

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

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UNEMPLOYMENT



Major and Haughey: friends of the rich

NORTH AND South of the border there is a huge unemployment crisis. If official figures are used, the combined jobless total for the whole island is almost 350,000:

■ Government figures show almost 100,000 out of work in Northern Ireland. But the Unemployment Unit, using the 1979 Regulations, put the total closer to 150,000 or 21 percent of the workforce.

■ In the South, there are officially 246,000 unemployed or 19 percent. The percentage figure is the highest in the history of the state. Even in 1936—during the "bad old days"—unemployment was less than eight percent.

The Northern figures also show that there are 34 people chasing every job vacancy.

Recently the Western Health and Social Services Board announced a limited number of holiday relief jobs. People queued all night for application forms—not only students but married people with children and single parents.

On both sides of the border we hear the same excuses and crazy "solutions" from right-wing politicians and economists.

Charles Haughey said there was "no crisis" and, suddenly realising that the South's local elections were on, promptly become "very impatient" for a solution! The Taoiseach then blamed "local opposition to development projects" for the problem.

Meanwhile Fianna Fail tries to ignore the huge local and national opposition to job losses in the Postal Service.

Graham Gudgin of the Northern Ireland Economic Research Council says that

the unemployed should be encouraged to emigrate! In the past, emigration was seen as a problem—now it's posed as a solution. Not only is this insulting—with recession hitting Europe and America it is also ridiculous.

Our rulers have no solution to unemployment—they are part of the problem. While they talk about the need to "get the economy right" the fact is that the rich, who control society, benefit from job cuts.

Take the two Waterford Glass directors who shared out a £1.2 million payoff while the firm was attacking jobs and conditions.

Or British Telecom boss Ian Vallance, responsible for cutting thousands of jobs. He is paid £563,303 a year—that works out at £1 a minute for destroying 50 jobs a day at BT.

The rich will do alright even when the recession hits. Every lame excuse for unemployment is an attempt to cover up their greed.

The rich are to blame!

350,000 jobless North & South

Bishops who have pull with the NIO

THE POWERFUL position of the Catholic hierarchy in the North was made very clear last month. Ministers at the Northern Ireland Office fell over themselves with apologies when it was revealed that Catholic schools had for years been under-funded with regard to running costs.

The reason this happened is not that the NIO has become distressed at Catholics being disadvantaged but because right now the British desperately need to keep the Catholic bishops on their side.

The issue arose when the standing Advisory Committee on Human Rights, an official body headed by former Alliance Party leader, Sir Oliver Napier, reported that, on average, Catholic schools had been receiving £100 less per pupil per year than state schools for running costs.

The Catholic bishops went on the offensive immediately, demanding not only reform for the future but compensation for the shortfall in the past. Bishop Edward Daly of Derry put a figure of £32 million on the amount "owing" for the five years studied by the SACHR, and it seems very likely this will be forthcoming.

The Education Minister at Stormont, Brian Mawhinney, made no attempt to defend the position, but apologised to the Bishops and agreed immediately that reform and compensation would be in order.

So anxious is the NIO to make amends that it now seems probable Catholic schools will in future receive 100 percent of their building and equipment costs as well, as opposed to 35 percent at present. In other words, they could come out of the controversy having made a "profit" on the deal.

Of course, it's right that Catholic children should be on an equal footing with others. The

shortfall in funding running costs is a legacy of discrimination. But even so, Mawhinney could have pointed out, as any Unionist Government in the past would have, that the separate Catholic school system only exists because the Catholic bishops insist on it, and that the Catholic community could have been freed at any time from the burden of 15 percent of capital costs if the bishops had accepted an integrated system.

The reason NIO Ministers instead almost went on their knees to the bishops to ask for forgiveness is that the issue arose just as the Brooke Talks finally got under way at Stormont, and crucial to the outcome of the Talks is the question whether Catholics can be persuaded to give their loyalty to the Northern State on the basis of whatever reforms are agreed. The line of the bishops will be tremendously important in this context.

In other words, the British badly need the Bishops' backing. And this puts the Bishops in a powerful position.

Devious

There's nothing really new in this. The Republican line that the Catholic hierarchy has always been "pro-British" is far from the truth. The situation is, rather, that the Hierarchy has always been acutely conscious of its own institutional interests, and has played a devious and delicate political game to secure its interests.

This has meant lining up with the British on various issues at various times. But the Bishops have never been in Britain's pocket. They line up only insofar as it suits them.

Diocese a n authorities in Belfast were quite well disposed to the Provos as they began to emerge in 1969-70-71, for example, seeing the new movement as a likely bulwark against the Left-wing ideas of some civil rights leaders. The 1970 Lenten pastoral read in all Belfast Churches fulminated against socialism, while making no mention of the violence which was increasing steadily in

all the main Catholic areas.

But when the Provos acquired enough strength in the community to challenge the authority of the Church, the attitude changed. Now they were "devil-people".

Over the last decade the Church has increasingly offered "moderate" leadership to Catholic working class communities, as an alternative to the "extremists". In West Belfast in particular, the Church has effectively taken on the role which the SDLP would fill if the SDLP had the strength on the ground.

Again, the Church hasn't been acting as puppets of the NIO in this regard. Its control of funds and access to official patronage - on ACE schemes and community development projects, for example - has helped greatly to sustain its own influence in areas where mass-going has fallen off dramatically and young people are unimpressed with traditional figures of authority.

The Church has done as well out of its relationship with the NIO as vice-versa. Indeed, it's interesting to note that on the issue of education the Bishops now have at least as much clout with the Northern authorities as they have in the South.

Fianna Fail Education Minister, Mary O'Rourke, didn't exactly snap to attention when the Bishops came out of a meeting at Maynooth last month demanding that the "Catholic ethos" be preserved in the educational reforms to be set out in a Green Paper in the Autumn. She told them that they should wait and see the Green Paper before commenting. She was respectful, of course. But it wasn't quite the boot-licking obsequiousness of Brian Mawhinney.

It's important that those of us who are fighting for a secular, socialist society should ponder these matters. Because to regard the Catholic Bishops as mere puppets of the British authorities is seriously to underestimate them.

And it doesn't do to underestimate your enemy.

Glass bosses' payout

THE workforce at Waterford Crystal are seething with anger at the news that two former directors who left the Company in January 1991 shared a whopping £1.2 million payoff.

This real bonanza payment came to light with the publication of the Company's Annual Report.

Since the matter was highlighted by the Irish Press the management have refused to comment on the issue. While their stance on

the matter is considered to be outrageous, it is, nevertheless understandable. How do you defend the indefensible?

This is the first year that the workforce were

CRUCIFIED

not sent a copy of the Company's Annual Report and this decision, according to the management, was taken to reduce costs.

This payment was described as obscene by ATGWU convener

Jimmy Kelly who said "This demonstrates the double standards of those running the industry. This year the workforce has been crucified because of short time working. Many are experiencing serious hardship and in some instances the threat of having their houses repossessed by the Banks and Building Societies."

The anger of the workforce is borne out by the number of stoppages that have taken place over the last few weeks, particularly in the Blowing section.

The Blowers have seen their wages being further eroded by the introduction of a new piece rate system.

Management have continuously lectured the workers about the dire financial state of the company. They have now added insult to injury by this £1.2 million payout to a couple of individuals who contributed nothing to the industry. The size of the payoff begs the question, what kind of money were these characters on while they were actually with the company?

Help lines battle

THE EUROPEAN Court of Justice looks likely to uphold the South's ban on abortion information.

During June the Advocate General of the court gave his preliminary opinion in SPUC's case against several student union officers. He held that the ban on information was legitimate because abortion itself is forbidden by the South's Constitution.

This is not the final decision of the Court of Justice, but the Advocate General's opinion is upheld in 80 percent of cases.

In the Court of Human Rights the preliminary opinion has gone against SPUC, in their case against the Well Woman and Open Line Clinics.

Thousands of Irish women travel to Britain each year for abortions. Official British figures for 1990 show that 4,063 women gave Irish addresses when seeking abortions, an increase of 342 on the previous year. However, a survey conducted by the British Pregnancy Advisory Service estimates that another 6,000 women travelled from Ireland but gave British addresses.

If SPUC has its way, women like these will be forced to travel without counselling and without full information of what the operation entails.

SPUC are also claiming legal costs of £30,000 from the students involved.

However, there is a fightback. The Dublin Right to Information Action Group is continuing to distribute information on the streets, including the phone number of the Womens Information Network, which provides abortion referral and counselling.

Along with various student unions, the WIN receives 3,000 - 4,000 phone calls a year from women enquiring about abortion. In addition, the Well Woman Centre receives about 2,500 calls a year from women with crisis pregnancies, to

The Real GBH.



Tom Jones (above) was sent a bailiff's letter, by order of Liverpool Council, threatening to seize his belongings.

Attacks like these are not being carried out by a Militant-style council, as portrayed in Alan Bleasdale's Channel 4 Drama GBH.

It is a right-wing Labour Council, supported by leader Neil Kinnock, which is doing the Tories' dirty work on Merseyside. The councillors, and not striking workers, are the real thugs.

whom they provide full pre- and post-abortion counselling. However, they cannot directly refer women to abortion clinics.

Even if Well Woman and Open Line win their case, the Court of Human Rights decision is not binding on the Irish State. A mass campaign of defiance will be needed to force the repeal of the ban on information.

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

UNEMPLOYMENT SCANDAL



Haughey and Major preside over misery

Jobs slaughter in the North

MACKIES Engineering works in Belfast has just added another 360 workers to the North's jobless total.

Under threat of closure, the rest of the workforce at Mackies have been put on a three-day week.

The factory is close to the Catholic Falls Road but its workforce is

predominantly Protestant. Job losses like those at Mackies prove that Protestant workers' "privileges" are very marginal indeed.

Meanwhile in some nationalist areas there are families where grandfather, father and son have never had proper work.

Half of the people on the North's Live

Register are long-term unemployed. Two thirds of the 7,000 unemployed men in Derry have been out of work for over a year. One third have been without a job for more than FIVE years.

Some families are living way below the level of the dole.

This is because single payment grants have been replaced with **LOANS**, which claimants have to repay by deductions from benefits.

To add insult to injury claimants are subject to new rules by which they must prove that they are "actively seeking work". Not only are workers being hunted out of jobs—they are being hunted off the dole as well.

TWO FACES FROM F.G., P.D.

THE SMALLER bosses parties have tried to distance themselves from Fianna Fail on the jobs issue.

