

Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

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As redundancies mount...

STOP THE JOBS

MASSACRE!

NORTH and South, the bosses want to throw even more people onto the dole.

Waterford Crystal is seeking 500 redundancies.

That was announced in the same week as hundreds of jobs were axed at Airmotive, Wang and A T Cross.

In the North, Harland & Wolff are sacking 100 workers to add to the 200 already sacked since privatisation in 1989.

On the same day as the H & W announcement, the local Eastern Health Board brought

forward privatisation plans which threaten even more jobs.

Unemployment figures are set to soar even further.

Thousands of school leavers will join the dole queues, bringing the South's total to over 300,000.

The North has had its worst rise in jobless totals in three years—up by six thousand to over 110,000 since July 1991.

And as unemployment goes up in both parts of the island, governments offer nothing but more hounding of people on the dole.

Fianna Fail are using FAS schemes to herd young workers

out of the country, to be used as cheap labour on the continent.

Albert Reynolds wants to put even more people on schemes—that was the only concrete proposal to come out of his cabinet review.

Threatened

The Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed said that one person has joined the dole queues every five minutes since Reynolds took over in the South.

In the North and in Britain, the Tories have threatened to

cut entitlement to the dole, tighten "availability for work" requirements and expand US-style "workfare" schemes.

The Tories want to scapegoat the unemployed and scare unemployed workers into accepting wage cuts to avoid the sack.

Both Major and Reynolds pretend that job losses are a "national" problem that we all have to work together to solve.

This covers up the class divisions inside both societies.

While workers suffer even more, the rich reap the benefits.

Rupert Murdoch and his pals—Amstrad boss Alan Sugar

and Barclays boss Sir John Quinton—will make a killing from B Sky B's takeover of soccer coverage.

Tony O'Reilly's Independent Newspapers is set to bid for the Mirror Group.

Meanwhile O'Reilly is bullying Waterford Crystal workers who want to fight his redundancy plans.

Fianna Fail and the Tories care far more about people like O'Reilly and Murdoch than they do about the unemployed.

The only way to solve the jobs crisis is to get these rich parasites off our backs!

Bosnia: Western forces no solution:

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FERRY DEATHS REVEAL...

The stench of profit

TWO children — James and Catherine Tomlins — died last month on board the Swansea-Cork ferry, Celtic Pride.

They were victims of its owners greed for profits.

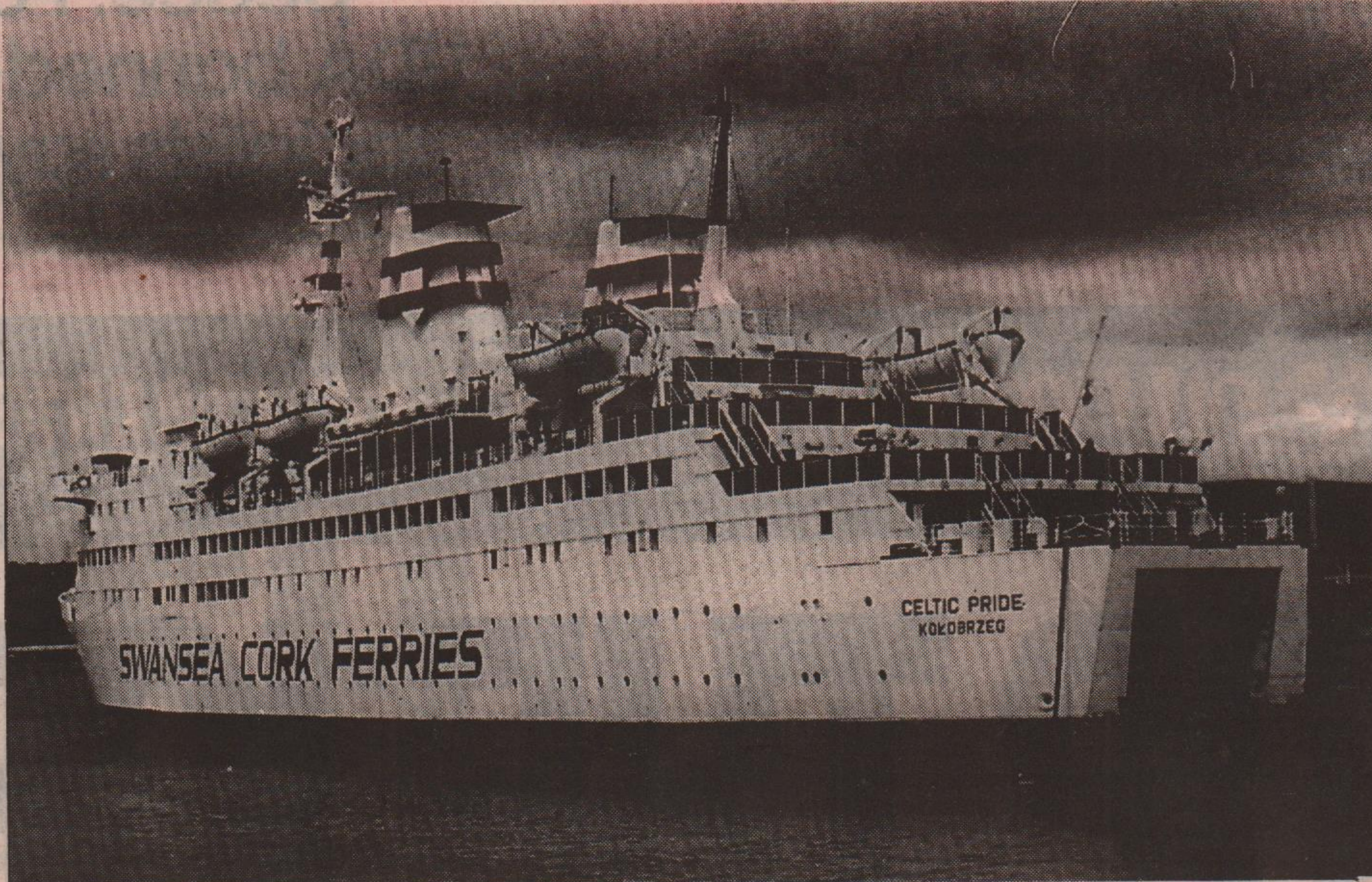
The ship had received many complaints of foul odours from the sewage system

A few weeks before, Martin Appleby made a complaint. He said that the smell on the ship was 'appalling, unbelievable ... you could not stay in the cabin'.

Ignored

But Cork-Swansea ignored all the dangers. The Chief Executive Officer even tried to pretend that sewage odour was common on such ships in rough seas.

After the death, the Department the Marine tried to join in the cover up. Just 24 hours after the children's death they let the ship sail again.



Behind this scandal is a drive for profit. Last year Swansea-Ferries turned in 950,000 pounds profit.

The Celtic Pride is a twenty year old ship that

has had little re-investment.

Swansea-Ferries is owned by some of the local notables of the Cork-Kerry region. Business-

men like William O'Brien and Desmond Morrissey sit on the board with the FF Senator Denis Foley and FF Lord Mayor of Cork, Michael Martin.

FF's 'pro-life' Minister for the Marine, Michael Woods made sure that his friends were protected. He ruled out any inquiry into the deaths.

The Celtic Pride

T.B. scourge returns

A DISEASE which was rife in Ireland in the early part of this century is now on the increase again.

The World Health Organisation has highlighted a marked rise in the incidence of tuberculosis in the "developed" world. That increase is at the rate of 18.5% in Ireland.

The horrors of the disease that wiped out whole families in the 1920s and 30s were described in Noel Browne's autobiography.

At present, three million people die each year from TB worldwide, while eight to ten million people contract the disease every year.

TB need no longer be fatal—it can easily be identified and treated. But with health services being hacked to the tune of £6 million the disease is likely to spread even more.

TB is a disease of poverty. Dr Luke Clancy, the medical director of Beaumont Hospital in Dublin, recognises that "...poverty, poor housing, homelessness and hopelessness are all important factors".

All of these are also on the increase.

The recent cuts in Supplementary Welfare Allowance and the ban on financial help from the health boards to pay rent arrears means there will be even more homelessness and grinding poverty.

The people most affected will also have the longest wait for health care.

The increase of TB at a time when it should have been completely eradicated shows that it is the system that causes death through poverty that is diseased.

Judges look after their pals ...

THE connection between the Goodman empire and Fianna Fail leader Albert Reynolds has been covered up.

Reynolds' friends on the Supreme Court bench saved his skin.

In 1988 Reynolds allocated £120 million of export credit to

Goodman International to help sell meat to Iraq.

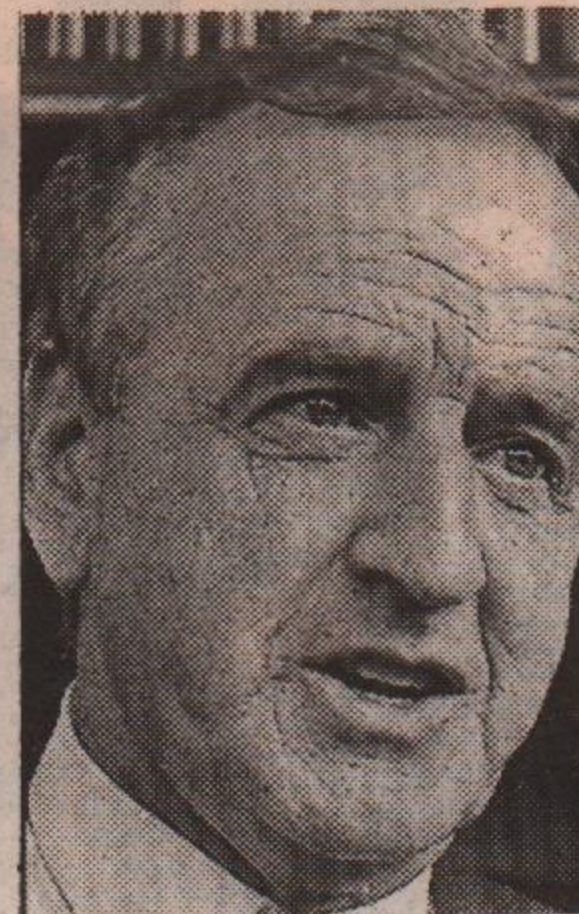
Reynolds claims that this was agreed at a Fianna Fail cabinet meeting.

But the faction fights

in Fianna Fail mean that some former Fianna Fail Ministers have started to "blow the gaff" on Albert.

Decision

Five former Fianna Fail Ministers told the *Irish Times* anonymously that the Fianna Fail cabinet made no



Albert Reynolds

decision to give money to Goodman.

