

# Socialist Worker

**For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p**

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# Nurses show how to fight!

# Vote NO to Partnership 2000

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# Yates diplomacy hides BSE threat

All true Irish patriots were expected to cheer for Ivan Yates as he tried to stop Russian and Egyptian bans on Irish beef.

Dick Spring also flew the flag and told us he had sent 'technical information' to Egypt to reassure them that 'our' beef was safe from BSE.

The regimes in Russia and Egypt may not be known for respecting human rights but their restrictions on beef make

perfect sense.

Cases of BSE in Ireland are increasing—last year's cases accounted for more than one third of the total recorded since 1989.

Many more cattle may have been incubating the disease for several years.

There are signs of a cover-up with Ivan Yates announcing that figures for new cases will only be issued once a month instead of as they occur.

## Profits

Any sane society would ban beef until the problem of BSE was eradicated instead of putting food industry profits before human health.

But instead the Irish media focused on the plight of rich farmers and beef barons who would see their profits drop if the market collapsed. The government is at pains to tell us that Irish beef is safe and that a ban on beef is unnecessary.

But they are no better than the Tories who for years said British beef was safe until one report after another proved they were lying.

# Beware of BUPA health con!

**WORKING CLASS people who take out private health insurance will suffer as a result of competition between the VHI and BUPA.**

Donald Light, an American expert on the subject, said in a recent Irish Times article that there was a danger of companies introducing 'risk rating'.

BUPA operates a Cash Plan which charges higher rates to older people because they are more at risk of illness.

## Exclude

"Risk rating" could also exclude cover for certain serious illnesses or for psychiatric services.

American insurance companies are notorious for delaying payments until a patient has died or deciding in hindsight that a medical procedure was 'not needed'.

The 1994 Health Insurance Act does not prevent companies from operating in this way.

According to Donald Light "American insurers could drive a herd of Texas long-horns through the vague phrases of the 1994 Act".

## Glossy

Behind the glossy ads for BUPA the government is trying to force us all onto private insurance instead of giving us the free health service we should have.

Meanwhile the new Chief Executive of the VHI—to be named this month—will get a salary of just under £120,000 a year.

This is almost double the pay of the last VHI boss Brian Duncan, who was on £65,000.

# Dunnes Stores scandal Politicians to investigate themselves

'NEW POWERS' will be used to investigate politicians in the Dunnes Stores scandal.

After all the law and order measures of the past six months you would think the gardai had enough powers already. But the boys in blue will not be investigating these big crimes.

TDs will not be held for seven days questioning or remanded for months without bail.

## Against

There is no sign of the Seizure of Assets legislation being used against people like Michael Lowry as it was against suspected drug barons.

Instead the politicians have

set up a sub-committee to investigate themselves and the 'inquiry' will be presided over by Judge Buchanan, a former Fianna Fail candidate.

The 'new powers' simply mean that witnesses can be 'compelled' to give evidence in front of the Dáil committee investigating the affair.

The Compellibility for Witnesses Bill is being 'rushed through' the Dáil to try and

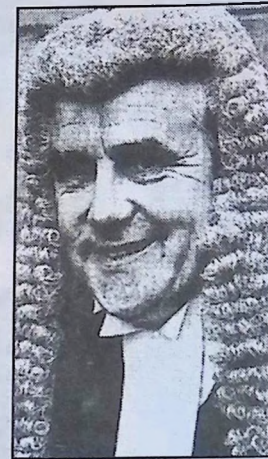
cover up the fact that the investigation into Dunnes' payments to politicians is a farce.

The government proposed the Bill to dampen demands for a sworn inquiry into the scandal.

Everyone knows that such an inquiry would probably be no better than the Beef Tribunal which let Larry Goodman go free despite huge fraud.

## Convince

But the TDs don't even want this to happen. Instead they are trying to convince us that they can be trusted to investigate themselves.



■ All palls: Lowry (left) and Judge Buchanan (right)

The five main parties will all have someone on the investigating sub-committee.

The squeaky clean Progressive Democrats tell us we can rest assured that they will expose any wrongdoing.

Except that their representative on the committee is Des O'Malley who resigned as PD leader after it was revealed that he got money from Tara Mines.

Meanwhile Fine Gael's North Tipperary executive has

given full backing to Michael Lowry despite his admission of tax evasion and receiving money from Ben Dunne. Lowry even intends to run for the Dáil in the next election.

We cannot trust the TDs or the courts to punish the rich and powerful for these crimes.

That is why our union leaders should be organising big demonstrations to demand that corrupt politicians be jailed. When this was done in Italy a few years ago it got results.

# Who else is bankrolling Sean Haughey?

Sean Haughey describes his family as "an honest to God, down to earth, ordinary" one. That's the same family that lives in unbelievable luxury in Kinsealy.

The same family that owns a 300 acre grounds with one of the finest rose gardens in Europe, an island valued at £250,000, and, amongst other things, a 60ft yacht also valued at £250,000.

The question is, where did this wealth come from? And how is 'ordinary' Sean Haughey, Fianna Fail TD for Dublin North Central, able to spend an estimated £200,000 to garner votes at election time.

We know Ben Dunne gave him £10,000 over several recent elections. But that still leaves a lot of money unaccounted for.

Sean Haughey's only income is his Dáil salary.

During the 1989 election, Sean Haughey ran a gimmicky campaign very much marked by the stunts and ploys of his father, Charles Haughey.

## Celebrities

He held coffee mornings in local pubs where constituents were invited to drink as much as they liked for free.

Celebrities such as Brendan Grace and former Miss Ireland, Michelle Rocca turned up at his meetings.

That costs money. His brother Ciaran even promised four women a trip around Dublin in one of his helicopters if they voted for Sean. Is this the type of 'research' politicians say they need money for? Fianna Fail is a party dedicated to protecting the interests of big business.

But they need the votes of workers to get in power. So they try to patronise workers with gimmicks and glamour.

Like his father Sean Haughey will stop at nothing. But who pays for these expensive stunts? That's a question voters should be asking when Sean Haughey's canvassers come knocking on doors this time round.

# Mountjoy hostage crisis Barbaric conditions to blame

THE HOSTAGE crisis in Mountjoy Prison should have come as no surprise.

Every year an average of three prisoners commit suicide in Mountjoy. Inmates are locked into overcrowded cells for up to sixteen hours a day.

The prison officers were taken hostage by inmates of the Separation Unit, which houses HIV and AIDS sufferers and disruptive prisoners.

## Unsuitable

The criminologist Paul O'Mahony has described the unit as "utterly unsuitable to housing human beings, let alone sick and



■ Mountjoy jail

often emotionally distressed prisoners".

The prisoners are put in such conditions because they mainly come from the poorest areas of Dublin.

As Prisoners' Rights activist Valerie Bresnihan said: "Imagine if all those im-

portant public figures who had to avail of the tax amnesty were treated like the poor and ended up in Mountjoy?

Imagine how they would feel about one shower a week, or the queue to slop out."

## what we think

# Turn the anger into struggle

According to a report in the *Sunday Tribune* Ben Dunne is refusing to name the Fianna Fail politician who received £1.1 million from his company.

The politician involved is believed to be a former Fianna Fail Taoiseach who is known for his lavish life style.

Ireland could be facing a similar scandal to that which occurred in Italy where the former Prime Minister Andreotti is on trial for membership of the Mafia.

Yet the politicians are treating the matter like a friendly game of poker. The revelations about bribery and corruption surfaced two months ago but there has been no raid on Ben Dunne's premises to seize documents. Dunne has not even had to report to a local Garda station to be interrogated about information he has on a serious crime.

### Admitting

Despite publicly admitting to tax fraud, Michael Lowry has not been expelled from Fine Gael although that party wants petty thieves locked up. Lowry even claims that he will stand for the party at the next general election.

These actions show the deep seated contempt the establishment politicians have for working people.

They are so used to operat-

**The politicians are despised—but many ask what can be done?**

ing in sly networks that they think the electorate can be treated like fools.

In reality, they are underestimating the anger. However there is a danger that this anger can dissipate into cynicism.

The politicians are despised—but many ask what can be done?

Here is where the struggle of the nurses and the argument over Partnership 2,000 is so important.

The same politicians who are covering up corruption are lecturing workers about the need for sacrifice.

While they tell the nurses

there is no money in the kitty for them—they shared out £500,000 in 'expenses' among themselves.

The tragedy is that the Irish Congress of Trade Unions which is supposed to represent workers has not said a single word about the scandals.

Instead they are pressing workers to accept Partnership 2,000 which gives smaller wage increases than even the last national deal concluded in the midst of a recession.

Big unions like SIPTU are trying to bludgeon through a YES vote before the budget in January even though members have not had a chance to discuss a deal that will tie down their wages for more than three years. (see page 11)

### Support

But the manoeuvres of the union bureaucrats can be beaten.

The anger at corruption needs to be channelled into support for the nurses and a NO vote to Partnership 2,000.

That way the anger against corruption can be translated into a struggle that can start to rock the establishment.

## EX-YUGOSLAVIA:

# After the war comes the revolt



■ Protestors on the streets of Serbia for the past weeks

FOR MORE than a month, tens of thousands of people have taken to the streets in Serbia every night to bring down the government of Slobadan Milosevic.

