

# Socialist Worker

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80 years on:  
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**Aer Lingus, Tax Amnesty reveal...**

# IRELAND'S GREEDY BOSSSES



Cahill: TV in the jacuzzi

**Aer Lingus boss Bernie Cahill is living it up while his workers face "sacrifices".**

Cahill enjoys TV in his jacuzzi at the posh Westbury Hotel in Dublin.

But Aer Lingus workers are being asked to accept huge redundancies and wage cuts because the government "can't afford" to fund the airline.

The Cahill scandal is just the tip of the iceberg.

Irish bosses are getting greedier despite the recession.

### Tax Evaders

Irish managers who lose their jobs get severance payments above the European average.

And rich tax evaders have their identities protected under the coalition's new tax amnesty.

Revenue staff have had to sign a declaration of secrecy so that the people who have been ripping us off for years can remain anonymous.

And while wealth accumulates at the top of society, things are getting worse at the bottom.

The number of people seeking public housing in Dublin has gone up by 20 per cent over the past two years.

Children and teenagers are

the fastest growing sector of the homeless population.

When the coalition took office the *Star* newspaper said Labour and Fianna Fail would transform Ireland into a "truly classless society".

### Betrayals

Labour's betrayals have turned this into a sick joke.

Dick Spring claimed he

"would not stand over" the double standards of Bernie Cahill.

But his party has stood over the Aer Lingus redundancy plan and the tax amnesty.

Spring's "stern words" will not affect Ireland's greedy bosses.

But the type of action taken by workers at Aer Lingus when they walked off the job last month can make a difference.

# Abortion setback

The right to abortion information was passed overwhelmingly in last year's referendum.

Yet, on a technicality, the Supreme Court has maintained the injunction on the WellWoman Centre and Open Line stop-

ping them from providing abortion information.

## Seized

And the property of USI and the student unions in Trinity and UCD is to be seized to pay SPUC's legal costs arising from their 1988 High Court action against abortion information.

According to Tom Duke, USI president, this would effectively destroy USI and the two student unions.

Labour minister for Equality and Law Reform, Mervyn Taylor, has expressed his "goodwill" towards the two women's centres.

He should also be forced to intervene to stop SPUC from destroying the student unions.

## SAFETY STANDARDS

US President Clinton recently demonstrated another side of his character—an unusual sense of logic.

Speaking on the testing of nuclear weapons he stated that he felt that further testing would make them...safer!!

## BIGOT OF THE MONTH

This month's award is well earned by Fianna Fail Senator Don Lydon.

At the debate on gay rights in the Senate he argued: "If the age of consent for buggery remained at 17, it would send a clear signal that it was acceptable and might even be taught in schools."

The mind boggles!

# Rescue Aer Lingus from Cahill's Plan

The Aer Lingus rescue plan looks more likely to kill the patient than save it.

Every area that is earning a profit is to be sold off. In March of this year the Government refused to invest in the company say-

ing there was no money in the kitty.

## Cash

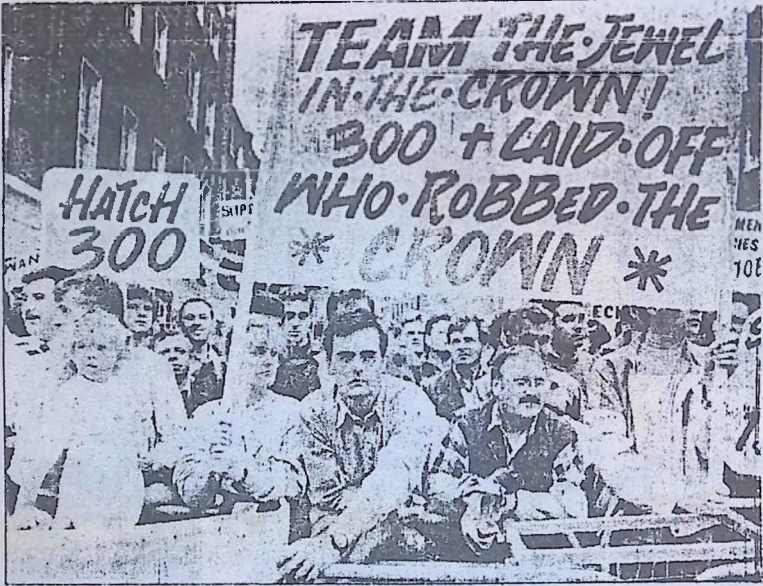
Which is strange, as earlier this year the Government spent £300 million on the punt, £9 million on golf courses, and a continuing stream of cash on their pal Larry Goodman.

Under the Rescue Plan, Aer Lingus want to cut £34 million from costs.

This means a 40 per cent pay cut for "non-core" staff like baggage handlers.

The airline's new hatchet-man, Bernie Cahill, wants linkage between targets and income.

His target is 1,500 sacked workers, a 10 per cent wage cut and a two year pay freeze.



## Sacrifices?

Bernie Cahill was appointed executive chairman of Aer Lingus in March with full support of the politicians.

His previous management "success" was the Greencore debacle.

Cahill wants the workers to make sacrifices while the company foots the bill of his luxury suite in the Westbury Hotel in Dublin. He also has a new £10,000 air-conditioning system in his office.

At a protest against Cahill's luxurious lifestyle one worker, Paddy Finnegan, said:

"Management haven't a clue what life is like for most working people."

"Bernie Cahill's room in the Westbury costs more a night than most people in Aer Lingus earn in a week."

## Cutting some costs

Management complain that "Aer Lingus is over-pricing itself" and say that "their door is open to staff for innovative ways of reducing the pay-roll".

that taxi fares and bus passes are to be stopped. Company cars, however, were left out as only management get them.

Bernie Cahill's chauffeur driven limo to and from the Westbury did not warrant a mention.

Aer Lingus workers can all think of a very innovative way to cut costs—let them do their jobs and sack Bernie Cahill.

## TEAM WORKERS' VICTORY

On 3rd July 300 TEAM workers were laid off. They were told at 2pm and given one hour to pack their bags and get off the grounds.

But they did not take it lying down. They staged several mass walkouts, blocked the road at Dublin Airport and picketed the Dail.

One month later they were re-instated and a Victory Rally was held in Swords that weekend.

## Stormin' Norman



He justified the shooting dead of three IRA members by the SAS in Gibraltar.

He advocated the "cricket test" for immigrants to England—if they didn't cheer for England they were "disloyal".

Tebbit is openly sexist as well as racist. "I like girls to be girls and chaps to be chaps", he once quipped.

## Revenge

He is proud of his attacks on trade unions, claiming revenge on the former print union NATSOPA for "bullying" him into membership as a 16 year old.

Tebbit had plenty of TV coverage when he was hauled from the rubble of the Grand Hotel in Brighton when the IRA bombed it in 1984.

But in 1986 he practically called TV reporter Kate Adie a traitor for reporting on civilian casualties of the US bombing of Libya.

So much for the "staunch opponent of terrorism" that John Major described! Tebbit is nothing but a bigoted Tory hypocrite.

## Hypocrite Taylor

Mervyn Taylor has brought out a Bill to outlaw discrimination against travellers.

But in his Dublin South West constituency his Labour colleagues are opposing a new site for travellers.

Eamonn Walsh TD and Cllr. Ned Gibbons wrote to constituents in Cookstown Lane recently saying:

## Confirm

"We wish to confirm that we are totally opposed to the proposed temporary 42-family halting site in

## MORE ACTION IS NEEDED!

Workers at Aer Lingus are reaching breaking point.

Ms. Jean Cashman, a senior member of the transatlantic cabin crew told Socialist Worker: "I'm pissed off being told I'm saving the company".

Frank Fanning, with 37 years service, said:

"If I erred in any way I was always the first to admit it. I'm bitter because I always expected the people above me to do the job as well as I did".

Another worker, Paddy Finnegan, added:

"The whole thing doesn't make sense, even in their terms. Aer Lingus workers have paid more in tax and PRSI than the government has put into Aer Lingus since its foundation in 1936.

the Cookstown Lane area and will do everything possible to ensure that it does not come into being."

Mervyn Taylor defended his colleagues saying that every other political party opposed the site "for various reasons".

And he's the Equality Minister!

## THINGS THEY SAY

"More Dinosaurs in Aer Lingus management than in Jurassic Park"—TEAM worker on a demo outside the Dail last month.

"It would be GAA policy not to do a thing like that..."—Tommy Barrett, secretary of GAA Sample Stadium, on why condoms would not be available at this year's Felle.

"Political talks are a f\*\*\*ing sideshow. This is not about committees or assemblies, it is about our survival." "The Protestant people have had enough and will strike back. We've sat on our hands for too long and what has it got us? Don't believe anyone who tells you that violence does not work."—A UDA leader quoted in Fortnight Magazine.

## Two years for murder

Dr. Jean Pierre Allain, Cambridge professor and head of the French blood transfusion service, started a two year jail sentence last month.

He authorised the distribution of HIV infected blood products, despite other supplies being available. The safe supplies would have cost his company more money.

As a result 300 have died, including 50 children and another 900 people will die.

His sentence works out at around 1 1/2 days for each murder.

## APOLOGY - NOT!

SOCIALIST WORKER has a policy of correcting any factual errors in our publication, once they are brought to our attention.

In our April issue we reported that imports of caviar had increased by 7 percent last year. That increase was in fact 87 percent.

We apologise unreservedly for underestimating the greed of the Irish rich.

We promise that it will not happen again.

THE EDITOR

**WE  
THINK**

# Somalia, Lebanon...

# UN hypocrisy revealed



Israeli tanks blast Lebanon—while the UN stands by

LAST month the hypocrisy of the United Nations was revealed in both Somalia and the Lebanon.

UN troops launched more attacks on Somali citizens.

They killed 80 people in Mogadishu, when US helicopter gunships shelled a densely populated area for over an hour.

The UN claims to be taking on General Aideed in Somalia because he is a dictatorial 'warlord'.

But when Israeli 'warlords' bombarded the Lebanon, day after day, the UN stood by.

