

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

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DEFEND THE RIGHT TO BAIL

Vote...

NO

to...

INTERNMENT BEFORE TRIAL

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Church and State leave Crumlin school homeless

FOR THE second time in a number of years the Crumlin Multi-denominational school is being evicted.

The school is being forced to leave its premises since the property it had been using has been taken over by Property developers Zoe Developments.

The Department of Education has done nothing to help the school find an alternative building, despite knowing of the need to move since early July.

The school was originally founded by parents to find a space for non-religious education in the area, it employs two teachers.

enough,

Niamh Breatnach's new education bill will allow the church control of education to be solidified allowing church bodies to employ only those who share their religious ethos.

Survey

Yet a recent survey found that 56 per cent of INTO members want a non religious ethos in schools, and already over 2,000 teachers refuse to teach religion.

Or, as one of the parents of a pupil at the Crumlin school put it:

"The money Niamh Breatnach spent on going to Rome to the celebrations of 200 years of the Christian Brothers, would be more than enough to keep the school open."

Space

Because of this, and despite having free classrooms in a number of schools, the local church run schools are refusing to allow the multi-denominational school any space.

At present the overwhelming majority of schools, though funded through the tax payer, are controlled—and the buildings owned—by the church.

If this was not

Breatnach fails to meet Traveller group

THE MINISTER for Education Niamh Breatnach has failed to meet the Irish Traveller Movement who are demanding action on the report of the Task Force on the Travelling Community.

Instead she has upheld an embargo on new positions for Visiting Teachers with the Travelling community.

Interviews were held for these posts in the summer of 1995 but the appointments were stopped because of the embargo on these and other new posts in the area of disadvantage and special education.

Removed

This embargo has since been removed from all but the Visiting Teacher posts.

"Even people who oppose good accommodation for Travellers recognise the need for Travellers to have a good education, so it is impossible to understand why this embargo remains", said Thomas McCann, Chairperson of the ITM.

The ITM held a protest at the Dáil on 5th November with support of the Irish National Teachers Organisation.

A further demonstration is planned in Dublin on 10th



December.

"The recently well reported incidents of the difficulties experienced by a Traveller family in accessing a Galway school demon-

strates how far we still have to go and the establishment of the recommended Education Service is a vital step in that direction" said Thomas McCann.

Illness is a class issue—Survey

IF YOU are working class you are three times as likely to get diabetes, more than twice as likely to die of a stroke and almost three times as likely to contract chronic bronchitis.

This is the stark message of a new study of 3,111 patients in three large Dublin general practices.

Working class people were much more likely to suffer from ten out of 12 conditions which included stroke, cancer and heart attacks.

For every 100 persons who got diabetes in social classes one and two, the best earners in the survey, 411 persons from the lowest income classes (five and six) had the condition—an excess of 311 per cent.

More than twice as many patients from this category had heart disease, or 231 for every 100 patients from the best income brackets.

Psychoses and chronic bronchitis both showed excess rates of 289 per cent in classes five and six compared to one and two.

Musculoskeletal disorders, hypertension, dyspepsia (a stomach disorder), depression, and anxiety were all significantly more common in those on the lowest incomes.

Many of these diseases are related to stress, which has been shown to be greatest amongst workers and the unemployed.

Working class families on the lowest incomes are often forced to buy cheap, unhealthy food.

The class divide in Irish society makes people ill in the first place and then pushes them into a two-tier health system.

Private patients chat with consultants while medical card patients are left on accident and emergency trolleys for up to 72 hours.

It's a sick society in more than one sense.

NO PAY RESTRAINT FOR BOSSES!

BOSSES ARE demanding more pay restraint as unions begin talks on a new national pay deal.

They have some nerve.

A report by Inbucon consultants shows that salaries of managing directors are rising by around four times the rate of inflation.

The average salary of a managing director rose by 6.3 per cent this year to £70,300.

Inbucon surveyed a total of 2,356 executives in 182 different companies.

The higher up the ladder managers are, the higher their pay rises.

No doubt they are being rewarded for their expertise in getting the rest of us to 'tighten our belts'.

McCausland's right-wing causes

DAVID TRIMBLE is not the only hard-line right wing bigot in the UUP.

He stoked the flames at Drumcree but his fellow sectarians in the UUP's right wing have gained ground in recent years.

Victory

Take Nelson McCausland, recently tipped for a general election victory in North Belfast.

In 1994 he told the Irish News that the living person he most admired was Enoch Powell, despite his 'strange

theological views'.

Enoch Powell was the racist who claimed in the 1960s that 'rivers of blood' would flow if more immigrant workers came to Britain.

In 1984, McCausland campaigned against a Catholic grammar school re-opening playgrounds in a North Belfast area.

In 1991 he wanted to ban public drinking throughout the North.

Two years later he backed Belfast City Council's ban on 18-cert films in the city's cinemas on Sundays.

In September 1993 he said "plans to build a new university site in West Belfast would result in a 'campus for Roman Catholics only'".

Accuses

He also wants unionists to call Northern Ireland 'Ulster' and accuses Irish language activists placing 'Bruscar' signs on Belfast's rubbish bins of "defacing council property".

Anybody remember the talk about a 'moderate' UUP when Trimble was elected?

HUME GIVES BIGOTS THE GO-AHEAD

SDLP leader John Hume's support for last month's Apprentice Boys march in Derry was a disgrace.

Now signs are emerging that he has boosted the Orange bigots' confidence in holding further marches.

A senior Orangeman told the *Sunday Tribune*: "We were encouraged by John Hume's approach to the march in Londonderry ... and we hope we will be using the example of Londonderry to settle up particular parade situations."

In other words they will quote Hume's argument that the 19th October march would "only last five minutes" and have only 400 marchers on it every time they want to waltz through another nationalist community against its wishes.

Tramples

It doesn't matter how long it lasts—every Orange march is triumphalist, tramples on nationalist sentiment and fuels sectarianism.

These demonstrations of bigotry should be opposed by everyone who wants to build workers' unity in the North.

what we think

Letting the gardaí investigate themselves

Garda Commissioner Pat Byrne has reacted angrily to claims of widespread corruption in the force.

He claims that the allegations that gardaí were involved in the Veronica Guerin murder are untrue.

Since then another man has claimed that the gardaí used him in the 'sting' operation in which £150 million worth of cannabis was seized at Urlingford, Co. Kilkenny last November.

That operation was botched when someone tipped off the gang who imported the drugs and gardaí failed to catch them.

Now the 50-year old businessman claims the Garda have broken their promise to have him released if he co-operated in nailing the gang.

Rejection

Justice Minister Nora Owen has backed Pat Byrne's rejection of recent allegations, saying she is "not aware of widespread corruption".

If she was serious about finding the truth she would set up an independent investigation into the affair.

Instead the gardaí are to investigate themselves!

But the government is pressing ahead with the referendum to make it harder to get bail, despite not providing detailed information on its claims of widespread 'bail breaking'.

Remember it was the Guerin murder which sparked off the huge debate about crime earlier this year. Newspapers and politi-



cians united in a campaign against Ireland's 'liberal bail regime'.

Scandal

It is a scandal that they are taking away our civil liberties without even investigating the role gardaí

are alleged to have played in the Guerin killing.

Despite all their platitudes about investigative journalism, politicians of all the main parties want to keep the lid on the corruption that she came close to exposing.

Turn drugs anger on the politicians

THE HARASSMENT of anti-drugs protesters by the gardaí in Dublin is, as Peter Smyth of Killinarden Against Drugs put it, "politically motivated".

The Garda do not want to see any independent action by working class people and have used the involvement of Sinn Fein as a stick with which to beat campaigners.

Socialists are for the right of people to fight for better conditions in their areas free from police harassment even if we do not agree with their tactics.

Where drugs are concerned, people are right to be angry at the way the problem has been allowed to escalate.

Successive governments have implemented policies which have resulted in areas being blighted by deprivation and unemployment.

It goes to show the class divisions in Irish society, that governments didn't give a damn about the drug crisis until it spilled over into middle class

areas with the spread of Ecstasy.

There is anger in working class areas at the lack of drug treatment facilities and this was a major demand of earlier marches.

But now the demonstrations are organised almost exclusively around the slogan of 'pushers out'.

Anger

This has led to the anger being diverted away from the issue of poverty towards law and order politics.

Communities have turned in on themselves as the focus is on identifying the local dealers often with brutal consequences like the recent vicious attack on a Cabra man.

Not all campaigners agree with these tactics but it is the logical outcome of the slogan 'pushers out'. If marches do not work then a minority will turn to punishment beatings.

Evictions, like that of the Clifford family from their house in Fettercairn, Tallaght are not going to solve the drug problem - in that case it simply left another family looking for a home.

Now campaigners are backing the change in the bail laws even though it will result in more drug addicts being locked up for crimes they 'might' commit.

Even Judge Kelly of Dublin Circuit Criminal Court has criticised the lack of drug treatment in Mountjoy prison.

The new detention laws will see addicts driven to suicide or to signing false confessions out of desperation.

Those who campaign to get drug dealers out of their areas do not need to be told that poverty is the real cause of why their kids are turning to heroin.

But many argue that the dealers should be the main target because something has to be done 'in the here and now'.

But a serious fight for treatment facilities could achieve something in the here and now.