The truth is that the former enemies Haughey and Reynolds were both intimately connected with Goodman. Goodman, for example, supplied the meat to Reynolds' petfood factory.

It was very much a case of some friends paying for past favours.

The judgement of the Supreme Court comes as no surprise. The majority of them are Fianna Fail appointees and former active hacks of the party.

Judge Hugh O'Flaherty was a Fianna Fail election agent in Kerry.

Judge Tony Hederman is a former Fianna Fail Treasurer, who probably received donations from the likes of Goodman in the past.

Blow to Section 31

RTE's campaign of censorship suffered a blow when Sinn Fein member and trade union activist Larry O'Toole recently won an important court victory against Section 31.

The court said that RTE acted unfairly in banning him from the air waves during the Gateaux strike.

RTE's action meant that striking workers were

denied a chance to put their case on TV and radio.

Larry O'Toole told *Socialist Worker*: "As a shop steward, Section 31 held me back from representing the workers at Gateaux."

Frustration

"Workers felt a real frustration about the fact that I was not let represent their views on

RTE. But they still kept me on as their rep.

"By RTE censoring me as a shop steward, they were effectively supporting the employers in Gateaux."

But RTE is appealing the verdict. It wants Section 31 lifted, but instead it has offered to apply even stricter censorship rules itself.

As a token of its commitment it has banned an adver-

tisement for a book of short stories by Gerry Adams.

The NUJ has been strangely silent since the court case, yet one of its members, Jenny McGeever, was sacked for interviewing a Sinn Fein member on air.

Her former colleagues should push the NUJ to fight RTE's attempt to impose even more drastic censorship.

Bar bans Gay News

THE Parliament Inn, Dublin, has over the years reaped the benefits of being patronised almost exclusively by gays. The relationship has, however, been one-sided.

The Parliament has now refused to let *Gay Community News* (GCN), a free newspaper published by the gay community, be distributed in its premises.

The reason given by the management was that "GCN litters the place". Volunteers now have to stand outside the pub and give it to patrons who are leaving the premises.

The Parliament Inn also refused to contribute towards the Gay Pride Committee fund, which is an outrage considering that the pub claims to be offering "a service to the gay and lesbian community".

Because of homophobia in Irish society the Parliament feels it can get away with this crap.

Gay and lesbian people should retaliate in a manner which hits its unscrupulous management where it hurts—in their profits—and boycott the pub until it changes its attitude.

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WE THINK

ECONOMY:

Their 'success' is our misery

The Republic of Ireland has one of the most successful unemployed economies in the world' says Paul Tansey, of the *Sunday Tribune*.

Up to recently, it was one of the few Western European countries that was not in recession.

Last year the real GNP grew by 3.6 per cent while it fell in Britain. Exports are booming and the balance of payments problem has been wiped out. It looks like a model little capitalist

paradise. But when you look at what is happening to the lives of working people it is a different story. Almost 300,000 people or one in five of the workforce are on the dole.

When children return to the primary schools this September they

will find that they are in classes of 36 plus.

No wonder ordinary people are angry with the FF hypocrites. When Bertie Ahern tried to jump on the bandwagon of Michael Carruth's gold medal victory he was booed off the stage and had to be protected by the Gardai.

But why was the Irish economy so 'successful'?

Firstly, there is a distortion in the economic statistics. The Republic of Ireland offers a tax haven for the multi-nationals who pay little tax on their profits.

Fixing

As the recession bites across the world, more and more multi-nationals with branch plants in Ireland are fixing their prices to have their profits declared in Ireland.

That way they can get the benefit of tax scams to shore up their profits.

This explains also why there is such huge repatriation of profits — many of those profits were quite simply never made in Ireland in the first place.

But, secondly, there has also been a genuine 'success' story for Irish capitalism. Since 1987, they have pushed up the productivity of Irish workers.

The Programme for National Recovery and the Programme for Economic and Social Progress negotiated between FF and the union leaders have given the bosses a free hand on the shop floor.

The bosses pushed through redundancies, speed ups, and an end to all sorts of 'restrictive practices'.

The Irish case shows up the lies of the champions of free enterprise. In the 1980s, the Reagans and the Thatch

ers justified the market with the 'trickle down' theory.

They claimed that when big profits were made, the market would eventually distribute the benefits to workers. It was the same idea as the claim made by the FF leader in the 1960s that 'a rising tide lifts all boats'.

These ideas were echoed by the leaders of the ICTU and the Labour Party who wanted to promote a 'social market'.

In reality, the rising tide drowned a fifth of the workforce. What is good for business, has brought poverty for workers.

In order to hide their embarrassment at this state of affairs, FF are coming up with a new line.

They claim that the multi-nationals 'are not doing their bit'. They say that Irish workers at Wang and A.T. Cross are victims of decisions made elsewhere. They want to put more effort into developing native Irish capital.

But this sort of pseudo patriotic garbage should fool nobody. There is nothing particularly peculiar about the way the multi-nationals act — they are just operating like capitalists.

Native Irish capitalism behaves exactly the same. It is the Irish boss Tony O'Reilly who wants 550 jobs slashed at Waterford Glass. It is the Irish run Telecom Eireann who want 2,000 jobs slashed over the next few years.

It was FF who pioneered the industrialisation strategy that relied on the multi-nationals. Today 40% of Irish workers in manufacturing industry work for the multi-nationals.

There is no way that native Irish capital could now replace them. After twenty years where it has been subsidised as the multi-nationals, it shows no sign of providing more jobs.

The truth is that Ireland today — North and South — resembles many other Newly Industrialising Countries.

A strong working class has emerged in the last three decades that holds the key to the fu



Booed off: Bertie Ahern at Dublin Airport reception for Michael Carruth and Wayne McCullough last month

No sporting chance from Fianna Fail

The gold medal victory of Michael Carruth has highlighting the underfunding of sports facilities in working class areas.

of hiring a coach to go to a tournament in Tullamore recently. 90% of our funding has to come from voluntary effort'.

But others get an easier time. Last month, 9 million pounds was given out in grants for golf clubs for the rich.

That was the same amount of money that the Department of Education gave out for all local clubs in 1990.

ture.

But the workers' movement is surrounded by great pools of unemployment. In many of the estates in the major cities, over half the population is unemployed.

Solve

This does not mean that there is a permanent 'underclass' as some have argued. Over half of those unemployed return to work within a year.

But it does mean that the old sick system that is capitalism — whether of the native or foreign variety — has been unable to fully solve the problem of development.

The tragedy is that the leaders of Irish labour have historically committed themselves to this impossible endeavour.

This is why it is more necessary now to build an alternative to the politics of the Labour Party and Democratic Left who can see no further than the 'market with a human face'.

Terry Carlin's shame

The Secretary of the Northern Ireland Committee of the ICTU has set out to victimise post office workers.

When a leaflet for an anti-sectarian rally did not arrive at his door, Carlin wrote to the Post Office and got his local postal worker suspended.

But worse was to follow when the worker's union rep at the UCW wrote to the NI Committee of the ICTU to complain about Carlin's activities.

Carlin took the letter back to management and ensured that the union rep is now under disciplinary investigation.

Terry Carlin is a paid official of Northern Ireland trade unionists. His wages comes from the weekly dues of workers. He should be told that he is not employed to victimise workers.

Conrad strike for union rights

NOW entering its second month, the strike at the Conrad nursing home in Phibsboro in Dublin stands solid.

Five nurses joined SIPTU and asked their boss, Joseph O'Brien, to bring his operation "into the twentieth century".

But O'Brien refuses to recognise their union and

has refused to meet them at the Labour Court.

Cream Buns

O'Brien has hired in replacements for the strikers and his stern-faced matron escorts the scabs to and from work, bribing them with childish treats such as

cream buns to avert an all-out strike!

If the strike is defeated then the workers in Conrad can expect no mercy from O'Brien, and face longer hours, less pay, no holidays and no security.

Those still working for O'Brien and his cold-faced matron should wake up to

reality.

The women on strike are courageously taking on O'Brien to improve the desperate pay, organise against the long and cruel hours, and legitimise their rights to overtime and holidays.

These basic rights have never been granted from above, but through unity below.

BOSNIA:

West offers no solution



Muslim prisoners of war in Bosnia. But the West offers no salvation

The Western Powers are stepping up their intervention in the former Yugoslavia. Under the cover of a UN resolution, Britain and France have already committed ground troops to Bosnia.

They say they are there for humanitarian reasons. But the British Tory government showed up the hypocrisy of this claim last month.

They deported 37 Yugoslav refugees from Britain because they had stopped off at another country before arriving in Britain.

The Western Troops are already getting ready for 'retaliation'. Peace lovers such as Lady Thatcher and Helmut Kohl are already arguing that military action is the only way to solve the problem.

One of the more ridiculous calls for military action has come from the IRISH TIMES armchair general, Col E.D. Doyle.

He has suggested that 'leaflet warnings to civilians and, perhaps, cruise missiles to ensure accuracy might be the answer'.

Many will go along with calls for UN action in the hope that

this will stop the horror of war. But the EC and the imperial powers are part of the problem and not the solution.

It was the EC which encouraged the ethnic division of Bosnia into 'cantons'. This gave the green light for Milosovic and Tadjam to start a policy of 'ethnic cleansing'.

In order to pave the way for intervention, the Western Press have concentrated on the atrocities of the Serbs. In August, they mounted a campaign about Serb concentration camps.

These camps are hellholes. But they are precisely the same sort of camps that the British army used in Malaya when they put half a million behind the wire or in Kenya where they rounded up 80,000 people.

What our rulers did not mention was that these camps are also to be found on the Croatian side.

Access

But the Red Cross claims that 'both factions are reluctant to give us access to areas of Bosnia where people are being held'.

The truth about Yugoslavia is that there is not simply one aggressor — but two nationalist thugs who have set their populations against each other to defend their own privileges.

Franjo Tadjam of Croatia is as much a brute as Milosovic of Serbia. Both are former leaders of a rotten Communist party. While Milosovic is engaged in 'ethnic cleansing', the Croatian fascist party, the HSP, is allowed to control their area of Bosnia.

Among the two million refugees who have been driven out of the area 200,000 are Serbs.

The aim of Milosovic and Tadjam is to carve up Bosnia. Evidence of the collusion of these two warlords is now be-

ginning to come out.

The BBC's NEWSNIGHT has reported that in April 1992, at a meeting in Graz, Austria, representatives of the two warlords agreed that Serbia would take 65 per cent of Bosnia and Croatia would take 35%.