If the Lebanon had been oil-rich Kuwait, Israel had been Iraq and Yitzhak Rabin had been Saddam Hussein there would have been immediate sanctions.

But Israel is an ally of the US government which is the driving force behind the UN.

So all we get are 'efforts' to find a ceasefire and attempts to blame Hezbollah guerillas in Lebanon for the Israeli onslaught.

And the US State Department is to give a measly \$25,000 to Lebanese civilians who had to flee their homes.

Western rulers like Clinton don't give a damn about civilian deaths. And they care little for UN troops caught in the 'cross-fire'.

When Somali civilians throw stones at UN troops they are likely to be shot down.

But when the West's ally, Israel, bombs UNIFIL forces in the Lebanon they get away with it.

The events in the Lebanon show just how ineffective the Irish 'peacekeeping' troops are.

Albert Reynolds did not blame the Israeli government for the bloodshed. Instead he pleaded

that Irish troops were stopping as many Hezbollah attacks as they could.

The Irish troops' role in Somalia would not be any better.

The Somali people quite rightly see the UN presence as an invasion.

## Massacre

As Justin Kilcullen of Trocaire said in an Irish Times article:

"They now perceive Operation Restore Hope as having delivered them back into the arms of those who destroyed their country—the warlords".

Irish troops will be part of this invasion force. The best they can do is free up other UN troops to massacre more civilians.

And there is nothing inherently 'humane' about the Irish Army that will stop them from joining in the killing.

Dick Spring can talk all he likes about changing the Defence Act to allow Ireland to take part in 'peace enforcement'.

What he's really doing is consolidating Ireland's role as a junior partner of US imperialism.

In the Horn of Africa and the Middle East, the UN's priority is not to bring peace.

It is to prop up thugs like Rabin in Israel who serve Western interests. And to take on thugs like Somalia's Aideed who won't bow to the west.

## Whose 'public order'?

This year, the Department of Justice will introduce six new criminal justice laws—more than any other year in the state's history. One of these, the Criminal Justice (Public Order) Bill gives the Gardaí unlimited powers to arrest or move people on.

Maire Geoghegan Quinn has used a small number of attacks in Dublin city centre as a justification for introducing the legislation.

This new law will replace laws which were abolished in the 1980s which made loitering and vagrancy criminal offences. These were regularly used to harass homeless people.

This Public Order Bill will serve the same function, allowing gardai to arrest someone without a warrant.

Fianna Fail's Paddy Harte welcomes its racist potential against travellers "who have no aim in life but to buy and consume alcohol".

The Bill also limits the right to a trial by jury, the only chance an ordinary person has to a reasonably fair trial.

The Bill will also curtail the activities of workers and political groups. Section 5 of the Bill gives gardai the power to abolish the right to hold a peaceful public meeting and to use a loudspeaker at such a meeting.

It would also be an offence to "distribute or display any writing, sign or visible representation which might lead to a breach of the peace", so that workers on strike could break the law by issuing leaflets calling their boss unjust and greedy or calling politicians useless hypocrites. This carries a fine of £500 or six months in prison.

All political parties have supported the proposed legislation. Labour's Derek McDowell believes that "it might be necessary to curtail protests in the vicinity of Leinster House".

### Selling Out

He obviously didn't like Aer Lingus workers demonstrating outside the Dail against Labour selling out on their pre-election promises.

Eamonn Gilmore of Democratic Left wants the bill implemented quickly "because there was a dan-

ger of vigilante groups being formed to deal with crime".

Fianna Fail's Ben Briscoe thinks that prison is not the best place for offenders but that "a section of the Curragh could be opened up for them, ... with some former sergeant-majors to give them a military style regime".

But draconian measures like these will not halt crime. People turn to crime because of poverty and hopelessness.

The Public Order Act will mainly be used against workers who strike and demonstrate against this state of affairs.

## A sectarian 'riot'

THE poverty and hardship in the Protestant ghettos have led many people to assume that the loyalist violence against the RUC at the beginning of July was an uprising of the poor and dispossessed against their deprivation.

But this is to misunderstand what took place.

In the first place, the overwhelming majority of people in these areas did not riot but stayed at home behind closed doors—hence the complete absence of "crowd scenes" in the television news coverage.

Socialist Worker has also spoken to eye witnesses, including firefighters who attended fires, and they said that the rioters could be numbered in dozens rather than in hundreds.

For the most part the "rioting" was the work of the UDA, who mobilised in different parts of Bel-

fast and in surrounding areas to attack the police.

There were 45 grenade and gun attacks on police and army as well as petrol bomb and grenade attacks on a Catholic school, a Catholic hall and Catholic homes in North Belfast. This violence is obviously sectarian and reactionary and socialists condemn it.

### Tension

Since the banning of the UDA last year a situation of tension has existed between it and the RUC. There have been reports of arrests of UDA members and a high level of surveillance by police and army of key UDA activists.

There were minor riots and shooting incidents at the end of last year and the beginning of this year in loyalist areas.

Last month tension was especially high during the loyalist marching season because of the

decision by the police to partially re-route an Orange parade. Tension was also high because of the funeral of a loyalist paramilitary.

The UDA issued a statement before the funeral which complained of "harassment and jackboot tactics against Loyalist paramilitaries by the RUC" and which went on to warn:

"Any unprovoked attacks or acts of brutality towards Loyalists by police will be met with decisive action."

When the RUC used the Divisional Mobile Support Unit—the riot squad—to police the funeral, the UDA afterwards launched their attacks.

In a few instances young Protestants did join in the stone throwing, but these were exceptional. For the most part the "riots" were a UDA affair.

The violence was brought to an end after two days when the UDA and RUC met in a house on the

Shankill Road. So much for not talking to terrorists!

The British government must share the blame for the violence. The security forces have sponsored and worked with loyalist paramilitaries over the last two decades. The hand grenades thrown by the UDA this July were imported from South Africa by UDA leader and army intelligence officer, Brian Nelson.

What the size of the "riots" proves is that only a minority of Protestant workers are attracted to the loyalist thugs.

But there is also a danger that anger at the Tories can be turned in a sectarian direction. This only plays into the hands of the Tories, who want to use divide and rule tactics.

Socialist politics can build on the recent examples of Catholics and Protestants uniting against the Tory cuts.

# Socialist Worker interviews a Greek socialist

## Rulers stir up racism and war

**As the Balkan crisis continues, Socialist Worker spoke to Panos Garganos of the Greek Socialist organisation OSE, about the issues that Socialists face in the region.**

**Socialist Worker:** Why did the Greek government recently expel thirty thousand Albanian workers?  
**Panos Garganos:** The Albanian economy is probably in the worst situation of all the former communist countries. So there has been enormous pressure on people to leave the country and find a job. At first the Greek regime was encouraging this, but then they started placing restrictions on the inflow of immigrants from Albania. When the government wants to play the racist card, it means attacking the Albanians. They are the scapegoats. The latest crisis came about because of a complicating factor—the Greek minority, of maybe 100,000, living in Southern Albania. There are nationalist elements within the Greek minority becoming more and more aggressive in pushing for Southern Albania to join Greece.

A Greek Orthodox priest was arrested by the Albanian government for distributing literature calling for the secession of Southern Albania. The Greek press reported that he was the local station master for the Greek CIA. The Albanian government expelled him and in retaliation the Greek government started the mass expulsion of Albanian workers. **S.W.:** Could you explain why nationalism is so strong in the Balkans?  
**P.G.:** The usual picture is that if you get areas of mixed population then it's inevitable that there will be confrontation. This is not true. In the strikes and demonstrations which led to the downfall of the Alia regime in Albania, Greek and Albanian workers were together. It was later on, with the collapse of the economy and the impotence of the new regime to provide any solutions, that nationalism was injected from above.

The same is true of the Greek side. The crisis in Greece is every bit as deep as the crisis in the rest of the Balkans. The economy is in a mess, public debt is out of control. So the government resorts to nationalist policies as a way of deflecting working class anger, and as a means of mobilising for intervention in the war in ex-Yugoslavia. **S.W.:** What effect has the Yugoslavian conflict had on Greece and how does it fit in with UN attempts to intervene?  
**P.G.:** There is a very clear campaign by Greece and Turkey, the two strongest countries in the area, to increase their influence. They are doing this in competition with each other. Despite the fact that both countries are members of NATO, there has traditionally been conflict between them. In 1974 there was a war over Cyprus and the hostility has continued since. **Involved** Both countries are heavily involved in the war in ex-Yugoslavia on opposite sides. Greece has supported Serbia, Turkey has supported the Bosnian government and its alliance with Croatia. Both countries see western intervention as a vehicle for their ambitions. Up until now the Serb



An Albanian refugee, expelled by the racist Greek government

side has been victorious and the West has more or less accepted this fact. The Greek side feels that its own diplomacy is winning and feels it is able to dictate terms to the weak regimes in Macedonia and Albania. **S.W.:** Could the UN bring peace by imposing some sort of partition on former Yugoslavia?  
**P.G.:** The United Nations and behind them the United States have held back from military intervention because of the problems both military and political. It is not because they are committed to any of the sides, they have changed sides according to who has been winning on the ground. The Americans used to support the Serbian president Milosevic as the strong man who could keep

Yugoslavia united. When Croatia and Slovenia broke away there was a U-turn in their policy. Now that the war is going Serbia's way US foreign policy is again turning towards the Milosevic regime. This means that at this stage the United Nations are trying to get the different sides to agree to a partition of Bosnia. Even if it was imposed this would be no solution because it would only freeze the national hatreds that have been created through the barbarities of ethnic cleansing. It would be an armed peace in the Balkans with every government waiting for the opportunity to strike back, to reverse the process. It would be just a short phase before a new confrontation. **S.W.:** What opposition is there to the Greek government's policies and how have socialists raised this in

the recent strikes in Greece?  
**P.G.:** The parliamentary opposition, the Socialist Party PASOK and the two wings of the Communist Party, have supported the government in its diplomatic manoeuvring. So, although the government has played the nationalist card by organising anti-Macedonian rallies and expelling Albanian workers, there has been no formal opposition. Outside this consensus opposition has developed in two ways. Firstly, on the question of military involvement. All the trade unions oppose any western intervention. Secondly the Greek government has tried to use the courts to silence opposition to its policies. This is where our case ties in. Five OSE members were taken to court for publishing articles and a pamphlet against Greek involvement in the war. There have been a number of other cases too. The attempt to use the courts has been opposed by the trade unions, particularly in the case of the OSE Five. During the strikes the slogan of "no soldiers for the war in ex-Yugoslavia" became popular with the strikers. Last autumn the government used the army for strike breaking against Athens bus workers. So a slogan was raised that the army should stay out of the strike and out of Yugoslavia, linking the two together. This kind of pressure has forced the Greek government to keep its involvement at a very low level. For example they contributed only one ship to the blockade of the Adriatic. Recently that ship was sabotaged when two sailors completely destroyed the transmission system by dropping nuts and bolts into it. The task that faces socialists, in the Balkans and in the West, is urgently to oppose the western intervention that is stoking the flames of war. This is central if we are to prevent the kind of horrors that are happening in Bosnia from spreading all over the Balkans.

