

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

INSIDE:

Downing Street
Peace Fraud—PAGE 3
Italy & Russia: Is
fascism returning?
—PAGE 4

Why the

Shares up 50% last year

bosses love

Reynolds and

Spring

After a year in office, the Fianna Fail/Labour Coalition has brought a bonanza for the rich.

A survey of Ireland's top business leaders has named the Labour Party leader Dick Spring as the politician they expect to perform best next year.

They have every reason to feel confident.

The parasites who deal on the Irish stock exchange have seen the value of their shares rise by 50 per cent.

Companies like Allied Irish

Banks which now employ large numbers of 'yellow pack' workers saw their profits rise to £300 million in 1993.

When Spring was in opposition he denounced the Golden Circle of crooks who were ripping off the Irish taxpayer.

But a year later, not a single one of them have been put behind bars or even fined a single penny.

The Coalition have set out to encourage the greed of Ireland's fat cats.

They hope that they might create a few more jobs by way of crumbs to the rest of the popula-

tion.

But Ireland's capitalist class prefer to encourage emigration rather than create jobs.

They sit back in their fancy golf clubs and restaurants while workers sink deeper into poverty.

And the scale of poverty in Ireland is now truly shocking. Last year, the Catholic relief agency St Vincent de Paul gave out funds to 200,000 people.

Their donations had risen by £200,000.

In Clare, the Catholic priest Fr Harry Bohan reported that there had been nine suicides in Octo-



Darlings of the rich



ber alone. He put it down to the rise in unemployment.

Now the Coalition are drawing up new plans to attack working people.

Ahern has hinted broadly that a pay freeze is needed in the public sector.

Tragically the union leaders have crawled back to him to negotiate a new PESP.

And now plans are being drawn

up for 'workfare' for the unemployed.

The Coalition want to force people to work for their dole so that they can undercut existing workers.

If the Irish business class have named Spring as their best performer, then it is high time that the Irish working class started to look to a real socialist party to do some performing for them.

Millions of kids die

Eight million children die each year from 5 diseases which could be prevented.

According to a new UNICEF report the diseases are diarrhoea, pneumonia, measles, tetanus and whooping cough.

Millions of kids also

suffer from goitre or enlargement of the thyroid gland.

Twenty one per cent of school-age kids in the Mid East and North Africa have this condition which results in iodine deficiency.

At least 30,000 babies die and 120,000 are born mentally retarded

each year because iodine is not available in the local diet.

The resources to prevent these diseases exist but free market greed ensures kids go on dying.

UNICEF also says that 1.5 million children have been killed in wars in the past decade.

It should be remembered that while the biggest capitalist powers like the US pay lip service to UNICEF their own bloody wars have resulted in many of those deaths. Kids in Iraq still die today from cluster bombs left by UN forces during the Gulf War.

The Tories Thorp time bomb

THE British Tory Government's go-ahead to the Thorp Plant at Sellafield will lead to many deaths.

The UK National Radiological Protection Board has estimated that radioactive gases discharged by the plant will cause two fatal cancers and a hundred skin cancers each year.

Independent scientists have suggested that this

may be underestimated by 3-5 times.

Assurances by British Nuclear Fuel Ltd. that the plant will be safe are a sick joke.

The safety record of the existing plant is appalling.

Last year the BNFL were fined, for breaches in the nuclear safety

regulations.

But the fine of a mere £16,757 shows how seriously the offence was viewed.

The nuclear waste that will be reprocessed at Thorp is ten times more radioactive than the fuel currently reprocessed at Sellafield.

Scrapped

Nuclear waste has become so dangerous that Germany and the US have stopped re-processing it.

The German govern-

ment even scrapped a £1 billion plant after a public outcry.

The Tories who have given the go-ahead to Thorp do not care about the lives of British workers in Cumbria or Irish workers on the east coast.

The FF/Labour government have expressed 'deep regret' at the Tory decision.

But it is pure hypocrisy. Reynolds has attended EC meetings and did not try to stop EC funding for Thorp.

STUDENTS FIGHT GRANTS CUT

STUDENTS across Northern Ireland are planning major protests against the latest Tory attacks.

Kenneth Clarke's latest budget means that students will lose 30 per cent of their grant—10 per cent for each of the next three years.

Now the National Union of Students has set 20 January as the date for local action against these cuts.

Before Xmas students throughout Britain had begun a series of occupations.

Students in Glasgow, York and Sheffield held mass meetings and took over parts of the colleges in protest.

Socialist Worker Student Society groups in Queen's, Magee and Jordanstown are taking up petitions pushing for special union meetings to call for action.



The projected extent of significant radiation-induced health damage following a major loss of containment accident at the Windscale (Sellafield) reprocessing plant. (a) significant inhalation dose (up to 10 deaths per 10,000 people affected); (b) radiation dose at which evacuation is necessary

Peter Pringle appeal

PETER Pringle says he was wrongly convicted of the murder of Garda Henry Byrne in 1980.

Yet he was originally sentenced to hang for the murder—a sentence which was commuted to 40 years in jail without remission.

Pringle is now appealing to the Supreme Court on the grounds that he was convicted on the basis of a statement he never made.

Gardai said he told them: "I know that you know I was involved (in the murder)..." but Pringle says his words were: "I know that you think I was involved..."

Pringle also said that Gardai presented to the court several statements he never made and withheld crucial evidence.

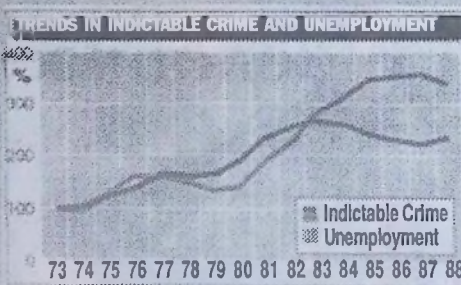
He has even been backed by Justice Egan of the Supreme Court who was his counsel in 1980.

This case shows that ten years after Nicky Kelly's release miscarriages of justice still go on in Ireland. Peter Pringle should be released immediately.

Crime report

The annual report from the St Vincent de Paul Society shows a clear link between unemployment and crime (see graph).

But all the Coalition has to offer in its latest "crackdown" on crime are more gardai and prisons.



Rags to riches

IT seems that Bill Clinton has hit a new low in tax dodging.

During the eighties Slick Willie sold his old underwear to charities and claimed back inflated amounts for them on his tax returns.

Long Johns

Clinton valued 3 pairs of underwear at \$2 a pair in 1986 and a pair of long johns at \$15 in 1988 according to the Washington Post.

Clinton supported his 1986 tax return with a list headed "Salvation Army 12/27" for which he claimed a deduction of \$555.

Major Dewey



Clinton: Smarty pants

Anderson of the Salvation Army in Little Rock said:

"We don't usually get used underwear very of-

ten. "But usually it will be sorted through to see what's usable and the rest sold as rags."

UNIONIST TOFFS

UNIONIST MP, William Ross, is delighted that his fellow toffs are being looked after.

Peter Brooke, Lord Belstead and Michael Mates were each given an £8,000 handshake after leaving their Ministerial positions in Northern Ireland.

Ross thinks it is a good idea because they have to make an 'adjustment'.

For Brooke, this adjustment is not too difficult. His little grant comes on top of a salary of £63,000 a year.

FATHER CLEARY

Socialists did not shed any tears at the death of Father Michael Cleary at the end of December.

The "peoples' priest" was an out and out bigot. On a Late Late show appearance he said young people were being led astray by "communist infiltrators".

Cleary claimed that the X-case was a fraud organised to test the anti-abortion amendment.

He led the campaign against the 14 year old rape victim's right to travel for an abortion and used his radio show to set up the right wing group Youth Defence.

No one who stands for women's rights should mourn his passing.

Rich pickings in Russia

Greedy Irish eyes are smiling at the prospect of rich pickings in the former Soviet Union.

Two Irish exploration companies Aminex and Ovoca Resources are ready to get in on the action.

Aminex is investing in an oil-field in the Komi Republic in Siberia where there are oil reserves of 1,200 barrels a day.

And Ovoca is taking over development of a quarry in Georgia which has the world's biggest deposit of a chalk-like material used in brewing, wine making and food.

The quarry is on land owned by the Eastern Orthodox Church, now Georgia's biggest landowner. The Church owns the majority of the land in a country the same size as Ireland.

The substance Ovoca will be mining sells for £380 sterling per tonne but it will only cost Ovoca £10 stg a tonne to mine because of the low wages paid to workers in Georgia.

Rents up

THE Housing Executive in Northern Ireland has announced that rents will rise by another 7.5 per cent this year.

And the Tories say we must take a pay freeze. They must be joking.

We Think

The Downing Street peace fraud

TENS of thousands took to the streets of Northern Ireland last year to demand peace. They were sick of the killings and harassment that has mainly affected working class areas.

Why Adams wants in



THE Republican leadership have not yet rejected the Downing St declaration.

Instead, according to Adams, they are consulting 'community, business and church representatives' as well as their own membership.

Even if the declaration is rejected in the end, the hesitation shows that a major shift has taken place in republican politics.

A few years ago the Downing St declaration would have been rejected out of hand for the waffle it is. Two things have changed in the meantime.

Firstly, the IRA leadership recognise that the armed struggle is going nowhere. Twenty years after they proclaimed a 'Year of Victory' in 1974, they are no nearer their goals.

