

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

**Fight the
water
charges!**

**STOP THE
CUT-OFFS!**

**Picket
Rathfarnham
District Court
10.30 am
Thursday
16th
November**

TURN TO PAGE TWO

Divorce Referendum:

STAND UP TO

THE BISHOPS

Vote YES on November 24th

Fight the water charges

STOP THE CUT-OFFS!

Picket Rathfarnham District Court, 10.30 am Thursday 16th November
Called by the Federation of Anti-Water Charges Campaigns

ON NOVEMBER 16th eighty five people from Tallaght, Rathfarnham and Firhouse will appear before Rathfarnham District Court.

South Dublin County Council is seeking court orders for the disconnection of their water supplies for non-payment of water charges.

Hundreds more non-payers will be dragged before the Courts over the following weeks.

Refusing

Over 60,000 households in the Dublin area are currently refusing to pay the water charges.

This represents over 50% of households.

"The only crime we're committing is refusing to be double-taxed."

"The Government are taxing the needy and not the greedy.", according to John who is actively campaigning in the Cherryfield area.

Ellen from Baldoyle

won't end at water charges.

Annoyed

"They will have us paying for street lighting and bin collections if they could get away with it. It's

a disgraceful issue."

Patsy who is fighting the charges in Ballinteer says, "People are very angry about this issue and many of us are prepared to go to jail rather than give in to a sell-out Government".

Democratic Left, Labour turn coat

LARRY Goodman has never appeared before the courts even though Irish taxpayers are having to pay £100 million to the EU for the swindles that went on in his companies.

Yet workers who refuse to pay double taxation have been dragged before the courts.

And the Labour Party and Democratic Left bear a terrible responsibility for this situation.

Ellen remembers "In the last election DL and Labour told us they would stop water charges if they got in and now look at them. They have sold out completely."

John has challenged Labour TD's at

public meetings in Walkinstown but they have run for cover. "Pat Upton told me that he voted against the charges but still he belongs to the Labour Party and it is their policy to push the issue. An individual like him means nothing when it comes to party policy."

"I used to support the Workers Party and lobbied for people like Eric Byrne who is now in Government and look what they are doing!"

Last month a Labour Party policy document on local government was forced to admit that service charges should be abolished.

But they are still happy to sit in a Government which is responsible for sending non-payers before the Courts to cut off their water supplies.

Mobilise the unions to beat these charges

THE FIGHT against water rates has now come to a crunch time. In the next few weeks the government can be beaten if thousands take to the streets and the unions start to mobilise.

Patsy believes that "every Council meeting and Court case should be picketed. We need a huge turnout for the demos. It will be hard to win the case in Court without massive demonstrations."

"If it fails there we need to be ready in our own estates to get out and stop any cut-offs. We can physically block anybody who comes to cut us off."

John has organised a delegation from his workplace for the demo on the Courts. "I believe this could be as big as the tax issue in the trade union movement."

Support

"There is real support for people who are refusing to pay. If the unions got involved it would get headlines. The Government could

be forced to bury it."

Liam, a shop steward in an engineering factory in Tallaght has organised for workers to take a days leave to come out on the demo.

Stoppage

"If we get more than half of the workers to apply for leave then we are going to

call a work stoppage. The mood in the factory is very strongly in favour.

"If the unions called for official stoppages on this issue the Council would be in big trouble. Workers have the power to stop the charges."

It is vital that workplaces should organise a delegation to the picket of the Courts and bring their union banners.

This is how to treat the water rats

THE Hillview Estate in Waterford has set an example on how to deal with water-rats—the scab contractors used by councils to turn off water supplies.

A local resident, Tommy Hogan, recalls what happened.

"The contractors came to Hillview last year to cut off a school teacher with four children. Locals surrounded the van."

"The crowd grew bigger and bigger because people had fought this issue for years and were determined to stop the council cutting off the water. In the end the Gardai could not protect them and we drove them off."

"They haven't tried to cut anybody off since Hillview. When the Waterford Trades Council threatened a stoppage on the issue it really frightened the councillors."

"The trade union movement needs to take this issue very seriously and start to mobilise opposition."

inside the system

Poor old Sean

FIANNA FAIL Senator Sean Doherty is looking for more money for Senators and TDs. His own record shows why it is nonsense.

■ Soon after becoming Minister, Doherty had charges of serving after hours dropped against a friend who owned a pub and was a party colleague.

■ He got £15,000 from the state to make his house more secure.

The contract for the job went to his brother.

■ When Jimmy McGovern from Fermanagh was assaulted by Garda Tom Nangle, a brother-in-law of Doherty's, Doherty arranged for the RUC to arrest McGovern and hold him in Castlereagh on the morning of the hearing. Nangle was subsequently acquitted.

■ Doherty was the guiding force behind the infamous phone-tapping scandal of journalists Bruce Arnold and Geraldine Kennedy's conversations.

And he has the cheek, to look for more money for public representatives.

HOSPITAL CRISIS:

85-year old waited 9 hours

HOSPITAL waiting lists continue to get worse and worse.

Most recently, an 85 year old Galway man was forced to wait for nine hours in the UCG hospital before a bed could be found for him.

The pensioner previously had a scheduled eye operation postponed three times.

Endure

His nephew said, "It's a downright disgrace in this day and age

that people who are ill, especially the elderly have to endure this sort of treatment".

A spokesperson for the Western Health Board said such matters were outside their control when resources were stretched.

WELCOME TO FRANCE

A GROUP of Danish secondary students found out just how unhappy the French government is about the protests against nuclear tests in the Pacific.

French border police recently barred a group of 25 Danish students from entering France.

Their crime? Wearing anti-nuclear T shirts reading, "Chirac, non!"

The students agreed to take off the offending shirts. But that didn't satisfy the authorities.

Escorted

They escorted the Danish "subversives" to their Paris hotel and kept them under surveillance for several hours.

Niamh the Scab

Eurovision song winner Niamh Kavanagh is the media darling again with a new album release.

What the papers conveniently forget is that this is the same Niamh who blatantly crossed the bank strike picket line a few years ago when she was working there.

★ THE computer company, Digital, have given their chairman and chief executive, Robert Palmer, a bonus of £230,000.

This was in addition to his salary of £550,000. Why?

Palmer was the person who closed down Digital's Galway plant, leaving 800 on the dole.

Getting the boat

EMIGRATION has started to rise again. 38,900 left the country in 1992 and last year the figure jumped to 41,500.

Meanwhile West Tallaght and Clondalkin have

been designated special European assistance because of the huge unemployment of the estates.

But Labour and Democratic Left have no answers. "Capitalism does not exist in these areas", a source close to Junior Minister Pat Rabbitte said.

★ SOCIALIST Worker Party members were outside the Holy Redeemer church on Bray's Main street where they usually have a stall, campaigning on divorce.

Out comes the priest to move them away. A lot of people, he says, were getting confused and were phoning to ask if the Church was in favour of divorce.

We are sure that the good priest will set the record straight by haranguing the congregation on the evils of divorce from his pulpit.

Democratic Left Councillor leads anti-divorce campaign

THE LEADING Democratic Left councillor in Tallaght, Mick Billane, is the convener of the anti-divorce campaign in the area.

Billane was formerly an advocate of hardline policies in the Workers Party but in more recent times advocated a 'Christian section' inside Democratic Left.

Now he has linked up with some extreme right-wing elements to campaign against divorce.

Confirmed

Democratic Left headquarters seem to have no problems with the activities of this councillor.

Party General Secretary, John Gallagher confirmed that he is still a member of

the party and that there is no intention to expel him.

This is crass opportunism. Billane was formerly a Director of Elections for Pat Rabbitte in the constituency and has been an active canvasser who has garnered him many votes in West Tallaght.

The refusal of DL to discipline Billane is a major stab in the back for the divorce campaign in a constituency that returns three left wing TDs.

Pollution in Dublin ten times the limit

DUBLINERS have to suffer serious pollution problems, even though the government claims to be pushing environmental issues.

Spot checks on exhaust fumes in the city centre show levels of fine airborne particles that are 10 times the daily EU limit.

The particles, PM10s are linked to respiratory and heart illness.

The magazine, *New Scientist*, has estimated that PM10s were a contributory factor in the deaths of 111 people in Belfast in 1994 alone.

we think DIVORCE: WE CAN WIN

THE MOVEMENT for divorce in Ireland is being fuelled by a bitterness at the hypocrisy of the Bishops.

When Cathal Daly appeared on the *Late Late Show* as a publicity gimmick to win votes, thousands were outraged at his arrogance.

The man who ignored warnings about the activities of the child abuser, Fr Brendan Smyth had the gall to tell ordinary people how to live their lives.

Throughout the whole child abuse scandals, the main concern of the Catholic Church has been to stop

any claims for damages that might arise against them.

Worry

The main worry about getting a big YES vote out now, is the cowardice of the Dail politicians.

For the last year, they

have been assuring pro-divorce supporters that the 'all-party consensus' would be enough to win the issue.

But this has been a fraud. Not surprising Fianna Fail have not lifted a finger to promote a YES vote and key figures in Fine Gael, such as Paddy Cooney, have been canvassing against divorce.

Now unbelievably, it has been revealed that the Left wing parties, Labour and Democratic Left have made

political decision not to canvass for a YES vote.

