

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

Labour Minister backs bishops on discrimination—Pages 6-7

Jim Larkin & the 1913 lock-out—Page 8

***First year staff nurse: £287 per week**

***Hospital consultant: £2,400+ per week**

But union leaders call off the strike

Don't let them sell out the nurses!

£6 a week after tax—that is what a nurse, who has worked for nearly ten years, will get from the latest offer.

They will have no guarantee of retirement at 55. The special training they undertake in areas like midwifery will not be properly compensated.

It is a pittance compared to what the consultants are getting.

This over-paid group earn an average of £2,400 a week.

They earn £60,000 a year from the state and the same figure again from their private practice.

Yet the government has agreed that they can have a staggering 25% pay rise.

The tragedy is that the union leaders of the INO and SIPTU are falling over themselves to push the nurses into accepting this offer. They want to sell them short—rather than organise a fight.

Many nurses are now asking what they do make their unions represent them.

They have voted **FOUR** times to demand that their union fight for early retirement and decent wages.

But the union leaders care more about their pals who are Labour party government Ministers than their own members.

Nurses should vote **NO** to this rotten deal. They should re-take their unions from the bureaucrats who have dominated it for years. But above all they need a political alternative that resists arguments about the economy 'not be able to afford' reasonable demands like retirement at 55.

That means building a strong socialist presence throughout the hospitals.

TURN TO PAGE ELEVEN

Sellafield nuclear waste will leak—official

A RECENT official British government report into the proposed underground nuclear waste dump in Sellafield has stated that the planned Nirex dump would leak radioactivity into the Irish Sea.

The findings back up the claims of those who have been campaigning against the dump and who have argued from the start that it would constitute a serious health risk to people in Britain and Ireland.

The report predicts that radioactive waste would pass from the dump back into the

surface ground water of the area around Sellafield.

This would then pass into the Irish Sea.

Yet despite the overwhelming scientific evidence which says that the planned dump is not safe, British Nuclear Fuels continues to insist that it will go ahead with its plans.

Cover-Up

And the fact that the report was only made public after a court challenge by Friends of the Earth shows quite clearly that the British Government wants to cover up the truth.

Meanwhile, just a couple of days after the report was made public it was revealed that six workers were contaminated after a radiation leak.



■ Radiation leaks threaten health

LAWYERS...PR. CONSULTANTS...HOTEL BILLS...

Goodman now demands £ millions 'costs' handout

ANYONE WHO thinks a new Tribunal will sort out the Dunnes scandal should look at the results of the Beef Tribunal.

Goodman International were found guilty of major tax fraud. Thousands of people are jailed for stealing far less but Larry Goodman will not spend a single night in a cell.

Instead he has the cheek to demand that PAYE workers pay his costs for the Tribunal.



Quinn should tell Goodman to get lost

Appealing

Instead of telling him to get lost Ruairi Quinn is politely 'appealing' the award.

The fees include £3 million for five barristers, the highest sum going to Dermot Gleeson, the current Attorney General. Gleeson is

claiming £923,420, which includes £3,000 a day 'refresher fees' and £3,000 a day to deliver submissions.

Somers and Associates are due £118,157 for an analysis of beef prices between 1986 and 1991, which was irrelevant to the Tribunal.

PR consultant Pat Heneghan is to get £162,361 for 'patrolling the media' on behalf of Goodman.

And, to add insult to injury, we are also being asked to foot Goodman's hotel bill of £3,536. This includes parking, meals, laundry and TV in his hotel room.

It's tough at the top!

MANY workers earn less than £2 an hour in shops and hotels. A careful check is kept on the number of hours worked and any overpayment is docked the next time round.

But when you are a high flying solicitor such attention to detail flies out the window.

A & I Goodbody are the biggest firm of solicitors in Ireland and they are claiming £3.2 million for their role in the Beef Tribunal.

Hourly

But, alas, they cannot tell us the hourly rate on which this sum is based.

But they are kind enough to inform us that the figure includes £100,000 for 'skill and complexity' and

£100,000 for 'responsibility and effort'.

So now we can determine that there are two kinds of service available from Goodbody's.

There is the skilled, responsible kind which comes with a price tag of £3.2 million.

And then there is the unskilled, irresponsible service performed by someone who cannot drag themselves out of bed in the morning but which still costs £3 million.

Party of low taxes

Ever wonder why the Progressive Democrats call themselves the party of low taxes? A recent judgement against a PD councillor in Galway gives a clue.

Councillor Joe Burke appeared before Justice McCracken in the High Court recently. The politician's company, D.H. Burke and Sons, had underpaid its VAT by £420,495.

But the PDs have rallied to his side, saying the affair will not affect his selection as a Dall candidate.

Seems like Harney's angels are slipping off the moral high ground.

The victimisation of Roisin McAliskey

ROISIN MCALISKEY, daughter of Bernadette McAliskey, the republican socialist and former MP, is being victimised by the British government.

Roisin was arrested on the 20th November last and held in Castlereagh Interrogation Centre for six days.

She was then kept in Holloway prison in solitary confinement and later moved to Belmarsh, a high-security all male prison.

Roisin is seven months pregnant but Belmarsh has no gynaecological facilities.

She has severe medical problems and now weighs as little as seven stone.

She was only allowed back to Holloway prison after a number of protests.

She was in custody for over a month before she was allowed to see a midwife.

After complaining of severe abdominal pains Roisin was finally allowed to see a doctor who, after describing her as being in a serious state of malnutrition and dehydration, said:

"A general practitioner like myself, faced with a request for a visit of a woman 17 weeks pregnant with abdominal pains, would face being struck off the medical register for refusing to visit for over an hour."

Flawed

The whole procedure surrounding Roisin's extradition to Germany to face charges for a mortar attack on a British army base is deeply flawed.

She was arrested on the basis of an identification from a witness of a 'tall blonde woman'—Roisin McAliskey is short with brown hair.

The authorities have refused to allow bail despite securities



Bernadette and Roisin McAliskey

of £200,000 and continue to hold her despite the fact that the German government have still not issued an extradition order—perhaps because they have no evidence.

As Bernadette McAliskey put it: "if an emergency arises, how is the state going to compensate my daughter for the reality that, if at the end of the day there is no warrant, no proceedings, no convictions, my child loses her child in that prison?"

A number of protest meetings have already taken place as well as a picket of the British Embassy in Dublin.

The pressure needs to be kept up to stop the British state

getting away with its inhuman treatment of anyone who dares to oppose its role in the North.

Risk

The reality is that Roisin McAliskey and her baby's lives are being put at risk because the Tories want to take revenge on the daughter for the politics of the mother.

They have never forgiven Bernadette McAliskey for her part in the Civil Rights movement, and the contempt which she rightly showed for the Houses of Parliament as an MP.

This tragically is just another example of hypocrisy over Northern Ireland.

Tallaght travellers demand facilities

"We have been living here in misery for twelve months, there is no running water, no toilets, no skips just rats and more rats. Human beings shouldn't be living here, there are children getting sick every day, we need some sort of proper facilities."

This was the response of Alice Connors, who spoke to *Socialist Worker*, about the living conditions on the Killinarden Hill halting site in West Tallaght.

Andy Doogan from the CYC said, "They are literally living in squalor. There is no traveller site like this in the whole of the country, the roadway leading up to where they are living is impass-



■ Denied basic amenities by the Council

able with rubbish".

At the moment there are eight families living on the site, and most of the kids have problems going to school, because of lack of running water for washing.

The local council have said that they can't do anything for

them, because it is private property.

But Joan Connors, a woman living on the site said:

"All we want is some taps for water, a road that we can get in and out, and the council to clean up the area."

what we think

Dunnes scandal: Playing for time

YET ANOTHER tribunal is to be set up. This time it is the McCracken Tribunal to inquire into the money spent by Ben Dunne on politicians.

It is all part of a grand charade being played by the politicians.

All the information that is needed on bribery can be found in one affidavit which Ben Dunne swore when he was taking the rest of his family to court over share ownership in the family firm.

Series

In this document, Dunne named a series of politicians to whom he gave money.

They include a former

Fianna Fail Minister who got £1.1 million.

Dermot Gleeson, who is now the Attorney General, was present when the document was signed.

All that is required is that an emergency law is passed to compel Gleeson to reveal the contents of the document.

Otherwise the government could simply order the arrest of Dunne to investigate a



■ The man giving out the cheques: Ben Dunne

charge of bribery.

They could compel him to hand over documents and demand he explain himself.

They could threaten to seize some of his assets on suspicion that

he benefitted from criminal activity.

It will be claimed that this is all far 'too simplistic'.

Instead the Coalition has chosen to wait nearly two months until

Judge Buchanan managed to name less people than had been revealed in the press before his inquiry began.

Already there are hints that there may be a few trips to the High

Court and Supreme Court before the McCracken Tribunal gets underway.

The politicians have little interest in unravelling the web of corruption that lies at the heart of Dáil Éireann.

Farce

The farce we are witnessing has little to do with getting at the truth.

Its main aim is to take the heat off the situation and to demoralise people sufficiently so that many conclude 'you can never get at them'.

What is needed now is for masses of people to get on the streets to demand the jailing of corrupt politicians.

That is the only way to sort out the mess.

The two sides of the French crisis

TWO TRENDS HAVE emerged in French politics. One is the move to the right represented by the continued growth of the Nazi National Front.

In the council elections in Vitrolles, in the north of Marseille, the wife of Bruno Megret, deputy to the Nazi leader Le Pen, topped the poll with 47% of the vote.