The protests began after Milosevic annulled the results of local council elections after they were won by a coalition of opposition parties known as *Zajedno* or "Together".

The Serbian government calls itself socialist but it has nothing in common with real socialism or democracy.

It is made up of a combination of Communist Party bureaucrats who ran Yugoslavia before it broke apart in 1991 and profiteers who made fortunes during the civil war.

### Hard-line

Milosevic was originally a hard-line Stalinist but he switched to a rabid nationalist rhetoric after 1990 when workers took to the street to protest against an austerity programme.

Alongside Tudjman in Croatia, he hung onto power by stirring up a terrible civil war to save his own skin.

Both of them were top bureaucrats of the old Communist Party of Yugoslavia which presided over a system of state capitalism where workers were denied basic rights.

Throughout the terrible civil war, *Socialist Worker* argued socialists could not support any side.

Instead, we advocated that the anger be turned against the rulers who stoked up war while making profits from death.

Throughout history, war has often been the mother of revolution.

The same rulers who seem most successful in stirring up fanatical hatred can become the target of anger once the reality of war sets home.

This is what is happening in Serbia today.

The protests began over the denial of de-

mocracy—but there is also an underlying economic discontent.

The civil war has brought devastation to the whole of society. Inflation is still running at over 80% and many workers are receiving less than £40 a month.

In Croatia, there is a similar, though slower, process at work.

In November, 100,000 people marched through the capital in Zagreb to protest at the closure of an independent radio station.

It was followed by a wave of strikes of railway workers, teachers and other groups.

The biggest weakness, however, in the demonstration in Serbia is the politics of the opposition leaders.

*Zajedno* is led by two main figures, Vuk Drascovic of the Serbian Renewal Movement and Zoran Djindjic of the Democratic Party.

Drascovic is an out and out reactionary who is a fanatical supporter of the royalist *Checknik* movement that fought against Tito's partisan army in World War Two, sometimes co-operating with Nazi occupiers.

Djindjic, on the other hand is an opportunist, who originally supported the ultra nationalists but who is now trying to present himself as a Western style modernizer who favour parliamentary democracy.

### Poverty

Both of them advocate a policy of free market economics which has driven workers across Eastern Europe into poverty.

Genuine socialists support the democratic movement to overthrow the tyrants who brought civil wars to their country—but what is needed in Serbia is a movement led by workers who have no truck with the dreams about the free market.

That alone will bring lasting peace and real democracy,

## EDUCATION BILL:

# Maintaining the powers that be

"The most important piece of legislation since the foundation of the state." That is how Dick Spring has described the Education Bill currently going through the Dail.

But if this is the greatest achievement of the Labour Party, then it shows how pathetic the party really is.

The Education Bill will do nothing to improve Irish schools.

Instead it:

■ Leaves control of schools in the hands of the Bishops. Every school will have to have a management board—but Education Minister Niamh Breathnach has already agreed that the majority of the board will be com-

posed of nominees of the Bishops. Equality Minister Mervyn Taylor has also agreed to allow the Bishops to discriminate against non-Catholic teachers to help them preserve their ethos.

■ Does little to promote non-denominational education. Niamh Breathnach claims that the bill allows for 'pluralism' in education and that parents can choose to send their children to multi-denominational or Catholic schools.

### Fake

But the choice is a fake. The vast majority of schools are presently run by the Catholic Church. With a drastic fall in student numbers fewer new schools will be built and so their dominance will

continue because Breathnach refuses to take schools into public ownership.

■ Puts more resources into teaching religion rather than science. Religion is to be made a Leaving Cert Examination subject that qualifies for points for university. Yet at primary level few schools have well equipped laboratories to teach science properly. Science does not even appear on the national curriculum for primary schools.

■ Copies the British Tories in promoting competition in education. Inspectors are to be given more powers to harass teachers. Businessmen are to be appointed to school boards. Exam results are to be made more openly available to encourage a form of league table between schools.

The result of all this is to encourage an atmosphere where schools compete against each other and teachers are held up as the cause for educational failure.

Irish education certainly needs reform because huge numbers of working class children are failed by the system. If the Labour Minister for Education was serious about the welfare of working class children, there are small measures she could start to take.

The streaming of children into 'bright' and 'dull' students could have been actively discouraged. Selection tests for entry into secondary education could have been outlawed. All subsidies to private schools could have been ended and resources could have been pumped into remedial and special education needs.

But Breathnach's Bill does not even consider these issues. It is another example of Labour bowing to the demands of the establishment.

## STOP THE EXECUTION!

ON JANUARY 24th, Brian Roberson is due to be executed for a crime he did not commit. He has already spent over ten years on death row in a Texas prison.

Although no finger prints or identification was provided, he was convicted of the murder of an elderly white man.

By co-incidence Brian's own father was murdered by a man who got a 13 year sentence and was released after 4 years.

The difference was that the assailant was white.

Nothing could more clearly express the racism of the US system of death penalties. Ever since 1977, 84% of executions in America have been on blacks despite the fact that black and white are found guilty of homicide in equal numbers.

Brian Roberson is being set up as another victim of this form of class justice. We appeal to our readers to join the protests against his legal murder.



Brian Roberson

## international news

# SOUTH KOREA: Mass strikes continue as workers defy riot police

**SOUTH KOREAN workers defied riot police and threats to arrest their leaders and continued mass strikes at the beginning of this week.**

On Saturday 11 January over 20,000 striking workers marched in the capital, Seoul.

The following day over 3,000 workers and students fought pitched battles with riot police in Seoul's fashionable shopping district after police tried to stop a march out of the Catholic Myongdong Cathedral where key strike leaders had sought sanctuary.

Kwon Young Kil, a leader of the outlawed Korea Confederation of Trade Unions, said the whole of his 500,000 membership would strike on Wednesday of this week if the government did not withdraw the new labour law it rammed through parliament on Boxing Day.

## Threatened

The 1.2 million strong Federation of Korean Trade Unions, originally set up by the government, said it would begin an all out two day strike against the law.

The escalation comes as the government shows signs of weakening in the face of the biggest strike wave in South Korean history.

Ministers threatened to jail strike leaders but several days later still no arrests had been made.

The government also offered a live TV debate with strike leaders in an effort to defuse the confrontation.

Leaders of both union federations rightly dismissed the move as a "propaganda play" and decided to call more workers out.

The strike is crippling South Korea's key export industries.

Soon Hyundai motors was forced to abandon its strike breaking plan and shut its plants.

The stock exchange continues to fall as investors take fright.

Pro-government commentators conceded recently that

the strikes are popular and are even gaining some middle class support.

## Victory

The government has shifted and now says it might consider revisions to the labour law, which makes

it easier for bosses to sack workers, but only after it has been implemented.

South Korean workers have already shown they can humble their bosses and government.

They have also shown they have the power to win an unequivocal victory.



# A history of struggle

**JAPAN ANNEXED South Korea in 1910, in a deal with the US which carved up east Asia.**

Opposition to Japanese rule led to repeated student protests and the growth of trade unions among the newly created industrial working class.

US general MacArthur partitioned Korea after the end of the Second World War.

Russian forces occupied the north as far as the 38th parallel and installed Kim Il

Sung's one party regime.

US troops occupied the south where they refused to recognise a popular government which had emerged from the underground opposition to Japanese occupation.

In 1948 they installed as ruler Syngman Rhee, who had been living in the US.

## Embarked

Two years later war broke out between the two puppet regimes and their respective backers.

By its end in 1953, four million Koreans had been

killed and both parts of the country were devastated.

The northern regime of Kim Il Sung embarked on a programme of state run economic development modelled on Russia's satellite states in eastern Europe.

Syngman Rhee in the south rapidly dispensed with the trappings of democracy.

Backed by the US, he repressed student opposition. Independent trade unions were banned and workers corralled into the government sponsored unions.

Repression and hardship in both parts of Korea meant that both governments had to

prevent people crossing the border in search of a better life.

South Korean students and workers took to the streets in April 1960 to protest at rigged elections and Rhee was forced to resign.

A brief period of parliamentary democracy followed which was ended by General Park Chung Hee's coup in May 1961.

## Exports

The Park regime lasted until 1979. It oversaw the rapid industrialisation of the country with economic

growth averaging 9 percent.

The government centralised resources in its hands, transferring wealth from the landowners to state owned or state backed firms.

The US gave South Korea ready access for its exports to provide a bulwark against Soviet influence in the region while US troops remained stationed in South Korea.

The model of state directed industrialisation was common to all developing countries throughout the 1960s and 1970s, regardless of whether they tilted towards Moscow or Washington.

The economic transformation was accomplished by screwing Korean workers. They worked some of the longest hours for the lowest pay anywhere in the world.

They had the worst accident record in the world. Independent unions were banned, as was any political opposition.

In October 1979 Park was assassinated by Kim Jae Kiu, the head of the Korean CIA.

Nine months later the military government of General Chun Doo Hwan re-established martial law.

The arrest of oppositionist Kim Dae Jung in May 1980 brought massive protests in the southern city of Kwangju—his political power base.

The military, with the full knowledge of the US commanders stationed in South Korea, put down the rising,

killing over 1,000 workers and students.

The summer of 1987 saw record levels of strikes. Workers demanded a share in the enormous wealth which had flooded into the hands of state bureaucrats and the tiny number of families which ran the huge industrial corporations—the chaebols.

