

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 40p

**DEFEND  
AER LINGUS  
JOBS: PAGE 11**



# DON'T BE CONNED BY REYNOLDS!

**YES to Information**  
**YES to Travel**  
**NO more 'X'-cases**

# 1500 march for jobs

OVER 1,500 people marched in the recent demonstration against unemployment organised by the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed.

The numbers clearly show that it is not impossible to organise unemployed workers.

But this demo is only the start. If the government's attacks on our living standards are to be stopped a campaign involving both employed and unemployed workers will have to be built. A

campaign for jobs has not only to be looking for new jobs but every existing job must be defended.

The campaign must not only call for new jobs but also defend every existing job.

## Threat

Almost a thousand jobs are under threat in Aer Lingus. Five hundred redundancies are proposed for Waterford Glass.

The first stage of such a campaign should be a major demonstration on Budget Day next January.

But such a demo won't happen automatically.

Resolutions should be put in every union branch looking for ICTU support for such a demo.

Unemployed activists should be calling to their local work places looking for their support.

In this way Budget Day can be turned into a massive show of solidarity and anger.

The British working class has shown how the Tory plan for pit closures could be halted.

We have to follow their example.



## Things they say

"I ain't here to hide nothing." Ray McSharry at the Beef Tribunal.

"During the revolution, such people were known as speculators and they were be-headed." French Finance Minister Michel Sapin, showing that historical lessons can be forgotten.

"We can hardly expect people to behave responsibly when the government acts irresponsibly in dealing with HIV by allowing immoralistic concerns to dictate their response to what is, after all, one of the most serious public health issues that we face today." Ger Philpott of AIDSwise on the 13.9 percent increase in diagnosed cases of AIDS.

"Given the primacy of the cerebral cortex for the establishment of the human personality, what should our opinion be of foetuses that are born without a cerebral cortex? These foetuses are anencephalic - without a brain, because the head end of the neural tube fails to close during the fourth week. It is easily detected by the sixteenth week. The condition occurs once in every thousand births, and it is incompatible with survival. Will someone please explain why any mother should be obliged to carry an anencephalic foetus to full term?" Professor Turlough Fitzgerald, Professor of Anatomy at University College, Galway.

"If it was in the government, I can't tell you about it, and if it was outside the government, I have no recollection of it." Haughey to the Beef Tribunal on news of Goodman's \$134 million beef deal with Iraq.

"Who am I? Why am I here?" Ross Perot's running mate in US election debate.

"Social welfare fraud costs estimated at £6.8 million in year." Headline on page 1 of Irish Times, 10 October.

"Unpaid tax totals £2.5 billion." Headline on page 3 of Irish Times, 10 October.

# Black clouds loom over Fianna Fail

FOR the last five years the Southern Irish economies has been one of the 'miracle' economies of Europe. Since 1987, it has grown by 24% while major economies such as Britain and US have been stuck in recession for much of that time.

It was also a 'miracle' for the bosses in another sense. While profits were booming, workers accepted wage restraint, gave high productivity and saw mass unemployment grow.

But now dark clouds are looming for Fi-

anna Fail. There are two major developments which will create a period of fantastic instability in Ireland.

First, on a world scale there is now a serious possibility that the world recession is about to turn into a 1930s style slump.

## Memories

The near break down of the GATT talks on free trade has brought back memories of the thirties when the major capitalist powers turned to protectionism to save their own skins.

The US has already threatened a \$1 billion

tariff programme against EC exports.

Any deepening of the recession will cause major problems for FF.

Second, Irish capitalism is now caught in a vicious cleft stick.

On the one hand it does not want to be dragged down by a declining British economy and so has fought against a devaluation that would restore parity with sterling.

But on the other hand sticking with the German mark in the 'fast lane' of Europe is causing tremendous strains on its weak economy.

To protect the Irish punt short term interest rates have been pushed up to 20%.

These developments mean a new round of attacks on workers. Already tens of thousands of Irish workers are paying out over £50 extra a month in mortgage rates.

## Subsidy

Socialists have to point out that these hikes are a direct subsidy to Irish and foreign capitalists to keep their profits in the Irish currency.

But a new fight is also looming on public sector wages. FF will try to follow the

example of the British Tories and push either for a public sector pay freeze or at least a cutting back of wage increases.

The years of 'social partnership' have brought nothing for Irish workers. Thousands now see that the sacrifices of the past were in vain.

We need a major push to demand that the union leaders and the ICTU start a fight back. They must not give another inch to the Fianna Fail sharks.

But above all we need to quickly build a socialist organisation that fight openly to put an end to the madness of the capitalist system.

# Tearing up symbols



Sinead O'Connor: Storm over Pope's picture

SINEAD O'Connor was vilified for tearing up a picture of the Pope on American television.

But right-wingers like Fine Gael T.D. Brendan McGahon, who condemned the singer, didn't object when the Pope himself said homosexuals should

be discriminated against in employment.

## Bombing

And while 'pro-life' McGahon was urging the bombing of Nicaragua, Sinead was standing up against the US war

machine.

Sinead O'Connor is absolutely right to oppose the Church's attempts to control women's rights and people's sexuality.

For that she should be applauded and defended against right-wing hypocrites.

But the power of the Church is not undermined by tearing up symbols.

Sinead did far more to weaken the hold of the Bishops when she helped to build for the massive demonstration on the X case in February.

# SELLAFIELD: More deadly waste

SELLAFIELD discharges two million gallons of radioactive waste into the Irish Sea each day. Now BNFL plan to open another plant, Sellafield 2, tactfully named "Thorp".

This plant is bigger and will deal with more deadly waste than the current plant.

It plans to discharge more poison - over one-fifth more - than the Chernobyl disaster that caused thousands of cancer deaths and millions of unreported cases of side effects.

In September this year the plant was closed for a month. Five gallons of liquid plutonium leaked, raising serious questions about the standards of its construction.

The plant has already

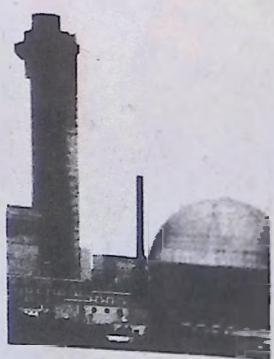
had a thousand accidents in its forty year history. This amounts to one every fortnight.

The main use for plutonium is nuclear weapons manufacture. Over half the world's stockpile

is based in Sellafield.

The Irish government claim to support the closure of Sellafield. But in 1990 when the then Taoiseach Charles Haughey was chairman of the EC Council of Ministers he approved a £770 million increase in the loans ceiling to the nuclear industry.

The new plant will pump as much contamination into the Irish Sea in 1993 as during the entire 1970s. Just a small new year's gift from rulers that prefer to make profit rather than preserve life.



# More cute manoeuvres from Fianna Fail... Don't let them roll back the 'X'-case judgment



Church and State—Once more trying to roll back womens' rights

On December 3, the Irish population will again be asked to vote on the issue of abortion. The bishops and the bigots will try to cloud the issue with moral hypocrisy.

But we should remember one thing. In 1983, they pushed through a 'pro-life' amendment claiming that it would protect the Irish people from the pagan practice of abortion.

Less than ten years later, Irish women have had between 60,000 and 100,000 abortions. In the age group 18 to 22 Irish women are as likely to have abortions as British women.

The only difference is that they do so in an atmosphere of church inspired shame.

Socialists fight for the freedom of working class people. That is why we support every move which recognises that abortion is a reality in Irish society.

We are for a YES vote for a woman's right to travel to have an abortion.

We are for a YES vote to the provision of information on abortion services abroad. A YES vote will make it harder for the SPUC bigots to hound students unions who have given out abortion information to their members.

But on the third item - 'the substantive question' - there is a different issue at stake.

Here FF are making concession to the bigots in their own ranks. They want to roll back the gains that were made by the huge demonstrations in February.

Then the mobilisation of 10,000 people and the threat of subsequent riots on the streets over the detention of a 14 rape victim forced the Supreme Court judges to give women the 'suicide clause'.

If a woman could show that she was suicidal she had won the right to have an abortion performed in Ireland.

## Risk

In order to close off this possibility FF are telling women that it does not matter if their mental or physical health is at risk, they can only have an abortion if their life is directly threatened.

A NO vote on this item will mean FF will have to implement the Supreme court judgement.

Socialists have to play an active role throughout this referendum. We have to expose the real agenda of the bigots. They aim to turn back the liberalisation of Irish society.

John O Reilly, the key backroom figure of the bigots,

spent the 1970s trying to close down contraception clinics. Today—as pages 6 and 7 demonstrate—the same people who run the anti-abortion movement fight against the right to divorce, the legalisation of homosexuality and even safe sex education in schools.

But socialists also have to stand unequivocally for a woman's right to choose to have an abortion in Ireland. This is a direct class issue.

Rich women have always been able to go to Harley St in Britain to have abortions. But working class women have real difficulty in raising the £300 or £400 to have an abortion in Britain.

In a book just published, *The Abortion Papers*, one union official Naomi Wayne gave a simple example that shows just why abortion is a class issue. She told of a 21 year old Derry woman:

"who left the factory at 4.30 on Friday afternoon. She travelled overnight and arrived in London on Saturday where she had an abortion. She travelled back to Northern Ireland on Sunday so that she could work at eight o'clock on Monday without losing a single second's wages.

The reason the twenty one year old woman was in London having an abortion and not Liverpool was because she was so

badly paid she had to keep working while pregnant in order to make enough money for the abortion.

