

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

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## REVEALED...

# Fianna Fail's rich backers



Murphy: Paid Fianna Fail

The Goodman Tribunal has revealed the tip of an iceberg on backhanders to Fianna Fail.

Oliver Murphy, of Hibernia Meats, paid over £25,000 to FF funds before the 1987 election.

He wanted to get export credit insurance to sell meat to Iraq.

There was a fortune to be made there.

On 23 October, Albert Reynolds, sanctioned the insurance for Hibernian Meats. Twelve days later, Murphy paid over another £25,000 to FF funds.

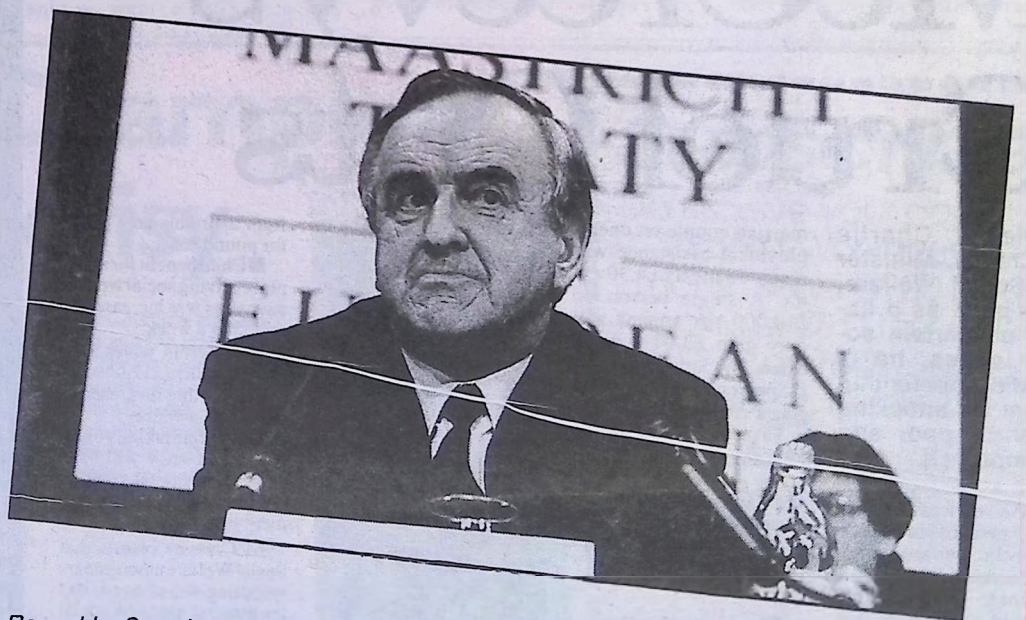
Murphy claimed he could set up meetings with the FF Minister of Finance, Ray McSharry because he employed his son.

Another meat factory owner, Nasser Tahen, said he had to employ a "political lobbyist" to get the ear of FF Ministers. The man he employed was Owen Patton, the chair of a FF Cumann in Charlie Haughey's constituency for 10 years.

Murphy's payments to FF were only a small part of the slush fund the party got from the rich.

His revelations only concern those paid directly to the FF official account.

Other meat companies such as Goodman probably paid over more.



Reynolds: Sanctioned insurance for Murphy's meat company

Nothing has yet come out about how much individual FF Ministers got in backhanders.

The Goodman Tribunal shows that FF is the party of the rich. It tells groups like the postal workers

that there is no money left in the kitty and that there will have to be casual labour.

It warns those on the dole, pensioners, and those on family income supplement that there are cuts

on the way.

But if you have a few million to offer in backhanders, FF will rob the state coffers to see you right.

It's time to toss out these gangsters.

Fighting the SPUC bigots...

# Fianna Fail can't be trusted

The government, it seems, will stoop to any depths to prevent women receiving pregnancy counselling from British clinics.

Not only was *The Guardian* newspaper banned for containing an advertisement by the Marie Stopes Clinic. Customs officials also attempted to prevent the paper being received privately.

SWM member Rachel Milotte arranged for a friend to send 25 copies by train from Belfast to Dublin. However, when she went to collect them she was sent to the customs office.

"He asked me what the parcel contained. I replied, old newspapers. The parcel was opened and I was told that I couldn't have them."

Rachel refused to leave without the papers and the guards were called. She was arrested for breach of the peace but later released without charge.

The papers were delivered to Rachel's house the following day, in time for SWM members to distribute the advertisement in O'Connell Street in Dublin that afternoon.

Customs officials refused to give a reason for impounding the papers.

Another incident involving an SWM member is a stark reminder of what women face if SPUC and the bishops have their way.

Mary Ryder was at Dublin airport waiting for a flight to London, when she was approached by two people apparently carrying out a survey.

"They started asking where I was going and for

how long. Assuming it was some sort of questionnaire I told them that I was going to London for the weekend.

## Horrendous

"Then one of them leaned forward and said 'You're going for an abortion, aren't you?' and shoved one of those horrendous pictures in my face.

"I shouted to the other

people in the check-in queue and told them what had happened. The two then ran off when they were confronted by the queue."

Ironically, Mary was going to speak to a rally in London on "The Fight for Women's Rights in Ireland". But, as she said, "Fortunately I had the presence of mind to tell these two bigots where to get off, but it would have been a terrifying experience for

a young woman travelling alone."

The fact is that despite all the talk of reforms, the threat of injunctions and the draconian censorship laws still exist. Fianna Fail cannot be trusted to take on the bigots.

We must continue to campaign on the streets for women's rights to make sure that the government cannot back down.

## WHAT THE BIGOTS REALLY THINK

Emily O'Reilly's new book, *Masterminds of the Right*, gives some revealing quotes from Ireland's Right-Wing bigots.

Like this one from lawyer William Binchy, speaking in 1981, proving that the Right-Wing long ago thought about injunctioning women going abroad for abortions:

*If the law were to make it an offence to have an abortion in England, there would be a massive controversy: the proponents of the legislation would be vilified and branded as persecutors and hypocrites. It would require some strength of character for our politicians to withstand this barrage of criticism, but a strong argument can be made that our law should give such effect as it can to the principle that unborn life is entitled to be protected.*

Much of the book talks about the shady activities of the man behind the Catholic Right, Dublin engineer John O'Reilly.

This was his advice to the Knights of Columbanus in 1988:

*We also need to keep our eyes on hospital boards, ethics committees, school boards, parents' groups, the Virgin record store selling condoms to adolescents, family taxation, sex education programmes, trying to keep the right government in power, or at least the one which is the lesser evil.*

John O'Reilly went on to encourage Knights to intervene in politics:

*Such a network [of people in positions of influence] if well motivated and highly confidential could do wonders quietly without coming out openly as Knights. An organisation or a group is never more powerful than when it influences events without itself being regarded as the initiator.*

And the bigots complained about Sinead O'Connor visiting Albert Reynolds!

*Masterminds of the Right* is published by Attic Press, price £7.99.

## Queueing up for the Children's Allowance...



## Bigots break up meeting on sex education

In May, the head nun in a girls' primary school in Dublin called a meeting of parents to discuss a programme of sex education.

The bigots of Family Solidarity and SPUC raised such an outcry at the meeting that the nun called in the police.

The incident throws a new light on a song chanted at a recent Youth Defence march.

In a poor adaptation of the Pink Floyd, the assembled bigots sung:

*We don't need no education... We don't need no birth control...*

# McCreevy's Cruel Cuts

While Charlie McCreevy, Minister for Social Welfare, may pose as a liberal on certain social issues, he is showing great enthusiasm for attacking Ireland's poor and unemployed.

The amount spent on all social services has fallen by 6.3 percent since 1986 and social welfare spending decreased from 14.9 percent to 13.8 percent in a period when there was an increase of 30,000 dependents upon unemployment payments.