They have not been defeated by the British army -- but neither can they make any serious advance.

Secondly, the republicans are also responding to the interests of the growing Catholic middle class which has made significant gains under direct British rule.

This class regard talk of a British withdrawal as 'unrealistic' and prefer to assert their 'Irish identity' now.

Adams hopes that Sinn Féin can replace the SDLP as the main party for Northern nationalists and become the true representative of this class.

He believes that he can follow the path of Fianna Fail in the 1920s and put down the guns in order to become the main nationalist party with a base in all classes.

Socialists will shed no tears when the IRA eventually drop their armed struggle. It is a counterproductive tactic that sometimes increased sectarian tensions with the bombing of mainly Protestant towns.

But for those who have fought the sectarian state for more than two decades, the choice is not limited to either armed struggle or joining all party round table talks.

There is an alternative which the republican leadership no longer even consider—a return to the type of mass struggle that underlay the early Civil Rights movement.

This could also help the take the fight against oppression out of the Catholic ghettos and involve Protestant workers in a general fightback against Tory rule.

From both Catholic and Protestant workers there was a genuine desire for unity. When Paisley condemned the ICTU organised peace marches he was ignored by huge numbers of Protestant workers.

The Downing St declaration by Major and Reynolds has been issued in response to this desire for peace. But it will do little to resolve the Northern conflict.

Cynical

It has been written by cynical diplomats who think that the problems of the North can be solved with 'the right form of words'.

A government spokesperson in the South summed up its contradictory aim. It was designed to 'be tolerable to the Unionists but persuasive enough to the IRA for it to call a ceasefire'.

This is why it is based on hints, ambiguities and clever word games.

Major and Reynolds claim that they want to 'de-militarise' the North. But

their declaration says nothing about removing the British army and the RUC from the areas where they are hated and despised.

Reynolds says that the British government now recognise an Irish right to self-determination. But before the declaration was issued he himself said: "We are not looking for self-determination in Ireland as a whole collected in a single entity".

Reynolds and Major claim they want to bring the republicans into 'the political process'. But they offer nothing to the 1,200 prisoners in Northern Ireland who have been jailed because of the political conflict.

Major and Reynolds are hated in their own countries. Major's Tory party is trailing the Liberal Democrats in the polls while Reynolds led Fianna Fail into an election last year where it got its lowest vote since 1927.

Both of them are desperate to be seen as 'statesmen' so they can get some respite from the anger and bitterness that surrounds them.

But the Northern conflict will not be solved by two weak right-wing politicians who are courting media fame and hype.

PAISLEY WHIPS UP HATRED

IAN Paisley claims that the Downing St declaration is designed to lead the Protestant people against their will into a united Ireland.

This is rubbish. Paisley's real aim is to give the nod and wink to the loyalist paramilitaries. He pretends to warn against a civil war—while whipping up the rhetoric to inflame the loyalist paramilitaries.

This is nothing new. In 1966, when a UVF member, McClean was charged with the murder of Catholics he proclaimed in court "I am sorry I ever heard of that man Paisley or decided to follow him."

Paisley knows that there is seething anger at the poverty among Protestant workers today.

Areas like Glencairn have now 70 per cent unemployment while only 13 out of 390 children in the Shankill Road passed their 11 plus last year.

Many Protestant workers know that the Tories are to blame.

But Paisley wants to divert this anger onto the Catholics. This is why he whips up the siege mentality and talks about how Catholics have received special favours because of the violence.

Paisley can be isolated and beaten. If the labour leaders were to launch a real fight against the Tories, it would create the best conditions for showing Paisley up as the bigot that he is.



Major, Reynolds and Spring—not much to declare

The Socialist Answer

THE Downing St declaration does nothing to tackle the roots of the violence in the North -- the sectarian state which has always treated Catholics as second class citizens.

Instead of pinning any hopes on Major and Reynolds, we need to build up working class unity from below. The first step in that will mean building a united fight against Tory plans to impose a wage freeze, to cut student grants and to put YAT on fuel.

But workers' unity will also

mean Protestant workers turning their backs on sectarian bigots like Paisley and the Orange establishment who try to scapegoat Catholics for Protestant poverty.

It will mean Catholic workers breaking from their own middle class politicians who claim their problems will be solved by pressing for a separate and distinct 'identity' to Protestants.

Above all it will require the building of a socialist organisation that wants to overturn the two rotten states which have brought about a carnival of reaction since they were first created.

Amnesty hypocrisy

THE Tories have ruled out an amnesty for IRA prisoners in the event of a peace deal.

Michael Mates the former Northern Security Minister said there are no political, only criminal, prisoners in Northern jails.

Dick Spring said that an amnesty could be "examined" if IRA violence ceased.

There are about 450 Republican prisoners in jail in Northern Ireland. Of these 93 are serving life sentences, 73 are on "fixed" terms of more than 20 years and 176 are serving more than 10 years.

The longest serving prisoner is Ronnie McCartney in jail since 1975

for the attempted murder of a policeman in England.

McCartney was jailed during an IRA ceasefire and did not believe that the armed struggle would last very long.

People like McCartney should be released. They are not criminals but are political prisoners who engaged in armed struggle because they saw it as the way to end sectarianism in the North.

The hypocrisy over IRA prisoners is shown by the lenient treatment given to British soldiers and police officers who kill and maim. They are usually guaranteed an automatic amnesty.

Of more than 350 deaths caused by the security forces only four have

resulted in convictions.

Last month the two soldiers who killed Fergal Caraher in Co Armagh in 1990 were cleared of murder.

Sir Brian Hutton, the Lord Chief Justice said that civilians who witnessed the murder had lied on oath simply because they had all seen the same solicitor before making statements.

Fergal Caraher's widow Margaret condemned the verdict saying:

"We have come to expect nothing more from the legal system in the North of Ireland.

"In all the talk of peace, all of that declaration, there is absolutely no word of state violence, of the people responsible for killing Fergal."

Fascists grow in Italy and Russia

MSI feeds off Italy's crisis

Last month, fascists polled over 40 per cent of the vote in a number of major Italian cities.

Despite this big vote, the media and politicians breathed a sigh of relief when the fascist MSI failed to win the mayorships of Rome and Naples.

Victory there went to the left wing PDS—the old Communists.

But complacency about the fascists in Italy would be disastrous.

The MSI effectively became the second largest party in large areas of Italy.

Its leader Gianfranco Fini and its Neapolitan candidate, Alessandra Mussolini, have built up strong local popularity and profiles.

They received a huge boost when one of Italy's biggest businessmen, Silvio Berlusconi—owner of a media empire, supermarket chains and AC Milan football club—openly called for support for them.

On the streets the fascist trade union CISNAL joined in recent protests at government attacks on pensions and 7,000 school students in Rome marched in support of Fini.

The danger is now that the fascists could become the main opposition party after the next general election in 1994.

The strong vote for the PDS means that it is likely to form a major part of a coalition government.

But the tragedy is that it will try to manage Italian capitalism.

After the recent local elections the PDS leader rushed to assure the stock exchange that it had nothing to fear from his party.

It has also talked about an "alliance for progress" with the rotten, discredited Christian Democrats.

Betrayals

As the crisis in Italian politics grows, disillusionment with the PDS betrayals could create even greater support for the MSI.

But there is another alterna-

tive.

The last year has seen a tremendous rise in Italian workers' militancy.

The exposure of government corruption and links with the Mafia led to huge demonstrations across the country.

Fiat workers have struck and students have occupied schools.

There have been a number of general strikes.

When Berlusconi made his support for the MSI known, workers in one of his magazines struck for three days in protest.

The Italian working class has a proud history of militancy and anti-fascism.

The MSI can be stopped and a fightback against the government won if this anger is given a lead.



Anti-fascist rally in Rome last month

Their bloody record

THE Irish Times referred to Mussolini's "relatively tame version of fascism".

This idea is dangerous. Italian fascism has always been steeped in terror.

Benito Mussolini's rise to power was based on the strength of his "action squadrons"—the blackshirts.

They destroyed trade union councils, workers' clubs and left wing newspaper print works. Hundreds of workers were murdered.

Under Mussolini all op-

position was repressed and workers' rights crushed.

In 1935 he invaded Abyssinia—now Ethiopia—and used aircraft, tanks and poison gas against a poorly armed population. Thousands were slaughtered.

Deportation

In 1938 anti-Semitic laws were introduced and during the war the fascist militias co-operated with the German deportation of Italian Jews.

The MSI is a direct con-

tinuation of Mussolini's party.

Despite attempts at portraying a respectable image during the election, they have a long history of violence.

The MSI's previous leader, Almirante, was arrested for helping the leader of a fascist terror group to escape from Italy.

In 1976 another MSI MP fled Italy while under investigation for the murder of a Communist supporter.

During the 1970s and 80s, members of the MSI

were involved in a group called "New Order", which carried out the biggest atrocities in post-war Italy.

These included the killing of eight anti-fascists in Brescia in 1974 and the Bologna railway station bombing which left 85 people dead in 1980.

During the election MSI thugs attacked left wing canvassers, trade union offices and immigrants.

Like fascists anywhere, the MSI wants to build a movement with the ability to smash all opposition on the streets.

Russia's Nazis gain from chaos

THE fascist Vladimir Zhirinovsky was the main winner in last month's Russian elections. His Liberal Democratic Party got 24 per cent of the vote, with the former Communists getting 11 percent.

