

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

**Forum:
Women's Liberation
and Socialism
May 15 & 16, Dublin
See page 9 for details**

Defend Women's Rights!

Keep Ireland Out of NATO!

**Vote No to
Maastricht**

Why we say No: see centre pages

EDUCATION:

Now they want to test seven-year olds!

THE Green Paper on Education will turn education into a business.

Seamus Brennan has said he wants to "foster a spirit of enterprise".

School principles will become chief executives and there will be more local business people on school boards of management.

As part of the competition of business, children are to be tested at the ages of seven, eleven and fifteen.

Schools will have to publish their results as part of an annual report. This is described as "an important part of the system of quality assurance".

Brennan says the tests will identify children who need extra assistance, but he hasn't provided any funding for this assistance.

Remedial teaching has been cut back in many schools, but private, fee-paying schools will continue to be state-funded.

Joe O'Toole, general secretary of the INTO, rightly described the assessments as a "Thatcherite product being dumped on the Irish market".

They are an insult to teachers who already know only too well which kids and schools need more resources.

Instead of addressing

each child's needs, teachers will have to "teach the tests".

The tests will brand poorer working class kids as failures at the age of seven, forcing them to compete against other kids and putting them through undue stress. Schools without remedial teachers will fare worse.

Small wonder that teachers expressed enormous anger at the tests at their union conferences in April.

That anger can be harnessed to prevent the tests being introduced.

olds!



Ahern's hand out for the rich

FIANNA Fail's Bertie Ahern is giving out new hand-outs for the rich.

The rich can now open a special investment account in their building societies and banks.

They can let their money sit there and live off their interest and only pay a miserable 10 per cent in tax.

Ahern has cut the DIRT tax on these deposits from 27 per cent to 10 per cent so that the rich will not move their money out of Ireland.

Meanwhile Ireland's would be oil barons are also being awarded with tax cuts.

Tax on the profits on oil exploration is being cut from 40 per cent to 25 per cent.

For the unemployed and those on state benefits it is a different story.

State benefits are now to be taxed so that a workers on short time will find themselves paying back more tax to the state.



Separate the Church and State

A NEW clash with the bishops is looming in primary education.

The Irish state makes no provision for the education of children who are not affiliated to one of the main Christian Churches.

They are supposed to go along to Church run schools and skip out for the religion classes.

But there are no extra teachers provided to cover for these children.

And in Catholic schools, religion is also supposed to be brought into every other subject.

The Irish state back up this sectarian stance.

The teachers handbook of the Department of Education states that "the separation of religious and secular instruction into differentiated subjects compartments serves only to throw the whole educational function out of focus."

Material supplied by the Department of Education for Irish language conversation classes includes instructions on how to build a "May altar".

The Campaign to Separate the Church and State have now exposed this scandal but the Bishops are objecting to religion being "corralled" into one time slot.

They should be told where to get off. Tragically, the teachers union the INTO have stayed silent on the matter. It is time that they spoke out.

MEATH T.U.I. SHAME

THE Meath branch of the Teachers' Union of Ireland has come out against a travellers' encampment near the Navan Community College.

In a disgusting statement they expressed concern "at parents sending their offspring to the community college

past the caravans". There has been a long history of anti-traveller bigotry in Navan.

Instead of attacking travellers, Meath TUI would be better off campaigning against poor conditions in their schools.

Reynolds meat scam exposed

ALBERT Reynolds, the mean gombeen, is going to be exposed at the Beef Tribunal.

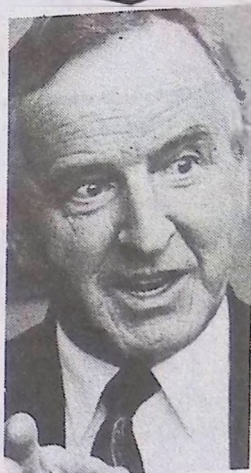
Reynolds was the Minister who brought in the special Export Credit Insurance Scheme in 1987 to cover beef exports to Iraq.

He made sure that only Goodman Meat and Hibernia Meats could benefit from the scheme.

It guaranteed Goodman millions in profits.

The scheme was such a blatant piece of favouritism that when Ray Burke took over from Reynolds he complained about being given the "shitty end of the stick".

But Albert was only



doing a friend a good turn. Goodman supplies the raw material for Reynolds' own cat and dog food business.

WHAT THEY SAY

"IT IS very healthy for young girl to be deterred from promiscuity by fear of contracting a painful incurable disease or cervical cancer, or sterility or the likelihood of giving birth to a dead, blind or brain damaged baby"—US anti-abortion spokeswoman, Phyllis Schafly.

"I CAN give voice to the very real anger and disgust we have felt at the campaign of calumny waged against you in recent months"—British judge, Lord Donaldson speaking about his good friend Lord Lane who stitched up the Guildford Four.

"WELL they would say that wouldn't they"—Gerry Conlon of the Guildford Four who was stitched up by Lord Lane.

"IT WAS like something out of the Brixton riots. Some of them were armed armed with dividers and compasses"—British police comments after "100 schoolgirls run amok in Wimbledon underground station"

"THERE were no women in the Stone Age and men lived in caves with their sons"—Comment of primary school boy who was brought up on Folen's Primary History.

AIB's US windfall

ALLIED Irish Banks say they can't afford wage increases but they still make huge profits.

Not just here but in America too.

AIB's US subsidiary, First Maryland Bankcorp, made a record £12.5 million for the first quarter of 1992.

That's up 93 per cent on the same period last year.

AIB has made £152 million profits since it took over First Maryland, four years ago.

Tony McPoland of Goodbody Stockbrokers reckons FMB will clock up £56 million this year.

The Bank has a 165 branch franchise in the US. AIB Deputy Chairman, Gerry Scanlon, said First Maryland could become "the leading quality bank in its market".

But while Scanlon and his cronies were sitting on top of their latest windfall, AIB workers were walking around on picket-lines trying to squeeze a few extra quid out of them.

ALLIED Irish Banks threatened to withdraw scholarships from Limerick students who refused to scab on the bank strike.

The students are on a banking diploma course at Limerick university sponsored by AIB. They refused to work in local AIB branches during the strike.

It seems that bank bosses are not happy just intimidating their work force. They now want to bully students as well.

Subscribe!

If you would like to take out a subscription to Socialist Worker complete and send to:

SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Please send SW for a year, I enclose £7.00

Please send SW for six months, I enclose £4.00

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

THE EEC has a 32 ton grain mountain and it doesn't know what to do with it.

The latest idea is to turn it into vegetable based alcohol and mix it with petrol for cars.

Feeding the starving millions with the grain has, it seems, not been considered.

While Albert is paralysed... How to beat SPUC

But it is also important to understand that they are weaker than in 1983. Thousands now see them for what they are: a fringe right wing group who were responsible for the tragedy of the 14 year old rape victim case.

SPUC will be defeated, provided we place no trust in slimy politicians like Reynolds. SPUC have to be confronted.

THE honeymoon period for Albert Reynolds has worn off fast. From all sides he is being attacked for the mess he has made on the Maastericht referendum.

Reynolds looks like a paralysed man. He replies to every question on abortion by saying he has a Cabinet sub-committee looking into it.

He promises women that there will be a referendum giving the right to information on abortion. But then he promises SPUC that there will be a new referendum to reverse the Supreme Court judgement.

Reynolds problem is a reflection of the dilemma facing FF and the Irish ruling class in general.

They know that the slow, patchy phase of industrial development since the mid sixties is producing a very different generation. Ireland is now mainly an urban country. Only 14 per cent of the population work on the land.

Thumb

Working people are no longer under the thumb of the priests. Women are going out to paid employment in greater numbers. In 1960 5 per cent of married women in Ireland were in paid work. Today it is 25 per cent.

Now working class women and youth are asserting themselves. They want change. The vote for Mary Robinson in 1990 was a reflection of this.

Fianna Fail and the ruling class understand that in the longer term they have to make an ideological switch. But they have immense difficulty making the switch. Hence Albert's paralysis.

Promise

The reason is that under Haughey they set themselves up as the champions of 'traditional values'. In the early 1980s, FF could no longer promise economic improvement. They first tried green nationalist rhetoric on the North to cover for their weakness. But they found it too dangerous.

