

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

WORKERS MUST FIGHT ORANGE STATE

DISBAND

THE UDR

THE UDR are up to their necks in collaboration with Loyalist "death squads". And the gardai in the South are knowingly supplying the photos and information that gets into the hands of the UVF.

The UDR's record shows just how much of a sectarian force they are:

—98 percent of the regiment is drawn from the Protestant community.

—Almost 1,000 weapons have "disappeared" from their bases into the hands of Loyalist paramilitaries.

—Numerous UDR members have been convicted of murder even by the Orange judges of Northern Ireland.

MAJORITY

In 1987 Cyril Rainey was convicted of murder. He was a UDR member from Ballymena who was also the O/C for the local UVF. Rainey worked closely with the Shankill Butchers. He drove its leader, Lenny Murphy, to a building site to murder James Galway.

Raymond Crozier and James McDowell were convicted in 1976 of the murder of the Miami Showband. The band had been stopped at an official UDR checkpoint. Their bus was raked with an automatic submachine gun.

In 1974 UDR members Thomas Canavan and Ivan Dalglish were convicted of placing a no-warning bomb in a pub at Crossgar.

These are not cases of a few "rotten apples". The whole barrel is stinking, rotten through and through. The UDR is bred on Orangeism and bigotry. Northern Catholics are seen as second class citizens, who are disloyal and have to be kept in their place. If the British state does not give full permission to stamp on the Catholic ghettos and inflict terror on the population, then the UDR are allowed to take tough measures unofficially.

The UDR provides an official safety valve for extreme right loyalists.

The focus on the UDR should not hide the fact that the RUC and the British Army are also up to their necks in collusion with the death squads. Most of the documentation on republican suspects has disappeared from RUC barracks. Just a month ago, a corporal in the British Army was convicted of passing information over to Loyalist paramilitaries. He is still a member of the British Army, described by his commanding officers as "a very fine soldier".

None of this bothers the Fianna Fail/PD rulers of the South. They are embarrassed by the blatant and open co-operation between the



Loyalist paramilitaries and the official security forces. They will stomp about putting on a great show of anger. But they will not break the links between the gardai and the North's police and army.

KILLER

Quite the reverse. The capitalist class of the South have a vital interest in the smashing of all resistance in Northern Ireland. A blow against the Orange state and the institutions of partition would destabilise themselves. That is why their representatives in Fianna Fail are so two-faced on the issue.

While the Southern government was mouthing on about the UDR,

it emerged that their own gardai had been supplying the photos which had been used by the UVF death squads.

The same problem emerged with the scandal of the murder of the Gibraltar Three. While Fianna Fail government Ministers protested at the SAS gunning down Irish republicans, it emerged that they had co-operated in tracking their movements from Belfast to Dublin.

None of this is accidental. The two-faced style of Fianna Fail emerges from their need to use nationalist rhetoric in the South to bind the population together in a respect for "their" state. But as well as that, they also want to rely on Britain's military power in the North to crack down on subversives.

This is why the only force which can genuinely oppose the collaboration of the security forces with the death squads is the working class. But the parties of the Left do everything to sidetrack workers from this issue. Workers' Party leader Proinsias De Rossa has openly said that he wants the UDR scandal played down. The Labour Party leaders have used some Fianna Fail style rhetoric—but they too want to keep extradition and the Anglo-Irish Agreement.

Now more than ever what is needed in this country is a 32 County socialist organisation that understands that the working class must lead the fight against the Northern state. The SWM has made a start in building such a party.

Columbia's Bush wars

THE President of the USA, George Bush, was on television in a nationwide address. In his speech Bush talked about the "gravest domestic threat facing our nation". Holding a bag of cocaine, Bush announced a new offensive against drugs and the drug barons.

His \$9.3 billion anti-drugs strategy is to be an "assault on every front" including the sending of troops, helicopter gunships and other military hardware to Colombia.

Colombia, like most South American countries in the US sphere of influence, is one of extreme contrasts between rich and poor.

Because of American economic policy and import controls, it is unprofitable for Colombian peasants to produce other crops. The government, because of the poverty, has usually turned a blind eye to the cocaine trade, believing it the only way to escape the trap of economic underdevelopment.

The US government has also until recently been quite happy to let the drug barons operate. The barons have poured money and weapons into the war against leftist rebels fighting for land rights for the peasantry of Colombia.

Trained by British and Israeli mercenaries, the drug barons' thugs were regarded—like General Noriega in Panama—as CIA assets. While eliminating guerrillas little was said but now, as they are actually bidding for state power, the barons pose a threat to American domination in the region. Hence the rather late concern about the drug trade.

In the US itself the fight against drug abuse is breathtakingly hypocritical. Los Angeles is a laundering centre for drug money. The Federal Reserve Bank cash surplus has grown from \$165 million to \$3.8 billion in the last four years almost wholly due to drug money.

Yet rather than tackle the massive banking interests at the heart of the money laundering at home or the underdevelopment in



Famina Mansions launch their war on drugs

Colombia, Bush is going for a law and order crackdown.

Drug addiction rocketed during the Reagan years. The simultaneous rise in unemployment, poverty and welfare cuts is no coincidence. The most desperate are pushed towards both addiction and pushing drugs.

Bush's response is more arrests. Convictions for possession have risen by 161 percent since 1980. Sentences have grown by an average of 11 months. Blanket house to house searches reminiscent of Belfast and Derry now take place in

California. Citizens are stopped and searched in the streets on the most unlikely suspicions of individual cops. Unsurprisingly enough, the most "suspicious" types are black people. Racist police are having a field day with their increased powers.

So blatant is the situation that the American Civil Liberties Union has been forced into lawsuits against the Drugs Enforcement Agency in order to defend citizens' basic rights against the police. The ACLU recently reported that "with a current prison population of 600,000, the United States in-

carcerates more people per capita than any other industrialised country, with the exception of South Africa and the Soviet Union, and convictions for drug law violations are now the single largest and fastest growing category in the federal prison population".

The ruling classes in both countries have no interest in stemming the rise in drug addiction and the accompanying misery. Both are a direct result of their economic and social policies, and now both of them are seeking to divert the blame away from themselves.

Sisters of No mercy

"THE Sisters of Charity have no charity and the Sisters of Mercy, no mercy" It is claimed. But Blackrock's Sisters of Mercy have neither. Their greed for money has been ruthless.

The sisters own the mag-

nificent 90 acre site of Carysfort College. Billed as the "most valuable residential site in Ireland" by the *Sunday Tribune*, the Sisters should make a cool £20 million on its sale.

Yet Irish taxpayers have invested millions in the college over the years. In 1972 the Sisters went ahead with a £1 million refurbishment job on the building without the approval of the Department of Education. But the Department dutifully picked up the bill.

By the late 1970s £3.2 million of state funds were invested in Carysfort. According to the Campaign to Separate Church and State that amounts to £11 million in today's money.

But the nuns will not be paying a penny back. The nuns have claimed they were hard done by the government.

In fact both the Fianna Fail and Coalition governments forked out money without the slightest security.

The people of Dun Laoghaire are demanding that the site become the centre of a new regional technical college. But the nuns' only concern is to sell to the highest bidder.

What was that about the rich getting through the "eye of the needle"?

Quotes

"Sanctions may hurt black workes, but apartheid kills them."

Moses Mayekiso, black trade union leader.

"I don't think there's anything wrong with being a racist. You just mustn't have hate in your heart."

Mayor of Boksberg, South Africa.

"The Irish government must exercise 'political restraint'."

Proinsias de Rossa, leader of the Workers' Party, trying to cool down complaints about the UDR.

"There is a problem but it's got nothing to do with the rats."

Dublin Corporation official on why the rats in Dublin's sewer system cannot be blamed for the delapidation of the system.

"The decline in the number of people in Ireland who believe that the Bible is the Word of God is ominous."

National Bible Society of Ireland.

"You make the shareholders rich, you make a lot of people very rich and then they boot you out and what have you got."

Former chairman of Guinness, Earnest Saunders, who is about to sign on the dole.

Ten years of cuts

Greedy Sharks

IF a group of ordinary industrial workers demanded a doubling of their piece rate, the media would be screaming blue murder.

But when the respected medical consultants do the same there is a respectful silence.

The Irish Hospital Consultants Association have taken the capitalist ethic in medicine to extremes.

Last month they presented a shopping list of "operating costs" for their services.

The shopping list includes the following prices: hip replacement £720; coronary by-pass £750; appendix £270; mastectomy £400.

These rates are higher than even the private health company, VHI, will pay out for.

But the consultants have a high standard to live up to.

Average earnings are £50,000 a year.

Iraqi Deals

LARRY Goodman has a well established meat trade with Iraq. How business operates in that country was shown recently in a law case in the US involving the great Goodyear Tyre company.

Goodyear won a \$19 million contract in the tyre business in Iraq. But it paid out \$1 million in bribes. Fictitious invoices for newspaper ad were used to disguise the bribe.

Goodyear got fined a quarter of a million dollars—which was buttons compared to their profits on the contract.

Don't worry, Larry!

IRISH workers have suffered major wage cuts in the 1980s. That is the conclusion of an official report from the OECD.

Between 1979 and 1983, the after-tax income of the average worker fell, in real money terms, by 15 percent.

Even by the end of last year, wages had still not regained their 1979 level.

All of this happens as Ireland's new inflation rate of 4.5 percent makes a mockery of the wage increases granted under the Programme for National Recovery.



OECD

Southern Ireland goes all out to pamper private enterprise. This is revealed in the OECD *Economic Survey of Ireland*:

- Tax on profits starts at an effective 6 percent—the second lowest in Europe.

- On average the EEC countries spend 3 percent of their gross domestic product on grants to the bosses. Ireland spends 5.3 percent.

And still they cannot create the jobs!

Capitalist Waste

YOU think capitalism breeds efficiency?

A report on the habits of US senior executives shows otherwise.

Despite the high technology in their offices they still rely on pen and paper. As a result the Phillips report claims that they waste up to "25 percent of their work time"!

PROFITS SOAR

IRISH workers are producing on average 14 percent more than they were producing last year. And their bosses are

turning in massive profits as a result.

