

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

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F.F.'s sick priorities

FIANNA Fail are cutting another £11.2 million off the health budget. Finance minister Albert Reynolds said he needed to "balance the books".

But that didn't stop the state giving £9 million to fund luxury golf resorts. The money comes straight out of the EC structural fund.

So far £3.4 million has been allocated to eleven courses and the rest of the £9 million will be handed out over five years.

Michael Smurfit's K-Club has been given half a million pounds. Smurfit has invested up to £28 million in the club, located at Straffan, County Kildare.

According to the *Irish Times* (July 13th) "Ireland has never before seen anything like the K-Club. It is as if a piece of

West Palm Beach had been planted in County Kildare."

PLUSH HOTEL

The resort includes a plush hotel, with rooms costing from £125 to £700 per night. It costs £55 a day to play golf at the club and life membership is £125,000.

Other clubs receiving EC money include:

- Portmarnock: £500,000;
- Mount Juliet, County Kilkenny: £393,000;
- Waterford Castle Golf and Country Club: £343,000;
- Kilkea Castle, County Kildare: £281,000.

The *Irish Times* described the clubs as "playgrounds for the super-rich" with "no room for

ordinary people".

The EC funding is being justified on the grounds of job-creation. But thousands of useful jobs could be created if money was put into housing the homeless and providing a decent health service.

These measures would benefit working class people. But it's clear that Haughey's priorities are to pamper the Irish rich and leave the rest of us to rot.

SECTION 31: NEW CHALLENGE

SECTION 31 censors Republicans and must be opposed. In the case of Dubliner Larry O'Toole the state used the order to attack a strike by workers.

Last year, Larry was the Gateaux workers' chief spokesperson in their fight to save 500 jobs. On finding out he was a member of Sinn Fein, however, RTE

banned all interviews with him. Larry has gone to the High Court to request a judicial review of Section 31. This censors any person who is acting in the capacity of a representative of Sinn Fein. Since Larry's membership of this organisation was incidental to his role as

Gateaux spokesperson, RTE's decision to ban him from the airwaves is being contested by him as an illegal extension of the Section 31 order.

Please send all donations to the Free Speech Legal Fund, TSB, Lr Abbey St, Dublin 1, A/c No 990601.21366730.

F.F. cooks the books

★ **FIANNA Fail have come up with a new solution to unemployment. They want to hide the figures.**

Haughey has told his task force on unemployment to see if "any improvements" could be made in the statistics.

Last year they got rid of 9,000 from the figures by including those over 58 in a Pre-Retirement Credit Scheme. Now mathematical wizards are at work again.

WATERFORD:

Airport betrayal

WATERFORD airport bosses have refused to meet six ATGWU members to discuss wages and conditions.

Leading Labour Party members are part of this move to keep out the unions. There are three Labour Party members on the board of SE Airports, the holding com-

LABOUR

pany, including Brian O'Shea TD. These three are representatives of Water-

ford Trades Council. The council was granted three reps when the airport was set up in the 1980s under the National Understanding.

UNIONISE

The original Trades Council reps insisted that all airport workers be unionised. The present reps are attacking union rights.

As we go to press, the workers have planned to go on strike to win their demands.

NORTHERN IRELAND REPORT

Bosses gain from bigotry

DESPITE widescale discrimination against Catholics, Protestant workers in the North are in no sense privileged.

The Family Expenditure Survey Report for 1986-1989 found that a Protestant family's average weekly income was £235, compared to £198 for Catholics.

But in Britain workers averaged £303 per week in the same period. Clearly it is the bosses, and not Protestant workers, who gain from bigotry.

A recent conference held in Belfast on community work in Protestant areas agreed that things had changed. Protestants are still top of the queue for jobs and houses, but the guaranteed job is no longer there.

The report of the conference shows confusion about how to deal with the reality. On the one hand the main analysis says that Protestant workers had been "part of (the) power structure" and now feel "a great sense of loss". On the other hand it says that the real divide in the North is "between the haves and the have nots".

One view expressed at the conference was that "since the Anglo-Irish agreement they're giving our jobs to Catholics". The fact that the system

fails to provide enough jobs for both sections of workers was not addressed.

A follow-up conference was somewhat clearer. Hazel Gordon from Hummingbird, the Shankill Women's Centre, argued that women were never part of the Protestant ascendancy. Only men benefited from the Orange state, she claimed.

The response from both women and men was that no working class Protestant, male or female, was part of the ascendancy.

The conference showed that loyalism is in deep crisis.

There is increasing room for class politics to grow in this situation.

■ GORETTI HORGAN

Scheme workers increase

WORKERS on SES training schemes have "won" a pay increase of £3 per week after threatening to picket FAS offices. After tax and PRSI this will give them the massive sum of £2.20 more to bring home.

The Scheme Workers Alliance points out that despite the increase, they are still exploited by being forced to work for far less than union rates of pay.

Homeless in Laois

IN Portlaoise Martin Holohan (29), a returned emigrant, developed pneumonia after being forced to sleep in a shed. He could not afford the deposit on a flat because he was on the dole. The Midland Health Board told Mr Holohan that they could not pay his deposit until he had an address.

Waterford swings Left

THE Left made huge electoral gains in Waterford Corporation. In Ward 3, Labour got 65 percent of the vote. A militant campaign against service charges radicalised workers.

But the vote only resulted in one extra seat for the left. The rightwing

parties have formed a pact to keep out Labour and the Workers Party.

The Combined Residents' Association made the mistake of calling for a vote for all candidates who claimed to oppose the charges. Yet the rightwing candidates were being opportunistic, while

Labour and the Workers Party oppose the charges in principle.

That is not to say that the left parties will lead a fight. That will be done, as it has been done to date, by organised workers and residents.

■ JIMMY KELLY

Greencore bids for Goodman

GRENCORE, the privatised Irish Sugar Company, has made a bid of £58 million for Food Industries, which is owned by Larry Goodman.

This is all a bit ironic—a couple of years ago Goodman was bailed out by the Irish government, which provided massive export credit insurance to cover his dealing with Iraq. Now he is being bought out by Greencore on whose board sits SIPTU boss Billy Attley.

Before being privatised, Irish Sugar sacked workers and closed factories on the usual grounds of cutting costs and improving profits—in other words, fattening it up for selling off to private capitalists.

Now Irish Life is up for grabs and the speculators are wetting themselves in anticipation.

And they tell us there's a recession and no money in the country!



Budding beef baron Attley and bought-out baron Goodman

Desmond's party

★ THIS sleek fat cat is Dermot Desmond, one of Dublin's big stockbrokers who loves to tell the rest of us to tighten our belts.

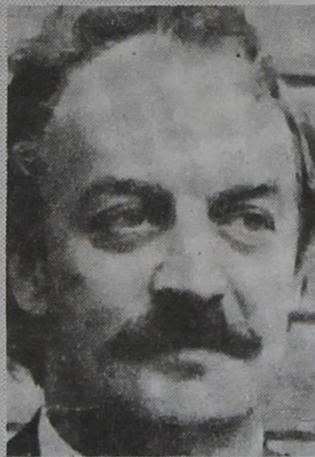
In July, Desmond threw a party to celebrate the 10th anniversary of his company NCB. The banquet at the Country Club in Straffan was attended by top capitalists like Smurfit and Ryan from Guinness Peat Aviation. Desmond has been

helped to the top by Charles J Haughey.

When the state decided to sell its stake in Tara Mines, Desmond's NCB was paid £530,000 to arrange the sale.

Desmond owns the South Bloc of the Irish Financial Services Centre for tax avoidance.

When Irish Life was put up for sale, Desmond's NCB is again called in to arrange the sale. The fee this time was £1.25 million.



Dermot Desmond

Couples' dole cut

FIANNA Fail are to cut dole for cohabiting couples by £17 a week. The reduction is part of the new Social Welfare Act.

Already, cohabiting couples are being hit. One couple told *Socialist Worker* that the man had his benefit cut from £44.70 to £11.30 a week, because the woman was working.

A widow had her pension stopped because she was living with a new partner. In both cases the courts upheld the cut in benefit.

Welfare officers can now look for evidence of a sexual, financial or social relationship. A social relationship can mean being seen together in public, "behaving as a couple".

Clearly everyone should be treated as an individual when claiming benefit, regardless of marital status. The government oppose this view because it means spending more money and adding 50,000 to official unemployed figures.

Housing crisis escalates

A REPORT published by the National Campaign for the Homeless last year estimated that upwards of 5,000 adults and about 700 young people are homeless in Ireland at any one time.

The report concludes that poverty and inequality "put people from certain backgrounds at risk of homelessness first and then propel them into it".

The return of large numbers of emigrants will mean that the number of homeless people will increase.

CORPORATION

In March 1991, the housing list of Dublin Corporation alone contained 4,377 applicants. Many of these have been on the list for a number of years and are at present living in overcrowded, substandard accommodation or in hostels which are intended as "emergency" accommodation only.