## Israeli terror kills hundreds

Last month the Israeli Defence Forces launched a savage attack over 20 villages in Southern Lebanon. Over 150 Lebanese people were killed, many thousands more injured and nearly half a million fled northwards to escape the bombs and artillery shells raining down on top of them. The Israelis have claimed that these attacks are aimed at Hezbollah terrorists and their supporters. The scale of the attacks reveal this to be a complete lie. Even officers in the

Irish UN battalion stationed in Southern Lebanon have been forced to admit that innocent civilians are paying the price of this offensive. Mark O'Brien, the Military Information Officer with the 73rd UN Infantry Battalion, pointed to the inconsistency of the Israeli's claims: "How can you have pin-point accuracy in small villages with 155mm artillery fired from a distance of up to 20 kilometres?". Israel's claim that the current offensive is merely a response to Hezbollah attacks on settlements in Northern Israel is equally

unfounded. Israel has illegally occupied 10 per cent of Lebanese territory since 1978 and in 1982 invaded the country. It was responsible for the massacre of thousands of Palestinians in the Chatilla and Sabra refugee camps. Since 1982 Israel has continued to carry out military operations against Southern Lebanon, displaying a complete contempt for the Arab population. These latest attacks are deliberately designed to intimidate the Shia population of Southern Lebanon. **Regime** The Israelis want to see the establishment of a Lebanese regime that will cease to dispute the legitimacy of the Israeli occupation of the Golan Heights, the West Bank and Southern Lebanon. In particular, Israel wishes to secure control of the headwaters of the river Jordan which lie in the area, which they are now bombarding.

**A RACIST STATE** Israel claims to be a 'haven' for Jews fleeing persecution. But the vast majority of Jews live outside Israel. Indeed Jews who fled Russia and tried to go to the U.S. were turned around and sent to Israel, against their will. In reality Israel is a racist state, and Arabs are the victims of that racism. The Zionist philosophy treats Arabs as little more than animals. **Driven** When the State was set up in the 1940s about 700,000 Palestinian Arabs were driven from their land. Those who remained in Israel, got the lowest paid jobs and were denied civil rights. And if they resisted they were met with repression. Hundreds of Arab youths have been killed by Israeli troops since the Arab uprising, or Intifada,

began. Israel's main role is as an ally of the U.S. It is one of the most heavily armed states of the Middle East. Israel's treatment of Arabs is a mockery of the genuine fight against anti-semitism, by many Jews and non-Jews in the rest of the world.

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# As the Hume-Adams talks continue... Where are the Provos going?

by GORETTI HORGAN

AS the Hume-Adams talks continue, support for Sinn Fein in the North is holding firm. The recent local government elections showed this clearly.

Sinn Fein had been bracing itself to lose several seats; instead it won almost forty percent of the nationalist vote.

This increased support represented a protest at the continuing oppression of Catholics in Northern Ireland.

Discrimination in employment, for example, still leaves Catholic workers two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than their Protestant fellow workers.

But the increased militarisation and repression in nationalist areas accounts for most of the increase in votes for Sinn Fein.

The number of British army and RUC foot patrols has increased and, with them, the number of working class young people who get stopped, searched, frisked and harassed—often on a daily basis.

One BBC journalist found that, overwhelmingly, it is cars going into and coming out of nationalist working class areas that are stopped at checkpoints.

Small wonder, then, that people within those areas recognise the British presence as the cause of the problem and offer some level of support to the republican movement.

As Sinn Fein continually point out, those who vote for it do not necessarily support the IRA.

What has become increasingly clear, however, is that Sinn Fein's nationalist politics depends on the armed struggle to differentiate it from the middle class SDLP.

Sinn Fein's support comes mainly from working class people and this makes it more willing and able to speak up in defence of working class interests than the SDLP.

However, Sinn Fein is desperate to be seen as part of the legitimate political community, deserving of a seat at talks about a settlement.

## 'Reasonable'

So Sinn Fein members are careful to present a "reasonable" face on all matters not related to the armed struggle.

As the pursuit of votes and respectability blurs whatever vision Sinn Fein members once had for a different kind of society, one leading Sinn Fein member admitted at a republican conference in Derry's Guildhall:

"We're just the SDLP with guns."



IRA bombing in Newtownards

## A change of agenda

THE 1960s, 70s and 80s saw the emergence of national liberation movements in many parts of the world—the ANC in South Africa, the PLO in the Middle East, the FMLN in El Salvador and the Sandinistas in Nicaragua, to name a few.

The re-emergence of the republican movement in Ireland was part of that trend.

But although all of these movements talked of socialism, or at least of a better kind of post-liberation society, the

model they took for their "socialism" was that of the stalinist states of the USSR and Eastern Europe.

The collapse of stalinism in 1989 threw these national liberation movements into ideological disarray. All of them have moved sharply to the right in the early 1990s.

In South Africa, Nicaragua, El Salvador, even Palestine, they are now seeking to find some kind of accommodation with imperialism, some kind of deal which will bring them in from the cold.

Recent months have seen

similar moves by the Sinn Fein leadership. Gerry Adams, Martin McGuinness and Tom Hartley have all called for a "pan-nationalist" movement to force the British government into settling the Irish question.

## Proposals

Hartley called for the SDLP and the Dublin government to join with them in forcing the British hand. Adams even gave a "qualified welcome" to Dick Spring's proposals for joint authority between the Dublin and London governments.

Albert Reynolds supports the Cahill plan for Aer Lingus; John Major wants to close more hospitals than Maggie Thatcher.

Giving any support to the idea that these two could offer ANY improvement to the lives of working class people speaks volumes about the politics of Sinn Fein.

But the Hume-Adams talks are only one indication of the rightward trend in the republican movement. Within the nationalist ghettos, the main alternative Sinn Fein and the IRA offer today is an alternative police force.

Over the last few years, joyriders and people known to sell drugs or be involved in petty crime have been knee-capped by the IRA. One man who was known to have sexually abused a number of children was shot dead.

Some of these punishment shootings are popular in areas where people wouldn't dream of calling the police.

But many, especially young people, also see the punishment shootings as failing to recognise why it is that poverty, unemployment and hopelessness turn some young people to joyriding or dope.

## A socialist alternative

WITHIN Sinn Fein, there seems to be little or no debate about where the republican movement is going.

One former member, who left Sinn Fein in despair at the rightward drift, had spent twelve years in prison for his political activity.

"I've lost my politics since I came out of jail," he said.

"There, we were discussing politics all the time. Outside, it's awful, there's just no politics."

The Sinn Fein leadership now calls for European Community or United Na-

tions intervention in the North. This represents a total turnabout in their position. Yet there has been no real discussion within the organisation about this turn.

The idea that the EC or UN could help in the North is ridiculous.

## Solution

But it illustrates the fundamental weakness in the politics of Sinn Fein—that the Protestant section of the working class is seen as part of the problem, rather than part of the solution.

So, the EC or UN is seen as necessary following a

British withdrawal to "police" relationships between the two communities.

Adams and McGuinness assure the Protestant community that they will be treated "generously" in a united Ireland: "We understand your fears... we do not want to visit upon you the treatment Catholics suffered in this state."

But this "generosity" is based on a view that sees working class unity as a utopian ideal, that accepts the ruling class view of the problem in the North as about warring tribes as much as imperialism.

As a result, Sinn Fein ignores the working class in-

terest in order to play the Tories' divide and rule game. On the closure of hospitals in Belfast, Republican News concentrated entirely on the rundown of West Belfast's Royal Victoria Hospital, arguing that "jobs lost in West Belfast are less politically sensitive to the British and Unionists than jobs lost elsewhere".

Sinn Fein spokesperson Mitchell McLaughlin's response to the announcement of the EC structural funds for the North was to demand that nationalist areas "must be allotted a greater share of the structural funds than they have received in the past".

The Republican Movement's view of Protestant workers also fails to recognise the very real changes of recent years.

Not only has unemployment and poverty become a long term reality for many Protestant workers, but Protestant areas aren't immune from the increase in militarisation.

## Religion

The British army doesn't particularly care which religion the people it uses as human shields come from and, in parts of Newry, Derry and Belfast, have been happy to use Protestant workers and their

families.

But the nature of the IRA's bombing campaign over the last year has made it more difficult to argue with Protestant workers that they need to make common cause with oppressed Catholics.

It is chiefly Protestant towns that are being bombed—Newtownards, Portadown, Lurgan, Bangor, Coleraine, Magherafelt, all of them towns with Protestant majorities.

The IRA may not mean these bombs to be sectarian. But that IS the way they are seen.

The idea of working class unity is not utopian.

Working class people in the North unite with each other every day of the week—at work over pay claims, health and safety issues, bonuses etc.

And from time to time, they unite on the streets as well—as they've done in defence of the health service on many occasions over recent years.

