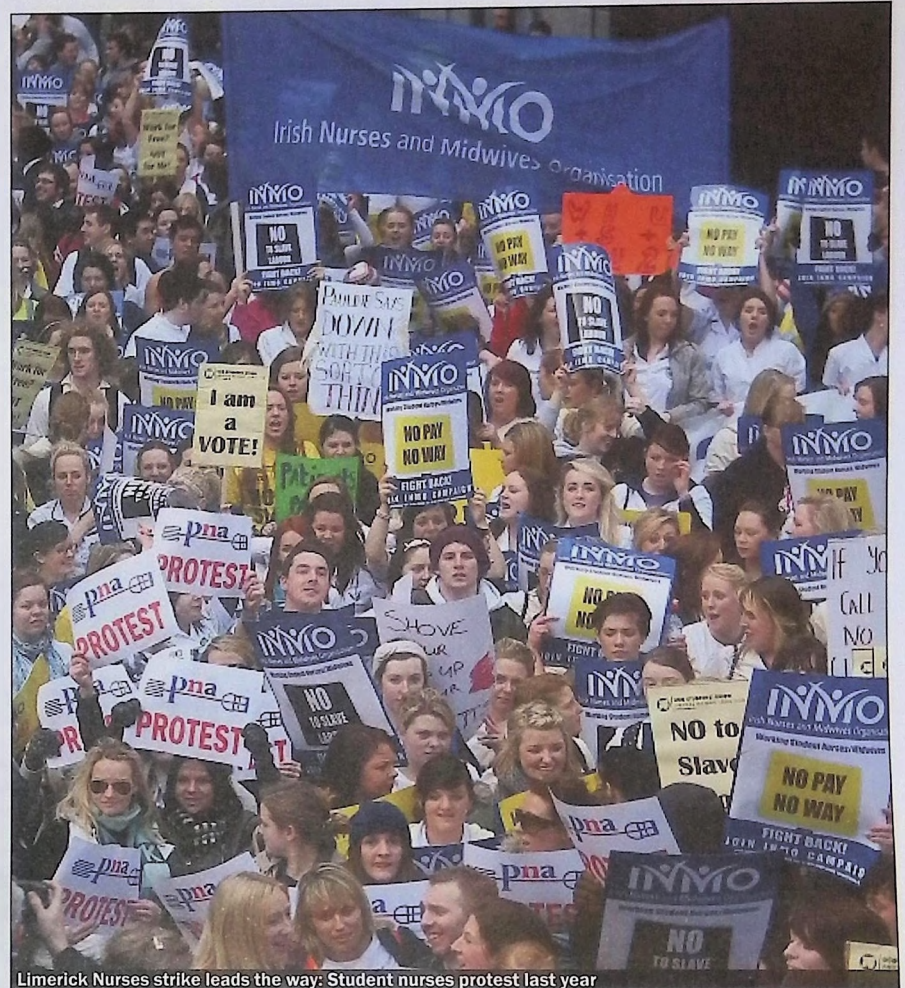


Socialist Worker

Enough Labour Sell-Outs in the South

Enough Sinn Féin Cut-backs in the North

BUILD THE UNITED LEFT ALLIANCE



Limerick Nurses strike leads the way: Student nurses protest last year

March Against EU-IMF Deal on 15 October

PEOPLE power is turning against the government and towards the United Left Alliance.

A large colourful demonstration at the Dáil on 14 September by parents of special needs children gave a flavour of the anger that is out there.

The Red C poll on 25 September showed Fine Gael support fell from 41% to 33% and Labour support fell from 19% to 16%.

But the United Left and Independents have received a massive increase in public support.

The same poll showed support rising from 13% in May to 21% in September.

While there is no further detail in these figures it is clear that United Left Alliance TDs and Councillors are winning support from their participation in campaigns against the EU-IMF Austerity programme being implemented by the government.

Sinn Féin has also increased their support from 10% to 15% as they speak out against austerity in the south and Martin McGuinness brings them some media attention.

But this will certainly decrease as people realise they are the party implementing the very same austerity north of the border.

People are increasingly frustrated with a government that is cutting wages, services and welfare to bail out bankers.

The Comptroller and Auditor General has estimated the bank bailouts will cost at least €50 billion.

That's €30,000 for every worker in Ireland.

This is not sustainable.

Fine Gael and Labour insist on paying back all the bondholders, even the €3.5 billion of unsecured, unguaranteed debts to Anglo-Irish Bank creditors.

Cancelling that debt alone would wipe out

the €3.5 billion of cuts in this year's budget.

On top of service cuts, wage cuts and taxes on workers, FG-Labour are also looking to sell off valuable state assets like ESB, Bord Gáis, Aer Lingus, Coillte and what's left of CIE (See p4).

Labour's Pat Rabbitte may claim that this will

create jobs or infrastructure, but everyone knows the money is to bail out the banks, and that privatisation will just hand over valuable public property to rich profiteers.

Claims that competition brings down prices is just a lie as the drain of profits, advertising and duplication means more costs not less.

No matter how clear it is that it was private sector inefficiency and incompetence that caused the crisis, the government continues to blame the public sector.

Limerick nurses have shown the way to fight these vicious attacks (see p2).

Facing appalling conditions where sick patients don't even have a trolley to lie on, Emergency Department nurses balloted for strike and walked out in protest.

The ESB unions need to take a leaf out of their book and fight back against privatisation.

The government complains that they have to cut and privatise because otherwise the EU-IMF will withdraw their loans, but these loans are to pay back debts we don't owe and the repayments are strangling the economy.

FG and Labour can't continue to hide behind the EU-IMF and we need to cancel these debts now.

When the 'troika' of the European Central Bank (ECB) the International Monetary fund (IMF) and the European Union (EU) officials visit the Government on 15 October we will be able to let them all know that we have had enough and that gambling debts will not be honoured here.

Get others in your local community group, trade union, workplace, college or school involved to join the protest on 15 October; Assemble at Parnell Sq at 2pm.

EU-IMF-ECB & FG/Labour Gov want more austerity + to sell-off our state assets



Hit the Streets!
Saturday 15th October
March from Parnell Sq 2pm

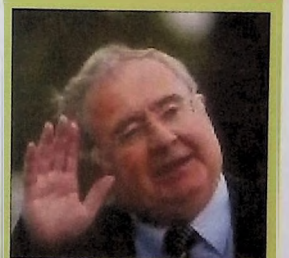
www.EnoughCampaign.org

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Anger grows at savage SNA cuts



By SARA O'ROURKE

OVER a thousand people protested against cuts in Special Needs education when the Dail re-opened on 14 September.