Meanwhile the building

of local authority housing has steadily decreased since the mid-'80s and is now at a virtual standstill. In 1986 there were 5,516 local authority houses built. Last year there were only 450. Dublin Corporation built only 25 "units of accommodation" in 1990—two percent of the figure for 1986.

NEGLECT

The government's policy document, "The Plan for Social Housing", purports to contain a "new approach" to the problem. House purchase is promoted as the pre-

ferred type of tenure. There is a strategy of off-loading the responsibility of housing onto voluntary groups. The huge number of people who cannot

afford to buy are not mentioned.

This has been Fianna Fail's cynical, dismissive response to one of the most basic human needs.

For information on abortion, contact:

Womens Information Network: 01-6794700

British Pregnancy Advisory Service (London): 03-071-6378962

British Pregnancy Advisory Service (Liverpool): 035-7091558

WE THINK

AS GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAMME COMES UNSTUCK

Time to build on the Left

gains

THE Fianna Fail/Progressive Democrat government programme is coming unstuck.

Last year the opinion polls showed a 55 percent plus satisfaction rating with the coalition. Today, however, the government is being rocked by a growing tide of unpopularity.

The main reason has been the way the world recession has impacted on Ireland. Up to recently, rightwingers all over the world could pretend it was just a blip.

But expected recovery has not materialised. Last month, 30,000 more US workers joined the dole queues. Also, the BCCI scandal has rocked the international banking system.

RECESSION

The recession looks set to continue well into 1991 bringing a dramatic increase in unemployment worldwide.

Lack of jobs abroad has meant a huge drop in emigration—from a net figure of 31,000 in 1989—90 down to just 1,000 in 1990—91.

The ESRI has said that job creation between now and the year 2000 will be totally inadequate and states: "In our scenario a total of over 230,000 people emigrate between 1991 and 2000, slightly more than emigrated in the period 1983—90."

But this scenario depends on the state of the world economy. Future trends in migration are no more predictable than capitalism itself.

Growing unemployment

means that the state has to pay out huge amounts of money in social welfare benefits. Departmental figures for the end of 1990 showed that 1.3 million people were receiving some form of welfare payment.

Haughey is attempting to cut the welfare bill by means of the new Social Welfare Act. But public-sector pay rises are also seen as a problem.

RENEGOTIATE

That is why the government wants to renegotiate the Programme for Economic and Social Progress. The PESP gives miserly pay rises to most workers but could only be sold on the basis of special increases in the public sector.

The real rate of increase in public sector pay this year is 11.5 percent. This is what Haughey wants to cut when

renegotiations on the PESP start in October.

The Programme was sold to workers on the basis of New Realism. Trade union leaders accepted the "need for sacrifice" to bring about economic growth. But after four years of growth, unemployment is worse and workers face more attacks on pay.

ANGER

However, there is growing anger against Fianna Fail. This was reflected in the local elections with a shift towards Labour and the Workers Party. Although not as dramatic as the Robinson election, it revealed a significant move towards the left.

We welcome this move because it means workers are beginning to vote on the basis of class divisions.

Also the left made bigger gains where there has been struggle. The campaigns

against service charges in Waterford, Limerick and Cork led to radicalisation in those areas.

The tragedy is that Labour and the Workers Party will not bring these struggles forward. In fact, their trade union officials are the very people promoting New Realism.

The reformist parties emphasise electoral politics rather than workers' self-activity. For example, Dick Spring welcomed Labour's local election success by saying it was stage two of a three-stage process. The first stage was the presidential election and the third one is the next general election.

BETRAYAL

Spring's goal is a re-alignment of Irish politics on a Left-Right basis. This would be a step forward but we need to ask: how would a reformist government behave?

There are plenty of

examples of betrayal by social democratic parties throughout Western Europe. At present in France, the Socialist Party is clamping down on immigrants. The British Labour Party under Kinnock backed the Tories in the Gulf War and has dropped any pretence at socialism.

Spring and De Rossa will behave in a similar way if they find themselves in government. Unable to reform a system in crisis, they will end up attacking workers.

The move to the Left needs to be built on, but not by concentrating simply on winning more votes. Instead socialists should attempt to build on the struggles that helped to create the left turn.

That requires a different type of party to Labour or the Workers Party. It requires a revolutionary party which focusses on workers self-activity.



The Last Supper: even a loaves-and-fishes miracle cannot save Reynold's policies

Sellafield nuclear dump danger

NIREX, Britain's nuclear waste agency, is putting more lives at risk by siting a dump at Sellafield. A report by geologist Philip Richardson, commissioned by Greenpeace, says the plans are unsafe and based on scanty evidence.

■ The design for the dump is based on "totally the wrong

rock type.

■ There is not enough information available on seismic activity in the Sellafield area. Britain is by no means earthquake-free, as recent tremors in Wales and England have shown.

■ Nirex has not taken into account the nature of underground gases in the area.

■ Sellafield was re-

jected as a deep repository site as early as 1980 by the British Geological Survey. The BGS said that faults in the area would be extremely difficult to predict and map.

■ A 1989 British Department of Energy report said that "major fractures can be characterised during site investigation, but the majority

of fractures cannot".

The Greenpeace report says that Britain's nuclear industry is prepared to "learn on the job" rather than experimenting fully before building a site.

The industry is effectively using people on both sides of the Irish Sea as guinea pigs.

But Fianna Fail

cannot be trusted to take on Nirex—remember their plans for a nuclear site at Carnsore in the early 1980s.

A fight from below, by ordinary people here and in Britain, is the only way to stop the new plans and force the closure of Sellafield.

■ DAVE McDONAGH

Socialist Worker Public Meeting Environment in Crisis

Speaker: Brian Hanley
Wednesday August 21,
8.00pm
Ormond Hotel, Ormond Quay,
Dublin

SOUTH AFRICA:

De Klerk backs Inkatha

REVELATIONS of collusion between the South African government and the Inkatha movement are increasing day by day.

The funding of Inkatha to the tune of £340,000 by the Department of Foreign Affairs has led to the worst violence seen in South Africa for some years. The death toll last year alone was 2,000, which the government has tried to portray as "black-on-black" violence.

This racist view has been carefully orchestrated by the government and has been faithfully

reproduced by most of the Western media for their own ends. The truth, however, is vastly different.

WEAPONS

The killing machine of Mangosuthu Buthelezi has received weapons training by SADF in camps in Namibia. The attacks launched since July last year on the residents in the Johannesburg area has been aided and abetted by the government and defence forces.

The police have taken a firm stance, escorting Inkatha

members to the townships and back across to the hostels which they occupy. In fact the police have from time to time joined in the slaughter of the residents and ANC supporters in the Natal Province.

The Special Forces Regiment has been implicated in several township attacks, including a train massacre in which 37 people died and 137 were injured.

The same regiment receives weekly political instructions informing them that Chief Buthelezi is their ally and the ANC is the enemy.

The strategy of the South African government is to undermine the ANC's base of support and its capacity to organise.

POWER

De Klerk wants to boost Inkatha's popularity. Buthelezi is presented as a free marketeer and a moderate in favour of multi-party democracy.

This makes him the most favourable candidate for delivering sufficient black votes to support a christian democratic alliance of the Nationalist Party and Inkatha in the first post-apartheid government in South Africa.

This coalition would, of course, retain political and economic power in the hands of the white capitalist class.

ANC - NO SOLUTION

THE first legal ANC conference in thirty years was expected to produce huge debates between those who had been exiled and those who had become politicised during the struggles and strikes of the last ten years. The outcome, however, changed nothing.

Effective trade union action and the winning of real gains for black workers would break the hold that Inkatha has over a section of Zulu workers. Workers in the mines have proved time and time again that Zulu and Xhosa can unite. Their victories have lessened suspicion and distrust between workers.

The setting up of committees for the defence of the townships involving the largest number possible would lead to a raising of confidence and political consciousness. This confidence inside the workplace and outside would also lead to a debate about what sort of South Africa would benefit workers.

SLOGAN

The ANC leadership clearly favours a capitalist South Africa. Mandela recently stated that he was no longer committed to state-run capitalism. The old slogan of nationalisation has given way to the "mixed economy".

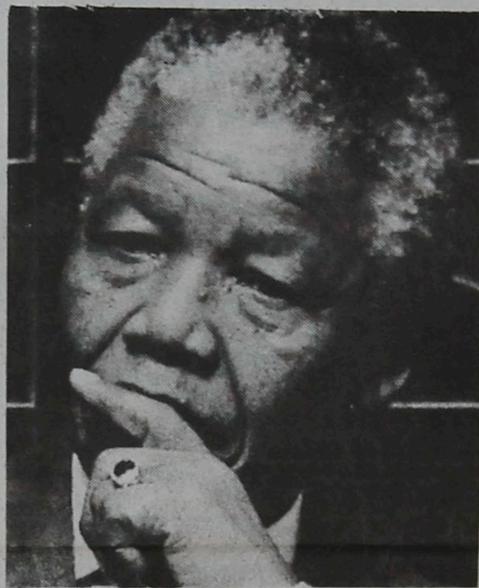
The free market offers nothing to workers. Smashing apartheid and building socialism must go hand in hand.

