interests count for nothing.

A major feature of the business section of the *Observer* in September began: "Catholic managers, entrepreneurs and other professionals are on the increase in Northern Ireland—and the last thing they want is to be under the thumb of Dublin".

The story detailed the way comfortably off and rich Catholics have surged forward over the past 25 years, and lost any interest they ever had in disrupting political peace.

Pat Dougan, chief executive of the textile machinery firm Mackies, was cited as "a model for the aspiring Catholic".

For decades, Mackies was a by-word in Belfast for anti Catholic bigotry.

But since his appointment three years ago, Dougan has "turned the firm around", slashing the workforce while boosting the share-price from 180p at its flotation last year to 347p today.

Says Dougan: "As for the future, I feel that I am a European and we should be more active in Brussels than in Dublin".

Catholic John McGuckin is chief executive of Ulster Television, once a bastion of Orangeism, now enjoying "soaring profits".

He's also on the board of the proposed TV3 channel in the South.

Small wonder that for him too, political structures mean little.

Southern-born Catholic Edward Haughey is on the board of Shorts, a

Paisleyite stronghold just a few years ago, as well as "earning" 2 million a year as boss of the Newry pharmaceutical firm, Norbrook Laboratories.

He says: "We are mainly an export company and have no room for any philosophy other than that of the world market".

These are not isolated individuals who have struck lucky. They are representative of the changing class composition of Northern society.

For the first time ever, a majority of mature students taking Masters of Business Administration courses at the University of Ulster are Catholics—many sent there for training by the major companies they will help run.

Patrick McCartan of the UU business school was quoted:

"I do not think there is a political desire among a great many Catholics in the business world for a united Ireland, at least not as a priority.

"They like it the way it is here... although more cross border, non-constitutional co-operation would be a good thing".

Benefit

The *Observer* business correspondent Joanna Walters summed it up: "The desire to be under the control of London or Dublin is, commercially driven by how much a company will benefit in grants or tax relief".

Patrick McCartan identified the sort of "Irish dimension" Catholic executives want: "An all-Ireland tourism body, closer co-operation between inward investment quangos—that kind of federal development".

This is exactly the form of "cross border institution" outlined in the Framework Document, which will be up for discussion when "all-party talks" finally get under way.

The nationalist strategy of the Republican Movement and its allies fits perfectly into the framework.

No wonder Northern representatives of the Confederation of British Industry described as "constructive" the private talks they held with Gerry Adams last month.

This is what "Nationalist unity" means. It cannot mean anything else.

More than 25 years on from a struggle launched by an oppressed section of the working class, rank-and-file Republicans who see themselves as socialists should draw the obvious conclusion.

FRANCE:

Workers shut down public sector over pay freeze

CHARLIE KIMBER
reports from Paris

"THIS COUNTRY'S in a bad way. But that is because of all these rotten ministers and not because of us," says Roland Samoun, a road maintenance worker.

Roland is one of the millions of French workers who struck for the day on Tuesday in protest at the right-wing government's pay freeze.

The vast majority of public sector workers joined the action and even some private sector employees joined in.

From midnight pickets spread out to close down workplaces.

Later in the day, with the strike totally solid, huge marches called for Chirac to go and take his government with him.

Cover

"We have closed down the country, we have shown that we can close down the government," a striker told *Socialist Worker*.

Schools, post offices, courts, the Paris Metro, town halls, social security and tax offices, libraries and museums shut.

Hospitals were on emergency cover only with nurses on strike. Most of the transport services across the country stopped.

A postal worker says, "We were lied to when Chirac won the presidency in May. He said we would get jobs. All we have got is tax increases, pay cuts and more unemployment. People are fed up to the back teeth. We are going to tear up Chirac."

At the prestigious Eurostar rail terminal disconsolate managers stared at the immobile trains and shrugged their shoulders when asked when the service could be guaranteed to resume.

"They have gone. We do not know when the crews will be back. Nobody in France is content anymore," one grumbled.

The massive strike comes as the government is reeling. No other French leaders in history have seen their popularity collapse so quickly.

Prime minister Juppe has seen his poll rating fall by 20 percent in a month. President Chirac's score has dropped 13 percent.

Everywhere there is a sense of betrayal, of broken promises and of insecurity reaching bursting point.

The French franc has fallen sharply and is set to come under more pressure. Share prices have tumbled as businesses are convinced that the

"We have closed down the country, we have shown that we can close down the government."

government will at best be left wrecked by the latest crisis and at worse forced out.

Sacked

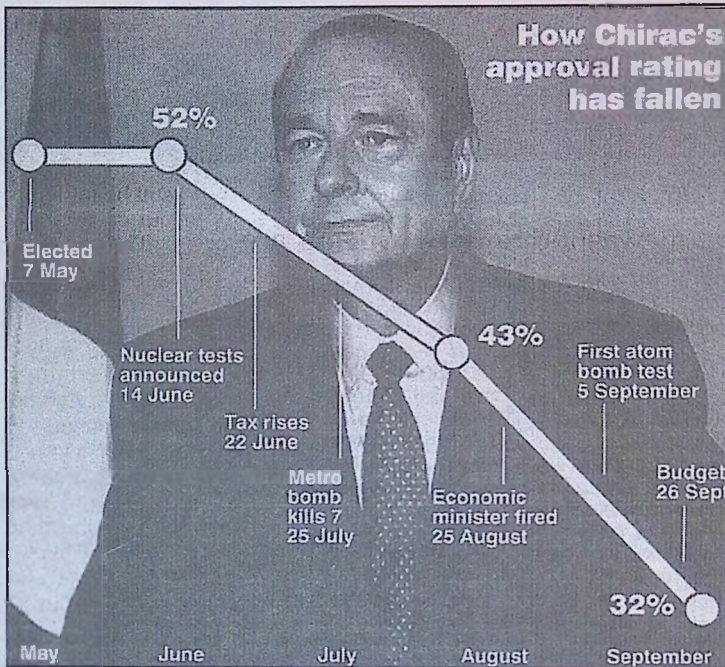
Alain Madelin, recently sacked as finance minister, told businessmen last week that the country's "top people" were as despised as the regime that was ousted by the 1789 revolution.

Commentators talk of an atmosphere of revolt similar to May 1968 when ten million workers were on indefinite strike and France was on the brink of a revolutionary

situation. A series of corruption scandals surrounding ministers is now fuelling the anger. "The rich and the ministers in their smooth suits cut our wages, but make sure there is plenty for themselves", says a rail worker.

Juppe and his family have been forced to promise to move out of flats owned by the City of Paris after allegations that they had stitched up special rent and repair deals.

Copying John Major, Chirac has set off round the country in an attempt to "meet the people".



The visits have proved disastrous.

Defeat

Wherever he goes there are

more protesters than supporters.

The strike is the best response to the government attacks. It can not only defeat the conservatives but also

sideline Le Pens' Nazi National Front which has grown dangerously in recent years.

Struggle gives workers hope rather than driving them towards despair and

scapegoating.

Chirac and Juppe want to push through their austerity programme but are already terrified by the response.

Unemployment in France is much higher than much of Europe. In some districts of Paris one in five workers are jobless.

Every week there are protests by the unemployed, squatters and people on benefits.

Welfare

Chirac now plans to slash welfare payments as well as freeze wages.

"He is trying to catch us both ways.

"If you're in work you will see your pay held down, if you lose your job then you will go under", says a teacher.

The Socialist Party, the main opposition, gave only lukewarm support to the strike.

