

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

INSIDE:

Can the Hume/ Adams talks bring peace?

TURN TO PAGE FIVE

Coalition's Employment Plan:

EMIGRATE OR ROT!

The Government's National recovery plan offers the unemployed one thing: emigration.

They claim to be creating 200,000 jobs by the year 2000 yet they admit that with redundancies and closures the best they can hope for is to create 84,000 jobs, 25,000 of them short term.

Nearly 30,000 people a year will join the job market according to the government

figures; the only way of cutting unemployment under the plan is increased emigration.

As the *Irish Times* put it:

"Without a strong resurgence in emigration over the next six years the plan may have little impact on the overall unemployment situation."

The plan offers further grants for the bosses, supposedly so they will create jobs.

Yet between 1981 and 1990

over £4.6 billion was handed over in grants and subsidies with a total gain of only 7,000 jobs—at a cost of £750,000 each!

Tax Scams

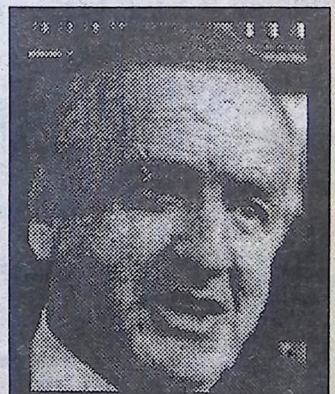
All the Coalition's talk of everyone coming together and tightening our belts means that the rich are given tax scams and the unemployed

are told to get out of the country.

The rich of this country have no interest in cutting down the size of the dole queues.

They want the unemployment figures up to help them keep wages down and profits up.

It's not the unemployed that should be forced to emigrate but the parasitical bosses and their friends in government.



Why the Irish rich can't solve the jobs crisis: Pages 6 & 7

Irving on the run

MASS protests by anti-fascists prevented David Irving, the Nazi "historian", from touring Irish universities.

In the campaign against Irving, the Anti-Nazi League was in the forefront.

An ANL stall set up on Grafton Street signed up over two hundred people who wanted to play a part in stopping Irving from spewing his filthy ideology.

ANL Newsletters exposing Irving as a Nazi were distributed along with "Nazi-Free Zone" stickers.

The ANL in Dublin had organised two buses for the Nazi's expected appearance in Cork.

Security staff in UCC were discussing protest action against Irving's visit to the college.

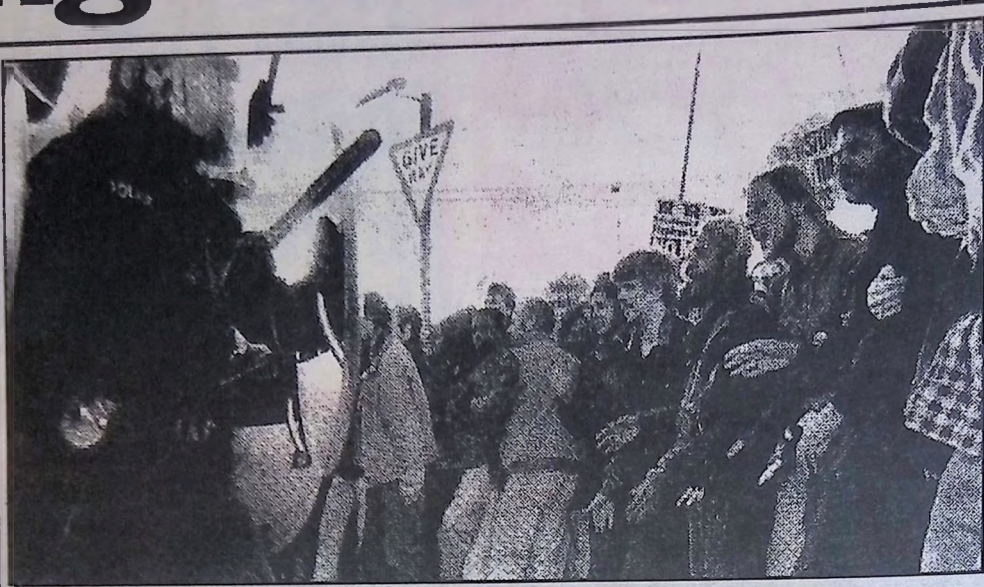
Then the UCC Philosophical Society, worried by the possibility of thousands turning up to demonstrate against Irving, withdrew their invitation.

180 people turned up to an ANL victory rally in the town to hear Leon Greenman, a survivor of the Holocaust, give a harrowing account of life in a Nazi concentration camp where his wife and child were murdered.

The ANL in Dublin held another victory rally in Liberty Hall on October 19 with Esther Bronstein, a survivor of Auschwitz, which over 500 people attended.

This victory is not just a blow against Irving in Ireland.

It will have wider implications, giving heart to the anti-fascist movement throughout Europe, and will demoralise Nazis everywhere.



Close down the B.N.P.!

IN October nearly 60,000 anti-fascists turned up at Plumstead Common in London to march on the BNP's Nazi headquarters in Well-

past the BNP headquarters by seven thousand police in full riot gear.

Attack

They were hyped up for an all out attack on

the marchers.

In the first twenty minutes the cops truncheoned the chief steward, Julie Waterson.

Repeated charges were made on the crowd. The police even re-

fused to get an ambulance for an unconscious woman who had been trampled by their horses.

Demonstrators who tried to escape found themselves hemmed in on all sides by police.

When the demonstration finally reached the park where they were meeting they were charged yet again by riot police.

After the march, a woman commented:

"Despite what the police did, I would go on another demo.

"I think it is vital to stand up and be counted".

"It was such a massive demo, absolutely brilliant. The papers were saying 'Poor police attacked by cowards'. I thought, Christ, the 'cowards' turned up in tea shirts and jeans. The 'good guys' were on horses, in full riot gear and armed to the teeth.

There were two elderly women on our bus who said on the way down how the police were doing a good job defending the community.

On the way back they were livid with the police."—Yorkshire miner.

'Law and Order' clampdown threatens workers' rights

THE new Public Order Bill is a direct attack on working class people and those involved in political activity.

It is an astounding catalogue of repression.

A recent commentary published by the Irish Council for Civil Liberties claims that this Bill represents "a grave and unprecedented negation and erosion of fundamental rights and liberties", arguing that sections of the Bill undermine basic concepts of free speech and freedom of movement.

Section 5 targets those engaged in shouting, singing or boisterous conduct in public. The Civil Liberties report calls it "a charter prepared by crabby, middle aged, middle class spoils sports who wish to gag busking, rapping and dancing in the streets". It could be used against soccer supporters celebrating, bankers, or students celebrating exam results.

Sections 6 and 7 are described as "frontal assaults on the freedom of expression". The right to protest comes under serious attack here.

The report shows how, throughout the Bill, those of different political opinions

can be harassed and repressed under its provisions. It could ban demonstrations, arrest those giving out leaflets deemed to be abusive or offensive, and arrest picketers if it is suspected that they might threaten to use violence.

Jury

Perhaps the most serious threat to civil rights is the

taking away of the right to trial by jury in cases of assault on gardai and officers of the state.

The Civil Liberties report says: "The function of the jury will be lost where it is most needed - at the cutting edge of the state's exercise of its powers over the citizen."

When it's a case of the word of the police versus that of the defendant a jury

made up of ordinary people does not always believe the police.

Abolishing this right means more abuses like the Nicky Kelly, Guildford 4 and Birmingham 6 cases.

The ICCL point out the massive legal difficulties in interpreting the Bill's provisions, which are left deliberately vague and to be used at the discretion of the individual garda on the scene.

The report notes that "the alienation and deprivation felt will be deepened by what will appear to be a repressive, discriminatory criminalisation" of young people living in areas like the inner cities.

Giving more power to the police will not stop crime.

Fighting this Bill is part of the fight against the conditions that lead to crime in the first place.

STRIKE AGAINST SECTARIANISM

ON OCTOBER 15 over a thousand workers from Shorts aircraft factory in Belfast attended a demonstration to protest at the killing of a Catholic worker, Joseph Reynolds, who was murdered by the UVF.

Joseph Reynolds was a painter and decorator who worked for a West Belfast firm that did subcontracting work at Shorts.

He died and four others were injured when the firm's minibus containing eight Catholics

was attacked by the UVF as it approached the factory gates.

The attack is part of the escalation of loyalist violence in recent months, which is designed to drive a wedge between Catholic and Protestant workers.

However, in this instance the tactics of the UVF backfired.

Horrified

The workers at Shorts, who are ninety percent Protestant, were horrified at the murder and a thousand of them stopped work to attend the demonstration and show their opposition to the sectarian thugs of the UVF.

One worker who was interviewed on the BBC said:

"The vast majority of people on this demonstration are Protestant and we have come out here to protest at the killing of a Catholic.

This fact says it all." On the morning of the protest two members of SWM distributed leaflets to the workers as they entered the factory calling on them to stand united against the sectarian killings by the UVF at a time when they are facing increased redundancies from the management.

The leaflet argued that all sectarian attacks and threats should be met with industrial action.

GLENAMADDY GOMBEENS GO ON RAMPAGE

ALICE SHERIDAN REPORTS FROM EAST GALWAY



The Four Roads pub in Glenamaddy is the only pub in the West of Ireland that will cater for large numbers of travellers.

When the manageress, Bridie Dempsey, started running functions such as wedding receptions and funeral dinners she had to face a campaign of hostility from the town's business people.

She has been called a 'tinker lover' and has received two official letters from trades people telling her to stop serving travellers.

They claimed that the travellers are causing too much trouble. But this was no more than blatant racism.

In the two years that travellers have been using the Four Roads no traveller had been arrested and the Four Roads management has never had to call on the Gardai to help them to quell any trouble.

The real trouble began in the town when a racist riot was organised against the pub on Monday October 11th. An attempt to close the pub by objecting to the renewal of its licence had just failed.

One of those who objected to the renewal of the licence was Garda Sergeant Sugrue.

The same Garda Sergeant was present on the Monday night when he cleared the travellers out of the pub.