■ BRENDAN DONOGHUE

The new working committee was elected from the top down. The strategy was one of continued negotiation and not battle with the government. Mandela called for flexibility on sanctions and urged the ANC to do more to calm the fears of white South Africans. This however will only continue to demoralise ANC supporters who want to defend the townships against the state-sponsored attacks, and those trade unionists who are prepared to fight against pay freezes.

UNION

The struggles against the township violence and workers' strike action against their employers offer a real solution in South Africa.



Death in the townships and (above) Nelson Mandela of the ANC

Kurds attacked in Turkey

★ LAST month three Kurds were killed when police attacked a demonstration of 40,000 people in the city of Mardin. We didn't hear about this atrocity in our press, because Mardin is in Turkey and Turkey was a key American ally in the Gulf war.

Turkey has a long history of repression and brutality against its Kurdish population. But

George Bush is happy to ignore this in order to build up a regional strongman for the US.

FORCE

The Americans plan to have a permanent military force based in the country.

As the Turkish socialist group Sosyalist Isci put it:

"The hypocrisy is there for all to see.

Crocodile tears are shed by Bush and Major when Saddam murders Kurdish people. When Turkey does the same these people remain silent."

Meanwhile, Turkish workers are again due to strike for pay rises. We can only hope that the revival of the workers' movement will spell the end of another US strongman, President Ozal.

POLISH RECESSION

POLAND'S market reforms were seen by many as the gateway to economic revival. Eighteen months after the reforms, the picture tells a very different story.

In the first ten months of last year industrial output fell by 26 percent, real wages by 32.5 percent and old age pensions by 10.4 percent.

The fall has accelerated since then. In April this year alone industrial output fell by another 9.1 percent.

Meanwhile price rises continue. The reforms were meant to bring down inflation to single figures by the end of last year. Now the target has been postponed until the end of this year.

In spite of the EC's earlier promises about an

open East-West market, it has persistently refused to open up its market to Polish exports.

The so-called free market is ruled by the tyranny of competition. Goods from the more advanced multinationals are mopping up the local market and sending many factories to the wall.

Recession has led to a growing number of strikes against the government, with Solidarity—which brought the government to power—calling a protest day of action. Workers in Poland are learning what others will find in the U S S R and Czechoslovakia—that their interests are no more served by the free marketeers than they were under the old Communist Parties.

Cresson's racism

EDITH Cresson, France's Socialist Prime Minister, is a racist bigot.

■ Her suggestion to repatriate immigrants on chartered flights brought praise from the fascist Front Nationale.

■ She said the Japanese "worked like ants" unlike the French who "prefer to live like human beings".

■ She has repeatedly attacked homosexuality, saying it was "different and marginal".

President Mitterrand has stood by Cresson. In his Bastille Day speech he preached liberty, fraternity and equality—except for immigrants.

When the right-wing government repatriated 101 Malians in 1986 the Socialists rightly compared it to the deportation of Jews during World War 2.

Now Mitterrand calls for tougher enforcement of laws against immigrants.

With rocketing unemployment the immigrants are being used as scapegoats. The Socialist Party has failed to fight the rise of Le Pen's fascists—indeed racist attacks have increased since Mitterrand took power.

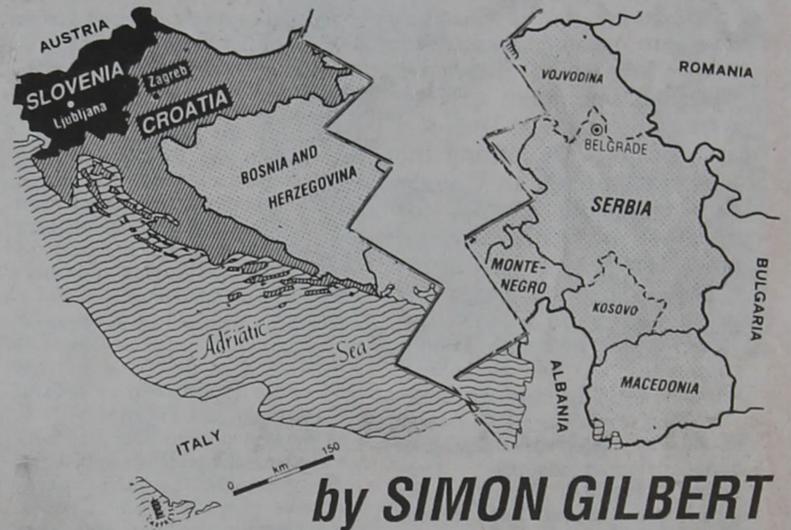
SOS Racism, the main anti-fascist group, has condemned Cresson's remarks. But they need to build a movement among French workers to defend immigrants' rights and to destroy the fascists.

Yugoslavia falls apart



Croatian troops fighting Serbian nationalists

apart



by SIMON GILBERT

THE ROOTS OF THE CRISIS

THE virtual civil war in Yugoslavia has shaken the rulers of the European community and the United States. No wonder, because the conflict threatens to engulf the whole area as it did at the beginning of this century.

The roots of the crisis lie in the failure of either state capitalism or market capitalism to give the population a decent standard of living. Yugoslavia was, after all, the West's closest East European ally and is closely integrated into the world market.

When the world entered recession in the 1970s Yugoslavia was hit particularly hard. Inflation went through the roof, wages fell and the country was saddled with huge interest repayments to Western banks. While workers were worse off than they had been twenty years before, their bosses continued to live in luxury.

NATIONALISM

The growth of the nationalist movements was a result both of diverging economic priorities and a need for the ruling class to divide the workers' movement.

The leaders of Slovenia and Croatia, the most prosperous republics, see their future in separation from Yugoslavia and closer integration with the West. Serbia's rulers, on the other hand, have whipped up Serbian chauvinism in an attempt to hold the federation together.

Workers have not taken attacks on their living standards lying down. In 1987-1988 a massive strike wave united workers across the country. In desperation the ruling class played the nationalist card.

Slobodan Milosevic, a Serbian banker turned politician, hit on a scheme to fragment the workers' movement. He launched a bitter racist campaign against the ethnic Albanians of Kosovo. The rulers of the other republics followed suit.

As a result Milosevic won the free election in Serbia last year. In Slovenia the former communist boss Kucan came to power in alliance with the nationalists. Croatia is now run by Franjo Tudjman, a former general and an admirer of the wartime fascists, the Ustashi.

WORSENER

This year the economic crisis has worsened rapidly, with drastic falls in production across the country. Again workers

have fought back with another wave of strikes, often simply to force the government to pay them. In Serbia support for Milosevic ebbed as students demonstrated against the communists.

The leaders responded by stoking up murderous ethnic clashes. Milosevic encouraged Serbian paramilitary chetniks to attack Croats. Tudjman sent Croat police to attack the republic's Serbian minority.

At the same time the two were secretly discussing dividing the republic of Bosnia between them.

ARGUMENTS

In this situation socialists have to argue three things. Firstly, we oppose the intervention of the European community. Far from offering a solution, the western powers have historically been part of the problem.

Secondly, workers have nothing to gain by any ethnic group being forced to stay in the Yugoslav state. We oppose the murderous activities of the federal army and accept the right of any national group to secede.

This is the only way to break the vicious circle of competing nationalisms.

Thirdly, workers' interests cannot be ad-

vanced by identifying with bosses of their own nationality. Only by workers uniting across nationalities can a real fight against cuts in living standards be built.

The tragedy of Yugoslavia is that the working class has yet to develop a genuine socialist organisation to fight for their interests.

Socialism or Capitalism?

THE media tell us that the bloodshed is a result of the "legacy of socialism". In fact Yugoslavia was never socialist but a mixture of state and market capitalism.

The post-World War Two communist regime was modelled on the bureaucratic state capitalism of Stalin's Russia. For twenty years the economy grew, but the growth was uneven.

The northern republics of Slovenia and Croatia grew fastest, while the deeply impoverished south saw little change. Above all, the privileged elite of factory managers, generals, police chiefs and judges gained at the expense of the working class.

As a result of its break with Russia in 1948, Yugoslavia was closer to the West than the rest of Eastern Europe. It was the first to join the international monetary fund and it moved first and furthest in the direction of the market. In fact, until recently it was held up as an example of the advantages of the market to Eastern Europe and Russia.

None of this saved Yugoslavia from the effects of recession in the 1970s and 1980s. No wonder our rulers are so worried—the Yugoslav civil war is a symptom of the crisis of their system.

THE western ruling classes are split over how to respond to the crisis. The US, Britain and France favour maintaining the Yugoslav state, effectively giving a green light to the military.

Germany and Austria, on the other hand, talk about Slovenia's right to independence. They have their eyes on the in-

dustries of Yugoslavia's most advanced republic.

Neither offers a way out for the country's workers. In fact the western powers have a long and bloody history of intervention in the area.

In the 1970s and 1980s western banks lent the state \$12 billion and then helped push the country into its bitter economic crisis by demanding ever larger interest repayments.