The excuse of limited resources is a complete lie. The 1992 Budget was biased in favour of the rich. A married couple earning £40,000 per annum are £23 a week better off, while a

married couple on unemployment assistance will receive a mealy £4.30 extra. A single person on £10,000 per annum will only gain £3.04 a week extra, comparable to a single person on the dole who gets a rise of £2.20.

To pay for the tax breaks for the rich Fianna Fail will not be going after big business tax dodgers or trying to stem the £3 billion profits which Irish and foreign companies export every year.

## Desperate

They will in fact be cutting the spending in the already desperate for cash Departments of Health, Education and Welfare.

Charlie McCreevy has warned that the Irish state is about to cut social welfare. His new Social Welfare Bill



has made a start.

Workers on short time now find their benefit cut. Waterford Glass workers, for example, found their benefit cut by £17.50 per week.

Casual workers will have their earnings deducted

from their dole on a pound for pound basis.

Child benefit for a couple receiving social welfare payments was increased by only 50p a week.

Deserted wives who earn more than £12,000 will not be eligible for Deserted Wives Allowance.

Workers taking voluntary redundancy will have to wait nine weeks before they can collect unemployment benefit.

McCreevy claims that Social Welfare payments are spiralling out of hand. But the amount spent on social services has actually fallen by 6.3 percent since 1986.

The real reason is that Fianna Fail want to get into the Maastricht Euro club. To do that they have to cut government borrowing. And the first group they want to pick on are social welfare recipients.

# WARNING! The Eastern Health Board can damage your health

Between 100 and 150 people from local residents' associations and community groups protested outside St James' Hospital in May against the proposed plan by the Eastern Health Board to use the incinerator in St James to burn clinical waste from all the city's 37 hospitals.

At the moment St James' boiler is used to burn its own waste which is done at night.

Local residents from Basin Lane flats have to keep their windows closed because of the toxic fumes, and they fear that when St James takes on the contract to burn the waste from all the hospitals they will be unable to open their windows at all.

## Promised

John O'Connell, Minister for Health, has promised an inquiry into the matter. Mary Harney has been ap-

proached numerous times by the local residents' association for support but has not replied.

The proposal to incinerate the waste in St James is a calculated money-making scheme by the Health Board.

The fact that they are proposing to do this in a densely populated inner city area shows their complete unconcern for people's health.

# Europe unravels

The Danish vote on Maastricht was the signal of a new instability at the heart of Europe. Right across Europe there is a growing opposition to the creation of a Euro-super state.

In Germany, opinion polls suggest that 70% of the population is against losing the deutsch mark.

In France, the boss of the anti-union company Peugeot is running for Presidential election on an anti-Maastricht protectionist ticket.

The growing crises in Europe will have major implications for Ireland. Ireland's rulers were the poor cousins of the EC.

They provided a cheap labour base for U.S. multi-nationals to enter the EC market. They also gained massively from E.C. transfers.

The stability of Europe was key to the stability of Ireland.

Throughout the 1980s, Ireland's rulers rode out the unemployment crises by exporting their surplus population to Europe and cashing the Eurocheques.

Europe's rulers may or may not now be able to complete moves to a single market. The recession and the unification of Germany has increased the tensions between rural states.

But the instability in Europe and the financial crises in Germany will undermine the stability of Ireland's ruling class. The next few years will see massive struggles in this country.

There have been two responses to Europe on the left. The Labour Party and the ICTU have promoted Europe as the haven of progress.

They claim that most reforms granted to workers and women in Ireland came because of the E.C.



Recent strikes in Germany showed the depth's of Europe's crisis

Some argue that European culture is more tolerant and liberal than Ireland's.

They forget that European culture produced not only Mozart but Dachau.

The days of reform are over. Europe's rulers, for example, were quite happy to accept the Protocol which attacked the rights of Irish women.

Today the creation of a Euro-super state is about strengthening European capital in its battle against the U.S. and Japan. To do that each European state has to reduce its public borrowing.

In Ireland, McCreevy has warned that this will mean major cutbacks on social welfare spending. Instead of reforms, Europe will now bring new attacks on workers.

But another response to Europe has been to defend national sovereignty. The call for national sovereignty unites sections of the left and the extreme right.

In Britain, Tony Benn was cheered by Tory bigots when he spoke in defense of national sovereignty in the House of Commons. In France, the Communist Party links up with Le Pen's fascists to

defend sovereignty.

But national sovereignty is a myth. No parliament today controls its economy.

### Follow Suit

Sovereignty today means that if interest rates go up in the world financial markets, the national Minister of Finance has 1 or 2 hours grace to follow suit.

Power today does not lie in Parliament but in the boardrooms of big business.

When a Fine Gael Minister of Finance tried to tax profits on government bonds some years ago,

600 million was wiped off the Dublin Exchange. He had to step back.

That is why it is nonsense for any socialist in Ireland to join up with SPUC in calling for national sovereignty.

With or without a Maastricht agreement, there will be new attacks on workers rights.

The Labour Party has walked away from defending working class interests. The Democratic Left is only a step behind them.

What is needed is a fighting socialist party for the battles ahead.

## Bishop Casey: Champion of Church hypocrisy

In 1983, Bishop Eamonn Casey issued a pastoral to the people of Galway telling them to vote Yes to the SPUC

anti-abortion referendum. He told them that it was necessary to protect family values.

Casey was a complete

hypocrite. He wanted people to obey his moral strictures about sex. For himself he kept a different morality.

After Annie Murphy gave birth to her son, he pressurised her into a home for unmarried mothers and then he tried to brainwash her to give up her child.

### Ignored

Afterwards, he ignored the fact that he had a son. Annie Murphy was fortunate in one sense. A generation previously the Bishop of Galway drove unmarried mothers into the Magdalene Laundry to cover their "shame".

The Casey scandal shows up the hypocrisy of

the Church's morality on sex and the family.

The defence of family values is all about control. The sexuality of ordinary people is repressed in order to make them more likely to obey their bishops and bosses.

Tragically, sections of the Left came to Casey's assistance. The Worker's Party defended him as a 'progressive' in the Church hierarchy.

Labour's Michael D Higgins claimed that Casey was a "victim of the Catholic Church's rule about celibacy".

But Casey was not a victim. He was a champion of institutionalised hypocrisy.



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by Goretti Horgan

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by CONNOR KOSTICK

**International****BALKAN CRISIS****EC intervention is no answer**

The horror of war is currently raging through Bosnia Hercegovina.

Sarajevo, once a modern European city, is now a battlefield.

In the last two months, Sarajevo radio reports, 5 700 people have died, 20 000 have been injured and 1.5 million displaced from their homes. There are reports of people eating their pets as well as the pigeons that they can catch from rooftops.

But despite such terror UN sanctions or EC intervention offer no solution.

The motives of the EC leaders are not humanitarian ones. If Germany's rulers wanted to help the people of Bosnia-Hercegovina they would not have imposed a visa requirement on those wishing to flee to Germany for safety.

The EC has dealt a blow to chances of peaceful co-existence in the region. They negotiated the division of Bosnia Hercegovina into artificial cantons, more or less inviting the Serbian and Croatian leaders to intervene militarily to claim their parts.

The EC states want to meddle in the region for their own reasons. In particular Germany wishes to cement new economic and political ties with Croatia and Slovenia.

**Influence**

The current UN sanctions are all about increasing the West's influence over the area. The tragedy is that the sanctions strike the whole of the population, helping to drive them into the hands of their rulers.

Sanctions may be the first step to military in-

tervention. The German Foreign Minister, Klaus Kinkel says this "cannot be excluded."

Secretary of State James Baker is pushing the US towards military intervention.

But more missiles and tanks sent to the region can only worsen the destruction there. The people of Iraq today, and especially the Kurds are living testimony to the misery that will accompany even greater military involvement.