Instead they switched to making an alliance with SPUC. They took up a SPUC suggestion for a referendum in 1983 enthusiastically and tried to use it to undermine the liberal leader of Fine Gael, Garret Fitzgerald. It was the FF cumman who

provided the local backbone of the anti-divorce troops in 1986.

The result now is that the SPUC connection goes deep in FF. Cabinet Minister Michael Woods's election agent, for example, is a local SPUC organiser. Emily O Reilly, the IRISH PRESS's political correspondent claims that a substantial minority of the FF Parliamentary Party are now backing SPUC bigot, Des Hanafin, in his demand for a new referendum.

In a country like Ireland, the past can sometimes weigh like a nightmare on the living. None more so than in ruling

class circles. Our rulers want to 'modernise' but they are forced time and time to make concessions to the bigots who gave them electoral success in the past.

Tragic

This makes it all the more tragic that the Democratic Left and the Labour Party spent the last two months seeking 'consensus' with FF on the abortion issue.

They had hoped to ward off a SPUC backlash by the appearance of all-party unity in the Dail. Many of their

supporters advised people not to 'push too far in case they provoked a backlash.'

But the search for consensus with FF was a complete illusion. Moreover, it was a dangerous illusion. While many of the forces looking for change in Ireland sat back over the last two months and listened to endless legalistic drivel, SPUC started to re-organise on the ground.

SPUC have used the pulpits and the schools to re-build their organisation. They now pose a major threat to women's rights in Ireland.

Driven

They have to be driven out of our schools so that there propaganda videos do not poison young minds.

Every time they march, they have to be confronted. Never again must they be allowed to cow the left as they did in 1983.

Reynolds has denounced SWM's confrontation of the SPUC. But we are proud of having stood up for the tens and thousands of Irish women who had to have abortions in Britain in silence and fear because of what the antics of those bigots.



Confronting the bigots in Dublin

Why Adams lost

NORTHERN Ireland is set to face another five years of Tory rule. This will mean more attacks on the hospitals and schools.

But the deepest depression after the election was in republican circles.

Sinn Fein received the lowest share of the vote that it has ever had since it first stood for Westminster in 1983. Sinn Fein President, Gerry Adams, also lost his seat in West Belfast.

After the election, Adams claimed that the SDLP had a 'hollow victory' in West Belfast. He said that the SDLP victor, Joe Hendron, 'lost the battle for the hearts and minds of the nationalist people'.

He said that the SDLP had 'stolen' the seat by persuading a couple of thousand loyalists to vote for Hendron.

also showed the central weakness of republicanism: he is only interested in support from the nationalist ghettos.

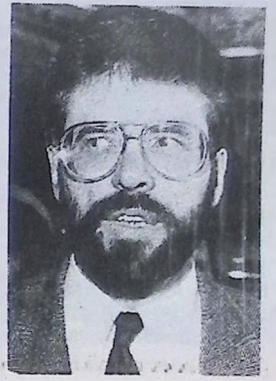
After the election, Joe Hendron was able to come across as appearing more concerned about unity between the Falls and Shankill.

Hendron is, of course, a hypocrite. He is a SPUC-supporting bigot who wanted the Brook Clinic closed down.

Most of the Protestant voters came from Glencairn, a working class area which suffers from high unemployment and desperate poverty.

Republican politics has no way of reaching these

areas. What is desperately needed is a socialist organisation that fights harassment by the British army and RUC—but does so on the basis of class politics.



But Adams' response

As the Tories win British election...

Why did Labour lose again?

THE Tories' shock victory in last month's British elections has left Labour supporters demoralised and confused.

With Britain in the longest recession since the 1930s, the situation seemed tailor-made for Labour. So how did they manage to lose?

Labour's old leaders are lining up to make excuses:

■ Kinnock blamed the Tory tabloid press. These papers are disgusting, lying rags. But they fought every election the same way. It did not stop Labour winning in 1945, 1964, 1966 or 1974.

■ Gould and even left-winger Ken Livingstone blames Labour's tax policies. But everyone earning less than £400 a week would have benefited under Labour.

Labour's top rate of tax was lower than the one which Thatcher imposed for nine years.

The real reasons for Labour's defeat have to be sought elsewhere.

The Tories have retreated from the hardline policies of the eighties. Thatcher and the hated poll tax were ditched in 1990. Since then the government has avoided confrontation with the unions and increased public spending levels. This means that John Major is not yet the same sort of hate figure that Margaret Thatcher was.

But Labour also failed to express the anti-Tory anger that undoubtedly exists. Whenever Major got up on his soap box during the election campaign, thousands of angry people chased him out of



THE ANGER THEY COULD HAVE USED

town. Labour could have built on this anger. But they turned their back on their own supporters time after time.

Immediately after the March 1990 Trafalgar

Square poll tax riot, Labour jumped to 24.5 percent points ahead in the polls. But instead of building on the anger, they condemned the protest. Labour councils have

pursued a vicious campaign of jailing poll tax nonpayers.

Most

Kinnock's strategy was to present a respectable image and woo big business. This meant accepting most of the Tory agenda—high unemployment, privatisation and strict limits on welfare

spending. The two parties became almost indistinguishable.

And as the Tory, Cecil Parkinson, point out, faced with a choice between an original and a copy, people will choose the original.

However, there is another alternative. Where independent socialist candidates stood they got a surprisingly large vote. Dave Nellist, the sitting

MP and expelled Labour Party member, got over 10,000 votes in Coventry South East. In Liverpool Terry Fields polled 5,952 votes and jailed poll tax nonpayer Tommy Sheridan achieved a similar figure in Glasgow.

This shows that there is the potential to build a left alternative in Britain. But it will have to be built outside the Labour Party.

■ SIMON GILBERT



THE UN Security Council has imposed sanctions against Libya mainly covering air travel and arms sales.

The US, Britain and

'Sanctions have little to do with Lockerbie'

Hands off Libya!

France were the main forces pushing for aggressive action. They demanded that Libya hand over two intelligence agents accused of bombing the Pan Am plane over Lockerbie in December 1988.

The bullying tactics of the US and Britain are a strong reminder of the run-up to the Gulf War.

Although Libya offered to hand over the two suspects to be tried in Malta before being extradited, the US cockily

rejected this offer.

The Western powers are themselves no strangers to state terrorism. The sanctions began on the sixth anniversary of the US air raid on Tripoli which killed forty people.

Response

This air raid was supposed to be in response to an attack on a Berlin disco, even though the US acknowledged that Syria was responsible.

In 1988 the US warship, the Vincennes, blew up

an Iranian passenger airliner. Bush later said this was just "a mistake". French agents blew up the Greenpeace ship, the Rainbow Warrior, off the coast of New Zealand.

The butchers of the Gulf War are in no position to act as the world's peacekeepers. The sanctions against Libya have little to do with Lockerbie—there is growing evidence that Syria or Iran were responsible for the bombing.

Pan Am are also

threatening to sue the US because they knew in advance that a Pan Am plane was going to be bombed and didn't warn them.

The sanctions are an attempt to keep Gaddafi under the thumb of the New World Order. He did not support the Gulf War, unlike Syria and Iran, and is now being brought to heel.

The US wants to assert its dominance all over the Middle East and to control oil supplies.

Ireland has rowed in behind the demands for

sanctions. A Department of Foreign Affairs spokesman said "We regard ourselves as fully bound by the Security Council resolution".

Ruled

Military action has not been ruled out. Thomas Pickering, the US delegate to the UN, said that the UN response might be inadequate and that "other measures might be necessary", advising reporters to "stay tuned".

With Bush trailing in the election polls, he is desperately trying to whip up war hysteria.

■ GER TUOHY

The cruel face of US justice

IN April, Robert Harris was strapped down in an execution chamber in California and killed



Harris

by a lethal dose of gas.

The gas was of the same sort that was used in Hitler's gas chambers to execute Jews.

Harris took 12 minutes to die after going through tremendous pain.

All the time he was under observation of the press and the families of victims he killed 14 years ago.

Harris execution opens the way for the spread of legalised murder in America. 2,588 prisoners have been waiting years on death row. California's decision to executive will encourage other states to carry out the death sentences.

Carried

The execution chambers in the US are racist. Since 1976, 169 execution have been carried out. 40 per cent of the victims are black although blacks make up only 12 per cent of the US population.