John Bruton sheds crocodile tears today. But when FG were in power in 1985, he told the unemployed that "nobody in this country needs special treatment".

Bruton also said the onus was on *individuals* to solve unemployment. He said there was nothing the government could do about it.

Recently, Martin Cullen of the Progressive Democrats addressed a rally in Cork against postal job cuts. He had the cheek to try to distance the PD's from Coalition partners Fianna Fail, and was booed by a sizeable section of the crowd.

Meanwhile the PD's shout loudest for privatisation which can only result in longer dole queues.

We say:

UNIONS MUST ORGANISE FIGHTBACK!

CHARLES Haughey has called in the "big guns" to deal with unemployment in the South.

When growing anger and the threat of local election losses forced Haughey to do *something*, he set up a Special Task Force.

This time its a *really* special Task Force. According to Oliver Donohue of the ICTU it involves "doers, not talkers"—people who will "be able to get down to the nitty-gritty".

Among the "doers" is Telecom Eirean boss Fergus McGovern. His idea of getting down to the nitty-gritty involved the destruction of 4,000 jobs in Telecom.

McGovern's efforts at "job creation" have included the infamous Phonewatch—a joint venture between Telecom and US company Nynex. Staff at Telecom were offered a move to the new company as long wages were cut in

emigration of 30,000 Haughey said this was the reason for the rise in unemployment. In other words, not enough people are leaving the country and too many are coming back!

Minister for Labour, Bertie Ahern says that the main difficulty with job creation is that:

"There are some things you cannot change like the impact of the Gulf War and the international recession."

Ahern speaks as if Fianna Fail had nothing to do with Bush's war on Iraq—even though US bombers were allowed to refuel here by the government.

But more importantly Ahern is peddling the old lie that recession is some kind of "natural disaster"—like the volcanic eruptions in the Phillipines.

Yet recession is built into the world system of which Irish capitalism is a part.

That system has never created jobs out of concern for the unemployed. Its the few profit for

DRAFTED

McGovern is joined by some of the leading lights in Southern capitalism—Paddy Wright (Chairman of Smurfit's), Gerry Scanlon (AIB Group's Chief Executive) and Aer Rianta boss Derek Keogh, to name but a few.

Top Civil Servants and ICTU representatives were also drafted in.

The Task Force is supposed to find ways of creating jobs. But Haughey now claims that lack of emigration—and not lack of job creation—is the problem.

When preliminary census figures showed a drop in net

logical economic system would allow hospitals to remain understaffed while health workers are left on the dole.

What really defies logic is that unemployment has risen in Ireland in a four-year period of economic growth.

That fact proves beyond doubt that the Free Market has no solution to offer.

The misery of the dole queues will not be ended by looking to entrepreneurs for answers. Instead of joining the bosses in Task Forces and National Programmes, trade union leaders should be organising against the Irish rich.

Fianna Fail have no answers

THE NATIONAL unemployment figures translate into even harsher local realities.

For example in Arklow, Co. Wicklow a total of 2,000 jobs have been lost since 1984 due to factory closures. This is devastating for a town with a population of 8,500.

In Co. Meath unemployment rose by 25% in the months of May and June alone. In Kerry, despite all the hype about tourism providing jobs, Labour leader Dick Spring claims that almost 22% of the workforce are on the dole.

Up and down the country, the scenario is repeated with traditionally "steady" employers like Waterford Glass and Digital, Clonmel forcing redundancies.

Neither is it the case L10B'S share in the Areas like Ballymun and

Finnglas experience unemployment of over 50%.

Dublin's Inner City will also be hit if Sherriff St sorting office is allowed to close with the loss of hundreds of jobs. Meanwhile millions of pounds have been pumped into the new Financial Services centre, down the road from Sherriff St. The Centre offers no real prospect of jobs in the locality.

In the run-up to the Local Elections, Fianna Fail played the "Local Card" by promising decentralisation of Civil Service offices to various parts of the country.

Not only was this announced over the heads of Civil Service workers. It is also highly cynical - the transfer of workers from one place to another is being pawned off as "job creation".

The only "local initiatives" which can begin to solve unemployment are when work- and redundancies.

Youth jobless worst in Europe -

IRELAND has the highest youth unemployment figure in Europe, according to the National Youth Council.

A total of 67,172 people under 25 are out of work—that figure represents a quarter of the workforce under 25 and almost 30% of all Irish jobless.

Tom Curran, director of the Council, said at a recent conference that FAS schemes are acting as a "sweeper upper" of "young undesirables".

Mr Curran said training schemes were something reserved for those who had failed to "measure up" to "the rat-race education points system".

This year, school and university leavers will add 23 to 25 thousand to the jobs market. With emigration less of an option due to world recession, youth unemployment looks set to rise.

The one good thing is that closure of the emigration "safety valve" means that thousands of angry youth will create even more headaches for Fianna Fail.



But it's alright for some: Finance minister Albert Reynolds and his rich friends celebrating the 10 per cent profits made in one day by investors in Greencore, the privatised Sugar company.

INTERNATIONAL

The human cost to be paid for the Gulf War

by CREA RYDER

SO MUCH media attention was placed on the devastation suffered by the Kurds after the Gulf War (and rightly so), that the tragic effect the war has had on the rest of Iraq has bypassed media attention.

Iraq was left decimated by the Allied bombing.

Before the outbreak of the Land War, the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that 400,000 people would be made homeless as a direct effect of the war on Iraq. The reality now is that there are at least 2 million

refugees, countless dead and millions more racked with diseases and malnutrition.

A recent U.N. report has stated: "The recent conflict has wrought near apocalyptic results upon the economic infrastructure of what had been until January 1991, a highly urbanised and mechanised society".

OPERATE

Oxfam's assessment of Baghdad immediately after the war was that "Water installations are inoperable ... all sewage lifting plants are out of commission. Raw sewage is being pumped into the Tigris River (where

Baghdad's water supply comes from). Emergency generators in hospitals are only able to operate for 1 or 2 hours per day".

DAMAGE

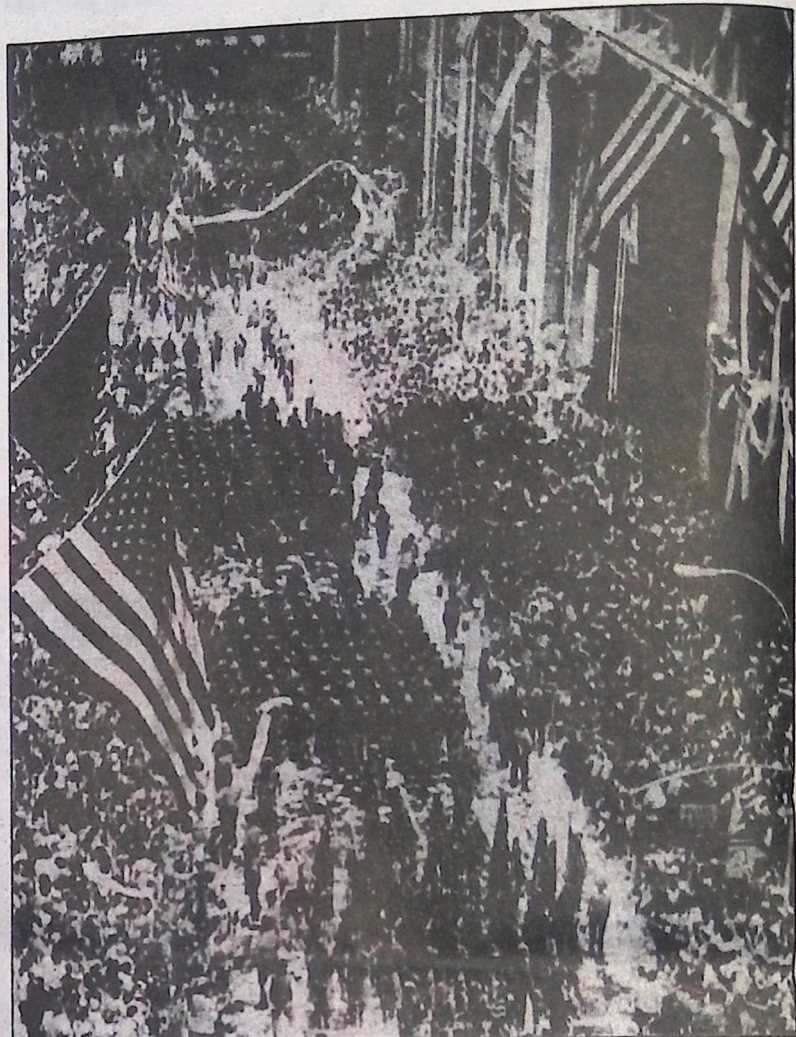
Approximately 90 per cent of the Iraqi workforce are now not working. Extensive damage has been done to electrical supplies, water sewage, lighting and refrigeration. The acute shortage of fuel for vehicles, baby foods, medicines, spare parts for generators and other mechanical equipment arising from the war and 8 months of sanctions have all created a devastating situation, where many more lives are at risk. And

this risk becomes more acute as temperatures rise during the summer months.

British and American governments have paid no heed to the human disaster they have created. They only took action to send aid to the Kurds because they were forced to.

CREATE

This is Bush's so called New World Order. An order where death and destruction rule the day. An order that will have to be fought against at any opportunity, if we want to create a society where death and destruction have no part.



NO AMOUNT of victory parades will hide the killing and destruction in the Middle East.

Algeria: glasnost stalls as the economy collapses

ALGERIA's glasnost has come to a sudden standstill.

Martial law has effectively been imposed since the riots at the beginning of June.

In the wake of demonstrations called by the Islamic FIS, nearly 50 people died as President Chaddi Benjedid sent tanks into the streets.

Since the mid-1980s, when a crash in oil prices spelled economic disaster, the ruling FLN has been trying to introduce a market economy. State capitalist since gaining independence in 1962, the Algerian economy had almost ground to a standstill.

Infrastructure problems meant there wasn't enough transport to bring food from the ports to the interior. Nationalised industries were creaking to a halt. The state attempted

to introduce a measure of private enterprise, but lacked the funds to subsidise it.

Inflation has increased constantly—last March the official price of a bag of cement rose from 25 to 100 dinars. But because of shortages, the black market price is 450 dinars.

CARGOES

Recently cargoes of food were kept waiting for weeks on ships due to repairs needed to dock unloading facilities. It cost \$15,000 per day per cargo to keep them there.

But bringing in the market meant increasing unemployment and misery. More than half the young people joining the labour market each year cannot find jobs. Inflation has sent prices soaring; in the capital, poor people live 7 or 8 to a room, often without water.