There is real opposition to the War Lords throughout Yugoslavia. In Sarajevo thousands of Serbs, Croats and Muslims initially braved the bullets to demonstrate against war.

In Serbia there is a movement for peace, pushed forward by families not wishing to see their sons drafted into the army.



Refugees from Bosnia—Western intervention won't help them

Draft dodging has reached such proportions that the courts cannot press through the ten year sentences allowed by law.

The day before sanc-

tions were announced anti-war demonstrators took to the streets of Serbia's capital, Belgrade. Milosevic the main Serbian warmonger had to

make concessionary comments in the parliament.

The current sanctions could weaken that opposition, and lead to a grow-

ing involvement by the major powers in an area that once before embroiled them all in the catastrophe of the First World War.

**THE CARVE UP OF BOSNIA**

Bosnia Hercegovina used to be the most ethnically mixed area of Yugoslavia. But the warlords of Serbia and Croatia are turning it into a killing field.

Serbian irregulars have been bombarding Sarajevo for weeks. Their aim is to drive the Muslim population out and achieve an "ethnic cleansing" of the area.

In large parts of Hercegovina, Croats are fighting Muslims and Serbs to establish Croatian domination. Their aim is to win control of Bosanski Broad which borders Serbia and Croatia.

The carve up of Bosnia has been a long term aim of Milosevic and Tudjman. In 1991, they met secretly in Karadjordjevo and agreed the overthrow of the Muslim President and the carve up of the region between them.

The UN want to pretend that there is only one thug in the area so that they can justify military intervention. But what is happening in Bosnia is a carve up by two nationalist warlords who want to deflect the anger of their own people off themselves.

**ALWAYS FIGHTING?**

Throughout the last two centuries major Empires have intervened in the Balkans. In doing so they have deliberately fostered divisions among the nationalities there.

The old Austrian Empire dominated Croatia until 1914. The Serbs were shackled to the decaying Turkish Empire.

In both cases the Balkan countries were held in economic backwardness—a state of affairs perpetuated by the interventions of the French, Russians and British.

From 1929 the British backed a dictatorial monarchy based in Serbia which oppressed all the other nationalities.

During the Second World War Germany backed a brutal fascist regime in Croatia.

Intervention from outside powers has never brought any benefit to the people of the Balkans.

**We Think****Victims of divide and rule**

The recent events are testimony both to the failure of bureaucratic planning and to the market. For of all the Eastern European economies, Yugoslavia's was the one most integrated with Western Big Business. Yet this has not averted a deepening economic crisis.

War has destroyed the country. Inflation is rising past 12 000%.

But the IMF still demands its pound of flesh for past loans. Serbia is still setting aside 500 million a year to pay its backers.

From the mid-eighties the workers of Yugoslavia fought back against the crisis. By 1989 demonstrations of millions and massive

strikes were rocking the government.

In desperation the rulers of Yugoslavia played on the national differences of the country in order to divide the movement.

In doing so they set in motion forces that would tear the country apart.

By organising an escalating wave of pogroms and communalism Milosevic of Serbia, and Tudjman of Croatia succeeded in setting their populations against one another.

**Privileged**

Both Milosevic and Tudjman were members of the Communist Party, and part of the privileged elite who ran Yugoslavia.

While becoming

fierce rivals they were also cynical enough to conduct secret meetings about carving up Bosnia-Hercegovina.

In April 1991 Milosevic was almost overthrown when tens of thousands of workers demonstrated in Belgrade against his control of the media.

700 000 struck in Serbia. He saved himself by declaring war against the newly declared independent states of Slovenia and Croatia.

Because the Serbians had the head start due to their dominance in the old Yugoslav army, many commentators including the left, have been tempted to support Croatia and Slovenia in the war.

The argument goes, that Croatia and Slovenia have been victims of Ser-

bian oppression, and that therefore their fight is for liberation.

This does not stand up to the simple fact that ever since the Second World War Croatia and Slovenia have been more prosperous than Serbia. Nor have they suffered discrimination by denial of their political rights.

While socialists support the right of all the nationalities of the region to self-determination, it is a terrible mistake to take sides in the current conflict between Serbia, Croatia and Slovenia.

Not least because it lends credence to the major powers justification for sanctions and possible military intervention.

There is only one stable solution for the region—the re-emergence of a workers movement that topples the warmongers.

# Justice Irish style

LAST month the Minister for Justice, Padraig Flynn, issued a statement pardoning Nicky Kelly, eight years after his release from prison.

Kelly, Osgur Breatnach and Brian McNally were wrongly convicted of the Sallins mail train robbery in 1975.

They were arrested within hours of the robbery and forced to sign false confessions after several days of beatings by the notorious garda "heavy gang".

No criminal proceedings are to be taken against the gardai involved.

Socialist Worker spoke to Osgur Breatnach, who spent seventeen months in prison. His sentence was quashed in 1980.



Osgur Breatnach

SW: Why has Nicky Kelly's pardon and your offer of compensation been made now, sixteen years after your initial arrest?

OB: From an accumulation of campaigning, new scientific evidence and legal victories.

Since 1976 there has been a sustained campaign involving hunger strikes, street campaigns, leafletting as well as the courts.

There are civil actions pending for myself and Brian McNally. This follows last year's landmark decision giving me access to the garda files.

The scientific evidence came from three linguistic experts who independently concluded that Kelly's statement was not solely of his own utterances.

In McNally's case they decided that none of the statement was his.

SW: What is the significance of the pardon and compensation offers?

OB: The Flynn statement signifies the total collapse of the initial decision to prosecute. They have admitted a miscarriage of justice took place.

But they are refusing to hold a public inquiry because of the serious questions that would be raised as to the role of the courts, police, civil service and government.

The garda code of silence seems to have spread right through the other institutions.

SW: Could you give us some details as to how you were mistreated?

OB: Basically we were mentally and physically tortured. Our legal and constitutional rights were continually breached.

We were arrested without due cause, denied legal access, threatened and abused. We were even denied a jury trial.

As a consequence of the wrongful convictions our good names and characters were brought into question if not destroyed. Our health and earning capacity were decimated.

SW: It must have been obvious to the guards at an early stage that they had the wrong men, so why were you convicted?

OB: Political pressure to produce bodies. To discredit and destroy a legally registered, embryonic opposition party (the IRSP).

Also self advancement on behalf of certain ambitious policemen - most of the gardai involved were subsequently promoted.

SW: So why has the cover-up lasted so long?

OB: This miscarriage of justice encompasses fundamental issues of civil rights—bringing into question laws, the function and operation of

the courts, the role of the government and the power and operation of garda investigations.

## Shed Light

Only an impartial public inquiry can shed light on the effect of legislation like the Offences Against the State Act, interrogation procedures, juryless courts and appeal structures.

SW: What similarities are there with cases such as the Guildford Four, Birmingham Six or Broadwater Farm in Britain?

OB: There are a lot of similarities. Firstly the pressure to produce a body, anybody.

Secondly the attempt to make political gains from the case by isolating political opponents and facilitating the introduction of legislation that further erodes human rights.

The massive and biased media coverage. The use of judicially partial interpretation, such as excusing illegal detentions and allowing in evidence statements denied by the accused, both as to their factuality and voluntariness.

Finally, the failure of subsequent courts to overturn the decisions and the hiding behind court decisions by politicians.

SW: Could it happen again?

OB: Everything that happened to us could happen again tomorrow. The same laws of arrest and detention pertain, the same non-jury courts.

Uncorroborated statements are still admitted as sole evidence. Possibly most fundamentally, the failure to allow suspects to be questioned in the presence of a solicitor.

The failure to deal justly and pub-

licly with the garda "heavy gang" and those whose instructions they followed is probably the greatest encouragement to all those involved.

## Free Hand

The lesson seems to be that they have a free hand to repeat everything that led to these miscarriages of justice.

As one of the most senior policemen said in the Sallins trial, "I am a wiser man now but I would do it all again tomorrow".