And if it was linked to the growing anger of workers against the class divisions in Ireland we could build a movement that could rid society of the rotten conditions that give rise to drug abuse.

DE ROSSA'S LIBEL ACTION:

The skeletons rattle

PROINSIAS De Rossa is suing the Sunday Independent for alleging that he asked the Russian Communist Party for one million pounds in 1986.

Socialists have no sympathy for either side in this case.

De Rossa is not the first person to be slandered by Tony O'Reilly's newspapers.

Public sector workers are regularly denounced as a 'drain on the economy' and earlier this year the paper ran a campaign blaming rural crime on the Travelling community.

But De Rossa has betrayed working class people who voted for him and Democratic Left because they promised to break the 'golden circle' of big business.

Instead De Rossa has scapegoated the unemployed with the backing of

papers like the one he is suing.

The issue at the centre of the case is the link between the Workers' Party and the Eastern bloc rulers during the 1970s and 1980s.

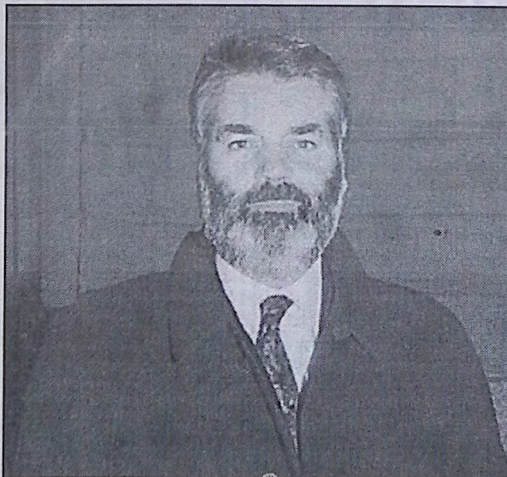
The Workers' Party bookshop housed volumes of writings by Joseph Stalin who destroyed the gains of the 1917 Revolution in Russia and presided over a new tyranny.

Dictators

Tomas Mac Giolla, the Party's then leader, visited North Korea and praised its Russian backed dictators.

Of course right wing politicians too have their share of nasty friends.

Former Fianna Fail leaders Haughey and Reynolds have seen to it that former



President Salinas of Mexico has found safe haven here despite his murderous activities.

But the Workers' Party was made up of people who wanted to see change in society.

In the early 1980s they played a leading role in the huge tax marches and led campaigns against water charges.

But their politics was based on the idea that Russia and the Eastern Bloc

were in some way more progressive in the East.

The WP saw industrialisation from above as the way forward rather than workers self-activity.

Whatever self-activity they organised was in the end subordinated to getting their candidates elected.

Despite being to the left of the Labour Party, the WP still relied on elections as the way to change things.

Market

When the Eastern Bloc collapsed, so did the illusions of many Workers' Party members.

Now De Rossa embraced the free market and broke away to form Democratic Left.

The lesson of their history is that you cannot rely on 'socialism from above', whether handed down by state capitalist bureaucrats or left wing TDs.

NORTHERN IRELAND HEALTH SERVICE

Patients' lives put at risk as managers line their pockets

GOVERNMENT Health cuts are putting lives at risk in the North, according to groups representing doctors, nurses and other health care workers.

The emergency has exposed the three-tier nature of the Health Service.

The top tier is occupied by those who have private health insurance and do not have to worry about waiting list.

Next, comes the patients of Fund Holding GPs.

These go straight to the top of waiting lists.

On the bottom tier, are those whose GPs are non-Fund Holding.

The Royal Group of Hospitals Trust in Belfast has stopped all non-emergency operations for the patients of non-Fund Holding GPs.

Surgery

This means that 1,700 patients, mainly older people, will have to wait in pain for at least another year to get their hips replaced, cataracts removed and tonsils taken out.

Similar measures in Almagelvin Hospitals Trust in Derry has seen the number of people waiting more than 18 months for general surgery rising from 14 in September 1995 to 176 in the same period this year.

The numbers waiting for day case treatment have risen similarly from 3 to a staggering 122 during the same period.

The Mater Hospital in Belfast has already imple-



mented a 16 percent cut in theatre sessions and Daisy Hill Hospital in Newry has seen 33 percent cut, with the number of surgical beds going from 76 to just 51.

In Craigavon Area Hospital, one hundred jobs are facing the axe, while Massereene Hospital in Antrim, which employs 94 people is to close altogether.

Also earmarked for closure is Kilkeel Hospital in Co. Down.

Now, the Tories are threatening to start charging for community care services like home helps, physiotherapists and so on.

The Trusts and Health Boards put all the blame for the cuts on the Tories insistence on a 3 percent cutback in the health budget for the entire region.

But there's more to it than that.

Privatise

A recent BBC Spotlight programme pointed out that two thousand extra jobs were created in administration since the hospitals 'opted out' and became Trusts.

In the same period, two thousand nursing jobs were cut.

Similarly, while nurses

have had wage increases of less than two percent, Trust managers have had pay rises of seven to eight percent.

And, while 2% of £12,000-14,000 isn't much, 7-8% of £40-50,000 is three or four thousand pounds.

In other words, patients lives are being put at risk in order to line the pockets of 'the suits' who are doing their best to privatise the NHS.

But there is hope. In October we saw one day strikes in hospitals in England.

Health workers at Newcastle City health trust and London's UCLH have followed up these strikes with plans for longer action.

Workers in Tower Hamlets Community Healthcare Trust are also balloting over pay, as are health workers Dudley Hospitals and the giant St. James Hospital in Leeds.

The Health Service in Northern Ireland needs this kind of action if it is to be saved from market madness.

400 strike

FOUR HUNDRED hospital workers across the North have begun a two week all out strike.

The action is in response to wage cuts inflicted by the private company Compass who employ ancillary staff. Some workers will have up to £126 sliced off their wages.

Management are using the crisis in the NHS to increase profits and attack workers conditions. The action is due in Omagh, Fermanagh and Lisburn—which has a recent tradition of militancy.

Activists in UNISON should argue to spread the action to other hospitals. In particular they should link the strike to a generalised fightback in the NHS

Anger as Shankill Butcher released

THERE WAS outrage among the families of republican prisoners at the news of the forthcoming release of 'Basher' Bates, one of the Shankill Butchers.

Bates has served 18 years of his life sentence and is being prepared for release within the next year. At the time of sentencing, the judge said that he intended life to mean life.

Bates and the other Shankill Butchers terrorised the Catholic areas of Belfast in the 1970s.

They went out looking for any Catholic to kill, dragged their victims into a van and tortured them cruelly before killing them using butchers' knives.

The treatment of Bates contrasts sharply with that of many republican prisoners, including prisoners who are inside for actions in which no one was hurt. Paul Norney is a good example of this double standard.

He was sentenced to prison 'at the Home Secretary's pleasure' for attempted murder when he was 17 years old.

He has served 21 years in an English prison and has still not been given a release date.

The conditions faced by political prisoners in prisons in England is causing a lot of concern to their families who say that conditions have got considerably WORSE since the ceasefires.

Conditions

A delegation from the Labour Party which has just returned from a visit to three prisons there confirms there has been 'an alarming deterioration' in the conditions suffered by republican prisoners in Full Sutton, Belmarsh and Whitemoor prisons.

Prisoners are locked up for 21 hours a day, are not allowed to participate in prison activities, including religious services, are being deprived of sleep and strip-searched in a most degrading way.

The delegation saw this as 'a major cause of concern for the prisoners' health and for the future development of the peace process.'

NORA'S BRAIN

THE ROYAL Hospital is to spend £2,000 on a sculpture called Nora's Brain.

Could this be the same Royal that announced that 1,700 operations will be put off because there is not enough cash?

UNITY SHOWN IN UNIVERSITIES STRIKE

ON TUESDAY 19th November, a one day strike will close all universities in the UK.

The Tories' attempts to cut back on higher education has provoked a fightback by all eight unions representing HE workers, backed by student unions.

For the first time, academic and non-academic staff and students will be taking joint action to defend our universities.

Over the past five years, though student

numbers have grown by 40 per cent, resources have shrunk by 30 per cent in real terms.

The Association of University Teachers has estimated a seven per cent real-terms funding cut in 1996-97 alone.

Derisory

On top of the problems this has caused, the vice-chancellors have offered a derisory pay rise of 1.5 per cent for teaching, administrative and clerical staff and

2.5 per cent for manual workers—many of whom earn less than £4.25 an hour.

This is effectively a pay cut.

Compare this to the 26 per cent MPs recently awarded themselves and the luxurious conditions in which the vice-chancellors live.

The anger at this latest outrage has led to all eight unions balloting for strike action and getting 'yes' votes of up to 76 per cent.

This action has

chimed in with the situation facing students.

Grants have now been cut by ten per cent for three years running, and the average student graduates with £2,500 of debt.

Imposing

Now the vice-chancellors are talking of imposing £20,000 tuition fees before students even start classes, and Tony Blair, supported by the ruling clique in the National Union of Students,

proposes a 'graduate tax'.

The need for militant action has never been so clear.

The example of last year's strikes in France shows what an impact joint staff-student action can have.

We need to build on this one-day strike and turn it into a rolling campaign.

We need to forge new links between grass roots students and staff.