But at the same time wide numbers are moving to left wing ideas.

Redundancies, longer working hours and poverty has created a space for socialist ideas that has not been seen since the generation of 1968.

Aspect

One aspect of the crisis has been the growth of workers militancy.

In the major city of Toulouse bus drivers are on all out strike while bank workers continue to occupy the Credit Foncier in Paris against job losses.

A flavour of the mood of militancy can be gleaned from the paper *Liberation*.

Singing

A recent front page carried a discussion on supervisors and lower level managerial staff.

It stated, "Demonstrations, strike occupations—the individualists of yesterday are beginning to chant 'Tous ensemble. Tous ensemble' [The slogan of the 1995 public sector revolt]."

"They are marching in their ties in the streets, listening to trade unions, occupying their offices."

"The international press are asking 'Are

these gentlemen in ties going to start singing the Internationale'."

The main union federations are experiencing a growth in membership while a raft of books on the Russian revolution and Marxism have started to provoke a wider debate.

The key to the future now lies in the direction of left wing politics.

If the left cannot match the new mood of bitterness and anger, it can move towards Le Pen.

And here there are problems.

The main left wing parties in France, the Socialist and Communist Parties seek to channel the popular mood away from struggle which can win and towards the election in over a year's time.

They offer at best a re-run of 14 years of the Socialist Party

government under Francois Mitterand which saw workers lives get worse, not better.

France represents a concentrated expression of a general pattern in Europe.

There is tremendous volatility, with socialist and Nazi movements competing to focus the anger.

That volatility, however, does not last forever.

Victory

What happens now is vital for the future.

Every victory for workers can strengthen the mood of hope in the possibility of a better society.

Every defeat that springs from poor political leadership opens the door for a despair that feeds into fascism.

This is why the race is on to build a force on the revolutionary left.

From cynicism to anger

The Republic of Ireland is flux. Many of the traditional institutions which commanded so much respect in the past are viewed with contempt. Priests, politicians, union leaders have all got a 'credibility problem'.

The first symptom of the change has been a massive cynicism.

A common response to revelations of corruption is to say 'Sure, we knew they were at it all the time'.

For some socialists, this cynicism is deeply frustrating.

Rightly, they point out that it does not lead anywhere and can even bring a resigned acceptance of the system.

But this, however, is to see only one side of the picture. In reality, the gap between cynicism and anger can be very small.

The new mood in the working class represents, firstly, a withdrawal of belief in the establishment.

That is a major step forward compared to the 1980s when the Bishops could swing the crozier to block any progressive change.

Cynicism

But it is more than that. The new cynicism combines a desire for change with a pessimism about how to go about matters. It reflects the legacy of defeats which working people experienced in the past.

Once there is sign of serious struggle, the cynicism disappears and shifts to collective anger and solidarity.

This switch was seen in the nurses dispute but also in the Dunnes strike and the GIE workers struggle.

Strikes are massively popular because thousands want to see the establishment hit hard.

Whether that anger, is generalised depends on the existence of a politicised minority.

There are tens of thousands who want to fight corruption but there are still only hundreds who can point to a socialist society as the way forward.

Building that minority is the key to the big struggles ahead.

Students for Socialism

**A weekend of discussion organised by the Socialist Worker Student Society
Friday & Saturday 21st-22nd February, Trinity College, Dublin**

★ The drive towards EMU is producing a polarisation on the right and left in countries across Europe.

Chris Harman, author of *Explaining the Crisis and The Economics of the Madhouse* will speak on

The Crisis of Capitalism in Europe.

★ Is the North sliding back into sectarian conflict?

Derry socialist, Colm Bryce will look at Where are the IRA going?

★ Lecturer in sociology and editor of *Socialist Worker*, Kieran Allen, will talk on **Marxism and Sociology.**

★ With an election looming, Brid Smith, ATGWU shop steward and an SWP candidate in the

coming election will look at whether change comes through **Parliament or Revolution.**

★ With racism on the rise across Europe and the US Anti Nazi League activist from Britain Talat Ahmed will look at the legacy

of **Malcolm X and the politics of black liberation.**

■ For tickets; more details and full programme contact *Students for Socialism*, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Tel (01) 872 2682

Socialist Worker Appeal

Help us raise £10,000

☪ *The SWP did marvellous work for us during the strike. They raised collections in many workplaces and really helped to keep us going. I would urge everyone to give to their appeal.*

—TOMMY McCANN, shop steward, Royal Dublin Hotel.

■ *Socialist Worker's* launching a £10,000 appeal to help fund its election campaign and buy new printing equipment.

The SWP will be running a number of candidates in the forthcoming General Election to offer an alternative to the betrayal of the Labour Party and Democratic Left.

Last time around workers were told that these parties would break the Golden Circle which dominated Irish politics.

But in office Labour brought in a tax amnesty while Democratic Left leader, Phronias de Rossa, concentrated on attacking social welfare recipients rather than the rich.

In the election campaign, the SWP will stress that real change can only come from workers struggling for themselves.

The SWP's candidates are:
■ **RITCHIE BROWN**, a TEAM worker, who will stand in Dublin North Central;
■ **BRID SMITH**, an employee with the union MANDATE who is running in Dublin South Central;

■ **Dr PEADAR O'GRADY**, a former Labour Party activist who joined the SWP, who is running in Dublin South East and
■ **JIMMY KELLY**, the ATGWU convenor in Waterford Glass who is standing in Waterford.

Their platform will emphasise the need for a minimum wage of £5 an hour, for workers unity in the North and above all for a fighting working class movement.

But to successfully get that message across we need money. And here the right parties have a massive advantage.

Ben Dunne has given £1.1m to a senior figure in Fianna Fail and over £100,000 to Fine Gael.

The Progressive Democrats have received money from Larry Goodman.

The big banks are also giving out money to the main parties.

Socialist Worker has nobody bankrolling us.

The money for every leaflet and poster has to come from our members and supporters. So we are asking for your help.

We need £10,000 to wage our election campaign and make sure socialism has a voice in Ireland. Every donation, no matter how small, will help.

■ Please make cheques/postal orders payable to *Socialist Worker* and send to: SW Appeal, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

international news

SOUTH AFRICA:

Police shoot protestors in bid to break boycott

AT LEAST two people were shot dead by South African police last week as they demonstrated against evictions and water and electricity cut offs. These had been threatened in an attempt to break a rent and rates boycott.

The protests took place in the "coloured" (mixed race) township of Eldorado Park which is adjacent to Soweto near Johannesburg.

Demanding

The demonstrators were demanding their rent and utility arrears, some of them built up during the years of apartheid, be written off.

In general "coloureds" had a slightly less harsh life under apartheid than blacks.

But they were still racially oppressed and most



■ The ANC government has disappointed the hopes of its supporters and refuses to make rich whites, who have fabulous wealth, pay up.

live in poverty.

Today unemployment in Eldorado Park is close to 80 percent.

The ANC fears to threaten evictions and cut offs in Soweto and other black townships because they would bring home just how little has changed since the end of apartheid.

Disgracefully it refuses to make rich whites, who have fabulous wealth, pay up.

Businesses

At the end of last year residents in businesses in Sandton, an opulent almost exclusively white suburb of

Johannesburg, launched a rates non-payment campaign.

They object to being forced to pay more to fund improvements in the black areas.

But the government is not evicting them or sending police to shoot their leaders.

SERBIA; BULGARIA:
Rulers bow to popular protests

RULERS IN both Serbia and Bulgaria have bowed to popular protests, but in both cases the leaders of the revolts have accepted far less than could have been won.

Serbia's President Milosevic has climbed down after months of street protests demanding he re-

ognise opposition victories in local elections last November.

What seems to have

pushed Milosevic to retreat were the first significant strikes of the protest.

A national education strike began and workers at the country's biggest engineering plant were about to strike.

Retreated

Some sections of protesters wanted to continue the fight, but leaders of the movement looked happy to accept Milosevic's deal.

In neighbouring Bulgaria the government also retreated in the face of protest last week, agreeing to call early elections.

There too it was the escalation of strikes which saw the government look to head off widening revolt by making a deal with the opposition.

Whoever wins the elections in Bulgaria will make little difference, as opposition leaders have exactly the same policies as the government.

"We'd better celebrate now because we have very hard days ahead," said the main opposition leader after last week's government retreat.

Across the Balkans the real alternative to those in power lies not in the official oppositions but in the potential shown in last week's strikes.

Czech gov't
climbedown
after 5-day
rail strike

CZECH RAIL workers look to have won an important victory against their government's plan to sack thousands of them in a restructuring and sell off plan.

A five day strike which shut down the rail network ended this week with the government agreeing to drop the plan for the moment.

Victory was secured when the country's miners threatened to strike in solidarity with the rail workers.

The strike is the most important workers'

protest since the 1989 movement which brought down the old Communist regime.

The governments in power since 1989 have all pushed the same kind of free market policies which have brought little benefit to ordinary Czechs.

The rail workers strike points to a real alternative.

PAKISTAN:

Corruption rife as Bhutto ousted in poll

THE PEOPLE of Pakistan voted in elections at the beginning of February.

Nawaz Sharif of the Muslim League came out ahead of deposed prime minister Benazir Bhutto of the Pakistan People's Party.

Former cricket star Imran Khan was trailing in third place.

All three main leaders have traded vicious allegations of corruption against the others, but in reality there is little to choose between them.

