

Socialist Worker

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What did Michael Collins stand for?
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VERONICA GUERIN:



Was she murdered to protect corrupt gardaí?

WHY DID Ireland's drug industry grow so quickly in recent years?

How were some small time criminals able to turn themselves into professional businessmen with so much ease?

These are some of the questions that the journalist Veronica Guerin was deeply concerned about.

Now, according to an important article in the *Sunday Business Post*, it appears that Veronica may have been murdered because she got so close to the truth about Ireland's drugs business.

Confided

They claim that "trusted contacts whom Guerin had confided in believed that she was

murdered partly to protect the identities of corrupt gardaí and partly to protect the drug smuggling networks used by the cartel".

Source

Veronica Guerin had developed contacts with individuals on the edge of a criminal outfit led by the murdered gangland boss, Martin Cahill also known as the General. One became her

source for a series of articles she ran in the *Sunday Independent*.

These showed that an individual who had been released from custody in 1994 had "transformed the General's unwieldy criminal gang into a professional drugs cartel" which made tens of millions a year on heroin dealing, tobacco smuggling and prostitution.

In the course of her investigations Veronica Guerin discovered that the new multi-million pound

drugs business had a complex distribution network which could only have worked with the help of "facilitating gardaí".

She also suspected that the identities of three police informers had been leaked to criminals, which resulted in their deaths.

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BP's blood for oil

THE GIANT oil firm BP has collaborated in shooting strikers in the south American country, Colombia where it has extensive drilling operations in the province of Casanare.

The company has received full backing for its activities from John Major who made a personal visit to Colombia in 1992.

While Major preaches about the need for "de-commissioning" in Ireland, he has no shame in supporting a multi-national whose oil profits are paid for in blood.

Each year B.P. plays over £11 million to the infamous 16th Division of the Colombian army.

Terror

This is a counter-insurgency unit which has imposed terror in the region in an effort to root out left wing guerrillas.

The unit has also broken strikes by BP workers in Colombia and was involved in the kidnapping of a local trade unionist Carlos Mesias Arrigui who was assassinated in 1995.

According to a report commissioned by the Colombian government BP takes videos and photographs of local workers, peasants and environmental campaigners and then hands them over to the army.

The report was later suppressed by the Colombian government because the evidence was so damning but its contents were revealed by the British Labour Euro-MEP Richard Howitt.

According to Howitt, who has visited the country on a number of fact finding missions, BP is involved in major environmental destruction of the area that is on a par with Shell's activities in Nigeria.

Oil wells have been drilled near local wells and fields have become so contaminated with oil that grazing cattle are becoming seriously ill.

Another report from *Human Rights Watch* claims that six local campaigners against BP were kidnapped and later murdered.

The BP security officer in Colombia is Steve Devine.



John Major and then president Gaviria at the BP operation at Cartagena in 1992

Devine is a former member of the British Army Special Forces.

The brutal methods that the SAS used in Ireland are now being applied by the company in Colombia.

Two months ago BP signed a three year £40 million deal with the Colombian army to fund an elite military squad of 150 officers and 500 soldiers.

Notorious

It has also donated £40 million in an "agreement of collaboration". BP is a notorious anti-union firm which has derecognised unions in Britain.

It has fought hard against union recruitment drives in the North Sea where 500 workers have died in the chase for oil profits.

Right across the world from the so called Third World to the First World, multi-nationals like BP set up a chain of exploitation where there profits are paid for in blood.

Shell's Nigerian thugs set to execute 19 Ogoni activists

A YEAR after Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight other Ogoni activists were hanged, the Nigerian government looks set for more executions.

Nineteen men are in jail facing possible hanging for campaigning against the destruction of Ogoniland by Shell Oil and the Nigerian military dictatorship.

In a letter smuggled out to human rights campaigners, the 'Ogoni 19' described their incarceration: "We are allowed to take our bath just

twice a week from a well which was until recently a dumping pit for dead inmates and still contains human skeletons. This also is the source of our drinking water..." Human rights groups in Nigeria have reported a "wave of violence and extra-judicial killings".

Troops randomly stop and search civilians and people are arrested without charge and can be held for six months without charge or trial.



Ken Saro-Wiwa

Six Ogonis were shot dead on Ogoni Day—4th January—and mass arrests were carried out in the weeks before a

BSE: MYTH OF CLEAN IRISH BEEF BROKEN

REMEMBER when we were all advised that the most patriotic thing we could do was to eat clean Irish beef?

Now the most popular newspaper in Russia, *Arguments and Facts* which sells over 25 million copies is warning its readers about "crazy Irish cows".

Behind the sensationalism, there a real cause for concern as the true story about BSE in Ireland begins to filter out.

So far this year the number of BSE cases have doubled. This means that this country has now the second highest rate of BSE in Europe per head of cattle.

Since 1980, at least 20 people have died of Creutzfeldt-Jacob Disease, the human equivalent of BSE, according to a recent study submitted to the Department of Health.

This, however, is a gross underestimate as

there is no requirement to carry out an autopsy if a person is suspected of dying of CJD.

According to Dr Catherine Keohane of the CJD advisory group, no proper surveillance of the disease has been introduced in Ireland.

Although the Irish policy of slaughtering all the herd once one cow has been discovered with BSE is better than the Tory policy in Britain, it now emerges that there can be a delay of up to two months while the Department of Agriculture haggles with the farmers over the price of compensation.

Produce

BSE has grown in Ireland because the big farmers continued to use imported bonemeal after 1990 when it was officially banned.

Despite the ban an estimated £2 million a year was spent on this produce.

If this government cared more about people's health than the profits of the beef industry, it would not have tried to hide the true story on the scale of the disease.

Yet they have got away with it up to now because stories on BSE in the newspapers other than *Socialist Worker* are normally written by agricultural correspondents who are more than concerned about 'market prices' for Irish cattle.

inside the system

The Archbishop's £1,000,000 mansion

A DUBLIN businessman has paid more than £1 million recently for the home of the former Archbishop of Dublin, Dr John Charles McQuaid.

McQuaid dominated Irish society for decades up to the sixties. He formed a unique partnership with De: to ensure that almost every single institution of the South was dominated by the Catholic Bishops.

Exclusive

In 1943, for example, he was appointed to chair a Commission on Youth Unemployment even though he refused to accept representations from Protestant churches.

Behind the scenes he worked hard to stop grants going to Protestant hospitals, and even banned Catholic students from attending TCD.

This notorious bigot always pretended to back the poor.

Elite

But despite being single celibate cleric, he lived in an exclusive Killiney mansion with 13 bedrooms.

The mansion was originally owned by an Anglo-Irish MP, William Dobbs

but McQuaid's takeover symbolised the arrival of new ruling elite of the South.

A snob to the end, McQuaid named his mansion 'Notre Dame des Bois'. In his panelled drawing room overlooking the bay, McQuaid lived like an old style aristocrat.

And like all aristocrats, this was not even his official residence. He also had full access to Archbishop's House in Drumcondra.

By the way, McQuaid also took a vow of poverty.

MUCH WAS made in the media about the sentences handed down to farmers who have used angel dust and other illegal growth promoters on their cattle. But only one—a Tipperary beef farmer with 200 acres—was sent to jail.

Last summer a traveller in Co Mayo got a five year sentence for stealing some groceries. Yet big farmers who deliberately caused damage to people's health for their own greed get off lightly. Who says there is no class justice in Ireland.

More site deaths

A SURVEY of 600 building sites in the South has revealed seriously low safety standards.

Inadequate scaffolding and roof protection were among the main problems, with only 59 percent of sites having enough

protection against falls from a height.

Eleven people have died so far this year in construction accidents. Meanwhile, the building boom continues and companies rake in massive profits.

DEADLY SHIPS SUNK

UP TO 30 ships full of radioactive waste have been scuppered in the Mediterranean to avoid complying with environmental legislation and as part of a huge insurance fiddle.

Greenpeace has been called in by Italian magistrates in southern Italy to help investigate the disappearance of a whole number of ships.

Loaded

In 1987 alone ten ships left Italian ports loaded with radioactive waste bound for Nigeria, Djibouti

and Lebanon. They never made it—most likely scuttled because the countries they had been heading for had not given them permission to dump the deadly waste on their soil.

One Italian magistrate investigating the allegations has been killed in suspicious circumstances, according to shipping newspaper *Lloyd's List*.

'Not in my backyard' says Maire



MAIRE Geoghegan-Quinn is at odds with her Fianna Fail colleague Eamon O Cuiv over the siting of a centre for alcoholic women in Barna, Co Galway.

O Cuiv has no problem with the site but Maire has principles which override party politics—principles of the 'not in my backyard' variety.

The planned 'halfway house' is located in the posh Woodfield estate where Maire lives.

The centre will only cater for twelve residents at a time but local snobs like Declan Dooley object because it would "attract unknown people ... many of whom would be from problem settings".