Nigel Hanlon, a parent of a special needs child with Asperger's Syndrome said:

"The fact that there was a sizeable number on the streets was positive and the biggest turn-out

since the campaign started last April.

"The mood was very angry and we are not going away.

"We can link in with other campaigns to be a bigger voice against overall austerity."

Parents have since followed up with protests at Enda Kenny's visit to Wexford and Frances Fitzgerald's visit to St.

Raphael's school in Celbridge.

There are currently five children attending that school for just 90 minutes per day. Every child in St.Raphael's will be affected if these cuts are not reversed.

The school will then be forced to accept children without adequate support.

Ashling McEniff from the group, Give Our Kids Their SNAs, said: "Our children are not expendable,

and we will not allow them to be treated as second class citizens.

"We will not stop until they are given the chance to fulfil their potential through education."

Children with special needs must not be made to suffer for the gambling debts of bankers.

Parents, teachers and SNAs will continue their resistance to these savage cuts when the IMF arrives here on 8 October.

Limerick nurses strike against 'appalling conditions'

by DR PEADAR O'GRADY

A powerful challenge to health cutbacks was issued by Emergency Department (ED) nurses at Limerick Regional when they went on a half-day strike on 21 September. Budget cuts, bed closures and the closure of emergency departments in Ennis and Nenagh hospitals 'reconfiguration' have meant overcrowding and understaffing at the Limerick hospital.

Striking ED Nurse, Bridget O'Donnell explained: "The conditions we work under are appalling. Patients are pushed together like sardines. They're waiting up to 32 hours on a trolley waiting for a bed."

ED Nurse Bridget Brogan said: "If you were an animal you wouldn't be treated like this; on the floor."

Nursing union the INMO's official Mary Fogarty described conditions as "extremely

unsafe" and "dangerous" for patients.

Disgracefully the HSE commented that the strike would put patients at risk and only offered more reconfiguration and redeployment as a solution.

The INMO said in a statement: "To suggest, as management has, that the issue of safe care can be addressed by adjustments to rosters, skill mixes and greater flexibility is simply untrue and confirms how detached management, in this hospital, is from the frontline and the needs of patients."

In an escalation of this dispute, Emergency Department nurses at University Hospital Galway and Our Lady's in Drogheda are also to ballot for strike action over unsafe conditions there.

Strikes and protests are the only way to halt the cuts to health and other public services that are putting us all in danger.

Increase in sexist ads



Sexist ad brilliantly vandalised in Derry

By VANESSA O'SULLIVAN

TWO recent adverts, for Club Orange and Hunky Dorys, suggests that sexism still plays a huge part in our society.

The greedy and profiteering companies behind this new wave of sexism have been condemned and rightly so.

In a Club Orange ad we are shown women in nothing but their underwear talking about their 'bits', while the Hunky Dorys ad shows scantily clad women 'playing' rugby.

While the 2016 Olympic Games say they are committed to giving the women's tournament absolute equality with the men's, women's rugby will still be exploited for financial gain by corporate sponsors.

Another Hunky Dorys ad calls into question the role of women in the GAA.

Although the GAA dismissed the ad they have so far refused to demand that it be withdrawn.

The images being promoted reinforce a role model for women, particularly young women, that women are not to be taken seriously and that they are nothing more than sex objects.

It promotes the notion that this attitude is acceptable.

Socialists do not agree. This new sexism is still sexism, any way you look at it and must be challenged if we are to have an equal and fair society.

Oppressing women also divides and weakens workers and therefore suits our rulers.

We all have an interest in treating sexism with contempt and demanding the removal of sexist posters and ads in our environment.

Defeat fee hikes with mass protests

By IAN MCDONNELL

THE government recently pushed the student registration fee to €2000 per year and cut the student 'non-adjacent' grant.

Despite having the capacity to stage a concerted campaign of mass mobilisation, the students' union (USI) leadership has instead called meekly for 'a cap' on the registration fee. Clearly the strategy of lobbying has been a complete failure.

Research shows that 40% of students have had their rent deposits unfairly withheld by landlords.

USI lobbying and soft persuasion were a half-hearted attempt to win concessions from the state like a 'deposit protection scheme'.

However, the overall result

of this lobbying approach has been wholesale increases in fees and charges.

The only way for the USI to prevent the planned re-

introduction of full fees and hikes in the registration charge is to get thousands onto the streets like the pensioners protests of December 2008.



NI lecturers to strike for pensions

By JIMMY SMYTH

LECTURERS at Queen's University, Belfast and the University of Ulster have again voted for industrial action in defence of their pensions.

The lecturers are members of a UK-wide pension scheme called USS.

Nationally members of the Universities and Colleges Union (UCU) voted by over 76% to take industrial action and over 56% for strike action.

This means that lecturers at 67 universities will start to take action over the coming weeks. It is likely that the union



leadership will initially call for a work to rule and the boycott of certain administration practices.

The union has already an-

nounced it will be supporting the planned strikes in defence of public sector pensions on 30th November (see back page).

Attacks on Ogle hide real agenda



Brendan Ogle

By OWEN MCCORMACK

THE Irish Independent and RTE's Joe Duffy show have used a hysterical campaign against Unite trade union official Brendan Ogle to split union members on fighting ESB privatisation.

Ogle had called some ESB workers "spoil" and said they had got the "gravy" during the boom.

Days after the Independent used the "spoil" quote, the Government announced the partial sell-off of ESB to pay back the bankers' debts.

Ogle has been targeted because he has openly opposed any privatisation of ESB.

He has also correctly criticised the leadership of our union movement as the most right-wing in Europe because they have done nothing to resist attacks by government and employers.

Ogle also opposed past Partnership deals.

His stance and history as a fighter are what have marked him out for the media attacks.

But trade unionists also have to reject the comments that Ogle made.

His members are not spoil or overpaid.

It was the bankers and builders who got the real 'gravy' during the boom.

Brendan's comments sound like a rehashing of a typical union bureaucrat excuse: 'I am radical but my members won't fight'.

Usually this is a cover for their own failings or lack of principles.

The threat to strike to stop the ESB sell-off needs to be supported by all trade unionists.

We need a rank-and-file movement that can bypass the officials; defend jobs and services; and defeat these crude FG/Labour and EU/IMF plans for mass privatisation.