What is needed is a socialist organisation that is involved in those united struggles but also points out that it is in the interest of all workers, Catholic and Protestant, to stop the repression and militarisation and to demand an end to the British presence.

THE LOCKOUT 80 YEARS ON... THE LOCKOUT 80 YEARS ON.

# 1913 - a year of bitter

THE 1913 Lock-Out came at the end of a great period of workers' militancy.

The years leading up to the First World War were known as the "Great Unrest". All across Europe, workers took to the streets and picket lines to fight for better wages and conditions.

Ireland was no exception. From January to August 1913 there were over thirty strikes in Dublin alone. The Freeman's Journal started printing a special column devoted to "Irish Labour Struggles".

This wave of strikes had seen the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union grow from a membership of just five thousand in 1911 to over thirty thousand by the summer of 1913.

One of the reasons for this was the absolute unity and solidarity between workers. Picket lines were never crossed. Goods were blacked everywhere if the company involved had a strike going on.

Above all, the bosses feared the tactic of the sympathy strike. This meant no groups of workers could ever be isolated and picked off. It was a real expression of the slogan "an injury to one

by **KIERAN GLENNON**

is an injury to all".

This willingness to fight had practically made Dublin a union town.

The only exceptions were Guinness and the Dublin United Tramway Company.

The other crucial element in the timing of the Lock-Out was that everyone believed that Home Rule was just around the corner.

The Lock-Out was a trial of strength to see which class would be dominant in the new Ireland.

Jim Larkin and James Connolly, leaders of the ITGWU, believed that

strong union organisation and militant tactics could break the bosses' power and make them dance to the unions' tune.

The bosses, organised in the Employers' Federation, wanted weak, compliant unions. This would guarantee the supply of cheap, unskilled labour on which they depended for their profits.

William Martin Murphy was an employers' leader who believed that "the dictator of Liberty Hall" had to be smashed. As well as being the chairman of the Tramway Company, he owned the Irish Independent.

On August 15th he made his move. Forty men in the Independent were ordered to leave the ITGWU. They refused and were sacked.

## Sympathy

The next day newspaper boys began blacking the Independent. Workers in Easons came out on sympathy strike.

On August 21st a hundred men in the parcels department of the Tram Company were sacked. The rest were sent a letter in the post demanding that they quit the union. They responded by voting to strike.

Work on the trams stopped on August 26th at 10 a.m. It was the week of the Dublin Horse Show, the high point of the social calendar for the glitterati.

But there was no nonsense about consumer-friendly pickets. Trams were abandoned where they stood in the streets.

Two days later Larkin and other union leaders were arrested. A union meeting planned for Sunday August 31st was banned. The judge who issued the ban, Justice Swift, was a shareholder in the Tram Company.

Murphy had arranged with the authorities to swear in a special constabulary. On the night of August 30th they

and the Dublin Metropolitan Police ran amok.

Pitched battles were fought between police and pickets. A vicious baton charge along the quays left two union men dead and hundreds injured.

The next morning crowds gathered in O'Connell Street for the banned rally. Larkin, free on bail but in hiding, had announced that it would go ahead, ban or no ban.

Larkin himself had to be smuggled into the Imperial Hotel (now Clery's) in disguise. He appeared on a balcony and removed the disguise before addressing the crowd.

It was the signal for a police riot. The baton charge was described by an English MP as "the most brutal constabulary ever let loose on a peaceful assembly". Four hundred people were injured.

The police brutality and the re-arrest of Larkin built up the bosses' confidence.

On September 3rd four hundred employers presented their workers with an ultimatum: renounce membership of the ITGWU or be locked out.

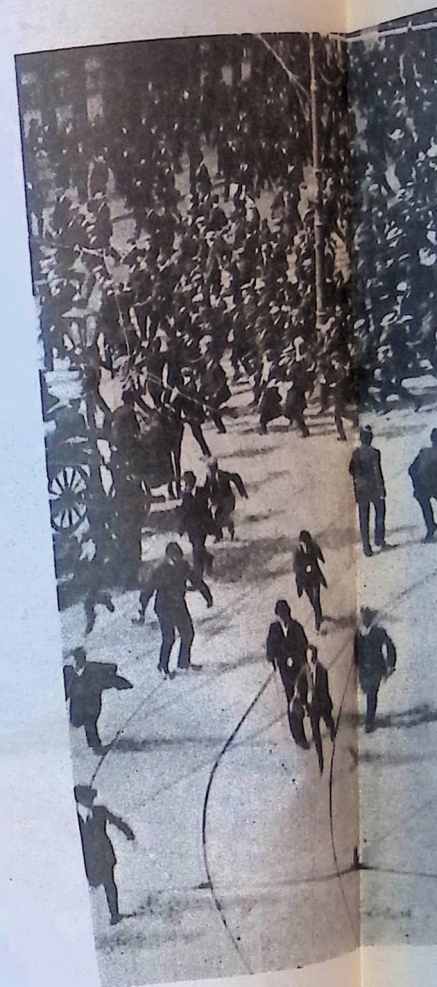
By the end of September twenty thousand workers were locked out.

The Lock-Out lasted until February, 1914. As well as police violence, the Dublin workers had to contend with starvation, denunciation by the Church, scabs imported from England and a refusal of the nationalist movement to come down off the fence.

But the unity of the Dublin workers held up. To protect pickets from police and armed scabs, the Irish Citizen Army was formed. A soup kitchen was set up in Liberty Hall.

The Dublin workers' determination to fight led Connolly to write:

*"Let them declare their lock-out; it will only hasten the day when the working class will lock out the capitalist class for good and all."*



Bloody Sunday in O'Connell Street August

## A 'British' betrayal?

MANY nationalists have claimed that British workers sold out the Dublin working class in 1913. The truth was different.

Two weeks after the Lock-Out began, Liverpool railwaymen began blacking all Dublin traffic. When they were sacked, an unofficial strike wave spread to Birmingham, Sheffield, Crewe and Derby. Union officials ordered them back to work.

Food ships arrived regularly in Dublin, full of food donated by co-ops across Britain.

Larkin realised that if the ITGWU was to avoid being worn down in a war of attrition it was essential to spread the dispute to England.

In November 1913 he set off on a "fiery cross crusade" across Britain, calling for sympathetic action by British workers. Nearly 25,000 people turned up to hear him speak in Manchester.

## Revolt

In South Wales thirty thousand railwaymen struck in support of the Dublin workers. The head of their union, J. H. Thomas, threatened to cut off their strike pay if they didn't go back to work.

In Belfast, then in the grip of anti-Home Rule revolt, dock workers struck against the importation of scabs.

This wave of solidarity and support led Connolly to declare: "In its attitude to Dublin, the working class movement of Great Britain reached its high point of moral grandeur."

However, he recognised that Dublin workers had been let down by what he called "sectional officialdom".

The top officials of the British unions and the TUC were appalled by Larkin's militancy, which they saw as a threat to their own positions.

Where Larkin wanted to organise a fight, they wanted to mediate and cook up a compromise.

Because of the desire of their own members to support the Dublin workers, these officials were forced to set up a financial support fund.

As an addition to sympathy strikes this would have been great. On its own it served to derail support for the locked out workers.

By December, British union leaders were instructing their members to co-operate in transporting scabs to Dublin. This spelt the beginning of the end.

The actions of these union leaders were not carried out because they were British or anti-Irish, but because they feared the possibility of their members becoming involved in similarly militant struggles.

British workers did not betray Dublin. Union bureaucrats, described by Larkin as having "neither a soul to be saved nor a body to be kicked", were the real traitors.

In fact, not only did British workers support the Dublin workers.

As far away as France goods from Dublin were blacked.

In an age before television it was a great example of international working class solidarity.

## Isolated at home

THE only support the Dublin workers got from the nationalist movement was from some sections of the liberal intelligentsia.

The author George Russell wrote a famous open letter to the Dublin employers. He accused them of having "determined deliberately, in cold anger, to starve out one-third of the population of this city."

He said their actions were "sounding the death knell of autocracy in industry... so surely will democratic power wrest from you the control of industry."

The main republican movement, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, refused to take sides. Individual members were allowed to give their support, but the IRB refused to get involved in what it said was "a sectional dispute".

The IRB was more interested in building support among all classes in defence of Home Rule. This meant co-operating

with the likes of William Martin Murphy, a former Nationalist MP. It also meant abandoning the Dublin workers.

The Irish Volunteers were founded at a meeting in November 1913.

Their joint secretary was Laurence Kettle, who used scabs on his North Dublin farms.

When he tried to address the meeting he was shouted down by ITGWU members.

They were chased from the hall with hurley sticks. Arthur Griffith's Sinn Fein denounced Larkinism as "an evil import".

## Smashed

The Ancient Order of Hibernians tried setting up a breakaway "Catholic Labour Union".

When this failed, they smashed the printing presses of The Irish Worker, the ITGWU paper.

The Catholic Church also weighed in on the side of the bosses.

A scheme was put forward to send the children of locked-out workers to England. This would have eased some of their financial burdens.

The Archbishop of Dublin published a letter accusing the children's mothers of abandoning their faith and handing over their children to godless foreigners.

Mobs of Catholic zealots assembled to block the ports and so prevented the children being taken away. Connolly responded by shutting the Liberty Hall soup kitchen and redirecting the hungry to the Archbishop's palace.

As he said: "It is a crime to deport Dublin children in order to feed, clothe and house them better than they were before."