Carmel O'Dwyer Campbell of Horizon Halfway House Ltd said she had received backing from the Department of Health for the centre.

Grant

The Minister for Justice at the time had made representations to the Western Health Board which gave the centre a grant.

And who was that very helpful Minister for Justice? You've guessed it—Maire Geoghegan-Quinn!

we think



Was she murdered to protect corrupt gardaí?

FROM PAGE ONE

Guerin stored information on her suspicions in files but these have been taken away by Gardai investigating her murder.

Already the Garda Commissioner, Pat Byrne, a former Special Branch officer who monitored political dissidents, is trying to put a spin on the story. He has intimated that there may have been a few bad apples but that there is no evidence of 'systematic corruption'.

However developments since Veronica Guerin's murder cast serious doubt on this claim.

According to the *Sunday Business Post* criminals tried to get a passport for Veronica Guerin's suspected assassin and his bike rider. "Even more shocking was the fact that the procurement of the passport had been facilitated by a Garda who was under surveillance" by investigating officers.

Heroin

Meanwhile in Cork, a major row has broken out over claims by a Garda that at least one senior officer in the city had links with the drugs barons. In recent years large amounts of heroin, cocaine and ecstasy have come through Cork.

Details of the allegations of collusion between Cork Gardai and drug barons were sent to the former Taoiseach Albert Reynolds who asked the Justice Minister Maire Geoghegan Quinn to inform the Department of Justice about the garda's corruption claims.

Sunday Business Post clearly believes that these allegations need to be taken seriously. They claim that "some years ago customs and excise officers complained that their operations had been compromised by intelligence leaks within the Garda".

The paper also claimed that "the huge cocaine shipment on board a boat which was anchored off Ahgada near Cobh last month may have been brought ashore before the boat was seized by the National Drugs Team".

The Garda who has made allegations about corruption now says he fears for his life. He has also become the focus of a leaked media story in a British tabloid which claimed that he was involved in the sexual abuse of a young man in 1993.

At the time the Cork State solicitor and the Director of Public Prosecutions decided not to press charges against him on the basis of the evidence. But a year after the event, disciplinary proceedings were initiated against him.

The detailed allegations being made in Cork and elsewhere show that the Gardai cannot be trusted to fully investigate their own ranks.

Corruption that is born of capitalism

The allegations that corrupt Gardai have facilitated the growth of the drugs trade in Ireland comes as no surprise to socialists.

Crime has always been part and part of capitalism. A criminal only uses illegal means to achieve what big capital does by legal methods.

Companies like British Petroleum (see page 2) have supplied photos and videos to the death squads in the Columbian army to deal with people who get in the way of their profits. This is not called 'contract killing' but rather 'co-operating with the security forces'.

In Ireland, the beef industry has engaged in extensive tax evasion

and the export of rotten meat but the key individuals concerned walk free because they are respectable individuals who own 'legitimate' businesses.

Profits

The writer Bertolt Brecht summed up the interrelationship between crime and profit making when he once said "What is robbing a bank compared to owning a bank?"

As criminal organisations grow, they invariably look for the privileges that come with being a legal, respectable business. Veronica Guerin's achievement was to trace the way that profits made from the drugs trade were

being funnelled into legitimate business like car dealing and stud farms.

The shift into legitimate business has always been facilitated by links to the police. In New York, for example, whole divisions of the police have been shown to have had links with the Mafia. In Belgium, the police are already implicated in a huge scandal that linked the child abuser Michel Doutroux to a huge arms selling deal. (see page 6).

Drugs barons and big business amass huge profits which become a source for bribery and corruption. Wearing a uniform gives no protection from the rotten values that capitalism can inculcate.

The reality is that the growth of organised crime and police corruption follows directly from the expansion of capitalism. Thirty years ago, the Gardai were more deeply embedded in local communities, taking part in local sporting and social events. They seldom come into conflict with the mass of people.

Today, inevitably, they find themselves more often confronting working class youth in large cities where they have little base and less respect.

As they increasingly rise above the communities they purport to serve, is it any wonder that systematic corruption grows in their ranks with the shift from organised crime to big business?

Bail: Don't let the gardaí get the power of preventive detention

NOVEMBER 28th has been set as the date for a referendum to decide whether people should continue to hold the same right to bail.

The Fine Gael party has been pressing for law and order measures since coming to government. Initially Spring and de Rossa opposed the suggestion of a referendum but now they have caved in to the new attack on civil rights.

Yet the new measure will do nothing to lower crime and will only give extra power to the Gardai.

LIE NUMBER 1: A huge number of crimes are committed by people on bail.

It is not true. The Law Reform Commission, which turned down the idea of removing bail, pointed out that only 9% of cases were committed by people on bail.

At the moment people have to wait for up to a year for a trial. If this waiting period was cut, the number of offences committed by those on bail would drop even further.

LIE NUMBER 2: The new measure will be used with discretion and not affect civil liberties.

Britain has a more restrictive bail law than Ireland. The police can withhold bail and keep people on remand for long periods. The RUC have used this measure extensively in the North to lock



Garda Commissioner Pat Byrne

away people they cannot get convictions on for up to a year.

In 1977, for example, when Queen Elizabeth first visited Northern Ireland several people were arrested and put away on remand only to be released months later.

The police also object to bail for as many people as possible. A study in Britain showed that 75% of people to whom the police objected to bail did not commit any offence when they eventually won it.

LIE NUMBER 3: Removing bail will not affect the right of an individual to a fair

trial.

If the police get the new powers they could use it as a weapon to intimidate people into making confessions.

Confession

A young person from a working class background is more likely to make a false confession if they face several months in jail on remand.

Moreover, if people have been denied bail jurors may start to believe that there is already a major suspicion about them. A US study, for example, showed that people who were held in prison were

more likely to be found guilty than those who were not.

Being locked up while knowing you are innocent is also a cause of great distress. A study in England showed that remand prisoners in England are four times more likely to kill themselves than those who are convicted.

LIE NUMBER 4: Removing Bail will help to stop the drugs crisis.

In the US, all sort of measures such as removing bail to imposing mandatory sentences has been used in the 'War against Drugs'. Yet the US has the highest incidents of drug use among industrial

countries.

The new measure means that 600 new prisoner places will have to be created for innocent people who have not been found guilty. If the money for prison spaces was used to increase the number of treatment centres, this would help to cut back on the drugs problem.

The drugs industry has grown because it has become a big business which has operated with the connivance of some Gardai. Cleaning up Garda corruption would do more to cut back on drugs than removing bail.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

The government is hoping for a low poll and a walk over on November 28th. But the hysteria over law and order is already beginning to subside.

Anyone who wants to fight the new attack on civil rights should contact the Socialist Workers Party. We shall be waging an extensive campaign on the streets, in the workplaces and in the colleges.

IF YOU want to get involved:

Order the SWP Factsheet on Keep Our Rights to Bail. £2 a hundred copies.

Get the Vote NO posters NO MORE GARDÁ POWERS: KEEP OUR RIGHT TO BAIL VOTE NO £2.50 for 50.

Orders to SWP c/o P.O. Box 1648 Dublin 8.

Major and Trimble unite to endanger peace

DESPITE new indications that the IRA were putting out feelers to see what the outcome of a new ceasefire might be, John Major has slammed the door shut on any immediate hopes of all-party talks.

Major has claimed that an IRA truce will no longer be sufficient to allow Sinn Fein to enter talks.

In an echo of his infamous 'de-contamination' remarks, he is now arguing that Sinn Fein could be kept out of talks for an indefinite period.

Reality

In reality this amounts to giving the Unionist Parties a full veto.

They have made it clear that they will spend months discussing the ceasefire and will do their best to push any proposal for change in Northern Ireland off the agenda.

Trimble has increasingly made it clear that he has no real interest in an accommodation with Catholics.

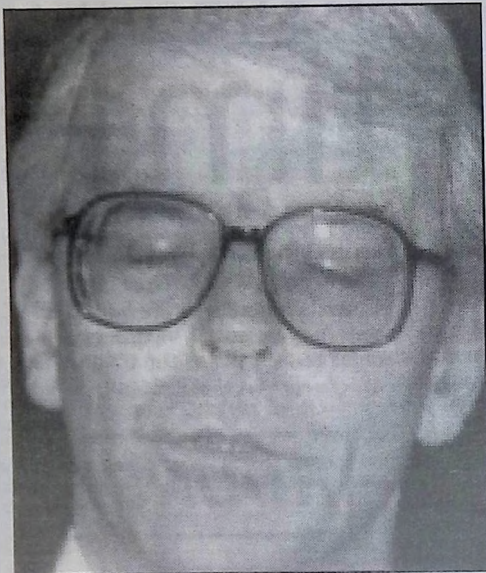
Conference

He even told the Unionist Party conference that:

"The thought that you can somehow compromise between nationalities is just moonshine".