Things came to head in

1988 when several hundred demonstrators were killed by the army. Worsening social conditions had created the conditions for Islamic parties to thrive. In an attempt to head off these, particularly the FIS, the government promised electoral reform.

In the recent municipal elections the FIS gained major victories. The ruling FLN responded by gerrymandering election boundaries; poorer areas of FIS support had fewer seats than other areas. Municipalities run by FIS candidates were starved of funds.

Meanwhile the FLN, which had ruled since winning the struggle for independence in 1962, was riven with divisions. One section, led by President Benjedid, wanted reform. This faction has been attempting to reconstitute the party as some form of liberal alliance. Yet in

spite of promising reform, the FIS-led riots led Benjedid to clamp down harshly—the reform process was speedily abandoned.

On the night of June 4th, a draconian four-month state of siege was declared. The government was dismissed, elections postponed indefinitely, and the army was put in charge. Public meetings were banned. Newspapers disappeared.

The army has the power to dissolve the local authorities, many of which are dominated by the FIS.

Yet the response of the FIS has been weak and vacillating. When the elections were called for June, it announced a general strike, demanding an end to gerrymandering and the imposition of an Islamic state.

But its base among the poor and unemployed meant the strike was not widely supported. Instead, rioting in the streets substituted for organising the

working class.

This is not surprising, given the FIS's avowal that they are even more market-orientated and capitalist inclined than their secular rivals.

The FIS in fact receives support from the same sections of the middle-class that previously supported the FLN. In the spring of 1990, the FIS electoral campaign was run by a Texas-based PR company. There are hints that an Islamic regime that is pro-market and not overtly anti-west might be tolerated by the U.S.

After all, Pakistan and Saudi-Arabia have some of the harshest Sharia laws. But this depends on the ability of the FIS to deliver the mass of people, and discipline them. And it depends on the radicalisation of the people not getting out of hand. France, Spain and Italy, with their 2 million Algerian immigrants are looking nervously over their shoulders.

Communist government collapses in Albania

THE ALBANIAN Communist Party government, barely six weeks old, collapsed last month in the face of a two week long general strike by 350,000 workers, demonstrations and riots.

The country's prime minister, Fatos Nano, announced the government's end early in June.

The strikers, led by the Union of Independent Trade Unions of Albania (UITUA), had 17 demands including 50 to 100 per cent wage rises, a six hour day and the abolition of late shift working for women.

The union was also demanding an investigation into the murder of four opposition activists during protests shortly after the government came into power.

The government agreed to raise wages by 50 per cent but refused to guarantee these would not be wiped out by the removal of subsidies on food.

The country's crisis deepened when 100 miners started an underground hunger strike at a pit near the country's capital, Tirana.

Over 10,000 workers demonstrated in the city centre in support of them. Riot police attacked the

demonstration with water cannons and tear gas, but thousands fought back, smashing the windows of ministries and overturning and setting on fire police cars.

The government responded by calling for a clampdown on the strike and its leaders, but this only deepened the unrest.

Another 700 miners joined the hunger strike and workers at four other workplaces around the country also started hunger strikes.

Fatos Nano has now called for a new "national salvation" government. Opposition parties have agreed to participate following an agreement to hold new elections later this year.

Even if the new government manages to restore industrial peace it won't solve the issues which provoked the strikes.

All the parties are committed to privatising industry and allowing greater market freedom.

As similar reforms in Poland, East Germany, Hungary and Czechoslovakia have already shown this can only hit workers' living standards and create massive unemployment—something not lost on Albanian workers, not one of whose demands calls for market reform.



THE RIGHT tell us that the family has always existed, that women have always been subordinate to men and that any other way of living is unnatural.

Even many of those who are against everything the Right stand for and are for women's equality would agree that the family is natural.

Many feminists argue women have been subordinate to men throughout human history. They say all men, whatever divisions—like class—may exist among them, have always had a common interest in subordinating women.

None of it is true.

Of course women's oppression existed long before capitalism, but women haven't always been second class.

Human beings have only lived in the kind of families the Right tell us are natural of less than 200 years.

The work of Western anthropologists—social scientists who study different human societies—has also shown that women's position has been very different in some societies.

As recently as the 1930s the people of the Pacific Trobriand Islands had no word for rape.

They couldn't believe a man might beat a woman, or that a woman might stay within a monogamous relationship if she didn't want to.

Arthur Wright lived for years among the native American Seneca people last century. "The female portion ruled the house", he wrote.

"The stores were kept in common, but woe to the luckless husband or lover who was too shiftless to do his share of the providing.

"No matter how many children, or whatever goods he might have in the house, he might be at any time ordered to pick up his blanket and budge. Unless saved by the intercession of some aunt or grandmother he must retreat."

Seventeenth century Catholic Jesuit missionaries were horrified to discover that among the native Americans men did not expect wives to be faithful or to obey them.

IN THE earliest human societies people derived only a basic living from hunting animals and gathering fruit and vegetables.

We shouldn't idealise these societies. People were engaged in a

Have women always been oppressed?

desperate struggle for survival. But they were very different to the society we have today.

Men didn't see women as their property and women weren't excluded from work or decision making.

Women occupied an equal place in these societies where everyone had to cooperate to survive. There was no notion of private ownership of land or tools.

There was no surplus and therefore no possibility of a small elite enriching themselves at the expense of the majority.

These societies were described by Frederick Engels, who along with Karl Marx played a central role in founding the socialist movement last century, as "primitive communism".

Men and women formed partnerships, but they didn't set up an individual home. Large groups shared a camp together and cooperated to provide food and look after the children.

Everyone, men, women and children, contributed something to the struggle for survival.

The level of development of society, and technology, meant women had no real control over whether or not they had children so jobs were divided on the basis of sex.

But the division of labour wasn't rigid. Men would often tend the children and women join the hunt.

It was because both sexes contributed to production, which was centred around

the home and the large family unit, that equality could exist.

Changes in the way people produce to meet their needs have always led to changes in the way society is organised.

In some early societies humans achieved a breakthrough in control over their environment, learning the skills necessary for agricultural production.

This dramatic change in the way the needs of people were met led to massive changes in the organisation of society. In particular the position of women changed.

THE TECHNOLOGY we have at our disposal today could provide everyone with a life of plenty.

But the first societies to produce more than enough to meet immediate needs were still dominated by scarcity. Only a minority could live above bare subsistence.

This was the basis for the development of class divisions in society.

In his *Origins of the Family, Private Property and the State* Engels explains how "the world historic defeat of the female sex" was tied to the development of class society.

It was a minority of men who seized control of the surplus and became the ruling class. This was because women—weighed down by pregnancy and suckling young children—weren't able to share equally in the work of agricultural

production.

Once it became possible for a minority to live by the labour of others, the mutual cooperation of everyone in society that characterised primitive communism broke down.

For the first time all the children in society weren't treated as equal. With the control of any surplus by a minority private property arose. With it came the question of inheritance, and so of forcing the woman into monogamous marriage where she must obey her husband.

So too came the need for a state with laws legitimising exploitation that seem to stand above the individuals in society, and "armed bodies of men" to enforce those laws.

It wasn't just women who suffered with the move to class society. The majority of men did too.

A minority of men became the ruling class. The vast majority were forced to work—often as slaves—to maintain the new rulers.

THE SUBORDINATION of women then coincided with that of the majority of men.

It sprang from, and cannot be separated from, the division of society into classes.

Capitalism, when it developed around 200 years ago, created untold wealth that should have made it possible to liberate women.

For the first time in history human beings had achieved the capability of feeding and housing everyone and of making communal provision for child-rearing, cleaning, cooking and all the other jobs necessary for our reproduction.

It had become possible to destroy the privatised family, allowing women to play an equal role in society.

It became possible to develop the contraception and safe abortion that could give women complete control over their fertility.

But, instead of freeing women from the burdens of the family, capitalism created a new family form and simply changed the way they are oppressed.

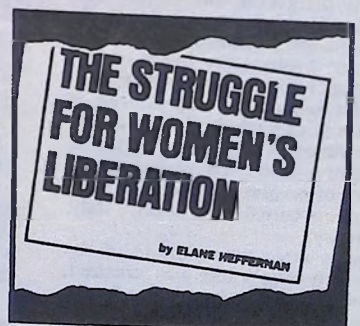
The potential for real liberation that exists is crushed by capitalism's subordination of every human need to its drive for profit.

The massive development of production and the way women have increasingly been drawn into work outside the home mean that today the potential for ending women's oppression is greater than ever.

But capitalism has to be broken to realise that potential and win women's liberation.

That requires a struggle not of women against all men, but of workers—men and women—against the class society that lies at the root of women's oppression.

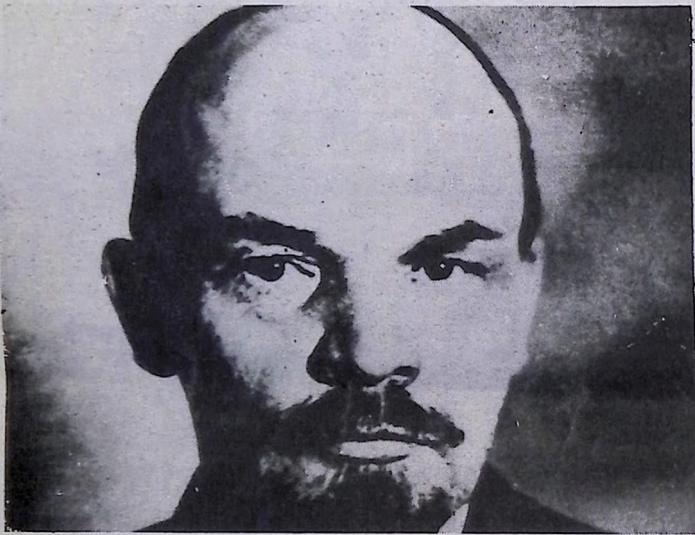
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Did Lenin lead to Stalin?

by
KIERAN ALLEN
and
CATHY BERGIN



Name the revolutionary in history who is most hated by our rulers? It has to be Lenin.

Compare his reputation to that of, even, Karl Marx. It is easy to find a trendy priest today who will agree that Marx had interesting things to say on poverty or alienation.

Or take Ruairi Quinn. Quinn is a leading pro-Coalition figure in the Labour Party. But he could still proclaim (while expelling left-wingers from the Party) that "there has always been an honourable place for Marxists in the Labour movement".

