

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

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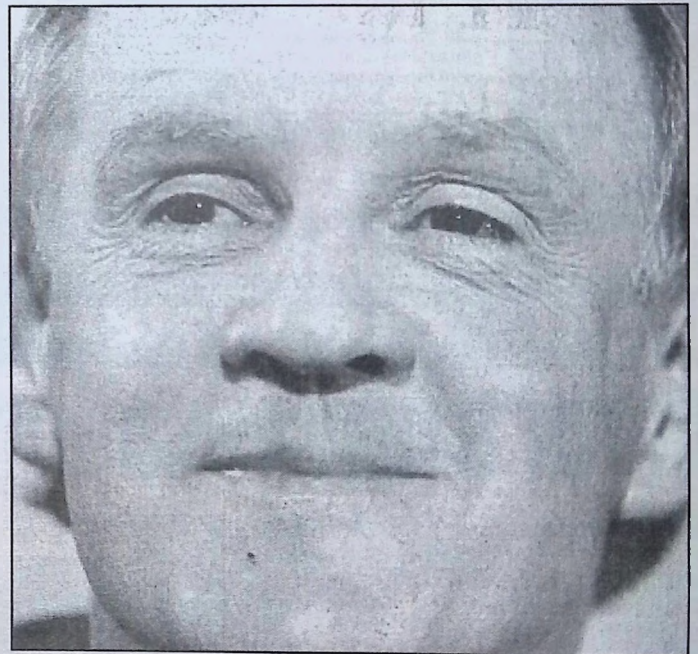
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# Make Goodman

# pay his own bills



No wonder he's smiling. He's just ripped off the taxpayer again.

**"THEY CLAIMED 68 times the average industrial wage.**

**"I have to work for a year and six weeks to get what those barristers got in a week. It makes me mad".**

That was one caller to *Liveline* summing up the mood of most working people when they heard the Irish state is to pay Larry Goodman nearly £7 million to cover his costs for the beef tribunal.

That tribunal was only set up because Goodman's companies were involved in tax evasion, in ripping off EU beef intervention stocks, in supplying rotten meat to the Third World—but he still walked off scot free.

### Insult

Not only that. When the European Union looked at the evidence of the beef tribunal they concluded that a fine of £70 million had to be paid because of "irregu-

larities" in the beef industry.

And again neither Larry Goodman nor his companies paid a penny.

Now to add insult to injury, he has got away with hiring top barristers on lavish expense accounts and made sure that PAYE workers paid for them.

It shows that there is a disgusting class divide in Irish society.

Goodman is a millionaire and supporter of Fianna Fail.

He paid out more contributions to that party than he often did in his tax bills.

That is why he was treated with kid gloves.

### Unjust

But if you are working class it is a different matter.

People have been hauled before the courts and have had their water turned off because they refused to pay an unjust tax, the water charges.

In Cork, Fianna Fail

politicians have been making great play of the fact that a fine imposed on New Age travellers was paid by the local health board — but there is not a squeak from them when their friend Larry Goodman gets a £7 million hand-out.

Today the Dail politicians are whipping up a law and order hysteria about drugs.

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# MAKE GOODMAN PAY HIS OWN BILLS...MAKE GOODMAN PAY

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## Why does he get away with it?

They are trying to divert our attention away from the activities of the Irish rich. And much of it is pure hypocrisy.

### Amnesty

Remember, the politicians who go on about law and order were the same ones who brought in a tax amnesty that allowed the drugs barons to launder away their money.

That amnesty was also taken advantage of by the beef barons.

The difference is that they learned a long time ago that the best sort of robbery was legalised robbery!

WHEN THE EU fine for the beef industry was imposed on Ireland, Jimmy Somers from SIPTU said that he had never seen his members so angry.

But the union leaders did nothing. They refused to call a national stoppage despite receiving thousands of petitions.

They did not even call a protest demonstration at the weekend.

The Socialist Workers Party was the only party to mobilise a small demonstration.

If the ICTU had called action, the streets would not have held the numbers who wanted to take part.

Goodman will get away with ripping off PAYE workers for as long as we

let him.

His next step is to try to recover nearly £200 million for beef he lost in Iraq under an Export Credit Insurance Scheme.

### Winning

Unless we start taking action now, he has every chance of winning that too.

That is why we have to renew the fight for the ICTU to call a national stoppage to make Goodman pay his own costs.

And pay his share of the EU fine!



Goodman with his PR officer Pat Heneghan who got over £160,000

### SOME HIDDEN EXPENSES

AS WELL as the big money paid to the barristers, some other very strange expenses are being allowed to Goodman.

They include:  
 ■ £162,361 to a Public Relations consultant Pat Heneghan. His 'job' was to 'patrol the coverage' in the media for Goodman.

In other words to give a positive light to the beef baron's record of tax evasion and fraud.  
 ■ £118,157 to Somers and Associates for analysing Irish beef prices between 1986 and 1991.

■ £34,000 for a private catering firm to give the best food to Goodman's legal team.

Next time you are up for non-payment of water charges, make sure your solicitor is not eating in McDonald's.

■ £35,000 to Brian Britton for just turning up to give evidence for Goodman.

That is £150 a hour to one of the top people in a company which was shown to be engaged in malpractice.

## I've got the Supreme Court job at last



Hamilton

THE JUDGE who originally ruled that Goodman had no case to answer and that he should be paid his expenses was Liam Hamilton.

Despite hearing evidence of massive tax evasion and the robbery of beef from EU intervention stores, Hamilton could not point the finger of blame.

He saw no connection between the fact that Larry Goodman paid £110,000 to Fianna Fail and then got away with paying only a small part of his real tax bill. Hamilton claimed that these were just 'normal contributions' and did not

affect any of the matters he was supposed to enquire into.

After the beef tribunal, Hamilton rose to become the top judge in the land.

He was appointed by the government led by Albert Reynolds.