# Letter from Zimbabwe

In May the students at the University of Zimbabwe rioted. It was not unusual. There have been riots for the last three years against the corrupt Mugabe regime.

But this time, the students looted the larder and the kitchens because they received no grants and were starving.

A drought is stalking many parts of Africa. Maize, the staple diet of most Zimbabweans,

has failed to grow.

But drought is not the only problem. The best land in Zimbabwe is mainly owned by 4,000 white commercial farmers while blacks still live in the poor land of the "communal areas", formerly known as tribal trust lands.

## Robbed

And on top of all that, Zimbabwe has been robbed by im-

perialism. According to the latest report of the United Nations development programme, the richest 20 percent of the world's countries had incomes three hundred times greater than the poorest 20 percent.

For all the talk of one world emerging, the gap between developed West and developing South is getting wider.

The countries of Africa have to fight for their own libera-

tion. But the reality is that there is little they can do until the developed world strikes a blow for real freedom and sanity.

As Rosa Luxemburg said, "Where the chains of capitalism are forged, there must the chains be broken."

The working class of the world must unite. They have nothing to lose but their chains. ■ SW Reader, Zimbabwe

## ENVIRONMENT... Summit of hypocrisy

by OWEN MCCURRYACK

**THE UN Conference on Environment and Development, the "Earth Summit", was being hyped as the last chance to save the planet. In reality it was little more than a massive con job which did nothing to tackle the world's growing environmental crisis.**

Over 140 heads of state gathered in Rio de Janeiro for the conference.

There they were to sign the "Rio Declaration", supposedly committing the world's governments to tackling global warming, deforestation, and world poverty while safeguarding the world's endangered species of plants and animals.

### Exploited

But at the very start of the conference Bush objected to the biodiversity agreement. He demanded that there be no restrictions on how US drug companies exploited tropical plants.

He also wanted guarantees that these drug companies would not have to share their research with the countries which grew many of the rare plants that are the basis of many drugs.

No real action was taken on the most important problem, global warming.

It was decided that global emissions of carbon dioxide—the

largest "greenhouse gas"—would be stabilised at 1990 levels (a measure most environmentalists and scientists consider inadequate).

The EC had proposed a much hyped "carbon tax" aimed at achieving this.

In reality however none of the major industrialised powers were willing to control carbon dioxide emissions.

All feared such measures might damage their economies' competitiveness and give others the edge in the free market. One EC bureaucrat claimed that cutting carbon dioxide emissions was a "pipe dream".

The summit was supposed to set up an international fund to help poorer nations develop without damaging their natural environments, yet it is almost certain that the World Bank will hold the purse strings.

It already controls the Global Environment Facility (GEF) which was set up in 1990. Like all of its actions, it has used this not to help the developing nations but to look after the interests of international capitalism.

Its leading economist, Lawrence Summers, has advocated dumping the West's toxic waste in any Third World country willing to take it for the lowest price.

The money that such a fund would get was far less than the fifty billion dollars that the

West gets in interest repayments on Third World debt each year.

It will also be considerably less than the 950 billion dollars that continues to be spent on the arms industries.

The problem of continued nuclear weapons testing and nuclear power plants was not even discussed at Rio.

Many Greens have quite rightly condemned the failings of the Rio summit and pointed to the hypocrisy of the world's leaders. But they have no idea why summits like Rio are little more than a farce.

### Accept

This is because many Greens accept the arguments of Bush and Major that the problem is the world's population growth.

Some Greens even wanted the West to impose penalties on countries which failed to reduce or control their populations.

The reality is that the world's environment is heading towards disaster, not because it has too many people but because of the economic system they live under—a system all of the world leaders gathered in Rio are committed to maintaining.

It is likely that the only lasting legacy that Rio will leave to future generations will be a new 150 million dollar motorway built to ensure that world leaders will not have to see the poverty that most of the city's inhabitants live under.

# Riots shake a Superpower... The American over

by DAVE McDONAGH

**The 'American Dream' has turned into a nightmare for millions of US citizens. That is the simple truth behind the riots which shook the United States at the end of April.**

The Rodney King verdict provided the spark. Blacks in South Central Los Angeles had finally had enough of police racism.

But they had also had enough of poverty and were joined in the protests by poor whites and Hispanics.

The riots brought years of bitterness to the surface: bitterness at the inequality of American society.

That is why the rioters attacked the wealthy suburbs around Hollywood.

America was supposed to be a society without class divisions. The 'American Dream' meant that if you worked hard you went places.

### Inequality

But inequality is on the increase in the 'land of opportunity'.

Since the 1970s huge amounts of wealth have gone from the poor to the tiny percentage of rich Americans.

Between 1982 and 1988 the number of millionaires grew from 600,000 to 1.5 million. But workers' real wages have fallen by 17 percent in the past twenty years.

The Reagan government cut taxes for the rich but destroyed services for the poor.

Sixteen of the fifty states have made huge welfare cuts. Michigan has no

welfare system left - 90,000 of its citizens have no income.

About one in seven New Yorkers has tuberculosis because they are poor.

In California the average welfare family is thirty percent below the poverty line.

Blacks are bottom of the pile. Their average income is 56 percent that of whites.

Black infant mortality is twice that for white kids. In 1988, life expectancy for blacks fell for the fourth year running.

The homicide rate for young black men is higher in some areas than the casualty rate for US soldiers in Vietnam.

The New England Journal of Medicine said that a young black man in Harlem has less chance of reaching the age of 65 than a man in Bangladesh.

Of course not all blacks face the same levels of poverty. A minority of blacks have risen to high ranking positions.

Army Chief of Staff, Colin Powell, is hailed as a 'black success story'. He was wheeled out to pacify the rioters.

The man who imposed the curfew on Los Angeles was black mayor Tom Bradley.

The 'American Dream' seemed to make sense during the long post-war boom. The average wage rose considerably in the post-war years.

Today, America is in the midst of a recession which has been compared to the great Depression of the 1930s. And workers are bearing the brunt of that recession. The riots have opened people's eyes to that fact.



Repression like this sparked the riots

# This is We're done'

After the riots, Los Angeles became an occupation zone. The US Marines and the Rapid Deployment Infantry from Fort Ord put working class areas under military rule.

17,000 people were sent to jail. Many face maximum jail sentences of two years for looting.

To help to break the resistance, the US authorities have begun to deport Hispanics.

As many as five hundred people have been sent back to Mexico. El Salvadorians are again talking about the "desaparecidos" (the disappeared).

### Gang

But the riots have also produced a new politicisation. Los Angeles

## More lies from Bush

**GEORGE Bush said he was 'stunned' when four cops were cleared of the assault on black motorist Rodney King.**

This was sheer hypocrisy. Only last year, Bush publicly praised Daryl Gates, the racist Los Angeles police chief.

This was after four of Gates' officers had beaten Rodney King.

On the night of the verdict, Bush said that "the court system had worked" and called for "calm and respect for the law".

It was only when riots broke out that Bush expressed "dis-may" at the verdict.



Then he rushed to promise a civil rights prosecution against the four cops. But he also sent in the army to deliver more repression to Los Angeles' black population.

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## From riot to revolution

The Los Angeles riots were sparked off by police racism but quickly took on a class character.

Looters went in search of food, clothes and other basic necessities. Some took home stereos and videos.

To media commentators it was wanton destruction. To the people of South Central Los Angeles it was like a carnival.

Rioters vented anger on the police, overturning cop cars. As in any mass revolt, they attacked the symbols of their oppression.

Riots have always been part of working class history. They are often the signal of a general revolt.

In the nineteenth century in Britain, the police force was first created to deal with riots that occurred after Chartist demonstrations which sought the vote.

### General Strike

In 1917 in Russia the food riots occurred before a general revolution.

In 1968 in France, a student riot led to a general strike of ten million workers.

