

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

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Labour's Road to Coalition Turn to page 6

PESP WAGE RISES...

AS soon as workers demand their rights, Fianna Fail tell them the country is broke.

Thousands of public sector workers are due 3 per cent wage increases in January 1992. Some groups like nurses and teachers are due special increases of 10 per cent.

But Haughey and Ahern don't want to pay up. They say there is no money to pay workers who staff our hospitals under miserable conditions. No more money to pay the 12,000 civil servants who are coming home with less than £120 a week.

They are liars.

When the rich came to Haughey with their begging bowls, FF had no problem finding the money.

Haughey's friend, Dermot Desmond was given £1 million pounds in fees for privatising Irish Life.

Fianna Fail backer, Larry Goodman, was given £100 million by way of an export credit scheme to guarantee his profits from selling beef to Iraq.

Smurfit was allowed to make super profits for himself by getting Telecom — which he chaired — to buy building sites off his personal property companies.

The recent spate of scandals showed how FF's friends in the 'Golden Circle' ripped us off — and got away with it.

Now they want public sector workers to make sacrifices to cover for the way they ripped us off.

Last year, the Irish economy grew faster than in any year since 1968. It did so because workers were chained to miserable pay increases under the Programme for Economic and Social Progress.

The rich did not create jobs. They used our sacrifices to invest in scandal after scandal.

It's now time to tell them where to get off. Socialists have no love for the PESP. But after years of sacrifices it is now time to tell the boss class: PAY UP.

MAKE HAUGHEY PAY UP!



**AHERN:
No more
Mr Nice
Guy!**

THE scene is set for a major showdown between Bertie Ahern and the public sector unions. Mr 'Nice Guy' wants his pound of flesh. He is threatening a complete public service pay freeze if the union leaders do not re-negotiate the PESP.

Ahern is hoping that after a brief outburst of militancy the ICTU will agree to compromise with him. According to the *Irish*



Times 'the government believes that unions have not got the stomach for a fight, or certainly for a long term campaign of industrial action.'

So far the union leaders have talked tough. But past experience shows that they will have to be watched.

In July 1982, Fianna Fail announced that a 5 per cent pay rise for public sector workers would not be paid. The ICTU drew up plans for half day regional stoppages. They refused, however, to call all out united action.

After the first stoppage in Cork, the ICTU abandoned the rest of its plans. They settled for an agreement with FF where pay increases were paid in two instalments and the special pay increases were deferred.

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Ahern: No more Mr Nice Guy

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FF are hoping achieve the same result again. They hope that the union leaders will huff and puff and eventually settle for a deferralment of the pay increases.

They want to stall paying the wage increases long enough to save enough money to pay the special increases to nurses and teachers.

Fianna Fail must not be let get away with it. Thousands of workers have seen that their past sacrifices have been in vain. For four years they accepted pay restraint on the promise that it would help bring about a 'national recovery'.

But in 1990 employers' profits grew by a massive 13 per cent yet levels of unemployment began to edge towards 300,000.

A new mood of anger is developing throughout the union movement. Workers are bitter about the lost sacrifices. They are angry at the scandals of the Irish rich. But

this new mood needs organising.

Over the next month special union meetings need to be called in public sector workplaces. The issues need to be clearly explained and steps must be taken to mobilise action.

Hospitals

In particular areas such as the hospitals, shop stewards must start making links across workplaces to co-ordinate the action and ensure the maximum turn out for all events.

We need to support every call for stoppage from the ICTU no matter how limited or token they are. But while doing this, we need to argue clearly that the matter has to go beyond the half day regional stoppage. All out action across the public sector is needed.

Above all we need to re-build a network of socialist militants across the unions.

WILSON'S CHEMICAL COVER-UP

A COLLISION between two cargo vessels in Dublin bay in November caused the death of three crewmen from the MV Kilkenny. The lifeboats couldn't be used and the crew were forced to jump overboard into freezing water without enough lifejackets for everyone.

The Kilkenny, which was returning from Antwerp, lost most of its cargo of 123 containers into the sea. By the next day the containers could be seen up to ten miles away.

There was an immediate cover-up about the contents of the barrels by B & I and the Department of the Marine, who claimed there was only one container of toxic material on board.

But rescuers reported an acrid smell in the bay and another container containing hazardous liquid resin was later towed ashore and a Dublin Fire Brigade spokesman said there were many more still unrecovered, some of which contain hydriotic acid which is corrosive on contact with water.

Others contain butanoic acid which is also harmful. This gives the lie to John Wilson's dismissive comment that there was

nothing more dangerous than 'old socks'.

The methyl acrylate on board was to be transported by train to the Asahi textile plant in Co Mayo. A chemist in TCD describes it as a highly flammable, toxic chemical, only safe in laboratory conditions. It causes severe irritation, burning, laryngitis and nausea if touched or inhaled. Prolonged exposure can cause death.

Methyl acrylate is transported through Dublin on a weekly basis and ordinary passenger rail lines are used to carry it and other chemicals such as anhydrous ammonia to other parts of the country both day and night.

A former CIE train guard told *Socialist Worker* that safety drills advised them to just 'run against the wind' if there was an accident. This, along with the false labelling of the containers, shows nothing but contempt for rail and sea workers as well as people living along the routes.

The penalty for non-declaration of toxic chemicals is a derisory £10 fine. No doubt Wilson is delighted at the discovery of cannabis a few days later, which he will use to divert attention away from the real dangerous substances.

Anger on the estates...

Jobs not cops!

"OUTRAGE At Mob Violence", "Mob Madness", "Appalling Thuggery"...

This was the response by most press reports and politicians to this month's incidents in Clondalkin, Ballyfermot and Clonsilla, when local youths clashed with police and the fire brigade.

Mairin Quill TD, of the PDs, was beside herself with indignant rage at "the appalling violence". Fine Gael TD Jim Mitchell wanted parents of the youth held criminally responsible, ie locked up.

Right-wing jesuit priest Fr Levall suggested that some children of "problem" families be taken from their parents at five or six years of age, maybe younger.

"I can tell at a christening when a child is at risk," he claimed, and went on to say that the problem was genetic.

Most called for more police and more detention places. All found the incidents incomprehensible.

In reality the only surprise is that such things don't happen more often and on a larger scale.

In the estates of North Clondalkin and Ballyfermot, unemployment is estimated at seventy percent. Three out of four are without a job.

On street after street no one works. Youth unemployment may be even worse. Many that



Clondalkin residents march against crime

do find work can only get low paid jobs where prospects of improvement and job security are zero.

To collect the dole, many face a thirty to forty minute walk to Clondalkin Village. Hundreds are shunted around on meaningless 'job search' programmes.

One man told *Socialist Worker*: "You learn nothing on these schemes, they just tell you to be positive—they know you've no chance of a job at the end of it, it just keeps you off the register for a while."

While the press claim that a small group of

youth joyriding is making people's lives a misery, the reality is different. People's lives have been a daily misery for very different reasons.

Nellstown and Rowanstown in North Clondalkin are typical of the sprawling working class ghettos that sprang up in the 1970s. Vast estates were provided with only the barest of amenities.

Skeleton

North Clondalkin houses just 25,000 people. It has one pub, a wholly inadequate and understaffed health clinic, and a skeleton transport service. At certain times of the evening, no buses will

enter some estates.

Because of continuous cuts in education some children are being given half days off at local primary schools. At one secondary school some pupils are bussed to Lucan for a half day a week.

Some parents have moved their children to schools outside the area altogether, because they believe they have better facilities, thus creating a two-tier system of education.

A whole generation has grown up with no prospect of a decent future on these estates.

At recent protest marches on the estates there was a real feeling

of anger and resentment at sermonising politicians, and anger also at the humiliation inflicted on thousands of working class people in their daily lives.

However, such anger can be misdirected. Calls for more police or more jails are no solution. They can only allow those truly responsible to get off the hook.

It is the job of socialists to direct this anger at those free market politicians who are always loudest in their condemnations. It is their system which creates the problem.

The focus for protests must be demands for decent facilities and a better future, not more police.

Nicky Kelly: Victim of class justice

IT is fifteen years since Nicky Kelly was wrongfully charged with the Sallins Mail Train Robbery.

It is seven years since he was released on "compassionate grounds".

The Irish state still refuses to admit that Kelly played no part in the 1976 robbery.

He was arrested during the time of the notorious garda "Heavy Gang", which flourished under the Fine Gael/Labour Coalition.

Kelly had his "confession" beaten out of him, was jailed and went on hunger strike before being released.

The judiciary used the infamous Denning judgement to quash Kelly's claims of innocence.

Lord Denning stated



Framed: Nicky Kelly

that if the Guildford Four or Birmingham Six were released it would open up an "appalling vista", in which the British state's reputation would be undermined.

Since then both the Six and the Four have been freed. Last month Winston Silcott was cleared of charges of murdering PC Blakelock in the Broadwater Farm riots.

With the Denning Judgement in tatters, Nicky Kelly is renewing efforts to clear his name. At the end of November two Denning Demolition gigs were held in Dublin to raise funds.

The funds are so badly needed because legal aid is not given in Irish civil cases. Even in Britain the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four were given legal aid.

