RED ACTION DUBLIN



NUMBER 4

THE RISEN PEOPLE



feated by the com bined forces of the anti-abortion and pro-choice lobbies, which both cal' for a no vote. However, j

Amendment on abortion defeated by 2-1 majority

ABORTION:

Women have the Right FUNDAMENTALIST FAILURE

abortion row

A VICTORY IT



JOIN **RED ACTION** DUBLIN PO BOX 3355. DUBLIN 7.

nas effectively voted in

A VICTORY OF SORTS

With the results of the 3 abortion Referenda the forces fighting for womens rights have won a victory of sorts. A small victory but a significant one. The importance of the victory is that the Catholic Hierarchy did not feel confident enough to come out against the Referenda as a block and even those Bishops who broke ranks and called for a NO, NO, NO vote did not have a significant effect. In a country where the church has had the power to defeat a relatively liberal issue like Divorce the fact that they could not instruct people on what the church sees as this most important of all issues is an indication of their waning power. While Hanafin and the rest of the fundamentalists have claimed the NO vote on the abortion issue as a victory for them this claim does not stand up to scrutiny. Apart from Cork North-West, Donegal North-East and Donegal South-West, which voted NO to travel and information as well as the abortion issue, the rest of the country voted NO to the government wording on abortion and YES to travel and information. The anti-choice groups still have not explained how they can consider the results of the Referenda to be a victory when they were calling for a NO vote to travel and information. The fundamentalists still have not realised the seachange that has taken place in Irish peoples attitudes to abortion since the X case. Even the Irish Countrywomens Associations' survey, which represents a mainly rural population, shows 73% in favour of abortion if a womens health is at risk and 63% in favour of abortion where rape or incest has resulted in pregnancy. At the same time we must not overestimate our victory. The very fact that people were asked to vote on a womens right to travel and information is obscene. Now we must ensure that there are no restrictions on the availability of information and the new Government must be forced to implement, as a minimum, the Supreme Court judgement.

The battle for proper abortion rights has only begun. The post-Referenda period will be crucial for the Dublin Abortion Information Campaign (DAIC) and its ability to push for less restrictive abortion laws. The lessons of the DAIC/Repeal the Eighth Amendment Campaign/Alliance For Choice campaigns must be learnt and the same mistakes must not be made again. Since the foundation of the Repeal the Eight Amendment Campaign in March 1992 RED ACTION have argued for an open democratic structure weighted towards the activists in the hope of making the campaign an active one. When the prospect of a Referendum on the X case became a reality it was decided that as DAIC might have a limited attraction for people with its "Abortion on demand" stance, DAIC would concentrate on building REAC as a broad based campaign encompassing a wide range of views on which to fight the Referendum.

From the establishment of REAC it became increasingly obvious that the campaign was intrinsically undemocratic despite the creation of a structure that would make the opposite appear true. Continuous intrigue and behind the scenes organisation by certain elements drove many activists away from the campaign. Time and time again the careerists and

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separatists who controlled the national committee ignored the views of those doing the groundwork and pushed their views to the fore. An early indication of the "leaderships" inability to recognise changing public opinion was that while all the opinion polls were pointing to a large majority in favour of abortion in limited circumstances REAC was trying to tone down its demands, even going as far as trying to drop the demand for repeal of the Eighth Amendment! With the national committees' media orientated campaign leading REAC up a blind alley the DAIC activists decided to try and breathe some life into a dying campaign by electing five members of DAIC (including an RA member) onto the national committee. Unfortunately in true opportunist fashion the Militant Socialist group turned up en bloc at the national conference, not having been active in the campaign in the previous months, and voted with the outgoing national one in favour committee. This ensured a majority of careerists/separatists careerists/separatists. With this majority the ignored the five members of DAIC on the committee and continued down the blind alley. Realising that the infighting within REAC was interfering with our practical work for abortion rights/womens rights in Ireland Red Action, the Workers Solidarity Movement and DAIC decided to resign from REAC and build DAIC as the only viable, active pro-choice organisation in the run up to the Referendum.



While there were flaws in the DAIC campaign it was still a very effective campaign. That the campaign was directionless on a number of occasions cannot be denied and that individuals took it upon themselves to act or speak on behalf of DAIC without consultation cannot also be denied. Fortunately these flaws occurred with the best of intentions and not for personal or political gain. For future reference a lot more control (not in the Leninist sense!) must be exercised over the campaign by all those involved. All spokespersons must be answerable to the campaign. A possible solution to ensure that the lack of direction no longer occurs would be the setting up of a steering committee elected from the floor. The function of

the committee would be to ensure that DAIC policy and decisions are carried out but would not have the power to decide or change policy. Naturally this committee must be guarded against domination by individuals

or groups for personal or political gain.