Major is once again playing politics with peace in Northern Ireland.

Throughout the last two years he has shown



that he is more concerned with holding on to his slim majority in the House of Commons rather than making the smallest advances in the North.

Believe

The Tory party in Britain believe that their biggest chance of survival is by whipping up a campaign of jingoism around the Union Jack, immigration and Europe.

They find that Trimble is a natural ally for this type of right wing propaganda.

Sections of the military establishment are also determined to use the new tensions in the republican movement to prise open splits and divisions.

They believe that their greater use of informers could lead to the military defeat of the IRA.

These are the real reasons why Northern Ireland is once again on the brink of a return to full scale violence.

It shows that peace will never be established through doing deals with right wing politicians.

Weakness

This is the central weakness of the Adams strategy.

He has continually called for a 'de Klerk' to step forward from the Unionist Party to negotiate a settlement.

Existence

Instead of looking to ordinary Protestants who were disillusioned with the furcoat brigade he thought that a deal was possible with bigots who were threatened by the very existence of peace.

What is desperately needed today in the



North is a class based movement that starts by looking at issues of common concern such as the JSA but goes on to start

dismantling the sectarian barrier from below.

Army builds another watchtower

WHILE THE British government was insisting on still more preconditions surrounding any new IRA ceasefire, its own armed wing was commissioning some new military equipment on the walls of Derry.

People in the Bogside area were awakened at about one o'clock in the morning on Thursday 24th October by the sound of helicopters.

This is not unusual. British army helicopters regularly 'buzz' nationalist housing estates, flying low over the houses and waking anyone not yet used to them.

seen from virtually every nationalist part of the city.

That means it can see all those parts too — and listen in to private conversations in households.

Furious

Local people are furious.

"Apart from the civil liberties implications of having that monstrosity looking in my bedroom window", one woman told Socialist Worker, "it says a lot about the British government's commitment to peace. Anyone around here who thought Major had a point about demcommissioning knows the truth now -"

"It's all a smokescreen to keep his friends in the Unionist Party happy. And that new spy tower proves it."

Racket

This time, there was a real racket. There seemed to be a number of helicopters and the noise went on all night, giving residents little sleep.

Next morning, when people looked out their windows, the cause was clear. Overnight, a new spy post had been built on the walls overlooking the Bogside.

The tower is even higher than the one already there and can be

attempt by the residents to serve writs against the RUC.

According to the Garvaghy Road Coalition there is an arrest campaign going on now to target people who have issued the writs.

The RUC's revenge

The RUC staged an early morning raid by a heavily armed unit to arrest members of the Garvaghy Road Coalition which organised protests at Orange marches going through their area.

When the go-ahead was given for the Drumcree Orangemen to march last summer violence flared as local residents tried to resist.

The RUC fired dozens of plastic bullets towards the houses to clear the way for the bigots.

Arrested

Now 12 protesters have been arrested in what one community activist denounced as a 'punitive raid'.

The action follows an

New Unionism New bigotry

After a summer in which Unionist Party politicians consciously whipped up sectarianism, there are new indications that the party sees a move to the extreme right as its only way forward.

At the moment the party is caught up in internal conflict over events in North Belfast. Here the OUP came fourth in the recent election to the Northern Ireland forum.

It was a concentrated expression of a more general trend towards the splintering of the Unionist vote. Gone are the days when the grandees of Glengall St could pull their supporters into line just by pointing to the 'constitutional question'.

Regard

The response of a group of 'Young Turks' in the constituency, who have the active connivance of David Trimble, has been to try to remove the sitting MP, Cecil Walker who they regard as too soft.

Walker has occasionally condemned loyalist violence and has even visited Catholic Churches!

But the moves against Walker are only part of a broader division inside the party. One of the figures who leaped to Walker's defence was Ken McGuinness who denounced attempts to unseat him. This ex UDR major is also regarded as too soft by the Young Turks because of his frequent visits to Dublin.

According to one Unionist Forum representative, 'the persecution of Protestants in Southern Ireland is the equivalent to the Nazi regime'.

Visiting Dublin, it appears, is like visiting Nuremberg at the height of the Holocaust!

The irony is that the 'new unionists' or Young Turks are themselves influenced by extreme right wing views. One of their opponents inside the party told the Sunday Times that they want 'the old Stormont back, the B Specials back on the border; put the Fenians back in their place and Northern Ireland would be a grand wee place again'.

Heartened by the events this summer, they believe that there will never be a need to talk to Sinn Fein, no matter how many ceasefires are called.

All of this marks a curious turnabout from media commentary at the time of Trimble's election. He was then hailed as a moderniser who might even break the links between the party and the Orange Order. He was supposed to even make a greater play to get affluent Catholics to identify with the party.

What the media forgot was that Trimble was a

key figure in the Vanguard Party which had been set up as a right wing breakaway from the Unionist Party in the early seventies. It held rallies where masked men stood to attention to be inspected by the great leader William Craig.

At the time, Trimble made it clear that Ulster Protestants had every right to take up arms to resist the civil rights movement.

Far from modernising the Unionist Party, Trimble's policy has been to whip up sectarian hatred to fever pitch in order to obliterate new challenges from the fringe loyalists.

He believes that the Unionist Party can only maintain its base by preventing any accommodation with Catholics. Hence the new turn to the extreme right.

But here Trimble faces a problem. The 'old' Unionist Party monolith used sectarian hatred and fear against Catholics to pull together an all-class coalition. But it was also able to rely on a material base of a Unionist capitalist class that could give jobs and favours to their supporters.

The myths of superiority were re-enforced by an alliance with a British ruling class which dominated a country which stood in sharp, contrast to the backward and underdeveloped South.

Sectarian

Today Trimble has can only give vent to sectarian spleen —but he can offer little when it comes to dealing with the massive economic problems facing Protestant workers.

The new talk promoting a separate Ulster ethnic identity and even encouraging a distinct Ulster Scots language is very much a thin gruel compared to what was offered before.

This of course does not mean that Trimble cannot succeed for a period in shifting the political agenda to the extreme right. But it also means that his grip over the Protestant working class is far more unstable and volatile than before.

At the moment, sectarian polarisation is very high mainly as a result of his handiwork.

But it would be a fatal error for socialists to believe that he can permanently drown out the mood for working class unity that was seen in the early days of the ceasefires.



news of the world

Zaire pays for West's robbery

HUNDREDS OF thousands of lives are at risk in eastern Zaire after fighting intensified at the start of this week.

Over half a million people have fled refugee camps on the border between Zaire and Rwanda and have no guarantee of food or shelter.

The press has concentrated on "tribalism" and the actions of the rebel army led by the area's Tutsi group.

But behind the immediate events lie the possible collapse of Zairean president Mobutu's regime, one of the most hated governments in Africa, and decades of disastrous Western involvement.

Zaire is one of Africa's richest countries. It produces enough to give all its 35 million people a decent life.

But its riches have been looted by a tiny minority.

Mobutu is presently in Switzerland receiving treatment for cancer. His 31 year rule, after he was put in power by the CIA, has been a disaster.

While Mobutu has filled his family's Swiss bank accounts, millions of Zaire's population exist on the verge of starvation.

Zaire is the world's largest cobalt exporter, the fourth in diamonds and ranks among the top ten producers of uranium, copper, manganese and tin.

During the Cold War it was regarded by the United States government as one of the world's key countries because of its production of metals which are essential for certain military materials.

US presidents Reagan and Bush channelled millions of dollars to Mobutu despite his vile record of assassination, theft and torture. Mobutu grabbed palaces, castles, mansions and villas in three European and two African countries.

Today in Zaire health ex-

penditure is 25p per person per year. Military spending per head is 30 times that.

To deflect attention from this process, Mobutu has tried to scapegoat the country's Tutsi population.

They have fought back and inflicted defeats on the Zairean army.

The refugees who are on the move now are mainly from the Hutu group. Many of them came over the border from Rwanda in 1994.

After around one million Rwandese Tutsis were killed the Hutus, believing they would suffer reprisals, went to Zaire.

Most of the Hutus are ordinary people desperate for an end to violence and some sort of decent life. But they also include some of the leaders of the 1994 Rwandese genocide.

President Mobutu has tried to use the Hutus, and other Zaireans, to whip up hatred of the Tutsis.

But his regime could fall in the backlash that has followed.

The Tutsi rebels are almost certainly receiving arms and military backing from the Tutsi-led governments of Rwanda and Burundi.

But the main reason their army has been so successful is because the ordinary Zairean forces are not pre-

GERMANY



ENGINEERS' PROTESTS have forced other German employers to drop their attacks

pared to die to keep Mobutu in power.

Only the Israeli trained elite presidential guard has offered real resistance to the insurgents.

Sign

A British commentator who has recently gone to Zaire told *Socialist Worker*, "Many Zairean soldiers are throwing away their weapons and surrendering at the first sign of an offensive. How-

ever, they often then simply start looting the local population, and the Tutsis are joining in with them.