Three of the seven black men executed last year were convicted by an all-white jury. One of them was Andrew Lee Jones who was tried in the Louisiana district with a 40 per cent black population.

Capital punishment has done nothing to cut down the murder rate. Texas and Florida have the longest death rows in America—but they have also fantastically high murder rates.

The barbarism of the system was revealed when the US Supreme Court ruled that even mentally retarded people with a mental development age less than 12 could be executed.



The real Marxist tradition

by John Molyneux
Molyneux looks at the tradition founded by Marx and demolishes the claims of Stalin, Castro and others to have anything to do with the fundamental idea of Marxism—the self-emancipation of the working class.
£3.00 post free

Unions take on the bigots

IN the last month the unions have taken a stand against SPUC.

IDATU passed a resolution overwhelmingly calling for a referendum to grant information on abortion.

The Dublin Trades Council is including the issue in its May Day demonstration. They have called for free, legal and safe abortion.

Eight branches at the Campaign got two hundred people.

SPUC are currently bringing the students' unions to court again. They want a blanket ban on information.

But USI and other colleges around the country are continuing to give out the information.

Trade union support needs to be tapped to make an effective fighting campaign, one that won't allow the bigots to win.

The potential is there for a real fightback. In Galway a meeting called by the Repeal the Eighth Amendment

was held to discuss the potential for a real fightback. In Galway a meeting called by the Repeal the Eighth Amendment

Stop the SPUC backlash



THE bigots in SPUC have been shocked by the Supreme Court judgement on the 14 year old rape victim case.

Now they are trying to organise a backlash. They are invading schools again with their anti-abortion video.

In Cork, priests called on their congregations to form SPUC and Youth Defence groups.

But after all their national efforts SPUC only mobilised 3,000 supporters for their national demonstration in Dublin in April and less than a thousand in Cork.

SPUC are far weaker than in 1983. This time around they can be smashed.

But this will mean socialists standing up and confronting them on the streets and winning the unions to a pro-abortion stance.

'Films made to shock'

SPUC, lies and videotape

IN Ballinteer Community School in Dublin the Religion Department showed the sixth year students a video designed to make them virulently anti-abortion.

The film was made in America and showed babies in buckets and foetal tissue.

Michael Tully, a leaving cert student, described the video as "like a horror film which stirred a very emotional reaction from the students".

Most of the class were so upset that they didn't even have enough composure to ask for the other side of the story.

"I had read up on the question of abortion and on a woman's right to choose and the film didn't scare me, but it did sicken me.

"Most of my mates, though, found that the film only reinforced any anti-abortion views they had or made them anti-abortion straight away without looking at the whole question".

These videos are purely designed to shock. They portray abortion clinics as nothing more than a big money-

spinning racket, showing huge profits each year. Of course, abortion should not be controlled by big business. It should be available, free, on the health service.

Another Ballinteer student, Angela, said the film was "disgusting, and it definitely made me anti-abortion.

It was only afterwards talking to other people about it, that I began to see the film for what it really was.

"It didn't show the women involved at all in fact not even one woman featured in the whole thing.

"All it concentrated on was the blood and guts impression and the clinics making pots of money.

"Now I often think when I see SPUC posters around the place, how can anyone call women murderers who have abortions. No one is considering their situation in all this."

America points the way

THOUSANDS of people have taken to the streets in the US to defend a woman's right to choose.

Operation Rescue (OR), a right-wing pro-life group, has targeted Buffalo for its next crusade.

OR's strategy is to shut down abortion clinics. They physically block the entrance so it's impossible for women to enter.

This confrontation has been the first real show of strength against the pro-lifers. Having been successful in Wichita, Buffalo was next.

two bled to death after an illegal cheap abortion.

Since then other restrictions have been pushed through. Married women are forced to ask their husbands' permission or face a year in prison.

Last month a woman's boyfriend got a court order stopping her from getting an abortion or leaving the state to get one.

Now Bush is bringing in the "gag rule", almost exactly the same as the ban on information here.

But the opposition is growing. Five hundred thousand people marched in Washington to defend the right to choose.

Along with the Buffalo action it shows how to halt the onslaught.

The only way to stop OR is to stop them closing clinics. The only way to do that is to be on the streets keeping the clinics open.

Funding

During the past decade of Reaganism the clock has gone back for American women.

In 1976 state funding for abortion was removed. Less than a month later, a mother of

Anti-life hypocrites

AUSTIN Darragh, one of the pro-lifers' main movers, is a member of the Knights of Columbanus.

He also owned the Institute of Pharmacology. This tested new drugs, using human beings as guinea pigs. They made money off the unemployed,

students and the poverty-stricken.

One student, Niall Rush, was killed during one of the experiments.

David Alton is another lovely character. He's a pro-life Liberal MP who voted for the reintroduction of capital punishment!

Behind the 'pro-life' image the Catholic Right have...

A hidden agenda

THE revelation of Justice O'Hanlon's membership of Opus Dei has only scratched the surface of the organisations behind SPUC.

Among SPUC's sponsors are the Knights of Columbanus. The Knights are a right wing, all male organisation with links to the Catholic Church.

Opposes

They're the force behind Family Solidarity. This organisation opposes laws preventing cruelty to children.

Along with these comes the Responsible Society. They've fought sex education, and the opening of the Rape Crisis Centre.

All these groups unite when their values come under attack.

They stand against divorce, contraception abortion and homosexuality. They are anti-sex—with the exception of procreation between man and wife.

Opus Dei's founder Escriva defended Hitler and the holocaust.

The organisation enjoys special Church approval, granted in 1983, by its keen supporter John

Paul II. It recruits from top business men, lawyers and bankers.

Members

The same leading members pop up time and again around each organisation.

They include John O'Reilly, Niall Darragh and Jerry Collins. Collins was the SPUC lawyer who wrote the Eighth Amendment.

SPUC and organisations like it are the public face of the Catholic Right. Their hidden agenda reaches far beyond denial of abortion rights.

It aims to stop any form of human liberation.



AIDS:

The neglect that feeds the ignorance

AIDS was discovered ten years ago. Throughout the world it has caused the deaths of half a million to one million people. In Ireland since diagnosis began in 1984/85 over one hundred people have died.

It is estimated that at present approximately 220 people in Ireland have full blown AIDS while over a thousand are HIV positive. Current trends show the number of people with full AIDS tends to double every ten months.

Presented with such facts, it would be expected that the government would have attacked the problem. Instead the Irish government is sticking its head in the sand.

The virus can be stopped from spreading through three simple methods: safe sex, using condoms; the use of clean needles by intravenous drug users; and proper screening of blood.

This may seem a simple solution, but the implementation of preventive methods has proved to be reluctant and slow.

Of the 350 haemophiliacs in Ireland, 102 have been diagnosed with HIV since 1984, 22 of whom have since died of full blown AIDS. It took the government six years before any compensation was granted to the families affected. Since 1984 donors' blood is screened for the virus.

Since the early eighties projects to offer free needles for drug users were turned down by the government. Prejudiced opinions saw such programmes as encouraging the growing drug problem.

Only since 1989 has there been a free needle exchange programme set up at Baggot Street Hos-

pital. It is the only programme of its kind in Dublin and Southern Ireland.

Free needles do not solve Dublin's growing inner city drug problem, but they do halt the spread of AIDS.

The Department of Justice declined to give any information on the number of HIV prisoners in Ireland. A 1988 report on prisons and places of detention states that in Mountjoy 45 males are known to be HIV positive; four people are known to have full blown AIDS.

Drug use is a known practice within prisons although authorities deny to what extent this occurs. Denying free needles does not prevent people from shooting up. It only ensures the spread of HIV. Ignoring drug use within prisons does not stop people from sharing needles.

Moralism in Irish society is widespread. Safe sex is also a taboo subject.

A recent information pamphlet on AIDS printed by the Department of Health stated that the most effective way to prevent sexual transmission of HIV was to "stay with one faithful partner". Although use of condoms for non-monogamous people was encouraged, ultimately the most effective solution was abstaining from sex altogether!

CONDOMS

Recently the church forced the government to step down over the reduction of the age limit for buying condoms. The availability of condoms in Ireland has not changed, despite calls for safe sex. There are no condom vending machines in Southern Ireland. This hardly supports the practice of safe sex.

