

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

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SUPPORT THE WATERFORD GLASS WORKERS

IT'S TIME TO FIGHT BACK

The Irish bosses want workers to pay for the recession. The management at Waterford Glass are demanding 550 redundancies and wage cuts.

They have a nerve. Tony O'Reilly, who owns the major share holding in the Waterford Glass factory, makes £1.5 million a week. But he is not talking about giving up a penny of his wages.

In Telecom Eireann the bosses want to get rid of 2,000 jobs over the next five years. But the company has just made £91 million in profits.

They talk about being

"competitive". But in reality they demand that workers make the sacrifices so that they can live it up.

When the employers get into trouble, they get on to

their friends in high places for a hand out.

Last year, Oliver Barry's Capitol Radio station went bust. But lo and behold, Oliver got the begging bowl out and turned up with an EC grant of £240,000 to set up a golf course.

It is pure co-incidence that he is an active supporter of FF.

Double Standards

When Goodman went to

the verge of bankruptcy, the Dail was re-called for a special session.

The law was changed just so his company could stay afloat.

It is pure co-incidence that he is a major backer of the FF party.

But when 2,000 jobs are threatened by management plans at Waterford Glass, Reynolds told workers that it is "out of the question" to talk

about nationalisation of the factory to protect workers livelihoods.

Gangsters

FF have to be told that the rich have been on the gravy train for too long. Workers are fed up with the gangster style mafia that is running the country.

That is why every trade unionist must now fight to build solidarity with the Waterford Glass workers.

Stop the Backlash

After months of delay - due to a concerted campaign by SPUC, the Free Presbyterians, the Catholic Church and the DUP, the Brook Centre will open at the end of August.

The Centre which will offer contraceptive advice and supplies as well as non-directive counselling to young people has been condemned by bigots on both sides of the Community as 'morally corrupt'.

These bigots want to terrorise and intimidate any young person using the Centre and have said that they will photograph anyone seen entering. It's clear that they care nothing for young people.

They want to censor information that will allow young people to make informed decisions about their sexuality and protect themselves from disease and unwanted pregnancy.

While Kathleen McQuaid of SPUC declares that the Centre will be picketed for up to a year, the Medico-Legal Enquiry Group (Group of right-wing lawyers and doctors) are using a more subtle tactic to stop the Centre opening.

In October the Group will be challenging the Eastern Health Board's decision to fund the Centre. However, even if the Group fails through legal means the intimidation of young people using this Centre will continue as the bigots take to the streets and picket outside the Brook Centre.

The SWM has actively campaigned to defend the Brook Centre. If these bigots carry out their threats of mounting pickets we must be there to confront them.

They must not be allowed to decide what's best for young people. The Green and Orange bigots have been exposed for what they are hypocritical thugs who want to impose their



idea of morality on the rest of us. The Bishop Caseys and Ian Paisleys of this world are not qualified to lecture us on morality. We must confront them.

THE SHOW TRIAL GOES ON

The latest episode in SPUC's vindictive pursuit of 14 students who distributed abortion information was meant to take place last month.

However, the hearing never got off the ground. SPUC's lawyer objected to the case being heard by Judge Mella Carroll.

She is on the Council for the Status of Women. Obviously SPUC felt there would be no fix if she heard the case.

POPE'S PREJUDICE

Prejudice against Lesbians and Gays was openly encouraged by the Vatican this month in a report intended as a set of guidelines for Catholic Bishops.

"Discrimination on the basis of homosexual tendencies is not unjust" it declares, in the areas of child adoption, the employment of teachers and sports instructors and military services.

Over 90% of Irish primary schools are controlled by Catholic boards of management. This report will encourage the oppression of teachers who are lesbian or gay.

Quite rightly John Carr, Assistant General Secretary of the teacher's Union the INTO has said they will not allow any discrimination on the grounds of sexuality.

The sooner we live in a society where the church and state are completely separated the sooner we can overcome ignorance and prejudice.

the country. Founder Rachel Martin says "We believe there should be a realistic accessibility to condoms".

Once again, Fianna Fail have bent the knee to the bishops. The only way to protect our lives is to break the law.

POPEYE POPPED

The anti-abortion backlash in the U.S. has claimed its latest victim: Popeye the sailor man.

In a recent edition of the cartoon Popeye's girlfriend, Olive Oyl, is sent a baby doll in the post. He advises her to "send it back to its maker". He is overheard by two churchmen, who assume he is plotting an abortion.

For daring to introduce such realism into a cartoon, the owners King Features, have sacked the artist.

PILOTS' SCHOOL CRASHES!

The European College of Aeronautics in Cork, a training school for commercial pilots has closed. Students hit by the closure may not get a chance to finish their training elsewhere. Some students may not even be refunded their fees - up to £40,000 in some cases.

But at least they are alive. The ECA is owned by Austin Darragh. He also used to own the Institute of Clinical Pharmacology. It hired students and young unemployed to test new drugs for U.S. pharmaceutical companies. In 1984, one of Darragh's guinea pigs, Niall Rush, died on one of these tests.

ANTI-TRAVELLER HYSTERIA

The new Housing Bill was hailed by the Minister for the Environment as "giving more choice to the home buyer". But it gives little choice to Travellers.

Section 10 of the Bill states that Travellers who live on the roadside can have their caravans impounded by the corporation or council.

They then have to pay a fine of up to £1,000 and/or spend 3 months in prison. If they haven't claimed their caravan back within one month the council can dispose of it.

This law institutionalises the anti-traveller racism that abounds in this country. While settled people can at least defend their case if their house is being repossessed, Travellers can have their homes removed before their very eyes.

No Choice

Travellers don't choose to endanger their health and live on the roadside with no facilities. It is the lack of properly serviced halting sites and housing that forces them to do so.

Racist F.F. T.D. Tom Hussey suggested that Travellers should have to serve a 2-year probation period in a halting site before they are allocated a local authority house.

He is coming in on the recent hysteria in Cork, when businessmen and the media talked of "convoys of travellers invading the town".

This open racism uses travellers as scapegoats to divert the blame away from the real culprits who are responsible for the housing crisis.

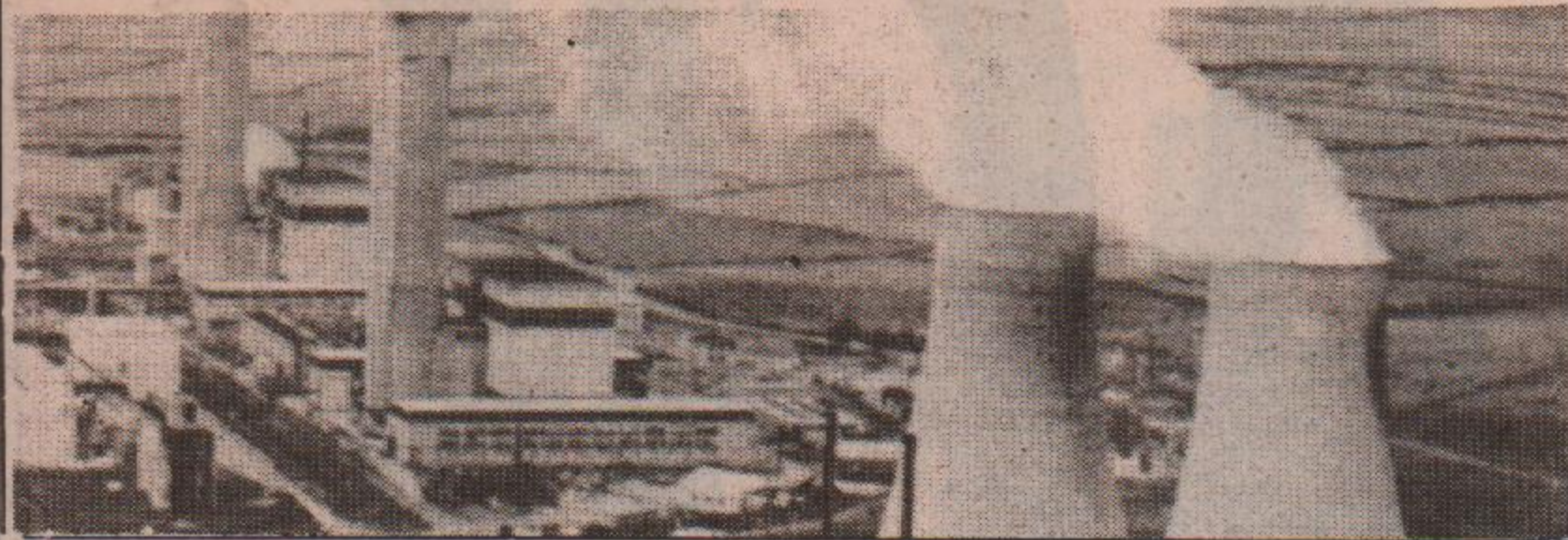
INCINERATOR PLAN DROPPED

After much protest from local community groups around the St James Hospital in Dublin a health board plan to use the Hospitals incinerator to burn hospital waste from over 37 hospitals in Dublin was dropped.

This plan was a calculated decision to make money for the health board without any consideration to the health of local residents who pointed out that concentrated incineration would actually badly affect their own health.

The local community acted quickly and picketed outside the hospital a number of times to make their point.

Shut Sellafield!



The news that B.N.F.L. is to soon open a new plant in Sellafield should be of great concern to all workers in Ireland. Sellafield in Cumbria since it opened in 1957 has become one of the most radioactive places on earth.

Children living in the area develop Leukaemia at 10 times the national average. The Irish sea has become one of the most polluted with radioactive waste in Europe, abnormal rates of miscarriages have occurred along the North Eastern seaboard of Ireland especially around Louth.

Sellafield 2 intends to reprocess half the world's nuclear waste. It is a ticking bomb waiting to explode. In 1990 the F.F. Government has stated that

Children develop leukaemia at 10 times the national average

the only real solution to this threat is the closure of the plant. Yet in the same year Albert Reynolds signed his name to an agreement which for the first time made EC funds available for nuclear processing plants. FF is a party of hypocrites and liars, while paying lip service to the genuine concerns of Irish people about Sellafield.

They will now sit calmly back as ships laden with nuclear waste and armed escorts sail through the Irish

sea. America has banned such ships from its ports because of safety fears and even the barbaric South African regime has warned such ships to stay away from their territorial waters or risk being fired on.

Greenpeace over the years has led the fight to draw public attention to this potential Chernobyl with courageous and high profile stunts. They have blocked pipelines and faced imprisonment, incurred fines etc. The sinking of the Rainbow Warrior and the murder of a crew member by the French Secret Service showed the lengths the bosses were prepared to go to stop them.

