

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 30p

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**Gorbachev  
clamps  
down**

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## U.S. MURDERERS...

# GET OUT OF

# THE

# GULF!



Kick Bush out!

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# EAMONN McCANN

## Questions left after Downing Street bomb

"ANOTHER mortar for old Ireland", was the gleeful response to the near-miss attack on 10 Downing Street last month. It was easy to understand the joy.

Even people generally opposed to bombing must have smiled fleetingly at the thought that if somebody or something is going to be bombed, a meeting of the Tory War Cabinet fits the bill very well. After all, these people were sitting around planning the carpet-bombing of Iraq. The mortar which exploded outside their window was just a tiny taste of what they had been raining down on Arab people all day every day for weeks past.

The ecstatic coverage in — An Phoblacht showed how relieved the Republican Movement was at an operation which put the armed struggle back on the front pages—and in a context which wasn't going to alienate supporters. The Downing Street attack gave morale in working class areas in the North a sudden boost—and lifted a mood of depression which had been gathering for some time.

Politically, things haven't been going well for the Republican Movement—a fact which Republicans themselves haven't tried to hide. The Brooke talks have been running out of steam and the constitutional nationalists running out of hope of a settlement which might marginalise the armed struggle. But the Republicans weren't reaping any benefit.

The constant appeals to Haughey and Hume to break with the British and join with Sinn Fein in formulating an "Irish agenda" have attracted little interest, much less enthusiasm. Discussion of the "Irish agenda" hasn't exactly been drowning out other conversation in the pubs along the Falls or in the Bogside.

And, understandably, workers in the South haven't been overcome with excitement at the prospect of Charlie Haughey leading them towards a new "national democracy".

Looking to the armed struggle for reasons to

be cheerful is one reaction to this situation. Another came through at the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis at the beginning of last month. This was the desire to adopt a "responsible" attitude to issues not directly related to the armed struggle.

Thus we had serious-faced debate about the inadequacies of local government structures in the South. An elaborate scheme was advanced for a new four-tier structure devolving decision-making as far down as possible. In truth, it was fairly ingenious and if it was ever put in place it might well work as well if not better than the present ramshackle, corruption-ridden set-up.

But there was nothing remotely radical, much less revolutionary, about it. It represented no threat to any major vested interest.

### FORWARD

And in fact that was the very point. It was being put forward as an example of how responsible the Republican Movement really is, and ready for a place in the mainstream...

The point came through even more clearly in the debate on abortion. A majority voted against a woman's right to choose, with Ard Comhairle member Martin McGovern spelling it out openly that support for abortion rights was a vote-loser and for that

reason not to be adopted as policy.

However, these manoeuvres are very unlikely to lead to an electoral breakthrough in the South. The political space Sinn Fein is trying to find room in is already well-occupied by parties which don't have an association with armed struggle to keep them out of the mainstream.

The likelihood is, then, that there will be no real political progress and that the armed struggle will continue, with occasional once-off spectaculars helping to obscure the fact that there is no progress.

### CAPACITY

Anybody who doubts the capacity of the Republican Movement to soldier on on both fronts is a fool. But Republicans themselves should surely examine the political basis of their campaigns.

At the heart of it all lies the Republican notion—common to all nationalist movements—that class doesn't come into the picture until such times as the outside power has been removed. This is put explicitly by a spokesperson for the IRA in the February 14 edition of *An Phoblacht* who argues that if the British left, "very quickly we would have a situation in Ireland where the Irish people could decide for themselves what type of government they want. History has proved in many, many colonial struggles that once the colonial power leaves, true peace and democracy can flourish".

As a matter of fact, history proves nothing of the sort. Zimbabwe? Kenya? Sri Lanka? India? Morocco? Burma?

If the colonial power leaves but capitalism remains nothing is solved.

But neither elected representatives nor guerilla fighters, nor the two in combination, can overthrow capitalism. Only the working class, by mass struggle, can do that.

## WATERFORD:

### Kiddies health cuts

The South Eastern Health Board used to give all children around the age of three a medical examination at the local health clinic. But this is now abolished, all in the name of government spending cuts.

The alternative to clinical examination is a questionnaire sent to all parents of young children asking questions such as whether the child's vision is good and if it can hear all right, etc and to let them know of any other problems.

This is a stupid and

dangerous method of "health care". How can parents who haven't been medically trained recognise the start of any serious illness or development problem which, if not dealt with in time, could retard a child for life?

Children are suffering in this way because of the rotten values of the Fianna Fail/DP government and the system they uphold. They can spend £17.6 million on government buildings and offices for their overlord, Haughey, when the lives of children are put at risk.

WATERFORD SWM



## SWM LEADS ANTI-NAZI PROTEST

THE FRENCH fascist Le Pen got more opposition than he bargained for when he held an international fascist conference in Dublin Castle in February.

Within two days of the announcement of the conference, SWM put up posters in Dublin calling a mass protest. 300 people turned up but the leaders of the master race decided to close their conference early.

Despite intense Garda

security for the fascists, 20 SWM members and others eventually managed to make their way into Dublin Castle while Le Pen was holding a press conference. They were only stopped at the door of the conference room by armed Special Branch men.

Eventually the fascists tried to sneak out of the back of the castle in their coach. But they came under attack as anti-fascists sat down in front of their bus.

Throughout the protests Le Pen was given an easy ride by journalists. The Irish Times, for example, gave Le Pen a platform to announce

his great love of the Irish people.

But Le Pen's fascist credentials go back a long way. He was a collaborator with the Vichy government during World War 2. He was a member of the right wing terrorist organisation, the OAS during the 1950s. In 1965 he was an election agent for a fascist candidate. In 1968 he was convicted of selling Nazi marching songs. Today he describes the holocaust as a 'mere detail of history'.

As an SWM statement put it: 'underneath the suit, he wears a brownshirt'.

## ART STUDENTS MARCH AGAINST CUTBACKS

ABOUT seven hundred art students marched to the Dail in February to protest against cutbacks. The march was organised by USI. There were students from all the main art colleges in the country on the march.

They are protesting against

- cutbacks in courses provided
- dangerous conditions of buildings
- overcrowded working areas
- inadequate ventilation—particularly in areas where dangerous chemicals are in

use ■ severe lack of safety and first aid instructions.

For the past three years the "Foundation Course" has not been offered. This has two serious effects—it devalues the qualifications

### COURSES

and it robs students of a comprehensive introduction to various courses from which they can make a mature choice of course for studying in the ensuing years.

Students claimed that the numbers being accepted

each year is increasing without a corresponding increase in funding. This of course exacerbates the already existing problem of overcrowding and has a detrimental effect on the quality of the education being provided.

In the past the colleges promised the introduction of degree courses. These have not materialised.

As well as paying fees, art students must also provide a lot of the materials they work with. For example, those studying photography must buy their own photo paper which is very expensive. It is reckoned that first

the outskirts of the city. However, local opposition has been intense.

The incinerator would be the only such facility in Ireland and there are widespread fears that Derry has been targetted to become the toxic waste "capital" of Ireland. Local suspicions have been heightened by the fact that the South's Environment Minister, Padraig Flynn, made a secret visit to the site last December and held unpublished talks with Du Pont.

More than forty groups, including trade unions, residents' groups, schools and farmers' organisations attended a coordinating meeting last month to discuss strategy. SWM members argued that a major emphasis should be put on appeals to the trade union movement and in particular to trade unionists at Du Pont.

Anita Villa of the SWM told the meeting: "A general public campaign will be useful but it is the workers at Du Pont who have the power to put a stop to the plan. We should seek, through the trades council and the individual unions, to involve the work force centrally in all campaign activities—including work stoppages on the day of a protest march."

The Derry SWM has argued in its local bulletin that the Du Pont unions should declare the proposed plant "black" unless and until they can be fully satisfied—which is very doubtful—that there is no danger to the work force, the local community or the environment.

The bulletin urged the unions to demand all relevant information and technical data on the plant and the right to submit any "evidence" from the company to independent experts for scrutiny on behalf of the unions.



Despite the Downing Street bomb, the Republican Movement is projecting a "responsible" attitude.

## DERRY:

# Toxic waste capital of Ireland

A PROTEST march and rally has been planned for Derry this month as a campaign against the building of a toxic waster incinerator gathers momentum.

The Du Pont company wants to build the incinerator at its Maydown plant on



WE THINK

# The terrible reality of Bush's New World Order

IN EVERY war our rulers face a problem. Normally, they treat working class people as know-nothings who need to look up to their betters. But in war the working class must fight and die for them. Suddenly they become 'our boys' and 'our heroes'.

And of course, they have to promise a new world after the war. During the First World War, they promised a 'Land Fit for Heroes.' During World War 2 in Britain, the Beveridge report promised a complete Welfare State. This time round Bush promises a New World Order.

But the terrible reality of this New World Order is to be seen in Baghdad at the moment. No other country in human history has ever suffered more bombardment. The myths about 'precision bombing' are now gone. Instead the 400 civilians who were bombed in a Baghdad bunker, the 120 civilians murdered by a British Tornado in Fallujah are now all called 'collateral damage'.

In Bush's New World Order anyone who defies the dictates of imperialism will face untold savagery.

Some things will not change. According to Trocaire, the Catholic development agency 15 million people in Africa are in need of food aid at the moment. 900 million adults and children today are malnourished. To provide children with a supplementary feeding programme guaranteeing between 300 and 400 calories a day would cost only 30 dollars per child.

But instead the money will be spent on the weapons of death.

Even in the US, 20 million people live below the poverty line. Because of the lack of a public health service

## Injured Iraqi civilian, victim of Bush's New World Order



Injured Iraqi civilian, victim of Bush's New World Order

the number of infants who die below the age of one year is higher than many Caribbean countries. Yet the US Administration concentrates on keeping up its military budget.

Famine and war have always been the two sides of capitalism. Bush's New World Order will only carry the process to extremes.

There will however be some unwelcome changes from Bush's point of view. First, even if US succeeds in imposing its military

might on Iraq, its general attempt to assert global military dominance is in contradiction to its aim of international economic competitiveness.

### EXPERIENCE

This is fundamentally different to its experience in the Korean or Vietnam wars.

The US today is the world's largest

debtor nation. In whole areas of world trade it has lost out to German or Japanese competition. In 1963, for example, US companies produced 52 per cent of all cars. Today the figure has declined to 23 per cent. In 1970, the US company, Intel, invented the micro-chip. Today, the US is running a trading deficit on high technology goods.

Hesitantly and with considerable division, the US moved towards war with Iraq as a way of assuming the

role of the world's policeman. By showing itself as the military kingpin it hoped to compensate for its declining economic importance.