The potential is clearly there to drive out the conservatives. Tuesday's strike is a brilliant demonstration of how if anger against a government is given a focus then workers will respond.

But it will take more than Tuesday's strike to make the government go.

The great danger is that union leaders will hold back further strikes and not build on this week's success.

If there is no left alternative then more right wing conservatives may make a move and promise a "strong" solution to the country's problems based on racism and attacking the poor.

French union leaders should call indefinite action. Our union leaders should learn a lesson from across the channel.

The best way to drive out a crumbling right-wing government is to build the struggles against it.

TURKEY:

Strike wave deepens government crisis

EYEWITNESS IN TURKEY

ON MONDAY the biggest strikes in Turkey for 15 years continued to rock the Turkish ruling class.

Turkish prime minister Tansu Ciller is making desperate attempts to form a new coalition government in the face of a paralysing strike by 400,000 public sector workers.

The three week strike by engineers, dockers, railway and highway workers, sugar factory and agricultural workers started after workers rejected a 5.5 percent pay offer. Inflation is running at 90 percent.

Forced

Pressure from the strikers had already forced the main social democratic party to resign from the previous coalition at the end of September, bringing down the government.

The government's crisis gave the strikers, mainly members of the moderate TurkIs union federation, greater confidence to stay out.

Ciller now wants to form a government including the fascist National Action Party (MHP). This makes a new government more right wing than the previous one but just as unstable.

Ciller's right wing True Path party depends on support from the small Democratic Left Party as well as the MHP.

These two parties fought gun battles against each other in the 1970s.

The strikers have forced the government to negotiate with the leaders of TurkIs and increase its offer to 15 per cent.

But TurkIs leader Bayram Meral said on Monday, "If our demands are not met today, I expect to see all workers out on the streets of Ankara (the capital city) on Sunday".

Dirty War

At the same time the Turkish regime is continuing its dirty war against the Kurdish minority.

The war in south east Turkey costs the government \$8 billion a year. Foreign debt repayments in the coming

year are expected to be \$10.5 billion.

Ciller is desperate to win Turkey's entry into the European Customs Union which will allow it better terms of trade.

But the European Parliament has demanded that

Turkey drop the more repressive elements of its anti terrorism law.

Sharpen

Any attempt to do that will sharpen the divisions in the government between those

who seek a political solution in Kurdistan and more hardline elements.

The continuing economic and political uncertainty creates the possibility for all those who are fighting back against the government to come together.

USA:

Bigots attack teenage girl

WHEN A pregnant girl of 15 from Nebraska USA obtained her parents permission for an abortion, she and her family were subjected to attacks, arrests and separation.

Her 16 year old boyfriend, his mother, stepfather and a group of thugs stormed into her house screaming "Baby Killer, Baby Killer!". They then beat up her father.

Carl Scott and his terrified family fled to the home of a cousin and

shortly after midnight ten squad cars surrounded the cousin's house.

The police, led by a deputy sheriff active in the anti abortion movement took the girl away after showing the parents a letter they had from a local doctor saying abortion could prove fatal. The doctor never examined the girl.

Court

The girl was then sent to a foster family she had never met. The town was fly-posted describing the Scotts as murderers. The

girl was brought up before a juvenile court. Her parents were accused of neglecting her and endangering her health and morals.

The evidence for this? The letter from the doctor who had never met the girl.

The judge ruled that she be released back into her parents' care but only "on condition that no abortion shall be performed on the subject's unborn child without further order of the court".

Over the following weeks the girl and her family were kept under

constant surveillance. She was threatened with assault by friends of her former boyfriend and was forced to stop going to school.

In December she gave birth to a daughter but the harassment continued and she and her family were forced to move out of town.

The Scott family have now filed a lawsuit against the boyfriend, his family, the deputy sheriff, the doctor and the county prosecutor for trespass, assault, false arrest and violation of constitutional rights.

Trial to expose mafia roots

Forget OJ Simpson, the trial of the century is currently underway in Italy.

Andreotti, a frail 76 year old, was prime minister of Italy seven times and served in 24 post-war Italian governments.

He was the central player in Italy's post-war rehabilitation and economic growth.

He is now on trial for his connections with the Mafia.

During his long career he has been implicated in no less than 20 public scandals.

He is not so much a politician as a national phenomenon.

Witness

The leading prosecution witness, Tommaso Buscetta, an ex-mafioso is set to testify that the devout Catholic Andreotti (a daily communicant and editor of the religious magazine *30 Days*) was involved in the kidnap and murder of the then Prime Minister, Aldo Moro, in 1977.

It is further alleged that he 'fingered' two leading anti-mafia investigators who were gunned down outside their homes.

The prosecution believe that Andreotti was the Mafia's principle political protector.

This is not just another case of corruption.

In practice, it is not only Andreotti who is on trial.

Alongside him in the dock is the entire Christian Democrat-dominated ruling class.

This is a class which stands accused of systematic collusion with the Mafia.

The Mafia originally grew in Sicily in the 19th century. It was used by the big landowners to break peasant unions.

It was re-invigorated with the US invasion of Italy in 1943.

The US military first made contact with the Mafia through the notorious criminal, Lucky Luciano.

Luciano had his prison sentence commuted and was able to return to Sicily as a reward for the contacts he set up for the Allies.

When the US army landed in Sicily, their intelligence service appointed leading Mafiosi to the positions of Mayors.

In one case, in Villalba, when the Mafia leader Don Calo was appointed mayor there were chants of 'Long live the Allies, Long live the Mafia.'

The aim of the US army was to use the Mafia to intimidate and break the left.

The majority of Italy was liberated at the end of the war by partisans under the control of the Communist Party.

In 1947, the US told the Italian government to get rid of the communists from their government.

At the same time the Mafia were encouraged to break up left wing meetings.

On May 1 in Portella, peasants came together to celebrate the victory of the left in regional elections in Sicily.

But sub-machine gun fire rained down on the fifteen hundred people gathered in the square.

Eleven people were butchered by the Mafia as a re-

minder to the peasants to keep away from communists.

Even after the 'communist threat' to Italy declined the Mafia was a vital part of the ruling class machine.

It raised money and delivered votes for Christian Democrat candidates throughout Southern Italy.

Money from its activities found their way into sinister secret ruling class societies like P2.

The key figure in this organisation, Licio Gelli re-cycled Mafia money into the international arms trade and used the profits to bribe scores of Italian politicians.

Rewarded

In return the Mafia was rewarded with building contracts and was even given a monopoly on the water supply in parts of Italy.

For many years private firms were employed to collect local taxes and keep a 10% cut for themselves. Many of these firms were Mafia fronts.

Through these activities the Mafia modernised itself and this year the Mafia's gross turnover will be in the region of \$43,000,000,000.

The Italian ruling class built this monster because it helped to defend their rule.

They regarded parliamentary democracy as a smokescreen behind which they conducted their business through secret societies and closed networks.

If Andreotti is convicted the Mafia will not fall apart. It still has friends in high places.

It will continue to thrive just as long as crime makes a tidy profit.

Why is the Church racked with scandal?

THE CATHOLIC Church is racked by scandals. Over the last three years, 30 or 40 priests and brothers have appeared before the courts or have been under active investigation by the police for child abuse.

Most of the offences go back decades. As publicity about the cases builds up, it is expected that far more victims will come forward.

For Cardinal Cathal Daly, the scandals are not the responsibility of the institutional Church. Instead he claims that it is the victim of a "relentless and pitiless pursuit by the media".