Meanwhile Larry Goodman can afford a top legal team in his tribunal. Not only is Irish justice as rotten as British justice—it is equally a class system, where the rich and powerful always have a head start.



WHO says there's no British Justice?

Carol Thatcher (above), daughter of the former Prime Minister, received a court summons last month for not paying her £47 poll tax on time.

Meanwhile, sixteen people face up to ten years each in jail for leading a poll tax protest in Colchester last year.

Northern Ireland

Who is to blame for the killings?

THE British government has sent an extra five hundred troops to the North. One thousand four hundred part-time UDR have been put on full-time alert. It also said that other measures were "under consideration".

The British government wants to pretend that a "tit for tat" conflict is in progress. They hope that their soldiers will be seen as "peacekeepers" separating the warring tribes. The media back up this view and try to lay the primary responsibility for the upsurge in violence on the IRA.

But the truth is different. Since the start of the year loyalist death squads have murdered 36

Loyalist thugs put a petrol bomb through their door in the early hours of the morning.

The bombing followed a campaign of intimidation against the family which included broken windows and graffiti threatening petrol bombs. The police knew about the intimidation but did nothing.

Five days later, three workers were shot dead as they left the late shift at the Hyster factory between Lurgan and Portadown. The UVF later apologised for the death of one of them, John Lavery, because he was a Protestant. There was no suggestion that the other two men, Dessie Rogers and Fergus Magee, had any connections with the Republican movement.

Even Catholic football supporters have come under attack. A shrapnel grenade was thrown into the middle of a crowd of Cliftonville supporters during a match with Linfield. Luckily, it failed to explode.

In North Belfast, the entire working class population is living in constant fear. The primary reason lies in the renewed activities of the UVF and UDA.



Catholics. It has been their activities which ensures that the violence in the North over recent months has been reminiscent of the 1970s.

Kathleen Lundy and her son Colin were burnt to death in their house because she (a Protestant) had married a Catholic and had brought her sons up as Catholics.

Mary, from North Belfast, spoke to *Socialist Worker*. "A lot of what is going on is never reported. Some weeks ago we were awakened at 4 am in the morning. Thirty or forty



shots had been fired down the Antrim Road from Limestone Road. It was the UVF trying to intimidate us."

The atmosphere of sectarian hatred is also being deliberately stirred up. "There are running battles most weeks as gangs from Skegonneil Avenue attack 'Taigs' coming back from the pubs."

She said: "The only time I remember it like this is when the Shankill Butchers were roaming around."

After years of growing unemployment and uncertainty about Britain's future plans, hard right-wing loyalist death squads are mounting a sectarian backlash. Talk of "tit for tat violence" disguises this reality.

More troops no solution

MORE British soldiers and more RUC will do nothing to solve the problem.

There's evidence that the RUC, along with the British Army, have assisted loyalist murder gangs in their operations.

■ Sinn Fein Councillor Bernard O'Hagan was shot in September, three months after a British intelligence file on him was found on a rubbish tip.

■ When eighteen-year-old Damien Austin was

interrogated at Castle-reagh he was told by the RUC that "the UVF was going to shoot me dead before Christmas. They said they held my father (a Sinn Fein councillor) as well".

■ When loyalist gunman Robert Allen was tried for the attempted murder of a prominent Sinn Fein member in Derry, it was revealed he had access to RUC intelligence files.

At recent trials of loyalists arrested under the Stevens enquiry, the prosecution has presented clear evidence that the security forces

provide information on the addresses, car registration numbers and movements of republicans. Yet it is not the police and army who have been charged but "civilian" members of the UDA.

Collusion

The collusion isn't surprising. The UDA is a perfectly legal organisation and there is a large overlap between membership of the UDA and the RUC and UDR. Since all three bodies exist to defend the sectarian Northern state,

there is bound to be cooperation between them.

The UDR is a regiment of the British Army. Its forthcoming merger with the Royal Irish Rangers will make very little difference to its activities. Right-wing journalist Chris Ryder revealed in his book that a member of the UDR is more likely than an ordinary member of the public to be involved in criminal activity. Indeed, despite the protection that being in the army gives to the UDR, sixteen UDR members have been convicted for murder.

What is the socialist answer?

Will they use Internment?

THE increased activity of the loyalist death squads is helping to make internment more respectable again.

British Army generals have leaked reports to the press that they want "selective internment".

Now former liberals like Vincent Browne, editor of the *Dublin Sunday Tribune*, are backing the generals by calling for internment.

But internment will only increase the violence. On the very day that internment was introduced in August 1971, British troops killed nine Catholics. Deaths in the following years were the highest of the entire period of the "troubles".

The generals believe that with Sinn Fein more isolated than ever, now is the right time to deliver the killer blow.

The SDLP, the Irish government and Peter Brooke are not convinced. They remember how internment led to massive anger last time.

But while the loyalist campaign continues, the British Army generals and the RUC chiefs become more confident that they will get their way.

SOCIALISTS make a clear differentiation between the IRA and the UVF. The IRA was born from a movement that is fighting to end oppression.

The UDA/UVF is fighting to maintain the bigotry and sectarianism of the Northern state. That is why they get support from sections of the British Army and RUC who want internment reintroduced.

The tragedy is that republicanism offers no way for isolating the loyalist death squads.

Protestant workers are facing mass unemployment. Wages in the heart of the engineering industry are being ground down.

On top of all that, the Southern government is seen as having won a permanent foothold in Northern Ireland. Britain's long-term plans for the province are uncertain.

In this period of uncertainty, Protestant

workers can swing either right or left. Without a clear alternative, a passive tolerance can grow towards the "reorganised" UVF who are seen as hitting back.

Republicanism offers no alternative with its calls for a united capitalist Ireland. When Protestant workers look South they see one in five on the dole and mass poverty.

Movement

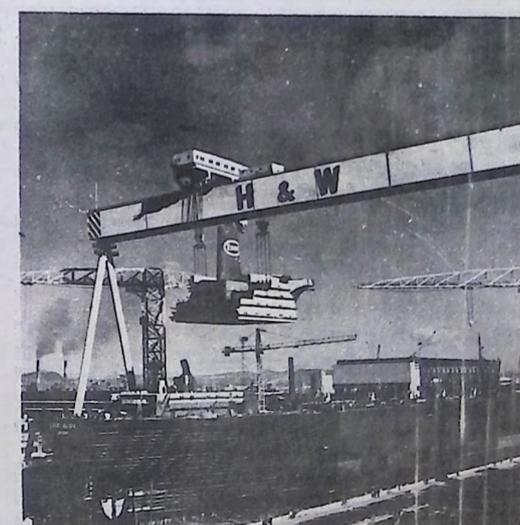
Today the fight against the Northern state has become primarily an armed struggle. When masses of people are on the streets it is mainly for anniversary demonstrations. There is little hope that the movement can bring about a better Ireland which ends poverty and discrimination.

In this situation, the tactics of the republicans become more counter-productive. The repub-

licans may pose as "community defenders" but have no strategy for exposing the reality behind the "tit for tat" conflict and isolating the loyalist death squads.

In some instances, republicans end up playing into the hands of the loyalists. These want to heighten sectarian tensions and lay the base for military repression. The bombing of loyalist prisoners in Crumlin Road jail, for example, fuels these tensions as people outside worry about their relatives in the jail.

There is a different way forward. It lies in turning to the organised working class. In the week that Kathleen Lundy and her son were murdered, all twenty-one community centres in Belfast were closed after loyalist threats to community workers from nationalist areas. The closures—supported by the union of Catholic and Protestant workers, the NIPSA—



brought about the withdrawal of the death threats.

More generally, what is now needed in the North is a fighting socialist alternative to republicanism. This would answer the insecurity felt by many Protestant workers by saying openly: There is no

future in looking back to the Northern state. The Ireland we are fighting for is not a green isle but a workers' republic. To get there we mean to support every struggle of workers against redundancy, low wages and poverty.

That organisation has to be built.

Middle East Peace Conference...

Israel: Still U.S. watchdog

THE Middle East talks which opened in Madrid last month offer no prospect of peace in the region.

The US government which promoted the talks, hopes to force the governments of the Arab countries into an accommodation with Israel.

But the Palestinians, whose land has been robbed, are not even properly represented at the talks. Their delegation is simply part of the Jordanian. No Palestinians from outside the occupied territories are allowed to attend and PLO representatives have been banned.

Israeli prime minister Yitzak Shamir has declared that he will never

trade land for peace. And throughout the talks Israeli jets continued their murderous bombardment of Palestinians in southern Lebanon. Israel was created in 1947 when the United

Yitzak Shamir, Israeli prime minister, was operations commander of the Stern Gang which massacred Palestinians at Deir Yassin.

Nations partitioned Palestine. The Jewish population at that time was less than a third of the two-million population of Palestine. However the partition gave the new Zionist state 54 per cent of the fertile land. Immediately the Zionist terrorist groups set about expelling the Arab population. They slaughtered Palestinians

and dynamited their villages and drove out nearly all the 800,000 inhabitants. At Deir Yassin men were shot before their families and women raped and killed, old people pushed into their homes

and blown up, children taken hostage and never seen again. Throughout the fifties the massacres continued and in 1967 Israel seized the West Bank and Gaza.