They also demanded the right to form unions independent of the government sponsored Federation of Korean Trade Unions and an end to military rule.

## Restrictions

Chun Doo Hwan stepped down in favour of another general, Roh Tae Woo, and the government began to ease restrictions on political activity.

In January 1990 the most conservative opposition groupings, led by the current president Kim Young Sam, merged with the ruling Democratic Justice Party which had been set up by the generals.

Kim Young Sam became president in 1992 and has presided over a shift towards parliamentary democracy. But repressive laws from the previous military regimes remain on the statute books.

The police have been routinely used against strikers, independent unions are still banned and radical oppositionists frequently arrested.

# Smashing the myths

**THE STRIKE wave has ripped apart the myths spread by politicians and the media about South Korea.**

The country is held up as a model of the free market.

In reality the economy grew through high levels of state regulation and intervention, behind a screen of import controls.

The *Financial Times'* John Burton describes South Korea as an example of "state directed capitalism".

Many of those who now talk of the need for sweeping deregulation in South Korea were, only months ago, lauding the country as an ex-

ample of fast growth, partnership between bosses and workers, and high levels of welfare and education spending.

But in 1992 military spending averaged 5 percent of total output, education some 3.2 percent and health only 0.4 percent.

Higher wages are not responsible for the economic slowdown in South Korea.

Wage rates exploded in the late 1980s, after decades of stagnation, precisely at the time when commentators talked of the South Korean economic miracle, but they are still, on average, a little lower than in Britain or Ireland.

The giant companies that dominate the economy have made huge profits but now face sharpened competition from Japanese and US firms that have invested in new technology.

The gap between the value of South Korean imports and exports is £14 billion, as is the amount the government needs to borrow every year.

South Korean bosses have responded by trying to make workers pay.

The result is bitter class confrontation in the part of the world we were told where workers would not go on strike.

## Protest over moves to cut ACE places

THE SHANKILL Women's Centre is being forced to close down a creche for pre-schools children in the area as a direct result of the Tory cuts on the ACE scheme.

"There has been no discussion about these cutbacks but in fact they are

very serious.

"In the past many of the unemployed went on to these schemes but with the moves to the JSA this is all being stopped" Karen Snoddy told *Socialist Worker*.

Early in the new year, angry community workers

from both Catholic and Protestant areas mounted a 100 strong picket outside the Training and Employment Agency in Belfast.

Over the next two years, the Tories plan to cut 2,000 places.

From March, onwards 30% of places be cut af-

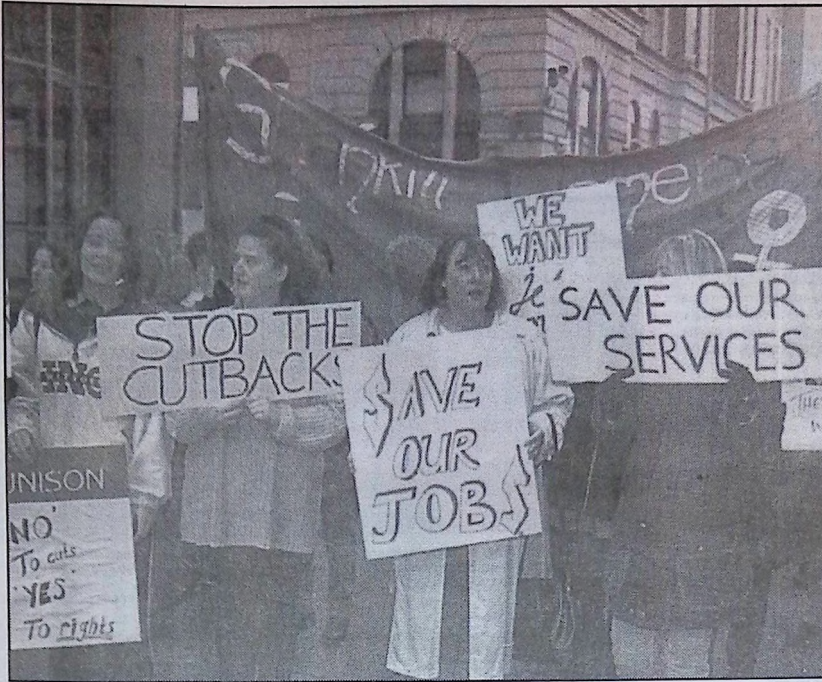
fecting the most deprived working class areas.

### Protests

It could mean that many older people who are now doing community work will never work in their lives again.

Community groups from both sides of the religious divide are planning further protests against the Tory attacks.

In March, a strike could close down many of the centres throughout the North to display the real anger that is felt.



## The true blue of Unionism

THE Unionist Party of Northern Ireland have finally nailed their true blue colours to the mast by affiliating with James Goldsmith's Referendum Party.

Trimble has ordered his party to link up with the "Europe of Nations", Goldsmith's organisation in the European Parliament and so ensure that they get recognised as a party group. In return the Unionist Party will enjoy a big influx of funds from Goldsmith.

On the surface, it looks like a piece of sheer opportunism by the Unionist Party. In return for money, they are bolstering the political ambitions of a mad millionaire.

But the reality is that the politics of the Referendum Party and David Trimble's Unionist Party have a lot in common.

Both of them share a fanatical hatred of socialism. Goldsmith fled Britain in the 1970s claiming that it was becoming a 'socialist sink'.

He did not return even when Margaret Thatcher came to power!

### Founder

The Referendum Party is also built on right wing chauvinism which sees the "mother of parliaments" in Westminster as the centre of democracy for the world. Its founder promotes fellow right wingers in countries all around Europe.

In the 1995, Presidential election, for example, Goldsmith funded Viscount de Villiers. He is a French aristocrat described by one commentator as "Le Pen without vulgarity".

Le Pen himself described de Villiers as "the National Front's travelling salesman".

The Referendum Party also shares Trimble's paranoia about the media being infiltrated by left wing agents out to promote the moral decline of Britain.

Fifteen years ago, Goldsmith launched an annual prize of £50,000 for "the best investigative journalism into subversion in the press". He has bought into papers like *L'Express* in France in order to turn them into tools for extreme right wing propaganda.

But Trimble's move also expresses a certain desperation in the Unionist Party.

In the past, they had close links with the Conservative Party in Britain which was in fact known

as 'The Conservative and Unionist Party'.

The leaders of the Tories and the heroes of Orangeism in Northern Ireland would go on grouse shoots together and frequent the same gentlemen's clubs in London.

Now the relationship between the Unionist Party and the Tories have changed.

### Subsidy

Northern Ireland no longer forms part of an industrial triangle that stretches from Manchester and Glasgow. It is kept alive by a massive subsidy from the British state.

As a result, the Tories have loosened their links with the Unionists.

They back up their sectarianism—but they also treat them as ignorant dinosaurs.

Trimble's new link with the Referendum Party is part of a desperate strategy to re-position his party in the hope of forging new links with a section of the old Conservative establishment.

He enjoys considerable leverage now because of the numbers game at Westminster but he knows that this will not last forever.

Trimble's hope is that a new type of Tory party will emerge after a defeat in the next British General election.

He hopes it will be more right wing, more anti-Europe and that there will be a firm link between defending British sovereignty and active support for the Union with Northern Ireland.

The Referendum Party provides one focus from some of these forces today.

It is still peripheral and very much the creation of a man with money to burn. But Trimble's new alliance with it is a signal of where he intends to go.

The rightwards shift in Unionism is a reflection of the growing contradictions within it.

In its wake thousands of Protestant workers will start to ask if their real interests are served by a party that wants to wave the true blue flag of Toryism.

This in turn will present new opportunities for socialists.

## WEST BELFAST

# Evictions and curfews won't stop joy riding

IN THE Poleglass estate in West Belfast a family have been moved out of their house by their neighbours.

The reason is that their son was involved in a joyriding incident before Christmas.

The move follows a 1,000 strong meeting in the area convened to discuss the issue.

It was sparked off by an escalation of joyriding where cars were set alight close to family homes.

The angry meeting heard calls from several individuals for expulsions

and even the "tarring and fathering" of teenagers who were involved.

### Tragedy

The tragedy is that the law and order atmosphere

has turned into a form of collective punishment where every member of a particular family is made to suffer.

The mother of the family never approved of joyriding and was by all accounts a decent neighbour.

Yet she has now been forced to leave an area she enjoyed living in for much of her life.

## Should teenagers be locked up?

Already there are signs that the frustration over law and order could turn in an even more nasty and right wing direction.

One of the suggestions at the meeting was that a curfew be imposed on teenagers at certain hours.

The proposal is that there would be an agreement that all teenagers be kept indoors for in the evening hours.

The idea about curfews is one which the Tory cabinet in Britain would be proud.

In their desperate bid to win votes, they and Tony Blair have pioneered the idea that teenagers have to be kept under lock and key to 'control' them.

It is a terrible irony now that parts of West Belfast which have done so much to resist the rule of the British army should buy into the political ideas of their masters.

Already teenagers in the area are expressing concern and worry about these moves.

"They are worried about hanging around in groups on the streets after the big

**It is a terrible irony now that parts of West Belfast which have done so much to resist the rule of the British army should buy into the political ideas of their masters.**

meeting.

"Even kids who have never been involved in joyriding are worried.

"The rumours about a curfew has upset them badly", according to one resident.