There is massive cynicism about the election. "Why bother?" one man told reporters during the elections. "We're just going to get the same crooks and turncoats back in office."

The country has been dominated by 22 extremely

wealthy landowning families since the partition of India and the creation of Pakistan 50 years ago.

Today politics is still like the personal fiefdom of a few wealthy families, with corruption and patronage everywhere.

Dismissed

The Bhuttos have been landowners in Sindh for the last 200 years. Despite the radical image of Zulfikar Bhutto, Benazir's father, the PPP has proved just as corrupt as the other parties.

Benazir's government was dismissed last November amid allegations of corruption, nepotism and of sanctioning a police shoot to kill policy in Karachi.

Her husband—universally known as "Mr 30 percent"—

the price of getting a government contract—is currently in jail on corruption charges.

Just days before his arrest, Benazir made him government "investment minister". He had two personal polo fields and 47 stables built for him at public expense.

He is also accused of involvement in the assassination of Benazir's brother, one of her political rivals.

In the last three years only one act of parliament has been passed. Even meagre attempts to get politicians to declare their financial assets has failed.

Benazir Bhutto's main opponent Nawaz Sharif—one of the country's richest men—declared a cash balance of £85.

Benazir Bhutto merely declared a bungalow in Karachi worth £1,612.

Imran Khan claimed his income was so low last year he paid no income tax at all.

The MQM could hold the balance of power. It is the party of those who migrated to Karachi from India in 1947.

Clashes

Its main programme is to fight for more jobs for those in Karachi.

This has led to violent clashes with the army under governments of both main parties and thousands of people murdered or held as political prisoners.

The danger now is that the army is waiting in the wings. It already consumes 30 percent of the government's budget, and is eager to get its slice of the cake from corrupt politicians.

Ecuador: Army & congress try where President failed

THE POLITICAL crisis gripping Ecuador seemed to have ended this week with the president, Abdala Bucaram, agreeing to step down.

Bucaram was ousted by the Latin American country's congress last week, but was defying the move until the army

pulled the plug on him at the weekend.

Bucaram is known as "the madman" because of his unorthodox image,

singing at pop concerts and the like, and the congress sacked him for alleged "mental incapacity".

Support

Bucaram was elected less than a year ago with

wide popular support, especially from the country's poor and among workers.

His election slogan was "the poor come first". Three quarters of the population live below the official poverty line.

But in office Bucaram

bowed to the bankers, bosses and bodies like the IMF and the World Bank who demanded the poor be squeezed.

Austerity

So last month Bucaram pushed through

savage austerity measures, including putting gas and electricity prices up 200 percent.

That provoked a general strike last week, which saw the country shut down for two days.

Worried at the instabil-

ity, the congress and army then stepped in to remove Bucaram.

But they will not bring any change for the better, as their aim is to push through the same austerity measures Bucaram was committed to.

Bigots try to divide workers in Derry

THE GROWTH in sectarian tension in workplaces all over Northern Ireland since Drumcree spilt over in a number of factories in Derry over the issue of Bloody Sunday.

In a number of factories some Protestant workers objected to fellow workers wearing a black ribbon as a mark of respect for the dead.

A two minute silence was observed across most of Derry at the exact moment of the 25th anniversary of the massacre of 13 unarmed civil rights demonstrators.

Forced

The controversy was started in every workplace by a small handful of bigots who raised the issue and forced other workers to take sides.

The situation was most serious in Desmonds' Newbuildings plant, where there was a stoppage for two hours on the morning after the 25th anniversary in protest at workers wearing the black ribbon.

Threatened

The DUP's local bigots Gregory Campbell and

Willy Hay were standing outside the factory as workers went in.

The bigots also managed to stir it up in the Coates Viyella factory in Trench Road on the Waterside, where Catholic workers were threatened with disciplinary action.

But the reality of most decent Protestant workers attitude to Bloody Sunday was seen in the Lee Jeans factory on the Springtown industrial estate on the cityside.

The son of one man murdered on Bloody Sunday told *Socialist Worker* what happened:

"Some of the Protestant workers came down to us and said they had no problem with the two minutes silence for the dead."

"They stood alongside the Catholic workers during the silence. They were great."

"Some of those Protestants in Desmonds were threatened in work."

"They had no choice. People should know that"

Derry factory shows the cost of disunity

TRANSTEC is one factory in Derry where sectarianism has weakened trade unionism. Shop stewards are sometimes elected on the basis of their religion.

Over the Bloody Sunday weekend bigots targeted workers who wore black ribbons, trying to splash them with molten metal.

But these divisions play straight into the hands of the employers.

The factory makes engine components from molten aluminium. It does not provide any heat-resistant gear. Workers walk around in overalls, wellies, sometimes T-shirts, and plastic goggles while sparks are flying through the factory.

The most recent accident involved a worker whose foot was squashed by a tilting machine. This would not have happened had the

safety mechanism been in proper working order.

Another worker who suffered a brain haemorrhage shortly before Christmas is now permanently institutionalised. Before that, a robot trapped a worker with a red-hot piece of metal.

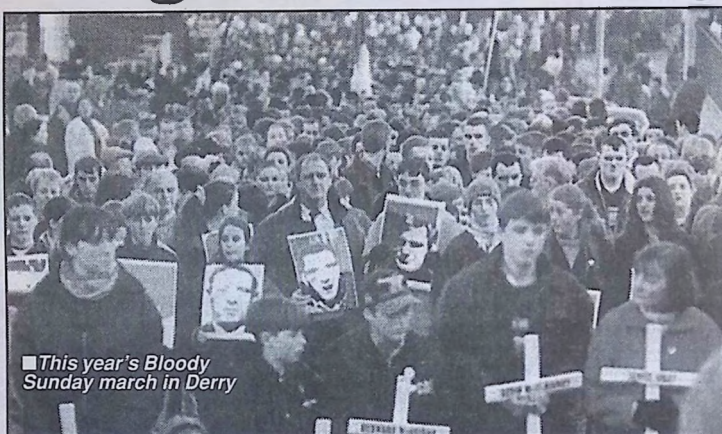
Fumes

Scores of women are overcome by ammonia fumes from the sand that is used to line the moulds.

A steady stream of workers goes to Altnagelvin Hospital and many say the casualty department will not treat people unless they remove their overalls because of the fumes trapped in the fabric.

One worker says: "Every other week there's an accident in Transtec. There's going to be someone killed here before Christmas, it's going to happen. You're al-

we think The fight for workers' unity



The rise of sectarianism in workplaces in Derry is a terrible warning for the future.

Supporters of the Official Unionists and the Democratic Unionist Party are desperate to raise tensions to keep their domination over Protestant workers.

They will try to use the events in Derry to create even deeper divisions during the marching sea-

son.

The tragedy is that the ICTU is giving them an opening to bring their poison into the workplaces.

They pretend that anti-sectarianism means not talking about politics.

Siege

No leaflets were issued explaining why people had a right to commemorate those who were murdered on Bloody Sunday.

The ICTU has done

nothing to break the siege of Harryville even though loyalists mobs are trying to stop people exercising their right to worship.

After the bigotry in Derry, all the ICTU did was to announce that its anti-sectarian unit, Counteract, could offer a mediation service.

But they could only enter the factories with the permission of the bosses!

Yet all workers, Catholic and Protestant, have a direct class interest in standing up against bigotry.

There's hardly a factory in Northern Ireland where workers are paid well and are not under pressure to produce more quicker.

What really 'intimidates' all workers is low pay and poverty—not the football shirt or badge that 'the other lot' are wearing.

Protect

But it's not possible to protect wages and conditions when workers are at each others throats.

The bosses will laugh all the way to the bank after the bigots did their dirty work in Derry.

But it needn't be like that.

Last summer, Protestant and Catholic workers stood together and walked out over over-ripe conditions like Desmonds and United Technologies during the really hot summer.

The bosses were able to do nothing about it.

A strong socialist network is now needed throughout the factories in Derry.

It will be vital in combating the poison of the bigots.

behind the headlines

MULTI-PARTY TALKS: It was right to boycott elections

NORTHERN Ireland's multi party talks are costing £1.7 million even though they only began in June! The bill includes £270,735 paid to delegates and £392,020 to keep the chairman at the talks.

Almost every opinion poll has shown that people are extremely sceptical of anything positive coming from the talks. None of this should come as a surprise to socialists.

From the start the talks have been set up by Major's government at the behest of the Unionist parties. The main reason the Unionists were so keen on the talks is that they see it as mechanism to exclude Sinn Fein from any future negotiations.

The elections guaranteed the Unionists a majority to veto anything that effected the link between Britain the North of Ireland.

Sinn Fein were excluded and since last June pre-conditions have been piled up to keep the republicans out.

The multi-party talks were designed to ensure that the Unionists can put obstacles in the way of anything they see as a threat to their position. This is why socialists argued that working class people should avoid those elections and look for another alternative to tackle sectarian.

Seven months later that argument rings true when you witness the sectarian and sometimes downright farcical manoeuvres of the assembly.

All the parties claim that they are at the talks because they have no links with violence.

But Paisley is actively encouraging violent protests in Harryville. William McCrea recently shared a platform with mass murder Billy Wright. David Trimble was a prime instigator of the violence at Drumcree last summer.

Beef

Of all the debates only one so far seems to escape the sectarian agenda that was British Beef crisis. The DUP and Unionists were quick to point out that their cows were not British but from Ulster! Little wonder when you consider the support from the rural middle class farmers for the DUP.