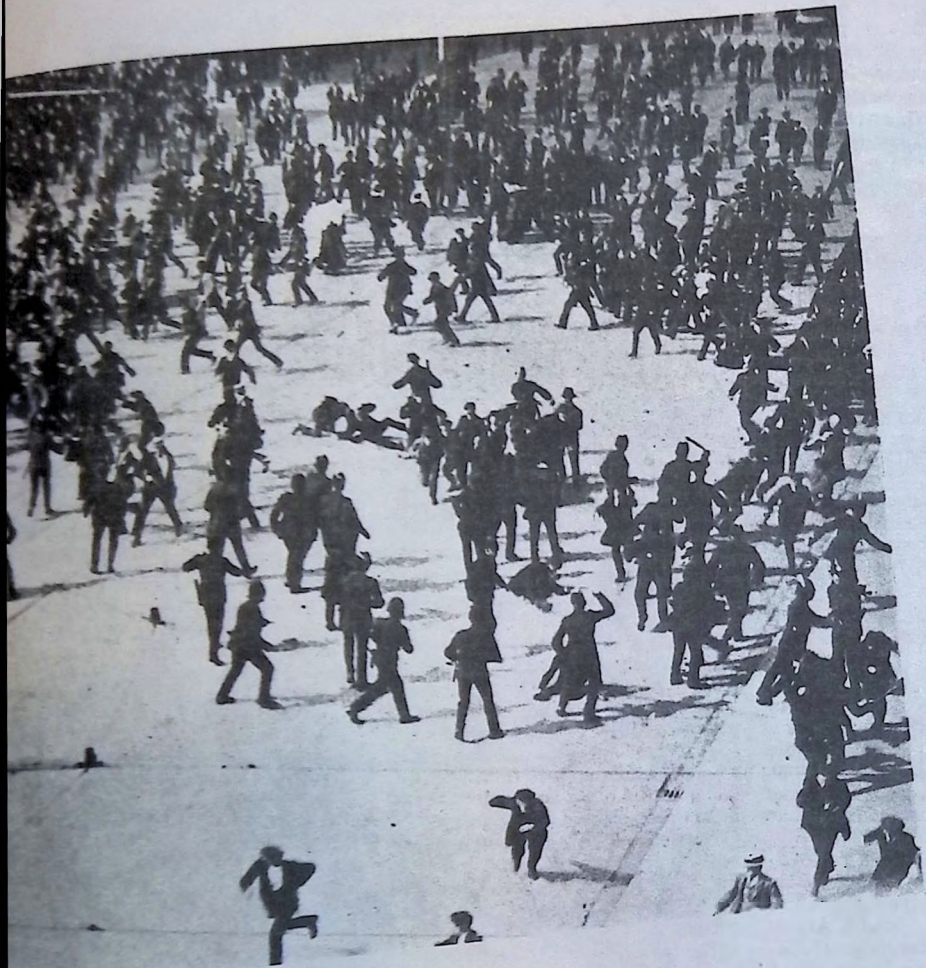
It is not a crime to import English scabs to take the bread out of the mouths of Dublin men, women and children."

Fianna Fail may hypocritically commemorate the Lock-Out today, but in 1913 their nationalist predecessors were at best "neutral" and at worst the sworn enemies of the Dublin workers.

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THE LOCKOUT 80 YEARS ON

# Irish struggle



31st, 1913

## The legacy of defeat

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the Dublin workers had sequences.

the defeat and the pro-Irish workers at the World War undermined the power of workers

the opposition to the war opportunity to attack Britain was drawn closer to nationalists. He had no link with.

in of pessimism and despair drift towards a militantly. It led him into 1916.

the Lock-Out also affected of the Irish working

Connolly, the most prominent, were both believed that strong organisation alone could. 1913 tended to dis-

More importantly, it left the field wide open for nationalism to become the dominant political idea in the South. Opposition to the war was led by nationalists, who led the Easter Rising and the anti-conscription campaign of 1918.

The successors of Larkin and Connolly, both in the ITGWU and the Labour Party, were less inclined to militant struggle. In-

stead of leading workers in a fight for their own interests, they bought the line that "labour must wait" and were content to play the role of a loyal opposition.

Ultimately, the defeat of the Dublin workers ensured the continued survival of the William Martin Murphys of this island. It ensured that the Free State set up in 1922 was a bosses' state.

## THE WORKING CLASS TODAY

TRADE union leaders claim that the struggle of 1913 could not be repeated today.

They claim that workers are better off and we have proper negotiating machinery which means we don't need such militancy.

But Irish workers have always been willing to fight. In the late 1960s Ireland had the highest number of strike days "lost" in the world.

And today there is a resurgence of militancy at Aer Lingus, Pat the Baker and elsewhere. Workers are once more beginning to realise they have to fight to defend their unions and their right to earn a decent living.

The real difference between now and

1913 is that today's trade union leaders are not the fighters that Connolly and Larkin were.

Today the bureaucrats have to be pushed from below to take action. And unlike Connolly (who was executed), or Larkin (who spent years in jail), today's leaders have huge salaries and perks.

Disgracefully, they welcome Fianna Fail - the bosses' party - to commemorations of 1913. They want to treat it as a safe distant memory.

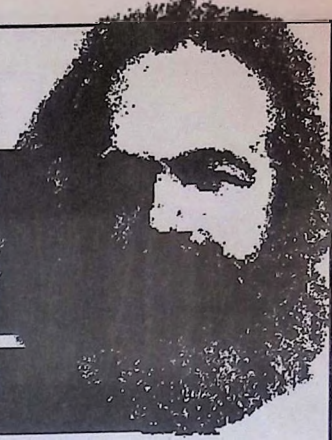
No wonder you often hear trade unionists bemoaning today's leaders with the words: "Larkin would turn in his grave."

It's time we forced the union leaders to lead a real fight to make William Martin Murphy turn in HIS grave!

MARY RYDER



Teach  
yourself  
Marxism



## Is there a gay gene?

The claimed discovery of a 'gay gene' recently has re-opened the discussion on the whole area of whether genes determine the type of person you are.

In essence the announcement amounted to the equivalent of the old adage that if women wished for a male child they should wear their boots to bed at the moment of conception!

There was no real basis for the scientific suggestion that they had found a 'gay gene', no grounds for world press headlines.

The claim was based solely on studies of 40 pairs of homosexual brothers of whom 33 sets had identical markings on the x chromosome inherited from their mother, the chromosome which also determines the sex of the child.

But as brothers they have thousands of genes which are the same. It is this inherited genetic material which creates family resemblances, means that a predisposition to certain diseases such as diabetes runs in families.

But what was forgotten in the rush to claim the discovery of the 'gay gene' is that even if it were true—and there is very little hard evidence to prove that it does exist—it neglects to say that there is no clear relationship between genes and human behaviour.

They can make square oranges or purple bananas by genetic engineering. Human beings however are primarily social animals, the product of their environment and of learning, even more so than just a product of genetic inheritance.

Marx said—long be-

fore genetic engineering or scientific knowledge of genes was developed—social being determines consciousness not the other way round.

That is why events in our lives—where and how we live, who we live with and our economic situation determines much more what type of people we are than some genetic feature.

These genetic feature can be radically altered by conditions in the outside world. At the very simplest level, the predisposition to diabetes is inherited. Whether the individual becomes a diabetic or not, depends on lifestyle.

### Explain

The scientific examination which was carried out to determine that these 33 of the 40 sets of homosexual brothers had a common gene did not take into consideration how much easier it would be to be open about your homosexuality if a close relative were open about their sexuality.

Nor does the gay gene explain why men come out of the closet at such different ages. Furthermore it in no way explains why homosexual behaviour in ancient Greece was perfectly acceptable while being gay in Ireland 2,000 years later is not.

Many gay men welcomed the 'discovery' arguing that it laid to rest the idea that gay sexuality is either 'immoral or 'unnatural'.

Some parents of gay men also welcomed it because it removed from them the burden that they might in some way have been responsible for their son's sexual behaviour.

But others were more cautious—fearing that yet again science would be used—not to better the world—but to offer simple solutions to very complex problems.

They argued that if a woman could determine in advance if her child was to be a homosexual she could choose to abort rather than carry the child to term, given the suffering many gay people undergo in this society.

Both sides in reality were looking for a simple solution to a complex human condition—what Stephen Rose, leading brain scientist denounces as 'reductionism'.

Many of those who push it are reactionary and some have even claimed that there are genes for alcoholism, unemployment, domestic and social violence, drug addiction.

This is the easiest cop out for those who cause the degradation and poverty that lead to these problems. It again blames the victim—if you are a drug addict, it is simply your own fault.

Our sexuality is completely distorted by the rotten society we live in—be that heterosexuality or homosexuality. The idea behind the gay gene is a grotesque caricature of a far more complex reality.

Homosexuality, like heterosexuality, is the product of a complex emotional, psychological, physical and social process.

That means that it is essential to question the motives behind the 'discovery' of the gay gene.

## How Marxism Works

by **CHRIS HARMAN**

Special Price: £2.00 + 75p postage

From SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

# US interventions in Iraq, Somalia...

# A return to colonialism?

By CONOR KOSTICK

**F**ROM the invasion of Panama in 1989, through the Gulf War against Iraq, to the recent killings in Somalia and Baghdad—the United States' rulers are behaving like colonial aggressors from a past age.

Certainly for Clinton to say that he "feels good about what happened" the day after 23 Cruise missiles left craters and bodies in Baghdad, shows the same sort of contempt that rulers of the old empires had for the people of their colonies.

Yet despite the superficial similarities, the situation today is very different from the heyday of colonialism.

In particular, the US today is a power in decline. Its policies may be brutal and dangerous, but they are not a result of complete domination—they are the policies of despair.

The race for colonies reached its peak at the end of the last century. It resulted from the fact that giant companies were growing up to dominate the capitalist system.

This was the era of monopoly: Carnegie in steel; Siemens in electricity; Morgan's shipping and Rockefeller's oil.

The bosses of these massive companies encouraged their governments to pursue a systematic policy of domination over the rest of the world.

As a result a fantastic scramble for colonies ensued. By the start of the First World War ninety percent of the world's surface was controlled by Britain, Russia, France, Germany, USA, Japan or Belgium.

Once the world's territory had been conquered the imperialist powers began to turn on each other.

As the threat of recession grew, so did the pressure to break into their rivals' empires.

**T**he conflict between massive capitalist concerns grew into conflict between the advanced nations, which led straight into two massive wars.

The outcome of the Second World War changed the pattern of colonialism. America's rulers emerged sufficiently powerful that they had no need for an empire.