Poleglass is an area of very high unemployment.

Few teenagers in the area have jobs and those who do are paid low wages in fast food restaurants and small

time jobs.

They consider themselves lucky to get on one of the local ACE schemes which gives temporary and short term community employment.

Such is the frustration that there have been a number of attempted suicides in the area by teenagers who are often desperate to get out and get a job.

### Tactics

The tactics of this new community campaign against joyriding can only add to teenage frustrations and will turn people in on themselves.

It will create more divisions as teenagers are turned against their parents because of a stupid policy of locking them up.

Patrick Mayhew and his Tory overlords will take great comfort from the fact no one is pointing the finger of blame at them for the social deprivation their system has caused.

## AN ALTERNATIVE

THERE ARE other solutions than the law and order approach. In the past, different community projects have been organised around West Belfast which involved former joyriders in motor maintenance or putting on drama classes.

One project was the Taurus project in Poleglass. This involved parents who heard their kids were involved in joyriding going around the streets to stop them.

But they also organised weekends away for the teenagers and tried to organise the sort of activities that they wanted.

But Taurus was closed down because the Tories refused to fund the project.

"It wasn't the full solution. But it gave the youth a bit of respect and enjoyment and taught them not to turn their frustrations on their own community," one person told *Socialist Worker*.

But the shift in political mood in Poleglass is also a signal that wider political solutions are needed.

The armed conflict over the last twenty five years meant that huge issues to do with poverty, unemployment and low wages were virtually ignored.

There developed an idea that working class people could never fight together seriously on class issues until the constitutional question was sorted out.

But if workers started to unite on central issues which concerned them all, new and more favourable conditions would be created for finally ending sectarianism.

What West Belfast needs now is a strong socialist presence that is willing to stand up as a minority against law and order hysteria—but also offers a clear way forward for tackling the issues that concern all workers.

## Citybus jobs threat

YET AGAIN the Drumcree events during the Summer are being used as a smokescreen for cuts.

This time Citybus is using them to slash services throughout Belfast and possibly push through job losses.

Over 50 services have gone and Translink, the new private company that owns Citybus, has floated the idea of redundancies.

They have borrowed the tactic from the Tories who used Drumcree to excuse massive budget cuts before Xmas.

However the possibilities of resistance from the drivers look good. Last month they fought off a management attempt to sack a driver using all-out unofficial strike action.

Any further similar moves from bosses should be met with the same response.

# DERRY, 1972: BLOODY SUNDAY

Just after 4.00 pm, as most of the crowd made its way to listen to speakers at Free Derry corner, a platoon of British army paratroopers rushed into the Bogside from behind. As thousands rushed for cover, the paratroopers steadied themselves, took aim and opened fire.

THE 30,000 people marching through Derry on 30 January 1972, had no idea of what was in store. The march had been declared illegal by the Northern Ireland government, but this wasn't unusual.

Neither was the small riot which broke out as the march was prevented from reaching the city centre by British troops.

What everyone remarked on was the huge turnout and the festival atmosphere as the march wound its way through Catholic areas of the city.

Just after 4.00 pm, as most of the crowd made its way to listen to speakers at Free Derry corner, a platoon of British army paratroopers rushed into the Bogside from behind.

As thousands rushed for cover, the paratroopers steadied themselves, took aim and opened fire.

Jack Duddy was killed with a single bullet as he ran across the open space behind the Rossville flats.

John Young, Michael McDaid and William Nash were killed as they stood near a rubble barricade across Rossville Street.

William Nash's father, Alex, was shot twice and injured as he knelt over his son's body.

Patrick Doherty and Kevin McElhinney were both killed as they tried to crawl away, the bullets entering their buttocks and travelling through their body.

Bernard McGuigan, a quiet family man who rarely went on the marches, was shot in the back of the head as he crawled out to Patrick Doherty's body from the Rossville Street flats.

James Wray was shot and injured as he ran towards Glenfada Park, then shot again and killed.

Nearby Gerard McKinney, who was on his way to work, was shot as he walked towards soldiers with his arms raised.

William McKinney was killed when he went to help him.

## Decline

Within minutes, 13 people had been shot dead and another 13 seriously wounded.

One of them, John Johnston was later to die of his injuries.

The Derry coroner, a former major in the British army, declared: "it was sheer unadulterated murder."

Bloody Sunday was a watershed in the struggle for Civil Rights in Northern Ireland. It led to the decline of mass demonstrations which had drawn tens of thousands of working class people into political activity and gave a major impetus to the military campaign of the IRA.

In little over three years, the Civil Rights movement had shaken the foundations of the sectarian state. It

had exposed the discrimination built into the political structures of Northern Ireland, from the gerrymandering of local government to the bigotry of the police.

## Repression

The Stormont government, dominated by the Ulster Unionist Party, had responded to the movement with a mixture of piecemeal reforms and naked repression.

The RUC, and the 'B' Special reserve force, made up of loyalist thugs, regularly attacked Civil Rights marches and rampaged through Catholic areas.

After the Orange Order march in Derry in August 1969, the RUC led loyalist mobs into the Bogside.

Three days and nights of rioting followed, spreading to Belfast, during which the police were stretched to breaking point. British soldiers had been brought into Derry at the height of the revolt in the Bogside in August 1969.

The British Labour government described them as impartial 'peace-keepers', standing between the two sides.

The real reason was that the RUC was on the verge of losing control. In Belfast, thousands of Catholics were being burned out of their homes by loyalist mobs.

Yet the troops were sent into Derry first.

Catholic areas of Derry and Belfast were barricaded off and declared "no go areas" for the police. This was an affront to Unionism, built on the subordination of Catholics. Right-wingers like Ian Paisley demanded tougher action by the government. In the days before Bloody Sunday his supporters in Derry demanded "The Queen's writ must run in all parts of our city".

As the revolt in Catholic areas continued the British government was faced with a stark choice: between sup-

# 'It was a murder'



(Above) Unarmed demonstrators crouch to try to avoid bullets as paratroopers open fire and (top right) one

porting Civil Rights, which would mean dismantling the structures of the Northern Ireland state, or propping up the state.

The British ruling class had ignored discrimination against Catholics since Northern Ireland was established in 1921.

They only became involved when political stability was threatened. Bloody Sunday left no room for doubt about which path they had taken.

In August 1971, the new hardline Prime Minister Brian Faulkner introduced internment without trial, supposedly to round up IRA "ringleaders".

Hundreds of people were rounded up by British troops in dawn raids on Catholic areas of Derry and Belfast and imprisoned.

Reports from the internment camps told of torture and brutality.

By the end of 1971 almost 900 people, overwhelmingly Catholic, had been interned.

The Bloody Sunday march of a series of protests held that week against internment.

The week before, a march Magillan internment camp Derry had been attacked by the

# Lies and cover up

NO SOLDIER has ever been charged with the Bloody Sunday murders.

The Widgery Tribunal, set up by the government in the weeks after the massacre, was a white-wash.

Widgery arrived in Northern Ireland in a British army helicopter and accepted the lie that troops had opened fire after being attacked by the IRA.

In fact, there were no IRA guns in the area.

He dismissed Catholic witness

statements as unreliable and accepted evidence planted by soldiers on the dead in an attempt to prove they were carrying nallbombs or had handled guns.

The Widgery report was a blatant cover-up for the massacre.

## Accidental

The most that Widgery was prepared to admit was that some of the soldiers may have acted "recklessly".

But there was nothing accidental about the paratroopers ac-

tions on Bloody Sunday.

There had been a massive build up of troops in Derry on the day of the march.

In the days leading up to it, Faulkner had lengthy meetings with army chiefs and British ministers in London.

Paisley's supporters were secretly assured that there was no need for a counter-demonstration.

The British General Tuzo was on the barricade set up by the army in William Street and shouted "Go on the paras, go and get

them" as the paratroopers raced into the Bogside.

The paratroopers fired over 100 bullets into a fleeing crowd.

## Rewarded

A year afterwards, the Parachute Regiment commander who organised the killing was rewarded with a knighthood.

Despite frequent appeals, the British government has never admitted responsibility for the murder of 13 innocent people on Bloody Sunday.

# The a

THE OUTRAGE over Bloody Sunday led to a wave of protests throughout Ireland, leading to a call for a general strike.

Factories, schools and closed all over the country.

Catholic workplaces: number of protestants throughout the North.

In every major town that stopped work and marched two days after the killings, protesting British-

# SUNDAY

by COLM BRICE

# sheer , er...



**Within minutes, 13 people had been shot dead and another 13 seriously wounded. One of them, John Johnston was later to die of his injuries.**

## The growth of the Provos

THE PROVISIONAL IRA had emerged in the previous two years as a militant wing of the struggle in the North. But its membership grew enormously in the weeks following Bloody Sunday.

Hundreds of young people quickly drew the conclusion that they needed to resort to armed struggle against a government which was prepared to shoot innocent protesters off the streets.

This gives the lie to the British government's attempt to portray the cause of the conflict as the actions of 'evil godfathers'.

The modern IRA grew out of the much wider revolt against the sectarian state in Northern Ireland. The impetus for the IRA was the frustration at the inability to win reforms through Stormont and the repression handed out by the RUC and the British army.

The Provisionals directed the rage over Bloody Sunday into what appeared to be a straightforward strategy of forcing the British out through a military campaign.