For instance, the pre-tax profits and percentage profit increases shown below:

PROFITS

	Pre-tax	% increase
Smurfits	236.0 m.	54%
Allied Irish Banks	155.7 m.	27%
Bank of Ireland	128.5 m.	18%
Cement Roadstone	63.0 m.	38%
Ulster Bank	47.0 m.	34%
FII-Fyffes	19.0 m.	40%
Independent Newspapers	11.2 m.	33%

ICTU hits wrong target

THE ICTU have decided to launch a campaign against the IRA bombing campaign of the Dublin-Belfast railway line.

The bureaucrats have often boasted that ICTU unites all Irish workers, North and South, Catholic and Protestant. The reality is that they have maintained that unity by ignoring the oppression of the Northern Nationalists. There has been a lot of windy rhetoric but little concrete action.

—They have never campaigned against the sectarian recruitment policies of many firms.

—When internment was

introduced in 1971 the height of their demands were that that internees should keep their pension rights; that their jobs should be kept open; and that they should have the right of visits from their union official!

—Bloody Sunday, when thirteen were murdered by British paratroopers, was met with silence.

The SWM does not believe that the IRA campaign can smash the Northern state. But if the ICTU had seriously fought the discrimination and sectarianism experienced by Northern Nationalists there would be no bombings today.

WE THINK

UDR scandal: Disband Northern State

THE leaks from the UDR and RUC in recent weeks prove that these forces are inherently and irreformably sectarian. The SWM supports the calls for the disbandment of both.

Names, addresses and photographs of "IRA suspects" have been passed to Loyalist paramilitaries in Belfast, Derry, South Armagh, South Down and Mid-Ulster. The security forces/paramilitary collusion is clearly not a matter of isolated incidents but of relatively common practice.

Although this has caused a sensation in the press, and drawn "tough" statements from Dublin ministers, it has come as no surprise to working class Catholics in the North who have long taken it for granted that there's a sizeable overlap between the security forces and the Loyalist paramilitaries.

To date, more than 100 members of the UDR have been charged with sectarian offences, up to and including murder—this despite the notorious reluctance of the Northern authorities to sanction legal action against their own forces.

The history of the RUC over the same period has been a succession of sectarian scandals, from the "conspiracy of silence" over the beating to death of Sammy Devenney in Derry in 1969 to the shoot-to-kill tactics of the early eighties and now to the setting-up of Republicans for sectarian assassination.

testant paramilitary group whose armed rebellion had been crucial to the state coming into existence. The violently partisan nature of these forces was a major reason for the civil rights explosion in the late sixties.

The futility of the subsequent attempts at reform shows how deep-seated the sectarianism is.

The Hunt Report in 1969 recommended radical changes in the RUC and the total disbandment of the B Specials. An Englishman, Sir Arthur Young, was brought over to head the RUC. And the Specials were to be replaced by the UDR, which was part of the British Army, not linked into the Northern police. At Westminster, Home Secretary James Callaghan and Defence Minister Dennis Healy gave repeated, unequivocal assurances that the most stringent vetting procedures would be introduced and that no hint of sectarian partiality would be tolerated in either force in the future.

There followed a debate among anti-unionists uncannily similar to the debate of recent weeks.

Reformists like Hume and Currie and advocates of "democratising" the Northern state—primarily, those who went on to form the Workers' Party—argued that the state forces could and should be reformed. This argument rested on the contention that sectarianism was not a necessary aspect of the state and could therefore be eradicated without damage to the state itself.

These elements denounced as "ultra-Left" the argument of the

rights movement, which was that sectarianism emanated from the very heart of the state and that any forces established to sustain the state would inevitably be, or rapidly become, sectarian.

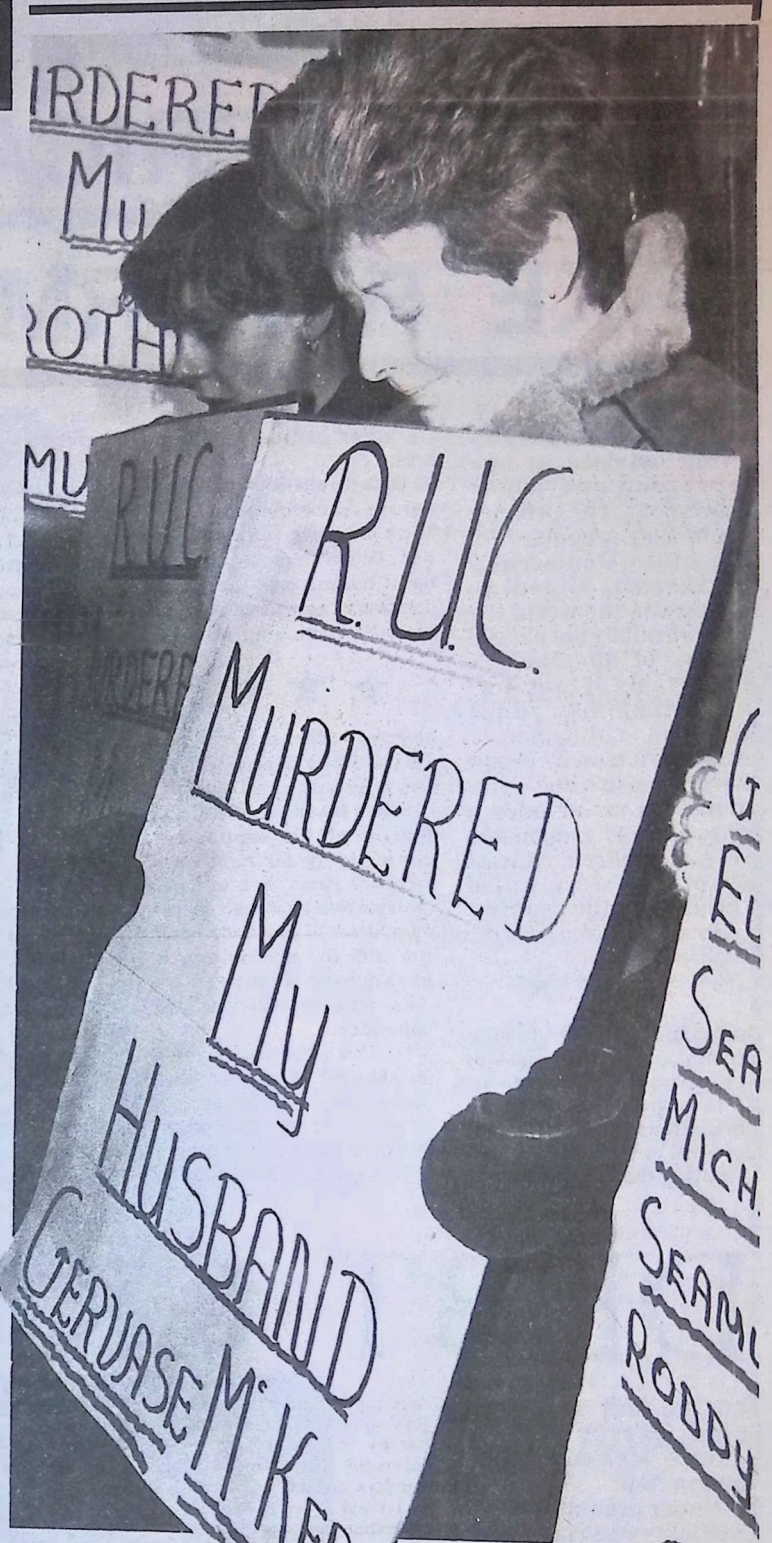
At Stormont, Prime Minister James Chichester-Clarke recognised the axis of this argument when, in November 1969, he attacked Hume and a grouping which included Tomas Mac Giolla for constant carping about recruitment policy and proposed vetting procedures for the UDR, and added: "At least Miss Bernadette Devlin and Mr. Eamonn McCann have reacted honestly, making no secret of their hostility to anything which might strengthen this State".

INSIDE

What emerges from any serious examination of the matter is that it wasn't possible then, and it's not possible now, to defend the Northern state in a non-sectarian manner. Thus, the forces of the Northern state and the Loyalist paramilitaries have a common cause. And where there's common cause there's inevitably an extreme likelihood of collusion.

Calls for enquiries, "wide-ranging" enquiries, new procedures, fearless pursuit of the miscreants etc etc are all beside the point. The only adequate, relevant call is for the disbandment of both RUC and UDR.

More generally, this means opposing the Northern state itself. Those, like many supporters of



have faced up to it, should take note that in accepting the continued existence of the Northern state they are accepting the regular discharge of sectarian poison into the politics of the whole island. And that is not in the interests of any section of the working class, North or South.

Labour and the Workers' Party in the South, for example, who have tried to avoid facing up to this issue, and who have smeared as "nationalists" and even "anti-Protestant" those socialists who

SYSTEM

These things haven't happened because of lax vetting or the presence of a few "rogue" officers and they can't be remedied by any inquiry or the sacrifice of a few scapegoats.

The forces of any state tend naturally to reflect the nature of that state. Thus, at the inception of the Northern state the RUC and the B Specials attracted people who were passionately committed to the establishment and defence of a "Protestant State for a Protestant people". A great number of them were, significantly, drawn from the original UVF, the Pro-

PASS THIS IN UNIONS



WE consider that recent attempts by SPUC to outlaw the publication of material relating to the options open to pregnant women, including the option of abortion, constitute an infringement of basic civil liberties. In line with this view, the 1988 ICTU Women's Conference pledged public support for the right of women to have access to this information.

We therefore welcome the stand of the Union of Students in Ireland in their declared commitment to continue publication of the

material and their refusal to be intimidated by SPUC. We call on the Executive of this Union to reaffirm union policy and express their solidarity with USI's stand by (1) issuing a press statement supporting the stand of USI, (2) publishing in union literature the specific material relating to abortion information that has been issued by USI and (3) displaying this information on notice boards in Head Office.

This resolution calls on all branch committees to urge representatives and shop stewards to display the information on all relevant notice boards.

Join us!

If you would like to join the SWM or want more details, complete and send to:
SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Please send me more details of SWM
 I want to join the SWM

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....



