

# Socialist Worker

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

# Haughey:



# THE MILLION DOLLAR MAN

**THE SUNDAY TIMES has published the name of the Fianna Fail politician at the centre of the payments to politicians scandal.**

In a front page article the paper said that Ben Dunne was going to name Charles Haughey as the politician he gave more than £1 million worth of gifts to in '91 and '92. The article also said that Haughey was going to deny this.

According to *The Sunday*

*Times* Ben Dunne was going to allege that he was approached by a leading Dublin accountant, Noel Fox, on a number of occasions.

Fox, - a partner in the company that acts as auditor to Dunnes Stores - told him that Haughey was in severe financial difficulty and was going to have to sell his 300 acre estate in north county Dublin.

### Lifestyle

Haughey was Taoiseach at the time on a salary of £70,000 and was leading an unimaginably

lavish lifestyle. The *Sunday Times* article alleges that the money was paid to Haughey in a roundabout and secretive way, through a series of Bank accounts in London and the Cayman Islands.

The Haughey family is an extremely wealthy one and it loves, above all, to show it.

In 1991, at the time that Charlie Haughey was alleged to be in 'severe financial difficulties', his flamboyant 18th century mansion in Kinsealy was valued at more than £3 million. It's worth far more than that today.

The house was designed by James Gandon, the same architect who did the Four Courts and the Custom House.

Its 300 acre grounds is home to a herd of Hungarian red deer as well as one of the finest rose gardens in Europe.

### Valued

The Haughey family also owns an island valued at £250,000, and, amongst other things, a yacht valued at £250,000.

Remember this is only the wealth you can see.

Yet his son, the Fianna Fail TD Sean Haughey has the nerve to describe his family as "an honest to God, down to earth, ordinary one".

The Haughey family motto is *Marte Nostro* which means 'by our own efforts'.

In typical flashy Haughey style the motto is engraved on a sun dial in the grounds of their Kinsealy home.

The *Sunday Times* article shows the sort of 'effort' it takes to amass a fortune that would make most peoples eyes pop out?

# O'Reilly's parting shot: sack 2,500

**TONY O'REILLY is retiring as Chief Executive of the food giant, Heinz.**

But before he goes, O'Reilly plans to sack 2,500 workers — 6 percent of the workforce — as part of a restructuring plan.

The plan, known as 'Project Millennium', is a testament to the enormous greed of the Heinz corporation.

They aim to increase earnings by 12 percent a year: the average growth for the food industry is only one percent.

On the same day as they announced the sackings, Heinz declared a record 15 percent increase in profits in the three months to 29 January.

The company's operating profit for the quarter was over



\$179 million.

O'Reilly has a \$290 million stake in Heinz. He has gained his huge wealth by exploiting

tens of thousands of workers around the globe from the US to Eastern Europe to South Korea.

O'Reilly spent \$2.6 million on a 40-carat diamond engagement ring for his wife Chryss Goulandris.

He regularly invites executives to 'retreats' in the Bahamas.

O'Reilly plotted the 2,500 sackings at the castle in France where William the Conqueror plotted his invasion of England in 1066.

The Wall Street Journal printed a eulogy to O'Reilly calling him a 'superstar of a very different nature'.

Only the sickest of minds could bestow such praise on a man who is about to wreck thousands of workers' livelihoods.

## Roisin McAliskey

# Strip searched over a hundred times



**ROISIN MCALISKEY has decided no to stand in the British General Election yet she is still in jail.**

Roisin is awaiting extradition to Germany for questioning about the bombing of a British army base.

She has been held without bail since last November, even though she has yet to be charged with any offence. She has been strip searched over 100 times.

Roisin's mother, Bernadette McAliskey, recently said, "My daughter is sitting in Holloway Prison, as unlikely looking a terrorist as you'll meet."

"She is smaller than me, a frail young woman who is seven months pregnant".

### Evidence

There is no evidence linking Roisin to the bombing and the German authorities are looking for a tall woman with blond hair. Yet Tory politicians are treating her as guilty.

The British Home Office minister David Maclean told a constituent who protested at Roisin's treatment that he had no concern for the "evil scum of the IRA". John Major defended Maclean.

Another Tory MP, Rupert Allason, said that if McAliskey was concerned about her child, "she should have thought of that before she started bombing people".

Tony Blair's New Labour has stayed silent on the McAliskey case. Meanwhile the party has, for the second year running, backed the draconian Prevention of Terrorism Act.

It shows how little difference Blair will make to the peace process.

# French Nazi rejected

**THE recently elected Nazi mayor of Vitrolles, Catherine Mégret, has been disowned by her Jewish family.**

Her father, whose family was forced into hiding and into concentration camps during the Second World War, simply says, "She is nothing to do with me." Mégret is married to Bruno Mégret, Le Pen's number two and chief ideologue of the National Front.

refuses to acknowledge her existence.

Their stance emerging as Le Pen made his disgusting anti-Semitic views plain. He said last week Jews have "control" over president Jacques Chirac.

He claimed Chirac was in the grip of international Jewish organisations that provided "enormous sums and exceptional political support" and prevented his National Front from sharing power.

Ten years ago Le Pen claimed the Holocaust was a mere "detail of history".

### Refuses

Her father refuses to meet her husband and boycotted their wedding in 1992 because she despises the National Front. Mme Mégret's aunt also

## Hepatitis C tribunal:

# Howlin and Noonan let off the hook

**THE LAST two health ministers, Brendan Howlin and Michael Noonan, have both been let off the hook by the Hepatitis C tribunal.**

Yet both failed to act on several occasions to deal with a scandal that resulted in the infection of 1,600 women.

Brendan Howlin knew from the start of the crisis that there were two sources of infection: one dating back to 1976 and another from 1989.

But he failed to mention the 1989 infection.

### Wrong

In fact Justice Finlay said in the tribunal report that there was nothing wrong with concealing this information.

Howlin also failed to ensure that infected stocks of the blood product anti-D were recalled.

He also allowed a situation where victims were given counselling by the Blood Transfusion Service Board: the body responsible for their infection.

Michael Noonan only set up the tribunal after the death of Hepatitis C victim Brigid McCole.

She had been a prominent campaigner who faced numerous obstacles in her fight for justice.

Noonan suggested, after Brigid McCole's death, that solicitors should have advised her to go to the Compensation Tribunal earlier.

Members of Positive Action the, Hepatitis C campaign group, walked out of the Dail in protest at the Minister's remarks.

Before Brigid McCole's death Noonan had relied on an inadequate 'Expert Group' to investigate the crisis.

The Tribunal report now admits that the 'Expert Group' did not have all the facts but does not blame Noonan for failing to set up a Tribunal in time.

Despite their failures, Howlin and Noonan have only been rapped on the knuckles by the tribunal.



**Brendan Howlin and Michael Noonan**

**SOCIALIST WORKER spoke to a doctor who worked at the National Haemophilia Centre about the scandal.**

"I heard as early as 1994 that a scandal was about to break. The problem stemmed from the fact that very powerful consultants were in charge of the Blood Bank.

"Most of them were more interested in their private practice than in dealing with the problem. They knew that blood had been taken from an infected patient but it was almost as if it was too much trouble to trace the supplies back.

"This scandal happened because people with too much money and power saw their patients as abstract beings with no real feelings"

## Prosecutions "not part of our culture"

**THE HEPATITIS C report is a catalogue of horrors.**

In 1976 the blood of 'Patient X', who had infective Hepatitis, was taken without her consent and used to make the blood product anti-D.

### Several

In 1977 the Blood Bank knew of several women who had received anti-D injections and became infected with Hepatitis C.

But the Blood Bank did nothing to investigate a link between the two.

More women were infected by hepatitis C between 1991 and 1994 from blood taken from 'Patient Y' who had tested positive for hepatitis C.

Products made from this patient's blood continued to be used until mid-1994.

Women who went for screening were asked questions about sexual activity, drug use, body piercings and tattoos.

The tribunal report has put the blame on Blood Bank officials.

Two senior officials retired in 1995, each with a lump sum of £130,000 and an annual pension of £30,000.

There is no likelihood of any of those responsible being jailed, as happened to officials in France after a scandal involving AIDS-infected blood.

One legal expert said a criminal prosecution was unlikely since, "There is no culture in this country of people being brought to book for this kind of thing".

# Cash crisis hits poorer schools

**The government is leaving thousands of schools starved of cash.**

Almost half the 2,286 primary schools recently surveyed by the Irish National Teachers' Organisation (INTO) cannot afford to pay everyday costs.

Eighty percent of primary schools have to raise funds to keep going, according to the survey. Parents have to club together to raise the money needed to buy teaching materials and cover running costs.

Schools in working class areas inevitably suffer most, since the parents cannot afford to donate as much as middle class parents.

The INTO survey found a major shortage of re-

sources in most schools; ■Prefabs are used as classrooms in 17 percent of schools and 39 percent have poor toilet facilities. There is no regular supply of water, soap, hand-drying facilities or toilet paper in 7 percent of schools;

### Regular

■Only 12 percent of schools have a full-time caretaker and only one fifth have a full-time cleaner: one in three schools are not cleaned or swept daily;

■Over half of all schools have no secretary. Two thirds have no classroom assistants: the last two 'social partnership' agreements, the PESP and PCW, said this service would be ex-

panded. Meanwhile most classroom assistants are employed through FAS schemes.

■Thousands of teachers have no staff room in their workplace and hundreds of schools are without a separate library. There is also a lack of buildings for physical education and school concerts.

■Despite the talk about a 'high-tech' economy, there is only one computer per 100 primary students.

The INTO survey shows we have a two-tier education system: middle class kids are primed for the top jobs while poorer kids are being educated for failure.

what we think

# Rulers fear return to 68

**DENIS TILLINAC**, an adviser to the French Conservative President Jacques Chirac was recently asked what advice he would give his master.

"We are on the verge of another May 1968. I would tell him to get ready for it" was his response. His advice follows a wave of struggles that has broken out across Europe.

In Belgium, 3000 workers occupied the Renault plant at Vilvoorde after their bosses announced the plant would close. It was followed by action from 30,000 workers at Ford, Volkswagen, Opel and Volvo who all struck for one hour in solidarity. The strikes spread to Renault factories in France and Spain.

## Protests

In Germany, long held up as the stable core of Europe, miners facing pit closure launched angry protests as unemployment reached record levels.