By the way, Hamilton found absolutely no financial connections between Reynolds and Goodman.



Reynolds

## BSE: Don't fall for the lies

THE TORY government in Britain once claimed that BSE could not be transmitted from cow to calf.

Irish agriculture minister Ivan Yates was quick to back up this claim, arguing that an Irish study of just 39 cases showed no evidence of maternal transmission of mad cow disease.

But two weeks ago, the British government was forced to reveal that it was telling lies, yet again. BSE could after all be transmitted to a cow's offspring.

### Dangers

Yates and the British government are far more interested in protecting the profits of the beef industry than in caring about people's health.

This is why they do their best to hide the real dangers of BSE from working people. But the cover-up about mad cow disease in Ireland is starting to unravel.

Last month two more cases of BSE were found in Irish cattle.

The real significance is that these were cattle that were born after the ban on bone meal was imposed in 1990.

The reality is that no real system was ever imposed to enforce the ban and there is considerable evidence that farmers continued to use bone meal after 1990.

The output of bone meal by the Irish rendering industry, for example, rose from 90,872 tons in 1994 to 109,310 tons in 1995 despite the so-called ban.

Until the food industry is run for people's need and not for profit, no one should trust the politicians on BSE.

## inside the system North's privatisation scam

While sectarian tensions rise in the North, two of its private electricity companies are laughing all the way to the bank.

Coolkeeragh Power in Derry has made so much profit that the industry regulator is warning that they will be referred to the Monopoly Commission.

The company made £6 million last year.

### Profits

Nigen Ltd which operates the big Kilroot power sta-

tion saw its profits soar to an all-time high of £17 million.

### Efficient

Privatisation was supposed to be more efficient and lead to cheaper prices. But it is a lie.

While costs have fallen due to attacks on workers' conditions, prices have ac-

tually risen by about 20 per cent.

Users in the North are paying 30 per cent more for electricity than those in the South where electricity is

still publicly owned.

With a divided working class, the Tories reckon they can ram through policies which benefit their greedy friends.

### His brother's keeper

SMART move from AIB. They have just put Ruairi Quinn's brother on their board.

While they are sipping a little champagne together Lochlain could tell Ruairi of the terrible dangers of taxing those profits which have reached new record heights. AIB's profits for the first six months of this year were £201.1 million, up from £177.1 million for the first six months of last year.

The increase is the result of the boom in the Irish economy and in the housing market. No doubt AIB bosses will once more line their pockets with fat bonuses.

Now aren't you glad you've been tightening your belt these last few years?

## The scab companies that cash in on sports glory

WHEN Michelle Smith took three gold medals at the Olympics most people marvelled at her achievement.

Now her commercial sponsors TNT are trying to cash in on the glory.

But don't be fooled—TNT is a leading scab firm.

Ten years ago Sun boss Rupert Murdoch sacked the printers, closed down the Fleet Street plant, hired a new "yellow-pack" workforce and moved to Wapping in London's Docklands.

Rather than face possible blacking by railway workers TNT

were brought in to smash through the picket lines, under police protection, to distribute the papers around the country.

TNT are not the only anti-union firm you need to look out for.

■ Dunnes Stores provoked a strike of its workers last year when it announced Sunday work for no extra pay.

But it has lost no time in announcing on billboards its backing for Ireland's Olympic squad.

■ Gateaux cakes, which sacked its Finglas workforce a few years ago, has announced its sponsorship of Bohemian FC.



TNT scabs breaking picket lines

### EQUAL PAY AT LAST

LARRY Goodman's old pal Albert Reynolds has been involved in a court case as well.

The Reynolds family firm, C & D Foods, lost a High Court appeal against a Labour Court ruling on equal pay.

C & D is a pet food firm based in Longford (the initials stand for "Cat and Dog"—original eh?). They have been getting away for years with paying their women workers less than the men.

Now Justice Barron's ruling in the High Court will change all that—unless the Reynolds clan simply decides to ignore it.

It makes you wonder why on earth Gerry Adams believes that Albert is the man to sort out the problem of discrimination in the North.

# what we think

## How to defeat Orangeism

IN 1972, the *Sunday Times* described the purpose of the Apprentice Boys march.

They claimed that "it was an annual experiment of the most empirical kind. If Catholics take the insult lying down, all is well.

If they do not, then it is necessary to make them lie down".

It is as accurate today as it was at the start of the Troubles.

The original Apprentice Boys who defended the city against King James were motivated by a concern for "civil and religious liberty".

But those who claim their name in the twentieth century only want to signal a superiority over Catholics.

This is why the argument of John Bruton and others that we should respect this "cultural heritage" should be rejected.

It is like saying that racism and the Ku Klux Klan have to be accepted because they are part of the culture of the southern states in the USA.

### 'Culture'

In the past, every racist and bigot justified their claims to superiority by reference to their blood and fatherland.

Today they more likely to talk about defending their "culture" from being swamped. But nobody should be fooled by the shift in language.

Socialists are for resistance to all racist and sectarian displays of triumphalism.

In Northern Ireland, the more Catholic workers resist these marches, the more they puncture myths of superiority.



RUC beat up residents so Orange parade can march

## United against bigotry

ORANGE MARCHES certainly needs to be met by mass resistance but it will take a united class response to destroy the poison from which it breeds.

And this has become more possible than at any time before. Today Orangeism offers nothing to Protestant workers. It cannot guarantee access to jobs and houses.

The equation Orange equals British equals Better has simply broken down as poverty and unemployment stalks the heartland of Northern industry.

At the start of the troubles the Orange Order had 120,000 members but today this has declined to 80,000.

Paisley and Trimble know this and that is why they want to raise sectarian tensions to whip Protestants back into line.

But there are thousands who have already started to look for an alternative to the dinosaurs.

A united class opposition to Orangeism and all form of sectarianism can have a major appeal.