Both Tadjam and Milosovic use the same justification for the horrors they have wreaked on Bosnia. As Tadjam put it they are trying to 'prevent Islamic fundamentalism spreading'.

This racist slur makes nonsense of the notion that Croatia is an ally of the Muslims. As Sarajevo is being bombarded the Croatian 'allies' sit passively by.

Once the UN forces get involved in Bosnia they will probably 'tilt' towards Croatia. The German government has already set itself up as a protector of Croatian rights.

The experience of the British Army in Northern Ireland is relevant here. Originally they came pretending to 'save the peace'.

But very quickly they started to shore up the Northern state and inflict daily repression on nationalist areas.

The solution to the tragedy will only come when ordinary people see through the nationalist lies of their rulers.

The experience of many wars shows that this is by no means an impossible dream.

People already know that while Milosovic and Tadjam send their sons and brothers to fight they live in privileged villas and protect their own.

In the late 1980s, Croatian and Serbian workers stood shoulder to shoulder in strikes against the austerity plans of the Stalinist regime.

Already 100,000 people have marched in Belgrade against the war. This is where the hope for an end to war lies.

The record of the US, British and French armies has never been one of peace — but rather of colonialism and brutality.

SOMALIA:

A legacy of imperialism

THE West's rulers are trying to portray the civil war in Somalia as a feud between mad warlords. But the fighting is the bitter legacy of colonialism and superpower rivalry.

Somalia only gained independence in 1960, formed from an Italian colony and a British one.

The dictator Siad Barre came to power at the head of a coup in 1969.

He proclaimed "scientific socialism" and became an ally of the USSR. Ethiopia, to the north, was backed by the US.

However, in 1977, in a move of breathtaking cynicism, the two superpowers swapped sides.

The US abandoned the in-

creasingly unstable Dergue regime in Ethiopia and took up with Barre instead. The USSR befriended the Ethiopian junta.

As his popularity plummeted, Barre turned to brutal repression and tribalism in an attempt to hold on to power.

Torture

The mildest dissent was met by torture or death. In July 1989, 450 demonstrators were shot dead in the capital, Mogadishu.

At the same time, Barre tried to construct a new power base in his own Marehan clan. Tribalism became a major feature of Somalia's politics.

None of this mattered to

the US, which supported the regime to the verge of collapse. The end of the Cold War meant that the area was no longer of strategic value.

Indeed the organisation Africa Watch said the devastation in Somalia was "bequeathed to a developing country by the end of the Cold War".

Barre was finally driven out in 1991 after a civil war that claimed 60,000 lives.

The new rulers inherited a country with an average income of \$170 per year. Eighty percent of export earnings were going to service debts.

The new rulers also turned to tribalism to divide and rule. So the civil war continued, fuelled by the huge number of American and Soviet-made arms in the country.

Today one-fifth of the population, 1.5 million people, face starvation. At least 50,000 tonnes of food a month is needed, but only 20,000 is being sent.

Foreign Minister David Andrews described Somalia as "a land that God forgot". But it's his government that seems to have forgotten the country—they gave a meagre £30,000 to Concern for Somalia. Ireland's overseas aid is only a quarter of the UN target, one half the OECD average.

What Somalia needs now is food, not guns. Aid workers have explained that if the country was flooded with food prices would come down and the incentive to steal supplies would be gone.

REFUGEEES ARE WELCOME HERE!

The FF/PD government joins in the EC chorus of 'concern' for Bosnia. But they are limiting the number of refugees coming to Ireland to 200.

What is more these refugees are being kept together in dormitory style accommodation.

In the late 1950s, conditions for Hungarian refugees in these type of camps were so bad that they went on hunger strike.

The aim of FF in keeping the small number of refugees together is to make it all easier to deport them at a future point.

FF's record on political refugees has been appalling. They have locked up a Libyan dissident in Mountjoy for months.

Now they are doing the barest minimum to pretend to show a humanitarian concern.

Socialists should demand that the doors are opened wide to all refugees from the conflict.

Tories' ban on UDA hides...

A history of collusion

TORY Minister Patrick Mayhew announced the banning of the UDA recently.

He said that "it is actively and primarily engaged in the commission of terrorist acts".

Three months previously, the Northern Ireland Security Minister, Michael Mates, was telling a different story.

He claimed that the only problem with the UDA was that they had a few "unruly elements".

The contradictory statements of Mayhew and Mates show up the British government's ambivalence on the UDA.

The UDA was born in 1971 as a huge reactionary force against Catholic demands for civil rights. When the Catholic ghettos erupted after internment was introduced, vigilante groups began to be formed in Protestant areas.

The UDA was born out of vigilante groups such as the Woodvale Defence Association.

It demanded an end to the "no go" areas in Catholic areas. These areas had expelled the RUC and the B Specials.

To retaliate against the civil rights uprising, the UDA began to take control of Protestant areas.

Its aim was the punishing of the rebellion. In a campaign that would now be called "ethnic cleansing", it drove Catholics out of areas of Belfast.

In the early 1970s sixty thousand people had to flee their homes in mixed areas of Belfast. Eighty percent of them were Catholics, although Catholics were a minority in the city.

These expulsions were sanctioned by the British government, which was terrified of fighting on two fronts.

The N.I. Secretary of State, Willie Whitelaw, personally sanctioned the UDA take-over of Ainsworth Street.

For a period the UDA had mass support because of its success in portraying the civil rights uprising as an IRA plot to attack the Protestant way of life.

But the UDA had nothing to offer the mass of Protestant workers except vile sectarian rhetoric.

By 1974, the UDA and the UVF were beginning to seek allies with the



UDA office, Belfast, after the ban

fascist National Front. The UVF magazine *Combat* praised the policies of the National Front.

Between 1974 and 1975, fourteen UDA members were convicted of arms training in Britain in an operation set up by the National Front.

The far right policies of the UDA allowed it to work closely with British Intelligence.

One of the British Army intelligence officers in Northern Ireland at the time was Michael Mates.

In 1974, the UDA planted bombs in Dublin and Monaghan. Former British intelligence officers Fred Holroyd and Colin Wallace have charged that the explosives were supplied by British Intelligence.

In 1980, John Turnley, a Protestant

businessman who joined the SDLP, was assassinated by the UDA.

When UDA member Robert McConnell appeared on trial, he told how he had several meetings with SAS members. They told him that British Intelligence wanted leaders of the newly emerging H Block Campaign assassinated.

During 1980 and 1981 UDA assassination squads murdered people like Noel Little, who was active in the H Block Campaign.

Recently, it has been revealed that British Intelligence directed its agent, Brian Nelson, to assassinate republicans.

When Nelson set up the Catholic solicitor Patrick Finnucane for murder, British patrols in the area

were withdrawn.

Throughout its history the record of the UDA has been one of sectarian bigotry and right wing policies.

At times it has tried to put on a vague socialist rhetoric. But this never disguised the fact that the organisation was built on hatred of Catholics.

A former UDA leader, Glenn Barr, for example, was denounced by the political spokesman of the UDA, John McMichael, for being "too close to Taigs".

With this sort of racism it is not surprising that the UDA made friends with the South African regime.

In 1988, members of "Ulster Resistance"—a front body set up to campaign against the Anglo-Irish

Agreement—stole plans of the Javelin missile system from Shorts.

Some months later the UDA and the UVF received a major consignment of arms from South Africa.

For 21 years the UDA was a perfectly legal organisation operating offices and drinking clubs. Its number was openly displayed in the phone book and it paid local government rates and taxes.

Today the Tories are simply having to react to the revelations of the Stevens Inquiry, the Nelson case and the Channel 4 programme "Dispatches" which revealed the extent of the collusion between British Intelligence, the RUC and the UDA. But now the stink about their past activities is forcing them to make some gestures.

Parasites amid the poverty

THE UDA has no significant support amongst Protestant workers.

A survey carried out by the community newspaper *The Shankill Bulletin* found that 98 percent of Protestants living in the Shankill Road wanted an end to all paramilitary violence, including that of the UDA.

The various attempts by the UDA to stand for elections have been miserable failures.

UDA leader John McMichael, who stood for Westminster in the early '80s in the South Belfast constituency—which includes loyalist Sandy Row—polled only two percent of the vote.



Today the UDA membership is estimated to have declined to under two thousand.

This isn't surprising given that most Protestant workers are repelled by the UDA's sectarian slaughter of Catholics.

Protestant communities also suffer from the parasitic activities of loyalist paramilitaries, such as organising protection rackets, running brothels and drug dealing.

The poverty that Protestant workers experience in areas like the Shankill Road is in direct contrast to the life style of UDA leaders, with their BMW cars and foreign holidays.

They also suffer directly from UDA violence.

Loyalist paramilitaries have murdered 566 Catholic civilians. But they have also murdered 114 Protestants.

Not the same as Sinn Fein

UNIONIST leaders have responded to the ban on the UDA by calling for the banning of Sinn Fein. Socialist Worker rejects the comparison between the UDA and Sinn Fein.

The UDA emerged in the early 1970s as a sectarian response to the struggle of the Catholic minority for civil rights.

The UDA set itself the task of defending the northern state at a time when the Catholic ghettos exploded after the introduction of internment in 1971.

A letter printed in the UDA Bulletin at the time sums up the obscene sectarianism of this organisation:

"Why have they (loyalist paramilitaries) not started to hit back in the only way those nationalist bastards understand?"

"This is ruthless, indiscriminate killing... If I had a flame thrower I would roast the slimy excreta that pass for human beings."

The UDA was true to its word. During the 1970s it launched an obscene murder campaign against Catholic civilians.

Whole areas were terrorised by the threat of random assassination and torture.

Catholic victims were abducted and brought to "romper rooms", the back rooms of UDA drinking clubs, and were subjected to horrific torture by gangs of thugs.

Men were castrated and skinned alive and women would have their breasts cut off before being killed.

The Shankill Butchers were the most infamous members of what was a legal organisation.

The republican movement is a different kind of organisation that emerged in the fight against the state which created this horror. Socialists should therefore reject the present calls for a ban on Sinn Fein.

Can the UN bring

THE horror of war in Bosnia and Somalia means that many will look to the United Nations to bring peace. But the UN was set up to help the big imperialist powers dominate the world.

Plans for setting up the United Nations were hatched in the midst of World War 2. In 1942 the US Secretary of State, Hull, said:

"Leadership toward a system of international relationships in trade and other economic affairs will devolve very largely onto the United States.

"We should assume this leadership and the responsibility that goes with it, primarily for reasons of pure national self interest."