For a while it seemed to be having an effect. In the summer of 1972 Republican leaders, including Martin McGuinness and Gerry Adams, were flown to London for direct talks with government ministers.

But the British government was relying on a weakness in the IRA's strategy.

### Resumes

The Provisionals made no attempt to organise the massive wave of sympathy for the struggle after Bloody Sunday.

Instead, most people were expected to passively support the actions of a small group of IRA volunteers. This meant that the struggle remained confined to the Catholic working class ghettos of the North.

This has enabled successive British governments to marginalise the IRA and criminalise the struggle in the North. IRA actions on the other hand have provided a ready excuse for even more repressive legislation and driven Protestant workers into the hands of the loyalists.

The IRA also narrowed the aims of the movement to solely getting rid of the border. All talk of a socialist Ireland or how the working class could make progress as a class were deemed irrelevant.

This meant that republicanism had nothing to say to Protestant workers and, eventually, proved unable to relate to the economic struggles of Southern workers.

However the memory of Bloody Sunday meant that the IRA could maintain support for its campaign in the North. For twenty five years it kept an armed campaign going even though the Republican leadership have long recognised that it is unable to defeat Britain militarily.

As the IRA resumes its armed campaign, it is vital to remember that British support for sectarianism in the North has been the underlying cause of violence.

But if the anger against Bloody Sunday was squandered on a tactic that failed in the past, there is even less reason now to believe that a bombing campaign can bring anything but more misery, more division and more repression. It was mass action, including strike action by workers throughout Ireland, that led to the downfall of Stormont.

It is up to a new generation to draw the lessons from the failures of the past and build a movement which links a working class struggle against the Northern state to a fight against the rotten Southern state.

Only such a strategy can offer the hope of finally smashing sectarianism.

ple, overwhelmingly Catholic, had been interned. The Bloody Sunday march was one of a series of protests held that winter against internment. The week before, a march to the Magillan internment camp outside Derry had been attacked by the para-

troopers. Marchers were beaten back with truncheons and tear gas.

The murder of 13 people on Bloody Sunday was a continuation of a policy designed to terrorise people off the streets.

## The anger explodes

THE OUTRAGE over Bloody Sunday led to a wave of revolt. Throughout Ireland, thousands responded to a call for a three day general strike.

Factories, schools and shops closed all over the country.

Catholic workplaces and a number of Protestants struck throughout the North.

In every major town thousands stopped work and marched on the two days after the killings, protesting and occupying British-owned

businesses. On the day of the funerals, more than 100,000 marched on the British embassy in Dublin and burned it to the ground.

### Reaction

The British government was rocked by the mass reaction to Bloody Sunday and was forced to retreat.

In March 1972, the Stormont government was scrapped and direct rule imposed.

In the following years it looked to various alliances between the moderate nationalist SDLP and the Ulster Unionists as a way of marginalising the IRA.

But it then pulled back from every attempt in the face of loyalist opposition.

British government policy in Northern Ireland remains the same today.

It has never been willing to challenge the structures of the sectarian state which is the source of the conflict.

## What do socialists say?

### Is Marxism Eurocentric?

ONE CRITICISM of Marxism that has been made quite often recently is that it is "Eurocentric".

Marxism, the argument goes, was developed by Europeans in Europe and therefore looks at the rest of the world through European eyes.

Since the dominant attitude of Europeans towards the rest of the world (especially Asia and Africa) was imperialist and racist some of these attitudes rubbed off on Marxism, it is said.

Moreover, Marxism's claims to universal global validity are just part of a wider claim by European writers for the universal validity of Western culture.

Cultures of other parts of the world are seen as invalid or inferior.

It is also suggested Marxists take concepts developed in the context of European history and society and mechanically impose them on non-European societies where they do not fit reality.

It is indeed true that all ideas and all theories are social products.

They do not fall from the skies into the minds of "great thinkers" but arise from specific historical circumstances and respond to specific social needs.

Therefore every theory, including Marxism, is marked by its conditions of origin.

It does not, however, follow that the validity of a theory is limited to the time and place of its formulation.

Copernicus discovered that the Earth went round the sun in the 16th century.

This did not cease to be true in the 17th or 18th centuries.

### Gravity

Newton discovered the law of gravity in England. That does not make the law inapplicable in Japan.

Arab mathematicians invented the zero and the Chinese

invented gunpowder.

This has not inhibited the use of either in Europe and North America.

These examples do not prove that the basic principles of Marxism are of international validity, but they do show they could be.

In fact the core ideas of Marx's theory of history that the driving force of history is the development of the forces of production and the class struggle were derived not just from European history but from the totality of world history.

That includes the history of primitive communist societies, which Marx and Engels much admired.

### Dominant

Also it is wrong to depict Marxism as part of the dominant 19th century European outlook.

It developed in opposition to that dominant outlook.

Part of that opposition was internationalism and opposition to racism and imperialism.

There was already an anti-racist, anti-imperialist tradition in the working class movement before Marx.

Marx deepened that tradition with his call, "Workers of the world, unite", his defence of Irish and Polish self-determination and his support for the north in the American Civil War.

In the 20th century Marxists like Luxemburg, Lenin and Trotsky developed it further with their analysis of imperialism, their opposition to the First World War and their support for revolution in the colonies.

However, the most important argument against notions of "Eurocentrism" is what has happened to cap-

italism and the working class.

Marxism is the theory of the working class struggle against capitalism.

It arose first in Europe because the working class appeared first in Europe.

But even as Marx was writing, capitalist production was spreading to the rest of the world.

Marx understood this process with complete clarity.

In the *Communist Manifesto* he wrote:

*"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe ... It compels all nations, on pain of extinction, to adopt the bourgeois mode of production; it compels them to introduce what it calls civilisation into their midst, ie to become bourgeois themselves. In one word, it creates a world after its own image."*

Today we can see that what Marx predicted has indeed come about, perhaps more completely than he ever imagined.

### Caught

Today there is no country that is not caught in the net of the world capitalist market, no country where capitalist relations of production are not the dominant relations.

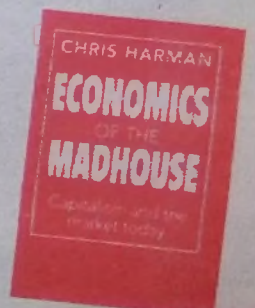
We live in a world where capital rushes to invest in south China, where Pepsi sells in Vietnam, where BP operates in Colombia and Shell in Nigeria.

Marxism as a theoretical guide to workers' resistance to the power of capital and to international workers' revolution has relevance and resonance in every corner of the globe.

— JOHN MOLYNEUX

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# The sit-down that changed the US

## 'Shut the goddam plant...'

SIXTY YEARS ago in January 1937, thousands of General Motors workers in the United States were occupying their factories demanding union recognition.

Their sit-down strike centred around the town of Flint, Michigan, and unleashed a massive explosion of workers' struggle across the US.

In a little over two years workers in all the basic industries were unionised.

"What generations had battled in vain to accomplish was accomplished now in a matter of weeks or days," says one historian.

SAM ASHMAN tells the story.

**T**HE FLINT sit-in began on 30 December 1936. But the feeling had been growing for some time that something had to be done about General Motors.

Flint was second only to Detroit as the centre of car manufacturing in the US. In 1936 GM employed 47,000 workers there—two-thirds of the working population.

The mayor, the chief of police, the city radio station and press were all tied up with the company.

For years handfuls of union activists had tried to organise against poverty wages and speed ups.

But GM had Pinkerton detectives who reported on all union activity in its plants, company thugs who acted as "security" and packed the union with "stool pigeons"—workers who would inform management of union members' every move.

"A cloud of fear hung over the city," one union activist later recalled.

That mood was similar across the US. Activists tried to organise during the Great Depression of the early 1930s, but would often be sacked.

Individuals were subject to vicious beatings by company goons while workers who dared set up picket lines risked being gunned down by company hit squads or being beaten to a pulp by police.

Things began to change as the economy picked up and unemployment fell.

President Roosevelt's National Recovery Act also made it slightly easier for workers' to organise and to go on strike.

This boosted the confidence of both union militants and rank and file workers.

The mood to unionise intensified when eight unions split from the conservative American Federation of Labour (AFL) and formed the CIO-Committee for Industrial Organisation in 1935.

They wanted to organise workers



**VICTORY: workers celebrate success after 44 days**

across whole industries, not just on the narrow craft lines followed by the AFL.

The union struggling to recruit at GM, the United Auto Workers' union (UAW), joined the CIO.

Flint was not the first site of resistance. Rubber workers in Ohio occupied their plants in early 1936 and were followed by car workers in Indiana.

Sitting-in, rather than setting up picket lines outside a plant, protected workers from the police and company thugs, and stopped bosses using scabs.

But it was Flint that was to open the floodgates.

**A FEW short lived sit-down strikes hit GM in November. Then, when management at the Cleveland plant suddenly postponed a bargaining meeting, workers spontaneously sat down in protest.**

The UAW leaders, who were trying to win recognition, told the workers not to return to work until the bosses agreed to a national contract with the union. The action spread to Flint within two days.

One participant describes how a union meeting near the plant heard the news and took up the cry, "Shut her down! Shut the goddam plant!"

"The men couldn't hold back and began crowding forward. Then suddenly they broke through the door and made a race for the plant gates, running in every direction.