Their economic dominance was such that the more the whole world was open to their goods the better.

After the War, half of the world's coal, two-thirds of the oil and half of the electricity were produced in the US.

In 1953 the US had five times more manufacturing goods exported than Germany, and seventeen times those of Japan.

Nevertheless the post-war period was far from peaceful. For one thing, a



UN tank in Somalia—part of the invasion force

mighty, if slightly weaker, imperialist rival existed in the form of Stalinist Russia.

For another, nationalist movements occasionally emerged to try and challenge their subordinate position to that of the US.

So the US kept troops stationed in 56 countries and was prepared to use them in order to keep its dominance. US forces organized a coup in Iran in 1953 to restore the Shah.

They took over Vietnam from the French in 1954, and also in that year the Marines backed a coup in Guatemala.

The Marines were used again in the Lebanon in 1958. 1961 saw the US back the failed "Bay of Pigs" invasion of Cuba and in 1965 the US supported coups in Brazil and the Dominican Republic.

Rivalry with the USSR, the "Cold War", meant that the US kept up a massive level of arms spending and fought wars by proxy, like the one in Korea.

**B**efore the war the US spent around one percent of its GNP on arms; in the decades after it, the average was more like ten percent.

This was still competition between imperialists, but no longer was there a direct profit from such military spending. Instead both superpowers were

locked into a situation where they were striving to keep each other at bay.

With the collapse of the USSR the US establishment was initially euphoric. They had won the Cold War and were the world's major superpower.

Even some of the left mistakenly believed that the world was now at the mercy of the US's rulers. Who, they asked, would provide opposition now that Russia had collapsed?

## Changes

This view mistakenly attributes anti-imperialist sentiment to Russia's rulers.

In fact every rouble of their military expenditure was directed solely to serving their own interests. It also misses the enormous changes in the world economy since the war.

The US has paid a massive price for its lead in arms manufacture. Year after year its companies were taxed heavily to pay for the arms race.

At the same time, in Germany and Japan investment in new production grew much more rapidly.

As a result the US trade balance moved into negative figures in 1971, for the first time since 1893. In 1985 the country became a net debtor for the first time since 1914.

Since then the situation has worsened. The US is now the world's biggest debtor.

The budget deficit is over three hundred billion dollars. Unemployment is

a record seven percent.

As the *Wall Street Journal* observed in 1987:

*"The US now sits in the bottom corner, where Britain was from 1926 to 1944. Such nations live on past credit, suck in foreign capital and can't save enough to finance domestic investment."*

The same dilemma that haunted the US establishment during the Vietnam war is with them today. They are by far the world's greatest military power, but to maintain that position is a drain on more productive investment.

**A**t the same time, precisely because they are not in a position to assert themselves economically, military action is an attractive gamble—if they can get quick results.

The most fundamental reason for the US's inability to rebuild an old-style colonial empire is this economic decline relative to its main rivals. But this does not mean their ambitions will just fade away.

Like a cornered tiger, the US's leaders become more dangerous and more vicious the more difficult their circumstances.

Three other considerations prevent them building an empire.

Internal bitterness at the policies of America's rulers is growing. The bur-

den of its economic difficulties is not being shared equally.

At the same time as welfare has been cut back and wages have fallen, *Business Week* reports that US executives earn 160 times the average pay of their employees.

**T**he current generation is the first in American history not to achieve their parents' living standards.

Millions live in poverty, particularly in the ghettos of the major cities.

America's rulers are not guaranteed support for their warmongering.

*Foreign Policy* observed at the end of the Gulf War:

*"The military victory in the Gulf does not alter the fact that such a vast development placed a serious strain on US society."*

That strain boiled over in the Los Angeles riots the next year, and explains why Bush's popularity plummeted despite its record high level during the war.

Secondly, the structure of the world is very different now to the start of the century.

Since winning independence from colonialism some states have developed their own "imperialist" ambitions.

Countries like Iran and Iraq have become sub-imperialisms vying for control of their own corner of the globe.

Their rulers are no longer willing to be mere puppets of the main imperialist powers. That explains why Saddam Hussein turned against the US, having been an ally of the West.

These rulers are no pushover—witness Clinton's continuing failure to oust Saddam.

The US ruling class has to keep trying to win allies within the sub-imperialisms—like Ali Mahdi in Somalia. US ambitions have been reduced to maintaining "satellite" regimes rather than winning colonies.

Finally, imperialist rulers and sub-imperialists increasingly fear the power of the world's working class.

This was clear in Iran when the Shah was toppled in 1979.

The West's rulers opposed the revolution, not because fundamentalism gained the upper hand, but because a huge workers' movement had toppled the Shah.

The US has to maintain a delicate balancing act. They need local rulers who can ensure stability and profits for western multinationals.

But they have to avoid provoking workers' anger, like that which erupted in Egypt and Jordan when the US went to war against Iraq.

The impotence of US imperialism is the real reason why it is slow to intervene in former Yugoslavia.

But imperialism will continue to lash out with horrific consequences until it is overcome by the world's working class.



# How Le Pen was stopped

At the start of last month, the French Nazi Le Pen, attempted to hold a meeting of far right MEP's in a Dublin hotel.

SWM members put up posters that same night advertising a rally in O'Connell St. with a broad anti-Nazi platform including a holocaust survivor, Des Geraghty the Demo-

cratic Left MEP, and a French Anti-Nazi.

The threat of an angry march and further action to drive the Nazi's out, combined with pressure on the hotel and the contin-

ued outcry in the media, proved too much. Le Pen backed off, with his press office citing "too much political controversy" as the reason.

A united left, deter-

mined to mobilise large numbers against the Nazi's, shows how to keep them off our streets. The SWM has a key role to play in initiating such united action.

Having been kicked out of Edinburgh by mounting anger and protests organised by the Anti-Nazi League, the fascists thought they could find a safe haven in Dublin.

However the news of their visit brought a storm of protest. Labour and Democratic Left TD's and MEP's condemned the planned meeting.

Within hours of hearing the news the SWM swung into action to bring the anger onto the streets.

## Telling Cahill where to get off

**GUESTS** at the luxury Westbury Hotel were given a shock when a large picket was mounted there at the end of July.

Trade Union Action organised the protest.

**TEAM** workers, SWM members and other trade unionists joined together to draw attention to the double standards that exist at Aer Lingus.

The Westbury is where Aer Lingus boss Bernie Cahill is

staying in luxury, while at the same time is demanding job losses and sacrifices from his workers.

### Support

The seventy strong picket drew

great support from passers-by and as one of the TEAM shop stewards said:

"We're saying to Cahill loud and clear—you're not going to get away with it!"

## WHAT'S ON

Branches of the SWM meet around the country at the following times and venues

<p><b>Athlone</b></p> <p>Meets every other Tuesday at 8.00pm, upstairs in Hooker Bar. See paper sellers for details of meetings.</p> <p><b>Belfast</b></p> <p>Meets every Monday. Socialist Worker on sale Royal Avenue every Saturday 1-2pm. See sellers for venue.</p> <p>10th August. Public Meeting: Can Protestant and Catholic Workers Unite? 8.00pm in Central Hall, Rosemary St.</p> <p>18th August. What do Socialists say about Israel?</p> <p>23rd August. Is Cuba the last Socialist country?</p>	<p>30th August. The Politics of Jim Larkin.</p> <p><b>Cork</b></p> <p>Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay.</p> <p>10th August: What do Socialists say about Israel?</p> <p>17th August: Can men and women be equal?</p> <p>24th August: Can Protestants and Catholics unite?</p> <p>31st August: The Politics of Jim Larkin.</p> <p><b>Derry</b></p> <p>Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers Pub, Orchard St.</p>	<p>10th August: What do Socialists say about Israel?</p> <p>17th August: Can men and women be equal?</p> <p>24th August: Can Protestants and Catholics unite?</p> <p>31st August: The Politics of Jim Larkin.</p> <p><b>Dublin North</b></p> <p>Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Conways Pub, Parnell St.</p> <p>11th August: Socialists and War.</p> <p>18th August: Cuba—the last socialist country?</p> <p>25th August: What do socialists say about Israel?</p> <p>1st September: The Politics of Jim Larkin.</p>	<p><b>Dublin South</b></p> <p>Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.</p> <p>12th August: What do Socialists say about Israel?</p> <p>19th August: Cuba—the last socialist country?</p> <p>26th August: Can Protestants and Catholics unite?</p> <p>2nd September: The Politics of Jim Larkin.</p> <p><b>Galway</b></p> <p>Meets every second Wednesday at Currans Hotel, Eyre Square.</p> <p>18th August: What do Socialists say about Israel?</p> <p>1st September: The Politics of Jim Larkin.</p>	<p><b>Waterford</b></p> <p>Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyzer St.</p> <p>12th August: What do Socialists say about Israel?</p> <p>19th August: Cuba—the last socialist country?</p> <p>26th August: Can Protestants and Catholics unite?</p> <p>2nd September: The Politics of Jim Larkin.</p> <p>To contact the SWM in Bray, Coleraine, Cookstown, Drogheda, Dundalk, Kilkenny, Limerick, Navan, write to SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB</p>
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## SWM NEWS

### SW Appeal: We reach £2,000!

Thanks to all our supporters who have helped us reach our £2,000 target.

We now have a room in Belfast to hold meetings in and use as an office.

Already this has made it easier to organise in the North and ensure a regular Socialist presence as an alternative to sectarianism.

Additionally we are re-equipping our national office. A serious revolutionary party needs to be able to respond very swiftly in

a world as unstable as ours.

From Le Pen's attempt to visit Dublin, to the sudden outbreak of fighting in the Lebanon, from protests at Telecom's new charges to the UN killings in Somalia—the SWM has been quick to take initiatives, print posters, leaflets and petitions.

Our new equipment will help us continue this activity. Please continue to send donations to:

SWM, P.O. Box 103, Belfast BT15 or P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8.

### NEW FROM THE S.W.M.

The latest *Socialist Worker* pamphlet puts forward the socialist solution to the deadlock in the North.