The march in Derry by the group United against Bigotry which was initiated by socialists from Catholic and Protestant backgrounds was an important start.

### Desperate

There is nothing inevitable about the present situation.

Workers can either be pulled to an even more desperate and violent form of Orangeism or they can take the road of class unity.

Socialists who stand up against both the reactionary ideas of loyalism and the bankruptcy of republicanism can make a difference.

## It's class NOT creed!

BUT ORANGEISM will not simply be defeated by the resistance of Catholics alone.

And if this resistance shows any sign of taking an anti-Protestant form, it will only help to align many others behind the Orange Order.

This is why the call to boycott Protestant shops in rural areas of Fermanagh and Tyrone is so wrong (see Page 4)

### Relief

Some republicans are toying with the idea of using mass confrontations

with the Orange Order as a springboard to fully re-launching their armed struggle.

Before the Lower Ormeau Road march was cancelled, for example, they went around Belfast setting up "nationalist relief committees" which claimed to be preparing for an evacuation

of certain Catholic areas.

This is dangerous and nonsense.

For decades on end, the IRA have dreamt of 'one last push' to destroy partition.

### Admitted

But the peace process began because their leaders publicly admitted that they could not defeat the British government by military means.

Nothing has changed since.

A new armed struggle would only raise sectarian tensions to a fever pitch, throwing thousands of Protestant workers into the hands of the UVF and UDA.

It would obliterate the solidarity that has grown in the South with the resistance to Orangeism.

And in the end, all the suffering would be only designed to win Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness a better seat at the negotiating table.

## 'They won't admit that poverty breeds addiction'

# Drugs: law and order no solution

While Fine Gael Ministers delight in their new law and order measures, working class communities are being left to live with the reality of drug addiction.

The statistics alone tell a story of outstanding poverty and neglect. There are at least 7,000 addicts in Dublin and more than 80 per cent of them are unemployed while 60 per cent left school early with minimal educational qualifications.

The statistics concerning treatment are just as clear. There are currently only 1,400 addicts receiving treatment, generally in the form of the heroin substitute methadone. There are over 3,000 people looking for treatment.

### Spent

Meanwhile £65 million is being spent on the government's crime package that will do little to stop the drugs problem.

The Health Minister Michael Noonan has not been demanding the same figure to build facilities which can help people come off drugs.

But people in the working class areas most affected by drugs are showing that they're not willing to accept this neglect. Groups like the Inner City Or-

ganisations Network (ICON) and the Inner City Renewal Group are letting the politicians know that a law and order agenda will solve nothing.

### Addicts

Joe, who works with addicts in Dublin's north inner city, is contemptuous of politicians:

"It's very convenient for them to ignore the real issues here. As far as they are concerned it's better not to admit that the poverty in working class areas breeds the drug addiction that we see."

Activists have repeatedly called for more treatment facilities for addicts.

### Five

At present there are only five heroin treatment clinics in Dublin run by the Eastern Health Board. There are just 20 detoxification places in the Cherry Orchard and Beaumont hospitals.

There are virtually no treatment services in local areas. A



Marching against drugs

couple of months ago the Eastern Health Board agreed to introduce a "methadone van" - a mobile clinic which dispenses methadone to addicts.

### Based

But people are unhappy with these stop gap measures, and instead demand decent locally based services.

Young people are dying every week. Thousands more are being denied the chance to come off drugs. The fight for treatment facilities is increasingly being seen in working class communities of Dublin as the fight to save their kids' lives.

## Gardaí on the take

SEVERAL gardaí are reported to have been paid bribes by drug dealers in return for passing on information.

The report appeared in the *Sunday Business Post* on 28th July and concerns over 30 gardaí.

The paper describes one case where a garda—known as Garda A—ordered a drugs raid in one area to take attention away from a shipment of heroin going through another.

The availability of heroin increased dramatically in Garda A's division, its price dropped from £50 a deal to £7 a deal.

Another garda—Garda B—was found with drugs in his hand luggage while being searched at customs. Gardaí say he was not working undercover, which means he must

have been involved in drug dealing.

A former anti-drugs activist reported finding a list of names of gardaí in an evicted drug dealer's house. Next to the names were payments ranging from £1,000 to £1,500 per garda. Such corruption occurs regularly where police operate "undercover" to deal with crime.

One criminal is given immunity in return for information supplied about others. Inevitably some officers become involved in crime themselves as a result of doing deals.

It is just one reason why increased policing is not the solution to crime.

## New powers will frame the innocent

Seven day detention is being introduced as part of the new Criminal Justice (Drug Trafficking) Bill.

This applies to anyone who is merely suspected of supplying drugs or possession with intent to supply. You can now be locked up for seven days without even being charged with an offence.

The Irish Council of Civil Liberties have said, "Virtually every drug abuser could be detained under (the Bill)".

New restrictions on the right

to silence in drug related cases mean that anything you do not reveal can be used against you in court.

### Told

We are told this is needed to deal with big criminals who know their way around the law. But what about a drug addict

who may be suffering withdrawal symptoms? To avoid incrimination such a person is liable to make up a story or may sign a false confession just to end the ordeal.

The reality is that the new powers will give the Gardaí the power to virtually intern people for the purposes of gathering information. Many of those people will be innocent but the politicians are ignoring this for fear they are labelled 'soft on crime'.

# R.U.C. backs Orange Order with plastic bullets...

MARTIN TONER from Keady, Co Armagh, is the latest victim of the RUC. He lost an eye when they fired at him during a protest against an Orange march through the town.

The trouble started when a UVF band drove through a police cordon and went straight for nationalist protestors. Its occupants jumped out shouting, "Come on you Fenian bastards".

When crowds moved in to protect people leaving mass, the RUC opened fire with plastic bullets.

Martin Toner had not even been part of the protest but was hit full square in the face.

The RUC has always been a sectarian force but in the last few weeks they have been trying to unleash a wave of terror against those protesting at Orange marches.