INTERNATIONAL

SOUTH AFRICA'S FAKE REFORMS

SOUTH AFRICA'S F. W. De Klerk continues to swing between savage repression and minor concessions. The Defiance Campaign organised by the Mass Democratic Movement aimed to "expose to the world the fundamentally unchanged nature of apartheid". Predictably it was met with shotguns, whips, teargas and water cannon. At least 29 people were killed in Cape Town alone. These included a sixty year old woman and several children. At least 60 people were killed throughout the country.

The police violence led one



policeman, Lt. Rockman, to protest. "They were just hitting people. They couldn't care if they were hitting innocent people or not... it seemed to me that they were enjoying themselves, feasting

on the people. You could see the killer instinct in their eyes."

Once the election was over, a massive demonstration in Cape Town protesting at the killings was allowed to proceed peacefully. This despite the fact that all demonstrations are banned under the still continuing state of



emergency. The use of whips by the police was stopped because they offended liberal opinion!

Before the election De Klerk, fearful of his supporters moving to the far right Conservative Party, had to demonstrate that he was no liberal on matters of law and order. But with the election over it was a question of calming down the anger of the anti-apartheid opposition.

De Klerk's National Party won the white-only election but with a reduced majority. The party got 49 percent of the vote from an electorate made up of 6 percent of the population. But despite his

"victory" his problems are only beginning.

The South African economy, starved of investment and with a massive debt of \$12 billion, is in chaos. A small part of that debt is owed to the Bank of Ireland.

In an attempt to attract investment two rates of exchange have been created. An investor will get 50 percent more than the normal rate of exchange.

Negotiations are to start soon on the rescheduling of the debt. Already very lenient terms were obtained under previous agree-



ments in 1986 and 1987. But bankers are hardnosed businessmen whose major loyalty is to their profits. They need to be convinced that the political situation will be stabilised. Most probably they will agree to reschedule the debt this time again, but there will be no blank cheque for the future.

On the far right the Conservative Party won an extra 17 seats. They had been expected to



South Africa's police try a hearts and mind strategy

do much better, but De Klerk's hard line on the Defiance Campaign helped convince wavering supporters that the National Party would defend their privileges. But any hint of reform will push them further right.

But the regime's biggest problem is the continuing strength and militancy of the black working class. On the two days before the poll up to three million workers stayed away from work—more than twice the number of trade union members. One shop steward described how "the security forces were itching to get involved but they all seem so powerless when the streets are deserted and the machines

have stopped".

The regime will vacillate between talk of reform and repression because it has no solutions. The regime is irreformable. But the strength of the black working class, despite three years of the state of emergency and the arrest of many of their leaders, gives hope for the future.

LIMITS TO THE REFORMS

THE reforms which De Klerk envisages received near universal ridicule when they were unveiled in June. He wants a democracy without majority rule and believes "domination by a majority is an unacceptable as domination by a minority".

The five year programme attempts to reak the population up into groups—perhaps as many as 25—none of which would be able to take power.

The reality of white control would continue, but the government would hope to coopt a layer of middle class blacks who would split the resistance to apartheid.

But even these ideas might prove too ambitious. Pieter de Lange, one of the president's closest advisers on constitutional changes, believes, "The most that can be achieved in the first nine months is negotiations about negotiations."

■ WILLIE CUMMING

DEBT CRISIS GROWS

AT the end of July a plan was agreed to reduce Mexico's \$100 billion debt.

Under pressure from Nicholas Brady, the US Treasury Secretary, a committee representing over 500 large international banks set down three options.

The first was to reduce their debt by 35 per cent of its face value and take a market (high) interest from the reduced amount.

The second was to keep their debt the same but to settle for a lower steady six and a quarter per cent interest.

The third option involves lending new money. To encourage the banks, taxpayers' money is to be channelled through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and various national governments are to allow debt provision to be tax deductible.

The initial reaction from commentators and politicians was warm. The bankers were cooler. Sir Kit McMahon of Midland Bank (UK) described it as "ill-advised" and "destabilising". Sir Jeremy Morse, chairman of Lloyds Bank, described the outlook for Third World debt as "darkening".

Since the agreement was announced, most banks have tried to get out, taking one of the first two "exit" options. Mexico's

third biggest creditor, Midland Bank, owed \$1.7 billion, will be out by the end of the year, followed closely by Lloyds, Barclays, and the West German, Swiss and Japanese banks.

Despite the bankers' complaints, the deal will give Mexico only 1 per cent of its GNP in interest relief each year. And yet the record of the banks since the debt problem arose has been one of determination to get what is owed at the highest market rate no matter what the cost in degradation, starvation and anguish.

The debt crisis has its roots in the 1970s. When the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) increased its prices four-fold in 1973, a huge amount of money flowed to its member countries. This sudden bonanza could not be spent immediately and much of it was deposited in western banks.

The banks lent to anyone they could, particularly countries struggling to cope with the

increase in oil prices. What might have been a safe loan from one bank, turned into folly when copied by many banks. (Over 1,000 large banks were involved with Mexico.)

With high inflation and low interest rates, that is a negative real interest rate, it made sense to borrow. The Irish government joined in the borrowing with gusto.

But by the end of the seventies things had changed dramatically. The world economy went into recession and the



Bankers get their share first

ambitious schemes undertaken to develop new industries were not making the expected profits. Capitalists and governments borrowed more money to cover the shortfall and this pushed up interest rates.

In 1979-80 Thatcher and Reagan implemented monetarist policies. Put simply this meant control of the money supply by high interest rates in order to squeeze inflation. Borrowers had to pay historically high interest rates. They also had less to pay interest with because demand for their exports fell with the recession.

And on top of this, Reagan began a massive rearmament programme based on enor-

mously increasing US borrowing. This gave a further push to world interest rates.

Many countries were affected. Mexico was particularly badly hit when the recession caused a slump in the price of oil, which was its main foreign exchange earner.

When Mexico announced in 1982 that it could no longer continue repayments, such was the threat to financial stability that almost overnight a deal was worked out. The central player in the deal was the IMF, whose attitude was expressed recently by their managing director, Michael Camdessus: "We are the centre of this (financial) system, and we take responsibility for what we are doing."

The early response to the debt problem was "rescheduling", swapping old debt for new debt with conditions attached. Given that the IMF is completely dominated by the US, which has a veto over any proposal, its conditions are bound to favour the "rugged individualism" of free market capitalism. And so all conditions included cutbacks in government spending and the opening up of the local economy to "market forces".

REFUSED

The working people, who were being asked to pay the cost of austerity, did not submit to humiliation and starvation meekly.

In Mexico popular resistance nearly cost the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party the last presidential election despite the fact that it was rigged. In 1984 in the Dominican Republic, IMF measures led to fighting in which troops killed 90 people. In Venezuela in February of this year harsh conditions led to rioting and looting in which 297 died. Also this year in Jordan, as soon as people heard that the IMF was being brought in, local people burnt banks and government buildings. Attempts by the Sudanese government to implement IMF policies ended this year with an army coup.

Between 1982 and the Brady initiative of March of this year,

many schemes were proposed. The most popular one has been debt-equity swaps, where the bank swaps loans for local currency, which it then uses to buy shares in local companies.

Some old debt was rescheduled and some banks tried to offload their debts on secondary markets, with the result that some debt (for example, Bolivia's) was being bought at 20 per cent of its face value.

The problems continued without getting better and in 1987, Citicorp, the bank most exposed to Mexican default (\$2.3 billion), led a number of banks in making provision for "non-performing" loans. The Brady plan is the most recent of a number of attempts to tackle the problem.

While bankers, as businessmen, are interested only in screwing the most out of their debtors, the capitalist politicians must act to safeguard the interests of the nation's capitalists as a whole.

George Bush is eager to settle the debt question soon because the world economy is slowing down. If the slow-down becomes a recession, the big debtors would be unable to keep up repayments.

An uncontrolled series of defaults would threaten the world financial system. Any effort to enforce more free-market savagery would meet popular resistance that would carry with it the threat of a chain reaction of political upheaval.

■ JOHN STITT

HUEY NEWTON, a founding member of the Black Panthers, died in August of this year. Here we reprint an article from our American paper by Bill Roberts, in which he looks at the life of a man whose impact on the Black struggle of the 1960s was enormous.

THE MURDER of Huey Newton in Oakland, California, evokes a period when this former Defence Minister of the Black Panther Party became a symbol of Black resistance.

The mass media treatment of Newton's death suggested that he died as he lived—by the gun.

But this is too obvious a dismissal of what Newton tried to accomplish in founding the Black Panther Party in 1966. All that happened to him and the Panthers shows how far the fight against racism has retreated since that time.

Newton was the son of a Louisiana sharecropper who narrowly escaped lynching for talking back to white bosses. "By the time I reached my last year of high school, I was a functional illiterate," he wrote in his 1970 book, *Revolutionary Suicide*. Newton taught himself to read using his older brother's copy of Plato's *Republic*. Newton read the book five times, and marked it a turning point in his life. He read anything he could get his hands on.

While attending Merritt College in Oakland, Newton met Bobby Seale and was also introduced to Malcolm X's ideas. "Malcolm X was the first political person in this country that I really identified with," he said.

It was from Malcolm X that Newton and Seale derived the idea of armed self-defence of Blacks against racist attacks. They formed the Black Panther Party for Self-Defence in Oakland in 1966.

Though the organisation was provocative to the white establishment, the Panther programme was basically a call for reforms. The first point of the programme drawn up by Newton and Seale states: "We want freedom. We want power to determine the destiny of our black community."

The ten-point programme states what Black Americans should have by law under the Constitution and that the Black Panthers will work to see justice done.

But it was their attempt to carry out point seven of the programme that brought the Panthers notoriety and assured them the enmity of FBI Director F. Edgar Hoover. The Panthers were to be systematically attacked and harassed by law enforcement bodies right across the country.

Point seven called for an "immediate end to police brutality and murder of black people". To implement this demand, Seale and Newton recruited young Blacks from the poor and working class neighbourhoods of Oakland and organised patrols to defend the Black community from police attacks.