The Gardai did little to ensure that the mob which had gathered outside armed with hurleys, sticks and bricks were prevented from attacking the travellers.

When asked to move a mob which gathered the following night the Gardai replied that they did not constitute a danger to anyone's safety and that they had a right to congregate around the pub.

Other stalwarts of the

community were also present and, according to Bridie Dempsey, were ranting and raving about the travellers. One of these was the headmaster of a local school.

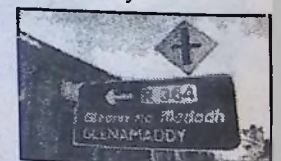
In the days before the outbreak of this naked hatred of travellers the local priest was asked his opinion on what should be done. He responded with a joke about travellers.

On the night of the attack at 1am Bridie Dempsey received a phone call. The caller told her that he hoped that this would be a lesson to her.

Her family who live in the Four Roads have been threatened that they will not be served in any of the shops in the town. She is now afraid that her two children will be bullied in school.

Bridie Dempsey is adamant that she will continue to serve travellers because she says everyone has a right to be served and she has a right to serve who she will.

Not all the members of the Glenamaddy community are anti-traveller. One woman pointed the finger of blame for the riot. "How come 100 people 'gathered' outside the Four Roads Pub on a Monday night? Surely someone must have organised them. The Traders Association were the most prominent protesters about the travellers in Glenamaddy".



The riot of gommeens in Glenamaddy is just the tip of the racism that Irish travellers face.

In 1985, the ESRI reported that 48% of travellers had no access to piped water. 50% had no toilet facilities and 54% had no access to electricity.

The infant mortality rate for travelling children was nearly three times that of the settled population. The life expectancy of travellers is, on average, ten years less than that of settled people.

In 1980, a study found that male travellers had over twice the risk of dying in a given year than settled males and that for travelling women the risk was more than threefold.

There are 1,200 travelling families living on the roadside without facilities.

BIGOTS ON THE BENCH

FIANNA Fail have been packing the judges' benches with SPUC supporters. And the Labour Party is staying quiet about it.

The latest appointment to the High Court is Dermot Kinlen. Last year Kinlen's mate John Blayney was appointed to the Supreme Court.

Blayney and Kinlen were legal advisors to

the Pro Life Amendment Campaign in the 1980s.

They originally wanted an amendment which gave the foetus the right to life "from the moment of fertilisation".

They did not want any reference to the "equal rights of the mother".

These fanatics are now set to pronounce on their prejudices from the top courts in the land.

WE THINK

Let the rich make the sacrifices

LET THE RICH MAKE SACRIFICES

Michael Nyland is 78 and suffers from a bad heart. In October he was taken into St James hospital in Dublin with a prostate problem.

He was left on a trolley in a hospital corridor from 2pm on the day he was admitted until the following morning.

Seven other people were also left on the corridors as nursing staff desperately phoned around other hospitals but no beds were available.

Our hospital service is in complete chaos because of the cutbacks.

There is a similar situation in our schools. Last month the teachers union, the INTO revealed that 22,950 pupils are trying to learn in conditions that are "less hygienic than milking sheds".

There are 200 sub-standard schools in the Republic of Ireland which have leaking roofs, dampness, rotting windows or vermin.

Everywhere we look for small improvements, we are told that there is no wealth in this country.

We are urged to make sacrifices 'for the good of the country'.

The sacrifice drum is being banged even louder today as the employers demand that very low wage increases be given in any new pay settlement.

But a few recent reports show that this country is dripping with wealth.

The *BusinessAge* magazine has shown that Tony O'Reilly is the 34th richest man in Britain and Ireland with an estimated £219 million.

Another Irish millionaire is Martin Naughton. He is worth £119 million and has done very well out of Ireland's soft tax laws for the rich.

Inbucan Ireland has shown that company executives are awarding themselves pay rises that are three times the rate of inflation.

Executives of companies which have a turnover of over £100 million get a salary of £80,525 a year. And their average pay increase last year was

6.5%.

Workers have made sacrifice after sacrifice in the hope of creating jobs and providing a better health and education service. It has not worked.

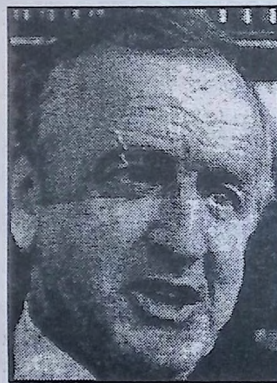
Next time you are asked for 'restraint' tell them you want to follow the example of your company's executives.

Tara's a gold mine for politicians

Ireland's top politicians are trying to hush up a potential bribery scandal. Tara Mines has made huge payments to politicians over the last decade.

A report on the company by the accountants, Cooper and Lybrand, found that there were "large disbursements of cash from the company running into millions of pounds over a period of years."

The *Sunday Tribune* has named **Albert Reynolds** as one of the politicians who got money from Tara. Reynolds has not denied it, he has instead claimed that he has 'no record' of getting funds.



Albert Reynolds

Another politician who has been named is **Des O'Malley**.

He has recently resigned as leader of the PDs claiming personal reasons. He

previously admitted getting money for 'election expenses' from his brother in law who was top manager in Tara Mines.

This time around, the PDs have refused to comment on whether they or O'Malley got money from Tara Mines.

A key figure in Tara Mines at the time of the pay-outs was **Brendan Hynes**. Hynes was appointed to the top job in Telecom by FF after another star of the Irish business class, **Michael Smurfit**, had to resign because of a property scandal.

After an internal row in July, Hynes was dismissed. But the wealthy look after their own. Hynes got a 'compensation award' of £34,349 over three years.

Who said that the golden circle has been broken?

UNIONIST PARTY BACKS THE KILLER TAX



Smyth: Proud of his record in parliament

Britain's Tories would rather see pensioners die than put up taxes on the rich or slash military spending.

They are going ahead with plans to place VAT on heating.

One poverty expert told the BBC's *Panorama* that the VAT on fuel would mean 10,000 more deaths as pensioners are forced to choose between turning on the fire and having a meal.

The Tories have plenty of money for arms spending. They are paying out £33 billion to update the Trident missile programme.

Now the Unionist Party in Northern Ireland have decided to back the Tories on the issue.

The Belfast Trades Council wrote to all parties in Northern Ireland asking them about their response to the proposed

VAT increase on fuel.

Every party responded by saying they were against it -- except one, the Ulster Unionists.

In a lengthy and cheeky reply, the Rev Martin Smyth claimed that "the people of Ulster should be proud of our past record in parliament". He went on to reject calls for a vote against the VAT on fuel.

The Reverend Smyth and James Molneaux come from a very different class to many of their voters.

They are delighted with their new found alliance with their Tory counterparts across the water.

They are willing to see some of the North's pensioners die from hypothermia so that their class alliance can be cemented.

Workers should draw similar lessons about the need for unity within our class.

Labour Court backs Dublin Bus bosses



Dublin Bus workers got a miserable recommendation from the Labour Court last month.

They were told to accept a two tier workforce.

New drivers could be recruited to the IMP buses at a rate that was £55 below the existing standard rate.

The Labour Court's proposals had upped management's offer by a mere £4.

They also demanded that the

introduce the IMPs on any route. The Labour Court has shown itself once again to be a pro-boss institution.

The tragedy is that the union leaders have adopted a defeatist position. They claim that 'nothing can be done'.

But if there was any sort of lead, Dublin Bus could have been beaten in their plans for a yellow pack workforce.

A recent two day strike had them reeling with Paul Conlon even claiming they might have to sell off the Imp buses.

Construction workers build a union

ATTEMPTS are being made to organise construction workers on the Foyle Street site in Derry.

A number of workers on the site approached the local Campaign for

Decent Wages for assistance after a number of near serious accidents.

Some workers had been sacked for refusing to carry out tasks which they believed were too dangerous. One workers was physically assaulted and thrown off the

site for refusing to risk his safety.

There have been a number of "near misses" already. One of these involved two of the giant cranes and could have killed several workers.

In another, a dumper overturned and tumbled into a deep hole. In a third, a worker had to be dug out of a trench after a siding collapsed.

Most of the workers are employed on "the lump", paid on a daily basis and expected to sign on the dole to make up for the miserly wages.

Some men on the site literally don't know who they are working for because the work is being subcontracted and then divided up and subcontracted again.

And every time the work is "sold on" the price drops until the pay of men actually doing the work reaches rock bottom. Men earning £30 a day have been paid off and immediately replaced by men earning £20 a day.

Yet recent events have shown that even a hint of fighting back can be enough to scare employers into improving wages and conditions.

As soon as word got out that some of the workers had been in touch with the Campaign for Decent Wages, the main contractor on the site sent in his own health and safety experts to clean it up - at least a bit. A number of the sacked men were offered their jobs back at their original rate of pay.

Bishops cling on to schools

LAST month Dublin Castle was the location for the National Education Convention.

It aimed to work out a compromise between the different interest groups in Irish education in preparation for the White Paper which is due next year.

The Convention, however, only served to illustrate once again that the Catholic Church is not going to relinquish its control over the Irish educational system without a fight.

The Catholic bishops warned that any moves by the state to interfere with the denominational and religious character of schools would be unconstitutional.

Dr Thomas Flynn, bishop of Achonry, justified his rejection of "an educational formation in Ireland which did not include learning about Christianity" on the basis that all members of a society should "understand the culture of the community as a whole".

The Conference of Major Religious Superiors attacked proposals in the Green Paper to remove the Church's majority on Boards of Management as "unacceptable".

Despite the fact that the state pays over eighty percent of the capital and current costs in Irish education, the vast majority of schools are denominational in their ownership and management. This makes it virtually impossible to obtain secular schooling in this country.

As David Alvey of the Campaign to Separate Church and State pointed out, parents are obliged to baptise their children in order to gain a place in school.

It is clear that the system at present is denying people the right to choose their own beliefs.

Ballymurphy Seven

IN AUGUST 1991 five young men from the Ballymurphy area of Belfast were interned in Crumlin Road jail.