But the actions of Greenpeace are limited to a few brave activists. The limitations of this

strategy were seen in the recent Sellafield protest. When an injunction was slapped on them Greenpeace called off a planned demo, and instead held a small protest with U2. There was widespread anger over the ban and if Greenpeace had called for defiance, thousands could have been mobilised. Action which draws in more and more people and which tries to get support from workplaces and local communities is the best way to stop Sellafield poison.

NO PROTECTION FROM FIANNA FAIL

The HIV virus is continuing to spread in Ireland. Up to April this year, 1214 people had tested HIV positive. A total of 276 people have contracted full-blown AIDS. 114 people have died.

As well as reducing the risk of unwanted pregnancy, using a condom can also reduce the spread of HIV.

The new "Health (Family Planning) Act makes it legal to sell condoms in a wide range of outlets - pubs, shops etc. However, it bans condoms being sold to anyone younger than 17. It also forbids them being sold through vending machines.

Donal Traynor, of the AIDS Action Alliance, told Socialist Worker that the new law is a "waste of time". He points out that many people are uncomfortable enough with sex already, without having to ask a barman for a packet of condoms.

He also says the whole outlook on family law needs to be changed to take morality out of it.

Predictably, the bishops have condemned the new law. Their head-in-the-sand approach was shown recently.

A concert by U.S. group Fugazi was due to feature information on AIDS prevention, on condoms, how to use clean needles and safe sex guidelines. The SFX, a Church hall where the concert was on, demanded that all this information be withdrawn.

However, these reactionaries should be resisted. A new group, Condom Sense, is installing condom vending machines in pubs and clubs around

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We Think

Can the Northern talks bring peace?

The talks between the Dublin government and the Unionists in Strand 2 of the Northern talks have been greeted with tremendous excitement in the press.

One Dublin Minister was quoted as saying that "to have broken down the initial barriers to contact, to have face-to-face contact, is quite an achievement".

The press hold out the prospect that there is now an "historic" possibility of settling the age old Irish question. But this ignores the contradictory aims of those involved.

The Unionist politicians have entered the talks in order to get rid of the Anglo-Irish Agreement. They want a return to a modified version of the old Stormont regime.

The SDLP want to use the lever of the Anglo-Irish agreement to find a permanent role for Dublin in the running of Northern Ireland. They see the Dublin government as the custodian of the interests of the Catholic middle class.

Getting agreement between these contradic-

tory demands is like squaring the circle.

But this is not to say that such a settlement is impossible. All the parties in Northern Ireland are desperate to come up with some sort of agreement.

But any deal they come up with will not bring peace to Northern Ireland.

A deal between John Molyneaux, a proud member of the Black Presbytery of the Orange Order and the SDLP will not sort out the problem of sectarianism.

None of them have any

interest in dealing with the fact that parts of towns like Strabane have 70% unemployment and are subject to constant harassment by the British army.

None of them want to tackle the sectarian violence of the RUC.

Instead the RUC would become the main instrument for enforcing any settlement.

Reactionary

Paisley has used the opportunity of the talks to claim that Articles 2 and 3 of the Southern constitution have to go. Socialists have little

interest in defending de Valera's reactionary constitution of 1937.

But neither do we give alibis to bigots. Paisley claims that the Unionist population in Northern Ireland lived in fear from these articles.

This is complete nonsense. No Irish govern-

any deal they come up with will not bring peace

ment had the slightest interest in enforcing its claim on Northern Ireland. They were far more interested in using partition to establish a Catholic sectarian state in the South. The Unionist regime at Stormont built up a massive sectarian security force not because they were under

threat from Dublin — but to divide Catholic and Protestant workers and smash the resistance of working class Catholics to their rule.

Paisley wants Articles 2 and 3 removed today to demoralise and isolate those militants in the Catholic working class. He wants them to get the message that they are on their own and had better make their peace with a Stormont style regime.

Instead of looking to

in Northern Ireland. Here there are some encouraging signs.

A major union, the Northern Ireland Public Services Alliance has come out against the presence of the Para regiment in Ireland.

The numbers turning out on Orange marches are decreasing all the time. One of the reasons why Paisley has been pulled into discussions with the Dublin government is because he has been able to mobilise fewer people in opposition to the

Instead of looking to what comes out of the talks, socialists should look to what is happening in the working class

what comes out of the talks, socialists should look to what is happening in the working class

Anglo-Irish agreement.

A mood of uncertainty has gripped sections of

the Protestant working class who previously looked to loyalist politicians.

In a situation of prolonged recession and increased misery, this mood could find an outlet in different ways.

Thugs

The thugs of the UDA and the UVF are organising to increase sectarian tension.

But socialists can also start organising to show that those sectarian divisions have not been in the interests of Protestant workers.

A clear confident organisation has to be built which shows Protestant workers today why it is in their class interest to stand up against discrimination of Catholics and the security forces who enforce that discrimination.

Iraq: Bush is the real warmonger

With dramatic swiftness the US has moved to the brink of a catastrophic air strike against the people of Iraq.

Hundreds of thousands of Iraqis died in the course of the war that began in January 1990. Today millions are still at risk from disease and face shortages of medicine and food. Yet the U.S. is on the point of bringing further horror to the region. This destruction is justified by the official sanction of the United Nations and the professed aim of stopping the ambitions of the dictator Saddam Hussein.

The truth is that the United Nations has never been more evidently a tool of the United States's foreign policy. It is in the Whitehouse that decisions about when and where to strike will be taken. The UN will just add its rubber stamp.

It is certainly the case that Saddam's rule is one of exploitation and oppression. Whilst basic food-stuffs are beyond the reach of ordinary people, tanks are pouring off the production lines. Tanks that are used to hold down the aspirations of the Kurds and the Shi'ites.

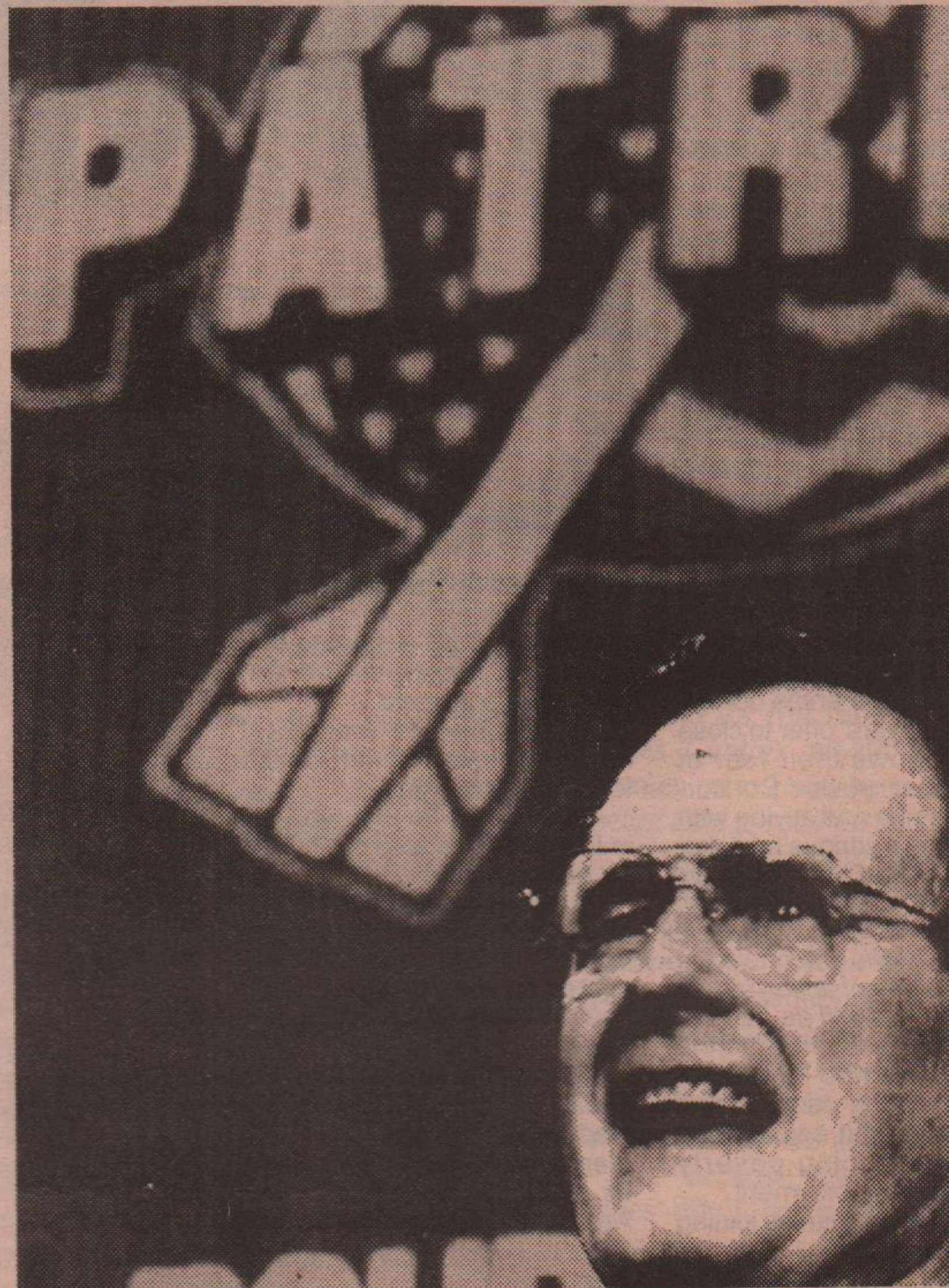
But these are not the reasons for America's

warmongering. The Gulf War has made the lives of the people of the region more miserable not less. America showed utter contempt for the desire of the Kurds and the Shi'ites to a democratic society.

The Independent on Sunday has revealed just how cynical the West was. It has learned that British Ambassadors in the Gulf argued "the main British interest in the Arabian peninsula was the stability of oil supplies. This was guaranteed by the presence of political status quo in the region whereby the oil-states were ruled by kings, sultans and emirs... The emergence of a democracy in Baghdad might not only break up Iraq into Sunni, Shia and Kurdish enclaves, but it would immediately destabilise the monarchies to the south."

The current military threats are motivated by American strategic ambition rather than the pursuit of international justice and democracy.

What they reveal above all is that we live in a very fragile world, where even the rulers of the US are increasingly desperate and anxious to deflect attention from the growing discontent at home.



International

BOSNIA HERCEGOVINA

Carve up creates human disaster

THE TRAGEDY in Bosnia is reaching unimaginable proportions as the partition of the former Yugoslav republic nears completion.

More than two million refugees are trapped on the borders of neighbouring states, to which they are denied entry.

Hungry and sick, tens of thousands are being shunted back and forth on sealed trains. More wait for a lull in the fighting that may allow them to flee.

Rival militias are systemati-

cally raping, torturing, mutilating and murdering people to terrorise them from their homes.

Then Douglas Hurd has the nerve to claim, "We won't accept the partition of Bosnia as though it were 18th century Poland." Yet this is precisely what he and other EC leaders cleared the way for.