In France, the last 15 months have seen strikes and protests quite different to anything since the general strike of May 1968 when the country came to the brink of revolution.

Ireland has not yet seen struggles on the scale of those on the Continent. The boom in the Irish economy has given the government room to manoeuvre so that they can make the sort of concessions they gave to the nurses.

But the social peace here is tempo-



Thousands of workers from all over Europe marched on the European parliament last month

rary. The government is avoiding confrontation today only to come back far harder once the General Election is out of the way. The Fine Gael led Coalition and the Fianna Fail opposition both realise that far bigger cuts have to be imposed in the future.

Anger amongst workers is also growing as many realise that Partnership 2,000 is a fake. Companies that are

making fortunes from the boom are giving tiny increases while continuing to demand more productivity and flexibility.

The political establishment is trying to divert the anger among workers into support for 'law and order' policies. They want to turn the bitterness in society onto joyriders and drug dealers — while they cover-up their own crimes of

corruption.

As the social temperature starts to rise, socialist politics become the key to transforming the present anger into a desire for a better world. That requires a socialist paper to spread the news of workers struggles that are so often ignored by the media. Socialist arguments to convince workers they have the power to win and a socialist organisation that can mobilise for the future.

# No tears for De Rossa

**PHROINSIAS de Rossa** is facing a legal bill of over quarter of a million after unsuccessfully trying to sue Eamonn Dunphy for an article he wrote in the *Sunday Independent*.

De Rossa's belief that his 'reputation' could be promoted by a High Court judiciary has badly backfired. The High Court was never the place to take on a right wing newspaper like the *Sunday Independent*.

The trial, however, served as a useful reminder of the political journey of De Rossa from a republican fighter to a pillar of the establishment.

De Rossa moved away from IRA activities in the sixties, believing that a turn to social agitation offered a better way. Sinn Fein were to the fore in supporting protests for better housing and in agitating for the seizure of fisheries from big landowners.

But the shift to the left was linked to the policies of the Communist Party. This had two disastrous effects on a whole gen-

eration who tried to make the transition out of republicanism.

They, firstly, believed that the countries of Eastern Europe were actually socialist states. The paper of Official Sinn Fein, *The United Irishmen*, for example ran articles supporting the suppression of the Hungarian uprising of 1956 and the Czechoslovakian rising of 1968.

## Truth

Once the truth about these regimes came out, de Rossa and many of his supporters thought that socialism itself was finished. They believed that there was no alternative to the market.

Secondly, Stalinist politics also led de Rossa to conclude politics in Ireland had to go through a rigid set of stages.

Civil rights had to be achieved in the North before there could be any talk of ending partition and this in turn was another stage that had to be achieved before socialism could be fought for.

When the struggle in the North turned into fight against the sectarian state, De Rossa moved into opposition to it.

He denounced the Provos as 'fascist' and justified many of the repressive measures taken against them in the South. In this, he has found a peculiar affinity to Fine Gael.

The early strength of De Rossa and the Workers Party came from the fact that they recognised the class divide as the key division in Ireland.

They won hundreds of supporters throughout the 1980s because they were the only ones to stand out against the betrayals of Labour. But in the end, their politics tripped them up.

De Rossa and Democratic

Left are close to Fine Gael today because their ideas could not explain the world around them.

## Reminder

It is a salutary reminder of the need for clear socialist politics which sees workers own activity as the key to change.

The SWP took an entirely dif-

ferent route to de Rossa. From the very first we opposed the state capitalist tyrannies of Eastern Europe.

We stood with the revolt in Northern Ireland while always pointing to the limitations of republicanism. This means that genuine Marxism has now a solid basis to build an alternative politics to the failed road of de Rossa.

# Capitalism will damage your health

**THE British Medical Journal** is hardly a radical publication. But last month, they produced an alarming report which testified to the scale of disease and ill-health that has grown across the world.

Despite all the talk of the wonders of the free market, the BMJ points out that a third of the world's children under 5 are showing evidence of malnutrition, judged by their weight for age.

## Diseases

Preventable diseases such as diphtheria, typhoid and whooping cough have risen dramatically.

In some countries in eastern and central Europe life expectancy amongst men has actually fallen while in Russia and the Ukraine there has been a dramatic rise in infant mortality.

And it is not just in the underdeveloped regions of the world, that health is declining.

In Britain, the relative death rate for people from

manual backgrounds is now 70% higher than those from professional backgrounds. Life expectancy among young men has fallen for the first time since the start of the century.

The BMJ has little doubt what has caused the decline in health standards. It claims that wealth is 'the single most important driver of health worldwide, even more important than smoking'. It called on health professionals to show 'their indignation at the continued wastage of humanity' and to act as 'advocates of policies to reduce poverty and its consequences for health'.

If pillars of the medical establishment are waking up to what is happening, this is all the more reason for preparing a challenge to the system that breeds death and disease.

# Survey shatters the myth of 'backward Irish'

The myth that Ireland is more conservative than Europe has been used as an excuse by politicians to halt the 'liberal agenda'.

But Ireland scored above the European average in a recent 13-country poll on attitudes to family planning.

The MORI survey shows that 42 percent of Irish people support giving contraceptives to teenagers, compared to a European average of 38.7 percent.

Two thirds of Irish people surveyed said they wanted sex

education provided in schools: the European figure was 48.7 percent.

On a range of issues, from family planning clinics to sterilisation to advice on sexually transmitted diseases, Ireland proved more liberal than the European average.

## Debate

Labour Party junior minister, Joan Burton, said the Irish results reflected 25 years of debate on family planning and an ongoing debate about sex education.

But Labour has not fought to make contraception widely available to young people. And a Labour minister, Niamh Breathnach, is leaving schools in the hands of Parish Priests who will give lectures in morality instead of sex education.

Labour have always trailed behind public opinion on issues of sexuality. They have now been joined by Democratic Left in pandering to the Bishops.

Thousands of people now reject the hierarchy's control of our lives but the left in government are shutting the door on further change.

## £10,000 Appeal

THANKS TO OUR readers who contributed £1,012 to the SW appeal this fortnight. Our target is £10,000 to cover the cost of a new printer and of standing four candidates in the general election.

We are not just interested in votes but in spreading socialist ideas. This week our message of workers unity in the North was underlined by a United Against Bigotry march in Harryville, where *Socialist Worker* played a key role in bringing Protestant and Catholic to face down the bigots. Unlike the other major parties who are awash with funds at election time, our campaign with its socialist message has no links to big business, nor with radio or newspaper bosses.

We rely on the contributions of our supporters no matter how small. Help spread the ideas of socialism by giving to the appeal this fortnight. Please send cheques or postal orders made out to *Socialist Worker Appeal*, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

£10,000

£9,000

£8,000

£7,000

£6,000

£5,000

£4,000

£3,000

£2,000

£1,000

Socialist Worker



# Revolt from below shakes Zaire

by CHARLIE KIMBER

**AFRICA'S longest ruling dictator was on the verge of being toppled by ordinary people at the beginning of this week.**

It is not Western troops or the United Nations but revolt from below which is overthrowing President Mobutu, the tyrant of Zaire.

The uprising has brought together people from dozens of different ethnic origins despite Mobutu's attempts to divide and rule.

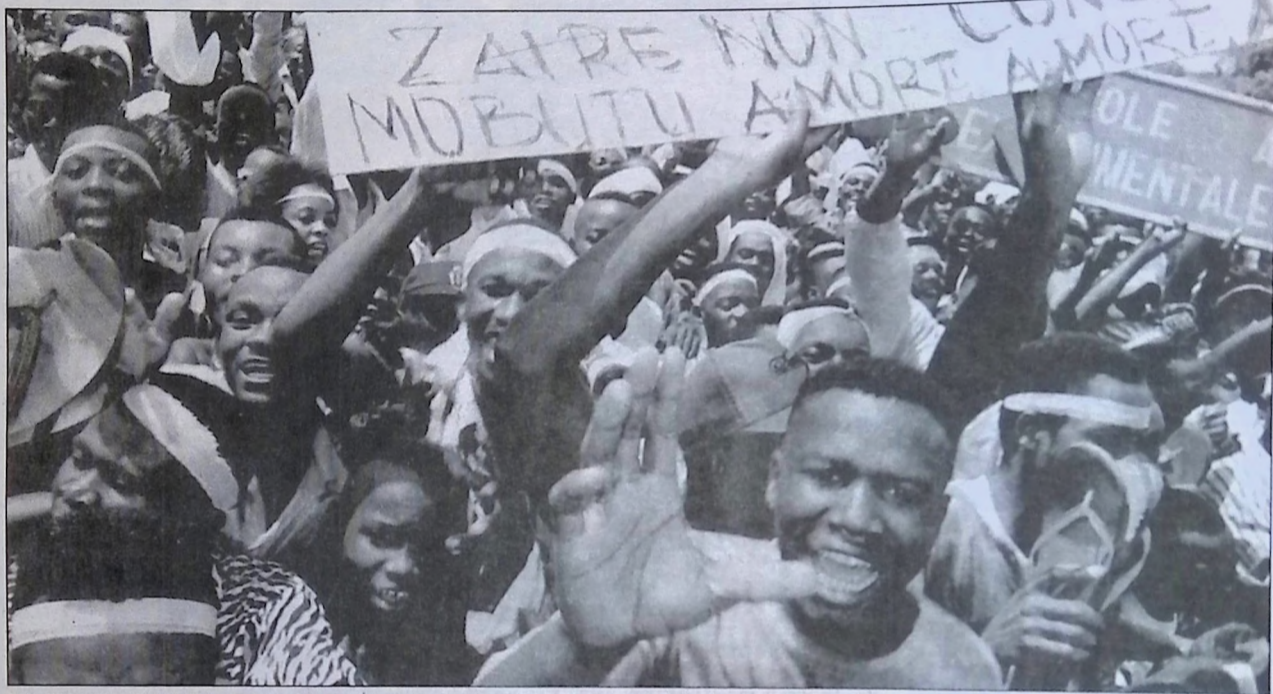
Mobutu has persecuted the population for 32 years, with support from the leaders of Britain, the US and France.

Now a rebel army is sweeping aside his soldiers and already controls over a quarter of the country.

Mobutu has ruled by torture and repression. He spread terror among those who wanted to oppose him.

Yet when Mobutu returned from medical treatment in France last week people openly chanted the name of the rebel leader Laurent Kabila as Mobutu's limousine swept past.