And by the time she made enough money to pay for the abortion her pregnancy was too advanced for the Liverpool clinic. She had to go to London."

## Hardships

These are the real hardships that face working class women because of the hypocrisy of the bigots.

Whatever the outcome of the referendum there will be no return to 1983. This is despite the fact that there are weaknesses on pro-choice side. The gains of February were not built on as the Democratic Left and the Labour Party spent their time in Dail Eireann trying to reach a consen-

sus with Reynolds.

These weaknesses allowed FF to make concessions to the bigots. But FF dare not go all the way with the bigots.

They can no longer stand over cases like that of Sheila Rodgers when a pregnant woman with cancer died because she did not receive an abortion.

This has caused major splits, divisions and confusion in the clericalist right. Some of the respectable elements who used to have the ear of FF Ministers want to have a gentleman's difference of opinion with their FF friends.

But the thugs of Youth Defence want to lash out and throw caution to the winds. The growth of this organisation is a sign of the weakness and frustration of the extreme right compared to their position in 1983.

The crucial thing for socialists

to remember is that the major items in society are not decided by referenda. The mobilisations in February showed that it is mass action on the streets which brings real change.

This referendum is a cute, short term manoeuvre by FF which could still backfire. But even if they get away with it the issue will re-surface. How, for example, is anyone going to decide between a 'life threatening risk' and a 'life shortening risk'?

In this situation we need a set of politics that goes well beyond elections and referenda and stresses mass action.

This means linking the struggle for abortion right with the day to day struggles of working class men and women.

This is the only way to finally get the bigots who have poisoned Irish society off our backs.

# THE POLITICS OF DESPAIR

During two weeks of October the IRA managed to detonate eleven bombs in London.

On October 21st, for example, when 200,000 people were marching to the British parliament to support the miners, the IRA were bombing railway tracks in another area of the city.

The particular incident shows more than anything else the bank-

ruptcy of the politics behind the IRA. Mass workers action — whether in Ireland or Britain — takes second place to the actions of a few IRA volunteers.

The bombing campaign in Britain is justified by the claim that a bomb in London brings more 'publicity' than one in Belfast.

But it is only the politics of despair that seeks after 'publicity' that makes no attempt to connect

with the anger of workers who want to kick out the Tories.

The IRA themselves were born out of the anger of young Catholics whose demand for civil rights in Northern Ireland was met by the violence of the RUC and the British army.

## Victory

But the politics of republicanism

ensured that thousands came to believe that the tactic of armed struggle was the only way to bring victory.

Twenty years later it has become obvious that this tactic has led to the near disintegration of republican organisation in the South and demoralisation in the North.

No amount of 'publicity' that emerges from the tabloid press from a British bombing campaign will

change this.

Demands for a Labour Party in Northern Ireland offer no way out of this cul de sac as we show on page 8.

## Failed

The Labour Party tradition has failed to take up the issue of Catholic oppression in Northern Ireland and to argue with Protestant work-

ers that it was in their class interest to oppose that oppression. Instead it has consistently sided with the violence of the state against the violence of the oppressed.

What is needed in the North is a serious revolutionary socialist organisation that fights for class unity.

Such an organisation can only fight for genuine unity by opposing the British army and the sectarian police force.

BRITAIN:

# Can the miners beat the Tories?

**THE Tories' attempt to throw 30,000 miners on the dole has led to a huge outcry of anger in Britain.**

The Tories claim that coal is inefficient. But coal is far cheaper than nuclear power which is subsidised by £1,300 million.

If the same amount was given the coal industry the coal could be given away for free and still show a profit.

The announcement of the sackings was greeted by a huge wave of protests. Two huge demonstrations took place in the week afterwards.

On Wednesday 21 October 200,000 took to the streets of London behind five hundred trade union banners. A wave of unofficial strikes also broke out.

## Walked Off

In Lambeth, the town council workers took strike action for the day. In Manchester, council workers and teachers from sixteen schools took the day off.

Even more impressively one thousand building workers walked off the Drax power station in Yorkshire.

The solidarity action showed what might have happened if the TUC had called their members out for the day.

Instead the TUC leaders decided to hold their own protests on a Sunday — after the parliament had voted on the closures.

They then invited Paddy Ashdown and several Tory MPs to speak on their platform. Ashdown leads a party which has consistently backed the Tories' anti-union laws.

TUC General Secretary Norman Willis made it clear that the TUC strategy was designed to win "public opinion". He called for a campaign "which united government, unions, management, people".

Tragically no one on the TUC General Council challenged this softly, softly approach. But past experience shows that winning public opinion is not enough to win struggles.

The ambulance drivers had massive support for their claim in 1989 but failed to win because this was not turned into widespread sympathy action.

The Socialist Workers Party campaigned against this strategy and argued for the TUC to organise a general strike.

The slogan for a general strike tapped into the mood of many workers who do not feel strong enough to fight in their own individual workplace but want a lead from the top.

## Headline

The British *Socialist Worker* sold 70,000 copies with its headline **GENERAL STRIKE NOW!**

The Tories have now announced a "moratorium" on 21 out of the 31 pit closures.



But the moratorium is a con designed to buy off false friends of the miners such as Winston Churchill, the Tory backbencher.

All the pits could still be closed by March 1993.

The attacks on the miners shows that no matter how many sacrifices workers

make, the bosses will try to stamp on them.

## Record

One of the pits that will be closed immediately is the Silverdale colliery. The miners there worked their hearts out to achieve record output.

Productivity soared from five tons per manshift in 1986 to 7.13 tons today.

On the night before the announcement of pit closures, there had been celebrations for new record production of one million tons in a year.

The battle over the pits is

only round one of a major battle that is opening up in British society. British capitalism is suffering one of the deepest recessions in the world economy.

Ever since 'Black Wednesday' when the Tories were forced to devalue sterling and drop out of the

ERM, it has become obvious that they have no control over the ongoing decline of British capitalism.

Each statement and plan the Tories issue betrays a complete confusion on economic policy.

The continuing decline in British capitalism is also at the heart of the Tory debate over Europe.

Some sections of the ruling class worry that closer ties to Europe will mean domination by German capitalism.

Others—probably still the majority—believe that they have no option but to stick with Europe.

These divisions in the ruling class make for a period of fantastic instability in Britain. Conditions for the growth of revolutionary socialism have never been greater.

The one thing that can unite the Tories is the need to attack workers' living standards. There is now a real prospect of a public sector pay freeze.

But here the Tories will face huge resistance. The rise of the workers' movement in defence of the miners can be the signal for a new fightback.

In this situation there is a desperate need to build an alternative to the Labour Party.

Labour has failed to fight the Tories because it shares their concern for the predicament of British capitalism.

That is why the sister organisation of the SWM, the 6,000 strong SWP has set out to grow massively in the present crisis.

ITALY:

by KIERAN GLENNON

# Anger explodes against cuts

LAST month, a wave of strikes and demonstrations swept across Italy. Three million public service workers went on strike.

Over 100,000 protestors marched in Naples and thousands more in other cities.

The cause of the anger was a £41 billion austerity programme announced by prime minister Amato.

Twenty million people will lose free health care. The retirement age will be raised five years.

There will be a jobs and pay freeze in the public sector.

The cuts were announced in response to the collapse of the Italian lira in the recent currency crisis.

But workers were furious at being made to carry the burden—especially after a series of scandals exposed the massive corruption in the Italian ruling class.

Over a hundred politicians and businessmen have been arrested since February.

But workers were also incensed at the pathetic response

of union leaders.

The leader of the main CGIL union federation, Bruno Trentin, signed an agreement in July abolishing the Scala Mobile.

This is a system that links wages and prices.

At a demonstration in Milan, Trentin was pelted with eggs, coins and bottles.

Faced with betrayal by the union bureaucrats, many rank and file workers have taken the initiative themselves.

An unofficial union organisation, the CUB, has been set up. It is made up of committees of activists in factories, colleges and other workplaces.

In October, the CUB called for a general strike. It was supported by workers in many of the official unions.

The one thing missing in Italy is anyone arguing for the struggle to be widened to become a general political struggle against the system.

Since the collapse of Stalinist Eastern Europe in 1989, the Italian Left has been

in disarray.

Trentin himself is a former member of the Italian Communist Party. He has called for cooperation with the government "at a time of national crisis".

But demonstrators have been shouting "down with the government". They are determined not to pay the price for the economic crisis.

The scandals have led to a political crisis in the ruling class. Now it is weak and unsure of itself.

Other forces are now trying to cash in on the turmoil. In Rome, the fascist MSI attracted 50,000 to a demonstration against corruption.

One activist told *Socialist Worker*, "If the workers movement doesn't make a positive move forward then people could be dragged to the right".

This is the time for rank and file Italian workers to build a socialist organisation aimed at overthrowing not just the government but the whole capitalist system.



# When workers took power

by KIERAN ALLEN

SEVENTY FIVE years ago the Russian Revolution set the world on fire.

Millions across Europe saw it as a revolt against the horrors of war. But it was also a signal to workers that their time had at last come.

The impact of the revolution can be judged by one simple event. In rural Leitrim in 1920 coal miners threw out their boss and seized the mines when he refused their demand for higher wages.

They used a Russian word to describe their actions: they were setting up an Armign SOVIET.

The Russian Revolution had started in February 1917. On International Women's Day, in Petrograd thousands of working class women struck to demand bread. Metal workers in the Vyborg district metal came out in solidarity.