"There are some signs that the Tutsis' success has prompted other groups to rise up against Mobutu. An organisation, formed from several liberal and pro-democracy groups, calling itself 'The Alliance of Forces for Democracy and Liberation in Congo Zaire' has come out and said it is supporting the Tutsis."

Only the elite (and the diamond companies which have benefited from recent diamond smuggling) will mourn if Mobutu is forced out. But the Tutsi army has not yet demonstrated that it will offer any real hope to Zaire's people.

In Rwanda itself the Tutsi led government has failed to unite Hutus and Tutsis.

Western countries may wring their hands over the deaths in Zaire, but they have done much to create the

current disaster.

They backed Mobutu and they stand behind the bosses and bankers whose demands push Africa into poverty.

The real hope for people throughout Africa is to unite regardless of the divisions imposed from above.

In 1990 a political strike at Zaire's Gecamina, the country's most important mining company, united people from all backgrounds and forced some concessions from Mobutu.

Strikes shock bosses

MORE THAN 400,000 engineering workers in Germany struck last Thursday against bosses' attempts to roll back sick pay rights won 40 years ago.

Car and steel plants across Germany were shut.

The strike was called by the IG Metall union which organised angry demonstrations in every major industrial area.

Germany's Tory coalition government passed a law in September allowing firms to cut sick pay from 100 per cent down to 80 per cent.

Bosses saw this as an invitation to attack workers.

The attack on sick pay has huge significance for German unions. Back in 1956 IG Metall steel workers struck for three months to secure full sick pay—a gain later enshrined in law.

The IG Metall action is beginning to encourage other groups of workers to resist. Chemical workers, known as a traditionally moderate group, shocked their bosses by threatening action.

Chemical industry bosses then caved in and agreed not to peg sick pay.

The mood of resistance over sick pay is beginning to feed into anger over the £30 billion of cuts German chancellor Kohl wants to make to fulfil criteria for European Monetary Union.

This in turn is causing splits in government. The liberal Free Democratic Party in the ruling coalition wants to steam ahead with the spending cuts. Kohl wants to go forward more stealthily.

Kohl also wants to raise taxes which the Free Democratic Party refuses to accept.

However, union leaders are prepared to cut a deal with Kohl.

They say they will trade off wage rises next year if the employers drop their attack on sick pay.

The employers' confidence has been dented by the engineering workers' militancy.

It would be criminal to waste that anger.

CANADA

Biggest protest since 1919

THE CANADIAN city of Toronto, in the province of Ontario, was shut down on Friday in the biggest workers' protest in the country since 1919.

Friday's city wide strike was followed on Saturday by a huge demonstration, up to 300,000 strong, against the Ontario Tory government's plans for massive public sector cuts.

Toronto is the biggest city in Canada and its financial centre. On Friday it was completely paralysed.

There was no transport, the postal system was shut down. Teachers struck and private sector workers picketed with public sector strikers.

The Toronto strike is the fifth in a series of "Days of Protest"—city wide strikes.

Ontario government leader Mike Harris has pushed through anti-union laws, huge spending cuts and pro-business measures.

Now he wants to close 15 hospitals in Toronto and cut health workers' pay by £2,000 a year.

There is now pressure on union leaders to call a general

strike across the whole province.

Union leaders called off a Canada wide auto workers' strike last week against General Motors' plans to "outsource" jobs to other firms.

Union leaders sold their members out after 19 days, conceding over the issue of outsourcing, but with enough concessions to sell a deal.

The 19 day strike had the potential to win. It had already stopped production across Canada and was beginning to affect production in GM plants in the US and Mexico.

BELGIUM: Scandals which have cracked society open

TWO WEEKS ago 300,000 people marched through Brussels in a powerful demonstration to express their disgust at their way the Belgian state has handled the murders of young girls in the child abuse case.

Families of the victims have accused the police, the judiciary and MPs of doing nothing. But the events are about much more than one case in one country.

They are a demonstration of the instability, volatility and political questioning that exists across the world.

The depth of people's disgust has called into question all the political institutions of Belgian society.

It comes after revelations which link the child abuse case to allegations about corruption, bribery and forgery that have implicated politicians of every party.

In 1988, an Italian company Agusta spent million on bribes to ensure that the Belgian state bought its helicopters. As the scandal broke a top air force general committed suicide and three government Ministers resigned.

Bribery

Three years later a former deputy prime Minister and Socialist Party boss in Liege, Andre Cools, was gunned down. Rumours abounded that he knew a lot about the bribery case.

Then two months ago, four men including another former Socialist minister, were charged with involvement in the murder. Some of those arrested had links with the chief suspect in the paedophile case. This petty car thief seemed to be able to operate with impunity from the police for years.

The crisis was heightened with the sacking of Jean Marc Connerotte, the magistrate who has headed the inquiry into the scandal and who is widely regarded as the one exception to the corruption.

Cannerotte had previously been removed from the Cools case when it came close to a breakthrough.

Before the huge march in Brussels, there were spontaneous demonstrations and strikes in his defence.

Railway workers, bus drivers, steel, aeronautics and factory workers stopped work. Some 2,000 Volkswagen workers in Brussels walked out and joined a march.

There were demonstrations in Antwerp, the Flemish capital, where students pelted eggs at the law courts. Ford workers in Genk, also in Flanders, stopped work for a spontaneous protest.

But the protests in Belgium do not, as yet, have a clear political direction and show how volatility and anger does not automatically go to the left.

Some groups and most political parties are arguing for longer prison sentences for violent criminals and

sex offenders.

One petition calling for longer prison sentences has been signed by 2.5 million people - out of a population of ten million.

There are also organised right wing forces that are trying to benefit from the crisis. Nazis were on one of last week's demonstrations calling for the death penalty for paedophiles.

Thankfully, they were rapidly told to shut up and attacked by some newspapers for trying to capitalise on the issue.

The parents of one of the murdered girls also reject these arguments. During their regular television appearances they have consistently turned their fire on the police and justice system as a whole and have refused to call for the death penalty.

They have also disassociated themselves from the organisers of the petition for longer sentences. Their outspoken comments have fuelled the sense of disgust at the whole system.

Within that there are clear expressions of working class anger against the rich, showing the potential for peoples' bitterness to be directed leftwards.

Hand made placards on the demonstrations say, "one law for the rich, one law for the poor". At a spontaneous demonstration of around 1,500 people in Liege on Wednesday the union convenor from the local weapons factory told the crowd, "justice is blind and deaf to the people here but this is also about money and the power of the rich".

He urged the demonstrators to protest at the main bank against, "the people at the top who take our money". Around two thirds of the demonstration marched to the bank.

Demonstrate

The upheaval comes as Prime Minister Jean Luc Dehaene wants to push through £1.7 billion of cuts in the run up to European monetary union.

Unemployment already stands at 14.5 percent. Public sector wages have been frozen since 1993 and health and social services spending cut.

The massive wave of political questioning is not yet linked to a working class fightback against these attacks.

But a political crisis is engulfing the entire Belgian establishment.

As a Belgian socialist says, "For a long time Belgium has been a stable part of Europe. Now the problems for the ruling class are massive.

"What is the future of Belgium?" is the big debate in all the papers. There is no consensus, just splits, and questions without answers."

What did Michael Collins stand for?

by CONOR KOSTICK, Author of the newly published *Revolution in Ireland*

NEIL JORDAN's film on Michael Collins is set to revive memories about how the Irish state was born in blood and treachery.

Although they may celebrate it as a fine example of Irish cinema, the political establishment are deeply uncomfortable about the questions it raises.

Michael Collins was born into a large family on a small farm in West Cork in 1890.



The Treaty—the limits to Collins' politics

THE GOALS of the radical nationalists had been a "free" Ireland. But the exact nature of society was never explained.

Like many nationalist radicals, Collins saw the struggle mainly in military terms and took for granted the class structure of society.

At first Sinn Fein and the IRA was willing to back the radical agitation that began among workers and small farmers determined to take over the big landed estates.

As one Sinn Fein leader put it, "I hadn't the slightest interest in using it as a means to an end".

But soon Collins and the IRA came to share the concerns of the Irish rich who were desperate for stability.

Defence

The absence of police meant that they had no defence against "soviet" takeovers and land redistribution.

The Dáil issued a proclamation setting up land courts and Collins ordered the IRA to help restore stability. Soon the IRA was intervening on the side of the bigger

Landowners to protect their property.

Once Collins started to turn his face against social agitation from below, he was left with no option but to seek a quick settlement with the British empire.

The republican movement was strong enough to rock the empire—but it no longer had the strength to win victory.

In July 1921, a Truce was called between the Irish and British forces in which the IRA were allowed to hold on to their weapons and continue training and drilling.

There was no talk then about

Empire

Two official wings soon grew in the nationalist movement.