Today, over 55 per cent of the land and 70 per cent of the water in the West Bank belong to the 85,000 Jewish settlers among more than

800,000 Palestinians. The terror has continued as 20,000 died in the invasion of Lebanon in 1982. As Israeli soldiers watched, more than 3,000 Palestinians were slaughtered by right-wing Lebanese militia in the Sabra and Shatila refugee camps. Three years after the founding of the state, one influential Israeli newspaper *Ha'aretz* spelt out Israel's role:

"Israel is to become a watchdog. There is no fear that Israel will undertake any aggressive policy towards the Arab states when this would explicitly contradict the wishes of the US or Britain.

"But if for any reasons the Western powers should sometimes prefer to close their eyes, Israel could be relied upon to punish one or several neighbouring states whose discourtesy to the West went beyond the bounds of the permissible."

To make sure this has happened the US has armed Israel to the teeth since 1948 and showered it with military and economic aid. By 1982 it had been built into the fourth most important military power in the world.

In 1967 Israel attacked and defeated Egypt, Syria and Iraq, whose powerful nationalist movements threatened US interests. And again in 1973 it attacked its Arab neighbours at a time when OPEC was threatening Western oil super-profits.

Yitzak Shamir, Israeli prime minister was operations commander of the Stern Gang which massacred Palestinians at Deir Yassin. The

Stern Gang propositioned the Nazis in 1941, suggesting "common interests between the establishment of the New Order in Europe" and "establishment of the historic Jewish state."

After the Gulf War and the defeat of Iraq, the US is seeking to stitch together a new arrangement with the reactionary rulers of the region to protect its interests. Despite their occasional pro-Palestinian rhetoric, the attractions of

ate the Lebanon. It was Syrian backed Amal militiamen who were unleashed on Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut in 1986. And it is now Syrian plain clothes cops who police those camps.

King Hussein of Jordan who was put in power by Britain, ordered the massacre of Palestinian refugees in "Black September" 1970. He maintains military control of Palestinian camps and denies political rights to

to be able to go on with amassing their oil wealth.

It is fixing up a deal between these crooks and Israel and not any concern for the Palestinians which prompts the US-sponsored talks. Despite this Israel is intent on offering no concessions. Only the threat to withhold \$10 billion in loan guarantees for the settling of Russian Jews induced Shamir to attend the talks.

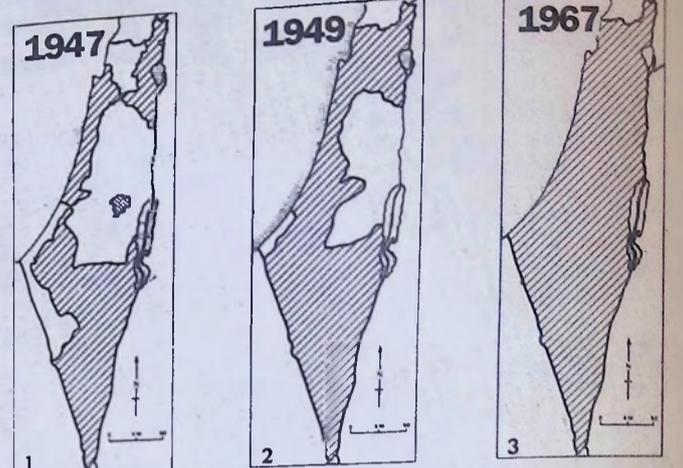
Even the US's "solution", a Palestinian semi-state on the West Bank, militarily and economically at the mercy of Israel, has been consistently ruled out by Shamir.

The only hope of peace in the Middle East lies in the creation of a democratic, secular Palestine in which Arab and Jew may live side by side without either wielding power or privilege over the other.

And that is a solution which depends on the Arab masses of the region overthrowing the rotten regimes of Syria, Jordan, Egypt and the rest—and throwing American imperialism out with them.

■ STEVE GREEN

What the talks should be discussing—the expansion of the Israeli state



□ Palestine

▨ Israeli state

Over 55 per cent of the land 70 per cent of the water in the West Bank belong to the 85,000 Jewish settlers among 800,000 Palestinians.

such an arrangement are keenly felt by these rulers. President Assad of Syria — as head of the most powerful Arab state — is now being wooed. It was agents of Assad who at first were blamed for the Lockerbie bomb. In order to signal their new cosy relationship, the US has now blamed Libya for the explosion.

Assad supported the US in the Gulf War and was given free rein to domin-

refugees who form a majority of Jordan's population.

Hussein desperately needs US support to stave off economic collapse after domestic pressure pushed him to oppose Western imperialists during the Gulf War.

Egypt wants to end its isolation as the only Arab country to recognise Israel, while the rulers of Saudi Arabia and the other Gulf states want stability

Peacemakers or thugs?



■ **YITZAK SHAMIR**, Israeli prime minister; operations commander of the Stern Gang which massacred Palestinians at Deir Yassin. The Stern Gang propositioned the Nazis in 1941, suggesting "common interests between the establishment of the New Order in Europe" and "establishment of the historic Jewish state."



■ **PRESIDENT ASSAD** of Syria; unleashed Syrian backed Amal militia on Palestinian refugee camps in Beirut in 1986. Syrian plainclothes security men police the camps today. Assad murdered thousands of Syrians when they rose in revolt in Hama in 1982.



■ **KING HUSSEIN** of Jordan; put in power by Britain. Declared war on PLO and massacred Palestinians in Black September of 1970. Maintains military control of Palestinian camps and denies political rights to refugees who form majority of Jordan's population.

MAASTRICT SUMMIT:

Nothing in it for workers

THE European Council meeting in Maastricht is being heralded as a major step forward for the people of Europe. But it is the needs of big business that are driving the move to economic and monetary union.

The end of the cold war and the growth of new economic powers has led to a trend towards trading blocks around the US, Japan and Germany. European ruling classes require a more integrated Europe in order to be able to compete in world markets.

At the same time individual rulers fear that increased competition could harm their own national industries. This is what lies behind the deep divisions in the

British Tory party.

However there is precious little internationalism or co-operation in it for most of us.

■ Entry into the EC

states is becoming increasingly difficult, even for political refugees. In November three Zaireans were forced to shuttle between Ireland and France for a week after fleeing one of Africa's most brutal dictatorships.

The much-heralded EC social charter amounts only to a difference in tactics of the ruling classes. Tory policy since 1979 has been to attack the trade unions head on, whereas other governments have more successfully controlled their workers by

doing deals with the union leaders. The PNR and PESP are good examples.

Excluded

Issues such as pay levels, social security and the right to strike are excluded from the treaty. The southern ruling class is most concerned about regional aid to the less developed countries—Ireland, Spain, Portugal and Greece. But we are

In short, the treaty is a charter for big business. But socialists should have nothing to do either with those who oppose the treaty on nationalist grounds, complaining about "loss of sovereignty". The recent spate of scandals have shown how little control most of us have over our government.

In the coming months

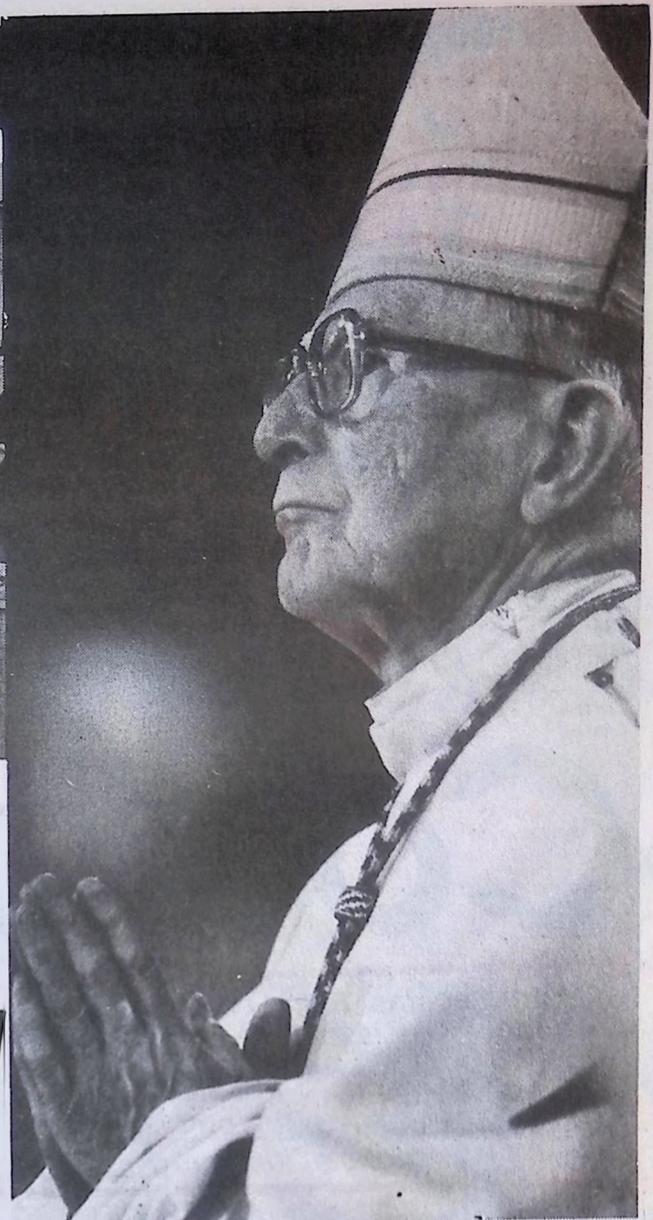


and years we can expect our bosses to use the threat of competition from Europe as an excuse to hold down wages and attack working conditions. What will

be needed is the sort of international solidarity shown towards striking British miners in 1984-85.