When the Cossacks — a ferocious crack troop regiment — were sent in to break up the protests, they refused to fire. Within five days the hated Tsar of Russia had fallen.

Every workers revolution is a combination of spontaneity and organisation. Socialists in Petrograd were initially sceptical about the tactics of the women workers.

But if had not been for the socialists the anger of the women workers would not have spread through the labour movement.

There was a contradiction at the heart of the February revolution. Real power lay in the hands of a new organisation workers had created the day before the Tsar fell: the soviets.

John Reed, an American journalist describes how they worked:

"The Petrograd Soviet consisted of 1200 deputies which held a plenary session every two weeks. It elected a central executive committee of 110 members based on party proportionality...

"The system is extremely flexible. If the cooks, waiters or the street sweepers or the courtyard servants or the cab drivers of that ward get organised and demanded representation, they were allowed delegates.

"The delegates were not elected for any political term, but are subject to recall at any time."

But the first delegates the workers and soldiers elected were the moderates who wished to phase out the



A statue of Tsar Alexander the Third, pulled down after the Revolution

soviets for "proper Western parliaments."

In February 1917 the Bolshevik party had only 40 delegates in the Petrograd soviet.

This was because revolutions can sometimes lead to a temporary strengthening of moderate reformist forces.

The revolution woke up the millions who previously thought the Tsar was their 'Little Father'.

## 'Bettors'

But because they still lacked confidence in their own strength, they looked to respectable moderates

among their 'bettors' who were previously hounded.

However revolutions also speed up the pace of political change and test the words of politicians as never before.

After February Russia found itself in a position of "dual power". Formally power lay in the hands of the Provisional Government led by Kerensky and the moderate socialists and liberals. But Kerensky ruled only because the leaders of the soviets allowed him to.

The two centres of power pulled in opposite directions. Across Russia the enthusiasm for the revolution spread. Reed describes what happened in the restaurants:

"The waiters and hotel servants were organised and refused tips. On the walls they put up signs which read 'No tips taken here' or 'Just because a man has to make his living waiting on a table is no reason to insult him by offering him a tip'."

In the army, saluting was abolished, epaulettes were torn off and officers were made subject to soldiers committees.

But the Provisional government of Kerensky was committed to running capitalism. Like all capitalist governments it sought to look after the national interest of Russia.

So despite its proclama-

tions of peace, it continued to fight the war. It allowed the capitalists to sabotage production. It tried to break up the soldiers committees and re-imposed the death penalty in the army.

## Gap

The gap between the words and deeds of the new revolutionary government angered their own supporters. The Bolsheviks who raised the simple slogans of Land, Bread and Peace and demanded that ALL power be granted to the soviets grew massively.

In Moscow, the Bolsheviks had 600 members in March. By July they had

grown to 15,000 members.

But to succeed in revolution, the Bolshevik party had both to re-arm and then learn how to show workers the lessons of their own experience.

The first happened when Lenin issued his April Thesis.

This attacked the old 'fossilised slogans' of his own party which justified some Bolsheviks trying to 'pressurise' the Kerensky government to move left. Lenin called instead for a campaign to overthrow Kerensky.

From then on the Bolshevik Party worked to win a majority in the Soviets to the call for All Power to the

Soviets. When in July, Petrograd workers staged an armed demonstration under the slogan 'Down with the Provisional government', the Bolsheviks supported the demonstration but headed it off from attempting to actually take power. There was not yet a national majority for revolution.

After July, a ferocious campaign was mounted against the Bolsheviks. They were denounced as 'paid agents of the Kaiser' by Kerensky.

But this campaign only encouraged the supporters of the old Tsarist regime to come out of the woodwork. In August General Kornilov tried to stage a coup.

The Bolsheviks formed a united front with their enemy Kerensky to, stop the coup. But as they proved themselves the best fighters against Kornilov they won over more and more of Kerensky's supporters.

## Majority

By October it was clear that the Bolsheviks had won the majority in the only democratic institution in Russia: the Soviets. It was only at this stage that the actual insurrection was planned. One writer described what happened in Petrograd:

"Compared to the classic revolutionary scheme, October was quite unique. There were no great street processions in Petrograd that day, no mass demonstrations, no baton charges — not even a market rise in popular agitation and barely any victims."

The revolution had already won the majority of soldiers and sailors. The insurrection was carried out so smoothly that fewer people were killed during it than were killed by the Petrograd cabs on a normal day.

The workers had finally seized power.

# The goals of 1917

WITHIN days of its victory the new soviet government in 1917 issued a series of short decrees which set out the goal of the revolution. They included:

**An immediate end to war:** The revolutionary government called for an end to the butchery of the First World War. It abolished all secret diplomacy and tore up secret Treaties the Tsarist regime had agreed to. It demanded peace with no annexations of territory.

**Land to the Peasants:** The moderate socialists talked about distribution of land. But the Bolsheviks told the peasants to seize the land themselves and organise its re-division. They argued that the big farms should be retained in common owner-

ship to act as models for how collective agriculture could be more efficient and make life easier for the peasants.

**Self-determination for nations:** The Tsarist empire was called a 'prison house of nations'. The Bolshevik government granted immediate freedom to those nations. Nations such as Finland and the present Baltic states were allowed to separate. Other nations agreed to stay with the voluntary federation that was the USSR.

**Workers Control of Industry:** In order to move to a planned economy the Bolsheviks called for workers control of the factories. Some key enterprises were nationalised immediately. But in others the bosses were to be

supervised by factory committees. Workers were to take control of the 'manufacture, purchase, sale and storage of produce and raw materials' through their elected shop stewards committees.

**Workers Democracy:** the Bolshevik government decreed that 'no elective institution can be regarded as truly democratic and really representative of the people's will unless the electors right to recall those elected is accepted and exercised'.

**Equality of the Sexes:** To improve the status of women, the revolutionary government introduced: the right to vote and hold public office, access to free and legal abortion, abolition of

the laws against homosexuality, equal pay for equal work, paid maternity leave for four months.

These goals terrified the rich and powerful around the world. That is why 16 foreign armies invaded the country to crush the revolution.

Although the revolutionary government won the civil war, it did so at a great cost to itself. The country remained isolated and broken. It was under these conditions that Stalin emerged to finally crush the ideals of the revolution.

But in the brief period it survived the revolution offered a shining example to future generations. It showed that workers can take power.

# Interview with Dr Paddy Leahy Standing up to the hypocrites

Dr Paddy Leahy recently revealed in a *Hot Press* interview that he had helped young women to go to England for abortions.

*Socialist Worker* recently spoke to Dr Leahy, who practised for 25 years in Ballyfermot, a working class area in Dublin.

**SW: WHAT are the concrete reasons for women having abortions?**

**Dr. L:** Women have abortions because of an unwanted pregnancy. It's a very simple thing. So if you want to get rid of abortion you treat the cause—unwanted pregnancy.

That means not just adequate and appropriate contraception but responsible sex education—sex education that uses the language people understand, and accepts the fact that they are, or will be, sexually active.

And that's the appalling hypocrisy of the Pro-Lifers. They don't want sex education or contraception.

Binchy etc were equally fanatical in the contraception debate as they are in the abortion debate.

The so-called Pro-Life groupings, Opus Dei, SPUC, Family Solidarity, Youth Defence and over a dozen others under different names and guises must be recognised for what they are.

They are the moral vigilantes and front line troops for the hierarchical godfathers from Maynooth who make and supply the ammunition with which to bombshell the Irish people.

The hierarchy can no longer afford to openly confront the government and are now letting the Pro-Lifers make the running.

The days are gone when a bishop could send for and Irish minister and tell him how to legislate.

**SW: So how do you view the government's response to the abortion issue?**

**Dr. L:** The government ministers are in total disarray. The Minister for Health (a doctor) states on radio and TV that he's not concerned with protecting the health of Irish women—only their very lives might matter, and that only in special circumstances!

Apparently he sees nothing contradictory between his expressed views and his duties as Minister for Health to the nation. He does not feel compelled to resign!

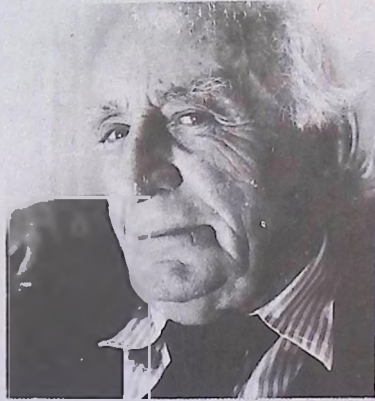
And the Taoiseach and Minister for Justice tell us that it will be up to the doctors to decide how a pregnant woman should be treated when problems arise.

What if the doctor is a member of SPUC or Opus Dei, as they well might be?

One thing seems certain. A woman's mental state is of no concern to our government.

It matters nothing how emotionally or psychologically battered she may be. Little Miss X has been forgotten.

So too has Ann Lovett, that pitiful child who, crazed with de-



And of course nowadays a lot of girls are keeping their babies, particularly in Dublin. But Dublin isn't Ireland.

Down the country a girl who gets pregnant can be in a terrible predicament.

The shame she's often made to feel... everyone knowing... it's a different case. Keeping a baby isn't an option for them.