The Labour group entered the elections claiming to offer a non-sectarian alternative. But today that grouping is split on petty arguments over money and could not even bring itself to objecting to Union Jacks flying inside the talks building.

The argument that the Socialist Workers Party that labour politics could not confront sectarianism in the North has been tragically confirmed.

But there is another alternative, literally thousands of people Protestant and Catholic are angry and frustrated at the way these people seems to play with peace.

Many people realise that these people care little about peace, and far more about defending their own interests. The original turnout for these elections were low, with many more now beginning to question loyalties.

This is the audience that socialists must seek to win in the fight for a different type of Ireland.

—JIM LARMOUR

THE X CASE 5 YEARS ON:**Mass action that turned the tables on the bigots**

THIS MONTH sees the fifth anniversary of the X-case which brought a sea-change in attitudes to abortion in Ireland.

A fourteen-year-old girl became pregnant as a result of being raped by a 45-year-old businessman.

The girl and her parents reported the rape to the Garda and explained that the girl was going to England to have an abortion.

They offered results of DNA tests, to be done at the time of the abortion, to help the Garda prove the case against the rapist.

To their amazement they found that the whole machinery of the state immediately swung into action not against the rapist, but against the fourteen-year-old rape victim.

In February 1992 the Fianna Fail Attorney General, Harry Whelehan, had a High Court injunction issued to prevent the girl from leaving the country for nine months.

Whelehan was a supporter of the right wing Knights of Columbanus group which organises secretly in elite circles. The High Court decided that although the girl was suicidal the fear that she might kill herself was not as important as the threat to the life of the foetus.

But neither the courts, the government nor the anti-abortionists had banked on what happened next.

The country erupted in anger at the barbarity of the decision.

In the week that followed, there were angry pickets and demonstrations every day.

Huge numbers of people protested to demand that the brutal injunction be lifted to allow the girl to make her own choice and travel to Britain.

Support

The Socialist Workers Party played a major role in getting people on the streets as moderate organisations like the Labour Party were too frightened to openly support the girl.

In one school two hundred girls defied their principal and the threat of suspension to leave class and join a march, where they carried a banner reading Let us decide.

The anger culminated in a march of 12,000 people through Dublin.

The courts were forced to back down and lift the injunction because they were terrified of full-scale riots if the girl at the centre of the case was prevented from leaving the country.

The Supreme Court actually declared abortion legal in certain circumstances.

This was a slap in the face to SPUC who wanted women to remain in the dark ages with no control over their fertility.

For the first time many people no longer saw abortion as a moral and philosophical issue.

They realised that when confronted with the life and feelings of a fourteen-year-old girl, she had to take precedence over the foetus she didn't want to

In the week that followed, there were angry pickets and demonstrations every day.

carry.

It also became obvious that the thousands of Irish women who have abortions each year were not murderers, as they had been labelled.

The X-case was a significant turning point which reversed the tide of the 1980s when the right wing was on the rampage against women's rights.

Back then, they had forced a vicious referendum on abortion, banned simple information on abortion and hounded student unions through the courts for providing such information.

Now the right were on the retreat. In November 1992 a huge majority voted in favour of women's right to travel and the right to information about abortion.

The clause in the referendum which would allow abortion only if the woman's life, and not her health, was at risk was rejected because it was too restrictive.

Despite this mandate, there is still no law to allow abortion in Ireland and the government has swept the issue under the carpet, content to let thousands of Irish women to travel to England instead.

It took three years before an act was passed allowing limited abortion information.

The injunction preventing the student unions distributing abortion information has never been lifted.

Appeal

Their appeal is currently before the Supreme Court and SPUC are hounding them for legal costs of £400,000.

Although the right wing suffered a beating with the X-case they have never gone away.

Over the past five years they have attempted to roll back the gains made in the aftermath of the case.

They are now regrouping to demand another referendum on abortion hoping that they can prevent distressed pregnant women from leaving the country.

The Labour Party and Democratic Left who got elected in the hopeful atmosphere after the X-case have delivered little for Irish women.

Instead they have opened a space for the right-wing to gain a foothold again if they are allowed.

It is essential that the few gains are built on, not reversed.

by GER TUOHY

TEACHERS FACE VICTIMISATION AS**Labour Ministers
the Bishops on
discrimination**

TEACHERS COULD face major discrimination after a Labour Party Minister, Mervyn Taylor, caved into the Bishops demand that they exercise full control over our schools.

The power of the Bishops was given a boost on February 5th last when the Employment Equality Bill was passed in the Dáil.

Ironically for a bill of that name it actually establishes in law the right to discriminate against teachers in religious run schools.

Under section 37(1) of the bill, schools can refuse to employ a person on the basis of the religious beliefs they hold. It also allows for action to be taken against employees if they are considered to be undermining the religious ethos of the school.

This leaves it wide open for the authorities to discriminate against the people who adopt lifestyles that are not sanctioned by the Catholic church.

Divorced teachers, gay and lesbian teachers, teachers who are single mothers could all be open to victimisation. One teacher told *Socialist Worker*:

"This government talks about peace and reconciliation on this island.

"But they have told the Bishops that they can sack someone who is a Protestant—just because they don't conform to the Catholic ethos of most schools. It is pure hypocrisy."

Alarming

The implications of this bill are particularly alarming because Irish education is run along denominational lines.

Of the 3,203 primary schools in the country just 14 are multi-denominational. The remainder being under the control of the churches—usually the local parish priest.

All teacher training colleges are run on a religious basis.

Only Catholics are supposed to apply to be trained at St Patrick's College while Protestants go to the Church of Ireland Training College in Rathmines, Dublin.

One delegate to last years INTO conference told of a student who wanted to teach

"An assistant teacher must be a practising Catholic and committed to handing on the faith."

who was concerned she would not be accepted in a teacher training college as she had never been baptised.

She had sought advice at the "highest level" and was told to lie.

The current guidelines issued by the Catholic Primary School managers association are clear about what they require of teachers.

They state "A principal teacher must be exemplary in carrying out religious duties and be a model to the community at large.

"An assistant teacher must be a practising Catholic and committed to handing on the faith."

The denominational nature of the education system itself is enshrined in the 1965 Rules for National Schools and the 1971 curriculum, both of which lay the basis of primary education in this country at the moment.

Rule 68 says that "of all the parts of the curriculum, religious instruction is by far the most important... the religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole spirit of the school."

The Curriculum reinforces this idea. "The separation of religious and secular instruction into differentiated subject compartments serves only to throw the whole educational function out of focus... the integration of the religious and civic spirit that animates all its parts"

In practice this means that religious propaganda is supposed to be mixed in with the teaching of Irish or even mathematics.

**Teachers organise
against bigotry**

According to the INTO survey conducted last year nearly 60% of primary teachers think they should no longer be obliged to teach religion in schools. 48% of INTO members said they would like their school to have a multi-denominational ethos.

More than 27% of primary teachers surveyed described themselves as "broadly Christian" as opposed to Catholic, while 3% described themselves as atheists or agnostics.

Campaign

Not surprisingly then the Employment and Equality Bill has met with huge opposition and anger from ordinary teachers.

A group called Teachers for Pluralism in Education comprising of teach-

ers from the INTO, TUI and AS

been formed to campaign against A petition calling for deletion of offending sections of the bill was signed by 4,000 INTO members in 1991 while thousands of auxiliary teachers have also signed it.

As Teachers for Pluralism point out it is now not enough that teachers respect the ethos of their schools there will be increasing pressure on them to conform to and practise the official denominational ethos of their schools.

They fear that this bill will be on by some right wing parents branding a bible in one hand and quoting the equality bill in another to undermine a teachers confidence, if not their career.

Teachers promise that any motion teacher will be met with immediate industrial action.

According to the official curriculum for Irish language conversation classes, for example, teachers are supposed to build a May altar and teach about statues, flowers and the Blessed Virgin.

This has very serious implications not just for teachers but for many parents who want choice in education.

Withdraw

In theory parents can withdraw their child from religious class but the way the curriculum is structured makes it impossible to do so.

The big question that has to be raised is why taxpayers money is being used to fund an educational system that remains largely under the control of the Catholic Church. 85% of the capital and current costs for national schools are currently met by the state.

Meanwhile Educate Together, the movement for multi-denominational schools was given a miserly grant of £2,000 from the Department of Education last year.

I was a vic

FIFTEEN YEARS AGO, Eileen Flynn was sacked from her job as a secondary teacher in a convent school in Wexford.

She was known as a great teacher in the area. There were never any complaints against her teaching. But Eileen did not conform to the morals of the Bishops.

Her crime was to have a baby with a separated man. For this reason she was hounded out of the school by the nuns.

Like the writer, John McGahern before her, she was accused of being morally unfit to teach.

Eileen attended a recent press conference against the new legislation.

She spoke to *Socialist Worker*:

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MERVYN TAYLOR BENDS THE KNEE

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Mervyn Taylor (above) bows to the power of the Church Hierarchy



What do socialists say?

Is Marxism just another religion?

I COULDN'T be a Marxist because Marxism is too much like any other religion.

This point was put to me recently and it is quite a common objection.

This is rather galling, for one of the starting points of Marxism was a criticism of religion, all forms of religion, as opium of the people.

The suggestion is not that we believe that Marx is literally a god. It is that we blindly follow the doctrines handed down by the great Karl Marx just as Christians slavishly follow the teaching they believe to come from Jesus or Muslims follow the truth revealed to Mohammed.