One was represented by the Irish Parliamentary Party led by John Redmond who believed in working with the Liberal Party in Britain.

They worried that any open

break from the Empire would cut them off from huge markets for their goods and risk instability.

The other wing led by Arthur Griffith and Sinn Fein at first appeared more radical.

They wanted elected representatives to set up their own parliament in Ireland and institute a regime of protectionism to build up Irish industry.

The most radical elements within Irish nationalism were the Irish Republican Brotherhood, a secret society deriving from the Fenian movement.

It mainly had roots amongst the rural poor and was willing to sanction insurrection for the sake of a "free nation".

Collins first became active in nationalist politics through the GAA in London, taking the IRB oath in 1909.

At the time a crisis was developing in Ireland.

In response to the possibility of a Home Rule bill being passed, the Ulster employers, organised in the Ulster Volunteer Force, an armed organisation intent on

The War of Independence

FOR THREE years after 1918 British authority tried to stamp out the Irish nationalist revolt through repression. They flooded the country with troops, introduced harsh laws and when that failed, resorted to the "Black and Tans".

This was a force of armed thugs, recruited from March 1920 onwards to burn and smash up Irish towns in order to intimidate the population.

They were so notorious and undisciplined that their commander, General Crozier, resigned stating that they were being employed to "rob, loot and burn up the innocent".

Nevertheless for most of 1920, Lloyd George, the British Prime Minister thought that they were effective and that Britain had "out terror-

ised the terrorists".

Irish volunteers began to hit back, setting ambushes for troops and police, forcing them to retire into their barracks. Collins came into his own at this time.

Unlike the more respectable nationalists he was prepared to back the shooting of British troops and key figures.

Organisation

Through the newspaper *An tOglach*, where Collins wrote the "Notes on Organisation" column he gave militant republicans their head.

Even more crucially, as Director of Intelligence for the Volunteers he ran rings around the British administration.

The secret of Collins method was that he encouraged every postal worker, secretary, docker and vendor to help the

preserving the link with Britain. In this move the Ulster nationalists were aided by some British politicians and military figures who organised the Campaign for the Preservation of the British Empire.

Bonar Law, leader of the Conservative Party, made it clear that if parliament passed a Home Rule bill "there were stronger influences than parliamentary majorities."

For Collins this was a justification enough for the struggle in armed struggle against the British Empire.

He returned to Ireland in 1916 not wanting to be considered the British army and some were involved in the 1916 Rising.

Discipline

Interned in France and Wales, his determination to impose organisational discipline on the centre of the IRB.

On his release in 1917 he came a council member of the organisation.

By 1918 Redmond's nationalism had been discredited. Britain wanted conscription on Irish males during the First World War and had failed to achieve Home Rule.

Radical nationalism was sweeping the country.

In the general election following the war, a reconstituted Sinn Fein which linked Collins's organisation to the IRB, introduced the constitutional nationalists to its TD's set up Dáil Eireann.

A major confrontation with Britain was looming.

struggle. He took control of information denied to ordinary people and tore a hole in the British Empire. His organisation was a superb.

When the Lord of Cork, Thomas McGearty, was executed by a British squad, Collins was identified and executed as a assassin in months.

Today the Finns who claim Collins as their own pretend that he was different in his present day IRA label as Nazis.

Nothing could be further from the truth. In 1920, Collins organised eleven newly arrived agents. Some were in the presence of wives and friends. One was in his pyjamas in the garden.

in exasperation that were discussing proposals it was if the British were continually pushed the view.

The shift had happened because Collins lacked the interest in mobilising the power of workers and farmers to face down a new Empire.

Looking at the purely military point could not see how the side could call on the to defeat the British.

"de-commissioning"!

Collins and Griffith were sent on a delegation to London after de Valera manoeuvred to make sure that he was not seen as responsible for negotiating the Treaty.

Willing

Collins however was more than willing to go along with the new moves. He negotiated behind the backs of the rest of the delegation and allowed the British to blackmail him with talk of a renewed and bloody war.

One of the delegation later said

US Elections

by ROISIN CRONIN

THE US goes to the polls on November 1st. The President of the United States is considered the most powerful person in the world, yet less than 50 percent of the electorate will actually turn out to vote.

There is huge cynicism and disillusionment and a large number of Americans feel that no matter who is in the White House, their lives will remain the same.

BILL CLINTON was elected in 1992 on the promise of bringing change to American society, of ending the years of Republican "trickle-down" economics and bringing benefits to ordinary Americans.

He claimed to care about those at the bottom of society — the poor, racial minorities. But four years on, conditions in US society are as bad as ever.

Today 15.4 percent of Americans have incomes below the poverty line. On an average day one in four black men between the age of 20 and 29 are in prison, on probation or on parole. Each night in Los Angeles 41,000 people sleep on the streets or in refuges.

Clinton's record on tackling the problems in US society speaks for itself.

Even the "liberal" reforms that he promised, which did seem to mark a turn away from the politics of Reagan and Bush, never materialised.

The most basic promise of his campaign, healthcare for every American, was abandoned in the face of opposition from the health insurance industry. When Clinton came to Washington 37 million Americans had no health coverage. Today about 40 million have no coverage.

One Democrat Senator, Jay Rockefeller admitted that "The American people overwhelmingly want universal health coverage... and we walked away from it".

In August of this year Clinton carried through his promise to "end welfare as we know it". He initiated a mutilation of the US welfare system, a series of vicious cuts which Ronald Reagan or Margaret Thatcher would have been proud of.

By cutting the Aid to Families with Dependent Children programme, Clinton will be putting 2.6 million children of the poverty line. He has also cut 300,000 disabled children off welfare.

Funding for job training has also been cut so now people will lose all entitlements if they don't find work within two years.

What's happening in America is basically a war on the poor. The poor receive only a total of 12 percent of government spending yet the latest round of budget cuts is targeted specifically at them.

Of the total money being cut, 60 percent is from programmes which were initiated to alleviate poverty.

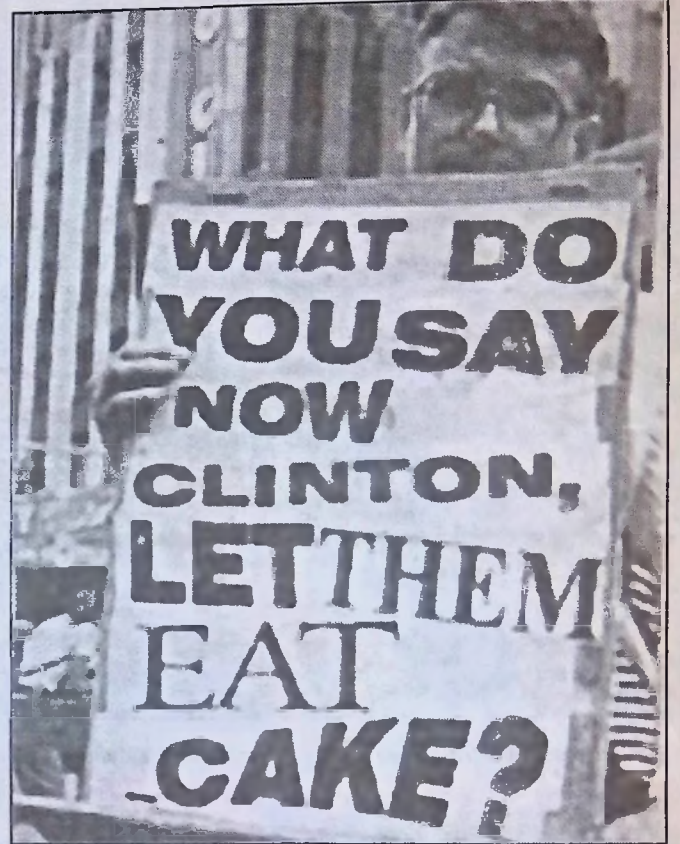
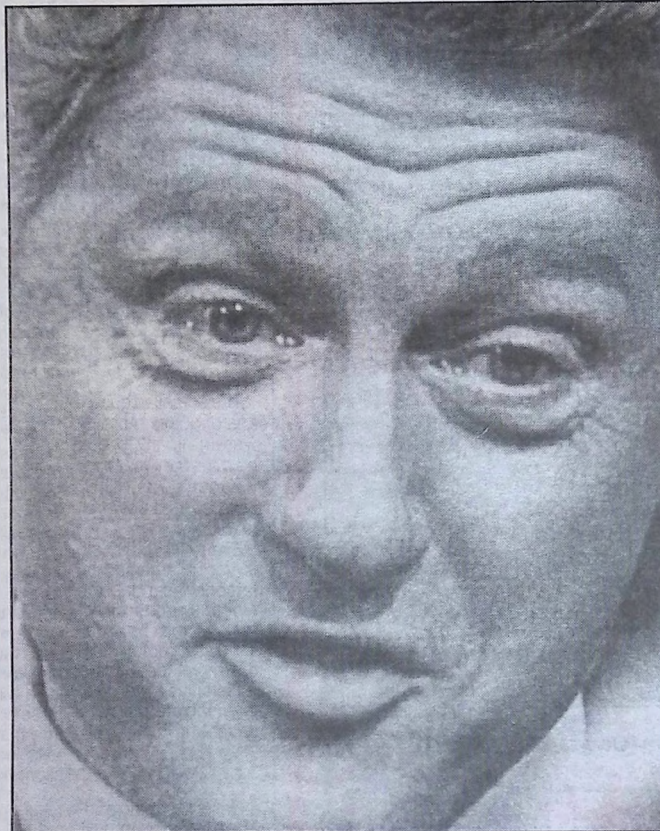
But while spending on welfare and education is being cut the amount of money being spent on repressive law and order measures is being increased. Today America has one of the highest prison populations in the world.