Two more followed them in April 1992. They became known as the Ballymurphy Seven and so joined the list of groups that are a veritable map of British injustice.

The seven, ranging in age from seventeen to twenty-one, were interrogated in the infamous Castlereagh Detention Centre, where they claim they were subjected to physical and psychological torture.

The RUC managed to extract confessions from them all, despite a lack of any witness or forensic evidence.

In March of this year Jamsie Morgan was sentenced to fourteen years on "lookout" charges arising from a grenade attack in 1991. The others still await trial.

A year after their interrogation all seven claim to suffer from depression, severe headaches and pains in their arms and legs, testimony to the RUC's robust approach to questioning.

RUSSIA:

Yeltsin clamps down

FOLLOWING his defeat of the parliamentary forces, Russian president Boris Yeltsin is clamping down on any opposition.

This makes a mockery of western leaders' claims that he was defending democracy.

Yeltsin and his allies have -

- dissolved elected local councils.
 - imposed a curfew from 11 pm to 5 am and rounded up thousands for breaking it.
 - "cleansed" Moscow's markets of non-Russian traders on the pretext of not having residence permits.
- In a particularly sinister move, censorship remis-

cent of the old communist regime has been imposed. Pro-parliament newspapers were banned and liberal papers appeared with large blank spaces where items had been censored.

These included reports on the detention and beating of an opposition activist and a go-slow by Kuzbass miners.

In the run-up to December's elections, television stations have been reduced to churning out government propaganda.

This should come as no surprise. Ever since the attempted coup of August 1991 was defeated Yeltsin has moved to concentrate power in his own hands.

Just last March he suspended parliament and introduced direct presidential rule before being forced to back down.

Fascists

Of course Yeltsin's opponents in the October fighting are no better.

At their core was a "red-brown" alliance of admirers of Stalin, supporters of the Tsar and open fascists. They were in no sense a movement for democracy or workers' rights.

In reality the fighting had nothing to do with democracy.

It was a naked power struggle between Yeltsin and the parliament led by Ruts koy and Khasbulatov.

Both sides were made up of former communists. Yeltsin first came to prominence as boss of the indus-



Red-Brown protestors fighting Moscow cops last month

trial city of Sverdlovsk long before he discovered democracy.

Both sides have courted the extreme right. And there was little to choose between their economic policies - both supported the market.

In Russia itself there was little support for either side.

Eyewitness Mike Haynes described how "nobody, outside small groups around Yeltsin on the one side and Khasbulatov and Ruts koy on the other, was really interested".

This is in sharp contrast to 1991 when a coup attempt was defeated.

Then, thousands took to the streets to defend their hard won democratic rights.

Thousands more threatened to strike.

Yeltsin was at the height

of his popularity. But two years of collapsing living standards have left people apathetic and more concerned with the daily struggle to survive.

Yeltsin's electoral support has largely evaporated.

As a result he has come to rely increasingly on the support of generals and police chiefs. He recently appointed KGB hardliner Golushko as head of the security forces.

But these same generals may well decide at some point in the future that they no longer need Yeltsin.

The forthcoming elections are unlikely to end Russia's political turmoil.

SOMALIA: CLINTON FEELS THE PRESSURE

US intervention in Somalia is heading for disaster. Clinton did a U-turn last month, saying that a "political" and not a military solution was needed.

Yet only days before, Clinton had doubled the number of US troops in Somalia, by sending in 1,930 combat troops and 3,700 marines.

But as the number of US casualties increased, Clinton pledged to pull out of Somalia by March.

There is increasing opposition in the US itself to the intervention. Nobody now pretends that it is a 'humanitarian' operation.

The US troops have taken lives rather than saved them.

After the raid on the Olympic Hotel in Mogadishu last month, Clinton said that the sight of a dead American being dragged through the streets "turned my stomach".

But Clinton shed no tears for the 400 Somalis who have been killed by the operation.

US helicopter gunships have fired missiles into crowds of civilians and troops have shot unarmed demonstrators.

The only reason Clinton now talks of a political solution is that he fears a long and bitter war like Vietnam.

Clinton does not give a damn about Somalia civilians being killed.

Now does he care about democracy in Somalia. He will do a deal with Aideed or any other warlord who can guarantee stability.

And 'stability' means a free run for US rulers to impose their will around the world.

MORE MARKET NIGHTMARES

WHEN the Soviet Union collapsed we were told that market reforms would bring prosperity and democracy.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

The economic disaster sent prices soaring and living standards plummeting to the lowest level since World War II.

The health service has virtually collapsed.

The only people to gain were those who had been highly privileged under the old system - state bosses and black marketeers.

As a result of the crisis, former allies like Yeltsin, Khasbulatov and Ruts koy are at each other's throats. In Moldavia, Azerbaijan, Tajikistan and Georgia there is outright civil war.

There is no going back to the old system either.

That collapsed from within in the 1980s.

Hope for the future lies in a revival of the workers' movement and the emergence of an alternative to both communism and the market.

That is, a completely different system in which workers run and plan the economy democratically themselves.

French lessons for Aer Lingus workers

Workers at Air France have won an important victory.

Proposed wage cuts have been withdrawn and the senior executive has resigned.

The airline demanded 10% wage cuts from the low paid ground staff.

They also wanted to sack 4,600 of the 63,000 jobs. It looked like Aer Lingus on a bigger scale.

But the workers were having none of it and walked out on strike.

Riot police were drafted in to keep the Orly and Charles de Gaulle airport open.

Workers donned their own gas masks and fought the police in an attempt to block the runway.

When they were driven

Air France workers fight back against riot police

off, they blockaded the motorways to the airports.

The airport was forced to close for one day.

French bosses were thrown into a panic by the struggle.

Twenty two of the top industrialists took out a full page ad in two of the main dailies with the slogan "The Air France

strike means that France has broken down".

Inspired

But the struggle inspired workers throughout France.

Ground staff on Air Inter, Air France's subsidiary for internal flights, planned a solidarity stoppage.

Railway workers were also planning action.

And a full scale shut down of the public sector was planned from November.

French airline workers have shown that airline management all over the world can be taken on and beaten back.

Aer Lingus take note.

U.S. MINERS STRIKE

More than 17,000 miners in America have come out on strike in reaction to an all-out attack on their jobs and to defend union rights.

The United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) is a Union with a long history and a distinguished record in American labour history.

The first American industrial trade union, it was founded in 1890 and has earned a reputation for militancy and action throughout the century of its existence.

UMWA workers went on strike repeatedly during the Second World War in spite of the strike ban agreed to by labour leaders.

More recently, the UMWA stood firm throughout the worst excesses of the Reagan/Bush era, while increasingly anti-union legislation was brought in.

This made possible the breaking of the PATCO aviation workers' strike in the 1980s using state-protected scab labour.

In 1987, the UMWA in

the Virginia and North Carolina locals struck against threats to wages and benefits: a huge mobilisation which again saw troops being brought in to try to break the picket lines.

English singer Billy Bragg toured with the strikers on that occasion to show solidarity and raise awareness about the strike, which was ultimately successful.

Companies are closing down more union mines, despite their high productivity, and opening others using non-union labour.

Coupled with the attacks on union contracts, wages and benefits, this amounts to an all-out attack on the union.

The strike is about the fundamental right of workers to organise; Bosses and workers around the world increasingly realise the power in a union.

While bosses try to break unions out of fear, workers are fighting back, realising that their power and strength comes through unity and solidarity.

Messages/contributions to: UMWA Illinois Relief Fund Box 95 Marissa IL 62557, USA

As the violence mounts...

Can the Hume/Adams talks bring peace?

"I want to see an end to the IRA.

"I want to see a situation where we can all be involved in normal politics.

"I've spent my entire adult life this way. I have been shot on at least one occasion.

"I may well be shot again."

So says Gerry Adams.

His desire for peace is shared by many.

The IRA's bomb on the Shankill Road and activities of the loyalist death squads have sickened thousands.

They want a way out of the Northern conflict.

And even if the Hume Adams proposals are still vague and unclear many are willing to give them a chance.

This makes the activities of the British government and their allies in the Unionist Party all the more hypocritical.

The Tories claim that they cannot talk to Sinn Fein until the violence of

the IRA ends. Molyneux of the Unionist Party is demanding a five year 'quarantine period' before talks could begin.

But the Tories and the Unionist Party are well know supporters of violence and terrorism themselves.

■ They supported the shoot to kill policies of the RUC and stood over the sacking of the police chief, John Stalker, when he came close to revealing the full scale of these operations.

■ The British government has played a major role in the rearmament of the loyalist death squads. (see below) Unionist MEPS like John Taylor have even said



that the loyalists killings "was something that may be helpful".

Peter Robinson of the DUP is completely wrong when he says that the Hume/Adams talks could 'lead to a civil war'.

His sectarian ranting in demanding a vetting of Catholic workers in Shorts has done more to foment violence than many other politicians

Nevertheless there are good reasons for believing that the Hume/Adams process—if it continues—can-

not lead to a lasting peace in Northern Ireland.

In the first place, the objective of the talks is to construct a nationalist alliance. Martin McGuinness explained that the aim of Sinn Fein today is "the nationalist side getting its act together—Republicans, Dublin and the SDLP—and putting it to Britain that a solution is possible"

In other words, McGuinness and the republican movement no longer believe that their ballot box and armalite strategy is enough to move the British government. So they are willing to pull back from a full republican position in order to get Ireland's constitutional nationalists on board.

But nationalism in any form offers nothing to Protestant workers.

Nationalist politics cannot create the thousands of jobs that are needed in the North to both make more jobs for Catholics and still expand Protestant employment.

Nationalism cannot offer anything more than the prospect of combining the dole queues of the Falls and the Shankill with those of Ballymun and Tallaght.

Anger

This is important. The revival of the loyalist paramilitaries in the last few years has not been based on a renewed passionate opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Today's loyalist paramilitaries have built a small base from the anger and depression that has built up over Protestant poverty and unemployment that has come with the recession.

The only politics which can undercut the hold of the right wing bigots in the Protestant community are class politics which promotes a fighting workers unity so that every worker gains.