The claim is that Marxism, like religion, requires its supporters to stop thinking for themselves and accept the message on trust.

Criticism

Such criticism can certainly be applied to the version of Marxism propagated by the Soviet Union in the days of Stalin.

Loyal Communists at that time were required to believe that Russia was a workers state despite all evidence to the contrary and Stalin was treated as an infallible pope.

He had only to pronounce on any question of politics, philosophy, science or art for it to be true by definition.

But Stalinism was a perversion of Marxism.

The cult of personality around Stalin was one of the clearest signs of this. It showed that Stalin was not a workers leader but a tyrant over the working class and that the regime which he headed had nothing in common with real socialism or Marxism.

The whole idea of infallible leaders, sacred texts and revealed truths was completely alien to Marx himself and to the genuine Marxist tradition of Engels, Luxemburg,

Lenin and Trotsky the tradition which *Socialist Worker* stands in today.

All these Marxists made mistakes on occasions, and we have no problem in admitting it.

For example, Marx thought at one point that there might be a parliamentary road to socialism in Britain.

Trotsky continued to believe that Russia was a workers state long after the working class had lost any real power or control. We in *Socialist Worker* expected the great industrial struggles of the early 1970s to continue rising.

There are two fundamental differences between Marxism and all forms of religion.

First, it is based on fact and experience, not on faith.

Second, it aims to change the world and therefore submits all its ideas to the test of practice.

So, for example, *Socialist Worker* argued on the basis of Marxism that Tony Blair in Britain will govern in the interests of big business, will deliver nothing substantial for working class people and will in fact attack working class interests as Labour and DL have in Ireland.

This judgement can be tested practically and we are keen that this test should go ahead.

Why then do revolutionary socialists call themselves Marxists and advocate Marxist theory?

Marx, with his friend Engels, was the first person to develop a coherent analysis of society from the standpoint of the working class.

The basic features of Marx's analysis of capitalism have been proved correct by historical experience.

If capitalist society had been able to abolish poverty, alienation, unemployment, economic crisis and class divisions then clearly Marxism would have been refuted.

But equally clearly it has not been able to do any of these things.

If the working class had disappeared or shown itself incapable of fighting for its own liberation Marxism would have no basis.

In fact the working class has grown all over the world and has demonstrated its power and ability to challenge capitalism again and again.

Finally, Marxism has proved in practice to be the best guide for the working class in its struggle for liberation. For over 100 years the majority of workers (and many intellectuals) who seriously wanted to overthrow capitalism have been drawn towards Marxism.

Alternatives

There have been many alternatives on offer liberalism, anarchism, Stalinism, Labourite reformism but all of these have either failed miserably or betrayed the working class outright.

Whenever such forces have led the workers movement the result has been a disaster for working people.

Only Marxism has consistently defended working class interests and pointed the way forward. Only Marxism has led the working class to victory, in the Russian Revolution of 1917, albeit for only a short time.

Only Marxism can provide a day to day guide to workers struggle in the workplace.

At this point, precisely because Marxism is not a religion, we have to recognise that we do not yet have the final proof of Marxism's truth.

Marxism will only be proved finally when we have used it to create a society free of exploitation and oppression.

This is not grounds for rejecting Marxism, on the contrary it is grounds for joining with other Marxists in the struggle to carve out the future we predict.

— JOHN MOLYNEUX

a victim of this discrimination

“ This legislation legalises discrimination. The very language used echoes that which was used in the final judgement handed down by the High Court in my case. The judge found that I was fairly dismissed for failing to observe the ethos and mores of the institution in which I was employed. Ironically enough he gave judgement on the 8th 1985 International Women's Day. In the course of that case I was asked did I know that in other countries women are stoned to death for crimes of that nature. The judge in the high court told the nuns that they had put up with me longer than

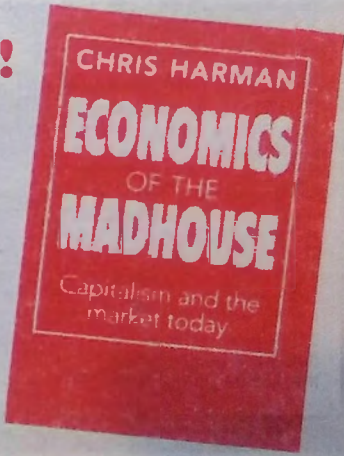
they had to. I see this legislation as a vindication of what happened to me. It's an attempt to police teachers, to police the morals of teachers. Everyone recognises that there is a vast gulf between the rigidity of the ethos of the way the majority live their lives. If this legislation was to be properly enforced there'd be empty classrooms how many teachers are non-practising Catholics, how many female teachers are contravening catholic teaching on contraception. There's a double standard at play here. The church can't afford to take the moral high ground in teaching. The Brendan Smyth affair

showed it clearly - this man constituted a grave threat to kids, yet instead of taking action he was just moved from Billy to Jack with continued access to kids. The Church has contributed a lot to education even going back to the hedge schools, but society is changing, people are becoming more secular and liberal. If the church wants its own schools and is prepared to fund them, by all means they should have their choice of workers etc. But in a situation where education is funded by taxpayers it is a bit much to think they can lay down all the dictates. I believe in more choice

and more humanity in education. I want broader based values rather than just to follow particular values or else you're out. Just look today, there were teachers who wanted to speak out but there were afraid to show up to the press conference in case they'd be sacked. This legislation means that many of those in caring professions, like teaching and nursing, which tend to be church run will be vulnerable to bigotry and sectarianism. I had respect for the Catholic ethos of my school. But I promised to educate, I didn't promise to be a nun.

Out now!

Economics of the Madhouse Capitalism and the Market Today by Chris Harman £3.50 + 70p p+p from: SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



JIM LARKIN AND THE 1913 LOCKOUT...

'The divine gospel of discontent'

by OWEN
McCORMACK

Fifty years ago this month Jim Larkin, one of the founders of the Irish trade union movement, died.

In an article to mark his death, Des Geraghty, national industrial secretary of SIPTU, claimed that Larkin's militancy was a thing of the past.

He claimed that where Larkin had used muscle, unions now use intelligence. Indeed he even claimed that Larkin laid the foundation for pay deals such as Partnership 2000.

In reality, Larkin was an open revolutionary, a socialist who supported the Russian revolution, and a trade union leader who saw unions as revolutionary weapons. He would have nothing in common with today's union bureaucrats.

Larkin was born in Liverpool in 1876, the son of poverty stricken Irish parents.

As a young man he was an active socialist, campaigning for the Independent Labour Party. In 1903, while working as a foreman on the docks he became involved in the National Union of Dock Labourers (NUDL). He led a strike of 800 dockers in an attempt to introduce a closed shop.

The strike was beaten and many workers including Larkin lost their jobs.

He now began working as a full time organiser for the union. In 1907 he came to Belfast and began recruiting Catholics and Protestants to the union.

During a strike for union recognition two workers were killed by troops. Despite attempts to whip up sectarianism workers remained united and the union became firmly established in Belfast.

He then turned to Dublin, recruiting 2,000 workers to the union. However the leadership of the NUDL were completely opposed to Larkin's militant methods and threatened to suspend him.

Larkin's instinct was always to escalate disputes, to increase pressure on the bosses by spreading the strike. In contrast his union leadership preferred conciliation and were keen to limit strikes.

Eventually they suspended Larkin who then formed the Irish Transport and General Workers Union.

Despite open hostility and hatred from employers, church and media, the new



Jim Larkin speaking at Liberty Hall, and a cartoon from 1907 depicting Larkin as a bomb-throwing anarchist.

union grew steadily—from 5,000 members in 1911 to 30,000 in 1913.

During this time all of Europe witnessed a huge wave of strikes and class struggle. "The Great Unrest" as it was

known saw a massive rise in strikes in Ireland.

Larkin rightly believed that unskilled workers had not joined unions because employers had defeated earlier attempts

by mass strike breaking and victimisation. In the face of this, trying to be moderate and respectable was no use.

What was needed was radical solidarity action, the sympathetic strike. A single employer didn't just face his own workers, he faced the entire union.

An example of how this tactic worked was a strike in June 1913. A group of women workers were sacked for being members of the union at the Savoy confectionery company in Dublin. The union began to "black" the company goods.

Hackney car drivers refused to deliver the companies goods or to drive scabs home. Clerks in the goods office refused to receive parcels from the firm, parcels put on to trams were kicked off into the street.

Carters, according to one newspaper, "would pass the Savoy as if the plague were raging inside". The manager of the firm had to transport his own coal as no workers would deliver it.

The tactic proved so successful that by 1913 only two firms in Dublin remained non-union. Larkin could claim that Dublin was the best organised city in the world.

During this time Larkin produced and edited his own paper the *Irish Worker and Peoples Advocate*. The paper sold over 20,000 copies per week, and in effect was read by most workers. Every week it car-

ried reports on strikes, attacked and named exploiting bosses and corrupt politicians, lambasted the press and urged workers to open revolt against the British empire. Above all it preached the message of working class unity. He used the paper to attack the nationalist idea of a all class alliance in the fight for independence stating that only the workers could be relied on as "incorruptible fighters for a republic."

The success of Larkin and the ITGWU was such that it began to pose a threat to the stability of Irish business.

William Martin Murphy—the equivalent of Tony O'Reilly today—saw the danger and moved to smash the union.