Mobutu has grasped a



**MILITANT REVOLT** in Zaire shows that those facing the most ruthless regime can fight back. The placard reads, "Mobutu—death, death, death"

personal fortune estimated at between £1 billion and £7 billion while millions in Zaire live on the edge of starvation.

He has robbed the country's people to fund 11 palaces, chateaux and villas

for himself.

Throughout his time in charge he has been backed by Western countries. He was seen as a guarantee of profits and military control in the region.

His murder of opponents, the total lack of democracy and the systematic looting of the country were ignored as long as he was useful in maintaining "stability" for Western companies.

Recently the US government has moved towards other allies in the region. But the fall of Mobutu will still be very significant.

It will be a sign of hope for the whole of Africa and should be an inspiration to people everywhere.

## West nervous

**FRENCH AND United States troops flew into neighbouring Congo and Gabon last weekend and are poised to go into Zaire if the revolt grows.**

But the West will be very nervous about the response to any intervention. Tens of thousands of Zaireans have gone onto the streets to welcome Kabila's rebel force.

Instead of directly confronting the rebels, the West is trying to woo them and swallow up their leaders.

The US is using its allies in Rwanda and Uganda—which have backed the rebels—in an attempt to control the movement and to limit its aims simply to removing Mobutu.

Kabila may be happy to come to an agreement with the US. He has already settled into Mobutu's former luxury holiday home on the shores of Lake Kivu.

He talks of supporting the "free market throughout Zaire".

But he is also forced into more radical rhetoric by the immense thirst for change among the workers, the unemployed and poor.

The real need is for a movement which brings genuine economic and social change, which uses Zaire's vast potential wealth for the benefit of its people.

## DIVIDE AND RULE

■Zaire (then known as the Congo) was seized at gunpoint as the personal property of King Leopold II of Belgium in 1884 as part of the division of Africa between European governments.

■It was part of a process whereby the leaders of five European countries grabbed 30 new colonies in the space of a few years.

■This was done with no regard to the wishes of local people and driven by the European ruling classes' motives of economic gain and military control.

■The Belgian Congo

was one of the most profitable colonies in Africa.

■To enforce discipline over the Congo whole villages were wiped out by raiding parties led by the Belgian military. Thousands of families were butchered or burnt in their homes.

■Colonialism ended in 1960 but the Belgians, with the help of the CIA and United Nations troops, murdered newly elected president Patrice Lumumba. They feared he would be too radical.

■Mobutu was installed as leader by the American CIA.

## Poland's new battles

by ANDY ZEBROWSKI

**WORKERS ARE** fighting the closure of the Gdansk shipyard, birthplace of the ten million strong Solidarity movement of 1980-1 and a symbol of mass workers' action.

In Gdansk demonstrators have blocked roads and railway lines. Three ministry buildings in Warsaw were occupied by shipyard workers and miners.

On the prime minister's orders police in riot gear smashed their way in, battering one miner unconscious.

The government is closing the shipyard because it wants to discourage workers today from resisting unemployment.

The Polish cabinet is dominated by the social democratic successor to the old Communist Party. Its leaders held important posts in the police state and fighting workers don't identify with it.

### Health

The 45 years of Stalinist rule mean many workers call themselves "right wing" but they still want a free health service, education system and to fight job losses.

Instead of supporting previous demonstrations to fight the closure of Gdansk the

leader of today's Solidarity trade union, Marian Krzaklewski, has been concentrating on elections.

He has formed an electoral bloc of over 30 conservative and Catholic groupings, and includes some fascists.

But now the workers' action has forced Krzaklewski to threaten a general strike.

But the two national

demos organised were limited to a few thousand workers. And Krzaklewski now says, "Victory in the elections is our general strike."

He is also collecting money—not for strikers but to partially fund a rescue for the yard.

Solidarity has now planned a huge demo in Warsaw on 11 April if the government refuses to talk about saving the shipyard.

## Albania

# Berisha's European aid

**EUROPEAN UNION** governments were set to approve a plan on Monday of this week to shore up the coalition government appointed by right wing Albanian president Sali Berisha.

European leaders have already set about rebuilding Albanian police and army forces which have been battered by three weeks of uprisings and desertions.

They now plan to send a "hundreds strong" European military police force to Albania.

Berisha has been able to hold on to power with the support of the Socialist Party, the former Communists who were overthrown in 1992.

Socialist Party prime minister Bashkim Fino says he has no intention of overthrowing Berisha.

Instead the Socialist Party is rebuilding the army and secret police,

protecting the market system and looking to new elections in June.

Representatives of the 14 southern towns which initiated the uprising at the beginning of March have formed a National Committee of Public Salvation.

They have echoed the demand for Berisha's resignation but are trying to rein in the tens of thousands of armed workers and peasants who have taken to the streets.

None of the organised political forces in Albania provide any answer to the huge economic and political crisis that sparked the uprising.

They may be able, with the help of European governments, to temporarily stabilise the rule of the old order.

But many Albanian workers and peasants remain armed and have tasted the kind of power which, if deployed in their own interests, could end the repression and market madness.

## Roundup

■**OVER 10,000** school students, parents and teachers marched through Paris on Sunday against education cuts.

Junior doctors and some other health workers in around 20 hospitals are also on strike around the country against health cuts.

The wave of anti-Nazi protests is continuing with some 700 people, mainly school students, marching in Clermont Ferrand and over 500 protesting outside a Nazi meeting in Auch.

■**RENAULT** car workers continue to occupy their factory in Vilvoorde in Belgium in their fight to save jobs.

A meeting between union leaders and Renault bosses last week produced nothing. Hundreds of the Belgian workers travelled to France to stage a series of protests last week, including invading a Renault factory in Wavrin.

■**GERMANY'S** largest trade union, IG Metall, expected up to 50,000 steel workers to march in Frankfurt on Tuesday of this week.

A bid by Krupp steel makers to take over its rival Thyssen would mean tens of thousands of redundancies. Steel workers in both companies struck for three days last week.

■**UNION** leaders forced Greek teachers back to work last week after a nine week long strike.

## United against bigotry demo

# Taking on bigotry at Harryville

NEARLY A hundred people joined in the United Against Bigotry demonstration in Harryville, Ballymena, on Saturday 15 March. Delegations from Belfast and Derry were joined by trade union delegations from London, Manchester and Dublin.

Our Lady's Catholic church in Harryville has been picketed by Loyalists for 28 weeks in retaliation for an Orange parade being blocked by Catholic residents of Dunloy last year.

The United Against Bigotry demonstration was called after it emerged that the organisers of the Harryville picket were planning to hold out until the summer, hoping to turn the picket into another rallying point for Loyalism.

### Majority

One of the demonstration's organisers said: "The overwhelming majority of Protestants and Catholics in Ballymena and across the North are sickened by the naked sectarianism on display every week at Harryville.

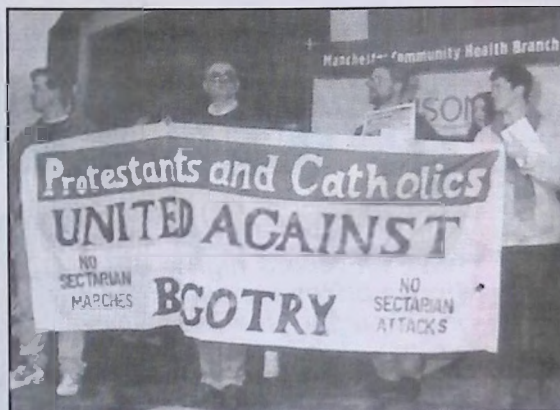
"Our demonstration was an attempt to show that working class

people from whatever background have nothing to gain and everything to lose from another summer of sectarian violence and that it's time we stood up to these bigots.

"We had people here from Protestant and Catholic backgrounds. The point of having trade unionists from England here was to reinforce the point that the sort of provocative Orange marches these people want are not about preserving a 'British identity' but about anti-Catholic bigotry."

The United Against Bigotry demonstrators were loudly criticised by local SDLP councillor PJ McEvoy for carrying anti-Tory placards, saying they were unwelcome.

Paul Quinn, a UNISON member and one of the trade unionists who had travelled from London, told Socialist Worker:



Demonstrators at the United Against Bigotry protest in Harryville in the North.

"We came here to show our solidarity with the Catholics in Ballymena. We're totally opposed to bigotry in all its forms.

### Political

"But this is a political issue. There's no getting away from the fact that the Tory government is deliberately trying to divide people

## Gudgin - the loyalist's Lynn

"The 80,000 jobs created in Northern Ireland over the last years have all gone to Catholics... There is now discrimination against Protestants in favour of Catholics"

This astonishing claim comes from Dr. Graham Gudgin of Northern Ireland Economic Research Centre, a once respectable Oxbridge academic. But when asked to point to the research findings or statistics, Gudgin cannot produce any.

### Claimed

Two years ago, Gudgin claimed that the high rates of unemployment in Catholic areas is not due to discrimination.

According to him then, it was the fault of Catholic workers themselves because they "have too many children".

Then last year Gudgin said that

the government's own statistics which show Catholic men are still 2.2 times more likely to be Unemployed than Protestants, are wrong.

This time, it was the "they're not unemployed, they're all doing the double" cry.

Gudgin is using pseudo-scientific

arguments to help create divisions among workers.

In short, Gudgin is to sectarianism what Richard Lynn and Chris Brand are to racism — the 'respectable' academic whose writings back up the hatred of the bigots.

## Denton exposes British role in propping up sectarianism

'BARONESS' Jean Denton is the Tory minister at the Northern Ireland Office responsible for, among other things, fair employment.

Since arriving in the North, she presented herself as the human face of the Tories, never tired of visiting community groups or talking to 'the ordinary women of Northern Ireland'.

Now, she has been exposed for allowing serious episodes of

sectarian harassment within her Department at Stormont.

Denton broke the fair employment procedures issued by her government department by punishing the people who were subject to sectarian harassment, instead of the perpetrators.

These episodes have shown

clearly the reality of the British role in the North.

The British government is far from being the honest broker trying to bring the 'two sides' together, as it presents itself.

The Denton scandal shows that the British ruling class continues to prop up sectarianism and to work to keep workers here divided.

## Socialist Worker Rallies

Come along and hear



**Belfast**

8pm, May 1st  
Holiday Inn Garden Court,  
Brunswick Street.