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WHAT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY STANDS FOR

Capitalism is wrecking the lives of millions and endangering the planet.
 A new society can only be constructed when the workers take control of the wealth and plan its production and distribution for human need and not profit.
REVOLUTION
 The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy.
 To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based on much

greater political and economic democracy.
AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR
 War is a constant feature of capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth.
 The "War on Terrorism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or economic dominance.
END RACISM AND OPPRESSION
 We oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weakens the

working class.
 We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.
 We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.
FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH
 We stand for workers unity against the Assembly politicians and Cameron government.
 Like great socialist James Connolly, we believe that partition has brought about a 'carnival of reaction'.
 We want to see an Irish workers republic where all

workers gain.
 Our flag is neither green nor orange but red!
FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
 To win socialism workers need to organise in a revolutionary party.
 This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system.
 We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc.
 We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

Join the Socialists

Fill in the form and send to
 SWP PO Box 1648 Dublin 8

Name _____
 Address _____
 Email _____
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CRISISWATCH:

Europe's Dilemma

By BRIAN O'BOYLE

AN imbalance between capital and labour is crippling the global economy.

The rich have got richer while the rest of society are massively in debt.

However, it is important to remember that capitalists are not some monolithic block.

Capitalists exist as a whole series of individual corporations, protected by their nation-states.

The capitalist class is effectively 'a band of warring brothers', and this is adding serious political difficulties to the crisis.

Nowhere is this more apparent than in the Eurozone.

Timothy Geithner (US treasury secretary), Christine Lagarde (Head of the IMF) and Robert Zoellick (Head of the World Bank) have each written publicly of the need to do whatever it takes to defend the Euro currency.

This is not just 'brotherly' advice.

US Banks are owed €478 billion by the so-called PIGS.

German banks face similar exposures, whilst French banks are even more vulnerable with around €690 billion of this debt.

These banks also lend heavily to each other, so if any peripheral government defaults, then others will follow.

This means the Eurozone crisis has the potential to bring down the global economy, and this is why the problems in Greece are becoming so urgent.

Greece currently has a debt to GDP ratio of 143% (€328 billion), unemployment of around 16% and an economy that is shrinking at a rate of 5% per year.

But Greek workers are putting up the strongest resistance in Europe, forcing their national



politicians to back down on austerity.

If Greece is allowed to go it could start a chain of events that brings down Italy and Spain.

But if they receive another 'bailout' (particularly in the absence of austerity) the road is open for everyone to default.

Capitalists and their right-wing political friends have no answers; now is the time for a United Left resistance across Europe.

Egyptian workers push revolution forward



Egyptian workers cheer nationalisation of three companies

By WILL SHANNON

THE revolution continues to spread the spirit of Tahrir square to the workplaces as over half a million Egyptian workers strike.

Most are striking over pay and conditions, but nearly all see it also as a protest against the military government, the Supreme Council of the Armed Forces (SCAF).

Teachers continue their national strike and are joined by up to 40,000 transport workers and textile workers in the huge factories of El-Mahalla

near Cairo.

Even in the elite American University and military schools in Cairo, students have had sit-ins and demonstrations in support of their striking teachers.

Many workplaces hold mass meetings discussing the military government, American imperialism and Israel.

Two weeks ago a demonstration of thousands broke into the Israeli embassy in Cairo where documents were thrown out of windows to be searched through by the

protestors below.

Water cannons and batons were used by riot police in an attempt to clear the streets.

Such events expose to Egyptians in plain view that despite the talk of democratic freedoms from the military council, the police and army remain largely unchanged.

In fact, cases of state torture have risen since the SCAF have taken power.

Civilians are tried by military courts.

Although the military government has declared strikes illegal, it is already trying to

quell opposition by granting major concessions.

Under massive pressure, three large companies have been re-nationalised as part of the workers drive to take out corrupt factory managers and senior officials – the "mini Mubaraks".

All this is taking place as the trial of Egypt's toppled despot, Hosni Mubarak, continues.

As the SCAF government scrambles to meet demands, workers are finding more confidence to move the revolution forward.

Battle to save Dale Farm isn't over

by SADIE ROBINSON

AS *Socialist Worker* went to press, Travellers who live at Dale Farm in Essex, UK, celebrated as they won a last-minute court injunction delaying their eviction.

But the 400 Travellers could still face eviction, depending on what the court decides.

Still, delighted Travellers danced through the streets and cheered as they heard the news.

Kathleen told *Socialist Worker*: "In the past we've just had to move on. An eviction is an eviction. We've never got this far before."

Mary added: "I got up this morning and my chest was tight. Now I can breathe again. It's the loveliest feeling we've ever had."

The mainstream media has been full of lies about the situation at Dale Farm.

Many reporters claimed that most Travellers had left but most of the Travellers, including many



Dale Farm residents protest at the Old Bailey Court in London

children and sick people, are still there. Travellers don't want a violent eviction.

One asks simply: "Where will we go?" Most of the 100 children have lived at Dale Farm all of their lives.

Travellers facing eviction have been there

for over 10 years and own their land which used to be a scrap yard.

But the council has failed to offer alternative housing to many of the Travellers—meaning they would be made homeless.

An eviction at Dale Farm, the biggest

Traveller site in the country, would give a green light to councils everywhere to clamp down on Travellers.

That's why it is so important to stop an eviction.

(Full article at: www.socialistworker.co.uk)
Go to <http://dalefarm.wordpress.com> for updates

Freedom for Palestine?

By AINE DILLON



UNDER pressure from below, in the wake of Middle East revolts, the weak Palestinian Authority government under Mahmoud Abbas has applied for UN membership as an independent state.

83% of Palestinians in the occupied West Bank and Gaza support this proposal.

As *Socialist Worker* went to print, US President Obama was pledging to block this by using the US veto power in the UN security council.

His hypocrisy in the face of US declarations of support for freedom and self-determination for Libyans is stunning.

It also makes Obama even more 'pro-Israeli' than the majority of Israeli civilians, 69% of whom also support the proposal.

A lesser bid for observer-state status looks likely to succeed.

This would still be an embarrassment for the US and its ally Israel as it would show how little international support there is for the denial of social and political rights to Palestinians for more than 60 years.

Of course even the minimal demands of a limited Palestinian state is not without risks.

Palestinian activists Ali Abunimah and Omar Barghout have

warned that the rights of Palestinians in Israel and of Palestinian refugees to return, could be endangered.

Most importantly, though, it is clear that, on its own, statehood or observer status will not change the facts on the ground: Israel will continue to oppress Palestinians, annex land, construct settlements and to behave with impunity.

The task for the Arab Spring is to dismantle the apartheid regime in Israel and unite all Jews and Arabs in a single non-sectarian state.


The notion that Jews and Arabs cannot live together is just racism; and a racism only recently imposed by British and US imperialists and enforced by Zionists.

If Apartheid could be smashed in South Africa it can be smashed in Israel.

Socialists side with Palestinians against Israel and US aggression in their application for statehood.

A symbolic chair in the General Assembly may lift spirits for a while but Palestinians will be looking to the streets of Damascus, Sanaa and Cairo for real change.