Murphy sacked workers in his company who were union members and demanded all others sign a declaration disowning the union. Larkin immediately used the sympathetic strike to black goods coming from Murphy's firms. Bosses throughout the city responded by locking out their workforce.

At its height the 1913 Lockout involved over 25,000 workers and their families. It lasted over six months and saw the defeat of the union.

For Larkin and the workers were not just fighting the Dublin bosses. The full force of the state was used to smash their movement. Police batted down two workers to death, routinely attacked pickets and ransacked tenements. The press and Church lined up with the bosses in attacking Larkinism as an "evil influence".

Yet the Dublin workers could have won. The scale of the struggle had a huge effect amongst British workers sparking off a massive rank and file support movement.

Thousands of rail and dock workers refused to handle any goods from Dublin. Larkin appealed directly to workers in Britain, over the heads of the union officials and received huge support.

However these union officials did their utmost to stop strikes in support of Dublin, going so far as to threaten the expulsion of members.

Larkin toured Britain to rally support, drawing huge crowds wherever he went.

Unfortunately the rank and file movement was not strong enough to break the hold of the union officials and Dublin workers remained isolated. Along with Connolly and Sean O'Casey, Larkin set up the Irish Citizen Army—the world's first workers' militia. Although small and poorly armed, they did succeed in stopping some of the worst excesses of police brutality.

Unlike today's union leaders Larkin showed complete contempt for the law. Bans on meetings were defied. Larkin himself was arrested and jailed twice.

In the years following 1913 Larkin continued to fight for workers' rights.

He argued fiercely against the danger of partition in a new Ireland, as it would weaken working class unity and consolidate divisions between Catholics and Protestants.

He relentlessly attacked middle class nationalists like Redmond and his Home Rule Party, claiming even that they were a "caste controlled" organisation.

When the First World War started Larkin and the ITGWU condemned and actively opposed it unlike many other unions throughout Europe that lined up behind their own rulers.

Larkin left Ireland in late 1914 for a fund raising tour of America. There he was imprisoned for his anti war activities. From prison he continued to warn workers from supporting middle class nationalists, arguing that they could not be relied on and that what should be fought for was a Workers Republic.

The strength and weakness of Syndicalism

LARKIN BELONGED to the most radical socialist movement of its time—syndicalism. Syndicalists believed that to change society workers must first be organised in "one big union".

For Larkin, the ITGWU was a mass revolutionary union, a weapon that workers could use in the class war. The great strengths of this idea were its instinct for working class unity and solidarity and the fact that it looked to where workers were strong—at the

point of production.

The weakness of syndicalism was cruelly exposed during the Lockout. The reality was that workers were not just fighting the employers, they were also fighting the state with its police, courts and army.

Achieve

In order to achieve socialism workers would need a political organisation that could confront and smash the state. While Larkin's union and tactics could win strikes it could never make a revolution or take state power. But despite this Larkin stands as a giant of the Irish labour movement. Contrary to what union

officials like Des Geraghty might say today, Larkin and the ITGWU did not just fight for union recognition. Nor was Larkin's "vision" that of the moderate union leaders of today who look to conciliation and arbitration to resolve disputes.

For Larkin the union was a revolutionary weapon. During his time there were union leaders who openly betrayed workers in struggle, who organised scabbing, refused to deliver solidarity and constantly looked to the law and the courts.

Many of today's union leaders can legitimately claim them as their forerunners. But Larkin and his "divine gospel of discontent" belongs to our tradition.

book

Bread
queues and
runner beans

MARK STEEL tells a story of doing a gig at a Labour club one night in 1985 at the height of the miner's strike and the Thatcher era.

Everyone told him how delighted they were that he'd come.

One woman, who generously offered him a lift to the station when the gig was over, summed up the mood when she said: "We're so looking forward to your show. We could do with a good laugh about how bad the Tories are."

Becomes

Suddenly it becomes clear to Mark that what they really want is therapy.

As he puts it, since the miners couldn't beat Thatcher, they were hoping he could instead.

He gives them the jokes about Thatcher they all want.

He also tells a joke about bread queues in Yugoslavia.

After the gig the woman who had offered him a lift is frosty and silent.

As he gets out of the car it becomes clear why.

She yells after him: "We have enough of the capitalist press attacking the socialist countries without so called alternative comedians adding to it, thank you."

Mark Steel wonders if the woman, a Labour member, still believed people like Slobodan Milosevic were genuinely leading socialism when a few years later they propelled their people into civil war and ethnic cleansing.

It's Not a Runner Bean is packed with insights like this.

But it's also an incredibly warm and witty book. Mark Steel, in a series of anecdotes, some just half a page long, pokes savage fun at snobs and liberals, and takes the piss out of everyone else.

No one escapes, not himself, not even his

by **SIMON BASKETTER**

mother.

He thanks God for his 'proper' mum. The sort of mum, he says, who worries about him going to New York just six months after "those riots in Los Angeles".

As if, he says, a riot could travel three thousand miles and backwards in time.

Running through all the stories is a wonderful faith in ordinary people and a passionate conviction that they deserve the best that life can offer.

His tales are simple and funny accounts of situations and people he's come across on the job, but they all have a point.

His attacks on hypocrisy, greed and stupidity are uncompromising; his celebration of decency and solidarity is heartwarming.

Linger

The stories linger in your mind, long after you've lent the book to your friends, to be chewed over when you're waiting for the kettle to boil or the bus to come.

One of Mark Steel's reasons for writing *It's Not a Runner Bean* was to show comedy's role as a force for opposition.

He says comedy will rarely change people's minds but it can reinforce and strengthen those who want to see a better world.

The book's introduction says Mark Steel's ideal day would start with a worker's insurrection and end with a quiet evening in the pub with friends.

Anyone who can relate to that should enjoy this book thoroughly.

■ *It's Not a Runner Bean* by Mark Steel out now

pamphlet

What do we mean
by revolution?

Probably the most asked question of socialists is: what do we mean by revolution?

What will it look like? Will there be violence? Surely it will all end up like Stalinist Russia?

For most of the left, revolution has become outdated.

If you want to change anything, they say, you can get it through the Dail.

In a new pamphlet published by the SWP in Britain a whole range of these questions are tackled, from the role of the militant working class in a general

strike to the art of insurrection.

In 'Soviets: the Lessons of 1905', Tony Cliff examines the role of the Soviets or Workers Councils in Tsarist Russia—from how they were defeated in 1905 to their eventual victory in 1917.

The workers councils were the backbone of the revolution, because central to any workers revolution has to be the workers themselves running society.

film

Standing up to
the witch hunt

WATCH OUT for *The Crucible*, a film based on the play of the same name by Arthur Miller.

It is the story of a group of teenage girls who accused dozens of people of witchcraft in the New England town of Salem in 1692.

They claimed to have seen a number of people with the devil.

Those accused have two choices: they either refuse to confess in which case they are executed or they confess—and name other devil worshippers—and are saved.

Accuser

The story centres around a farmer John Proctor who has an affair with his servant Abigail who becomes the main accuser of witches.

Proctor is accused and confesses but then retracts and so goes to his death.

The original play was written in 1952 when the McCarthy witch hunts were at their height in America. The House of un-American Activities Committee had people confessing their association with the Communist Party and denouncing others as Communists.

The McCarthy investigations were an attempt to destroy the Left and trade union organisation.

The most prominent of

EMER MALONEY reviews the new film version of Arthur Miller's *The Crucible*

the thousands questioned were people involved in Hollywood—those who refused to testify or name names faced losing work and even prison.

Tryanny

Miller, who refused to testify, started to write the play when a number of colleagues began to confess their past.

Elia Kazan who directed *On the Waterfront*, an apology for McCarthyism, started to cooperate with the committee and name friends who had been associated with the Communist Party.

The Crucible is about standing up to pressure to



■ *Seeing witches?*

give in to tyranny.

This latest film version of the play directed by Nicholas Hytner, and scripted by Miller successfully brings more than just historical references to the screen.

The political uncertainty of the time, and growing differences between rich and poor, leads to a crisis of ideas.

The power of the rich and the state is shown to be behind the trials.

One of the accusers of witches, Thomas Putman,

accuses people then buys up their forfeited land.

The presiding judge is prepared to accept the accusations, even though he doubts whether they are genuine, in order to defend the status quo.

Changes

When Proctor changes his mind and two respectable old women refuse to confess, we see the triumph of people standing up to tyranny.

The executions stop because more and more peo-

ple refuse to make false confessions.

The Crucible with Daniel Day Lewis and Winona Ryder, has been cut to half the length of the original play by Miller to make it work on screen.

When it originally opened it was far from a success, the message of standing up to McCarthy was too unpalatable for the Broadway audience of the time.

Now it is a film, it's continued relevance today will hopefully reach the widest audience.

book

The murder trial that
never asked "Why?"

FOUR YEARS ago, on 12th February 1993, two-year-old James Bulger was battered to death on a railway line near Liverpool.

His killers, Robert Thompson and Jon Venables, were both aged

ten. Tory politicians were quick to exploit the genu-

ine horror of millions of people.

They whipped up a moral panic, claiming society was in the grip of juvenile thugs.

Blake Morrison's new book, *As If*, challenges John Major's proposition in the wake of the Bulger killing that "we must condemn a little more, and understand a little less".

Morrison attended the murder trial in November 1993 to try to understand why two children had killed another child.

He discovered that murder trials are about "Where and When and Who and How, not Why".

Disturbed

The psychiatrists who had visited Thompson and Venables had written reports showing that both boys were deeply disturbed.