■ SIMON GILBERT

EDUCATION:



Time to end Church control

THE new Green Paper on Irish education aims to have schools move away from their "paternalistic dependence" on the Department of Education, according to the former Minister for Education, Mary O'Rourke.

She says that she wants decisions, in future, to be made at local level with boards of management of individual schools having increased powers and parents having more input.

On the surface this may appear progressive. In reality it is a method of cutting expenditure on education. Spending on education this year is £6 million less than the amount allocated to the Department of Education in the Budget.

However, this is not the reason that the Catholic hierarchy is up in arms about the proposals. It feels its virtual monopoly on education will be challenged.

Catholic schools account for ninety percent of the 3,381 primary schools in Ireland. One-sixth of these are actually owned by religious orders. The remainder are owned by the local diocese. The ultimate power over all such schools rests with the local Catholic bishop (the "patron").

Boards of management are responsible for the day-to-day management of the primary

schools and are made up of people appointed by the bishop along with a number of elected parents and teachers. These elected representatives are always in a minority.

The chairperson is usually the local parish priest who has considerable power in selecting principals, teachers and sometimes pupils. In fact clerics chair the boards of 96.7 percent of all primary schools. There are only ten multi-denominational primary schools in the Republic.

The situation is similar for secondary schools, which make up sixty percent of all second-level schools. Again, they are privately owned and managed by Catholic religious orders. They mostly select pupils on the basis of entrance exams and assessment tests.

Obligation

There is no obligation on them to accept children from the local working class areas. Members of religious orders hold 86 percent of all principal posts, though they account for only 18 percent of teachers.

At third level, five of the six colleges which trainee teachers must attend are again owned by Catholic religious orders. (The sixth is owned and managed by the Church of Ireland.) To get in to these colleges you have to conform to the teachings and morals of the Catholic Church.

Even schools where the church has no direct control,

such as the vocational schools, practise religious favouritism according to a TUI report. There are often crucifixes and statues dotted around the schools; some have chapels, prayers before class and the salaries of the Catholic chaplains are paid by the state.

The Catholic Church has a complete stanglehold over the entire education system. But the most recent surveys show that a quarter of a million Irish people do not identify themselves as Catholic.

Parents who do not want their children indoctrinated with catholicism are posed with the problem of actively removing them from religion class, often causing intimidation from other children and staff.

One Tallaght family reported that there was no teacher to supervise their son in this situation and he was often left standing in a draughty corridor to be jeered at.

Religion teaching takes up ten percent of the teaching time in primary schools; this is more than the time spent on reading, arts and crafts, history or geography. This increases when a teacher prepares a class for communion or confirmation.

Then the whole of the third term is taken up with religious teaching. Religion also invades other subjects, even nature studies where God is attributed with having created flowers and animals.

The facts show a picture completely different from one

of self-sacrificing benevolence. It is the state which funds the institutions that remain the private property of the church to an extent that is unique to Ireland. Total state spending on education in 1990 was £1.36 billion, £463,500,000 of which went to primary education.

In addition, the state pays a small annual grant to each school to cover maintenance. Twenty-five percent of this amount must be paid by the board of management, but they usually pass the cost on to parents.

The state pays 95 percent of salaries in secondary schools, and school owners usually pay £400 a year to teachers just to impress that they are still employed by them. Even this paltry amount can be reclaimed from the Department of Education. Eighty to ninety percent of building costs are paid by the state.

Salaries

In teacher training colleges one hundred percent of staff salaries are paid by the state, which also contributes to building and running costs.

However, after the private sale of Carysfort College for £8 million a year ago the owners, the Mercy nuns, under duress repaid only £1.75 million to the state, allowing them to make a massive profit.

There are fifty private, fee-paying schools, 34 of which are owned by the Catholic Church. These include the elitist

Clongowes Wood, Belvedere and Gonzaga Colleges—the training ground for parasites like Michael Smurfit, Thomas Finlay (president of the High Court) and John Bruton. They receive a state subsidy of £1,000 a year per pupil as well as exorbitant fees of over £3,500 a year.

"Free education" is a myth for working class children. It is estimated that the cost to parents to send one child through both primary and secondary schools is £9,000, for books, bus fares, uniforms, sports gear, etc.

The church bears virtually no cost but is generously subsidised on top of its own vast wealth to enforce its control over every level of the education system, exploiting a captive audience and victimising the increasing number who aren't Catholic.

This reflects its influence in the health service with its control over hospitals which refuse certain services like male and female sterilisation, IUD etc. The hierarchy is already drawing up the battle lines to ensure that as Bishop Duffy put it "the values which underpin Catholic education will be kept fully in focus".

It will be interesting to see if the church forces the government to climb down as it did with the pathetic condom bill.

Religion is a private matter for the individual and should have no place in the health or education services.

GER TUOHY

LABOUR PARTY:

The road to Coalition...

Hatred against Fianna Fail is rising. The Labour Party is making slow gains in the opinion polls. But what exactly is Labour's alternative? **KIERAN ALLEN** looks at where Labour is going and **DAVE McDONAGH** looks at its record.

AS Labour's standing in the opinion polls mount, there will be new talk about the party taking the road of coalition again.

Ruairi Quinn, the party's deputy leader, says that the Labour Party first needs to win between 25 and 30 seats before considering coalition.

At the start of this year, Spring announced that he aimed to shift the party to the 'centre ground'. He added that 'adopting real power as an objective does not preclude the ultimate possibility of office in coalition'.

Even amongst some Labour Lefts, the question of Coalition is being re-considered. At a recent conference in Galway organised by the UCG Labour Party, Helena Sheehan, a prominent figure on the Labour Left refused to 'rule out

coalition in principle'.

The objective of the Labour leaders is to overtake Fine Gael and become the dominant partner in the Coalition government. But even if this is not possible they point to the Progressive Democrats as an example of how they could play a more vigorous role in Coalition.

The question of coalition is important as an indication of Labour's shift to the right. But you should not believe that coalition destroys an otherwise healthy party.

In reality Labour's policies are already more openly geared to servicing capitalism than they have ever been in the past. The 1991 constitution of the Labour Party pledges itself to an 'efficient, dynamic, mixed economy'.

Labour's Alternative, written by Dick Spring and his advisors seeks a consensus between the social partners on a permanent basis. It offers nothing different from the FF style PESP.

There is no talk here of supporting workers who engage in struggle. Quite the reverse. When the ESB workers took strike action this year, the Labour Party joined in an all-party Dail appeal to urge them to give up their strike.

Labour's Alternative spells out why the party turns its back on working class struggles. It claims that 'the working class has largely

been absorbed into the capitalist system not just materially but psychologically as well.'

This contempt for workers struggles stems from the very nature of the party. It is an electoral machine dominated by the T.Ds. When the 'psychologically absorbed' working class go beyond voting they are seen as a threat.

Denounced

In 1979, the 700,000 workers took part in the first half day general strike in Irish history. The strike was denounced by Labour's deputy leader, Barry Desmond who said he would never support 'the idea, concept or practice of a political one day strike.'

'The power of democracy should be seen to reside at cabinet table and

in the Houses of the Oireachtas ... not on the streets' he added.

This is the very essence of Labourism. Class struggle has to be subordinated to debates in Dail Eireann. Mild reforming laws have to be handed down to workers — never won by their own militancy.

Over the next period, Labour vote will increase. But it is a right wing in the Labour Party that is on the ascendant.

Two years ago Emmet Stagg was gearing up to challenge Spring for leader of the party. Today Stagg argues that 'Dick Spring earned and now commands the respect of members of the Labour Party'.

Spring will wait for an opportune moment to enter coalition. Those who place their hopes in Labour today will reap the rewards of cynicism tomorrow. That is why we need an alternative to Labour.

Labour's rotten record

THE last time the Labour Party was in government was in coalition with Fine Gael between 1982 and 1987. It was a disaster for workers.

■ Unemployment doubled during the Coalition's term of office. Even the public sector suffered job losses—Irish Shipping was closed, leaving 400 workers on the dole.

■ Labour's Barry Desmond started the health cuts. As Minister for Health in 1986 he said: "We have reached the point where it is now necessary and appropriate to commence the programme of rationalising hospital facilities."

Desmond began by closing eight hospitals in 1986, including two major psychiatric hospitals. Meanwhile he allowed wealthy consultants to open

a private clinic in Dublin's Beaumont Hospital.

■ Labour were among the main enemies of workers in struggle. Dick Spring denounced striking ESB workers in Cork and sent in gardai against the pickets.

Ruairi Quinn told workers not to occupy their jobs to prevent redundancies in case it would frighten off foreign investors.

Labour's attitude to the rich was in stark contrast. Spring offered tax breaks to big oil companies to drill off the Irish coast. When AIB were given £200 million by the state to cover losses in insurance dealings, Labour remained silent.

The Labour Party leaders claimed they would ward off Fine Gael's right-wing policies. Instead, they accepted the priorities of Irish capital-

ism and joined in attacks on workers.