When the Allies met at the Moscow and Tehran Conference in 1943, the US State Department revealed its plans for a United Nations. They wanted an organisation that gave them the right to intervene militarily anywhere in the world.

The major US political objective was the breaking up of regional and economic groupings and making resources available, as they put it, to "the world as a whole".

As well as Stalin's Russia, Britain with its vast colonial empire was seen as a major potential block on US commercial expansion.

Obstacles

The US saw the UN along with the IMF and the World Bank as instruments for breaking down British and Russian obstacles to their power.

The very structure of the UN reflected the dominant role of the major imperialist powers.

The five permanent members of the Security Council—the US, Britain, France, Russia and China—have a permanent veto over all decisions.

The choice of China as one of the five "great powers" was particularly cynical.

China—a country dominated by competing warlords—could in no way be described as a "great power". But as one US official put it, "in any serious conflict of policy with Russia, China would undoubtedly line up on our side." When Chiang Kai Shek was finally defeated by Mao's armies he continued to hold the seat on the Security Council as Nationalist China, also known as Taiwan.

Even the make-up of the General Assembly was fixed. Only those countries that had declared war on Germany and Japan could take part in the founding conference.

The US, in order to increase its supporters in the Assembly, put pressure on neutral Latin American countries to declare war. Six were to

do so—although they never fired a shot!

The Korean war in 1950 clearly shows how the UN was a tool of US foreign policy.

With Russia temporarily boycotting the UN, the US used the opportunity to pin the UN flag on its own troops—dressed up with token forces from other UN members.

For US General MacArthur the war an anti-communist crusade.

UN troops were next used in Suez in 1956 when Britain, France and Israel invaded Egypt to stop the nationalisation of the Suez Canal.

Eisenhower, the US President, saw his chance to replace British and French influence in the Middle East. Within 48 hours a UN force was put together. Once again US troops dominated.

One of the bloodiest UN operations was in the Congo in 1960. The Belgian colony had been governed by the crudest divide and rule techniques. When independence was declared the country began to break up.

The mineral-rich province of Katanga, where British and Belgian business interests were concentrated, tried to split from the rest of the country.

The move was physically supported by Belgian troops and mercenaries and verbally backed by Britain and Rhodesia.

Patrice Lumumba, the left wing President of the Congo, made the mistake of appealing to the UN for help.

The US was delighted. The CIA had already marked Lumumba down as a communist.

Over 19,000 troops were sent, including a contingent from Ireland, but the US set the strategy and the targets.

The US wanted a Congo without special Belgian and European interests and so the Katanga secession was smashed.

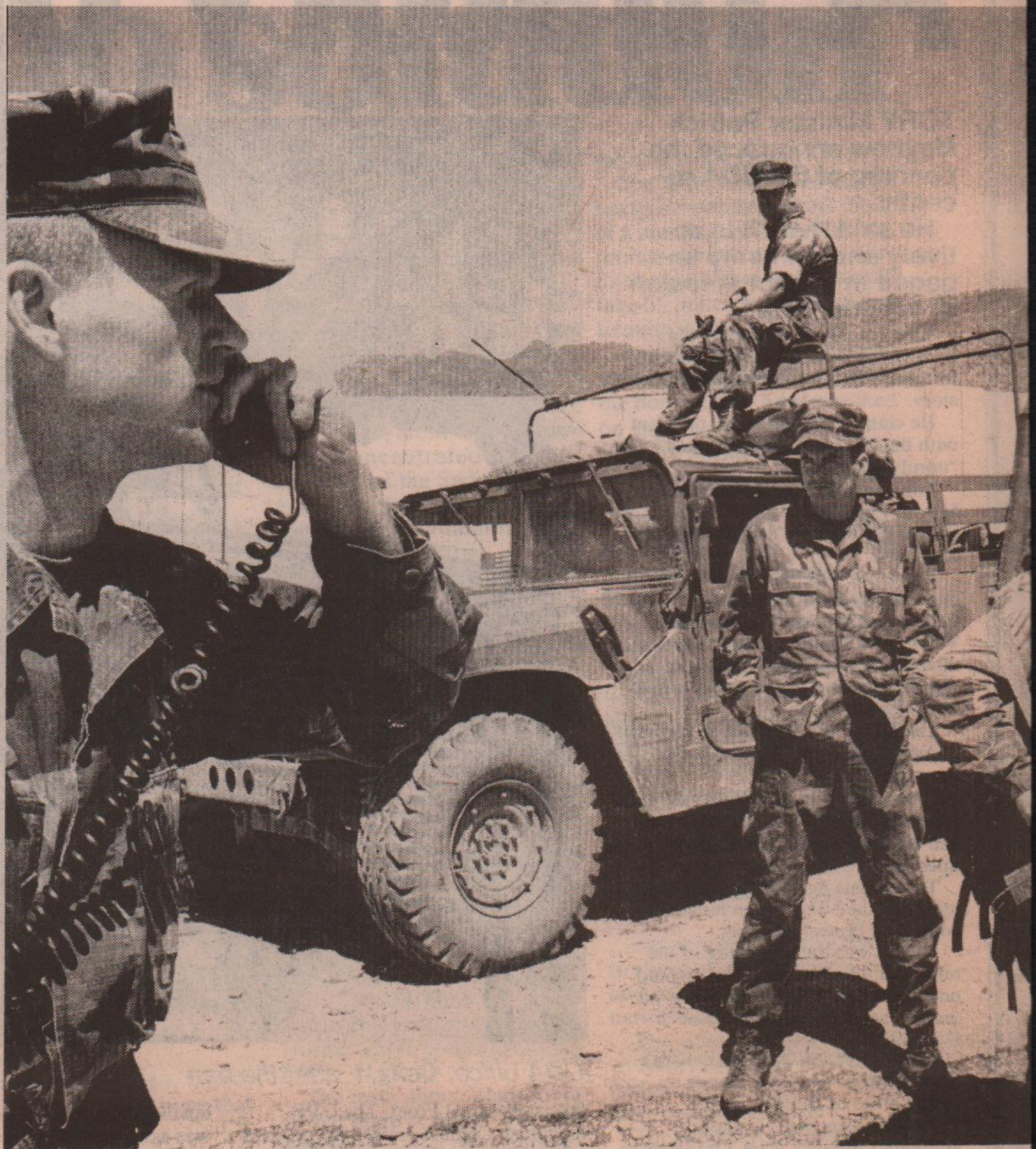
But along the way President Lumumba was also kidnapped and later murdered. He was replaced by pro-American Mobutu, who for thirty years ran one of the bloodiest regimes in Africa.

In the 1970s the UN was sent to the Lebanon, where many Irish army contingents served.

It was supposed to create peace between Israel and the Arabs. But in reality, its presence was designed to prevent PLO attacks on Israel.

Between March and August 1974 UN forces observed 148 Israeli-led attacks on Lebanon and did nothing. In 1982, when Israeli forces pushed up to Beirut, the UN just melted away.

Right across the world the UN operates not to bring peace but to preserve the order of the big imperial powers.



Left: US Army troops in action in Iraq and (Right) French soldier of the UN fraternising besieged Gorazde in Bosnia-Herzegovina

Resolutions: A flag of co

Things they said:

"Thank you very much for your assurances about no sheeps eyes at our oilfields in Iran and Iraq.

"Let me reciprocate by giving you fullest assurance that we have no thought of trying to horn in upon your interests or property in Saudi Arabia."—Churchill in letter to US President Roosevelt.

"The greatest thing in history!"—US President Truman on the Hiroshima bomb which killed 75,000 people.

"This is anything but a wild eyed internationalist dream of a world state."—A US Republican Senator in a debate on the UN.

"He had at once painted a wonderful picture of himself as the sole possessor of these bombs and capable of dumping them where he wished..."—Field Marshall Alan Brooke on Churchill's view of the atomic bomb.

Right: Irish gardai on parade in Namibia at the behest of the United Nations



MANY pe smaller c land, can the UN.

However, th of the major i resolutions is

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THE COUNTRY THEY WANT T

THE victory of the Allies in the Gulf War has not stopped the UN trying to destroy Iraq.

Immediately after the war, the UN passed resolution 687. This put an embargo on Iraq exporting any products to the rest of the world.

Iraq is totally dependent on oil exports. Because the country could not sell oil, its food supplies ran down rapidly.

The result was horrific. The scarcity

of food meant that prices increased by 1,904 per cent.

Mass hunger began to develop. One woman in Basra told investigators from the London School of Economics that the hunger was worse than the torment of war.

She said 'you can hide from the bombs, but you cannot hide from your stomach'.

The new embargo had terrible effects

on children as baby food were particularly scarce.

The Harvard Study Team estimated that as a result of the war and the sanctions 170,000 children under 5 died in 1991.

In order to keep up its humanitarian facade, the UN eventually sent Prince Aga Khan to Iraq to investigate the effects of their own sanctions.

Even this aristocrat concluded that

there had to tions.

But the US cil allowed I oil—provid war damage

The Iraqi a country th tried to dest

Today life thanks to th

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venience

insist in the belief that countries, such as Ireland, play a significant role in

the truth is that without the support of imperialist powers the passing of meaningless

years sanctions were imposed on its unilateral declaration of independence. Sanctions were continuously broken by British and French companies.

ies are all members of the Security Council. There was no question of sanctions against them.

of resolutions were passed concerning Africa's occupation of Namibia.

internal political and economic

TO DESTROY

some easing of the sanc-

dominated Security Council to sell only \$1.6 billion of oil. It paid out \$666 million in aid from its profits.

refused this attempt to rob the UN of its power.

Iraq is absolute hell — the activities of the UN.

pressure and the defeat of South African forces that finally forced them to withdraw.

Israel's occupation of Gaza and the West Bank have since 1967 been repeatedly condemned, yet they remain there today.

In the last twenty years UN troops have policed Cyprus, the Middle East and the India/Pakistan border.

But they have only acted when the superpowers wanted to separate lesser nations warring over regional dominance.

Almost fifty years ago Eden, British Foreign Secretary, stated:

"The responsibility in any future world organisation must be related to power."

That principle still holds today—internationalist ideals have been used as a fig leaf to mask national and great power interests.

An Oxfam report claimed that 'untreated sewage flows in the streets of Southern towns and cities and stagnant lakes of sewage are found everywhere'

The UN is determined to make an example of Iraq. It wants to underline the terrible costs of opposing the big imperial powers.

And like the colonists of old, it will ensure that ordinary Iraqi civilians are used as the example.

No truck with the UN

THE Irish government claims that we should all be proud of the peacekeeping role that the Irish army plays in the UN.