**SW: Your views on matters to do with women's health, contraception, abortion etc must have brought you into conflict with the church, the law, the establishment generally.**

**Can you comment on this?**

**Dr. L:** Well, you have to take a stand against the hypocrites, don't you? When I see the likes of Father Michael Cleary—he presents himself as the great liberal—but the man is a squalid reactionary.

Ask my patients in Ballyfermot, they'll tell you. And you see the politicians looking over their shoulders at the church hierarchy.

Things are not as bad as they were, but it's still a joke to call this country a republic. A republic, by definition, is run by elected representatives of the people.

Who elects the bishops, or their lay "heavies"—the powerful businessmen in Opus Dei and the like? And look at the obscenity of the Beef Tribunal and the scandals involving Smurfit and the rest. Corruption on a huge scale—at public expense.

Where's the comments from Maynooth on that? And if you want to see more of the unacceptable face of capitalism, look what the Tories are doing to the miners—in a "christian" country.

Although it must be said, unlike here, some looked prepared to bring down the government when the obscenity went too far!

**SW: Do you think there's a difference between working class women and middle class women when it comes to access to abortion?**

**Dr. L:** I do—all the difference in the world. I worked for many years as a GP in Ballyfermot—finest people in the world—and in a very working class area of Manchester.

Unlike the women there, privileged women never had a problem getting abortions.

If you were a woman of wealth you went to your doctor who did a straightforward abortion and charged for it. Or your doctor sent you to a consultant for a D & C.

This is a common surgical procedure to treat heavy periods. So you had your D & C in hospital. There was a nod and wink between the doctor and the consultant. Your D & C was really an abortion but nobody called it that.

Working class women could never afford that, nor did they have anyone they could turn to.

People with money never have any trouble with any form of medical care—whether it's surgery, medicines or abortion.

spair, stumbled helpless, forlorn and alone into a dark graveyard and lay down in labour while her young life ebbed away.

Our politicians might well heed the warning of Dick Walsh in the *Irish Times* who cautioned against "looking into hearts unless we have very strong stomachs".

**SW: Do you think the medical establishment has reneged on its responsibility to women?**

**Dr. L:** The IMA and the IMO lack the courage to state matters clearly. All they are interested in is money.

The Pro-Lifers claim that a woman's life is never endangered by pregnancy. But there are many, many cases where this is so. Even one such case should be enough to establish the need for abortion.

Dr Cannon CArr, the president of the Institute of Obstetricians and Gynaecologists, kicks to touch by saying the issue "is not all black and white".

He should realise that for the woman at risk it is exactly that. It may well be a case of black she loses, white she wins.

The master of one of our Roman Catholic maternity hospitals refuses to accept the opinion of such an eminent cardiologist as Dr Brian Manner or others like him.

## Verdict

Will the woman be left on the operating table while the verdict of the Supreme Court is sought?

The opinions of many doctors are influenced by their religious beliefs. Will Irish women have the right to know their doctors' religious persuasions before entrusting their lives to them?

**SW: In your experience, have you come across women hurt by "back street" abortion?**

**Dr. L:** Oh yes. As a medical student, years ago in the Rotunda, we'd go out to the flats in Summerhill, Greek Street... with the water down stairs and eighty to ninety people living in the house... I saw many women die, the sweat on their brow, their breathing going... before antibiotics, they were dying of septic abortions they'd tried to do, many of them, themselves.

And there would be maybe eight to ten kids in the room, looking on at their mother dying.

Abortion has always gone on when a woman had an unwanted pregnancy and she was desperate.

# As the 'pro-lifers' try rights, Socialist The bigots' real agenda

The Irish anti-abortion movement is making a major effort to undermine the gains made for Irish women since the X case in February.

In late October they held a conference in Blarney, Co Cork, featuring American priest Fr Paul Marx, Joe McCarroll of Family Solidarity and William Binchy, the Pro-Life campaign's legal advisor.

The range of subjects under discussion showed the extent of the anti-abortion movement's agenda.

McCarroll spoke on "Homosexuality and AIDS", Binchy on "Constitution, Divorce and Abortion" and a doctor from England, Peggy Norms, spoke on "Health Effects of Contraception".

## Progress

To many people the "Pro-Life" movement may seem just a single issue campaign, concerned solely with abortion. In reality they want to stop any progress.

For years Ireland was unique in having an anti-abortion movement

but no legal abortion.

This was because the people behind the anti-abortion movement realised that abortion, a very emotive issue, could be used to stop the liberalisation of Irish society.

Issues like sex education, gay rights, divorce and contraception were held to be part of the "abortion trend". The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child (SPUC) was founded here in 1980 after a visit to Dublin by two leading British SPUC members.

The Irish SPUC leadership were headed by John O'Reilly, a former member of the Knights of Columbanus. He never makes a public speech and avoid publicity but he is the key figure behind the present Pro-Life campaign.

There are several Pro-Life groups now operating in Ireland, all closely linked together and sharing many of the same members.

The highest profile recently has been given to Youth Defence, who emerged in the aftermath of the X case. Their policy of picketing people's homes and confrontational tactics have alarmed many people.

In reality, Youth Defence have emerged as a result of the weakening of the anti-abortionists following the X case.

Put on the defensive by the huge

support for the 14-year-old victim, sections of the anti-abortion movement normally kept on the back ground have come to the fore.

Youth Defence take their inspiration and much of their propaganda from American groups like Operation Rescue (OR), who blockade abortion clinics in the US and abuse patients and staff.

Other US anti-abortionists take the logic further and bomb abortion clinics. In 1984 alone there were 150 violent attacks on abortion clinics across the US.

Youth Defence are given constant publicity by the *Irish Democrat*, which claims to be "Ireland's new family weekly".

Its articles range from nationalistic attacks on Maastricht, concern about unemployment and poverty, to attacks on gays and lesbians.

Clearly the anti-abortion bigots have redoubled their efforts since the judgement in the X case. Youth Defence of Youth Defence now openly of "war" and "fighting what is the enemy".

## Weaker

But the bigots can be tamed. They are in a far weaker position than in 1983 and are divided among themselves about the way forward.

If they are allowed, human reorganisation. But if they are not, they can be driven back.

When they march, court protest need to be organised. And a class has to be brought to the fore.

Working class women suffer most from the lack of abortion rights. They have to worry about board fares, time off work or time to stand in line.

The fight for a woman's right to choose is not separate from the fight against unemployment and poverty. They are part of the same struggle. To improve working class people's lives earlier this year thousands of people saw through the bigots' lies.

If we continue to expose them at their rotten right wing agenda, we can ensure that they never get to impose their morality on us again.

# Don't trust the courts

FOR those who look to the Supreme Court to give justice to Irish women the future looks bleak.

The vacancy left by the death of Justice McCarthy, seen as a liberal, is the conservative Justice John Blayney.

Besides being a legal

adviser to the PLAC campaign in the 1980s, Blayney was also prominent in a group called the Irish Association of Lawyers for the Defence of the Unborn and a Knight of Columbanus.

*Socialist Worker* believes that Irish women should not rely on the Irish court system to give them their rights. In February ten

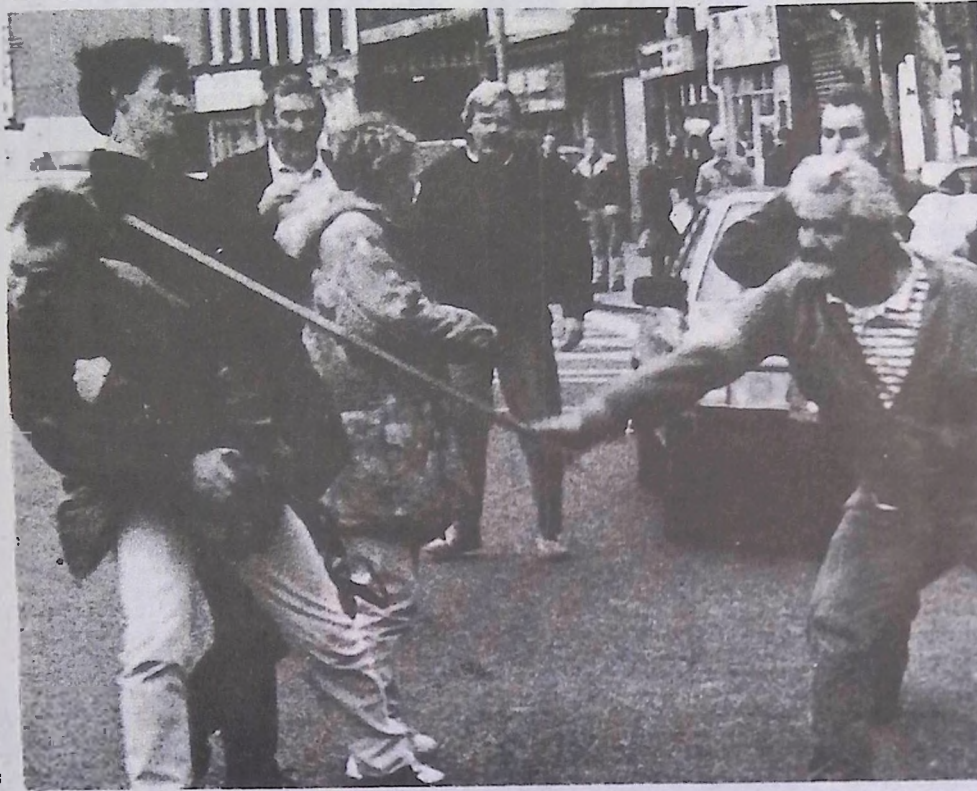
thousand men and women marched in Dublin over the 'X' case.