But, the costs of the war and the weight of the military burden will still put it at a disadvantage with German and Japanese capitalism. Quite simply, Bush's New World Order will see a return to inter-imperialist rivalry between the major powers.

Second, the war puts tremendous strain on the capitalist system, particularly at its weakest links. For the last two decades countries such as Morocco, Turkey, Jordan, Pakistan have been able to operate as loyal US puppets without much opposition from their people.

In Morocco, for example, a militant labour movement was emerging even before the war. In December a general strike over wages led to riots where 50 people were shot dead. Today, hundreds of thousands have taken to the streets against King Hassan's support for the Western forces.

Whatever the outcome of war, revolutionary upheavals in some of these countries are likely. In this situation the left will have to contend with Islamic fundamentalists for leadership of the fight against imperialism.

In the Western world itself, our rulers will face a re-born revolutionary left. The fact that reformists such as Kinnock and Mitterrand have become raving jingoists means that it has often been the forces of the revolutionary left which has given a lead to the anti-war movement.

Bush's New World Order will therefore be far more unstable. It will face far more opposition. The challenge now is to build revolutionary parties throughout the world so that we can start to take revenge on a system which has revealed its barbarity in Baghdad.

## BBC flies white flag for Orange bigots

The BBC have also scrapped plans to screen a documentary on the Orange Order. Entitled "No Surrender", the programme was withdrawn after the Grand Orange Lodge of Scotland began legal proceedings, no doubt worried by the scene where a BBC cameraman is assaulted by loyalist stewards during an Orange march.

The BBC claims that their decision was taken because of the Gulf War!

## Jazz radio gag blues

A top London radio station, Jazz FM, has sacked its number one DJ for playing anti-

The war is proving very lucrative for CNN, the US 24-hour news station. Prior to the conflict, and 30-second advertising spot cost \$3,500. Now it costs \$20,000.

war songs during the weekend before the slaughter began. The BBC are taking no such chances. They've banned over 70 records, including those with even the vaguest reference to war. They've also scrapped numerous TV programmes, including, of course, MASH.

## MACHO COWARD



Sylvester's afraid

Sylvester Stallone, macho hero, Hollywood terroriser of Vietnamese, Reds and all that is unamerican, or lump of meat, depending on one's inclinations, has once again been exposed for the coward that he is.

He has cancelled a visit to Europe for fear of a terrorist attack.

## ★ War Quotes...

★ "I used to have lots of jewellery, but they took it all when they came to my house, they beat up the cook and the butler and took our fast cars."

★ "In my normal life I usually would have servants to do everything in the house. Now I am ironing my own clothes and I only have one servant."

★ "Seventy five percent of Kuwaitis holiday in Europe in the summer, as it's too hot in Kuwait."—Kuwaiti exiles interviewed by Maggie O'Kane of the Irish Times.

★ "War is a dirty business and unfortunately there will be collateral damage."—US military briefer on civilian casualties

★ "Those who are able most effectively to undermine national security are those who least appear to constitute any risk to it."—British judge, Lord Donaldson, turning down an appeal by fifty Palestinians against their internment.

★ "We all hate Saddam. We always thought he was a bad man. But this war is now worse than Saddam. Why has it gone on so long? You know what is happening? The Americans are testing their weapons on the Arabs. We are all guinea pigs."—A Saudi preacher

★ "From a military point of view, nothing went wrong."—Pentagon mouthpiece, Brig. General Richard Neal, after US bombing of civilian air-raid shelter in Baghdad.

★ "Is this an end-game situation?"—CNN reporter to Pentagon advisor following Iraq's offer to withdraw conditionally from Kuwait.

★ "No, this is a line-backer situation."—Pentagon advisor, knee-deep in football metaphors.

★ "This isn't a new world order—it's a new imperialism."—Edward Heath, former Tory Prime Minister.

★ "We had one spectacular explosion after hitting an ammo dump. If on a scale of one to ten the eruption of a volcano registered 10, this was a 12."—General Norman "Stormin'" Schwarzkopf, allied field commander.

★ "They won't get a share in the Gulf when the war is finished."—US Vice-President Dan Quayle, on what will happen if Germany and Japan don't cough up enough to pay for the war.

★ "It may be weeks before I shall ask you to drench Germany with poison gas, but if we do it, let us do it 100 percent."—British 2nd world war leader Winston Churchill, in a secret memo written in 1944.



Press thanks South Africa's rulers, but...

# Is apartheid over?

"APARTHEID is a sin against God," said South Africa's Foreign Affairs Minister, P. W. Botha. The old conservative National Party is putting on a new face.

Last month, F. W. de Klerk announced the scrapping of three major apartheid laws which classify people by race and restrict where blacks can live and buy land.

The world's press and political leaders are rushing to award the South African regime. The EC is planning to lift sanctions on the South African economy which cost \$600 million a year.

The promise of reform is a great victory for those who have fought for many years. But apartheid and the vicious laws which support it are not finished.

"How can an ordinary worker in Soweto, earning £50 a week if they are lucky, buy a 'cheap flat' in a white area at £35,000?"

Whites are still the only people with a vote in "the new South Africa". De Klerk refuses to consider one person one vote without white "minority rights".

The "homelands", where thousands of black people were forced to move, have not been abolished.

Thousands of political prisoners are behind bars and the Internal Security Act which allows internment without trial is still on the books.

De Klerk says that "the security forces are doing an excellent job". But this is the security force which has

set up Inkatha to murder ANC supporters.

Even if the reforms are implemented, there will be a vast difference between legal changes and real improvements in the lives of ordinary black people.

When the Land Act goes blacks will have the legal right to buy "white" land. But a modest sized farm costs £100,000.

Blacks don't even own the 13 percent of land currently allocated to them. They are too poor to take up their racist ration.

De Klerk has no plans for taking the land from those whites who stole it by terror or to rehouse the 500,000 people forcibly driven from their homes according to the acts he now promises to abolish.

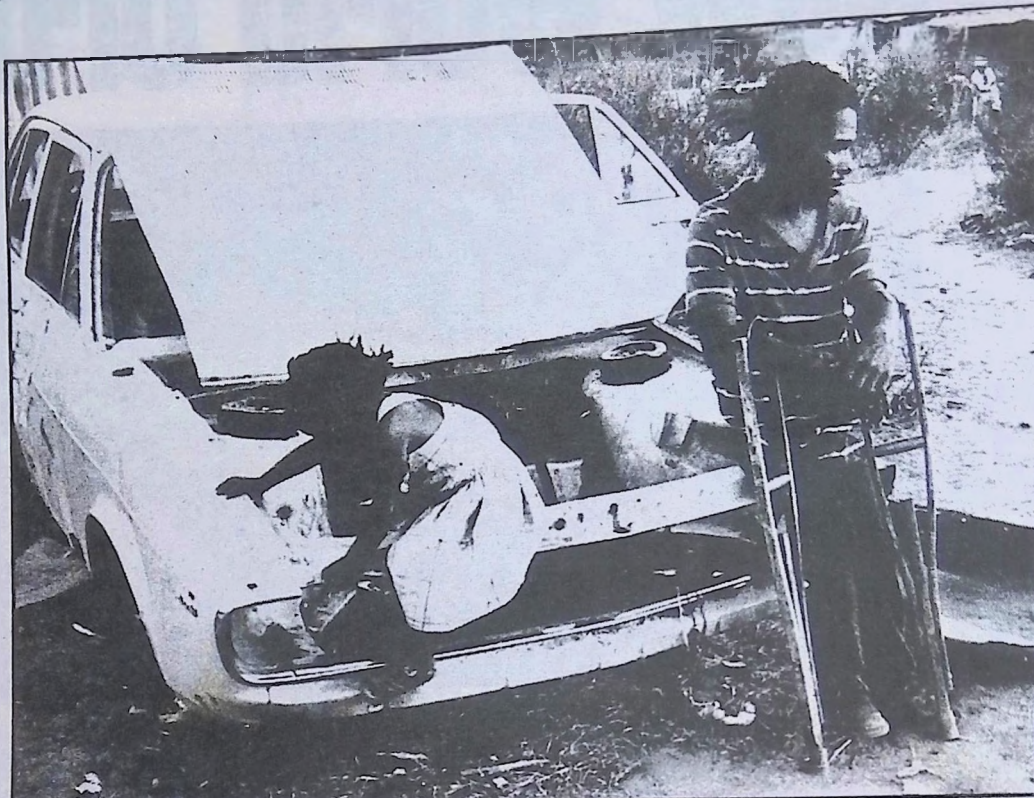
The same is true for housing. "How can an ordinary worker in Soweto, earning £40 or £50 a week if they are lucky, buy a 'cheap flat' in a white area at £35,000?" says Sam, a union activist.

Schools are already supposed to be non-racial—if 72 percent of parents agree. Yet just 1,048 out of a total school population of 480,000 in Transvaal province are in mixed schools.

Public amenities like libraries and swimming pools are now, according to the law, desegregated. But local councils maintain whites only facilities by charging high entrance fees.

To smash the racial divide in jobs, wages, schools, housing, education, health and transport requires more than a change in the law decreed from above.

It needs black people to gain control over the immense wealth of South Africa and use it for their own needs rather than the profit of the giant companies. That needs a revolution.



WHEN THE apartheid laws go, this family will still have no home. They could never afford a house in the "white" areas

THE PRESSURE for change has not come from Western governments or the United Nations.

The Western governments which claim to be defending freedom in the Gulf branded the resistance movements as terrorist for 40 years.

Black trade unions had to strike against British and American companies to gain the most elementary rights.

Massive protest in South Africa and internationally was needed to win the smallest sanctions.

## BRUTAL

The US government vetoed UN resolutions condemning murder and torture by the brutal South African regime.

Had it not been for the heroic struggles of black workers and black communities, apartheid would never have been threatened.

As one of de Klerk's leading supporters put it, "Everything we do, we do to avoid revolution."

## Keep up the fight

EVERY concession from the racists has been won by struggle and black people will only guarantee the end of apartheid by increasing that struggle.

But, unfortunately, the African National Congress responds to every government concession with some of its own.

Although Nelson Mandela now seems to reject anything other than a properly elected assembly to decide the future constitution, he welcomed the govern-

ment's offer of all-party talks at first.

Under this plan organisations like the ultra-racist Conservative Party would be allowed a voice. Parties would have equal delegations, not related to their popular support.

## BUTCHERED

And last week Mandela embraced Chief Buthelezi, whose Inkatha Party is responsible for the violence which has butchered

5,000 people in the last three years. The ANC has discouraged strikes which could have taken the initiative away from the regime. When black health workers in the Ciskei homeland went on strike to win trade union recognition the ANC refused to support them because they were "rocking the boat".