They gave Serb and Croat nationalists the go ahead to carve up Bosnia.

The ceasefire that broke down almost the moment it was signed at the weekend signalled the republic's partition.

At the same time Croatia began deporting refugees.

Its nationalist leaders say they will permit people only to pass through Croatia, sending refugee trains and convoys straight to its northern borders with Slovenia, Italy and Hungary.

The UN says Slovenia does not want them either.

The Italian and Austrian governments have closed their borders. Each allowed in one train with fewer than 1,000 people at the end of last week. They now

insist those from the war zone must produce visas that are impossible to obtain.

Hungary has turned back trainloads from both Croatia and Serbia.

An aid worker reported, "Nobody had opened the train for a week. You should have seen those people."

Germany is demanding visas too. Britain has taken just 1,300 displaced people, and up to the end of last week the Tories had paid just £140,000 into a UN refugee fund.

Their hypocrisy defies description.

Without exception Europe's leaders want these suffering people to stop where they are and wait to return home.

It does not matter that they may be too fearful to return, that their homes have been destroyed or resettled as part of the process of "ethnic cleansing".

Contrary to what EC leaders and most newspapers would have us believe, the atrocities accompanying this process are not all on one side.

The refugees are not all from one side either. The UN acknowledges almost 400,000 are Serbs.

A member of the International Red Cross reports "a lot of extremely disturbing information about all sides carrying out massacres, killings and other barbarities.

"The international community is condemning only Serbia. But Croatian forces are committing the same if not worse atrocities in the west of Bosnia. They are getting away with murder."

Serb forces continue to bombard Sarajevo and besiege Gorazde, the last Muslim majority town in eastern Bosnia.

But Croatian forces are also

advancing towards the former Bosnian capital—not to relieve it but to secure territory for their own nationalist leaders.

Nationalist Serb and Croat leaders are fighting over frontiers.

EC "peace envoy" Carrington is merely out to gain agreement to the carve up.

In the circumstances, no "settlement" brokered by EC governments and signed by nationalist leaders is going to cut through the ethnic hatred and restore peace.

No amount of Western military intervention will do so either.

Anyone who believes Western troops are the answer should remember the plight of the Kurdish people. They were trapped for more than a year in the West's "safe havens"—beneath the bombs of Turkey and the artillery of Iraq.

The only answer lies with the masses of ordinary people on all sides rejecting their leaders' nationalism and recognising their common class interests.

Socialists across Europe can help by demanding their governments welcome every refugee from the war—Muslim, Croat and Serb.

SOUTH AFRICA

ANC does a deal

LEADERS OF South Africa's trade unions have joined with big business to derail a general strike planned for 3 August.

Although there will still be one day of action which is expected to close down much of industry, it will be in alliance with the bosses rather than a militant challenge to them.

The main trade union federation, COSATU, and the African National Congress called the general strike in protest at the refusal of President de Klerk to press ahead with the abolition of apartheid.

After the Boipatong massacre earlier this month it was widely expected the strike would last at least three days and possibly eight.

But COSATU and ANC leaders have backed away from confrontation. They have signed a deal with the main bosses' organisation, SACCOLA, to limit the action and guarantee no more general strikes until the end of September.

Nelson Mandela says, "This is a victory because it is now not only the workers but industry as well who are protesting against what the government is doing."

The employers' offer to close factories shows their fear of black workers' power. But curtailing the strike and allying with the bosses is a serious mistake.

One chemical workers' union shop steward said furiously, "COSATU's official slogan is 'Drive de Klerk out now'. Do they think a day of action alongside the bosses will do that?"

"This deal is an insult to the trade unionists who have been victimised, to the people killed by the bosses' hit squads and the millions facing poverty wages and unemployment."

The same companies joining



THE ANC is throwing away workers' power to take on de Klerk

with the ANC for a day are cutting wages, sacking strikers and defending apartheid.

Thousands of Transvaal health workers remain sacked for striking over pay.

Over 6,000 Toyota workers in Durban have also been fired for taking action.

Most significantly of all, almost 500,000 metal workers in the NUMSA union are expected to vote for strikes over pay in ballots which closed this week.

One metal worker told *Socialist Worker*, "How can our leaders say the bosses are our friends when they are attacking us every day in the factories? Are we at war or are we allies?"

"Social Contracts" with the bosses demobilise workers' activity and blunt the power to break de Klerk.

Disgracefully, in the middle of what is supposed to be a period of mass action against apartheid, mine workers' leaders have signed a deal accepting a 5 percent wage rise. Inflation is officially 15 percent and food prices are rising at 30 percent.

The mines agreement includes a system of productivity bonuses and profit sharing—yet recently miners' leaders were denouncing last year's productivity deal as "a cover to cut wages".

BRITISH MEDIA unions the NUJ and BECTU are calling on members to black the South African Broadcasting Corporation at the Olympics. "We want to highlight the strike by 1,200 black workers at the South African Broadcasting Corporation which started on 18 May," says Miles Barter, chair of the Birmingham NUJ branch.

Workers want equal pay with white technicians who presently earn 30 percent more.

The Olympics is the most important story for the South African media for years. Union action across Europe could take it off the screens.

ISRAEL

The reality of Rabin's rule

ISRAEL'S NEW Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin looks set to convince the United States to release \$10,000 million loan guarantees needed to settle immigrants from the former USSR.

Rabin met with US secretary of state James Baker last week and announced a freeze on new Jewish settlements in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip.

On Tuesday Rabin visited Egypt in a further effort to convey the impression of dramatic change after the Israeli election.

Rabin has promised to stop funding "political" settlements in the occupied territories and agree plans for some sort of limited Palestinian autonomy within nine months.

But Colonel Kahalani, the Labour MP Rabin uses to deal with the settlers, spelt out what this really means:

"Settlements should continue," he said, "in order to tightly surround the concentrations of Arabs to be granted autonomy."

So there will be no halt to



YITZHAK RABIN

construction on what Rabin calls "confrontation lines".

The offer of Palestinian autonomy is part of a similar sleight of hand, designed to split the Palestinian movement and thwart its demand for an independent state.

The changes Rabin plans may impress the US government but they will do nothing to meet Palestinian aspirations.

THE HORROR OF RAPE

by Ger Tuohy

The Courts are No Solution

In the past month hardly a day has gone by without a report in the media of a rape attack. All of them showed how disgusting and abhorrent rape is. They also showed how women who have been raped are treated with outright disdain by the courts.

In April, a 15 year old Donegal girl who had been regularly raped by a number of local men, saw them walk free although two of them had actually admitted to the rapes in court.

More recently a young Kilkenny woman also saw her rapist get off scot-free. The clear message given to women by these and other decisions is that rape doesn't matter; that it is not as serious as non-payment of fines, as shoplifting or as begging on the street, for which people are regularly jailed.

But there is nothing new in this. Rape victims have never been treated with sympathy by the courts, in this country or elsewhere.

Rape cases are perhaps the most obvious example of the rotten class nature of the justice system. While rich swindlers like Dermot Desmond can buy their way out of trouble with an immediate expensive injunction, another injunction is used to intern a 14 year old rape victim.

Women who have been raped are treated with suspicion and distrust and practically put on trial themselves. 82% of rape cases revolve around the issue of "consent".

Victims of any other crime are never interrogated as to whether they consented to being attacked or robbed. The victim's past sexual history is regularly brought up in court to discredit her.

The young Kilkenny woman who was raped summed up her experience of the trial "If I knew then what I know now I would never have reported it". With this prospect it is hardly surprising that an estimated 4 out of 5 rapes are never reported at all.

Sentences

In response to these issues, liberals, feminists and some left-wingers have called for mandatory, custodial sentences for rapists and for "a change in attitudes by the courts".

But above all else, the recent rape cases show that the courts can never provide a solution to rape. Part of the defence of the man who raped Lavinia Kerwick was that he was from a rich "respectable, farming family".

The class basis of the justice system means that wealthy people will always be able to buy the most expensive legal teams to lie

their way out of a conviction.

In theory, William Kennedy Smith was subject to a mandatory custodial sentence for rape in Florida last year. In reality, the fact that he was a member of the upper class meant that he was treated completely differently to Mike Tyson who was vilified throughout, and portrayed as an animal by the media.

The courts can never be neutral when they deal with rape or any other crime. They exist to bolster up the alienation, oppression and inequalities within society, including the inequalities between men and women. They therefore cannot eradicate those inequalities.

Calling for mandatory sentencing is also dangerous because it dove-tails with the right-wing view of crime - be it rape, joyriding or robbery - that it is solely the responsibility of a handful of evil individuals because of their biology or the ideas they have in their heads.

Irish Independent columnist, Des Rushe, has already claimed that rape arises from "the debased general attitude to sexual morality" in a permissive society.

It helps build up a law and order atmosphere. Already some politicians are using the Kilkenny case to call for a measure which would give the state the right to appeal against lenient sentences.

This would apply to all cases. It would give the FF Attorney General a chance to hound any individuals they want locked up for the length of time they wanted.