A revolution from below is just what US imperialists and Israeli Zionists really fear.



Capitalism in Crisis - The Socialist Solution to Market Madness

By Brian O'Boyle

Brian O'Boyle's, Capitalism in Crisis: The Socialist Solution to Market Madness, €3.00 +€1 p&p from Socialist Worker Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Martin McGuinness: The 'People's candidate'?



McGuinness and friend

By SEÁN MITCHELL

THE decision by Sinn Féin to stand Martin McGuinness for the Irish Presidency has created considerable controversy and debate.

Sinn Féin say that McGuinness is the 'People's Candidate' whilst others argue that past actions make his candidacy untenable.

But is there any substance to the controversy?

Much has already been made of McGuinness's IRA past, but he is hardly the first Irish politician with a background in physical force republicanism.

The first Irish President, Éamon De Valera, was an early supporter of the IRA and a key protagonist in the Civil War.

Frank Aiken and Seán Lemass, both later ministers of government, first entered the Dáil with revolvers in their pockets.

Whilst even today there are government ministers who conceal a murky past with stone faced denial.

Much of the Labour leadership, including Eamon Gilmore, originally entered the Dáil as members of a 'Workers Party' that had an armed wing known as the Official IRA.

This group carried out robberies and attacks on political rivals.

And to talk of McGuinness's past without acknowledging their own is sheer hypocrisy.

There is a distinct possibility that the ghost of Provo past will come back to haunt McGuinness.

Establishment figure

But it is the contrast between the radicalism of his rhetoric in the South and the conservatism of his practice in the North which really deserves to be put under the spotlight.

Despite all the talk of his past, the truth is that McGuinness enters the Presidential race not as a radical outsider, but as a reformed, establishment figure.

In the North, he has proven adept at playing the consummate statesman, smiling for the camera and shaking hands with the likes of Bush and Blair without a moment's hesitation.

As Deputy First Minister he has presided over an Executive as gung-ho for cuts as any Southern equivalent, slashing jobs and services and

accepting a cut of £4 billion off the Northern exchequer without a whimper of opposition.

Martin McGuinness is a political chameleon, more willing to adapt himself to his surroundings than to radically change them.

The former IRA commander is just as comfortable today in the corridors of Downing Street as he once was in the safe houses of the Bogside.

Playing by the rules

For Sinn Féin, the object of the presidential campaign is to broaden their support base in the South in preparation for participation in a future coalition Government.

To do this they need to appeal to the popular mood of angst over austerity whilst carefully ensuring that they do so within the accepted parameters of mainstream politics.

In this they are following a long line of Nationalist movements who begin as opponents of imperialism but eventually move towards compromise and collaboration with it.

Sinn Féin wants power, and is prepared to compromise all of its principles in the process, including it seems, the basic ideas of Republicanism.

When the Queen visited Ireland recently, Sinn Féin meekly disapproved.

But these final vestiges of opposition have now disappeared with McGuinness saying that if he succeeds in his bid to become Irish president, he would be more than willing to host a British monarch or any other head of state for that matter.

As far as a suspicious southern establishment is concerned, the next six weeks are a period of probation for Sinn Féin.

By playing by the rules, McGuinness and Sinn Féin hope to convince them that they are a reformed entity, willing to work within the system rather than against it.

As the crisis in Ireland deepens and frustration with the established parties grows, Sinn Féin might well get the call they so desperately seek, but no good will come of it.

Talk of the 'Peoples Candidate' is just empty rhetoric designed to deflect from the obvious truth – that Martin McGuinness is making his peace with the system at the very moment that we need to be waging war on it.

WHY WE MUST

Stop the Privatisation of State

By JOHN LYONS

THE asset-stripping of the country has begun in earnest.

Labour's Pat Rabbitte, Minister for Communications, Energy and Natural Resources, announced on Wednesday 21 September that the Fine Gael/Labour Party government intend selling a minority stake in the Electricity Supply Board (ESB), one of the most successful semi-state companies in the State's history.

The sale is to take place sometime in 2012 and the amount up for grabs is thought to be 25-30% but could be as much as 49%.

In effect, what has been announced is the part-privatisation of a semi-state company, which has, over the last decade, paid almost €1 billion in dividends to the state.

What Rabbitte has commenced is the first step on the road to the full privatisation of the ESB.

That same week it was announced that the so-called bank 'bailout' could cost the Irish public €50 billion (according to a report from the Comptroller and Auditor General).

These two announcements are of course intimately linked.

Paying for Bailouts

The Irish banking sector nearly collapsed in 2008 due to the bursting of a massive property bubble.

In order to save it, the Irish ruling class pitched the State's fortunes, and our futures, in with the banks by providing a blanket guarantee; effectively saying: 'Don't worry lads, we have ye covered!' As the scale of the greed, hubris and mendacity of the Irish bankers began to come to light, and the cost of the 'bailout' rose ever higher, the State became unable to borrow money on the international markets.

So in November 2010 from beyond the horizon came galloping our saviours – A 'troika' of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the European Central Bank (ECB) and the European Union (EU).

They came to Ireland with €85 billion of a bailout in one hand and a big bag of neo-liberal medicine in the other.

In order to receive the 'bailout' money, Ireland had to firmly commit itself to austerity for the foreseeable future.

Having already experienced three years of savage attacks, the 'troika' are determined that the people of this country be punished further, with more cuts to social welfare and public sector pay, the dismantling of protections for low paid workers, the slashing of education and special needs services, the closing of hospitals' A & E departments, the scrapping of social housing, the introduction of taxes on water and housing and, last but not least privatisation on a grand scale.

Asset-Stripping

The first whiff that the country was to be asset-stripped appeared in December 2010 with the publication of the IMF/EU's 'Memorandum of Understanding' – the terms and conditions attached to the €85 billion 'bailout'.

Page sixteen of that document contains a paragraph under the heading 'Structural Reforms' which states that: "...the government will undertake an independent assessment of the electricity and gas sectors.

"State authorities will consult with the Commission Services on the results of this assessment with a view to setting appropriate targets."

Less than a year later, what do we find? The IMF and EU have set targets of more than €2 billion to be raised through the sell-off of state assets.