**Dublin**

8pm, Wednesday 23rd ATGWU  
Hall, Middle Abbey Street.

**Waterford**

8pm, Thursday 24th ATGWU  
Hall, Keyser Street.

## Bloody Sunday

# Cover-up goes to the heart of British establishment

THE "NEW" evidence about Bloody Sunday suggests that there was a conspiracy to murder and then a cover-up of murder-organised right at the heart of the British establishment.

Most of the "new" evidence isn't new at all. It was offered to Lord Widgery for his official investigation and distorted or ignored by him as part of the cover-up.

The book *Eyewitness Bloody Sunday* revealed that Widgery and his advisers made a decision (on March 10th 1972) not to call evidence from any of 100 local witnesses who had made written statements. Many of these referred to shooting from the Derry Walls.

Widgery ignored all this in order to bring in a "verdict" that all the shooting was at ground level by soldiers who thought themselves under attack.

### Broadcast

In January, Channel 4 News broadcast tape recordings of British Army radio traffic in Derry on Bloody Sunday which confirmed the firing from the walls.

The man who made the recordings personally delivered copies of the tape to the Tribunal. He was simply ignored.

Any new investigation would raise suspicions that this evidence was discounted by Widgery so that he could exonerate the British Army.

In other words, it isn't that Widgery somehow got it wrong but that the then Lord Chief Justice of England, conspired to cover up murder.

This month, Channel 4 News interviewed Soldier A, who said that his statement had been altered by his superiors. He described the killings as "unjustified" and "shameful and disgraceful", and gave an account of one man being shot dead at point blank range as he lay wounded on the ground in Glenfada Park.

Soldier A said he was ordered to lie that none of this had happened. This is evidence of a conspiracy to pervert the course of justice. Any new investigation would have to ask at what level within the British Army the conspiracy was authorised.

The Belfast Telegraph has reported BBC journalist David Capper complaining that Widgery's report contained a "wrong" version of the

Heath told Widgery to remember that "We were in Northern Ireland fighting not just a military war but a propaganda war".

evidence he gave. The report quoted Capper saying that he had heard a shot fired from the Bogside at British soldiers just before they opened up.

In fact, Capper had said the shot was fired more than two hours before that - long before the Bloody Sunday march had even arrived at the scene.

In other words, Capper's evidence was distorted by Widgery himself to suit the British Army's version of events.

All this has to be seen in light of the facts contained in the minute taken by the cabinet secretary of a Downing Street meeting between Widgery and Prime Minister Edward Heath on the evening before Widgery's appointment was announced.

The minute quotes Heath telling Widgery to remember that "We were in Northern Ireland fighting not just a military war but a propaganda war".

Widgery's tribunal wasn't an inquiry into the crime, but part of the crime.

It is not putting it too strong to say that Widgery was an accessory after the fact of murder.

It is also clear that politicians, senior army officers, lawyers and top civil servants were all involved either in the killings or the cover up of the killings.

It is the British State itself which stands accused by the "new" evidence, not a few soldiers who supposedly lost their cool.

The guilty men of Bloody Sunday were the highest in the land.

No British Government, Tory or New Labour, will allow this truth to be told, the crime of Bloody Sunday continues because it is not in the interest of the British ruling class to end it.

—Eamonn McCann

## Food scares:

# Is the food crisis over?

Agriculture Minister Ivan Yates is breathing a sigh of relief that the beef industry is 'recovering' from the BSE scare.

According to a Food Board survey, 'consumer confidence' is returning, with 97 percent of households buying beef again.

But the recovery is the result of a £500,000 propaganda campaign by the Food Board. In reality, BSE has been increasing in Ireland, probably due to the use of bonemeal to feed cattle.

There were 74 new BSE cases last year, more than four times the annual average for the previous six years.

Investors in the food industry are now complaining of 'food scare fatigue'. It does not suit them to have us worrying about the dangers lurking in the food we eat.

But the food barons know we have little choice as long as they control the industry. As one investor cynically commented on the return of 'consumer confidence': "people have to eat something".

Meanwhile there was a three-fold increase in food poisoning cases in Ireland last year. The BSE crisis has had a knock-on effect, creating food scares in other sectors of the industry.

As people started to buy poultry instead of beef, salmonella returned with a vengeance. There were well over 600 cases of the disease in 1996, compared to 571 cases the previous year.

The beef crisis also led to a rise in demand for pork, so some farmers rushed to sell their pigs on the market.

Animals were sold for slaughter soon after being dosed with antibiotics. This was in breach of European regulations which require a 'withdrawal period' to ensure pigs are drug-free before slaughter.

This use of antibiotics has been common since the 1940s when it was discovered that certain drugs could make poultry and livestock grow quicker.

### Feeding

Scientists had been feeding vitamin B12 to chickens and discovered that the birds grew faster than expected. They realised that the bacteria used to produce B12 also produced an antibiotic which could speed up growth.

This meant producers could take a short cut in fattening poultry for the market, without having to spend as much on natural foodstuffs. The method was soon extended to other forms of livestock, including pigs.

Recent reports in *Which?* magazine in Britain, and its equivalent in Belgium, showed that pork produced in Ireland had the highest concentration of antibiotics out of 15 European countries surveyed.

*Which?* says overuse of antibiotics in meat could cause bacteria to build up resistance to the drugs. This could make it impossible to treat certain infections in humans who eat the affected meat.

The danger of contaminated food does not stop at the farmyard gate. It continues right along the line: from the abattoir to the supermarket to the kitchen table.

Ten Irish counties have failed

**Meanwhile there was a three-fold increase in food poisoning cases in Ireland last year. The BSE crisis has had a knock-on effect, creating food scares in other sectors of the industry.**

to appoint full time slaughterhouse inspectors, even though this is a condition of the 1988 Abattoirs Act.

Environmental Health Officers reported that 'a wide range' of chilled food is being stored at wrong temperatures in supermarkets.

Over half the meat samples they studied were kept at temperatures above the recommended 3 degrees Celsius. Two thirds of dairy products were stored at temperatures which the inspectors deemed too low.

Six Dublin butchers seem to have escaped prosecution even though veterinary inspectors discovered 'outrageous breaches of hygiene standards', including:

■ Maggots in a meat cutting machine and a mincer tray covered in bluebottles;

■ Polystyrene cups, used for packing delicatessen products, stored next to a dirty toilet bowl;

■ A foul-smelling vacuum packing machine encrusted with dirt and rust;

■ Contaminated meat stored in cold rooms.

In several of the shops raw and cooked meats were stored together, a practice which can cause *E coli* contamination.

*E coli* killed three year-old Shane O'Connor in Naas, Co Kildare in January of this year. The disease recently claimed 21 lives in Scotland, and made 1,000 people ill.

Our lives are being put at risk at every stage of the food process because the interests of profit come before the interests of ordinary people.

We have no control over any aspect of the food industry. How can we determine that food scares are not being covered up in the interests of big business?

How can we ensure that scientific research is not being funded selectively to give governments the results they want? There is no hope of truly independent research in a food industry dominated by a wealthy few.

In a socialist society our diet would not be at the mercy of the likes of Larry Goodman or Dunnes' Stores. World food production would not be dominated by giants like Unilever or Nestle.

Instead the vast majority of people would exercise democratic control over the industry.

The rush for profits would be replaced by rational planning of production. Cover-ups and competition would be replaced by shared scientific research.

Politicians claim that the free market can ensure quality and high standards in every area of our lives, including our diet. And antibiotic pigs will fly!

by Dave McDonagh

## AS THE IRISH ECONOMY BOOMS

# The Celtic Paradise for

**"NEW-CAR SALES have hit record highs; house prices are soaring. By night, crowds of young Dubliners jam the sidewalks of Temple Bar, the downtown grid that's the capital's new cappuccino-and-ciabatta quarter. The landscape is dotted with trim white bungalows with Japanese 4x4's parked outside."**

This gushing praise for Ireland appeared in *Newsweek* in December, in an article called "The Emerald Tiger." The business papers of America and Europe are taking notice of the rapid growth of the Irish economy and comparing it to that of the South East Asian economies — the Tigers.

### Based

Their enthusiasm is based on the fact that the Irish economy has continued to grow at around 7% while the rest of Europe has struggled with an average growth rate of 2%.

One surprising consequence of this is that German unemployment levels, at 14% are now higher than those of Ireland. Official figures show that output per person in Ireland overtook that of Britain last year.

But this can be deceptive as many of the multi-nationals use 'transfer pricing' (artificial prices on goods sold inside the company) to declare their profits in Ireland.

According to the Global Research department of the Union Bank of Switzerland, the high Irish growth rates have come from a strategy of attracting high-tech multi-nationals to the country — companies like Digital, Intel, Apple, Analog, Dell and Motorola. Ireland is "the Silicon Valley of Europe."

Three quarters of all exports are now from these multi-nationals.

Native Irish capitalism is far weaker.

The surge in exports from the multi-nationals means that the country has not yet been affected by the European downturn.

While at the same time, as a European member, companies based in Ireland are benefiting



from the low interest rates and cheap capital available in Europe.

Growth in Ireland has been furthered by the EU handouts, currently worth £2bn a year.

According to the politicians everyone stands to benefit from the resulting prosperity. But a key platform in winning multi-nationals to Ireland has been the low pay and social security costs of workers here.

As the Union Bank report noted "traditional incomes policy has resulted in a sharp and permanent fall in unit labour costs."

The government has made the same point in a Belgian newspaper, saying that they have "operated the world's only successful wage restraint policy."

### Enchanted

A point not lost on the enthusiastic *Newsweek* correspondent who wrote that "foreign corporations looking for a low-cost, English-speaking home in the EU are enchanted."

No wonder the boom has not affected workers living standards. The boom has not even created the condition for more government spending on health and welfare as all the major political parties are united by a commitment to carry on making cuts to welfare spending.

The Partnership 2000 is a continu-

ation of the tradition of holding down wages. It was with multi-national investment in mind that the government was so anxious to secure the deal.

Fundamentally the Irish economy rests on exploitation and is going to result in a transfer of the wealth created.

# Cold tin

All booms in capitalism eventually go bust and one is going to be no different. Already the economy is emerging.

A boom can actually put great strain on smaller businesses as they overcommit themselves to keep up with demand, undertaking more investment than they can afford. The small firms organisation, ISME, has reported business confidence falling 14% in the last quarter. "We are running to stand still." Profit rates among these firms has fallen from to a new low of 4%.