DOMINANCE

Before World War One Britain, France, tsarist Russia, Turkey and Austria all used the Balkan countries as pawns in their fight for regional dominance. The result was the Balkan wars of 1912-13 and the first world war.

After the war Britain and France set up the artificial state of Yugoslavia, allowing the Serbian army to take control of Croatia, Slovenia, Bosnia, Montenegro, Macedonia and Kosovo.

MASSACRES

During World War Two it was the turn of Germany and Italy. In Croatia the fascist Ustashi regime butchered the Serbian minority. Austria's head of state, Kurt Waldheim, is notorious for the role he played.

In the 1950s the US gave billions of dollars of military and economic aid to the Yugoslav state, ignoring completely its suppression of national minorities like the Albanians.

INTERVENE

Socialists should not take sides in the arguments between western governments. We are for the right of the national minorities to decide their own future. But we are not for the right of the western ruling classes to intervene in an area where they have done so much damage in the past.



Socialists and

IN 1969, the Irish Republican Army hardly existed. But thousands were marching for civil rights and an end to discrimination.

The Unionist M.P. Robert Babbington had once declared that "the Unionist party should make it quite clear that Loyalists have the first choice of jobs". It was simply a statement of fact.

Systematic discrimination in Northern Ireland meant that in the key shipbuilding industry 95 per cent of jobs went to Protestants. The local authorities were among the worst offenders. In County Fermanagh in 1969, for example, no senior council posts were held by Catholics.

The civil rights movements set out to change all this. But every sign of resistance by the Catholic community was met by horrific violence from the Northern state.

In April 1969, the RUC invaded the Bogside in Derry shouting curses about "Fenian bastards". They severely beat Sam Deveney in his own house. He died three months later of his wounds.

On 12 August 1969, The Apprentice Boys march was permitted to go ahead in Derry while civil rights marches were banned. The Bogside erupted in riots. They soon found themselves under attack from the RUC who saturated the area with CS gas.

In Belfast, Orange mobs who were incensed by the Civil Rights movement, began to attack Catholic homes in the Falls. Within 36 hours, 200 houses were burned to the ground. By September 5 per cent of all Catholic families in Belfast had been forced to move homes.

The British army arrived in the midst of this crisis. It was claimed then that they had come to protect the beleaguered Catholic communities in Belfast and Derry from Loyalist pogroms.

But it was soon clear that British policy rested on *first* stabilising the structures of the Northern Ireland state.

The attempt to stabilise the state led the British army into direct confrontation with Catholics still expecting reforms. In April 1970, General Freeland, the British army commander announced that petrol bombers would be shot dead on the spot.

The Unionist regime was permitted to pass a Bill which gave a 6 month sentence to anyone found at the scene of a riot. The Unionist Attorney General, Basil Kelly, admitted that there would be "wrong convictions on the basis of mistaken identity".

3,000 British soldiers invaded the Falls Road in July, 1970. In the course of two days, five civilians were killed and a dozen wounded by British gunfire. It was obvious to thousands that the British army was now doing the RUC's old job.

The IRA became a mass force in this situation. Originally the Provisional IRA began as a small anti-communist grouping that wanted a return to traditional republicanism. It rejected the "stages approach" of reforming the Northern state. It called for an all out fight against partition.

By 1971, it had 1,000 members in its Belfast Brigade alone. The more the British army used repression to crush them, the more they grew.

When paratroopers opened fire on a civil rights march in Derry in January 1972, killing 14 civilians, thousands more flocked to join the IRA. Rather than the IRA causing violence in the North they were a reaction to the violence of the Northern state and the British army.

Some groups on the Irish left such as the Workers party and Militant have tried to lump the IRA and the loyalist paramilitaries together. There is no comparison.

The IRA grew out of the struggle to end a sectarian state. Loyalist groups such as the UDA and the UVF were established to defend sectarianism and bigotry. This is why they have often linked up with the fascist National Front in Britain.

Because the Loyalist paramilitaries view the entire Catholic community as disloyal, they have carried out a campaign of random murders. These murders serve a political purpose. They aim to demoralise and weaken resistance to the Northern state.

Today direct Unionist rule is gone. But Catholics still face discrimination. Catholics are two and a half times more likely to be unemployed than Protestants.

On top of that they face harassment from the British army. Only one British soldier has ever been convicted for the murder of a Catholic. He was released after two years and allowed to re-join his regiment.

The IRA exists and receives substantial support because of all these reasons. Socialists stand on the same side as the IRA in opposing the British army and partition. But this does not mean that we agree with either their politics or their tactics.



by BRIAN

Why the armed struggle is counter

EVER since the British army arrived in Ireland, the IRA has fought it by means of the armed struggle.

For republicans, the use of the armed struggle is a matter of *principle*. In every decade, the IRA has waged an armed struggle.

In the early 1970s, it was believed that a "year of victory" was imminent and that the IRA would inflict enough damage on the British army to force a withdrawal.

Today, the armed struggle has become, according to Gerry Adams, "armed propaganda". It simply keeps the oppression of

Catholics on the political agenda. But, for republicans, the armed struggle still remains the "cutting edge" of the fight against the Northern state.

Yet the only time real gains have been won has been through mass action. It was the demonstrations, riots and agitation of the civil rights movement which brought about the disbandment of the B specials.

It was the huge eruption of anger including strike action in the South after Bloody Sunday which led eventually to the abolition of the Stormont regime.

But as the mass

movement declined, few gains have been made. Today socialists therefore oppose the tactic of the armed struggle.

This is not because we have any moral objection to the use of violence. Our rulers who morally condemn the Provos are pure hypocrites. The numbers they murdered during the Gulf war make the violence of the IRA pale into insignificance.

Nor do believe that the rich in this country will give up without a fight. Violence may be necessary to oust them. But it will be a violence that will spring from mass

working class action.

We oppose the armed struggle of the IRA because it is counterproductive. It is an obstacle both to achieving socialism and a British withdrawal. There are a number of reasons why this is the case.

CAMPAIGN

First, the IRA campaign has built up a tradition which plays down the possibility of mass mobilisation. Today the biggest marches that take place in Derry and Belfast are *anniversary* marches for events that happened ten or twenty years ago.

Few believe that workers should take to the streets to protest at the activities of the British army and the RUC when the IRA is there to do the job.

The armed struggle puts the actions of the few above trying to organise the majority.

Second, the tactic of armed struggle isolates the struggle to the Catholic ghettos. Today Protestant workers are suffering increased attacks on their living standards. The old loyalist parties are facing a crisis of confidence. Yet anti-imperialist ideas have made little

The IRA

The Alternative

SOCIALISTS are for mass action against the British army and the RUC. Mass action cannot simply be called into existence. Often it has to start on small issues.

But these issues can emerge very quickly. At the moment there are small protests about the RUC ban on marches from West Belfast to the city centre. This, despite the fact that sectarian Orange marches are often allowed to take over the city centres.

To fight this ban will require a mass mobilisation. Communities have to be leafleted. Union branches have to be committed to defying the ban. Delegations from other areas have to be organised.

But the resistance of a minority community is not enough. To win, the anger of the catholic ghettos have to be connected to the power of the working class movement. Of crucial importance is the southern working class.

Some argue that it is impossible to raise the question of repression in the North among the Southern working class. But this is to mistake the attitudes of the trade union bureaucracy which is heavily influenced by the politics of the Workers party and the Labour Party for the rank and file.

In 1989, 13,000 took to the streets of Dublin to demand the withdrawal of the British army.

The fact is that as long as the Southern labour movement ignores the North, it cuts its own throat. The Southern state has built up a huge machine of repression because of the North.

The television is censored. The political police, the Special Branch, have been given a free hand to harass political activists in working class areas. Over 15 per cent of the garda are now armed. Juryless courts are in existence. These powers of repression can and have been used against trade union struggles.

Socialists must fight inside the working class movement for opposition to partition and the presence of the British army. Without an independent class position on the North thousands of workers will continue to be swayed by the occasional nationalist rhetoric of Fianna Fail.

An independent class position also means opposing the poverty and Catholic bigotry of the South. The working class movement should oppose Church control of the schools and the hospitals. It should challenge the bans on divorce and abortion.

A fight for a secular, socialist Ireland is the only way to show thousands of Protestant workers that there is a better future than the rotten politics of loyalism.

HANLEY

productive

impact despite the dramatic changes over the last twenty years.

While the armed struggle is not the cause of the divisions between Catholic and Protestant workers, it does nothing to help win those Protestant workers disillusioned with the results of loyalism.

Southern workers played a major role in the early 1970s in supporting the Northern ghettos. But today thousands have fallen for the propaganda of their rulers and abstain from the issue. The tactic of the armed struggle makes no connection with their

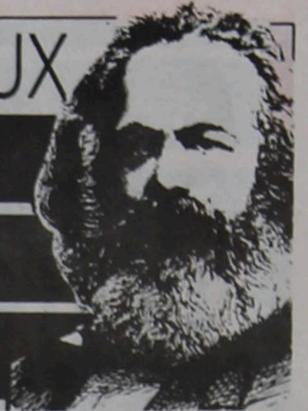
lives.