Despite overwhelming media support President Yeltsin's supporters—Russia's Choice—received only 14 percent. Nearly half the population did not bother to vote at all.

This shows the enormous disillusionment with Yeltsin's market "shock therapy". Three years ago any politician calling themselves democratic received massive support. Most people were sick of Communist rule.

But the most prominent democrats, backed by western leaders, have pushed through the market reforms. This suited two groups who benefited under the old system—the heads of state corporations and black marketeers.

For the mass of workers and pensioners, though, conditions were made even worse. Living standards fell by half as prices doubled every couple of months.

As a result the former democrats split into rival groups, blaming each other for the mess. Yeltsin used the army to close down the old parliament and scapegoated national minorities.

Now Zhirinovsky's fascists are reaping the rewards by attacking the market reforms. His extreme nationalist and racist ideology has already been made

respectable by Yeltsin.

Zhirinovsky claims to represent the ordinary people of Russia. But his election campaign was financed by big business and his biggest support comes from the army.

Desperate

Yeltsin responded to Zhirinovsky's success by insisting the "shock therapy" would continue. His deputy prime minister Gaidar called on other parties to join a broad anti-fascist government.

But this will simply drive more desperate people into Zhirinovsky's arms.

Yeltsin has also hinted that he can work with Zhirinovsky. However this will inevitably mean concessions which can only increase his respectability. There is one group pow-

erful enough to stop the fascists—the Russian working class.

In the run up to the elections 50,000 miners struck in the Vorkuta region of Siberia.

The government was forced to accept some of their demands and more could have been won if the union leaders had not called off the strike.

Most of these workers did not vote for either Zhirinovsky or Yeltsin—over two thirds abstained.

They have the power to bring down any government and to stop Zhirinovsky ever coming to power.

But that means linking the fight for democracy with the fight against soaring prices, unemployment and poverty.

It means fighting for genuine socialism and workers' power.

They can be beaten

The big votes for fascist parties in Russia and Italy are truly shocking.

Across Europe fascists are becoming part of the political mainstream.

But while the press and television focus on the voting figures, they don't say how these Nazis can be stopped.

Fascism grows by feeding off despair.

In Russia the introduction of the market has not ended the miseries of the old Communist system but has made things worse.

In the West recession once again means mass unemployment and fear for the future.

In Russia Zhirinovsky's rise has been compared to Hitler's in Germany.

But the situation is not yet as bad as that.

Hitler's triumph was not just based on winning votes, but also on building mass fascist organisations.

These were used to attack and ultimately destroy workers' organisations.

Today's Nazis have made electoral gains, but they are still weak organisationally.

Zhirinovsky, for instance, won 11 million votes by toning down his speeches to appear respectable.

But only 500 turned up at a pre-election street meeting in central Moscow.

The enormous anger that exists against the system can go to the left or to the right.

The Nazis can be beaten by uniting people in a fight against their real enemies—the bosses and their system which breeds fascism.

That means building socialist organisations that will lead that fight.

How the Church controls our schools

A recent survey has shown that a majority of Irish parents now want multi- or non-denominational education for their children.

But the Bishops are organising to resist any change.

Recently they have got the backbenchers in Fianna Fail to pass a resolution demanding that the church be left in control of the schools.

The Bishops want to use the schools to push their morals and religion on a changing Irish population.

A document from the Vatican Congregation for Catholic Education published in 1988 states:

"Through the Catholic school the local Church evangelises, educates and contributes to the formation of a healthy and morally sound lifestyle among its members."

The Irish state has long accepted this right to indoctrinate children.

The official rules for National Schools even demand that "a religious spirit should inform and vivify the whole work of the school".

Religion is not supposed to be excluded from any part of the school curriculum.

The Department of Education teacher's book for Irish language conversation classes, for example, still includes instructions to children on how to build a May altar!

Only ten out of the 3,235 ordinary primary schools are not controlled by one of the various churches.

The scandal is that the state puts up 90 per cent of the costs of each school and then hands them over to the Bishops to run.

The Bishops are guaranteed a majority on every primary school Board of Management and insist that a local parish priest—who often knows nothing about education—gets to be the chairman of the Board.

To keep their control, the Bishops are discriminating against any teacher who has 'doubtful' views on religion.

In 1985 the Catholic Primary School

Managers Association issued a set of guidelines on how to interview and assess candidates for new appointments.

The first criterion was that the applicant was a "practising Catholic".

This was subsequently defined as a regular attender at Mass who attempted honestly to abide by the commandments.

The famous Irish writer John McGahern, for example, was sacked from his job as a primary school teacher for not living by these commandments and being in a state of "moral turpitude".

Preserve

In the secondary schools, the Catholic church have only now set up Boards of management that involve lay people.

But speaking in January 1987, Br Declan Duffy explained why.

He said that the new Boards were designed to "preserve and promote the required ethos in Catholic voluntary secondary schools after the departure of members of the religious orders."

Even in the VEC schools, which are not owned by the Catholic Church, there is an attempt to promote a religious ethos.

■ The schools close for denominational feastdays;

■ Catholic religious symbols are placed on school property;

■ The religious outlook of applicants for teaching posts has sometimes been a factor in the recruitment of teachers.

When proposals for multi-denomina-



tional community schools were set up in the 1970s, the Church denounced them as "nationalisation by stealth".

The state backed down and gave religious orders the right to appoint their own members as teachers.

The real scandal is that teachers unions like the INTO have stayed quiet on church control.

Despite the fact that this control means discrimination, they have not come out for a secular education.

The fight to get secular schools cannot be left to Niamh Breathnach who is set to compromise with the Bishops.

Rank and file teachers should start to argue that their unions take up a position for secular education.

The Hidden Ireland by Mick Doyle

The Blood Brothers

Despite a flood of horror stories concerning the Christian Brothers it's not uncommon to hear people rally to their defence.

They'll claim they provided an education nobody else offered or that there's no point in dragging up the past.

The days of savage masters with their copper-laced leathers and hickory pointers have passed into history.

Many of those brothers are dead, and those still living are winding up their days in half forgotten priories. But their victims are still trying to put their lives together.

As a result of their experiences in school thousands of Irish men suffer emotional, sexual and psychological problems and a woeful lack of self confidence.

The very word "school" throws many men back to a classroom where there was a palpable air of fear.

Pat: "When I think about school...I mean...it was the first time I really knew fear, real fear, yeh know. I swear I've never known fear like that since, even when I was in the Leb."

Most men will tell you the Nuns used violence as well, but the real violence, the kind that paralyses you, the kind that can make you physically sick, came with the Christian Brothers.

Mixer: "I 'member going in there to get bet black and blue. Black and blue they bet us."

They presided over a regime no-

torious for its severe discipline and ludicrous rules.

Oscar: "We had one Brother who used to blow his whistle whenever we were in the yard. You had to freeze in whatever position you were in at the time.

"Then he'd walk in and out between us and if you moved an inch you were done for."

As recently as the seventies "telling tales" often earned you another beating at home, an indication of the teacher's undisputed authority.

If physical abuse had to be hidden a boy wouldn't dream of talking about sexual abuse.

Daish: "One day me and some of the boys were messin' in the yard, wrestlin', yeh know. Well this brother stopped us in the corridor after break and accused us of feelin' each other up."

"We didn't know what he was talkin' about but he kept at it until he got us to admit it. He threatened to send a letter to our parents but he never did."

"I think he was just playin' with the idea of tryin' somethin' on us."

Many brothers had served in the infamous reformatories and industrial schools. Their opinion of working class boys differed little from that towards their former charges.

Class discrimination was endemic. Working class boys with learning difficulties were inevitably left behind.

Jowy: "I was in a slow learner's row. Everyone in that row was a son of a factory worker or a labourer. The

teachers just ignored us - except when they wanted somebody to thump.

"There was one Brother - I'll never forget that bastard - he didn't even try to teach us. One summer before the holidays, he gave the class an exam. He told us not to bother doing it, that he'd give us a mark. He gave me 17 per cent."

"It was better than I would've got, and my mother thought I was improving, but I knew it was wrong. Even then, I was only eight or nine. We had him for two years and he never tried to teach us."

When a system turns out generation after generation of young men who are illiterate or semi-literate, whose only memories of school are of sickening fear, sarcasm and maniacal outbursts of violence is it any wonder they assume it did exactly what it was supposed to do?

Is it any wonder they look on it with fear and hatred? Is it any wonder they become enemies of it, and of the system as a whole?

Those who want to keep the past buried have to be challenged. The only chance for many to salvage some sort of normality may be an opportunity to talk about what happened to them.

The stories will keep coming and so they should. No child should be systematically terrified, beaten and humiliated.

No child should be denied a proper education or have to suffer so much for one, and no society should ever again tolerate a system that engages in those practises.

CLASS IN THE CLASSROOM

RELIGIOUS control of education leads directly to a bias against working class education.

■ A survey from the National Parents Council in 1991 found that

35 per cent of primary school funds are contributed by parents, either directly or through the parish contribution.

Parents in wealthy areas, of course, could contribute much more than those in poor areas.

As a result primary schools in working class areas are more run down and less well equipped.

A secular system of education would make sure that all schools received equal levels of resources.

■ Many church run secondary schools operate 'entrance exams'.

These are used to exclude working class children who have not performed well in primary level. The Churches try to push these students towards the VEC sector.