Secondly, the boom is based on a very specialised, high-tech sector of the market. All the eggs are in one basket. When this part of the world economy takes a dive, Ireland is going to be badly hit.

Computing is no more secure an industry than any

other. Prices have been slashed and a desperate drive for new markets is underway.

The once highly valued Digital company has been wiped off the map and they misjudged the size of the computer market.

Water

Already thousands of people are being laid off in Apple Computer's scare with the company being in doubt. The success stories of the past are now the failures of the future. Additionally, the cuts are set to be made and will not be limited.

BOOMS:

# Tiger brings for rich!

## Who gains from the boom?

THE BOOM HAS meant good times for the top part of Irish society. Those with investments in the stock market have seen returns of up to 23% for 1996.

Property prices have gone through the roof.

Building land in Galway, for example, has jumped from £80,000 an acre two years ago to £200,000 an acre today.

Salaries for business executives have been rising, £100,000 a year is now commonplace.

### Rising

There are approximately 250 executives on £250,000 a year in the Dublin Financial Services Centre alone.

One measure of how well Irish yuppies are doing is in the sale of luxury goods for the rich. In 1995 800 BMW's were sold in Ireland,

in 1996 that rose to 1,100.

Terroirs, a trendy wine and food store in Dublin 4 has been selling record amounts of caviar and champagne. "There is more money around and people are willing to experiment in new areas, the £1,000 a go Lynch Bages has become a cult wine."

Brown Thomas reports that "this is the first season we have stocked Gucci as a fashion label, instead of just accessories. There are lists of customers waiting to buy. Junior Armani and Ralph Lauren for boys are also selling strongly."

John Teely, founder of Cooley Distillery, talked to the *Irish*

*Times* about the new Irish rich.

"A lot of us came out of college together in the 1960's and many of our group have done fantastically well. We were the first generation of well educated managers."

These people have influenced the policy of all the main parties. They push for a law and order agenda and attack social welfare.

No wonder that Mary Harney goes on about Singapore regime which has vicious anti-working class legislation.

But for workers the boom has left living standards unchanged, or even seen them decline. An ESRI survey in 1989 found that 31% of the population were below the poverty line. In 1996 the same survey found 35% were now below the poverty line.

### Budget

The recent budget favoured the middle class.

According to the Conference of Religious in Ireland a couple on £40,000 gained £1,072 compared to an unemployed couple.

Eamon, a former worker at Semperit, summed up the situation:

"The multinationals are just interested in one thing. Profit. And they're going to walkout without caring if you've worked twenty years for them. Those people who say that wealth will trickle down should remember what happened to us."

"I'm not seeing any of the boom." Said Charlie, a Corpo worker, "my standard of living hasn't changed over the years."

The main effect of the boom is that it is producing a growing gap between rich and poor.

A potential explosion is in the making. As soon as any group of workers starts a fight to win back some of the wealth that they have been creating, they are going to be quickly followed by thousands more.

## What do socialists say?

### Albania: chaos or revolution?

"A COUNTRY Dissolving Into Chaos". That was a typical press headline last week on Albania. Journalists told of their horror as ordinary people took guns and tanks away from the army and police, broke open prisons, fired Kalashnikovs in the air.

Order had to be restored immediately, otherwise God knows what would happen, was the underlying message.

The talk of chaos reflects the fear that besets rulers throughout the world fear that power might slip from the hands of sleek managers, smart suited politicians and career bureaucrats into the hands of those in workplaces, the housing estates and the streets.

We are meant to forget that the structures of the police, secret police and army officers have been used to rig elections, censor opinions, break strikes and torture dissidents. They have to be preserved against the "chaos" of the "rabble".

Genuine socialists can have nothing but contempt for such talk. Our instincts are always on the side of the "rabble" on the streets and against the rabble in power.

What has been happening in Albania in recent weeks is what happens in every great social upheaval.

Vast numbers of ordinary workers, peasants and lower middle class people who never before imagined they could change society have been beginning to do precisely that.

But and this is a very big but this does not mean they will necessarily succeed in creating the sort of society which will fulfil their aspirations.

When people set out to change society for the first time, they are invariably confused as to what is involved. All sorts of careerists and adventurers from the old society arise who try to misdirect the movement.

Some were at work last week at meetings in government buildings in Timna. They were organising "round table discussions" leaders of the established political parties.

Their model was what happened elsewhere in East-

**Our instincts are always on the side of the "rabble" on the streets and against the rabble in power.**

ern Europe in 1989-90.

The opposition would cooperate with the old ruling class if it ditched its most disliked figures, and then together they would ensure that "order" was maintained, with 90 percent of the old managers, police chiefs and generals keeping their privileged positions.

No doubt other careerists and adventurers were present among the masses after they seized towns from the police and tanks from the army.

This happens in any spontaneous insurrection of a people against their oppressors.

### People

When a mass of people take to the streets for the first time, they have no way of distinguishing honest and able leaders who seek to develop an understanding of how to reshape society from corrupt or unstable demagogues who trade off old prejudices.

As people mill together, without any organic connection with each other, it is very difficult for them to set up a stable, democratic structure which ensures leaders are directly and immediately responsible to those who elect them.

That is why so many revolutions which occur mainly in the streets, like those of 1789-93, 1830 or 1848, or those in East Germany, Czechoslovakia and Romania in 1989, can result in a new set of middle class leaders stealing the victory made by the masses.

That is also why sometimes groups on the fringe of a street movement can begin to gain a hearing for racist or nationalist slogans

that misdirect people's anger in a dangerous direction.

The guarantee against such a negative outcome does not lie, as the western media imply, in backing the restoration of order by the round tables of politicians implicated in previous dictatorships.

It lies in something else that has emerged as the characteristic feature of many revolutions in this century. As political and economic structures have collapsed around them, workers have found that the best way to organise things has been to set up councils of directly elected delegates, based on workplaces.

These have been able to ensure that the mass of people can cope with the problems thrown up by the revolution itself.

And because they are elected from people who work together on a daily basis, knowing each other's strengths and weaknesses, they have been able to combine the maximum democracy and revolutionary energy with the stability and responsibility needed to carry the mass movement forward.

This enables them to draw behind them the masses on the streets, the lower middle class, the unemployed, the ex-soldiers, who might otherwise be attracted by the demagogues, the adventurers or even the nationalists and racists.

We do not know at the time of writing whether such structures are emerging in Albania.

What is certain, though, is that without them the Albanian people may well find their heroism is frittered away or even diverted in dangerous directions.

— CHRIS HARMAN

## 1 times ahead

eventually go bust and the Irish different. Already problems are

other. Prices are continually being slashed and there is a deperate drive for more innovations.

The once highly successful Digital company has nearly been wiped off the map because they misjudged the medium sized computer market.

### Workers

Already thousands of workers in Apple Computers have had a scare with the company's future being in doubt. The anarchy of being in doubt means that the the free market means that the success stories of today can be the failures of tomorrow.

Additionally the Euro hand outs are set to dry up in 1999 and will not be renewed on any-

thing like the same scale. Ironically the very growth in the Irish economy will work against the politicians' attempts to bargain for more.

Across Europe other capitalist governments are up in arms over Ireland's tax policies.

Up to now Ireland has been operating an exceptionally low 10% rate of tax on company profits. This is causing companies to declare themselves as Irish even if the bulk of production is carried out elsewhere.

Belgium and German politicians are intent on bringing Ireland into line with the rest of Europe. Theo Waigel the German Finance Minister spoke about Ireland's "unfair tax competition". If he is successful this will close off a major reason for multi-Nationals coming to Ireland.

Finally, all of Europe faces problems with monetary union, prob-

lems that could become particularly painful for Ireland if it goes ahead while at the same time Britain stays out. Britain is still a major export market for native Irish industry while the multi-nationals are more geared to the wider European market.

The moves towards EMU is therefore placing a new strain on the relationship between the interests of multinational capital and Irish capital.

Ever since the sixties, they have worked closely together. But as their interests diverge this will cause more instability in the Irish political system. There is nothing special about the Irish boom which will allow it to continue once the special circumstances which have created it have gone.

By Conor Kostick

Catherine Curran reviews a newly reissued book on the German revolution

# The lost revolt of 1918

In January 1918 Lenin, the leader of the victorious Russian Revolution, said that "Without the revolution in Germany we are doomed".

These were prophetic words. If the German revolution had succeeded it would have changed the course of history.

The Russian revolution would not have been isolated. The threat of fascism and the Holocaust could have been removed. Chris Harman's *The Lost Revolution: Germany 1918-1923*, tells of the events shook the German ruling class to its very foundations. By the Autumn of 1918, the German military High Command knew that they were losing the war. But rather than accept the Allies' terms for an armistice, they preferred to fight on, throwing their last reserves of men and forces into the front line.

Bitterness and war-weariness among troops and civilians grew as the slaughter mounted and the sacrifices became greater and greater. Events came to a head with the mutiny of sailors in the naval port of Kiel in Northern Germany, where thousands of sailors and port workers took to the streets.

A mass meeting of 20,000 men elected a sailors' council which quickly became the town authority. News of the Kiel events spread quickly.

In towns and cities across the country, workers and soldiers held mass street meetings and elected workers' councils. In Hamburg, 40,000 workers took to the streets and voted for a republic of workers' councils.

The workers council produced a revolutionary paper, *Die Rote Fahne* (Red Flag) which declared "this is the beginning of the German revolution, of the world revolution... Long live Socialism".

A newspaper editor described what happened when the revolution spread to Berlin, "The soldiers rushed out of the barracks gate and fraternised with the shouting crowd outside. The officers were stripped of their cockades and gold lace. Army lorries passed with red flags".

The military could no longer rely on the army to quell the revolt. Ordinary soldiers were in a mutinous spirit.

The ruling class face catastrophe. They turned to the only other force who wanted to preserve the existing social order and avert revolution, the Social Democratic

Party, the SPD.

The SPD had begun as a Marxist organisation in the 1880s and was once even banned by the German state.

But its deeds never matched its words and by the beginning of the 20th century the SPD was known as a 'state within a state'. It was a massive bureaucratic machine that was only interested in votes.

**W**hen the war broke out in 1914, the SPD revealed its true colours. Claiming that "it could not leave the fatherland in the lurch in the hour of danger" the SPD backed the war effort and joined the Coalition government.