Within a year of entering coalition, Labour's popularity plummeted. In 1983 the party ended up fifth in a Dublin Central by-election. In the 1984 European elections Labour lost its four seats.

Fianna Fail made the gains in the 1987 general election. They won the election with a slogan of "Health cuts hurt the old, the sick and the handicapped". Once in government they launched huge attacks on the service.

Labour had helped to pave the way for these cuts. In 1987 they tried to revive their popularity by pledging to stay out of coalition. Now Spring wants to go back into an alliance with Fine Gael. With the crisis becoming deeper, the next coalition could be a bigger disaster than the last one.

ESB strikers: No support from Spring



Castro's Cuba: Last bastion of socialism?

The rulers of the United States hope that the Cuban regime is about to fall. 'I think the one down there in Cuba must now be sweating' said Bush recently.

Meanwhile many on the left now see Cuba as the last outpost of socialism. BRENDAN DONOGHUE looks at the reality of Cuba today.

EVER since 1959, Cuba has been a thorn in the side of the United States. In that year, Fidel Castro and his rebel army overthrew the Batista dictatorship.

Since it gained independence in 1898 from Spain, Cuba was dominated by the USA. The 1901 constitution was actually written in the office of the US governor of the island.

The US sugar barons completely dominated the Cuban economy. Eighty-three percent of the land was under sugar production, with another ten percent devoted to tobacco.

In 1934 an ex-sergeant clerk, Fulgencio Batista, came to power. Batista turned Cuba into a veritable colony of the US. Cigars and sugar were the main export. Rich American tourists started vacationing in the resorts.

Prostitution and gambling casinos thrived. A tiny elite lived in sumptuous luxury while the majority of Cuban workers and peasants lived in poverty and misery.

The main left party, the Communist Party played a terrible role in Cuba. It supported the Batista regime in the 1940s and two CP members joined his cabinet.

The trade union movement was incorporated into the Cuban Workers Federation and run by gangsters. When Batista had no further use for the Communist party he banned them in 1953.

Opposition

The role of opposition fell to the layer of intellectuals around Castro. Their ideology was that of independent national development not socialism.

In a speech in May 1959, Castro said 'our revolt is not red but olive green'. They had no belief in the ability of the working class to fundament-

ally change society.

Their method of achieving change was guerilla warfare, and it is a testimony to the nearly complete lack of support for Batista outside his small elite, that the successful war took only six years to overthrow the thugs.

The new Cuban administration immediately embarked upon a radical programme of reform. Wages were raised, rents slashed. Electricity and medicine were made cheap. A campaign of literacy was undertaken. Land was distributed to the peasants.

The new regime was widely respected, by the vast majority of Cubans. They rode around in jeeps not limos and wore army fatigues and not pinstriped suits, and therefore built up a reservoir of loyalty.

But the dream of national independence proved an impossible one.

In order to break out of dependence on the US, the new Cuban government embarked on a plan to industrialise and diversify the economy.

Faced with a refusal from the US to grant aid, the Cubans bought crude oil from the USSR in exchange for sugar.

But the US multinationals on the island, Texaco, Shell and Esso, refused to refine it. The Cuban leadership reacted quickly and nationalised the installations in June 1960.

The US government retaliated with a total trade embargo on Cuban goods. The Cuban regime then initiated a whole set of confiscations of American-owned land, mines, and electricity installations, totalling \$800 million of assets.

The US regime's reaction was violent, including attempts to assassinate Castro and the unsuccessful Bay of Pigs invasion of 1961 which was a complete military disaster for the US.

Faced with hostility from the US the Cuban administration now looked for aid from the USSR, and by



1970 the USSR had replaced the US as the dominant force in Cuban development.

This situation was very advantageous for the USSR. It exchanged machinery at one and a half times the usual price to Cuba to develop its economy in exchange for sugar needed to feed the growing populations in the USSR.

Dependence

This one-sided relationship led the Cuban regime to become more and more dependent on the USSR. Instead of moving away from a sugar dependent economy, it became more dependent. Today Cuba's sugar crop accounts for 75% of export earnings.

This dependency turned Cuba into a loyal backer of the USSR's foreign policy. Castro supported the USSR's invasion of Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Afghanistan in 1980.

Castro embraced "Marxism-Leninism", and his response to the magnificent events in Eastern Europe has been to state that "sad things are happening in the socialist bloc".

The Cuban regime has been forced because of the cold war to take sides. The logic of this has been to follow the East European model.

The logic is simple: to compete militarily you must industrialise economically; to industrialise you must invest; to invest you must exploit workers, who create the wealth of any society.

In the process a state cap-

italist class developed. In Cuba they are sometimes called 'the Rolex Watchmen'. They benefit from special shops and have salaries up to eight times the wage of many workers.

The regime has set up a variety of mass organisations. Some have genuine popular support particularly when it comes to defending Cuba from the US. But their main purpose is to transmit the regimes decisions to society.

Elections are based on Communist party controlled lists. Open opposition has been suppressed. Gays have been a target for persecution. People with AIDS are detained in special centres.

Castro will now seek to impose the burden of the crisis on the working class. Since 1985, the regime has imposed a policy of 'rectification of errors and negative tendencies'. The emphasis is on voluntary labour and austerity. The crisis in the USSR will deepen these pressures.

Cuban workers today have to both resist US domination and their own rulers attempts to make them pay the price for the crisis. But that means finding the strength of common struggle with other workers beyond their boundaries and not submitting to the defence of a system that serves only a minority.

Cuba, Castro and Socialism

Peter Binns and Mike Gonzales

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Do men benefit from women's oppression? Writing in last month's Making Sense, the magazine of the Workers Party, Kathleen Lynch argued that working class men benefit from the oppression of women. Here Ben Yeates explains why they don't.

Women's Oppression~ Are men to blame?

WOMEN in society are oppressed. They do the most degrading and underpaid jobs, earning on average only two-thirds of men's wages in Ireland. Eighty percent of all part-time work is done by women. Most of it is underpaid.

For married women and single women with children the situation is even worse. They work unpaid in the home cooking and cleaning and then in the workforce under bad conditions. Sixty percent of women report that they are faced with sexual harassment at work.

However, it's necessary to draw a distinction between women of different classes. While all women are oppressed, not all are exploited. The life of a working class woman is vastly more arduous than that of a Norma Smurfit who lives a life of leisure.

To gather all women and lump them together is to miss the conditions that separate the role of rich ladies and the hardship and exploitation endured by working class men and women. Norma Smurfit, Margaret Thatcher and Jill Bowler will join with other capitalist men to exploit all workers, men and women.

Kathleen Lynch argues that because "women do not do the same work as men" and make up "a minority (31 percent) of the so-called labour force", to understand their oppression you have "to move away from focussing only on the paid labour market".

By this she means that the conventional marxist analysis which roots women's oppression in class society is inadequate, because the majority of women are not exploited by bosses but oppressed by their husbands in their unpaid domestic labour. But it is this very labour and the role of the family within capitalist society that socialists would argue lies at the root of women's



More women go out to work (left) but traditional roles are still fostered (above).

oppression.

Marx and Engels, writing at the beginning of the industrial revolution, believed that the working class family had become extinct. Men, women and children were all equally wage earners. But this started to change in the middle of the nineteenth century.

An important reason for this was the very simple fact that the working class was dying off. With unbearable and often fatal working conditions, the life span of a worker was short and infant mortality was high.

Faced with this, and also a real fear among workers that the working class family was dying off, the most far-sighted capitalists introduced a "family wage". This gave the bare amount necessary to keep a man and his family.

It was in this way that women were placed in the home to ensure the birth of a new generation of workers to go into factories, and the care and maintenance of the adult workforce. It was for the needs of capitalism that this occurred.

Lynch states that "it is not just capitalist men who benefit from women's unpaid domestic and caring labour: men of all classes benefit".

To be a working class woman financially dependent on her husband while caring for a household is very oppressive. On the other hand, to be a working class man with the pressure of having to be the breadwinner in a world plagued by the threat of unemployment is no benefit either.

Isolated

Under the family wage system married women suffer because they are isolated from direct capitalist production. They have no power at their disposal to withdraw their labour and force concessions from the boss. The unemployed are in a similar situation.

Capitalism exploits workers regardless of sex or race. Women in this system suffer oppression because of this privatisation of the reproduction of labour power.

Men don't benefit if women get low wages and are unorganised. Lynch implies that they do when she asks, "why are construction workers paid more than cleaners?" The reply should ask, "if construction workers got less money would cleaners get more?"

The answer is clearly no. Lynch's argument sees male workers as enemies and not allies. But redundancies among male workers do not create more jobs for women or increase the value the capitalist class puts on women's work.

It's in the immediate interests of men to campaign alongside women because besides raising the overall standard of living, it unites the working class in solidarity, making them a more effective fighting force to win demands.

Over the past forty years the pattern of working class women's lives has changed. Working outside the home, tiring and exploitative as it is, gives women more choice and independence.

The fact that women have less children and don't have to spend as much time in the home has meant that a lot more women work most of their adult lives. Today 25 percent of married women in Ireland work outside the home, compared to only five percent in 1960.