But in 1965 a riot also erupted in Los Angeles in the suburb of Watts. It raged for six days.

In the two years afterwards, one hundred other riots broke out across US cities. The riots played a major role in pushing the civil rights struggle forward.

It was the fear of the riots and the influence of the Black Panther Party that forced America's rulers to make concessions to the moderate blacks.

Riots sharpen a sense of injustice. They embolden people to rebel. They unite people across colour in opposition to the police.

But riots are also unorgan-

ised. That is why they are likely to have negative and contradictory elements.

In Los Angeles, there were attacks on white bystanders and Korean shop owners. The media played these attacks up to present the events as a race riot.

### Solidarity

But the presence of poor whites and Hispanics proves otherwise. In the San Francisco Bay area - where few blacks live - thousands took to the streets in solidarity with the rioters.

And the fact remains that the majority of people killed were black.

Of course it is tragic that some blacks saw ordinary whites and Koreans as the enemy. But the US is a highly segregated society.

When you are ground down and living in a ghetto, it is not surprising that some will see workers of a different colour as the enemy.

Attacks on innocent whites were wrong but cannot be equated with the vicious state-led racism against blacks.

In the main, attacks on whites were isolated incidents. The anger was mainly against the police and the injustice of American society.

But while riots are a step forward, they are also limited in their effects. The power of workers is the key to real change.

There were strikes during the recent uprising in the US - another fact played down by the media.

In Washington DC, workers were given a "holiday" when 14,000 people blocked the city's main bridge.

The hope of socialists is that the riots will act as a spark for more workers' action. If that is the case, the riots of April 1992 could mark the first chapter of a renewed struggle to rid America of racism and poverty

# ...his a slave rebellion— ...e're proud of what we've



is the most famous gang land city of the US.

For years, religious ministers and worthy politicians have called for an end to violence between the gangs. Their appeals fell on deaf ears.

But the riots have produced a new unity. The Crips and the Bloods - the two biggest black gangs involving seven thousand - have signed a truce.

When seven hundred Crips and seven hundred Bloods came together in Watts, the police arrested

fifty people, hoping to provoke a riot. But their provocation to break the truce failed.

Afterwards the rival groups issued a statement. It said: "This is a slave rebellion like the other slave rebellions in black history. We're proud of what we've done."

**OUT NOW!**

## The real Marxist tradition

by John Molyneux

Molyneux looks at the tradition founded by Marx and demolishes the claims of Stalin, Castro and others to have anything to do with the fundamental idea of Marxism—the self-emancipation of the working class

£3.00 post free from:  
SW Books, PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8

# MARXISM AND RELIGION

by BRIAN HANLEY

# Slavery or Salvation?

**RELIGION and religious conflicts are never far from people's minds. Religion is often used to justify oppression. The Catholic Church bans divorce, contraception and abortion.**

But it has also become a rallying point for those fighting oppression. In the Middle East millions of people look to Islamic fundamentalism to fight imperialism. In Latin America some Catholic priests have taken up arms against right-wing regimes.

Many socialists have become confused by this. Some have simply attacked religion, ridiculing it and seeing it simply as a force of oppression.

Others have tried to find a middle ground between religion and socialism.

To understand the role religion plays in society we have to look at its roots.

Everyone knows Karl Marx called religion "the opium of the people", but that was only a tiny part of what both he and other socialists have written on the subject.

Marx started his analysis of religion with the work of the French Enlightenment philosophers of the eighteenth century.

These philosophers were trying to establish a scientific world view which broke with the religious explanations of the past.

## Criticism

In doing so they were laying the basis for the ideas which led the French Revolution. They subjected the dominant religion, Christianity, to devastating criticism. They showed that the Bible sanctioned tyranny and advocated murder, rape and plunder.

They exposed how the Church enforced ignorance through threats of divine punishment.

Religion has historically stood in the tradition of reaction and repression, they argued. They expected religion to simply disappear as society progressed.

Marx, however, argued that it simply wasn't enough to expose religion as false. Religion has social roots - it offers imaginary solutions to the suffering people feel under class society.

And while class society continues to exist, so will religious belief.

Religion is used to justify the existence of class society, and all its inequalities. But it also gives expression to the feeling that the world isn't what it should be and a better one exists after you die.

As Marx wrote, "Religious distress is at the same time the expres-



Anti-abortion rally in Dublin—Religion is used to justify oppression, but also to fight it

sion of real distress and the protest against real distress. Religion is the sigh of the oppressed creature, the heart of a heartless world."

Understanding the social causes that underpin religion and the development of the society that gave rise to them is crucial if we are to understand the role religion plays in society.

Two good examples are Christianity and Islam.

Christianity began as a movement of the oppressed - the religion of slaves and of the poor.

The Sadducees, the religious party of those Jews who collaborated with the Roman invaders, come in for

ruthless criticism in the New Testament, but the Zealots, who physically resisted the Romans, do not.

Jesus spoke the language of the Zealots and Simon, one of the twelve apostles, is described as a zealot. However, when the Romans destroyed Jerusalem in AD 70 the base for Jewish revolt was destroyed.

## Kingdom

Christianity made its peace with Rome and moved away from talking of a kingdom of God on earth to the idea of heaven and the after life.

It became a religion of solace for the masses of the Roman empire but

one which posed no threat to its rulers.

As the state religion, the Church became immensely wealthy and powerful - laying the basis of the corrupt and repressive monstrosity of the Catholic Church in the middle ages.

In the sixteenth century the artisans and small merchants of the towns desired an end to the exorbitant taxes demanded by the Catholic Church. Lutheranism gave this demand expression.

Because Lutheranism challenged the wealth and power of Rome, it became the inspiration for the peasants' revolts against the princes and

knights who ruled Germany. Luther himself called for the revolt to be crushed.

Calvinism developed soon afterwards as an expression of the needs of the emerging capitalist class in the great business centres of Antwerp and Amsterdam.

Central to its doctrine was the idea that the good christian must regard it as his religious duty to make as much money as possible. Poverty ceased to have any merit.

Islam was born in Arabia in the seventh century. It was a religion based on Mecca, an important urban centre on the existing trade routes.

Its greatest prophet, Muhammed, was a moderately prosperous trader, and the Koran reflects the outlook of his class.

## Denounces

It states that the value of an individual increases as he grows in justly earned wealth. But it denounces the arrogant rich who give nothing to the poor as living unjust lives.

Interestingly enough, given the hysterical reaction to Islam in the West, the Koran is considerably more rational than the Bible and relies much more on reason than blind faith.

So it is not enough for socialists to simply attack religion. Nor would socialists attempt to suppress religion.

In fact we are defenders of the right for anyone to practise what religion they like. We also support struggles against oppression whether led by those with religious illusions or not.

The Polish workers' movement in the 1980s held masses outside shipyard occupations and displayed pictures of the Pope, but socialists still backed Solidarnosc against the stalinist regime.

In the Middle East Islamic fundamentalism holds the allegiance of those who want to fight imperialism, and socialists stand with them despite their religious views.

But ultimately socialists have to try to win the leadership of struggles against oppression to bring them to a successful conclusion.

In Ireland this means being absolutely clear on the need to separate church and state, to end church control of hospitals and schools. But religious belief itself is a matter for the individual.

In a socialist society the conditions which give rise to religion will be removed and religion itself will eventually become more and more irrelevant.

This will occur through the changes brought about by workers themselves, not by state repression.



# Derry Demo against Army thugs

Derry SWM organised a demo against British Army harassment.

Despite short notice 250 people marched in Derry on 30th May last.

Speakers at the Rally afterwards included trade unionist Paddy Logue, Sinn Fein Councillor Gearoid O'Heara, Bernadette McAliskey and SWM's Eamonn McCann.

Some people were surprised at the message on the main banner, "Stop British Army violence against working class people".

Did we not object to

violence against middle class people?