■ The class bias means that fewer working class people leave the schools with a Leaving Cert. Only 37 per cent of the children of unskilled manual workers get the Leaving Cert compared to 93 per cent of upper non manual employees.

Why the courts ridicule marital rape

THE first case in Ireland of a man charged with raping his wife, showed up the deep prejudice of the courts and exposed the media as deeply anti-woman.

The trial, in early December, came about when a woman charged that her husband had raped her on two occasions.

Until recently the law did not recognise such an offence.

A man could have sex with his wife whenever he wanted as if she were his property.

But this trial showed that even after recent changes in the law there is a vicious sexism in Ireland's judicial establishment.

Throughout the trial, newspapers ran front page headlines focusing exclusively on the woman's past sex life.

The *Sun* said: "Rape" victim had three lovers". "Torment of husband accused of 'Rape'" said the *Star*.

The woman in the case had "admitted" to having three affairs over a ten year period. The reports implied that such a woman could not be believed.

Much was made of the fact that an earlier trial had collapsed because the woman had lied about her relationship with another man.

However, given the media reaction to her past it is hardly surprising that any woman would feel obliged to hide this fact.

Throughout the trial, the notion that a man could rape his wife, particularly this woman, was ridiculed.

The woman was a "liar", a "cheat", who wanted to get rid of her husband so she could continue her affairs.

However her treatment at the hands of the court was no different.

At one stage the judge, Justice Carney, attacked Olive Braiden of the Rape Crisis Centre. He said the centre had in the past shown an "indifference to the truth".

The top Progressive Democrat politician who, was a defence barrister snidly commented that the women should not be victimised "because she was a tramp".

Contempt

However contempt for rape victims is the norm in Irish courts.

In a number of recent court cases such as that of Lavinia Kerwick and a 13-year-old in Donegal, the accused who admitted the charges were subsequently released by the court.

Behind the media's and the courts' attacks on this woman, lay an attempt to ridicule the whole idea of marital rape.

The picture of a woman being manipulative and fabricating rape charges allowed the media to downplay the instances of such attacks.

Yet all recent surveys show that women are most at risk from someone they know—husband, boyfriend or ex-lover. And 80 per cent of all rapists are known to their victims.

A recent ISPCD survey showed that the family home was the most dangerous place for children. According to its figures, one fifth of today's adults had been "constantly" attacked as children in the family home.

One tenth were attacked "savagely" and one eighth had suffered sexual abuse in the home.

These figures undermine the notion that our rulers like to foster of the family home being a haven for women and children.

The coverage of this trial paralleled a recent case in Britain which sought to downplay the instances of rape.

In one case, a female student who accused a male student of a "date rape" was viciously hounded by the newspapers.

Because she was drunk on the night of the attack, the papers ran headlines like "Slut of the Year".

In America, a recent book, "Sex, Fear and Feminism on the Campus" has received massive publicity.

The book claims that the problem of "date rape" and sexual harassment against women has been greatly exaggerated.

Its author, Kate Roiphe—a Republican—blames feminists for creating an atmosphere of "rape crisis melodrama".

It ridicules the notion that rape and harassment are serious problems faced by women.

The right wing want to constantly downplay the reality of rape.

It does not fit with their picture of the role of men and women in society, but instead raises questions about the kind of society that gives rise to such an horrific crime.

Belfast 1919:

When Catholic and Protestant workers united

by **Conor Kostick**

On Saturday afternoon, 25th January 1919, the gas and power workers of Belfast walked out on strike.

They wanted the working week to be reduced to 44 hours.

That evening Belfast was completely blacked out. The city was to remain without power for nearly a month.

The following Monday, thousands more workers joined the strike. All electricity supplies were now cut, with exception made for hospitals.

In the huge engineering works of the shipyards, managers tried to keep work going with their foremen and apprentices. 2,000 striking engineers broke through the gates, pulled out the apprentices and stoned offices.

By Friday, Belfast was in

the hands of the strikers. 40,000 were officially on strike, another 20,000 were laid off because their works were closed.

Those on strike were enthusiastically involved in it's organisation.

Huge crowds flooded the city every night for rallies and meetings.

Mass pickets kept engineering works and power stations closed.

No one could travel past the picket on Queens Road without a travel permit from the Strike Committee.

When the Belfast Telegraph tried to use some of the power allocated for the hos-

pitals to keep its presses running, a large crowd stoned in its windows for several nights until it was forced to close for a week.

The workers produced their own paper the "Worker's Bulletin", eighteen issues of which came out during the strike.

The Mayor of Belfast later admitted that from this time he "was absolutely at the mercy of the strike committee."

The reporter for the Manchester Guardian wrote:

"Soviet" has an unpleasant sound in English ears, and one uses it with hesitation; but it nevertheless appears to be the fact that the Strike Committee have taken upon themselves, with the involuntary acquiescence of the civic authority, some of the attributes of an Industrial Soviet."

Echoes of Russia

The importance of the 1919 strike cannot be overstated.

It's outcome was to determine the future shape of Ireland.

For it took place at the most dangerous time the capitalist classes of Britain and Ireland had ever faced.

The echoes of the Russian Revolution were resounding throughout Europe.

At the same time that the Belfast workers were on strike, the papers were full of news that a soviet revolution was taking place in Berlin.

In Glasgow a similar general strike was under way for the shorter working week.

In the South of Ireland resistance to British rule was escalating dramatically, driven mainly by workers and the rural poor.

Sinn Fein members victorious in the recent General Election had just met to set up Dail Eireann and declare their independence.

It was no wonder that the Belfast Telegraph and Newsletter's editorials were urging workers not to strike because "the whole world was in the melting pot."

The industrialised North-East of Ireland had been considered the stronghold of the ruling class, where they had the greatest hold over the hearts and minds of the working class.

Hostile

After all, there had been a long tradition of sectarianism.

Huge loyalist mobilisations had taken place before the war to prevent Home Rule and demoralise those hostile to Unionism.

However the war years had exposed the lie that Protestant workers would benefit from uniting with their employers in Loyalist organisations.

Thousands of working class men had been sacrificed by the British ruling class for their war effort.

On one day alone—1st July 1916—2,000 men of the Ulster Division were killed and

3,000 wounded at the battle of the Somme.

Throughout the war, working class living standards had been eroded through inflation. Northern workers had been hit hard, and their anger turned towards the rich who had been making fabulous profits out of the war.

Even before the general strike, Edward Carson, leader of the Unionists, had been worried that Belfast's working class were liable to desert Unionism for Socialism.

With the outbreak of the general strike, it was clear that workers had heard enough speeches about King and Country, and were out to fight for their own interests.

For three weeks they had their bosses on the run.

The troops go in

On Monday 3rd February, the strike committee refused to bring out the Transport workers.

J.Milan told angry crowds that "The transport workers would come out at any time, but they hadn't called on them as the strike committee wasn't sure that it could run the city."

The strike committee was afraid of events escaping their control. But once they had decided not to escalate the dispute, they were inevitably going to try and sell their members short.

The following week the Strike Committee decided to try and end the strike with a deal which offered nothing more than the 47 hour week the government had conceded before the strike began.

Given that Glasgow had been occupied by troops and the workers forced back to work two days earlier, the Belfast rank and file showed

remarkable determination when they voted to carry on the fight.

The turning point came on Saturday 15th February. The authorities had finally gathered their nerve to send in troops brought up from Dublin.

Fully armed troops fought running battles with strikers through the streets of Belfast as they tried to escort scab trams.

Again the Strike Committee betrayed the rank and file, lifting pickets of power stations rather than confront the troops. Angry meetings of strikers accused them of being a "pack of twisters".

Once the key power stations were open and trams running, the morale of the strikers quickly sank. By February 20th the dispute was over, and was bitterly seen to be a defeat.



From loyalty to rebellion ...

Sinn Fein

The events of 1919 were important proof that Protestant workers can break from Unionism, and unite with their Catholic work mates.

The majority of strikers were Protestant, the leader of the Strike Committee, Charles MacKay, was a Catholic.

Coming at the start of the War of Independence, it pointed to an alternative to partition. Northern workers in fierce conflict with the Orange employers could have been attracted to the goal of Irish independence - but only if the

new Ireland was to

ist one. Sinn Fein were to establish a Southern state, and because of close ties with the Church, they treated

workers with contempt. Only a month after the general strike, the material in Belfast distributed to workers, including

statement: "As Irish Catholics by all and every means in our power Church and National a demoralising and



Munitions engineers

nd Protestant



n turns a blind eye

education system which a Foreign Parliament would impose on a partitioned North-East corner." The Sinn Fein Dail did not make any note of the strike when it was in progress. It was up to the working class of the South to strengthen their ties with their comrades on strike in the North - and to prove that they were willing to fight for more than a poor Catholic nation. Tragically the only organised representatives of the Southern working class were the Labour leaders. Just like the Labour Parties

of Europe today, the then Labour leadership were opposed to a workers' revolution. They were attracted to the idea of a new Southern Irish State, in which they could be a major party. It was Labour leader Thomas Johnson who coined the phrase "Labour must wait". As a result the Labour leaders failed to mount any significant challenge to Sinn Fein. They also did next to nothing to support the general strike. It was left to tiny numbers of revolutionaries and trade union militants to work their

hearts out in trying to build a lasting spirit of socialism from the strike. Despite their scant resources—they did not even have a newspaper of their own—the small group of Belfast revolutionaries gained a hearing from thousands of workers. The Unionist leader R.D. Bates estimated that a quarter of the strikers were "out-and-out socialists and extremists." However the leadership of the strike remained in the hands of a conservative grouping of Labour officials.