"Several minutes passed. Then suddenly a third floor window was flung open and there was 'Chink' waving his arms. 'Hooray she's ours!'"

Within weeks the action spread to GM plants in Atlanta, Ohio, Kansas City, St Louis, Toledo and elsewhere.

Flint, however, was the centre. It produced bodies and parts for around three quarters of GM. Fisher Body No 1 and Fisher Body No 2 plants were key.

The sit-down was an explosive confrontation. In the second week of the strike company guards tried to evict the strikers from the Fisher No 2 plant.

They stopped food going in, locked the gates then switched off the heat.

When other workers heard the news they poured over to the plant. Hundreds of police attacked strikers with teargas bombs.

But the pickets fought back with bottles and rocks while those inside the plant pelted police with door hinges and drove them away with fire hoses.

The sit-in was both highly organised and highly democratic. The workers set up a strike committee whose decisions were scrutinised by daily mass meetings.

The strikers drew up rules to ensure cleanliness and order.

A "special patrol" of 65 workers policed the plant and a jovial "court" meted out punishments—like extra cleaning duties—to those who broke the sanitation rules.

One reporter said there was "more substantial and original humour in a single session of the Fisher strikers' kangaroo courts than in a season of Broadway musical comedies."

"Every guy is assigned to some duty," explained a striker. "We take turns in the kitchen, on the clean up squad, doing guard duty and the other things that have to be done around here."

Wives of leading strikers set up the Flint Women's Auxiliary.



**THE WOMEN'S Auxiliary fought the police as well as supplying the sit-in**

pany detectives and a pitched battle followed.

Meanwhile, a small group of workers successfully occupied the Chevrolet factory No 4—a plant of much greater strategic importance.

Furious bosses turned to the courts to get an injunction to force the workers out of the plants.

But on the morning the injunction was due to be served, every road in Flint was full of cars of trade unionists from all over the Midwest.

Over 10,000 strikers and their supporters formed a cordon round the plants. Women carried stove poker, crowbars and lead pipes.

For days the state governor did not dare order the police to attack. And on 11 February, after 44 days, the bosses gave up and agreed to recognise the UAW.

**A DAM had burst. The Flint victory sparked off an epidemic of sit-down strikes.**

At the height of the outburst, in March 1937, there were nearly 200,000 workers involved in 170 separate sit-downs.

In 1937 as a whole there were 477 sit-downs involving 400,000 workers.

"The great transformation of Detroit, one of the country's strongest open shop centres, to a union town is under way," wrote one reporter.

The action was not just in manufacturing industries. Hospitals, drug companies, restaurants and hotels were affected. Rubbish collectors and grave diggers took part.

Shop workers in Woolworths—mainly teenage girls—and other "five and dime" stores sat down and won pay rises and union recognition.

US Steel was so frightened it agreed to recognise the union without a fight.

Within a year the UAW grew from 30,000 members to 500,000, while wages in the industry doubled.

CIO leaders were terrified by much of what went on, for they had no control over it.

They eventually regained the reins through a combination of a downturn in the economy and the eventual willingness of shop floor militants to accept the limits placed by CIO leaders.

Nonetheless the Flint sit-down inspired a generation.

As one woman sit-down striker at a cigar factory in Detroit wrote, "We are serious, dead serious. Our wages keep us that way. We're gonna stick it out. The auto victory showed us how."

It helped feed the strikers, set up a first aid station for casualties, distributed literature, organised round the clock picket lines and ran a day care centre for strikers' children.

It also visited the wives of strikers who were opposed to the sit-down to try to win them to backing it.

"Women who only yesterday were horrified at unionism, who felt inferior to the task of organising, speaking, leading, have, as if overnight, become the spearhead in the battle of unionism," wrote one member later.

Black workers were pulled into the fight as never before and all the different nationalities of immigrant workers were united.

**B OSSES OF General Motors were fuming. A strike by 37,000 workers was idling another 130,000 workers across 17 plants and they were losing around \$2 million a day in sales.**

Company spokesmen denounced the sit-down as "revolutionary", an act "destructive of law and order" and a "step towards pure and simple expropriation".

Other bosses across Flint tried to organise a return to work movement and mobs attacked picket lines and ransacked union offices.

Strike leaders knew they had to respond. They also knew there were police informers within the strike. So they devised a highly secret ruse.

They told workers to spread the action to the Chevrolet factory No 9. Several thousand strikers marched to the plant only to be met by police and com-



## television

## Exposing the Hillsborough cover-up

EVERY SO often we are treated to some really worthwhile viewing on TV. The most recent was *Hillsborough* the drama/documentary written by Jimmy McGovern which was shown on RTE recently.

*Hillsborough* was based on the horrific football tragedy at the Sheffield Wednesday grounds where 96 spectators were needlessly crushed to death on 15 April 1989.

Thousands of fans had come to see Liverpool play Notts Forest at the FA Cup semi-final.

The game had hardly begun when the police ordered Liverpool fans down to an end which was already overcrowded.

Cameras showed police what was happening but they did nothing.

When the crush became really serious ambulances were called but were not allowed onto the pitch because they were told the fans were fighting each other!

The driver of the only ambulance that got to the hospital said: "People died who might have been saved".

Later the Chief Superintendent of the Yorkshire police blamed the fans for the disaster saying, "They were drunk and violent and forced the gate open".

This was where the cover-up began. All police were ordered not to put anything into their notebooks. The police kept up the story that the fans had too much to drink and the victims were treated as a drunken mob.

### Trauma

The *Sun* backed the police and used the headline "The Truth" over a story claiming fans pick-pocketed the dead and then urinated on them.

The programme dealt with how all the lies and the trauma affected individual families' lives.

They were given a pittance in compensation be-

by GRACE McCARNEY

cause "no pre-death trauma" was supposed to have been suffered by the victims.

The whole inquest was biased from the start in favour of the South Yorkshire Police.

No evidence from after 3.15pm was used. At this time many victims were still alive and the tape from the camera showing the scene outside the grounds mysteriously "disappeared".

The Director of Public Prosecutions eventually found no-one grossly negligent, despite a previous inquiry stating that the drunkenness of fans was not a factor and that lack of police control was.

The final court scene was very moving as victims' families had to listen to the verdict that "accidental death" was the cause of their children's deaths.

No-one was accountable for the fact that one quarter of those who died were let through the gate by Yorkshire Police. No charges were made against any police officer while Chief SuperDuckenfield retired with a full pension.

What *Hillsborough* clearly showed was when it comes to the safety of ordinary people money always comes first.

The law was not on the side of working class people and justice was clearly on the side of the police, a lesson for us all. Excellent viewing.

## International Socialism Journal

TIME AND time again the politicians tell us that we are trapped in the global market. The closure of Semperit and Packard was put down to the harsh realities of Globalisation.

The latest issue of *International Socialism* provides an alternative to the economic orthodoxy accepted by both left and right. Chris Harman in "Globalisation: A critique of a new orthodoxy" argues against the idea that both governments and workers are powerless in the face of increased Globalisation.

Harman points out that multinationals need the state to protect their interests and shows the way in which companies are tied to a home country. And argues that the increase in multinationals leads to instability in the system. The major oil companies though truly global in scope were the cause of nation states fighting the Gulf War.

The reality of the global market's barbarism is no where more stark than in Rwanda, Burundi and Zaire. Charlie Kimber provides an account of the roots of the division and conflicts that have led to the tragedy.

Other articles look at how the system came into being. Megan Trudell writes on the causes and events of the American War of Independence, looking at the extent of popular involvement and the class struggle that led to the birth of the largest Capitalist power. Mark O'Brien looks at similar issues in the "The class conflicts that shaped Britain". With articles on Sport, the state and a debate on Darwin, *International Socialism* is an essential read—SIMON BASKETTER

ISJ 73 available from SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 4; priced £3 + 75p p+p.

## film

# Musical of crooks and murderers

EMER MALONEY reviews the new film *Evita*

"THEY were crooks and murderers, they were the worst of the worst." That's how one Argentinian who grew up in the shadow of the Perons describes *Evita* and her husband the dictator Juan Domingo Peron.

This does not come across in Alan Parker's film.

The musical follows Maria Eva Duarte's (*Evita*'s) rise from a poor peasant background to the first lady of Argentina.

It does this quite well. Madonna portrays *Evita* as a scheming opportunist, bent on power and acclaim at any price.

### Myth

*Evita*'s rise and her years in power are followed and narrated by "Che" played by Antonio Banderas.

Che is a worker who appears in many guises; as a waiter, a labourer, an abattoir worker.

His sardonic commen-



Madonna portrays *Evita* as bent on power and acclaim at any price.

tary attempts to temper the myth of *Evita* as the workers' friend.

For example as an on-looker at one of *Evita*'s addresses from the balcony of the presidential palace, Che quips "She says very little but she says it loud."

As *Evita* sings 'Don't cry for me Argentina' he

describes the spectacle as "the greatest show in town." and turns away in obvious disgust and anger.

### Populist

He later appears as a striking worker who is beaten up by Peron's army. Juan Domingo Peron

was a populist who became president of Argentina in 1946. He was immensely popular with poor workers or the 'descamisados' (shirtless ones) as they were called.

After the second World war Argentina enjoyed rapid industrialisation and wealth and he promised the

workers their share.