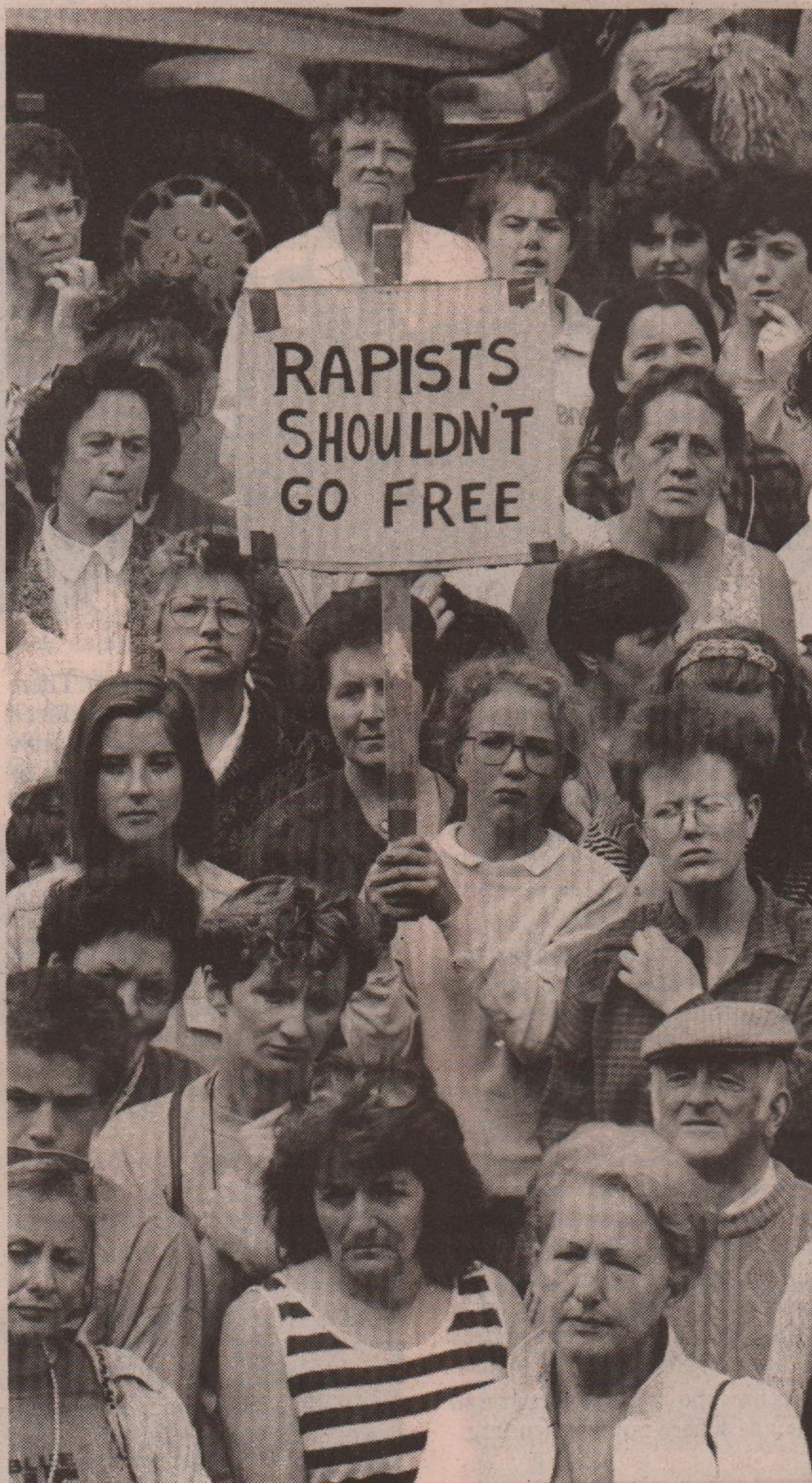
There is a right wing argument on mandatory sentences which socialists have no truck with. The Irish Council of Civil Liberties and Albert Reynolds claim that it would destroy the independence and discretion of the judges. This is pure hypocrisy. The judges have no independence. They are appointed because of their wealthy backgrounds and the fact that they are F.F. and F.G. hacks.

In Ireland there is no rehabilitation treatment for rapists. They are usually imprisoned in isolation units because of attacks from other prisoners.

The idea that punishing them by locking them away will deter them and other people from committing crime has been disproved by criminologists who point to the high rate of recidivism (or re-offending). So imprisonment tackles neither the cause or the effect of rape.

The situation in the U.S. shows that punishment is never applied in a neutral way. The racism of the police force and the legal system shown most recently in the Rodney King case has very real consequences.

It means that black men are 7 times more likely to get the maximum sentence for rape (i.e. death penalty) than white men. 89% of men executed for rape in



Anger in Kilkenny: But are mandatory sentences the answer?

the U.S. between 1930 - 1964 were black, even though blacks make up only 11% of the U.S. population.

For liberals or feminists to side with a system that metes out justice like this, plays straight into the hands of the right wing. Such a reaction also fails to consider why rape happens in this society.

Individual

Although it is *individual* men who rape *individual* women, rape cannot be separated from other aspects of our society. To do so obscures the real causes of rape. There is no simple penal solution to problems whose roots lie deep within the nature of society.

Contrary to the myth that women are raped by men lurking in the shadows, only a minority of rapes are carried out by strangers. "Stranger-rape" accounted for less than 8% of all rapes reported to

Dublin's Rape Crisis Centre in 1990.

Figures from other countries reinforce this trend. The vast majority of rapes are carried out by someone known to the woman; by her boyfriend, ex-boyfriend, husband, acquaintance, relative etc.

They are not psychopathic monsters, but more usually as Lavinia Kerwick described her boyfriend who raped her "I trusted him 101% and we liked each other a lot... he was great and we got on very well."

Horrific

It seems horrific that something as intimate and personal as our relationships with other people can become so twisted and cruel. But even the most private aspects of people's lives don't exist in isolation from society that shapes us.

Rape is a violent and brutal product of a violent and brutal society. It is rooted in the sexual practices of that society and results from the structuring of men's relationships with women.

There is also a complete ideology which lays the basis for violence against women. Men and women are continuously forced to live stereotyped roles from the moment they are born.

Women are taught to be caring, submissive and passive while men are taught to be strong, confident and aggressive. These stereotypes trap both women and men.

Coupled with these roles, capitalism has turned everything, including something as personal as sex, into a commodity; something we must aspire to possessing. Sex is bought and sold as in pornography and prostitution, or is used to buy and sell other commodities for profit.

For men, having these commodities is supposed to provide their virility according to the world of advertising. As with all commodities, the message is that if it cannot be attained voluntarily, then it may be stolen, as in rape.

The founding statement of the London Rape Crisis Centre sums it up:

"In a society where women and men are seen as initiator and consentor, aggressive and passive, predator and prey, wolf and chick, then rape is not abnormal; rape is the logical extreme end of the spectrum of male and female relationships".

While rape is a minority occurrence in society, it is hardly surprising that the pressures to live up to such stereotypes cause a minority of men to break down.

It is only when we live in a society based on fulfilling human need, a socialist society, will we see sexual relationships and sexuality integrated into a whole range of human experience.

They will be free from the inequality and oppression and at times violence that characterise sexual relationships now.

That doesn't mean we just sit back and wait for that society to evolve. Fighting against the health cuts and for full funding of Rape Crisis Centres would mean that women who have been raped are better able to recover and cope.

Likewise, fighting for reforms like improved public transport through the night, better street lighting etc. means that women can travel without fear.

In the process of fighting for these services women build up the confidence to take greater control over other aspects of their lives.

But because the majority of rapes don't occur on the streets improvements such as these are not enough. The best way to stop women being raped is to improve their position in society.

Kieran Allen looks at why there is no recovery in sight.

RECESSION



How serious is the present recession? Are we facing into a 1930s style crash?

The recession is extremely serious. In the US there are 10 million out of work. In Britain it is now almost 3 million. Across the industrial nations the diseases of poverty are returning.

In Ireland and Britain there has been a rise in TB, a disease that was nearly eradicated in the 1950s.

In Africa, famine stalks the land. Even in wealthier countries such as Zimbabwe there are food riots in the cities because of the effects of drought and recession.

But the recession is by no means as deep as the crash in the early 1930s. Then industrial production fell by 20% in a year. World trade was cut to just one third of the 1929 level.

What worries the bosses is that this recession is the longest since the Second World War. It began at the end of the 1980s and continues today. They keep predicting a recovery but nothing happens.

In October last year, the British Finance Minister Norman Lamont, was talking about the 'green shoots of recovery'. Almost a year later, the ground is still frozen over. In the US, they are talking now of a "triple dip" recession as the economy goes down for a third time.

The other thing that worries them is the spread of the recession. Every one of the major industrial countries except Germany - which has its own problems - is locked into recession.

Last year they were hoping that Japan could pull up the world economy. But now industrial production in Japan has fallen by 9%. There has also been a massive fall in stock market prices in Tokyo.

The recession is spreading beyond the industrialised West to the Newly Industrialising Countries like Korea and Brazil. In the mid seventies it was the growth of these countries which helped to pull the world out of recession.

Lastly, the former Eastern bloc is a complete wreck. The turn to the market has intensified the misery. So the uniformity of the recession across the world is different to the recessions of 1973-74 and that of 1981-2.

So how do the economists explain what is happening?

The fact is that they are in a complete muddle. Most of the official economists are apologists for capitalism. So they look only at the superficial symptoms - and keep getting it wrong.

So we are told in Ireland that the recovery is being stopped by the high interest rates. But the interest rates are only one symptom of the problem. In the US interest rates stand at only 3% - the lowest in 30 years. And still there is no sign of recovery.

In every other recession the bourgeois economists have always had an alibi. In the mid-1970s, they claimed that the recession came from the oil price rises. In the early 1980s, they blamed high wage rises and public spending as the cause.

But now they have come through a decade where public spending

whole this causes a problem. There are far more goods being produced - but as the proportion of money spent on wages decreases, less of these goods can be bought. This is what the capitalists call the problem of 'over-capacity'.

They have been so competitive that they find they cannot sell their goods!

But Marx also pointed to another more serious problem for capitalism. He argued that there was a long term tendency for the rate of profit to fall.

This is often dismissed by the learned economists as a piece of useless dogma. But you look at capitalism and you find that it is an ageing system.

In the 1960s, the world economy grew at roughly 5% a year - historically a fantastic achievement. In the 1970s, it decreased to a growth rate of 3% a year. In the 1980s, it is down again to 2% a year.

So what is Marx's argument about why the rate of profit falls? You might think that in the 1980s, capitalists were able to make fantastic profits.

You have to distinguish between the absolute levels of profit and the rate of return on the capital that was invested. You often read a company's profit has increased from 8 million to 10 million over a particular period.

This sounds impressive until you hear that the capital invested had also increased from 50 million to 100 million. What has actually happened is that there has been a decline in the rate of profit from a 16% return to a 10%.

On a broader scale this is what is happening right across capitalist economies. So between 1963 and 1966 the real rate of return on manufacturing investments was 15.5%. For the period 1974 to 1978 it had declined to 9.7%. In the eighties, it declined still further.

Marx argued that this tendency for the rate of profit to fall was inevitable within the system. Each individual capitalist tries to invest in more and more machinery at the expense of labour.

The first to get into new technology such as, for example, CNC machine tools in the engineering trade makes fantastic profits at the expense of their rivals.

But this in turn forces their competitors to re-equip and re-tool if they are to compete. What happens then is that there is a general growth in investment at the expense of labour.

Here there is a major problem for the system. It is labour and the exploitation of labour that is the source of profits. If you are employing less and less labour in proportion to investment, the rate of profit starts to fall.

Bourgeois economists deny this and claim that more investment in machinery lowers prices and expands the market creating space for more profits. But look at the computer industry.

Investment in new technology expands the sale of all sorts of computers at lower prices. But still the rate of profit keeps decreasing.

Today the largest computer company IBM is in great difficulties

what is wrong, the sharper ones focus on the problem of debt.

It is a huge problem. In the US government debt stands at 390 billion dollars - the highest share of GNP since the 1930s. In Britain the rate of personal debt to disposable income is twice as high in 1990 as it was in 1980.

Firms are also loaded down with debt. Again in Britain, the average rate of borrowing by firms is twice as high as it was in 1987. So the talk of a 'debt overhang' is a reflection of a real problem.

But the high rise of debt is a symptom of the wider issues we have mentioned. The connection between the rise in debt and the falling rate of profit is two fold.