Revealed

At a public meeting in Bray, the DL campaign coordinator, Liz McManus, revealed that the party had decided not to go around knocking on doors because it was a 'moral issue'.

They see no problem is allowing one of their councillors, Mick Billane, to lead the anti-divorce campaign in his area. (see page

2).

This lethargy has infected the pro-divorce movement. The Divorce Action Group decided to call off a protest march in the last week of the campaign allowing the bigots to dominate the streets with a 'prayer rally'.

No wonder the *Sunday Business Post* could write that with just weeks away, 'the YES campaign may not have got off the ground at all'.

The right to divorce can still be won—because tens of thousands want some real change in this country.

But it is vital that genuine socialists step up their campaign in the coming weeks to give a voice to the anger that exists against the Bishops.

Gloom over Peace Process

THE voices of concern about the fate of the Northern peace process are growing. The British government have made a decision to push the republicans as far as they can go.

Occasionally they release small groups of prisoners or make announcements about a few hundred troops leaving.

But they are determined to humiliate the republicans by demanding a handing up of weapons. The demand has nothing to do with peace or security.

150,000 legal weapons are still scattered around the North while no investigation has ever been mounted to explain why the MI5 agent Brian Nelson helped to import South African guns for loyalist assassins.

The deadlock in the peace process is now beginning to



Adams: rushing to US

show up in the increased strains within the republican movement. Reports from Belfast indicate considerable disension and even defections.

The reality is that the euphoria about Gerry Adams' leap to stardom has worn off.

One option is to try to move even closer to the US administration in the hope they will pressurise the British government. Adams response to the new crisis, for example, is again to rush over to the US. But this will get nowhere.

Votes

Clinton may want more Irish American votes but he sees the British government as one of his allies in keeping the world safe for Western banks and multi-nationals.

The other option of a return to armed struggle is equally disastrous. Working class people in the North have enjoyed

the peace and would turn on any group that tried to re-start the conflict. It would create the openings for massive state repression on both sides of the border.

The only real strategy that can bring change is one that seeks to break out of the ghettos of the North in order to forge a united and militant workers movement.

Thousands of Catholic and Protestant now sense that class is the real divide in the North.

They will be sickened by how all political leaders from Adams to Paisley grovel at the feet of Clinton when he visits here.

But that class sentiment can easily dissipate unless there is a strong socialist force built.

That has to start off by ar-

guing with the militant minority in both communities.

Socialists have to argue that Protestant workers have no interest in lining up with Trimble or Paisley to defend institutions which oppress Catholics.

Argue

But we also need to argue that the attempt to align Catholic workers with 'nationalist Ireland' will bring them no benefits and will make it harder to win Protestant workers to a fight against sectarianism.

As a new pessimism grows about the peace process, this has become more urgent than ever.

Marxism

95

A revolution in ideas

A weekend of political meetings organised by the Socialist Workers Party

30 meetings Highlights includes:

November 24, 25, 26, Ormond Multi-Media Centre, Ormond Quay, Dublin

With over 30 meetings, here are some of the highlights

'Marxism 95 arms you with the ideas to fight back and is a must for everyone who wants to see a better world'—Bernadette, Dublin

FRIDAY NIGHT:

- ★ The case for revolution, Eamonn McCann & Chris Bambery
- ★ Fifty years of Animal Farm—The politics of George Orwell
- ★ The myth of Michael Collins

SATURDAY AFTERNOON:

- ★ Prof. Brian Manning on Cromwell
- ★ The Politics of the famine
- ★ Debate with Sinn Fein on Where's the peace process going?
- ★ Can Green-peace save the planet?

SATURDAY MORNING:

- ★ World War 2: Was it a war for democracy?
- ★ Whatever happened to women's liberation?

SATURDAY EVENING:

- ★ Forum: Is art political?
- ★ 1936: The Spanish Civil War

SUNDAY MORNING:

- ★ Church and state in Ireland;
- ★ Darwin and human origins
- ★ Forum on drugs with Dr Paul O'Mahony and Mary Smith

SUNDAY AFTERNOON:

- ★ The Black Panthers with Nicky Johnson (black British socialist);
- ★ Freud, madness and civilisation
- ★ Final Rally: Building the socialist alternative with Kieran Allen and Jim Larmour

Get the full programme

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Vote Yes in Divorce Referendum

Stand up to the bishops!

Don't call me father —call me bishop!

AS THE divorce campaign enters its final weeks, opinion polls are showing that only one third of people are voting NO in the referendum.

But now the Bishops and their supporters in fringe right wing groups are trying to mount a scare campaign. They are telling four big lies to swing the vote.

■ Lie No 1

"Divorce will lead to a 10% increase in taxes."

Thousands of people separate in Ireland every year. Whether or not divorce is passed, marriages will still break up.

Divorce simply gives these people the right to re-marry. That right hardly costs a penny.

Today couples who live together cannot claim a married person's tax allowance—even though the Department of Social Welfare treats them the same as a married couple.

With divorce this injustice would be remedied.

PAYE workers have big tax bills because the multi-nationals and the Irish boss class pay the lowest tax on profits in Europe.

Nobody who came out on the huge tax marches of the early 1980s, thought that marriages or separations had anything to do with the issue.

■ Lie No 2

Divorce will throw women into poverty.

This is pure hypocrisy. In the past the Bishops campaigned to have married women thrown out of the workforce.

Up to 1973, married women teachers, for example, lost their jobs.

It is the Bishops and the fundamentalists who have tried to impoverish women by keeping them in a position of financial dependence.

As late as 1992, one of the leaders of the No Divorce Campaign, Niamh Nic Mathuna, called in her election literature for married women to be thrown out of work.

The majority of applications for divorce are from women.

Although they have often had money worries, these are outweighed by the suffering of a bad marriage.

Today the vast majority of separation come from families where the women are working or where both partners are unemployed.

It is precisely because women are less financially

dependent on men than they were in the past, that they are able to walk out of bad marriages.

■ Lie No 3

Divorce destroys children.

The bigots behind the anti-divorce campaign have never denounced the child sex abuse that has gone on among the Catholic clergy.

They never condemned the fact that the Bishops simply moved around priests like Brendan Smyth rather than reporting him to the civil authorities.

But now they want to blame separated people for destroying their own children.

Most children are damaged because they grow up in a life of poverty.

Today one third of Irish children are born to families that are dependent on social welfare.

Surviving on a measly allowance is what causes most damage to children.

Where parents separate it can be painful for children, if it is handled badly. But it is the separation and not divorce which causes distress.

■ Lie No 4

Divorce destabilises the marriages of the majority.

Most people who are married stay together because they want to. They do not remain a couple because of the laws of the state or the church.

But the bigots believe

that we have to be stigmatised and shamed into living the way they approve of.

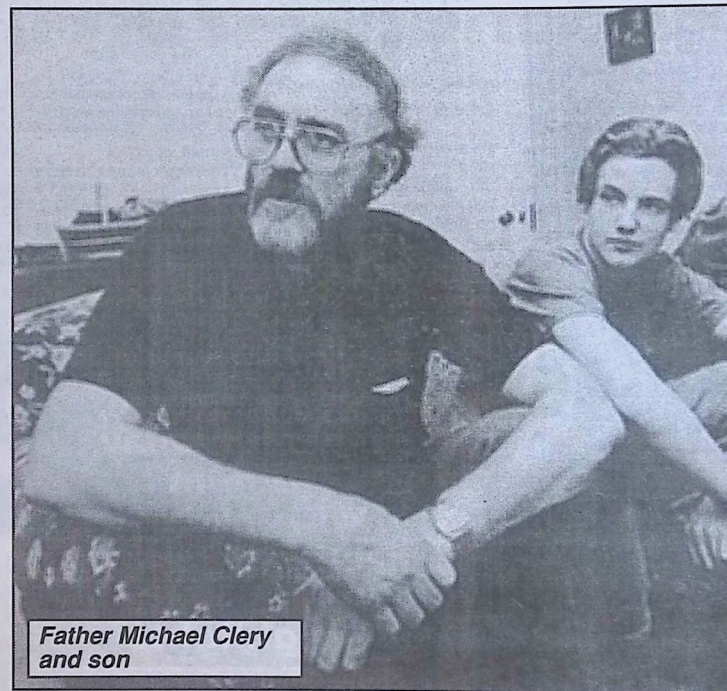
The reality is that their policies are a failure.

When there is no divorce, marriages still break up. After divorce was rejected in 1986 the number of separations in Ireland has still risen by 48%.

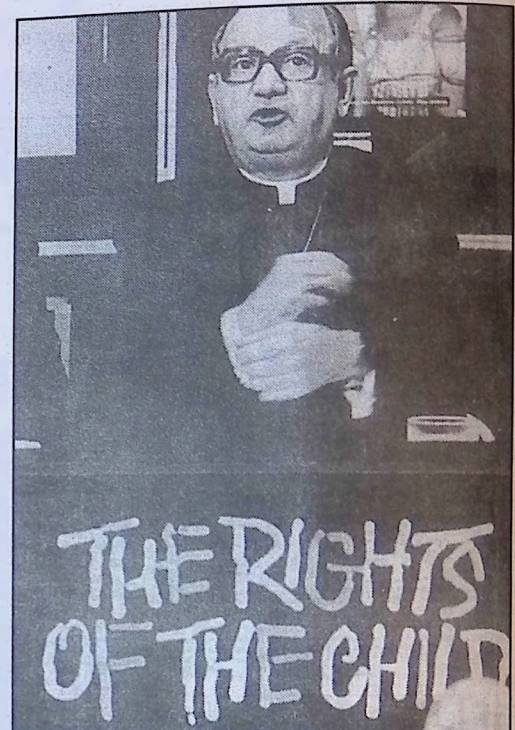
Even while the Bishops denounce divorce, they still give out more annulments

every year. In the decade between 1982 and 1992, the number of annulments jumped by 348%.