Both boys grew up in poverty and came from very unhappy homes in Thompson's case a violent one.

But evidence of mental disturbance was ruled inadmissible.

The psychiatrists were simply asked to confirm that the boys "knew what



■ *James Bulger*

they were doing" when they killed James Bulger.

This question of intellectual maturity was crucial for the prosecution. The Crown set out to prove that the boys fully understood the seriousness of their crime.

Morrison imagines the reaction if it was suggested that the boys be tried by a jury of ten-year-olds. Nonsense of course.

How could children understand the complexities of murder?

Yet Thompson and Venables were deemed mature enough to understand.

They were found guilty of murder—a verdict later regretted by the foreman of the jury, Vincent Moss, who told a radio programme: "We should have gone back into court and said, yes, we do have a verdict: our verdict is that these young boys

are in urgent need of social and psychiatric help".

Moss said the case should have been tried in a juvenile court.

He added that the jury were unable to escape the 'agenda of public retribution'.

Morrison's book is excellent in its rejection of the 'agenda of retribution'.

But it leaves a lot of questions unanswered—is violence caused by parents, genes, society, environment or a combination of these things?

Politicians would like us to ignore any notion that violence is rooted in the class society which they defend.

Instead they use the latest murder to whip up a moral panic.

In absolute terms, killings by strangers—particularly children—are few and far between.

But even when they do occur they can be traced back to the brutalising effect of a system that deprives the majority of any real control over their lives.

—DAVE McDONAGH

■ *As If* by Blake Morrison, Granta Books, £15.30 hardback.

Reviewed by
GINO KENNY

of the class tries to generalise the experiences of past revolutions, of international struggles, or lessons of trade union struggles.

It does this especially through the revolutionary paper which links up the different militants and struggles.

This easily read pamphlet is essential for all those who want to see the end of the treachery of Labour and Democratic Left. ■ *What do we mean by Revolution?* £1.00+40p p&p from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

A revolution comes from below.

It is not the act of a small band of armed men or women...it is a revolution for the people by the people.

Experiences

The role of the revolutionary party is explored by Lindsey German.

She says that the party becomes a source for revolutionary ideas inside the working class.

The Party as the memory



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.

SIPTU Rank and file candidate stands for President

A RANK AND FILE candidate, Carolann Duggan, has entered the race for President of SIPTU.

She is the only factory worker to contest a position which has traditionally been shared out between full-time officials. A major debate has opened up in the biggest union in the country, following a close vote to endorse Partnership 2000.

Controlled

Traditionally, the union has been tightly controlled by a right wing Labour Party bureaucracy who ram through policies in favour of their friends in government.

During the debate on Partnership 2000, only the Yes side were given access to official publications. Members were given a free eight page glossy magazine urging them to vote for the plan. A recommendation to vote Yes was even printed on the ballot paper.

Pressure

Yet despite this pressure, 43 per cent of the members voted against the deal. In those branches which heard both sides of the argument, big majorities were recorded against the deal.

In Waterford and the Cork Number 6 branches, for example, the majority against was over one thousand.

The race for President

of the union takes place against this background.

The establishment candidate is the current Vice President Jimmy Somers who has been part of the union hierarchy since it was formed.

Somers is a member of the Labour Party and once stood as a candidate for election.

He has been a strong advocate of the programmes which have restrained the rank and file, and he worked hard to push the deal with his

party colleagues in government.

Also in the running is Norman Croke, a union official for the catering trade.

He represents a more independent, moderate left voice within the union bureaucracy.

Defying

In the past he has criticised the Industrial Relations Act but he has not advocated defying it in disputes. He also failed to come out openly against Partnership 2000.

The biggest oppositional voice comes from

Carolann Duggan.

Carolann comes from the Waterford region of SIPTU where opposition to the programme was at its strongest.

Shop stewards in the region issued a public statement to the local press calling for a No vote.

Carolann Duggan has served on her branch committee for over 12 years and has been a union activist in her factory.

As an active socialist in the local SWP branch, she has campaigned against water charges and for rights for women workers.



Carolann Duggan a factory worker from Waterford standing for SIPTU President

We think

UNIONS LIKE SIPTU will not be changed simply by getting good left wingers elected to top positions.

The real issue is to build a strong rank and file network which supports the union leaders if they fight—but can act independently of them when they try to sell out.

That has to start with a strong shop steward presence in local workplaces. That means stewards who keep in close contact with their members and are willing to organise a fight.

The most effective way of doing that today is through creating a network of socialists who can resist the arguments of the bosses and their government.

This does not mean that the official union structures should be ignored in the meantime. The campaign around the election provides an opportunity to hold the official accountable for what they have done in the past.

It can help to offer a different vision of trade unionism today. It provides a focus for the 49,000 SIPTU members who voted No to Partnership 2000.

A big vote for the rank and file candidate Carolann Duggan will lay the basis for a movement to bring change to SIPTU.

Putting the cat among the pigeons

Each of the candidates have been circulating appeals for nominations.

Carolann Duggan is an opponent of the social partnership approach and wants an independent fighting union that stands up for its members.

She has called for an open debate on where the union is going.

She claimed there was 'a growing gap' between the union leaders and factory workers like herself and strongly objected to all elections 'simply being a contest

between full time officials'.

Her election literature calls for a major recruitment drive based on a campaign for a minimum wage of £4.50 an hour.

Argues

She argues that the union should be backing up any group who want to organise to fight for this figure.

If elected she would

advocate that union publications would be open to opposing views and there would be no repeat of the way the debate on Partnership 2000 was conducted.

She has also argued that the wage of £70,000 plus that the President earns is wrong when so many members take home £150 a week.

She pledged: 'to take no more than the existing earnings on the date of my appointment and to return the rest to the union strike fund'.

News from SWP branches

BUILDING THE PARTY

SALES OF *Socialist Worker* have shot up in recent weeks.

Over a hundred papers were sold in the city centre of Dublin last week with four people joining.

In *Waterford*, 30 papers were sold.

Belfast branch brought the demand for an inquiry into the Bloody Sunday massacre into the city centre.

They had to put up with a small vocal Orange opposition but 30 papers were sold and one person joined.

The key now is to turn the interest in socialist ideas into recruitment.

Every branch should encourage people to join on their street sales.

Anyone who leaves their name should be met within a week.

Every branch should approach a small number to join each week.

Public Meetings:

Why you should be a socialist

DUBLIN:

Wednesday 19th Feb, 8.00pm, Trinity Inn, Pearce St, speaker Richard Boyd Barrett;
Wednesday 26th Feb, 8.00pm, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey St, speakers Ritchie Browne and Marnie Holborow

MAYNOOTH:

Wednesday 26th Feb, 8.00pm, speaker Conor Kostick;

WATERFORD:

Thursday 20th Feb, 8.00pm, ATGWU Hall, Keyser St, speakers: Jimmy Kelly and Mary Smith;

CORK:

Wednesday 19th Feb, 8.00pm, Connolly Hall, Lapps Quay, speaker: Kieran Allen;

GALWAY:

Thursday 20th Feb, 7.30pm, Currans Hotel, Eyre Square, speaker Deirdre Cronin;

BELFAST:

See paper sellers and local posters for details

DERRY:

See paper sellers and local posters for details

ALL WELCOME

SWP branch meetings

BELFAST
Meets every Wed at 8pm Central Hall Rosemary St.

CORK
Meets every Weds at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket 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'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL
Meets every Thur at 8pm in the Tnity Inn, Pearse St.

DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN
Meets Monday at 8pm in the Steering Wheel, Clondalkin

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

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

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

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news & reports— politics; the unions
 send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

Nurses in rage at union sell-out

"THE MOOD on Monday after the strike was one of sheer rage. We had balloted four times for this strike and had all our rosters organised.

But yet again the union leaders broke the momentum."

This is how one nurse described the reaction after they heard that their strike was called off.

Although the government has been forced to raise their offer to an £80 million package, many see the latest deal as just too little and too late.

"The biggest problem is early retirement. We want equality with psychiatric nurses who can retire at 55.

We were always told that they did a more dangerous job—but all this has changed.

General nurses look after psychiatric patients today because of the shift to community medicine.

Applies

"The deal they are offering us now is a disgrace.

"It allows 200 nurses to go who have reached the age of 55.

"But they must have 35 years service and that applies to hardly anyone in the service because so many have worked as temporaries.

"The deal is a con," said Helen who works in a Midland hospital.

'The deal they are offering us now is a disgrace'

The union leaders are making a great play over the fact that have got a Commission to look at the status of nurses.

Rescue

This idea was floated a month ago by Billy Attley of SIPTU as a deliberate move to rescue his pals in the Labour Party.

According to a number of sources, Attley may even have attended or kept in close contact with the cabinet sub-committee which finalised the most recent package.

He pushed his union to break ranks with the rest of the Nursing Alliance by announcing acceptance of the deal ahead of the rest.

"We are not going to win much from this commission.

"Remember that they



■ Nurses had given a huge mandate for strike action

set up a Commission on Taxation years ago—but PAYE workers are still carrying the tax burden.

"It's a way of fobbing us off. They will stuff the Com-

mission with party hacks and then claim that because of EU rules they cannot do anything about early retirement", a Don-egal nurse told *Socialist*

Worker. The union leaders claim that they have got a great deal on pay. But others are not so impressed.

"You have to be very

careful with the figures they are giving.