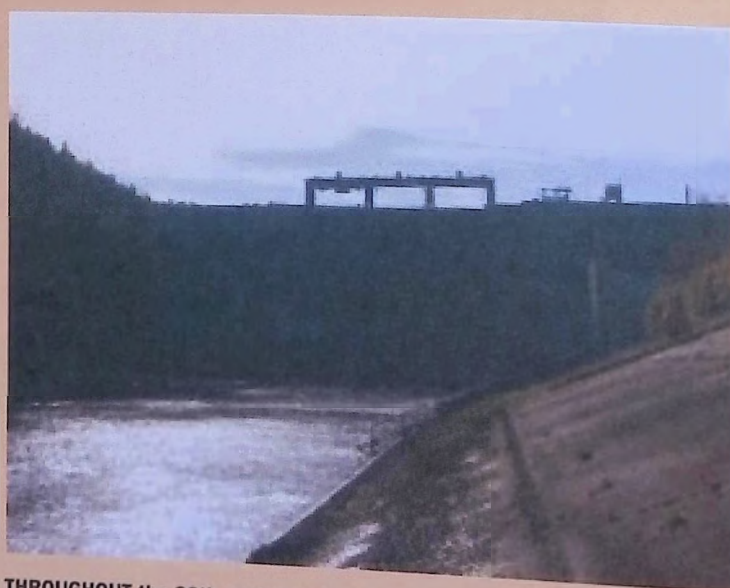
The figure of €2 billion meant that the ESB would have to be a part of this great asset stripping adventure, as the energy sector is one of the most profitable sectors of the economy.

The Irish government's 25% stake in Aer Lingus is also being considered as another state asset to be disposed of, as is Coillte, the Irish forestry and renewable energy company.

The 'troika' have declared that the energy sector is one area in particular that they want to see opened up to 'increasing competition' even though the private sector is littered with monopolies.

This scenario has already been played

HISTORY OF SEMI-STATES IN IRELAND



THROUGHOUT the 20th century it has been demonstrated time and again that state-owned industries have not only been successful, but immensely important for strategic development.

When the private sector was unwilling to meet the social needs of Irish people

it was the state that took charge: electrifying the country, harvesting bogs, installing telecommunications, and purchasing sugar-beet.

This is what is required now – the State must act where the private sector will not invest.

EIRCOM NIGHTMARE

TELECOM EIREANN



TELECOM Eireann, which was a successful semi-state company, was privatised in 1999 and became Eircom.

Initially it was a publicly quoted company but was subsequently bought by a venture capitalist company, Valentia.

The main players in Valentia were Tony O'Reilly and George Soros.

This was a leveraged buy-out, so the main focus of the new owners was to make a profit.

This was done by asset-stripping the company.

Its mobile phone wing, Eircell, was sold off to Vodafone.

This was an act of sheer madness as mobiles were the future of telecommunications.

This trend continued over the last 10 years. Various venture capitalists bought and sold the company.

Privatisation Assets



but strengthened and developed further.

To sell them to private investors is robbing the country of precisely the assets we need to get out of this economic mess.

If we invested properly in these assets we could provide much-needed jobs, fuel economic growth and ensure continued revenue for the country.

Selling them off will provide a once-off payment, and that money will go straight into the pockets of the IMF and EU, as Ireland has an €85 billion bailout to repay.

We need to say enough! We've had enough of cuts to social welfare and special needs assistants, to regional A & E departments and public sector pay, we've had enough of being scapegoated and made to pay for an economic crisis not of our making, whilst bankers, developers and speculators are repeatedly bailed out with our money.

Signs of trade union resistance to the privatisation of the ESB are becoming visible as Unite is to ballot its members.

Alongside a fight-back from the trade unions we need to mobilise our collective strength and get onto the streets.

The IMF, EU and ECB will be back in Dublin in October and the Enough! Campaign has organised a big demonstration for Saturday 8 October, with live music, speakers and much more.

Come along with family, friends and work colleagues and let the 'troika' know that we are mad as hell and we're not going to take it anymore!

However, once this stake is sold it means that there will be directors on the board whose sole interest is profit.

It would also increase the pressure on the government to gradually reduce its majority stake in order to "let private investors with the skills to maximise profits" gain greater control of the company.

Soon, the transmission lines and the lines bringing power into peoples' homes would be in danger of falling into private hands.

Resistance

We need to reject this push towards privatisation.

Our state assets should not be privatised

out, in the United States, where it has been proven time and again that opening markets to retail electricity competition had serious consequences for the average person.

According to a 2001 report in the US, prices became both higher and more volatile, low-income customers were at greater risk of being unable to afford electricity, whilst reliability decreased and blackouts increased.

This is potentially what lies ahead for Ireland.

By retaining a 75% government stake in the ESB, it may appear to casual observers that offering a 25% stake to private investors presents no great threat.

EU-IMF-ECB & FG/Labour Gov want more austerity + to sell-off our state assets



Hit the Streets!
Saturday 8th October
March from Parnell Sq 2pm

www.EnoughCampaign.org



Each in turn borrowed to buy it, thereby lumbering the company with massive debt, which now stands at €3.8 billion.

Servicing the debt and enriching themselves meant that there was no investment in infrastructure.

Eircom is presently a pale shadow of its former self.

This is a text book case against privatisation and sits alongside other state companies that were sacrificed at the altar of corporate greed: Greencore, Irish Ferries, Great Southern Hotels and the M50 toll bridge.

The only people who have benefited from these privatisations are a few well-positioned individuals, venture capitalists and private equity firms who saw the opportunity to enrich themselves at the expense of the taxpayers and the general public.

Fine Gael's Neoliberal 'New Era'

By LEAH SPEIGHT

ONE of the most galling aspects of the current crisis is the political spin of the mainstream politicians.

We know the crisis was caused by the neoliberal policies foisted on the global economy.

Rampant exploitation of workers mixed with financialisation and privatisation was a recipe for disaster.

But rather than turn away from these policies, the Labour-FG government are actually ramping them up.

In their latest initiative entitled 'New Era', Fine Gael is proposing to privatise vast swathes of Irish state assets under the banner

of creating a 'jobs stimulus' programme.

Meanwhile, Gilmore's Labour Party lackeys are just cheering them on.

The plan is to make the public sector 'leaner' by selling off a number of state companies and ploughing the resources into creating 105,000 jobs in the private sector.

The fact that thousands of public sector workers will be joining the dole queue is never even mentioned.

This is just one of the farcical aspects of this so-called manifesto.

'New Era' will take on responsibilities from different government departments.

Its core focus will be on energy, telecoms and water and it could be best described as the 'Department of Privatisation' given its objective to sell off state assets.

From the sale of these assets a new bank will be created called the 'National Recovery Wholesale Bank' (NRWB).

Money will then be loaned to private companies.

For example, private utility firms engaged in retro-fitting homes with 'smart meters'.

'New Era' argues that competition between private contractors will drive down costs, but most of the evidence suggests that the price of energy tends to go up after privatisation.

A second 'New Era' initiative is for Ireland to, "become a global leader in the commercialisation of next-generation bio-energy technologies".