The tragedy was that hundreds took this avenue because there was no divorce. They had to tell the most intimate details of their sex lives to priests like Fr Payne who, it is now revealed, was taking pornographic films of young boys he abused.



Father Michael Clery and son



THE DIVORCE issue was defeated in 1986 after a ferocious campaign by the Bishops.

Their two most active campaigners who lectured people on family values turned out to be the greatest hypocrites.

■ **Bishop Eamon Casey.** He stood on the pulpits and denounced the evils of divorce for breaking up the family.

Neglected

But Eamon Casey was a father who neglected his own son for the pomp and ceremony of high office. For 18 years he refused to speak to his own son, Peter lest his hypocritical position be undermined.

Instead, he took money from the Galway diocese to try to buy the silence of Annie Murphy.

■ **Father Michael Clery.** He helped to organise a big anti-divorce campaign in the Finglas area of Dublin and on one occasion can't close to a physical fight with pro-divorce supporters.

Refused

But this priest who helped found Youth Defence was again a complete hypocrite.

He refused to publicly acknowledge that he had two sons.

One son remained with him in his house with Phyllis Hamilton who he could only call his 'housekeeper'.

The other son was given up for adoption so that his image could be protected.

The real issue

75,000 people have officially separated in Ireland. Some have left violent and abusive relationships.

Others just decided that their marriages were dead and agreed to part.

All of them have the right to re-marry if that is what they choose.

No state or Bishop should be able to tell adults what sort of relationships they can have.

Confined

But while voting YES in this referendum, we should realise that it does not go far enough.

The right to divorce should not be confined to a small upper class group in Irish society.

It should be freely available to working class people without any restrictions.

The tragedy is that at a time when the Bishops have never been so weak in Irish society, the Labour Party and Democratic Left are bringing in a very restrictive measure.

■ **Couples will have to wait four years before applying.**

But there is nothing shameful about divorce and people should not have to be punished for decisions they made in the past.

■ **Judges will have power to decide if someone has 'adequate material means' to re-marry.**

This means that Michael Smurfit can sail through with a divorce but

an unemployed worker can be rejected.

Fought

This is a disgraceful piece of class discrimination that has to be fought.

We should vote YES to help break the stranglehold of the Bishops and get this small reform

through. But we should continue the fight to make the right to divorce a reality for the working class.

American money fuels the Right

The anti-divorce lobby says it stands for traditional Irish values.

But their campaign is being organised and funded by sinister elements of the American far right. Expensive posters and billboard advertisements have appeared all over the country.

The money has come from Human Life International.

This is an extreme right organi-

sation in the US led by a Fr Paul Marx.

Murdered

Paul Marx has argued that the children of immigrants are 'outbreeding' whites.

Human Life International is also associated with Operation Rescue which is a violent organisation that has murdered pro-abortion doctors and nurses.

ISRAEL'S PRIME MINISTER ASSASSINATED: Rabin lived and died by the sword

YITZHAK RABIN, the murdered Israeli Prime Minister, was not a peace maker who died a martyr's death. He lived by the sword and died by the sword.

Throughout his life Rabin played a central part in the Zionist project—the creation of an exclusively Jewish state in the middle east.

Rabin knew such a state could only be born in blood, be maintained by force and could only survive by policing the region for the western powers.

He was a key commander in the Jewish underground army, the Hagana, and boasted in his memoirs of driving 50,000 Palestinians from their homes as the state of Israel was carved out of Arab land in 1947 and 1948.

As chief of staff he ordered Israel's 1967 attack on its Arab neighbours that began the Six Day War.

Intifada

In the 1970s he was Prime Minister and encouraged the creation of the Jewish settlements in Gaza and the West Bank which were the spiritual home of his killer.

In 1984 Rabin became defence minister and at the start of the Palestinian uprising, the Intifada, he shocked the world by ordering his troops to "break the bones" of the protesters.

by **MIKE SIMONS**

Up to 2,000 Palestinians died in the repression of the Intifada. Tens of thousands were injured and jailed.

In 1992, as prime minister, Rabin ordered an invasion of Lebanon that killed hundreds and forced 300,000 to flee for their lives.

Throughout his military

and political career Rabin did his utmost to satisfy the needs of western powers, mainly the US, who wanted to control the region and its oil.

US President Bill Clinton, John Major and the other heads of state attended Rabin's funeral in recognition of Israel's role as watchdog for the west.

However, Rabin and foreign minister Shimon Peres came to realise that military might alone could not secure Israel's future.

Rabin understood that the permanent colonisation of

Arab land would mean permanent war for Israel and he began to talk about a deal offering "land for peace".

He led Israel's Labour Party to election victory in 1992 on this basis.

Driven

They began the moves towards an agreement with the Palestine Liberation Organisation that won Rabin the accolade of "peace-maker".

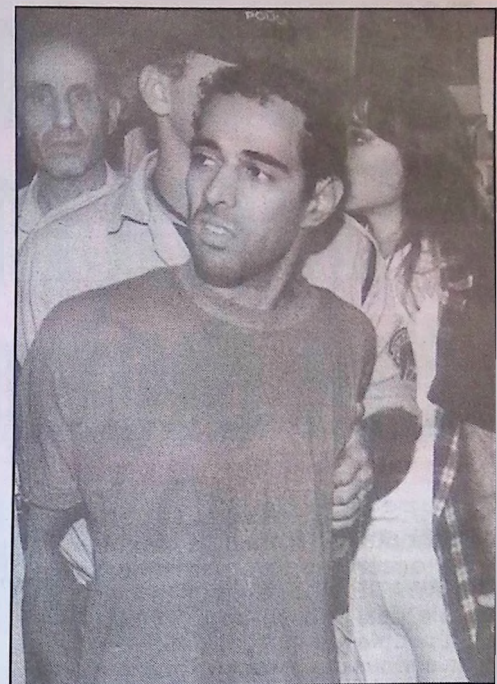
But the "peace" which Rabin wanted did not mean justice for the Palestinians

driven from their homes.

It offered little to the Palestinians living under Israeli domination in the Gaza Strip and West Bank, occupied by Israel after the 1967 war.

And it offered nothing at all to the hundreds of thousands living in exile just across Israel's northern border in Lebanon.

Indeed, Rabin was still sanctioning the expansion of Israeli settlements in the occupied territories and preparing for the annexation of Jerusalem on the day he was gunned down.



Rabin's assassin, extreme Zionist Yigal Amir

Crumbs offered to Palestinians

RABIN WANTED to offer Palestinians some control over the territories Israel had conquered during the 1967 war.

But the whole of Israel is built on land conquered by Jewish colonial settlers. They created a Jewish state by driving Palestinians from land they had occupied for thousands of years.

Generations of Israelis had grown listening to leaders like Rabin deny there was any such thing as a Palestinian, let alone that they had rights.

Indeed the main opposition party, Likud, has long demanded the creation of a "Greater Is-

rael"—involving the annexation of more land and the expulsion of more Palestinians.

Separation

Even when Rabin talked of peace, it was not on the basis of granting real rights to the Palestinians, but on the total separation of Palestinian and Jews.

Nevertheless, Rabin's strategy of "land for peace" threatened to end the dream of a greater Is-

rael and provoked a series of increasingly violent reactions.

In 1993 Jewish settler Baruch Goldstein massacred over 30 Palestinians as they prayed in a mosque in Hebron.

The slaughter was passed off as the work of a mad man but Goldstein was a well known public figure in Israel.

He was a spokesman for the settlers, a major in the army, who carried out his massacre with his army-issued weapon under the noses of army units.

Rabin's killer, Yigal

Amir was also called mad man, yet he was a reserve soldier in the elite Golani brigade and a prominent settler activist.

Neither Amir nor Goldstein were demented individuals.

Land

Robert Fisk, the London *Independent* journalist says, both "were the product of a fundamentalist Israeli society that lives on Arab land and which has frequently announced it will fight its own government to keep it."

After the Hebron massacre Rabin refused to take action against ultra-right wing Jewish fanatics.

Instead settlers "rights" were enshrined in the latest agreement with the PLO signed in September.

Yet the settlements are the breeding ground of the political movements that produced killers like Goldstein and Amir.

In Israel shock at the murder of Rabin will strengthen calls for peace. The settlers and the right will find themselves isolated for a while.

But the kind of peace Rabin was trying to construct, and which Peres will continue with, will not bring a lasting solution.

Secular

There can be no peace while Israel dominates the Palestinians economically, politically and militarily.

Real peace depends on creating a secular, democratic state in Palestine where both Jews and Arabs can live side by side as equals with no special privilege over each other.

Referendum in Canada

Why Quebec split over separation

THE PEOPLE of the Quebec province of Canada voted not to separate from the rest of the country, by a wafer thin margin.