But his real power lay with the army. While he and *Evita* claimed they were the worker's friends their army ruthlessly wiped out any opposition.

The film is worth seeing. There is no dialogue, it is sung from start to finish, and this gives pace to the plot.

### Corruption

The insecurity and confusion that allowed the Perons to gain control and keep it is captured very well, as is the old ruling classes' opposition to the new pretenders.

The figure of Che (Guevara?) is the film's saving grace but one can't help wishing his commentaries went further.

The film does portray the corruption of the Perons, beating up workers and smashing the press, but again not enough.

As my Argentinian friend, who couldn't bring himself to go and see the film, says: "When Peron left Argentina, he took so much money with him for Swiss bank accounts, that the financial system went into shock".

## sport

# Footsie Fantasy League

by PAUL O'BRIEN

THESE DAYS you need to scan the business pages as well as the sports pages if you want to find out about your football team.

The resignation of Kevin Keegan from Newcastle United was more to do with results on the balance sheet than with results on the pitch.

Sir John Hall, a Newcastle businessman, has spent £60 million on new players but will earn £160 million when the club is floated on the stock exchange in the Spring.

Keegan wanted to stay on till the end of the season but NatWest—the bank backing the floatation—told the club he had to go immediately to protect the value of the shares.

Football is now big business.

Newcastle is only one of many clubs rushing to raise funds on the stock market, following the example of Manchester United, Leeds, Sunderland, Chelsea and Tottenham.

The same day as Keegan was forced to resign the Business News carried three stories on the sports sector. Premier Sports Fund



Kevin Keegan (left), pushed out by NatWest and (right) launch of £200 million sports investment fund



announced a 66 percent growth in their Sports Investment Fund for 1996. Robert Lowe, the manufacturer of replica kits announced a doubling of income in 1996.

### Strips

To give an idea of the value of this sector of football, Robert Lowe sold 700,000 Liverpool

strips—the most popular.

These retail at £38 each giving a total of £26 million for the year.

No wonder they change strips every few months!

And Alan Hanson, the soccer pundit, fronted an announcement by bankers Singer and Friedlander for the launch of another £200 million sports investment

fund.

We have the strange situation where the share price of Tottenham increases while the results on the pitch get worse.

### Dividends

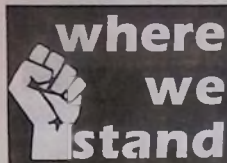
The reason is simple enough.

By not spending money on new players, more is

available to pay out to shareholders in dividends.

No wonder Adam Brown, spokesperson for the Football Supporters Association said, "It is ruining the game.

"Because of their obligations to shareholders, directors are putting financial interests ahead of football interests."



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

**FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM**

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

**FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:**

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

**FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION**

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

**FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:**

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

**FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:**

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

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:**

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

# Nurses: a strike to set the unions alight

**"WE DID not take a vow of poverty. We are not Florence Nightingales."**

This is how one nurse summed up the mood in the hospitals. An amazing 97% voted for strike action in the recent ballot and pickets are now due to be placed on hospitals on February 10th.

"In my hospital there is a real excitement about going out. We have waited so long and this time we are really going to make an impact".

The Irish Nurses Organisation have stated that there will be no strike pay for the duration of the strike—but this has not deterred the nurses.

They know their demands are just and are determined to succeed, whatever the cost.

Nurses have been mistreated for decades by successive Health Ministers but in the last few years they have badly misread the mood of nurses.

In the most recent pay negotiations, the government proposed that young nurses leaving training take a cut of £1,000 a year in their salary.

## Officials

They thought that they could win the acquiescence of senior nurses for this move by giving them a bigger pay increase.

"There is one word that many government Ministers and even union officials do not understand: it is solidarity.

We were never going to allow them create a yellow pack grade at the bottom of the scale".

The job has also changed considerably in recent years. More records are being kept and more high tech medicine is being employed.

But the pay of nurses has not kept pace.

The INO members are now determined to win major increases on the basic pay scale.

If they win, it will set a head-

**If nurses win, it will set a headline for other workers to follow.**

line for other workers to follow.

Nurses are also angry at the fact that so many of their number are on temporary contracts.

In some hospitals nearly half the staff are in this situation. It means that they can loose out on increments and pension rights.

## Popular

The strike by nurses will be immensely popular—but it is vital that it is won decisively and quickly.

One sure way to make this happen would be for the Nurses Alliance to stay together and for other unions besides the INO to join the strike.

Some of these have voted to accept Michael Noonan's offer—but they should stick with the overwhelming majority who have rejected it.

Nurses should provide emergency cover—but they should insist that there is a clear definition of what constitutes an



emergency and ensure that their strike committee, rather than the doctors, decide on individual cases. The claim of the *Irish Independent* that half of nurses will be working should be rejected.

## Give us what the consultants get

HOSPITAL consultants have been offered a staggering 25% pay rise—and they don't think it is good enough.

The two organisation which represent consultants, the Irish Medical Organisation and the Irish Hospital Consultants Association are demanding a 35% rise instead!

The consultants complain that the recent Buckley Report makes some recommendations which would limit their private practice—and they want compensation in return.

Figures made available from the VHI show that the top 20% of consultants are now earning an amazing £250,000 a year from private practice.

## Compensate

Some years ago the consultants won a 50% pay rise to compensate for a decline in their private practice. But it seems there is no end to their greed.

If nurses were treated half as well as the consultants there would be no need for the strike.

## 55: THAT IS THE TIME TO RETIRE

"At the national representative meeting in Jury's in November there was outrage at the proposal to cut the entry point wages of new nurses—but there was real anger on the early retirement issue".

This is how one nurse in James St described the mood of nurses when they set out to formulate their demands for the strike.

The INO members want parity with their colleagues among the psychiatric nurses who can retire at 55.

They know that their job is extremely stressful and do not want to see older staff being forced to minister to the sick when they are unable to.

Significantly the demand for retirement at 55 was a key demand that truck drivers in France won in their recent national dispute.

However, there are some indications that the INO leadership may be trying to water down this demand already.

In an Explanatory Memo on the strike ballot, they claimed that one of their objectives was simply 'further improvements in the facility for early retirement'. There was no mention of the demand for retirement at 55.

"The leadership have been out of touch before and we had to ballot several times before they got the message. We should watch them on the issue of early retirement and make sure we stick out to win on this one," one nurse told *Socialist Worker*.

## News from SWP branches

# Building the Socialist Workers Party in 1997

"Michael Lowry had every right to sue the tax amnesty—it was the law of the land".

This is what the Fine Gael junior Minister Brendan Burkin told the RTE programme *Questions and Answers*.

It showed up the blatant hypocrisy of Fine Gael.

The people who make laws for the rest of us have no problem breaking the same laws and then getting away with a tax amnesty. The parties of Dáil Éireann have reached an agreement to go easy with each other on the Dunnes scandal. They know that they all have skeletons in their cupboards.

## Exposing

In the next election, the Socialist Workers Party will be standing a number of candidates

and will be exposing the links between big business and the main political parties. Throughout the whole campaign, we will be arguing that only the actions of workers themselves can bring real change.

Already we are seeing how the 97% vote for strike action by nurses is creating real worries in the establishment.

But to get this message across and to continue the struggle beyond elections we need to build rapidly now. In November of last year, the SWP set itself a clear target for recruitment and managed to recruit over 40 people by the end of the year.

They include busworkers, former Packard workers, students—people who have either met the SWP on street sales or buy the paper regularly. Now, however, the

pace of recruitment has to be stepped up.

The level of cynicism with the political establishment in the South and the frustration in the North with the return of the republicans to an armed struggle they admit cannot win, means that there are many who really want an alternative.

## Targets

For this reason, every branch of the SWP has been given new targets on recruitment.

We are asking every member to:

Visit people in their area who take the paper and ask them to join.

Organise good recruitment displays on the street sales.

Ensure that anyone who wants to join is met within a week with party literature and a number of copies of the paper to sell.

## SWP branch meetings

- BELFAST**  
Meets every Wed at 8pm Central Hall Rosemary St.
- CORK**  
Meets every Weds at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Commarket St.
- DERRY**  
Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm
- DUN LAOGHAIRE**  
Meets every Tues at 8pm in Smyths Pub.
- DUNDALK**  
Meets every Weds at 1pm in Dundalk RTC
- ENNISKILLEN**  
Meets every fortnight Contact national address for details
- GALWAY**  
Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square
- LIMERICK**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Costello's Tavern, Dominick St
- MAYNOOTH**  
Contact 8722682 for details
- WATERFORD**  
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.
- DUBLIN NORTH-WEST**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in The Old Brogue, Dorset St.
- DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK**  
Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm Contact 8722682 for details
- DUBLIN DRIMNAGH**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Black Forge (formerly the Bentley), Drimnagh Rd
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL**  
Meets every Wed at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St.
- DUBLIN RATHMINES**  
Meets every Wed at 8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond St.
- DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL**  
Meets every Thur at 8pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.
- DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN**  
Meets Monday in the Sterring Wheel, Clondalkin

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

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★ There are *Socialist Worker* members in: COLERAINE; LURGAN; CAVAN; DONEGAL; NAAS; KILKENNY; DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA. If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

## AS UNIONS DECIDE ON PARTNERSHIP 2000

# Vote NO to pay deal con

THE government, the employers and union leaders have joined forces to press workers to accept the lowest pay increases in years.