At present there is only one AIDS consultant in Ireland in St James Hospital. The unit is grossly understaffed and

underfunded.

There is no specific training programme for health care workers to deal with AIDS in many hospitals around the country. Hospitals that are run by the clergy, such as the Mater Hospital in Dublin, have no programme for AIDS treatment.

Once AIDS is contracted, however, there is no cure, although preventive drugs such as AZT can stave off the symptoms of AIDS. There is an additional test—counting T-cells in the body—which can monitor the symptoms of AIDS.

TESTING

Regular testing prevents painful waiting periods before medication is given and should be widely used with the antibodies test (used to determine HIV). This test at present costs a person £35. It is not widely implemented it is reckoned to be too expensive by the state, which last year cut £11.2 million off the health budget (while Larry Goodman was given multi-million grants over the past decade to continue his dirty deals).

The number of heterosexuals with AIDS increased by 186 percent, from only 90 individuals up to July 1991. The general assumption is that AIDS has not hit the heterosexual community so severely. This is a reflection on the government's fear of publicising the facts. But if the facts were widely known, people would not stand for the poor government response to AIDS in Ireland.

AIDS is a political issue. Many of the existing projects and counselling services in operation are on a voluntary basis or on yearly contracts from the government. Without resources such services cannot survive.

EMMA CRAIN

MAASTRICHT REFERENDUM:

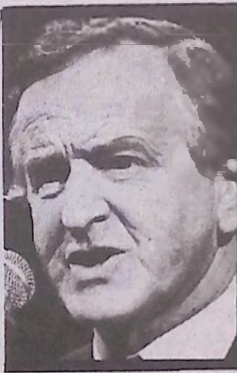
Why We vote No

by DAVE McDONAGH

THE Maastricht Treaty will result in Ireland being effectively tied into NATO's war aims. That is the simple fact that Fianna Fail are trying to hide in the run-up to the referendum.

If we agree to Maastricht, Ireland will be lined to the Western European Union (WEU).

The WEU was formed in 1948 by the Western European allies who won the Second World War. Italy and Germany later joined.



Albert hides NATO link

THE government is lying when it says Maastricht "protects" Irish neutrality. It claims that Article J.4.4. of the Treaty guarantees this "protection". But the opposite is true. Article J.4.4. states that:

"The policy of the Union in accordance with the present Article shall not prejudice the specific character of the security and defence policy of certain Member States and shall respect the obligations of certain Member States under the North Atlantic Treaty and be compatible with the common security and defence policy established within that framework".

In other words EC states will have to comply with NATO's defence policy. The government claims that the first reference to "certain Member States" includes Ireland and is separate to the second reference which just applies to NATO countries.

But they know full well what Article J.4.4. means—Ireland's defence policy will be tied into NATO.

They know because they objected to it in the first place.

People First/Meritheal, who are opposed to Maastricht, have

published an internal EC document which stated that Ireland had "misgivings" about the link with NATO contained in J.4.4.

The Irish objections were overruled by the other EC states. The government are now trying to fool us into thinking that Article J.4.4. means the opposite of what it says.

Reassurances about "neutrality" should be seen for what they are—more Fianna Fail lies.

A Bosses' Europe

THE European bosses need Maastricht so that Europe can compete more effectively in the world market.

As a recent EC Bulletin said: "Europe's competitive edge has been blunted, its research potential is being eroded, and it is not in a strong position with regard to future technology."

The bosses want to restore profit margins to compete against the US and Japan. They also want to improve technology.

Labour and Democratic Left

both agree that a more competitive Europe will benefit Irish workers.

Yet the Haughey government opted out of the Social Charter because they objected to workers receiving a minimum wage. The Charter is not now part of the Treaty.

But even if it was, workers would still suffer. The Charter was nothing more than a sop to trade union leaders, to win their support for Maastricht.

Demands for productivity will increase after Maastricht. Already workers are under

attack. Even in "progressive" states like the Netherlands welfare provisions are being undermined.

And immigrant workers will be faced with more racist barriers. Ireland will be dragged into a "fortress Europe" that will band together to limit immigration. That can only increase racism and benefit the far right in Europe.

Socialists are for unity across Europe—but unity with other workers against their bosses.

The WEU coordinated Europe's role in the Gulf War. The Irish government played its own part in the slaughter when it allowed US war planes to refuel at Shannon before bombing Iraq.

Maastricht will copper fasten Ireland's links with Western imperialism. The Treaty will turn the WEU into the armed wing of the European Community. A new European superpower will emerge, armed to the teeth with nuclear weapons.

EC Commission President, Jacques Delors, says the Treaty will "set us up for the resources war of the next century". In other words, if any country threatens Europe's oil supplies the new superpower will do what the US did to Iraq.

Ireland will not have a veto over a European declaration of war. The European Union can declare war if a "qualified majority" of EC Defence Ministers vote in favour.

Every member state will have to support such a war "actively and unreservedly in a spirit of loyalty and mutual solidarity". The WEU would oversee the war effort.

Ireland is considering joining the WEU. But even if it does not we will still be tied to the WEU's defence policy, under the Treaty.

Arms manufacturing will also be stepped up in the new Europe. The main European powers want to build a "military-industrial complex" based on the American model.

There are two reasons for this. One is to develop technology to strengthen Europe's hand in the world market. The second reason is to defend European imperialism and to fight Jacques Delors' "resource wars".

The Ferguson Report of 1983

should



Bosses comfortably waiting for their new Europe

said that defence purchasing should be stepped up "to ensure that European industries shall be able not only to compete with the US and Japanese firms but shall also be able to strengthen Europe's own defence capability".

WEAPONS

The pro-neutrality group, Amarach Ireland 2000, believes that Irish universities and research establishments would be pulled into developing arms technology. No doubt Albert Reynolds sees the potential for "job creation" in weapons research.

Clearly the threat of Ireland joining NATO is reason enough to vote "no" to Maastricht.

Maastricht is an attempt to build a bosses' Europe, complete with military might. Irish bosses are part of the same capitalist system as their European counterparts.

Despite this, the main left-wing parties and the ICTU are not clear in their opposition to Maastricht. Labour and the Democratic Left don't like the NATO link or the SPUC protocol but they still support the idea of a "new Europe".

When Patricia O'Donovan of the ICTU spoke against the anti-abortion protocol at the Women's Conference she stressed that she was still "a good European".

Yet in every sense it is clear that Maastricht is pro-boss and anti-worker. For that reason every trade unionist and socialist should be arguing for a "no" vote on June 18th.

Fianna Fail's lies

FIANNA Fail is promising a £6 billion grant from the EC if we vote for the Maastricht Treaty. It is a tissue of lies.

What Reynolds does not say is that the grants are meant as a compensation for the devastation that will be caused in Ireland by a single currency.

The Irish state has traditionally gotten a hand-out from Brussels. But the money does not benefit working people.

The vast bulk of the money goes into road building and grants to the bosses. Half of all grants to the bosses now come from the EC.

When Haughey was in office the state gave nine million pounds of EC funds to build golf clubs and playgrounds for the rich.

Nor is Reynolds even guaranteed his £6 billion. The unification of Germany has produced economic chaos within the paymaster of Europe.

Germany and Britain now want to cut back on the hand-outs. Reynolds may be left with an empty begging bowl.

No Nationalist Solutions

THE media is setting up the National Platform for Employment, Democracy and Neutrality as the main opponents to Maastricht.

But the politics of this group is dominated by right wing nationalism.

One of its leading spokespersons is Raymond Crotty. Crotty is an anti-abortionist who took part in the SPUC bigots March for Life in Dublin in April.

The National Platform wants a return to "national sovereignty". But "sovereignty" is a myth. Ireland's parliament has always been run by the native rich and the multi-nationals.

The National Platform wants an independent capitalist road. But this would mean a return to Ireland in the fifties.

There is no room today for a return to De Valera Green Isle.

We oppose Maastricht because it represents the bosses Europe. The alternative to that Europe is international socialism. Socialists should have nothing to do with SPUC supporters who want to oppose Maastricht for their own bigoted reasons.

Safe European home?

LAST year, EC leaders met in the small Dutch town of Maastricht to sign the Treaty of European Union.