Most of all we need to build a serious socialist alternative in the colleges.

international news

Violence in Zaire is a legacy of colonialism

MORE THAN a million refugees feared for their lives as fighting continued in eastern Zaire.

Full-scale war between Zaire and its neighbour Rwanda seemed to have broken out at one stage. Aid agencies warn of a cholera epidemic.

Meanwhile the Zairean dictator President Mobutu remains in Switzerland, ill from cancer but still feasting on the money he has stolen from his people for over 30 years.

There is nothing specifically African about these terrible events. Europe and the United States are familiar with fabulously rich and corrupt heads of state.

Mobutu has a personal fortune estimated at between £1 billion and £7 billion.

Italy's former prime minister Silvio Berlusconi had a similar fortune. He bought off tax inspectors and his administration included figures funded by the mafia.

The present Zairean crisis was sparked off by Mobutu's scapegoating of people belonging to the Tutsi group.

That is the same process followed by the ruling classes in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia which caused war in ex-Yugoslavia.

It is the same cynical manoeuvring behind the racist laws across Europe.

Right wing commentators have claimed that the emergency in central Africa shows what happens when benevo-

lent Western rule is hastily replaced by African self-government.

Yet the history of central Africa is a record of the bloody horror of colonialism.

Western government brought famine, slaughter and divisions. It tore apart people's lives and killed millions in the search for profit.

Zaire (then known as the Congo) was seized as the personal property of King Leopold II of Belgium in 1884 as part of the division of Africa between the great powers.

Profitable

The Belgian Congo was one of the most profitable colonies, delivering vast amounts of rubber as Western demand soared.

Mobutu has robbed the country's people to fund palaces, chateaus and villas for himself. A century earlier King Leopold used the Congo's wealth to build the royal parks and grand buildings which are such a feature of the centre of Brussels.

An investigation by Roger Casement, then a British government official, found evidence of a disastrous decline in the Congo's population as result of the vicious exploitation.

Africans were subjected to forced labour and had to meet quotas of rubber or face terrible penalties.

The colonialists' targets were so high that many Africans did not even have time to grow enough food to survive.

As one African told Casement, "We begged the white man to leave us alone, saying we could get no more rubber, but the white man and their soldiers said, 'You are only beasts yourselves. You are only meat.'"

To enforce discipline whole villages were wiped out by raiding parties which were made up of Africans but led by the Belgian military.

Men were frequently taken to be sold as slaves and women and children hacked to death.

To prove they had not wasted ammunition, the soldiers collected baskets of severed hands, hacking them from their victims alive or dead.

In 1903 Casement reported, "Whole villages and districts I knew well and visited as flourishing communities in 1887 are today without a human being; others are reduced to a handful of sick or harassed creatures who say,

'Are the white men never going home; is this to last for ever?'"

It did end, but not until 1960. And then the Belgians, with the help of United Nations troops, murdered Patrice Lumumba, the elected president.

Mobutu was installed as leader to defend Western interests.

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



Zimbabwe's workers show the alternative

A GROWING protest movement in Zimbabwe shows the potential for a working class alternative to the horrors of Zaire.

On Monday 11th November tens of thousands of trade unionists were expected to defy a ban and demonstrate in the capital Harare in support of striking health workers.

The strike is the latest episode in an explosion of bitter struggle against the austerity demanded by international bankers and implemented by the local ruling class.

Rhodesia became Zimbabwe in 1980 when Ian Smith's white minority regime was replaced by black majority rule with Robert Mugabe as president.

This represented a victory against racism and for struggle but the hopes for change were soon dashed.

Living conditions remained stagnant or fell as

the world economic crisis deepened.

Workers who resisted faced the same anti-strike laws used by the racist government.

Health spending has fallen by a third since 1990 and infant mortality rates have doubled.

Collapsed

Education spending has been cut drastically and vital facilities have collapsed.

Strike waves in 1993 and 1994 won some concessions.

The most powerful resistance began six months ago when the main trade union federation was forced to call demonstrations against cuts.

Mugabe promised an end to redundancies, but the anger against him grew, particularly as he doubled his own salary and then held a lavish wedding.

At the end of August this year Zimbabwe's civil servants held their first ever strike.

Over 150,000 people

joined the totally illegal stoppage after the government tried to impose wage increases of up to 9 percent when inflation was 25 percent.

When union leaders ordered a return to work, activists organised to keep the strike going and to build demonstrations which pushed the action forward.

After nine days the government told the strikers it had 'forgotten to implement' a previously agreed 20 percent wage rise and would now pay up.

But the strike continued until the government promised to reinstate those sacked during the dispute.

Mugabe's history demonstrates what happens when governments try to work with big business.

In 1980, soon after his party was elected with almost two thirds of the vote, Mugabe made a key speech saying:

"We recognise that the economic structure is based on capitalism and that whatever ideas we

have must build on that. We are not going to interfere with private property."

As a result economic power still lies with an elite.

The banking system remains dominated by two British banks, Barclays and Standard Chartered.

Problems

Although much of the mining sector is state-owned, the management is usually still in the hands of the former owners like the South African company Anglo-American.

Four multinationals control almost all the mineral processing rights in Zimbabwe.

Mugabe has tried to blame his latest problems on the IMF and says he can do little to block its demands.

But workers are more and more turning their fury on the local rich and Mugabe's refusal to attack the big firms which dominate the economy.

The UN would make things worse

SOME commentators today, although not calling directly for colonialism, want United Nations 'trusteeship' put in place for a period of ten years or so.

This ignores that it was precisely 'trusteeship' under the League of Nations (the forerunner of the UN) which saw so much of Africa devastated by the colonial powers after the First World War.

In Rwanda the Belgian 'trusteeship' saw three waves of famine in 1916, 1928 and 1943. In the last of these ten percent of the population died.

Moreover UN intervention has proved disastrous wherever it has occurred.

In Somalia the UN forces watched while thousands were slaughtered and then killed thousands themselves.

They retreated leaving the country in a worse state than when they arrived.

Far from healing rivalries, the UN worsened them.

Results

In ex-Yugoslavia the UN forces have not only policed the results of ethnic cleansing but have enforced more of it.

A similar strategy in central Africa would ignite a firestorm.

European powers and the United States have helped to wreck Afghanistan and the Middle East.

Africa's people will not be saved by the UN

or a return to direct control by the West. The hope is in the glimpses of solidarity and unity between ordinary people.

In one such case newspapers reported peasants on the Zaire-Burundi border offering some of their own meagre food and water supplies to refugees—although this generosity was stamped on by Burundian troops.

In Zaire itself some workers in the capital Kinshasa stood out against the looting of Tutsis' property which has been encouraged by the Mobutu regime.

Despite immense intimidation and every pressure to hate people from different backgrounds, some Africans have shown they want to unite.

The future lies in them struggling against their real enemies—the international and the local rich.

Thieves fall out in Russia

GANGSTERISM, CRONYISM and intrigue re now running riot in Russian politics.

To understand the political crisis surrounding Boris Yeltsin's dismissal last month of General Aleksandr Lebed from the post of Secretary of the Security Council we have to go back to the presidential elections last June and July.

Yeltsin's advisers—above all his all-powerful chief of staff Anatoli Chubais and the prime minister, Viktor Chernomyrdin—were faced with two problems.

First, their candidate was a very ill man, who was incapacitated by a heart attack just before the second round of the elections.

Secondly, the tremendous suffering caused by the first Yeltsin administration's brutal efforts to drive Russia towards market capitalism had created a backlash threatening to sweep the Communist Party back to office on an ultra-nationalist programme of restoring the Russian Empire.

Chubais and Chernomyrdin solved the first problem by using their control of the media to conceal Yeltsin's illness until he had been safely re-elected.

And they sought to deflate the second by recruiting Lebed, who had stood against Yeltsin on a comparatively moderate nationalist platform in the first round of the elections.

Pro-Market

Initially there seems to have been a rather strange alliance between Lebed and Chubais, who, as one of Yeltsin's most pro-market ministers, had been responsible for privatising much of Russian industry.

Together they forced out some of the most conservative members of the administration, whom Lebed blamed for the war in Chechnya.

Among these was General Aleksandr Korzhakov, and ex-KGB drinking crony of Yeltsin's who had been appointed head of the Presidential Guard.

Korzhakov was sacked after his men arrested two businessmen friendly with Chubais who couldn't explain what they were doing in the Russian government building with \$500,000 in cash.

But the uneasy partnership between Lebed and Chubais came under increasing strain as Yeltsin's heart troubles kept him out of action, thus raising the prospect of another presidential election.

The struggle for the succession began. Chernomyrdin, apparently with the support of Chubais, sought to establish himself as Yeltsin's heir.

Lebed was the chief obstacle to these plans. His attacks on official corruption and his success in negotiating a suspension of fighting in Chechnya made him the most popular politician in Russia. Lebed also sought to strengthen his own position by building alliances, notably with his old enemy Korzhakov.

Open hostilities between the two wings of the government broke out a few weeks ago when the sports minister, Shamil Tarpischev, was sacked. Tarpischev is an-

other crony of Yeltsin's who had been his tennis coach.

Tarpischev and Korzhakov were accused by a shady businessman, Boris Fyodorov, of trying to extort \$40 million from him.

Fyodorov, the ex-head of the National Sports Fund, which made billions by importing tobacco and alcohol tax-free, is currently recovering from an contract assassination attempt on his life.