But no one can imagine a respectable priest, academic, or Labour politician giving any credence to Lenin. To be a Leninist is, in the eyes of the establishment, to be a sinister revolutionary intent on destroying civilisation as we know it.

The reason for the hatred is Lenin's leadership of the Russian Revolution of 1917. The impact of that revolution was enormous. A wave of revolutions and near revolutions occurred in Germany, Italy, Hungary.

Even after the example of the Russian revolution was crushed, Lenin remained a hate figure for the rich. There were a number of reasons for this.

First, with Lenin, revolution becomes a living breathing possibility. Moreover it is a revolution that results from the self

activity of the mass of workers. The example of the soviets shows this.

During the 1905 revolution a printers strike in Petrograd transformed itself into a revolt. For the first time the soviet type organisation was born. This was a workers institution composed of delegates from the different workplaces who had to report back and could be recalled by their members. There was no bureaucracy and it combined discussion with the implementation of decisions.

Although the soviets were led by the moderate Menshevik party and although the local Bolshevik party in Petrograd initially opposed them, Lenin was enthusiastic in their support. The 1917 Russian Revolution was made under the slogan "All Power to the Soviets". Lenin and the Bolsheviks had learnt from the creativity of the mass of workers.

Second, Lenin is hated because of his determination to build a revolutionary party.

Prior to Lenin, the socialist party was viewed as a passive propaganda organisation. The model was the German SPD. This concentrated on elections and very general propaganda for socialism.

For Lenin, the party was an organiser. It aimed to intervene in struggles to give a lead. As a result it was built by sharp arguments with those around it.

It had to be democratic and centralist. Democracy was an absolute necessity because without it the feelings and moods of the working class could not be transmitted into the party. Centralist, because it

IN 1917, workers took power in Russia. Ten years later their rule had been snuffed out by Stalin's bureaucracy.

Today the policies of Lenin and the Bolsheviks are blamed for the failure of the Revolution. But what were the ideas of Lenin? And did they lead to Stalinism?

aimed to agitate, the party had to act as one.

This centralism is completely different to the centralism of the Labour Party. Here there is a cult of leadership around Dick Spring; discussion on controversial items is banned from conference; the real decisions are made by the TDs.

For Lenin, however, the party was not God. In April 1917 Lenin found that the Bolshevik party had in practice accepted the government that flowed from the February regime. He attacked the party leaders vigorously and set out to change the line.

The third reason that Lenin is hated is because of his views of the state. Reformist socialists see the state machine like the steering wheel of a car. Whoever occupies the driving seat can either turn the state in

the direction of the working class or the rich.

Lenin disagreed. In his book *State and Revolution* he revived the ideas of Marx. For Marx, the state grew out of the fact of class conflict. At the core of the state were "special bodies of armed men" geared to the protection of the interests of the ruling class.

BOARDROOMS

Parliament in modern capitalism became increasingly a debating chamber. Real power lay outside it in the boardrooms of big business and in the top echelons of the police, army and civil service.

For Lenin and for Marx, therefore, workers could not "take hold of the ready made state machine but had to

smash it". In its place workers had to build their own state for a limited period to root out the remnants of capitalism. Lenin argued that it should be infinitely more democratic than parliamentary democracy. He wrote:

"Not the police, not the bureaucracy, who are unanswerable to the people and placed above, the people, not the standing army, separated from the people, but *the people themselves*, universally armed and united in the Soviets, must run the State ... get together, unite, organise, yourselves, trusting no one, depending only on your own intelligence and experience"

WHY THE REVOLUTION FAILED

Marxists had always believed that the Revolution would happen in an advanced country, which would have the economic and material resources to sustain itself while working for international revolution.

Yet in the early 1900's Russia was one of the most backward countries in Europe. The average income of a Russian in 1913 was 18.9 per cent of what it had been in Britain in 1688. The level of literacy was lower than it was in France in 1789.

There was a working class of 3 million and 120 peasants living in semi-feudal conditions.

Railways were the only means of communication despite Russia's vast size.

The Bolsheviks could not expect to sustain the Revolution for very long and did not expect to do so. Lenin himself said: "We are living not only in a State but in a system of States and it is inconceivable for the Soviet Republic to exist alongside the imperialist states for any length of time ... the absolute truth is without a Revolution in Germany, we shall perish".

The very real possibility of a quick victory of the Revolution in the west was expected. This would release the material goods to maintain Russia. In the meantime, however, the first task of the Revolution had to be its own defence. The outbreak of civil war in 1918 with

The weeks and months following the Russian Revolution were a frenzy of change and upheaval.

Nothing could dispel the optimistic and excited mood. Lenin said the Revolution made him "dizzy".

Never before had such radical changes in social structure been carried out in such a short time.

The death penalty was abolished. There was free abortion on demand. The old courts were done away with and replaced with "Peoples Courts" where judges were elected. Decrees were passed on land, peace and workers control, while private property was abolished. There was a complete separation of Church and State and religious freedom was guaranteed.

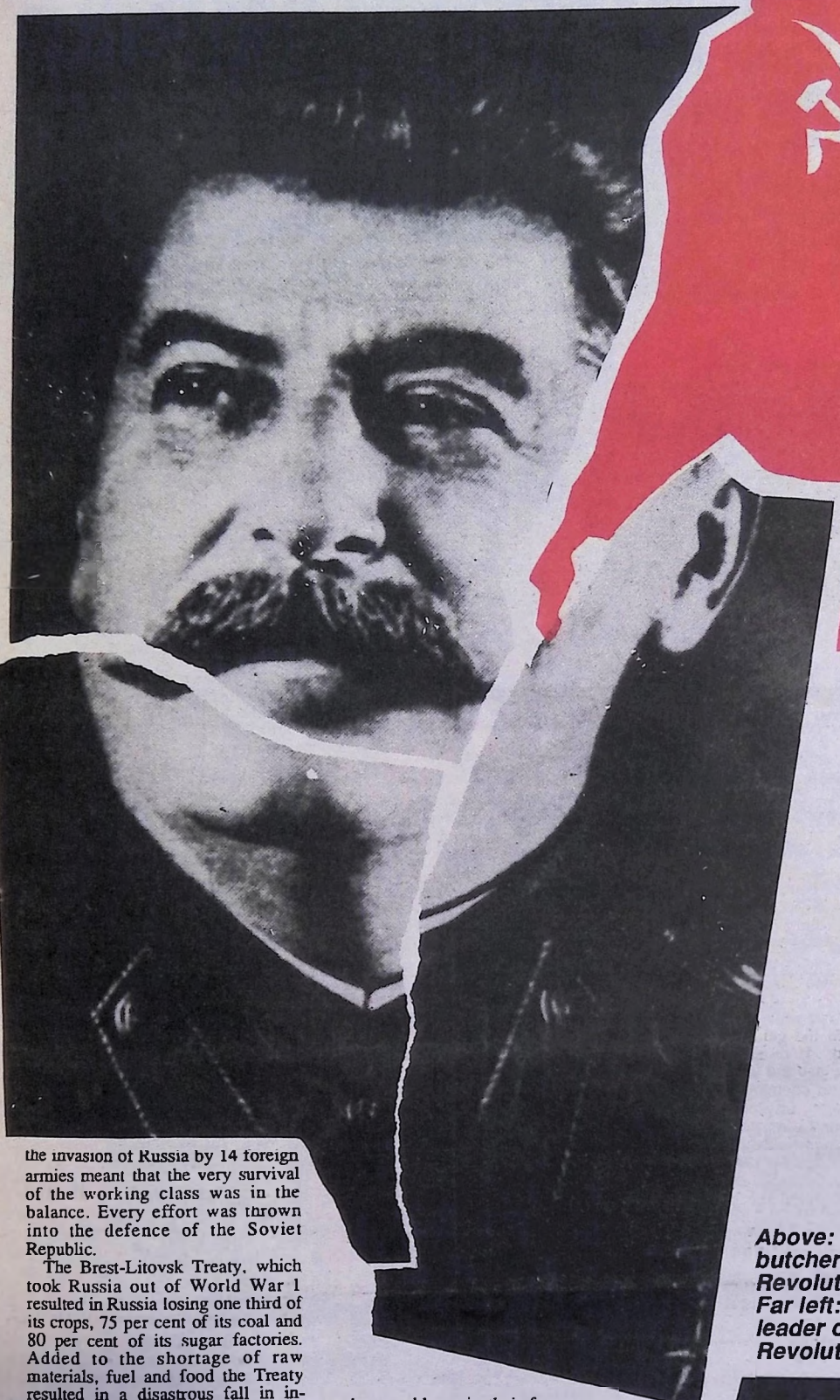
To ensure full freedom of speech, people were encouraged to produce papers and pamphlets and to hold

meetings. The technical means to do this were readily placed at their disposal.

American Socialist John Reed, in his account of the Revolution, talks of the "thirst for knowledge in Russia".

"Meetings in the trenches at the front, in village squares, factories ... what a marvellous sight to see the Putilov Factory pour out its 40,000 to listen to social democrats, socialist revolutionaries, anarchists; any one so long as they could talk; for months in Petrograd and all over Russia, every street corner was a public tribune, the spurring up of impromptu debate everywhere".

New schools were opened with Adult Courses and Universities. workers faculties were formed everywhere. New libraries were established and Russian classical authors were available in cheap reprinted editions. The Russian working class feasted on culture, which for so long had been the privilege of the Ruling class.



RIGHT-WING LIES ABOUT LENIN

Today, Lenin is attacked for giving rise to Stalin. Our rulers make a number of arguments to justify this claim. All of them are wrong.

1. *The Russian revolution was a coup led by a small conspiratorial party. Because it was an undemocratic revolt it was easy for Stalin to seize control*

The Bolshevik party became a mass party in 1917. By July 1917, it had a quarter of a million members. The scale of the growth was phenomenal. In March 1917 it had 600 members in Moscow; by August it had 15,000. In Ivanovo-Voznesensk, it had 10 members in March. In August, it had 5,440.

It organised openly with its own paper. Far from being controlled from on top, it was a party of debates. Huge arguments developed, for example, on whether to accept Lenin's April Thesis which called for the overthrow of the Provisional Government.

The October Revolution had the support of the overwhelming majority. The only democratic institutions in Russia at the time were the soviets.

The Bolsheviks never attempted a seizure of power until they had won the majority of representatives in the soviets. In August 1917, Bolshevik delegates won a majority in the Petrograd soviet; in September they won the majority in Moscow. Soon afterward most of the major cities followed suit.