A truly broad front organisation, Alliance For Choice, emerged in the weeks before the Referanda. Affiliates included Irish Family Planning Association, Well Woman Centre, Cherish, Young Fine Gael etc.. DAIC, with as equal a voice as the other organisations, joined this coalition of groups under no illusion that it would be calling for abortion rights but for the minimum demand of a NO, YES, YES vote in the referenda. The Alliance provided the finance for the leaflets and posters for the campaign but with the General Election taking most of the party political people the majority of the work was left to DAIC. DAIC accounted for nearly 50% of the leaflets given out in the Dublin area.

Ultimately the campaign was a success with DAIC playing no small part in this success. The distribution of nearly 50,000 leaflets by an organisation with a core base of around 30 people is no mean feat. While both REAC and the Alliance had a list of affiliates as long as an arm both campaigns depended on DAIC to do the real work. This must be remembered for any future campaigns and DAIC, or its successor, must be built into a solid activists organisation with an identity of its own so that it does not get smothered by a larger organisation as nearly happened with REAC. In the post Referendum period DAIC will then be in a strong position to enter into any coalition on its own terms.

AN END TO CIVIL WAR POLITICS

In the aftermath of an extraordinary general election the results show a major gain for Labour over their more conservative opponents. With many political commentators talking about a victory for the Left, a clear analysis of the results gives a different perspective. Dick Spring, during the course of the election, called on Labour supporters to transfer their votes to other Left candidates but when the ballots were counted it was actually Fine Gael who recieved the majority of their transfers. In some areas FG recieved up to 60% while Democratic Left only received around 15%. Even the Progressive Democrats and Fianna Fail recieved substantial transfers. It is these figures which form the basis of the surge to Labour. Disaffected FG and FF people, middle class and middle income flocked to Labour not with the intention of voting for a Left-wing program of change but to the centre ground which they now saw Labour occupying. It must be realised that Labour did not offer any program for determining a Left wing alternative Government but instead moulded their new policies, often ignoring long stated ones, with the intent of attracting new voters. Labours' abandonment of their proposed Wealth Tax, which given the unequal distribution of wealth in Ireland should be a basic Labour policy, is an example of Labours'

shift to the Right.

It was the election of Mary Robinson on this platform that convinced Labour strategists like Fergus Finley that by moving to the centre ground they would gain votes from the liberal wing of Fine Gael. For Labour it was a successful move in terms of gaining seats but in the long term it remains to be seen if they can hold them. This shift to the right may alienate genuine supporters and when it comes to forming a coalition in which Labour begins implementing policies formulated by their new Right wing partners many of these supporters will question their loyalty to a Party which ignores them. Are genuine Labour supporters going to accept tax cuts for the rich offset against welfare cuts or for the privatisation of semistate companies with the resulting redundancies? Labour, riding high in popularity, would do well to remember the fate of their previous coalition. If John Bruton or Michael Mc Dowell begin taxing childrens shoes again will Labours voice be heard?



The other Left wing parties seen major setbacks with Democratic Left losing 2 seats and their sitting TD's barely retaining their seats. With Labour taking away support and returning few transfers DL's attempt at progress was stifled. DL's claim that the electorate still did not distinguish between them and the Workers Party was a lame excuse. Not even De Rossas high profile in the abortion debate and his partys attempt to establish themselves through this issue succeeded. For most people Democratic Left is a new name but with no new agenda. While the possibility of a merger with Labour seems distant a further shift to the Right is inevitable. DL's immediate future seems to rest in Labour inviting them into a centre Left coalition to neutralise them as a threat from the Left or remaining in opposition attacking Labour and hoping to attract disillusioned Labour voters. Suffering even worse setbacks were the Workers Party who only

polled a pathetic 0.7% of the national vote. The loss of their only sitting TD, McGiolla, and the exceptionally bad results of some leading activists like McGiolla, and the exceptionally bad results of some leading activists like McGiolla, and the exceptionally bad results of some leading activists like McGiolla, and the exceptionally polled 239 votes in Dublin Marion Donnelly, their party leader who only polled 239 votes in Dublin Marion Donnelly, their party leader who only polled 239 votes in Dublin Marion Donnelly, their party leader who only polled 239 votes in Dublin Marion Donnelly, their party leader who only polled 239 votes in Dublin McGiolla, and the exception of rearguard concentration on retaining council seats. With the exception of rearguard concentration on retaining council seats. With the exception of O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to O'Regan in Waterford they don't seem to have a base anywhere upon which to

A setback for the Republican Movement was the complete failure of Sinn Fein to increase their electoral support at all. In nearly every constituency their vote was down. In Dublin, with its vast population, all their candidates together could only attract 8,900 votes, about half the number of Green votes. In Wicklow their two candidates were outpolled by over 300 votes by a single looney Christian Centrist Party candidate. The public perception of SF as a single issue party coupled with the SF belief that nothing can happen until Ireland is united has alienated voters. A change of situation from a capitalist 26 county state to a capitalist 32 county state has no attraction for the working class. Genuine socialists want to change the whole system, not only the Government that controls it. Only a change of system can alleviate the hardships which face working class people. The excuse of censorship is a handy way of not having to face reality. Until SF aims itself towards the working class without being afraid to alienate its petty bourgeois support they will not increase support. This is not just Far-Leftist rhetoric, lip-service to the working class does not fool anybody. A radical policy geared towards the needs of the working class, both employed and unemployed, does not need TV to endear it to them.