The *Financial Times* cynically commented: "Despite their extensive regional networks and strong base of loyalists, the Communists lost in July because all of Russia's money backed Yeltsin. To achieve his stated ambition of becoming Russian president, Mr Lebed must woo at least some of the country's financial barons."

Korzhakov may be Lebed's link to these barons. The Russian political columnist Otto Latsis argued, "if the rumours are true that Korzhakov did not leave power with empty hands and has preserved links with powerful financial structures, then the unlikely alliance between Lebed and Korzhakov becomes explicable."

Just before Lebed's dismissal, interior minister Anatoly Kulikov accused him of plotting a coup. There is little hard evidence of this.

Nevertheless, Lebed's ostentatious appearance with Korzhakov at a rally in his old constituency of Tula was probably intended to highlight his military support. Tula is the base of a crack Guards division which played a decisive role in defeating the conservative coup whose failure brought Yeltsin to power in August 1991.

Dividing

Anyone looking for any sign of principle dividing the two sides will be disappointed. Lebed is an admirer of the former Chilean dictator General Pinochet, and is now allied to some of those he blamed for the disaster in Chechnya.

As for his 'liberal', pro-market opponents, Chernomyrdin is an ex-boss of the state-run oil industry.

One Moscow political scientist called Chubais, who has enormous power thanks to his control over access to Yeltsin, "an absolutely cynical careerist, with no moral principles."

"It is a fight for power," commented the liberal opposition leader Grigori Yavlinsky. "The fight is being waged according to the mafioso's rules and it employs *kompromat* [politically compromising revelations]. It is a battle for power, for the ability to control budgetary monies and it is fought according to the principle 'the thief stole the other thief's rod.'"

That's the 'democracy' that market capitalism has brought to Russia.

-ALEX CALLINICOS

Defend the right to bail...Defend

DON'T GIVE THE POWERS OF INT

THE COALITION is planning the greatest attack on civil liberties since the non-jury Special Criminal Courts were set up.

Under proposals that will go to a referendum on 28th November, people could be locked up for months because the police claim that they *might* commit an offence.

Special report
by **KIERAN ALLEN**

It would give the Garda powers of preventative internment.

Eventually it is a measure that could be used against political dissidents.

Dick Spring has claimed that the new measure will not interfere with civil liberties because bail can only be refused in 'serious cases'.

But the government's own list of scheduled offences include the Larceny Act and the Criminal Damages Act, both of which include potential sentences for up to five years.

This means that if a Garda arrested someone for robbing a Mars bar or breaking a shop window and claimed they might commit the offence again, that person could be locked up without trial.

It is a plan that will see up to 600 innocent people locked up before they get to trial.

It could also lead to a major rise in prison suicides.

Remand

Already a quarter of suicides in Irish prison are committed by people who are on remand.

Finding themselves in frightening surroundings and believing that they had been unjustly imprisoned, the psychological strain was too much for some.

Even the government's own proposals acknowledge that people will have to spend four months in jail before they are entitled to get a review from the courts.

When they finally appear for their trial, they will be disadvantaged in preparing their case.

A shadow of guilt could also be cast over them even before the trial.

If they are released without a trial there will be no compensation for their loss of a job or their period in detention.

They will just have to walk

away, bitter that their rights were taken from them.

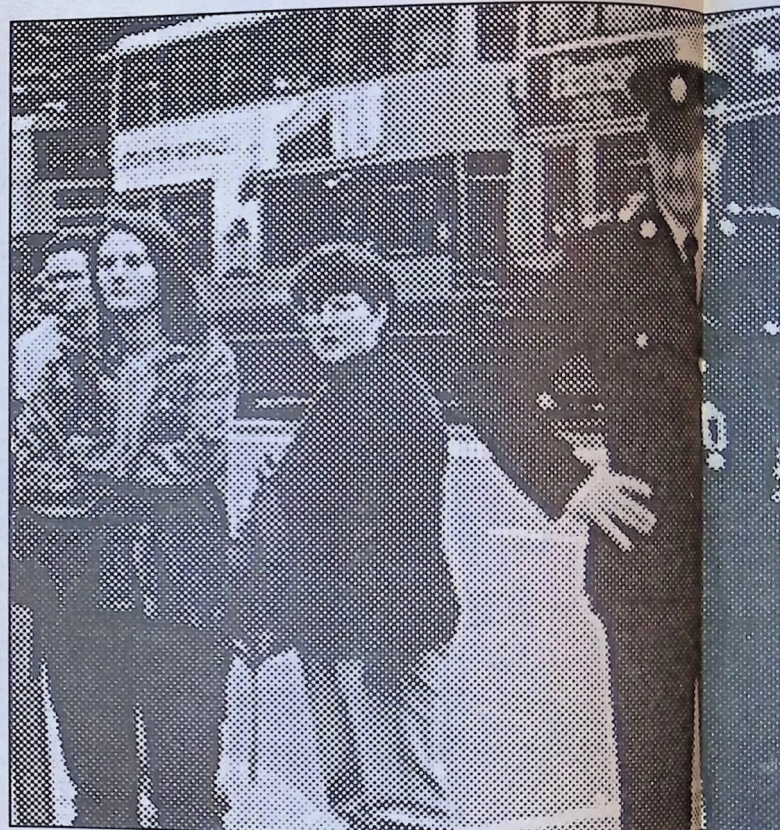
The Coalition have not even bothered to spell out the procedures by which the judge will be entitled to refuse bail.

Nowhere do they state that the police will even have to produce evidence to support their belief that someone would commit a future offence.

It is enough that a Garda just gives their opinion.

A decade ago, a Garda opinion was enough to convict people of IRA membership before the Special Criminal Court.

Now this government is getting ready to use this tactic to put hundreds of other people away for months.



FIVE REASONS TO

1 'Bail breaking' scare is exaggerated

FIANNA FAIL and the Government are pretending that huge numbers of people on bail are committing serious crimes.

It is part of a scare story to do away with our rights.

Successful governments had been advised to do an exact study on offences committed by people on bail—but they never did.

There are only rough estimates available.

One of those estimates put the figure for bail offences as low as four per cent of all crime.

For this tiny number of cases the government wants to take away the rights of everyone.

Murder

A report from the Law Reform Commission indicated that most of these offences were not even of a serious nature.

People on bail are not normally the ones committing murder, rape, or drug trafficking.

Even these tiny number of offences happen because there are huge delays in bringing people to trial.

If the government was so worried about the issue, it could have cut the waiting period for court appearances.

2 More miscarriages of justice

EVERY TIME the Gardai get more powers, there are more miscarriages of justice.

When the Gardai had the power of seven day detention they pressurised a Kerry woman, Joanne Hayes, to confess to the killing of a baby she never had.

When they were able to haul people before the non-jury Special Criminal Court, they tried to frame the Arklow councillor Nicky Kelly for the Sallins train robbery.

If the Gardai know that they can lock away people for four months at least, they will use this to pressurise people to make false

statements. Young people will live with their rights that if they don't consent to interrogating others, they will face loss of their job.

3 A new of intern

THE NEW measures reverse the momentum until prevention and brings in preventive in Northern Ireland. They proceed against students to get the

Defend the right to bail...

THE GARDA INTERMENT



jail. They are usually fined around £500.

The denial of bail will once again affect the working class and the poor.

5 Not a solution to the drugs problem

THE government are pretending that removing bail is part of a package to help deal with the drugs crisis. In fact it will make the drugs problem far worse.

The new legislation instructs judges to deny bail to people with 'a substance addiction'. This amounts to criminalising people who are addicted to alcohol, heroin, or numerous other 'substances'.

It will stop people on remand arranging counselling and stays in drug treatment centres.

At the moment there are only 24 beds for heroin addicts in the greater Dublin area. The situation is so bad that one young man from the Crumlin area who smoked heroin was told by the authorities that he would have to start injecting before he had a chance of being treated.

Spending

Yet this government is spending only an extra £12 million to increase the resources. But if it gets a Yes vote in the referendum and is allowed to intern an extra 600 innocent people, the prison spaces will cost an estimated £40 million a year.

If the Coalition were serious about the drugs problem they would ask a simple question: How was a multi-million pound drugs industry established in Ireland after 1994 if it did not get some support from individual Gardaí?

They would establish a detailed investigation into allegations raised by the *Sunday Business Post* who claim that Veronica Guerin was murdered in order to protect the identities of corrupt Gardaí.

Instead the government is allowing the police to investigate themselves.

4 No wealthy crooks denied bail

The Fianna Fail party claim that they will 'make sure crime does not pay but that the criminal does'.

But they turn a blind eye to their friends in the beef industry who gave big donations to their party to make sure that 'crime pays'.

Today none of the owners of the companies where fraud took place have even been charged - not to mention being denied bail.

No employer who has been found guilty of breaching safety laws and caused the death of a worker has ever been sent to

for over a year.

This happened during a series of trials known as the 'supergrass trials'. A small number of informers were offered huge sums of money in exchange for detailed confessions which named hundreds of people.

The RUC used these 'confessions' to lock away republicans for up to two years and then allowed the cases to collapse before the trial.

When Queen Elizabeth first visited Northern Ireland, the RUC also used the same form of 'internment by remand' to detain organisers of protests.