Many left wingers go along with the idea that the UN can help prevent war.

The Labour Party Foreign Affairs Spokesperson, Michael D Higgins, argues that Ireland must play a more active role in the UN to promote world peace.

Today this is a fantastically dangerous idea. The UN has become the main cover by which an alliance of the US, Britain and France claim the right to be the world's policemen.

The RAF, which bombed Iraq in the 1920s when it was a British colony, is now able to return to Iraq today to implement a UN resolution.

In the past countries like Ireland were used more by the UN because of its anti-colonial past.

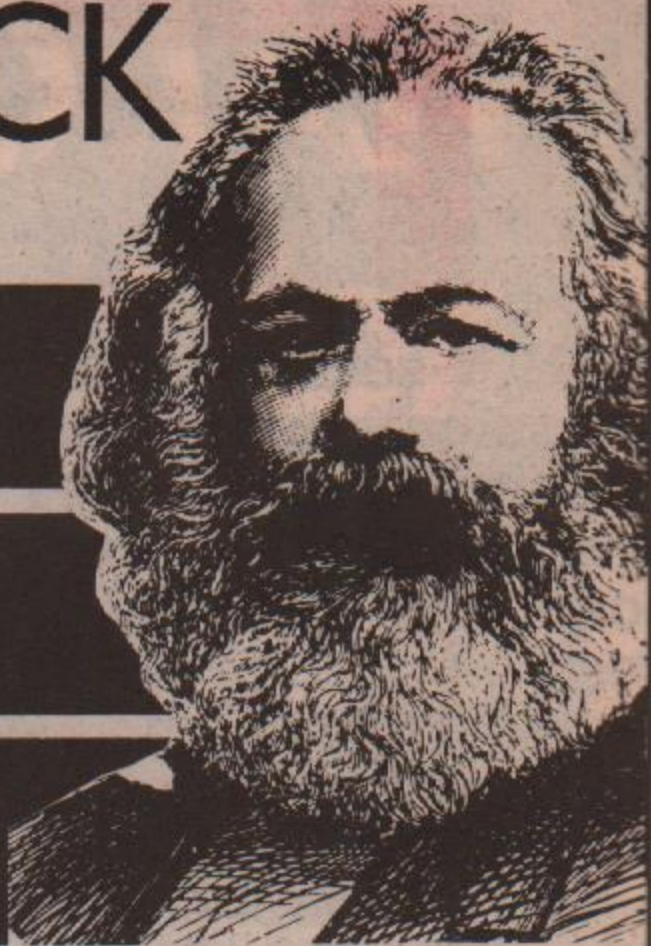
But after the Gulf War, the US no longer feels the need to stand back from UN operations. A cabal made up of the diplomats of the US, Britain and France now decide how the New World Order is run.

Their aim is to make the world safe for the profits of the Western banks and multinationals.

CONOR KOSTICK



Teach yourself Marxism



What leads to war?

DOES war arise from the irrational violence in human nature—or are capitalism and war inevitably linked?

This idea was the subject of a huge debate at the time of the First World War between Lenin and Kautsky. Kautsky was a socialist in the tradition of the Labour Party.

Kautsky defended the view that it was possible to have capitalism without wars, in a way that is often argued today, saying that it was in the interests of the capitalist themselves to end wars. He wrote:

"There is no economic necessity to continue the arms race after world war, not even from the standpoint of the capitalist class itself..."

"On the contrary, it is the capitalist economy which is extremely threatened by conflicts between its states. Every far-sighted capitalist today must call to his comrades: capitalists of the world unite!"

Lenin challenged the idea that capitalism was a rational, far-sighted system that avoided destruction. He said that this ignored the fundamental feature of capitalism.

It is a system driven forward by the competition of rival capitalists.

Grabbing

The reason for constantly updating the methods of production, for grabbing new and wider markets, for attacking wages and conditions, is to stay ahead of the rival.

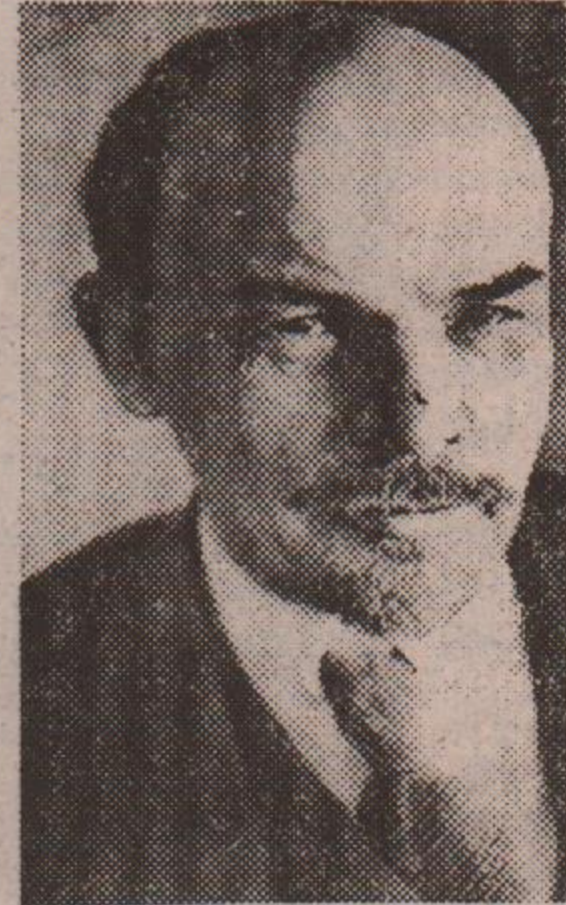
Compete or be bankrupted—that is the motto of capitalism.

This rivalry continues even if the result is harmful for the system. In a recession, the capitalists do not overcome their differences by helping one another out of difficulty.

Instead competition intensifies, with more drastic measures, price cutting and dirty deals in the scramble for survival. They look after themselves and aim to destroy their opponents.

Kautsky later gave another reason which might justify his hope for the rational and peaceful development of society:

"The furious competition of the giant factories, the giant banks and the billionaires gave rise to the idea of the cartel of the great financial powers, which swallowed up the small ones."



Lenin: "War an inevitable feature of capitalism"

"Out of the world war of the imperialist great powers too there can now result a federation of the strongest among them, which will end the arms race."

In other words the forced amalgamation of ever larger companies reduces competition to the point where an enormous federation will never have an economic motive for war.

However, for Lenin, the growth in the size of firms made war more likely, not less. As the giant monopolies came to dominate a nation's economy they grew closer to their state.

A pattern developed where they used their own state to defeat rivals from another nation, by measures such as import controls or direct support from the government.

The most decisive form of competition is that of war.

For while a rival country can also protect its own industries with tariff barriers and currency measures, there's no comeback against an army physically seizing or destroying the property.

War, argued Lenin, is therefore an inevitable feature of capitalism once the rivalry between small firms within a nation has grown to become rivalry between

nations.

At this stage, the stage of imperialism, the "free market" is a myth.

Anyone who believes that the system can run without wars is dreaming of a utopian world. In the real world, having an army is the ultimate way to beat your rivals.

The other point that Lenin makes in reply to Kautsky's argument is that the existence of international cartels—or multinationals in today's terms—should not disguise the nature of world conflicts, which remain conflicts of economic interest between rival nations.

No multinational has its own armed force that it can use to defend its interests. They are all dependent on the activity of the armies of a national state to protect their production.

The last Gulf War, for example, secured the grip of the oil companies, as well as the United States, on production in the Middle East.

Conflicts

Of course there can be conflicts of interest between the rulers of one particular state and the owners of a multinational.

But that should not disguise the fact that nation states remain involved in competition with one another and wars are not therefore an aberration.

Since military means can secure profits more decisively than any other measures, it makes sense for countries to use them and in desperate circumstances even to risk a conflict whose consequences cannot be foreseen.

This is why Lenin returned again and again in his pamphlet "Imperialism—the highest stage of capitalism" to the argument that it was illusory to hope that you could have capitalism without wars.

OUT NOW
The real Marxist tradition
by John Molyneux

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

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

MALCOLM X

by BRENDAN O'DONOGHUE

TWENTY-seven years after his assassination the name of Malcolm X still causes controversy: an inspiration to those who want to fight oppression and racism, a hate figure for those who wish to retain the status quo.

The ideas and politics of Malcolm X, as the recent LA riots show, still have as much relevance today as they did a quarter of a century ago.

Malcolm Little was born on 19 May 1925 in Omaha, Nebraska. His early life was representative of what a black man in the US could expect.

His father, Earl Little, was a member of the black nationalist organisation the Universal Negro Improvement Association (UNIA). In 1931 he was murdered by racists.

The Little family split up as a result and in 1939 Malcolm moved to Boston and worked at the only jobs available to a young black man, shoe shine boy, waiter in a restaurant, and working in the dining car on trains travelling to New York.

He drifted into selling hash, gambling and pimping. He was eventually arrested for burglary and sentenced to ten years in prison in 1946, at the age of twenty.

In prison Malcolm was introduced to the ideas of the Nation of Islam, who were popularly known as the Black Muslims. Led by Elijah Muhammed, the Black Muslims preached that the original man was black and that the white race was an inferior offshoot destined to rule the world for six thousand years.

Then power would pass to those blacks who were true muslims.

The Nation of Islam preached complete separation from the white race and wanted a partition of the USA between black and white. The Nation's appeal was more than a religious one.

It emphasised black pride and self reliance.

It urged its supporters to "buy black". It sought businesses and farms to be run by black people. It did not view capitalism in the US as the problem, but the white race itself.

As they said, "Everywhere the negro is exploited by the white man; now he must learn to protect his own, using the white man's techniques."

This message appealed to the growing number of black businessmen and shopkeepers who flourished as the black ghettos expanded and who felt their political and economic development was hampered by the racism prevalent in America.

Malcolm joined the Black Muslims on his release from prison in 1952. As was customary, he took X as his surname to denote the African name lost to him through slavery.

His intelligence and skill as an orator quickly led him to become an organiser for the Nation of Islam. The organisation grew rapidly and by the early 1960s had 100,000 members.

Freedom

Malcolm savaged the moderate leadership of the civil rights movement for ignoring the racism in the northern states of America.

He attacked the freedom buses organised by white liberals in the north, saying: "Their own northern ghettos right at home have enough rats and roaches to kill to keep all the freedom riders busy."

He also criticised their non-violent approach, counterposing the idea of black self-defence "by any means necessary".