A change of system as opposed to a change of faces is what we want. It is important to remember that a quarter of the electorate nationally did not vote and in Dublin a third did not vote. These are the alienated people in society and the natural constituency of the Left, but who on the Left is capable of mobilising them? While the Beef Tribunal may be important in highlighting the corruption between politicians and Big business interests, it is virtually irrelevant to people who cannot even afford the Beef. Tax cuts may be an important issue but you have to have an income to be taxed. This system benefits the rich. Until the Left declare their intent on changing it they will be left pandering to the Right wing parties to gain power. The poor did not vote because the poor have nothing to vote for. Establishment parties have given us nothing but unemployment, welfare cuts, emigration etc.. Labour as a junior partner in coalition will not change this. For the left to succeed they must kill the disease before they can cure

DEMANDING THE RIGHT TO WORK

Following an article on unemployment in issue two of this newsletter Red Action received an invitation to join the Portobello Unemployed Action Group (PUAG) which we accepted. In that short time working with PUAG, who are affiliated to the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed (INOU), its noticeable they are far more active than the INOU itself or any other affiliate and although small with limited resources they have on more occasions than any other attempted to bring to the attention of the media and the public in general the problems facing the unemployed today.

It was PUAG who organised the picket at the RTE studios in Donnybrook on the night of the "People in Need" telethon to highlight the gross insult this event was to the poor and unemployed. With those most responsible for their plight, politicians and big business, taking part in this hypocritical charade and raising £3million in conscience money, approximately £2.30 for each person living below the official poverty line. Unfortunately the INOU and the rest of its affiliates did not see this picket as a "worthy cause" to support. However, this response by the INOU to direct action is not surprising as they regularly decline to participate in or even ignore demonstrations called by PUAG against the PESP, apparently frightened of losing financial backing from the Unions or running the risk of losing FAS grants for their unemployed centres . While nobody denies the importance of these centres, where people can recieve advice and information on all aspects of social welfare entitlements, the INOU seem to have lost track of the main reason for their very existance-the fight against unemployment and those responsible for it(Union bureaucrats included). Even their most positive action to date, the national march last October, which Red Action as a member of PUAG actively supported and hoped was the start of a national campaign, turned out to be a badly mismanaged farce with only 2,000 people(less than 1% of the unemployed) marching. This was mainly due to a couple of factors. Initially the INOU should have organised a series of local public meetings months in advance to try to build community support for the march. Secondly, some affiliates, for reasons only known to themselves, decided to do no work, leaving large populated areas of the country such as Tallaght un-postered and unleafletted. Sadly, the INOU leadership seem incapable of learning from their previous mistakes, stumbling from this disaster into a General Election dominated by the unemployment crisis and still failing to make any impact on behalf of the unemployed. Its only contribution was a leaflet encouraging people to vote but with no attempt to organise any kind of unemployed protest vote.

Red Action now believe that after such wasted opportunities the INOU must adopt a genuine campaign strategy, a point echoed by the PUAG at the recent march review, to attract and mobilise the working class, workers as well as unemployed, to fight for and demand full employment. While recognising that PUAG is the most active and vocal group and important in

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the fight against unemployment, it must develop and grow. PUAG must attract new activists and not confine their activities to the existing group. This would ensure the INOU could no longer ignore activities, but more importantly, this would enable them to organise larger, more effective pickets, even sit-in's in Government buildings. The unemployed must be mobilised to force the politicians to tackle the problem.

BACKLASH





at their Militant opportunist best. A nonexistent campaign to recruit members. Note the Anti Fascist Action symbol!

FIANNA FAIL FANNA FAIL

The recent infighting between Fianna Failers Liam Lawlor and Brian Lenihan during the election campaign was nothing new. Above is a letter supposedly from Lawlor from the 1987 campaign dismissing local objections to the Lucan By-Pass. This letter was noisily delivered in the middle of the night! Beside it is the letter Lawlor was forced to put out denying publishing the original .

NEITHER RED NOR RACIST? The real irony of this comment from an article in the Sunday Tribune is that the nazis would have dominated the Dublin skinhead scene only for the REDS (aka RED ACTION) .

Umbrellas, said that while extreme right-wing groups like the National Front have attempted to hijack the movevehemently opposed to racism and violence.

who pretend to be skinheads,

ists with skinhead haircuts. We call them boneheads. There's generally just one racist and troublemaker behind ment, true skinheads remain each group, a ringleader and the rest just follow like sheep.

A large number of Dublin There are thugs in Dublin skinheads wear the maxim 'Neither Red nor Racist' on but they're not. They're fasc- their jackets, "to distance



FRIDAYS 1 AM TO MUSIC AND POLITICS RADIOACTIVE 101