According to this view there are a 'few bad apples' just like there are everywhere. It is the 'liberal conspiracy' which has magnified the issue.

But there are a number of special features of these cases which show that there is an intrinsic connection between child abuse and the power of the Catholic clergy in Ireland.

For one thing the Church hierarchy believes that priests are above the law. Just as the church in feudal times had its own courts and was separate to the civil powers, so the Irish church has its own way of dealing with its clerics.

After Fr Hughes raped, and took pornographic pictures of, a young altar boy, his parents went to the bishops to complain.

Informed

But despite being informed of this horrendous abuse, there was no question of the bishops reporting it to the civil authorities.

After 1987, the Department of Health issued guidelines clearly stating that any suspicion of child abuse should be notified to the local Director of Community Care immediately.

Instead of adopting these guidelines, the Church established its own commission to report on the matter. After four years of deliberation, it has produced nothing.

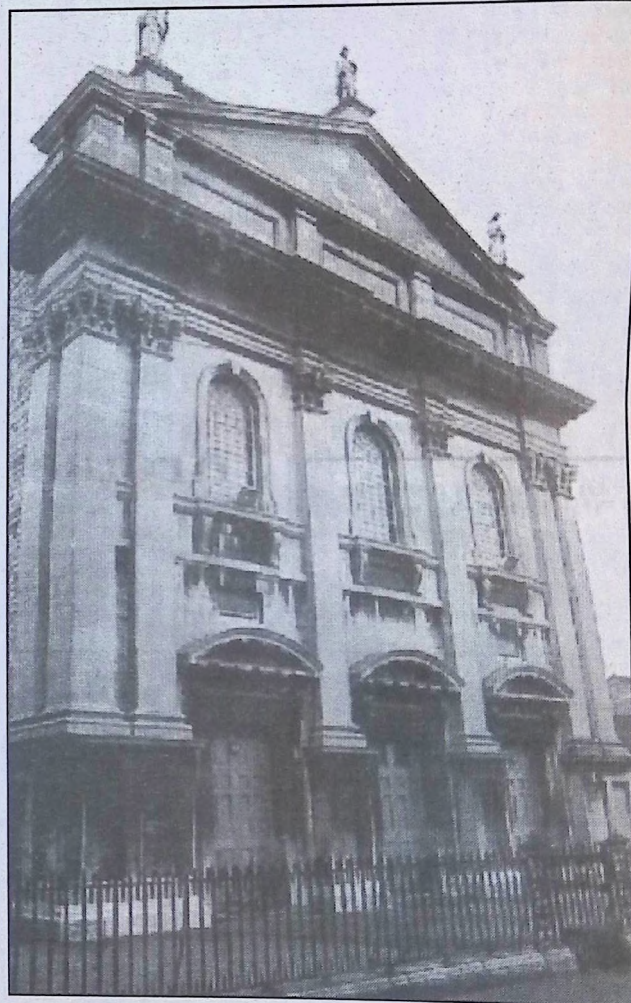
Instead the Catholic clergy have adopted a policy of moving around child abusers to keep them away from the public gaze.

One Bishop, Dr William Walsh has revealed the complete lack of concern for children's welfare displayed by the church hierarchy.

He said that "In the 1960s if a priest was called in and promised never to do that again, the bishops believed him".

The recent scandals have also shown that the church is very much a class based institution.

Archbishop O'Connell of Dublin argued that the £30,000 which Fr Hughes paid out was a "reasonably



small figure which was within the capacity of the priest to pay it".

But how many ordinary Churchgoers would find £30,000 a 'reasonably small sum'?

The Bishop accidentally revealed a startling fact about the Irish Catholic Church: ever since it began to grow after the clearances which followed the Irish famine, its membership has come predominantly from the upper middle class.

You could not join the priesthood until recently unless you were able to raise a sort of 'dowry' for the church.

By contrast most of the victims of child sex abuse were poor and working class. Some were in care in various institutions run by the church.

Take for example, St Joseph's Industrial School in Galway. Here 12 former inmates have reported that they were abused by three priests.

The industrial schools were set up for orphans, children of 'unfortunate families' and children who came up against the police.

They were called 'industrial schools' to bring reform through

work. In places like Letterfrack in Galway the children were hired out to farmers to toil for long hours.

Abuse was built into this system from the very start. The boys were given horrendous beatings. They were regarded as a 'lesser breed' by their clerical masters.

Is it any wonder that many became objects of distorted desires for sex and control?

Denounce

The clergy have been taught to denounce sex as an evil animal craving that has to be regulated inside marriage.

Their own celibacy is taken as a sign that they cannot be lowered by sexual desire.

The reality is that sex is a human need. By denying this, the Catholic church is pushing its own clergy to find distorted ways of expressing that need.

When a number of them turned to child abuse, in the eyes of the church this was no worse an activity than having affairs with adult women.

And of course, the opportunities for child abuse under the British and governments, the church's complete control of the system.

Children were taught that they were special, deserving special respect. Every word they said was the truth. If they beat you, it was your own good.

If they touched you, it was something to be sniggered at. In almost every school there was gossip among children about priests and nuns.

The revelations that have come out recently have not been a media conspiracy.

If newspapers had a small amount of investigation, the clergy would have got the claim that no money goes out of church funds to satisfy victims.

The real reason that the public is so furious with this revelation may put them in the same category as the American Church's tuition rather than in the same category as the American Church's compensation.

The scandals are at the moment for many reasons than just a media investigation. Irish society is undergoing changes. A new generation of parents who cannot control their parents put up with obedience to the church.

No matter what the church does now, it will never change again.

KEY POLITICIAN as Ivan Yates rushed to the Catholic Church are blaming the all the trouble.

It is no surprise that Fianna Fail and worked closely for

Emp

The Catholic Church started to gain power in the country under the British empire.

Two hundred helped to build the as a bastion against the French revolution.

Under the empire was rewarded for militant movements.

It was under the too that a denomination system was where local parishes

The Catholic Church

by KIERAN ALLEN

th

And of course, there were huge opportunities for child abuse. First under the British and then the Irish governments, the church was given complete control of the education system.

Children were taught that priests were special, deserving utmost respect. Every word they uttered was the truth. If they beat you it was for your own good.

If they touched you up, it was something to be sniggered at.

In almost every school in Ireland here was gossip and rumours among children about particular priests and nuns.