The Maastricht Treaty would do away with trade restrictions in Europe and bring about a single currency.

All the talk was of "breaking down the barriers".

After all, Germany was re-united and Eastern Europe was beginning to taste democracy. Now we could all live in harmony as 'good Europeans'.

Many who wanted social change in Ireland saw Europe as more progressive. The European courts were telling the Irish government to relax the ban on homosexuality, for example.

But then came news that Maastricht would uphold SPUC's Eighth Amendment. We had our very own Protocol to keep the abortion ban in place.

The Social Charter was dropped because Irish bosses wouldn't pay the minimum wage.

So Ireland was being kept safe for right-wing bigots and sweatshop employers.

But is Ireland just an exception to the rule? Is Europe really a haven of progress?

Women in the former East Germany don't seem to think so. After re-unification they were told that their abortion rights were being cut back "to bring them into line" with the more restrictive West.

East German workers have found themselves in the worst-paid jobs in the new Germany.

And economic crisis has provided a breeding ground for Nazi groups, not just in Germany but in France and Belgium also.

The New Europe will encourage these fascists to whip up more racism.

We are moving towards a 'Fortress Europe' with increased immigration controls.

Former French premier, Edith Cresson, wanted immigrants sent back to their countries of origin on chartered flights.

Dutch deputy prime minister, Wim Kok, said anyone rejected for asylum must be deported without delay.

Britain's Tories talk about a "speeded up" vetting process as if this was a benefit for immigrants. But it's just a quicker way to kick them out.

The mass of East Europeans have not been made welcome by the "free West".

Italian police beat up and deported Albanians fleeing tyranny in their own country.

Many would point to a more civilised side to Europe. It has long been a centre of art, culture and science.

But behind these achievements lies a history of immense barbarism.

Europe gave the world the Mona Lisa and Mozart but it also sheltered Auschwitz and Treblinka.

The Nazi death camps existed in the continent's most advanced nation.

Twice this century Europe plunged the world into bloody conflicts.

Europe's achievements cannot be separated from the horrors its rulers have created.

One of the most beautiful rooms in the world is the Codrington Library in Oxford University. But it was built on the profits of the slave trade.

Now we face the prospect of a new European Superpower bringing more terror to the world.

The post-Maastricht set-up has nothing to offer people seeking freedom in Ireland or anywhere else.

But there is another side to the story. The Revolutions in Eastern Europe gave a glimpse of how real freedom can be won.

When workers tore down the Berlin Wall they did more to break down barriers in one day than our rulers could ever do.

The mass revolt in Romania not only overthrew Ceausescu—it also swept aside his repressive anti-abortion laws.

We can win change in Ireland through the same type of mass action. That came home to many people when demonstrations in February forced the judges to change their minds about abortion.

Socialists aim to build on the experience of these struggles. We don't rely on judges or Brussels bureaucrats to change things from above.

Instead we believe in mass action from below.

It is possible to end the barbarism of capitalist society. And when that's done we can use art, culture and science to make life better for millions of people—not just the greedy few.



Berlin, 1989. Mass action the answer

ALAN KELLY
looks at a new
book on the
Third World by
Susan George,
The Debt
Boomerang,
Pluto Press,
£8.75

A DECADE after the onset of the debt crisis the Third World is in worse shape and deeper in debt than ever before.

"If the goals of official IMF debt managers were to squeeze the debtors dry, to transfer enormous resources from the Third World to the First World and to wage undeclared war on the poor continents and their people, then their policies have been an unqualified success"—so says Susan George in her latest book, *The Debt Boomerang*.

During the last decade Western banks have organised this transfer of resources.

Each month for 108 months, debtor countries in the Third World paid six billion five hundred million dollars per month (US \$6,500,000,000) in interest payments alone. If total payments are counted, the sum paid into Western bank coffers per month is 12.5 billion.

The amount of money which Western banks such as AIB, Bank of Ireland and National Westminster (parent company of the Ulster Bank) extracted from the Third World was the equivalent of six Marshall Plans.

Where has it all gone?

Certainly workers in the Third World saw none of it.

Western workers have not seen a penny of this wealth—on the contrary, "northern workers paid huge and varied penalties to compensate their own banks".

Today an AIB worker can earn as little as £120 a week while their bosses make huge profits from the starvation of Africa.

Not everyone in the Third World suffered from the debt crisis. In fact some positively benefitted.

Third World elites have benefitted from workers' plummeting wages while their money is in safe havens. And although public services may deteriorate or close down, the rich can afford private facilities.

It is class and not nations or nationality that is the real division in the world.

George says that the Third World debt "should not, therefore, be seen as a straightforward national problem".

"Different social classes in debtor countries have vastly divergent interests and are unequally affected... the topmost layer of Third World societies are insulated from the debt distress".

Bolivia shows the scandal of what is going on. Life for most Bolivian people is "nasty, brutish and short". It is the poorest country in Latin America.

It has the continent's lowest life expectancy—around fifty years—and highest child mortality rates; malnutrition is chronic and 85 percent of the rural population lives below the poverty line.

Its ruling classes need no lessons from the Western ruling class. When General Banzer assumed power in 1971 Bolivia's debt was \$700 million.



Who gains from Third World debt?

By 1982 there was nothing left to steal and the country returned to civilian control. Bolivia's debt was then \$3.6 billion.

The Bolivian military also had links with former Gestapo official Klaus Barbie (eventually tried in France); Sun Mung Moon's Unification Church; the notorious right-wing P-2 masonic lodge in Italy and right-wing Italian terrorists, as well as other assorted international fascists.

THE I.M.F., the International Monetary Fund, instructed austerity measures to be carried out if new loans were to be given to get the country on its feet.

During this time the IMF had 94 austerity programmes in operation. Everywhere they were as catastrophic as in Bolivia.

Bolivia's GNP between 1980—1985 dropped by 20 percent, per capita consumption fell by one third, family incomes dropped by 28 percent and unemployment doubled.

From 1984 to 1985 inflation rose by 30,000 percent. After 1985 20,000 miners were sacked from the tin mines.

Pick any country in Latin America or elsewhere in the Third World and the story is the same.

However, not a single Latin American country has disclosed statistics on distribution of wealth since the late 1970s. Many have never done so at all.

The continent is the world's record breaker for unequal income distribution. The last available figures for Brazil relate to 1972; they reveal that the bottom twenty percent of the population received a meagre two percent of all income, while the top ten percent got half.

Things have grown worse since the 1970s. The Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Analysis claims that the average income of the wealthiest class was 225 times that of the poorest classes in 1978.

A mere third of the Brazilian population is able to afford the recommended dietary intake, and the other two thirds suffer from greater or lesser degrees of malnutrition.

So what of our northern worker—how does this process of extracting blood from a stone affect him or her?

If the Third World's debt service had benefitted First World workers it would have provided £1,318 for every man, woman and child in the West. Instead real incomes have fallen.

In America, still the world's largest economy, real incomes have fallen back to their 1960 level. Thirty-two million people live in poverty. The black community in Washington DC have a higher infant mortality rate than Jamaica.

Working conditions, wages and employment are under constant attack as bosses use the excuse of relocating to a cheap labour source as a threat.

The impoverishment of Third World markets has cost Europe alone 730,000 jobs between 1982 and 1988. This is hardly a gain for Western workers.

As if these atrocities against humanity were not enough, the Western rulers and the banks have got together to add insult to injury. Since 1982 Western workers have paid at least £30 billion in tax to the banks for "bad debt provision".

If, for example, Bolivia owes the Bank of Ireland £100 million, the bank can write it off as a bad debt and the Irish government will make the Irish taxpayer give £50 million to the bank.

The debt of £100 million can still be recouped from Bolivian workers at a later date.

Furthermore, the Bank of Ireland could sell its bad debt to the AIB and make even more money.

THE First World worker also loses out in other, if less direct, ways. The Latin American economies being decimated, their populations turn to other sources of employment such as the cocaine industry.

In Bolivia this supplies every third job in the economy.

These drugs then find fertile selling ground in the recession-ridden economies of the North.

The former president of Peru, Alan Garcia, called the drug trade Latin America's only successful multinational.

There are similar links between debt and deforestation, the concentration of greenhouse gases and the increasing hole in the ozone layer.