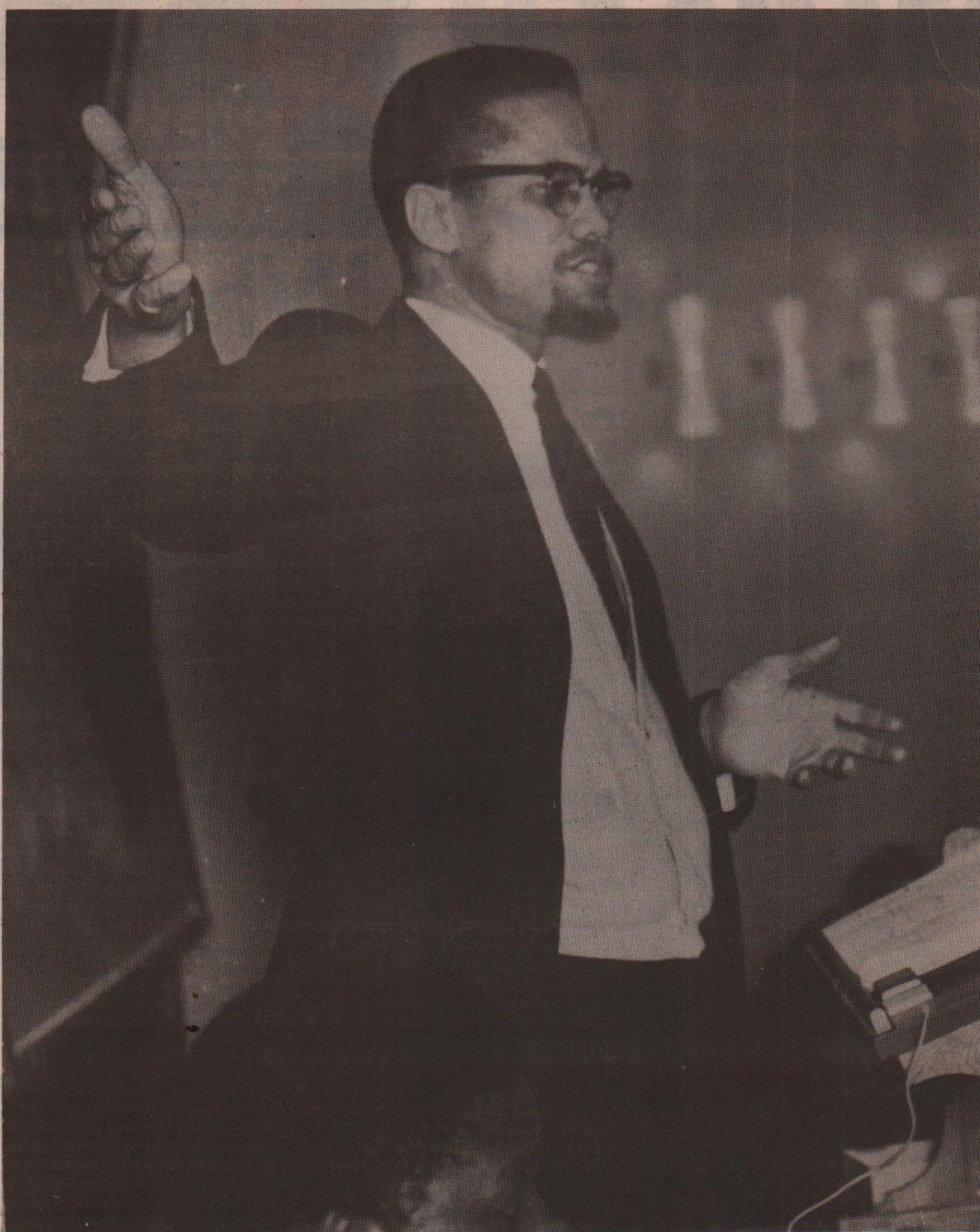
Although Malcolm was only repeating the teachings of Elijah Muhammed, he began to come into conflict with the Nation and was viewed by Elijah as an extremist.

The Nation was becoming seen by Malcolm as "talking tough but doing nothing unless someone bothered Muslims".

On 27 April 1962, the Los Angeles police shot seven unarmed Muslims in cold blood and arrested sixteen on trumped-up charges.

Malcolm wanted to organise a nationwide campaign including non-Muslims to defend the Los Angeles Seven, but Elijah refused to let the Nation become involved with non-Black Muslims.

The bankruptcy of the Nation's politics was becoming more obvious to Malcolm.



"By any means necessary"

Things came to a head when in December 1963 he was asked what his reaction was to the assassination of JFK seven days previously.

Although viewed as a liberal, Kennedy had cut out any effective clauses in the Civil Rights Bill in 1960 to avoid alienating the rich racist southern backers of his Democratic Party.

Malcolm said "the chickens have come home to roost", meaning that given the violence and repression that the US state had inflicted this was the logical outcome. The establishment was outraged and Muhammed suspended Malcolm for ninety days in order to appease his respectable support.

On 8 March 1964 Malcolm resigned from the Nation, saying that the movement had gone as far as it could because it was too sectarian and too inhibited.

From the time of his split from the

Nation to his death less than one year later Malcolm's philosophy underwent a radical change.

He went to Africa and made a pilgrimage to Mecca, where he met Muslims of all colours and races and as a result converted to orthodox Sunni Islam.

Revolutionary

What changed his views more radically were the meetings with the revolutionary leaders of the newly liberated and independent African countries.

Here he met many revolutionaries including the Algerian ambassador to Ghana who was white.

This forced Malcolm to rethink his whole previous attitude to black nationalism.

On his return to the USA, Malcolm founded two organisations, the Muslim

Mosque, a religious group, and the Organisation for Afro-American Unity (OAAU).

This organisation was meant to be the bridge whereby black non-Muslims could get involved in the wider political struggle for black rights in the USA.

The OAAU campaigned to build community organisations and schools and to ensure grassroots control over black politicians.

Malcolm wanted to internationalise the struggle and drew inspiration from the newly independent states which claimed to be socialist.

He said: "It is incorrect to classify the revolt of the American negro as simply a racial conflict of black against white or a purely American problem."

"Rather we are seeing a global rebellion of the oppressed against the oppressor, the exploited against the exploiter."

This was a significant leftward move from his old position. Malcolm's view of socialism and capitalism also changed.

He now saw racism as endemic to capitalism and not just a by-product. He said capitalism without racism was as likely as a chicken producing a duck egg.

Malcolm's lack of class analysis led him to some basic problems about how to achieve black liberation in the USA. Although viewing "socialism" favourably, he did not look to black workers as the decisive force.

Solidarity

He viewed black workers primarily as just part of the struggle. Similarly he dismissed the notion of white workers allying themselves with black workers.

He saw white workers as having a stake in the system. He claimed that "there could be no workers' solidarity until there was first some black solidarity".

This was fundamentally incorrect. White workers who may have racist ideas in their heads have no economic interest in perpetuating inequality. The bosses use the supposed difference to divide and rule.

In the US still today southern workers still earn less than their black northern counterparts. If white southern workers take action their bosses threaten to employ black scabs instead.

The division of the working class along colour, religious, race and sex lines only weakens their ability to fight and only benefits the capitalists.

Malcolm instead looked to build all-black unity. He believed all blacks had the same goal: to defeat racism and discrimination. Although it is true all black people are oppressed by racism, it is not true that they will fight equally or consistently.

The black middle class want equality with the white middle class

But if the fight for equality becomes too militant this class will view the struggle of the oppressed majority as more threatening than the racism of the state.

This led black Mayor Bradley to oversee the curfew during the LA riots. Middle class civil rights leaders were terrified of the uprising and rushed to pacify the demonstrators.

Malcolm X's murder on 21 February 1965 tragically cut short his radical re-evaluation of the black movement in the USA. His death was a blow to those who sought to end the racism and oppression in the US.

Even at his death he was vilified. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) described him as "the best ever thing that happened to the KKK since the invention of the Bed-Sheet".

Yet today Malcolm's ideas are still an inspiration, especially in the wake of the Los Angeles riots where black and white rioters fought the police.

His ideas on self-emancipation and black self-defence, his hostility to the two main parties which he described as vultures, his uncompromising militant stance against a society still riddled with inequality, poverty and injustice, make him a guide to those who want to carry his vision forward.

OUT NOW

Malcolm X

Socialism and Black Nationalism

by Kevin Ovenden

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

£3.20 inc. p&p from: SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



Greek socialists on trial for 'treason'

THE public prosecutor in Athens is putting five Greek socialists on trial on 18 September.

The five are members of OSE--the SWM's sister organisation--and they are being charged with treason.

Their "crime" was to write and distribute a pamphlet which argued that Macedonia should have the right to independence from Greece.

The Greek Tory government refuses to recognise Macedonia's independence or even its existence under its current name.

The Tories have whipped up nationalist hysteria in order to keep control of the region.

Posters proclaiming "Macedonia is Greek" appear on every bus shelter. Greek workers are encouraged to wear badges giving the same message.

While western leaders target Serbia as the main oppressor in the Balkans they stay silent on Greek chauvinism. Greece is a NATO ally.

The Greek government wants to whip up nationalism to divert attention away from its attacks on the working class.

Mitsotakis' Tories plan massive spending cuts. The IMF and the EC are both demanding cuts in Greece's public sector deficit.

Mitsotakis wants to make workers foot the bill.

Workers have struck against legislation to cut pension rights and dole money.

Transport workers, shipyard workers and builders all took action.

Bus workers are still on strike. They are among the best organised workers and the Tories want to break them in order to push through privatisation of the buses.

Terrified of mass

anger, the Tories are trying to scapegoat anyone who stands up for the rights of Macedonia.

The trial of OSE members is the latest in a series:

- The courts sent six other socialists to jail for six and a half months each for fly-posting in support of Macedonia. The six were released pending an appeal.

- Four students are also awaiting an appeal against 19-month sentences for handing out a leaflet saying "The neighbouring peoples are not our enemies".

The charges against the OSE members are based on censorship

laws passed by the fascist dictator Metaxas in 1938.

Leading fascist Constantinos Plevris is one of the state's main witnesses in the trial.

The OSE members face up to fifteen years each in jail. The Greek Tories must not be allowed to get away with this.

The Committee to Defend Greek Socialists has been set up to protest at the Show Trial of OSE members. Messages of support may be sent to the Committee at: 66 Lower Drumcondra Road, Dublin.