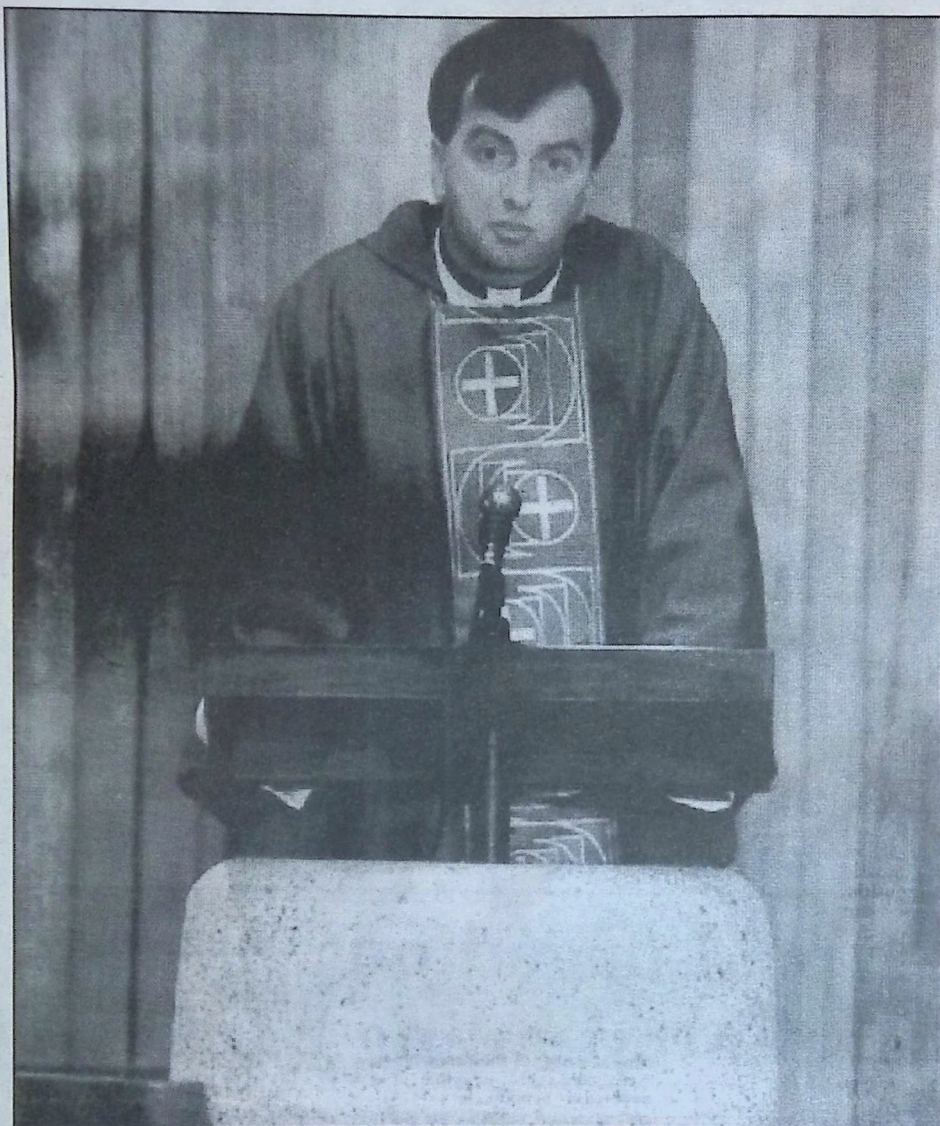
The revelations that have come out recently have nothing to do with media conspiracy.

If newspapers had not done a small amount of investigation, the clergy would have gotten away with the claim that no money had come out of church funds to help compensate victims.

The real reason the Bishops are furious with this revelation is that it has put them in the same position as the American Church: the institution rather than individual priests would end up paying millions in compensation.

The scandals are being revealed at the moment for much deeper reasons than just a media conspiracy. Irish society is undergoing immense changes. A new generation has arrived who cannot comprehend how their parents put up with a culture of obedience to the clergy.

No matter what the church does now, it will never close the flood gates again.



How the Church got its power

KEY POLITICIANS such as Ivan Yates have already rushed to the defence of the Catholic Church and are blaming the media for all the trouble.

It is no surprise. The Bishops, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael have worked closely for decades.

Empire

The Catholic Church first started to gain power in this country under the rule of the British empire.

Two hundred years ago, they helped to build Maynooth college as a bastion against the ideas of the French revolution.

Under the empire the Church was rewarded for its attacks on militant movements like the Fenians.

It was under the British empire too that a denominational education system was established where local parish priests were

put in charge of primary schools.

After the War of Independence, the Church denounced the republican side in the civil war. They declared that it was the 'duty of the people to support the government, whatever it is, to set their faces resolutely against disorder, to pay their taxes, rents and annuities (paying back money to British landlords).'

In return for advocating stability the Church gained new powers. Limited divorce was abolished by the Cumann na nGaedhal government. A Censorship Board was set up in 1930 with a Catholic priest as its chairperson. Even the pub opening hours were changed to fit in with Mass times.

After Fianna Fail came to power, they too made their peace with the Bishops. They too recognised that in return for church support for stability in the South, they had to be rewarded with new powers.

When De Valera introduced his

constitution in 1937, one article noted that "The State recognises the special position of the Holy Catholic, Apostolic and Roman Church..."

Fianna Fail worked closely with the *Catholic Standard* to split the trade union movement in Ireland along lines of who was more Catholic and nationalist. The split lasted until 1956.

When the Irish Labour Party entered a brief left wing phase in 1969, Jack Lynch, the then Fianna Fail leader did a tour of the convents to bring out the clerical vote against 'the reds'.

Cabinet

The power and influence of the Church was used against working class people.

A simple Social Security Bill was thrown out of cabinet in 1950 because, as the Catholic magazine, *Christus Rex* put it, 'comprehensive state welfare schemes are opposed to moral and social

principles'.

Later, a scheme to bring in a free health service for Mothers and Children was thrown out after the Bishops claimed 'these were matters in which the State had no competence'.

Throughout the history of the Southern state, the Church has been used to attack socialism. As a wealthy institution in its own right, it felt that its land and property were under threat.

The Bishops did not get their power in Irish society simply because the majority of the people were Catholic. Ever since the fight against colonialism there has been a militant anti-clerical tradition in this country.

They had to be given their influence by the Irish ruling elite who had their own interests to defend. This elite liked the message of control and obedience the Church promoted.

This is why even today, they do not want the attacks on the Bishops to go too far.

Divorce and the bishops

THE BISHOPS hope that they can still regain some ground by getting a high vote against divorce.

They know that they can no longer win the argument by claiming that divorce is morally wrong.

Instead, they pretend that allowing separated people to re-marry, will endanger the relationships of people who are married today.

This is nonsense. People do not separate because there is a law which permits divorce.

They split up because of financial pressures or because the nature of their relationships have changed.

Since divorce was last thrown out in 1986, the number of separations has risen by 46%.

Today Ireland has a higher rate of separation than Greece, Italy or Spain where there is divorce.

The Bishops also try to claim that divorce damages children's welfare.

But their actions over recent cases of child abuse show that they are more concerned to defend the finances of the church than to acknowledge the wrong that has been done to victims.

The reality is that children are in greater danger in the care of a celibate priesthood than they are in divorce situations.

The tragedy is that the government

is fighting this referendum with one hand tied behind its back. They thought that it was enough to get Fianna Fail on side, and so brought in a measure which denounced 'quickie divorces'.

But Fianna Fail leader Bertie Ahern has announced that he has no intention of canvassing for divorce. According to one of his TDs, Michael Noonan, up to half of the FF parliamentary party will actually vote against divorce.

At Stake

In this referendum, every socialist should vote YES. Divorce is important in itself—but there is even more at stake.

If the Bishops can swing a NO vote when they are at their weakest point, it will encourage them to start backing small fringe right wing parties to roll back the gains of recent years.

But in arguing for a YES vote we should also oppose the four year waiting period. People should no more be punished for broken marriages than they should be forced to have children because they had sex.

What you can do

THE Socialist Workers Party is organising a distinct socialist campaign for a YES vote.

As well as opposing the four year wait, the SWP is demanding that divorce be made fully available to working class people.

No judge should be allowed to take 'financial means' into account when granting the right to re-marry.

The SWP's campaign will also target the hypocrisy of the Bishops who lecture us about how to lead our lives—

while covering up for appalling crimes against children.