Secondly, any deal between the different factions

of nationalism will be at the expense of working class Catholics. After 25 years of struggle the main class to gain from the conflict in Northern Ireland has been the Catholic middle class. They have far more opportunities today that they had in 1968.

The Catholic middle class and the Dublin government still want some more changes in Northern Ireland—but they have no intention of uprooting the sectarian structures fully.

Their ideal is the situation which prevails in America where the black middle class establishment has been accommodated within the system—while the black ghettos continue to rot away.

Any deal which involves Albert Reynolds will have little to say about dismantling the RUC or breaking up the repressive apparatus that has been built up over 25 years.

Thirdly, the talks process has moved the republicans towards looking for an 'interim solution'.

Already Adams has welcomed a position paper by the British Labour Party spokesperson Kevin McNamara which advocated joint sovereignty by South and Britain.

But this proposal, along with other ideas of developing structures where each community would have veto over the other, is a recipe for institutionalising sectarianism.

Every time hospital services were cut back or a sports centre closed down, right wing politicians would have a field day using these structures to put one over on the other community.

The Hume/Adams talks are all about re-balancing communal politics in Northern Ireland.

What is really required are fighting class politics which emphasises the possible unity between workers against their Tory enemies.

How the UDA was armed

The British government says it will not talk to Sinn Fein until the IRA lays down its arms.

But there is growing evidence that part of the British security establishment are deeply implicated in the current wave of loyalist assassinations.

In January 1988, Brian Nelson organised a shipment of arms from South Africa to the loyalist death squads.

The consignment included 200 AK47 automatic rifles and 90 Browning pistols.

Nelson was working at the time for British intelligence. His handler was a Colonel 'J', who gave regular monthly reports to senior officers of the British army.

It is also believed that the Northern Ireland Secretary of State could have had access to this information.

In the five years since the arms arrived, loyalist death squads have carried out 146 sectarian killings.



At least sixty seven of these killings were carried out by the South African weaponry.

Since then, the RUC is refusing to disclose forensic details on weapons used by loyalists.

Every Catholic in Northern Ireland has been turned into a potential target.

After a gun attack on a black taxi on the Landsdowne Road, the UDA boasted:

"It was an attempted mass murder, but the weapon jammed".

One UDA commander admitted in an interview with the *Guardian* that they were using terror to "get old grannies on the Falls to call on the IRA to stop".

The UDA/UVF are extreme right death squads which have been armed by British intelligence for their own purposes.

Their aim is to scapegoat Catholics for the poverty and misery that workers face in the North today. Workers should stick together against them.

The IRA's counter-productive campaign

The Hume/Adams talks show that the IRA's military campaign has led to a complete dead end.

Last month, in an interview with *An Pobhlacht*, the IRA leadership claimed that their bombing campaign had three objectives.

They wanted to stretch the security forces to 'crisis point'. They wanted to make sure that Northern Ireland was not portrayed as a normal society.

They wanted to make the costs of security unaffordable to the British government.

After 20 years of armed struggle 'the crisis point' of the security forces in no nearer than it was at the start.

The refurbishment of border checkpoints is a testimony to that.

The abandonment of 'normality' is something that Tories have always been prepared for, if necessary. In 1984 they imposed road checks all over Britain to help defeat the miners.

Nor can the Provos make the cost of security unaffordable. The £8 billion spent on averting a stock market crash in one weekend in 1992 is enough to cover years of 'economic bombing'.

The Provos bombing campaign has been a failure.

The capacity to 'wear down the enemy' by 'suffering anything' now looks more like needless sacrifice.

What is needed is a different way of fighting—one that involves mass mobilisation and class politics.

For that to happen an alternative needs to be built to republicanism in Northern Ireland.

The truth about single parents

THE Tory Party conference indulged in their favourite pastime—attacking single parents.

Single parents were blamed for everything from housing shortages to increasing crime rates.

The Tories talk about "feckless teenagers" having babies on a whim in order to jump the housing queues and live a life of luxury on single parent benefit.

It could be a joke if it weren't at the expense of one of the most vulnerable groups in society.

All the Tory attacks are based on lies.

To start with, most single parents aren't teenagers. The government's own figures show that seventy percent of single parents have been married and are widowed, divorced or separated.

A recent report from the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG) on the living circumstances of lone parents in the Derry area reinforces this fact.

The report found that, contrary to the Tory view of single parents as people who wander casually in and out of relationships, most of them had worked hard to try to keep their marriages intact.

Single parents do **not** jump the housing queues. In the North, where the housing situation is somewhat better than in Britain, a single parent can wait up to two years to get a house—and the waiting time gets longer every year.

As for the notion that single parents do well out of the benefits system, the CPAG's report describes the reality.

Over half of the four hundred Catholic and Protestant lone parents in their survey said that they found it difficult to meet basic food and fuel costs.

They said they could only afford to purchase fresh meat and fresh vegetables "now and then". These items of food were classified as "luxuries":

"Sometimes I would take less because I haven't much in the cupboard. The children come before me at all times."

Two-thirds of the single parents admitted that they would regularly miss meals to make sure their kids get enough to eat.

"I would miss a meal sometimes to make the food go further. I would give it to the children."

Many of the women reported that they often had to borrow even to buy food or fuel.

"I would have to borrow from my mother or sister for basic items."

Most of the single parents reported that they had no savings to fall back on in times of an emergency.

"My television broke down. I had to get it repaired for the children. It cost me £36. I had to borrow the money to have the TV fixed."

Special occasions present problems too.

"It was my eldest girl's birthday. I didn't have the money to buy her a present."

This is the reality of life for the vast majority of single parents—living hand to mouth, robbing Peter to pay Paul and borrowing just to get by.

As Christmas approaches, many single parents are near the end of their tether. The CPAG report learned that "85 percent of the sample dreaded the coming of Christmas.

Instead of offering joy and good tidings, Christmas offered another layer of debt. In many instances, lone parents were paying from one Christmas to the next."

The Tories want to slash working class living standards, using their policies of privatisation, pay freezes and cuts in the health and education services.

But they don't want to take responsibility for their own policies. Instead they are trying to lay the blame on the most vulnerable sections of society, including single parents.

If the Tories were really worried about teenage pregnancies, homelessness, single parents getting stuck in the benefit system and so on they could try doing something positive about it.

A massive building programme to provide badly needed houses would be a good start. There are plenty of unemployed building workers only too eager to work.

The extension of the 1967 Abortion Act to the North would at least offer some choice to teenage girls who find themselves pregnant.

Free child care facilities for all parents would allow single parents to get a job if they wanted to.

Tory policies have created record unemployment, poverty and homelessness. The best thing we could do to end the problems faced by single parents is to get rid of Major and his like once and for all.

Why the Irish rich

Within days of its announcement, the Coalition's National Plan was exposed as a fraud.

Reynolds and Spring claimed that they had a guaranteed £8 billion 'in the bag' from Brussels.

But the Euro supremo, Delors was soon denouncing them as 'liars'.

They were going to have to settle for less.

But this was only the small fraud. The Coalition's policy is to encourage the native Irish rich to create jobs.

But during only two brief periods in the past—in the 1930s and 1960s—has Irish capitalism created substantial numbers of jobs.

The leading figures of Irish business—the Smurfits, O'Reilly and the Dunes—have been job vandals rather than job creators.

Already, key commentators are revealing real the main strategy of the Coalition for dealing with the unemployment crisis—more emigration.

Paul Tansy, in the Sunday Tribune, claims that "it will take another bout of sustained emigration to keep the lid on unemployment for the remainder of the decade."

If this does not happen he claims that unemployment in Ireland could reach 430,000 by 1999.

Already redundancies in Ireland are rising.

Over the last year, redundancies have been averaging 1,661 a month.

Top business organisation like the Dublin Chamber of Commerce have warned that a growth in the economy will not bring jobs.

There are three main reasons why Ireland's jobs crisis is getting worse.

First, Ireland very success of capitalism in the sixties and early 1970s is coming back to haunt it.

The confidence in this era led to an increase in the marriage rate and a baby boom.

Today Ireland has one of the fastest growing young workforces in Europe.

Each year 30,000 people come out of the schools looking for work.

They will continue to do so for the next few years before it tapers off.

On top of that more and more people are still fleeing the land. Each year 3,000 people leave agriculture for good.

There are now more people signing on at labour exchanges in the Republic of Ireland than are working on farms.

Second, although Irish capitalism has been relatively successful in recent years it cannot hope to escape the effects of the recession.

20 million people are now out of work in Europe.

the jobs crisis

Excuses—not jobs

Ireland's right wing politicians are always trying to think of new excuses for why their class cannot create jobs.

But the excuses won't wash.

Wage competitiveness The employers claim that if wages were

held down there would be more jobs in the country.

Lower

But Irish wages is already one of the lowest in Europe—and still the rich have created no jobs.

According to the average wage is \$18.64 an hour. The hourly wage cost

This is exactly man rate and is the low pay economy of Britain.

A High Tax System claim that the tax

Three of the major economies of Europe—Germany, France and Belgium—are set to decline this year.

The much vaunted recovery in Britain is already faltering as it is pulled back into recession.

Third, the policy of giving grants to private enterprise has been a complete failure in the 1980s.

Between 1981 and 1990, the Irish state handed out £1.6 billion in grants. A further £3 billion was given in indirect subsidies as tax was not collected.

But only 7,000 jobs were actually created.

That works out at £750,000 per job. Which is more than the average worker earns in a life time!

Blame

As this policy has become exposed, a series of reports such as the Culliton report have tried to shift the blame by claiming that the money should have been directed more at Irish capitalists.

But in fact Irish capitalists got nearly half of the grant money of the 1980s—and still managed to end up with 2,000 fewer jobs in

Wining and dining the boss

NO MONEY in the country? You must be joking.

Corporate Sport & Leisure exist to wine and dine the parasites of Irish industry at big sports occasions.

Last year, big business paid over £150,000 to the Irish Rugby Football Union and £300,000 to the FAI to get choice seats at matches.