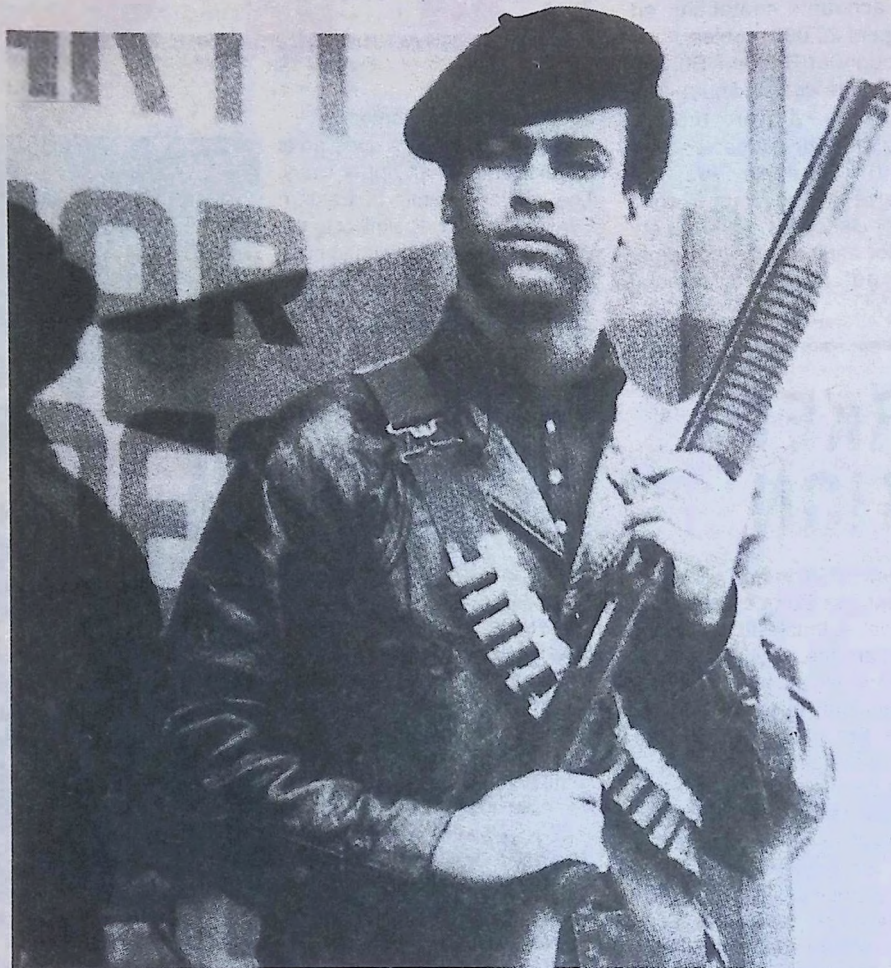
Armed with shotguns and law books, they monitored police activity. Through their own patrols and from reports phoned in to their headquarters, the Panthers would appear, whenever a police action took place.

They took notes, informed the Black victims of their rights, and, if an arrest was made, saw that legal help was provided. All this was carried out in the presence of an openly armed squad of Black Panthers.

Statistics reflected a significant decrease in random arrests and other incidents of police brutality for this

HUEY P. NEWTON

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period of Panther activity.

Legally allowed to carry open arms, there was little the police could do to stop the Panther patrols. Thus, the California State Assembly set out to change the law with gun control legislation.

To dramatise their opposition to such legislation, the Panthers appeared at the Assembly in Sacramento in uniform (black beret, black leather jacket) and with loaded shotguns.

This dramatic episode launched the Black Panthers as a national organisation that was to grow rapidly to over 5,000 members by the end of 1968 in dozens of cities.

The Panthers' challenge to one of the most blatant forms of racism—police brutality in Black communities—earned them widespread respect even among liberal Blacks like Julian Bond. Asked once what Blacks in general thought about the Panthers, Bond replied

"What the Panthers do more than anything else is they set a standard, that young black people particularly want to measure up to... It's a standard of aggressiveness, of militance, of just forcefulness, the sort of

standard we haven't had in the past.

"Our idols have been Dr. King who, for all of his beauty as a man, was not an aggressive man, but the Panthers, and I think Malcolm X, have set this new kind of standard that a great many people want to adhere to."

POLICE BRUTALITY

The Oakland police, however, were not about to wait for legislation to stop the Panthers. They began a programme of surveillance and harassment. On October 28, 1967, Huey Newton and Gene McKinney, returning from a party, were stopped by Officer John Frey. Soon after other cops arrived.

A fight erupted and Frey and Newton were both shot by Frey's gun. Frey died and Newton recovered from a stomach wound only to be charged with first-degree murder. The ensuing trials and appeals became a focus for radicals organising in the late 1960s with "Free Huey" demands becoming a *pro forma* part of most movement campaigns.

Though Newton was eventually released from prison after the California appeals court overturned his conviction on manslaughter and three hung juries would not find him guilty, the fate of the Panthers had been sealed.

By the time Newton got out of prison in 1970, the Panthers had been mortally decimated by arrests, killings, and defections.

Police departments at every level saw the Panthers as a serious threat because of the example of militancy they demonstrated. From Hoover on down they sought to discredit them as "communist shock troops" and "hoodlum-type revolutionaries". In 1971, a secret memo to President Nixon noted that 25 percent of Blacks respected the Panthers, including 43 percent of those under 21.

By 1969, 28 members of the Black Panther Party had been killed by police. The murders of Fred Hampton and Mark Clark by Chicago police was so blatant an act of repression that even the *New York Times* was forced to ask if the case "could be closed with the mere demotion of three police officers?"

Though the Panthers in Oakland continued to run free health clinics, an accredited elementary school and a children's breakfast programme, Huey Newton, who was hounded by police and legal entanglements throughout the rest of his life, never was able to regain the initiative to rebuild the "vanguard" revolutionary organisation he wanted the Panthers to be.

Newton's view of the "Vanguard Party" was that it should "teach the correct strategic methods of prolonged resistance through literature and activities. If the activities of the party are respected by the people, the people will follow the example."

Understanding that time was not on his side, Newton sought to dramatise the Panthers' role early on. As he wrote in "The Correct Handling of a Revolution" in 1968, "The vanguard party's activities on the surface will necessarily be shortlived. This is why it is so important that the party make a tremendous impact upon the people before it is driven into secrecy."

Newton believed that example was the best teacher. Though he was an avid reader and drew heavily on Mao for his revolutionary theory, it was what he had learned in the streets that compelled him to want to show by example that Blacks could stand against racism and indeed must do it soon "before it was too late".

In 1969, the Panthers moved from self-defence to openly Marxist-Leninist politics. This move shocked white progressives as well as black nationalists. The whites feared the move left and black nationalists criticised their adoption of socialist ideas.

Still, the party remained all Black. As Newton said, "The Black Panther Party is an all-black party because we feel as Malcolm X said there can be no black-white unity until there is black unity." This led to an alliance with Stokely Carmichael and other leaders of SNCC, but the alliance collapsed when Carmichael condemned the Panther's alliance with the white Peace and Freedom Party.

In response to Carmichael, Newton blasted SNCC's refusal to see the importance of class differences.

"The Black Panther Party... will not fight capitalism with black capitalism, we will not fight imperialism with black imperialism, we will not fight racism with black racism. Rather, we will take our stand against these evils with a solidarity derived from a proletarian internationalism born of socialist ideology."

Newton's socialist ideology, unfortunately, was informed primarily through the writings of Mao Zedong. The result was that he located the agency for social change in a vanguard party based on the "lumpen proletariat"—that section of the working class that has the least to lose in fighting the state and, ran the argument, would be a more radical element than employed workers.

Newton saw these "street people" as akin to Mao's peasant army, a force that could be welded to liberate the "colony of oppressed" as well as the colony's allies.

Newton spelled this out in his book *Revolutionary Suicide*. Reactionary suicide happens when you surrender through apathy or self-destruction to the oppressive system without a fight.

Revolutionary suicide, on the other hand, is a life of dignity in which you accept the possibility of death because you see the need to fight for Black liberation and socialism, but also understand what kind of enemy you are fighting.

Probably nobody knew better what kind of enemy he was fighting than Huey Newton. Racist police violence followed him most of his life.

Whatever his personal shortcomings might have been, the inspiration he gave to Blacks by standing up to their oppressors and the efforts he made to link up this struggle with other progressive struggles internationally cannot be denied.

RUSSIA'S GATHERING STORM

THE crisis in Eastern Europe is described by the press as proof that socialism has failed. Many intellectuals on the Left have taken up the theme and claimed that the planned economies must give way to the market. The countries of Eastern Europe have, however, nothing in common with socialism.

They are governed by a class of state bureaucrats who enjoy wealth and privilege. When

Gorbachev ordered a study of wealth in the USSR in 1896 the survey found that half of the deposits were made up by only 3 percent of accounts, each of these accounts containing an average of 20,000 roubles.

Throughout Eastern Europe entry into the *nomenklatura*—the party hacks who are the top managers—guarantees escape from the queues and the shortages that beset most workers. Special shops exist in every town for senior party members. Many get access to special

dachas or holiday homes.

But it is not simply a question of the existence of an upper class. The whole dynamic of Eastern European society is similar to the West. Despite their claim to have planned economies, they operate on the same type of anarchy that characterises private capitalism.

Typically the top bureaucrats set a plan which outlines a series of targets for investment. According to many East European economists there is almost always a tendency for over fulfillment of the plan in the "higher stage" manufacturing industry. Very high targets are set for investment in the steel industry, machinery and armaments and individual enterprises attempt to surpass even the targets. By contrast production of consumer goods for the mass of workers is invariably low.

The drive to meet and over-fulfill the plan comes up against "a raw materials barrier". Shortages of particular materials develop. In order to complete particular investments, materials and parts are cannibalised from other industries. In the USSR, for example, a vast productive apparatus is under the control of the military. When shortages—such as in steel—emerge the military are entitled to commandeer supplies from other sectors.

WASTE

This in turn means that buildings may not be completed because of the lack of steel in the construction sector. Huge amounts of money are thus tied down in unfinished investments. It has been estimated that between 8 and 10 percent of national income is lost through such waste.

The anarchy is added to by the fact that individual managers know the pattern from experience. As a result they respond by hoarding supplies and labour to protect themselves from the inevitable shortages. This leads to even further waste of resources.

The result is terrible shortages of simple items like toothpaste or sanitary towels. Workers in many Eastern European countries have high levels of "savings" for the simple reason that there is little to spend the money on.