Upheavals

The Dail parities know that major social upheavals can be expected in Ireland in the future. This is why they are already arming the Gardaí with powers to lock away political dissidents.

What do socialists say?

1956 Hungarian workers' revolution

THIS YEAR'S fiftieth anniversary of the 1956 Hungarian uprising brought a welter of television programmes and newspaper articles which recalled some of the inspiring images.

One of the most powerful was the scene where workers pulled down the statue of the Russian dictator Stalin.

He had destroyed and perverted its socialist ideals, executed its original leaders and was the oppressor and mass murderer of millions of Russian and East European workers and peasants.

Every genuine socialist cheered and will still cheer the sight of his fallen visage and his vacant boots.

But the Hungarian workers also removed hammers and sickles, tore up pictures of Lenin and burned red flags.

For socialists this can seem a problem. The red flag is not primarily a symbol of Stalinism, but of the whole international workers' movement.

Advocate

The hammer and sickle originally signified the unity of workers and peasants.

And Lenin, the passionate advocate of workers' democracy and the right of nations to self determination, would have been horrified at the crimes committed in his name.

These attacks provided both the Western media and the Stalinists with handy images to support their claims that the Hungarian Revolution was basically right wing in nature.

In reality the Stalinist regimes in Russia and Eastern Europe had appropriated all the lan-

guage and symbols of socialism and Marxism and used them as a cover for their exploitation and oppression of working people.

When the people rebelled they naturally attacked the symbols of the regime they hated. The confusion about symbols should not misguide us about the fundamental character of the Hungarian Revolution.

This was a workers' revolution heading in a socialist direction towards the establishment of full workers' power and democracy.

This is shown by the class composition of its fighters, by the forms of struggle and organisation it adopted, by the demands it threw up and ultimately by the reaction of the Western powers.

The revolution began when a protest by students and intellectuals was supported by thousands of workers. It continued when that protest was fired on by the political police, the AVH, and the demonstrators rushed back to their factories to bring thousands of their work-mates onto the streets and build barricades.

The street fighters got their arms, as workers from the rank and file of the Hungarian army—other workers in uniform.

The uprising in the streets was backed by the classic method of workers' struggle—the general strike—which continued for more than two weeks after the insurrection itself was suppressed.

The revolution organised itself through a na-

tional network of workers' councils composed of delegates freely elected in workplaces and headed by the Central Workers' Council of greater Budapest.

The revolutionary councils drew up many demands, some of which reflected lack of political clarity, but none of these demands were anti-socialist.

There was insistence on the removal of Russian troops, on the establishment of workers' councils in every factory, on workers' control of production and on the socialist ownership of industry.

Western governments confirmed the working class character of the revolution by their absolute refusal to lift a finger to help it.

Instead they occupied themselves with plotting military intervention to defend their trade and oil interests in the Suez crisis.

Precisely because workers' revolution is a mass affair, no revolution begins with the masses as fully conscious revolutionary socialists. The 1905 revolution in Russia began with workers marching to petition the Tsar carrying religious icons.

Revolt

Revolution begins with spontaneous anger and revolt.

At first workers' deeds run far ahead of their consciousness and then in the process of revolution they learn from experience and their consciousness starts to catch up.

This is exactly what happened in Hungary.

At first they sought only reform of the existing Stalinist system and supported the leadership of the reform communist Imre Nagy.

But the logic of the revolution carried them beyond this in deeds and in ideas.

Hungary 1956 was a classic example of workers' revolution and illustrated many features we will doubtless see repeated in workers' revolutions to come.

— JOHN MOLYNEUX

Out now!

Revolution in Ireland

—Popular militancy 1917-23
by CONOR KOSTICK

£12.99 including postage

From: Socialist Worker Books,
PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

statements.
Young people who are unfamiliar with their rights can be told that if they don't make a statement incriminating themselves or others, they will face jail and the loss of their job.

3 A new form of interment

THE NEW measure re-verse the motto 'innocent until proven guilty' and bring in a form of preventive internment. In Northern Ireland, the police use the denial of bail in order to get them locked up.

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Revolutionary Ireland 1917 - 1923

The struggle that shook the empire

The success of Neil Jordan's film Michael Collins has created a huge interest in the events of that period. The film, however reinforces the view that the treaty which established the Free State was the result solely of the activities of the IRA...and that Collins had little option but to accept it.

For this reason Conor Kostick's new book *Revolution in Ireland* is a welcome addition to the debate. He stresses the importance of the massive wave of popular militancy in making the country ungovernable.

The events in Ireland were part of a world wide revolutionary wave that followed the 1917 Russian Bolshevik revolution. The once mighty empires of Russia, Germany, Austria and Turkey lay in ruins. The red flag of revolution and the new workers councils or soviets disturbed the peace of the European rich. There were anti-colonial revolts in Egypt, Afghanistan and India. Ireland was no exception to this trend. In 1918 the threat of military conscription was opposed by a national general strike. A stunned Irish Times commented "April 23rd will be chiefly remembered as the day on which Irish Labour realised its strength"

But it was not only the Irish Times that was worried. Arthur Griffith, founder of Sinn Fein, saw the potential for such actions to disrupt the all-class unity of the national movement.

In January 1919 he wrote "The general strike is a weapon that might injure as much as serve. It would be injudicious at present and might be injudicious at any time, unless under extreme provocation..."

To confirm Griffith's concerns the trade union movement grew massively. In 1914 there were 110,000 members of unions affiliated to the Irish TUC; by 1920 there were 250,000 with the ITGWU alone claiming 130,000 members. The peak was reached in 1921 with 300,000 members.

With this growth in membership came a growth in industrial militancy. The number of strike days in both 1919 and 1920 was over ten times the 1915 figure. The general election in December 1918, which led to the establishment of the first Dáil, and the outbreak of the War of Independence did little to stop this wave of militancy. In fact it probably encouraged it.

Every town experienced at least one general strike in this period; Charleville experienced five general strikes between August 1918 and 1923, while Youghal and Dungarvan saw eleven general strikes between them over the same period.

In many of the strikes the workers



■ Revolutionary Dublin, 1921

took over their workplaces and declared themselves "soviets". In the years 1919/1920 over a hundred soviets were established. The most famous was at the Knocklong Creamery in Limerick where the red flag was run up and a banner hung outside declaring "We make butter, not profits."

Even relatively privileged groups of workers were caught up in the atmosphere of working class struggle. The Irish Bank Officials Association was founded in 1918.

The chairman of the National Bank declared that they would not "be dictated to by a parcel of boys." Threatened with strike action the banks caved in and recognised the union.

Over 50,000 agricultural labourers joined the ITGWU and were involved in militant strikes and land seizures throughout the country.

A strike of 60 labourers in Celbridge, County Kildare, spread in less than a week to involve 2,500 in Kildare and Meath. Pickets armed with clubs patrolled the roads and railway stations to stop the movement of "tainted goods". Fairs were stopped and cattle auctions disrupted. An attempt to move cattle by train was stopped by derailing the train. Women in a Navan tobacco factory came out in sympathy. When, under military protection, a consignment of cattle was sent for export through Belfast the dockers refused to handle them.

The strikers victory meant that a year later agricultural workers in Meath were still earning 40 shillings a week compared with 37/6 for the rest of the country.

The land seizures were condemned in the Dáil, "The present time when the Irish people are locked in a life and death struggle with their traditional enemy is ill-chosen for the stirring up

of strife amongst our fellow countrymen." A pamphlet issued by the Dáil declared that "the mind of the people was being diverted from the struggle for freedom by a class war...There was a moment when it seemed that nothing would prevent wholesale expropriation." The Dáil established a system of land courts to mediate in these disputes and used the IRA to enforce their authority.

Peadar O'Donnell, a republican socialist, was later to comment that "many an IRA man in jail in '22 and '23 cursed his use as a defender of

"One was struck by the absolute recognition of the soviet system - in deed if not in name. At one table sat a school teacher dispensing bread permits, at another a trade union official controlling the flour supply - at a third a railway man controlling coal, at a fourth a creamery clerk distributing butter tickets...all working smoothly."

pure ideals to patrol estate walls, enforce decrees for rent, arrest and even order out of the country leaders of local land agitations".

A high point in the struggle was the establishment of what was known as the Limerick Soviet. The military authorities had declared the city to be a special military area, forcing everyone to apply for a pass to get in or out.

The trades council declared a general strike which lasted two weeks.

The soviet took over control of food supplies, transport and even issued their own currency.

The Daily Express correspondent was moved to comment that the strike "suggests possibilities on which it is not pleasant to ponder." The strike was only broken by the failure of the Labour leaders to provide solidarity action. A hunger strike by republican prisoners in Mountjoy led to a massive general strike that was solid apart from Derry and Belfast.

An eyewitness in Kilmallock reported "one was struck by the absolute recognition of the soviet system - in deed if not in name. At one table sat a school teacher dispensing bread permits, at another a trade union official controlling the flour supply - at a third a railway man controlling coal, at a fourth a creamery clerk distributing butter tickets...all working smoothly."

Faced with this level of opposition, after two days the authorities had no option but to release the prisoners. In May 1920 London dockers refused to load ships that were bringing supplies to fight against the Soviet Russian Republic.

Inspired by this action Dublin dockers refused to handle ships carrying military supplies for the British forces. The train drivers followed suit. For six months they refused to run trains carrying war materials.