At the Irish Open Golf Championship, Corporate Sport & Leisure runs a scheme

the 1980s.

The present Coalition are deeply tied into the golden circle that runs Irish capitalism.

Reynolds features in Ireland's list of millionaires with his 80% stake in the C and D pet food business.

His daughters are involved in property dealing.

FF TDs like Liam Lawlor was a director of the board of Goodman's

while Ivor Call Eurocabin group workforce in Baldoon.

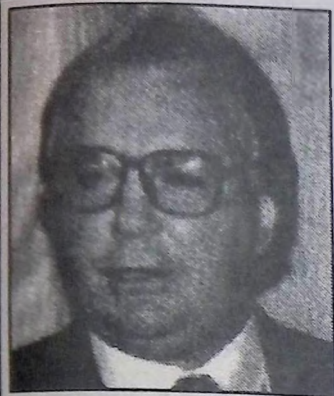
The Labour Party links to the golden dials and property.

Labour Party member, Greg Sparks, directors who are said to be Cooley distillers.

Ruairi Quinn



Will



Tony O'Reilly and friend. Last month O'Reilly paid £1.5 million guineas for Dobbin at Goffs millionaires racing horse auction. It will give a job to someone clearing up the manure perhaps

£9.5 MILLION BONANZA FOR JOBS VANDALS

COOLEY Distillery has become "the unacceptable face of Irish capitalism".

Thirty-eight workers used to be employed there, making a whiskey which developed a very good reputation.

But now the company has been taken over by Irish Distillers.

They want to close Cooley down in order to remove competition.

Richard Burroughs, the managing director of Irish Distillers, explained:

"Cooley has no future once it has met its obligations."

The 38 workers are to be thrown on the scrap heap.

Joe Carolan, who lives near the area, said,

"People are angry and dumbstruck. They are wrecking people's lives to gratify their own greed."

One of the distillery workers explained:

"They are going to have to

"Entrepreneurs create wealth not jobs!"—John Teeling, Boss of Cooley Distillery

realise that we are human beings. We have as much right to a job as those who sit on their backsides in Dail Eir-eann."

For the bosses of Cooley Distillery it is a different story.

They stand to gain £9.5 million between them.

In 1987, they put up £2.5 million for Cooley.

They raised this money under the BES scheme.

This is a tax scam for the Irish rich which allows them to cut their tax bills in half.

The key figure in Cooley is John Teeling, a former lecturer in business studies in UCD.

Teeling's job wrecking career is nothing new.

Teeling is an asset stripper. In 1985 he sacked 700 workers in Glen Abbey, a textile company in the Liberties in Dublin.

He sold off the assets for £2 million and then took in a rent of £260,000 a year.

against them.

This is a joke. Tax on profits amounts to only 2% of all taxation. Corporation profits tax in Ireland are one of the lowest in Europe.

Ireland's rich have several legal tax scams such as the BES scheme which allows them cut their tax bill in half.

And when that does not work they can always hope for a tax amnesty. Since 1987, the rich have benefited from three tax amnesties.

dining s' way

Managers meet the top golfers. The table for ten wine sozzled man- £1,950 plus VAT.

Selling Off

The GAA are trying to get in on the they are selling off ten-year boxes at a go, and there is no shortage of

also are starting up an exclusive Club with seats at £5,000 apiece.

Lochlainn Quinn, owns a quarter of Glen Dimplex and was involved in the property scandal at the Telecom site at Ballsbridge.

But despite the promises of the new National Plan, the reality is that Ireland's capitalist class have no interest in getting rid of the dole queues.

The wealth needs to be taken off them to make jobs for all.

MARXISM 93

A WORLD IN CRISIS—THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION

A weekend of meetings and discussion on the 12th - 14th November Marxism 93 will take place in the Institute of Adult Education in Mountjoy Square in Dublin from the 12th till the 14th of November.

Accommodation is available with members of the Dublin Branches of the Socialist Workers Movement. A creche will be available during the weekend.

As well as the meetings there will be entertainment on the Saturday night.

Tickets for Marxism 93 cost £6 (waged) and £3 (unwaged).

Please return the form early to get your tickets.

FRIDAY 12th NOVEMBER

	Room 1	Room 2	
6.00pm	Why is loyalist violence on the rise Sean McVeigh	Engels and human origins Conor Kostick	
8.00pm	Opening Rally A world in chaos: The Socialist alternative Brid Smith and Pat Stack		

SATURDAY 13th NOVEMBER

	Room 1	Room 2	Room 3
10.00-11.15	Marxism and oppression Kieran Allen	1917—When workers took power Alan Kelly	
11.30-1.00	Trotsky Pat Stack	PLO, ANC, IRA: National liberation movements today Goretti Horgan	Is there an underclass? Ger Tuohy
2.00-3.15	Is nation stronger than class? Alex Callinicos	Irish literature & Irish workers Eamonn McCann	Rosa Luxemburg Mary Smith
3.30-5.00	DEBATE: The future of the Labour Party Joe Costello (TD); Richard Boyd Barrett (SWM)	The fight against fascism Tadhg Carey	Postmodernism: The philosophy of uncertainty Simon Basketter
7.00-8.15	Do all revolutions lead to tyranny? Pat Stack	Are all men sexist? Cathy Bergin	

SUNDAY 14th NOVEMBER

	Room 1	Room 2	Room 3
10.00-11.15	Fighting racism: black nationalism and socialism Joan Gallagher	Trade unions and workers in the 90s Marnie Holborow	
11.30-1.00	DEBATE: Can the UN be a force for peace? Colm Regan (Trocaire); Dave McDonagh (SWM)	Islamic fundamentalism: reactionary or progressive? Kevin Wingfield	
2.00-3.15	Marx's theory of revolution Alex Callinicos	Drugs: Cracking up or cracking down? Brian Hanley	The politics of the Socialist Workers Movement
3.30-5.00	FINAL RALLY: Building a revolutionary organisation in the 90s Kieran Allen & Jim Larmour		

BOOKING FORM

Waged ticket £6
 Unwaged ticket £3
 Do you require accommodation YES NO
 Do you require creche facilities
 I enclose the sum of £ _____
 (make cheques postal orders payable to SWM)

Name: _____

Address: _____

Tel: _____

Please return this form to Marxism 93, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

GERMANY 1923:

The missed revolution

Many now think that a revolution in a modern capitalist state is a utopian dream.

But the German revolution of 1918-23 proved that it is possible for workers to rise up in the most modern of countries, and that when they do, their political ideas move dramatically to the left.

The German revolution of 1918 began with a mutiny of sailors from Kiel. Within a week their example had spread to every major city. In a festive atmosphere, workers and soldiers celebrated in the streets. The war was over, and the Kaiser had fallen!

During the first flush of revolt, the distinction between the different left parties didn't seem to matter. Labour (SPD), Independent Labour (USPD) or revolutionary, surely everyone was united in wanting to get rid of the old order?

However, within the popular movement there were fundamental differences. The SPD leadership were shocked at the sight of ordinary people running the factories, and of soldiers refusing to obey their officers.

Their belief, like all Labour parties, was that the basic structures of society should be capitalist, they rejected out of hand the idea that workers could govern.

Instead of dismantling the old state forces they tried to prop them up. At the same time, and more ominously, they recruited officers to a military force that would be "reliable", the Freikorps.

The most serious opposition to the betrayal of the SPD came from a newly formed revolutionary party - the Communist Party.

Their message was that for workers to achieve a socialist society, and to prevent a restoration of the power of the authorities, the workers had to overthrow the new government and organise all power through the council system - in other words to follow the example of the Russian revolution.

The Communist Party was founded in early 1919 and began to grow very rapidly as workers found themselves in bitter clashes with the SPD led forces.

But there was a big price to pay for the youthfulness of the new party. For despite being led by talented revolutionaries such as Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, most of the new members, were very inexperienced.

Seeing their support slipping, a year after the start of the revolution, the SPD government took a gamble.

They called in the Freikorps to Berlin, and provocatively sacked a socialist, Eichel, who had managed to get himself appointed as police chief.

At first it seemed their attack had backfired. Two hundred thousand people marched in protest. Their anger at the government led them to occupy the SPD newspaper offices.

Excitement spread through the streets, and an ad-hoc body of Communists, Left-independents and revolutionary shop stewards called for a general strike the next day—in order to overthrow the government.

Unfortunately socialist revolutions do not take place so easily.

It was Rosa Luxemburg's assessment that although hundreds of thousands were bitterly angry at the government, the many other millions of workers were still not yet convinced that another rising was necessary.

She saw that a period of united activity against the generals and bosses was needed, for the mass of SPD members to be convinced that the Communists offered a serious alternative.

Despite her views, the general strike went ahead. It began well, with a solid response in the factories. Then the



Demonstration in Berlin in 1919. The placard reads: "All power to the Workers' and Soldiers' Councils"

most revolutionary workers took to the streets in expectancy of further action.

At this point the Independents lost their nerve, and entered into discussion with the government they were trying to overthrow.

Although against calling the movement onto the streets, once it was happening Luxemburg rightly decided the Communists should stand with the most determined workers.

So their small group did what it could to spread the movement, to disarm the right wing forces and to make the best of a difficult situation.

Within days the rising had petered out. The pendulum began to now swing in the opposite direction. The government shifted blame for the unrest onto the left. Who in turn were demoralised that they had failed in their actions.

Soon the Freikorps were marching through Berlin, arresting militants with impunity. The reaction culminated in the discovery and murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht.

The next year was witness to similar conflicts, premature risings and bitter class struggles.

In every part of Germany workers pressed forward to improve their living standards, only to find themselves checked by people who claimed to be their own socialist representatives.

The SPD, now led by Ebert, Scheidemann and the ruthless Minister for war, Noske, were undermining

the faith of workers in their party.

The more left wing USPD and the Communists continued to grow. However, the passivity of the local SPD organisers also had the effect of weakening the power of the workers' councils.

As a result the capitalist class gained confidence and reached for a more dramatic method of finishing off the revolution.

On 13 March 1920 a column of troops marched into Berlin and overthrew the government. Noske, who had ordered their arrest, found that he could only flee.