## Overheated

Eyewitness accounts collected by the United Campaign against Plastic Bullets stated that plastic bullets were fired in such high numbers in Derry after the Orange parades that the guns overheated and jammed.

In all 3,000 plastic bullets were fired in the city

over three nights, resulting in 332 injuries.

One man, Kevin McCafferty, is still seriously ill with a clot to the brain after being hit by two plastic bullets in the head and chest.

The campaign against plastic bullets has called for the immediate ban

and de-commissioning of these horrific weapons.

## Lethal

It stated that: "These lethal weapons are systematically used to intimidate nationalists.

"They should not be used in any areas.

"They are not used only as riot control weapons but also as a means of political control"



Martin Toner after being hit by a plastic bullet

## Whipping up sectarianism

UNIONIST PARTY leaders are trying to whip up sectarian tensions as a way of keeping Protestant workers in line.

Paisley and Trimble have come out firmly in support of Richard Dallas, the bigoted mayor of Derry who joined an Orange blockade of his own city.

They have even pretended that the issue has to do with preserving Protestant culture in the city.

But one of their own councillors has given the game away by publicly expressing their gut hatred of Catholics.

East Belfast Unionist Councillor Cecil Moore told reporters:

"What my people are saying is that when we arrive at a situation in the Cregagh Estate, where we have a population that is 20% Roman Catholic, they will declare this a republican area.

"Once we have let them in to that degree Orangemen will not be allowed to lift their banner.

"This is not on".

## Promoting

If Moore was living in Bosnia he would be accused of promoting ethnic cleansing.

But no action will be taken against him by a Unionist Party that thrives on such sentiments.

# The wrong way!

THE BOYCOTT campaign against Protestant businesses in a number of rural towns in Fermanagh, Tyrone and Armagh should be opposed by every socialist.

During the riots against the Orange Order, local youth sometimes firebombed Protestants in a misdirected and apolitical reaction.

But after the riots letters began to appear in Fermanagh papers from anonymous writers such as 'Captain Boycott' urging a concerted campaign.

Now local Sinn Fein councillors have disgracefully backed the campaign.

Gerry McHugh for example has argued that it is time that Protestant businessmen realised "the spending power of Catholics".

Socialists oppose these boycotts because they

present all Protestants as the enemy.

Many of the small shopkeepers in these towns are not even members of the Orange Order.

## Controls

The boycott plays straight into the hands of the bigots by allowing them to claim that Catholics are joining up to drive Protestants out of the areas.

They give the impression

that the fight against Orangeism is just about who controls areas.

During the riots in Derry, Sinn Fein members physically stopped local youth attacking premises like the Bank of Ireland, claiming that it was on "our" side.

The logic of supporting a boycott is to tell people that Catholic business owners are their friends—even when they pay less than £2 an hour!

# A glimmer of hope

WHILE Unionist politicians do their best to whip up sectarianism an important glimmer of hope has come from Derry.

A unity demonstration of Catholics and Protestants against bigotry was organised for August 8th.

The march organisers said they wanted to highlight two simple themes: "Against Sectarian marches" and "Against Sectarian Attacks"

## Addressed.

One of the organisers, Katherine Haslett who addressed a rally called by the Derry Trades Council after the breakdown of the IRA ceasefire in February, said,

"For someone like me, coming from a Protestant background, the behaviour of the police in Derry on the night of July 12th was a shock. I always believed that they were basically alright, that they were

there to protect us and that anyone who criticised them was just bitter about things that happened twenty years ago.

"But RUC violence against peaceful protestors and their backing of the Orange Order showed they cannot be trusted to stop sectarian marches."

The organisers see the unity demonstration as a continuation of the rallies attended by thousands of Catholics and Protestants after the Shankill and Greysteel murders to demand an end to sectarian killings.

According to Katherine, "The unity demonstration is to show those bigoted groups that they are a minority in the North.

"The majority of people want to continue to live together peacefully."

As well as opposing

the Apprentice Boys' march, the United Against Bigotry group is also taking a public

White whose home in the Fountain area was petrol bombed by nationalist youth.

Protestants back into the hands of bigots."

Both Paisley and Trimble visited the Fountain area a week after the riots, hypocritically saying that they were concerned about sectarian attacks when they were responsible for encouraging sectarian violence the week before.

## Leaflets

United against Bigotry got tremendous support in the run up to their march.

Stalls in the Waterside and on the Cityside received the same degree of welcome.

Bundles of leaflets were taken into to local workplaces after the Derry Trades Council gave the march its backing.

The initiative showed that there is a real mood for working class unity in the city.



RUC demonstrating their impartiality

stand against sectarian attacks on Protestant homes in Derry.

They referred specifically to the case of Rosie

In a statement United Against Bigotry said:

"Such attacks are indefensible and serve only to push ordinary

# Derry Trades Council attacks sectarianism

THE FOLLOWING is part of a statement issued by Derry Trades Council earlier this month.

"Sectarianism distorts political reality, advances division and encourages prejudice. Until this society is prepared to honestly examine and confront the bigotry which poisons virtually every area of endeavour, no progress will be possible.

"Derry Trades Council believes and has repeatedly said that the trade union leadership must intervene more actively in the current situation and give a clear lead to those thousands of workers who wish to emphatically reject the bigots.

"It is nonsense to suggest that people who happen to share the same religion have common social, economic and political interests.

"To acquiesce in such nonsense merely enables squalid bigots and mediocre politicians to mask and devalue

the genuine needs and aspirations of working people.

"Furthermore, the portrayal of Orangeism as the sole and authentic expression of Protestantism demeans the memory of those from Protestant backgrounds who devoted their lives to the defence of socialist principles and workers' rights.

"It also questions the integrity of those trade unionists who kept factories and other workplaces open in the face of threats from the thugs of Drumcree."