Third, Ireland is not like Nicaragua or Vietnam where a guerilla army was able to take control of the state. Many guerrilla armies have been able to gain success by establishing a base among the peasantry in the countryside and then surrounding the cities.

In Ireland, the conditions for this do not exist. The IRA's base is in a minority community. Without the support of the wider working class movement it can never win. But the armed struggle itself has become an obstacle to winning that support.

JOHN MOLYNEUX

★ Teach yourself Marxism



MATTERS OF sexual politics are never far from the headlines or the centre of public debate.

While it is true most media coverage is hyped up and sensationalist it is also true sex is important to people in all social classes and an important issue in the class struggle. It is therefore important to Marxists.

The range of sexual issues or issues that touch on sexuality is vast—lesbian and gay rights, prostitution, divorce, child sex abuse, child sexuality, pornography, rape, virgin births.

It is obviously impossible to deal with all these in a single column. However, it is quite easy to set out the basic principles of the Marxist approach to the politics of sex. This is because those principles are simple and straightforward.

First, we recognise there is a naturally given human need for sex. This need is less compelling and immediate, but otherwise parallel to, the need for food, drink and shelter.

All, or at least the vast majority, of human beings want and require sexual relations with other human beings.

Second, we think it is healthy and desirable that people should be able to satisfy this basic need.

Third, this is best achieved (because sex is an emotional as well as a physiological need) through relationships that are as far as possible free and equal.

Social and economic pressures should not force people into relationships they don't want, or prevent them from forming relationships they do want.

Healthier

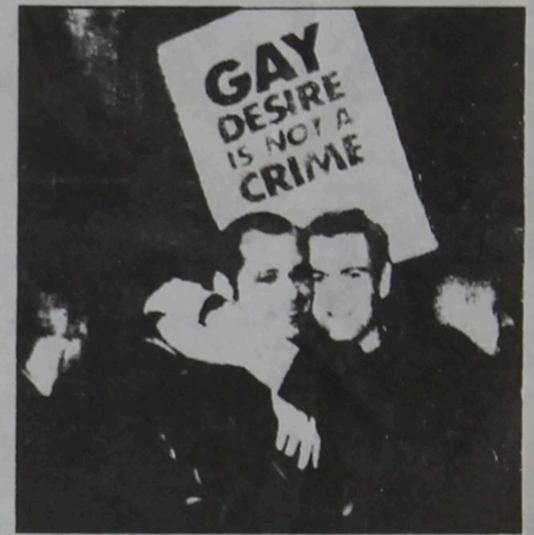
Fourth, the role of the state and law in sexual matters should be reduced to a minimum. That minimum concerns the protection of people against being abused or forced into sex against their will.

Obvious areas are rape, sexual assault and adult/child relations (where there is a natural as well as social inequality).

Thus people should be free to sleep with each other or not, live together or not, marry or divorce according to their personal choice and without discrimination or stigma whether they are heterosexual or homosexual or bisexual.

In short we believe in sexual liberation.

Of course, the application of such principles would not by itself "solve" all sexual problems. It would neither insure individuals against emotional hurt and psychological trauma nor resolve all moral dilemmas.



Sex, lies and politics

It would however provide a far healthier or more open and less oppressive framework for the solution of these problems than exists at present.

What is more, such ideas are neither particularly outlandish nor the monopoly of Marxists. In fact they are probably shared by most liberal thinking people and even, in private, by the more sophisticated members of the ruling class.

But if the matter is really so straightforward, at least as far as public policy is concerned, what is the problem?

The problem is capitalism. Firstly, capitalism as a social system twists and distorts sexual relations just as it twists and distorts all other human relations.

We spoke of equal relationships, but capitalism systematically generates inequality—between the social classes, between men and women, between black and white.

Inequality of wealth, status and power inevitably poisons personal relations.

We spoke of free relationships, but capitalism creates deprivation and dependency.

It puts millions of people, above all working class women, under enormous economic pressure to form and stay in sexual relationships where they are miserable—turning marriage into a form of hidden prostitution. Others it pressures into open prostitution.

Capitalism turns sex into a commodity to be bought and sold and manipulates it to buy and sell other commodities.

At every turn it degrades and dehumanises sex in the name of profit,

as a casual glance at the *Sun* or the *Sunday Sport* will testify.

Secondly, the capitalist ruling class promotes a repressive sexual morality because it helps to maintain its power.

Capitalism needs the family as a cheap means of reproducing the workforce. The capitalists therefore preach the sanctity of the family.

Trauma

This in turn leads to the denigration of homosexuality as a threat to the family, to the subordination of women as mothers and housewives, to the trauma of divorce proceedings and to the horrors of child sex abuse.

As a minority exploiting the majority the capitalists need to divide and rule. If they can divide us on grounds of sexual orientation, just as if they can divide us on grounds of race or nationality, it strengthens their hold.

They know also that to allow ordinary people to take control of their own sexuality is a dangerous precedent in a society founded on depriving people of control over their labour, their communities and their lives as a whole.

The ruling class does not, of course, practice the morality it preaches for the rest of us. But it continues to preach it (as the likes of John Profumo and Cecil Parkinson know to their cost) because of the political benefits it yields.

The final point is this: workers and socialists need to understand what the ruling class grasps instinctively, the connection between capitalist power and sexual repression on the one hand and workers' power and sexual liberation on the other.

OUT NOW!

Socialists, Republicanism and the Armed Struggle

KIERAN ALLEN

£1.00 inc. post

Available from: SW Books
PO Box 1648, James's St Dublin 8

ANALYSIS

What causes child abuse?



CHILD abuse is a fact of life for many people throughout Ireland. It has led to untold misery for victims of abuse who often feel as though they are to blame.

Child abuse is usually linked to isolated cases of satanic rituals or the classic stereotype of the stranger in the park. Yet statistics show that it is far more widespread and mainly occurs within the family.

Department of Health statistics show that between 1984-87 cases of confirmed child abuse throughout the Republic (this includes all forms of abuse—physical, i.e. child battering, emotional and sexual) increased by a staggering 319 percent.

In attempting to explain why such abuse takes place we have to look at the material conditions that can lead to abusive behaviour.

Research has consistently shown a link between abuse and poverty. The Department of Health in 1988 revealed that of the children who had been abused during that year, two-thirds lived in rented, mainly local authority, housing, and that the unemployment rate among fathers of abused children was more than twice the national average.

A 1982 NSPCC (UK) survey found that 622 women who physically abused their children did not have jobs outside the home—only 98 such women had outside employment. Figures for men were less uneven—365 men reported for

physical abuse were unemployed while 226 had jobs.

What is most significant here is that the highest incidence of physical abuse occurred among women who were either housewives or unemployed. This can be explained by the isolation of women with children within the home, and by the fact that abuse is often connected with acts of caretaking such as feeding, potty training and bathing.

PRESSURE

Child neglect, that is leaving children alone for long periods of time, most frequently occurs within single parent families—not because these parents are somehow unloving or inadequate but simply because single parents find that part-time employment is the only work open to them, making childminders beyond their means.

It is the conditions in which people find themselves, poor housing, unemployment and associated problems that may lead some people to crack under pressure and begin to abuse their kids.

However, if part of the explanation for the abuse of children are social and economic conditions, how do we explain child abuse within the middle classes?

For this we must look to the nature of the family itself. For most people the family is seen as a source of warmth and affection but for many it is also a source of violence. Research carried out in the United

States suggests that 71 percent of American children will suffer some form of abuse at the hands of their parents.

The hierarchical structure of the family (which reflects the inequality in wider society) means that adults have power over children, older children have power over younger children and men have power over women. Given these power relations within the family and the resulting tensions between family members it is inevitable that violence will erupt. It's not surprising that most violence in the home occurs around Christmas and the New Year when family members get together.

Particular to children's oppression, however, is that they are regarded as the property of their parents, not as persons in their own right. The saying that "children should be seen and not heard" sums up this attitude.

It is also widely accepted that children need to be punished on occasions. Indeed it wasn't that long ago that corporal punishment was part of school life for the majority of children. Given this "acceptable" level of violence towards children, is it any wonder that some parents cross the threshold and begin to abuse their kids?

For many people the family is a source of misery where women are isolated; adolescents long to escape; and couples whose relationships may have failed stay together "for the sake of the children". Why, then, do people continue to cling to the family?

The reality is that under capitalism we have very little control

over how we live, where we work, what we earn and how we relate to each other. As workers, what we produce is taken from us. This separation from what we produce results in what Marx called alienation.

"Real" life for most workers begins outside work. The family therefore takes on a heightened importance. It's a place where we hope to find relief and protection from a hostile world, where we can obtain sexual and emotional fulfilment and where we can at least have the illusion of having some control over one area of our lives.

FRUSTRATION

However, the reality of family life doesn't live up to our expectations, and the result is frustration and despair. Inevitably the family becomes the arena where this frustration and despair are expressed through violence and abuse, usually against its most vulnerable members—children, grandparents and women.