Their anger and determination forced the government to radically reinterpret its own laws in order to defuse that anger.

In the future fight for women's rights in this country, that is a lesson that should not be forgotten.

# ...try to roll back women's ... Worker looks at...

... for the 14-year-old rape victims of the anti-abortion movement normally kept in the back-... have come to the fore. Youth Defence take their inspiration and much of their propaganda from American groups like Operation Rescue (OR), who blockade abortion clinics in the US and abuse patients and staff. Other US anti-abortionists take this further and bomb abortion clinics. In 1984 alone there were 150 violent attacks on abortion clinics in the US. Youth Defence are given constant publicity by the *Irish Democrat*, which is as to be "Ireland's only family doctor". Articles range from nationalist attacks on Maastricht, concern about employment and poverty, to attacks on gays and safe sex. In the early anti-abortion bigots redoubled their efforts since the judgement in the X case. Peter Scully of Youth Defence now talks openly of "fighting as hard as the army".



## The brutal face of Youth Defence

### Weaker

... the bigots can be stopped. They are in a far weaker position than in the past and are divided among themselves about the way forward. If they are allowed, they can reorganise. But if they are confronted they can be driven back. When they march, counter-protests must be organised. And the issue of unemployment and poverty, to which working class women suffer most, must be brought to the fore. They must worry about boat and plane strikes, time off work or where to stay in England. The fight for a woman's right to choose is not separate from the fight against unemployment and poverty. They are part of the same struggle, to improve working class people's lives. Earlier this year thousands of people saw through the bigots' lies. We continue to expose them and their rotten right wing agenda, we can ensure that they never get to impose their morality on us again.

YOUTH Defence showed their true colours on 23 October when a group of their supporters launched a vicious attack on a pro-choice picket.

SWM members and other had just arrived at YD's office above the Pipers pub in Thomas Street Dublin.

The picket organised by Democratic Left students, was called to protest at the anti-abortion group's thuggish tactics.

About 15 thugs poured from the pub without warning and attacked the protesters with pick-axe handles and bits of wood.

Several people were injured and some had to have hospital treatment.

A Youth Defence spokesperson told the media that there office was being attacked.

But as Democratic Left's student organiser, Peter McDermott, told *Socialist Worker*:

"Our people went on a peaceful protest. We were not prepared to be set upon by a gang of thugs.

"Somebody could have been killed."

One pro-choice protestor said that a leading Youth Defence member, "stood in the doorway, arms folded, grinning from ear to ear."

### Gardai

Another protestor told *Socialist Worker* that one thug told gardai arresting him that:

"No army or police force will

stop us. "These people are homosexual filth bags who are killing our children"

Behind Youth Defence stands a group of middle aged male thugs who want to attack women's rights.

And while they claim the right to picket pro-choice politicians' homes, Youth Defence meet protesters at their door with fists and sticks.

## Counter-demo a success

Two hundred and fifty people took part in an SWM-led counter-demonstration against Youth Defence on October 25.

The 2,000 bigots on the "pro-life" march in Dublin were met by chants of "They Say No Choice—We Say Pro-Choice" and "Youth Defence—Thugs and Bigots".

Once more Youth Defence minders attacked pro-choice demonstrators. But those on the counter-demo refused to be intimidated or provoked.

This was the SWM's third successful counter-demo against the right-wing fanatics.

As long as people like Youth Defence intimidate women and pro-choice activists, the SWM will organise rallies to expose their right-wing agenda.

## GORETTI HORGAN ★ Teach yourself Marxism



# A Woman's Right to Choose

A FOURTEEN-year-old pregnant rape victim, a woman whose life is endangered by pregnancy, women with cancer or heart disease whose lives might be considerably shortened if they have another child—most caring people think that abortion should be allowed in these "hard cases".

The current referendum debate has forced many people in Ireland to agree that, at least in some circumstances, the rights of the woman should come before those of the foetus.

Those who agree with abortion under some circumstances are, in fact, just a short step from supporting a woman's right to choose.

If abortion should be allowed in the "hard cases", why not let the individual woman decide for herself whether or not her situation is a "hard case"?

Only she can know the circumstances, the emotions, the relationships surrounding the pregnancy.

Therefore only she can decide, in line with her own conscience and beliefs, whether it would be best for her to have an abortion or to continue the pregnancy.

Anti-abortionists say that if abortion was legalised women would use it as an alternative form of contraception. That is nonsense.

Women have more sense. They know that it is far easier, physically and emotionally, not to become pregnant than it is to terminate a pregnancy.

For many women the decision to have an abortion is a difficult one.

But given the choice between bearing an unwanted child and abortion, thousands of Irish women every year choose abortions.

Every woman considering an abortion knows that the foetus she is carrying is a potential human being. But she also knows that it is totally dependent on her, and only her, body.

It can only continue to live if she lives, will not be nourished if she does not eat, will not receive oxygen if she does not breathe, will die if she dies.

Nobody except the pregnant woman—not a nurse, or a doctor, or her partner, or SPUC—can do the work needed to bring the foetus from being a potential human being to being an actual human being, able to breathe and take nourishment for itself.

Therefore, nobody except that woman should have the right to decide whether or not to continue the pregnancy.

It is her body, her life. It must be her right to decide.

### Money

Women with enough money to go to private clinics or to England have always been able to decide for themselves.

But working class women, students, the women who can't get the £350 to £400 together to go to England, are forced to continue their pregnancies—even if they've been raped and are suicidal.

The referendum will change none of this.

Socialists argue that abortion is a class issue. This was graphically illus-

trated in the North in September.

A young single mother appeared on the TV programme Dilemma to tell of her experience of back street abortion in Belfast.

Living on single parent's allowance, she couldn't get the money together to go to England.

But she did have enough for some crook of a struck-off "doctor". Her experience was horrific and she ended up with septicaemia (blood poisoning).

For her, the lesson was clear.

She didn't want any other woman to go through what she had. So she went on TV to say that abortion should be available through the health service like it is in Britain.

The World Health Organisation estimates that over 300,000 women from all over the world die from back street abortions every year.

We've been lucky enough to be able to avoid back street abortions in Ireland since abortion was legalised in Britain.

But with unemployment and poverty growing by the day, fewer and fewer women will be able to get the money together to go to England.

The horror of back street abortion has already returned to Belfast. How long will it be before working class women are dying in Dublin and Cork because they can't afford the trip to England?

Unless abortion is available freely and safely on the health service for any woman who wants it, the right to control their own bodies safely will be a right for only the lucky few.

**Abortion: Why Irish women must have the right to choose**  
This *Socialist Worker* pamphlet explains why socialist demand free abortion on demand. Now in its third edition, price £1.00 from SW sellers or from SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

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## Northern Ireland:

# Could a Labour Party unite the workers?

OVER three thousand people have been killed in Northern Ireland since 1969. This year has witnessed some of the worst sectarian murders of the conflict.

Now many socialists and trade unionists are desperately seeking an alternative to the communal politics of unionism and nationalism.

The cry is once again going up that what we need is a Labour Party in the north.

Some are arguing that the British Labour Party should organise in Northern Ireland. One of Northern Ireland's largest unions, the Amalgamated Engineering and Electrical Union (AEEU), has recently given its support to this idea.

Others, like the Workers Party and Democratic Left, are trying to build reformist labour organisations in the North themselves.

The logic behind these strategies is simple. Workers in Northern Ireland need to join together to vote for a class based party.

By organising the working class to press for reforms through parliament it is hoped that a Labour Party in the North would be able to avoid going down either the orange or green paths.

The argument is attractive. But would a Labour Party really be able to defeat sectarianism? Unfortunately, previous attempts to build such a party in Northern Ireland have all failed.

The rise and fall of the Northern Ireland Labour Party - which mounted a serious electoral challenge to the Unionist Party in the 1950s and 1960s - demonstrates why.

The NILP's foundations were laid in 1893 when the British TUC met in Belfast. Following this congress, the Independent Labour Party was formed in North Belfast by William Walker.

Walker believed that voting in elections was far more important than workers' struggles from below. He played little role in the great docks strike of 1907.

But to win votes Walker had to appeal to a Unionist sentiment. He pronounced himself pro-union and made concessions to the bigots of the Orange Order.

Walker placed his loyalty to the Union above that to his class. He opposed James Connolly's attempt in 1911 to form an all-Ireland Labour Party which would "fight the capitalist parties of Ireland on their own soil".

The NILP grew out of Walker's Independent Labour Party. In 1923 this became the Labour Party of Northern Ireland, and in 1927 the NILP.

Because it was an electoral party it tried to sit on the fence over partition. This sometimes meant that it said two different things to Catholics and Protestants.

When the future leader of the NILP Harry Midgely stood for elections in the early 1920s he placed an ad in the Catholic paper, *Irish News* claiming to stand for "an unpartitioned Ireland."

But his ad in the *Belfast Newsletter* did not mention partition and simply said that Midgely stood for "Civil and religious Liberty".

As a result, the NILP did not unite workers but rather contained two factions which reflected the existing sectarian divisions.

There was a small but active anti-partitionist group, and a larger trade union based group, predominantly un-



British Labour Party leaders have not led a real fight against the Tories. What can they offer workers in Northern Ireland?

ionist but concerned primarily with social and economic questions.

At times of rising unemployment the party was able to win votes away from Unionism. In 1925, during a campaign for unemployment relief, three Labour MPs were elected to Stormont under a PR voting system.