What we stand for

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM:

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

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

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

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

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

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

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

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

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

News from SWM

SWM members have maintained a very high level of activity over the summer. 80 people turned up to a very successful

SWM MEETINGS

BELFAST meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Penny Farthing, City Centre

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

DERRY meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Badgers Pub, Orchard Dtreest

DUBLIN meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Conways, Parnell Street

WATERFORD meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keyzer Street

To contact SWM in Bray, Dundalk, Galway, Navan, Kilkenny and Limerick write to SWM,

PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Telephone (01) 722682

public meeting in Dublin on socialism and religion. There was a lively discussion on how the Irish bishops had backed right wing causes over the years.

Waterford SWM has also been taking a stand against bigotry. When Youth Defence arrived in the town with their anti-abortion horror movie 'The Silent Scream' they were met by a picket of the SWM and the

local Repeal the 8th Amendment campaign.

More people picketed outside the meeting than attended it.

Meanwhile, an SWM branch is being established in Galway. The Galway group held its first public meeting in the town in August on the rise of fascism in Europe. Regular meetings will be organised from September on.

In Derry and Belfast, SWM members have been taken up a peti-

tion against the Tories plan to slash jobs and services in the Eastern Health Board.

Right across the country, the SWM is building on the new mood of anger in Irish society. Thousands are sick of the bigots attacks on women's rights. They want to see resistance to the bosses attacks on working conditions.

If you want join a fighting socialist organisation, then fill in the coupon below.

Letters: Write to SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

FAS AND THE BOSSES' "DREAM TICKET"

Yet again, FAS have come up with the ultimate in exploitation of workers. How about reintroducing slavery and calling it Young Workers' Employment Exchange Programme?

I was invited to apply to FAS for a two-month stint of "work experience" in either Essen, Germany, or Amsterdam, Holland. Of course, there were condi-

tions attached to this.
 *You pay your own way to either location.
 *Upon returning from your work experience, you will be refunded 75% of the cost of your fare.
 *You must be prepared to work in any part of the country at almost no notice.
 *It is not normal for the companies to pay the young workers a salary during the work experience programme, there

fore it will be necessary for you to bring some money with you to survive for the three months". The first month is for language training.

"In order to be reimbursed with the 75% of the travel costs, you are obliged to make a written report to FAS on your return to Ireland."

As the pooling of labour resources across Europe continues apace after Maastricht, FAS is showing nothing but contempt for Irish workers.

FAS Trainee, Waterford.

Sick of democratically elected swindlers

When Gold Medal winner Michael Carruth arrived back from Barcelona there was a throng of about a thousand people at Dublin airport. There was a carnival atmosphere.

Bertie Ahern TD tried to capitalise on the good feeling and stole the stage just prior to Carruth's speech. He raised his clenched hands in a sign of

victory and was greeted with tumultuous booing and roars of anger.

His speech had to be aborted.

The people are angry, sick of the claptrap and hypocrisy of our democratically elected swindlers. This is the new mood.

(Significantly, athletes who lost were ushered in quickly "by the back door".)

Niall Meagher, Dublin

Join Us!

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

Name.....

Address.....

Phone.....

Roddy Doyle

Reviewed by KEN MULKEARN

Snapping at the system

FOR many years, much of Irish literature dealt only with rural life. Even today, the work of writers like John B. Keane is very popular.

But recently a number of authors have appeared who write instead about the lives of people in the cities.

Probably the best known of these is Roddy Doyle. His first book, *The Commitments*, was filmed by Alan Parker and became a box office hit in Britain and America, as well as in Ireland.

His most recent book, *The Van*, won him a nomination for the prestigious Booker Prize.

But here in Ireland, Doyle's novels have been slated by the critics. The *Irish Times* has rubbished his books claiming that they patronise working class people.

Certainly *The Commitments* give the impression that no working class person in Dublin opens his or her mouth without effing or blinding.

But the humour in both *The Commitments* and *The Van* does not simply occur at the expense of their characters.

Both books are attempts to show working class people doing their best to get the better of a system which has thrown many of them on the scrap heap. That they do so in novel and original ways is part of the humour in both books.

The Commitments is the famous story of a Northside Dublin soul band which very nearly—but not quite—makes the big time. In *The Van*, Mr Rabbitte, the father of *The Commitments*' manager, Jimmy Rabbitte, is made redundant.

Together with Bimbo, his best friend, he buys a van and attempts to enter the mobile chip shop business. All their efforts come to naught, however, and the chip van ends up in the sea at Dollymount Strand.

Cynicism

These books are full of their characters' cynicism about a society which has failed them.

And this cynicism is often very funny. When Jimmy Rabbitte tells his fellow *Commitments* to "say it loud, I'm black and I'm proud" they think he's mad.

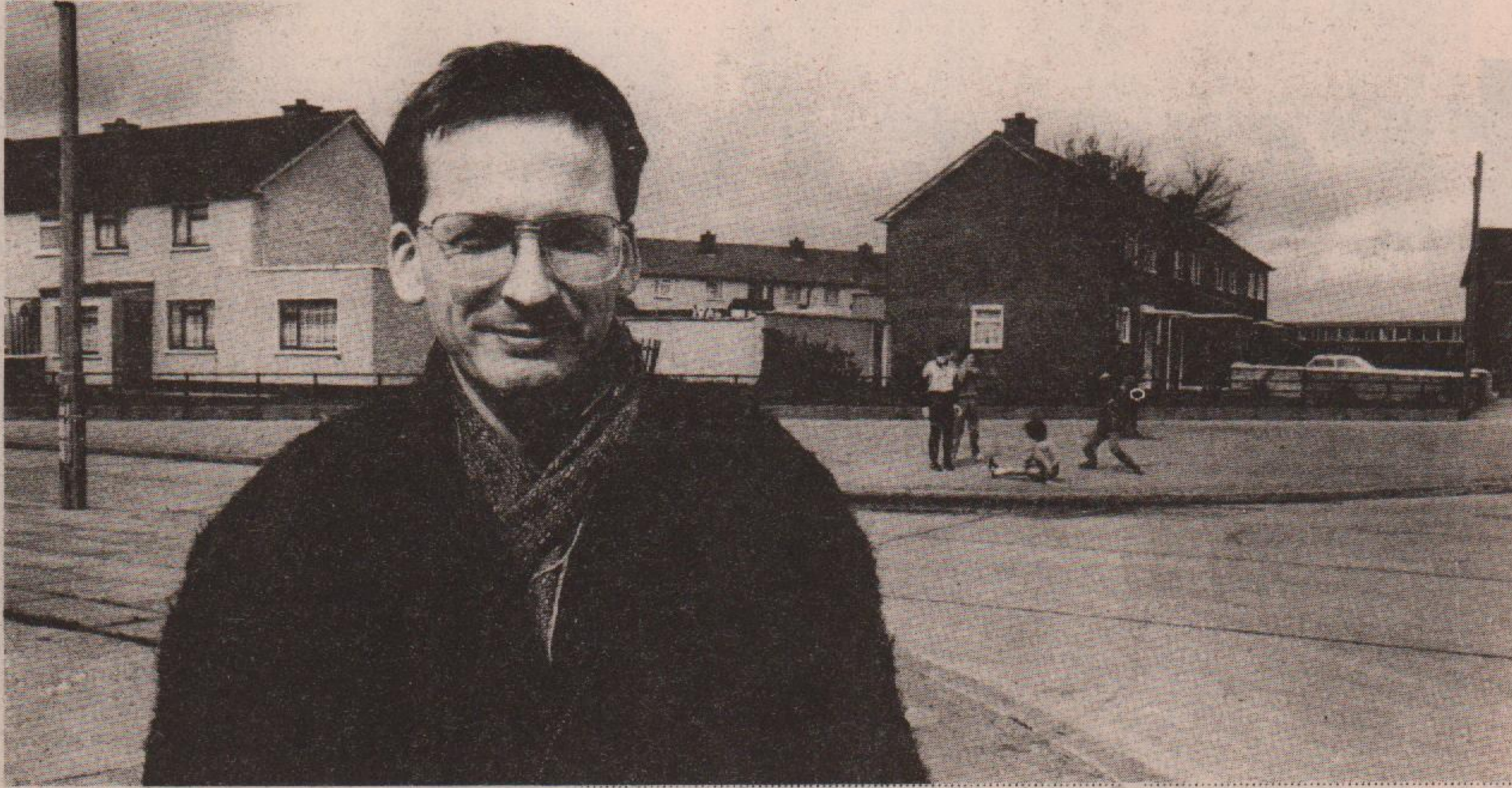
But the way he figures it, the same choice faces them as faced many great black musicians: play rock 'n' roll or rot on the dole.

In what is perhaps his best book, *The Snapper*, there is not only cynicism—there is also hope. The characters in this book are more well-rounded than in *The Commitments*.

Sharon Rabbitte in particular earns our sympathy as the young mother-to-be. But above all, *The Snapper* is a very funny, though sometimes bitter, look at some of the ways in which Irish society is changing.

Throughout the book sex and pregnancy are discussed frankly and openly. What's more, it shows Sharon's father—once only interested in having a pint down the pub with his mates—becoming more aware about women and sexuality as a consequence of his daughter's pregnancy.

In one of the book's funniest scenes, Sharon's dad decides to try out his newly-found knowledge on his wife Veronica, that night in bed. But instead of being grateful she is immediately suspicious.



Roddy Doyle on the streets of Kilbarrack: the kids call him 'Punk' Doyle

She grabs his hair, insisting he tells her where he has learnt his new techniques.

"Aagh!" he screams. "In a book!"

Many Irish writers have protested at the way in which the Catholic Church controlled what people did in bed. But *The Snap-*

per shows a world where this stifling morality is being cut through by the reality of people's lives.

What's more, Doyle is one of a growing number of Irish novelists whose books reflect the fact that seventy percent of

Ireland's population live in cities.

For the first time, thousands of working class people can see their lives mirrored in the literature of writers like Doyle and Dermot Bolger. Their work is definitely welcome.

Book Review

by BEN YEATES

Crime, Class and Corruption
by Audrey Farrell
£6.20 post free from SW
Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

THE last ten years in Britain has seen large scale police corruption exposed in the headlines.

Events such as the Birmingham Six and the Guildford Four have shattered the myth of the friendly British bobby.

Though not to the same degree, cases such as Nicky Kelly and the Kerry Babies have brought the gardai under closer inspection.

Audrey Farrell's book studies the role of the British police but uses this to illustrate how they operate in any country.

There is, of course, real concern about violence and crime. Most people believe that the police are needed to protect people and their homes.

A closer examination of this solution reveals the holes in it. London is intensely policed but only eight percent of burglaries are solved.

Farrell's argument is that the police are useless in dealing with crime, not because they're dozy but because of the very nature of the society in which they work and their role in it.