In the case of child sexual abuse, research overwhelmingly points to men as the abusers. In the South, the Department of Health figures for 1988 show that in ninety percent of the cases of child sexual abuse men were the abusers, with sixty percent of abuse taking place within the family.

Part of the explanation for this lies with how people are socialised under capitalism. Through the family, the education system and the

media we are taught our "roles"—men to be dominant, aggressive and sexually confident and women to be passive, sexually available and submissive.

Moreover, under capitalism sex has become a commodity sold through pornography and prostitution; it is something that can be bought, sold and stolen—as in rape. We must then put child sexual abuse in this context: like other forms of abuse it is an expression of powerlessness. But more than this, it is one consequence of the distorted sexuality we all experience under capitalism.

But if child abuse is caused by poverty and oppression within the family, does this mean we have to wait until the system is replaced by one where poverty and oppression no longer exist? What can we do in the here and now?

Fighting for proper childcare facilities would clearly ease the burden for women workers. The right to contraception and abortion would make it less likely for women to be thrown into oppressive family relationships for which they are not prepared. Stopping hospitals like Belfast's Royal Victoria from opting out of the NHS and supporting workers' demands for decent pay and conditions can alleviate poverty and help to improve the lives of children.

Ultimately, however, it is only by destroying capitalism, the system that breeds child abuse, that we can guarantee children a society free of deprivation where they can achieve their potential.

■ MARGARET KEENAN

SWM Meetings

BELFAST: Meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Castle Mews Bar
 August 5: Marxists and the State
 August 12: PUBLIC MEETING Socialists, Republicanism and the Armed Struggle, 8.00pm Conway Mill, Falls Road
 August 19: Trotsky's Marxism
 August 26: What is the Real Marxist Tradition?

BRAY: Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Hibernian Inn, Marine Tce.
 August 6: Do men benefit from Women's Oppression? Speaker: Orla Costello
 August 13: The Politics of Leon Trotsky, Speaker: Jason McElligot
 August 20: Environment in Crisis—Who is to blame? Speaker: Brian Hanley

CORK: Meets every Tuesday in Anchor Inn, Georges Quay.
 August 13: The Third World and the Struggle for Socialism
 August 20: Did Leninism lead to Stalinism?
 August 27: Is the Personal Political?
 September 3: Capitalism in crisis and Unemployment

DERRY: Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers, Orchard Street
 August 6: Internment, Politics Behind the Wire, Speaker: Eamonn McCann
 August 13: Can the Armed Struggle get rid of the Brits? Speaker Danny Brown
 August 20: The Fight for Abortion Rights in Ireland, Speaker: Anita Villa
 August 27: Black Nationalism, Speaker: Chris McKay

DUBLIN: Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in the Batchelor Inn, O'Connell Bridge
 August 7: How do we get rid of Recession, Speaker: Alan Kelly
 August 14: Pornography and Censorship, Speaker: Catherine Curran
 August 21: PUBLIC MEETING: Environment in Crisis, Speaker: Brian Hanley. 8.00pm Ormond Hotel, Ormond Quay
 August 28: Protestant Workers and the Northern State, Speaker: Goretta Horgan

WATERFORD: Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keyzer Street (See SW sellers for details)

For more details or of regular meetings in NAVAN, DUNDALK, DUNGARVAN, GALWAY, KILKENNY, LIMERICK and PORTLAOISE contact: SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8 or SWM PO Box 418, Tomb Street, Belfast BT9 5PU

Sign the jobs charter

THE Socialist Workers Movement has launched a jobs charter demanding serious action on unemployment. We are calling for:

- A job for everyone willing and able to work;
- A fight in the trade union movement for an end to excessive overtime without loss of earnings;
- That the government ceases the billions of pounds in tax breaks and grants to private companies;
- The nationalisation under workers' control without compensation of private companies declaring redundancies;
- The full implementation of the Commission on Social Welfare's recommended rates of unemployment benefits and other Social Welfare benefits;
- A tax on wealth and profits to be used to undertake a programme of public works at trade union rates of pay. These to include:



- An extension of the DART to Clondalkin, Tallaght, Mulhuddart and Finglas/Ballymun;
 - A massive public sector house building programme to deal with the housing emergency;
 - Full reversal of the cuts in the health service and the building of new, well equipped hospitals and clinics to deal with the needs of working class people;
 - The construction of proper amenities in the housing estates.
- During August we will collect signatures outside dole offices and in public places. Please sign the Charter. If you want to help collect names phone Jason at (01) 782471.

What we stand for ★

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

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

NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

FOR AN END TO PARTITION

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

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

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

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

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

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

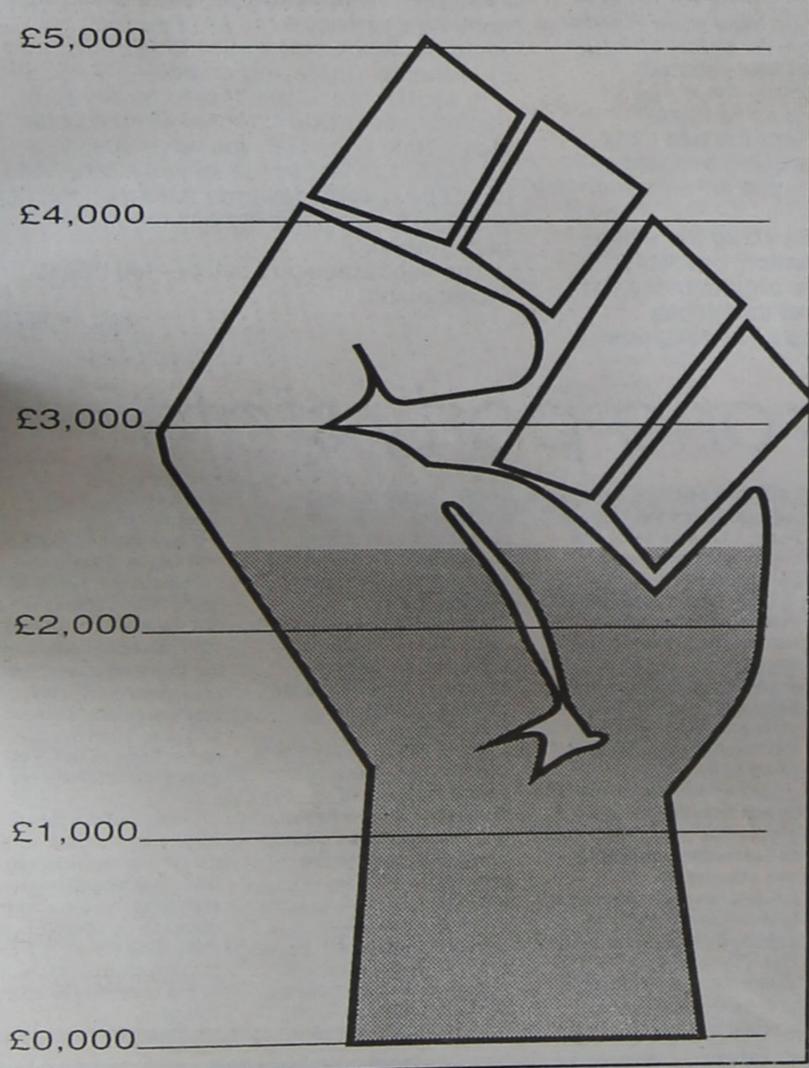
We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We fight for free contraception, abortion on demand and the right to divorce. We oppose all discrimination against gays and lesbians. We stand for secular control of hospitals and schools. We fight for the complete separation of church and state.

FOR A FIGHT IN THE UNIONS

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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



Socialist Worker £5,000 Appeal

Socialist Worker is in dire need of money to repair and replace essential equipment to keep this paper coming out.

We recognise that many of our readers appreciate the contribution we make to developing a serious, fighting left-wing current in Ireland.

We also recognise that our readers will

understand that without rich backers we are dependent on our supporters to keep us going.

Many thanks to those who contributed during July to bring our £5,000 appeal to £2,303.59p.

Please rush your contributions to: SW Appeal, PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8.

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 KIERAN ALLEN
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NICARAGUA: WHAT WENT WRONG?
 by Mike Gonzalez
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SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

□ Please send me more details of SWM

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REVIEWS

Road movie -a cut above

THELMA AND LOUISE starring Geena Davis and Susan Sarandon

YOU'VE probably heard this story before—two "baddies" leave their spouses for the weekend and go off to have some innocent fun. However, in no time at all they're caught up in events beyond their control.

Wanted by the law, they drive across the country engaging in elaborate car chases, liquor store holdups, casual sexual encounters and much "bonding".

It's a standard road movie storyline. Hollywood churns them out every year without much comment or controversy—enjoyable, easy on the grey matter capers with pantomime goodies and baddies.

Thelma and Louise is one such movie, yet it's been surrounded by controversy—"toxic feminism" wrote one outraged critic.