These measures scapegoat the poor, especially blacks.

As Jerome Miller has written in his book *Search and Destroy, African Americans in the Criminal Justice System*: "When the justice juggernaut is wheeled onto the streets, it tends to crush those more easily identifiable by race and socio-economic status than by their violent or serious criminal behaviour."

While Clinton stands over these attacks, he has also been boosting the military spending of the US. The Democrat Defence Secretary William Perry, a part owner of a firm supplying military con-

THE MILLIONAIRES WHO CONDEMN MILLIONS TO POVERTY



tracts, announced plans to increase spending on weapons by 50 per cent by 2,001.

"We've all been pleasantly surprised by Clinton" John Hughes of Hughes Missiles Systems admitted to the Boston Globe.

The Democratic administration has also failed to deliver on its promises around gay rights and abortion rights.

Clinton completely climbed down on the issue of allowing gays into the military. In some states in the mid-West there have been attempts to have gay and lesbian societies banned in high schools. Mainstream politicians have put up little or no resistance.

Similarly on the issue of abortion rights attempts have been made to make obtaining an abortion increasingly difficult for working class women. Taxes on the disposal of aborted fetuses have made abortion unobtainable for many in some states.

However while the programme of both parties amounts to attacks on workers and the poor, many of the US population are massively opposed to their measures.

Surveys show that Americans want to see more money being spent on job retraining, housing for the homeless, Aids treatment and education.

And the anger that so many people feel does come to the surface from time to time, most recently in the riots in Florida after a police officer shot dead a black man.

Thousands protested in Los Angeles last month after the CIA's role in supplying crack cocaine in the city in the 1980s was revealed.

Some commentators have pointed to last March's successful strike at General Motors in Dayton, Ohio as a sign of a revival of US trade unions.

It is in the workplaces and on the streets that the real political battles will be fought, not in the race for the White House.

How the Tweedledee Tweedledum system was established

Although some people see the Democrats as a more liberal, left-wing option in the US elections, in reality there is very little to choose between the Republicans and the Democrats.

The origins of the Democratic Party show that it has no connection with the working class.

Before the civil war of 1861 to 1865 the Republican Party represented an alliance of the Northern industrial capitalist class, farmers and some workers around the slogan "Free soil, free labour".

The Democrats were based largely on the owners of the Southern slave plantations.

After the civil war of 1861-65 these two parties were established as the dominant players in US politics.

Supported

Those few blacks who could vote originally supported the Republican Party.

Workers were split between the two parties with Protestants in general supporting the Republicans and Catholic immigrants from Italy, Ireland and Poland supporting the Democrats.

But neither party was in any way based on the working class.

They merely constituted an alliance between different sections of the ruling class and the working class.

Class

As one writer put it:

"The split was inimical to the development of class consciousness. Native Protestant workers rallied to the leadership of their Protestant bosses and exploiters while Catholic immigrants forged an unholy alliance with Southern reaction."

Until the 1930s, the Democratic Party was firmly established as the party of racist segregation.

The image only changed when the New Deal, which brought some welfare measures, was established by President Franklin D Roosevelt.

But although millions of people got some benefits, the New Deal was really about saving capitalism.

As Roosevelt said: "I am the best friend the profit system ever had".

It was also about dampening down the new radicalism of workers in the

US—a radicalisation which had seen general strikes in San Francisco, Minneapolis and Toledo, and a wave of factory occupations and sit-down strikes.

At a time when there was growing support among workers for a real working class party, the Democrats succeeded in drawing the labour movement into the states' industrial relations machinery. After the New Deal union leaders poured huge funds into the Democratic re-election campaign, something which still continues today.

Ally

But the history of the Democratic Party shows that they have never been an ally of the working class. Some still claim that the Democrats are a 'lesser evil' who will stand up to the 'extremists' led by Newt Gingrich in the US congress. Yet Clinton has pushed through more cuts than even Reagan and Bush.

This is why socialists in America have argued that 'the lesser evil choice is still an evil' and have urged people to abstain from the millionaires Presidential race in order to build a movement of working people to fight the rich.

sport

Breaking backs for 'perfection'

by MOLLY DOYLE

IF YOU want a confirmation of how truly exploitative and corrupt competitive sports can be take a look at a new book by Joan Ryan.

Little Girls In Pretty Boxes examines elite gymnastics and figure skating in the United States.

In the 1972 Olympics tiny Soviet gymnast Oiga Korbut's performance left commentators and spectators across the world stunned. Since then the race has been on to produce smaller, younger gymnasts performing ever more spectacular stunts.

The book documents the horrific damage competition has caused to the young athletes involved.

Through her interviews Ryan exposes the widespread prevalence of eating disorders brought on by desperate attempts to stay small, and to avoid menstruation and the physical development it brings.

In 1976 US Olympic gymnasts were on average 17 years old, 5 ft 3 inches tall and weighed 7st 8lbs. By 1992 the average was 16 years old, 4ft 9

inches and 5st 13lbs.

The gymnasts tell of the 48 hours training each week, and of the coaches who insult them, force them to train despite injury, weigh them daily and encourage them to take laxatives.

Wrong

Ryan is a sports columnist, so don't expect any political insights. Nevertheless the combination of her research and the athletes' own stories illustrate the alienating and distorted nature of gymnasts' lives.

In 1988 after her "Yurchenko" vault went wrong, 15 year old Julissa Gomez broke her neck. She was left in a complete vegetative state and died three years later.

The "Yurchenko" is a particularly difficult and potentially dangerous vault developed by Soviet gymnast Natalia

Yurchenko in 1983.

As Ryan says, "She had trained for years to perfect the vault, but young American girls had to learn it almost overnight to keep pace with the Soviets."

It didn't matter that the vault was dangerous or that gymnasts were afraid to perform it, the vault impressed the judges. It was only after Julissa's accident that safety mats were allowed in competitions. The book flits between gymnastics and figure skating.

Ryan looks at how the pressure to win and the financial rewards at stake led to the famous clash between figure skaters Nancy Kerrigan and Tonya Harding. At the time the media portrayed it as "two jealous warring females". But as Ryan points out:

"Only in the world's biggest boxing matches is more money on line for one athlete for one night's work than it is for an American female skater at the Olympic games."

The book also demonstrates how sport can accentuate the rottenness that exists in society. US figure skating is now sponsored to the tune of billions by companies such as Seiko, Chrysler and Visa.

As a vice-president of Visa explains, "Figure skating is the closest you can get to sex in the Olympics."

Little Girls in Pretty Boxes is very readable and extremely harrowing. It is a must for any socialist who wants a behind the scenes look at sport.

Little Girls in Pretty Boxes by Joan Ryan is published by The Women's Press, £8.99.



BETTY OKINO competed in the 1992 Olympics with stress fractures in her back and elbow and a screw clamping the tendon to her shin

music

Bragg is still a principled bloke

William Bloke—a pun on socialist poet William Blake—is Billy Bragg's new album.

Bragg still has his principles. Once censored by BBC radio when he spoke out against the Gulf War, the 'Bard of Barking' hates the Tories.

And he has left the Labour Party, sick of Tony Blair's sell-outs.

"I don't want everything in society defined by its place in the market", he said in a recent Hot Press interview.

Bragg was part of the Red Wedge series of concerts which also included Paul Weller and the Communards whose aim was to win recruits for the Labour Party.

But like many who belonged to a generation of Labour Party activists in the eighties they have now become disillusioned with 'New Labour'.

But behind Bragg's radicalism he shares the pessimism of many former Labour left-wingers.

The opening song on the new album is a lament for a former comrade who has bought the Tories' lies and has gone 'from red to blue'.

The second song 'Upfield' is more uplifting but it proclaims a 'socialism of the heart' in place of Marxist politics.

Bragg told Hot Press that he

accepts that we are living in a 'post-Marxist' world - "You only have to look at Eastern Europe to see that", he claims.

Here, however, his disillusionment was self inflicted. Bragg sang in East Berlin in the past and praised aspects of East Germany.