Yet the media in Ireland were mystified as to why so many of the people of Quebec wanted self determination.

They failed to recognise that the desire to separate is the result of a history of oppression which goes back to the mid-18th century.



What is the real solution?

THE RIGHT wing policies of the leaders of the movement for Quebec self determination became clear as soon as the result was announced.

Quebec federal premier Jacques Parizeau immediately blamed the 'ethnic vote' for the defeat.

Another Bloc Quebecois leader, Lucien Bouchard had earlier attacked white Quebec women for not having enough children, implying that they would be outstripped by the immigrant birth rate.

Bouchard is a former Tory cabinet Minister who has helped to spearhead attacks on Quebec's public sector unions.

Canada has suffered heavily from the recessions of the 1980s and 1990s and the defeats suffered by the unions has left many workers bitter.

In English speaking Canada this bitterness is being turned against the French separatists and French speakers in general.

And the bitterness also fuels the idea that if you are a French speaker, the rest of Canada is to blame.

In reality, separation would not give French Quebec workers a better life.

They would still be exploited by bosses who speak their own language.

Mantle

And over the past 20 years the mantle of the fight for self-determination has passed from a movement from below to a right-wing pro-capitalist movement from above.

It is now embodied by Lucien Bouchard, the leader of the separatist organisation Bloc Quebecois.

QUEBEC IS the second largest of Canada's ten provinces.

French is the first language of over 80 percent of Quebec's population of 7.3 million people. Some three and a half million speak only French.

Eleven percent of the population are of Anglo Saxon origin.

The rest are a small number of "First Nation" peoples such as Cree Indians plus larger numbers of immigrant workers, typically

from third world countries.

The French speaking Quebecers are descendants of peasants, soldiers, convicts and small merchants who settled the colony of New France during the 17th and 18th centuries.

Culture

In 1760 British forces took the colony off the French using the utmost brutality.

The French Quebecers language and culture was suppressed.

It is this memory of conquest and subordination that drives the movement for self-determination.

Even today this history is remembered by Quebec car number plates bearing the message "Je Me Souviens"—"I Remember".

This oppression survived up to the 1970s.

A 1970 report showed that the 17 percent English speakers in the province were con-

centrated in managerial positions and earned more than their French speaking counterparts.

It took a wave of mass agitation led by trade unionists and a general strike in 1972 to force concessions from the federal powers, including language recognition.

As a result over the past 20 years a middle class of French Quebecers have integrated into Canadian capitalism.

Today 40 percent of manufacturing industry in Quebec

Centuries of oppression

Depression: Down in the dumps

DEPRESSION—we all experience bouts of it from time to time.

But according to organisations like AWARE who attempt to help people deal with it, up to 200,000 Irish people are currently suffering from serious depression of one form or another.

10,000 of those will have to be hospitalised in any given year and the cost to the nation is around £280 million annually.

Because of the stigma attached to depression and other mental illnesses three out of four workers who experience it will not inform their employer.

Even when some workers do relay their illness to their employer they find there is little practical help available to them.

Although many workplaces have sick schemes many women who suffer post-natal depression for example are forced to rely on social welfare payments once their maternity leave has been used up.

Depression is often caused by social pressures.

The isolation and meaninglessness of much of life under capitalism can be devastating for many.

Prozac

In the US there are now 12 million people suffering from depression and drugs like Prozac are commonly used even though there are dangerous side effects.

The numbers suffering depression during the Christmas holiday period almost always increases.

For weeks leading up to the holiday workers are bombarded with ads and programmes on television, radio and in the newspapers that constantly push the need to spend, spend, spend—money working class people very

by **MICK DOYLE**

often don't have.

The hyped up expectations of family get-togethers often end in crashing disappointment, rows and even violence.

For those living alone, the feeling that they should be surrounded by family and friends actually accentuates their everyday loneliness.

According to Sean O'Reilly from AWARE, unemployment is also a major cause of depression in this country.

Unemployment cuts people off from socialising with others and, in a society based on money, undermines their feeling of self worth.

Surveys have shown that as many as one in three of the long term unemployed will suffer from 'minor' psychiatric disorders.

Another key group who suffer from depression are working class housewives.

The sense of isolation and loss when children move out can undermine the prescribed roles assigned to women.

The facilities and options available for dealing with depression also comes down to class.

Waiting lists are chronic in working class areas.

In Tallaght, for instance, there is a three year waiting list for children in need of psychiatric help.

There is a chronic lack of trained psychiatrists too in the public health boards and once a sufferer has been diagnosed, drugs and not psycho therapy is usually the pre-

scribed course of action.

It seems that the stereotypical image of the working class housewife, trying to raise a young family and popping valium to beat the band, is not so far from the truth after all.

Child psychiatrist, Dr. Peadar O'Grady believes that the inability of many psychologists to help their clients has a lot to do with their background.

Often they come from a wealthy background and as a result have an inability to see the world through the eyes of the working class.

He quotes a study carried out recently that proved that people suffering from depression tended to have a more realistic view of the world than their doctors.

Sex Life

And yet, he claims, the attitude that all a man suffering from depression needs is a kick up the backside and a woman, a good sex life is still fairly prevalent in the world of mental health.

Tom, a sufferer, supports this view:

"I've been shunted from place to place for the past ten years, pumped full of drugs, and they still don't seem to know how to deal with me."

"Half the time I don't think they care."

Very probably, depression will continue to affect some even in a society based on social equality.

But a serious attempt to bring such a society about, to eradicate unemployment, class discrimination, low pay and poverty would go a long way towards ending the silent suffering that affects so many.

POLICE ON THE

Why Cherry Orchard riot

THE HALLOWEEN riots in the Cherry Orchard estate on the edge of Ballyfermot have been denounced by sections of the media as "open warfare on police".

They have praised the 100 strong force of Gardai in full riot gear who moved into the estate "to regain control of the area".

But the media have hidden the real truth about what happened.

One local community worker told *Socialist Worker* how "from early that day the police were gearing up to have a go."

"They were around, harassing and taunting the young fellas all day and long before any trouble started."

A local witness described how the patrol cars "drove up on the path towards groups of kids standing on corners".

In the early evening a man standing watching a bonfire with his child got clattered with a police baton across the back of his head.

"He didn't even know the cops were around. This happened long before the riot started".

Phyllis told how she had just left her daughter to the maternity hospital and was returning home with her grandchildren.

"I don't know where they came from but I turned around and there were about five of the biggest men I ever saw in my life shouting at me to "get into the house you scumbag".

"They pulled one of my granddaughters away from me and the other kids were screaming in terror. I'm still trying to get over it."

Beaten Back

Another local man who has seven children told us:

"What we saw looking down our street that night was unbelievable.

"The cops got stuck into everybody. Two young girls across the road were beaten back into the garden. They were only kids.

"My young one was shouting at me to do something.

"But what could I do?"

"They were letting everybody have it."

Despite the denials by the Gardai that they prevented an ambulance from getting into the estate to help a four year-old badly burnt by a petrol bomb, local people tell a different story.

"When the petrol hit the young fella a squad car was right beside it and they just said, 'One of your own did that'. They did nothing to help.

"My brother, he's 13 years old, threw himself on top of the child to put out the flames.

"Everybody around here knows that the cops are lying.

"We all saw them stopping the ambulance getting

through."

Youth in this area are used to police harassment. "They are after us all the time.

"They think we are maggots and they treat us like scum. But they get away with it because nobody gives a damn about this place.

"Who's going to listen or do anything?"

Jeering

A woman standing in her doorway during the riot said, "I saw them beating a young fella and shouting at him,

"Who rules Gallanstown? We rule Gallanstown".

houses, threatening and jeering locals.

Harrasment

Even after the riot ended, the police in full riot gear, continued to patrol the streets, ordering people back into their

Since Halloween night police harassment in the area



The poverty behind

THE UNDERLYING causes of the riots in Cherry Orchard are the appalling conditions which people are forced to live in.

Cherry Orchard is a deprived working class estate of 5,500 people.

There is no school in the area and children have to attend schools as far away as Inchicore and Clon-dalkin.

There is only a private bus service available at the cost of £2.50 per child per week.

"For many families this is a huge cost", according to Ann, a local community worker.

Fares

"We estimate that there is something in the region of £4,500 a year goes out of this area in school bus fares.

"This cost often means that kids don't attend school if the money isn't there or if they miss the bus, they just stay out for the day. There's no choices.

"Many kids eventually drop out of the system altogether".

The area has no health centre, doctor or dentist.

There is not even a telephone or post box in the area.

THE RAMPAGE

Cherry Orchard hard hit by rioters



ing and jeering Ballyfermot area has increased.
ment
een night po-
ent in the

On Thursday evening after the riots at about 8.30 a group of youths standing by a small bonfire in the Oranmore Road area were attacked by Gardai who claim they had thrown a stone at their patrol van. "One van passed us and a few minutes later came back. The police got out and charged at us. We didn't know what happened and ran through the estate but another van was waiting for us and they just got stuck in".

One twelve year old child took cover under a car but the police battoned him out from under it.

Two fifteen year olds were taken to the police station and one of them smacked across the head when he complained. "He was smacked so hard he hit his face off the side of the van."

When their parents got to the station the Gardai refused to allow them to see their kids.

They held and questioned the youths without their parents presence.