Of course we do, but it's clear that 99.9% of state violence is directed against the working class.

## Headbutted

As Eamonn McCann said at the rally "no-one is ever headbutted on the Culmore Road". (The Culmore Road is

the Derry equivalent of Rochestown Road in Cork or Foxrock in Dublin).

All of the speakers stressed that the SWM-run march should be the start of a move back to the streets.

The demo may have been small but it represents the kind of action that's needed to stop army harassment.

## SWM Meetings and Activities

Socialist Worker Branch Meetings  
**WATERFORD** meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keyzer St.

**CORK** meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Anchor Inn, Georges Quay  
**DERRY** meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers Pub, Orchard St.

**BELFAST** meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Castle Mews in Bank St.

**DUBLIN** meets every Wednesday in the Bachelors Inn, Bachelors Walk, by O'Connell Bridge

To contact the SWM in **DUNDALK, BRAY, GALWAY, NAVAN, KILKENNY**, write to PO Box 1648, Dublin 11 or telephone (01) 722682

# Taking on Youth Defence

Dublin SWM organised a successful counter demo when Youth Defence marched in Dublin on 6th June.

Youth Defence are an anti-choice group who claim that abortion is a plot to reduce the working class population.

But the SWM and supporters succeeded in reducing the attendance at Youth Defence rallies instead!

The last time these trendy bigots marched they had 3,500 on the streets.

This time they only had eight hundred.

SWM ran counter demos of over 100 people on both occasions. These actions have demoralised Youth Defence, leaving them with just a hard

core of supporters.

Several Repeal the Eight Amendment groups took part in the counter demo.

One young woman who spoke to Socialist Worker praised the action against the bigots, saying:

"This is brilliant. Those people just wave pictures of foetuses and play on people's emotions."

"They don't know what its like for women with unwanted pregnancies."

"And the speaker (at the counter demo) who said Bishop Casey was a hypocrite was right".

"The bishops tell us what to do with our lives but we're the ones who'll have to face the consequences when we grow up."



SWM members and Repeal the Eighth Amendment Activists give out copies of the banned Guardian ad at Dublins GPO (see page 2 for story)

## Waterford: Hanafin picket

Thirty people picketed a meeting addressed by Fianna Fail bigot Des Hanafin in Waterford.

The picket was called by the local Repeal the Eighth Amendment group, which includes SWM members.

## Defending Travellers in Navan

Navan SWM leafletted local housing estates to protest at racism against travellers.

The Navan Combined Residents Association had held a meeting of 200 people to whip up scare stories about travellers encircling the town.

## What we stand for

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

### FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM:

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

The machinery of the capitalist state - parliament, courts, army, police etc - is there to defend the interests of the capitalist class, not to run society in a 'neutral' fashion.

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

### FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWM welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. Workers' revolutions are needed to win real freedom in the East.

We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

### FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

### FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army.

Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

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

### FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism - not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

### FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

## Join Us!

If you would like to join the SWM or require further details, send this slip to: PO Box 1648, James's St., Dublin 8

Name.....

Address.....

.....Phone.....

# THE MYTH OF OVERPOPULATION

In 1798 Thomas Malthus, a rich landowning clergyman, wrote *Essays on the Principle of Population*.

In it he predicted that population would quickly outstrip the amount of arable land which could be cultivated.

His solution reflected his class background. For the more middle class he preached abstinence from sex.

The working class, who he viewed with undisguised horror, were beyond redemption.

He said that employers should only pay subsistence wages to their workers, because any improvement in pay or conditions would only lead to workers having more children.

Malthus also believed governments should not provide any services to workers, the unemployed or the poor. Famine and disease would be the only way to cull surplus population.

Malthus's scenario of course proved false. Two hundred years later Britain has a population of 55 million and not a famine in sight.

Today Malthusian arguments have resurfaced. In America, some Greens argue that AIDS and famine are a subtle hint by nature about scarce resources.

And George Bush and John Major are now talking about over-population as the main problem affecting the environment.

The idea that the world is over-populated is a farcical one.

In the industrialised countries, the birth rate is falling. The average woman in Europe has 1.8 babies, one-third fewer than in the 1960s.

In Ireland the average family size has fallen from eight children in 1911 to two or three children today.

The argument about over-population today is directed at the developing world. Magazines like *The Economist* paint a picture of lands groaning under the weight of a population explosion.

Yet in 1991 a survey by the US Agency for International Development showed birth rates slowing and food production rising twice as fast as population.

Africa, the poorest continent and the



most wracked by famine, has the lowest density of population on the world.

Britain has 233 people per square kilometre; Holland has 400. But Ethiopia has just forty people per square kilometre, and Mozambique has just 19.

Similarly, just as it is not the case that the world is over-populated, neither is it the case that there is too little food.

Food production world wide increased by two and a half percent annually and could easily increase more.

Right now the world could adequately feed its entire population plus another two billion if land in the US and other developed countries was put into full use.

## Grain

In June 1991 the EC was holding twenty million tonnes of grain in storage, enough to feed Africa four times over.

Seven hundred thousand tonnes of beef, including Larry Goodman's rotting carcasses, are also in storage.

It costs £2,400,000,000 a year to keep it there. This is twelve times the amount the EC gives to the world's poor.

The main problem today facing the developing world is not its population but capitalism. Every year forty billion dollars is paid in debt repayments by the Third World to western banks.

1.3 trillion dollars went from the underdeveloped countries in the eighties to the rich bankers of the West. Yet they remain sixty percent more indebted.

This means that the governments of

the underdeveloped countries are either unable or unwilling to provide health care, education, housing, contraception and pensions.

So parents have large families as a form of insurance for their old age.

Population control programmes have been adopted by some Third World governments. In Brazil and India women are forced to undergo sterilisation.

In China couples are permitted one child. But this has led to a horrible situation when parents want a male child—female babies are killed, leaving China with the highest rate of infanticide in the world.

The real answer to the problems of the Third World lies in more economic development. Higher levels of economic development in the underdeveloped countries will not lead to an increase in population.

Ireland, Spain and Italy show how a transition from a rural to an industrialised society leads to an actual decline in the birth rate.

Industrialisation could bring education and new skills to workers of the developing countries. Women's lives could be changed dramatically.

The decision to have children would depend on people's needs and wishes and not on economic necessity.

The problem is that imperialism has absolutely no interest in producing such development in Africa. It wants only to rob the poor by forcing them to pay for the debt crisis.

Socialism holds out the only hope of world wide development.

✉ BRENDA O'DONOHUE

# Basic Instinct reviewed by Emma Green Shallow Chauvinism

*Basic Instinct* pretends to be a psychological thriller.

In fact it is a very shallow story which reflects the current atmosphere of backlash against women.

Its main characters are nothing but chauvinistic stereotypes.

"Roxy" is a butch, tough lesbian whose jealousy about her bisexual partner is portrayed when Michael Douglas confronts her to "talk man to man".



Sharon Stone in *Basic Instinct*

## Troubled

Douglas plays the cop with a troubled past sucked into a bi-

zarre sexual world in his determination to catch his killer.

In true Hollywood fashion the leading

man has most of the women gravitating towards him—he is also the leading "straight" man.

Sharon Stone plays a murder suspect with a degree in psychology who writes novels that eerily echo her real life.

At times this film borders on farcical comedy. Without the inclusion of lesbian characters it is a basic plot.

## Thrilled

Lesbianism is given full exposure in a brief kiss—very risqué!

Don't expect to be thrilled by mad rampant sex scenes or become confused in the plot. No prizes for guessing what socially accepted sexuality wins out.

## Book review by Mary Smith

"Backlash" by Susan Faludi price £10.50 inc post

# Taking on the Backlash

"WE'RE living in a post-feminist world. Women have won the right to compete on an equal footing with men.

"They should therefore stop carping about their oppression.