Hardly. *Thelma and Louise* is neither man-hating propaganda nor the epitome of "right on" cinema—but it's a road movie a cut above the rest

because the characters are realistic and likeable.

Thelma and Louise are friends who go off for a few days on their own. An attempted rape on Thelma drastically changes their plans. Louise saves her and then shoots the rapist when he is unapologetic and offensive. After the enormity of what they've done hits them, they set off for Mexico, knowing no court will believe them as Thelma was dancing all night with the man.

On the run in a convertible Cadillac (it helps!) across the States, they—and Thelma in



Thelma and Louise go on holiday

particular—realise the boring restrictiveness of their lives. They begin to challenge their passive role, but more than that they have FUN.

It's a quirky, smart film with some fine performances, notably Christopher McDonald as Thelma's domineering and

shallow husband. It avoids the stomach-churning sentimentality of most films dealing with women friends.

Challenging sexist men may not be the most radical idea to come from the movie business, but in the context of most of the crap from Hollywood it's

hardly something to get upset over. In fact it makes a refreshing change from gun-toting buddies, slapping themselves on the back as they go around "wasting" people for no apparent reason.

Simplistic possibly, one dimensional probably, but

"toxic feminism"? Only if *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid* was toxic machoism and *Every Which Way You Can* was toxic bestiality.

This film won't change a reactionary world into a fair one, but it'll change a dull afternoon into a fun one. ■ CATHY BERGIN



Why we need a revolutionary party

Why we need a Revolutionary Party, by Lindsey German, available price 75p including post from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

THE working class is a revolutionary class, but there is a gap between its potential and day to day reality. The means to bridge this gap is the revolutionary party.

This is the conclusion of Lindsey German's pamphlet *Why We Need a Revolutionary Party*.

The Bolshevik Party's leadership brought about

the success of the Russian revolution in 1917. Part of the Party's effectiveness lay in its structure. German talks about democratic centralism—the ability to examine the situation, argue it out and come to a conclusion which was then put into action.

This is not the same as the despotic rule of Stalin in later years. Nor is it the same as the leadership cult and stifling of debate that occur in Labour-type parties today.

The party must be based on the working class in order to relate to real struggle and learn

from the mistakes of the past.

But that does not mean it excludes non-workers—middle class people or students, for example. In order to combat right-wing ideas that dominate in society, the party needs to win the best fighters, regardless of their backgrounds.

A solid core of revolutionaries must exist before the revolution—to influence events the party needs experience of struggle and clarity of ideas over a number of years.

■ ANNE MARIE O'CONNOR

Abortion:

Why Irish women must have the right to choose

GORETTI HORGAN
£1.50 inc. post

Available from: SW Books
PO Box 1648, James's St Dublin 8

The American way

Not Without My Daughter, starring Sally Field

NOT WITHOUT My Daughter is based on the true story of Betty Mahmoody's struggle to escape from Iran and her oppressive husband. This is the basis storyline around which the film claims to deal with women's oppression. In reality it upholds the "American way" as being the key to liberation.

I admit to having been deeply suspicious of this film when I saw it advertised, coming as it did so soon after the Gulf war. Add to this the fact that it is based on the book of the same name largely written by William Hoffman (the author of *Midnight Express*) and racist overtones are sure to abound.

Both films use different storylines to present the same argument—the virtue of the American way of life over Muslim-dominated countries. In fact the two films are so similar it's like watching a repeat of *Midnight Express*, except this time it's Iran instead of Turkey.

The film *Not Without My Daughter* makes no attempt at any explanation, probably because it would lose the argument if it did so. No mention is made of the bloody repression under the Shah. The religious

LETTER:

Stalin's one-party state

Dear Socialist Worker, Last month's article "Did Lenin Lead to Stalin?" was very good, but there was one point that was missing.

It's not enough to say that Lenin saw the one-party state as temporary, while Stalin made it permanent. Under the circumstances the one-party state was absolutely necessary, but Stalin did not inherit Lenin's policies on anything, let alone this.

Trotsky wrote years later: "For Lenin the first condition of party control over the government was control by the party masses over the party apparatus."

In other words, instead of the one-party state being the dictatorship of the Politburo it was to be

under the control of the millions in the Communist Party. This was to be the check on tyranny and bureaucracy.

There were problems, in that the most political workers had died during the civil war, but in essence the millions in the party were to control the state as a stop-gap until the revolution in the West came to their aid.

Stalin's faction came to power because its arguments for conservatism, socialism in one country and industrialisation seemed to fit the situation of defeated revolutions in the West, famine, poverty and demoralisation in Russia, but the Bolsheviks had created a tradition of

fundamentalism that ensued is therefore explained by "primitiveness".

Betty, on the other hand, is a christian, displayed by the ever-present cross around her neck. Christianity and the Bible, as we all know, have been used as justification for women's oppression for centuries.

America is presented not as the majority of the population experience it but as freedom from oppression and apple pie. This is pure hypocrisy, especially coming now when the right are on the attack. Sexuality of any kind is threatened and most states have severe penalties for abortion. Christian fundamentalism exerts huge pressure while poverty pushes women to back-street abortions, prostitution, drugs and crime.

In short, I found this film to be a form of nationalistic masturbation—when no one else will do it for you, you have to do it yourself. The last scene shows mother and daughter walking towards the American flag with heart-string quartet playing in the background.

The flag represents safety—tell that to the Palestinians!

■ ALAN KELLY

debate, argument and discussion. They had succeeded in creating hundreds of thousands of conscious, questioning socialists.

As one Bolshevik leader said, "Those who bow submissively to every command from above are good for nothing as revolutionaries."

Stalin had to destroy this tradition and these socialists. Tens of thousands were killed or imprisoned. It was a long, bitter struggle and the conclusion was not inevitable, especially as there was a sizeable grouping organised around the Left Opposition, but stalinism was successful by 1928. Between Lenin and Stalin lies a river of

blood and counter-revolution.

It was the conditions existing in Russia and Europe in the 1920s which led to Stalin taking power, not the workers' power of 1917. The blame lies with the fourteen governments who invaded Russia, blockaded her, starved her and who butchered revolutions in the West with a bloodthirsty relish.

Today, after a murderous oil war in the Gulf, with 21 percent unemployment in this state and privatisation and attacks on workers about to be stepped up, socialists should be clear that revolution not reform is the only way to change things.

□ GEOROID MAC UAILIGOID

Health crisis North and South

TALLAGHT:

Hospital shelved

PLANS for a hospital in the Dublin suburb of Tallaght have been shelved by the government, despite promise that this essential service would be given special priority.

However, the people of Tallaght are fighting back. There are already moves to organise a powerful lobby in Tallaght with activity committees being set up in each area.

Tallaght has a population of 80,000. It is disgraceful that an

area of equal size to Limerick City should be deprived of such a vital service.

The nearest general hospital is St James's in Rialto, while the nearest children's hospital is Our Lady's in Crumlin. Both hospitals are seriously overstretched and a wait of several hours in casualty cases is the norm.

Working class people in Tallaght have had to fight for such basic facilities as schools, clinics and shopping centres. They are now prepared for another fight.

■HELEN McMAHON



Health services North and South are under attack

DERRY:

Screening cuts

THE TORIES are putting women's lives at risk by cutting back on treatment for cervical cancer.

The disease kills about thirty women every year in the North. This is the only cancer which can be detected in its pre-cancerous stage (before it develops) by a simple test. So no woman need die of it.

Until recently, women with a positive smear were immediately referred to Altnagelvin hospital for treatment which in most cases stops the cancer developing.

NHS cuts mean that women with positive smears are no longer getting immediate treatment but are being told to come back in six months' time for another test. If it's not got any worse they are

again put off for another six months.

The hospital claims that this is not a cut, just an administrative change. But it is a giant step backwards. Cervical cancer could be a thing of the past, if there was an efficient screening system and immediate treatment. The cuts mean that it remains a threat.

Working class women will be hardest hit. Those

with money can go for private treatment.

■ The Derry Branch of the SWM is holding a ballot through the month of August among Saturday shoppers at the city's Richmond Shopping Centre over the cuts in cervical cancer treatment. The results will be sent to the hospital administrator. So far, no one we've met has agreed with the cuts.

Hospital walk-out

STUDENT nurses at Altnagelvin's School of Nursing recently walked out in protest at the siting of a new mammography (breast cancer screening) unit in a wing of the hos-

pital's education building.

A student nurse told *Socialist Worker* that they welcome the building of the unit, but not in the education building. "We're already packed in like sardines," she said. There are classes of 44 and more in classrooms designed for a maximum

of 30. But the hospital won't build an extension or a new building—they want to open the mammography unit on the cheap.

The students insist that the move will also affect the patients. Most women coming to the mammography unit will

be over fifty and will be asked to come into a very school-like atmosphere, with students running about and very little privacy.

The student nurses are planning further action if the hospital doesn't change its plans.

WATERFORD:

Support the nurses

NURSES in Waterford are fighting back against the health cuts.