Rather than nationalising the €750 billion of fossil fuels off

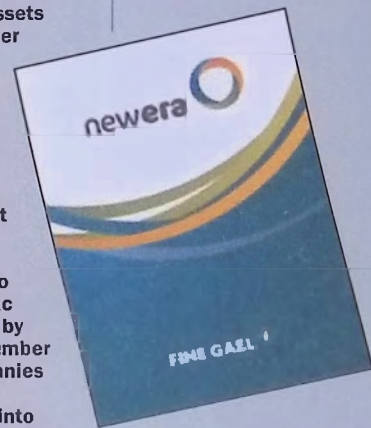
the Irish coast, Fine Gael trumpets bio-energy as the way forward.

This, once again, is farcical given the fact that the document also argues for the disposal of Coillte's forest and non-forest assets.

Currently there is public money given to maintain the upkeep of our forests.

Coillte receives a block grant and it is under obligation to replant a certain number of acres per year.

Any successful move into bio-fuels relies on planting more trees than are cut down for profit, but privatisation will make this simply impossible.



While most of the manifesto focuses on energy, telecoms and water are also to be part-financed by selling state assets.

Rather than funding these services through general taxation, user charges will be applied on a relentlessly increasing basis.

This is yet more privatisation and it is little wonder that 'business forums' have welcomed this development as a way of lining their pockets.

All of this has been approved by the Troika (EU/IMF/ECB) who are overseeing the transfer of our national assets into the arms of private capital.

Despite its fancy sounding title, Fine Gael's 'New Era' is exactly the same as Fianna Fail's old one.

The rich benefit from policies that are supposedly necessary and the poor pick up the pieces.

Not only is this patently unfair it will destroy many of our most strategic assets.

We must oppose the spin of a jobs initiative with a mass fight back against this neoliberal madness.

We must also build a real United Left alternative to the Labour party sell-outs and the fake radicalism of Sinn Féin.

ANARCHISM OR MARXISM?

IT is clear that recently there has been a significant rise in the level of struggles influenced by anarchism or anarchist inclined ideas.

Sometimes the term 'autonomism' is used rather than anarchism but in reality autonomism and anarchism are closely related.

The most obvious example of the rise of anarchist influence has been the occupation of the squares in Spain by 'Los Indignados' (The Indignant).

There was a similar phenomenon in Greece and anarchist influences have been felt in the British student movement and elsewhere.

They are also a small but real force in the left movement in Ireland.

In many ways this is a welcome development.

It is evidence that internationally the movement of resistance to the system is on the rise and reaching new forces; anarchism is often people's first port of call in the movement and has a particular appeal to the young and newly radicalised.

This is because it is a defiant rejection of both the rotten nature of existing society and, especially, of the incorporation into the system of so many of the Labour, Communist, Left, Republican and trade union leaders who are supposed to be opposed to it.

It can seem like the only ideology that's still got clean hands.

As a Marxist and revolutionary, rather than reformist, socialist I would argue that Marxists and anarchists share the same fundamental aim – the overthrow of capitalism and the creation of a society of equality and freedom – and therefore should work together.

But this doesn't mean the differences between Marxism and anarchism are not real or important.

In this article I will examine these differences and will argue that anarchism suffers from certain basic weaknesses which make it unable to achieve its own goals and that Marxism is a much better guide to revolutionary action.

The main difference concerns the idea or principle of 'authority'.

Anarchists generally reject all authority, seeing it as the root cause of class divisions and inequality in society, and with it reject every form of government, state or centralised

Revolutionary Socialist, John Molyneux, argues that Marxists and Anarchists should work together but that anarchism fails to arm the working class with the organisation necessary for a successful revolution.



Clockwise from top: Los Indignados; US troops in Vladivostok, 1918; Anarchist revolutionaries in the Spanish Revolution, 1936

power in society.

In contrast Marxism argues that the existence of an oppressive state power is the consequence not the cause of the division of society into classes, ie exploiters and exploited, and that, therefore, in order to get rid of all state power it is first necessary to create a classless society.

To do this the working class needs to break up, by revolution, the existing state which serves the capitalists and create a new workers' state, based on democratically elected workers' councils, which will serve the working class and be used to construct socialism.

Because it argues for this Marxism is seen by anarchists as 'authoritarian'.

So who is right?

I would argue that Marxism is right because historical experience in general and the experience of revolutions in particular (eg the Paris Commune of 1871, the Russian Revolution of 1917, the Spanish Revolution of 1936, the Hungarian Revolution of 1956 and many others) proves that, faced with a workers' revolution, the old ruling class will not simply pack its bags and leave the stage of history.

On the contrary it will do its very best, with the aid of the capitalists in other countries, to sabotage and destroy the new revolutionary society.

To stop this happening the working class will need its own state – including armed forces, revolutionary courts and so on.

To reject ANY use of centralised power, as anarchists say they

would do, would simply be to allow the defeat of the revolution and its drowning in blood.

A democratic workers' state will also be needed immediately after the revolution to plan the economy, raise taxes and care for the sick, provide pensions, benefits etc for those unable to work.

A huge amount can be done through initiatives from below in workplaces and communities but there will have to be an element of national planning and coordination.

Moving directly to a stateless society as anarchists say they want to do would fragment the economy and, again, open the way to counterrevolution.

Anarchist opposition to all authority leads on to opposition to all

political leadership and political parties in the struggle now.

Whether one looks at such 'leaders' as Eamon Gilmore and Jack O'Connor or goes back to De Valera or even Stalin, this is an understandable reaction but it suffers from two serious problems.

First, leadership does not arise in the movement because people have the bad idea of leadership in their heads, anymore than people fall down stairs because they are fixated on the notion of gravity.

Leaders arise – in all struggles, strikes, demonstrations, parties, campaigns, including anarchist ones – because the development of political consciousness, confidence and commitment among working people is very uneven.

Consequently the key problem is to ensure that leaders are demo-

cratically elected, accountable and removable.

By rejecting leadership as such, anarchists simply end up with unelected/self-appointed and unaccountable leaders.

Second, a generalised rejection of leadership and parties means that the existing reformist leadership of the workers' movement – the Labour Party or similar Social Democrats, or in some countries still, the Stalinists – remains without a serious and organised challenge, and thus able to betray or hold back the revolution at the crucial moment (as such 'leaders' and parties have done so often in the past).

Similarly, refusal to participate in parliamentary elections, or even more importantly in the trade unions, may seem pure but it leaves the field open to being monopolised by the right and the reformists.

It is true, as both Marxists and anarchists argue, that parliamentary democracy is a sham and that trade unions are not the vehicle for revolutionary change.

However, as long as most working people look to elections and regard unions as basic organisations of self defence against the bosses, it is necessary for revolutionaries to participate in them.