First, during the 1980s the fall in the rate of profit in production drove many capitalists to seek quick profits in completely unproductive activities.

For a while, they believed that 'the consumer boom' and the frenetic activity on the stock markets would solve their problems.

Two examples will show the pattern of activity.

In Ireland, a completely useless company, Edenderry Shoes, was lucky enough to be listed on the stock exchange. All of a sudden the

We are living in a period of fantastic political instability.

and thousands of 'successful' companies have been driven out of existence.

But how does this all fit into the problem of debt?

This is important. When commentators look for symptoms of

price of its shares shot through the roof.

It had not produced a single extra shoe - but it had become a 'shell company' for speculating of the purchase of shares in gambling casinos!

DOWN

10 Million are on the dole in the U.S.A.

In Japan, you had a huge splurge in speculative activity in property prices and other areas. Major companies such as Nomura Insurance paid a fortune for paintings such as Van Gogh's *Sunflowers*.

The money for this frenzy of speculative activity has been raised by borrowing. But now they are suffering a real hangover after the borrowing and speculative binge of the 1980s.

Second, as the rate of profit begins to drop, the money that is left in banks for other capitalists to borrow becomes scarcer. At the same time the recession means that companies want to borrow more desperately in order to stave off bankruptcy and 'cash flow' problems.

The result is a sharp rise in interest rates which adds further to their problems.

How are the politicians and the bosses going to find a way out?

They have real problems. In the 1980s, the different states worked together to overcome difficulties. In 1984 and 1986 they worked together to stabilise their currencies. After the 1987 crash, they agreed jointly to reflate their economies.

But to-day the continuing recession is putting them at each others throats. They cannot conclude agreements on free trade. You find that the G7 meets in Munich and urges a reduction in interest rates.

But within a week, the Germans start pushing up interest rates to handle their inflationary problems raised by unification.

This growing rivalries between the capitalist states reflects something else. The traditional capitalist solutions to recession no longer work as well.

One solution in the past was to let some companies go bankrupt so that machinery and labour became cheaper to buy for the remaining capitalists. But if a large company goes down to-day it can pull huge

sectors of the economy with them.

This is why the Irish state has stepped in to bail out AIB and Goodman. In the US, Chrysler was also bailed out. The centralisation and past success of the capitalist economies become nightmares in the present.

The other solution was to let inflation rip. This had the advantage of writing off debt. But today the financial and industrial sectors are more integrated. It is harder to save industry at the expense of some of the banks.

It is also a very dangerous strategy as it tends to increase class struggle as workers fight to keep up with inflation.

This is not to say that a recovery will not happen. It probably will - but it may be short and weak and none of the problems will have disappeared.

What does this mean politically for socialists?

Socialists start from the self activity of workers. But when you look around to-day, the picture on our side of the fence sometimes looks bleak. The recession means that workers are terrified about losing their jobs. The bosses seem to have the whip hand.



But socialists have to see the contradictions throughout the whole of society rather than being one-sided. The recession is causing havoc among our rulers.

Right across the world there is civil war among them. Look at the intricate games that lie behind the facade of imperialist unity on the issue of Yugoslavia. There is a constant jockeying between the US, France and Germany for power and influence.

On a more minor level, look at how Reynolds ratted on Haughey and threw 10 ministers out of the

Cabinet. These splits reflect the fact that they have no way out of the problems in Ireland.

This affects their confidence. They become paralysed. They cannot make decisions but twist and turn. Everytime Reynolds have to make a decision, he sets up a commission. He tries to govern like a cutecountrymen pulling off stunt after stunt.

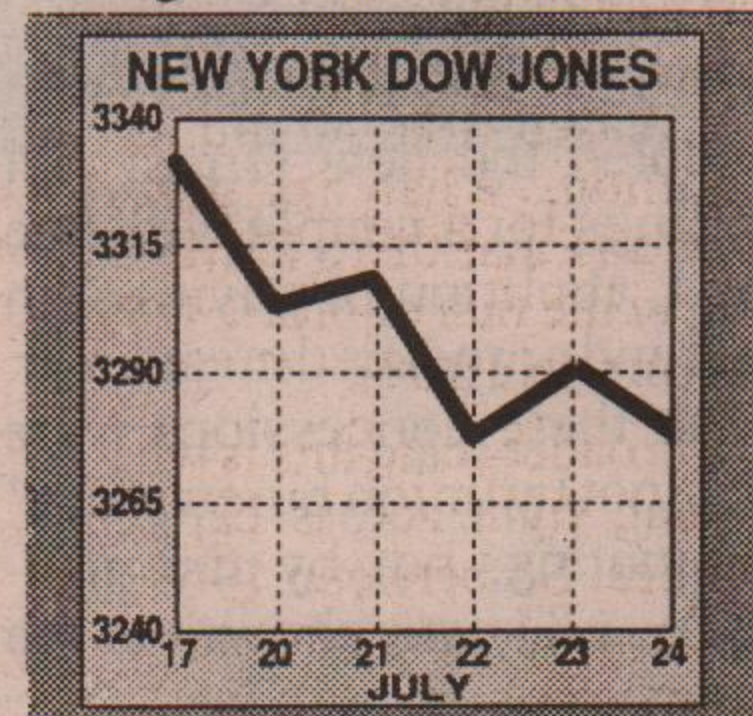
This is why it is wrong to characterise the situation we are in as a downturn. The weakness on our side is balanced by the weakness and fears on theirs. We are living in a period of fantastic political instability.

The splits among our rulers spread that instability throughout society. You can see how the scandals of last year, fed into the anger of bank workers who were called on to make sacrifices.

What we have now is a new mood of bitterness and anger. But this mood has not found an organised focus. This is why sudden bursts of immense struggle are followed by short periods of complete calm.

In February 10,000 people took to the streets on abortion. In June only 350 people turned up to call for scrapping of SPUC's amendment.

The calm will not last. The bitterness will seek different outlets. The key in this situation to build an organisation that can generalise the anger.



Defend Greek Socialists

by Conor Kostick

The war in what was once Yugoslavia shows no sign of relenting. Bosnia hardly exists any longer, carved up between the rulers of both Serbia and Croatia. The 300 000 people of Sarajevo are enduring their fourth month of blockade and bombardment. Two million people have now been made homeless.

The UN and EC talk of bringing aid to the distressed is clearly rhetorical, they have refused help to the refugees, with Germany, Austria and Italy virtually closing their borders to them. Far from bringing stability to the area, it was the EC who brokered the partition of Bosnia which is at the root of the current fighting.

Nationalism and war is threatening to escalate throughout the region. The Austrian Foreign Minister Mr. Alois Mock is vociferously demanding military intervention; France; Britain; Italy and other NATO members are assembling a large fleet in the Adriatic whilst both Greece and Bulgaria are beating the nationalist drum.

There is resistance to the warmongering of the world's leaders. Anti-war demonstrations continue in Serbia, whilst in Greece a crucial trial is set to take place next month.

The Greek socialist organisation, the OSE, have produced and distributed a pam-

phlet which argues against the nationalism of the Greek Tory Government. In particular it argues that the people of Macedonia (a country divided between Greece and until recently Yugoslavia) should be given recognition and full rights, including that of self-determination.

The Government has responded hysterically, arresting five leading members of the OSE citing three separate charges of treason and incitement which could each carry a sentence of 5 years in prison. The trial is clearly an act of intimidation designed to suppress internationalist and anti-war views.

Greece has already vetoed EC recognition of Macedonia. The Greek rulers have ambitions to participate in the carve up of the Balkans and want to channel the discontent of workers suffering cuts in living standards towards nationalism.

Under these circumstances it is vital that their warmongering is checked. Everyone who wants to see peace in the Balkans and defend freedom of speech should add their voice to the campaign against the trial. A campaign supported in Greece by PASOK ministers, trade unionists and journalists. For letters of protest and petitions write to **SWM P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8** or write direct to the **Committee to Defend Greek Socialists, P.O. Box 8161, Athens 10010, Greece.**

OUT NOW!

The real Marxist tradition

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

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

The world depression of the early 1930's hit the North very badly. By 1932, official figures showed 76,000 were unemployed. The real figure was even higher, as another 30,000 had been struck off the live register.

Conditions for the unemployed were extremely severe. They only got dole if they had paid social security contributions in the last two years, if they passed a rigid means test and if they were 'genuinely seeking work'.

Anyone not getting dole had a choice of either going into the workhouse or applying for Outdoor Relief. The relief schemes were administered by the Board of Guardians. They involved unemployed men doing 'task work' like building roads or repairing pavements.

For two and a half day's work, a married man with a wife and one child got paid 12 shillings a week. Often there was not enough 'task work' to go around.

Then the allowance was paid in the form of a food parcel, but there was no allowance for clothes, rent or fuel. Single men got nothing unless they did the 'task work' and even then they only got 3s/6d a week. Single women got nothing at all.

The relief rates in Belfast were lower than anywhere else in U.K. The same family that got 12 shillings a week in Belfast would have got 21 shillings in Manchester or 23 shillings in Liverpool. This was done so that big businessmen's taxes could be kept down.

Against this background, a socialist organisation called the Revolutionary Workers Group (RWG) began to grow.

But by the middle of 1932 they still only had 50 members in Belfast. They were hostile to the Northern Ireland Labour Party, who wanted to improve conditions by winning control of the Board of Guardians elections in June 1933. But the unemployed weren't willing to starve that long.

The RWG set up an Outdoor Relief Workers Committee. They demanded: abolition of task work; increase in relief rates to 15s/3d for a man, 8s/3d for a wife, 2s/0d per child; payments for single men and women; no payment in kind and all relief to be paid in cash; street improvement work to be done at union wage rates.

Support

The Committee got support from both Catholic and Protestant unemployed. Both sections of the working class had been badly affected by the depression. 20,000 people attended a protest rally in August 1932.

On October 3rd, 2,000 relief workers went on strike. A flying picket of over 2,000 went from site to site to make sure

1932: When the Falls and Shankill United

by Kieran Glennon



Belfast 1932: Catholic and Protestant workers united and took to the streets.

the strike was solid. That night, thousands marched through the city centre to back the demands for 'work and wages, not charity'.

The RWG's paper said "It was an overwhelming demonstration of class might and determination, as the masses moved forward, rank after rank, contingent after contingent, their crimson banners gleaming in the flare of the lighted torches that they were carrying. This was the working class - no political party or religious sect. Old differences and prejudices had vanished, burnt out in the fire of a common suffering and need".

The next day, 7,000 strikers marched on the Belfast workhouse where the Board of Guardians usually met. Demonstrations continued and on October 5th, 150 men broke through an RUC blockade and gained admission to the workhouse.

The Unionists were alarmed at this display of working class unity. They offered some small concessions which the strikers rejected. Instead they called a demonstration for October 11th; the strike was stepped up to include a rent strike, a hire-purchase strike and a school attendance strike.