But like all Labour Parties it despised struggle from below. When Catholic and Protestant workers had actually begun to unite during the 1932 Outdoor Relief Riots, Midgely and NILP denounced the workers involved for "political stupidity".

He claimed that the leaders of the riots, the Revolutionary Workers Groups were trying "to poison the minds of the workers against those who serve them best".

### Double Talk

For the NILP workers unity was to be built by double talk at elections rather than through struggle from below.

In the aftermath of the second World War, the NILP made new gains. In 1945, it won over 66,000 votes by a campaign for the same welfare services that existed in Britain.

But just when it seemed poised to make gains against a Unionist Party, the issue of partition exploded in its face.

In 1949, Southern Ireland withdrew

from the Commonwealth and its government sponsored the formation of an all-party Anti-Partition League.

The Unionist Party used the issue to stir up sectarian feelings and called a General Election in February 1949. One Unionist candidate, Colonel Hall-Thompson went so far as to dress up as William of Orange and ride around on a white horse.

A major target of the Unionist Party was the NILP. They succeeded in pushing down the NILP vote dramatically.

The NILP was completely unable to cope with electoral defeat in this reactionary atmosphere. At a special conference in April 1949 the NILP formally came down fully on the side of unionism.

By two thousand votes to seven hundred the party voted that "the NILP would maintain unbroken the connection between Britain and Northern Ireland as part of the Commonwealth".

The party now set out to show how 'staunch' it was on the union. During the IRA border campaign in the 1950s, it voted for internment and supported the activities of the notorious B Specials.

As a result it lost all support in the Catholic working class as nationalist MPs such as Cahir Healy denounced it for being 'more unionist than the Unionists'.

The party only began to grow again when the recession in 1958 meant that

mass unemployment hit Protestant workers. As the shipyards were very badly hit by redundancies the NILP vote began to increase. By 1962, it was only eight thousand votes short of the Unionist total in Belfast.

But the NILP had nothing to say to workers on how to struggle against unemployment. It simply argued for more central economic planning and co-operation with the trade unions.

It also hardly organised in Catholic areas. The whole approach of the NILP in those years was to try to appeal to the working class to "put aside" the questions of discrimination, repression or partition and concentrate on bread and butter issues.

### Shrunk

But the party was building on sand. When Terence O'Neill took over as leader of the Unionist Party he managed to steal the clothes of the NILP by supporting more economic planning and cross border co-operation. By 1965, the NILP vote had again shrunk dramatically.

Up until the mid 1960s the NILP had been content to try and build itself up as a mainly Protestant party. However, from the mid 1960s onwards a new influx of younger Catholic members joined the party and began to demand that it take up

issues of civil rights. The party now had to try to present itself as one that both Catholics and Protestants could support. It began to press for civil rights and limited reform of local government.

As pressure built up more and more Catholics began to take to the streets and demonstrate against the corruption of the northern state.

Although many of its members were involved in the struggle for civil rights, the NILP itself consistently argued against radical tactics, supporting a "moderate" approach.

Once again the party was afraid of being shown up for being 'soft on the Union'.

And just like before, it sat on the fence by declaring that it was a matter of individual conscience for NILP members whether or not they became involved in the Civil Rights Association - the party would not take an official position.

In 1970, despite its lack of direction, the NILP was able to get 100,000 votes. But from then on, however, the party became increasingly irrelevant.

With the Northern state under threat, Protestant workers began to move back towards communal politics, voting in support of the union rather than on class issues. The NILP also lost much of its Catholic support to the newly formed SDLP.

As usual, at a time of constitutional crisis the NILP found itself losing Catholic votes because of its failure to take up issues of oppression and Protestant votes because of fears that it was not solid enough on the border question.

By the 1974 Assembly election the NILP vote had dwindled to around 18,000. Throughout the 1970s, as the issues of sectarianism, partition and oppression dominated politics in Northern Ireland, the NILP became doomed to complete irrelevance and was soon virtually defunct.

The experience of the building of NILP and its subsequent demise has considerable relevance for socialists today. The first lesson is a positive one.

It is that Protestant workers have different class interests than their bosses. The NILP was able on several occasions to challenge the hegemony of the Unionist Party over Protestant workers. Time and again Protestant workers voted for the NILP rather than the Unionist Party from a gut class instinct.

But the NILP was never able to build on that class sentiment. It turned its back on workers' struggles and argued that reforms in parliament was the only way forward.

But it was only in the course of struggle that socialists can best argue that it is in the direct interests of Protestant workers to stand up against the oppression of Catholics.

When Catholic and Protestant strike together or march together against unemployment, it becomes much clearer that the bigoted ideas of the Orange Order can only lead to a set back in struggle.

The Labour Party takes a different road. It wants above all to build an electoral base. If it can avoid 'difficult issues' it will do so.

But in Northern Ireland this will never work. Every attempt by the Labour Party to sit on the fence on the issue of partition has led to a collapse into a Unionist position.

Revolutionary socialists take a different approach. We say to every worker that the unity forged on trade union and economic struggles can never become permanent until workers tackle the political issues that divide them.

That means tackling both reactionary states in Ireland which have offered nothing to workers.



# MARXISM '92

A weekend of discussion, debate and meetings November 20,21,22 Organised by the Socialist Workers Movement

With 25 meetings covering the vital issues of the world today, the weekend of Marxism '92 is a must for anyone interested in socialism



## What we stand for

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.

FRIDAY NIGHT			
8.00pm	<b>The Future for Socialism</b> Arthur Scargill (President, NUM, Personal capacity) Mary Smith (Socialist Workers Movement) Venue: ATGWU Hall, Abbey Street, Dublin		
	ACADEMY ROOM	MUSIC ROOM	BOARD ROOM
SATURDAY			
10.00-11.15	The Politics of Malcolm X Cathy Bergin	Could a Labour Party bring workers' unity to the North? Linda Moore	Marxism and Religion Kieran Glennon
11.45-1.00	Does Socialism need Feminism? Ruth Brown	Marxism and Democracy Conor Kosuck	Were the Eastern European revolutions worth it? Margaret Keenan
2.00-3.15	75th Anniversary: 1917: When workers took power Duncan Hallas	Can South Africa be Reformed? Jimmy Kelly	Do our genes govern our behaviour? Paul O'Brien
3.45-5.00	Recession: Do Socialists have the Answer? Kieran Allen	Marx's view of History Marnie Holborow	Crime: What do socialists say about Law and Order? Brian Hanley
7.00-8.15	Forum: Women's Rights: Fighting the Backlash Ruth Brown (SWP); Ger Tuohy (SWM)	After the LA riots: What now for the US? Dave McDonagh	
SUNDAY			
10.30-11.45	Debate: Can Irish Nationalism still be a Radical Force? Declan Kieberd & Eamonn McCann	What's wrong with Post-Modernism? Richard Boyd Barrett	
12.15-1.30	The Origins of the Family Duncan Hallas	Yugoslavia: Can the UN bring peace? Kevin Wingfield	Fascism: Can it be stopped? Brid Smith
2.30-3.45	Paisley and the Crisis of Unionism Mark Hewitt	The rise and fall of Stalinism Goretti Horgan	Questions and answers: For those new to politics & interested in finding out more about... The Politics of the SWM
4.15-5.00	<b>FINAL RALLY:</b> <b>A World in Crisis—The Socialist Alternative</b> Kieran Allen & Orla Costello		

Note: All meetings on Saturday and Sunday are in the Institute of Adult Education, 2 Manogue Square, Dublin

## Get your ticket now!

If you are interested in receiving a ticket (£5.00 or £2.50 unwaged) send this slip to: Marxism '92, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 722682

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 Phone \_\_\_\_\_

A highlight of the weekend is Arthur Scargill President of the NUM, once again in the front of a movement rocking the Tory government. He will be speaking on Friday night, with the SWM on "Is there a future for socialism".



# Time to build!

The audience for socialist ideas have never been greater. For the first time in two decades the idea of revolution is going back into political debate.

The Socialist Workers Movement is now engaged in an open, recruitment campaign. Last month saw nine new members joined

the Dublin branch. A new Socialist Workers Student Society has been set up in the Dublin City University. Branches are also being set up in new areas. The new branch in Galway has got off to a magnificent start. An average of 20 papers have been sold in the regular hour's sale on the main street. 15 people turned up to the SWM's first meet-

ing in UCG this term. The events in Britain shows the real possibilities ahead. Having established itself firmly in the difficult years of the Thatcher regime, hundreds are now joining the Socialist Workers Party as the Labour Party is seen as a no hope alternative to the Tories. During one of the magnificent miners demonstrations in Oc-

tober, mine strikers from the Lambeth Town Hall in London who came out on unofficial strike in support of the miners joined the SWP immediately. In the next period socialists in Ireland will be faced with a similar scale of crisis for the ruling class. But now is the time to start building firmly to take advantage of the massive vacuum that has

opened up on the Irish left. The SWM issues an open invitation to SOCIALIST WORKERS readers: Read the WHERE WE STAND COLUMN on this page. If you agree with its politics, fill in the coupon below to join the organisation. Now is the time to turn the SWM into a serious political force in Ireland for the battles ahead.

## Join Us!

If you would like to join the SWM or receive more details, send this slip to: SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 722682

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
 Address \_\_\_\_\_  
 Phone \_\_\_\_\_

## BOOK REVIEW:

# Yugoslavia: Descent into war

*The Fall of Yugoslavia*, by Misha Glenny (Penguin), reviewed by Simon Gilbert.