When the crucial South African metal workers' union was ready to strike over pay, ANC and Communist Party supporters in the

union leadership called it off, saying that the "time" was "not right".

## CONTRACT

Trade union leaders are also making concessions. They have entered talks towards a "social contract" with big business.

Such concessions, rather than bringing equality, would leave untouched the system of capitalism which gave birth to apartheid.

# Gorbachev clamps down

MIKHAIL Gorbachev's mask is finally beginning to fall. Not that the peoples of the Soviet Union haven't been disappointed with him for months, but in the West he was until recently seen as a man who could do virtually no wrong.

The evidence was always there. He came from the heart of the bureaucracy, imposed a blanket ban on vodka consumption at an early stage and just over a year ago barely managed to hide his part in the Georgian massacre.

Then came the sending

of Russian troops into Baku and the brutal crushing of an anti-Kremlin rising. Despite the claims that this was a mission to protect defenceless Armenians under attack by the Azers, the previous record of oppression and division sponsored by the Kremlin, as well as the frankly racist talk about backward Muslim Azers (echoed by sections of the Western Left), told a different story.

## MARINES

Most recently has come the clampdown in the Baltics. First Gorbachev sends marines and Black Berets, then he denies any responsibility for their actions when they kill and maim defenceless civilians.

This is part of a general creeping return to the

authoritarian methods of old, to the extent that they were ever relinquished.

Recent legislation places more and more power in the hands of the President, and the last couple of months have seen Gorbachev's liberal advisers replaced by conservatives and a string of ministerial changes which have put open enemies of glasnost in crucial positions.

These changes led reform-minded foreign minister Shevernadze to resign, warning of the threat of dictatorship. Yet, asked if the events in Lithuania proved him right, he said that the 'threat wasn't from Gorbachev himself, and that there was a different between dictatorship and preventing anarchy.

This reflects a growing confusion among the

democratic forces. They started out believing the market and democracy went together, but now they aren't quite so sure.

Perestroika has ground to a halt. The "500 Day Programme", which was supposed to bring a full-blooded conversion of the economy to market mechanisms, was never seriously implemented and now even its architects admit that it couldn't work.

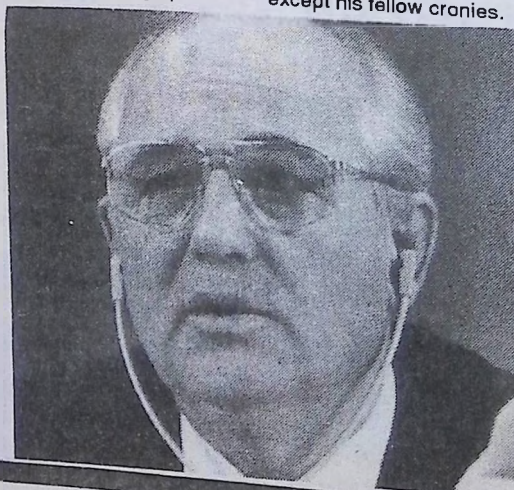
## FANTASIES

Even the Russian Federation, under Boris Yeltsin—which went further in implementing the plan—eventually sided with the Kremlin in shelving it. The truth is that the fantasies of the Adam Smith Institute that the market could solve all

problems are now seen to be bogus.

Added to this is the fact that ordinary people, realising that the reformers' economic plans mean huge price

hikes and savage attacks on workers' rights, can no longer be counted upon to back Gorbachev and perestroika. Of course, Gorbachev remains unelected by anyone except his fellow cronies.



All of this, a lack of any obvious way out for the economy and a fear that increasing democracy might allow the working class to get out of hand, have caused demoralisation amongst leading reform intellectuals. The only thing all sections of the bureaucracy are now agreed upon is the need to restore "order".

At a recent conference of industrialists Gorbachev agreed with the delegates that the most important goal was to restore managements' ability to manage.

All of this serves to show that however sincere Gorbachev's personal commitment to democracy at a certain stage, it was always based on a calculation of the best interests of the ruling class. Now that those interests have changed we can expect to see him move further and further to the right.

The sooner those concerned with working class interests in the USSR wake up to the fact the better.

JOSH CLARKE



# Building the anti-war movement

THE ANTI-war movement across the world is enormous. In Europe, a quarter of a million have marched in Germany against. In many Arab countries, regimes which sent their troops to support the US war machine are now under tremendous pressure.

In Ireland, the movement is smaller but is still highly significant. Two campaigns have organised the opposition. The No to War in the Gulf Campaign has organised marches of

around 2,000 people to protest at the war. The campaign sees the major enemy as US imperialism and argues for the withdrawal of Western Forces from the Gulf.

The more moderate Gulf Peace Campaign wishes to condemn both sides equally. Its demonstrations are slightly bigger than the No to War in the Gulf campaign. But so far it has refused to organise a march to the US embassy lest it be charged with 'anti-Americanism'

Both these campaigns must now co-operate to build an even bigger movement.

For this to happen a number of things must now be done:

- Mass demonstrations must be organised on a regular basis. Every two or three weeks there should be a focus for activity to build a momentum against war.
- Organising small events which are only photo-opportunities is no longer enough. Thousands should be pulled onto the streets to express their anger at war.
- Every demonstration should be used to draw more people into joining the anti-war movement. In normal times it is only a tiny handful of activists who are prepared to organise meetings and activities. Now hundreds are willing to be involved. Every demonstration should have information stalls telling people how they can get involved in action groups.
- The organised labour movement is the key to forcing the Irish government to end re-fuelling at Shannon. The Irish trade union movement has the power to force the US warplanes out but this will mean hard campaigning.

The union leaders are entering another social partnership deal with Fianna Fail and do not want to rock the boat. Workers at Shannon are also being intimidated by fears of job security. Resolutions should be passed at every union branch demanding protest action. Workplaces groups opposed to the war should also be set up.

- The fight against war must also be taken back home. War means destruction and waste. In its train a major recession is in the offing. Fighting against war also means demanding more money for a better health service. Instead of new EC taxes to fund the war effort, we should be demanding more money to build schools and to end poverty.

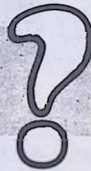
## BREAK

So far there has been a marked reluctance on the part of the Gulf Peace Campaign to co-operate. Request for sharing speakers between both campaigns have been turned down. Workers Party supporters have also pushed through a full break between both campaigns.

Instead of manoeuvrings behind closed doors there should be full and open debate on the way forward for the anti-war movement. There are genuine differences. Revolutionary socialists do not hide the fact that the UN provides no solution; that they opposed the use of sanctions against Iraq; and that a victory for the US in this war would be the worst possible outcome.

But we are willing to argue this points openly while still seeking unity in action with all who oppose the war. The challenge over the next period is for the activists in the anti-war movement to bring about united action so that the movement grows to tens of thousands on the streets. This in turn will lay the basis for workers action to stop this war.

What do we mean by...



# Imperialism

FOR most people coming into the anti-war movement their starting point is a straightforward horror of war.

But to stop the war, and more importantly to avoid its repetition, we have to understand what causes it. Is it an excess of testosterone? Is it "loony fundamentalists"?

Socialists argue that imperialism is to blame. But what do we mean by "imperialism"?

The foundations of our understanding come from Lenin's analysis of the First World War—an unprecedented bloodbath and the first great confrontation between rival imperialist powers.

Lenin began by drawing on Marx's discovery, that as the capitalist system progressed, its wealth became concentrated in larger and larger concentrations of capital—trusts, monopolies, and giant corporations.

Eventually the drive to continually make a profit and to continually expand meant that these companies could no longer confine their operations to a single country.

And so, what Lenin called the "export of capital" began as investment surged out of Europe and capitalism began its conquest of the world, slowly at first but then at a frenzied pace in the second half of the 19th Century.

But of course this triumph of capitalism wasn't a triumph for some sort of pure idealised "free" market. Wherever there's a market there are heavies with guns trying to use force to get an edge on the competition.

As British, French, and later German and American companies looked for profits overseas, gunboats, troops and colonial administrators followed.

So imperialism represented a whole new stage in the development of capitalism, one in which state power—the government and military—became closely merged with capital and, moreover, a weapon of competition.

And the competition was fierce—all the more fierce as the world was rapidly carved up. Not only the profitable regions but also the un-



VIETNAM, 1968. The war cost many times more than total US investment in the country. Its real aims were to prevent the expansion of Russian influence, and to discourage further rebellions in its own empire.

profitable were colonised as economic motives mingled with strategic and military concerns.

Queensland even colonised Papua in 1890 to prevent the Germans, who had seized the northern coast of New Guinea, from gaining a foothold—despite the fact that it was considered of negligible interest economically.

This intense economic and military rivalry has exploded twice into world war.

## COLONIES

In the First World War, dynamic German capitalism found that the British and French (and their allies) had got control of most of the colonies, including all the richest.

The Germans had a choice between fighting to push the old powers out, or accepting second rank status in the world.

In the Depression of the 1930s, as trade barriers rose around the

world, German and Japanese capitalism saw that conquest was the only alternative to decline. But conquering Poland and China not only threatened traditional British and American interests, but meant that new superpowers were in the making—itsself a threat to the traditional dominance of "our" side.

Once again, armed to the teeth and brooking no opposition at home, the capitalists added mass slaughter to their traditional techniques of competition.

After 1945, the US emerged as the dominant power in the world both militarily and economically.

It encouraged the decolonisation of Africa and Asia, not out of any concern for self-determination, but in the knowledge that it was so powerful that it didn't need to colonise a country to dominate it.

But the US did not simply get its way in the world. It found itself face to face with a rival superpower, the USSR, whose military had won a whole new empire.

The form of the competition be-

tween them was largely military—the appalling arms race and the balance of nuclear terror.

Now the "stability" of that system has collapsed. The military powers find themselves overtaken in the world's markets by Japan and the Europeans.

Conversely, the most competitive economies find themselves held to ransom by the military powers, especially the US which now demands Japan and Germany help pay for its war in the Gulf.

Far from a new era of peace, the intensification of imperialist rivalry offers the prospect of much greater instability, made worse by the reliance of both Russia and the US on their armed might.

By fighting to get the US out of the Gulf, we are fighting to weaken the ability of America's bosses to use force to get their way.

However, in the long run, all talk of peace will be a hopeless illusion until we end the system that has given rise to imperialism.

—by Robert Bollard



# Who gains from the war?



**GEORGE BUSH**—because he hopes war will distract attention from the deepening recession, save his presidency and re-establish the US military's right to intervene across the globe.