We urge our readers to :

- Distribute posters
- Give out leaflets to their workmates and friends. Order the comprehensive socialist case on divorce leaflet at £1 per 100.
- Join the SWP canvassing teams which are going out every week. Telephone (01) 872 2682 for details.

Socialist Worker
DIVORCE:
 Let the Bishops look after their own families ...
VOTE FOR CHANGE!
VOTE YES

Spain 1936 ... revolution and civil war...

The Spanish Tragedy

KEN LOACH'S new film *Land and Freedom* is a brilliant and highly political account of the Spanish Civil War.

It highlights the fact that for many people in Spain, the war was not just a fight against fascism but a fight for socialism.

It shows that Franco's victory, far from being inevitable, was a consequence of the betrayal by those who wished to crush the revolution.

ROISIN CRONIN takes up the story...

FROM THE inception of the Republic in 1931, Spain was the site of struggle by workers and peasants in a society still dominated by the Catholic Church and a small ruling elite.

In this atmosphere the February 1936 elections brought a heavy defeat for the Right. A Popular Front coalition of the main middle class parties and workers' organisations, including the Socialists and the Communists, was elected.

The Popular Front parties formed a coalition based on their opposition to fascism. Fascism was becoming an increasing threat all over Europe in the 1930s, and the Popular Front parties believed that fascism could be stopped in the context of defending the existing order of the Spanish republic.

The Popular Front declared their aim was "a Republic directed not by social or economic motives but rather a regime of democratic freedom impelled by motives of public and social progress."

But while the government parties were declaring that socialism was off the agenda, workers and peasants were becoming increasingly revolutionary. The February elections sparked off a series of strikes and land seizures.

In the countryside, peasants were seeing that the government's promises weren't happening and acted themselves. One month after the elections 60,000 peasants took over 3000 farms.

One labourer spoke of how workers viewed the ruling class: "We hated the bourgeoisie, they treated us like animals. They were our worst enemies."

"When we looked at them we thought we were looking at the devil himself."

As world recession continued and the threat of workers struggles mounted it became clear to the ruling class that desperate measures to break the workers' movement would have to be taken.

The middle class who increasingly felt insecure and under threat, flooded into the Falange, the openly fascist party. Left wing militants began confronting the fascists in street fights.

The response of the Popular Front was to call on workers to moderate their demands so the right wouldn't be pushed too far. The Socialists and Commu-

nists continued to argue that fascism could only be beaten by unity between the working class and all "anti-fascist social classes and strata". They demanded that workers call off their strikes.

It is little wonder, then, given such seemingly weak opposition, that the Right didn't believe their coup would be met with much opposition. On July 17, 1936, the fascist uprising began in Morocco, led by General Franco.

The Republican government at first kept the rising quiet, claiming that none of the armed forces on the Spanish mainland was supporting it.

When they did announce the fascist rising, two days had been lost. The government now refused to arm the workers.

The workers, however, responded magnificently, as the film shows. They surrounded army barracks in towns and cities all over Spain, demanding arms. Most barracks fell.

Workers militias were formed and barricades set up. These militias provided the resistance to Franco's forces, who were backed up by the Church.

By the end of July in central and eastern Spain, and most of the southern and northern coast, the fascists had been beaten off.

The workers militias were, in the words of writer George Orwell, "a sort of microcosm of a classless society". There was

"It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flag of the Anarchists, every wall was scrawled with the initials of the revolutionary parties, almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt."—George Orwell

complete equality between officers and men and women in the militias. They received the same pay, saluting was banned and they voted on strategy.

But in the Republican-held areas—most notably in Barcelona—workers extended their action much further than the militias.

They collectivised factories, shops, hotels and banks. Production came under their control in the form of local workers' committees. These committees ran everything—healthcare, transport, electricity.



Private vehicles were taken over by the various workers organisations—mainly the anarchist CNT and the left wing POUM.

Some had the initials of the CNT or POUM painted on them, others just "UHP"—Unite Proletarian Brothers.

In *Homage to Catalonia*, George Orwell's eye witness account of the Spanish civil war, he described what happened in Barcelona:

Workers' power remained fragmented and isolated in the local committees. There was no centralised co-ordination.

The Russian Revolution in 1917 had shown that for the revolution to succeed workers had to smash the old bourgeois state and replace it with a new state under their control, based on workers' councils.

In Spain, however, the CNT, the most influential revolutionary

party, had occupied since the previous July. They were met with fierce resistance.

Barricades were erected all over Barcelona and armed workers again took to the streets.

But unlike July 1936 when they were fighting the fascists, workers now faced the government which included people who had fought in the militias and International Brigades.

The government was proclaiming that workers were as great a threat as the fascists.

While CNT and POUM militants were on the streets to defend workers power, their leaders were meeting the government. The CNT, now committed to supporting the government, called on their members to leave the barricades.

5,000 assault guards arrived in the city and took control. Revolutionary committees were disbanded and activists arrested. The revolution had been crushed.

Franco didn't win the war until 1939, but once the revolution was defeated it was merely a question of time.

The inspiration of workers power was lost.

Franco's victory led to almost forty years of vicious dictatorship which smashed all the organisations of the workers movement.

Land and Freedom shows that Franco could have been defeated.

As Ken Loach said: "The memory of the terrible defeat in the Spanish Civil War can make us despair, but the memory of the Spanish revolution can give us hope."

"It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flag of the Anarchists, every wall was scrawled with the initials of the revolutionary parties, almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt."

But while anarchist and left wing militias were taking control of the city and setting up committees to run the factories and provide services, the Republican

party, was opposed to all forms of power. While they were to the fore in the committees, they didn't see the need to organise workers' power on a centralised level. This meant that the structures of the bourgeois republic were allowed to remain in place.

The Popular Front government's response to the revolution was predictable.

They wanted to roll back the gains workers had made so the middle classes and employers could be certain that they had nothing to fear.

The Communist Party repeat-

comment

British Labour Party Conference

Stealing the language of the Tories

AT THE British Labour Party conference in Brighton, Tony Blair, promised to "sweep away the most discredited and dishonourable government in living memory."

It is a wish shared by millions. Many of them will not even remember a time when there was a half way decent health service or less homeless people living on the streets.

Recently the country was shocked to learn that a student was paid £1 for working five hours at Burger King. An extreme case, maybe. But not entirely unusual.

The job centre in Southampton admitted that it expects people to work for £1.50 an hour—or else lose their benefit.

At the same time the rich are having a ball. The amount of the National Income going to profits has risen by £243 billion since 1992.

Promised

Blair has had to respond to the huge anger in Britain. He promised to "take the excess profits from the new robber barons—the privatised industries chiefs."

He even warned those bosses seeking a quick buck from privatisation of the railways that "there would be a publicly owned accountable railway system under a Labour government".

But Blair's radical phrases are few. He is known as a moderniser and has even renamed his party, New Labour.

He claims that the dropping of Labour's more old fashioned values has brought him to number one in the polls.

This is why he refused to commit himself to a £4.15 minimum wage. Gone is all the talk that Britain should unilaterally get rid of its nuclear weapons.

A socialist past is now a real obstacle in the Labour Party. This is what Liz Davis from Leeds found when she was banned from being an election candidate because she refused to pay her poll tax.

The enthusiasm for discarding 'old socialism' finds many supporters in Ireland who yearn for a more 'pragmatic' way. But their activities in the Southern Coalition government shows just where New Labour in Britain is leading.

The reality is that Labour's new popularity has little to do with the modernisers.