Anarchists and Marxists also divide over the historical issue of the Russian Revolution and Leninism.

Anarchists tend to reject the Revolution of 1917 as just a coup by the Bolshevik Party and to condemn the 'authoritarian' behaviour of Lenin and Trotsky as paving the way for the tyranny of Stalin.

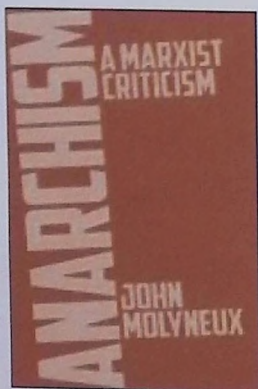
Marxists regard October 1917 as a genuine workers' revolution which transferred power to the workers' councils (called 'soviets').

They recognise that the revolution began to deteriorate rapidly but argue that the harsh measures taken by the Bolsheviks, such as banning opposition parties, were forced on them by the desperate circumstances of the Civil War (imposed on Russia by western armed intervention).

The early Bolshevik dictatorship was an attempt to hold on until help came from international revolution – it was not the same as Stalinism, which abandoned international revolution and established itself as a new ruling class running a state-capitalist society.

But whatever the details of this experience the fact remains that out of all the many attempts at working class revolution (including the Spanish Revolution of 1936, where anarchism had mass support) the only example to date of even short-lived national victory is Russia in 1917 where the revolution was led by a Leninist Party.

In short, anarchism cannot win. By refusing the establishment of a workers' state and renouncing the task of building a revolutionary party capable of winning the leadership of the workers' movement anarchism deprives itself of the very tools that experience has shown are needed by the working class to overthrow capitalism and liberate itself.



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FILM REVIEW:

Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy

Dir: Tomas Alfredson

Reviewed by
Aine Dillon

AT the height of the Cold War in 1970s London, MI6 ('The Circus') discovers a Soviet



double-agent hidden in its highest echelons.

George Smiley is called back into the service to root out the spy.

Moving between London, Budapest, New Delhi and Istanbul, the film follows British agents sent to retrieve defectors but, due to the mole, things go disastrously wrong.

If you like your spy films with gadgets and car chases, then Tinker, Tailor won't be to your taste.

Like the book, the film demands concentration, but the viewer is rewarded with a clever story which unfolds slowly and with an excellent cast surrounded by all the trappings of the 1970s office: sexism, cigarettes, peeling

wallpaper, Super Ser gas heaters and even Dana on the radio.

Former operatives reminisce about 'real wars' of the past and regret that Britain's place on the world stage has been assumed by the United States.

As Smiley interviews his former colleagues in his hunt for the Russian agent, we see their very deep cynicism about the Cold War and the decline of Britain.

Smiley admits to his Russian counterpart, Karla, 'There's as little worth on your side as on mine'.

There is no glamour, emotions are restrained and the atmosphere throughout is bleak.

The actors and directors have done full justice to the book and produced an excellent tribute to the pointlessness of the Cold War.

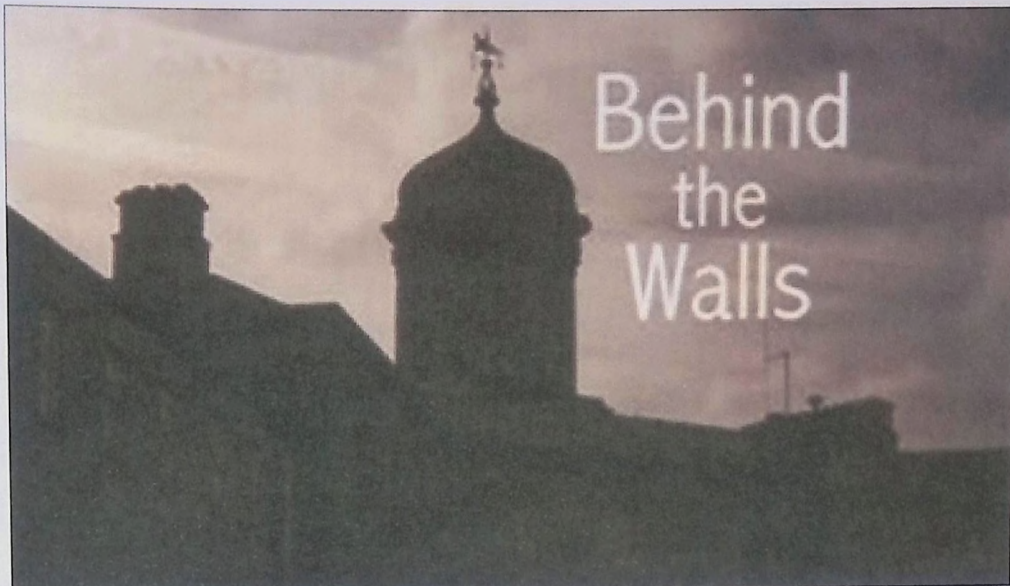
The film is based on a book of the same title by John Le Carré.

Le Carré was an MI6 operative in the 1950s and 1960s, but won respect as a critic of western imperialism and opposed the war in Iraq.

In 2003 he wrote: 'How Bush and his junta succeeded in defecting America's anger from bin Laden to Saddam Hussein is one of the great public relations conjuring tricks of history'.

TV DOCUMENTARY:

A history of abuse in the mental health service



Behind the Walls, RTE, September 2011

Reviewed by
Kieran McNulty

THE recent two-part documentary, *Behind the Walls*, written and produced by Mary Raftery, investigated conditions in Irish psychiatric hospitals since the 1950s.

These asylums "were dumping grounds for Irish social problems", for "anyone who wasn't wanted in society".

At one stage, Ireland had more psychiatric hospitals per head of population than the Soviet Union.

Initially admitted by a relative "for a rest" many people could be left in these institutions for

over twenty years.

They were frequently subjected to human rights abuses including lobotomies and being injected with enough insulin to induce a coma.

The issue of abuses of power was highlighted by a number of women who bore witness to being sexually assaulted by Dr.

Lane O'Kelly – who died before he could stand trial.

The series was excellent at exposing human rights abuses and how a mental health service might be developed around the recovery model rather than the medical model with its dependence on containment and medication.

However, where the

series falls down is in its failure to tackle the chronic funding crisis in the mental health service.

Vision for Change (VFC), the seven year government strategy is now in its sixth year.

Caroline McGrath of the Mental Health Coalition has argued that because of the embargo on recruitment, VFC is becoming "a mere pipe dream".

Proportionally, Ireland's spending on mental health is less than half that of other Western European states.

This lack of a critical analysis of the government's economic policies on mental health was shown graphically in

the case of the 'Sli Eile' service in West Cork.