A new national pay agreement, Partnership 2000, has appeared as profits have risen by 45% in Ireland boom. But there is little on offer to workers.

The 80 page document which accompanies the package is being put to a vote with very limited discussion.

SIPTU officials have been instructed to get most of the votes in before the budget on January 22nd—even though promises on tax are a major element of the agreement.

Few workplaces meeting have been held to discuss the contents of the agreement. In SIPTU, only the YES side of the argument is being presented by the Executive.

### Dictators

"If this was a national referendum, they would not be allowed to use our money to give only one side of the argument.

"The SIPTU leaders are acting like dictators" one activist in the Dublin Education branch told *Socialist Worker*.

A Campaign against Partnership 2000 has been formed and is trying to get its viewpoint across.

They are calling for a NO vote because of:

### LOW PAY RISES:

The new deal only offers a pay rise of 7.4 per cent over 39 months.

This is even lower than the Programme for Competitiveness and Work which gave 8.25 per cent over 35 months.

Yet the last programme was supposed to be negotiated in the midst of a recession.

By the time the new millennium starts, workers will have only gained an increase of 1% in real terms after inflation.

### FEW TAX CUTS:

The ICTU negotiators are trying to take credit for tax cuts which the government were going to bring in anyway as it prepares for election year.

The tax cuts are small and do little to compensate workers for the low pay increases.

Over the last two years Ruairi Quinn has cut the Corporation Profits Tax for big business and reduced the inheritance tax for farmers with land valued at more than £300,000.

He never asked for sacrifices in return—but he wants workers to put up with measly increases.

**This is a polite way of saying that we should work harder so our bosses can make bigger profits.**

Even if he reduces taxes now there is nothing to stop a new government raising new taxes or levies on the PAYE sector.

### A 'CHANGE' FOR THE WORSE:

'Change' is the new buzzword on the lips of every union official. Workers are constantly told to 'embrace change' and face the realities of the modern world.

Partnership 2000 commits the unions to "full and on-going co-operation with change and the need for adaptation and flexibility to maintain and improve competitiveness".

### Flexibility

This is a polite way of saying that we should work harder so our bosses can make bigger profits. 'Change' means more redundancies, contracting out of work, longer hours and continuous shift working.

The local bargaining clause of the programme only allows extra increases in return for flexibility.

Public Sector workers in particular will be rigorously assessed to prove they have given enough productivity.

### MORE 'YELLOW-PACK' RECRUITMENT:

The deal will do nothing to stop companies recruiting workers at lower starting rates.

One of the main reasons nurses voted for strike was the attempt to put new recruits on lower wages.

Telecom Eireann, CIE and the banks have brought in new staff on much lower starting rates.

Recruiting 'yellowpacks' can be used by employers to offset the cost of national pay deals.

For example, IBM have employed telesales workers on £12,500 a year on four year contracts.

Even if they pay the national increases they can recruit new staff on even lower

rates when the next programme comes into effect.

**SUPPORTING THE BOSSES' EUROPE:** Partnership 2000 commits the unions to supporting the Maastricht Treaty and moves to a single currency.

Yet workers across Europe have staged general strikes in several countries to stop the cuts that have come with this treaty.

There are even clauses in the new programme to allow pay increases to be reneged on if European Monetary Union runs into difficulties.

## This deal can be beaten

UNIONS representing 60,000 workers have already come out against the deal.

They include the shop workers union MAN-DATE, where a delegate conference threw it out almost unanimously, and the teachers union ASTI. Both these unions have traditionally backed centralised bargaining.

### Defeating

The key to defeating the deal lies in SIPTU. This large super-union commands a sizeable proportion of the votes in the ICTU.

Socialists can now play a major role in defeating this terrible deal which hamstring the union movement with a no strike clause.

Over the next few days, copies of the Waterford statement and the Vote NO leaflet should be distributed to every workplace.

Demand that your shop steward calls a meeting to discuss the deal and put a recommendation for a NO vote.

## Seventy Nestlé workers strike

SEVENTY workers have gone on strike in the Nestlé factory in Tallaght.

The workers who are members of SIPTU began their strike on January 9th after management attempted to push through a redundancy programme.

They demanded that 17 jobs would go but insisted that they had a right to pick the candidates. This unprecedented move angered a workforce who had not been on strike for thirty years.

"The last time this factory struck was in 1965 but we are not putting up with a management picking and choosing who has to go" one picket told *Socialist Worker*.

The only people passing the picket line are non-union staff who are sticking with management.

A new management team have clearly set out to change the conditions in the factory to boost the companies profits.

"We had been co-operating before but these are hatchetmen and we have to stand up for our rights". That is how one worker summed up the mood.

## Waterford shop stewards say No!

A meeting of shop stewards in the Waterford region of SIPTU have come out unanimously against the deal and issued a public statement to the press.

The 50 stewards who came together from all over the county were horrified at the contents.

They included some who had

supported partnership deals in the past.

### Campaign

Later their views were endorsed by the local trade councils and a major campaign is now underway to secure a NO vote.

The statement of the Waterford Shop Stewards reads:

A special convened meeting of SIPTU shop stewards, Waterford Branch, was held on Tuesday 7th January to discuss the new national Partnership 2000.

After an exhaustive discussion the shop stewards have decided to issue the following statement.

We feel it our duty as elected representatives to recommend rejection of the new Partnership 2000 on the following basis.

Ten years ago the country needed a national understanding to help create the economic climate that would create jobs and bring about improved living standards for all.

Through workers' sacrifice the economy is booming and is even one of the best performing economies in Europe.

Yet workers are being asked to sacrifice more by accepting very small wage increases. The question must be asked who is making all the wealth? Why is unemployment still at an unacceptable level?

The shop stewards cannot understand why the members are being asked to vote on the programme before the Budget and cannot understand the haste in which the ballot is being conducted.

It has caused fear and suspicion in the membership. They also expressed dismay as to the disparity between the low income earners and those on the higher income bracket, which is created by percentage wage increases.

The Constitution guarantees a worker the right to join a trade union but under the programme no such recognition is forthcoming.

The shop stewards have no confidence in the committee being set up to look at union recognition. In a democracy the right to join a trade union is a right.

SIPTU has pledged itself to fight the dirty dozen, yet under the programme there is no real attempt to end taxation of Social Welfare payments.

Because of what is outlined above the shop stewards would urge all the membership, both locally and nationally, to have a mass "NO vote" on the new programme.

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

25 years since Derry's Bloody Sunday

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South Korean workers fight back

-Page 4

# NO RETURN TO WAR!

# Don't wait for Blair!



IRA MORTAR attacks on the RUC and on Court houses, shootings and almost daily bomb scares—it seems war has returned to the streets of Northern Ireland.

Just what is going to happen is still unclear — is the IRA running a somewhat 'phoney' war, where they plan to show they can still wage war without a full return to outright conflict?

Will the loyalist ceasefire hold or will the UDA and

UVF death squads be let loose again?

### Divide

Whatever happens, socialists are clear that any return to the armed struggle will serve only to further divide Catholics and Protestants throughout Northern Ireland,

as well as putting the lives of working class people in both countries at risk.

Most people, Protestant or Catholic, blame the Tories for the return to violence.

Major's refusal to take the opportunity for peace seriously.

He put more conditions on Sinn Fein entering peace talks than were put on the leaders of the Bosnian civil war.

Throughout all of this his main aim was to hang onto

power with the help of the Unionist Party.

Even *The Economist*, the bosses' magazine agrees that it's a case of "Violence fills the vacuum".

As the IRA flexes its muscle, the British army has been returning to its usual bully boy tactics.

Every morning house raids and general harassment of young men in nationalist areas has resumed.

The practice of army helicopter flying very low to frighten the nervous and wake any sleeping children, long a favourite method of intimidation, nearly had fatal results recently.

A tail rotor of a helicopter clipped a house in the Carnhill area of Derry, knocking tiles off the roof. Experts said it could have caused the helicopter to crash into the house.

### Bankruptct

The move back to armed struggle shows the bankruptcy of republicanism.

Two years ago McGuinness and Adams admitted that the strategy of armed struggle was going nowhere.

Today, they go along with it in order to avoid a split in their own ranks.

To risk innocent lives being lost and a deepening of divisions for a strategy that it admits cannot bring change is a sign of a movement that is desperate.

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## A different way?

THERE IS another alternative to waiting for a general election.

It is to mobilise working class people - Protestant, Catholic to fight for their rights as workers, against low pay and the Job Seekers Allowance, against cuts in health and education.

In fighting on these issues, the question of loyalism and republicanism will be raised more sharply.

Loyalism is not 'an expression of Protestant culture'. It only encourages one section of workers to think that they are superior to another group of workers.

This undermines everyone's ability to fight for decent wages and conditions. Republicanism began as a movement of revolt but increasingly it seeks an av-

enue into the establishment. Today it insists that a Catholic worker has more in common with right wing Irish American or Fianna Fail politicians in the South than with their Protestant counterparts.

### Tradition

What is needed in the North is the building of a third tradition in the working class—one that is openly socialist and champions working class unity.

This has to start by opposing the sectarianism of the Northern state but it also needs to advocate opposition to the capitalist arrangements throughout the island.