Bush's standing in the opinion polls was slumping before the war. Unemployment is rocketing, the budget deficit stands at \$250 billion, and company bankruptcies are at a record high.

**THE RULING AL SABAH FAMILY OF KUWAIT**—one of the richest and most tyrannical families in the world. The Emir of Kuwait owns £42 billion worth of shares on the world's stock markets, allowed only 4 percent of the population of Kuwait to vote, suspended parliament when he felt like it, and repressed any opposition to his rule.

**JOHN MAJOR**—because he wants pride of place as the US's most devout ally in the world.



In 1940 British companies controlled 72 percent of the Middle East's oil reserves. Now the US is the top Western power in the Middle East, and if the Tories can't have an empire of their own, then playing second fiddle to Bush is the best option.

**THE ARMS INDUSTRY**—because it will make obscene profits.

■ **Ratheon**, the manufacturer of the Patriot missile. Each missile costs £800,000. Shares in Ratheon rose by 31 percent at the start of the war.

■ **BRITISH AEROSPACE**, makers of the Tornado. It gets £750 million a week for supplying ammunition to the British forces.

■ **McDONNELL DOUGLAS** makes the Tomahawk missile. Each missile costs £1.4 million.

■ **TEXAS INSTRUMENTS** made the GBU-27 laser-guided bomb which killed over 400 Iraqi citizens.

The US has just granted a £3.9 billion emergency arms package for the Saudis to buy US equipment, with a further £8.9 billion to come later this year.

**SOUTH AFRICA**—the Gulf crisis has already pushed the price of gold up, aiding the racist apartheid state's ailing economy.

**THE PRESS BARONS**—because the four men who own 93 percent of Britain's daily papers are encouraging the slaughter of thousands to increase their circulation and their profit margins.

**PRESIDENT MUBAREK OF EGYPT**—because already Bush has bailed him out from bankruptcy.

**THE SAUDI ROYAL FAMILY**—a murderous clique of millionaires who survive only on the basis of the suppression of democracy and political rights for the mass of the population.

**THE CORRUPT RULERS OF THE GULF**—because Qatar, the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain and the Sultanate of Oman are all ruled by reactionary monarchies installed by Western powers to watch over their oil supplies.

They have all been content to live in luxury off their oil revenues and maintain states where half the population are illiterate and one in ten children die before they are one year old.

**THE BRUTAL GOVERNMENT IN EL SALVADOR**—its death squads have already killed 75,000 civilians in the last ten years thanks to £1 million a day from the US government. Victory for Bush in the Gulf will guarantee that "aid" keeps flowing.

**OIL COMPANIES**—because the war is about defending Western bosses' cheap oil supplies and the oil companies' profits.

Thanks to the Gulf crisis Texaco pulled in an extra £370 million profit last year, on top of their usual £3.5 billion profit every year.

Exxon made an extra £130 million. BP made £1.7 billion profit last year.

Shell and Exxon are both worth over £35 million each and are in the top four of the world's largest industrial companies.

BP, Mobil, Chevron, Texaco, Amoco and Arco rank in the top 100.

## Damn

And every time the price of oil rises by \$1 a barrel they make another £200 million.

No wonder Laurence Korb, former US assistant defence secretary, says, "If Kuwait grew carrots we wouldn't give a damn."

The top oil companies today control 70 percent of the world's oil refining capacity and more than half of the world's tanker fleet.



**MIKHAÏL GORBACHEV**—because as long as the USSR backs the US's every move in the Gulf, then the West will do nothing about his vicious repression of Lithuanians and the other national minorities in the Soviet Union.



## What they could do with £

**THAT'S WHAT** the Allies are spending on the war. It could:

■ **Wipe out Sudan's £6,823,000,000 debt in six days.**

■ **Supply enough grain to avert famine in the Sudan**

in five and a half hours—£263,157,000 is needed, "a massive sum," says one US official.

■ **Supply the 1,133,000 tons of wheat aid needed for Ethiopia this year in under three hours.**

## AND WHO FIGHTS B

IN almost every Arab and Muslim country of the world, the bombing of Baghdad brought the masses onto the streets.

King Hussein of Jordan is in trouble as he tries to balance between the West and Saddam in a country where over half the population is Palestinian.

In Algeria, Tunisia and Mauritania popular outrage has threatened already fragile regimes. Huge demonstrations are fuelled by economic hardship—the cause,

even before the Gulf crisis, of mass protests and strikes.

Regimes which have supported the Western forces are in even greater trouble. For the first ten days of the bombardment King Hassan of Morocco banned all anti-war demos for fear they would be directed against him. Schools and universities were closed, football matches cancelled, and armed security forces patrolled the streets.

Opposition is also growing in Egypt, the most important and supposedly the most

loyal of the al forces' supporters.

In Turkey, in Pakistan, in Bangladesh, Lebanon, Libya, Yemen, Sudan, Nigeria, Somalia, Chad, Gabon, Senegal, Cameroon and Ivory Coast demonstrations range from a few thousand strong have taken place and have given courage to opposition movements.

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■ Save the one million street kids in Brazil and wipe out that country's \$108 billion debt in 50 days.

EVERY HOUR OF WAR COULD:

- Pay 3,333 new teachers

for a year.

- Build three hospitals.

■ Run 90 hospital wards for a year.

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Egypt: "Up to a point there is a class distinction with the Egyptian public on this matter." It reports trade unionist Yehia Hussein, a worker in Helwan, saying that in his factory "all the workers are Saddamists and all the managers are Kuwaitis".

This is where socialists look for signs of hope in the Middle East—not to the UN or to some dramatic, unforeseen development which will transform matters but to the mass reaction to the war which has exposed the clear split between the

workers and the rulers

The mass activity has flashed across the frontiers, like the great upsurges which overthrew Stalinism in country after country just over a year ago.

A revolutionary socialist movement operating across the region and linking these struggles could transform the situation. No such movement exists. But the conditions are there for the rapid spread of socialist ideas.

No-one can say in what way the mass movement will develop. But it has already given us a glimpse of the great things which are possible.

■ GORETTI HORGAN

THE STARVING—because the price of wheat rose from £109.15 per ton in September to £117.60 in January as a result of the Gulf war.

Aid workers have already fled an area in which terrace starvation.

By December Sudanese families had lost £1,500 or more to be sent home by relatives working in Saudi Arabia. That amounts to 1,275,510,000 tons of wheat—more than ten times the food aid the *Economist* estimates is needed.

THE IRAQIS—during the first night US and British planes dropped 18,000 tons of bombs on Iraq's 14 million people, equal to the power of the bomb dropped on Hiroshima.

Bush says these bombs were aimed at military targets. When the US bombed Libya in 1986, 75 percent of bombs went astray.

If Bush succeeds in replacing Saddam Hussein, the new ruler will not bring democracy. His job will be to "ensure stability". That means crushing opposition and squeezing the \$70 billion debt repayments out of a population already impoverished by war.

THE PALESTINIANS—under Israeli occupation the West Bank not one of them has the vote. More have been murdered by Israeli troops since the intifada began in December 1987. Hundreds of thousands interned.

Even before war broke out, the Israeli government used the threat of military action to force the US to block attempts to condemn Israel at the UN in 1982. In 1984, 100,000 Arabs were slaughtered on Jerusalem's Temple Mount. Only one in ten Palestinians have been given gas masks.

THE REFUGEES—two million migrant workers and Iraq were forced to flee their homes and jobs in Iraq and Kuwait in August.

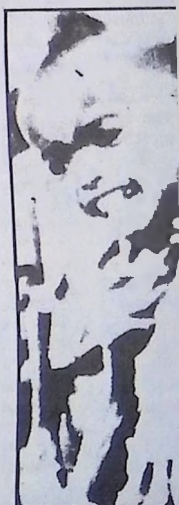
Hundreds of thousands are still living in refugee camps in Jordan without clean water or enough food. While Bush spends billions on bombs and missiles, the UN has not received a penny towards helping the refugees.

SOLDIERS—thousands of US and British troops killed, wounded or emotionally scarred by the fighting.

Before fighting broke out the US flew 100,000 body bags to the UK. It was thought that 18,000 British troops would come back dead or injured. After the Falklands War the Tories stopped badly injured soldiers at church services and parades, dumping them on badly ravaged areas and social and health services.

CHINA'S DEMOCRACY PROTESTERS—in 1989 six people were charged with "counter-revolutionary crimes for their part in the 1989 pro-democracy protests. The rulers voted to back the US war drive at the UN.

There were no protests from Bush or Major, although two students were killed.





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**THE PALESTINIANS**—under Israeli occupation in Gaza and the West Bank not one of them has the vote. More than 1,000 have been murdered by Israeli troops since the intifada uprising began in December 1987. Hundreds of thousands have been interned.

Even before war broke out, the Israeli government used the crisis to step up repression. The US blocked attempts to condemn Israel at the UN in October after 21 Arabs were slaughtered on Jerusalem's Temple Mount.

Only one in ten Palestinians have been given gas masks.

**THE REFUGEES**—two million migrant workers from Kuwait and Iraq were forced to flee their homes and jobs when the US blockaded Iraq and Kuwait in August.

Hundreds of thousands are still living in refugee camps in Jordan without medicine, clean water or enough food. While Bush spends billions on bombs and guns, Jordan has not received a penny towards helping the refugees.

**SOLDIERS**—thousands of US and British troops will return dead, wounded or emotionally scarred by the fighting.

Before fighting broke out the US flew 100,000 body bags to the Gulf. The Tories thought that 18,000 British troops would come back dead or injured within a week. After the Falklands War the Tories stopped badly injured soldiers from appearing at church services and parades, dumping them on badly ravaged and underfunded social and health services.

**CHINA'S DEMOCRACY PROTESTERS**—in the week when six people were charged with "counter-revolutionary" crimes for their part in the 1989 pro-democracy protests, China's rulers voted to back the US war drive at the United Nations.

There were no protests from Bush or Major, although two students faced the death penalty.

**THE POOREST IN THE WORLD**—even before war broke out the oil companies' scramble for profits and the deepening economic recession had driven African countries deeper into debt.

Petrol prices in Mozambique rose by 200 percent between August and December when finance minister Abdul Magid Osman announced "further extreme austerity measures". Yet over ten million people, two thirds of the population, never get enough to eat.

Out of every 1,000 children 297 die before their fifth birthday. One person in every five is homeless. Just 28 percent can read and write.

**NO TO WAR IN THE GULF**

GET YOUR copy of this pamphlet which has already run to two editions and been reprinted three times.