If he had a different view he might have seen that the revolts against the tyrants of Eastern Europe were something that Marx himself would have celebrated. Despite the touches of pessimism, this is a good album.

Among the better tracks are 'northern industrial town', a song about sectarianism in Belfast and 'goalhanger', where Bragg sings about a sell-out merchant who sounds a bit like Tony Blair.

Let's hope the struggles now beginning here and across the water can inspire Billy Bragg to once more sing songs of struggle like 'Which side are you on?' and 'Power in the union'.

Meanwhile William Bloke is well worth a listen and at just under £10 it's pretty cheap for a CD in these market driven days!

— Dave McDonagh



Billy Bragg

film

Jude in Love

THE FILM *Jude* is based on *Jude the Obscure*, an 1895 novel by Thomas Hardy which was so explicit in its condemnation of the unwritten rules governing institutions like marriage, religion and education that it was banned from several public libraries.

It was given the name *Jude the Obscure* by many critics and reviewers.

All the ingredients were there to make *Jude* into a challenging and powerful film which focused on the exclusion of the poor.

Promising

The line up for the film was promising.

The director Michael Winterbottom, also directed the hard hitting Irish television drama *The Family*. Chris Eccleston, who plays Jude Fawley in the film, has a long list of credits after his name including *Shallow Grave*, and the brilliant *Our Friends in the North*.

All the more disappointing then that the film did not live up to its promise.

Instead a love story was made—a touching but ultimately for-

gettable drama. Thomas Hardy was writing about things he knew. He was the son of a rural stonemason who found that the path to university was for him littered with obstacles.

The process of self education he put himself through was one which continually threw up the contradictions between what was taught about life and the material reality.

He came to see education, like marriage and religion, as part of the problems in society rather than as a solution to it.

That a solution was desper-

The process of self education he put himself through was one which continually threw up the contradictions between what was taught about life and the material

ately needed was part of his novel's theme. That it was achievable through solidarity was part of the novel's power.

Unfortunately the films makers ignore this wider scope and

merely because they are classics. This is a far cry from the novel where Jude argues that,

"Town life was a book of humanity infinitely more palpitating, varied and compendious than the gown life. These struggling men and women before him were the reality."

Likewise Hardy's angry arguments against marriage - 'a licence to love on the premises' - are reduced to a tragic love story, the intensely personal love between Jude and his cousin Sue.

In the novel Sue is a fiery woman who is full of egalitarian ideas and determined to battle constantly against convention.

In the film, Sue is a romanticised young girl, shy of sex and resorting to a cigarette rather than angry speech to convey her modernity.

Jude is a better film than many of the recent Victorian costume dramas.

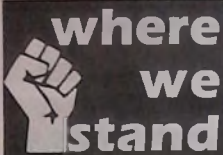
But by making it first and foremost as a love story the filmmakers lost much and gained little, if anything.

Passionate

Jude's passion for learning is portrayed by the film as simplistically and sentimentally as possible.

He wishes to study the classic Greek and Latin works

— Patricia McManus



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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion.

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships.

These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class. Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

Irish Ferries No yellow pack workers on ships

Press for a national strike

WHEN EAMONN Rothwell first met the workers at Irish Ferries, he told them openly that he was known as a 'bastard'. He has come fresh the stockbroking firm, NCB, and knew nothing about ships. His speciality was 'financial engineering'.

Now workers on the ships are finding out what this all means in practice. 200 permanent workers are being laid off for seven months from November to June and told to live on the dole.

Attack

When they come back they will face a terrible attack on their conditions.

At the moment Irish Ferries employees work two weeks on and two weeks off.

Now they will only have one week off.

"It is the equivalent of going from a 42 hour week up to a 56 hour week if you were in an office or factory" one worker told *Socialist Worker*.

On top of that the seven week annual holiday pay that is made up from lost Bank Holidays and normal holidays is to be cut entirely.

Regard

The company even want to get out of their obligations for sick pay so that someone who is sick will no longer receive a penny from the company.

John who has worked for Irish Ferries for 17 years said,

"We worked hard for this company.

Just like the Royal Dublin Hotel workers we slaved to get the quality

The Fianna Fail Connection

Today the Fianna Fail party are trying to pose as a friend of workers.

But one of the key hatchet men in Irish Ferries, Gerry Hickey, was a programme manager for Bertie Ahern in 1993 when Ahern was Minister for

mark ISO 9002 but look at the answer we got.

Workers on these ships have the International Safety Marine Certificates, lifeboat certificates, sea survival certificates.

They need us for their profits — but they want to put us permanently 'on call'.

The banks

A THIRD of the shares in Irish Ferries are owned by the big banks.

These are now making a £1 million a day in profits.

One of the banks AIB was given a massive subsidy from the Irish state when they almost went bankrupt from speculating in shares in the London insurance market.

Today it is trying to get its pound of flesh by wrecking the living standards of Irish Ferry workers.



Workers in the transport industry are facing a massive assault on their conditions.

In CIE, £40 million in cuts are being demanded and the company wants 800 redundancies.

In Aer Lingus, workers are not being paid the small miserly increase under the PCW.

A huge meeting of Aer Lingus workers two weeks ago pressed for action on the issue.

Now in Irish Ferries a terrible attack is happening which would lead to the replacement of fairly well paid jobs with Yellow Pack crews.

The Irish rich think that they can pick off one group of workers after another.

United

But if there was a united movement from transport workers throughout the country, it would show where the real power lay.

In France, this is how transport workers responded to attacks.

A huge general stoppage paralysed the country and terrified the right wing government so much that they were forced to start making concessions.

It is high time the unions in this country took a leaf out of their book.

Rank and file workers throughout CIE, Aer Lingus and Irish Ferries should press immediately for this type of national action to take place.

The Thatcherites who run Irish Ferries

The bosses of Irish Ferries come from the circles of high finance in Ireland. That means that they have an insatiable greed for profit. They include:

- Eamonn Rothwell, popularly known as the Rottweiler, joined Irish Continental Group after being promised a huge bonus. He was given an option of buying shares at 1992 prices in five years time. He is expected to make a killing of £1.5 million.
- Gerry Hickey used to be a top civil servant. He was in charge of privatising Irish Life and Greencore. By pure coincidence NCB stockbrokers were given a huge fee to organise floating these companies.
- Tom Toner is a director of Arnott's. He is also the chair of a government agency, Forfas.
- John McGuckian is a director with Ulster Television. He is also the chair of the Industrial Development Board which has responsibility for inviting in multi-nationals to benefit from cheap labour in Northern Ireland.

SWP branch meetings

BUILDING THE PARTY

THE POLITICAL tempo in Ireland is hotting up and interest in the politics of the Socialist Workers Party is increasing. Sales amongst CIE workers have started to grow as many agree with the call for a national transport strike.

In an early morning shift in Heuston station six papers were sold to the small number of workers who went by. Sales at the CIE canteen in Dublin have also shot up.

In Belfast and Derry, SWP members have turned their street sales on Saturdays into a campaign against the Job Seekers Allowance.

In Belfast last week two people came up to the stall and joined the SWP straight away. Others have agreed to take leaflets and start organising against the measure.

In Dundalk a new SWP group is being established in the Regional College after two successful meetings.

Right across Dublin several people have joined the party at stalls. Over the last fortnight 16 people have signed up for membership. Getting back to them quickly and telling them about our politics and activities is now the key.

Each branch of the SWP can recruit and push up the membership.

- Ask people to join on the street sales. Make sure there are plenty of recruitment forms on the stall near the sale.
- If people give their names arrange there and then to meet them within a few days.
- Visit every student who joined the Socialist Workers Student Society at the start of the term.
- Ask people who take the paper regularly to get involved with the local branch.

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

★ There are Socialist Worker members in:
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DONEGAL; NAAS; LIMERICK; KILKENNY;
DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA.
If you would like to get in touch, contact our
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Dublin 8

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Name

Address

Phone

CIE

Organise a national bus and rail strike

MASSIVE anger over attacks on jobs, wages and conditions of bus and rail workers sparked a mood of resistance and the beginnings of rank and file organisation in late October.

This followed the announcement of draconian cost-cutting "viability plans" in all three CIE divisions, Bus Eireann, Iarnrod Eireann and Dublin Bus.

Workers in both SIPTU and NBRU have balloted hugely in favour of strike action in all three companies.

A locomotive driver told *Socialist Worker*:

"For years the basic wage has been so low that the only way to make a living wage is to work overtime. It's the bonuses and overtime which make up the wage packet."

Treated

"Irish Rail has treated us like dirt. The viability plan wants to eliminate most overtime, shift al-

lowances and premium payments. You'd be working for flat time -- a rotten basic wage of £13,076 a year. I couldn't keep up my mortgage on that."

Petition

A rank and file body, the National Locomotive Drivers' Committee, met in Dublin in October and organised a petition of Iarnrod Eireann's 300 odd train drivers.