The present situation also serves capitalism rather well. The family is still kept as the cheapest way of reproducing the next generation of

wage earners and caring for the present one. No capitalist government could afford to provide a full range of services from childcare to laundry (instead working mothers and fathers pay for childminding services out of their own money).

At the same time, however, the system's eagerness to exploit as many people as possible is constantly undermining the family's stability. Having children outside marriage and cohabitation are becoming more acceptable.

Despite this, the right-wing politicians keep trying to impose the traditional family system on us because they know it serves capitalism's interests.

The consequences of Lynch's argument are significant. Because she believes that working class men benefit from women's oppression, she sees them as incapable of fighting for women's liberation. There is an insurmountable "difficulty in getting men to take women seriously", and for this reason women have to organise separately.

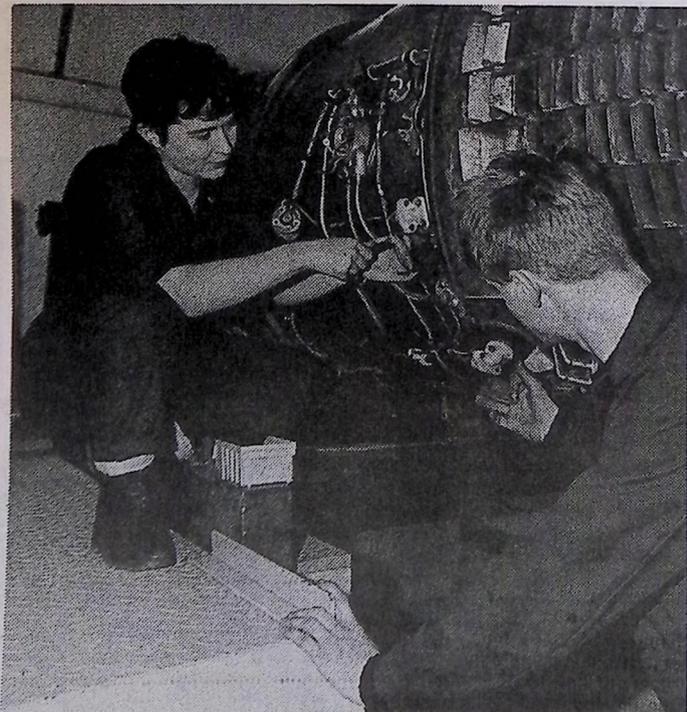
But this is contrary to all the lessons of history. During the Russian revolution men and women fought side by side to achieve the best example of women's liberation we have, temporary as it was. In working class struggle unity between men and women is essential.

When the part-time workers picketed the River Valley factory for thirteen weeks, the men in the households looked after the children and domestic chores while providing moral support. Male trade unionists also organised collections for the strike.

The British miners' strike sustained itself for so long with the help and solidarity of women in the community. Through men and women fighting alongside each other, sexist ideas were broken down—for example, a vote was taken and passed by miners to remove page three pin-ups from their newspaper.

By asserting that men acquire a kind of benefit Lynch takes some of the blame for women's oppression off the capitalist class and places it on the shoulders of individual men.

A struggle against this system needs a fight not of women against men, but of workers, men and women, against the class society that lies at the root of women's oppression and the sexist ideas that help to reinforce it.



Part of the same class—male and female engineers

Sex, Class and Socialism by Lindsey German

This book gives a marxist analysis of women's oppression and looks at the ideas and the record of the women's movement and the Left in fighting for women's liberation.

£7.50 post free from SW Books, PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8

200 discuss the future for socialism

RIGHT wing commentators would like us to believe that socialism is dead. In fact, the interest in marxist ideas has never been greater in this country.

In November 200 people turned up to Marxism in Ireland—a weekend series of meetings organised by the Socialist Workers Movement. Nineteen meetings were held on topics as diverse as animal rights, pornography, why Britain stays in the North, Travellers and the marxist view of history.

On the Friday 170 people packed into the main hall to hear a debate on the future of socialism between the SWM's Eamonn McCann, John Rees from the Socialist Workers Party, Britain, Michael Taft from Labour Left and Proinseas

Breathnach from the Workers' Party.

The Labour and Workers' Party speakers argued that socialists could not make gains in a period of crisis. The most likely parties to gain would be the right wing. Proinseas Breathnach claimed that socialists had to recognise that they now lived in an "affluent society". There were times when strikes (such as last year's ESB strike) had to be opposed.

SWM speakers pointed to the growing "vacuum on the left". Socialists who mistakenly looked to Russia in the past are now falling for the nonsense about the "efficient" free market. But capitalism was never more unstable. People only look to the right when the



Eamonn McCann addresses Marxism

only alternative they can see is a reformism that can offer no reforms.

During the weekend, socialist

books and pamphlets worth £700 were sold.

Ten people joined the Socialist Workers Movement over the weekend. As one new member put it, "we

have to build a revolutionary organisation in this country. There has to be a better alternative than a Dick Spring-led coalition".

What's on: SWM meetings and activities

The Socialist Workers Movement is a growing organisation with branches around the country which meet regularly.

Those who are interested in the politics of the SWM are invited to attend these meetings.

The meetings begin with a political discussion with plenty of time for questions.

BELFAST BRANCH

Meets every Monday at 7.30pm in Castle Mews Bar

BRAY BRANCH

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm, in Hibernian Inn, Marine Terrace

CORK BRANCH

Meets every Tuesday at 8 pm in the Anchor Inn, George's Quay

DERRY BRANCH

Meets every Tuesday at 8 pm in Badger's, Orchard Street

DUBLIN BRANCH

Meets every Wednesday at 8 pm in the Bachelor Inn, O'Connell Bridge

For more details of regular meetings in NAVAN, DROGHEDA, DUNDALK, DUNGARVAN, GALWAY, KILKENNY, LIMERICK, PORTLAIOISE AND WATERFORD contact:

SWM, P.O. Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8.

Books for socialists

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Book of the Month
Year One of the Russian Revolution
Victor Serge
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Little has changed for plebs

Michael Ennis reviews the film Edward II

Edward II, Showing at the Lighthouse, Dublin, Written and directed by Derek Jarman

THE great pity about Edward II is that it will probably be seen by relatively few people.

The film is a gripping story of a military coup d'etat organised to depose the king of the title, Edward II.

The rebellious behaviour of the nobility

is not sparked by any refusal on Edward's part to observe the laws of state but instead by his refusal to observe the laws of what the nobility considers to be socially acceptable.

It is not so much that Edward has a gay lover that the nobility find unacceptable but instead the fact that Gaveston, the king's lover, has not one scrap of blue blood. He is, in their words, "a pleb".

Edward makes Gaveston a duke and the nobility, led by the viciously hypocritical Mortimer, still refuse to accept him.

Gaveston responds with hostility of his own, unable to understand why, as a duke, he is still the subject of their enmity. And so the scene is set for Mortimer to make a bid for power by playing on the snobbery of the nobility and the tortured loyalties of the

queen.

By simply dressing all the characters, including the police and military, in modern dress Jarman has given this Elizabethan drama a relevance to today that is striking.

When Mortimer's riot police move against the king's supporters among "the plebs" they are moving against a demonstration of gay rights activists, and they do so with vicious brutality.

Edward II, the film, is based on Edward II, the play, written by Christopher Marlowe over four hundred years ago.

Derek Jarman has produced a powerful film that demonstrates very clearly how little has changed in the past four centuries of class rule in Britain and how those suffering under this hypocritical and vicious rule can and will fight back.

What we stand for

The Socialist Workers Movement is a marxist organisation fighting for a workers' republic in Ireland and for socialism internationally.

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

We begin from the proposition that what determines the nature of any society is the system by which its wealth is produced. In the system we live under, capitalism, production is geared to profit, not to human need. Among its inevitable features are poverty, war, racism and sexism. Capitalism cannot be destroyed and these evils thus eradicated by piecemeal reform. It can only be destroyed by revolutionary action by the class which creates all the wealth, the working class.

The machinery of the capitalist state -- parliament, courts, army, police etc -- is designed to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class, not to regulate society in a neutral fashion. At most, parliament can be used sometimes, to make propaganda against capitalism. It cannot be used to smash capitalism. Only a workers' revolution can do that and establish a truly democratic society in which workers hold power directly through delegates elected from workplaces and areas and are re-callable and replaceable at any time by those who elect them.

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

This kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers do not have control in Russia, China, Cuba etc. Instead, power is held by a state-capitalist class. A workers' revolution is needed in these countries too. We are against NATO and the Warsaw Pact and all weapons of mass destruction. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO PARTITION

The Northern State was created by British Imperialism in its own interests. Sectarianism and bigotry were built into it and will continue to exist for as long as the state exists.

Catholic workers in the North are systematically discriminated against by the state, but Protestant workers derive no benefit from this. It is in the immediate interest of Protestant as well as Catholic workers to fight against their exploitation. It is in the interest of all Northern workers to unite against the state and aim at socialism in Ireland.

We support all forces struggling against Imperialism and the Northern state, regardless of differences we may have with them.

The interests of the Southern ruling class are no longer in fundamental conflict with those of imperialism. Southern capitalism is a junior player in the world capitalist system. The Southern state too, props up partition, despite occasional nationalist rhetoric.