MISHA Glenny was the BBC World Service correspondent in Yugoslavia from August 1990 to May this year. In his new book he uses this experience to trace the country's descent into bloody civil war.

He shows that the war was not simply the result of Serbian aggression or of ingrained ethnic hatred. Instead a picture emerges of a conflict forced on an often unwilling people.

Before the fighting started the nationalist extremists of both sides drove the population into the arms of the opposing nationalists.

The widespread sacking of Serbs in Croatia raised fears of persecution, pushing them towards Milosevic's SPS. The arming of Serb extremists in the same towns and villages could be used by the Croatian leadership to justify their actions.

In some cases the gunmen turned on members of their own ethnic group in order to assert their control.

Reichl Kir, the police chief in the Croatian town of Osijek, attempted to bring the Serb and Croat communities together. He organised a series of local deals to prevent the spread of war.

For this he was murdered by members of HDZ, the ruling party of Franjo Tudjman.

Throughout the conflict there has been resistance to the warmongers. In Serbia proper there was widespread desertion and evasion of the call-up.

When a mass mobilisation of reservists was ordered in Belgrade only ten percent turned up.

In other cases the opposition to nationalism was more explicit. During the siege of Dubrovnik Serbs and Croats united to defend their city, while the fighting in Sarajevo was preceded by multi-ethnic demonstrations.

Glenny's knowledge of the region's history and his personal experience make for a detailed and thoroughly readable account.

## Explanation

However, there are a couple of serious weaknesses. Firstly, there is no explanation of how a country which existed peacefully for forty years ended in civil war.

The collapse of the economy in the 1980s led communist leaders like Milosevic and Tudjman to reject the idea of Yugoslavia.

Instead they turned to nationalism, grabbing as much territory as possible and deflecting the anger of ordinary people against each other.

Secondly, Glenny shows a naive faith in the UN's ability to bring peace. This is despite his account of how German and later EC recognition of Slovenia and Croatia fuelled the war drive.

He also explains how the area has been a front line in wars between foreign powers for hundreds of years.

In the best and most inspiring part of the book Glenny gives us a glimpse of the alternative to war. Here he describes how the Serbian ruler, Slobodan Milosevic, was almost toppled in March 1991 by a mass movement comparable to Leipzig or Prague in 1989.

"At its height over half a million people controlled Belgrade's main thoroughfare and on many occasions it seemed that this volcano of discontent would erupt with such fury that the lava would engulf Milosevic and his corrupt bureaucracy."

Milosevic was able to defuse the movement by appealing to its leaders' Serbian nationalism. This defeat and Milosevic's need for a scapegoat intensified the war drive.

History shows that in time of war popular opinion can swing rapidly from national chauvinism to anti-war opposition. The key is for the opposition to break completely with the nationalism of their rulers.

# Heartfield Exhibition:

by WILLIE CUMMING

One day in the 1930's, German police, firing on a demonstration of workers, happened to damage a painting in a nearby museum.

This prompted the artist Kokoshka to declare that workers should demonstrate in their own districts.

John Heartfield—whose work can be seen in an exhibition in the Museum of Modern Art—published a reply saying that he would rather "old masters" were destroyed than see workers fired on and their homes attacked by the State.

The incident illustrates well where Heartfield's commitment lay.

Born in 1891 in Berlin of radical parents, he and his family were forced, because of police repression, to flee the city in 1895.

He returned to Berlin in 1913 and immediately flung himself into the emerging avant garde art movement of the time—the Dadaists.

Work produced by the Dada artists was chaotic. It represented an attack on all that the art world held sacred, breaking up images and text in a way that enraged the establishment.

The horrors of the First World War were to politicise many of the Dada artists.

Heartfield changed his name from Helmut Herzfeld as a protest against anti-British chauvinism being whipped up in Germany. He, and many other artists, joined the Communist Party on the day it was founded.

Heartfield's newly focussed ideas began to change the direction of his work.

It was no longer just a Dada outpouring of rage but a far clearer and savage picture of German society. As he himself put it, his "works emerged in the struggle not afterwards".

He used a technique known as photo montage. Photography was a relatively new skill at the time.

Photographs were seen, and often still are, as a visual representation of reality. In truth photographs often distort the reality of events.

This point will be obvious to anyone who remembers the images from the Gulf War which sanitised the brutality of the war.

The reality was seen only when the war ended.

What Heartfield did was to combine photographic images and text in ways which commented on and clearly showed the reality behind the individual images.

One of his most famous montages "Millions Stand Behind Me" shows the relationship between fascism and big business.

As Hitler makes a backhanded salute he receives a wad of money from a giant capitalist standing behind him.

While photographs merely show objects or an instant of an event the combination of photographs can express ideas.

His work was used for the covers of a German Communist magazine AIZ which had a circulation of 700,000. The mass production and consumption of his art was central for Heartfield.

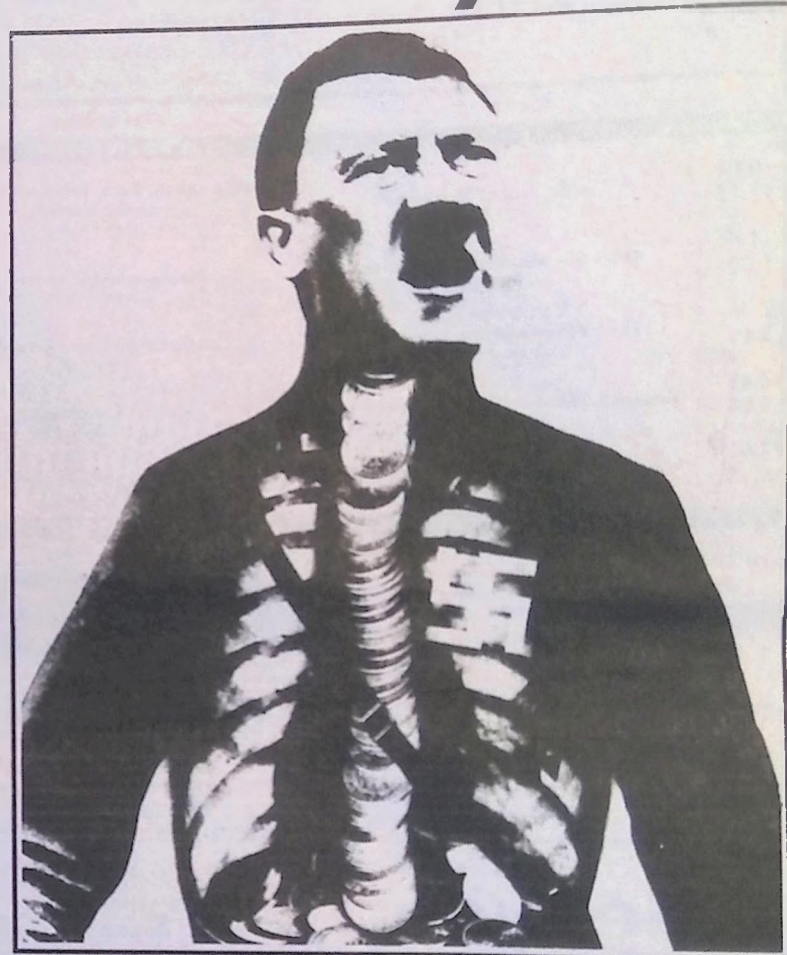
Even when his originals were exhibited in Galleries he insisted on having copies of AIZ on show alongside them.

Heartfield's politics were linked to the success or failure of the Russian Revolution. With the failure of the revolution to spread throughout Western Europe the Russian Revolution was doomed.

But Heartfield was one of many on the left who still looked uncritically to Russia.

The effect on his work is shown in "German Natural History: Metamorphosis", in which a

# A savage picture of society



'Adolf the Superman Swallows Gold and Spouts Junk' was flyposted all over Berlin in 1932

Social Democrat (the German Labour Party) crystal transforms into a Nazi moth.

The image expresses the disastrous idea of the Stalinised Communist Party that the Social Democrats were directly responsible for fascism—an idea that prevented unity amongst the working class in the face of Hitler's threat.

Some critics will no doubt argue that it is not

real art. In reality the argument is irrelevant. Heartfield produced some of the most exciting visual images of the 20th century. Go see them for yourself.

■ **John Heartfield—A Retrospective**, Museum of Modern Art, Kilmainham, Dublin. 21st November 1992—10th January 1993.

## International Socialism Journal:

# The return of the National Question

THE main article in the latest *International Socialism Journal* is by Chris Harman and deals with "The Return of the National Question".

Considering how common sense the idea of nationality has become, it is important to underline how recently nations were formed.

The article makes it completely clear that nationalism is bound up with developments in capitalism and not with any natural human in-

stinct.

The socialist movement has a long history of having to understand and be active on issues where people are mo-

tivated by nationalism.

Harman uses the debates of Marx, Lenin, Luxembourg and other revolutionaries to clarify how socialists should

approach national movements, both reactionary and progressive.

Many of the examples come from the history of Ireland and are particularly relevant to today.

For instance, Harman responds to the arguments raised about cultural imperialism and challenges the myth of Celtic traditions—created only a century ago by bourgeois intellectuals like Lady Gregory and Yeats.

The ISJ also carries an important history and analysis of Cuba by Mike Gonzalez.