This pamphlet gives our answers to all the difficult questions arising from the Gulf war:

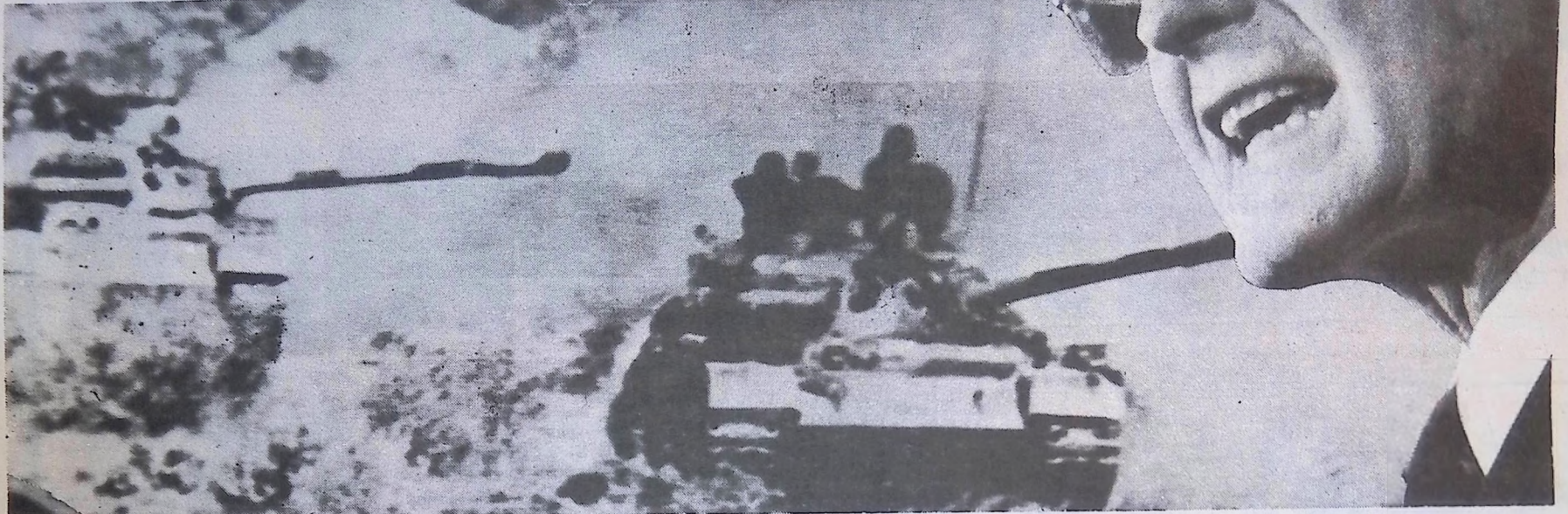
- What do we say about Saddam Hussein?
- Israel and the Palestinians
- Poor little Kuwait
- Is the UN the answer?
- Labour and the war
- Who wants war?

It's available for 50p from your *Socialist Worker* seller or for 75p from SW Books, PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8



## ANALYSIS

# Issues in the War



## WHY WE DON'T CALL FOR AN IRAQI WITHDRAWAL

NO issue has generated more passion and controversy within the anti-war movement than the demand that Iraq should leave Kuwait.

Essentially, there are two positions. The first view, held in Ireland by CND, Labour, the Workers' Party and many individuals, is that Iraq's aggression against Kuwait is no more justified or acceptable than the war being inflicted on Iraq by the Western forces.

So an even-handed condemnation of both sides is not only morally correct, they argue, but essential if the anti-war movement is to gain acceptance and credibility, particularly with the media.

Socialists and many others involved in the anti-war movement have taken a different view which in essence amounts to a refusal to demand that Iraq pull out of Kuwait.

This position does not amount to a justification for Saddam's expansionist adventures in the Gulf, nor does it reflect the slightest political support for the man justifiably dubbed the Butcher of Baghdad. Our sympathies have always been with the ordinary people of Iraq, with the Kurds and with socialists in that country who have suffered under the regime for over two decades, without a word of protest from the West.

But the situation in the Gulf requires a more complex response than "a plague on both your houses".

Saddam ordered his troops into Kuwait confident that the US would stand aside. The pressure for the invasion arose directly from the previous Gulf War, when Iraq and Iran slogged it out for eight years, exacting a massive human toll on each other, and bringing their economies close to collapse.

Iraq's victory was only secured with

American intervention and massive loans that left the country in debt to the tune of \$40 billion. Kuwait, however, with its policy of keeping the price of oil low in deference to its Western backers, stood as an obstacle to Iraq's economic recovery. The border dispute, dating back to the division of the entire Middle East by Britain and France after the first world war, provided a pretext for invasion.

Obviously then, the situation can only be properly understood within the context of continued Western domination of the area.

## UNCOVER

So Marxists always seek to uncover the overall picture, rather than simplistically opposing the side which fired the first shot, which at this stage matters not one jot. Nor do we confine our analysis to mere consideration of the belligerents involved. Rather, our starting point is consideration of the situation from the point of view of the world working class and all those struggling against injustice and

oppression.

So it's crucial that we ascertain what's at stake if the US were to win.

Put briefly, a success for the West, and particularly the Americans, will radically alter the prospects for future struggles, be they wars of national liberation or rebellions against despotic governments in the Third World. Just as important, it would pose serious problems for workers' struggles that may develop in the West and Eastern Europe as the recession begins to bite.

George Bush has spelt it out repeatedly since this crisis began. The "new world order", as he calls it, will see the US throwing its weight around whenever it feels its interests are threatened. The "Vietnam Syndrome", which for fifteen years meant the US lacked the confidence to intervene as often as it would have liked, will disappear if Bush pulls off a military victory in the Middle East.

It follows that a defeat for the Western forces in the Gulf would be the most favourable outcome for the working class movement worldwide.

In these circumstances, socialists cannot simply echo the central war aim

of the Allies, which is to remove Iraq from Kuwait.

It could be added that Kuwait itself is a statelet undeserving of sympathy, where brutal repression and lack of democracy were upheld by a corrupt monarchy tied to the West.

For many people, this raises a spectre of Saddam Hussein riding roughshod over the entire Middle East, and some even believe that he has Europe in his sights!

## POWERFUL

In reality, Saddam, despite all the media hype, is no Adolf Hitler, and Iraq is no Germany in 1939. Then, Germany was the second most powerful nation on earth; it was the largest and most populous country in Europe, self-sufficient in food and armaments. It designed and produced the best armoured vehicles, the best ground-support aircraft and the first flying bomb. To counter a shortage of raw materials, it developed ersatz rubber.

Iraq, in complete contrast, is self-sufficient only in oil, dates and veget-

ables. It is smaller in area, population or GNP than Iran, Turkey, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Its armaments are all imported, and even the refinement of its oil depends on foreign expertise and materials.

The war with Iran showed clearly the limits to Iraq's potential, and its invasion of Kuwait probably entailed no more ambition than the seizing of oil wells. In short, Saddam had not a hope of dominating the region.

And that's the crux of the matter. To adopt an even handed approach to both Iraq and the Western forces is mistaken precisely because there is nothing even about them. Iraq is a developing country, caught in the trap of Western economic domination, whereas the US and its allies control the world.

Despite the fact that Saddam is no genuine anti-imperialist, he's been forced to confront imperialism.

But only the movement of the working class of the Middle East can uproot imperialism and the local puppets who prop it up.

■ DOMINIC CARROLL

## WHY WE ARGUE FOR WESTERN TROOPS TO GET OUT

THOSE who raise slogans such as "Peace Now", and who refuse to support the demand for Western troops to get out of the Gulf, don't believe that the war results from something fundamental in the structure of Western capitalist society.

They believe that the war is a *mistake*, resulting from the ignorance, stupidity and belligerence of George Bush and those around him.

In Ireland this line has been argued in editorials in the *Sunday Tribune* and by a number of columnists in the *Irish Times*. In Britain, it has been put by Edward Heath and Denis Healey, among others.

In essence, the argument here is that war isn't in the interests of western capitalism, that it's all been a terrible, even a criminal, miscalculation.

A variation on this analysis is offered by the moderate or "soft" Left, people like Tony Benn and CND in Britain, the Workers' Party and the Greens in

Ireland.

Many of these people are both genuinely opposed to the war and able to accept that it is by no means a "mistake". But precisely because they are reformists they believe they can argue against it without ranging themselves against capitalist society as such.

Right from the moment the crisis broke, these people have looked to the UN for a solution and pleaded for sanctions to be "given a chance".

The idea of the UN as a supra-national force which might intervene to solve disputes and impose a decent order on the world is attractive. But it is also a dangerous delusion.

The UN is *not* an independent force embodying abstract ideals of justice and fair play. It brings together representatives of the ruling groups around the world, and is dominated by the great imperial powers. This is formalised in the veto power of the US, the USSR, China, Britain and France.

Given the collapse of the Eastern Bloc, there was never much doubt that the UN would give Bush the go-ahead for war. Once that happened, those who had looked to the UN were left on very shaky ground. The Labour Left, the Workers' Party, CND etc now had to argue that the war was based on a *misinterpretation* of UN resolutions. This argument was legalistic rather than political, and divorced from any consideration of what interests were involved.

The argument that sanctions should be "given a chance" was even more

unfortunate.

The basic problem was that it conceded the justice of the US case. Anybody who supported sanctions was accepting that the purpose of the war was to "liberate Kuwait"—and that this was a desirable objective. Thus the argument about war became an argument about means and not ends, about timing and tactics rather than the fundamental issues at stake.

In reality, sanctions were a prelude and a preparation for a war being waged for imperialist purposes.

## IMPERIALIST

Because we recognised that the war when it came *would* be an imperialist war, the SWM from the outset argued against sanctions—and for the building of a mass movement which would expose the war drive as an imperialist operation for control of the Middle East's oil.

This is crystallised in the slogan, "Western forces out of the Gulf", the central demand of the No To War In The Gulf Campaign, which the SWM took the initiative to launch in the first week of last September.

There are objections that this is an "extreme" or a "too political" position which risks alienating potential supporters. But it is also a position with the considerable advantage of being based on the truth. And it does link into the sentiments of a large section of people who instinctively recognise that

the war is being fought for profit and power and not principle.

The "Troops Out" position also leads to a different style of campaign than the pro-sanctions, pro-UN position. The "moderates" want to build a campaign from the top down rather than the bottom up and to appeal to "respectable opinion". Their demonstrations reflect this.

They want to put pressure on the Haughey government to use what influence it has to convince the Western powers to go about their business in the Gulf in a different way. The SWM, on the other hand, believes in putting Haughey, O'Malley, Bruton, the Northern Unionists etc in the dock as collaborators in mass murder, as politicians who put profit and power before people.