A system which runs on overcrowded housing, unemployment, poor health services and inadequate education facilities is bound to push some into using violence against others.

It is no accident that the highest rates of petty crime occur in poor and working class areas. This is where people are ground down the most.

This book starts with a detailed examination of police work and shows

Police corruption



why they fail to protect ordinary people, while turning a blind eye to the crimes of the rich and powerful: if their flow of profits is disturbed by strikes then the police are on hand to open the gates.

Recently the gardai outlined the creation of a special unit for anti-racketeering. It cited stamping out video piracy as its "prime purpose".

There was no mention of a special unit to deal with the £70 million Larry Goodman racketeered from this country.

Farrell outlines how the modern police force originated as a response to the agitation of a growing labour movement. It was set up in 1829 to control the large numbers of workers and urban poor demonstrating to improve their conditions.

Today the underlying role of the police is hidden in the ideas of crime prevention, detection, and protecting the individual.

Central to Farrell's argument is understanding that the police are in fact bad at their job. She uses facts taken

from the police, Home Office and other official sources to back up her case.

But these also illustrate what they are good at—the tactics and manoeuvres for dealing with pickets and demonstrations.

Riot squads attacked miners in 1983, 1986-87, and the 200,000 strong Poll Tax march.

The task the police are supposed to deal with—stopping crime—has roots in a much broader set-up. More than that, the police have the job of defending the very system that generates crime.

PLAY: The Conquest of the South Pole

Reviewed by Paula Geraghty

"The Conquest of the South Pole" is a great play, currently running at the City Arts Centre in Dublin.

The plot is based on four unemployed young men, bored and near-suicidal, facing the reality of the dole queue.

Fed up with being "failures", they set off, on an adventure in search of dignity and success, to the South Pole—in an attic!

Their poignant and very often funny re-enactment of Admundsen's journey to the South Pole opens up a whole new world, articulating their hopes, fears and aspirations.

Here they are often heroes, people with a sense of value and worth, people with an identity.

A review in the *Irish Times* claims that "nothing persuasive is said about unemployment".

On the contrary, this play addresses the dehumanisation and hopelessness that 291,000 people face daily in the Republic without being patronising.

It breaks down the stereotype of the working class as being uncreative and unimaginative.

This brilliant play, sponsored incidentally by SIPTU and the INOU, has to be seen by all. So don't just sit there, go and see it—now!

WATERFORD GLASS

Report by
BRIAN HANLEY

Galvin's plan for misery

Waterford Crystal management are demanding workers pay for the mess the bosses have made of the industry.

Management have announced a plan involving 500 redundancies, a cut in pay and a 5 year industrial peace agreement.

Transport, canteen, cleaning and security services will be contracted out.

Annual leave, bonuses and profit share schemes will also be under threat.

This new plan comes on top of six years of management attacks on the workforce, each attack accompanied by promises that this would solve the industry's problems.

In a city blighted by unemployment, the new plan was greeted with shock.

The calls to Waterford local radio's chat show the morning after the announcement expressed the dismay and anger people in the town feel.

The overwhelming majority of callers said the same thing - "How will people survive?" "Is this just the start?" "How many more jobs will go?"

One asked if perhaps Glass boss Paddy Galvin gave up his chauffeur driven car, at least one job could be saved.

Galvin himself simply said this deal was what was needed to save the Company and that the Company "wouldn't survive another strike".

But for many Glass workers and their families survival now is difficult enough.

The combination of short term working and the cycle of debt from the last strike has already forced many workers to leave the Glass.

One woman spoke of days when her family went hungry because of the burden of debt.

Workers in the Glass had expected Management would demand redundancies. But the scale of the cuts has surprised everyone.

Donie Fell, a Shop Steward in the Blowing section, said:

"People had said there were certain cuts they could live with but what's going to come in effect is way above anything they imagined."

Management want 77 redundancies in the Blowing section, 18 in Kilbarry, 8 in Butlerstown and 51 in Dungarvan.

The wage cuts could amount to 40% or more.

"People could lose their houses", said Donie. "There's no way out for them."

Donie also warned of attempts by Management to concentrate the cuts in the Blowing section on Dungarvan, thus sowing division with Waterford.

The announcement of the Plan came at the end of a tension filled week.

Union convenor in the Glass factory Jimmy Kelly had been suspended fol-

lowing press hysteria about a speech made at a rally in July.

The local newspapers, Chamber of Commerce and right wing politicians distorted the speech, as part of an attack on the Glass union.

They accused Jimmy Kelly of promoting violence, but said nothing about the violence of the threats to ruin people's livelihoods.

"I'm very angry" said Helmut, who worked as an instructor in the Glass for 20 years and took redundancy in 1987.

"Jimmy Kelly was only expressing what people think. Management will fill their pockets whatever happens."

Eddie, a student at the RTC and working in a local factory for the summer, told S.W.:

"People at work were surprised by the speech at first but when they saw what could happen to the workers jobs they thought it was understandable."

At a mass meeting, called at short notice, to discuss Management's plan, Jimmy Kelly received unanimous support from the 600 workers in attendance.

The first day back after the announcement of redundancies, Management arranged shopfloor meetings to push their Plan.

Angry

They got an angry reception from many workers. Jimmy Kelly explained why:

"The Management have no credibility because of the lies that were told on previous plans."

Immense pressure is being put on the workers to accept the deal, on the basis that it will save 1,400 jobs. But Jimmy says:

A legend in solidarity

The media can't mention Waterford Crystal workers without talking about "high wages".

They never mention the record of the Glass workers in supporting others in struggle.

The Glass workers supported every local strike in Waterford from last year's dispute at St. Otterans Hospital to the Dawn Meats strike in 1987.

After pickets were assaulted by Gardai, the Glass workers struck and marched to the Garda Station in protest.

They formed the backbone of the local campaign against water rates.

Glass workers prevented



Glass workers march against cuts in 1990—now the bosses want more sacrifices

"That's not correct - plans for new technology in the Blowing sections will further reduce jobs."

Its not just jobs that are threatened: "The piece rate systems proposed for the craft sections will cut wages by about 30% - its purely an attempt to get people to work harder for less pay."

Jimmy stressed: "The way the Company have outlined the redundancies in different sections, its important unity is shown between all the sections and we do not let it descend into seniority claims on jobs with workers voting other workers out of work."

This was echoed by Pierce Casey, a

shop steward at Dungarvan Crystal who again argued for unity.

"Dungarvan has been hit hard by the recession and now over 1,500 are signing on in the town.

Devastating

"Cuts at the Crystal plant will have a devastating effect." Pierce said:

"The latest attack on worker's wages and conditions is going to have to be faced up to by maximum unity of workers at the 3 plants, especially where job losses are concerned."

"When workers realise the full extent of the savage cuts being proposed - it has to be said industrial action can't be ruled out."

The Glass factory bosses are hoping to capitalise on people's fears and difficulties to force the plan through.

In the cutting section at the Kilbarry Plant, for example, people have endured a high level of short time working since the strike in 1990.

"People are under a lot of financial pressure" said Tommy Hogan, a shop steward in the section.

"Some are getting as little as 18 weeks work a year."

Again, the general reaction to the plan was one of shock, particularly at the number of redundancies wanted.

For example, 50 percent of wedge cutters would go. Wage cuts could amount to 25 percent or more.

"It's impossible for people to sustain that type of wage cut and degree of short time working - people are being pushed over the brink" said Tommy.

Over the next few days Tommy reckons:

"The shock will wear off. People will discuss this with each other and their families and we'll see what mood will develop."

The owners of Waterford Crystal are fabulously wealthy. Their sole concern is to wring even more profits out of the company, regardless of the human cost to workers in the town.

They hope the burden of debt, and the worry it causes will force workers to accept the plan.

But management are not without problems either. Firstly Glass workers simply don't trust them. Secondly they still need the Glass and its skilled workforce.

Basic union organisation in the Glass is still intact.

Workers have sacrificed enough for O'Reilly's profits.

Its time to tell him to pay for the mess he and Management have made.

of PAYE to force the brunt of taxation on the rich, not workers.

In 1981, Glass workers struck to save the lives of the H-Block Hunger Strikers.

During the British Miners in 1984-85, thousands of pounds was raised by a levy on Glass workers wages.

Miners children were brought on holidays to Waterford.

Local charities and hospitals in Waterford all received large donations from the Glass workforce. 25,000 was given to famine relief in Ethiopia for example.

The Glass Workers record should be remembered now by every worker.

thugs hired by the Corporation from switching off water supplies.

Workers across Ireland received solidarity from the Glass -

From Clondalkin Paper Mills to De Lorean in Belfast, delegations were received and donations given.

Just after returning to work themselves in 1990 they made a large donation to the Gateaux strike in Finglas.

When unemployed people marched from Cork to Dublin in the early 1980's, they were given donations, food and board in Waterford by Glass workers.

During the campaign for Tax Reform, the Glass workers organised non payment

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As Western forces return to the Gulf...

BUSH

THREATENS

WAR TO SAVE

HIS JOB



US President George Bush is threatening war again against Iraq.

This time he's not even waiting for the UN rubber stamp seal of approval. He says military intervention may be necessary to "protect" the Shia Muslims.

After the Gulf War last year, Bush encouraged the Shias and Kurds to rise up against Saddam Hussein. The West then stood by while Iraq butchered both rebellions.

Thousands of Shias fled to Saudi

Arabia where they were locked up in wretched detention camps.

Bush doesn't really give a damn about minority rights.

When the al-Sabah family returned to power in Kuwait after the war they instituted a pogrom against the Palestinians. Far from being threatened, they are being rewarded.

A large part of southern Iraq, including much of its oil industry and its only port, are to be given to Kuwait.

Bush is threatening Iraq with partition in order to destabilise Saddam Hussein. He wants to replace him

with someone who will toe the Washington line.

The minorities, the redrawn borders and the UN inspection teams are being used to provoke a war to topple Saddam from power.

But a war might also serve to keep Bush in power. He knows war is a useful tool at election time for unpopular leaders.

This ploy worked for Thatcher. She easily won the 1982 election after the Falklands War.

Bush is widely hated at home. The crisis in the US economy is continuing, with no end in sight to

the recession.

Workers' living standards have fallen by 17 percent in twenty years. Ten million are on the dole.

The Los Angeles riots showed the level of bitterness and anger among both blacks and whites.

Pro-choice campaigners have resisted Bush's attacks on abortion rights.

Now Bush is trailing Clinton in the election opinion polls. Neither of them has any answer to the crisis. Whipping up hysteria by going to war with Iraq may be Bush's only chance of keeping his job.