The appraisal of Castro's regime is a critical and blunt one which, while defending the country from American imperialism, does so from the point of view that genuine socialism is the act of workers themselves.

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# Aer Lingus:

Report by  
DAVE McDONAGH

# Hands off these jobs!

ALBERT Reynolds wants to privatise half of Aer Lingus. Meanwhile the airline plans to sack up to one thousand of its workers because of financial difficulties.

Aer Lingus workers are shocked and angry. In the past four years their unions have accepted a series of sacrifices as part of the company's "Recovery Plan".

Now the airline bosses want workers to accept more cuts.

The Recovery Plan included changed work practices, deferral of PESP increases and delayed increments.

## Sackings

New low-paid workers were also recruited. They are likely to bear the brunt of the sackings.

The low-paid recruits are subject to a "lay-off clause"—they can be sacked temporarily when the airline has problems.

Low-paid clerical workers can be sacked for up to six months in this way.

One such worker, Brigid Byrne, told the *Evening Herald* that she was "sick with worry" over her £8,000 a year job.

She said, "I left a secure job in the civil service for what I thought was an equally secure job with good promotion prospects.

"As things are we cannot afford to go out. My last night in a pub was when I got engaged in

August."

Reynolds' proposal to partly privatise Aer Lingus will mean more attacks on the workers in the company.

## Money

Both SIPTU and the Labour Party have argued for more government funds for the airline.

Reynolds says that these people don't say where the government can get the money.

But as one Aer Lingus worker said to *Socialist Worker*: "The state has only put £68 million into Aer Lingus since 1936.

"Yet they had no problem giving £50 million to small businesses to help them through the currency crisis."

Aer Lingus is set to cut services to Gatwick, Manchester and Amsterdam.

Meanwhile a new private airline, Transflite, will get the Shannon-Boston-Los Angeles route next summer, costing Aer Lingus another three to five million.

As usual Fianna Fail are cutting state-run services to line the pockets of their rich pals.

Reynolds' notion of a "partner" for Aer Lingus is also ridiculous. The company's workers would still be at the mercy of ruthless competition.

Deregulation in the US has already resulted in a whole series of small airlines going to the wall.

Aer Lingus workers are set to become victims of the "free market".

They must be supported in their fight to protect jobs and prevent privatisation.



Aer Rianta workers on strike last year—now Aer Lingus workers have to fight

## MAGEE COLLEGE PROTEST

Over 100 students at Magee College, Derry, took part in a protest on the night of Monday, 19th October. The protest was about the lack of decent accommodation for students in the town.

Most Universities in the U.K. provide accommodation for at least first year students. In a league table, the University of Ulster came

second from the bottom. It provides housing for only 35% of first years.

Magee College, which is part of the University of Ulster is the worst offender. It provides housing for only 28% of first years.

The decision of the Student Union Executive to hold a "Sleep Out" protest was welcomed by all students. Some students are homeless; others wish they were as they pay hugely inflated rents for damp,

dingy bedsits.

Homelessness is a big problem in Derry. There are over 600 families on the A1 priority housing list. So, students are forced to compete with local families for whatever accommodation there is.

The "Sleep Out" became a sleep-in as heavy rain forced the students into Magee's main building. Inside, members of the Socialist Workers Student Society at Magee argued that daytime occupations are

needed to force the administration to sit up and take notice.

Daytime occupations would also involve more students. Many of those studying at Magee are mature students with family responsibilities and they're more likely to be involved in daytime action.

If the campaign is to succeed in forcing the University to provide more housing for students, it will have to be more militant and involve more students. That's what SWSS members and supporters are working for in November.

■ Magee SWSS

Issues for the labour movement

by KIERAN GLENNON

# Should workers make sacrifices?

IT is fairly common these days for workers to be called on to "make sacrifices".

This can mean going without a pay rise or increasing productivity or accepting more "flexible" working arrangements.

We're told that we have to tighten our belts "for the good of the company" or "in the national interest".

The first thing to say is that the process of belt-tightening is quite selective. It's something that the ruling class is exempt from. A recent survey showed that the salaries of chief executives in Irish companies have risen over the last few years from

an average of £60,000 to an average of £90,000.

The sacrifices called for never include reducing top bosses' pay or taking away their company cars, share options and other perks.

Earlier this year three percent pay rises due to public sector workers under the PESP were deferred until 1993. Yet top civil servants, TDs, judges and other senior officials almost got a nineteen and a half percent rise later. Their increase was also deferred to avoid a public outcry.

The second point about sacrifices is: do workers gain anything in the long run?

Socialists argue that far from being able to pull to-

gether in the name of some mythical common interest, workers and bosses have interests that are in mutual opposition.

In work, workers create output with a certain amount of value, whether it be in terms of goods or services. Some of that value is returned to them in the form of wages. The rest, the "surplus value", is creamed off by the boss as profit for himself.

## Minimise

So it's in the bosses' interest to minimise the amount of wages so as to boost their own profits. They treat labour just like any other input

into the production process—raw materials, electricity and so on. The less they pay for it, the more profit they make.

The amount of surplus value, as a proportion of the total value, is what Marx called the "rate of exploitation". The bosses try to increase this rate and therefore their profits, either by paying less or by forcing workers to produce more.

So if workers accept the sacrifices demanded of them their exploitation becomes worse. This is hardly a gain!

Despite the argument outlined above, some people insist that workers may sometimes have to make sacrifices to save their very jobs.

But this isn't borne out in reality.

Last month the animation studio Sullivan Bluth was closed down with the loss of four hundred jobs. For eight weeks before that the workers there were working without any pay at all. But that didn't save their jobs when the firm's bankers and investors decided to pull the plug.

## Devasted

Since July last year eighty percent of the workers in Waterford Glass have been working one week on, one week off. The rest have been working only one week in three. Combined with cuts in piece rates, this has devastated work-

ers' pay.

Yet despite these conditions Glass boss Paddy Galvin announced last May that he wants eight hundred more redundancies, he claims that the company isn't profitable, even though the short-term working was meant to restore profitability.

In other words, the sacrifices made by Waterford workers still won't guarantee their jobs.

The best example of why it is in workers' interests to fight against the bosses is the case of the British miners.

During the historic miners' strike of 1984-85 a union for scab miners, the Union of Democratic Mineworkers, was set up. Based mainly in Nottinghamshire, these scabs un-

dermined the solidarity of the miners' struggle against pit closures. They split away from the main National Union of Miners.

They thought that by playing lapdog to the Tories, instead of fighting them, they could save their jobs. They even invited Michael Heseltine to address their conference two months ago.

Yet when Heseltine announced thirty thousand job losses in the mining industry last month, ten thousand of these were in Nottinghamshire. Even total treachery and sell-out couldn't save the UDM.

The lesson from all these examples is that workers don't gain from making sacrifices. In the short term, the bosses reap the rewards from higher profits. Giving in only weakens workers' confidence and resolve to fight.

In the long term, it is the workers themselves and their jobs that are sacrificed.

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Details: page 9

# KICK OUT

# THE



Keep the pits open:  
See page 4

# TORIES!

Just six months after it was elected the Tory government in Britain is in tatters. John Major is the most unpopular Prime Minister since WW2.

The Tories thought that they could get their revenge on the miners and hold them up as an example to every other worker. But the miners have become the focus for the anger that has built up after 13 years of Tory government.

Major may just about scrape through after the pit closure scan-

dal. But this is only round one.

The Tories have shown themselves to be a weak and divided government. With a push from below they can be thrown out on their ears.

## Devastated

Workers in Northern Ireland have every reason to join in the attacks on the Tories. They have devastated the lives of thousands of ordinary people.

■ Today one in five workers in Northern Ireland is unemployed. Thousands are now condemned to spend a life on the dole while

rich parasites like the Windsor family live a life of luxury on tax free hand-outs from the British state.

■ Rents in working class houses have shot up under the Tories. The Housing Executive rents have risen by 170% since the Tories came into office.

■ Disconnections of electricity in Northern Ireland are at an all time high as the Tories are getting the Northern Ireland electricity industry ready for privatisation for their rich friends.

■ Several maternity hospitals throughout Northern Ireland have been closed by the Tories and women in labour have been

forced to travel for miles.

■ Today 39% of the children of Northern Ireland are being brought up in poverty according to the Childcare Welfare group. What a terrible legacy of more than a decade of Tory rule.

While inflicting this misery on Catholic and Protestant workers in Northern Ireland, the landed gent Sir Patrick Mayhew spends his time in Stormont bringing right wing politicians together in a great pretence of stopping the "warring tribes".

There is a far better way of bringing peace to Northern Ireland. Catholic and Protestant workers should start uniting to

fight the Tory scum.

When the Tories come looking for a public sector pay freeze civil servants and teachers should unite and tell them that if they could afford to pay out £900 million to speculators to "defend" the pound they can pay up for their own workers.

## Action

The magnificent, united demonstrations against the closure of the Downe General and Downpatrick maternity hospitals should be built upon and turned into industrial action.

It is through these united strug-

gles that workers can learn quickly that the Orange bigotry spewed out by the likes of Paisley has to be opposed.

Today there are no privileges for loyalty. Look at what happened to the moderate miners union, the UDM.

The Tories gave its leader, Roy Linn, the OBE for services rendered to Queen and Country.

Then they kicked his members in the teeth and threw thousands on to the scrap heap.

Now is the time to support a campaign for a TUC-led general strike. That is the only way to bring this rotten Tory government down.