The "national question" can be solved only by mass working class struggle against both states. Republicanism, by limiting the immediate struggle to the achievement of "national unity", and by appealing for all-class alliances in pursuit of this goal, can never lead the working class towards the defeat of Imperialism.

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 fight for free contraception, abortion on demand and the right to divorce. We oppose all discrimination against gays and lesbians. We stand for secular control of hospitals and schools. We fight for the complete separation of church and state.

FOR A FIGHT IN THE UNIONS

Trade unions exist to protect workers' interests under capitalism. The role of trade union leaders is to negotiate with bosses over workers' position within capitalism. To destroy capitalism, we need a rank and file movement in the unions separate from the leaderships and fighting for workers' interests regardless of the needs of capitalism.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To destroy capitalism and achieve socialism the most class conscious sections of the working class must be organised in a revolutionary party. The SWM aims to build such a party through spreading its ideas and through its activity in the working class movement.

Join us!

If you would like to join the SWM or want more details, complete and send to:
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A game of two classes

"A Strange Kind of Glory: Matt Busby and Manchester United" by Eamonn Dunphy

TO Manchester United fans the name of Matt Busby conjures up images of the team's greatest successes in the 1950s and '60s. Then Man United became the first English team to win the European Cup.

To most people in Ireland Eamonn Dunphy is the man they love to hate. When he criticised Jack Charlton during last year's World Cup he suffered the greatest media witch hunt in quite a while. Dunphy without a doubt is a right wing reactionary when he opens his mouth about politics. But generally, when he talks about soccer, he is spot on, as he was during the World Cup.

His book on Busby is much more than a record of matches won and lost. In *A Strange Kind of Glory* Dunphy exposes all the contradictions which make soccer the working class game, yet also the game in which working class fans and players are ripped off and despised by the football establishment.

Busby grew up in a mining community in Scotland. A Catholic, he suffered from the sectarian bigotry which divided worker from worker. As a young miner he joined the general strike in 1926 and returned to work in November of that year, betrayed by the TUC and battered into submission by the mine owners.

Like many before and since he found soccer as a way to escape to a new life. But the world he entered into was far from the glamour he expected. Class society was recreated inside football. In the 1930s professional footballers were paid the "maximum wage"—which was a pittance.

Defeat

An attempt to secure a decent wage for footballers in 1909 led to a fourteen-week strike by Manchester United players, but ended in defeat. Meanwhile the club's directors happily traded in black market tickets and creamed off profits from fans and players.

After a career with various teams Busby became Man United's manager in 1945. Dunphy obviously idolises Busby as the finest footballer in history. But as a manager Busby soon became embroiled in all the backroom deals which characterised professional football.

Players, even the fantastic "Busby Babes" of the late 1950s, were paid a basic industrial wage. It wasn't until 1960, when the Professional Footballers' Association threatened a strike, that the "maximum wage" was smashed and players began to earn the type of fees they command today. But it was a victory which brought sizeable rewards only for a minority.

Dunphy mourns the passing of what he believes was the real football played in the 1960s. Actually there still is exciting football played every week and the game is far from dead.

However, one thing emerges clearly from Dunphy's book. At best football provides an escape for ninety minutes a week. At worst it's a game where fans are encouraged to despise each other because of the teams they follow and where racism and sexism rear their ugly heads. It is a world where all the divisions of our society are recreated, and where a tiny minority make a huge profit from the people who follow the game.

As a Manchester United fan I obviously found the book rivetting (if only because the Busby era is the last time we won the league championship). But for a clear view of the hypocrisy, money-grabbing and exploitation that goes on in football it's worth reading, even if you're not a follower of this or any team. Football is much more than just a game.

■ BRIAN HANLEY

"Year One of the Russian Revolution" by Victor Serge

VICTOR Serge wrote *Year One of the Russian Revolution* in the late 1920s, when Stalin was presiding over the defeat of the 1917 revolution. The horrors of forced collectivisation, the Gulags and the show trials were to follow.

But none of this was inevitable. In its first year the revolution was an inspiration to millions.

The revolution was a true festival of the oppressed, overwhelmingly popular and profoundly democratic. Serge describes how "In this period the policy of the soviet authority consisted principally in awakening, stimulating, sometimes guiding, but more usually simply of endorsing the initiative of the masses".

Everything from factory administration to criminal justice was organised by the workers through their soviets or workers' councils.

But the overriding concern of the Bolsheviks was to end Russia's involvement in the first world war. The war had ravaged Europe, sending millions to their deaths in the trenches and bringing famine to millions more.

After the February revolution had overthrown the czar, the reformist socialists, the Mensheviks and Socialist Revolutionaries, had promised to bring peace. But in reality they preferred to continue the slaughter.

With the army deserting and the cities starving, the Bolshevik slogan "bread, peace, land" caught the popular imagination. The very first decree of the new soviet government proposed to "open negotiations without delay for a just and democratic peace", adding that it was "willing to examine any other conditions that may be proposed".

1917: The Real Story



The decree was also intended as a call to the workers and soldiers of Europe to overthrow their own governments and end the war themselves.

In the end peace could only be achieved at the cost of enormous concessions. The German army invaded the Baltic republics and the Ukraine, and the soviet government was forced to abandon the Finnish revolution to its fate.

The harsh terms of the treaty provoked a bitter debate within the Bolshevik party, which was far from the monolith it was later to become. "This party, still in these grave hours, respects its norms of internal democracy," Serge writes. "Even though impassioned, the discussion remains objective, neither gossip nor intrigue for

personalities play an important part in what is said."

But the point was, as Lenin put it, "to lose space in order to gain time".

Cold Blood

The revolution needed a breathing space and the support of European revolutions. But it was to get neither. From the very first days the soviets faced a White terror from an unholy alliance of former Tsarists, liberals, reformist socialists and fourteen foreign armies, united by their hatred of the Bolsheviks.

Three days after the revolution, soldiers and workers were massacred in cold blood after the Kremlin was captured by military cadets. When the Kremlin was recaptured

the cadets were allowed to go free.

■ In Finland between 10,000 and 20,000 workers were executed by Whites and German forces after crushing the revolution there.

■ In September 1918 twenty-six Bolshevik prisoners were executed by British forces occupying Baku.

The opportunities to spread the revolution certainly existed. "In Sofia, in Budapest, in Vienna, in Berlin all eyes are now on Russia: it is the example, the hope, the faith. Clandestine or open soviets are being established everywhere."

But nowhere else was there a party like the Bolsheviks—a party that could both learn from and lead a mass workers' movement, a party with the confidence of the working class and the

experience to lead a revolution.

So the alliance of generals, industrialists and reformist socialists won the day. In Berlin the revolutionary leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were murdered along with 3,000 workers on the orders of the SPD, the German labour party.

Today there are very few socialists prepared to defend the memory of the 1917 revolution's early years. But we live in a world wracked by crisis, a world crying out for change. Victor Serge's inspiring account is a timely reminder of the ability of ordinary people to forge a new society and of the depths to which the ruling class will stoop to defend the old order. It is a must for anyone who wants to learn of the real socialist tradition.

■ PADDY MURPHY

Books for Christmas

YOU don't want to see "Gone With the Wind" for the sixth time and you haven't got a video? A good book will help those long winter nights go by—and you might learn something too.

Top of my grading is the recently republished *Year One of the Russian Revolution* by Victor Serge reviewed elsewhere on this page. SW Books have it on special offer this month at £12.00 including postage.

On a similar theme Marcel Liebman's *Leninism Under Lenin* (£8.95) is one of the best books I read this year. It doesn't idealise Lenin but deals comprehensively with the realities of life in

revolutionary Russia.

Why was the constituent assembly dissolved?... The relationship between the Bolsheviks and the other political parties... Kronstadt... etc etc. In short all the questions thrown at revolutionary socialists today. An essential book, you will find yourself dipping into it for information on a regular basis.

With the collapse of the USSR and the Eastern European regimes the cry of "socialism is dead" is often heard. The international tendency to which the SWM belongs has always argued that these regimes were not socialist but state capitalist. The

classic presentation of this argument is Tony Cliff's *State Capitalism in Russia* (£5.85), first published in 1947.

A subscription to a journal or magazine makes a great present as it is one that keeps coming throughout the year! *International Socialism*, the quarterly journal of the Socialist Workers Party in Britain, has over the last year had leading articles on "Marxism and imperialism Today", "The State and Capitalism" and "In Defence of October". The leading article in the next issue out in January will be "The Politics of Aids". A year's subscription costs a mere £12.50.

For us in the West the

Gulf War was almost an antiseptic war. The sickening brutality of that war is only now beginning to come out. One of the best descriptions of the total horror of war is *All Quiet on the Western Front* by Erich Maria Remarque.

Conscripted into the German army in 1914, he lived through the whole war on the Western Front. His descriptions of life under bombardment are powerful and give some feel of what the Iraqis faced.

On a slightly lighter note 1991 saw the death of one of my favourite English novelists—Graham Greene. Like Greene himself, who was of upper middle class

background and hated it, his central characters tend to be outsiders who don't fit into their own class backgrounds.

They sympathise and sometimes defend the oppressed and yet are unable to give a full commitment to the struggle for liberation. As a taster I would recommend *The Comedians*, set in Haiti during the Duvalier dictatorship, which comes with the extra recommendation of having been denounced as lacking artistic merit by Papa Doc Duvalier himself! All his books are great reads and are available in Penguins.