A campaign along these lines has the potential to link into the day-to-day struggles against health cuts, pay cuts, redundancies etc—which also result from the operation of the profit-driven system.

In this way, the anti-war movement can mesh with the local struggles of working class people, North and South, and in the process play a part not only in ending imperialist aggression in the Gulf but in transforming politics at home.

We believe that this is a more realistic approach than trying to assemble a movement devoted to "peace" but based on an explicit refusal to confront the class system which makes peace impossible.

■ EAMONN McCANN

US & BRITAIN  
OUT OF THE GULF  
**NO BLOOD FOR OIL**

Badges 30p each from SW Books, PO Box 1648, James Street, Dublin 8



# It's time to build a socialist party

What we stand for



The Socialist Workers Movement is a marxist organisation fighting for a workers' republic in Ireland and for socialism internationally.

**FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM**

We begin from the proposition that what determines the nature of any society is the system by which its wealth is produced. In the system we live under, capitalism, production is geared to profit, not to human need. Among its inevitable features are poverty, war, racism and sexism. Capitalism cannot be destroyed and these evils thus eradicated by piecemeal reform. It can only be destroyed by revolutionary action by the class which creates all the wealth, the working class.

The machinery of the capitalist state—parliament, courts, army, police etc—is designed to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class, not to regulate society in a neutral fashion. At most, parliament can be used sometimes, to make propaganda against capitalism. It cannot be used to smash capitalism. Only a workers' revolution can do that and establish a truly democratic society in which workers hold power directly through delegates elected from workplaces and areas and are replaceable and replaceable at any time by those who elect them.

**NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW**

This kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers do not have control in Russia, China, Cuba etc. Instead, power is held by a state-capitalist class. A workers' revolution is needed in these countries too. We are against NATO and the Warsaw Pact and all weapons of mass destruction. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

**FOR AN END TO PARTITION**

The Northern State was created by British imperialism in its own interests. Sectarianism and bigotry were built into it and will continue to exist for as long as the state exists. The marginal privileges given to Protestant workers are just that: marginal. It is in the immediate interest of Protestant as well as Catholic workers to fight against their exploitation. It is in the interest of all Northern workers to unite against the state and aim at socialism in Ireland.

We support all forces struggling against imperialism and the Northern state, regardless of differences we may have with them.

The interests of the Southern ruling class are no longer in fundamental conflict with those of imperialism. Southern capitalism is a junior player in the world capitalist system. The Southern state too, props up partition, despite occasional nationalist rhetoric.

The "national question" can be solved only by mass working class struggle against both states. Republicanism, by limiting the immediate struggle to the achievement of "national unity", and by appealing for all-class alliances in pursuit of this goal, can never lead the working class towards the defeat of imperialism.

**FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION**

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We fight for free contraception, abortion on demand and the right to divorce. We oppose all discrimination against gays and lesbians. We stand for secular control of hospitals and schools. We fight for the complete separation of church and state.

**FOR A FIGHT IN THE UNIONS**

Trade unions exist to protect workers' interests under capitalism. The role of trade union leaders is to negotiate with bosses over workers' position within capitalism. To destroy capitalism, we need a rank and file movement in the unions separate from the leaderships and fighting for workers' interests regardless of the needs of capitalism.

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

To destroy capitalism and achieve socialism the most class conscious sections of the working class must be organised in a revolutionary party. The SWM aims to build such a party through spreading its ideas and through its activity in the working class movement.

ACROSS the world hundreds of thousands are marching to protest at war. The efforts of the military censors to hide the reality of war are crumbling.

At the same time a significant minority of anti-war protestors are drawing the conclusion that it is necessary to organise against the system which leads to war.

And as the organisation that, from the beginning, has taken the lead in building the anti-war movement, the Socialist Workers Movement's meetings and activities have attracted big audiences.

Many people have expressed an interest in discussing our ideas and significant numbers are now joining the SWM as the only serious revolutionary socialist organisation in Ireland.

The month kicked off with a national No to War in the Gulf Campaign demonstration at the US Embassy in Dublin. Up to 2,000 protestors formed the angry demonstration

and the SWM branches in Navan, Waterford, Cork, Belfast, Derry and Bray took the lead in organising substantial contingents from outside Dublin. 300 copies of Socialist Worker were sold on the march and on the buses home.

In Cork later in the month, up to 30 anti-war activists braved the blizzards to attend a Socialist Worker day school to discuss socialists and war. Topics discussed included Arab Nationalism and Bush's "New World Order". The audience included a lively contingent from UCC. Four people joined the SWM.

In Dublin, there was standing room only at



Anti-war resistance grows

a Socialist Worker public meeting on the same topic. The following week demonstrations of 300 people were organised by the Socialist Workers Movement at short notice outside Dublin

Castle in protest at Le Pen's fascist conference being held there.

**RECESSION**

As the war drags on, recession bites deeper and working

class people across the world are made to pay the price the need to build a revolutionary socialist party is urgent. Below a number of those who have joined the SWM in the last few weeks explain why.

## WE NEED MONEY!

OVER the last few months we used our meagre resources to provide the anti-war movement with tens of thousands of leaflets and posters. When Le Pen's fascists organised a conference in Dublin, the SWM immediately printed and posted a thousand posters calling demonstrations against the Nazis.

We have made scores of placards for demos and booked dozens of venues over the country to hold meetings to get the socialist message out. We did all this enthusiastically because we recognised the urgent need to take the initiative, but we now owe a lot of money.

In order to maintain and improve Socialist Worker's political coverage, analysis and reports we need to raise more money for running costs and equipment.

Socialist Worker is therefore launching an urgent £3,000 appeal. We need this money over the next few months. Without it we will not be able to rise sufficiently to the challenge ahead. We are confident our readers will support us during this difficult period.

Send as much as you can to: Socialist Worker Appeal, PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8

## Why I joined the SWM

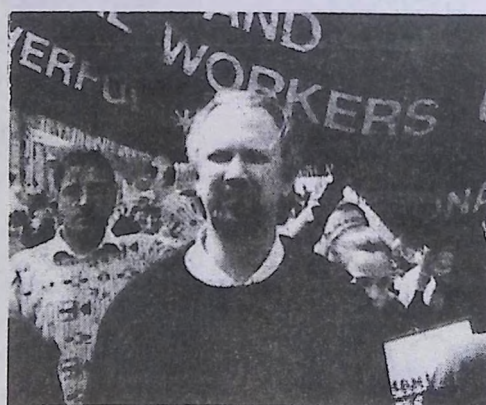
JIMMY KELLY, chief shop steward in Waterford Glass joined the Socialist Workers Movement last month.

He explained to Socialist Worker why:

"The experience of the last number of years, from the Waterford Glass strike last year to the Gulf war today, shows that the Workers Party and the Labour Party don't represent the interests of working class people. There is a desperate need for a different type of politics that puts working class action at its centre.

"That experience has also demonstrated the limits of purely trade union activity. Trade union, and in particular, rank and file activity is certainly important, but today you need politics if you are to fight back effectively. And when it comes to those politics, the SWM has it."

OWEN McCORMACK, a busworker from Dublin said: "There was a number of different reasons, not just the fact that the SWM, despite being relatively small, was at the same time an active anti-war movement. "Having read the paper for quite a while, it was the only one that made sense to me about, for example, Northern Ireland, the



Jimmy Kelly: 'SWM has it'

Eastern Bloc, and the Labour Party.

"Personally, the scale of the environmental disaster facing us decided me, despite the real difficulties arguing revolutionary politics with workers at the moment.

"There is an urgent need to build a revolutionary party and the SWM is the only party worth joining."

ALAN KELLY, a 24-year-old student from Dundrum in Dublin, also joined the SWM. He told Socialist Worker:

"I have seen how Bush's obscene war has turned ordinary people into fodder

for the military machine. This rotten system promotes war. I was impressed at the SWM putting its money where its mouth is and building the No to War in the Gulf Campaign. That readiness to work with anyone to oppose the war while keeping your own ideas clear is impressive, particularly as so much of the rest of the left is either avoiding the issue or manoeuvring for petty party advantage.

"As far as I'm concerned, it's not good enough to just be against the war, you have to organise politically to smash this rotten system."

The Socialist Workers Movement is a growing organisation with branches around the country which meet regularly. Those who are interested in the politics of the SWM are invited to attend these meetings. The meetings begin with a political discussion with plenty of time for questions.

**BELFAST BRANCH**  
Meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Central Hall, Rosemary St.

**BRAY BRANCH**  
Meets every Tuesday, contact national address for details

**CORK BRANCH**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay

**DERRY BRANCH**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Dungle Bar, Waterloo St.

**DUBLIN BRANCH**  
Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in the Bachelor Inn, O'Connell Bridge

For more details of regular meetings in **NAVAN, DUNDALK, DUNGARVAN, GALWAY, KILKENNY, LIMERICK, PORTLAISHE AND WATERFORD** contact:  
SWM, PO Box 1648, James's St, Dublin 8 or SWM PO Box 418, Tomb St, Belfast BT9 5PU.

## 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.....

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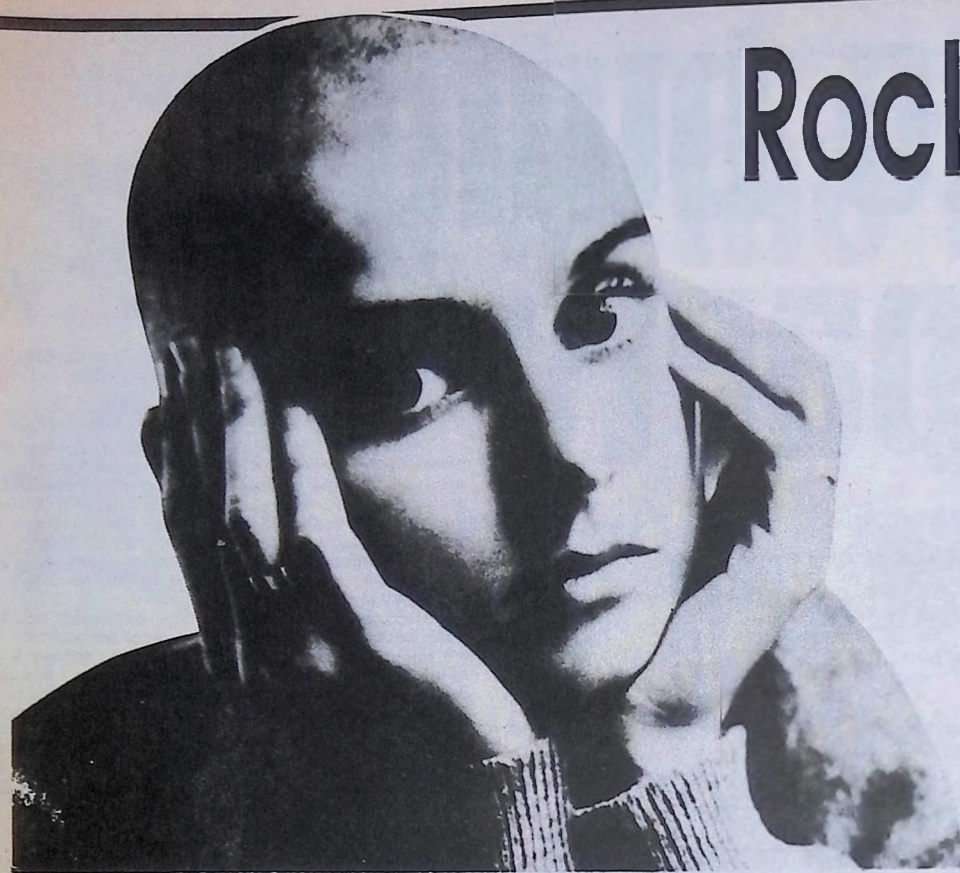
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Sinead O'Connor slays of the music business

# Rock hype exposed in disc awards

THE row over the "IRMA" awards ceremony in Dublin last month focused attention on the phoniness of most "rock 'n' roll" rhetoric.