The Trades Council Secretary added, "Rather than wait for the current situation to be resolved by other agencies, the trades unions should now intervene to organise and institute a coherent class struggle on economic issues.

Such a strategy would bring workers together and undermine sectarian organisations and institutions."

## international news

U.S.A.:

## Clinton scraps social welfare

PRESIDENT Bill Clinton agreed in early August to sign a bill that, in one swoop, ended 60 years of the most basic welfare provision in the US and savaged the living standards of the poor.

Clinton promised during his 1992 election campaign to "end welfare as we know it".

He has now done so by condemning millions to poverty in the richest nation in the world.

The Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Act will affect 13 million Americans, of whom some nine million are children.

Anti-poverty campaigners estimate one million

children will be pushed into serious poverty almost immediately.

It ends the 60 year old provision of state aid to every poor family with children. The bill:

■cuts over \$35 billion from welfare spending over the next six years.

■makes families only entitled to benefit for five years.

■makes the head of a family find work within two years or lose benefit.

■makes teenage parents stay at school and live with their parents in order to get benefit.

■bans welfare to all immigrants in the first five years of their stay in the US.

■strips Medicaid—the subsidised medical service for the poor—from immigrants, whether legal or illegal.

■cuts the food stamp programme that entitles the poorest to free food by an average of \$400.

## Refuses

For those surviving on \$4,200 a year or less the cut in food stamps means a 10 percent cut in their real in-

come.

Any mother who refuses to name the father of her child will automatically lose at least 25 percent of her benefit.

Responsibility for welfare schemes for the poor now reverts to local states. They may slash welfare payments and impose new rules to disqualify applicants or penalise those already claiming.

## Workfare

In Virginia, for example, a local scheme already means that those who apply for benefit receive welfare for 90 days before being put on a compulsory unpaid "community work experience" scheme—workfare.

After two years all benefit stops altogether.

Mothers are told to use birth control because they don't get extra benefit for new children.

Clinton's measures will drive more of the poorest towards crime.

So as well as attacking the poor, Clinton has put another 100,000 police on the streets and launched



one of the world's biggest prison building programmes.

Already over 1.2 million Americans are in prison, more than half of them

black.

Clinton has shown he is no different from the Republicans. His war on welfare amounts to a war on the poor.

Indonesia:  
Banks burnt down in anti-government riots

THE WORST unrest in 30 years shook Indonesia at the end of July, as anti-government protesters rioted and burnt down banks in the capital Jakarta.

At least two people were killed in clashes with troops in the unrest which has shaken a country hailed by pro-market politicians as showing the way forward for the Third World.

Riots began when government troops stormed the opposition PDI party, which for a month had been the focus of pro-democracy rallies.

## Investments

Indonesia, the world's fourth most populous country, has seen a rapid industrialisation in recent decades.

The World Bank this year said, "Few countries in the world have had better economic performance."

The economy is growing year on year at over 8 percent. Huge investments from multinational firms like the US Nike sports-wear giant have poured in. They have been out to take advantage of the low wages and repressive political conditions.

Nike, for example, pays its 120,000 workers in Indonesia around £1.40 a day. Strikes, effective unions, open opposition to the regime and any public gathering not licensed by the military are banned.

Internal repression has gone hand in hand with a near genocidal occupation of neighbouring East Timor by the Indonesian regime.

Some half a million East Timorese have been killed

since Indonesian troops occupied the island in 1975.

Despite the killing Britain continues to back the regime and is its biggest arms supplier.

The current government of President Suharto seized power in a bloody coup in 1965.

Then, with British government backing, the army slaughtered over half a million people and all but wiped out what had been one of the world's biggest Communist parties.

Since then all power has been in the hands of Suharto, his ruling party and the generals.

In a pretence at democracy the regime has set up, and largely controls, two opposition parties, the PDI and the Muslim United Development Party.

But as discontent has grown over the last year the PDI has found itself the focus of anti-government support.

PDI leader Megawati Sukarnopunti is the daughter of former President Sukarno, a national hero for his role in winning independence from the former Dutch colonialists and who was overthrown in the 1965 coup.

Megawati has long backed the current system but she and her wealthy business backers have been pushed into demanding some limited change.

When she threatened to stand in presidential elections next year against Suharto she became the focus for wider discontent.

The regime responded by rigging this year's PDI congress to remove Megawati and instal a more pliable leader.

That was the spark for

the discontent to boil to the surface.

Pro-Megawati protesters occupied the PDI headquarters and began staging illegal democracy rallies outside.

As the Indonesian regime ordered troops and riot police to move against protesters the PDI and Megawati were quick to distance themselves from the clashes. They want limited reform not fundamental change in Indonesia.

## Erupted

But forces who could push for more fundamental change are emerging.

A new student movement has erupted since April when huge riots paralysed the city of Ujung Pandang for two weeks. The revolt was ended by troops storming universities killing three students.

That repression sparked student protests around the country.

The regime's biggest fear must be that the powerful working class in the country's booming new industries joins the fight for change.

Illegal strikes are common, if quickly repressed. In 1994 a wave of workers unrest swept the city of Medan. A new Indonesian Worker Welfare Union has emerged in recent years, though it is subject to repression.

If the simmering discontent among workers and the urban poor links up with the student revolts then last weekend's riots could be the start of a process that challenges the regime.

## WEST BANK:

## PLO cops in torture killing

THOUSANDS OF Palestinians in the West Bank town of Nablus attended the funeral last week of a prisoner thought to have been tortured to death by Palestinian security forces.

Shops closed for the funeral and mourners burnt tyres, stoned police stations and hurled abuse at the security forces of Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat.

A banner outside the home of the dead man, Mahmoud Jumayyel, said "We did not struggle to have this kind of repression." Jumayyel had a fractured skull, scald marks, cigarette burns and whip lacerations when his body was taken to hospital.

His death is only one example of the repression being meted out by the new Palestinian security forces.