A survey in the *Observer* the day before the

conference started showed that 69% of people thought New Labour was 'hardly different' or just a 'little different' to Old Labour.

The hatred of a corrupt and sleazy Tory government is the real motor behind Labour's new rise.

Blair's strategy contains its own dangers. In its effort to win the middle ground, Labour takes on the appearance of a Tory Party Mark 2.

Talk of being 'the law and order party' or reclaiming the Union Jack, pushes the political agenda onto the terrain of the Tories.

So when the Labour spokesperson Jack Straw attacks 'aggressive' beggars and 'winos', not only is he borrowing the language of Major but he allows the Tories to claim that they began the attacks and are more determined to see them through.

Unease

One good sign from the conference was Blair. Scargill got a warm reception for defending Clause 4 and Roy Hattersley got a standing ovation for supporting comprehensive education. 44% of delegates voted to keep unilateral disarmament.

When Blair wins the praise of the editor of the *Daily Mail* or Norman Tebbit, then thousands know that there is something to worry about.

They may still look to Blair because workers in Britain have taken a battering at the hands of the Tories. But there is a suspicion and a distrust of his love of the Yuppy classes.

Socialists in Britain have to relate to the new mood around Blair. Key to this are the reports of a rising level of militancy among British workers.

Socialists have to argue for action now—rather than just waiting for a Labour government.

But they also have to win a hearing for their view that there is a real alternative available to the madness of the market.

If they start to do that now, Prime Minister Blair will find himself confronting a strong force to his Left.

by MARK HEWITT

VIDEO:

When the nuclear tests go wrong

Blue Sky reviewed by DAVE McDONAGH

JESSICA Lange won an Oscar for the film *Blue Sky* which did not go on general release here but is now out on video.

Lange plays the part of a woman who has spent her married life moving from one army base to the next with her army scientist husband, played by Tommy Lee Jones.

The film focuses mainly on Lange's mental instability and her affair with Jones's commander which scandalises the base.

But the background is a timely one given the French nuclear tests, because Jones is involved in US bomb tests, first in the Pacific and then in the American deserts.

The family move from the Pacific to Alabama after Jones opposes atmospheric tests.

In the early scenes we see him examining high radiation levels on a Pacific beach.

But when he takes part in an underground test in the US it goes horribly wrong. Two farmers get caught in the blast area and suffer radiation sickness.

Cover-Up

The army cover-up results in Jones being committed to a mental institution to destroy his credibility, should he go public with the case.

Lange takes up the case on his behalf and seeks out the two farmers. She is accompanied by her two daughters, one of whom has vowed to set up "Youth Against Testing" in the army base!

Blue Sky is not the best anti-nuclear film ever—*Threads* is much better—but it's on the same side as the millions who oppose France's deadly tests today.



POETRY:

Seamus Heaney wins Nobel Prize

by RICHARD BOYD BARRETT

THE AWARDING of the Nobel Prize for Literature to poet Seamus Heaney has been greeted with almost universal acclaim by Ireland's media, academics and politicians alike.

Only Eamonn Dunphy, in a vitriolic rant in the *Sunday Independent*, denounced Heaney and his work. Dunphy claimed that Heaney's poetry was at best obscure and at worst completely meaningless, ivory tower drivel.

Dunphy's description doesn't tally at all with my knowledge of Heaney's verse.

Heaney's work is for the most part highly readable and technically impressive. If the art of poetry is to concentrate a wealth of meaning into a few rhythmic lines and evocative images then Heaney is certainly a talented poet.

Nor—despite some claims to the contrary by Dunphy and others—has Heaney failed to combine these literary skills with some political engagement.

The following lines from a poem in his collection "North" describe an Orange March in all its sectarian venom.

"The Lambeg balloons at his belly, weighs him back on his hunches, lodging thunder Grossly there between his chin and his knees He is raised up by what he buckles under

..... To every cocked ear, expert in its greed,

His battered signature describes 'No Pope' the goatskins sometimes plastered with his blood

the air is pounding like a stethoscope.

In the same collection, in poems such as 'Punishment' and 'Whatever you

say say nothing', Heaney challenges the one-sided, sensationalist and moralising descriptions of the northern conflict so common in mainstream media over the last 25 years.

Indeed much of Heaney's poetry seems to be a meditation on Irish history and the question of cultural identity.

Weakness

However Heaney's weakness does seem to be a certain resignation in the face of Northern conflict and an acceptance of fixed tribal identities.

His apparent desire to be even-handed in the context of the North leads him too often to let the real cause of division in the North, the sectarian state and British imperialism, off the hook.

In so far as he seeks for some common ground between Protestant and Catholics he tends to look to the mythical past or ide-

alised images of rural Ireland rather than to the history and experience of the working class.

His search for the symbol, image or metaphor that can accommodate what he sees as Ireland's different traditions, parallels the peace process in its attempt to develop a new constitutional framework for the North.

It is no doubt for this reason that Heaney was chosen for the award and why the establishment in Ireland are so overjoyed.

In this respect at least Heaney's project—like the peace process—will fail precisely because it accepts the idea of fixed Catholic and Protestant identities instead of looking to undercut them.

However the fact that some of the wrong people now praise him or that he's not a socialist does not mean that Heaney is undeserving of praise.

CENSORSHIP:

Playboy of the western world

THE LIFTING of the 37 year ban on *Playboy* has been greeted either as a blow to women's rights or a welcome maturing of sexual attitudes in Ireland. It is neither.

by CATHY BERGIN

Playboy is tacky soft porn dressed up as a cultural journal.

Far from being an alternative to the reactionary views on women, it is the flip side of the notion that sex is dirty and best indulged in secret.

The depictions of sexuality in *Playboy* are not liberating ones. It is not a simple question of nudity.

The nude women appear as passive, pouting playthings.

The message is that they can be had like any other commodity.

Playboy first appeared in America in 1958 with an unashamed appeal to a male audience.

Playboy clubs were set up where the tired executive could relax with like minded men while being served by women dressed

up as bunnies.

Today the magazine is an institution in America with an estimated readership of one in ten males. Politicians, celebrities and academics queue up to be interviewed in its hallowed pages.

Logic

They excuse the surrounding images of women with talk about 'nobody forced them to pose' or 'Boys will be boys'—this obviously means a compulsive need to look at glossy pictures of naked women.

This sort of logic is as insulting to men's sexuality as

it is dismissive of women's.

For all that, *Playboy* is not the cause of women's oppression.

If media images were the main problem then the everyday ones that scream at us from advertising hoardings, Daz ads and Hollywood movies should be held responsible.

But all of these are only symptoms of a sexist society, not the cause of it.

The oppression of women has been with us for far longer than glossy magazines and celluloid.

Women in the seventeenth century were not exactly whooping it up living lives of abandoned free love

and sexual equality.

The history of censorship in Ireland is a sobering one with writers such as Joyce, Beckett and Behan being banned. The Catholic Right which has policed women's sexuality is a far bigger threat than the shabby voyeurism of *Playboy*.

The magazine is crap. It is not just a magazine which demeans women to boost sales—it also uses its 'serious' articles to legitimise blatant sexism.

Bunny girls of the world should unite.

You have nothing to lose but sad old rich bastards trying to paw you over a double brandy.



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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry. We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

news & reports—politics; the unions—

Stop strike-breaking at Guinness

THE STRIKE by 100 craftworkers at Guinness Brewery in Dublin is now into its fourth week.