The Irish Recorded Music Awards are supposed to "honour" the singers and bands who have made the most significant contribution to Irish popular music in the preceding year. But in fact the entire affair is intended to boost the sales, and therefore the profits, of the record companies.

The acts the public is invited to vote for are actually chosen by the record companies. Each company can nominate two in each category. So the companies, naturally, nominate whichever acts they

are pushing at the time.

The quality of the act has nothing to do with it. And the question of whether the music has anything relevant or radical to say doesn't figure at all.

By televising the awards ceremony live for ninety minutes, RTE colludes in the process. The programme is an extended commercial for the companies.

## REFLECTS

All this simply reflects the fact that the record industry is part and parcel of world capitalism—even if it likes to pose as an off-beat, maverick sort of business.

This is the central factor which was somewhat obscured by the controversy over Sinead O'Connor which

filled acres of news space in the days before and after the event.

Six companies now control eighty percent of all record sales worldwide. And each of the six is, in turn, part of a massive conglomerate.

Each of these groups has an annual turnover measured in billions. And the profit on the turnover, by the standards of most industry, is massive.

The basic cost of making a recording is more or less fixed. Thus, most of the extra revenue from increased sales goes straight into profit. Because of this, "hyped" the product is far more important than for "ordinary" commodities.

And as the competition for market share becomes ever more frantic, the function of awards ceremonies and suchlike becomes every more crucial. The IRMA affair, like the "Grammies", the "Brits" and so on, are merely means towards this end. Behind all the gush and mush, the smarm and charm, multinational companies are trying to flog their products at a vast profit.

Thus, socialists will have welcomed Sinead O'Connor slugging the whole business off—even if the message came across in a confused way. But the real conclusion to be drawn is that under capitalism everything is treated as a commodity, to be bought and sold for as much profit as can be squeezed from the market.

In this process, pressure is constantly exerted on people who make music to deliver a "product" which the advertisers can comfortably promote. So all anger is drained out, and pop music becomes a matter of the bland leading the bland.

The only way singers, musicians, songwriters etc can keep hold of the real world while being involved in this business is by maintaining links with the struggle to change the real world.

■ GORETTI HORGAN

## 1916 remembered

SEVENTY FIVE years ago on Easter Monday, the 1916 rebellion began. The Fianna Fail/Progressive Democrat government will only mark the anniversary by some low key events.

There was no such reluctance for the fiftieth anniversary in 1966. Huge pageants were held across the country. RTE produced a major television series called "Insurrection". A fervent patriotic song "We're all off to Dublin in the Green" was top of the charts.

The image presented of the 1916 leaders, then, was of religious martyrs who were prepared to lay down their lives for Ireland in a great blood sacrifice. The message was clear: if our ancestors laid down their lives for Ireland, then at the very least we could work a bit harder for the old country.

The message was best summed up in the motto of another of our rulers favourite "Irishmen" John F Kennedy: "Ask not what your country can do for you, but what you can do for your country".

In all of this the history of republican resistance to colonialism, was used to drown class conflict. In Fianna Fail's propaganda, an upper class only existed where you had snob accents and public schools.

Times have changed. Today the self-same leaders of 1916 look a bit too like the Provo guerrillas in Northern Ireland. Both the Provos and the leaders of 1916 were denounced as "rabble" who were attacking a legitimate government. And moreover the Provos can claim, quite reasonably, to be fighting to finish the job first begun in 1916.

On top of all that, the Southern rulers now feel themselves far more integrated into the Western ruling class. Allowing US war planes re-fuel at Shannon is a mark of its new commitments. Celebrating anti-colonialism today, with any vigour, is a little out of place.

How should socialists respond to this change?

One path to avoid is that

taken by the unofficial 75th Anniversary Committee which is organising a "Reclaim the Spirit of Easter 1916" Festival. A recent newsletter of the 75th Anniversary Committee sums up their outlook.

Under a headline "The importance of being Irish" the writer claims that there is a "vacuum in the national psyche that is being gradually filled with non-national ingredients. The Irish sponge is soaking up all sorts of foreign dross". It claims that the Irish are becoming a "mongrel community". The aim of the 1916 festival is to restore good old fashioned Irish nationalism.

Or to put it another way, to wind the clock back to 1966. A terrible tradition exists on the Irish left of picking up the torn off clothing of Fianna Fail. For

some, reclaiming the spirit of 1916 is all about taking over the traditional nationalism of Fianna Fail and pretending that it is "radical".

Socialists should take a very different approach. We defend the 1916 rebellion as a blow struck against colonialism. We attack those who, for different reasons, denounce the rebellion as mere "blood sacrifice".

We should also point out however that the rebellion was conducted under a nationalist banner and that nationalism—no matter how pure and idealistic it may be—leads to the creation of a new ruling class. The best way to commemorate 1916 today is to honestly assess and debate the legacy of nationalism in the Irish labour movement.

■ Kieran Allen

## FILM/VIDEO REVIEW

# SLAVE REVOLT

*Spartacus* (recently released on video)

**SPARTACUS**, the story of the great slave revolt in ancient Rome led by a Thracian slave, is a product of a particular period in Hollywood's history.

Starting in the late 1930s, the growing radicalisation of American society was reflected in a new breed of writers, directors and actors in Hollywood who, while not exactly left wing, were definitely better than simple liberals—actors such as Humphrey Bogart and directors such as Elia Kazan, as well as writers such as Dalton Trumbo, who wrote the screenplay for *Spartacus*.

Kirk Douglas, who plays the legendary slave leader and also put his own money into the film, was rooted in this tradition. His performance in the classic anti-war film *Paths of Glory* was outstanding.

Director Stanley Kubrick, by using Trumbo—a blacklisted writer—was giving the two fingers to the McCarthy era which was just coming to a close when the film was released.

Even from a purely cinematic point of view *Spartacus* stands out from standard Hollywood fare, with Douglas' portrayal of a man who is at once a hero and a vulnerable human. Hollywood heroes just aren't supposed to get humiliated as many times as

*Spartacus* is.

Unlike the majority of other epic films with an ancient theme, *Spartacus* doesn't even mention the birth of Christianity. Neither is it concerned with a recreation of the "grandeur" of Rome. Instead it rips away the myths of Roman dignity and stoicism to reveal a society based on brutality, power and above all class.

## CONFLICT

From the struggles between the slaves and their masters, to the conflict between plebian parties and patrician parties in Rome itself, this film pulsates with class

## WHO OWNS THE MUSIC BUSINESS?

Warner is part of Time Warner, which produces everything from magazines to movies, runs a hotel chain, a real estate empire, etc, etc; CBS is wholly owned by the giant Japanese firm, Sony; Polygram is part of the Dutch multinational, Philips, one of the world's leading manufacturers of electrical goods, as well as synthetic fibres, engineering equipment, etc; BMC is part of the

German company Bertelmann, which is into everything from airplane and car parts to computers; EMI is part of Thorn EMI, the British group producing electrical goods, computers, missile systems, radar equipment etc etc; MCA is an element in the Hollywood group of the same name, into movies, video equipment, "theme parks", etc etc.

hated. The film also catches wonderfully the interplay between mass spontaneity and individual leadership in any successful class revolt, especially of a group as oppressed as slaves. The initial spur for the slave-gladators' revolt is the refusal of one gladiator to finish off a fellow gladiator (*Spartacus*) whom he has just defeated.

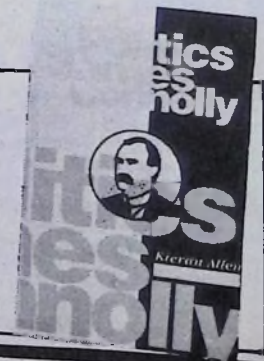
*Spartacus* is an eminently quotable film. With the rebellion brutally crushed and all but

*Spartacus* and one other crucified along the Appian Way, his companion asks *Spartacus*: "Could we ever have won?" To which *Spartacus* replies: "Maybe if just one man says no, I won't, that's a kind of victory. Thousands said no. There's the wonder of it." ★ JOSH CLARKE

## The politics of James Connolly

by Kieran Allen  
James Connolly founded the Marxist movement in Ireland. Yet his ideas are rarely discussed and less understood, having been distorted and used by Sinn Fein, conservative nationalist governments and even the Church.

£7.50 including post from SW Books, PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8





## Union leaders offer no lead on P.E.S.P.

WHOLE sections of the Irish trade union leadership appear to inhabit two separate worlds at the same time.

In one world they condemn government attacks on workers and the poor. In the second world they sign three year programmes with the same government, endorsing the same attacks on workers.

Two recent examples prove this point.

As reported elsewhere in this paper, An Post plans major cuts, including the destruction of 1,500 jobs. Telecom Eireann has announced that it also wants to get rid of another 1,300 staff.

"Concern" was expressed by the leaders of the biggest union in both companies, the Communications Workers Union (CWU). Yet in the same week the CWU executive recommended that its members accept the new Programme for Economic and Social Progress (PESP).

The point here is that the Programme is nothing more than a strategy by which unions agree to offer no resistance to cuts in jobs, services and wages for a period of three years. It is a Programme for National Recovery Mark 2, a plan for making workers pay for the crisis in Irish capitalism.