2. *The real problem of the Bolsheviks was that they were trying to go too fast in a backward country.*

This view has been argued in the Workers Party journal *Making Sense*. It was originally the position of the Menshevik party.

It ignores the fact that society only enters the road of revolution when all other avenues are blocked. The programme of the moderate socialists who made up the Provisional Government after February 1917 had failed.

They did not end the war. They refused to give land to the peasants. They were not able to feed the cities properly.

As a result support ebbed away to the Bolsheviks. This in turn terrified the Right. In August, 1917 General Kornilov attempted a coup to restore "order". His defeat opened the way to the Bolshevik revolution.

The choice in Russia in 1917

was stark and simple: either socialism or victory for the extreme right. Trotsky argued that if the Bolshevik revolution had not succeeded the "word for fascism would have been a Russian rather than Italian word".

Indeed socialists who terrify the rich without taking measures to carry through a full revolution always risk the establishment of a fascist order.

3. *Lenin's aim was the same as Stalin's: a one party state.*

The first soviet government was, in fact, composed of *two parties*: the Bolsheviks and the left Socialist Revolutionaries. It broke over disagreements to sign a peace treaty with Germany at Brest-Litovsk.

At no stage did Lenin argue that socialism required a one party state. However, in the course of the civil war, instigated by 14 foreign armies, a number of parties joined the revolt against the Bolshevik government. The Right Socialist Revolutionaries supported the revolt of the Czech armies and joined right-wing governments in local areas. In order to prevent their organising behind military lines, they were banned.

The Bolshevik programme of 1919 made it categorically clear that "the suppression of rights are temporary". When, for example, the Mensheviks passed a resolution in February 1919 condemning the armed struggle against the soviets, they were re-legalised for a period.

The notion of a permanent one party state was an invention of Joseph Stalin.

4. *The Bolsheviks lacked any morality and thus allowed an evil tyrant to seize power*

This is a recent theme typified by films such as the "Assassination of the Tsar" which presents the Bolsheviks as amoral monsters. But the same type of arguments could be made against the Romanian population who enthusiastically supported the execution of Ceaucescu after a summary trial.

The Bolsheviks were never hypocrites. They never indulged in sanctimonious prayers to heaven to support the brutal measures they felt compelled to take. This is unlike the case of General Pinochet who was blessed by the Catholic Church in Chile when he murdered 20,000 socialists.

At the start of the revolution the Bolsheviks displayed an extraordinary leniency to their enemies. The right-wing General Krasnov was released after staging an uprising with his promise not to take up arms against the soviet government.

Lenin at that time wrote "I hope we will not resort to the terrorism of the French revolutionaries who guillotined unnamed men".

The civil war changed all that. The Bolsheviks had before them the lesson of the Paris Commune of 1871. Then thousands of workers were murdered by the rich after their revolt had failed. The Bolsheviks were determined that their class would never suffer like that again.

Above: Stalin, butcher of the Revolution
Far left: Lenin, leader of the Revolution

the invasion of Russia by 14 foreign armies meant that the very survival of the working class was in the balance. Every effort was thrown into the defence of the Soviet Republic.

The Brest-Litovsk Treaty, which took Russia out of World War 1 resulted in Russia losing one third of its crops, 75 per cent of its coal and 80 per cent of its sugar factories. Added to the shortage of raw materials, fuel and food the Treaty resulted in a disastrous fall in industrial productivity.

A foreign blockade cut Russia off completely. Railway transport, so essential to all economic and military activities, was in a critical state.

Over 9 million people died premature deaths in Russia between 1918 and 1920. Famine was further aggravated by epidemics. Twenty-two million people fell ill with typhus. Another 700,000 suffered from cholera, dysentery and typhoid.

When even the most essential industries were short of fuel there was none for domestic heat and people literally froze to death.

Cannibalism was rife and juvenile delinquency rose to 100,000 in Petrograd alone. The shortage of food led to an extensive growth of the Black Market.

The working class declined dramatically during the years of the Civil War. From over 3 million in 1917, to less than 1.25 million in 1921.

All through this period strict egalitarianism was applied and government officials received the same wage as the average skilled worker. The Bolsheviks were filling a political vacuum, until the working

class could regain their former control or international Revolution would save Russia. They were working under an economic system not guided by the laws of the market nor scientific planning, but under the direct compulsion of events.

DECLINE

The demise of the working class was influencing the renamed Communist Party. By 1922 there were a staggering 5,880,000 state officials in the party - five times the number of industrial workers. Ninety per cent of the Party had not been members in 1917. Now that they were in power the Communist Party attracted many who would gladly have seen them dead before the Revolution.

The defeat of the German Revolution in 1923 seemed to be the beginning of the end. Failure of the Revolution to spread was killing the Revolution and the Traditions of the Bolsheviks.

But this did not happen without a fight. Before 1920 many measures were employed to oust careerists

from the party, but the rot had set in, and the structures set up for halting the rise of bureaucrats were themselves riddled with corruption.

All of Lenin's final work was concentrated on his concern about the creeping Bureaucracy in the Party. He died as did millions of Russian workers, fighting for the Traditions of Bolshevism.

Stalin emerged as the figure which grew out of the bureaucratisation of the Bolshevik party. Instead of international revolution, he argued for consolidation of the industrial base at home. Where the Bolsheviks gave freedom to oppressed nations in Russia, Stalin enslaved them again. All vestiges of workers' control abolished. No democracy was permitted within or without of the party.

Between Stalin and the early Bolsheviks there ran a river of blood. After the show trials of the 1930s, only one of the leading Bolsheviks from the Central Committee of 1917 survived: His name was Joseph Stalin. Those who had not died of natural causes were murdered or exiled.

The refugees of imperialism

A COMMON European Homeland? Free movement of persons and property? Only if you're rich and white, it appears.

As EEC member states scurry to keep out the rising tide of people displaced by economic collapse, war and famine, commentators of the Left and Right are agreed that Europe cannot possibly cope.

In Germany and France, openly Nazi parties are steadily gaining ground with slogans like "Germany for the Germans" and "Too many immigrants". And the Left is caving in.

In a recent article the British "left-wing" *New Statesman* described the potential flow from Africa and Arab countries as a "civil invasion of millions". The right-wing *Economist* used identical arguments, speaking of a population explosion forcing "more and more North Africans to get to Europe by fair means or foul".

These arguments provide a cover for the EEC's current moves to tighten up immigration controls. With 1992 approaching, the European Commission has drawn up a document calling for more effective measures to curb "illegal" immigration.

The Irish government has been to the forefront in demanding that single-market freedoms should apply to EC citizens only, along with Britain and Denmark.

The result has been the approval of a so-called External Frontier Convention. This agreement specifies which nationals require visa to enter the EC.

Not surprisingly, citizens of countries that are mainly white and rich will not require visas. Favoured nations include Canada, Japan and the United States, Czechoslovakia and Hungary, as well as several of the "white" European nations: Sweden, Finland, Austria and Switzerland.

On the other hand, there are about 3 million "illegal" immigrants in the EC.

In France alone, applications from political refugees have trebled in six years to reach 56,000 in 1991. Less than 30 per cent of these applications were accepted as "genuine".

The distinction being made between "political refugees" and "economic migrants" serves to con-



Kurdish refugees at the end of the Gulf War

ceal the West's complicity in creating all manner of refugees.

When the UN High Commission for Refugees was set up in 1951, it dealt with one million refugees. Forty years later, that figure has grown to twenty million.

This includes two and a half million Palestinians displaced between 1948 and 1967, half a million Indo-Chinese "boat people", seven million Afghans and more than fled state terror in El Salvador and Guatemala. All of these were directly or indirectly the result of imperialist-sponsored wars.

Similarly, the growth of African refugees since the mid-1980s—now estimated at six million—is a result of wars and famine in which countries like the US, the USSR, Israel, South Africa and Saudi Arabia have been implicated.

The guerilla wars in Angola and Mozambique, fostered by South Africa's contra-style operations and direct involvement, produced two million displaced persons. The Horn of Africa, where superpower rivalries were until recently played out, has 2.5 million refugees.

Yet arguments about population explosions are constantly reproduced as if the people of Africa were themselves to blame for the fact that 29 million face starvation.

The outgoing head of the world bank, Barber Conable, told the Organisation of African Unity summit recently that Africa was the only region where economic output failed to match population growth.

Yet Conable presides over an organisation whose main task is to ensure that debt repayments take precedence

over human needs. African debt repayments now exceed total economic output.

Economic collapse in the Less Developed Countries, first and worst hit by the crisis of the market system, is driving thousands of people to

seek work in the advanced countries.

The response of the rich nations is to shut the gates.

Italian officials have recently sent back over 600 Albanian refugees. Austrian police stationed at the Hungarian border pushed back over 6,000

immigrants in the last half of 1990. Traiskirchen, Austria's largest refugee camp, has closed its gates on any new arrivals. Immigrants are forced to "go illegal" and face enormous exploitation on the black economy.

In 1990, over 500,000

"visitors" from the Maghreb alone arrived in Marseilles on tourist visas. Few can expect legal work permits. They live in constant fear of forced repatriation, and the treat of attacks by the National Front.

The socialist response is

to say that we welcome all workers, regardless of skin colour. In fighting for equal rights for immigrant workers, the working class is better placed to resist the bosses' onslaught that 1992 will mean for all workers.

■ CATHERINE CURRAN

Ireland's racist record

IRELAND does not treat immigrants or refugees any better than other European countries.

Chinese student Ji Yao Lau was recently released from Mountjoy jail in Dublin after almost nine months. He had not been charged with any crime but was detained as an illegal immigrant.

In an interview with *Hot Press* magazine Lau described how he fled China in 1989 after the crack-down on the pro-democracy movement.

He had been held in a Chinese jail and was regularly tortured and beaten. After one attack he was left with a deep gash in his thigh which was bleeding badly. He had to grip his leg tightly for two days to stem the flow before eventually receiving stitches.

Despite the torture Lau refused to sign a confession and eventually escaped from China after a

20-day trek to Vietnam. He lived undercover in Thailand for four months before receiving a false Japanese passport.

He came to Ireland because of its reputation as a neutral country. But he was immediately arrested and when an interpreter discovered he was not Japanese he was sent to prison.

Through an interpreter, Lau managed to contact a solicitor and avoided immediate deportation. The solicitor, Bobby Eager, spent over six months seeking Lau's release.

Release

Mr Eager eventually applied for *habeus corpus* requiring the state to prove that Lau's detention was lawful.