The question is why is the

FREE MARKET NO SOLUTION

FREE enterprise and the market are held up as the solution to the problems of Eastern Europe. The horrors of Stalinist "planning" cause even the socialist opposition in Eastern Europe to look to the market. In reality private capitalism will bring the same misery as state capitalism.

The argument for the market is based on a false comparison. It is claimed, for example, that France is far superior to Poland because of free enterprise. But this ignores the fact that Poland has been a completely underdeveloped and impoverished country for most of its existence. The comparison should be made not with France but with countries such as Argentina. Here the free market has led to an inflation rate of 500 percent and massive poverty in the slums and shanty towns.

Moreover, far from the market being associated with democracy, free enterprise in many Latin American countries has relied on the strong arm of the generals. Today in Argentina the power of the army is such that the generals responsible for the "disappearances" during the 1970s cannot be prosecuted.

The failures of the market are borne out by those countries in Eastern Europe who have taken this road. Yugoslavia pioneered the notion of "market socialism" and is the country within the Eastern Bloc which is most integrated into the world market. Today one quarter of its exports go to pay off its foreign debts. Emigration is encouraged actively by the state to ease social tensions. Unemployment stands at 14 percent and real wages have fallen dramatically during the 1980s.

Yugoslavia, it seems, shares all the faults of another success of

the market: Southern Ireland!

In Eastern Europe those who are most enthusiastic about the market are the very bureaucrats who have exploited workers for decades previously. Just as in Britain the old owners of the mines managed to make themselves the managers of the new state run National Coal Board, so in Poland the managers of the state-run industry now aim to make themselves owners of the privatised companies.

One of the last acts of the Polish Communist Party when it had full control of government was to pass a law allowing managers to buy out state run enterprises for bargain basement prices. Now a new organisation, *Twig*, composed of 3,000 young party managers, has been set up as a pressure group to run the newly privatised companies.

For workers the market can only mean more unemployment and increased prices as subsidies are withdrawn. The experience of the "co-operatives" in Russia has been one where astronomical prices are charged in restaurants, for food, and even for medical supplies. They are so loathed that even Gorbachev was forced to condemn their activities in Leningrad.

Anyone driving to Kildare can see an extraordinary example of the waste that capitalism has wreaked in Ireland. One of the best designed factories in the country with the most expensive brick work was purpose built for the Kodak company in the seventies at huge cost to the Irish tax payer.

These are the realities of the "free market" which are ignored by its promoters on the Left.



Ukraine's Catholic Church makes new demands under Glasnost

system driven by this need to accumulate producer goods?

Here is where the theory of state capitalism helps to explain the dynamic of these societies. The fact is that the Eastern Bloc is engaged in a life and death competition with Western capitalism. The basis of the competition was initially in arms. Every advance in American weaponry forced the Russians and their allies to match it. This in turn led to demands for expansion in the industrial and technological base of the society.

The competition in weaponry has pulled the Eastern Bloc closer into the world economy. It makes more sense to import higher forms of technology than to try to invent and produce these inside the country. But this technology has to be paid for by means of exports. The drive to increase exports means that the Eastern Bloc is forced to meet world standards of productivity and technique.

Capitalism is a system that is no longer characterised by private companies competing on the marketplace. Its main feature was described by Marx as a drive to "accumulate for accumulations's sake, for production for production's sake". The Eastern

Bloc countries share that feature with the West.

The capitalist dynamic of the system in Eastern Europe makes nonsense of all pretensions at planning.

Poland is the worst environmental blackspot of Europe. 35 percent of its population live in regions officially designated ecological disaster zones. In Cracow the population suffers severe respiratory problems and babies are born below normal sizes and weights.

In the USSR the drive to export cotton and thereby win hard currency to buy technological goods has led to untold misery in the region of Karakalpak. Excessive doses of fertiliser defoliant have been poured on the land. An average of 160 pound of fertilizer, containing five to ten pounds of toxic chemicals, is used on each acre of agricultural land. The result is that today 83 percent of the children have serious illness. Two thirds of the population in the area suffer from hepatitis, typhoid or throat cancer.

Just as in the West, the search for profit leads to the destruction of people's lives, so in the East the drive to accumulate brings the same untold misery.

RING

RM



corrupt and stagnant bureaucracy with a policy of Glasnost or "openness". Typical of the problems he faced were the links between the Moscow Communist Party apparatus and the local "Mafia" who controlled the distribution of food supplies. By exerting a limited pressure from below Gorbachev hoped to clear out many of these hacks and get the Russian economy moving again.

by
**KIERAN
ALLEN**

GLASNOST

In July Glasnost from below reached the Russian working class on a massive scale. A quarter of a million miners struck in the Ukraine and Siberia. Some of the demands of their strike showed the misery which even these highly paid workers face. They wanted an end to Sunday working; payment for the time spent travelling from the shaft to the coal face; death grants to the families of miners who were killed; proper maternity leave and most importantly, fresh meat in the shops.

The miners won a complete victory and this is now causing major problems for the Russian bureaucracy. The cost of the wage increase has been estimated at \$8 billion. The example of the miners is also likely to spread to less well paid workers. More important has been the longer term political consequences.

Because of the growing revolt from below, Gorbachev wanted to postpone local government elections until next year. But in Chervonohrad in the Ukraine miners called for the immediate elections to the local council and the clearing out of the KGB. Because of the clamour of the miners and others he has declared that each of the Russian republics are free to have early elections.

In September, the miners laid down an even greater challenge to Gorbachev with the formation of an independent union. The strike committee that organised the strikes in Siberia formed the union to "combat bureaucracy and opposition to perestroika" and to "transfer all power" to working people. The official unions responded with a show of militancy by calling for a freeze on food price rises until 1991 and attacking the free enterprise "co-operatives" that charge outlandish prices.

GORBACHEV

This shows the extreme contradiction that Gorbachev faces. By perestroika (renewal) he means making the Russian economy more productive by removing subsidies on food prices, closing down loss making enterprises and laying off workers. But because of the severe repression that has existed in Russia, workers often start by supporting perestroika but give it a totally different meaning to the one Gorbachev intends. They support a perestroika that cleans out the corrupt bureaucrats, and throws light on the huge waste and inefficiency but reject any perestroika that attacks their living standards.

In many of the non-Russian nations militancy has grown to the point of demanding full independence. The Baltic States have shown that their subjugation to the

Kremlin resulted from the notorious Hitler Stalin pact in 1940.

These developments have set the alarm bells ringing in the Kremlin. The hard right led by Ligachev are once more coming to the fore, despite Gorbachev's recent attempts to oust some of their number from the Central Committee of the Communist party. In their *Declaration on the situation in the Baltic States* the Central Committee, with Gorbachev's full support, threatened to send the army in to crush the nationalist movement. It is clear that preparations are already under way to do just that.

At the July 18 conference of the Central Committee, one member, Ryzhkov, called for action against the "informal organisations" such as the Popular Fronts. He said that "all sorts of scum has risen to the surface. It is harmful and we are not reacting against it. We are giving actual consent to democratic unions and dubious rallies".

DIFFERENCE

The differences between Gorbachev and the conservatives such as Ligachev and Ryzhkov are, however, entirely tactical. Gorbachev believes that the movement from below can be contained by tactical concession—the conservatives favour higher levels of repression. Both regard

the movement from below as a desperate threat that has to be defeated.

One of the resources that the Kremlin will call on to support their campaign of repression will be an appeal to Great Russian nationalism. There are already some signs of how this can be used. When the radical soviet scientist, Andrei Sakarov, attacked the role of the Russian army in Afghanistan



Gorbachev

during the Congress of Deputies he was howled down by the right wing. Groups such as Pamyat which campaign openly against Jews and cherish the Slavic tradition of Mother Russia have grown. All sections of the bureaucracy have come out openly in support of the Russian workers' strikes in Estonia and Moldavia claiming that "human rights are being violated". The strikes were a response to the dropping of Russian as an official language in these countries.

These strikes are reactionary. Since 1940 when Moldavia was annexed by Stalin, not only was Russian imposed on local people but they were also forced to write their own language, Rumanian, in the Russian Cyrillic alphabet. Although the Russian workers are often in the lowest paid jobs and have real grievances, the strikes play into the hands of those who will whip up Great Russian nationalism to protect the power and privileges of the Kremlin bureaucracy.

Boris Kagarlitsky, one of the leaders of the independent Marxist movement in Russia, has claimed that the sense of crisis in the country is similar to that experienced in Poland between 1980-81. The different social groups see no way of solving their immediate problems without confrontation.

What is needed now in Russia is a movement that breaks free of all illusions in Gorbachev and sees him for what he is: the leader of a state capitalist class who will fight to protect its privileges. Such a movement would base itself on the victory won by the miners' strike. It would link all workers across the USSR against the Kremlin. But in order to build that unity it would have to be clear that it also opposed the horrible legacy of national oppression that the Kremlin has imposed on the non-Russian nations of the USSR.

EAST BLOC CRISIS

THE crisis affecting Moscow is even more profound amongst its satellites in Eastern Europe.

In Poland, Solidarity has joined a government that will preside over huge attacks on their own supporters. Poland's foreign debt amounts to \$40 billion, which is equal to half the country's annual production. On August 1, the old regime removed subsidies on food and prices have shot up by 500 percent.

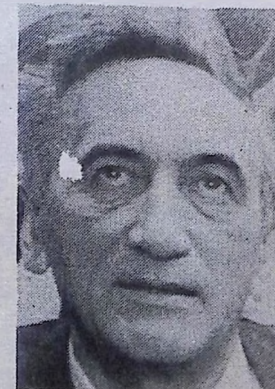
Both the Communist Party and the groups of intellectuals who have come to dominate Solidarity support the free market. General Jaruzelski claimed that he learnt a lot from the way Margaret Thatcher handled the miners' strike. One of Solidarity's economic advisors, Witold Trzeciakowski, argued "We must proceed with serious budget cuts, abolish subsidies and liquidate unprofitable enterprises". Even while in opposition these intellectuals opposed the workers in Solidarity who demanded automatic indexation of their wages to meet price rises.