Now, as the old ruling class turned to them in 1918, the SPD leader, Ebert, demanded some compromise in order to contain the revolution: "Unless the Kaiser abdicates, a revolution is inevitable. But I will have none of it. I hate it like sin".

The SPD were in grave danger of being outflanked by the left. The Independent Social Democrats (USP) which numbered 120,000 members split from the SPD in 1917 because they opposed the war. Many of the shop stewards in Berlin looked to this party.

However the best revolutionaries belonged to the Spartakists — a small group led by Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht. The militant shop stewards, the Spartakists and a section of the USP began to press for a general strike. The call received a tremendous response from German workers.

Then as Berlin fell to the workers and soldiers on the 8th and 9th of November, the leaders of the SPD hastily called a general strike. In reality, the strike had begun 5 hours beforehand. Ebert later said 'I joined the strike leadership with the clear intention of bringing the strike to a speedy end to prevent damage to the country'.

Power in Germany now lay in the hands of workers and sailors councils. But when



WORKERS DEMONSTRATING outside parliament in Berlin. The placard reads "all power to the workers and soldiers councils".

an assembly of council delegates met in Berlin, it was packed with delegates who supported the SPD.

Denouncing all talk of 'disunity', they stifled the voices of the left. Ebert called for a German Republic, but only to undermine the growing popularity of the demand for a Workers' republic.

While the Social Democrats presented a left face to the workers, they received clear instructions from the ruling class. When told that the imperial high command would recognise his government, SPD leader Ebert asked the military what they expected of him.

He was told: "Field Marshal Hindenburg expects the government to support the officer corps in main-

**"The soldiers rushed out of the barracks gate and fraternised with the shouting crowd outside. The officers were stripped of their cockades and gold lace. Army lorries passed with red flags".**

taining strict discipline and strict order in the army." "What else"?

Ebert asked "The officer corps expects that the government will fight against Bolshevism and places itself at the disposal of the government for such a purpose".

Ebert and the SPD readily agreed. As the Social Democrats allied themselves with the old order, the need for a revolutionary alternative was starkly posed. But the forces which might provide this were weak and divided.

The USP contained a mixture - some who were committed to reform, others to revolution. On the far left, the Spartakists, were too small. One writer described how they did not have a single militant in the shipyards or factories of Bremen. In a huge working class area of Berlin, they only had seven members.

Overall the Spartakists numbered only a few thousand supporters and were not even unified into a single national organisation.

The vast majority of the German working class still looked to the SPD for leadership and organisation. Many thousands of people had become politically active for the first time.

To these people who had previously supported the war, the leadership offered by the SPD seemed most trustworthy.

When masses of people become involved in a revolutionary situation,

Harman explains, they often firstly identify with those whom the old society itself allows to be prominent, the "official opposition".

The ex-minister is likely to be much better known than the ex-political prisoner.

The SPD's control of a vast trade union apparatus, its implantation at a local level, its control over newspapers and community organisations, gave it a leverage over the working class which was not easily overcome.

Only a consistent and sustained struggle could have given the working class the experience to look beyond the SPD and to put their faith in revolutionary leaders. But time was not on the side of revolution.

Harman explains that "in the heat of an insurrection against an oppressive system, it is those who are most outspoken and most courageous - the Rosa Luxemburgs and Karl Liebknechts - who call hundreds of thousands on to the streets. But when the dust settles a little, it is still those connected with the old order who command mass support - for the masses do not abandon overnight the prejudices hammered into them over a lifetime."

**U**nfortunately, the revolutionary forces on hand to counteract the weight of the SPD were young and inexperienced.

The German Communist Party was only formed, out of Luxemburg's Spartakist League, after the revolution had already begun. Many of those who supported it did not realise that making a revolution would require the economic transformation of German Society, not simply a political overthrowing of the government.

Rosa Luxemburg had to warn repeatedly against attempting to take power before conditions were ripe. "There is an extensive field to till", she argued "we must prepare from the base up; we must give the workers' and soldiers councils so much strength that the overthrow of the Ebert-Scheidemann government or any other similar government will be merely the fi-

nal act of the drama".

But as soon as the SPD had stalled the revolt, it began to seek out and destroy the seeds of revolution.

This meant, above all, destroying the fledgling Communist Party. From November onwards their influence began to grow rapidly as many saw through the treachery of the SPD.

Strike waves led more and more workers to look to the revolutionaries and by 1919 the two most important army regiments in Berlin went over to their side.

When the leader of one of these regiments, Eichorn, was dismissed by the SPD, tens of thousands took to the streets. Luxemburg and the leadership of the German Communist Party had repeatedly warned against a premature attempt at revolution. But in January 1919 events soon spiralled out of their control. Without a disciplined national organisation, the young revolutionary party could not retreat from an attempted seizure of power.

After a popular general strike in Berlin, a Joint Revolutionary Committee was formed by members of the USP, the Communist Party and militant shop stewards. Workers seized the office of the SPD paper, the *Vorwärts* and other strategic buildings. But they had miscalculated their strength. The SPD turned to the Freikorps — bitter, right wing officers to put down the rising.

One of the SPD leaders, Noske, was quite candid about their intentions when he said "Somebody must be the bloodhound". With limited experience and torn between genuine revolutionaries and rhetorical speechmakers, the revolution of 1919 was badly co-ordinated.

The SPD and the Freikorps were able to move more decisively to put it down. On January 15th, they seized Liebknecht and Luxemburg and murdered them by smashing open their skulls by rifle butts. The failure of the German revolution marked a victory for the ruling classes of Europe.

Harman spells out why the tragedy happened. "With a powerful revolutionary party, the Berlin working class would probably not have walked into the trap set by Ebert and the generals. With a powerful revolutionary party there would have been the overall leadership necessary to co-ordinate revolutionary forces if a rising had begun without its advice. But there was not such a party". As the prospect of revolution once again returns to Europe, that lesson must be learnt now.

**The Lost Revolution**  
Germany 1918 to 1923

by Chris Harman

£9.95 (plus £1.50 postage)

From SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin, 8





## book

# The end of the Third World?

**SUPPORT FOR anti-colonial struggles in the Third World has always had a popular echo in Ireland. When Ronald Reagan visited this country in the 1980s, there were 20,000 people protesting about his policies in Latin America.**

Alongside this fantastic solidarity, however, there often went an idea that the really serious fights against the system could only take place in the shanty towns of the Third World rather than in the workplaces of Cork or Dublin.

Supporters of the Sandanistas in Nicaragua or the PLO in Palestine would politely tell you that the working class in the developed world had been bought off. The place for true revolutionaries was with the guerrillas.

Today, however, this 'Third Worldist' politics is in crisis.

The Sandanistas in Nicaragua are as enthusiastic about the free market as Tony Blair. Former left wing guerillas in El Salvador are instructing their supporters to hand back land to old landlords. The radical nationalist movements of the 1980s, almost all proclaim the same refrain that 'there is no alternative to capitalism'.

Not surprisingly this has had a major impact on the Third World movement in Ireland. Peadar Kirby's new book *Poverty amid Plenty*, published by Trocaire, is a good example of the crisis of ideas.

Kirby is well aware that neo-liberal economics has brought devastation to the poorer countries of the world. Per capita incomes in Sub-Saharan African have been falling by 1.2% a year - as the IMF and the World Bank insist on structural adjustment programmes that bring more privatisation and more cutbacks.

## Analysis

But when he turns to Ireland, his analysis goes badly wrong. There is an astounding claim that 'Ireland is closer to a Third World country'.

This is justified by promoting an ideal picture of what capitalist development should look like. Underdevelopment for Kirby means 'a process that is generating social exclusion of which some key elements are poverty, unemployment and inequality in income distribution'.

As 'social exclusion' happens on a large scale, it is argued that Ireland is an underdeveloped country and so close to the Third World.

Yet, Ireland is by no means unique in this regard in Europe today. German, French and Belgium workers are now experiencing long periods of unemployment and poverty.

The point is that it is not an underdeveloped form of capitalism which causes these social evils - but capitalism itself.

Kirby's idealised picture of 'developed' capitalism means that he argues that 'entrepreneurship is now a necessary part of the solution' to Ireland's underdevelopment.

The problem has been that Irish capitalists have had an 'easy going, complacent attitude'.

The Asian Tigers of South Korea, Taiwan, and Singapore are held up as 'developmental success stories'.

The reason is, apparently, that they have relied on the impulse

**The Sandanistas in Nicaragua are as enthusiastic about the free market as Tony Blair. Former left wing guerillas in El Salvador are instructing their supporters to hand back land to old landlords.**

of nationalism to get them going. The implication is that a healthy dose of nationalism might do the trick for Ireland as well.

Now much of this is plain nonsense. Much of the growth of the Asian Tigers came from very particular circumstances, such as their use as suppliers to the US army during the Korean and Vietnamese wars. City States like Hong Kong or Singapore have not relied on a great sense of national identity while Taiwan was effectively colonised by the Koumingtang, the party defeated by Mao's communist forces in 1948.

Kirby barely mentions the fact that the Asian Tigers have a highly repressive regime which relies on state run unions to press down wages and increase productivity.

The South Korea strikers who opposed new laws on 'flexibility' recently might have a different view on the 'nationalist impulse' that is supposed to have produced a 'developmental success story'.

Kirby's book hankers after a particular form of capitalism and assumes that this holds the key to development.

This approach has many precedents. In the past, the Labour Party used to point to Sweden as a successful 'social economy'.

## Argued

The editor of the *Observer*, Will Hutton, argued that Japan and Germany provided a better model of capitalism than Britains.

Yet barely had these countries been proclaimed as success stories, than you found that they were immersed in sluggish growth, with rising unemployment and poverty.

Capitalism is an anarchic system where the success stories of today are wiped out in a world wide drive for profit. No set of nationalist politicians can shape a market that is long since out of their control.

Kirby's book praises the feminist and green movements for providing new alternatives. The organised working class barely gets a mention.

Yet the only people who can really oppose capitalism today are those who link their politics to the new working class resistance.

All others look for vague, utopian alternatives that in the end only amount to seeking a different form of capitalism.