Lau's release was granted on condition that he leave the country if *habeus corpus* was refused. This condition was not



22 year old Ji Yao Lau, escaped Tianenmen Square to spend nine months in Mountjoy Jail

accepted.

Eventually Lau was released on the grounds that the Aliens Order, under which he was held, only allowed detention for up to two months.

The Aliens Order

(1945) empowers the Minister for justice to detain, refuse leave to land, or deport any unauthorised visitors. An Order is known as subsidiary legislation and is not like an Act

which must be passed by the Dail.

Bobby Eager believes that the Aliens Order is unconstitutional and that if its equivalent were ever brought before the US Congress, it would cause uproar. Given America's harsh treatment of immigrants, this leaves Ireland in a very poor light indeed.

In 1992, Ireland will become part of "Fortress Europe" and will be party to even greater harassment of non-white immigrants. It is all part of the Southern capitalism's attempts to strengthen its partnership with the Western powers.

Earlier this year, thousands marched to oppose Ireland's support for Bush's war in the Gulf. Those people should also strongly oppose the racist immigration laws which further strengthen Bush's capitalist club.

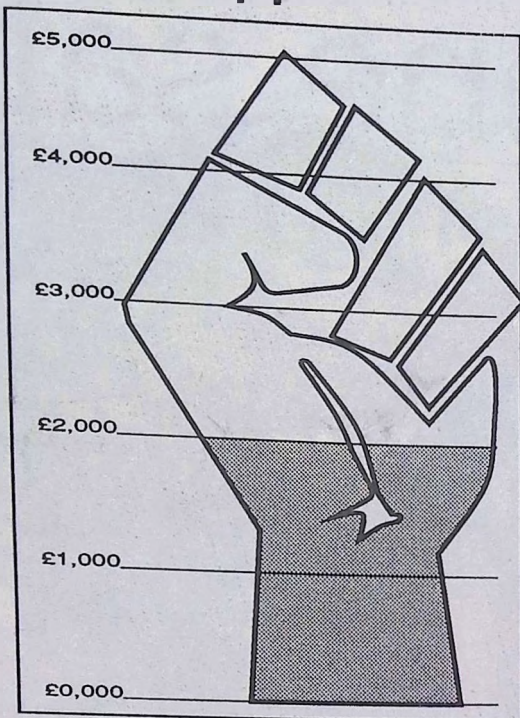
Socialist Worker Appeal

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

We 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 last month to bring our £5,000 appeal to £1978.37p.

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



SWM Meetings

BELFAST: Meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Castle Mews Bar
 July 1: Socialism from Below
 July 8: Class Struggle in the US
 July 15: Marxism and the Party
 July 22: What is Centrist?
 July 29: Can Loyalist Workers be Won to Socialism?

BRAY: Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Hibernian Inn, Marine Tce.
 See Socialist Worker sellers for details

CORK: Meets every Tuesday in Anchor Inn, Georges Quay.
 See Socialist Worker sellers for details

DERRY: Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers, Orchard Street
 July 2: Can Socialism be Won through Parliament? Speaker: Danny Brown
 July 9: The Catholic Church and Education Speaker: Eamonn McCann
 July 16: Why is there a Recession? Speaker: Goretti Horgan
 July 23: What is Trotskyism? Speaker: Jason McElligot
 July 30: Black Nationalism Speaker: Chris McKay

DUBLIN: Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in the Batchelor Inn, O'Connell Bridge
 See Socialist Worker sellers for details

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

Goodman Inquiry

IT's ironic, Isn't it. When Granada TV's World In Action team made "Death on the Rock", they were viciously attacked by the British Establishment. The Program, about the SAS murders of IRA volunteers, was banned. One of the witnesses was accused of being a prostitute. The documentary later won major awards.

Now the World in Action has made allegations of fraud against Larry Goodman, it's the turn of the Irish ruling class to get hot under the collar.

Fianna Fail many not be making as much noise about Goodman as the Tories did about "Death on the Rock". But given that Haughey has long regarded Goodman as the "golden boy" of Irish capitalism, he will do everything in his power to protect the Beef Baron.

The list of allegations, and the evidence of witnesses in the Larry Goodman affair, would make any jury look twice. Except there isn't going to be any jury.



Mr Justice Hamilton

backing of Fianna Fail and a large section of the Irish establishment.

But the allegations, and the witnesses, still stand unanswered. They include:

- Fraudulent obtaining of EC beef subsidies by forging documents
- Reboxing old meat as new
- Using bogus stamps to boost export refunds
- Selling defective and rotten meat to Iraq
- Conniving with senior customs officials to obstruct a customs investigation at the AIBP plant in Waterford
- Defrauding Revenue of Tax
- Paying off Fianna Fail while customs official warned that Goodman's operations were suspected of fraud

Most significant is the implication of top Fianna Fail politicians in the scandal.

It is alleged that Charlie Haughey publicly promoted Goodman (a bit like Thatcher and the "Guinness four") with regard to obtaining EC grants. And that Ray McSharry, an agricultural commissioner to prevent a Dutch Bank from liquidating Goodman International.

And it was one of Goodman's own accountant who blew the whistle.

Goodman now owes £442 million to 33 different banks, including Lloyds, ABN, Credit Suisse, Bank Corp etc. His debts to all these are enormous. But none compares with what he owes the parent organisation, Fianna Fail Incorporated. When he sinks, let's hope he takes it with him.

'BREAK THE BAN' MARCH ATTACKED BY POLICE

IN Belfast, Nationalists along with others, concerned with civil liberties have been campaigning for the right to march through the city centre.

Every 12th July, Belfast comes to a virtual standstill as thousands of loyalists parade through the city streets with the full co-operation and support of the security forces. Throughout the year Unionists are given permission to march and rally wherever they choose.

However, Nationalist marches are continually banned from the city centre and are forced to remain isolated within West Belfast. Break the Ban Campaign activities so far have included the Council meetings, marches and pickets of the Brooke talks.

At a recent Break the Ban rally at the City Hall, in which Socialist Worker took part, police violently attacked several protesters ripping their placards from them. The RUC's aggressive attitude to the rally shows that the campaigners are right to declare Belfast a "Bastion of Bigotry".

The right to march is a basic civil liberty and all socialists should support the Break the Ban Campaign. Trade Union members should put

resolutions to their branches condemning the exclusion of Nationalists from Belfast city centre.

DUP BACK LYNCH IN BELFAST C.C.

SEAMUS LYNCH, Workers Party leader in Northern Ireland, has been elected Chair of the Community Services Committee of Belfast City Council.

Lynch is the first non-Unionist in six years to chair any council.

But his election does not appear to be a blow against Orange bigotry. Lynch was proposed by Official Unionist Councillor John Carson.

Hardline loyalists from Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party voted in favour of the WP councillor. They included

Rhonda Paisley, daughter of the Reverend Ian, and arch-bigot, Sammy Wilson.

Wilson was quoted as saying: "When it came to deciding on the individual candidate, Seamus Lynch was up to the job".

Wilson's election is no doubt a reward for the Workers Party's refusal to oppose anti-Catholic discrimination.

WP activists in the South, fighting on issues like local charges, should question a leadership that wins support from Loyalist bigots.



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 must continue to exist for as long as the state exists.

The marginal privileges given to Protestant workers are just that: marginal. 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.

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TELEVISION:

Peddling the tired old lies

by BRIAN HANLEY

A FEW years ago Alan Bleasdale's TV dramas were highly regarded by socialists.

"The Boys from the Black Stuff" caught the mood of millions in the early 1980s.

It described everyday struggles of a group of unemployed construction workers. The series was a damning indictment of what British Tory politicians were doing to cities like Liverpool.

The right-wing press hated it and Tory minister Norman Tebbit blamed the series for Liverpool's decline.

Bleasdale's next play, "The Monocled Mutineer", showed how British soldiers had mutinied against their officers in 1917. It provoked a frenzied reaction from the British ruling class and some right-wingers called for it to be banned.

But Bleasdale's new drama, "GBH" is a far cry from these programmes. Quite simply it is crap and has no redeeming features. It's not funny, the characters are cardboard cut-outs and the storyline would make a *Sun* reporter blush.

The story is about a city which elects a left-wing council led by a charismatic but corrupt and power-hungry psychopath called Michael Murray.

Despite any denials which Bleasdale might make, the city is clearly based on Liverpool and Murray is an obvious caricature of *Militant's* Derek Hatton, who led Liverpool Council in the 1980s.

In between bouts of rhetoric about "the people", Murray proceeds to take revenge on childhood enemies, accepts bribes from land speculators and swans around town in a chauffeur driven limousine. He himself is being used by a sinister group of upper-class "Trotskyists" who meet in hotel backrooms, drink champagne and plot world domination.

The "Trots" tell Murray he is a great leader, so he organises a general strike for them. This "Day of Action" involves a small army of thugs in Ford transit vans picketing out every workplace in the city.

The pickets, who are all white, male and ugly, have a fairly easy job since we don't see one worker attempt to cross a picket line. In fact we don't see any workers at all.

The only person to go to work is Bleasdale's hero, Jim Nelson. He is a card-carrying Labour Party member, family man and hypochondriac and teaches at a special school. Since the hooligans who manage to picket every other workplace in the city somehow miss out his school, he goes to work.

When the pickets try to force him out, Nelson stands firm and so the scene is set for an epic confrontation between Trot villain and Kinnockite hero.

All this would be fairly laughable if it were not for the situation Liverpool workers are in today. Council workers face huge redundancies in a city already gutted by recession. Neil Kinnock has driven socialists from the local Labour Party and the Labour Council is leading attacks on jobs and services.

Those standing against the right wing and the cutbacks are denounced as "parasites" and accused of "political and economic GBH" by Kinnock.

Bleasdale's production, repeating as it does the tired old lies about intimidation, thuggery on picket lines and behind the scenes manipulation, feeds the right-wing propaganda. No wonder it has received rave reviews in the same Tory press which damned Bleasdale's earlier plays.

We can only speculate on the reasons for Bleasdale's sad turnaround. But he has most certainly ended up on the wrong side with "GBH".

FILM

Is no one safe?

by ANDREA BUTCHER

SERIAL killers are all the rage in American books and films.

In *The Silence of the Lambs* the FBI enlists the help of one grisly killer to track down another.

This is not a conventional slasher movie. The terror stems from the character of Dr Hannibal—the cannibal—Lecter and his relationship with trainee FBI agent Clarice Starling.

Lecter has information she needs to find Buffalo Bill—a psychopathic serial killer who kills women, skins them and dumps their bodies in rivers.