In Hungary mass disillusionment with the Communist party has spread as 100,000 members have left. To meet the huge foreign debt—the highest per capita in eastern Europe—Hungary's Communist Party rulers have cut subsidies on food. Although wages have sunk down to 1973 levels, the costs of food has risen by 20 percent. 100,000 are now officially unemployed and the leadership has indicated that they want another 200,000 redundancies.

In a desperate bid to revive their economy, Hungary's rulers have begun inviting in foreign capital on a similar basis to the IDA in Ireland. A new law allows private share companies to employ up to 500 employees. A five year tax holiday has been granted to foreign multi-nationals with full freedom to repatriate their profits. Levi's, Addidas, and McDonalds have already taken up this generous offer.

PRIVATISATION

The leading firm in Hungary, Tungsram, has a 49 percent stake to the Austrian Girozentrale and another 51 major state companies are up for privatisation.



Mazowiecki

IN Rumania, the nationalist rulers have turned towards a mixture of increased repression and racism. Rumania's huge debt to Western banks has been paid off by massive

sacrifices from its population. Since August 1985, they have been obliged to spend their free time on performing public works. Minimum wages were abolished in 1983. Houses have been allowed to use only a 40kw bulb for light to save on electricity. Childless couples must pay £10 a month as a penalty and women are examined regularly by doctors to ensure that they have not had abortions. One dissident group of senior CP members have accused the Rumanian leader Ceausescu of "threatening the biological existence of the nation" because of the severity of his austerity measures.

New attacks have also been launched against ethnic Germans and many have been driven out of the country. The same racist card has been used by Bulgaria's rulers. They have officially proclaimed that there are no Turks in Bulgaria despite the fact that these make up 11 percent of the population. Thousands have been driven across the borders to Turkey. In Yugoslavia, the strongman of Serbia, Milosevic, has launched a racist campaign against the population of Kosovo who are amongst the poorest and most oppressed group in the country.

Throughout all these countries, the state capitalist rulers use exactly the same type of tactics as the ruling class in the West when it is in difficulties. Both sink to stirring up nationalist hatreds and attacks on workers' living standards to protect their privileges.

RUSSIA: PROBLEMS FOR GORBACHEV

"I DON'T think people will hold back their wrath for a year or longer. We need consumer goods," said Russian radical, Boris Yeltsin, during a visit to America in September. Leading figures in Russia are now speculating openly about a major crackdown in the USSR or a new upsurge from below.

EVENTS

Gorbachev's policies were designed to re-structure Russian industry and make it more competitive. According to his economic advisor, Aganbegyan, production of industrial goods actually fell by 40 per cent in the period between 1979-82. Gorbachev hoped to reverse this trend by challenging a

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ANALYSIS

IT SEEMS wherever you look in the world you see the forward march of the Greens.

Why are the Greens making these gains? The obvious answer is the scale of the problem faced by our environment. The ozone layer now has a hole the size of the US and is letting in a hundred percent more ultra-violet light than it was in 1974.

Best known of all is the fate of the tropical rain forests. Tens of millions of hectares of rain forest are destroyed each year, cutting down on our resources of oxygen. With the loss of the rain forest we also lose whole species of valuable organisms that are not to be found elsewhere.

Add to this 20 million hectares of land lost through over-use and erosion and the more immediate effects of industrial waste, smog, and pollution of all sorts, and it's understandable that Green politics should be making the running.

And yet it's not as simple as that. Many of the issues that attract people to the Greens have traditionally been issues of the Left—nuclear power and weapons in particular.

The shift to the Right in European Socialist and Labour Parties, the ditching of unilateralist and anti-NATO policies, have forced people who are angry about these things to look elsewhere. To that extent a growing Green vote is a slap in the face for the likes of Kinnock, Spring or De Rossa.

That is why many Labour lefts have interpreted the Green vote as a shift to the Left. British Tories in particular are terrified by the prospect of the Greens replacing the Liberals as third party and have shifted their propaganda machine into gear to expose the so-called "looney" policies of the Greens. They even joke that the Greens are like a carrot—"the deeper you look, the redder they look".

Many socialists have thrown the towel in and joined the Greens, seeing them as a real force for change today once they've been pushed a bit more to the Left. Within the Left, most have accepted that the Greens have valid criticisms to make of traditional socialist and marxist thinking. Are they right?

For a start, the Green vote is not a straightforward shift to the Left. Certainly not if you believe the Greens themselves, who claim to be neither Left nor Right. Among those who vote Green there are big differences between discontented Little Englanders who want to defend what's left of the Green Belt against urban slum dwellers, and the young activists who are angry about Chernobyl or nuclear weapons.

The Greens explicitly appeal to people across class lines. They believe that all can be won to defending a "species interest" that cuts across class interest. On class issues they have little of substance to say. An election leaflet produced for Green candidate Trevor Sargent in the last European election only mentioned unemployment once and that was in the context of "social disorder and crime". He thought it was inevitable if something wasn't done about the dole queues.

Most important of all the Greens lack even the most rudimentary links with the Labour movement that most right wing social democratic parties have.

When arguing with the Left, Greens express their abhorrence for class and left wing terms. One criticism in particular is that the Left's traditional heroes, the cloth-capped workers, are guilty of oppressing women, blacks,



Neither Left nor Right but Green?

gays and people in the Third World. The response of many left wingers to this criticism is to say that it is true but that the Left is already restructuring itself.

There's a sleight of hand at work here. The Left is certainly "restructuring" itself, but the overwhelming trend is to the Right. There is a move away from working class politics but in the direction of respectability—not alternative struggles over sexism, racism, etc.

The Greens have homed in on a sore point of the soft Left. Namely what they regard as the hard Left's "macho Leninism" which focuses entirely on white, middle aged, male productive workers of the First World.

The truth is that macho Leninism is a straw man. Yes, Stalinists have tended to pander to the backward sexist and racist ideas of the working class. But Stalinism has nothing to do with the real, revolutionary Leninist tradition.

This tradition has always, in Lenin's own words, prized not the trade union leader, but the "tribune of the people" who tackles oppression wherever it surfaces.

But this doesn't mean abandoning the working class. The interests of the workers and the oppressed are the same, contrary to arguments of feminists who even welcome some of the defeats suffered by "macho" trade unions. History shows that the conditions of women workers have risen only when the whole class was in the offensive and visa versa.

The Greens' attempts to find divisions where they don't exist is exactly what the ruling class would like. Instead of uniting and taking on the system that oppresses us all, we all sit around comparing our levels of oppression.

The method of analysis is very simple and very wrong. If you have something and I don't—you must be oppressing me and I can only end my oppression by fighting you. For example, isn't it obvious that workers in the First World are better off than workers in the Third, they are certainly richer. But if you look at it objectively, they are also sometimes more exploited. Productivity levels in the First World are such that the

bosses get more for every unit of labour which they buy than they would in the Third World. If this were not so why isn't capital flowing out of the more advanced countries into the most underdeveloped?

The development of the Third World has been distorted and in some cases prevented entirely. Whole nations don't exploit the Third World, capitalist classes do.

The problem isn't luxury consumption by workers in the advanced countries, but capitalism and imperialism.

And when you understand that, you see that there is very little the Greens can do about poverty in the Third World—except moralise at workers

about their "materialistic values". To struggle effectively against capitalism and imperialism would mean basing yourself on the working class.

And Green-sounding arguments have been used by the Right to justify the poverty of the Third World. British Tory minister Chris Patten—justifying British refusal to grant more aid—said: "What is needed is growth that can be sustained. Growth must be pursued within—and not despite—the limits of ecological resilience."

The Green claim that the world is overpopulated plays into the hands of those on the Right who claim that poverty is due to the poor breeding too fast. But the truth is that population variation is dependant on economic and social factors, not the other way round.

At the heart of Green thinking is the notion of the "finite planet". Marxists argue that capitalism's production for production's sake is ruining the environment. Socialism puts human needs before profits. Greens say that whatever the social system, there is a natural limit to growth—and we've reached it.

Their answer is a no-growth society. But how? You can't stop growth without challenging the power of capital. And even if you could, are we supposed to welcome a return to feudal levels of production with all the poverty, ignorance and disease that entailed?

GREENS

Green predictions of imminent ecological collapse are wrong. Environmental damage is still within the power of humans to roll back, provided we get rid of this destructive capitalist system.

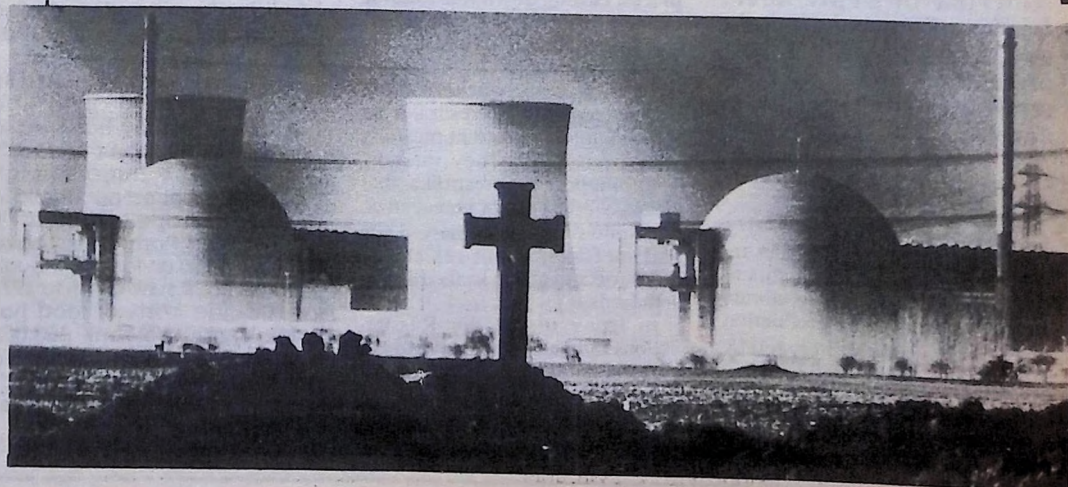
The greenhouse effect, for example, is a real problem—but it's not going to kill us all in the next thirty years as the Greens say. We can reduce carbon dioxide emissions quite simply while still expanding production. But some of the expanded production will have to go into preventative measures—something unthinkable under capitalism.