Luis de Silva, the Brazilian labour leader, described the situation in these terms: "If the Amazon is the lungs of the world, then debt is its pneumonia".

"Debt-saddled countries are forced to extract all wealth from their countries to pay off the debt and the rain forests are not exempt, as the workers themselves are not".

"Nor are the forests the only ecological victims of the crisis. Deserts are spreading in rural areas as the soil is stripped, used up and wasted. Pollution increases in urban areas as infrastructure crumbles and money cannot be spent on clean ups".

"Food shortage and illnesses thought to have disappeared fifty years ago roam the land. The term 'environmental refugee' has lately been added to the dictionary of the human condition."

George's book explodes the myth of nationality and nationhood and in its place puts class. In doing so it vindicates yet again the world view that marxists put forward.

Unfortunately, the conclusion of the book is seen from within the existing system and not in a direct challenge to it.

A more rational development under the market is no solution. The market has no plan—it is only anarchy.

The book begins with a challenge to the system, and it would have been better if it had ended with it as well. Nevertheless, it is worth reading.

Doing SPUC's dirty work

THE *Sunday Press* ran a front page story at the end of April attacking the SWM.

Under a headline "Reynolds Lashes Demo Attack", they claimed that the SWM started the violence at a Youth Defence anti-abortion march.

The *Sunday Press* claimed that a "hostile crowd" of SWM members 'pelted the march with coins and placards'. The SWM also was supposed to have "assaulted some of the marchers by punching them in the back as they passed".

Those on the counter-demo could tell a different story. Marnie Holborow told *Socialist Worker*:

"I was on side of the street shouting at these bigots when this thug smashed his placard down on my face. He ran off shouting 'we'll get you reds'".

Youth Defence already has a violent history behind them. They assaulted a socialist stall in Dublin's O'Connell St. They broke up a *Scrap the Amendment* meeting in Tallaght by attacking Democratic Left T.D. Pat Rabbitte.

Claimed

The *Sunday Press* also claimed that the "left wing demonstrators were nearly all male".

The story's writer, John Kilraine, is so steeped in sexism that he could not imagine that socialist women would want to confront an organisation that poses a direct threat to their rights.

But the photograph in his own paper showed that there were many women on the

protest.

Every striker knows how the press will lie about them and take

the side of the bosses. The *Sunday Press* is out to do the dirty work of SPUC.

THE increased political atmosphere in Ireland is creating immense opportunities for revolutionary socialists.

SWM have been to the fore in the fight against SPUC. When their front Youth Defence organised a national demonstration in Dublin, SWM called a counter rally at short notice. Throughout last

month SWM have been selling papers calling for a fight against the SPUC backlash. On one Saturday in Dublin 54 papers were sold in two hours.

The SWM has also been heavily involved in the bank strike. A special bank bulletin was produced for the strike. In Dublin a well attended 'Support the Bank Workers' meeting was held with an SWM bank worker speaking. In Waterford, SWM pressed the local Trades Council to call on all workers to respect the IBOA pickets.

In the colleges support for SWM ideas is growing after SWM candidates did very well in the student elections.

Thirty five people turned up in UCD to hear John Moineux from our sister organisation the Socialist Workers Party in Britain speak on the future of socialism. Afterwards two people joined SWM.

In Waterford, SWM have played an active role in building a housing campaign. They helped to organise a lively picket on a FF Minister when he visited Waterford.

Occupied

SWM members also supported Waterford Glass workers who occupied government buildings and blocked Waterford Bridge in protest over cutting PRSI payments to part time workers.

SWM is now engaged in a major recruitment campaign. Up and down the country people are joining.

One person joined after seeing our leaflets at the ICTU march for peace in Belfast in February. Here SWM was the only group who went on the march but attacked the the ICTU's failure to take up the issue of state violence.

The SWM is also spreading its wings into new areas. Preparations are now well advanced to open a new branch in Galway.

The SWM has become the largest revolutionary socialist organisation in Ireland. But we have to continue to build rapidly for the struggles ahead. If you want to join the SWM, fill in the coupon below.

Join the SWM

Socialist Workers Movement FORUM

Women's Liberation and Socialism

15th-16th May, Dublin

Friday 15th May, 7.30pm:
THE POLITICS OF ABORTION
Speakers: KIERAN ALLEN (Editor 'Socialist Worker') and MARY RYDER (Repeal the Amendment Campaign, personal capacity)
Venue: Wynn's Hotel, Abbey Street, Dublin.

Saturday 16th May, 10.30-11.45am:
CAPITALISM, SEXUALITY AND THE FAMILY
Speaker: GORETTI HORGAN

12.00-1.15pm:
RAPE, PORNOGRAPHY AND VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN
Speaker: GER TUOHY

2.15-3.30pm:
WOMEN'S LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM
Speaker: MARNIE HOLBOROW
Venue for Saturday: North Star Hotel, Amiens Street, Dublin.

Saturday evening 7.30pm:
Inaugural showing of the video:
IRISH WOMEN'S RIGHT TO CHOOSE
Followed by SOCIAL
Venue: Teachers' Club, Parnell Square, Dublin.

Tickets for the meetings cost: £2.50: employed £1.50: unemployed

Creche available on Saturday. Please notify organisers in advance of number of children.

Location: The event takes place in three venues:
Friday night: Wynn's Hotel, Abbey Street Saturday: North Star Hotel, Amiens Street Saturday Night: Teachers' Club, Parnell Square
Ticket for social and video: £1.00
For tickets and further details write to PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8 or Telephone (01) 722682

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 re-callable 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.

Catholic workers in the North are systematically discriminated against by the state, but Protestant workers derive no benefit from this. 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.

Book of the Month

May

The Politics of War The World and US Foreign Policy 1943-45

...invaluable in understanding how the post war carve up of the world set the stage for many of the conflicts that plague us to this day.

by Gabriel Kolko **Only £4.50**

From SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8 (add £1.50 postage)

Socialist Worker Branch Meetings

WATERFORD meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in: ATGWU Hall, Keyzer St

CORK meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in: Anchor Inn, Georges Quay

DERBY meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in: Badgers Pub, Orchid St

BELFAST meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in: Castle Mews, Bank 1

BRAY meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in: Hibernian Inn

DUBLIN meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in: Bachelor Inn, Bachelors Walk, by O'Connell Bridge

To contact SWM in DUNDALK, GALWAY, NAVAN, KILKENNY, write to PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8 or Telephone (01) 722682

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.....
.....
.....



Why IQ does not equal intelligence

by PAUL O'BRIEN

THOUSANDS of people have had IQ tests. But the history of the tests show them to be a complete fraud.

Psychologists who use IQ tests assume that intelligence is largely inherited and that it marks people and groups for an inevitable station in life. At the bottom are the morons, criminals, most alcoholics, and prostitutes.

At the next level are the merely dull. Here we find the toiling masses seemingly doing what comes naturally. N. H. Goddard, a leading American psychologist who supported IQ tests, wrote: "Those people who are doing the drudgery as a rule are in their right place."

At the upper end, intelligent men rule in comfort and by right. Goddard argued that "democracy means that the people rule by selecting the wisest, most intelligent and most human to tell them what to do to be happy. Thus democracy is a method for arriving at a truly benevolent aristocracy".

Army

Goddard, with L. Terman and R. Yerkes, persuaded the American army to test 1.75 million soldiers in World War I. The results were used to claim that intelligence was passed on by heredity.

Recent re-examination of army tests reveal that the tests were carried out in unscientific conditions, culturally biased, and the results "corrected" in a manner favourable to hereditary assumptions.

Funnily enough, the tests appeared to show the white people of western and northern Europe as the most intelligent, followed by the darker people of southern Europe, the Slavs, the Asians and at the bottom of the pile, the Negro.

The first consequence of this pseudo-science was the Immigration Restriction Act of 1924 in the USA. Eugenists lobbied not only for limits to immigration, but for changing its character by imposing harsh quotas against nations of "inferior stock".

The eugenists



Streaming is back in fashion.

battled for and won one of the greatest victories of scientific racism in American history. Immigration from southern and eastern Europe slowed to a trickle because of the quota system.

Throughout the 1930s Jewish refugees anticipating the holocaust sought to emigrate but were not admitted to the US. It is estimated that up to six million people from these areas were refused admission between 1924 and World War II. We know what happened to those who wished to leave but had nowhere to go.