Their bloody record means more Palestinians have died at the hands of Palestinian security forces in the last two years than at the hands of the Israelis—seven against two.

But this brutality is a consequence of the policy of Western governments.

It is the logical outcome of the peace deal signed between Palestinian and Israeli leaders in 1993.

That deal granted "autonomy" to the Palestinians who live in the Gaza strip and West Bank town of Jericho.

It did nothing to end the systematic discrimination against Palestinians within Israel's borders, or about the fact that Israel is built on land stolen from the Palestinians.

Left real economic and military power in the hands of the Israeli state.

Palestinian leaders were given little more than the

powers of a local council, but they were given the right to form their own security forces.

Israel and the Western governments that back it, hoped this would mean PLO

leaders policing Palestinian discontent.

## Control

They hoped they could use the PLO to control Hamas,

the militant Islamist group who argue for continued resistance against Israel and who have grown out of continued poverty and frustration. That is exactly what is happening now.

## SOUTH AFRICA:

## Fury over railway killings

HOW LITTLE has changed in the new South Africa was shown earlier in August when 16 black people were slaughtered in a station stampede caused by security guards attacking passengers with cattle prods.

Survivors said the chaos began when hundreds of workers tried to catch their usual 5.55am train from Tembisa station to work.

Private security guards, wielding electric shock batons and firing guns, had been employed to wage war on alleged fare-dodgers.

The guards crushed travellers against metal turnstiles and mesh fences.

Sixteen were trampled to death and over 50 people were injured, many with electric shock injuries from the potentially lethal batons.

The killings caused fury among the township residents. Thousands rioted, stoned the station office and set company buildings on fire.

President Nelson Mandela called on people to go home.

But many residents were angry at the lack of response from the au-

thorities and the way that commuters are still treated like animals.

The deaths come as strikes over pay have become a focus for South African workers disenchanted with the slow pace of reform since the end of apartheid.

Up to 80,000 textile workers who have been striking over wages were expected to return to work this week.

The workers stayed out longer than their union leaders suggested in order to keep up the pressure on the "experts" brought in to solve the dispute.

## Offer

The result was a settlement between the bosses' offer of 8.5 percent and the union's claim for 10 percent.

This is a step forward in the face of bosses' lockouts. It could have been a total victory if union leaders had matched the strikers' determination.

At the same time over 25,000 miners at Impala platinum near Rustenburg have begun a pay strike, demanding increases of around 9.5 percent.

At the nearby Amplat mine 28,000 sacked workers are faced with a humiliating deal, forced through by the ANC, to end their strike over benefits and bonuses. Workers will be rehired individually and must agree never to raise again the matters that led to the strike.

In Pretoria police had to rescue the management of a steel factory after 300 workers barred them in their offices in a dispute over wages.

Large sections of the Richard Bay coal terminal were closed after workers there struck over pay.

The failure to improve conditions for the vast majority of black South Africans has led to what the Guardian calls, "the most serious leadership squabbles in the ANC since it came to power." There are strong rumours of corruption at the top of the government.

A sacked minister has alleged payments from superrich casino boss Sol Kerzner and leading ANC figures.

In return, it is claimed, Kerzner was not prosecuted for admitted bribery crimes.

# Protestant workers against Orangeism

**SECTARIAN** divisions have been carefully nurtured to suit the interests of the North's bosses. Since its revival in the 1880s, the Orange Order has played a key role in fomenting these divisions. Orangeism and working class solidarity have both competed in the minds of working class Protestants. There have been low points when Protestant workers have been duped into supporting Orangeism and a minority have even been organised into committing

sectarian outrages. But always there have been Protestant voices raised against sectarianism. At high points in working class struggle large numbers of Protestant workers have broken from sectarianism and joined Catholic workers in fighting the Orange bosses. The tragedy has been that there has not been a strong socialist organisation to organise the fight against the sectarian Orange state and for workers' unity. Here KEVIN WINGFIELD looks at the record.

## 1907: Larkin organises the docks

**IN 1907 James Larkin** arrived in Belfast as an official of the British based National Union of Dock Workers.

Belfast's 3,000 dockers worked long hours in all weathers for tuppence per ton of material moved. Worst of all two-thirds of them were employed casually at the whim of the employers. They were lucky to get a full week's work.

Within a couple of months Larkin had most of the dockers organised in the union as well as the 1,500 carters who worked in the docks.

When the bosses tried to smash the union by locking out union members, Larkin brought out the entire docks including the carters.

The strike was immensely popular among the Belfast working class, Catholic and Protestant, despite being denounced by Unionist politicians and the Catholic Church.

British troops occupied the docks to protect scabs brought from Britain and the South.

### Mutineer

100,000 workers marched down the Shankill Road with both Orange and Nationalist flute bands.

Collections for the strikes were taken up on the Orange marches on July 12th and the police even mutinied after Larkin had pointed out their poor pay and conditions.

Troops on horse back charged Catholic areas with bayonets and shot dead two Catholic bystanders.

The Unionist press tried to picture this as a "nationalist insurrec-

tion", warning of attacks in Protestant areas.

But Catholic and Protestant stood together until the end when they were the sold-out by union leaders who made a rotten deal with the bosses over the heads of the strikers. In the aftermath the

demoralisation was bitter.

The main socialist organisation at the time—the Independent Labour Party—refused to challenge sectarianism or champion the right of Ireland to independence.

### Experience

Its leader, William Walker, denounced Catholicism and described himself as a unionist.

The lack of a principled socialist organisation meant there was little permanent organisation left from the experience of Catholic and Protestant workers fighting together.

This made it easier for the Orange bosses to whip up sectarian antagonisms during the Home Rule crisis.

In 1912, some 2,400 Catholics and 600 "rotten Prods"—anti sectarian Protestants, many of whom were trade union activists and socialists—were driven from their jobs in the docks and shipyards by mobs of Orange bigots.