Carbon dioxide isn't the problem. The balance with oxygen is. That's why the destruction of rain forests matters. But the causes of that are economic—crippling debt and inflation in countries like Brazil. The process could be reversed by planting trees in an area the size of the Sahara Desert, say in the Amazon Basin. In short, it is possible to correct the oxygen balance by planting newly viable areas.

Similarly, with energy loss in our homes. Most of the problem is caused by shoddy, draughty buildings. 70 percent could be saved by proper building.

Environmental destruction can be stopped if we deal with the social causes. Only a world freed from capitalist exploitation where the mass of people were in charge—a socialist order—could really make the breakthrough. And that's where marxism comes in.

■ JOSH CLARKE



Marxism

in Ireland '89

*A weekend of political discussion and debate
organised by the Socialist Workers Movement*

*November 3,4,5 Institute of Adult Education
1-3 Mountjoy Square Dublin 1*

★ *Highlights of the weekend include:*

★ **RED OR GREEN?**

**Roger Garland (Greens)
debates Paul O'Brien (SWM)**

★ **EAMONN McCANN on the Workers Party**

★ **KEEPING LEFT?**
**A Labour Party speaker
debates Kieran Allen (SWM)**

★ *Chris Harman (Editor Socialist Worker Britain): Gorbachev's Russia and Socialists and the market*

★ *Kieran Allen (Author of forthcoming book: Connolly): Marxism and History*

★ *Pat Stack (SWP, Britain): Israel and the Palestinians*

★ *Linda Moore: What causes violence against women*

★ *Sean McVeigh: Is there a solution to the North?*

★ *Marnie Holborow: Women's oppression and the family*

THIS is the third year of *Marxism in Ireland*. A weekend of political discussion and debate organised by the Socialist Workers Movement.

This year there are seventeen meetings ranging from debates with the Greens and Labour Left to Eamonn McCann on the Workers Party, meetings on women's oppression, the North, the Middle East, the French Revolution, theories of imperialism, marxism and history and much more. All the burning issues on the Irish Left and beyond will be discussed in this unique event.

A creche is available and there will be a social on the Saturday evening. The cost of a ticket for the full weekend is £5.00 (£3.00 unemployed) and tickets for individual sessions will be available.

For a ticket or further details and the full programme fill in the slip and send to: *Marxism in Ireland '89*, PO Box 1648, James's St, Dublin 8.

I would like further details of *Marxism in Ireland '89*

I would like a weekend ticket and enclose £.....

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REVIEWS

SECTARIAN BUTCHERS

PATRICK McKenna was gunned down as he stood among Saturday morning shoppers on the Crumlin Road in north Belfast last month. Women and children were pushed aside as his killers pumped bullets into him.

McKenna was a Catholic, killed at random, the latest of 504 Catholic civilians killed by Loyalists since the Troubles began.

A few minutes later one of McKenna's murderers was shot dead by undercover troops. A shrine was quickly set up adorned with wreaths and flags marking the spot where UVF man Brian Robinson died. A wall on the Protestant side of the Crumlin Road still bears the legend: "Volunteer Brian Robinson—a true son of Ulster".

Another sectarian killer who, along with his gang, terrorised Belfast Catholics is the subject of this widely acclaimed book. Lenny Murphy and the Shankill Butchers conducted a reign of terror against Catholics for over two years in north and west Belfast during the mid-seventies. At least 19 people were killed by the gang in the most macabre and sadistic way. Most were bundled into black taxis, beaten senseless, then tortured and finally slaughtered with butcher knives. The memory of the Butcher killings strikes fear in the hearts of Catholics to this day.

ISOLATION

It was truly one of the most terrifying periods in the last twenty years. But the author, Martin Dillon, fails to provide any real understanding of why these gruesome killings took place, nor why Loyalist assassins still terrorise the Catholic community today.

Lenny Murphy, raised in a family which was ashamed of its Irish-sounding name, was called a "Mick" and "Taig" by schoolmates. He became a thug, a hard man who robbed and beat his way around the Shankill. When he was 18 he joined the UVF and two years later killed his first Catholic. The members of his gang, at least 30 strong, are described by Dillon as "misfits, malleable personalities, with a history of crime and hatred of Catholics".

Murphy became a killer when Loyalist tensions rose during the IRA campaign, after the removal of Stormont and when anti-Catholic invective from politicians, like

Bill Craig reached frightening heights. Murphy's response, according to Dillon, was to urge his gang: "For every Protestant killed, a Catholic should be killed in revenge". He boasted of the terror he would instil in the enemy and expressed his conviction that the ultimate way to kill a man was to cut his throat. He told them that it mattered little who the victims were since all Catholics were "scum and Republicans".

EVENTS

Dillon describes how Murphy carried out these threats. By 1976, a year after the Butchers had started in earnest, Murphy was in jail on an arms charge, but he continued to direct the murder campaign from his jail cell. With remarkable ease he conned the police who had managed to convince themselves that he was the "sole" Butcher. The Butcher murders only came to an end when one of their victims, Gerard McLaverty, survived and identified some of the gang. Eleven members of the gang were convicted in 1979. Murphy himself was released in 1982 and began killing again. But after he tried to

MARTIN DILLON: THE SHANKILL BUTCHERS

muscle in on UDA rackets, UDA gangster Jim Craig arranged his killing by the IRA.

Though Dillon sets these events within the political context of the Troubles, he concentrates on psychological explanations for their brutality. He compares the butchers to American serial murders, and other episodes of mass killings like the Yorkshire ripper and the Moors murders. He treats them as sick individuals who would have killed no matter where they lived. Their victims just happened to be Catholics, but they might well have been children or prostitutes.

Dillon argues that the Butchers were unique in the North and even by the standards of Loyalist paramilitaries. But Dillon looks at the Shankill Butcher killings in isolation from the widespread sectarian assassination campaign that was waged between 1972 to 1977. 524 people were killed by Loyalists during those years: the Butchers' victims were a fraction of that.

Since 1969 220 people



UDA Storm troopers on march

were killed by Loyalists in north Belfast, the Butchers' hunting ground. Nor was the barbarity and torture peculiar to the Butchers. Romper room killings were carried out in the early 1970s by the UDA's Ginger Baker. Loyalists have killed and tortured Catholics in the North since the 1920s. It is not individual personalities that can explain this violence but Loyalist ideology and the sectarian nature of the Northern state.

What was unusual about the Butchers was that they were able to kill so many people and evade capture for so long.

As Dillon himself asks: how were they able to travel around so easily?

Dillon's answer will arouse much scepticism: "It may have been that the security forces would not have had the manpower to cover the area properly at the time". But Belfast in 1976 was crawling with police and troops—at least in Catholic and commercial areas. People can remember them regularly patrolling the areas where the Butchers picked up their victims, but somehow their black taxi never got stopped. What Dillon ignores is that the British considered hunting the IRA more important than

catching the Butchers.

Dillon accepts the RUC version of events. He forgets that for much of that time the police called such killings "motiveless murders", not sectarian killings. And, he says, the police were too busy fighting terrorism. But what were the Butchers if not first class terrorists?

Dillon's description of the Troubles as "the tribal conflict between the two communities", his constant attempts to equate the IRA campaign with the Butchers' atrocities and his constant defence of the RUC as an impartial body of good guys is more a Workers' Party version of history than anything close to reality.

To answer his question "what was it in my own society that engendered such brutality", we must look to the history of British rule in Ireland, the creation by Britain of the sectarian state of Northern Ireland based on Protestant supremacy and the nature of Loyalist ideology.

Orangeism united the Protestant working class with their Unionist bosses. In return for their loyalty, Protestant workers received marginal privileges such as better jobs and housing. Today those privileges are few, but the sense of being better than their Catholic neighbours is still important. Throughout the history of the Northern state, Orange sectarianism has sapped Protestant workers' ability to fight for their own needs as workers. It has encouraged Protestant workers to see Catholics, not their bosses, and not capitalism, as their enemy.

It is this history which Martin Dillon ignores. It is this history which has produced sectarian killers like Lenny Murphy and Brian Robinson who are still treated as heroes by their own community.

TORCH SONG SPARKLES

Torch Song Trilogy was number one on my list of "most wanted to see" films for months before it was released. It is based on Harvey Fierstein's stage play which was in turn based on his own experience of being gay. I wasn't disappointed. *Torch Song* is a delightful film.

It follows Arnold, a female impersonator, for ten years as he searches for, finds, loses and finds again the love he needs.

The film's great strength is its treatment of gay love as just as legitimate, touching and romantic as the heterosexual variety.

Fierstein (who wrote and stars in the film) managed to take the fairly stereotypical gay image of a drag queen and adequately portray the prejudices and problems faced by the gay community.

Arnold's lover Alan is murdered by gay-bashers. His mother (played by a magnificent Anne Bancroft) after forty years still refuses to accept Arnold's sexuality as anything other than a sickness.

The scenes featuring the final confrontation between Arnold and his mother are the strongest in the film, Arnold demanding to be accepted and respected for what he is and his mother just as steadfastly refusing to do so.

Torch Song Trilogy is one of the best films made about homosexuality. It is a breath of fresh air after the spate of drippy "The Love That Dare Not Speak Its Name" films like *Maurice* or the thoroughly reactionary *The Everlasting Secret Family*.

Torch Song Trilogy shows gays to be ordinary people, no better or worse than anyone else. Go see it.

BEVE MORRISSON



INDUSTRIAL

SHARE CON FOR WORKERS

IN the last year workers in both Waterford Glass and Harland and Wolff have become shareholders in their companies. According to Jimmy Kelly, the Waterford Glass Convenor, workers "have made a start towards equity share" and "other industries are bound to examine the profit sharing scheme and it will be taken up".

In September a special conference of business and hack unionists was held in Limerick to promote employee share ownership schemes. Addressed by both Bertie Aherne, the Fianna Fail Minister for Labour, and Walter Cullen, the ATGWU

full time official, tickets for the event cost a cool £100.

Support for workers owning shares has also come from John Bruton—a hard right figure in Fine Gael.