That is why the PESP is so important to the employers. It creates an atmosphere where trade unions offer little or no resistance to attacks, whether at national or local level.

### MISERLY

Ironically enough, An Post says it will only pay the miserly PESP increases if the company can afford it. Some progress!

The other example of union leaders' "two-worldliness" involves the Dublin Council of Trade Unions.

In the very week that workers were balloted on the PESP, the DCTU exec-

utive put a resolution to Council condemning the Budget. Quite rightly it pointed out that the Budget offered nothing to workers, only further misery.

The PESP represents a trade union endorsement of the Budget. Yet the DCTU executive only mentioned the Programme in passing when they put their resolution.

When the ATGWU delegation tried to amend the resolution to include a condemnation of the PESP, they were ruled "out of order".

In other words we can all condemn the Budget until the cows come home, but we are not allowed to discuss a way of solving the problem.

But there are a few bright sparks on the horizon. Even in "pro-PESP" unions there is still a layer of activists who do not go along with the consensus.

In IMPACT, where Phil Flynn has been a main negotiator of the Programme, the Dublin County Council Branch Committee



John Hynes and side-kick Vivian Murray at An Post's 'Viability Plan' announcement.

## An Post boss has job cutting past

voted to recommend a "No" vote.

The An Post Branch Committee of the CPSU made the same recommendation. This also went against the leadership's view. CPSU leader John O'Dowd was on the ICTU's negotiating team.

In the Teachers' Union of Ireland (TUI), branches in Dublin and Kerry have campaigned among the rank and file for a "no" vote.

In Dublin the Committee of SIPTU's education branch also proposed rejection. SIPTU's leaders are the PESP's main proponents.

These small victories had a lot to do with the rank and file campaign against PESP. Trade Unionists and Unemployed Against the Programme (TUUAP) received the support of hundreds of activists and distributed thousands of leaflets calling for a "no" vote.

■ DAVE McDONAGH

"VIABILITY" seems to be John Hynes's favourite buzz word. However, his definition differs drastically from what you'd find in any pocket dictionary.

For Hynes, viability is synonymous with cuts in service; a demoralised workforce; large scale redundancies; new employees

with much worsened conditions and rights and a balance sheet that invites the receivers to come in.

Dublin Bus workers (those of us still left) will remember Mr Hynes last masterpiece—his viability plan for Dublin Bus.

It promised a cost-effective transport system. It entailed hundreds of redundancies and saw the One Person Operated bus come into effect on 75 per cent of the city's services.

Its result was calamitous: a wholly inadequate service for those most dependant on public transport, i.e. the working class.

Under Hynes, Dublin Bus practically abandoned its charter to provide a social service. With the approval of the government, the city's buses are now run to prove a profit and not a service.

The end result is that Fianna Fail now feel confident enough to hand out entire routes to their friends in PAMBO (the private bus operators' organisation).

Hynes's approach to An Post will be the same. Its workers will be treated to a "stick and carrot" game—the offer of voluntary severance and the threat of financial bankruptcy if his proposals are rejected.

### BACKERS

If Hynes and, more importantly, his Fianna Fail backers are to be defeated, the postal unions must do what we in Dublin Bus woefully failed to: Fight around the twin points of No redundancies and No reduction in services.

Communications and transport, like health and education, are too important to be left in the hands of petty accountants like Hynes with their talk of viability and market forces.

■ OWEN McCORMACK



Phil Flynn of IMPACT Peter Cassells of ICTU

## DERRY DOCKS SHOCKER

"IT'S MORE than the end of an era, it's the end of a whole way of life," one Derry docker told *Socialist Worker*, commenting on an agreement last month which gave employers the go-ahead to impose rock-bottom manning levels and to move the operation about six miles downstream on the Foyle to Lisahally.

The union, the ATGWU, negotiated a financial package which will give 26 "first preference" men a £15,000 lump sum. In addition, £45,000 is to be divided among "second pre-

ference" men, twenty of whom will be retained on a casual basis.

This is a sizeable advance on what the employers were offering at the outset.

### FIGHT

However, much more could have been won. The men showed their willingness to fight when they burst into the docks and occupied a Polish shop from which scabs were discharging coal a week before the settlement. They were "talked out" after the employers threatened to switch the

ship—and other ships due in—to other Irish ports.

The answer would have been to appeal directly to dock workers through Ireland to "black" any work transferred from Derry. Once this course wasn't taken, the amount of pressure the men could bring to bear was limited.

The dispute was notable for the interest taken by Derry councillors. Both SDLP and Sinn Fein members spoke in favour of the workers in terms of the moral rightness of their case. But neither party offered any clear lead as to how more could have been won.

■ DERRY SWM

AN POST's new restructuring plan is a blatant attack on jobs and services.

Staff will be reduced by 1,500, Sheriff Street sorting office in Dublin will be closed, as will 550 sub post offices.

The company also intends to hold down wages. The increases due under the Programme for Economic and Social Progress will only be paid "when it is viable". Special increases of six percent, already agreed, will now be paid only when the plan is accepted by the unions.

An Post is clearly intent on weakening union organisation. If Sheriff Street is closed one of the most militant areas of the company will go. The chief executive, John Hynes, has hinted that work now done

on overtime will in future be done by part-time workers.

Privatisation is also being introduced, back-door fashion, as the cleaning of post offices and television licence inspection will now be done by contractors.

The cut in services will hit poorer people, particularly in rural areas. An Post says it is being hit as telecommunications develops. Yet it is mainly businesses who use phones and faxes: working class people still rely heavily on mail services.

The debate about the plan has centred on the closure of rural post offices. Even Fianna Fail TDs have attacked this measure. This is done purely to protect votes and is clearly hypocritical. Haughey and Co. were willing to ball out Larry Goodman when he was "unprofitable".

Yet in contrast to the

millions handed over to Goodman, successive governments have provided no such funds for the postal service. When An Post was set up in 1984 it was promised a £20 million grant, but this was cut to just £5 million. Also a promised £50 million of state funds for capital investment was slashed to £7 million.

The debate over the sub post offices has centred on the argument: "Should An Post provide a social service or simply make profits?" Clearly the company has decided to put profit first.

Cutbacks in health services and education have been vigorously opposed by many trade unionists. The cuts in An Post are no less an attack on workers and the poor. The traditional militancy of post office workers must be mobilised against the proposals.

■ DAVE McDONAGH

## POSTAL WORKERS FACE ATTACK



# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 30p



## Red faces at Ellis trial

FOR 37 days Des Ellis went on hunger to protest his innocence of a charge of causing explosives in Britain and to resist extradition. Despite major protests, he was sent to Britain.

Now, even the British courts have confirmed Des Ellis's case. London magistrate, Ms Daphne Williams upheld the defence case that Ellis could not be convicted under the Explosives Substances Act because he was not in Britain at the time of the alleged offence.

### KNOWN

But this was known all along. Last October, for example, his sister Martha Ellis told **SOCIALIST WORKER** that between 1981 and 1983 Des had served time in prison in the US and upon release was on bail in Ireland where he had to report to the police three days a week.

Des Ellis should clearly have been released immediately. Indeed the charges should never have been brought.

But still he is locked up as the Irish and British governments debate whether new charges can be brought.

# ORGANISE TO STOP THE WAR

*Kilkenny workers show us how*

WORKERS at the Callan bacon factory in Kilkenny have voted to support the policies of the No to War in the Gulf campaign.

At a general union meeting in the factory, a proposal emerged to support the demand for Western troops out of the Gulf and to call for an end to re-fuelling at Shannon.

The workers also voted to send a letter to the ICTU calling on them to take action in support the campaign.

One of the workers told *Socialist Worker* how she raised the arguments:

"The main problem was getting over the issue of Saddam Hussein. Some people said that he was tyrant, a new Hitler. "I pointed out that the

US are never interested in getting rid of dictators only those who do not do their bidding. The only reason why they have started this war has been to get cheap oil.

"If they win this war, they will only put a new dictator in his place.

"In the past, they armed Saddam Hussein and encouraged him to attack Iran because then they saw the Iranian revolution as the major threat.

"They would do the same again if they got a new thug to replace Saddam Hussein"

In the end only five people failed to vote to support the demands of the No to War in the Gulf Campaign. By raising basic socialist arguments on the war, workers were convinced to take up the issue.

The example of the Callan Bacon company must now be taken up throughout the Irish trade union movement.



## SCHOOL STUDENTS GET ORGANISED

SCHOOL students are getting organised against the Gulf War. A new organisation School Students Against war in the Gulf has been set up.

One school student told *Socialist Worker* that the main problem

was getting the right to hold meetings in the schools.

"The principals do not take us seriously. They think we have not got a right to political views.

"But when you look at what the US are doing to Iraqi children with their high altitude bombs, then it is time that we got organised."

Ben, who is one of the organisers of the new groups told *Socialist Worker* that they are determined that the group is open, democratic and not controlled by any one political organisation.

School Students against war in the Gulf can be contacted by ringing Ben at Dublin 975477 or Eamonn at Dublin 881233.

## DEASY THE WARMONGER!

AUSTIN Deasy the Fine Gael T.D. for Waterford has been one of the most enthusiastic supporters of Bush's war in this country.

However, he has met with lots of opposition to his views in the Waterford area. On a radio programme recently, where he attempted to air his views, most of the callers attacked him.

One housewife from his home town Dungarvan suggested that 'if he's in favour of war, why don't he take himself and all his family out to the Gulf and do us all a good turn.'

The local No to War in the Gulf Campaign are very anxious to mount a picket on his clinics. The problem is finding them. In the past, Austin used to advertise

the venues of all his clinics. Now he has taken to putting an add in his local paper asking people to ring a certain number before they can meet him.

The Waterford No to war in the Gulf campaign suggests that people who oppose the war should ring Austin at 051 93115 to make known their view very strongly.

## Join the anti-war movement!

THE No to War in the Gulf campaign is at the fore of a militant anti-war movement in Ireland.

In February, 2,000 people turned out in Dublin to hear Eamonn McCann, Brian Anderson of the MSF union and Joan O'Connor of USI denounce the US led war effort.

Across the country local activists of the No to War in the Gulf campaign are organising petitions and information stalls each weekend.

On March 2, the campaign organising a major demonstration to the US embassy. It's simple belief is that the US is the main enemy in this conflict.

Campaign members are also targetting workplaces and the unions as to bring thousands onto its demonstrations.

*Socialist Worker* urges all its supporters to get involved in the campaign.

Write to No to War in the Gulf Campaign, 14 Glengarriff Parade Dublin 7 for details of activities in your area.