All this and more is well described in Conor Kostick's book. But in emphasising the role of the workers movement he sets up a false opposition between workers struggles and the republican struggle.

The truth was that many a union militant was also involved in the IRA.

And it was the breaking of British authority, its courts, police and administration throughout the country which combined with the mass working class upsurge that forced Britain... and Michael Collins, to sign the Treaty.

The dilemma for the Irish ruling class was well captured by the Irish Times' comments on the Dublin and Belfast dockers struggle to control food prices:

"A continuation of the fight which ended yesterday might have witnessed the establishment of soviets of working men in all the ports of Ireland..."

"We are on the eve of a critical struggle between socialism and anti-socialism in this country, and it is probable that forces which profess an equal hostility to British rule will be found in opposite camps. Sinn Fein as a body is anti-socialist."

"The Sinn Fein farmers are as little in love with Labour's claim to control food prices as are Unionist farmers in North East Ulster."

"The agrarian agitation in the west...is viewed with intense alarm by the shopkeeper proprietor of grazing land. We imagine that a good deal of unpleasant thinking is being done in Ireland today by people who were content hitherto to shout with the loudest crowd."

"They are beginning to appreciate—now that it has disappeared—the merits of the Pax Britannica."

The Treaty and the subsequent Civil War were the Irish ruling class' attempt to re-establish control.

—Willy Cumming

Revolution in Ireland
by Conor Kostick
From SW Books PO Box
1648 Dublin 8.
£10 + £2.50 p&p

film
MICHAEL COLLINS REVIEWED BY COLM BRICE

A movie that should make Bruton squirm

NEIL JORDAN's much heralded film aims to rescue Michael Collins from the shadows of history and to explain his contradictions.

To judge by the press coverage, Jordan has succeeded in the first aim but his attempt to unravel the Collins' enigma is ultimately unsatisfying.

The film follows Collins' life from the aftermath of the defeat of the Easter Rising in 1916 to his death in an ambush in 1922, showing the determination with which the republican movement was rebuilt against a ruthless opponent.

Collins' role in frustrating British attempts to destroy the movement is grippingly portrayed and gives some sense of the scale of the revolt against British rule.

Collins is able to draw on information from thousands of people, from housemaids to spies in the centre of the British administration in Dublin Castle.

His use of assassination

squads against British spies should have had politicians like John Bruton, who recently described the modern IRA as fascists, squirming in their seats at the premiere in Dublin.

Scandal

Indeed, the Minister for Justice Nora Owen was informed of the scandal over the High Court judge while she was at the premiere, and immediately ordered the release and re-arrest of mainly republican prisoners.

It is when the film moves on to the Treaty and the Civil War that its shortcomings become obvious.



Alan Rickman as Dev, Liam Neeson as Collins and Aiden Quinn as Harry Boland

The split between Collins and Eamon De Valera is shown as based on personal jealousies.

Deeper tensions are hinted at in the split with Harry Boland, Collins' long-time collaborator, but are obscured in the film by the rivalry between them over Kitty Kiernan.

Collins is presented as the tragic hero, who reluctantly accepts the Treaty and enters the Civil War against former comrades, gripped by fear of a new British invasion.

The real situation was much

more complex.

The latter stages of the war saw the revolt against British rule spilling over into workers' struggle.

This is well documented in Conor Kostick's new book *Revolution in Ireland* (reviewed on page 8 of this issue).

Provided

The nationalist politics of figures like Collins obscured the tensions within the movement and provided a convenient cover for, and acceptance of,

the status quo.

As Minister of Finance (hardly hinted at in the film) Collins was at the centre of this re-orientation of the republican leadership.

His role as a negotiator with the British further encouraged his development into a professional politician.

The conflict over the Treaty reflected the wider class divisions.

Collins lined up with conservatives like Arthur Griffiths, while De Valera (for his own

cynical ends) took the side of the rural poor who had a sense that they had fought for something more than the same old thing under a new flag.

All of this is missing from Jordan's film, replaced by the suggestion that De Valera merely whipped up an irrational blood-lust in his speeches against the Treaty, with Collins desperately trying to talk some sense into them.

And in the end this is the major shortcoming of Jordan's film. The ending claims that Collins' tragedy is that he died trying to remove the gun from Irish politics.

Defence

Jordan points to this is defence against the claims in the British press that the film will encourage IRA violence in Northern Ireland.

But by ignoring the generalised revolt associated with the war, the film reinforces the idea that it was military tactics alone and the role of heroic figures like Collins which led to the withdrawal of British forces.

There is a tragedy in Collins' life, but it is less the personal dilemma over the use of violence than the limitations of nationalist politics in the struggle against oppression and injustice.

television

Fighting fascists in Spain

A SIX part series is now showing on RTE chronicling the history of the Spanish Civil War.

The Civil War was heralded as the last great idealistic war, and with the rise of fascism in the 1930s, the Spanish Revolution saw the working class defend the Republic against Spain's ruling Monarchists.

The documentary is in the style of the People's Century series, with inspiring footage from the era.

The first episode showed the period from the conception of the Republic in 1931 to the February elections of 1936, which voted in a Popular Front government.

It shows the rise of fascism among the disillusioned middle-classes and the Catholic Church. Elements in the military like Franco and his counterparts planned to throw Spain into a bloody Civil War to save the country from the "Godless Republic".

Seizures

Working class militancy swept Spain in the lead up to 1936, leading to mass strikes and land seizures.

Those around Franco set up an openly fascist force, called the Falange. The Falange took its ideas from Nazi Germany and Mussolini's Italy, and as shown in the series, they were ruthless to their opponents.

The episodes so far have been very enjoyable, with great stories of how left wingers fought the might of the wave of fascism.

If you enjoyed the film *Land and Freedom*, this series is for you. The Revolution of 1936 has a lot of important lessons to teach us, with fascism once again on the rise in Europe.

'The Spanish Civil War' is on RTE 1 on Wednesday nights at 11.25 approx.

GINO KENNY

book

Why workers need a revolutionary party

THERE EXISTS a very strong myth that Lenin led to Stalin.

Lenin argued for and helped build a party of revolutionaries in pre-revolutionary Russia.

The Bolsheviks argued out their differences through internal discussion and then implemented their tactics in a disciplined manner.

The Socialist Workers Party believes we must create a party of the Bolshevik sort today to prepare for the revolutionary upheavals of the future.

But opponents of working class revolution have always argued that Lenin's party inevitably became dictatorial and prepared the way for Stalin's tyranny.

This is one of the themes taken up by *Party and Class*, a recently republished book of short essays which was first published nearly thirty years ago.

It contains articles by the Socialist Workers Party (Brit-

ain) theoreticians, Tony Cliff, Duncan Hallas and Chris Harman as well as an article by Trotsky from the 1930s.

The book shows that it was the material condition of Russian backwardness in 1917, and the failure of the revolution to spread, that led to the Russian Communist Party substituting for the exhausted working class.

Discuss

And Stalin's consolidation of power required the complete destruction not only of all vestiges of working class democracy but also of the Bolshevik Party it had been along with all its leaders and cadres.

Stalin had to physically annihilate all those who had any connection with the revolutionary past of the Bolsheviks, including those, like Zinoviev and Bukharin, who had supported him.

The authors discuss what sort of a revolutionary party we must build and what is its relationship to the working class.

For it is the class not the

party that makes the revolution, but history teaches that without a party of the most revolutionary layers of workers, revolutionary upheavals are always derailed.

For social democrats like Labour and Democratic Left, their party "represents" the working class and takes power on behalf of the workers.

But for these parties taking power is about managing capitalism, not building socialism.

Revolutionaries seek to build a party to link up the struggles of workers, generalise the tactics and lessons learnt by workers themselves and connect this with experience of the past.

In this way the unevenness of consciousness in the working class can be overcome and the movement led on to the working class taking power on their own account.

Chris Harman writes:

"The [working] class as a whole is constantly engaged in unconscious opposition to capitalism. The party is that

section of it that is already conscious and unites to try to give conscious direction to the struggle of the rest.

"Its discipline is not something imposed from the top downwards, but rather something that is voluntarily accepted by all those who participate in its decisions and act to implement these."

Lessons

The relationship of party and class is not of school-teachers to children or officers to the ranks but a two-way process whereby the most revolutionary workers learn from the experiences of the class and seek to generalise these lessons and to lead and advance the whole class.

This is the type of party the SWP is striving to build.

It is very timely that this valuable collection of articles is available again—highly recommended.

—KEVIN WINGFIELD

■ *Party and Class*, £4 post free from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

where we stand

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Old-fashioned scapegoating lies behind... Shortall's attack on lone parents

Getting the figures wrong

IN AN interview in the Irish Times earlier this month, Labour Party TD, Roisin Shortall attempted to scapegoat lone parents for almost every social ill.

Special report by GER TUOHY

In the article headed 'Today's neglected babies are tomorrow's delinquents', Shortall links single mothers to the increase in crime and drug abuse.

She states that it is a "fact that social welfare policy is encouraging young long parents to have babies by rewarding them financial, housing and other benefits".

She rehashed the old right-wing myth that young working class women become pregnant just to get a house, a cot and a buggy! Shortall's tirade could be mistaken for the rantings of any fanatic in the Tory party or in Nora Bennis' National Party.

The reality of life for lone parents couldn't be more different.