Sympathy

One of their mothers told us, "Every time I think of them beating him my stomach turns.

"He's a good kid. He has a little job and he's never in trouble.

"I had some sympathy for the Gardai before but now I have no feelings for them. You wouldn't to what they did to a dog."

we say

Don't scapegoat the poor

THE GARDAI have tried to blame 'drug barons' for organising the riot. They point to graffiti which appeared on walls around Gallanstown 'Let the games begin' as evidence.

Drug abuse is rampant in many working class areas of Dublin.

But to isolate drug abuse as the source of the problem is to ignore the fundamental cause of the riots.

Riots have always been an expression of raw class anger over the treatment meted out by the system.

They are often provoked by the behaviour of the police who see young unemployed people as a threat to property and stability.

The days when the Gardai were seen as a friendly, GAA loving force that turned a blind eye to unlit bicycles are well and truly over.

Complaints

Last year complaints against the police were the highest since records began.

63% of those who registered a complaint reported an 'abuse of authority or oppressive behaviour'.

Increasingly the Gardai see working class areas as enemy territory that has to be controlled.

It comes as no surprise to people living in areas like

Cherry Orchard when a rebellion against the police breaks out.

But for many living outside the ghettos such rebellions come as a shock.

They are often prey to the lies of the media who try to separate the unemployed from the employed.

Repression

This is what our rulers want.

The only way they can deal with the mounting unemployment crisis is to use repression to control those who suffer most from their system—and then isolate them from the rest of workers.

Socialists have to reject this attempt to scapegoat the poor. We are on the side of people who rebel and fight back.

We understand that riots are an expression of the brutality and frustration that capitalism creates.

But they are not enough to challenge the system.

What is required is organisation that works for revolution by uniting workers in struggle, employed and unemployed.

what do socialists say?

Socialists and 'family values'

WHAT IS the socialist attitude to 'family values'?

Bigots like Nora Bennis and Des Hanafin would like to blame the ills of society on there being 'too much freedom' and a lack of 'family values'.

They openly advocate a return to a more authoritarian society where people know their place.

Many people reject the bigots' message but still the idea of 'defending the family' can have a resonance.

Family life seems to be one of the few things people have to cling to, no matter how horrible it can become.

It can give emotional support and satisfaction that is denied in other areas of life.

As Karl Marx put it, the family is the 'heart of a heartless world'.

Socialists look to a new society where people will begin to enjoy real freedom without the insecurities of life under capitalism.

Tradition

That is the tradition of the Bolshevik Party which led the workers' revolution in Russia in 1917.

That revolution had major implications for the family.

Workers overthrew the Tsar and began to create their own society.

The spark of revolt was lit by women textile workers who struck on International Womens' Day to demand "bread for our children and our men home from the front".

The revolution brought gains which went far beyond the mild reforms proposed by today's politicians.

Divorce was made freely available where once it had been a luxury for the ruling class. Women won the right to contraception and abortion as well as complete equality with

men. But the Bolshevik Party which led the revolution did not stop at legal reforms. They encouraged new ways of organising housework, cooking and childcare.

Women would no longer be tied to the home as the workers' state set about making creches, laundries and cheap restaurants available to all.

A leading Bolshevik called Alexandra Kollontai played an important role in championing women's liberation.

She had to reassure both men and women that the new freedoms were not a threat.

A speech she made to a congress of women workers and peasants in Moscow in 1918 later became an inspiring pamphlet called *Communism and the Family*.

In it Kollontai assured women that the workers' state did not intend to tear children from their mothers' breasts or physically break up families.

She argued that the revolution brought choice to women - they would not have to be mothers or wives or do housework *unless they chose to do so*.

The Bolsheviks understood that the family had served a very useful role for the capitalists.

It brought up the next generation of workers on the cheap and absolved the wealthy from every responsibility for providing for a future generation.

This was done by emphasising the role of the woman as a housekeeper. She would cook cheap meals and look after children at no cost to the capitalists.

So determined were the early capitalists to force women to play this role that they restricted access to divorce, birth control and childcare.

In the 1930's De Valera used the same approach when he ex-

cluded married women from the workforce and drew up a constitution which referred to the valued work of 'women in the home'.

The Bolsheviks understood that the cost of feeding and clothing children should be borne by society as a whole. Childcare should not be confined to the 'private realm' of the nuclear family.

This is even more relevant today when more and more married women are taking up paid employment.

They are being forced to combine a 'natural role' as mothers and housekeepers with going out to work.

It is in the interest of working class men and women today to have proper 24 hour creches and decent cheap restaurants which take the burden off the individual home.

Anybody who believes this is 'uneconomic', should consider seriously the huge sums wasted today on arms, advertising or junk food.

Isolated

Socialism would also improve relationships between human beings.

No-one would be coerced into entering or staying in a relationship through legal force or economic need.

Instead they would enjoy relationships based solely on genuine affection.

Tragically the freedom won in Russia in 1917 was short lived.

The revolution became isolated and by the 1930's Stalin was again issuing 'medals for motherhood'.

But Kollontai's early pamphlets and speeches inspired a generation of workers striving to create a better life. The tradition in which she stood, of socialism from below, is the only one that offers real freedom to women and men today.

by DAVE McDONAGH



Behind the anger

often means don't attend money isn't they miss the stay out for there's no

as eventually the system al-

as no health or dentist.

ot even a tel- est box in the

Rubbish dumps and tracts of wasteground surround the estate where Dublin Corporation plans to build another 400 houses.

Trapped

"People around here feel they are trapped.

This is a ghetto which is ignored by the state. We

to fight tooth and nail with government departments for funding for

projects.

"But after the riot TD's and councillors were all ringing up to see what was the problem".

Unemployment rates are three times the national average at 50% and 84% of people are dependent on some form of social welfare.

It is conditions like these which sparked the rebellion against repression and poverty.

OUT NOW!

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The myth of Michael Collins



EVER SINCE Michael Collins was shot dead in an ambush in Co Cork in August 1922 by his former comrades in the IRA, a myth has grown around his name.

Today he has become the symbol of hard military men who make their peace with the system. Some see him as the ideal role model for Martin McGuinness to follow.

Collins was certainly an immensely charismatic and energetic figure. During the War of Independence, he became 'the most wanted man in the Empire' yet he was able to ride around Dublin on an old rusty bike.

He had an abiding cynicism about officials of the British empire. When the British were handing over Dublin Castle to the Irish Free State, their Under Secretary for Ireland, James MacMahon, said "We are glad to see you, Mr Collins". The harsh reply, in a West Cork accent, was "Y are like hell, boy".

But today the myth makers want to go further. Collins is being portrayed as the 'lost leader' who tried to bridge the civil war divide. Had he lived, it is claimed, we would not have gone through the stultifying decades of rule from de Valera.

The reality is very different.

BORN near Clonakilty in Co Cork, Collins was the youngest son of well off farmers. He spent his early working life as a Post Office clerk in Kensington, London.

There he became active in the London GAA and joined the Irish Republican Brotherhood. He returned to Ireland in 1915, not wanting to be conscripted into the British Army to fight in the world war.

Arrested for his involvement in the 1916 Easter Rising, he was imprisoned in Froglich internment camp in North Wales.

But as a republican leader, Collins really came in to his own after his release in December 1916.

Sympathy for the executed men of 1916 combined with a hatred of conscription to produce a new anger throughout the country.

In April 1918, there was a massive one day general strike against conscription. Collins was arrested for urging resistance in Co Sligo but jumped bail and spent the next three years 'on the run.' He was elected a Sinn Fein MP for South Cork as part of the landslide victory of 1918.

His exploits during the War of Independence made him justly famous.

The regular RIC police were reinforced by the notorious Black and Tans and the Auxiliaries.



The Four Courts in flames

As the guerrilla war intensified, these thugs were given a free hand to engage in 'reprisals'.

Towns like Balbriggan were burnt to the ground by the Tans.

Field Marshall Montgomery who took charge of Cork admitted, "It never bothered me a bit how many houses were burnt. Any civilian or Republican soldier who interferes with any officer or soldier is shot at once".

LATER Collins would write, "For these murders no members of the British forces were ever brought to justice.

"The perpetrators were but 'enforcing the law', 'restoring law and order in Ireland'.

He could have been writing about British Army activities in Northern Ireland in the 1990s.

Collins skill as a military leader rests on two key elements of his strategy. He

followed the Fenians, in building up a huge intelligence network inside the British apparatus in Ireland.

When the Lord Mayor of Cork Thomas Mac Curtain was executed by a British death squad, Collins was able to identify and execute one of his assassins within months.

Collins' intelligence service was not just created from on high. Ordinary policemen, hotel porters, shop assistants were his key informants.

Collins' talent was to take the small pieces of information delivered by ordinary people and use it to tear a hole in the greatest empire of the day.

THE second element in Collins' strategy was complete ruthlessness.

Today the Fine Gael party which has adopted him as their own pretend that he fought a gentleman's war that is vastly different from that of the present IRA.

Nothing could be further from the truth.

In November 1920 Collins organised the simultaneous assassination of eleven newly arrived British agents in dawn raids. Some were shot in the presence of wives and girlfriends; one was shot 'in his pyjamas in the garden'. Little mercy was shown in this bloody war.

YET for all Collins' military talents, he ignored the huge social conflict that opened up amidst the War of Independence.