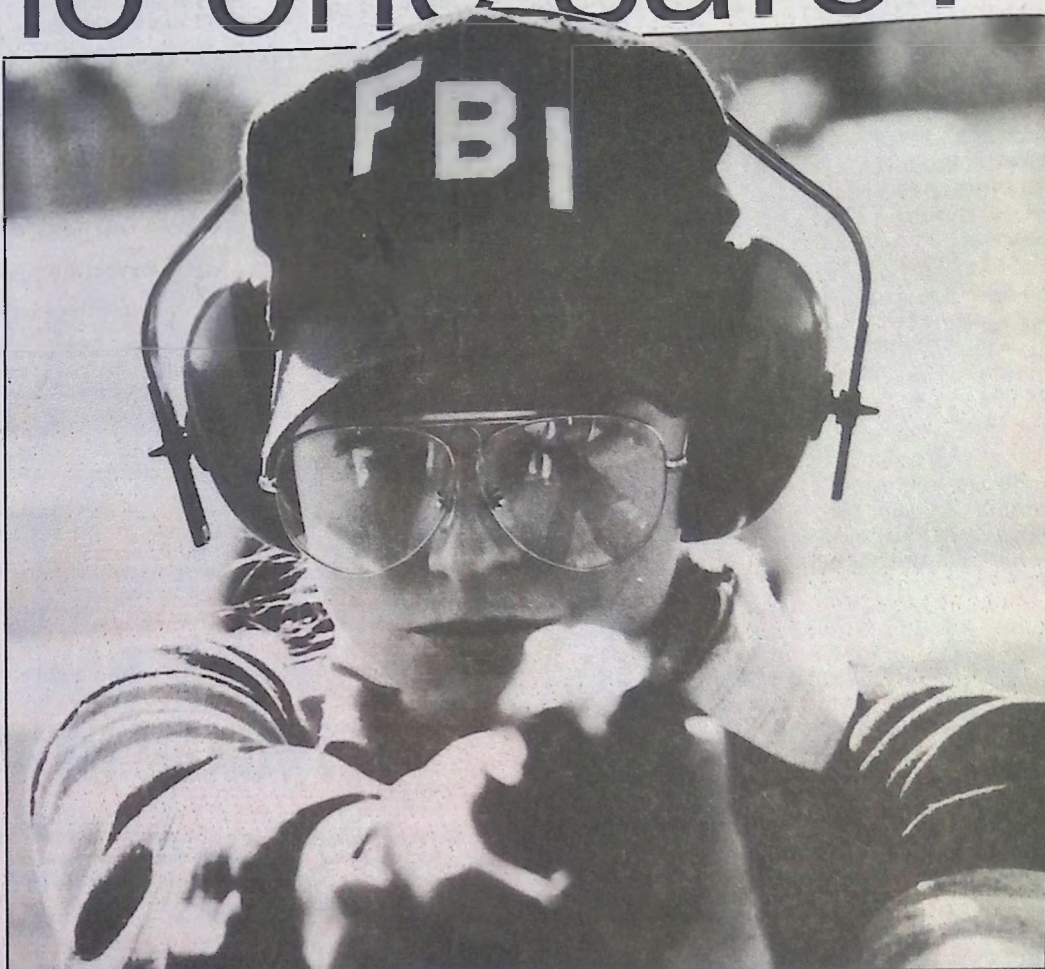
Lecter, who was a psychiatrist before his taste for human flesh led to his incarceration, is a complex and compelling figure.

Evil

His intelligence and wit can make you forget the real horror of his crimes.

He doesn't like talking about himself—he prefers delving into the psyche of others. When Clarice tries to get him to divulge information for an improbable FBI questionnaire he tells her, "a census taker once tried to tape me—I ate his liver."

Whether or not the portrayal of Lecter glorifies evil is probably the most controversial don't think it does, but



JODIE FOSTER as Clarice Starling in *The Silence of the Lambs*

the film does make the audience uncomfortable.

The Silence of the Lambs implies that anyone can become a serial killer's victim—although it helps if you are young, female and out on your own late at night.

The film's two murderers come from very different backgrounds. Hannibal Lecter is

far more stereotyped—working class, one of life's losers, and confused about his sexuality.

Tension

The combined effect of the two characters is to tell the audience that they had better watch out who's sitting next to them.

and mistrust. It plays on our fears of maniacs waiting to pounce.

Perhaps this is why some people in America were reportedly too scared to leave the cinema.

But the film does not confront the question of why violence is so widespread. It reduces violence to the grotesque serial killer and does not explain the

week in America.

It is a very powerful film—creating real tension rather than being simply shocking. And both Jodie Foster and Anthony Hopkins are superb.

Many of the film's images are unforgettable. But remember, what really stalks us isn't Buffalo Bill, it is a system which doles out routine violence every

BOOK

Misery in the Middle East

CATHERINE CURRAN review *Pity the Nation - Lebanon at War* by Robert Fisk

ROBERT FISK's book provides a chilling sense of déjà vu for those who opposed imperialism in the Gulf War.

"Pity the Nation" begins with the creation of the Lebanon by French imperialism; and France's complicity in upholding a minority group with political privileges over the rest of the population.

The Palestinian diaspora between 1948 and 1967 as well as the expulsion of the PLO from Jordan in 1970 led to a massive concentration of Palestinians in Lebanon.

Fisk discusses the corrupt warlords of the Maronite Christians and their political front, the Phalange. This was formed in 1936 by Pierre Gemayel after a visit to Hitler's Olympic Games. The Christians, although a min-

ority, looked to Western imperialism to prop up their corrupt rule.

One of the ironies traced by Fisk is Israel's explicit courtship of the Phalange, a fascist party, in an attempt to expel the Palestinians. This is justified as a defence of the Christians against the Muslim terrorist onslaught. In fact they had a common interest as oppressors of the indigenous population in expelling the Palestinians.

The Israeli's claims during the 1982 invasion of "surgical precision" and highly sophisticated fighter pilots is shown to be a farce, just as it was in the Gulf. After reading Fisk's description of the invasion of Sidon, where bombs penetrated civilian buildings before blowing up women and children sheltering in the basement, one can only laugh at similar US claims after Amariyal.

In fact the Israelis knew they were bombing civilian

targets—for nine hours the refugee camps at Sabra and Bourj el Barajich were bombarded. Hospitals, schools, public parks were all attacked. Fisk's description of the effects of phosphorous and cluster bombs against civilian targets—in spite of US insistence that they were for military targets—is harrowing. Babies burned to death and remained burning for hours after they died—doctors simply could not extinguish the phosphorous.

INSTRUCTED

The powerlessness of the United Nations battalions, and the casual way in which the Israelis shelled them, is another illuminating point. In anticipation of the Israeli invasion, UN officers were instructed to get into their bunkers and stay there!

The role of the PLO too is highlighted. While sympathetic to the Palestinian cause, Fisk observes that instead of attempting any unified struggle in the Lebanon, the PLO fitted into

the pecking order which consisted of various groups, with different allegiances, each vying for their own sphere of influence.

On the tragic day when the PLO guerillas were evacuated from Beirut, Yassir Arafat spoke of the heroic struggle of the "Lebanese masses". Yet there had been no mass struggle. Only a series of competing guerilla groups who looked to various sub-imperialisms and Arab rulers for support.

The final outcome of hoping for Soviet support is described by Fisk when he asked if any message from Moscow had been received. The Israelis were advancing on Beirut: "Hawatmeh ... could hardly control his fury. Comrade Brezhnev, he said, spitting out the words, 'has sent the Palestinian people his fraternal greetings and support in their heroic struggle!'"

Evidently the Soviets were not going to waste time with the Palestinians. Nor did any of the Arab leaders who paid lip service to Palestinian demands provide any help.

It is in the frustration with Arafat's tactics that we see the seeds of Hezbollah, the Iranian-based group. One of the most determined resistances to the Israeli advance was the battle of Khalde, where tanks and heavy artillery were stopped by "martyrs" wearing white headbands.

Many guerillas were frustrated with Arafat's constant negotiations and political manoeuvres. Unfortunately, this disillusionment led to their alignment with yet another sub-imperialism and other flawed strategy.

Yet what the book clearly demonstrates is the inability of imperialism to find any lasting solution. Each attempt to enforce the order preferred by the West creates a more fragmented, less controllable political mosaic. The vulnerability of the corrupt Arab elites to upsurge from below increases.

For anyone wanting an excellent, highly readable account of the politics of the Middle East, Robert Fisk's book is essential. Don't expect any great insight into the theory of imperialism, but sometimes descriptions alone can add a lot to our understanding.

'New Realism' opposed in SIPTU

"CONSULTATIVE conferences" appears to be the new buzz word in SIPTU. If the Killarney conference at the end of May was anything to go by, both words, in SIPTU-speak, are totally bereft of meaning.

There was no mechanism of consultation and it was a conference without conference procedures.

Two "discussion" documents—one on social policy and one on economic policy—were presented to delegates. The economic policy document stressed the contributions of the Programme of Economic and Social Progress to overall economic growth, which could only create a climate favourable to trade

unionists.

The social policy document declared it was time for trade unionists to move beyond the structures of negotiating the "money wage" and embrace the wider political agenda of the "social wage".

It is no exaggeration to say that both documents went down like a lead balloon. The majority of contributions from delegates not only questioned the "new realist" framework of the documents but also condemned the concept of trade unions being social partners with the government.

WIDENED

It was pointed out that economic growth is not a rising tide that lifts all boats. Not alone has the gap between rich and poor in Ireland widened during



Billy Attley: Opportunism

the economic growth of the last four years, but even as the conference met, the government unemployment figures were revealing the grim reality of unemployment being the highest in the history of the state.

With the prospect of unemployment standing at 300,000 at the end of the year, actually higher than at the signing of the PNR in 1987, the "gains" of the programme sounded

like so much balderdash.

By the same stroke, the marvels of negotiating the "social wage", when the PESP cannot even deliver on its centrepiece of 20,000 new jobs each year, sounded like a sick joke.

If SIPTU leaders thought they were going to have an easy ride at the excursion to Killarney, they must have had a rude awakening. Many delegates stressed the fact that for

the first time in many years the conference voiced a clear opposition to the leadership.

One speaker from Cork was applauded when he condemned the union's refusal to financially support the local SIPTU official when he was jailed during the water rates campaign. His point showed very clearly just how far the union's commitment to a wider political agenda actually goes.