"There is a one off rise in the incremental scale, worth about £600 a year. But that is just a one off.

"After that initial bonus, most nurses will be only £6 a week better off in their take home pay" claimed Jo, a Dublin nurse.

valued we are.

"A nurse was earning £8.88 an hour last October.

"But an administrative officer in the health boards will be getting £11.31 an hour.

"A community welfare officer will earn £12.85 an hour.

"So we have fallen well behind.

"Then you have to taken into account that nurses today have had to build up extra skills—for no extra award.

"Looked at from that point of view, the award is really pathetic" one psychiatric nurse told us.

The fight is now on to turn out a major No vote against the deal.

Campaign

This is the first major campaign by nurses in fifteen years.

Many now feel that if they do not carry through the fight, they will not get a chance to have a real go until another decade has gone by.

"You have to look at how nurses compare to other grades to see how under-

Beaten

The media, the government and the union leaders will do everything to drag workers into voting Yes.

But their propaganda can be beaten if the current rage is anything to go on.

Nurses who are members of the *Socialist Workers Party* have produced 5,000 leaflets arguing for a NO vote.

■ Copies are available immediately by ringing (01) 872 2682.

Why they sell out

PJ MADDEN sometimes presents himself as a left winger who was expelled for the Labour Party for his beliefs.

The reality is that he is more frightened of his members than he is of the government.

Union leaders see their main role as establishing stability in industrial relations.

There live a relatively privi-

leged life and are not bossed around every day or forced to live on low pay.

They have every interest in preserving the union funds rather than organising major struggle.

Alternative

Their politics also lead to sell-outs. Most union leaders hold to a Labour Party outlook and don't

believe there is an alternative to capitalism.

This means they do not think that a demand for retirement at 55 is 'realistic'.

What is needed now is a network of socialists in the union.

This is why the *Socialist Workers Party* is now actively campaigning to recruit nurses.

Any nurse who wants to build a fighting union should consider joining.

IRISH LIFE LOCKOUT: Step up the action

MANAGEMENT at Irish Life have launched a Thatcherite attack on their field staff, locking out 320 workers, members of MSF who have refused to implement a new plan.

The staff have been suspended without pay and accused of "serious misconduct."

But the misconduct is clearly coming from management.

Not one of the executives responsible for suspending the staff ever sat down to negotiate the new plan with the union.

Insulting

As John, an MSF committee member observed "they've spent more time with the media than with us."

The new plan would bring new technology into the homes of the staff an intrusion all the more insulting in that the workers have been paying £40 a month for laptops.

The plan also intends to introduce US style performance targets and sheets.

Most worryingly of all, following retraining management will have the right not

to guarantee a job to staff, even if they have been 20 years with the company.

Shay, another committee member believes "this plan is a convenient way to force people out of their jobs without proper packages."

Previous changes have seen the earnings of staff fall over the last two years. Some products which would have given staff a £10 commission only give £2.50 today.

The difference has not just been passed on to customers but has been used to boost company profits.

Management have claimed that there is £1m on offer for workers to accept this package, but this consists of the usual incentive schemes and the restoration of increments in commission taken from workers 5 years ago.

MSF members have rejected the plan by 4 to 1 and placed pickets on Irish Life.

"Most lads are 20 years in the job. We're going to face the company now, rather than

be pushed out in two years. We're very determined to stick it out." Said John.

The lockout will begin to hurt the company which relies on these staff for 50% of new sales. Brokers might also start putting business elsewhere, worried about the dispute.

The field staff have fantastic support from their colleagues, MSF indoor staff, clerical workers and SIPTU field staff.

Refused

The clerical workers wanted to join the pickets and have refused to type the suspension letters.

The indoor staff have donated over £3,000 pounds to the hardship fund and have also wanted to join the dispute.

At the moment pickets start at 10am so that these staff can go in to work.

But with management taking such a hard line it doesn't make sense for MSF to play "softly, softly". The willingness of all Irish Life staff to join the dispute should be taken up.

SOUTH COUNTY DUBLIN

Refuse collectors fight speed-up

OVER 100 refuse collectors from South Dublin County Council have been on strike since 7th February.

The council have implemented a 17 point plan on the restructuring of collection routes, and the eventual phasing in of 'wheelie bins' in three to six months.

The council offered a lump sum of £1,000 for acceptance of the deal, but some workers didn't get the bonus, as they

hadn't completed new routes.

One refuse worker told *Socialist Worker*, "We have given them every opportunity to resolve this, we have been more than flexible, but a strike with the council cannot be avoided".

Privatisation

Another worker said, "It has taken three ballots to get this far, they want us to complete 1,200 houses in two loads, and eventually to implement the wheelie bins, which would mean

a form of privatisation.

"People would have to bring their own rubbish to the tip, and pay for it.

"We have pickets at the tip at Friarstown, outside the council office at the Square, and at the refuse depot in the Robin Hood Industrial estate".

For the workers it would mean that there workload would increase by 50% as they would be forced to gather rubbish from 1,200 houses.

But not only do the workers have to put up with their bosses at the council, but local Labour

TD Eamonn Walsh scabbed on the picket at the council offices, saying he had to get into his surgery.

Harassing

The local Garda have also been harassing pickets at the Square. One of the guards admitted that the entire local force had been mobilised to supervise the picket.

What is needed now is to look for solidarity from other council workers, to stop the attacks from the council.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

Jim Larkin:
'The divine gospel of discontent'

-Page 8

Derry factory shows the cost of disunity-Page 5

CONVICTED KILLER BEHIND THE SEIGE OF HARRYVILLE

ORANGE bigotry is on display in Harryville, Ballymena where a convicted killer, Billy McCaughey, has organised a loyalist mob to insult and attack ordinary Catholics.

Last week McCaughey urged Orange bands to play as 'loudly as possible because they did not regard a Catholic church as a place of worship'.

Elite

2,000 bigots assembled to roar at mass goers, "We are, we are, we are the Billy boys up to our neck in Fenian blood".

For McCaughey this chilling sectarianism is not just a matter of words.

He was formerly part of the elite unit of RUC, the Special Patrol Group.

But this never stopped him colluding with the Ulster Volunteer Force in Antrim.

In April 1977 he helped to murder an innocent man,

William Strathern, a father of eight children.

Slaying

Others in his gang had

been involved in the brutal slaying of the Miami showband.

The following year, McCaughey and 3 other RUC officers planted a

bomb in the Rock Bar in Keady Co Armagh.

They used police cars and RUC radios to carry out the operation.

McCaughey was also in-

involved in the kidnapping of a Catholic priest, Fr Hugh Murphy, and only released him after a hypocritical plea was made by Ian Paisley.

Throughout all his life McCaughey has been brought up to hate and fear Catholics.

The Northern state that he served as a policeman has always been based on sectarianism.

It was supposed to be a 'Protestant state for a Protestant people'.

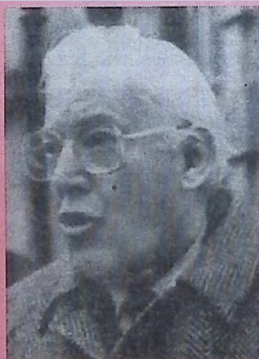
Bullied

That message encouraged McCaughey to assassinate an innocent Catholic because he thought them all 'disloyal'.

Today McCaughey and the thugs who picket Harryville church still think that all Catholics can be bullied and blackmailed.

It is not enough to oppose their bigotry. It is vital to understand where the bigotry came from.

Paisley: The puppet master of hate



THE ORANGE parade at Ballymena received the open support of Ian Paisley.

Paisley has built a sectarian power base in the Ballymena from big farmers and the local middle class who resent any intrusion of 'Taigs'.

McCaughey was a member of Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party when he carried out the assassination of William Strathern and rejoined the party after his release from prison.

He says he helped start the Harryville protests after a local politician asked him!

McCaughey bears the same relationship to Paisley that the UVF thug

Billy Wright has to Reverend William McCrea in Portadown.

Unionist politicians want to sectarianism whipped up because they are worried about the splintering of their votes.

They hate all the talk about a 'fur coat brigade' who benefited from the Northern state.

This way they hope to that protests like those at Harryville will drown any calls for workers unity.

That is why no socialist—whether from a Catholic and Protestant background—should have any truck with the idea that Harryville is about a civil right to march and should oppose it outright.

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Major caves in to Unionists again

THE BRITISH government have effectively shelved the idea of an independent commission to decide on contentious parades this summer.

Unionist politicians and Orange Order leaders had objected to the North Commission report because it accepted a right to protest over sectarian parades.

Once again the British government has rejected any

moves towards peace to save its own political skin.

The North report itself ignored the sectarian nature of the RUC, claiming they were "caught between the disputing parties".

Road Blocks

But Drumcree showed that the RUC backed up Loyalist road blocks and fired 5,000 out of 6,000 plastic bullets in Nationalist areas in

three days of rioting.

In 1986 there were 1,731 Loyalist parades—last year there were 2,404.

The statistics rubbish Loyalist claims that their parades are "traditional".

In recent years, the Orange Order have staged as many marches as they could because their influence and profile are crumbling.

The Orange Order can no longer guarantee jobs and houses to Protestants. It

therefore clings to the symbolism of a "different culture" to encourage sectarian hatred.

No law or commission will ever seriously challenge sectarian parades as long as we live in a sectarian state.

The real challenge to this sectarianism should be coming from the unions.

But 23 weeks after the picket on Harryville began, the ICTU leaders have done nothing.