Divide and Rule...

In the immediate aftermath of the strike, the political repercussion echoed on. The May Day march that year in Belfast was the city's biggest ever Labour march. A hundred thousand workers marched at the initiative of the "little band of disgruntled Red-socialists who opposed the Unionist Labour candidates" as the Newsletter grudgingly described them. Even more impressively, the radical socialist Sam Kyle topped the poll in the local elections of 1920. He gained 23 per cent of the Shankill vote, on a platform that included independence for Ireland as being in the interests of workers. But as the impact of defeat wore on, the mood amongst Protestant workers began to swing away from hope in socialism and trade unions, to despair. One of the aims of the strike had been to provide jobs for ex-servicemen. Now it had failed, the unemployed Protestants turned towards the Orange order. In 1920 the loyalist marching season coincided with a slump and large numbers of layoffs. Carson whipped up sectarian hatred in his speeches, pointing to Catholics and Socialists as the source of Protestant working class misery. The shipyard employers arranged that the extreme loyalist organisations could hold meetings in the shipyards. Out of work ex-soldiers and raw apprentices gathered to be told that the way to protect their futures was to stand up against those who wanted to bring "bondage and slavery" from the South. **Pogrom** These mobs went through the shipyards attacking those who were considered disloyal. Ten thousand workers were driven out, including over two thousand Protestant Trade Unionists. Even the conservative Strike Committee leaders were caught up in the pogrom. Belfast was not unique in this backlash. The defeat of the Glasgow general strike led to a similar reactionary mobilisation of the unemployed, in their case, against black dockers. Not surprisingly, soon after this smashing of Trade Union organisations, the employers reaped the reward. Wages took "an amazing downward plunge." Eighteen months after the general strike, the high point of the workers movement had been transformed by defeat into its opposite. Nevertheless, 1919 proved that the workers of Belfast had been willing to fight the Orange elite, and fight in the most militant fashion. In the struggle they had forged unity between Catholic and Protestant. Had they a leadership worthy of their efforts, then North and South, the history of Ireland could have been very different.

Is Loyalist violence a response to the IRA?



by Brian Hanley

workplaces terrorising Catholics and forcing workers to join the strike. However most large workplaces with a majority of Protestant workers, particularly the power stations, supported the strike and brought down the power sharing executive. In 1977, Paisley attempted to lead another strike to demand a return to Stormont. This time the strike didn't have widespread support among Protestant workers. The loyalists resorted to intimidation. Harland and Wolff workers who voted against the strike were told their cars would be burnt. Armed UDA gangs forced pubs and shops to close. The key power station, Ballylumford, was visited by Paisley and its workers threatened by the UDA. The strike collapsed after a couple of weeks failing to win mass support. Paisley again flirted with the paramilitaries in 1981. He set up his "Third Force" and held marches and rallies led by masked and uniformed thugs carrying clubs. Despite Paisley's threats of civil war he dropped his Third Force when he decided to return to respectability. In the aftermath of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in 1985, loyalists once again took to the streets. Sectarian killings rose and rallies and another strike were held. Paisley and his deputy Peter Robinson were centrally involved in setting up a uniformed paramilitary group "Ulster Resistance". In 1989 South African arms bound for Ulster Resistance were captured by police. Paisley has consistently used ordinary Protestants as a stage army and used paramilitaries as muscle. When it suits him he drops them. Outside Northern Ireland Paisley is associated with right wing bigots and racists. Paisley regularly travels to the US as a guest of Bob Jones, a fundamentalist preacher who runs a whites-only university in South Carolina. When he tours in the US, Paisley devotes most of his speeches to attacking communism. In Britain, Paisley's closest associate for many years was the Rev. Brian Greene who stood as a Nazi National Front candidate in the 1970s. The official unionists have maintained a seemingly more "moderate" position than the DUP. But in the past it has also rubbed shoulders with the murder gangs, as in the 1974 UWC strike. **Tipped** Now John Taylor, hotly tipped as a future leader of his party, justifies sectarian murder by stating that: "The harsh reality is that as one walks down the street and goes to work, one out of every three Roman Catholics one meets is either a supporter of murder or a murderer." The Ulster Unionist Party has consistently supported the Tories in parliament. Taylor himself, while an MEP, joined the Euro-fascist group led by Le Pen. Despite Ulster Unionism's claims to represent ordinary Protestants, the Unionist politicians have always represented the Ulster bosses, and have used sectarian hatred to divide worker from worker.

UNIONIST politicians are whipping up sectarian hatred in order to help maintain their position. To do that they are trying to pretend that loyalist violence is only a 'reaction' against that of the IRA. The reality is that loyalist violence has always been regarded as a legitimate response to defend a sectarian state. And despite condemning UDA and UVF attacks, unionist leaders have a long history of links with loyalist gangs. Ian Paisley began his political career in the 1950s with a group called Ulster Protestant Action. This group included those who had taken part in the anti Catholic pogroms of the 1930s and it planned to attack Belfast Catholics in the late 1950s. From the UPA came the UVF in the 1960s. **Tougher** In 1969 loyalists bombed electricity stations and reservoirs in order to point the finger at Republicans and get tougher measures taken against the civil rights movement. Centrally involved were members of Paisley's Free Presbyterian Church and his Ulster Constitution Defence Committee. By the time of the 1974 Ulster Workers Council strike both Official and Democratic Unionists co-operated with the UDA. Masked UDA men manned barricades and toured estates and

The parliamentary road to nowhere



by Kieran Allen

HOW do we get change? One answer is to get the right people elected to parliament.

It is an argument that wins support from all Labour Parties. They claim that if workers united at the ballot box, they could outvote the few capitalists.

Real socialist laws could then be passed which benefit ordinary people. Instead of working for revolution, socialists should be 'realistic' and work within the system.

This argument is in fact profoundly unrealistic because it fails to understand how power is exercised in our society.

As the British socialist RH Tawney said of attempts to reform capitalism: "You can peel an onion layer by layer but you cannot skin a tiger claw by claw."

To see why this is we have to look at how parliament and elections are organised in our society.

Elections in capitalism do not provide an even playing pitch where the Left and Right compete. Right wing governments can promise the world at election time—knowing that they will not be held to account afterwards.

They can also choose the timing of elections and with the help of their friends in big business sometimes manoeuvre temporary upswings in the economy.

The present Tory government in Britain is pushing through a wage freeze and huge cuts in public spending now, in the hope of producing a temporary boom in 1996 when the general election occurs.

The constituencies that choose TDs or MPs are based on geographical boundaries which mix together the conflicting classes. To win seats, representatives have often to avoid 'extreme'

policies which put the interests of the working class to the fore.

More importantly, voting is a very individualised and passive act. Large groups of people do not get together on the basis of struggles they have had to discuss and decide what they need.

Instead people choose politicians when they are at their weakest—as isolated voters who listen to the bosses press and TV.

In Ireland, one individual—Tony O'Reilly—owns the *Irish Independent*, the *Sunday World* and one third of the *Sunday Tribune*. These papers constantly attack left wing politics.

These obstacles do not mean that socialists can never get elected—only that the odds are stacked against them. But even where socialists get elected they soon find that the parliament is more a talk shop than a centre of power.

In the 19th century, parliament played a key role in debating strategies for Britain's ruling elite.

The argument between the big landowners and the industrial capitalists was sorted out in great public debates like those on the Corn Laws.

But when the working class got the vote, the role of parliament began to change. The more important discussions were centralised around the cabinet table which is bound to such secrecy that its debates can only be published thirty years after they take place.

Even here decision making was limited. Tony Benn, former British Labour Minister explained in his diary that the great complaint of many of the Ministers was that there was 'an absolute exclusion of cabinet ministers from important decisions'.

In modern capitalism a permanent unelected bureaucracy surrounds each individual Minister. They draft proposals, comment on what is feasible, call in 'parliamentary draughtsmen' to ac-

tually write up the agreed Bills.

When parliament is in recess for five months of the year little changes. The unelected bureaucracy continue to manage affairs.

Joseph Lee's book *Ireland 1912-1985* shows how key civil servants such as JJ McElliot ran the Irish Department of Finance from 1927 to 1953 and put up obstacle after obstacle to the mildest proposals for social welfare reform.

Parliament has become the place where Ministers read scripts prepared by civil servants to TDs and MPs. Despite the pomp and ceremony, it is treated with contempt by the rulers.

Margaret Thatcher, for example, told the British parliament that there was an arms embargo to Iraq. Today the Scott Inquiry has discovered that the real policy was to arm Iraq to the hilt.

Any socialist trying to bring change would soon find that the parliament is only one element of the state machine. The other parts of the state such as the courts, the army and the police can all be used to overturn decisions made by parliament.

Ever since the French Revolution, most capitalist democracies have adopted the fiction of a 'separation of powers'.

They claim that it is necessary to have an independent court system to protect citizens' rights from the abuses of mass democracy.

But the court system is made up of unelected judges who are drawn from the upper class. Most working class people could not even afford the banking charges of the Kings Inns where barristers are trained.

Instead of protecting individual liberties the main function of the courts is to give another privileged avenue of decision making to the rich. Few working class people could afford to take a Supreme Court case.