There are daily pickets on seven gates leading to the brewery and a round-the-clock picket on the main St. James Street entrance.

The craftworkers, members of AEEU and TEEU, are striking to force Guinness to honour an agreement on pay that dates back to 1987.

But management have an agenda to break union organisation and further increase the numbers of contract workers.

Contract

Already there are about 500 contract workers in the Brewery on any given day. They are paid 'yellow pack' rates and have no job security.

Guinness was traditionally known as a 'good company' to work in. All this has begun to change.

With the implementation of Plan 2000, conditions will be worsened with further job cuts, more contract work and the introduction of annualized hours.

Morale of the strikers is high. "We're determined to fight the company and make them honour a deal they signed with us", according to one of the shop stewards.

Strike breaking in the brewery has been happening at a scandalous rate over the past week. "For the first week and a half the machinery was in good nick but now there are constant break-downs and problems", Joe told *Socialist Worker*.

Media black out

THIS STRIKE is barely covered by the media. The only mention it received from the press was when unions applied to Congress for an all-out picket.

Regardless of whether an all-out is supported by other Congress unions, SIPTU must be told to put an end to scabbing at the plant.

As one striker told *Socialist Worker*, "The media are ignoring this strike and the reason is obvious. Guinness advertising is worth a small fortune to every wing of the media."

"They're not going to upset that apple-cart with publicity about a strike that Guinness management want to keep a secret."

"When you look at who controls the media you realise it's not about reporting the truth it's about making money".



Colm Storm, Managing Director of Guinness and National Council member of bosses' organisation IBEC

Huge profits on black stuff

GUINNESS Managing Director, Colin Storm, reported a rise in pre-tax profits for their worldwide operation—this year the figure is £332 million.

They hold 78% of the Irish beer market which netted a profit of £140 million last year. This greedy multi-national is determined to push up profits even higher by attacking wages and conditions.

Storm has said that "Ireland suffers certain disadvantages" and lists higher wage costs as a main one.

The strikers are now in need of solidarity as management push ahead to break them.

Attack

Craftworkers in other industries have come under attack in recent years, in Irish Steel, TEAM Aer Lingus and the Dublin Port & Docks.

Workers in these industries should invite Guinness strikers to address union meetings and take up collections to show support and solidarity for their fight.

It's in all our interests that this strike wins.

Messages of support and collections should be sent to The Guinness Strike Committee, c/o The TEEU, 5, Cavendish Row, Dublin 1 or The AEEU, 5, Whitefriars, Aungier Street, Dublin 2.

Worker.

"The scabbing that's going on is unbelievable. Engineers, mechanical and assistant engineers are fixing broken machines and equipment."

Breaks

"We don't know if they do this at night or while the workers are on their breaks. But they are doing it all the time".

The strikers have also been told by the Guinness Staff Association that 75% of engineers who work for GIES, a subsidiary of the brewery are not in any of the unions at the plant.

These scabs have ensured that beer keeps flowing while 100 union men are outside the gate.

Stop this scabbing!

GENERAL workers, members of SIPTU, have been told by full-time union official John Gray, to turn a blind eye and continue to work the machinery.

According to Gray, who is paid by the company, "If there is plant available for my members they work it. It doesn't matter who fixed it". This is outrageous anti-union behaviour and must be stopped. SIPTU workers have told strikers they are angry with the scabbing taking place but are being badgered by their own union officials.

On top of the scabbing of the engineers, the company are engaging agency workers to man-handle kegs normally put through machinery. These 'contractors' are being directly used

by management to break the strike.

What is vital now is a 100% blacking of scab work. SIPTU should be hammered for allowing this strike breaking to take place and must be forced to instruct members not to touch work carried out by scab engineers or contractors.

Action

Action from workers inside the brewery is essential now. As one picket told *Socialist Worker*, "When the beer stops flowing management will have to

listen to us".

The company also plan to export beer in bulk from Dublin to a brewery in the British Midlands to be kegged. Shop stewards and the strike committee should make every effort to link with unionised breweries in England and appeal for solidarity and blacking.

Joe, a member of the strike committee told *Socialist Worker*, "If exports of bulk beer are kegged in England on a temporary basis the company may end up carrying out this practice in the long term."

They might find it cheaper and get away with doing it by using the strike as an excuse. This would have huge implications for the general workers and SIPTU members in the long term.

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

BELFAST CENTRAL

Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Penny Farthing Bar, Upper North Street

BELFAST SOUTH

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Queens Students Union.

CORK

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in An Spailpin Tanak opposite Beamish Brewery, South Main St.

DERRY

Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Bar at 8pm

BRAY

Meets every Thursday at 8pm Contact national address for details.

DUBLIN BLANCHARDSTOWN

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Blakestown Community Centre, Blakestown Way.

DUBLIN COOLOCK

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd.

DUBLIN CLONDALKIN

Contact 872 2682 for details.

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Bentley Pub, Drimnagh Road

DUBLIN FINGLAS

Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Rosehill Community

Centre, beside Finglas Inn.

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Conways, Parnell St.

DUBLIN RATHMINES

Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond Street.

DUBLIN PEARSE ST/ RINGSEND

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St.

DUBLIN TALLAGHT

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm, Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village.

DUN LAOGHAIRE

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

GALWAY

Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square—contact national address for details.

NEWRY

Meets every Wednesday at 8pm—contact national address for venue.

WATERFORD

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyzer St.

★ There are *Socialist Worker* members in:

- ENNISKILLEN;
 - COLERAINE; LURGAN;
 - CAVAN; DONEGAL;
 - NAAS; LIMERICK;
 - KILKENNY; DUNDALK;
 - BRAY; ATHLONE;
 - DROGHEDA, MAYNOOTH.
- If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

If you want to join *Socialist Worker*, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

Name

Address.....

Phone.....

Marxism 95
A revolution in ideas

30 meetings highlights includes:

- Kieran Allen on Church and State in Ireland
- Chris Bambery (SWP Britain) on the Spanish Civil War
- Eamonn McCann debates Sinn Fein
- Prof Brian Manning on Oliver Cromwell
- Black socialist Nicky Johnson on the Black Panthers

Nov 21, 25, 26 Ormond Multi Media Centre, Ormond Quay, Dublin
Marxism 95 PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

For full programme and further info write to Marxism 95, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel (01) 872 2682

send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

SIPTU CONFERENCE

Union leaders face anger

AT THE recent conference of SIPTU in Killarney, there was a new mood of anger among delegates.

About one third of the conference opposed the leadership on a number of key issues.

One of the main concerns was with the size of the salaries of top officials. Bill Attley, Jimmy Somers and Edmund Browne each get £73,000 a year.

This is more than the inflated salary of the ICTU President, Peter Cassells who earns £40,000.

The union leaders who are on these fat salaries have no difficulty advising their members to stick to social partnership deals which give puny increases.

When the National Executive Council proposed a motion raising union subs, many shop stewards got up to warn that their members would not want to pay this increase if it was going towards top officials on mega salaries.

Accused

When Attley accused members of acting like employers, he was heckled by delegates who pointed out that the anger was coming from factory workers.

In the end, one third of the delegates voted against raising the subs in protest at the high salaries.

The size of the opposition clearly rattled the union machine.

The other key issue for SIPTU delegates was the

Industrial Relations Act. The two year old strike at Nolan's Transport has been banned and SIPTU costs will run to over £1.2 million.

Repeal

There were seven motions calling for an amendment to the act and one

which called for its total repeal.

SIPTU Leadership were determined to restrict debate on the issue.