Rural Ireland was deeply divided. There was a class of strong Catholic farmers, 'the rancher' alongside 100,000 farms of less than 10 acres and 450,000 agricultural workers.

As authority broke down, land hunger and industrial unrest swept the country. The Irish Congress of Trade Unions doubled its members between 1916 and 1922.

At first Sinn Fein was prepared to harness these forces. In the words of one IRA

man, "I hadn't the slightest interest in land agitation, but I had every interest in using it as a means to an end"

But soon afterwards Collins and Sinn Fein drew back from what the *Irish Times* called 'agrarian Bolshevism'.

As the strike wave spread, workers were beginning to advance their own demands and some saw the Russian revolution of 1917 as their model.

The Dail issued a proclamation warning that 'the present time when Irish people are locked in a life and death struggle with their traditional enemy is ill chosen for the stirring up of strife among our fellow countrymen'

SINN Fein was also seeking to gain international recognition from the USA and so were terrified of being associated with any radical policies.

Dail Courts, originally set up as an alternative to the British administration, were used to defuse the unrest, often finding in favour of landowners and employers.

The choking off of the class conflict meant that the 3,000 or 4,000 IRA men could never smash the power of the British empire by purely military means, no matter how talented Collins was.

Instead Collins now looked for a quick settlement. The hard military man of the IRA, became the moderate of the day when he recommended acceptance of the Treaty.

He argued that it meant 'incomplete freedom' but that it 'gave the best foothold for final progress'.

It showed that those who fail to mobilise the power of workers are forced to come to terms with the system.

Collins agreed to a partitioned Ireland that would be based on two horrible right wing states.

Once Collins accepted this option, the ardent rebel turned into a conservative politician.

He launched the Irish civil war with an attack on the Four Courts that had been occupied by those opposed to the Treaty.

Collins even turned to his old imperialist enemies to put down his former comrades. In the midst of the bombardment of the Four Courts he telegraphed Churchill.

The message read "Hampered by continued lack of material... promised.. but not available... Essential that action be taken immediately otherwise situation will become impossible".

Churchill cabled back to urge continuing the attack and even offered airplanes, that could quickly be painted in Free State colours.

With British assistance Collins drove back the anti-Treaty forces to their Munster strongholds. It was while driving through one area in Co Cork that he was assassinated.

He was a tragic victim of his own failure to carry through the fight against imperialism.

If he had lived it is doubtful that the Irish Free State would have been any less conservative or sectarian than it is today.

comment

Clinton plays the Irish card

by EAMONN McCANN

ONE OF those White House spokesperson who looks young enough to know better said a couple of weeks ago that Bill Clinton is "fully committed to the Northern Ireland peace process." And more, that "Clinton feels a genuine attachment to the Irish people—all of 'em."

Let's be straight. This is bullshit. I've more emotional attachments, scattered among Irish people than Bill Clinton, but "all of 'em", no chance.

What sort of abject level have Irish commentators been reduced to that they can report this stuff without either laughing or throwing up?

How come they are writing about Clinton's imminent visit to our shores as if we'll all have to have our Sunday clothes on and our hair combed to welcome him?

Let's remember that this is a world class slime-ball we're talking about.

Mind you, it's easy to see why Clinton has developed an affection for the Irish issue. Slick Willie from Arkansas is not exactly surfing on a wave of popularity right now.

All polls show that he's held in contempt by a substantial majority of the American people—including, strangely enough, a majority of those who say they'll vote for him. Presumably they hold the Republicans in even deeper contempt.

Hames

Anyway Clinton's performance rating on every aspect of domestic policy is near zero, and going down. Graphic artists are working on new chart designs to handle how much he is hated. Race relations, law and order, unemployment, health and welfare, education, housing, you name it, Bill Clinton's making a hames of it.

All he has to grasp at to furnish his image for next year's election is foreign policy. He desperately needs to notch up a few successes so he can be presented as a man who brought peace to troubled parts of the world, while enhancing America's interests. That's his commitment to the North. That apart, he doesn't give a monkey's.

So from his point of view, as he sits in the Oval House contemplating the wagon loads of retribution encircling the White House, the North-

ern party leaders must look like the US cavalry riding to a last reel rescue.

Trimble, Adams, Hume, Paisley all parade in turn across the lawn, each anxious to bend his ear—or the ear of whatever official he's sent over to meet them—and ask him, please to take their line into account when deciding his solution to bring with him to Belfast.

Each emerges to face the cameras and say how trippy-dippy happy they are that Mr Clinton has listened to their pitch. For deffo, he must have an attachment to these Irish people—all of 'em.

One thing that emerges from these scenes is that, bitter and bloody as the Northern conflict has been, both Nationalist and Unionist party leaders are in agreement on one thing—none of them purports to represent anything out of harmony with the "national interest" of the US of A, and none of them will have a serious bad word about Bill Clinton.

Sleaze

Thus we can say in advance about any settlement emerging from the "process" that there'll be nothing in it for the Yanks to worry about. This—if it's ever achieved—is going to be a settlement in the general interests of corporate America, and in the specific interests of the sleaze coated faction around Clinton.

There can be argument about the pace of the process, and about who's to blame for holding it up or bringing it to a halt. But there can be no argument that this is where the process is going. Liberation isn't the name of the game. Pacification, more like, and pacification on terms set by the most discredited, ruthless leader of the ruling class of the world.

Are followers of all parties involved in the process content to continue in this direction?

As arrangements are finalised for a mass kowtow to Clinton, have they no sense of dignity left?

BOOK: Is football a political game?

by MARK WOODHEAD

SIMON Kuper's book, *Football Against the Enemy*, explores how football is exploited by ruling classes around the world to try to popularise and strengthen their rule.

Kuper travels three continents and his book is based on conversations with hundreds of people.

Anyone who thinks football is just a game should read the story of Helmut Klopffleisch who lived in East Berlin before the wall came down.

The Stasi secret police compiled a dossier on Klopffleisch. They followed him all over Eastern Europe and even imprisoned him because of his support for Western soccer teams.

To Kuper, Klopffleisch is a hero—a symbol not only of loyalty to the sport he loved, but of resistance to the totalitarian state he hated.

Kuper argues different clubs represent different classes and social forces around the world.

In Spain he claims Barcelona is associated with nationalist resistance to oppression. A Catalan woman tells Kuper, "Franco destroyed our autonomy and forbade our language and he supported Real Madrid."

But Kuper overstates his case. All teams are owned by businessmen in search of a



THESE MUNITIONS workers formed their own football team in 1914

profit. Fans don't normally support their local team because it represents a "social force".

Racist

Millwall has a small racist following but not all Millwall fans are racist. Kuper is in danger of falling into crude stereotyping or providing false political justifications for supporting particular teams.

Soccer is clearly shaped by society. The corruption that runs to the heart of so many capitalist institutions is rampant in football.

Kuper describes brilliantly the racism of the football establishment—especially its attitude to African soccer.

The growing success of African football is threatened by both racism and economic crisis.

The entire Zambian national

team died two years ago when their plane crashed on their way to a world cup qualifying match.

Designed

The plane was not designed to travel the 3,000 miles between Lusaka and Dakar. The Zambian FA could not afford a regular airliner.

Kuper looks for explanations for different features of

the game.

He looks at the impact of feminism on soccer in the US, the roots of the beauty of Brazilian football and why John Major does not support Arsenal.

But a string of interesting insights doesn't add up to an all round theory of football and its role in society.

■ *Football Against the Enemy*, by Simon Kuper, Phoenix, £6.99.

BOOK:

Understanding our century of change

by CHRIS HARMAN

AT NO time in human history has change been as rapid as in the present century.

It has been a century of economic crises, catastrophic famines, devastating wars and sudden revolutions.

Yet few historians have attempted to provide any overview of what has happened.

Eric Hobsbawm's *Age of Extremes*—now out in paperback—does attempt to provide such an overview.

There are many faults with Hobsbawm's account. He glosses over the revolutionary events in Germany in 1918-23.

His account of the Spanish Civil War will disappoint anyone who has seen Ken Loach's *Land and Freedom*.

Above all, he makes the fundamental error of seeing the Stalinist states that existed in Russia and East-

ern Europe as in some way socialist.

But this does not stop the book being of real value to anyone wanting to understand the course of the century.

It tells about the horrors of the First World War and the revolts that followed.

It shows how the debilitating isolation of the Russian Revolution led to Sta-

linism which Lenin would have abhorred.

'Golden Age'

It also tells how the 'golden age' of the 1950s encouraged an optimistic faith in gradual change which has since proven mistaken.

The former British Labour party leader, Neil

Kinnock, once described Hobsbawm as 'my favourite Marxist'.

This was because Hobsbawm decided in the mid-1980s the only future for the left was in embracing the centre. Yet the conclusion of this book should be enough to convince anyone otherwise.

He writes, "We have reached a point of historic

crisis. Our world risks both explosion and implosion... the alternative to a changed society is darkness."

Such a message is hardly compatible with the glib, empty politics preached by Labour Party politicians.

This book will add to your understanding of the world today, providing you do not accept unquestioningly all of Hobsbawm's own judgements.

■ *Age of Extremes* by Eric Hobsbawm, Abacus, £9.99 (plus £1.50 postage). Available from SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

VIDEO:

From quiz shows to Napoleon

REMEMBER the musty old world of *Quicksilver* when Bunny Carr asked questions like "What was Fleet St famous for?" and you won £5 if you answered 'The ESB'.