Using the Special Powers Act, the government banned the demonstration. 700 extra police were drafted into Belfast and issued with rifles. But in defiance of the ban, crowds began to form in Catholic and Protestant working class areas on the 11th.

The Unionists now tried to drive a sectarian wedge between the workers. On the Falls, they used armoured cars and opened fire killing two

strikers; in response the strikers dug trenches and built barricades.

When news of the fighting reached the Shankill, Protestant strikers showed their solidarity by rioting and attacking the RUC.

Fighting side by side, Catholic and Protestant strikers forced the RUC out of the Falls and the Shankill. The Government then imposed a curfew to last a week.

The official Belfast Trades Council, who had been bypassed by the RWG militants, threatened to call a general strike if the relief workers demands were not met.

Negotiations

But they used the call to get into negotiations with the government. The Unionists saw this as their chance to get off the hook; the Trades Council intervention had taken the initiative from the RWG.

The Unionist "Newsletter" paper welcomed the Trades Council's move: "firebrands are being swept aside by responsible trade union leaders".

The government pressurised the Board of Guardians into announcing new rates on October 15th. The Trades Council accepted the new terms: 24 shillings for a couple with one child, abolition of payment in kind and a modified means test.

But these concessions were won, not by union bureaucrats' negotiating, but by the militancy and anger shown on the streets.

However single people were still excluded from any gains.

The RWGs and the Trades

Council made the mistake of accepting this. The solidarity built up was undermined. A separate organisation for single unemployed was set up, then the Trades Council set up

a moderate unemployed organisation.

By December, the Board of Guardians were able to exploit this disunity and renege on the concessions made in October.

We Think

Can events like those of 1932 ever happen again? Some claim that they cannot because of the bitterness left by the 'troubles' of the last 20 years.

But this ignores the fact that Belfast unemployed riots happened after a decade of sectarian strife in the 1920's. Between 1920 and 1922, 10,000 Catholic workers and radical Protestant were driven out of their jobs.

After the Unionist victory at the Boundary Commission in 1925 where partition was confirmed, confidence in the Unionist politicians was never higher.

Yet despite its sectarian history, Belfast in 1932 stood out like a beacon to the labour movement elsewhere. In the South, defeats were driving workers into the arms of Fianna Fail. In Britain, demoralisation was widespread after the experience of the Ramsey McDonald Labour government of 1931.

Others claim that 1932 was a minor episode that gave way quickly to the pogroms of 1935. They argue that there can be no working class unity until after the border is removed.

But it was the defeat of the 1932 struggles which opened the doors to the pogroms. Thousands of single men were embittered by the fact that they

fought and gained nothing.

The RWG also made serious mistakes which contributed to the subsequent demoralisation. They had no base among rank and file employed workers that would have allowed them to oppose the Trade Council's sell-out.

They compounded this problem by refusing to work with left-wingers in the Northern Ireland Labour Party NILP, denouncing them as 'social fascists'.

The RWG also made a mistake in believing that Protestant workers had *already* broken from loyalism fully during the riots. They made the same mistake as Larkin during the 1907 Dock strike: they failed to take up the political arguments about the role of the RUC and the Orange Order at the high point of struggle.

If they had done this they could have built a far larger network of socialist militants inside the Protestant working class. This would have laid a much wider base for working class unity. Nevertheless, despite these mistakes the RWG made some gains. They showed that socialists in Northern Ireland do not have to wait until either partition is removed or until after the Southern working class rises up, before they can reach a big audience.

News from the SWM

SWM PUBLIC MEETINGS

WATERFORD: CAN THE POWER OF THE CHURCH BE BROKEN?

20 August Thursday 8pm,
ATGWU Hall.

DUBLIN: CAN THE POWER OF THE CHURCH BE BROKEN?

5 August Wednesday 8pm,
Ormond Hotel, Ormond Quay

KILKENNY: THE FIGHT FOR WOMEN'S RIGHTS

18 August Tuesday Club
House Hotel

CORK: CAN THE POWER OF THE CHURCH BE BROKEN?

25 August Tuesday 8pm Im-
perial Hotel

BELFAST: MARXISM AND RELIGION

17 August 8pm See posters
for venue

DERRY: MARXISM AND RELIGION

see posters for date and venue

GALWAY: THE RISE OF FASCISM

11 August Tuesday 8pm see
posters for details.

Countering the Nazi menace

Right across Europe fascist organisations have been growing. In France the neo-Nazi National Front gets 15% of the vote.

In Germany fascist thugs have attacked immigrant hostels. In Italy and Belgium extreme right wing organisations have got high votes. In order to discuss this new fascist threat, the SWM organised a speaking tour in July across several cities in Ireland.

The response to the meetings was very strong. In Dublin, 110 people turned up to take part in a lively debate. In Belfast and Waterford almost 30 people turned up in each town.

Seven people joined the SWM as a result of the tour.

Solidarity

SWM members have also been very active in supporting Waterford Glass workers. These workers have a tremendous record of solidarity with other workers over the years and their struggle can become a focus for a lot of the anger that is around.

In Waterford, SWM members have joined the pickets on the corporation and had a good contingent in the march in the town to support the glass workers.

In Dublin, SWM has started a petition on O'Connell St. to help explain the issues involved. There has been a high interest from trade unionists. Hundreds have signed the petition and almost 30 papers have been sold on every occasion the petition has been held. Up and down the country, the SWM is becoming the most active organisation on the left.

If you want to find out more about or politics or join the organisation, please fill in the coupon below.

What we stand for

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM:

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

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

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

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

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

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

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

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

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

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

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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


Books for the summer

From the riots in LA to the struggle against Fascism in Europe, it has never been clearer why we need the vision of a socialist society. Crucial to creating that alternative is theory, and this summer's list from British Socialist Publishers *Bookmarks* contains invaluable ideas.

Top of the list is *'Malcolm X - Socialism and Black Nationalism'* by Kevin Ovenden. This short book outlines the life and politics of the black revolutionary of the 1960's and what lessons we can draw for the fight against racism today.
£3.20 inc. P&P.

The image of the British Police has taken a battering in the last few years. To many the cases of the Birmingham 6 and Guilford 4 may seem to be aberrations but as Audrey Farrel shows in *'Crime, Class and Corruption'*, the history of the police is one of serving the interests

OUT NOW



What he stood for. Why George Bush hates him. Why Jesse Jackson should hate him. What he offers the struggle today.

Malcolm X
Socialism and Black Nationalism
Kevin Ovenden

of the rich. This book examines the real roots of crime and the record of the British Police with some important lessons for us here.

£6.20 inc P+P.

Across Europe the tide of Nazism has gained alarming momentum. Yet millions of people

want to stop the Nazis. To do this we need to look at the history and the lessons of the struggle against Fascism. A new pamphlet *'Killing the Nazi Menace'* by Chris Bambery does just that and outlines a strategy for today.
£1.75 inc P+P.

Finally the new *International Socialism Journal* has its lead article on the subject of 'Race and Class', as well as an important debate on the Russian Revolution of 1917.
£2.50 inc P+P

Join Us!

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

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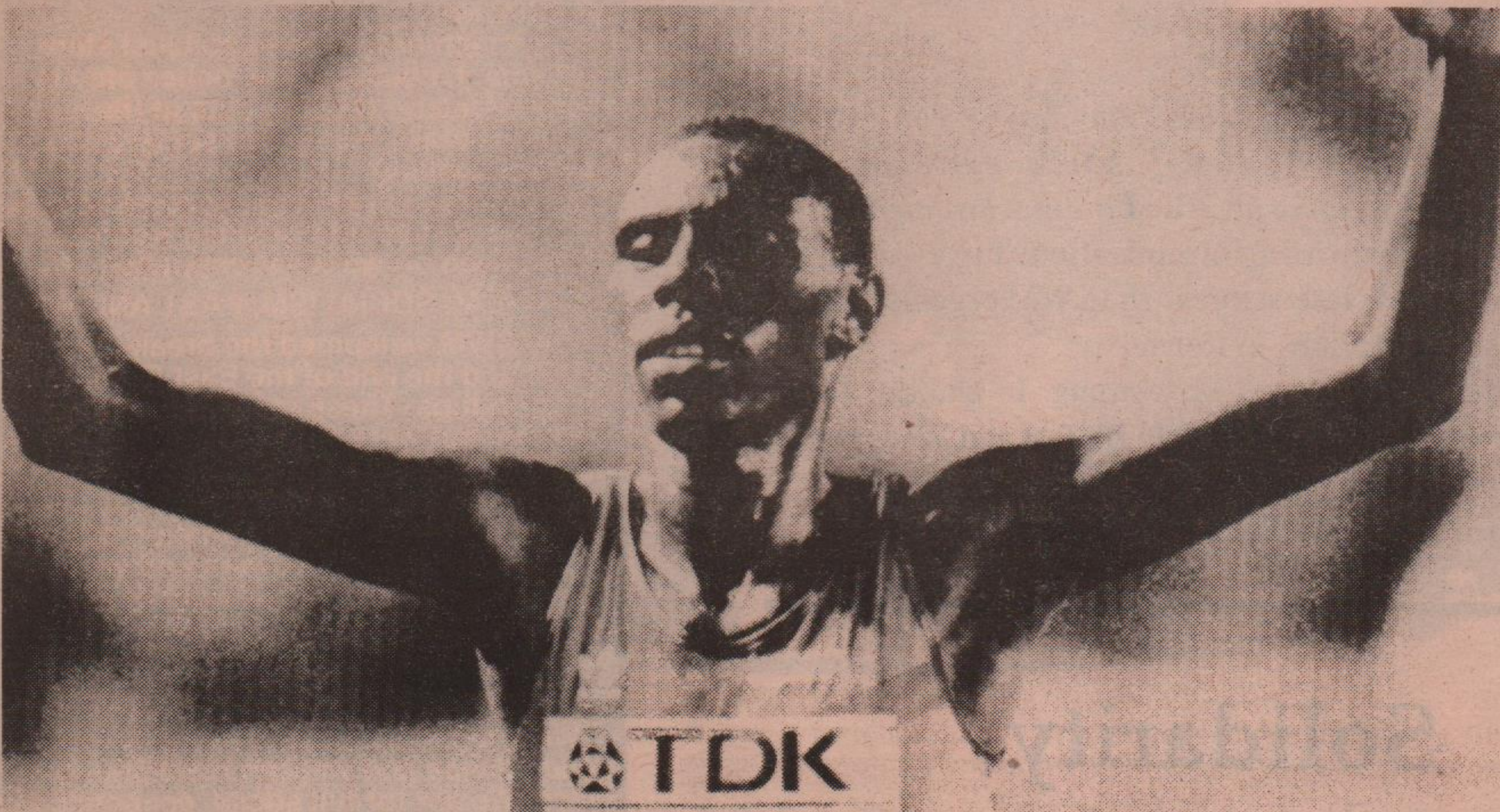
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Reviews

The Olympics: The Myths and the Money

The Olympic Games have been presented on television as a great celebration of sporting achievement. But in fact it's not sport but money which has been set up as a god in Barcelona. Individual athletes may win medals. But giant multinational corporations have "won" fabulous profits.