While Raftery correctly praises the service for facilitating independent living for people with mental health problems, what she omitted to say was that earlier this year the project faced closure if it could not prevent the HSE cutting its €150,000 grant.

The only way we will improve the mental health service is through mass campaigning involving service user advocates, trade unionists and medical professionals along the lines of that being organised against the cuts to Special Needs Assistants.

Behind the Walls is available on the RTE Player until Monday 3rd October.

LETTER:

Norris on the ballot

As we went to press David Norris still needed three signatures to be nominated.

Dear Editor, I am very disturbed at being deprived of the opportunity to express my opinion about Senator David Norris on the ballot paper on 27th October.

Opinion polls continue to rate the level of support for Senator Norris at about 40% which, in a representative democracy, should yield about 80 Oireachtas signatures on Senator Norris's nomination paper.

I am at a loss to understand why the senator has not even been able to muster 20.

As a believer in democracy, I am unwilling to spoil my vote, yet if my elected representatives, between them, cannot figure out a way to put David Norris on the ballot paper, I feel I have no option but to do it for myself.

In the meantime, I will be sporting a home-made badge saying "I am putting David Norris on the Ballot Paper".

MARGARET DILLANE
Carrick on Shannon
Co Leitrim

BOOK REVIEW:

Recycling old myths

"The Origins of Political Order: from Prehuman Times to the French Revolution" by Francis Fukuyama.

Reviewed by
Jimmy Smyth

FRANCIS Fukuyama came to prominence nearly two decades ago with his book *The End of History and the Last Man*.

He argued the collapse of the Stalinist East European regimes meant not only the end of the Cold War but also 'the end of history'.

Liberal western-style democracy had won; and represented the most advanced and final form of human society.

This idea led Fukuyama to initially support the neo-conservatives of the Bush administration.

Then, in 2008, he supported Barack Obama's election campaign.

It is this trajectory that makes Fukuyama's book of interest.

Not because of its great intellectual rigour or insight but because he represents the 'thinking' element of right-wing American politics.

In his new book,

Fukuyama argues that three elements are necessary for a successful and stable society – the rule of law; the state; and accountability.

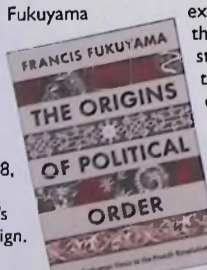
He attempts to show that early human societies from the Chinese dynasties to the Ottoman empire failed because at least one of these three elements was not present.

Some on the left, such as Will Hutton, have welcomed Fukuyama's defence of the state against extremist trends on the right of American and British politics.

Fukuyama argues that politics develops separately from other elements of human society (e.g. economic, scientific and technological) and rejecting Marx and Engels' idea that "The history of all hitherto

existing society, is the history of class struggles." For a theory on how change actually occurs in society Fukuyama is forced to rely upon outdated ideas from socio-biology and the 19th century errant misery-guts Thomas Malthus.

A far better place to start is with Chris Harman's *A People's History of the World* and leave Fukuyama to contemplate the origins of his ever changing moods.



Speakers include...
Wassim Wagdy (Egyptian Socialist)
Laurie Penny (author & Guardian columnist)
Alex Callinicos (author of 'The Culture of Illusions')
Panos Garganas (Irish revolutionary socialist)

Richard Boyd Banett TD (author of 'The Crisis of Capitalism')
Gavan Tilley (author of 'The Crisis of Multiculturalism')
Kieran Allen (author of 'Marx & the Alternative to Capitalism')

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The flame of revolt against this madness and the injustices of this system has spread from the streets of Cairo to the occupied squares of Athens and Madrid.

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Socialist Worker

Defend Public Services on 5 October.

Support Unison Strikes

By SEAN MITCHELL

WORKERS in the Unison trade union in Northern Ireland are to strike against cuts on 5 October.

This action will involve thousands of public sector workers, including nurses, cleaners and classroom assistants.

It is an important first step in challenging the government.

UNISON General Secretary, Dave Prentis said: "We've been patient, we've cooperated, but there comes a time when we say 'enough is enough', because if we don't, they'll be back for more."

NIPSA are also preparing to enter the battle against the cuts.

NIPSA are currently balloting its members in a crucial vote.

There is a huge groundswell of anger over pensions, pay and cuts; but we can't simply rely on this to secure a yes vote.

Many members are detached from their unions and we need to be working hard to build for the strikes from the grassroots up.

A strong response in the ballot is a crucial step in ensuring a strong strike in the future.

TUC breakthrough

The recent TUC conference in London finally made the move that millions of workers were waiting for when they announced 30 November as a day for coordinated strike action in Britain.

This move will see a range of unions, including Unite, Unison and GMB taking strike action together.

The call by the TUC has changed the playing field and 30 November is a date we all need to be working towards.

We need to work to ensure that all unions in the North heed the call and turn 30 November into a huge day of action against austerity.

Media and politicians

Of course this isn't how it is being discussed in the media.

Most media outlets and political parties are talking about the strikes being 'unnecessary' and are trying to use scare tactics to prevent them.

The truth is that the thought of strikes is worrying the government and they want to stop the union movement in their tracks.

They are scared that we will be in-



Public sector workers striking on 30 June in defence of their pensions.

spired by the Greek workers' refusal to accept austerity and fight back in the same way.

Recently Nick Clegg warned of a 'long, hard road ahead'.

The Westminster government and their lackeys in Stormont are as committed as ever to the programme of cuts.

But they aren't invincible and have shown themselves to be weak when faced with mass resistance.

Protests work

The success of protests has been most evident here in the North.

When faced with anger and mass protests the Assembly has backed down.

Originally, Stormont were determined to increase fees to at least £5000 for NI students.

But the scale of the student protests last year made this more difficult.

Politicians knew that a hike in fees would lead to mass resistance and they buckled.

The Assembly has been beaten back on a number of occasions.

Just think of Water Charges, the Parking Tax or the Public Assemblies bill – all were proposed and all were defeated.

Over the next 2 months we need to build the biggest possible movement against austerity.

Strikes can be a powerful weapon for working-class communities.

We must ensure that in every workplace the strike ballot for 30 November is won and that we are building networks of support and solidarity in the process.

Resistance works.

By striking together we can show the politicians that we have the power to stop the cuts.

WHAT YOU CAN DO:

■ Convince as many people as possible to vote yes in strike ballots for 30 November

■ Support the Unison strikes on 5 October – visit the picket lines

■ If not already a member, join a union

■ Organise a meeting in your workplace

■ Contact Socialist Worker, let us know what you're doing (email: info@swp.ie)

Inside on p4: Should Martin McGuinness be President of Ireland?