—KIERAN ALLEN

## film

David Reed looks at *The English Patient*

# Losing patience with the hype

**WHEN Conor Cruise O'Brien was a radical back in the sixties, he wrote a wonderful little book about the French writer Albert Camus.**

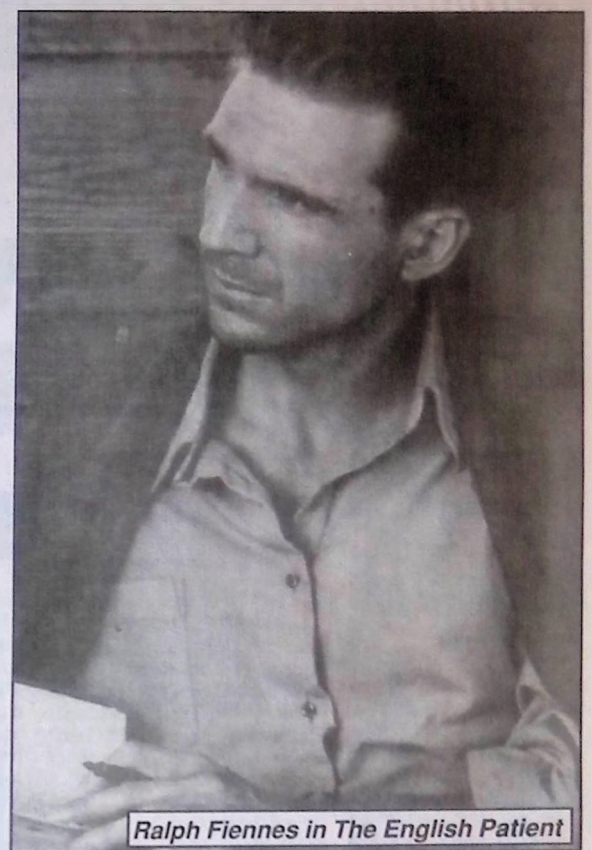
While Camus's novel, *The Outsider*, was hailed as a masterpiece about the modern human condition, O'Brien pointed out that few critics seemed to have noticed that the Arabs in the novel had no characters and barely spoke.

It was as if they formed part of the Algerian landscape, almost the like harsh and forbidding rocks.

O'Brien could have been writing about the latest film wonder, *The English Patient*.

## Affair

Set in war time Egypt, it tells a story about a love affair between a Hungarian archaeologist, Almásy and Catherine Clifton, the wife of a Biggles style adventurer



Ralph Fiennes in *The English Patient*

who is, apparently working for British Intelligence.

There are plenty of natives dotted about the place - but like in Camus's novel they form part of the landscape rather than the plot.

## Rescue

The local Egyptians are there to be haggled with, to serve tea on a lawn, and of course to rescue brave English souls who are lost in the desert.

All the old imperial imagery is there in abundance.

The Count can turn on his romantic image by using funny sounding Arab words to describe the wind and the desert. Just like Lawrence of Arabia his civilised state is attested to by his command of classic writers like Herodotus. There is more than a faint whiff of nostalgia of the days of a long lost empire.

*The English Patient* is a fairly boring melodrama with some nice visual images and an interesting twist at the end.

If you are into film hype see it - but be prepared to take a few breaks.

## TV

# In search of the final frontier

**"SPACE THE FINAL FRONTIER. These are the voyages of the Starship 'Enterprise', its continuing mission, to explore strange new worlds, to seek out new life and civilisations, to boldly go where no one has gone before"**

Star Trek is one of the most successful shows and cultural icons of our time. It is a mythology for the twentieth century. Star Trek represents a wondrous personal future.

It is a celebration of the human journey, a belief in the human spirit and a love and tolerance for all life forms that remains unequalled by any television programme today.

Star Trek is seen in over two hundred countries and is translated into forty languages.

## Series

The original series premiered on September 8th 1966 was cancelled three years later. Star Trek The Next Generation began in 1986. Star Trek Deep Space Nine and Star Trek Voyages continues the legacy although they are not Gene Roddenberry's original creation.

Many scientists, astronauts and engineers attribute their inspiration to Star Trek. When the Smithsonian Institution mounted a Star Trek exhibition, featuring a mythical starship next to Orville and Wrights historic biplane, visitation in-

creased by 25% in the year it was there.

Gene Roddenberry's unprecedented insistence that there be a black, female officer on the bridge of the 'Enterprise' in the original series led Martin Luther King Jr. to comment to Nichelle Nichols (Lieutenant Uhura in the original series, "You have opened a door that can never be closed again. Because of you and the way you portray the character, people will see us. The world will see us as we should be seen -- men and women on an equal basis going where no one has gone before".

If you view the series you will notice plastic plants, lots of orange paint, a pointy guy called Spock, lots of rubbery aliens.

If you see it you will encounter questions and very few answers:

How can we overcome prejudice? Is patriotism a disease? What is the difference between sexuality and love?

Should there be government? What use is religion? Is love the exclusive property of heterosexuals? What does it mean to be human?

—Joe Fallon

## video

# A struggle of exiles

**LA GUERRE EST FINIE (The War is Over)** was made in 1966 by Spanish exile Jorge Semprun.

Set in 1965 France it tells the story of Diego, an ageing and tired Spanish revolutionary in Paris. Diego who is in the Anti Fascist Union has just returned from a disastrous mission in Madrid.

## Exiles

In Paris he meets up with the A.F.U exiles who are planning to provoke a insurrection against Franco, after a wave of strikes has broken out in Spain.

But it is Diego's own political disillusionment which is the driving force behind the film. He sees himself as the isolated revolutionary who no longer can influence events.

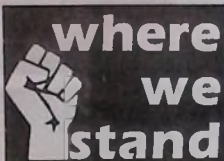
He is eager to fight

fascism, but it's his comrades that argue against his mood to return to Spain.

He has a brief affair with Nadine, the young revolutionary, who seems to be the only inspiration to Diego's conscious. In parts the film is slow, but it's main theme is one man's battle to stick to his own belief that revolution can happen.

La Guerre est Finie has just been re-released on video. It's a curious look at the difficulties that attend exile politics. It often suggests that isolated individuals were no longer to play a part in the struggle against capitalism. But well worth seeing.

—Gino Kenny



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 election for general president:

CAROLANN Duggan's campaign for the position of General President of SIPTU has touched a real cord with hundreds of workers who want a change in their unions. Although she is bound by a very restrictive Code of Conduct, she talks to *Socialist Worker* about her general views on trade unionism today.

**SW: What is your impression on where the union movement is going today?**

**Carolann Duggan:** I am really struck by how things are getting worse for many workers even though we are supposed to be the Celtic Tiger of Europe. You always hear the union leaders say that they really care about the low paid workers.

They even claim that they signed the Partnership 2,000 because they had the interests of the low paid at heart. But I have found that it is these workers who are most angry with what is happening.

I have been to a factory in Ballinasloe where workers are coming out with less than £130 a week. Now this is not a backstreet hole in the wall — but is part of a major multi-national. In the hotel industry, there are still people earning about £2.50 an hour.

If the union leaders were really concerned about low pay, they would be pressing for a minimum wage of £5 an hour. They should launch a mass recruitment campaign on a promise to back every worker who wanted to get organised to win that sum. They would tell this government that they are going to mount a campaign of public protests until they pass minimum wage legislation.

**SW: Many workers think that the union leaders are out of touch with their members. Why do you think there is such a gap between the union bureaucracy and the members.**

**Carolann Duggan:** I think that their salaries has a lot

# "The struggles of workers against the logic of the market"

to do with it. I work in a factory where I earn around £13,000 a year but there are union leaders who get more than £70,000. They think that it is below their dignity to be paid less than managing directors. How can these people know what it is really like to put up with the conditions we experience?

If you are a top union official, you get removed from the day to day experience of workers. You do not face regular threats of the sack. Your job is secure no matter how many redundancies or how much flexibility you negotiate. You are living in a different world.

**SW: Do you think that the unions can change if people like yourself get into leadership positions.?**

**Carolann Duggan:** It is not as simple as that. Votes for left wing candidates can certainly be a signal of a desire for change. If a left winger wins, they can also create more openings for the members.

But the key to changing is to have a rank and file network. I keep saying to the many people who have rung me up that I will be getting back to them after this campaign. Win or lose, this is only the start of things.

You need a strong shop steward organisation that can mobilise its members and force the union officials to act on their behalf. Where officials do not carry out the wishes of their members you need to build a base so that you can act independently of them.



**SW: Growing frustration with union leaders has often led to breakaway unions in Ireland or else a desire to join more left wing unions like the ATGWU. What is your opinion of this?**

**Carolann Duggan:** There is no point leaving one union to join another. It only causes internal dissension about who has the right to represent workers. It gives the bosses a field day when they see division arising among workers.

You also have to question the idea that one union is more militant or left wing than another. Union leaders can talk left, but that is a different thing to encouraging a fight. During the Packard crisis, you could not tell the difference between the ATGWU and SIPTU. Both of them argued for workers to work two hours extra for free to 'save their jobs'!

Among nurses, it was often thought that the PNA was more militant than the INO. But when you look at who kept the pres-



**Carolann Duggan has supported workers' struggles like the Royal Dublin Hotel strike rather than social partnership**

sure on for higher increases, it was the INO who led the fight.

The unions can be changed because they are far more democratic than bosses organisations. It takes time and effort and a lot of patience — but it can be done.

**SW: When Norman Croke dropped out of the race for SIPTU Presidency he said that his reason for doing was that he was afraid that he might be identified with the SWP. He even mentioned a campaign of political infiltration by the SWP. How do you answer that.**

**Carolann Duggan:** I thought Norman's remarks were really funny. Would that he were so lucky as to be associated with genuine socialists!

The reality is that most unions are 'infiltrated' — if you want to use that term — by the right wing of the Labour Party. They dominate many of the full time positions and are determined to set up a cosy relationship with their friends in government.

But infiltration is a really stupid word to use. I have been a very public and active socialist for

many years. I have never hidden my views or party affiliation. I have always been a long standing union activist.

How can you infiltrate something you are already in?

**SW: How would you characterise the difference between the Labour Party's approach to unions and the SWP's?**

**Carolann Duggan:** The Labour Party believes in managing capitalism and this leads many of their supporters to argue for workers to make sacrifices.

The Socialist Workers Party wants the overthrow of this crazy system. We have no loyalty to the political establishment and this is why we are always on the side of workers who fight.

Neither do we think there should be a separation of politics and economic struggles. We don't think politics is just about standing for parliamentary elections. It is about the day to day struggles of workers against the logic of the market. That is why when the other parties have wound down after the general election, the SWP will still be encouraging a fight and building solidarity.