A victory for Kenya or a victory for TDK?

The US network NBC paid £285 million for television rights - and sold £400 million worth of advertising on the strength of it £115 million clear profit.

An event supposedly dedicated to health and fitness had Coca Cola and Mars as two of its major sponsors - for a payment of around £20 million each. Ten other multinationals coughed up similar amounts.

In all, 26 major capitalist concerns grabbed a share of the action - not to mention smaller companies with deals with national teams or individual sports.

All of them are able to use the Five Rings Olympic logo on their products and to hook their advertising onto coverage of the games. In this way they get their sales propaganda through to the vast sporting audience.

This drive for profit is what fuels the entire Olympic operation.

Sports journalists and other commentators often complain that the money-mad modern Olympics represent a betrayal of the "true spirit" of the Games and of sport generally. And it is true that the commercial aspect is more dominant than ever before.

But the Olympics were never as clean, innocent, and noble as is commonly suggested.

The modern Games were invented by a French nationalist, Baron de Coubertin, at the tail-end of the last century. He was obsessed with fear that the young people of France were "going soft", and might prove unable or unwilling to defend the French colonial empire.

His solution was to try to import the ethos of British public schools like Eton and Harrow, to create a sturdy elite, confident of its own "natural" superiority and right to rule over lesser breeds.

De Coubertin broke with the Olympic movement in 1928 in protest against a decision to allow women's events.

The Games were always viciously nationalist and marked by fraud and cheating. And by the 1930s they had

also become thoroughly commercial. The International Olympic Committee has always allowed the Games to be used for propaganda purposes both by big business and right-wing regimes. The 1936 Games were awarded to Berlin and opened by Hitler in a stadium festooned with swastikas. The stadium toilets carried notices saying, "No dogs or Jews". The IOC issued no protest.

The ceremony of the Olympic Flame being carried from the site of the ancient Games in Greece to the main stadium was invented by Nazi propagandists in 1936. The purpose was to symbolise and alleged connection between the perfect Aryan race of Hitlerite fantasy and the glories of ancient civilisation.

The stadium toilets carried notices saying, "No dogs or Jews". The IOC issued no protest.

Far from objecting to this Nazi propaganda, the Olympic authorities went along with it and incorporated the phoney Flame ceremony into every subsequent Games.

Berlin was given the Games in 1936 in preference to Barcelona - because the Left-wing Spanish Government had just declared a Republic.

Any Irish medal in any Olympics causes an explosion of delight across the land, and socialists tend to join in the celebrations. After all, there's little enough to be cheerful about these times.

But sporting successes have a downside as well. They encourage the illusion that we are all one big happy family, sharing equally and contentedly in our Irishness. This diverts attention away from the sharp divisions in society, creating a mushy feeling of oneness between exploited and exploiter.

If this seems a typical, Marxist, kill-joy attitude, we should ponder the fact that the exploiters - and their political mouthpieces - are very conscious that sports success has this function.

Why else was Charlie Haughey on the podium in Paris in 1987 when Stephen Roche won the Tour de France? Why else was it impossible to get a glimpse of some of the soccer players coming home from Italy in 1990 because the crush of Fianna Failers on the triumphant bus?

They know how useful it is to their class to be associated with the mass popularity of a successful sports person or team. In what other context could the representative of those who exploit the mass of the people present themselves to the masses, and them cheering?

There's nothing particularly wrong about spending a couple of weeks watching the Olympics on television and hoping for an Irish success - as long as we remember that even a fistful of gold medals won't change the real world, where the class struggle rages on regardless.

We should remember too that the craving we all sometimes have for sporting success to feel joyful about testifies to how empty our lives are living in a capitalist world over which we have no control and where we find so little fulfilment.

In the future socialist society working class people won't have such need of heroes to identify with, our own lives being far fuller.

THE PLAYER

Reviewed by Eamonn MacRodain

"The Player" directed by Robert Altman and starring Tim Robbins as a stressed out Hollywood executive is extremely good value for money.

Set on a Hollywood lot, it is crammed full of suspense, humour and analysis. It contains hundreds of plots, hundreds of stars and at least two happy endings!

The film effectively combines a Hitchcock thriller with a send up of the Hollywood star system. Even though it is a send up it betrays the director's obsessive fondness for the racket he criticises so ruthlessly and funnily throughout.

Notable scenes include a Burt Reynolds cameo, a mudbath, an outline of the sequel to "The Graduate", an hilarious episode at a line up in a police station, and the Bruce Williams scene which effectively assassinates the only tiny piece of idealism that rears its head during the course of the film.

It is a killer punchline to a movie that is an elaborate joke at Hollywood's expense, and that mocks the idea that the American film industry has anything to do with creativity. Go see it!

National Liberation

by Nigel Harris. (Penguin £6.99 U.K.)

Reviewed by Simon Gilbert.

"It still seems unlikely that the Soviet Union will break up, but in conditions of very rapid change such an opinion could be outdated even before this book is published", writes Nigel Harris in 'National Liberation' originally published in 1990. The dramatic disintegration of the

investments of the oil companies and to demonstrate its strength to rural states.

The argument is most explicit in a discussion of immigration controls. Harris claims they "impose an economically disastrous degree of rigidity upon the creation of a labour



former USSR is indeed testimony to the pace of change. It also shows how nationalist ideas dominate the world at a time when it is more integrated than ever.

Harris is at his strongest when describing how the world economy makes a nonsense of national labels. "That 'Japanese car' is assembled in the United States by Mexican and Korean workers, from parts made in twenty other countries, by a corporation whose parent is registered in Tokyo".

The advent of production on an international scale has certainly undermined the independence of individual states. The collapse of the wholly state-run economies of Eastern Europe shows this most clearly.

In the West the 'mixed economy' was abandoned in favour of privatisation and monetarism.

But does this mean that the nation state and nationalist ideology act against the interests of multinational capital? Harris seems to think so:

"Thus, the political conditions for a world divided by states come directly into conflict with the imperatives of an integrated world economy".

But the major corporations still rely on national states to police the world. The U.S. used its military might to defeat Iraq both to protect the

force appropriate to a changing national economy".

However, controls are if anything becoming stricter and the bosses show no signs of opposition. The fact is that regulated migration can sow divisions between 'natives' and 'migrants', so weakening the labour movements.

Even illegal immigration has its place - witness the cynical use of Mexican 'illegals' as cheap labour in California.

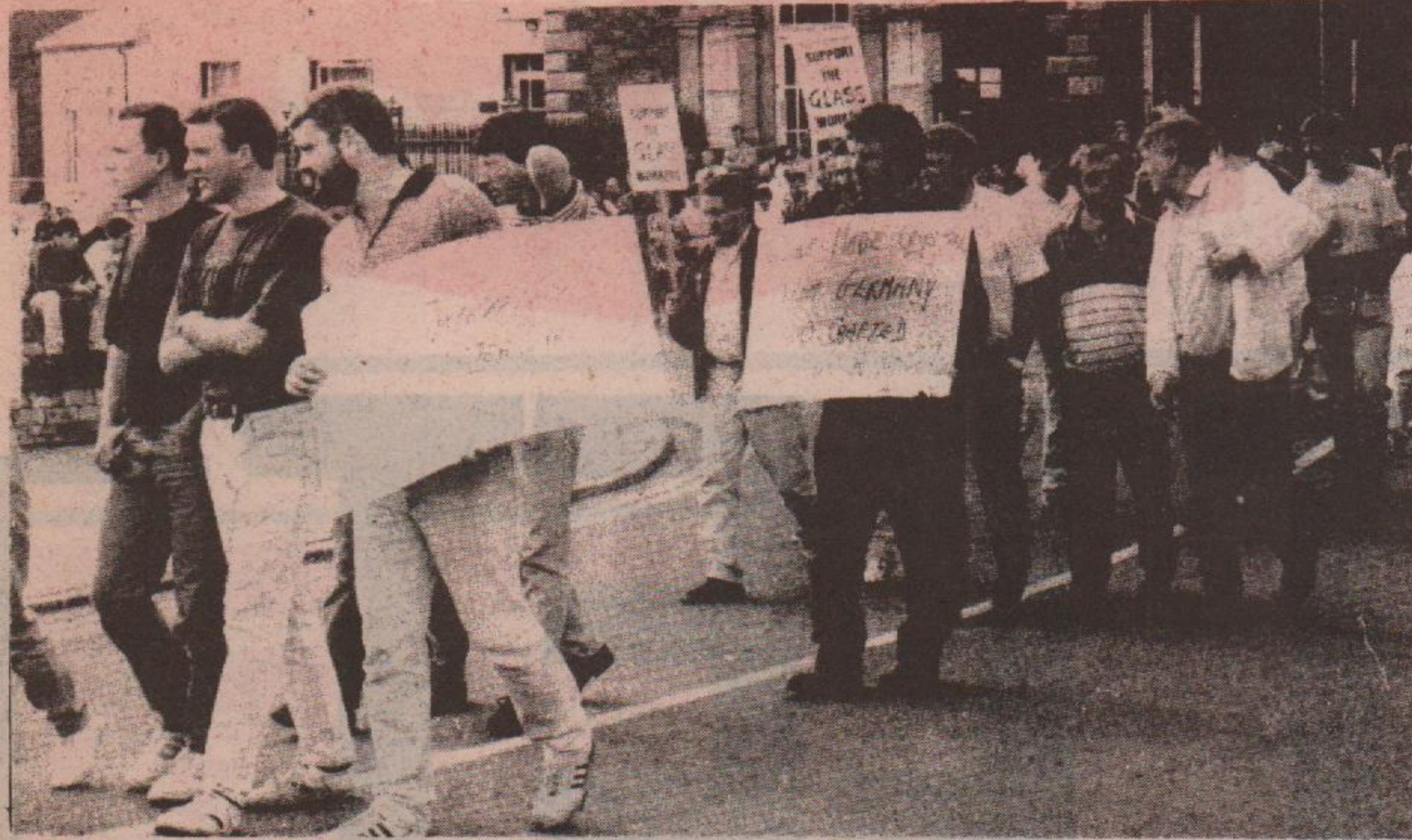
Despite the trend to internationalisation a handful of imperialist powers continue to dominate a world of competing states. In this situation those at the bottom - such as the Kurds or Palestinians - continue to look to national liberation.

The existence of nationalist ideologies does not depend on the possibility of economic independence.