The second impact of IQ testing was to be in education. Sir Cyril Burt's study of identical twins raised apart claimed to show that intelligence was largely inherited. His arguments laid the basis for educational policy in Britain right up to the 1960s.

The Butler Education Act of 1944 introduced the 11' system under which eleven year olds were sent to different types of secondary schools depending on their IQ levels. As a result of this test, twenty percent were sent to "grammar" schools where they might prepare for entry to university, while eighty percent were relegated to technical or "secondary modern" schools and regarded as unfit for higher education, to be channelled into the mines and factories.

Burt attempted to prove that intelligence might be identified as a "thing" which was located in the brain, with a definite degree of heritability. He was mistaken.

Most scientists today accept that intelligence is largely socially determined.

IQ testing only tests one's ability to do IQ tests, not intelligence.

The work of Cyril Burt was totally discredited in 1976, when evidence emerged that his work on identical twins had been faked. They never existed at all.

Despite all the evidence to the contrary, the idea of innate and inherited intelligence still persists. In Britain the Tories have introduced testing at seven years. Streaming is back in fashion as the comprehensive schools are being phased out.

In Ireland the new Green Paper on Education aims to introduce testing and the restructuring of education to meet the needs of industry and business. Some schools already use Differential Aptitude Tests in their career planning to guide pupils towards different careers.

Far-Right

The rise of far-right and fascist movements across Europe has given a new lease of life to the discredited idea of differences between races.

There are differences between people, but we want to develop the maximum potential of all human beings. Few tragedies can be more extensive than the stunting of life, few injustices deeper than the denial of an opportunity, by a limit imposed from without.

IQ testing has been the justification for imposing such limits that have stunted the potential of people for much of this century.

Most of the ideas in this article are developed from the books of Stephen Jay Gould and in particular *The Mismeasure of Man*, Pelican Edition.

Fried Green Tomatoes

FILM:

HOLLYWOOD is an industry of strengths and weaknesses. Technically, in telling conventional stories, it is unequalled.

But a good film is a profitable one, and profitable means safe. So the content of most Hollywood fare is stifling.

Look what they did to *Fried Green Tomatoes*. If you read the book, the

film is infuriating.

Originally it was the story of a love relationship between two white women in the American South of the 1930s. In the film version, the lesbian aspect of their relationship is so understated that it doesn't, in fact, exist.

Weight

Thus the story of two strong women rebelling against the weight and prejudice of "Southern white womanhood" becomes a shallow, almost

twice tale of "good friends".

The portrayal of black people in the film is the worst bunch of patronising, stereotypical crap I've seen since *Driving Miss Daisy*. There are continual references to how much the main white characters love their servants. They even go to great lengths to protect them from their psychotic, redneck brethren. The black servants are, of course, eternally grateful.

Cicely Tyson, one of America's finest black

actresses, gets exactly two lines of dialogue.

Having said all that, I didn't hate the film. In fact, it is at times quite moving and manages to avoid the saccharine excesses of many a Hollywood weepy.

The modern day half of the film, with Kathy Bates in the lead, parallels nicely with the earlier story.

Fried Green Tomatoes is a good film that could have been a great one.

■ EVE MORRISON

COLUMBUS: A debt to be paid

FIVE hundred years ago, a small time entrepreneur set sail across the Atlantic Ocean.

Some weeks later, his convoy of three ships landed on an island inhabited by a community of hunters and gatherers.

They welcomed him. The businessman, one Christopher Columbus, responded by torturing them and enslaving them.

This is now being celebrated throughout the world as the "discovery" of America.

Some present the "discovery" of America as a great adventure by an explorer who insisted that the world was round when most still thought it was flat.

The reality is that Columbus' library was full of maps showing the world was round; and it was common knowledge among the pilots guiding the many travellers who criss-crossed the world's oceans at the end of the 15th century.

In fact, the seas were alive with ships. They were not explorers, though; their interest was trade.

souls but for commodities to trade with and slaves to extract them from the earth.

Some protested at the hypocrisy of it—in 1511 Father Montesinos preached against the cruelty of the conquest. He was quickly silenced.

Columbus' voyage set in train a huge search for gold. In 1519 Hernan Cortes landed in Mexico and encountered the great Aztec empire.

When the Aztec emperor Moctezuma gave him a sun and moon made of pure gold and silver he hoped to satisfy his greed and send him away.

But within a few years Cortes had destroyed the Aztecs, whose empire was itself so recently built on the exploitation of other Indian nations.

Later, one of Cortes' lieutenants, Francisco Pizarro, encountered the fabulous wealth of Inca Peru and was dazzled by the gold-clad buildings of its capital, Cuzco.

Crisis

The Inca and Aztec states faced internal crises of a sort that Spain had resolved by 1492. They were thus weakened and divided at the key moment when they faced Spanish expansionism.

So it was Spain that took the wealth of the gold and silver mines of Peru and Bolivia and lived on it for the next three hundred years.

It was the new emperor, Charles V, who oversaw the conquest of America. He was a humanist, and piously passed laws and decrees protecting the rights of native peoples.



Native American discovers Columbus

But the state he led was able to resist the winds of change sweeping across Europe only because it had tapped an apparently bottomless source of wealth in the Americas.

Spain embarked on wars of occupation in Italy and the Low Countries; its court and its landowning class enjoyed a new, if short-lived, luxury.

Whatever they needed—arms, lace, manufactures—they paid for with American gold.

But because of this Spain stagnated. Its industries declined, its agricultural productivity collapsed. The gold and silver of America helped to finance the emerging capitalism of northern Europe.

Spain fuelled the trade and manufacture of Europe while it maintained its colonial possessions in a state of

terror and savagery.

Religion shrouded it all in darkness and used its instruments of control, like the monstrous Inquisition, to crush dissent.

Sacked

This was the New World that Columbus founded. The world he helped to "discover" was systematically sacked, its populations enslaved and their very humanity denied.

The ruthless conflict between the conquerors, the systematic destruction of the worlds they found and the reduction of their inhabitants to capitalist barbarism laid down the rules of the new world order.

■ MIKE GONZALEZ

Bosses take the offensive

Ireland's boss class are mounting a new offensive. They are using the recession to break the back of union organisation. But they are not having it all their own way. Workers have seen that the 'sacrifices' over the last few years have gained them nothing. Now there is more and more resistance to the bosses offensive. Socialist Worker reports.

Battles on the buses

**SMALL BUSES
SMALL WAGES**

DUBLIN Bus workers have defeated plans to bring in low-paid "yellowpack" drivers.

The bosses wanted to recruit a new grade of drivers on the new No 83 "Imp" service. These drivers would be paid a flat wage with no overtime or shift allowances.

This would have meant a 23 percent cut on agreed pay rates, with wages as low as £130 a week.

Workers in SIPTU and NBRU threatened strike action. This forced management to drop the flat rate proposal after two weeks.

Now Dublin Bus wants to introduce "quality corridors". Starting with the Navan Road, different routes using the same road will be "converged".

Further action can defeat this threat to jobs and services.

BUS Eireann workers staged one-day strikes in April. Management had refused to implement a Labour Court deal to increase the "driver only" allowance.

SIPTU called stoppages in Cork, Limerick, Waterford and Galway and on long distance services. Management brought in scabs from private firms.

Bus workers should escalate the action to beat these attacks.

Waterford workers attacked again

WATERFORD Crystal boss, Paddy Galvin, served notice of another attack on workers' pay and conditions.

He warned the 2,300 workforce that he wants less workers earning less money.

Galvin wants 800 redundancies. However he said there is no money to fund this level of job losses. Instead "limited individual terms" may be available.

These are unlikely to be as generous as the £1.2 million golden handshake paid to two former directors in January 1991.

Since last July, 80 percent of the workforce have been working one week on, one week off. In the wedge cutting section, workers are only getting one weeks work in three.

This short time working has caused incredible hardship; blowers' wages have been cut even further by new piece-rate working.

As a result workers have fallen behind on their mortgages. They have been threatened that their homes will be repossessed.

Waterford workers have paid the price for management ineptitude. 750 were made redundant in 1987—then the bosses realised they needed 300 of them back after all.