Two years ago a group of builders

in Dublin used the Supreme Court to make the elected Dublin County Council pay them millions in compensation because it had refused them planning permission.

The other area that lies largely outside the control of parliament is the security establishment. The top echelons of the army and police are not subject to any real control. Their operations are shielded by secrecy and protected from democratic control.

Even Albert Reynolds once claimed that he was being watched by "gentlemen in a White Hiace van" when he was involved in a fight with the Fianna Fail leader, Haughey.

Where the actions of parliament threaten the rich, they will call upon the unelected judges and army generals to sort matters out. This is precisely what happened in Chile in 1973 when the army overthrew the elected left wing government of Salvador Allende.

Most of the time it never gets to this stage because parliament offers little threat to our rulers. Democracy in capitalism is based on a division between politics and economics.

Politicians talk democracy in parliament—while in the workplaces the employers impose a dictatorship. The politicians cannot interfere with the right of employers to shut up factories or to move their money about.

In 1990, the Dail was convened for a special meeting to save the Goodman company—but at the same time 500 Gateaux workers lost their jobs.

Parliament could pass a special law to save Goodman from bankruptcy—but it couldn't demand that Gateaux take back their workers.

Because parliament does not interfere with the dictatorial power of capital, the natural 'laws of the market' can easily unsettle even the mildest decisions that a parliament arrives at.

In 1983, the Fine Gael Minister Alan Dukes imposed a small tax on those who speculated on Irish government bonds.

Within hours of the announcement a champagne breakfast was held in Jury's hotel in Dublin where an investment analyst advised his clients to move their money out of Ireland. After £800 million was wiped off the Irish stock exchange, Dukes changed the measure.

None of this was illegal. It was simply 'the market' operating in a way that was natural to it.

The idea therefore that a hundred or more debaters in parliament could overthrow the power that rests in the boardrooms of big business and the stock markets of the world is an incredible fantasy. And few in the Labour Party now even believe it.

In 1899, the great German socialist Rosa Luxemburg took up the debate against those who sought a parliamentary road. She argued that 'they do not really choose a more tranquil, calmer and slower road to the same goal [of socialism], they choose a different goal'.

She explained that capitalism is different to all previous systems of exploitation such as feudalism or slavery. These were based on the state passing laws that kept the lower class in slavery or serfdom.

In capitalism there is no special law which says that a capitalist has a right to pay poverty wages. It is rather that the free market forces down wages and makes the unemployed worker accept those wages.

Because the system is not based on a system of laws it cannot be uprooted by those who try to legislate. What is needed is the organisation of the power of the working class from below.

That is what Marx meant when he said that "The emancipation of the working class can only be the act of the working class itself".

A year of struggle

1994 is going to be a mixed year.

For certain, all the poverty and injustice of the previous year is going to remain.

The misery of unemployment affecting hundreds of thousands of people in Ireland is not going to lighten.

Nor are the countless incidents of workers being ripped off and bullied by their employers going to lessen.

Both the Irish government and the Tories are going to try and limp on, helping the rich, whilst try-

ing to impose pay restraint on the rest of us.

Across the world, fascism and war are threatening even greater horrors.

But equally certain is the fact that 1994 will see resistance to this suffering.

Already toward the end of 1993 workers across Europe rediscovered the effectiveness of the general strike.

In France and Italy very militant strikes won important victories against austerity plans.

No government anywhere is popular or confident. Most are deeply divided.

Rulers everywhere are fearful that their plans will be thrown back in their faces by working class revolt.

It will be up to real socialists to help build on that resistance. The Labour Parties of Britain and Ireland have proven themselves useless.

The SWM practically doubled in size in 1993. We need to do that again this year.

A loud socialist voice is urgently needed in Ireland.

That's why every reader's New Year resolution should be to join us!

Rallies

Unemployment, Poverty, Fascism...

The case for a socialist alternative

Belfast: Monday 31st Jan. Central Hall, 8pm
Dublin: Wednesday 2nd Feb. North Star Hotel, Amiens St., 8pm
Cork: Thursday 3rd. Feb. Anchor Inn, Georges Quay, 8pm

Dayschools - a world in chaos

Sessions include: *Stopping the rise of Fascism, Eastern Europe and the market, Northern Ireland - Can sectarianism be broken?*

Belfast members and supporters: Central Hall, 12-5pm, Sunday 6th Feb.

Students: Fri 4th - Sun 6th, Arts Block, Trinity College.

Contact PO Box 103, Belfast 15, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8 or Phone (01) 872 2682 for more details

What's On

Branches of the SWM meet around the country at the following time; and venues

Athlone

Meets every Tuesday. For details of time and venue write to the SWM national address.

Dublin North Central

Meets every Wednesday 8pm Conway's Pub Parnell St

Wednesday 12th: The North, can sectarianism be broken down?

Wednesday 19th: Why do socialists look to the working class?

Wednesday 26th: Can Trade Unions ever be revolutionary?

Wednesday 2nd Feb: See District Rally.

Dublin Northside

Meets every Tuesday 8pm The Old Brogue, Dorset St

Tuesday 11th: The North - Can sectarianism be broken down?

Tuesday 18th: The fight for women's liberation

Tuesday 25th: 1 year in government: why Labour has sold out.

Wednesday 2nd Feb: See District Rally.

Dublin South Central

Meets every Thursday 8pm Trinity Inn Pearse St

Thursday 13th: The North - Can sectarianism be broken down?

Thursday 20th: The fight for women's liberation.

Thursday 27th: 1 year in government: why Labour has sold out.

Wednesday 2nd Feb: See District Rally.

Dublin Southside

To contact the SWM in Bray, Coleraine, Cookstown, Drogheda, Dundalk, Galway, Kilkenny, Limerick, Maynooth & Navan, write to SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

Meets every Wednesday 8pm The Junction Pub in Camden St

Wednesday 12th: Reform or Revolution - the legacy of Rosa Luxembourg

Wednesday 19th: The North-Can sectarianism be broken down?

Wednesday 26th: The fight for women's liberation.

Wednesday 2nd Feb: See District Rally.

Tallaght/Clondalkin

Meets every Wednesday 8pm Tallaght Welfare Society next to Foxes Covert in Tallaght village

Wednesday 12th: The North -Can sectarianism be broken down?

Wednesday 19th: The

fight for women's liberation.

Wednesday 26th: 1 year in government: why Labour has sold out.

Wednesday 2nd Feb: See District Rally.

Waterford

Meets every Thursday 8pm ATGWU Hall, Keyser St

Thursday 13th: The fight for women's liberation.

Thursday 20th: The North - Can sectarianism be broken down?

Thursday 27th: Fascism in Europe - can it be stopped?

Belfast

Meets every Tuesday 8pm See SW sellers for details or contact national office

Tuesday 11th: Can Socialism come through parliament?

Tuesday 18th: Why do Tories attack single parents?

Tuesday 25th: The environment in crisis: the

socialist answer.

Monday 31st: See Rally

Derry

Meets every Tuesday 8pm Badgers Pub Orchard St

Tuesday 11th: Neither armed struggle nor the Downing St. Declaration - the socialist alternative

Tuesday 18th: Are all men sexist?

Tuesday 25th: Environment in crisis - the socialist answer.

Cork

Meets every Thursday 8pm Anchor Inn, Georges Quay

Thursday 13th: The North - Can sectarianism be broken down?

Thursday 20th: The fight for women's liberation.

Thursday 27th: 1 year in government: why does Labour sell out?

Thursday 3rd Feb: See Rally.

Standing up for our rights

The SWM finished the year fighting for basic civil rights.

In December, 300 people

took to the streets of Dublin to protest against the Public Order Bill. The demonstration was dominated by banners from the SWM which was the main organisation

involved in organising the protest.

Speaking at a rally afterwards, Mick O'Reilly, the District Secretary of the ATGWU called on the trade union movement to start fighting the Bill.

"I remember when they brought in the Forcible Entry Act which they claimed would be used against squatters. But when the workers at the RegArmstrong car factory occupied the plant to protect their jobs, they were hit with the Forcible Entry Act. It is time for the unions to wake up."

Kieran Allen, from SWM attacked the hysteria about crime.

"Labour says it wants to get tough on the criminals. But they won't lift a finger to jail any of those involved in the spate of scandals last year."

Afterwards two people joined the SWM.

On Fri. 17th December 30 people joined a picket organised by the Derry Branch of the SWM on the Waterloo bar.

The picket was supported by members of Derry Lesbian and Gay Pride.

While many, if not most, pubs in Derry discriminate against Lesbians and Gay men, the Waterloo has operated a particularly blatant anti-gay policy in recent months.

Pickers pointed out to passing late night shoppers the scandal of basic civil rights being denied to gay people in the city where the civil rights movement began 25 years ago.

Following the comments of Maurice

Doyle, Governor of the Central Bank, attacking people in receipt of Social Welfare, the Dublin SWM branches took to the streets and dole offices to give claimants a chance to answer back.