An unemployed single parent with one child receives £79.70 a week (£64.50 for herself, which she would receive anyway and £15.20 for her child).

This can hardly be viewed as a financial incentive to have a child.

While she also receives Child Benefit, so do all married parents. Payments to lone parents represent only 5.1 per cent of total Social Welfare spending.

A Combat Poverty Agency study of lone parents in north Dublin found that employment was central to the women's lives with many combining part-time work with caring for their children.

Far from being a drain on state resources, lone parents want to work and be economically independent, but are prevented from doing so because of the lack of childcare facilities.

Despite all the talk of "fringe benefits" like buggies and cots these are given at the

discretion of the Community Welfare Officer and are only available in cases of extreme deprivation to unmarried and married parents alike.

Neither is having a child a guarantee of being housed by the Corporation or Council.

The vast majority of the thousands on waiting lists are households with children who still do not have enough points to get one of the scarce number of houses available.

When single parent families are eventually housed it is usually in areas of huge social deprivation that have often been turned down by other housing applicants.

The Combat Poverty study found that 48 per cent of the women interviewed still lived in their parents' house, often in overcrowded conditions, and sharing a room with other family members.

Avoid

The study also punctured the myth that all young women deliberately become pregnant.

Only 10 per cent of the women interviewed both wanted and planned to conceive, while one third were attempting to avoid pregnancy by using contraception.

The most startling figure was that 45 per cent of the women admitted ignorance about contraception which caused their pregnancy.

Roisin Shortall, as the chairperson of the Eastern Health Board bears much of the responsibility for the lack of information and availability of contraception, but made no mention of this in her interview.



Shortall—proclaiming "family values"

WHY LABOUR BLAMES THE VICTIMS

SHORTALL isn't just inaccurate in her assessment of the situation of lone parents. Her analysis leads to dangerous conclusions.

Instead of blaming poverty and unemployment for the increase in crime and drug abuse in society, she claims it is because single mothers are unable to care for their children.

"Such disturbed children—the teenagers of tomorrow—are suffering from malnutrition, abuse and neglect, often as a result of their parents' drug and alcohol abuse".

So, for Shortall, single mothers are drug-crazed monsters willfully neglecting their children and pines for the "good old days" of the stable two-parent family.

But it is not the absence of a father that makes young people turn to crime. Crime statistics are directly related to poverty

and rates of unemployment, factors which also accompany lone parenthood.

It is not the victims of poverty who need to be attacked, but poverty itself. The source of poverty of lone mothers is linked to the economic situation and vulnerability of women in general because of gender inequality and low pay.

Healthier

It is not the case that a two-parent family is necessarily a healthier environment for children. Most child sexual abuse occurs within a "stable" two-parent setting.

Children are evidently better off with one parent if this means there is no conflict or violence within the home.

The reason why Shortall and the Labour Party are scapegoating lone parents

SHORTALL asserts that "pregnancy is often a rite of passage from childhood to adulthood".

She describes the example of a single 19-year old woman whom she met at her clinic and who didn't have a baby as 'unusual'.

This is patent nonsense. The vast majority of 19-year old women do not have children.

The actual number of teenage mothers has decreased by 7 per cent in the past two decades despite the fact that the teenage population as a whole has expanded hugely.

It is obvious that there has been a huge increase in the number of births to unmarried women in Ireland. At present, 19.7 per cent of all births are outside of marriage compared to only 2 per cent in 1971.

Power

Because of the change in women's attitudes and the loss of power of the Catholic Church, women no longer feel pressurised into marriage when they become pregnant.

Likewise, women are no longer giving their babies up for adoption as in the past.

Only 7 babies were placed for adoption in the entire Eastern Health Board area last year.

The increase in single parent families reflects more progressive attitudes because of the fight for women's rights over the past 20 years.

SWP branch meetings

Marxism 96 a big success—now build the SWP

SOCIALIST ideas are alive and well. This was shown by the fact that 250 people turned up to Marxism 96, the weekend of discussion organised by the Socialist Workers Party.

One of the main themes of the weekend was the urgent need for a strong socialist alternative.

In the Royal Dublin Hotel dispute SWP members helped to make a real difference.

Many members organised collection in their own workplaces and the party played a major role in helping to build the mass pickets that finally broke the morale of the bosses.

In the bail referendum much of the rest of the Irish left has gone off side. D

Disgracefully, TDs like Tony Gregory and Joe Costello who once claimed to have a record of support

for prisoners' rights are officially supporting a measure that will deprive thousands of their civil rights.

Only the SWP has organised canvassing teams to get around estates to carry the argument for a NO vote.

Audience

Meanwhile in the North party members are to be seen in organising meetings and demonstrations against the Job Seekers Allowance which is pushing the unemployed into low paid jobs.

The growing audience for SWP is reflected in the rising level of recruitment. 15 people joined the party at Marxism, six at sales in Dublin city centre, one in Cork.

But the scale of the tasks ahead mean that there is no room for complacency.

Each branch of the party should now be seeking to meet its target for recruitment before Christmas.

Anybody who buys the paper regularly should be asked to join.

Workmates who agree with what we advocate should be encouraged to get involved.

Organise meetings to put the issue of membership to all supporters.

Ensure that people who join on sales are met within four days.

Involve people in activity immediately. Ensure you have regular canvassing nights in the run up to the bail referendum.

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

- BELFAST**
Meets every Wed at 8pm Central Hall Rosemary St.
- CORK**
Meets every Tues at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.
- DERRY**
Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm
- DUN LAOGHAIRE**
Meets every Tues at 8pm in Smyths Pub.
- ENNISKILLEN**
Meets every fortnight Contact national address for details
- GALWAY**
Meets every Thursday at 6pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square
- MAYNOOTH**
Contact 8722682 for details
- WATERFORD**
Meets every Thurs at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.
- DUBLIN NORTH-WEST**
Meets every Tues at 8:30pm in The Old Brogue, Dorset St.
- DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLock**
Meets every Thurs at 8:30pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd.
- DUBLIN DRIMNAGH**
Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm in the Black Forge (formerly the Bentley), Drimnagh Rd
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL**
Meets every Wed at 8:30pm in Conways, Parnell St.
- DUBLIN RATHMINES**
Meets every Wed at 8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond St.
- DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL**
Meets every Thurs at 8pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.
- DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN**
Meets Tues Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village.

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

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

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Royal Dublin Hotel strikers prove that militancy works

AS WE went to press the Royal Dublin Hotel strikers were voting on a deal aimed at settling their eleven week old dispute over low pay.

Support for the strike was growing with two mass pickets and collections in numerous workplaces.

Civil Servants, postal workers, Telecom workers, college lecturers and teachers were among those who gave their support.

Uplifted

The picketline on O'Connell Street became a focus for everyone angry at the way the system treats workers.

The strikers were particularly uplifted by the many Dublin Bus drivers

who beeped loudly as they went past.

From the beginning management resorted to the most disgusting union-busting tactics, using Cityguard Security to intimidate the pickets.

Recruited

They recruited a scab workforce to break the dispute, using Spanish students to take the strikers' place.

The strike has shown how the state and the media are not neutral but are on the side of the bosses.

The Gardai were drafted

in to 'keep an eye' on the pickets, with a certain Garda Pat being well rewarded with breakfast in the hotel at 4.30 am each morning.

The strikers faced the threat of an injunction with one garda telling them the best way to avoid this was to "send half the people on the mass picket home".

The media only latched

on to the strike when the settlement proposals were announced.

Feature

A promised feature in the *Irish Times* never materialised and the strikers are convinced that Tony O'Reilly organised a news blackout to protect his financial interest in the ho-

tel.

In the face of this opposition, the strikers have proven that militancy is alive and well and that workers can take on bosses who refuse to pay decent wages.

They are a proud example of the fighting spirit that can shake the system in this country and begin to get things changed.

But SIPTU sold its members short

AFTER twelve weeks the Royal Dublin strikers have scored a tremendous victory in the fight against low pay.

The deal on offer to the Royal Dublin strikers represented a substantial improvement on the settlement recommended by the Labour Court.

Strikers have won increases of more than 50p an hour won which amounts to more than £20 a week; 5% pay increase as well—2% above that due under the PCW and a £200 lump sum for their period on strike.

The deal also included commitments to inspect other hotels' rates of pay and review the hours and working conditions at the Royal Dublin.

That management were pushed to agree these terms is a tribute to the strikers' resilience and organisation.

The mass pickets showed what was possible, especially when two coachloads of American tourists checked out of the hotel after seeing the numbers on one such demonstration.

The victory was achieved despite the complete failure of SIPTU lead-

ers to build support for their members on the picket line.

Norman Croke, the full-time official involved, didn't even mention the dispute when appeared on RTE to talk about low pay in the hotel industry.

The union leaders did next to nothing to raise solidarity with the strike—that was left to individual shop stewards and socialists in their workplaces.

The SWP helped organise workplace collections; pub collections and benefit gigs which together raised more than a thousand pounds for the strike fund.

A levy of members in the SIPTU catering branch would have made a big difference but this was not organised.

The fact that the country's biggest 'super-union' has let its members down like this shows clearly why a socialist alternative is needed in our unions.

But the victory of the Royal Dublin Hotel strikers also shows how determined strike action is the way to fight the scourge of low pay.