## News from the SWP:

**SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY** members played a major role in organising the small United against Bigotry demonstration in Harryville. Members of our sister organisation in Britain also worked hard to get union banners to the demonstration. After the demonstration 2 people joined the SWP.

In the South, many SWP branches are preparing for the coming general election. Canvassing teams have gone around areas looking for supporters and selling Socialist Worker. Unlike the conventional parties the SWP does not believe in just dropping in leaflets. The key is to explain our politics and to win roots for struggle in the future.

In Ringsend, the campaign for the SWP

candidate Peadar O Grady got a great response with 20 papers being sold and a few people expressing an interest in the campaign.

Support is also growing in the East Wall area of Dublin for the TEAM Air Lingus activist, Ritchie Brown who is running as an SWP candidate.

Over the next few weeks, major canvassing meetings on a constituency wide basis will be held in Dublin North Central on April 9th and Dublin South East on April 16th. Anyone interested in campaigning for SWP candidates, should phone 8722682 to get involved.

In Waterford, Mary Harney did a tour of the Waterford Crystal plant to win support for her candidate Katherine Bulbulla. She got a terrible reception with plenty of boos to indicate disapproval.

Meanwhile a major fund raiser for Jimmy Kelly, the Waterford Crystal convenor who is running in the constituency will be held on Mayday. It will take place in the Roxy Theatre Club O Connell St and tickets are £3.

Throughout the whole election campaign, the SWP are emphasising that there are major fights ahead and that a serious socialist party has to be built in this country.

## SWP branch meetings

- BELFAST**  
Meets every Wed at 8pm Central Hall Rosemary St.
- CORK**  
Meets every Weds at 8pm in Dannehy'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 Tuesday 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 Trinity 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

Name .....

Address.....

Phone.....

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

# Irish Life workers fight on

BY **Conor Kostick**

**IRISH LIFE** workers are set to ballot this fortnight on a Labour Court recommendation. The deal involves a number of changes to the document that field workers rejected eight weeks ago.

However, in essence the proposal retains the key ideas that will destroy jobs and conditions if accepted.

"It's a slightly watered down version of the companies original plan." Said one worker.

Staff will still be expected to set up offices in their homes, contacting the company via modems.

The company no longer says that workers performance will have to be "validated" but instead are insisting on "minimum standards" being met.

not fulfilled will lead to disciplinary measures.

One locked out worker summed up the situation as follows "if we accept this proposal we'll be giving them a loaded gun. It guarantees most of us will be gone after five years."

This week the company announced increased profits of £153 million before tax for this year.

## Excuse

They have no excuse for attacking their staff. If the workers reject the deal, they will have to find ways to step up the dispute.

The morale of the locked out workers is impressive. One committee member said "it's unbelievable. If you had said to me that after eight weeks feelings would be so strong I wouldn't have believed you. They locked out 300 insurance sales staff and created a monster. Guys are furious."

But the activity of the MSF and SIPTU officials has yet to



The Irish Life workers have been on strike for over two months

match the workers determination. MSF, which organises the locked out workers, could take a number of steps to bring a speedy result.

An easy measure would be to take locked out workers to other insurance companies with large MSF branches to raise solidarity and collections for the hardship fund.

At the moment over 500 indoor workers are crossing the picket line, many of them are looking for the opportunity to show their support.

## Issuing

Most of them of them are MSF members. As this is a lock-out situation, the union should be issuing an instruction for them to come out in solidarity.

SIPTU organises about 60 of the field staff. These workers are in the firing line as much as the MSF workers, and quite rightly they demanded a ballot for strike action. This ballot was won, but at the time of writing the SIPTU official Frank O'Malley had not served notice pending "meaningful negotiations."

If SIPTU members did join the dispute the workers would be in a much stronger position to force the company to retreat entirely.

## Belfast: Fight to save our hospitals

**CLERICAL WORKERS**, nurses, porters and domestic staff at the Royal Victoria hospital in Belfast staged a walkout last month after it was announced that the Royal Maternity Hospital is to be closed.

The closure has been a possibility for some time as the Tories try to run down the health service in the North.

They appointed a so-called expert group which went along with the proposals for closure.

A UNISON shop steward told *Socialist Worker*, "There is a real mood to fight to save the hospital. What we need now is further action including one day strikes".

## Action

Union leaders should be capitalising on this mood and link the fight to save the Maternity Hospital with the fight to save the Accident and Emergency unit at the City hospital.

But unfortunately they are still talking about a judicial review to save the units.

Another Unison Steward said, "It will take the general public to support us, and solidarity from more than one hospital. There should be a united campaign. The politicians haven't done anything... we'll do better if the unions fight together."

One politician Joe Hendron even tried to use the plight of the Royal Maternity as an election issue. He published election literature claiming that the Royal Maternity had been saved.

Afterwards he said, "Well I admit I have been left with egg on my face"

The Tories are attempting to divide workers along sectarian lines.

The RVH is in the Catholic Falls, and the City is in the mainly Protestant South Belfast.

They are trying to get people to compete for services and jobs.

Some workers hope that a Blair government will reverse the decision but with Labour promising no new money for the health service this seems unlikely.

## Cutbacks

There isn't a hospital in the North not threatened with some sort of cutbacks.

The RVH demonstration should be the start of a united campaign to defend the health service.

## Teachers want action on Tory cuts

**THE TEACHERS** union, the INTO is set to ballot its members in the North for a half day strike on 23rd April. This comes after the announcement that £300 million is to be cut from the Northern Ireland education budget over the next three years. 500 teachers' jobs are to go as a result.

The largest teachers' union, the NASUWT is also balloting members in three schools over immediate redundancies.

These ballots are taking place in the best organised schools where pressure from below has forced action.

## Ballot

A ballot for action should be followed up with a determined campaign to spread the action to other schools.

The leadership of the NASUWT is acting disgracefully.

Instead of pushing strike

action, they are proposing letterwriting to MPs and advertisements in the press.

A similar campaign in the health service has not saved a single hospital.

The anger among teachers at this type of complacency is immense.

At a meeting of the Belfast Area of the NASUWT, teachers overturned an executive recommendation and voted for a half day strike in May.

Union activists should keep up the pressure to make sure that the action is carried through.

## FÁS discriminate against married women

**ELLEN CHILLINGWORTH**, from North Dublin, started work at 14 years of age and only stopped work to raise a family. For the last twenty years she has worked in the home raising her family of six children with her husband.

Ellen recently decided to try to go back into full time employment but needed training after being out of the labour market for so long.

## Training

She applied to the Community Employment Scheme for a training course but found that she was not able to get a place.

Married women can only get a place on a scheme if they are as-

sessed independently of their husband. But as Ellen's husband is claiming for the family, she is not on the Live Register and so was refused a place.

Ellen told *Socialist Worker*: "I was made to feel like I was a non-person and I don't see why I have to put up with it".

## Fight

Ellen is now organising on her estate to fight this discrimination. She said,

"Women are not at the kitchen sink anymore. We want our bit of independence."

"When I left work, I didn't realise that after twenty years doing voluntary work and raising a family, I'd be classified as a non-person. It's an insult. We need training to

get back into the workforce.

"They're happy to take our volunteer work for free but not to give us training".

Ellen is collecting a petition against this form of discrimination which prevents married women going back into the workforce again.

Her petition reads: "Married women and men with no rights are you trying to get back to work."

"Have you tried Fas or the job initiative in your community but failed because you are not on the live register. Would you like to support women and men like yourself that want to do a course but cannot. Put your name down".

Write to PO Box 1648, for copies of the petition.

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

**United against bigotry demo**

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The lost revolution of 1918

Page 8

## KICK OUT THE TORIES

# NO TO A SECTARIAN HEAD COUNT

### Build a socialist alternative

**THE NORTH will always be caught in a sectarian log jam until a force emerges that argues for workers unity.**

Real peace and change is not going to come from on high. Expecting a new Blair government to bring changes from peace talks with right wing politicians is complete pie in the sky.

The last few years have given many a chance to look to a new sort of politics which stresses class issues. But these hopes can only come to fruition with a serious socialist presence.

Socialist Worker stands for the overthrow of the Northern State.

### Oppose

But this will only happen as part of a fight to bring about a socialist throughout this island. We oppose the bigotry of loyalism but we don't think that a pan nationalist movement offers an alternative to Protestant workers.

Over the coming weeks the SWP in the North is pushing a major recruitment campaign.

If you want to see an alternative to the sectarian politics that divide workers, now is the time to join us.

## Don't trust Blair

**MAY 1ST is the date which could end eighteen years of Tory rule. The Tories have widened the gap between rich and poor and squandered the opportunity for peace in the North.**

Throughout the UK, the rich are now spending 300% more on domestic servants than they did ten years ago. It is no wonder, The bosses average pay now amounts to a staggering £405,000, with bonus and share options on top.

### Policies

The Unionist Parties in Northern Ireland share the right wing policies of the Tories. They want more 'law and order' and more oppression. They have no problems with measures like the Job Seekers Allowance which drives the unemployed into low paid jobs.

And they have gotten their rewards from the Tories. For two years, the Tories insisted that Sinn Fein order the IRA to 'de-commission' before peace talks could start.

But while they preached hypocritically about violence, the Tories cover up for the murders that took place on Bloody Sunday

**WHILE MILLIONS hope for a better future, Blair and the Labour Party are doing their best to crush any hopes for real change.**

This is why workers in the North should not place any hopes in them.

■ Blair has given no com-

mitments to reverse the health cuts. This means hospitals like the Royal Maternity in Belfast will still close down—unless we fight now.

■ Blair will do nothing about the 11 plus system that operates in the North. This class bailed system of education will still continue.

## Is orange or green the only choice?

**THE election in the North is yet again a sectarian headcount. We are told to get back into 'our communities' to keep the other side out. This is the type of politics that right wingers always love.**

On every other issue bar the constitution there is no difference between John Hume and David Trimble.

They both believe that workers should accept low wages from multi-nationals. None of them want to tax the rich.

The one party that claims to be a radical force is Sinn Fein. It rightly opposes the sectarianism of the Northern state but it is a communal organisation that has little to say to Protestant workers.

To make it worse, the republicans now make alliances with right wing politicians in the US and the South

The main parties offer little hope for change in this election. It is time to look elsewhere.

## Join the Socialist Worker Party

I would like to join the Socialist Workers Party

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