The comments and signatures which were collected on large cards included:

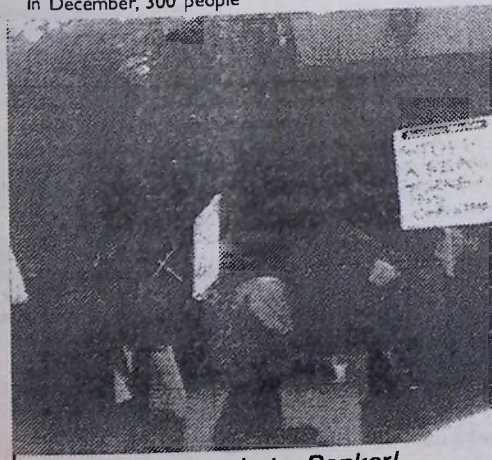
"You are a stupid scrounger yourself!"

"We're not all scroungers. We don't want to be on it, but its because of you and your highpowered friends that we are!"

"I think you're a capitalist pig."

"Why don't you spend one month on the dole and see how you like it."

The cards were handed in at a lively picket of the Central Bank. Over 150 copies of Socialist Worker were sold whilst collecting comments.



Maurice Doyle - what a Banker!

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 _____

Book:

How Labour failed the North

by Kieran Allen

Paddy Devlin is one of the few Northern Ireland Ministers who claimed to be a socialist. He served as a Minister for Health in the ill-fated power sharing government which was deposed by the Ulster Workers Council strike in 1974.

His autobiography, *Straight Left*, is worth reading because it is an unconscious testimony to why Labour Party type politics have been a miserable failure in the North.

Devlin was originally an IRA volunteer but became so impressed with the post war Welfare State that he was attracted to Labour Party politics.

But he discovered that the Northern Ireland Labour Party which he joined was infected with sectarianism. Catholics and Protestants canvassed their co-religionists for votes.

Speeches in praise of the Orange Order were made from NILP platforms. In the Woodvale area, the NILP branch refused to vote to open the swings on Sundays.

According to Devlin, when the Civil Rights movement emerged, the NILP reacted with 'what I can only call unionist instincts'. It refused even to back a bill which called for 'One man, one vote'.

Devlin broke away and helped to form the SDLP. But he never left behind his own labourist politics. Throughout the book there is a palpable fear of street politics and a desire to channel everything back into the parliament.

After near pogroms were organised against Catholics in Belfast in 1969, barricades were set up and 'no-go areas' were established to keep the RUC and loyalist thugs out.

Devlin made speeches calling for guns to be sent up from Dublin. But he explains now that 'although publically I maintained a hardline to protect my credibility, my real objective was to remove the barricades and negotiate agreed terms for the RUC to resume their work in the area'.

Devlin reveals what labourist politics are about when he claims that 'outside parliament is no place for a democrat'. Better the parliament of a sectarian state, than self organisation and resistance on the streets.

Like all enthusiasts for parliament, Devlin develops a mawkish sentimentality about his contacts with the British upper class.

During the negotiations to form the power sharing government, Paddy was delighted with a seven course meal which opened with a prayer and ended with a choir singing 'When Irish eyes are smiling'.

While Paddy mixed with the toffs and fantasised about the democratic structures of Stormont, 2,000 troops were billeted in his constituency—one for every ten people.

Those who wanted to fight back against them saw the Provos offering an outlet for their anger.

Devlin's book shows why Labour party politics will always fail in the North because it puts its fanaticism about parliamentary politics way above any anger about oppression.

■ Paddy Devlin: *Straight Left* Blackstaff £8.95

Film: In the Name of the Father

Framed by a corrupt system

by GAVAN WILMOT

Peter Sheridan's new film is based on the book 'Proven Innocent'.

The book is written by Gerard Conlon, one of the Guildford Four who was wrongly imprisoned in 1974 along with Paul Hill, Paddy Armstrong and Carol Richardson for a pub bombing.

Daniel Day Lewis plays Gerard Conlon as he moves from being a small time thief being hounded out of Belfast by the IRA, right through his days in a London squat where he is eventually framed by the police.

The film highlights the injustice of the British legal system. One small scene with two policemen sums it all up.

One cop says that some of the evidence would not stand up in court. But the other turns to him and says: "That doesn't matter. Your word will be good enough".

The film shows the tactics that were used to gain confessions. Days upon days of endless questioning mix with physical violence and death threats.



Daniel Day Lewis

One officer tells Conlon, who has become exhausted declaring his innocence, that if he didn't sign a statement his father Giuseppe Conlon would be killed. Conlon's nerve snapped and he gave in.

The film shows how Giuseppe Conlon comes over to London to get a lawyer. But it ends up with himself and his sister's family, the Maguires, being arrested on suspicion of helping to make bombs.

The harrowing picture of prison is excellently captured by Sheridan. The same boring routines. The violence within the prison population.

The police riot squad smashes a prison protest demanding justice for the Guildford Four and better conditions.

All the time in prison, Giuseppe Conlon works hard on his family's campaign for justice, despite his son's initial indifference.

During the course of the film, the father and son's relationship grows stronger and more loving. From an initially very strained and confused relationship, they get to know one another.

Later Giuseppe Conlon dies in prison of bad health.



This drives Gerard Conlon on with ever fiercer determination to gain his rightful release.

Marvellous

One of the most marvellous scenes in the whole film is when, on hearing of Giuseppe's death, the prison inmates light pieces of paper and drop them out of the cell windows, lighting up the prison square.

This emotional scene clearly shows that unity is possible among prisoners despite the harshness of their lives.

The film also brings to light how all along the police knew that the Balcombe Street Gang had really done the Guildford bombing.

Dublin blues singer, Don

Baker, plays McAndrew, a member of the Balcombe Street gang, who adamantly admitted to the police and the Conlons that he did the bombing.

Vital evidence about Gerard Conlon's whereabouts on the night of the bombing was hidden by the police. Penniless, sleeping on a park bench he started talking to a tramp, who the police knew but said they didn't.

Fortunately when the appeal was heard in 1989, this evidence was found and used by Gerard Conlon's barrister, Gareth Pierce, in freeing the Guildford Four.

The performances are excellent. Daniel Day Lewis as Gerard Conlon from the fun-loving Belfast boy to the hardened adult of fifteen

years imprisonment.

Pete Postlewaite as Giuseppe also excels, giving the character great strength of will, a man who loved his troubled son, despite his intolerance and who dies while campaigning vehemently his and his son's innocence.

The direction by Jim Sheridan is superb, especially on the chase and riot scene in Belfast at the start of the film.

The photography is excellent.

Since the Guildford Four were released not a single policeman has been questioned and charged nor has Conlon been cleared of his charges.

British Justice is crap and this superb film shows us that. You must see it.

Book:

Revealing human origins

WHEN Darwin first proposed that humans and apes evolved from a common ancestor, it caused outrage.

Now evolution is almost universally accepted, but debates about human origins have continued ever since.

The school book picture of human evolution shows a line of figures each more upright than the last, with a flatter face and larger brain.

Modern humans appear as the inevitable outcome of gradual change, with increased brain size being the most important.

But Leakey paints a very different picture. Firstly, the diagram of

by SIMON GILBERT

human evolution should be a bush rather than a straight line.

Branches

Starting with one species about 7.5 million years ago, three or more different branches developed.

Several different species of hominid coex-

isted for a few million years.

And the major changes came in relatively short bursts, followed by long periods of smaller changes.

Secondly, the eventual development of intelligent beings was by no means inevitable.

It was the result of chance environmental changes.

Hominids first evolved in the great rift valley of East Africa, which was created by tremendous geological upheavals.

Homo sapiens—what we now recognise as human beings—only came into existence 100,000 years ago.

Lastly, Leakey identifies the distinguishing feature of humanity as "that we stand upright,

with our lower limbs for support and locomotion and our upper limbs free from those functions".

In other words the ability to use our hands was the key.

Humans became distinguished from other animals by their ability to use tools to re-shape their environment.

Toolmaking and cooperation were also the key traits leading in turn to language and the development of consciousness.

Myth

This destroys the right-wing myth that we are inherently competitive and violent, prisoners of our genes.

Rather, "human behaviour ... is flexible in

the extreme".

There is no archaeological evidence of warfare before 10,000 years ago, when agriculture and permanent settlements first emerged.

Throughout the book Leakey describes the process of scientific discovery, interpretation and argument in a very readable way.

He shows how some theories reflect current political ideologies more closely than the facts.

The result is a fascinating insight into human origins and the techniques that are being used to unearth them.

■ *Origins Reconsidered* by Richard Leakey and Roger Lewin £8.99

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

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Pat the Baker strike sold out

AFTER nine months the strike for union recognition at Pat the Baker in Dublin's Ballyfermot ended in defeat in December.

The plant remains closed and all 14 strikers have now lost their jobs. A deal which gave a lump sum redundancy package was reluctantly accepted by the strikers.

SIPTU officials welcomed the deal claiming that it saved jobs.

The real story is different.

A vicious right wing employer has managed to stop the biggest union in the country from organising. A green light has been given to other bosses to start attacking unions.

While the strikers felt the

deal was the best they would get—they were facing great hardship at Christmas—they also felt let down by the union leaders.

One striker told *Socialist Worker*:

"This strike was lost. We

went out for union recognition but all 14 of us lost our jobs.

"If the union had delivered the blacking of the bread in the supermarkets, we would still have our jobs."

The SIPTU leaders had promised that Pat the Baker bread would be blacked. But in a cynical exercise they kept postponing the date when blacking should begin.

The first date set was in July, then it moved to August, then October, then November.