Robert Redford's film, *The Quiz Show* re-creates wonderfully the atmosphere of the American version of these programmes when families gathered together for the evenings highlight.

But the video shows the manipulation of the sponsoring companies who were obsessed by the TAM ratings.

Companies like NBC often rigged the results by

hearsing the answers beforehand.

In one of the shows they wanted a nice clean cut professor of English literature to display his useless erudition to impress the viewers.

Redford's video is based on a true story of how the US Congress were forced to investigate the fraud.

It is a fascinating video that reveals the inside manipulation of some of the most innocent of TV programmes. Well worth a

watch.

★ COLONEL Chabert is another new video release that is based on a novel by the French writer Balzac, one of Marx's favourite authors.

It tells the story of a colonel in Napoleon's army who returns home after being presumed dead.

Like Cromwell before him, Napoleon became a brilliant general because he opened up the leadership of his army to the ordinary sol-

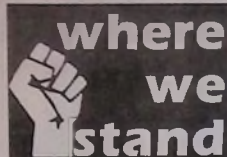
diers.

But when Chabert comes home, he finds that the old Bourbon aristocracy are back in the saddle in France.

Although they could not reverse the changes brought by the French revolution, they could still make sure that society reeked of hypocrisy and position seeking.

Although Balzac was himself a royalist, he had an acute eye for how society degenerated when the old blackguards got back a share of political power.

His story comes across well on the video.



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.

news & reports—politics; the unions—

Right wing scare over the Pill

IN OCTOBER, the British government spread panic among millions of women who were taking the Pill.

Their Department of Health reported that women using any of seven common brands of contraceptive pills run twice the risk of developing thrombosis—deep vein blood clots—as women using other pill types.

The result was that doctors' surgeries and family planning clinics were packed with frightened women wanting to come off the pill.

The panic also spread to Ireland.

The British government issued the warnings on the basis of three studies. However, the information given was completely misleading.

Verified

The studies in question have still not been published or verified.

Both British and Irish doctors were furious at the scaremongering. Even the author of the main study, Professor Waltzer Spitzer, stated the British government for causing "an epidemic of panic".

In fact the risk of thrombosis is minuscule.

The report claims the risk increases from 1.5 in every 10,000 to 3 in every 10,000 who take these pills.

But double that number run the risk of the disease during normal pregnancy.

Ironically, the effect of the scare was to cause some women to come off the Pill risking unplanned pregnancies and thus increasing their chances of developing thrombosis.

The relevant brands of Pill have been available in Ireland for the past seven years.

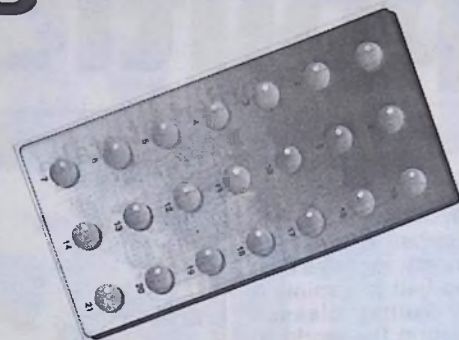
The risks associated with

by GER TUOHY

them have been well known since they came on the market.

Doctors or clinics like the Well Woman haven't prescribed these pills for women most at risk—those over 35 years of age, women who smoke, are over-weight or have a family history of blood-clotting or high blood pressure.

Any potential risk is always outweighed by positive effects of the Pill which is still the safest, most reliable



form of contraception available.

Cysts

It decreases the risk of ovarian and endometrial cancer by 70 per cent.

Incidences of ovarian cysts are cut by 50 per cent and certain types of breast lumps are significantly reduced.

Dr Condrem, a GP in Ballyfermot in Dublin states that the Pill also of-

fers protection against heart disease and strokes which account for 45 per cent of deaths among women.

There have been other "Pill scares" in the past.

These always resulted in a sharp increase in unwanted pregnancies and abortions especially for younger women.

Concern

The Tories did not publish the study findings out of concern for women's health.

Their only motivation was to save money.

By taking the seven brands of the Pill involved

off the NHS and replacing them with older, cheaper brands the Tories hoped to save £25 million a year.

In Ireland, the right-wing has always attacked contraception rights for women.

The Pill was a tremendous breakthrough for women's freedom allowing them to allow sex without fear of pregnancy and to plan when or if they wanted children.

The problem with the Pill, as with any other drug, is that under capitalism the priority is to make profits and not to safeguard women's health.

New deadline in ESB privatisation deal

PRESSURE is mounting in talks between ESB unions and management over plans to finalise moves towards privatisation.

When the deadline was reached at the end of October, the board of the ESB broke off talks with union leaders without full agreement.

Now Peter Cassells of the ICTU has intervened and pushed a further deadline of November 17th.

By this date, unions and management plan

to reach agreement on 2,000 redundancies, drastic changes in work practices and remuneration for remaining fitters at power stations.

Incensed

Socialist Worker spoke to some of the workers who will be affected by the changes.

"I feel incensed at the secrecy surrounding the talks. We don't get details from the unions."

"They told us they would give us all the details at the end of

the talks and then we would vote on a document with all job losses and details of flexibility", according to Damien who works in Poolbeg.

Joe who works as a linesman is disappointed with the deal being done.

"I feel the unions are going further than they have to."

"They tell us that we have to accept the changes ahead, that it is inevitable and we may as well negotiate something rather than

nothing." But many power workers know that privatising electricity is bad news.

Fat cats

One of the workers in Moneypoint told *Socialist Worker*,

"The experience of privatising in Britain shows us that it just makes more money for the fat cats and puts up prices for the ordinary customer."

"We produce the cheapest electricity in Europe and do a social

service as well. "The ESB is very profitable and the money goes back to government funds."

"Why should we privatised?"

If the unions don't reach agreement with management by November 17th, Lowry has threatened to intervene to push through his plans.

But before anything happens ESB workers will vote on changes.

They have the power to stop this government in their tracks.

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

Building the SWP

THE political atmosphere is hotting up. *Socialist Worker Party* members have been campaigning on divorce all over the country.

And sales have started to pick up. Last weekend over 100 papers were sold on the streets in Dublin.

The only canvassers that many people have met on their door steps

are from the SWP. The local branch in Bray did a brief canvass, got a resounding Yes vote—and sold 10 papers. Many of the people want to get the paper on a regular basis.

The Drimnagh/Ballyfermot branch switched their sale to dealing with the riots in Gallanstown.

A petition condemning the police oppression of the area got a good support. 20 papers were sold and nine people left their names for information about the SWP.

In Derry, SWP members have started to organise a protest against the visit of Clinton to the city. They gathered petitions against his blockade of Cuba and are also highlighting Clinton's support

for the death penalty. Meanwhile opposition to the water charges is mounting. SWP members are distributing a bulletin at workplaces calling for

union to mobilise on the issue and get delegations to the protests outside the Rathfarnham court.

Last fortnight, 2 people joined SWP in Galway, 1

in Bray, 2 in Dublin South Central sale, 1 in Dublin Laoghaire, 1 in Drimnagh, 1 in Sligo, 2 on the Tallaght sale and one on Dublin North Central sale.

BELFAST CENTRAL

Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Penny Farthing Bar, Upper North Street

BELFAST SOUTH

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Queens Students Union.

CORK

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in An Spallpin Fanak opposite Beamish Brewery, South Main St.

DERRY

Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Bar at 8pm

BRAY

Meets every Thursday at 8pm Contact national address for details.

DUBLIN BLANCHARDSTOWN

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Blakestown Community Centre, Blakesstown Way.

DUBLIN COOLOCK

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd.

DUBLIN CLONDALKIN

Contact 872 2682 for details.

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Bentley Pub, Drimnagh Road

DUBLIN FINGLAS

Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Rosshill Community Centre, beside Finflas Inn.

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL

Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Conways, Farnell St.

DUBLIN RATHMINES

Meets every Wednesday at

★ There are Socialist Worker members in:

- ENNISKILLEN;
- COLERAINE; LURGAN;
- CAVAN; DONEGAL;
- NAAS; LIMERICK;
- KILKENNY; DUNDALK;
- BRAY; ATHLONE;
- DROGHEDA.

If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond Street.

DUBLIN PEARSE ST/ RINGSEND

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St.

DUBLIN TALLAGHT

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm, Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village.

DUN LAOGHAIRE

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

GALWAY

Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square—contact national address for details.

MAYNOOTH

Meets every Wednesday at 6 pm—contact national address for details.

NEWRY

Meets every Wednesday at 8pm—contact national address for venue.

WATERFORD

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyzer St.

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

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

Name

Address.....

Phone.....

send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

Dunnes workers to ballot for strike over Xmas pay

MANDATE, the union representing Dunnes Stores workers, plans to ballot its members for strike action.

The Labour Court settlement which ended the three week strike by 7,000 workers last Summer, is at the centre of the row.

In their typical anti-union fashion, Dunnes Stores bosses are interpreting the deal to push through a major change in Christmas trading agreements.

Treble time

The original union-company agreement for Sunday Christmas trading is payment at treble time.

Since the Summer dispute Dunnes have been paying time and a half for Sunday working.

Heffernan and her team now insist that the same rates apply to Christmas Sunday trading.