Last year, an independent study commissioned by the union said marketing not, mythical "high wages", was the cause of the company's problems.

Management's reaction has been to sell lesser quality crystal under the "Marquis" name. This is produced in Yugoslavia and Portugal.

Inferior

These inferior products will threaten the reputation of real Waterford products, built up by Waterford workers' skill.

Management is effectively undercutting the company's own products.

Yet one of the other bosses, Donald Brennan, has threatened to move even more production out of

Waterford.

With idiots like this running the company, it's no wonder they lost £1.2 million last year.

Now they want to make the workforce carry the can even more.

The government stepped in before to bail out Goodman, B&I and the Insurance Corporation of Ireland.

They should act now to save jobs in Waterford Glass.

A Campaign To Keep Waterford Crystal Jobs In Waterford has been set up to achieve this.

Waterford workers showed great unity in the 1990 strike. Now they must unite to demand

- no redundancies
- no cuts in pay and conditions
- no moving production out of Waterford.

UCC Info win

A referendum in University College Cork was held in March requiring the students union to make abortion information available.

On the day, SPUC activists were almost inactive on the ground. The SWM and other student activists leafleted the campus to call for a Yes vote. As a result of this intensive campaign, 72% of students voted Yes out of a total poll of 2,900.

The outcome was a great victory in view of the fact that two previous referenda voted against giving out information.

FINGLAS CLOSURE

MUNERATA Ltd is scrapping 190 jobs out of 337 at its Finglas factory.

Grants

Since 1982, the IDA has given the firm grants of £6 million. The company made electronics components.

Yet the IDA says it still sees electronics as a growth industry!

DUBLIN DOCKS

DUBLIN Port and Docks Board has shut its stevedoring subsidiary, Dublin Cargo Handling. 220 dockers will lose their jobs.

The Board is wholly owned by the state. But some Board members own private stevedoring firms.

These firms aim to cash in on increased container traffic through Dublin Port. By throwing dockers on the dole, the state has done the private firms' dirty work.

DERRY

COATS Viyella, the second biggest employer in the North, is closing its plants at Magherafelt and Maydown.

Over 550 jobs will be lost in the Derry area.

Shirts

The company makes the well-known "Peter England" shirts.

Management said the closures were part of a "necessary rationalisation". In 1991, Coats Viyella made profits of £111.4 million.

Bank strike ends

AFTER three weeks on strike, bank workers voted narrowly to accept settlement proposals.

They will get a £1,000 lump sum in return for longer opening hours; instead of six and a half per cent rise they demanded they will get 3 per cent under local bargaining.

The fact that the strikers voted to return to work does not mean they they were beaten. Far from it.

Once the overtime ban began, it was clear that the banks were out to

unity.

They failed because the majority of bank workers stood together. Part of the back-to-work deal is that strikers will not be victimised.

The only one who should be picked on are the scabs that stabbed their striking colleagues in the back. However, hard question should be asked of the IBOA leaders.

Why did they let the AIB suspend 900 workers before calling a strike? Why did they ask workers in Securicor to cross the pickets?

Why did they not encourage anti-scab picketting?

The strike could have won but the union leaders settled for a draw.

On the ground, many strikers were prepared to

fight hard, management attempts at being friendly were treated with contempt.

The doors of the AIB in Blanchardstown were glued shut.

Solidarity

Fantastic solidarity began to develop with the bank workers. When the AIB gave out free conference folders to delegates at the TUI conference, the delegates marched down to the local AIB and dumped them back on the steps.

The bank strike holds important lessons for all trade unionists. Half measures, token gestures and "user friendly" pickets will not beat the bosses.

AN POST: Threat to full-time workers

AN Post boss, John Hynes has launched another attack on workers. He announced plans to bring in 250 part time and casual workers from April 27th. This unilateral move is being opposed by the workforce.

Already 87% of them had voted to strike over management's failure to pay a 4% pay rise due under the PESP.

First the bosses deferred it from November to February. Then they tried making

it conditional on acceptance of 'recovery measures'

These measures would have meant job losses and cuts in services. Faced with workers resistance, management backed down. They agreed to pay the 4% from May, with full retrospective.

The bosses latest attacks has outraged workers. Their union, the Communication Workers Union, has instructed workers not to work alongside the new recruits.

They recognise that many An Post workers have to work overtime to make up a decent income. The bosses latest move will cut their take home pay. An Post has also threatened to relocate full time workers to make room for the new recruits.

If there is more work to be done, An Post workers should push for recruiting more full time workers. But they should resist any attempts to 'casualise' existing jobs.



IBOA strikers: not beaten

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

Forum:
Women's Liberation
and Socialism
May 15 & 16, Dublin
See page 9 for details

AFTER THE ELECTION:

Tories have no solution

SIR Patrick Mayhew and Michael Mates have been given responsibility by the Tories to run the North.

Mayhew is the first Direct Ruler ever to volunteer for the job.

The Tories have no solution to the problems of the North. They are for more health service cuts and more privatisation.

In the last fifteen years 80,000 manufacturing jobs have been lost in the North.

Unemployment among Catholic and Protestant is on the rise. But the Tory overlords can only offer more free market medicine.

Initiative

Mayhew is rubbing his hands at the prospect of entering the history as the man who 'solved' the Irish question with a great initiative.

But the plans they are drawing up is for Hume, Molyneux and Paisley to accept responsibility for devolved government in the North.

The Tories promise that if an internal solution become possible they will give the police and army a free hand.

Senior army figures now talk openly about bringing back internment if there is a 'suitable political climate'.

But internment has been tried in almost every decade of the North's history. The sectarian state has only stabilised itself with massive doses of repression.

Every worker, Protestant and Catholic, has to stand up against the Tory plans for the North. They can only mean a new period of unemployment, poverty and emigration.

But to do that effectively we have to build a working class movement that does not just stop at economic matters. All workers have an interest in fighting the sectarian poison that has divided us.

That means standing up against the Tory plans for more repression to shore up the sectarian Northern state.

Mayhew



● MAYHEW

and Mates



● MATES

TORY THUGS

MAYHEW comes from an Anglo-Irish landowning family, on his mother's side. He was a commander in the Royal Dragoon Guards.

He's been a member of every Tory cabinet since they came to power in 1979.

Mayhew's first post was as Employment Secretary. He drafted the legislation for the first Employment Act attacking the trade unions.

He went on to the Home Office before becoming Solicitor General and later Attorney General.

In 1984 Mayhew called for the prosecution of Clive Ponting, the civil servant who told the truth about the sinking of the Belgrano.

He gave the go-ahead for the Special Branch to raid the BBC in Glasgow in 1987.

Also in that year, Sir Patrick took the *Sunday Times* to court and sued the *News on Sunday* for publishing extracts from the Spycatcher book.

Mayhew slapped an injunction on the BBC in 1987 over a programme on the GCHQ spy centre.

The following year he ruled against the prosecution of eleven RUC officers over shoot-to-kill. He said it was for "reasons of national security".

Mayhew also attacked John Stalker's memoirs as a breach of confidence and helped to OK the deal that got Brian Nelson off the hook.

Mayhew is an arch-bigot who is

anti-abortion and has spoken out against Britain admitting "unlimited immigrants".

Now he's volunteered to create more Mayhem in Northern Ireland. It seems he's been looking to take over as Northern Secretary for years.

But up to now he's been seen as "too hard". Even Mrs Thatcher preferred the "softer image" of dodder Peter Brooke!

MATES was sidelined during the Thatcher years. He was Michael Heseltine's campaign manager in the bid to oust Thatcher as Tory leader in 1990.

Mates was a career soldier who spent twenty years in the army, rising to Lieutenant Colonel.

He was seen as a Tory "wet" in the late 1980s when he opposed the poll tax.

But Mates was always a hardliner on Irish affairs. In his maiden speech as an MP in 1975 he called for "hanging for terrorists".

Several times he was wheeled out to defend the Tories on TV.

Mates stood over the sinking of the Belgrano. He accused Clive Ponting of "lies and deception" over the attack on the Argentinian ship.

Mates headed the Commons Committee that vetoed the inquiry into Colin Wallace's dismissal from the army.

Mates also spoke out against trials of Nazi war criminals.

Makes you wonder why the Tories called him a "wet"!

Why Labour lost the election: see page 4