Among the rank and file there was a real enthusiasm for the strike and a willing-



ness to take action. One striker told *Socialist Worker* about his experience among SIPTU shop workers:

"In June and July, supermarket workers in the Midlands agreed to support us.

"In Mullingar over 30 workers turned up at a meeting to hear us call for support and solidarity.

"A majority—only one voted against—voted to support us."

But the union leaders had no intention of building on this support. Instead of starting the action and then spreading it to other shops they called on shop workers to wait.

All the time the union

leaders kept warning that they couldn't openly campaign for blacking because of the Industrial Relations Act.

But finally as pressure built up throughout the labour movement a vote of all unionised shop workers was held.

Intimidation

The union officials did nothing to get a big vote for blacking. They even let some shop managers away with refusing to allow a ballot on their premises.

Yet despite a campaign of intimidation, shop workers voted for blacking.

Then came the final sell-

out as officials started to drop hints that despite the vote the blacking would not go ahead because of a low turnout.

One striker described the reaction:

"It had the effect of demoralising us. After nine months the only way we could see us winning the dispute and getting our jobs back was now disappearing."

The strike shows how essential it is to build a socialist presence in factories and offices.

A few organised socialists could have pushed for the blacking to go ahead—despite the advice of the union leaders.

The role of socialists in such struggles can be central.

One striker told *Socialist Worker*:

"Had the SWM not become involved we would not have pushed the union to hold a march in Ballyfermot—that march gave us a great boost. "Without the support of socialists we would have felt much more isolated.

"After going through this many of us have changed—we're more politically aware. Some of the strikers discovered themselves to be good organisers.

"We stood up for our rights—that was worth it all.

Ward International

MEMBERS of SIPTU and TEEU in Ward international in Athlone have won an all-out picket from the ICTU.

The workers went on strike since August in protest at changes in pay and conditions.

Office workers, who had been crossing pickets, resigned from the union when the all-out picket was granted.

Drivers from Athlone Carriers Ltd., Retreat Road, Athlone have also broken the pickets.

This scab outfit—run by John Quinn—should also be blacked.

However a fund raising night was held on December 20th. A thousand workers chipped in to raise £2000 for the strikers.

The strikers are also trying to develop contacts with workers in Ward's US parent company.

Waterford service charges

WATERFORD'S combined tenants and residents association, together with council workers, have forced the local corpo to abandon their policy of service charges.

For the last two years city management has been unable even to collect arrears.

Michael Doody, City Manager has threatened that unless a 'development charge' is introduced community, sports and cultural associations will all suffer cuts.

At the time of going to press, the councillors opposed to introducing charges were still standing by their pledges.

If the government abolishes the council and attempts to introduce charges direct, then the campaign will fight on and include the demand for local democracy.

If the council does a U-turn, it will meet with all the resistance of a population who know that a government which can afford tax amnesties for the rich has no need to levy more taxes on PAYE workers.

Oppose IMPACT split

THE threatened split in IMPACT is a setback for trade union organisation.

IMPACT is the result of the amalgamation of the LGPSU, UPTCS, IMETU and a number of smaller unions.

Three years after the amalgamation, there is still little contact between rank and file activists from the formerly separate unions.

Some of the branches proposing the split were against the formation of IMPACT in the first place. Now sectional arguments are being used to justify a union for professional civil service grades.

A "confidential report" arguing for a split stated that IMPACT relied "too heavily on Industrial Action as a means of making progress".

Apart from being nonsense, this ignores the positive result of the limited

number of strikes IMPACT was involved in last year.

The dental assistants' strike showed clearly that strike action can lead to victory. That victory was the result of united action, not only of the grade involved, but across grades and departments.

A split in IMPACT now would undermine the ability of public service workers to fight the pay freeze threatened for 1994.

Waterford docks

A serious attack on all dock workers has arisen in Waterford port.

Pat Hayden the General Manager of Belview Multiport Ltd and Morris Downey, local millionaire, backer of Fianna Fail and Chair of the Harbour Board, have leased a site from the Harbour Board which they are running as a private wharf.

These bosses are employing non-union "yellow-pack" subcontractors to work on a ship to ship basis.

They have boasted openly in the local press of their defiance of union

rights.

Management could be forced to recognise the union if the pilots were given the union instructions to refuse to take ships into the inner port.

Tragically the ATGWU has so far dragged its feet, and rather than back the desire of the dockers to take action, has urged its members to wait on the results of legal action.

This strategy is clearly a wrong one, as already the bosses have defied one court injunction. Instead the Union should recognise the threat that this company poses, and rely on picketing and solidarity to bring them to heel.

Showdown at Nestle

Workers in Nestle in Tallaght are facing a showdown with management over "integration" of the workforces in Nestle and its subsidiary Rowntree Mackintosh.

Management has already tried to split the workforce.

Just before Christmas they threatened to withhold shopping vouchers

traditionally paid to clerical and supervisory staff as a Christmas bonus. However they said that production workers would get their vouchers as normal.

But the production workers said they would refuse to accept the vouchers unless everyone got them. Management backed down immediately.

As one clerical worker

said: "They were just trying to feel out our strength".

The real test will come in January when the Rowntree's office workers are moved to the Nestle office in Tallaght.

That move will trigger redundancies and changes in pay scales and working conditions.

If these attacks are to be resisted, a joint meeting of workers from SIPTU in Nestle and ATGWU in Rowntrees should be held to build on the solidarity shown before Christmas.

Issues for the Labour Movement

by KIERAN GLENNON

Codes of sharp practise

AS part of the settlement in the recent ambulance workers' strike, the workers voted to accept a three-year no-strike clause.

Although they won a retrospective pay claim, and an immediate 3 per cent increase, conceding the no-strike deal was a major mistake.

If the Eastern Health Board breaks its promises over the next three years, the workers have no way of resisting.

It is the first such concession by a group of workers although the government and employers have been howling for such agreements for years.

During the ESB strike in 1991 all political leaders, including current "socialist" Tanaiste, Dick Spring, condemned the strikers for "holding the country to ransom". They called for a ban on strikes in certain industries.

In the two Eastern Health Board

strikes in 1993, as well as the ambulance dispute, a picture was painted of selfish strikers putting lives at risk by withdrawing emergency cover.

Preventing

Striking bus workers, both craft and crews, were supposedly stopping the wheels of industry by preventing workers getting to work. The bosses' organisation, IBEC, called for a ban on strikes in essential services.

Earlier in the year, Labour and Employment Minister Ruairi Quinn said the government would make agreement on no-strike deals a pre-condition for negotiating a new PESP.

He wanted a code of practice that would outlaw strikes in essential services until the year 2001!

How should workers react to these calls?

First of all, workers in "essential services" should not be subjected to moral blackmail just because of the jobs they do.

These jobs often involve long, un-social hours, and in some cases like firefighters or bus drivers, the risk of personal injury. In most cases their pay does not reflect this.

What about the claim that by going on strike, workers in essential services are only hurting other workers?

Most workers feel annoyed when the ESB goes off, or the buses are on strike. But these feelings are mixed with feelings of sympathy for the strikers involved.

Decision

They know that the decision to strike is not one that is taken lightly. They know that ambulance workers would not spend weeks on the picket line, for £45

a week strike pay, unless they had a serious grievance.

Denying workers the right to strike means their ability to take on their bosses is seriously weakened.

The same argument applies in the public service as in private industry.

Governments cannot govern without civil servants. They cannot provide public services without public service workers.

The pay and conditions of these workers are set with reference to levels in private industry. They are subject to the same terms of PNRs and PESP as workers in the private sector.

By threatening to strike, or by actually going on strike, they can win concessions from their employer, the government.

To whom are the services provided by these workers essential?

The answer lies in the fact that the

private and public sectors are not two totally unrelated areas.

Just as bosses cannot function without their employees, they cannot function without the services provided by central or local government. They need the cheap power, telecommunications and refuse collection services supplied by the state.

What kills them is that they cannot control the workers who provide these services. While they can threaten their own workers with the sack, they have no hold over public service workers.

That is why they want the government to act in their interest by banning strikes by these groups of workers. They pay the piper and this is the tune they want him to play.

Workers' rights to form unions and to strike have been won through hard struggle. Under no circumstances should they be given away.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

INSIDE:

**1919 in
Belfast: When
workers
united**—PAGES 6&7

MAJOR PEACE FRAUD

The Downing St declaration should be rejected.

It offers nothing to workers and will not bring peace.

How could it when it was drawn up by two Tory governments who have shown nothing but contempt for working class people?

Neither Major nor Reynolds

cares about any of the working class lives that are lost each week in the conflict.

They are worried about the killings only insofar as they threaten the stability of their system.

For them peace only means a clear run to impose pay freezes, new taxes and more privatisation.

Their settlement will keep

workers divided.

We will still live in our separate areas, still suspicious of the "other side".

Simmer

The conflict will always simmer away ready to blow up again.

Since the declaration we have

heard spokespersons from one section of the working class complaining of betrayal by Albert Reynolds while the other claims to have been sold out by John Major.

Bigots on both sides put the blame for unemployment and poverty not on the Tories but on Fair Employment legislation or on unionist "privilege". But these are myths which only

serve to divide us.

Major and Reynolds are able to unite in their class interests.

Major could ignore the Dublin document leaked to the Irish Press—Reynolds was able to forget that Major had lied about talking to Sinn Fein.

If there was that kind of unity in the working class we would soon kick out the Tories in both London and Dublin.