Other speakers condemned the shift in the union's position on privatisation. The NEC report declared that the union should no longer hold an "ideological position" in defence of the state sector.

Nowhere had this shift been discussed, let alone agreed, within the union. No doubt now this embracing of privatisation, already voiced in the ranks of the ICTU, will

mysteriously enter official union policy.

Yet in spite of the numerous speakers who voiced opposition to Billy Attley's opportunism, because the "conference" had no votes, no possibility of amendments, the opposition could only go unrecorded. Thus it had no teeth to send a clear message to the leadership—much to the relief of the top table no doubt.

MOOD

However, what did clearly emerge from the conference was the recognition—supported by speakers from Aer Lingus and the state sector—that there is a changed mood as regards the limits imposed by the PESP.

As the ESB strikers, the Waterford hospital workers and the workers on

strike from the Nursing Home in Callan (who made a collection at the conference) have shown that in spite of the strait-jacket imposed from the top of the unions, a section of workers are saying that they have had enough of belt-tightening and are prepared to fight back.

SWM delegates spoke of the need to oppose the ditching of basic trade union principles of solidarity and to fight back against the restructuring of Irish capitalism that the union leaders are going along with.

They opposed the new Industrial Relations Act and called for the union to call for its repeal.

How well what they were arguing went down was reflected in the fact that Socialist Worker sold over seventy copies and the fact that the SWM fringe meeting attracted interest.

■MARNIE HOLBOROW

NI PO pay battle



DURING June a four-day strike by counter staff took place throughout the North's Post Offices. Staff were on strike for higher pay in line with inflation. The Post Office offered only 6.8 per cent while inflation was running at 8.2 per cent.

At a time when counters business netted the PO over £40 million last year and when the PO refuses to make its contribution to workers' pension funds, this is an insult to workers.

In an interview with *Socialist Worker* one picket summed up the mood in Belfast:

"Most of what has been said in the newspapers has been totally incorrect. We have 250 postal officers in our branch.

SMASH

Half of those belong to Royal Mail Letters and 106 belong to counters. They are on strike and at the moment there are only about 23 working, but from that they can open three offices.

"Post office management is saying that 99 per cent of their offices are open—but they are including sub post

offices which have nothing to do with the strike. The majority of our workers are out."

It is clear that Post Office bosses are out to cut thousands of jobs and smash the power of the unions—so allowing any future privatisation to go ahead smoothly. If they can defeat the counter staff, they will take on the better organised delivery, collection and parcel sections.

Post Office bosses and the Tories are terrified that counters will get support from the delivery workers. And there is no doubt that many of the 150,000 UCW members in Royal Mail

Letters want to support the counters workers.

As one picket put it: "I think there is definitely going to be a workers' fight. We have been insulted for too long. Workers in Britain have been hit with the Poll Tax and here mortgages have gone through the roof and now they're trying to offer us this.

"We are asking for 8.2 per cent. It's not just the Post Office. I think the government is using us as guinea pigs to see if we are defeated heavily, then obviously they'll do the same elsewhere. They are trying to defeat workers generally!"

■BELFAST SWM

Health scheme cut in CIE

A MAJOR attack on the conditions of CIE employees was announced in June with the effective scrapping of the Company medical scheme.

Up to now employees, their spouses and children were entitled to free care by a company-appointed doctor. The doctor received less than £40 per family per year. This year doctors warned

that without a substantial increase, they would in future treat only employees.

The company has now said that due to "financial difficulties" it cannot grant such an increase and that from September only employees will be covered.

There is a great deal of anger and resentment by many workers at this attack. It is self-evident that the move will affect grades like drivers, conductors and cleaners much more than higher paid grades.

The attack on the medical scheme comes alongside Fianna Fail's promise to legalise competition against Dublin Bus and Bus Eireann.

During the June bank holiday weekend, SIPTU threatened a strike a Broadstone garage in Dublin if management called in many of the private operators to cover the expected number of extra passengers. Management backed down and no private operators were used.

Broadstone workers proved that Fianna Fail's plans can be undermined. The same resolve to take action can defeat CIE management's attempt to curtail the medical scheme.

'Examiner' job loss plan in Cork

CORK Examiner News Publications are on the verge of pushing through widespread changes in work practices, due to recommendations from production consultancy firm, Mercier and Erdzer.

The 380 workers are being asked to work an extra day a week for free! Under threat of an immediate 10 per cent cut in wages and redundancies, the workforce are being intimidated into accepting the changes.

The three unions, SIPTU, NUJ and NGA voted to accept the arrangement. But there is still a lot of

opposition to the deal, for example, at the NGA meeting the vote was just 93 to 73 for acceptance.

Despite the workers agreeing to work the extra day, management are still looking for 38 redundancies, probably the first of many if the workers concede.

The new arrangements will be set in operation by the start of July. As one worker told *Socialist Worker*: "Our officials have no stomach for a fight. The least they could do is to demand to see the recommendations put forward by this bosses' agency. After all, it's us who will pay the price."

NBRU member

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

CAN THE BROOKE TALKS SUCCEED?

NOW THAT the parties involved have finally agreed on a chair, it looks like the Brooke talks might even succeed.

It is possible that the parties might stitch an agreement together. What they won't do is bring peace.

Paisley, Molyneux and the rest may pose for the press to mark an historic agreement. They may even smile at one another. And the media will declare that the Northern question has been resolved.

But it seems unlikely that this will have any impact on the level of violence.

Those who believe in a "new mood for peace" should look at the real factors underlying the Brooke talks.

What is significant is the changing relationship between the Northern state and certain sections of the population. Certain groups have made considerable advances since the Civil Rights struggle of the 1960s.

The increase in state spending and the build-up of the public sector, the end of official discrimination, all helped the Catholic middle class. It became possible for them to gain a toe-hold in the institutions of the state.

For instance, Catholics now head two departments of the civil service in the North. They integrate successfully with their Protestant counterparts in areas like Belfast's Malone Road. Barriers to upward mobility have been lowered if not removed completely.

This means that the Catholic middle class has less incentive to look for a united Ireland rather they focus their energies on to demanding a greater say in the running of things.

The SDLP represents this upwardly-mobile sector at the talks. But that's not the only change.

The loyalists are less able to resist such Catholic involvement at the present time. This is due to the changing nature of British involvement in the North.

They are no longer prepared to back unlimited loyalist rule.

British investment in the Six Counties has declined dramatically. Whereas in the 1920s Belfast ship-yards and factories were a central part of the empire, today they are in steep decline.

While British economic interests accrued wealth in the North, Unionists could do as they pleased. Their interests co-incided with those of the British to produce a manageable workforce using divide and rule tactics. The RUC and B

Specials played a large part in this.

But changes internationally meant a different relationship evolved between Britain and the South. By the 1960s Fianna Fail had abandoned its narrow isolationism, Ireland was opened to the full forces of modernisation and the free market.

The EEC and multi-national capital were embraced. New trade agreements were negotiated with Britain; tariff barriers were dropped; the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement was signed. Britain could look on the Southern state as a trading partner with similar interests.

The same internationalisation process did not leave the North unscathed. Small, locally-owned industries perished. Smaller businesses which were the backbone of traditional Unionism declined and multi-national capital came to take their place.

The biggest employers were now the British state and the multi-nationals. Traditional employers like Harland and Wolff could no longer guarantee the jobs that had been traditionally handed down from father to son. The multi-nationals had considerably less interest in anti-Catholic bias. And the British state's tactic of trying to buy off Catholic dissent meant more jobs in the public sector for them.

The economic basis of one community rule had disappeared. Both SDLP and Unionist parties now have an urgent need to adapt to the prevailing climate.

But economic factors aren't the only ones involved. If they were, Britain would have gone long ago. Bringing about the ideological changes need to turn the North into a "normal" democracy will prove a thornier problem.

And getting rid of the glaring inequalities built in to Northern society isn't even on the agenda. Which is why the struggle will continue.

An Post Plan: 300,000 say NO!

AN POST's Viability Plan has provoked mass opposition.

Over 300,000 people have signed a petition against the proposals to destroy 1500 jobs and cut postal services.

Between 80 per cent and 90 per cent of people surveyed in an opinion poll disagreed with the Viability Plan.

Public anger has already forced An Post to postpone three of the main aspects of the Plan.

The government, fearing defeat at the local elections, instructed the company to put back the closure of 550 sub post offices and the introduction of road-side mail boxes.

Later, An Post management shelved plans to downgrade 50 district post offices.

This is a far cry from postal boss John Hynes' statement in February that the Plan was "not negotiable".

When introducing the

Plan, Hynes said it would be implemented by May at the latest—now its main elements are subject to a NESC report which will take several months to complete.

Postal workers themselves have stepped up their campaign against the Plan. The month of June saw a march by 1,000 CWU members in Dublin and another of 3,000 in Cork.

BASIS

The demonstrations and petition have laid the basis for the defeat of John Hynes' proposals. Future demos should be used to draw in much broader trade union support—for example, trades councils should mobilise their affiliated members.

The anger has forced a re-think on the part of government and An Post management. But Fianna Fail have made it



clear that they support the principle of postal cuts by voting down the Dail motion against the Plan.

Clearly, waiting for

TDs to sort out the problem is not going to work.

What will work is industrial action by postal workers. That should not be counterposed to the

public campaign which still needs to be built.

But CWU and CPSU activists in An Post should start building for strike action that can bring the campaign to victory.

Beaumont Hospital: 20% pay cut fight

TEMPORARY staff at Beaumont Hospital in Dublin are being asked to take a 20 per cent wages cut.

All temporary workers, including domestics, porters and canteen staff, have been told that their wages are to be reduced to 80 per cent of the full-timers' pay.

Many of the temporary staff work

part-time during the winter months. They are now expected to work for less than their usual rate during the summer.

SACKING

Management prepared the ground for this attack by sacking six temporary porters for two weeks during May. The six were taken on

again in June at 80 per cent of their former wage rate.

The workers, members of SIPTU, have organised two two-hour stoppages—one on the July 3 and one on July 5. Since the action was announced, every temporary worker at Beaumont has joined SIPTU.

Their fight should be supported by every

health service worker. Messages of support should be sent by shop stewards in other hospitals and collections taken up if the Beaumont workers are forced to take further industrial action.

BREAK

In pushing through this pay cut, Beaumont

management are breaching the terms of the PESP. If a group of workers tried to break the PESP by looking for a decent wage increase, the Right would be up in arms.

The Beaumont scandal shows the extent to which some bosses are prepared to go to force down pay rates despite the so-called "social partnership".