The session on the Industrial Relations Act was confined to a workshop and was introduced by a legal expert.

Full discussion was not held at the plenary session.

Despite this 130 delegates turned up to the workshop.

Argued

Marnie Holborow from the Education branch got tremendous support when she argued that the "law is not neutral but is pro-boss. Justice Barron's judge-

ment read like a bosses charter. The closest contact he probably has with working class people is his maid".

She called for total repeal of the Act and pointed out that it was enacted as part of the social partnership deals.

Designed

It was designed to give the officials more power over shop stewards.

Des Derwin from Dublin Region 2 called for strike action if the Supreme Court upheld the decision to fine SIPTU.

Other delegates attacked the union leaders for originally recommending the law.

In the end one third of delegates defied the advice of the leaders and voted for total repeal of the act.

Fifty copies of *Socialist Worker* were sold.

DUNDALK RTC: Lecturers win grading victory

LECTURERS and teachers at Dundalk RTC have forced the college management to concede to their demands to upgrade three of the staff.

The Teachers Union of Ireland had an agreement with the Department of Education that any employee who works over 40% of their hours teaching at a higher level would get the pay and title for the higher grade.

Earlier this year management reneged on this deal and refused to pay the grades to three teachers.

Staff in Dundalk RTC staged a series of one-day strikes to win the upgrading.

But as one of the union activist pointed out, "It soon became clear that the one day stoppages were not enough so we balloted for an all-out to begin in October."

Concede

Over 75% of the staff voted in favour of the all-out and plans for the strike were being made by union representatives.

Management offered to concede on the pay for the three workers but not on

the titles. They were told to stuff it.

Then on Monday 2nd October management conceded to all the demands. Now the three workers will receive the Lecturer 1 titles and have their pay back-dated for three years.

One of the union activists at the College told *Socialist Worker*, "Winning a sweet little victory like this is really important for the future because management are copying what is happening in industry.

"They want yellow pack workers with zero hour contracts. There will be more battles ahead."

Blanchardstown garda protest

EVER since July of this year the Blanchardstown Garda station has been picketed by the family and supporters of Alan Royle.

They are protesting against an alleged Garda assault on him in September of last year.

Alan attempted to run away from Gardai he believed were after him for an unpaid fine.

When he reached his own back garden he says he was brutally attacked with a baton—in full view of his father.

Recover

Alan had to be taken to hospital to recover from the assault.

The month after his father made a complaint about the incident Alan was suddenly charged with assaulting a taxi driver.

But when the case came to court it was thrown out due to lack of evidence.

However the Blanchardstown



Gardai are still trying to prosecute Alan and are now charging him with assault on a Garda and receipt of stolen property.

According to Patrick Royle, "We

are keeping up this picket until justice is done. We want an independent investigation into the activities of the Blanchardstown police force."

Strike at Ulster Hospital, Dondonald

THREE HUNDRED ancillary workers went on 24 hour strike at Ulster Hospital in Dondonald outside Belfast.

The hospital, which has Trust status, is making vicious cuts in support services as part of a privatisation plan.

The hospital management took Trust status to give themselves "more freedom and autonomy". But they are now saying that they were forced to carry out the privatisation by the NI Health Executive.

Management has described the strike as preemptive but has already set up an in-house team of managers to implement the cuts.

Picket

Hospital workers know that management wants to push through a cuts plan similar to that implemented by management

at Lisburn Hospital.

The picket started on Sunday 24th and finished on Thursday after a public meeting in the hospital grounds.

Workers are on the picket line for the duration of their normal shift. Their numbers are swelled when nurses, departmental workers and other support staff come out during their breaks.

All the strikers, full time and part time, are members of UNISON. They are putting their best efforts into the strike and have little faith in union leadership's line of pursuing court action.

The lesson of the Lisburn strike, where workers had to return to work after a court decision, has been learnt.

The mood of the workers on picket on a cold drizzly Tuesday night was fantastic.

David Donald, shop steward, said militancy had rocketed at the hospital and that workers were ready to fight. He ran out of membership forms to sign workers to the union, "Management don't give a damn. We're going to stick this out and we'll take on anything and anybody." were typical comments from the picket line.

The workers want as many people as possible to support them.

They wanted people to join the picket—already bigger than Tory trade union laws allow—give money, draw up and sign petitions and take word of the strike to other hospitals.

The action of Ulster hospital workers was tremendous.

Fear

Managers fear a strike and know that they and their plans can be defeated by strike action.

They know they can be beaten and can't call on the support of the police to bolster their position. The only thing they can bank on is capitulation by Union leadership to a court case and the demoralisation of the workers by an inevitable ruling in favour of the Trust.

Bosses forced to back down at TEAM

WORKERS at TEAM Aer Lingus have forced management to back down on their attempts to allow non-union labour into the plant.

On Thursday 5th October fifteen fitters employed by a contractor for PARC, another Aer Lingus subsidiary, were brought in from England.

When shop stewards discovered that none of the fitters were union members they immediately informed management that they were implementing an overtime ban.

TEAM bosses had broken an agreement with the unions that only unionised labour would be employed and that management should seek any extra labour required from workers on the union registers.

Management responded to the shop stewards by threatening them with the 1990 Industrial Relations Act.

But after a very successful overtime ban which lasted 2' days, the company backed down.

The workload at TEAM

is at a peak and the company was relying on the overtime work.

Because of the workers' action, the company has now guaranteed the unions that only organised labour will be employed in the future.

Sign Up

All fifteen fitters from England had to sign up as members of AGEMOU.

This shows that the workers in TEAM are determined to hold their union organisation intact despite the defeats of the past.

One of the shop stewards told *Socialist Worker*, "This is a significant victory and puts manners on management."

"They have been hassling the stewards lately for doing union business. But it shows why we need to be on our toes with the company."

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside:

**Divorce
poll in
South**
—centre pages

**1936:
The
Spanish
Civil War**
—page eight

North's poverty scandal

A NEW report by Save the Children called *Sick of Poverty* shows the terrible impact Tory policies are having in the North.

139,000 children in the North are now living in poverty. If there was ever a reason why Catholic and Protestant workers should unite and fight our real enemies, then this report has all the evidence. The real scandal in Northern Ireland is that far more people are dying from poverty than were killed in the troubles of the past 25 years.

- The report shows that:
- Poor people in Northern Ireland die eight years younger than rich people.
 - A child whose father is unskilled is twice as likely to die before the age of 15 as a child of a professional father.
 - Babies born to poor parents have a 50% higher risk of dying than babies of rich parents.

It even calculates exactly how many babies might have been saved, if their parents had the same amount of money as professionals.

According to Save the Children, 508 babies lives would have been saved between 1988 and 1990 if poverty had been abolished.

One of the reasons for the scandal is that it is becoming increasingly difficult for poor people to get a healthy diet.

The current benefits level are so low that just over two thirds of the basic nutritional needs of an eight year old can be met from them.

Evidence

No wonder the report concludes that "poverty kills and in the meantime it seriously damages health".

The report provides powerful evidence for why we should step up demands for a £4.15 an hour minimum wage.

The failure of Tony Blair to commit himself to this figure shows that he expects to bring in few real changes under a future Labour government.

We have to start the fight ourselves now. That will mean taking on the miserable bosses around the North who dare to pay as little as £1.50 an hour.

But it will mean going further and building a socialist party that challenges the sectarianism that has kept the workers of the North divided.

FIGHT FOR £4.15 MINIMUM WAGE