Dunnes strikers during the summer

But the Labour Court agreement is clear. Christmas trading arrangements should remain the same—at treble time.

Workers in Dunnes Stores are in a very powerful position to stop this greedy employer in their tracks.

Christmas trading brings in vast profits in the retail trade and big, organised pickets could see the same damage done to Heffernan's

profits on one Sunday at Christmas as three weeks in the Summer.

Demands

The only thing Dunnes Stores will listen to is workers' action.

A massive 'Yes' vote is needed.

But this time round rank and file workers should stick it out for their full demands to be met—treble time payment for Christmas Sunday trading.

Workers in all other companies like Roches Stores, Arnotts, Switzers, Superquinn—get nothing less. Workers in Dunnes deserve equal treatment.

BELFAST LEISURE CENTRES CUTS:

Shop stewards organise

THE DISPUTE between workers and communities with Belfast City Council continues to grow over the attack on Leisure Centre funding for the entire city.

Unionist Councillors have plans to axe jobs and services in leisure centres throughout working class communities in Belfast and at the same time pour funding into a luxurious conference centre.

But resistance to the cuts is growing. Shop stewards across Belfast lobbied their members for a two hour stoppage to coincide with a picket of the Council Chambers on 8th November.

'Illegal'

They were told by their bosses and union officials that their action would be illegal.

"We responded by telling them we didn't care if it was illegal or not", according to one of the leading shop stewards.

Both management and union officials have panicked over the workers response and the unions convened a special meeting of shop stewards.

The outcome of the meeting was good news for workers action.

The union will now ballot all leisure centre employees for official action on 21st November and 1st December City Council meetings.

On top of that any of the workers who want to attend the pickets on 8th can take the time off but leave a skeleton staff working at each centre.

Shop stewards will put their own submission for the Belfast leisure services to the Council on 8th

November while also maintaining a strong picket on City Hall.

★ IN A separate development, Belfast City Council has offered a once-off payment of £200 to manual workers employed in leisure services in return for full flexibility.

As one of the workers put it:

"We could be shifted around anywhere in the city at any a moment's notice.

"This would eventually undermine staffing levels and let them treat us the way they want for £200".

A one hundred per cent rejection of the offer was how the workers answered the Council.

Insist

They insist that any work they will carry out outside of the centre in which they are employed will be on overtime.

With a strong workers response like this Belfast City Council will have a hard job pushing through their miserable cuts in leisure services.

They are attacking the service that is needed most at the expense of entertaining their rich pals in the new Lagan Centre.

A huge mobilisation across Belfast could stop the cuts which affect both sides of the community equally.

This would really undermine the agenda of the Unionist councillors who care little about working class communities.

Shop stewards victimised at TEAM Aer Lingus

SHOP stewards at Team Aer Lingus have been victimised by management for the successful overtime ban organised against non-union contractors.

Bosses like Behan have an agenda to attempt to crush union organisation.

They have clamped down on facility time for stewards, access to telephone calls and the convening of mass meetings.

Seething

Workers are receiving cold comfort from their union officials but shop stewards are determined to hold on to union organisation at the plant.

Boeing: the way to fight

IN Seattle in the USA 33,000 workers are on strike at the world's largest aircraft production plant.

They are striking against contract work which will reduce wages, medical benefits and job security.

Along with a 1,000 strong march on the company's head office in Washington, strikers have been lobbying for solidarity action from engineers and other professionals in the company.

The extent and strength of their strike shows the way to beat the bosses on contract work.

The company are seething at the recently organised overtime ban and are 'picking out' certain shop stewards for punishment.

ing at the recently organised overtime ban and are 'picking out' certain shop stewards for punishment.

Although the overtime ban ended in all contract workers having to hold union cards, contract workers are being continually used to undermine permanent full-time jobs.

Notice

"It's bad enough to use contractors to undermine us but even then they treat the contractor workers really shabbily", one of the shop stewards told *Socialist Worker*.

Last weekend three con-

tractors returned home to England to see their families and travelled back to Dublin by car.

But on Monday morning they were told the work was finished.

They were not given any notice.

Workers at Team must stand up to the bosses agenda.

Stewards are organising to issue regular union bulletins to members and hope to re-start the mass meetings in the near future.

Return to work vote at Guinness

AFTER eight weeks on strike, craftworkers at Guinness Brewery have voted to return to work.

An improved offer was put before the strikers as a result of Labour Court talks.

The strike was fought to secure a pay structure promised to the craftworkers since 1987 but Guinness had reneged on this deal to make way for their Plan 2000.

The strike was settled with the introduction of new pay scales for the technicians and electricians. Overall it means a 10% increase in pay for the workers.

We have won some things and lost others. We haven't been defeated and we were dead right to strike", according to one of the strikers.

Aware

But the workers are very aware that they could have won this strike outright. Joe told *Socialist Worker* "We could have won hands down in a couple of weeks. The behaviour of the SIPTU full-time representatives in the

plant massively undermined our pickets.

"They told their members to turn a blind eye to the strike breaking by engineers, most of them were non-un-

ion".

Guinness bosses have climbed down from their original hard-line position. They were worried about the huge profits being hit during

the Christmas period.

But the settlement also means that the craftworkers will now be linked into the Plan 2000 which means job losses through voluntary re-

Blanchardstown pub strike

ABOUT 20 members of staff from the Mountview Inn have been out on strike since Wednesday 25th October.

They were forced to go out due to the bullying tactics of management.

After the Bar strike during the last world cup the workers were systematically victimised, pressured into serving until long after hours.

The owner of the pub, Michael Moran, is well known as a skinflint, he refuses employ enough staff

to works busy hours, makes sure that most of his workers are low paid and non union, and won't pay for any security on the pub.

One of the barmen told *Socialist Worker* "the law says that he should give his workers a safe working environment, but he won't do that".

The support the bar workers have got is tremendous, the public have all refused to pass the picket, and groups have volunteered to help give out leaflets to customers.

All this pressure is getting to poor old Michael.

One of the strikers saw him storming out of the pub after a pathetic Saturday night's trading and ripping down all the posters announcing the strike.

It's not as if he can't afford to pay for security, he owns at least three more pubs on the Northside: The Cardiff Inn, The Roundabout and Millers.

An attempt should be made to spread the strike and start hitting him where it hurts, his bulging pocket.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside:

**Police on the rampage:
Why Cherry Orchard rioted**

—centre pages

All out for student demo Nov 15

End student poverty



IT'S TIME for students to take to the streets to demand an end to student poverty and to fight for decent facilities in their colleges.

The levels of hardship and poverty that students face have risen massively over the last ten years.

Maintenance grants have fallen by 20 per cent in real terms over the last decade. In the Further Education and Post Leaving Cert Colleges students are not even eligible for a grant.

In the North the grants fell by 10 per cent last year and are to be reduced by 30 per cent over three years. The government plans to replace grants with loans.

At the same time rents in students halls are going up.

Facilities in the colleges throughout the country are swamped. Less money is being allocated to libraries and lectures are overcrowded.

the cheap.

One Queen's student put it. "The Tories say there is plenty of money to subsidise crazy, places like Thorp which could blow us all to high heavens one day"

Students can no longer be characterised as middle class and financially comfortable.

restaurants, and work long hours for miserable wages.

On top of this there is large pressure on students to spend more and more time studying as education at all levels increasingly becomes a rat race with very few decent jobs at the end of it.

Now more than ever students have an interest in joining with all those fighting this government—whether it's anti-water charges campaigners or public sector workers.

This year the USI march should be used as an opportunity to vent our anger at what's going on in this country.

Struggle

For many students, it's a long hard struggle to keep themselves in college.

They take up part-time jobs in shops, pubs and res-



Sardines

As one UCD student said, "We are being treated like sardines. They just keep on squashing more in and they don't even expand the size of the can".

Decent childcare facilities are almost non-existent, while other student services such as counselling are grossly underfunded.

Ireland has one of the youngest populations in Europe. Both North and South of the border the government is trying to run education on

It's time to get militant

THE Union of Students in Ireland and the National Union of Students are calling the marches on November 15th to demand:

- an end to student hardship;
- equal access for all;
- that the student voice be heard.

This is to be welcomed. However, the lessons from last year should be learnt. 10,000 angry students took to the streets of Dublin to demand a decent education but the USI leadership did its best to depoliticise the mood on the day.

The march for them was more of a street party than a show of strength.

USI, particularly over the past few years, has been very concerned with presenting and promoting itself as a respectable professional lobby which politicians and college authorities will be only too happy to meet with.

They are prepared to mobilise students to back up this position but will seek to dampen any militancy.

Getting student representation in the Higher Education Authority won't by itself change anything. Only big militant and political demos will force the government to listen and leave them little or no option but to deliver some of the changes we want.

We have a right to be political

THE Students Union in the National University of Ulster are trying to ban groups that mount political campaigns. It is blatant censorship.

The same students union refused to condemn Richard Lynn, the racist Professor of

Psychology who claimed that black people were inferior to whites.

Poverty

But while it lets racists like Lynn have free speech, it wants to stop socialists and organisations like the Anti-Nazi League organising.

We have a right to be political. In fact, if we want to fight student poverty, we will have to be political.

It is the only way of ending the corrupt system that gives hand-outs to the rich, while the majority of students and workers see their conditions worsen.