Fortunately for the working class, the momentum of the 1918 revolution had not been entirely lost.

The coup was met by an immense general strike and a renewed enthusiasm of workers for their own organisations.

The would-be dictator, General Kapp found himself issuing decrees with absolutely no effect. The coup collapsed ignominiously.

The Communists showed their own inexperience, by refusing to defend the government. After all, hadn't it been responsible for the murder of their own leaders?

They could not see that by defending the government, the workers were also creating the organisations and

confidence that would allow them to go much further.

From the summer of 1920 the Communist Party did become central to the outcome of the German revolution. The ruling class was in disarray, hanging on to power thanks to the increasingly unpopular SPD leadership.

The Independents were torn in two, between those who remained parliamentarians, and those who understood that only the self-activity of workers could usher in a new order. The latter voted on block to join the CP.

Flushed with their new strength, of 400 000 revolutionaries, the CP leadership then committed an appalling blunder. With very little preparation, they used the declaration of military law in Hamburg as a pretext for calling a national general strike in March 1921.

The Communists believed that they could simply call up a new revolution, and had no patience for winning over the support of those workers who were still followers of the SPD.

The strike was a flop, the CP even found themselves using unemployed supporters to confront workers wanting to work.

Many of the new members who did not accept that the SPD supporters were traitors left in disgust.

After their adventure and bitter rows which cost them the loss of hundreds of thousands of members, the Communist Party accepted the tactic of the

United Front, and began to make progress once more.

However, the mistakes and the loss of confidence as well as the direct repression against the organisation now cost the revolution dear. For events rapidly came to a climax.

Fed up with the continuing strength of the workers' factory councils, the major employers in Germany raised the stakes dramatically. They sabotaged the economy and undermined the value of wages by putting up prices constantly. But the economic crisis got out of hand.

From June 1922 when you could get 300 marks to the dollar, the currency collapsed. In December a dollar was worth 8000 marks, and by the summer of 1923 the mark was worth less than the paper it was printed on. Unemployment rocketed, from 4.3% in January 1923 to 23.4% in November.

Accompanying the economic crisis was a further blow to the government, the French occupation of the Ruhr for war reparations.

Throughout Germany the feeling that no one was in control grew stronger.

The unemployed eagerly awaited the Communists coming to power. In the factories unrest reached gigantic proportions.

This was a truly revolutionary situation. Unlike the attempted Berlin rising years earlier, the mass of the population were now ready for action. Workers defence committees, "proletarian hundreds", organised hundreds of thousands:

"In September and October and November Germany lived through a profound revolutionary experience... A million revolutionaries, ready, awaiting the signal to attack; behind them the millions of unemployed, the hungry, the desperate, a people in pain murmuring 'us as well, us as well."

"The muscles of the crowd were ready, the fists already clasp the Mausers that they were going to oppose to the armoured cars of the Reichswehr."

The Communist Party decided upon a rising

Even in the Russian revolution, some of the Bolshevik Party were afraid to make the shift to organising the insurrection. In the German Party there was even more uncertainty and lack of confidence.

Having become used to the situation where they were a minority, patiently working to win over the SPD supporters, the leadership of the party found it difficult to adjust to the new situation.

Afraid of making another disastrous call to action, they telegraphed Russia for advice—as if anyone there could possibly assess the situation!

In the end the Communist Party called off the rising, and the hopes of millions were dashed. The revolutionary party had failed them.

The support for the party amongst organised workers collapsed. Seeing no alternative to the SPD, apathy and demoralisation set in quickly throughout the working class.

The revolution was over, factory councils withering away under the influence of the SPD.

Had even a small nucleus of revolutionaries been active in the years before the outbreak of revolution, the outcome could easily have been different. Learning to be able to make tactical shifts, whilst maintaining firm principles takes time and experience.

Being able to adjust swiftly from the defensive to the offensive, to develop a leadership confident to seize the moment, proved nearly impossible for such a newly created organisation.

Small revolutionary parties can become mass movements within months. To ensure the revolution is ultimately victorious the core of such parties needs to be built now.

What's On

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

Athlone:

Meets every other Tuesday at 8:00pm

See *Socialist Worker* sellers for details or contact National Office at address below

Belfast:

Meets every Tuesday. See *Socialist Worker* sellers for details or contact National Office

2nd November: Is society divided by nation or class?
9th November: Trotsky's fight against Stalinism
16th November: Can a revolution liberate women?
23rd November: The Police and crime
30th November: The Politics of AIDS

Cork:

Meets every Tuesday at 8:00pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay.

2nd November: How do we stop violence in the North?

9th: Why do men rape?

16th: Is human nature a barrier to socialism?

23rd: Why the Labour Party fails.

Derry:

Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Pub Orchard St.

2nd November: 20 years after the Chilean Coup-- Why capitalism cannot be reformed.

9th November: Is violence ever justified

16th November: Socialism and Religion.

Dublin North:

Meets every Wednesday in Conways Pub Parnell Square.

3rd November: What sort of a party is the SWM?

10th November: Do all revolutions lead to tyranny?

17th November: Can socialism save the environment?

Dublin South:

Meets every Thursday in the Trinity Inn Pearse St..

4th November: Germany 1918 -1923: The Missed Revolution

11th November: Do all revolutions lead to tyranny

18th November: Socialism and Religion

Tallaght:

Meets every Wednesday at 8:00pm in the Tallaght welfare centre, Main St.

3rd November: What sort of a party is the SWM?

10th November: Do all revolutions lead to tyranny?

17th November: Can socialism save the environment?

Galway:

Meets every other Thursday at 8:00pm in Currans hotel Eyre Sq.

See *Socialist Worker* sellers for details or contact National Office

Waterford:

Meets every Thursday in ATGWU Hall Keyser St 8:00pm

4th November: Violence and the Public Order Act

11th: Why does the Labour Party sell out?

18th: Do all revolutions lead to tyranny?

25th: Building a revolutionary socialist organisation in the 1990s.

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

DEMOCRATIC LEFT CONFERENCE:



Democratic Left has returned to using the language of Socialism.

Des Geraghty MEP told the Party's conference last month that D.L. stood for "a new socialism for the new century".

When the party was set up in early 1992 Prionsias De Rossa steered it away from the notion of class struggle towards "social democracy".

Democratic Left split from the Workers Party after the collapse of Eastern Europe.

The Workers Party had long supported the fake socialism of the Eastern European regimes.

Now De Rossa bowed to the notion that socialists had to accommodate to the "free market".

But the free market has brought more misery East and West.

Paul Sweeney of D.L. told the conference that far from socialism being "dead" we had to check capitalism's pulse to see if it was still alive.

The conference reflected the mood of anger over business scandals from Greencore to Dunnes Stores.

It also reflected the new militancy in the South with speakers from Aer Lingus and Pat the Baker on the platform.

self as the socialist alternative to the sellout Labour Party.

But behind the rhetoric little has changed.

While criticising corruption, Paul Sweeney said that

GET ACTIVE, GET ORGANISED

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS!

Socialist organisations get results.

That is the message of the huge campaign that was mounted across Ireland against the visit of the Nazi organiser, David Irving.

The scale of the protests made the various organisers of his speaking tour back down.

The Socialist Workers Movement played a very active role in the campaign against Irving.

Members put up posters, distributed leaflets, booked buses and above all argued why fascists should not be given a platform.

In UCD and UCC, the right wing tried to target the SWM by a smear campaign. But it has not worked.

D.L. was "not against business" and wanted to reward "high standards in high places".

The main problem for D.L. is that Irish capitalism is "building on sand" and too many capitalists are out to "make a fast buck".

This harks back to the Workers Party idea that The Irish economy was weak because it had a "lazy bourgeoisie".

In the 70s the W.P. wel-

comed multinational companies as a boost to the economy.

'Footloose'

Now D.L. says that while multinationals are "better employers" they are in the words of Paul Sweeney, "footloose".

The party believes that it can influence capitalism to be more responsible by for

example reforming the tax system to "reward" good business and punish "bad business".

But capitalism has always been run to benefit the rich who want to line their pockets at our expense.

Every socialist government ends up bowing to the pressure of these parasites.

The only way to win real socialism is for workers to overthrow the system that breeds corruption.

bers joined the organisation in October.

The SWM argued that to defeat fascism, you had to destroy the system that breeds it.

Message

It was a message that made sense to many who wanted to go further than a fight against Irving.

In the North, SWM held a highly successful conference to commemorate the 25th anniversary of the Civil Rights march in Derry.

Paul Foot spoke to an audience of 60 people about the travesty that was British justice.

After the conference six people joined the SWM. Belfast SWM was also

quick to respond to the rise in sectarian murders in the North.

After a Catholic subcontractor was murdered in Shorts, the branch put a leaflet into the factory and got a good reception for their call for a protest stoppage.

Right across the country there is huge anger against a system that creates poverty and unemployment.

But the anger has to be organised.

Today the SWM has become the biggest and most serious revolutionary socialist organisation building outside Labour and Democratic Left.

Both these parties are, tragically, hooked on the idea of a coalition with the right wing.

If you want to see a

What we stand for

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM
The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system. It has to be overthrown.

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

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

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

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

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

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

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

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

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

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

BOOKS ARE WEAPONS

SW Books stocks the most comprehensive selection of socialist books in Ireland.

We have a wide range of books on racism, fascism, women's oppression and trade unionism.

We have most books by Marx, Lenin, Trotsky and Connolly.

For full details write to SW Books, P.O. 1648 Dublin 8

Join Us!

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

Name _____

Address _____

Phone _____

The Hidden Ireland

When kids were locked up

When the Artane Boys Band marched onto the pitch in Croke Park to play for crowds attending All-Ireland finals people would remark on how disciplined they were and on what a fine job the schools had done with them.

But with the appearance of books like Mannix Flynn's *Nothing to Say* and Paddy Doyle's *The God Squad* more disturbing aspects of such schools began to emerge and names like Artane, Daingan and Letterfrack became synonymous with confinement, deprivation and brutality.