The petition demands the consolidation of the

One Person Operated bonus in the basic pay.

This is important but key to fending off these attacks is unity between all CIE workers and a national bus and rail strike.

"I can't see us standing by if Bus Eireann workers are the first to be attacked," a train driver told *Socialist Worker*.

Attacked

To turn this mood into action the National Loco Drivers Committee should be campaigning throughout Irish Rail for a com-



plete shut-down if any part of CIE is attacked.

In Dublin Bus it's the same story. A bus driver told *Socialist Worker*:

"In a flat week I take home less than £190. An Imp driver could take home as little as £160. It's bonuses, allowances and overtime which make up the pay. It is this which the company is attacking."

Formed

Responding to this anger, busworkers from a number of depots in Dub-

lin have formed the Busworkers Rank and File Action Group.

Strike

It has produced petitions and leaflets arguing for no concession on pay and conditions; for all bus and rail workers to stand together and calling on the NBRU and SIPTU to organise a national rail and bus strike against the attacks.

Many workers are critical of NBRU general secretary Peter Bunting's High Court action against

Bus Eireann for a judicial review of its viability plan.

"It is a legal loophole that only affects workers hired before 1986. I don't expect a sympathetic hearing from a high court judge. It's just postponing the crunch," one Dublin Bus driver told *Socialist Worker*.

"The unions have the mandate — workers want to fight these attacks together. SIPTU and NBRU should call all-out national rail and bus action now".

Royal dublin

As strikers face media blackout...

SIPTU must step up the fight

AS WE went to press, strikers at the Royal Dublin Hotel were awaiting a Labour Court recommendation on their eight week old strike.

They are demanding a basic rate of £5.50 an hour - some workers are on only £2.50 an hour at present.

The strikers have faced organised scabbing by the company who have hired Spanish students to take over the pickets' jobs. The owners also employ 'heavies' from Cityguard to intimidate the strikers.

Employ

Unless you pass O'Connell Street regularly or read *Socialist Worker* you are unlikely to find out anything about this important dispute.

That is because the media have imposed a news blackout. Tony O'Reilly, who owns the *Independent* and has a large stake in several other papers, appears as a major shareholder in the hotel.

The 'liberal' *Irish Times*

seems to have joined the campaign to silence the strikers views.

Padraic Yeates, the paper's main industrial reporter, interviewed members of the strike committee at Liberty Hall but they have been waiting since 18th October to see the article in print.

"We spent two and a half hours with Padraic Yeates", one striker told *Socialist Worker*. "We put such a lot into that interview and had a photograph taken and everything."

But the strikers' union SIPTU could do a lot more to counter the scabbing and the media blackout.

Blackout

□The union should organise a £1 a week levy of its members to help the 37 strikers.

□Liberty Hall should in-

struct its members to black the Royal Dublin and boycott firms who are scabbing on the dispute. Workers in An Post and Guinness have refused to deliver to the hotel, an example which every trade union should follow.

□If the strike goes on SIPTU should organise a

march in Dublin to win support for the strike.

SIPTU is the country's biggest union and its top officials earn salaries comparable to many company managers. It would be scandalous if the union was defeated in this dispute without putting its resources into helping the strikers win.

Collections help boost moral

Collections and donations have continued to come in for the Royal Dublin strike.

A magnificent £3,000 was collected by shop stewards of the Communication Workers Union in An Post and Telecom.

SIPTU Education Branch raised £281 from a pub quiz.

MANDATE office workers collected £153 and there were donations of £70 from Mater hospital staff and £50 from Dundalk RTC lecturers.

Firefighters gave £40 from a collection at a work social they held at the lerne Ballroom.

Workers in the Shelbourne Hotel donated £37.50 and £30 each came in from INTO members in St Vincent's National School and CPSU members in two

Telecom offices.

The **Socialist Workers Party** held a social in the Baggot Inn, this time with Don Baker, from which we raised £625 on top of £800 raised from an earlier social at the same venue.

The **Workers Party** donated £150 to the strikers.

Much more is needed to boost the morale of the pickets if the strike continues. Raising the issue in your union branch or at work and doing collections is one way of overcoming the media blackout imposed on the Royal Dublin strike.

But make sure you deliver the money directly to the pickets, as its the only way to ensure it gets to the people who need it.

Civil service pay

Time to stand up to Quinn's bullying

RUAIRI QUINN'S Department of Finance is trying to bully low paid civil servants into accepting a pay deal which only offers cosmetic changes to a deal rejected in August.

The Department say they will only tinker around with flexibility terms but will not include any measures that would 'increase costs'.

Finance has also threatened to suspend Civil servants if they take industrial action for more pay.

The Civil and Public Service Union is now going into further negotiations following a Special Consultative Meeting held in Dublin in October.

Several delegates at the meeting said their members were unhappy with the flexibility being demanded and wanted much better pay increases than the two or three per cent on offer.

One delegate said the union should be looking for no less than a £40 a week increase for everyone. This would bring the

lowest paid Clerical Assistants above £200 a week before tax.

One of the main objections to the rejected deal was that it opened the door to 'atypical recruitment'. This is human resource speak for bringing in part time and temporary workers in the of undermining pay and union organisation.

Delegate

Delegates made it clear they would not be rushed into a deal before the New Year. "No deal is better than a bad deal", was how one delegate put it.

General Secretary John O'Dowd had to admit that he was wrong to suggest that the CPSU was tied to a 31st December date.

But it would also be dangerous to let talks drag on for months only to come out with another lousy deal.

Now is the time to organise for a return to the industrial action that forced some concessions out of the government last May.

Disgracefully, that action was called off by the Executive Committee without even consulting the members.

No wonder there is a certain disillusionment with the idea of going on strike.

Yet strike action is the only thing that will force the government to pay its own employees decent wages.

But the action should be controlled by the members themselves. Instead of being treated like a stage army they should insist on making any decision to go back to work.

The present talks will yield nothing substantial so the momentum needs to be rebuilt for another dispute - one that can win decent pay without giving away hard won conditions.

Travellers walk out in sympathy

ONE OF the best examples of solidarity for the strike came from the Irish Travellers Movement who cancelled a conference in the Royal Dublin in protest at the hotel's treatment of its staff.

But instead of ringing in to cancel the ITM did things in style. About thirty of their members gathered in the foyer of the hotel and had free tea and biscuits before staging a walk-out, leaving management dumbfounded.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

What will the US elections change? —PAGE EIGHT

What did Michael Collins stand for? —CENTRE PAGES

FIGHT THE TORIES' JOB SEEKERS ALLOWANCE

'WORK FOR PEANUTS —OR LOSE YOUR DOLE!'

TESCO'S OPENED this week in the centre of Belfast. They are part of the rush by multi-nationals to flock to the North to tap into the reservoir of cheap labour.

Most of these multi-national bosses will welcome the Tories implementation of JSA. As it bites, the same

scheme will deepen the reservoir and force wages down. For ordinary people their response couldn't be

more different. The anger on the streets is immense.

Worse Off

Simon, a builder, told *Socialist Worker*: "I was unemployed until recently and know what

it's like to try and get a decent job—they're just not available.

"Once again the worse off are getting the raw end of the deal."

This is borne out by a survey carried out by the Campaign for Decent Wages.

In Derry they found that only 280 jobs were available, yet 7,300 people are supposed to be job seeking.

The Tories hope that the JSA will shift the blame away from them onto the shoulders of the unemployed, just like they tried to do with single parents and crime.

Part-time

Mick, a shop worker, explained why it isn't just a fight for the unemployed.

"We've seen students by the boatload forced into part-time work.

"Our boss has used the cheaper he pays to them to argue for cuts in ours. It will be the same for victims of the JSA."



STOP THESE THREATS

NIPSA, the union which organises workers in the dole offices, should have organised industrial action against the JSA.

It worsens the conditions of the workers as well as social welfare recipients.

In Britain, there has been wide-scale strike action by workers but the union leaders at NIPSA have refused to follow suit.

None of this, however, justifies the disgraceful effort of some groups to try to intimidate individual dole workers.

In Derry registration numbers of civil servants' cars have been noted down in an attempt to intimidate workers.

This stupid action only helped to shift the issue on to how the JSA could be "safely" implemented.

As a result joint union management meetings have been called against the threats.

Policies

Similarly in Belfast dole workers walked out on a strike for a day when they received a threat, alleg-

edly from INLA. Those responsible for these actions are missing the point. Individual civil servants are not responsible for the policies of the Tories.

They are facing huge attacks themselves and so are the allies rather than the enemies of the unemployed.

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I want to get involved

- If you or any of your friends have their dole cut, contact *Socialist Worker* sellers immediately.
- If you want to help build an active fight against the JSA, work with your local SWP branch to get some action going.
- I want to help build a fight against the JSA. I am willing to spread leaflets, put up posters and get involved in protests

Name

Address

..... Phone