NURSES REJECT PAY DEAL...

Now is the time to strike

NURSES have once more rejected a pay deal that offered very little to most of them.

"Nurses with between one and eight years service would not have gained a penny", one nurse told *Socialist Worker*.

The deal would have also meant a pay cut for student nurses when coming out of training after next year.

Nurses were right to throw out the deal, especially since the small increases had strings attached like:

- Agreement to co-operate with new technology without the possibility of lodging productivity claims.
- A changeover to Paypath without any compensation.
- The changing of rosters to cut overtime and reduce earnings.

The deal was rejected by the Irish Nurses Organisation and IMPACT but a majority voted in favour in both the Psychiatric Nurses Association and SIPTU.

Management have tried to divide nurses by refus-

ing to allow retirement at 55 for general nurses even though psychiatric nurses have already won this concession.

Even the *Irish Times* reporter Pdraig Yeates admitted that "there now appears to be nowhere left to go in negotiations this side of pickets".

But the union leaders will have to be pressurised into balloting their members for strike action.

Result

So far all they have done is try to wear their members down by coming back with one lousy deal after another to try and get the result they wanted.

This time they should be told that the time for talking is over and action is needed.

And they should not allow divisions to be opened up—the unions should stick together until a proper deal is won for all nurses.

CIE: The calm before the storm

REGARDLESS of the outcome of the High Court action on 21st November, CIE management is sure to press on with their Viability Plans.

Bus Eireann workers could face wage cuts and company demands for total flexibility by Christmas.

Dublin Bus is threatening to refuse to pay 2.5% already due to drivers unless the unions agree its Viability Plan by 31st March.

But SIPTU and the NBRU have overwhelming ballots for strike action from workers across CIE.

One Imp driver told *Socialist Worker*, "With a basic wage of just £193.81 i can't afford to make any concessions".

Rank and file bus and rail workers are organising and demanding their unions organise a complete bus and rail shutdown if any section of CIE workforce is attacked.

Action groups—like that in Dublin Bus—should be organised in all garages and depots across bus and rail to make sure CIE workers face the companies' attacks united and confident.

Irish Ferries

"A LOUSY deal" is how one worker described the settlement in Irish ferries. Workers accepted the LRC proposal by two to one recently.

Most of the permanent staff on the continental route will be laid off until March. They will receive some compensation for the lay off but management are demanding that 20 workers work the winter on four weeks on, four weeks off.

The main issue of creating yellow pack conditions is going to have to wait until 20th January. The Union have promised no deal will be made with these conditions.

But as one worker stated "we should have struck while the ball was in our court. Instead we now have to wait two months to know whether we still have our jobs".

Workers need to be ready to take action in March when the ships resume service if the management continue their attacks.

If they create yellow pack jobs on the continental line the management will be looking for more cuts on the other routes.

STUDENTS STRIKE IN CORK RTC

ON MONDAY 11th November the students at Cork RTC struck for the day. 4,000 students supported the strike and marched to Wilton and in protest at mounting problems for RTC students.

Matt O'Callaghan the Students Union President explained the three main issues:

■ Grants are too low and unpaid too late.

■ The college is overcrowded.

■ There is a lack of facilities with no careers officer and no creche.

Since the strike there has been a steady stream of students to the union office saying that they "can't wait for the next one".

550 jobs lost in Semperit closure

SEMPERIT, the giant multi-national tyre manufacturer in Ballyfermot, closed its gates last week-end with the loss of 650 jobs.

The company finally agreed to pay 5 weeks per year of service as redundancy to the workforce.

They initially rejected the Labour Court Recommendation and later agreed to enforce it.

But it was clear there was more to be got.

One negotiator later commented, "They settled very quickly in the end which indicates that there had to be more money there for us."

This company made £6 million in profits in Ballyfermot last year alone. But this was not enough.

The Semperit closure is a clear example of the greed of a system which cares more about pushing up huge profits than it does about the lives of thousands of working class people.

Forgotten

On top of this, 18 canteen workers were being laid off without any compensation.

These forgotten workers staged a one-day occupation of their canteen and forced the issue into the Labour Court.

As we go to press there

has been no result from the Court.

But at the very least these low-paid catering workers deserve the same as the rest of the factory.

One key lesson which has emerged from the Semperit closure is the viciousness of the capitalist system.

Union leaders, politicians and community leaders have been arguing for an employee buy-out of the plant.

The state has given a grant of £30,000 to a consultative company called American Corporate Strategies to investigate the feasibility of a buy-out by former employees of Semperit.

But where this strategy has been tried in the past it

has put massive pressure on workers to concede to their own pay-cuts, cuts in conditions and the smashing of union organisations.

Already the huge multinational market in the tyre industry is gobbling up other competitors.

Control

Ten years ago the top five companies in the tyre industry controlled 55% of production.

Today they control a massive 70%.

Even if Semperit workers were to sink their redundancy money and link up with another capitalist, they would be completely vulner-

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

Revolutionary Ireland 1917-1923:

The struggle that shook the Empire

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Jobseekers Allowance forces down pay... Scandal of £40 for 47 hour week

Demonstrate against the Jobseekers Allowance

Saturday 30th November
Assemble 3.00pm
Belfast: College of Art
Derry: Train station, Duke Street

FORTY pounds for a 47 hour week, with regular compulsory overtime for no extra pay. That's what a trainee in Peter Marks hairdressers in Derry's Foyle side Centre was being paid before they sacked her.

And £2.80 an hour is what Tesco's is advertising as the rate for jobs in its new Belfast superstore.

These are the kind of jobs and the wage rates that unemployed people are being forced to take or face dole cuts under the Job Seekers' Allowance (JSA).

All over the North, we are being told that there is a boom, especially in the service sector - retailing and office jobs.

The arrival of stores like Tesco's and Sainsbury's and of companies who are moving much of their administration to the North has been heralded as a new era for jobs and services.

The JSA, we are told, is not a threat - it will simply

help people to those wonderful jobs.

The reality of jobs in the retail sector is well known - Tesco's £2.80 an hour is even less than Dunnes Stores pays! In Foyle side, it is agreed by most of the workers that those who work there cannot afford to shop there.

Arrived

A recent survey of pay among office workers across Britain and Northern Ireland showed that the office jobs that have arrived over recent years have not brought with them the decent wages and conditions expected by workers elsewhere in these islands.

Select Appointments, an

FIGHT TO SAVE JOBS

ONE THING the JSA makes clear is the importance of defending every job we've got. From here on, every job that is lost puts another worker at the mercy of the Job Seekers' tyranny.

But jobs are being lost at an alarming rate throughout the North. In Derry alone, in the week ending 9th November, over a thousand jobs were seen to be at risk.

At the start of the week, United Technologies announced 55 job losses, at the end of the week DuPont announced 100 redundancies.

In between, thousands of workers in

Fruit of the Loom were told they are to remain on three day working until the middle of next year and workers in Arntz Belling were put on a three day week.

Short time working is often a prelude to job losses.

The choice for all these workers is: — fight to save the jobs we have or face harassment at the dole office.

international staffing agency carried out the survey.

They found that a legal secretary in London could expect to earn £19,100 a year. Someone doing the exact same job in Belfast could expect to earn £8,100 a year!

But it's not just the pay

which is much worse in the North.

The survey also found that employees here have significantly fewer benefits than their counterparts in Britain.

For instance, only 5 per cent of office workers in Northern Ireland receive life assurance from their firms, compared to 61 per cent in the UK generally.

When office workers fall ill, they receive only 10 days paid sickness leave in Northern Ireland, compared to 33 days in Britain.

Reason

When it comes to paternity leave, the survey found that the birth of a child is not seen as a reason for taking time off in Northern Ireland and Scotland.

By contrast, in the North of England, 55 per cent of firms give fathers time off at this time.

Tory Minister Malcolm Moss says that 'if people chose to remain unemployed after six months' on the dole, they deserve to be harassed back into work.

Yet the government's own figures show that there are only 9,000 jobs vacant in

Defend the NHS—Stop the scabbing

HUNDREDS OF health workers in Northern Ireland are striking against a major attack on their wages, conditions and union organisation.

Compass, the union busters involved, have launched a nasty scabbing operation by trying to hire health workers from British hospitals.

At Stobhill in Glasgow the union have managed to stop Compass recruiting scabs from their workforce. This needs to be repeated in every hospital where Compass have a contract.

Compass have contracts in hospitals all over Britain. They employ under different company names, such as Bateman Catering Ltd, Chartwells Ltd, Compass Services (UK) Ltd and Travellers Fare.

Their profits in 1995 were £73.2 million. Their top bosses earn £325,000, plus £234,000 in benefits.

The health workers in Northern Ireland need our solidarity.

They will need financial support. The Hospitals involved are Erne in Enniskillen, Tyrone County in Omagh, Lisburn's Lagan Valley and Downshire in Downpatrick.

Take up collections in your workplace:
Send messages of support to the hospitals:

- Erne 01365 324711
- Tyrone County: 01662 245211
- Lagan Valley: 01846 685141
- Downshire: 01396 613311

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If you or any of your friends have their dole cut, contact Socialist Worker sellers immediately.

If you want to help build an active fight against the JSA, work with your local SWP branch to get some action going.

I want to help build a fight against the JSA. I am willing to spread leaflets, put up posters and get involved in protests

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