In the mid 1800's workhouses took over an ad-hoc system of care, supervised by individuals and religious groups whose emphasis lay on spiritual rather than material needs.

The workhouses were themselves replaced by industrial schools and reformatories when the Catholic Church began to express concern for the moral welfare of the inmates and the state realised the need for special accommodation for delinquents.

Workhouses

The thinking was that the new system would provide a basic education, and training in various trades.

Orphans, children discovered begging, or homeless or thought likely to pursue a life of crime were liable to be sent away.

They found themselves walled into a world that was as harsh and cruel in its own way as life on the streets.

The new institutions were, to all intents and purposes, a network of industrial plants and work-farms that were virtually self-sufficient and often involved in commercial ventures.

Training tended to be for the most menial jobs, particularly in the case of girls.

Physical and sexual abuse was common.

Boys were usually released when they turned sixteen but girls could be transferred to the church's Magdalen laundries and often remained there for life.

Even for those released the future was bleak. There was no after-care service and many couldn't cope with mainstream society.

The training they had re-

ceived, indeed the very fact that they were graduates of institutions was frequently frowned on and it could be difficult to find work.

A lot joined the Army, continuing their dependence on an institutional life-style. Many more became addicted to alcohol and drugs and wound up homeless again.

Blame is usually levelled at the church and at the orders directly involved in particular but, although they deserve much of it, the situation is more complex.

This neglect and abuse could not have happened without the acquiescence of the state whose periodic inspections were little more than a formality.

Establishment

From the establishment of the first reformatory local authorities were unwilling to provide finance.

The burden fell to the church and that suited a state and a society anxious to have the issue off its conscience.

The Cussen report, published in 1936, summed it up. It stated that the then system

"Affords the most suitable means of dealing with these children" and that "Schools should remain under the management of religious orders who have undertaken the work."

Even today it is not unusual for staff to be paid from the accounts of religious orders.

In 1970 The Kennedy Report was published.

Among other things it highlighted the need for proper regulation of funding, an increase in staffing levels, proper training of staff and the provision of specialist services.

It heralded the end of the large old-style institutions.

Almost all of them closed and were replaced by smaller units and foster care.

But with the publication of Focus Point's *At What Cost?* in 1991 it was clear that many of the recommendations had not been addressed.

The system remains haphazardly financed, staffed, or rather understaffed, by personnel who are often incapable of dealing with the varied needs of the children they come into contact with.

The government shows no inclination to tackle the problem. It seems that the promise to cherish all of the children of the state equally is to be postponed yet again.

—MICK DOYLE

International Socialism Journal reviewed by Brendan Donohue

What makes the Euro Nazis tick?

THE fascist movement across Europe is on the move and growing in Britain.

The openly racist and fascist party, the BNP, recently won a council seat on a programme of repatriation of blacks and Asians. The BNP deny that the Holocaust ever took place.

In France Jean-Marie Le Pen's Front National has 35 MPs.

In Germany the Republican Party took two million votes and six seats in the European elections.

Italy, Belgium, Sweden, Denmark and Austria all now have organised and flourishing fascist parties.

Faced with this realisation there is a tendency to be completely mesmerised and paralysed, like a rabbit caught in the headlights of a car, or to become ostrich-like and hope the menace will disappear.

Chris Bambery's article on Euro-Fascism in the current edition of the ISJ is a welcome antidote to this confusion and fear.

Bambery examines the history of fascism from Musso-



lini's triumph in Italy in the 1920s straight through to the rise of the New Right in the 1990s.

Explaining how the fascists built and came to power, he describes how the Left failed to respond and laid the basis for the resulting Holocaust which murdered eleven million people in the death camps of Europe.

Lessons

Most importantly he draws out the lessons of the past to show how fascism can be beaten today.

To beat the nazis we need maximum unity. The failure of the Social Democratic Party

and Communist Party in Germany in the 1920s led to the destruction of the biggest organised labour movement outside Russia.

We need mass mobilisation of trade unionists, socialists and anti-fascists to physically confront the fascists whenever or wherever they attempt to march.

Taking control of the streets is important for the fascists. It is where they feel powerful, sweeping all those who disagree with them aside. Hitler understood this from the start:

"Mass demonstrations must burn into the little man's soul the conviction that though a little worm he is part of a great dragon".

The middle classes who make up the basic composition of fascist movements have no collective strength or sense of solidarity.

Individually they are, as Leon Trotsky described them, "human dust", but banded together on the streets with flags flying they feel confident, denouncing trade unions, immigrants, Jews, communists or gays for all the ills in society.

When socialists have mobilised against the nazis, as in the 1930s and 1970s in England, they have destroyed the impetus of the fascist movement.

Looking to governments to protect us from fascism is also a recipe for disaster. A recent event proves this.

Under the pretext of keeping public order, the British state spent £500,000 on protecting the BNP headquarters against a demonstration on October 16 of 60,000 anti-fascists who wanted it shut down.

Yet since the BNP opened its headquarters four black youths have been murdered in a year of racist attacks in London, and a seventeen-year-old Asian youth lies in a coma on a life support machine after being attacked by fascists.

This is the concern the British state has for its citizens facing racism.

Finally, as Bambery points out, the struggle against fascism is also the struggle for socialism.

As long as we live in a society where a tiny minority control all the wealth and the vast majority of us have to live with mass unemployment, poverty, bad housing and health cuts and where goods are produced for profit before need, we will always have the lurking spectre of fascism.

■ *International Socialism Journal*, £2.50 + 50p post from SW Books, PO box 1648, Dublin 8

Eve Morrison looks at the work of James Baldwin

The fight of a Native Son

DURING slavery days in the United States it was illegal to teach black people to read. White preachers inserted bogus passages justifying slavery into their sermons on Sundays claiming they came from the Bible.

It was a pathetic attempt by the slave owners to keep the slaves in ignorance of their condition.

It was an attempt that failed. African-Americans mastered their captors' language and went on to produce the myriad voices of black American writers who have vitally enriched American literature.

Of these many writers who tried, through literature, to expose the legacy of racism in America, James Baldwin was one of the best.

He died in 1987, after having lived through and written about and participated in one of the most exciting periods of American history, the black civil rights movement.

In *Notes of a Native Son*, a



collection of essays on racism, he wrote:

"One must never in one's life accept these injustices as commonplace but fight them with all one's might."

Fight

This determination to fight against oppression never left him.

He was born in Harlem in 1924, the son of a Baptist preacher.

Though he followed in his father's footsteps for a brief period, his open homosexuality and desire to be a writer prompted him to reject a life in the church.

In 1943 he, like many other black artists of the period, went to live in Paris. It was there that he wrote *Go Tell It On The Mountain*, a novel that explores the lives of a black family in the south in the early part of the century.

Over the next ten years *Giovanni's Room* and *Notes of a Native Son* followed and brought him international recognition.

Meanwhile, back in America, a black woman named Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white man on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama.

Thus began the boycott that signalled the beginning of the civil rights movement. It also

brought James Baldwin home in 1957.

He became very active, participating in freedom rides and other direct action tactics to desegregate the south. In 1963 *The Fire Next Time* was published, becoming an instant classic and establishing Baldwin as a leader of the civil rights movement.

Though he spoke on the platform at the march on Washington led by Martin Luther King, he was an open supporter of Malcolm X, black self-activity and self defence.

Inspiration

He went on in the 1970s to support the Black Panthers though he was attacked by certain segments of the movement for maintaining that white people could and should be allies in the struggle for black emancipation.

Baldwin continued to write but with the decline of the movement he became isolated. The struggle against oppression had been his inspiration.

But James Baldwin died: a sterling example of an artist whose life and work articulated the hopes and dreams of a generation of fighters.

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

INDUSTRIAL NEWS

Defend our unions

PAT THE BAKER

Shop workers in Edenderry, Athlone, Mullingar, Cavan and Portlaoise have voted to black Pat the Baker products.

In the ballots in five SIPTU supermarkets only four workers voted against taking action in support of the workers in Dublin.

The strike which is entering its seventh month is now in a position to move forward to winning. The shop workers union, IDATU is also balloting the supermarkets they organise and there is even hopes that the ICTU intends to issue notice of the blacking of Pat the baker products to management on 8th November.

One of the strikers told *Socialist Worker*:

"Now were more hopeful of winning because the union has come behind the strike at last"

Managements attempts to discredit the strikers by spending a fortune on advertising and sending people into supermarkets with

leaflets with lies about the strike have come to nothing.

As a striker put it: *"The support from the public has been brilliant since the start. People now the true story behind the dispute and are fully behind us."*

The response of the politicians to the dispute as been appalling.

Albert Reynolds said in the *Longford News* that he was working behind the scenes to ensure that no jobs were lost in Granard. Reynolds made no mention of doing anything about the jobs in the strikers in Dublin.

When the union wrote to the Labour Party to ask why they had done next to nothing to help the strike, the reply was that the Labour party was under the impression that the dispute was

being run by militants and so had not got involved!

Seven months since the dispute started there is a real chance for the dispute to win, if ICTU call the blacking that workers are clearly in favour of since the beginning.

Donations and messages of support to: **Pat the Baker Strike committee, C/O Liberty Hall, Dublin 1.**

NOLANS

STRIKERS at Nolans Transport have been on the picket line since September 1992.

Last month, they thought they were on the verge of a breakthrough. Workers at B & I voted to black Nolan lorries.

But, tragically, the threat

of blacking was lifted after Nolans promised to go to the Labour Court.

Conditions at Nolans are terrible. Drivers work an average of 15 hours a day for as little as £2.50 an hour.

Jimmy Halligan organised the workers into a union. He described what happened when he approached Jimmy Nolan, the manager:

"He told me I was only a reject from my previous employer and that if I did not leave the place I could fuck off out of it."

Since then the strikers have put up with a campaign of intimidation -

■ After news came through about the B & I blacking, the strikers' caravan was stoned during the night and all its windows were broken.

■ One striker was assaulted with a mallet.

■ The bridge in New Ross has been blockaded by Nolans trucks in protest against the strike.

The Labour Party has traditionally been strong in County Wexford but it has virtually ignored the strike.