The idea of worker shares is a direct import from the USA. There are an estimated 10,000 schemes cover up to 10 million workers. During the Reagan years worker buy-outs of companies threatening to close down were touted as a new way for the labour movement to prevent job losses. But support for employee share ownership schemes (ESOPs) also came from big business. Among the list of companies with these schemes are Proctor and Gamble, Texaco, Lockheed and Polaroid. These firms have seen the ESOP as a tactic for increasing productivity



and reducing wage levels and benefits.

According to a recent issue of *American Business Week* "when a company gives shares to its employees, it cuts its tax bill, erects a takeover defence, clamps a lid on the cost of pensions and spares itself the nightmare of monumental medical benefits for future retirees". And it can do all of this while moving towards the most important goal of all: boosting productivity to make US companies more competitive in world markets.

The connection between ESOPs and wage cuts is also borne out by the American experience. Workers at Polaroid

capacity as company president started a programme of lay-offs, drastic pay cuts and the reduction of union rights. By 1984 the work force was down to a skeleton of its former size, earning below the going industry rate.

In May 1984 the bitterness erupted and workers went out on an unofficial strike. Rath Meatpackers closed its doors, an abysmal failure.

Weirton Steel was supposed to be the "success" story of ESOPs—but what a price workers have paid for keeping their jobs. Besides a 20 percent pay cut, workers also accepted a six-year contract which froze wages and eliminated the right to strike. Workers' democracy at Weirton Steel was nothing more than wishful thinking. As *Associated Press* observed: "Many of the 7,000 workers don't see any change in the traditional adversary relationship between labour and management." And a 15-year veteran of Weirton Steel commented: "We are supposed to be owners of the mill. It doesn't seem like it. It seems that management people think they bought the mill."

WAGE CUTS

accepted a five percent cut in pay in exchange for share ownership. In 1983 workers took a 20 percent pay cut when they bought out Weirton Steel. At the General Motors Hyatt-Clark plant in New Jersey workers agreed to a 25 percent cut in wages to pay off the loan to form the new worker-owned company in 1981.

In fact the ESOPs mean that workers are not just tied to the company for their weekly wages, but their savings and pensions are invested as well. If the company goes down they lose everything.

When workers bought out the Rath Meatpacking Company in Iowa in 1980, their plan was proclaimed to be "the clearest example of industrial democracy in the USA". Union members were added to the board of directors, and mechanisms for workers' participation were structured into the plan.

In 1982, when management found itself \$38 million behind in payments to the pension fund, they cancelled all pension plans affecting over 6,000 workers. In desperation the workers appointed a union official as company president. As profits slumped, the union official in his



Part owner of Ford Ltd?

Centre which has promoted over 100 co-ops to date, and the FWUI's Workers' Unity Trust has encouraged similar enterprises here.

Eighteen share ownership schemes have been launched in Britain, and it is estimated that within five years some two million employees will be involved.

IRELAND

In Ireland the idea of worker directors in semi-state bodies has been around for some time. In companies such as Aer Lingus, the ESB and Bord na Mona up to one-third of the directors are elected by the workers. Up to fifty companies in Ireland run profit sharing schemes. In the AIB, for example, 4 percent of pre-tax profits are allocated to employees.

But the Waterford Glass and Harland and Wolff share ownership schemes are the first of what may be many, if the American experience is anything to go by. Like the American schemes, these are primarily designed to give the illusion that workers have an interest in and share control of their company. What makes the Waterford Glass scheme different is that it was first proposed by the union committee as a defence against management attacks on wages and conditions. In fact any examination of the deal shows that management are the real winners. Workers have conceded a two-year wage freeze, and to contribute to the pension fund. There has also been agreement on more flexible working conditions.

In return, Waterford Glass, which made losses of £20 million last year, must make profits in excess of £10 million for the

workers to get 5 percent. All the profit share money will be paid in Waterford shares. A company council will be set up, which according to the union convenor Jimmy Kelly "will give the workers access to company decision making and company accounts".

Management at Waterford Glass were able to concede these because they knew that it did not affect their control over wages and conditions. The experience in the USA shows that workers lose out in the long term. Management use the notion that workers have a stake in the profitability of the company to increase productivity and reduce wages. It creates divisions between long-serving workers and those who have just joined, as shares are linked to service. Workers whose savings are tied up in their company shares are unlikely to rock the boat.

In Harland and Wolff, out of the £15 million needed for privatisation workers were blackmailed into contributing £2.3 million. John Parker, the chief executive of the new company, admitted that this was "not so much for the volume of money, but for their commitment to the yard". The 2,400 workers had to accept new contracts of employment as a condition of sale. Union organisation has been weakened, which is a feature of all share schemes.

Workers can never control their own working conditions unless they control the way society is organised. Share schemes are only an illusion of control which tie workers to the system, and help capitalism to exploit them.

HIGH TECH LOW CHEQUE

WESTERN DIGITAL is a part of the modern electronics industry. With a reputation for "high-tech—high-spec—low cheque", Digital employs 600 workers. Its macho "human resource" management insist on a high proportion of temporary workers and complete flexibility.

But now patient arguing and organising by the ITGWU section committee at the plant have led to a good victory over the management. Key to this victory was the strong solidarity among the rank and file of the workforce.

Last June the company laid workers off for one week in a cost cutting exercise. Workers received no pay for the lay-off period. The company claimed that its profits had fallen.

The workers rejected this demand for sacrifice on their part and claimed compensation. The issue was referred to the Labour Court. After a three-month delay they reported in favour of the company.

The union met to discuss the issue and the workers voted by four to one to take strike action on the issue.

Management were stunned. Negotiations were immediately opened. A 5.6 percent annual wage increase was conceded, which is well over the Programme for National Recovery limit. Equal working conditions for temporary staff were agreed.

The workers at Western Digital have showed up the nonsense

that the American multinationals in the electronics industry cannot be taken on and beaten!

LETTERS

Dear Editor,

Josh Clark was far too soft on Paul Foot in his review of Foot's book *Why Britain Must Get Out Of Ireland*. Far from being "the best contribution to the present debate on the British presence", the book is a severe embarrassment.

It is riddled with factual errors and Foot's analysis of the politics underpinning partition is seriously flawed.

Foot sees Britain as part of the solution rather than a major element of the problem. His naive call for a "constitutional conference at international level to determine how best withdrawal can be accomplished" both ascribes a progressive role to a British government and opens the door to those who want the United Nations to play a part.

Finally, Foot argues that once Britain agrees to pull out and a united (capitalist?) Ireland is established, unity of protestant and catholic workers will become possible. Yet we've long argued that only workers' struggle can force the Brits out and smash the Orange state, and that necessarily means the achievement of a high degree of workers' unity before and during the struggle, not after.

DOMINIC CARROLL

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

Don't let SPUC censor you

SPUC (The Society for the Protection of the Unborn Child) is again trying to stop students' unions publishing information on abortion. The students' unions are facing up to SPUC and going ahead with publication of information on all options facing pregnant women, including how to obtain an abortion in England.

Last year, SPUC tried unsuccessfully to get a court injunction preventing publication of UCD students' handbook. As we go to press, it seems likely that they will try again to get an injunction this year.

Both the Union of Students in Ireland (USI) and the students' unions in TCD and UCD are, however, in a much stronger position now. Since SPUC's attacks last year, most colleges have had referenda on the issue of providing abortion information. Even in colleges where the union has an anti-abortion position, students voted overwhelmingly to support the right of women to information about abortion.

There are two main reasons why even those who are personally opposed to abortion want to defy SPUC. Most students—and most working class people—are willing to recognise reality. And the reality is that nearly six thousand Irish women go to England every year to have abortions. In 1987, 4,200 travelled from the South and nearly 1,700 from the Six Counties.

When the Well Woman Centre and Open Door provided non-directive pregnancy counselling and an abortion referral service for those who wanted it, SPUC said that they should be closed because they were "encouraging" women to have abortions. When the Well Woman and Open Line were referring women to cheap, safe,

reputable clinics, more than one hundred Irish women went to England every week to have their pregnancies terminated.

Since SPUC's success in stopping abortion referral more than one hundred Irish women still go to England every week for abortions. The difference is that now—unless they can find the sort of information published by the students' unions—they go in fear, not quite sure of the reception they'll get, not knowing how much the operation will cost or what it entails. Many women arrive too late to have an abortion because they've not known where to go.

SPUC

The other reason why many people are willing to stand up to SPUC is that it is increasingly clear that they are not, as they claim to be, "pro-life". In the six years since the abortion referendum SPUC have done nothing to help protect the lives of children who are already born, to fight the cuts in the health service, to stop the harassment of single parents. Quite the opposite. SPUC supporter Michael Woods has cut off more than 600 single parents from the unmarried mother's allowance and increased the number of welfare snoopers who harass such women.

One of the world's most powerful anti-abortionists, US President George Bush, summed up the hypocrisy of the so-called "pro-life" lobby during the pre-election debates. "I'm against abortion," he said. "Life is sacrosanct and every life is worth saving." In reply to the next question, he announced that he was in favour of the death penalty. It seems every life is worth saving only until it's born!

INFORMATION

SPUC want to turn the clock back in Ireland. Following their success in the abortion referendum, many of their members joined Family Solidarity and went on to campaign against divorce. The same people have been to the fore in complaints against Virgin Megastore's condom sales.

But SPUC can be fought. The students' unions have shown the way by publishing information on abortion in spite of SPUC's threats



Officers from UCD Student Union, enjoined by SPUC

and asserting that their leaders are, if necessary, willing to go to jail. The best defence for the student leaders is if other publications, especially trade union magazines, also publish the information.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions and many individual unions already have a policy of supporting the right of women to information on abortion. This theoretical support must now be put into practice. All trade unionists should raise the resolution printed here at their next Branch meeting. All Left publications should carry the phone numbers of the abortion helplines or of British abortion services.

SPUC have had a clear run for too long in this country. It's time we drove them back under the stones that they crawled out from nearly ten years ago. This time they can be beaten.

TELEPHONE NUMBERS ABORTION INFORMATION

IN solidarity with the Union of Students in Ireland, *Socialist Worker* is printing the telephone numbers of where non-directive pregnancy counselling, including information on abortion, is available. We believe that all Left and union papers should join USI in defying

the moral police of SPUC. The telephone numbers which SPUC wishes to censor are:

(01)749000

and the British Pregnancy Advisory Service, London:

(031)2220985