Jim Larkin

## 1919 and the fight for 44-hour week

**BELFAST** saw its greatest strike in 1919.

40,000 workers in the shipyards and engineering plants came out on strike for the 44-hour week.

Though most of the strikers were Protestant, the strike was run by the Belfast district committee of the engineering union—a body mostly made up of Catholics.

Soon the strike had spread to electricity and trams. Unionist leaders denounced the strike as a "Sinn Fein, Bolshevik plot".

Troops were sent into the

power stations. Eventually the strike began to crumble when the union leaders did not spread the action.

### Nervous

But the labour unrest still continued. 100,000 workers demonstrated on May Day in Belfast and in 1920 building workers won a strike for the 44-hour week.

Shipyards workers also won major pay increases.

In this atmosphere all of society shifted to the left. 97 La-

## 1932: Outdoor Relief

**THE EARLY 1930s** saw unemployment rocket in the North after the Wall Street crash of 1929. Officially the figure reached 70,000 although the real figure was closer to 100,000.

For the thousands who didn't qualify for unemployment benefit—or were cut off because they would not emigrate to get a job—the only alternatives were the workhouse or Outdoor Relief. This was a form of what is now called "workfare"—unemployed workers were required to mend roads for their pittance of a dole.

Sectarianism had allowed the Unionist government of Northern Ireland to get away with the lowest Relief rates in the UK.

### Opposed

In September 1932, after relief rates were cut, the small Revolutionary Workers Group on the schemes called a strike of those workers on relief work.

Union leaders in the Belfast

Trades Council opposed the strike as did the Northern Ireland Labour Party, but militant tactics, including flying pickets ensured a total

stoppage. There were clashes with the RUC as 60,000 attended a protest rally and others occupied the work-



Workers from Shankill Road march at Bodenstown 1934

## 1934: Breaking the connection with capitalism

**IN 1934** one of the strongest left wing organisations was founded in Ireland.

Known as the Republican Congress it grew out of a split in the IRA, but also involved socialists and trade unionists.

Of its five branches in Belfast, four were in Protestant areas, where many had moved to the left after the unemployment riots.

At the Wolfe Tone Commemoration in that year 500 Protestant workers marched behind a banner

reading: "Shankill Road Belfast Branch. Break the connection with capitalism. Connolly's message our ideal".

But the Republican leadership was terrified of this left wing radicalism. The Chief of Staff of the IRA, Sean McBride, ordered a number of thugs to attack the Shankill Road contingent because they were so anti-capitalist.

Undeterred the next day, the Belfast contingent marched through Dublin to Connolly's grave.

One of their number, Robert McVicar stated: "We do not pretend to speak on behalf of the majority of Belfast workers."

"We are a body of Protestant workers, the vanguard of the working class...to pledge our determination at the graveside of Connolly to do all we can to carry out his message...to break all connection with England and to smash Irish capitalism".

The Republican Congress eventually broke up because some of

its leaders

ing openly

The Be

## 1944: Disloyal

**DURING THE** Second World War one of enlistment in the British Army was

In the First World War, thousands of loyal Ulstermen who joined the 36th Ulster division were butchered in the Somme as incompetent, upper class generals told them to fight for a few inches of soil.

### Bitter Lesson

Many learnt the bitter lesson and refused to fight for King and Country.

Instead in 1944, shipyard workers defied the law and struck unof-

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When t

# Workers Socialism

## Relief riots

thousands defied a ban on further demonstrations and clashed with police.

Orange politicians tried to pretend that this was a Catholic plot and the RUC concentrated on attacking the Catholic Falls Road.

But rioting spread from the Falls to the Protestant Shankill Road. Faced with united Catholic and Protestant action the government was desperate.

After the Belfast Trades Council eventually became involved the government announced concessions.



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## TWO FAILED TRADITIONS

**THE TRAGEDY is that the many occasions when Protestant and Catholic workers have fought together have not found any permanent expression in a political movement opposing sectarianism and the bosses.**

The reason is that the main two radical traditions in the North have so little to offer.

The Labour Party tradition claims to stand for working class unity, but wants to avoid fighting Orange influence within the working class.

Labour parties try to bring change by getting the maximum number of votes and so try to avoid controversial issues. In practice, this has always meant staying quiet about the Orange Order.

As well as this Labour leaders have always tried to dampen down militancy and any sparks of fightback in the working class.

But it is only in mass working class struggles that socialists can gain the leverage to attack sectarianism and argue for the fight against Orangeism.

### Troubles

The failure of labourism was seen at the start of the most recent troubles when the NILP polled 100,000 votes in 1970.

But they refused to condemn internment and after Bloody Sunday, when 13 people were murdered by the British army, they organised no protests. Their Stormont MP simply called on the government to take measures to save lives.

Despite the fact that many of the dead were members of trade unions' the Northern Ireland Committee of the ICTU also stayed silent.

Because of this approach, the NILP collapsed as a party as it tried to avoid saying anything on the Northern crisis.

The other radical tradition in the North has been Republicanism. It tends to dismiss Protestant workers as a "labour aristocracy" and claims that a united Ireland has to be won against their opposition.

Even when Protestant workers stand up against attacks on Catholics, they get no support from Republicans. When Harland and

Wolff workers struck after the murder of Maurice O Kane, *An Phoblacht* ran a banner headline denouncing the "Shipyard of Shame".

### Torture

Instead of making links with Protestants republicans try to align itself with conservative nationalists like Albert Reynolds. Despite the fact that Fianna Fail governments have hung, tortured and interned republicans, they still look for a "nationalist consensus".

But a nationalist consensus which guarantees there will be no

change in a united Ireland drives Protestant workers back into the hands of the Orange Order.

It gives the impression that they will suffer discrimination from a Catholic majority throughout the island.

The other Republican tactic has been bombing campaigns.

These always start with a claim that they will hit purely British targets but they extend beyond that.