Brendan Howlin, the Labour TD and Health Minister, was forced by public pressure to meet the strikers in July. He promised to get back to them with some support. They have not heard from him since. The

Nolans strike can be won, but only if real blacking goes ahead.

Nolans' promise to go to the Labour Court is worth nothing. The blacking should only be lifted when the strikers get their jobs back and have their union recognised.

NO INTIMIDATION AT TEAM

Management at TEAM proposed that a number of workers would go on a three day 13 hour shift and get a certain amount of guaranteed overtime. But the shop stewards rejected the proposal.

Management then tried to run a publicity campaign against workers. An RTE News item contrasted their 'flexibility' of Shannon workers with their counterparts in Dublin.

The bluff and bluster of the management will not wash. They should keep an eye on events in Paris.

FIANNA FAIL'S SCAB

THE CHIEF scab in Nolans is a Fianna Fail councillor, Jim Dwyer. Dwyer has been bound to the peace for attacking one of the strikers. He told him *"Go home, you English bastard"* and threatened him with *"the taste of lead"*. Dwyer has also been fined £350 for organising the blockade of New Ross bridge.

Dwyer, a former Sinn Fein councillor, joined Fianna Fail recently. When he stood for election he promised to abolish the water rates.

But in office he did an about-turn and told people that *"if you drill the well you have to pay for it"*.

When Dwyer worked at Celtic Foods he was part of a work force who fought for and won union recognition in 1987.

But at Nolans he is next in line for the foreman's job and has denounced SIPTU.

Dwyer rarely attends council meetings these days. He is too busy organising scabbing.

No better man for Fianna Fail - the Bosses' Party.

No wonder his message to Irish workers is: *"Entrepreneurs are there to create wealth, not jobs."*

AMBULANCE DISPUTE TO ESCALATE



The ambulance strike is in its fourth week at this stage. 77 ambulance drivers in SIPTU struck after a pay award recommended by an independent assessor was rejected by management.

Ambulance drivers were seeking parity with other workers in similar situations (Fire drivers).

The independent assessor was appointed by the Eastern Health Board and both union and management agreed in advance that they would agree to his recom-

mendations. However when the award made was advantageous to the ambulance drivers the EHB reneged on its promise.

The ambulance drivers had struck for more money but were prepared to accept the £36.50 awarded by the independent assessor. In the interim they accepted a £7.50 payment awarded under the PESP and the EHB are now saying that this is the only payment they will get.

The ambulance drivers feel they should get the £29 owing to them backdated to 1989.

The EHB recently agreed to a back payment to Ambulance Controllers who are in IMPACT. There is a difference between the pay of the Controllers and the Drivers.

This difference has increased now and is causing divisions.

This is being used by the EHB to their advantage.

Non-nursing members of SIPTU have voted to come out on strike in support.

There are three main groups of workers scabbing on the strike: Taxidriivers are passing the picket to bring patients to the hospital—the fare is paid by the EHB.

The army have been called out for so called 'emergencies'. There is also a private ambulance company—Waverley—who are daily scabbing on the strike.

Waverley are known for paying below average wages and using untrained and non-unionised staff in the ambulances.

In the last four weeks they have bought new ambulances and are using staff which they fired last year.

Morale on the strike is high and the ambulance drivers are determined to win this important victory.

WE THINK: The New Militancy

The first signs of a new mood of militancy are emerging among Southern workers. Negotiations for a new system of centralised agreements are also running into more difficulties than expected.

The recession is making the bosses more brazen in their demand for a wage freeze. On top of that the shortfall in money from Europe has made the removal of the 1% levy and the dirty dozen cuts more difficult.

The union leaders have been forced to flex their muscles now—in the hope that they can settle into a few years of more moderation after January 1994.

But this is also breathing life into militancy from below. A hospital shop steward in Dublin told *Socialist Worker* about the current ambulance strike

"This is a very political strike. It is about taking on the government."

Within a week of the strike beginning, the union leaders were talking about escalating it. Management had been refusing to even talk to them.

The fact that they called for all-out strike rather than the selective strikes of the 1980s was really important. In my hospital we reckon only four or five out of a hundred voted against coming out. People said it's serious this time and they wanted to respond.

Suddenly the union started to come to life. People are turning up meetings in big numbers. The section committee is getting active again.

The union hope that threats and bluster will be enough to get them a new centralised agreement which they can sell to their members. But they are stirring up something on the ground that could easily get out of their control. It is the job of socialists to use this opportunity to re-build the fighting spirit of our unions.

POST OFFICE WORKERS

INCREASED pressure from the Post Office on its work force took a new and devastating turn recently.

Their new code of conduct gives lower grade managers the power to both dismiss workers and dock from one to three days' pay off them. In some cases these managers might only be one grade above the person they are "disciplining".

What was the union's response to this?

After two years of negotiations this was the best deal the executive council could come up with and they recommended it for acceptance.

Although the agreement was rejected locally, it was accepted on a national basis.

Now is the time time rank and file workers need to start building opposition to such moves.

We cannot rely on the union leadership so we must force; them into putting up a strong fight. Strikes, overtime bans and work to rule are the weapons we have, and we must use them.

It is quite clear that the Post Office is head hunting and wants to get rid of as many people as possible without laying them off.

The only way to stop such an onslaught on pay and conditions is to meet them head on - to let them know the working class is not dead and that we are prepared to fight.

—UCW MEMBER

OVERTIME BAN AT DUPONT

WORKERS in the construction section of Du Pont in Derry have been on an overtime ban since the start of October after the management cut their working hours without consultation.

Working hours for the 137 workers in the Polymers Engineering (construction) section were reduced from 44 to 39 hours per week. If the management get away with it, it will mean a loss of up to £50 per week for the workers.

Management are claiming that 39 hours is the standard week and that they are simply stopping overtime. But the 44-hour week had been clearly established as the standard week. It was used to calculate sick pay, holiday pay etc.

This reduction in the living standards of Du Pont's construction workers comes on top of job cuts in the plant and a worsening of conditions generally.

Small wonder then that the secret ballot for industrial action resulted in an almost unanimous vote to impose the overtime ban.

Workers from all sections of the company fear that the

Du Pont plant is an environmental disaster waiting to happen unless trade unions there impose rigorous health and safety regulations.

What's needed now is for workers on the operations side of the Du Pont plant to follow the example of the construction workers and take action to defend their living and working conditions.

'NO TO EDUCATION CUTS'

STUDENTS at the Belfast Institute of Further and Higher Education protested last month at the poor standard of facilities at the different college sites in Belfast.

The students were angry about a number of different issues: lack of proper canteen facilities, poor toilet provision, classrooms without

proper heating and a creche that desperately needs funding.

About 150 students protested outside BIFHE headquarters at Park House in Belfast. Students chanted *"NO IFS, NO BUTS, NO TO EDUCATION CUTS!"* and *"WE WANT MONEY!"*

The mood of the demo was very militant. However, student union leaders accepted an invitation from senior management at BIFHE to

meet quietly and privately. This was against the mood of most students, who wanted action.

While the meeting was taking place the students stormed the reception area of Park House. There, members of SWSS argued that the management suite at the top of the building should be occupied. While this was being debated the RUC arrived in force and evicted the students.

Socialist Worker spoke to

one protester, who said: *"We are fed up with the standard of facilities, the authorities simply refuse to spend money on anything."*

Last week we watched a video as part of our course but because BIFHE couldn't provide us with a video machine we had to watch it in a student's house. That just isn't on."

Another student said: *"This protest is only the beginning. We'll be back."*

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

INSIDE:

**Can the Hume/
Adams talks
bring peace?**

TURN TO PAGE FIVE

CLASS NOT CREED:

WORKERS UNITE TO FIGHT SECTARIANISM

"PEOPLE here are really frightened, we are just living in sheer terror".

That is everyday life for working class people in Belfast as sectarian tension mounts in the face of loyalist murder gangs and the aftermath of the IRA bomb on the Shankill Road.

The fear is well founded. People are being shot on virtually a daily basis for no other reason than they are Catholic.

UDA/UVF gunmen wait at traffic lights for black taxis.

Then they let fire. One 24

year old woman lost half her face in one of these attacks.

Many of the shootings don't even make national radio or TV news.

Only if someone is killed is it worth including anymore.

The IRA bomb in the fishmongers shop on the Shankill Road was appalling.

Divisions

It has only helped to deepen the divisions between the Falls and the Shankill—two of the most deprived working class ar-

eas of the city.

The bomb may have exploded prematurely and was meant for the UDA Headquarters above the shop.

But anyone who is willing to bring a bomb into a crowded shopping street on a Saturday afternoon knows that a massacre was a possibility.

What the bomb showed was that the IRA is a communal organisation that has little regard for the lives of ordinary Protestant workers.

Far from dealing the UDA a blow, the IRA has brought them more sympathy from people who live in the area.

Only workers' unity can

now defeat the sectarian tension which is rising in Belfast and elsewhere.

There are already signs that organised labour is willing to stick together.

After Joe Reynolds, a Catholic sub-contractor, was killed last month in Shorts, the mainly Protestant workforce walked out in a protest

Enemies

To build on that unity, we need to point the finger at the real enemies of workers—the Tories and their rich backers.

It is they who are destroying our lives by placing VAT on fuel, by running down the NHS and by demanding a pay freeze.

Now their policies are set to make more workers unemployed.

■ The privatised NI electricity (NIE) has drawn up plans to cut 600 jobs.

These are mainly well paid, unionised jobs.

■ Plans have also been leaked to axe at least 1200 and maybe up to 2,000 civil servants jobs.

FUSE, the trade union campaign against privatisation and NIPSA, have said

that they will campaign against redundancies.

The NI Electricity workers have already used their power to bring down a power sharing executive.

If they used that power against the Tories the situation in the North would be transformed.

Here is where the union leaders play a crucial role.

They can either fritter away the struggle like they did with the miners—or they can encourage a fight.

And there is a lot at stake.

For a it is only a united class response to the Tory attacks which will create the best conditions to defeat sectarianism.