"All the striving for independence and liberation has simply made women miserable. Better for them if they embrace their natural role, home and family, and forget all this equality nonsense."

This is the message of the "backlash" propagandists, which Susan Faludi, American prize-winning journalist, has taken apart so skilfully in her book.

The backlash against women's rights turns up in films and television programmes. In *Fatal Attraction* the message is that confident, assertive women are dangerous neurotics underneath.

Michael Douglas, the star of the film, said afterwards: "If you want to know, I'm really tired of feminists, sick of them."

Women who are juggling with career, lover, children, wifehood have spread themselves too thin and are unhappy.

Guys are going through a terrible crisis right now because of women's unreasonable demands."

The most amazing myths were manufactured by "social trends" analysts in America to back up the backlash.

Women who concentrated on building a career are supposed to be faced in their thirties with an



Part-time, low-paid, but a worker

acute man shortage, infertility problems and neurosis - reducing them to miserable wrecks.

Faludi exposes the shameful way these ideas gained currency.

Emanating from prestigious establishments, Harvard, Yale etc, the best statistics and phony research findings were taken up and hyped by the media, despite the "facts" being thoroughly rubbished by valid scientists

## Genuine.

A genuine survey of women's mental health, for example, could find only two prime causes for female depression - low social status and marriage.

There was no rise in infertility in older women - the rise was in younger women because of failure to treat a sexually transmitted disease, chlamydia.

Faludi's book traces the way the fashion industry

tried to jump on the "backlash" bandwagon. Attempts were made to bring back tight waists, flounces and boned busts.

But there has been tremendous resistance against the backlash. The fashion sales just dropped in response.

Despite the fact that the subjects of many of Faludi's examples are middle class women, she writes with a compelling passion on the struggle of working class women.

Women's jobs remain predominantly low paid. Equal pay has been under attack.

The backlash that Faludi writes about raises an uncomfortable echo in today's Ireland.

The "warriors", as they call themselves, of Operation Rescue (OR), the fundamentalist anti-abortion group in the US, sound just like thuggish elements in SPUC and Youth Defence.

Behind their doctrine of upholding "foetal rights", they moved from harassment of abortion clinics to arson and bombing attacks in which staff and pregnant women were seriously injured.

Like the Irish bigots they have strong links with political lobbyists and right-wing politicians.

There is a glaring lesson from Faludi's book. The US produced the biggest women's liberation movement in the world.

But it was more divorced from the workers' movement than anywhere else. Now it has come to a dead end.

A few women have won equal rights but for the majority of working class women, liberation is as far off as ever.

Every gain made under capitalism can be clawed back. Only a fight for socialism can bring women's freedom in the US and elsewhere.

# The Lessons of the Postal Dispute

In June, C.W.U. members voted by a 6 to 1 majority to end their dispute with An Post. The vote was based on a national ballot although the dispute was centered mainly at the Sheriff St Sorting office in Dublin.

The dispute holds many lessons for trade unionists.

Like the bank strike it combined two elements. First, there was a tremendous feeling of resistance to the plans of John Hynes. Hynes, a former F.C.A. officer was moved to An Post to break the power of the C.W.U.

He wanted a free hand to employ casual labour who could be employed on a week by week basis on poverty wages.

But the resistance went alongside an acceptance of the new realist ideas of the C.W.U. leader David Begg. At the start of the strike Dave Moran, a prominent activist at An Post, put a resolution

down for full strike action. He was overwhelmingly defeated. The C.W.U. leadership stressed a publicity campaign and a battle through the courts.

Instead of strike action, they pushed a levy on the rest of the C.W.U. membership.

Because of this, the postal workers could not run an active dispute. They were in no position to get solidarity from other workers.

## Provoked

But the An Post management tripped themselves up. The provoked a dispute just before the Maastricht referendum and the Leaving Cert exam both of which depended heavily on the postal service. FF Minister Geoghan Quinn was not able to allow Hynes to lay off other postal workers because of a rule about civil service status without provoking a wider confrontation throughout the civil service.

The result was that they had to make concessions. Some permanent jobs were created. The casual workers got some rights.



But there were still major problems with the deal. 80 of the permanent jobs are to be filled by cleaners and patrol staff and their jobs in turn will be put out to private contract.

The move to Clondalkin and Naas Road will go ahead without any real guarantee on jobs and conditions. Hynes' plan to cut 1,500 jobs over the next few years is still on the cards.

An active strike that fully closed the postal service down and sought support from Telecom engineers in the C.W.U. would have won far more.

■ MARY O'REILLY

## AROUND THE CONFERENCES

### IMPACT

This year's IMPACT conference took a major step forward for women's rights. A resolution calling for abortion information and choice was passed overwhelmingly.

Delegates also went to call for the repeal of the 8th amendment to the constitution.

The new mood of anger was also seen in the discussions of the PESP. A resolution critical of the PESP was only defeated by a 3 to 2 majority.

Meanwhile, however, the leaders of IMPACT are trying again to stop have annual conferences and hold them only every two years. This attack on union democracy should be fought.

16 Socialist Workers were sold

### CPSU

The Civil and Public Service Union Conference passed a motion pledging the union to campaign for abortion information.

The conference, held in Cork in May, also stopped attempts to remove reserved seats for women on the CPSU Executive.

The main attack facing the CPSU is the government's new re-structuring plan. The plan would set up a new low paid trainee grade in the Civil Service with a starting wage of 125 a week.

Unfortunately, there was little discussion of these plans. CPSU members need to take the issue up now in their branches.

15 Socialist Workers were sold.

### ATGWU

There were two motions at the ATGWU conference condemning sectarian violence.

An SWM member argued that the resolutions did not go far enough. They had to get to the root of the issue and condemn the violence of the British Army and the RUC.

The conference passed a resolution from the 11/64 and 11/102 Waterford Glass branches calling for a new inquiry into the murders of 14 people in Derry on Bloody Sunday.

Tragically, the left in the ATGWU did not raise the issue of why the unions called for a YES vote in the Maastricht referendum. The decision was taken by the Regional Secretary in an undemocratic manner.

10 Socialist Workers were sold.

### NIPSA

Delegates at the NIPSA conference came out clearly with a call for the withdrawal of the Para regiment from Ireland despite the advice of their union executive who wanted to defer the resolution.

Unfortunately, the movers of the resolution called for the replacement of the Paras by the less aggressive and combative regiment.

NIPSA delegates also condemned the Widgery Tribunal into the murders of 14 civilians on Bloody Sunday and demanded a new inquiry.

A resolution was passed in support of the Brook centre. Its opening is being opposed by Catholic and Protestant bigots.

A large number of delegates came out in favour of electing all union officials. The resolution was only defeated by a card vote.

There was also calls for the opening up of NIPSA NEWS.

The main weakness of the conference lay in the issue of privatisation. There was discussion on how the union had to re-organise its structures after privatisation but little talk of how to oppose privatisation itself.

# Workers in Tallaght win a square deal

Workers in "Tommy's" in the Square, Tallaght went on strike to protest at two unfair dismissals.

One girl was sacked for "continually being sick". Another girl told the owner's son how she disagreed with the way another girl was sacked. A couple of days later she was also sacked, for allegedly "talking".

"Tommy's" outlets in the Square include a newsagent and a discount store. Workers in both have fought con-

tinually to improve their pay and conditions.

Up to last February, their starting pay was £1.75 an hour. Since they joined the union, that has gone up to £3 after probation.

## Probation

But to avoid paying the full rate, the boss simply sacks them before their probation is over. Tommy's newsagent has gone through over a hundred staff in this way - in eighteen months!

The boss also kept workers in line by threatening to transfer them to Northside

Shopping Centre in Coolock. If they refused to transfer, they were sacked.

A particularly nasty feature of the strike was intimidation of young workers in Pizzaland and Crazy Prices. Managers in those shops sent the teenagers on errands to Tommy's, forcing them to pass their own mothers' picket lines. The shopping centre manager also stopped the strikers from giving out leaflets.