Members of the Irish Nurses' Organisation (INO) are engaged in a series of one-day strikes to demand more staff and a shorter working week.

The severity of the cuts meant that no hip replacements were carried out in Waterford in the thirteen months up to June of this year. During the summer 25 beds were closed at Waterford Regional Hospital.

The mood for a fight

was summed up by one hospital worker who told *Socialist Worker*: "If you are prepared to take action you can defend your rights and working conditions and also fight cuts and in the process defend patient care."

Dublin Bus fightback

DUBLIN bus workers in SIPTU have voted massively in favour of industrial action over CIE's attempt to curtail its medical scheme. The scheme provides a free doctor for bus workers and their families.

The result of the ballot, with over a thousand in favour of action and less than a hundred opposing it, indicates the level of anger among workers. Ballots in the railways and Bus Eireann are likely to provide similar results.

However, union leaders have been at pains to point out that industrial action is a last resort, with reps in some garages speaking of a deal in which workers would "contribute" weekly to the scheme.

Despite this the result of the ballot is important. The last five years have seen big defeats for bus workers with the introduction of one-person operated buses, large scale redundancies, a general erosion of conditions and the constant government promise of privatised buses.

Despite these defeats and SIPTU's "new realism", the possibility of a fightback is now very much on the cards.

■NBRU MEMBER

Industrial Notebook

by PAUL O'BRIEN

BILLY Attley argued at the recent SIPTU conference that we must adapt to the new times that we live in. The old methods of class struggle no longer fit the situation, he argued.

Attley echoed the idea that the working class has declined and is divided into a core of well paid workers and a periphery who are low paid, part-time or temporary.

Trade union leaders are not alone in making this argument. The Workers Party have also used it to justify their shift to the right.

But recent studies in Britain and Ireland on the extent of changes in employment patterns do not support this argument.

In the UK, contrary to expectation, the public sector is the most important employer of "peripheral" forms of labour. Manufacturing industries rely almost exclusively on traditional full-time, permanent employment. Other types of labour

constitute less than 10 percent of the workforce.

Core/periphery strategists were a small minority, about five percent of employers with 25 or more employees each. According to a survey carried out by Sussex University, the use of non-core workers appeared to be primarily a response to economic uncertainties and the reduced bargaining power of labour during long periods of unemployment.

ECONOMIC

This suggests that it could be readily reversed in an economic upturn or with an increase in bargaining power of the trade unions.

The study shows clearly that it is the lack of legal protection and social security rights which makes temporary and part-time workers attractive to employers.

The Sussex University report indicated that the use of part-time and temporary staff is opportunistic rather than strategic.

Employment patterns in Ire-

land seem to bear this out. According to Professor Dineen of Limerick University, Ireland is among those EC countries with the lowest proportion of employment which is part-time (7.9 percent or 87,000 in 1988). Women account for almost 70 percent of all part-time workers while married women constitute almost 50 percent (70 percent in the EC). In industry the shift is away from part-time or seasonal work and towards regular full-time employment.

While part-time work has increased, it has not made any substantial inroads in manufacturing. The reasons for the increase can be narrowed down to the following:

- Expansion of service sector (74 percent of all part-time jobs are in services);
- Lower pro-rata wage and non-wage costs (not likely to be an advantage in the future);
- Rise in female participation rates and a desire by women to work part-time (see next issue of *Socialist Worker*).

It is also clear that the growth of part-time working is predominant among young people.

This is due to the high levels of unemployment and the number of government schemes.

Ireland deviates from employment patterns in respect of the growth in part-time work in other EC countries.

IDENTIFIED

Variations in the proportion of part-time to total employment have been noted across OECD countries with three broad groupings identified (1986):

Under 10 percent: Italy, Greece, Portugal, Ireland, Luxembourg, Belgium, Finland.

10 percent to 20 percent: Australia, Canada, France, West Germany, Japan, New Zealand, United States.

20 percent or more: Denmark, Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, UK.

The studies show that while there has been an increase in part-time and temporary work, it has mainly affected service workers and is a response to labour shortage.

There is no clear strategy at the moment to divide workers

into core and non-core sectors. As legal and social benefits are extended to all workers the advantage of this form of employment disappears.

The European Social Charter proposes improvements in pay and conditions for part-time workers. Workers may have to fight to ensure that such reforms are implemented in full.

Changes in the pattern of work have always been a feature of capitalist production. The trade unions had to adapt new strategies to cope with these changes. At the turn of the century there was a shift from craft unions to general workers' unions. In the 1950s there was a large increase in the number of clerical workers.

There is a demand among some sections of workers, particularly married women, for part-time or temporary work. Such work need not undermine existing conditions, as long as its introduction is agreed with the union.

Part-time workers should have union membership and receive the same pay and conditions as full-time workers.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

Socialist Worker Public Meeting Socialists, Republicanism and the Armed Struggle

Monday August 12, 8.00pm
Conway Mill, Falls Road, Belfast

Despite UDR 'reform'...

REPRESSION CONTINUES

by
**EAMONN
McCANN**

THE merger of the UDR with the Royal Irish Rangers is the latest attempt by the British to "de-sectarianise" the forces of the Northern state.

All previous attempts have failed and that's the likely outcome of this effort, too.

But it would be wrong to dismiss the merger as completely insignificant. It's important for what it tells us about the development of British strategy.

B SPECIALS

The UDR itself was set up in 1969 as a "non-sectarian" replacement for the notorious B Specials. The SDLP and the Dublin government urged Catholics to join, and some did.

But Catholics now amount to under three percent of the UDR—the vast majority of them ex-British soldiers who transferred after "serving" in the North.



Members of the UDR have been involved in numerous sectarian killings, and in daily brutality and harassment, as well as a catalogue of "ordinary" crime. A recent book by right-wing journalist Chris Ryder revealed that UDR members were more likely than the population as a whole to be involved in crime of all sorts.

The outfit had become an embarrassment to the British and a widely-acknowledged obstacle to peace—even peace on

British terms.

That's the reason for the merger—that the UDR's separate existence no longer serves British purposes.

British imperialism's main Irish ally now is the Dublin government, not the Northern Unionists. And the UDR's sectarian excesses made it difficult for Dublin, and the SDLP, to "deliver" Northern Catholics to acceptance of the state.

The new set-up won't change anything funda-

mental. Shoot to kill is second nature to every section of the security forces.

SECTARIAN

The British ruling class would prefer a non-sectarian North, and since the mid-eighties has been willing to involve its Southern Irish ally in the administration of the North in order to achieve this. But they haven't achieved it.

Defence of the North has proved a sectarian project in itself... whatever the religious make-up of the state forces, or the chain of command or the presence or otherwise of a part-time element.

In this situation it is nonsensical for leftists around the Workers Party and the Irish Labour Party to welcome the change. And it is just as nonsensical for Republicans to demand that the Dublin government and the SDLP reject the change.

The debate around the UDR merger reveals two things.

One, that the North is irreformably sectarian. Two, that a nationalist alliance provides no realistic alternative.

20 YEARS AFTER
INTERNMENT:

ICTU stands idly by

INTERNMENT was one of the key events which turned the civil rights struggle for reform of the Northern state into a fight against the state.

It showed that those rights which many take for granted are actually only granted for as long as it suits the ruling class. Once they reckon such rights are a hindrance to their rule, the rights go by the board.

LESSON

There's a lesson in this for socialists in the South, in Britain, everywhere: to fight by the rules laid down by the system is to concede defeat from the outset. Because any time those who control the system feel threatened they abolish the rules.

It's noticeable that some elements in the South who were anti-internment in the seventies now feel that their patch of capitalism, too, is threatened by the continuing Northern instability. So now they're in favour of internment.

London and Dublin are much more closely allied now than in 1971. If internment is to be reintroduced, it will almost certainly be a simultaneous North-South operation.

Again, this emphasises the futility of looking to an all-Ireland nationalist alliance to defend basic rights.

It's the working class of the whole island which has an interest in defending democracy against those in power on both sides of the border.

We can't depend on

the official leadership of the working class movement to do this.

PATHETIC

In 1971 the Northern Committee of the ICTU didn't even verbally condemn internment. Pathetically, it asked only that union officials should be allowed to visit interned trade unionists and that internees' pension rights should be protected!

An "official delegation" of ICTU chiefs followed this up by meeting at Stormont with the architect of internment, Brian Faulkner. The delegation announced afterwards that they had "expressed the view that internment and other exceptional measures should be dispensed with as soon as possible".

Faulkner, naturally, assured them that internment "would not be maintained any longer than was absolutely necessary".

This disgusting performance helps explain why the idea of looking to the working class movement seemed abstract and even eccentric to many, particularly young, people at the time.

For socialists, one of the main lessons from the period has to do with the need to link rank and file militancy in the unions with the struggle against the Northern state.

That's as relevant today as ever, while ICTU bureaucrats hob-nob with the NIO and link arms with ultra-right wingers on stunts like the "Peace Train"—meanwhile selling their members out on issues like health cuts and privatisation.

SOCIALISTS AND THE IRA
See pages six and seven

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