■ WILLIE CUMMING

Priced books available from: SW Books, PO Box 1648, James St. Dublin 8

THE workers at Waterford Crystal met last month to consider their policy of not negotiating redundancies with management.

The mass meeting decided to maintain their policy established prior to the last redundancy package in 1987.

The decision comes amid rumours of 800 redundancies to be announced shortly by the board of Waterford Crystal.

Workers at the meeting expressed their utter contempt for the way management have treated the work force since the strike ended last year and the fact that they have had to depend on rumours and media reports about their future job prospects.

While this is happening, the company has launched a new production line of sourced glass from Eastern Europe onto the US market under the Waterford Crystal brand name.

This is in line with Tony O'Reilly's statement in 1989 that he was putting together a holding company of some of the richest capitalists in the US to buy out a number of international brand names.

Short time working in Waterford Crystal has led to a number of workers taking very small severance payments over the last few months.

Senior management will try to get further redundancies in Waterford while the present climate

by WATERFORD SWM



exists.

But their real agenda can mean that the Waterford plant which employs 2,000 workers could be cut to a few hundred. The workers have demanded that the management should come clean on their future plans.

When the management announced in 1987 that they wanted 750 redundancies the decision to oppose this and not to negotiate was correct. This time the workers face redundancies in addition to a fight against the

WATERFORD CRYSTAL:

Fight to defend jobs

export of their jobs.

The more production that Waterford Crystal management is allowed to source abroad the more it spells a slow death for the plants in Waterford. If this is management's plan, then the hard fight to force them to reverse this must start now.

Consider

Socialist Worker spoke to some of the shop stewards in Waterford Crystal. One shop steward told us: "In my section

we only work one week in three but I do not consider redundancy to be any option.

"If I am added to the unemployment register in Waterford, where there are already 6,500 unemployed, the only job offer I will get is likely to be on a social employment scheme which means working for £3 per day in addition to your unemployment benefit."

Another shop steward said: "The present developments confirm

the multinational thinking as regards profits, whereby having bought an established brand name built on the skills of the work force they exploit that brand name without concern for the jobs of the workers employed there.

"The only net result for us is that Waterford Crystal can continue to be among the leading brand names in the world while the consequence for the workers who created the name is unemployment."

GRANTS NOT LOANS!

TWO and a half thousand students from colleges across the North marched on Belfast City Hall on Wednesday 20 November. They were protesting against the Tory government which has refused to increase grants in line with inflation.

The lively march chanted "grants not loans" as it moved on to the university administration building.

Student action began well this year when Belfast Art College students defeated plans to impose higher fees, after only one demonstration.

Sixteen copies of Socialist Worker were sold on the demo and hundreds of leaflets advertising the march in support of the Brook Clinic were given out.

Queens Bar Demo

AROUND 400 students protested outside Queens University Authorities and staged a half hour sit-in on Thursday 27th November.

The action was against an ultimatum from the Vice Chancellor to pay £38,000 or have the Students Union bar closed for a year from January 1st 1992.

On Friday 28th, 150 students occupied the Administration buildings and refused to leave until their demands were met. After four hours the college authorities agreed to fund the bars.

There has been a wave of occupations in colleges in Britain. Such action is clearly the best way to fight against cuts in education.

BELFAST ARTS COLLEGE VICTORY

★ STUDENTS at Belfast's Art College

showed that attacks on students' living standards can be fought off if action is taken.

The college introduced charges for materials needed in class. Some students would have had to pay up to £200 extra per term.

The students occupied buildings, boycotted classes and organised demonstrations. The college authorities climbed down and scrapped the charges after a month of student militancy.

D.C.T.U. Abortion motion passed

THE November meeting of Dublin Council of Trade Unions passed an important motion on abortion.

It calls on the Irish Congress of Trade Unions to campaign for abortion information and for free, safe, legal abortion to be made available in Ireland.

The motion will now go to next year's ICTU Women's Conference.

The motion was passed by a large majority. While some speakers opposed it on technical grounds, nobody spoke out openly against abortion itself.

Shop stewards should campaign to make sure their unions support the motion at the Women's Conference.

In Britain the unions played a leading role in winning abortion rights. Irish trade unions should be fighting to turn the tide against SPUC in this country.

For information on abortion:

Telephone (01) 6794700

CORK WESTERN DIGITAL

Shame on you, Frank Wallace

TWO hundred and forty workers have been made redundant in the Western Digital Computers factory in Cork.

The way in which SIPTU union officials collaborated with the company to push through the redundancies is a crying shame.

After the redundancies were first announced a mood of anger swept the factory. Workers were incensed by the fact that a redundancy package on offer was only to be paid out in instalments.

A meeting to discuss the issue was convened on the factory floor. But as soon as the meeting started SIPTU union official Frank Wallace demanded the exclusion of the technicians from the meeting.

Thirteen out of the 15 technicians in the factory got redundancy notice. Like their fellow production workers, they had every right to discuss what should be done about it.

But the man with the rule book was having none of that. The technicians were in No 5 Branch of SIPTU. This was a meeting for the No 4 Branch of

SIPTU.

Frank Wallace had a reason for playing bureaucratic games. He aimed to stop some technicians speaking out for resistance to redundancy.

Despite these manoeuvres and speeches from the stop stewards who accepted Wallace's arguments, workers voted by 118 to 104 to reject the company package. But the mood for resistance was not built on.

Throwing

The shop steward's committee was in favour of throwing in the towel. After the matter went to the Labour Court the workers eventually voted reluctantly to accept the package.

What finally emerged was not a retreat—but a rout. Even the most basic trade union principle of last in, first out was scrapped.

The bosses were allowed to pick and choose who to make redundant. The 100 workers who have been taken over by Dover Electronics will have their work practices completely changed.



TAKING ON THE CHARGES

CORK:

SEVENTY people picketed Cork City Hall on November 30.

They were protesting at proposals to increase local service charges by 7 per cent.

The government had threatened to send in a Commissioner to replace the Corpo if they rejected the increase.

DROGHEDA:

A lively protest picket greeted a meeting of Drogheda Corpo last month, called to consider next year's water charges.

A Socialist Worker leaflet pointed out that sympathetic Corpo plumbers had refused to disconnect defaulters. Even the action of the Corpo in bringing in scabs from Dundalk had been ineffective.

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Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

Inside:

Fight the Death Squads
Turn to page 3

As sectarianism mounts ...

Bigots unite to oppose Brook Clinic

BIGOTS on both sides of the community have launched a united front of opposition to the opening of a Brook Centre in Belfast.

At Belfast city hall recently DUP Lord Mayor Nigel Dodds, SDLP councillor Alban Magennis, Catholic priests and leading members of SPUC signed a declaration to stop the establishment early next year of a Brook Advisory Centre providing advice and information on sexual matters to young people.

Father Michael McGinnity, who is co-ordinator of the Catholic Church's Marriage and Family Ministry and whose parish in West Belfast has one of the highest

levels of teenage pregnancy in the North, has said that "sexual relations outside marriage undermine the committed nature of genuine love" and that Brook "poses a danger

to family life in Northern Ireland".

A group of right-wing doctors and lawyers

called Medico Legal was set up at SPUC's AGM, held recently in Belfast to oppose the centre.

It maintains that the EHSSB undemocratically invited Brook to Belfast. Kathleen McQuaid, SPUC's organiser in the North, has stated that a rota system has been set up which will enable SPUC to picket the Brook Centre when it opens.

The Campaign for Information and Choice, initiated by the SWM

with the support of trade unions, academics, students' unions, authors and gay rights activists, to defend the Brook Centre has been taking up petitions in Belfast and Derry, and in UCD and Trinity College in Dublin. It has so far attracted over 2,000 signatures in support of the centre. The campaign also held a successful picket outside SPUC's AGM in Belfast—the theme of the AGM was its campaign to stop Brook opening.

Report by Belfast SWM

Groundswell

SPUC also launched a booklet at its AGM entitled "The Abortion Issue Intensified".

SPUC is using the issue of abortion to stop Brook. It says that Brook will mean abortion being brought into Northern Ireland "by the back door".

This is despite the fact that Brook provides "non-directive" counselling, in that it sets out all the options available and allows the young person to make an in-

THE BIGOTS SPEAK

"Brook sees the teenager as an individual who has the right to do what he or she wants." Fr. Michael McGinnity, Curate of St Michael's Parish, Andersonstown, on why he opposes the Brook Centre.



Anti-Brook bigots: Belfast Lord Mayor Nigel Dodds, SDLP Councillor Alban Magennis and Fr Michael McGinnity

formed decision about their sexuality.

The groundswell of support for the centre has included students' unions at Magee College in Derry and Queen's University giving full support to the campaign and actively building for a march organised for 7 December in Belfast.

The unions feel that young people should not be denied the kind of information that will empower them to protect themselves and their partners from disease and unwanted pregnancies.

It's time that ordinary people stood up to the orange and green bigots who are using the Brook

issue to promote a wider attack on basic civil and personal liberties.

Young people have a right to sex education and to information about all aspects of sexuality and birth control. These bigots want to censor that information. We should say no to censorship and support the Brook Centre.