'National Liberation' is far more wide ranging than can be conveyed here. The origins of nationalism, the Marxist view and histories of liberation struggles in China, India and Sri Lanka are all covered.

But for a comprehensive account of the role of the state in modern capitalism, read Chris Harman's 'State and Capital' in International Socialism Journal No. 51.

Waterford Crystal: Cut Glass not Jobs!



IF THE Government had the slightest interest in defending working class people they could easily prevent a single job loss. After all they've spent more than £200m bailing out Larry Goodman. Top managers of Waterford Glass, Paddy Galvin and Brian Patterson who earn £150 000 a year are not being asked to tighten their belts. Nor is Tony O'Reilly, a man whose companies have a controlling interest in the Glassworks and who is reputed to have an income of over £1.5m a week. A 40% cut for him and no-one else need suffer at all!

THE FACT is that the employers are using the recession to have a go at one of Ireland's best organised workplaces. The response should be a simple one.

Not the slightest concession to these attacks, it's

the bosses who should pay for the company's problems.

All workers have a stake in this battle. If the management get away with their plans here it will encourage every other employer to seek swinge-

ing cuts.

The campaign to fight the attacks is under way. 300 workers lobbied the Waterford Corporation in mid July. The Corporation was forced to back a demonstration on Saturday July 25th which had

that the people who have been forced to support the workers can use the platform to promote their views.

This already has happened when the mayor of Waterford Tom Brown and Austin Deasey started attacking union convener Jimmy Kelly as "irresponsible". This is nothing new for Deasey. He attacked the workers during the last strike. Brown puts the interests of the bosses party FF above the workers.

Workers should pay no heed to the insults of these politicians who want to lick the O'Reilly's boots. The other danger is that the Union awaits the outcome of a legal challenge to the use of the name "Waterford". Regardless of the legal situation, any strategy that keeps the bulk of members passive is a disastrous one.

The truth is that the stakes are high and the corresponding level of action

Every multi-national plays on the threat of changing its investment plans to play off workers in one country against another. Fords for example told its Dagenham workers investment was going to go to Valencia, and its Valencia workers the exact opposite!

In the case of Waterford Glass, the management has put in sizeable capital investment, and to make matters even more inflexible for them, 100 000 Americans a year visit the factory, people who will not relocate to Germany.

The company and the Government are vulnerable, not to talks and legal challenges, but to decisive militant action.

A determined fight, involving the most vigorous and resolute action from the workforce, will send an electric shock throughout the country.

It will become a rallying point for every worker

All workers have a stake in this battle.

600 many people marching.

Although the campaign up to now has won broad support, there are two possible dangers. One is

from every worker will need to be high. No worker should be swayed by the argument that the company might walk away from Waterford.

experiencing the effects of recession. It would also be a fight that the government could not ignore.

Conrad Nursing Home Strike

by Joseph Carolan

WORKERS IN the Conrad Nursing Home on the New Cabra Road in Phibsboro have gone on strike, following written threats from their boss that if they joined a union they would be fired "before the day was out".

Tired of a system of hire and fire, where workers could be dismissed if the boss, Joseph McBride, took a personal dislike to them, six of the nurses joined SIPTU and pushed for an official dispute.

Working conditions in the private home are, in their own words, "out of the dark ages". The nurses have no formal contract of employment, and are expected to be available for work seven days a week, with no extra pay for Sundays. They are expected to work Bank Holidays for less than time and a half.

However when the six joined the union and fought to improve conditions McBride hired part time workers to fill their positions. Thirteen full time workers have not joined the strike, and cross the official picket.

"It's crazy", one striker commented, "they want the benefits as much as we do, but they won't stick their necks out for fear of being fired. It's that intimidation we're fighting against!"

"Support for us has been fantastic since we went out, really unbelievable. Postmen have refused to pass our picket to deliver the mail, People come up and talk to us, and McBride's reputation in the area has plummeted. After all, we were only asking for the basics, for him to recognise our union!"

Issues for the Labour Movement

Is there an Underclass? by Willie Cumming

THE OLD class divisions belong to the 19th century. The working class as a distinct class is dead. It is time to move on to a "new agenda".

This has become a popular refrain today. Many argue that the real division in society today is between "the contented" who are in a majority and the "underclass" of unemployed, single parent families and those in permanent poverty.

This is the argument often expounded by Fr. Peter McVerry and the Conference of Major Superiors. They make often make good statements on what is wrong in society but believe that the great majority are living in affluence because of the sufferings of an "underclass".

The same argument is echoed in sections of the Democratic Left. At a forum organised by the SWM, Pronsias Breathnach, a leading member of Democratic Left, spoke of how socialists had to recognize they lived in an "affluent society" and adjust their politics accordingly.

THE RIOTS in Los Angeles is also seen as a revolt of the "underclass". The Tory election in Britain is presented as evidence of the domination of the "contented".

Or as John Waters, in a recent *Irish Times* article put it, "the politics of contentment is now almost all-pervasive".

He argues, "the contented are opposed to any public policy which is geared to the long term, preferring short term action which protects their immediate well being. Issues like unemployment, emigration, public education, homelessness, drug addiction and poverty are largely excluded from the political agenda".

But there is no evidence that the majority are all that contented. In fact studies in Ireland and Britain show that the very issues that Waters mentions are top of the majority of people's worries.

In the US much of the opposition to Bush is centred around the fact that under his and Reagan's Presidencies the rich have become richer at the expense of the majority.

Major's election victory did not happen because of a selfish majority that wanted to hold on to what they had. On issues such as privatisation or anti-trade union legislation, the Labour Party promised that there would be no change.

Labour Councils set out to prosecute poll tax evaders with the same enthusiasm as their Tory counterparts.

With such an alternative it is no wonder that people stuck with the devil they knew.

The decline in union membership is held up as evidence of the increasing middle class nature of society. Again the evidence is the opposite.

There was a small fall of about 1.5% in union membership in Ireland in 1991. This loss was mainly due to redundancies and was concentrated in manufacturing industry.

But during the same period white collar unions such as

MSF and IDATU grew. The number of women in unions increased by 2,750.

Trade union organisation has strengthened in areas thought of as middle class such as public services, banking and insurance.

The automatic assumption of promotion in these areas is going. Much of the work is low paid, boring and repetitive. Today a clerical assistant in the civil service can expect to earn at maximum princely sum of £210 per week before tax.

As a result of solidarity shown during the bank strike, the IBOA is considering joining the ICTU.

Those who see themselves as part of the working class is growing.

The notion of a contented, bought off, class does not fit the reality of people's lives. But is there a separate underclass?

What cannot be denied is that there is a massive and still rising level of unemployment. At almost 300,000 or 21% of the workforce, the South has the highest rate of

unemployment in the EC.

But this does not mean there is a separate class — an underclass.

Marx described the unemployed as a "reserve army of labour". For capitalism they serve two functions. They form a pool of labour that the bosses can draw from when required. They also serve to discipline those who are at work.

Most of the unemployed move in and out of work. Unemployment in general is not a permanent state. The figures bear this out.

38.5% are unemployed for less than six months; 55% for less than a year. The figure for those unemployed for more than three years is 20.9%.

This is not to belittle the tragedy of long term unemployment. But it clearly shows that the general pattern is one of moving back and forth from work — usually in and out of low paid jobs.

This is why the arguments of a contented majority and an underclass should be challenged.

Dublin Port

WORKERS IN Dublin port are facing a new threat to their jobs. The port manager Shanley has informed the unions that new licences have been given to stevedores to operate on the South port. But these stevedores no longer have to use the port workers to service their operations.

Checkers have already been told that they have to move back from the South port.

This could be the first step to a complete privatisation of the South port.

Tragically, some of the union leaders are helping to create divisions between workers. At a mass meeting of port workers in June, one of the union reps said "they were all glad that the dockers had been sorted out".

But the defeat of the dockers could now be used to intimidate the other 520 workers who work for Dublin Port.

An anti-privatisation campaign must now be established to build for the fight that is coming in the port. Maximum unity must also be built up between groups of workers so that Shanley cannot pick off one section at a time.

B & I

THE 'BISON' and the 'Wicklow', B + I cargo ships, are currently holed up in port as a result of very effective industrial action.

300 ship's officers, members of SIPTU, are taking action to prevent the reduction of wages and manning levels threatened by the bosses.

Since privatisation management have wanted to attack the conditions of all 900 B + I workers, and were initiating plans to have a go in the winter. They have been halted in their tracks.

Socialist Worker

No two-tier Health Service!

DON'T LET THE TORIES DESTROY THE N.H.S.

The Tories plan to destroy more jobs and services in the NHS. The Eastern Health Board's 5 year "rationalisation" programme will get rid of 8,000 jobs and 750 beds. The EHB wants to close hospitals at Ards, Bangor, Belvoir Park, Down and Forster Green. They also want to downgrade Lagan Valley, Ulster and Mater Hospitals. The Board has already scrapped a number of old people's homes and closed Throne Hospital in North Belfast.

Throne was a long stay geriatric hospital - relatives of patients say "lives will be put at risk".

The Tories are trying to centralise services in Belfast and run down rural services.

Yet already in Belfast, hospitals are under strain. 1,200 people are awaiting cardiac surgery.

Thirty people have died while on the list. Others have had to go to England for expensive private treatment.

Some patients have even been

sent to France for treatment.

The Tories have already ridden roughshod over hospital jobs and services.

No Democracy

Workers at Craigavon and Royal Victoria hospitals voted against "opting-out" of the NHS, but their bosses went ahead anyway.

Health Minister, Lord Arran says that rural hospitals are "Community status symbols".

This is an insult to workers

who have given a lifeline to rural communities for years.

Emergency Services Cut

In Britain, opt-outs have meant that "unprofitable" services have been cut. They include 24 hour accident and emergency cover, maternity services and treatment for the elderly or chronically ill.

Private contractors have taken over catering, ambulance and laundry services.

Guy's hospital in London shed

600 jobs three weeks after becoming a Trust.

The Tories are also forcing people into private dental care by cutting dentists NHS fees.

More and more dentists are refusing to treat NHS patients.

Anger

The closures have provoked a wave of anger. Socialist Worker sellers collected 1,500 signatures of protest.

Last month health workers picketed Belfast city hospital over the temporary closure of Jubilee maternity unit.

Health Unions plan protest meetings in Down during the summer, with a major public rally in September.

Fight Privatisation

These actions are important but work stoppages are also

needed to force the Tories to drop their plans.

The campaign should link the closures to the overall plans for privatisation.

Stoppages are not only needed in hospitals threatened with closures.

Hospitals facing opt-outs like RVH and Craigavon should also come out as well as hospitals like Altnagelvin whose services will suffer following the closures.

United Action

The campaign needs backing from private sector workers like people in Harland and Wolff, Shorts and N.I.E.

The Tories want to create a two-tier health service, where profit comes before people.

Its important that we fight the closures and defend the NHS.