As one of the shop stewards in Tommy's said, "Management in the Square has a lot to answer for. Fair enough, they've brought a lot of jobs to the area but it's all slave labour."

## Still no sign of Tallaght Hospital

An angry meeting in Tallaght was told that the government is still refusing to start building the regional hospital there. The hospital was first promised in 1982.

Since then, a series of governments has stalled and hidden behind a stream of reports. The latest, the Kennedy Report, came out in mid-May. The government has refused to even disclose the contents.

People in Tallaght are still forced to travel miles into town to attend the Meath, Adelaide and Children's Hospitals. But at the same time facilities in those hospitals are being allowed to deteriorate, on the grounds that they will be moving to Tallaght to constitute the new hospital. When?

Noticeably absent from the meeting in Tallaght were local TDs Chris Flood (Fianna Fail) and Mary Harney (PD). Angry residents suggested a Tallaght Hospital candidate in the next election might make them pay more heed to their voters' wishes.

An SWM speaker said it was time to escalate the campaign. When talking got them nowhere, workers in Tommy's in the Square went

on strike. When the 14-year-old rape victim was prevented from getting an abortion, thousands of people demonstrating forced the government to lift the injunction.

Seventy thousand angry Tallaght people marching on the street could force the government to stop stalling and start building.

## N.I. Post Threat

Post Office workers from the Royal Mail in Belfast face similar attacks to those in the South.

After the Tory victory in the General Election, they stepped up plans to privatise the Post Office.

They plan to introduce franchise deliveries, tendering cleaning services and static shift work.

The Union of Communication Workers have also come under attack from some strange quarters. Terry Carlin, the Secretary of the Northern Ireland ICTU complained to the post management that a leaflet about an anti-sectarian march had not been delivered to his door. One worker was sacked as a result.

When a trade unionist made a public reply to Carlin, he was disciplined by management without any reason being given.

Another example of the attacks on postal workers is the case of the REM 11. Here 11 post office van drivers were sacked after refusing to deliver cash to sub-offices during industrial action in May last year. The men were disciplined on a trumped up charge of overtime fraud.

The UCW conference decided that any moves to privatisation will be met with a ballot for industrial action.

But now is the time for the UCW to fight the attacks that are being mounted on postal workers.

UCW Member

## N.I. Health: No More Opt-Outs

Almost all the Eastern Health Board services have announced that they want to opt out of the Health Service and become Trusts in the latest round of Tory privatisation of the NHS.

Even the "Community Units" which include Home Helps, social workers, day centres etc. have applied to become Trusts.

Belfast City Hospital, the Ulster Hospital, Down and Ards Hospitals and the Community Units for North Down and Ards, North and West Belfast, South and East Belfast, Down and Lisburn have all applied to opt out. Even the Eastern Ambulance Service wants to leave NHS control.

In the Southern Health Board area, Craigavon area hospital is also planning to opt out despite an assurance from management that it would stay with the NHS if that's what the staff wanted. Staff voted 2 to 1 not to opt out, but management went ahead anyway.

In Britain, the effect of opting out on hospital services has been disastrous. A two tier health service operates there. NHS workers in Northern Ireland mustn't let the same happen here.

Talk of community campaigns against the Trusts has already started. But what happened with the Royal Group of Hospitals last year shows that a community campaign is not enough. The workers in the Royal Group had the entire community behind them, but management went ahead anyway.

What's needed to stop opting out is industrial action by the workers in defence of working conditions and services for patients.

# Socialist Worker

Bring the protests back on the streets

One of Northern Ireland's biggest unions, the Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance, has come out for the withdrawal of the Para regiment.

The union organises poorly paid Protestant and Catholic workers in the public sector.

The resolution calling for the withdrawal of the Paras was passed at their annual conference. It is a big step forward.

But resolutions like these now need to be built on. Passing resolutions and then lobbying Tory ministers quietly will get absolutely nowhere.

What is needed is a return to street protests against the activities of the army.

A small start on these street protests has been taken by the Socialist Workers Movement.

After the attack on Paddy McGlinchey in Derry, the local SWM organised a march of 250 people from the Guildhall Square to Fort George.

## Tradition

But far more can be done. The tradition of taking to the streets has been dropped in many areas. Instead many have looked to Sinn Fein and the IRA for an answer.

But mass action is the key to defeating the British Army. Thousands have to be mobilised to get onto the streets after serious assaults by the British army.

The Northern Ireland Committee of ICTU have called major demonstrations on sectarian violence. But they have shut up about the violence of the British army.

Socialists must now start organising in the unions to bring out Catholic and Protestant workers on to the streets against the activities of the Paras and other British army regiments.

# End British army harassment

The British Army has been given the green light to rough up civilians in Northern Ireland.

In Derry, Paddy McGlinchey was headbutted by a soldier wearing a metal helmet and savagely beaten with rifle butts as he lay on the ground.

His father and mother were also beaten up when they tried to help. Neighbours were threatened with being shot if they did not go back.

The soldiers involved were from the Royal Anglian Regiment. It is notorious in Derry.

On 8 July 1971, the Anglians shot dead Seamus Cusack and Desmond Beattie. The Anglians said that they had nail bombs.

The Gifford Inquiry showed they were murdered in cold blood. But no soldier was ever charged.

In Mid Ulster, the Paras have been allowed to go on the rampage. A Protestant van-driver was ordered out of his vehicle and told to run across a field "so that he could be shot".

In Stewartstown, there was a mini riot after passers by saw the Paras assault people getting out of a car.

Michael Mates has stood over the activities of the Paras. But Mates is well used to the brutal methods of the British Army.

He spent 20 years in the army rising to the rank of a Lieutenant Colonel.



Part of the solution or part of the problem?

His boss, Patrick Mayhew, was a commander in the Royal Dragoon Guards. These Tory thugs have now given the army officers a free rein in Northern Ireland.

The Paras, the Royal Anglians and the rest of the British Army are not in Northern Ireland to keep the peace.

Their job is to saturate nationalist areas and repress every sign of resistance to the Northern state

That is why hundreds of working class youth are subject to a daily diet of harassment and low level violence.

## Setting Up

The Nelson case showed that British Intelligence are also setting up loyalist killer squads to assassinate people.

The sectarian state that the British

army is defending offers nothing to Protestant workers. Today one in ten Protestant workers are unemployed.

The Paras regard both Catholic and Protestant workers as "Irish bastards".

That is why it is vital that the workers movement comes out clearly and firmly against the bully boy tactics of the British army.

# Kinnock backs the Paras

Labour leader Neil Kinnock has flown into the North to give his full backing to the Paras.

Kinnock visited the Shantallow area in Derry where Paddy McGlinchey was attacked by the Anglians.

Kinnock said that "incidents such as those in Coalisland and Londonderry were understandable when troops are provoked"

No wonder the Belfast Telegraph could run a headline: TROOPS FIND KINNOCK AN ALLY.

Kinnock wants to play the army poodle. That is in line

with the practice of the Labour Party.

During the Falklands War, the Labour Party stood four square behind the blood lust of the army generals.

## Organise

That is why it is wrong to call for the British Labour Party to organise in Northern Ireland. Every Labour Party will back the officers against working class youth.

A fighting socialist party which stands for the withdrawal of the troops is what is needed.



Kinnock: Paras' ally

# A new thug in charge

The paras' new commander in the North is Brigadier Douglas Erskine Crum.

Crum took over from Brigadier Longman after the outcry over the attacks on civilians in Coalisland.

But in 1974, Crum himself was in court in an assault case. He was involved in raiding the home of a former internee.

The court heard that the man's head was used like a "battering ram". His testicles were squeezed and he was held over a heater until he blacked out.

This psychopath now runs the peacekeeping paras in the North.