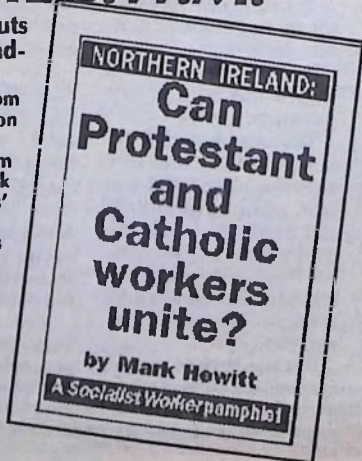
It shows in depth how all workers suffer from the existence of repression and discrimination against Catholics.

In the course of explaining how sectarianism evolved, and how it can be challenged, Mark Hewitt presents an inspiring history of workers' struggles in the North.

The main opposition to the sectarian state has come from Republicanism and Labourism. The pamphlet also argues that these traditions are limited and unable to bring about a decisive breakthrough.

For all the endless talks between the politicians, it is the working class which holds the key to ending sectarianism.

Our new pamphlet presents that alternative. Just £1 from Socialist Worker sellers or +50p p&p from SW Books, PO Box 1648,



## What we stand for

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

### FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system. It has to be overthrown.

The machinery of the capitalist state—parliament, courts, army, police etc.—is there to defend the interests of the capitalist class, not to run society in a 'neutral' fashion.

To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

### FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWM welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. Workers' revolutions are needed to win real freedom in the East.

We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

### FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.

We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry.

We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

### FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army.

Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

### FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

### FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

## JOIN US!

If you would like to join the SWM or receive more details, send this slip to:  
 SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

**VASCO PURSER** looks at a new book about the English Revolution "1649: The Crisis of the English Revolution" by Brian Manning £9.95 published by Bookmarks

## Cromwell and the revolution

THE name of Oliver Cromwell has always been something of a swear word in Catholic Ireland. Yet surprisingly the English ruling class has never been happy with him either.

The English revolution of 1640-60 which brought Cromwell to power is an episode they would rather forget.

So what really happened in the tumultuous years known as the English revolution?

England had been undergoing immense changes. Trade and industries were expanding, agriculture too was beginning to be commercialised.

Yet while capitalism was growing, the political structures were still controlled by the king and aristocratic landowners in the House of Lords. A civil war broke out between King Charles and his parliament, sparked by revolts in Scotland and Ireland.

Both king and parliament agreed that the Irish revolt should be crushed. An army was needed, but neither side trusted the other with control of it.

The civil war threw all the old structures into turmoil. Censorship broke down. Thousands of pamphlets and petitions were produced.

Small traders and merchants, craftsmen, artisans and yeoman farmers—what were known as the "middling sort"—began to formulate their own demands.

Radical groups like the Levellers argued for much wider voting rights, an annual parliament and an end to tithes, compulsory church taxes. They began to influence the rank and file in Cromwell's New Model Army.

### Flourished

Numerous religious sects, such as the Quakers, emerged and flourished as men and women tried to make sense of the extraordinary events.

Just a few years previously a lawyer, William Prynne, who criticised the church structure, had his ears cut off and his tongue pierced with a hot iron.

He was then given life imprisonment. Now civilians and soldiers alike often openly questioned their "betters".

By the end of the 1640s the civil war was threatening to turn into social revolution.

The king refused to come to any sort of deal. In order to put an end to the war and instability Cromwell organised the public trial and execution of the king in January 1649.

The House of Lords and the monarchy were abolished. For the next eleven years England was a republic.

The English Revolution cleared the decks of many of the old privileges and restrictions which stood in the way of the growth of capitalism. Trading monopolies were abolished, the Bank of England was set up, navigation acts helped free trade.

Although these were years of great turmoil the revolution was led by the likes of Cromwell, the lesser gentry, under pressure from the "middling sort" of small traders and producers. As such it was a minority, bourgeois revolution.

The mass of English people, the "poor", were never directly involved.

What happened in Ireland must be seen in this context. The Irish rebellion was led by the most conservative "rebels"—a mixture of Gaelic Irish and Anglo-Irish landowners. They claimed loyalty to the English crown against parliament.

Any attempt by European monarchs to restore the English throne would use Ireland. Indeed, the papal nuncio had assumed command of the Irish.

Cromwell's invasion was firstly about security for the English republic in a warring Europe. It was also a way of disciplining the mutinous New Model Army and of paying off debts with captured Irish land.

Karl Marx said that capitalism was a great step forward for humanity, bringing the modern world and with it the possibility for socialism.

He also said that it came into the world dripping with blood.

The English Revolution saw not only the final conquest of Ireland but also wars with Holland over trading rights and with Spain over who had the right to exploit Jamaica.

Jason McElligot reviews *Jurassic Park*

# Tight-fisted theme park

If you haven't yet seen *Jurassic Park* it's probably because you've become cynical in the face of the huge media hype about the film.

*Jurassic Park* actually lives up to the hype. I defy anybody to not jump or scream or both, at least once during this film.

*Jurassic Park* is, however, much more than a well made, no expense spared adventure film.

The performances from Jeff Goldblum, Sam Neill, Laura Dern and Richard Attenborough are excellent. Kids will love the monster scenes but much of the film is aimed at grown-ups.

*Jurassic Park* is based loosely on the experience of theme parks such as Disneyworld and EuroDisney. It demonstrates very clearly just what grubby shams these places really are.

Having spent last summer working in EuroDisney the opening scene of *Jurassic Park* workers



Hiding from the Velociraptors

lined up in silly uniforms sent a shiver down my spine.

### Stabbed

The terrifying "accident" which befalls one worker during the film was reminiscent of the fate of one of my workmates in "cash control" who was stabbed 33 times for £60 because EuroDisney re-

fused to pay for security for it's workers.

This tight-fisted ethic means that the park can be run by the minimum amount of labour, drives one *Jurassic* worker to spy for a rival company and sets in motion the chain of events which leads to disaster.

One of the most interesting parts of the film is a

scene in which the owner of *Jurassic Park*—Richard Attenborough— assembles the two Archaeologists—Sam Neill and Laura Dern—and the "Chaotician"—Jeff Goldblum to give the park their professional approval.

### Tampering

But the discussion quickly turns against him

and into a debate about the ethics of tampering with nature and genetics.

*Jurassic Park* is a highly enjoyable, well-acted and intelligent film. Don't wait for it to come out on video.

See it now, at least then you'll be in the company of hundreds of other screaming people and you might not feel as silly being terrified by a "kids" film.

Paul O'Brien reviews *Les Miserables*

# Musical that misses the point

LIVING conditions for the French poor in the early 19th century were almost unimaginably bad.

Trying to compete with the more advanced British industry, French manufacturers pushed wages down to below subsistence level.

The most successful areas of French industry were the luxury trades—lace, ribbons, porcelain and furniture—with the poor working up to eighteen hours a day for a pittance to decorate the persons and homes of the wealthy.

French society under Louis Philippe was a machine for taking from the poor and giving to the rich.

Louis Philippe came to power as a result of the revolution of 1830.

In three glorious days in July 1830, barricades went up in the streets of Paris and Charles X was overthrown.

The workers—"Les Miserables" in Victor Hugo's book—led the revolution, but the middle classes reaped the benefit and then turned the full power of the state on the workers when they tried to demand better wages and conditions.

"Les Miserables" is the story of Jean Valjean who, released after nineteen years on a chain gang for stealing food to feed his family, finds that the yellow ticket of leave



he must by law display condemns him to be an outcast.

### Unrest

He changes his name and starts a new life, but is pursued throughout his life by the policeman, Javert.

Jean Valjean's story is

set against the background of the great unrest in Paris and an attempted revolution in 1832.

An unlikely setting for a musical which opened in London in 1985 and has now played in eleven countries and fourteen languages.

In making the musical acceptable to the middle class all the radical content has been removed from the story.

Form becomes more important than content.

The sets, the lighting, the choreography are what the audience marvels at, and they are marvellous.

At the Point Depot in Dublin, where "Les Miserables" opened in

June, all the talk was about "the show"—the story was incidental, which (at least on the night I was there) got in the way for most of the audience.

But then it's hard to imagine the middle class getting too excited about a revolution.

Scared, maybe, but not excited.

Compared to "Cats" or "Evita", "Les Miserables" is in a class of its own.

The music and singing take it out of the middle of the road class of so many musicals and for those who like this form of entertainment it's well worth a visit.

But if you want the real story read the book by Victor Hugo.

If you have a story from your workplace phone (01) 872 2682

## INDUSTRIAL NEWS

### PAT THE BAKER

# Six-month strike continues

The strike for union recognition at the Pat the Baker factory in Dublin is approaching its sixth month.

Management have shut down the production part of the plant where the 25 workers were employed in the hope they will go away.

The strikers have intensified their campaign in recent weeks by visiting the parent factory in Granard, Co. Longford to issue leaflets outlining their case to other workers.

They continue to visit supermarkets around the country calling for a consumer boycott of Pat the Baker products. The strikers also hope that supermarket workers will refuse to handle the bread.

The strikers are angry at the way the Industrial Relations Act can be used to prevent this type of solidarity action by other workers.

The struggle at Pat the Baker is now seen as a battle that must be won, not just for the workers involved but for many others in low-paid, non-unionised jobs.

**Socialist Worker** spoke to two of the strikers, Alan and Jimmy, as they approach their sixth month on the picket line.

**Socialist Worker:** What made you decide to join a union?

Alan: A few of us have been in SIPTU since 1991. The management knew this. In fact we got a Labour Court recommendation that year saying Pat the Baker should recognise our right to join a union.

The simple reason was the conditions inside the

factory. The basic pay was £139 a week. You couldn't really refuse overtime.

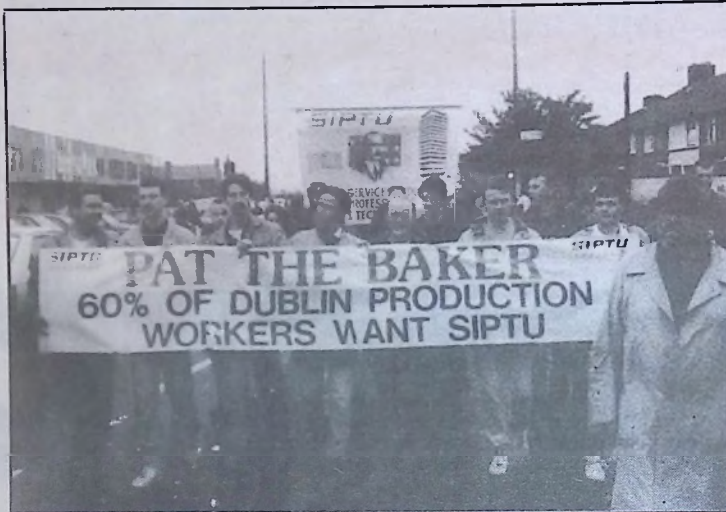
Sunday was paid as a flat day. You routinely worked six days a week. No canteen facilities or anything.

### Fed Up

Joining a union was the only way we could see of protecting our rights or bettering our conditions.

We were fed up with the treatment and abuse from management.

Jimmy: Before the strike one lad who was in the union went to management to get a letter for a mortgage—they put on it, pres-



ently employed but future uncertain.

**Socialist Worker:** The management have made a lot of noise about their Works Committee, how did it operate?

Alan: The Works Committee was a farce.

They only set it up after workers in Granard tried to set up a union—workers, who like ourselves, were then sacked.

The Works Committee is basically a boss' union controlled by management.

You'd raise issues on it but get nowhere. You were just fobbed off.

We told management that we weren't happy with the "Works Committee" and that we'd be joining a union.

They told us openly that the same thing would happen to us as happened in Granard.

S.W.: Recently some of the strikers visited the

Granard factory to leaflet the workers there. What was the reaction?

Alan: We didn't get near them. The management obviously knew we were coming and brought them in a different entrance.

As soon as we got there about 20-30 men came out with placards led by Frank Sheridan, head of the boss' Works Committee.

They kicked and spat at us. It was pure thuggery. The six lads had to get medical treatment after it.

Jimmy: We believe a lot of the thugs on the counter-picket didn't even work at Pat the Baker.

It's like they were hired for the day just to beat us up. To be honest it was frightening.

Alan: The following week another six of us went back and they were very quiet. We showed them we would not be intimidated.

S.W.: What support

has the strike got from other workers?

Alan: We've got good support from a lot of different groups, workers at Semperit, An Post, C.I.E., Waterford Glass sent us money from collections.

We also got a visit from strikers in Burnsall in England, who have been on strike for over a year.

They are a mostly Asian workforce.

They picketed with us for a while. It was a nice show of solidarity.

S.W.: How has the struggle affected the workers?

Alan: We're hopeful that we'll get more support from workers in some supermarkets.

Whilst the factory is officially closed, all the machinery is still inside—we feel they will open up again if we lift the picket, but we will continue our fight as long as it takes.

### DERRY SICK OF 'DOING THE DOUBLE'

Derry's Campaign for Decent Wages won a small victory for better wages and conditions on 22nd July.

A picket by the Campaign and local construction workers stopped all work on the Seagate construction site for seven hours. This forced the main site contractors into talks with Campaign representatives.

The talks focussed on employment, wages and conditions on the site. As on most sites in Derry, most of the workers are being paid below the union rate and are taken on only on condition that they "do the double" and stay signing on the dole.

This means they're not covered by insurance, pension or employment rights. Meanwhile, the sub-contractors' pockets are well-lined.

The main contractors agreed to put pressure on the sub-contractors to end these anti-worker practices.

Whether this will result in any real changes is yet to be seen, but the picket did show that an ounce of action is worth any amount of polite lobbying.

### DUBLIN BUS WORKERS RESIST NEW ATTACK

Workers in Dublin Bus have voted for strike action in an attempt to stop management introducing a two-tier workforce.

Management, led by bus boss Bob Montgomery, plan to introduce a number of minibuses on the No.22 route, and do away with some double-deck buses.

Minibus drivers are paid up to £50 less per week than doubledecker drivers. At present, minibuses are used only on one route. Minibus drivers can transfer to "big buses" after three months.

Bus workers fear that the No.22 is only the first of many routes to be converted. If that happens, the chances of transferring to big buses and better pay will be severely cut.

In the long term, it could lead to a two-tier workforce, with one group on bad wages and another on even worse pay with no chance of promotion. This would split workers and weaken union organisation.

Faced with this, bus workers voted 6 to 1 to strike if the plan is implemented. Although only Phibsboro Garage is currently affected, workers in all city garages saw the threat to their own conditions, and also voted to strike.

The vote was enough to force management to defer the introduction of minibuses for at least two weeks while talks went on.

Maintaining this unity will be important if Montgomery is to be stopped in his tracks.

### OPW WORKERS RESIST FORCED TRANSFERS

OPW members of IMPACT, the largest public sector union, in the Office of Public Works struck last month.

The one day stoppage was in protest against the Fianna Fail/Labour carve up of the Heritage Services and the compulsory transfer of three staff to Michael D Higgins' Department of Arts and Culture.

Over a hundred people took part in the Day of Action.

## ISSUES FOR THE LABOUR MOVEMENT

by KIERAN GLENNON

# Fighting for fair employment

Northern Ireland was a state founded on sectarianism and discrimination. Apart from the political structures and gerrymandering, this was also reflected in employment practices.

Catholics were constantly denied access to jobs, especially in the civil service. But loyalist bigots cried out whenever they thought "Protestant privilege" was under attack.

In the 1920s the Ulster Protestant Voters' Defence Association claimed that Catholics were getting preferential treatment.

They claimed Protestants were being kept out of 'protestant' jobs at Stormont.

But a relieved Minister of Labour was able to reassure Stormont: "I have investigated the matter and I have found that there are thirty Protestants and only one Catholic, who is there on a temporary basis."

As part of the attempt to "normalise" the North under direct rule, the Fair Employment Commission was set up. But, by and large, it has had little effect.

The FEC's own report for 1991-92 shows that while Catholics make up 40 per cent of the population, only 12 per cent of

workers in Shorts, and only 6 per cent of the Harland and Wolff workforce, are Catholic.

Discrimination is still part and parcel of the North, as a British government report leaked to the *London Independent* showed.

### Conditions

It found that Catholics were more likely to be unemployed, have lower qualifications, live in overcrowded conditions and be dependent on social security.

But Protestant workers have not benefitted from this. The sectarian divisions fostered between

workers have helped ensure that Protestant workers' average income is 23 per cent lower than that of English or Scottish workers.

Nor have sectarian divisions shielded Protestant workers from unemployment.

The Shankill has had an unemployment rate of around 30 per cent for the last decade. Last month, Gallagher's in Ballymena, a mainly Protestant town, announced that it was laying off 300 workers.

Now arch-bigots like Gregory Campbell of the DUP are reviving the old claim that Protestants are losing out as a result of

"reverse discrimination" in favour of Catholics.

Shorts recently announced it was laying off 700 workers. They used the FEC as a smokescreen to pick and choose who would lose their jobs.

### 'Attitude'

Claiming that they were trying to increase the Catholic proportion of their workforce, the redundancies were based on individual assessment. The criteria used included skills, timekeeping and "attitude".

This allowed management to single out shop stewards and other "troublemakers" for the sack.

Length of service was explicitly excluded, on the recommendation of the FEC. This opened the door for the loyalist bigots. They claimed that Protestant workers, who would traditionally have had longer service, were being discriminated against.

The starting point for socialists is to argue for no redundancies. When Protestant and Catholic workers come together to fight against all job cuts, pay cuts, "assessments" and injustices, they will be able to undermine discrimination in a way that the Fair Employment Commission never can.

But what do we say if a fight against redundancies

fails? Would we then accept the notion that Catholic workers should get "preferential treatment"?

Socialists and trade unionists have to oppose anything that increases the sectarian tensions between workers. A workforce weakened by suspicion and mistrust is a pushover for the bosses, whose only religion is profit.

That is why—as a last resort—we stand for the old principle of "last in, first out". This prevents individual assessment being used to target militants or to foster religious divisions.

In the long run, the pay and job security of all workers will only be improved if they fight as members of the working class, regardless of religion.

# Socialist Worker

**Inside:**  
**Is the US returning to colonialism?**  
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## As the 'bastards' fall out...

# IT'S TIME TO SINK THE TORIES

THE Tories are in a complete mess. In last month's Christchurch by-election they lost one of their safest seats. The defeat came only a week after Major referred to his opponents in the cabinet as "bastards". His remarks revealed the depth of the Tories' divisions. Meanwhile the Northern Ireland Tory party seems to be falling apart. William Bleakes, chairman of the Northern Ireland Conservative Councillors Association said recently: "We're suffering because of the government's unpopularity and are facing a long hard struggle to survive." The government is weak, but

it is also nasty. Hardly a week goes by without an announcement about major job losses or a factory closing down. In one week we had 300 redundancies at Gallaghers in Ballymena and 130 workers were laid off at a car components factory in East Belfast. And the Tories try to tell us that the recession is over!

### Rescue

But look who comes to their rescue! At the crucial vote in Westminster on the Maastricht treaty none other than the Official Unionist Party voted to keep Major in government. But it's not the first time the Unionists have helped the Tories. In February 1992 they voted for the Industrial Rela-

tions Order which—among other things—prevented unions from disciplining scabs. And last Autumn the Unionists helped Major to survive a vote of "competence" over the pit closures. The Unionists are the same politicians that have recently been making themselves available to speak at demonstrations against the health cuts. Next time Rev. Martin Smyth or Ian Paisley raise their voices at our protests against the government, we should shout them down for the Tory hypocrites that they are. Meanwhile we should build a fightback against every cut and every closure. Now that the Tories are in disarray, workers' action can finish them off.