The IRA is based in exclusively Catholic areas and they tend to focus on bombing mainly Protestant towns and areas. Bombs like those in the Shankill Road then push Protestant workers into the arms of the loyalist paramilitaries.

Faced with these two traditions, it is no wonder that Protestant workers have not broken from loyalism in large numbers.

## The alternative

**TODAY more Protestant workers than ever are looking for an alternative to Orangeism. Instead of the myths of superiority they want a real and genuine accommodation with their Catholic neighbours and workmates.**

But this will not happen automatically. The Northern state has been formed on a sectarian basis and it encourages all workers to think in terms of their religious identity.

Only a socialist organisation with real roots among Protestant and Catholic workers can counter this. Such an organisation starts from the fact that class is the main divide in society. It seeks to show that Protestants and Catholic have far more in common than divides them.

It has to openly oppose Orangeism as a poison that helps to divide workers. It has to show that any loyalty to Trimble or Paisley will work against Protestant workers because it helps identify them with the oppression of fellow Catholic workers.

It is easier to do this when that socialist organisation has a record of totally opposing the domination that the Catholic bishops have exercised over schools and hospitals in the South.

A socialist organisation has also to show that the partition of Ireland produced what Connolly called a 'carnival of reaction' where right wing ideas flourished.

Its fight can never be of 'the wrap the green flag around me' variety. Instead it has to make it clear that it stands openly against the Southern state and is struggling for a united socialist Ireland where all workers gain.

## What do socialists say?

### Socialists and the unions

**TRADE UNIONS are the basic mass organisations of the working class. Ever since the modern working class first developed in the industrial revolution workers have formed unions.**

They have done so in virtually every country in the world except where forcibly prevented by fascists or other dictatorships.

The existence of trade unions derives from two fundamental features of capitalism.

First, capitalism draws workers together in large workplaces and industries.

This gives employed workers a potential for stable, mass organisations not possessed by previous oppressed classes, such as peasants, or by sections of the working class such as the unemployed.

Second, under capitalism there is a permanent conflict of interest between bosses and workers.

Capitalists employ workers in order to make a profit out of their labour. It is in their interest to pay workers as little as possible, to make them work as long and hard as possible, and to sack them if the market flags or they look like causing trouble.

### Defence

The only defence workers have is collective organisation to present a united front to the boss.

Almost every worker, whether consciously or semi-consciously, knows this and therefore feels at some point the need for the protection of the union.

This is why all talk of unions being a thing of the past or out of date is nonsense.

Obviously the size and strength of union

organisation fluctuates, depending on economic and political circumstances and the level of working class resistance.

But trade unions will remain essential as long as capitalism exists.

In Ireland today, after after the defeats and retreats of the 1980s, trade unions remain huge mass organisations.

And they have retained all their potential power to hit the bosses and the system where it hurts.

Marx, who argued the emancipation of the working class would be the act of the working class itself, was a strong supporter of trade unionism.

He saw the unions not only as necessary for workers' immediate interests, but also as "schools for socialism". This was because he understood that workers political consciousness grows out of struggle.

However, if trade unions are absolutely vital, they also suffer from serious limitations.

Because the basic role of unions is to bargain over the terms of sale of labour power rather than contest the ownership of the means of production, they tend always to deal with the effects of capitalism rather than the causes of those effects.

Also the aim of any trade union is to achieve 100 percent membership more or less regardless of members' politics (Nazis or out-and-out scabs excepted).

This is a source of strength against the employer, but also a source of weakness.

It means that most of the time, most of the members are passive, relying on the union to

act for them rather than being involved themselves.

All these factors combine to produce the problem of union officials who sell out their members and hold back the struggle.

Under capitalism trade union officials form a distinct social layer mediating between the working class and the capitalist class.

In terms of pay, job security and conditions of work they stand above the workers they represent. When they negotiate away a tea break or accept redundancies they don't lose their own tea break or their own jobs.

Frequently they spend more time mixing with the management than with their members. As they move up the union ladder so they become more and more detached from the rank and file.

### Threaten

Disputes become problems to be solved not battles to be won, and strikes are disturbing events that threaten to get out of their control.

At the same time union leaders are still effected by pressures from below.

Without members they have no job, and unless they reflect to some extent the pressure from the rank and file there is no reason for employers even to talk to them.

Consequently the behaviour of union leaders vacillates. One minute they make a show of putting up a fight and the next they sell out.

Unions, therefore, are essential but they are not enough.

In addition workers need rank and file organisation to put pressure on the leaders, revolutionary socialist organisation alongside and inside the union to fight for the interests of the class as a whole, and eventually workers' councils to challenge and replace the capitalist state.

— JOHN MOLYNEUX

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## A question of class:

by RICHARD BOYD BARRETT

# Do workers still have the power to change society?

**O**ne hundred and fifty years ago Karl Marx declared the working class the "gravediggers" of capitalism.

Today it has become fashionable for sociologists and economists to dismiss Marx's arguments as out of date. They claim that Marx's theories may have described the society of the 19th Century but they no longer fit in the modern world.

They argue that technology and service industries have increasingly replaced manufacturing industry and the industrial working class. What workers are left in traditional industry are too weak and few in number to pose any real threat to the system.

In place of Marx's proletariat we have new "Yuppie" white collar middle class concentrated in service industries, too well paid to want to fight against the system. At the bottom of society we have a new "underclass" of the unemployed or the "working poor" concentrated in low-paid part-time jobs where it is impossible for them to organise.

**I**f such arguments were true of course, socialism would be unthinkable. The best that could be hoped for would be a few crumbs off the table for the 'under-class' if the economy is doing well.

However, Lindsey German's new book, *A Question of Class* sets out to devastate these arguments.

She argues that the new pessimism flows from a tendency to identify the working class with those in manual work and heavy industry with longstanding traditions of union organisation. The decline of such traditional industries then leads to the conclusion that the working class is disappearing.

A more serious look at the working class today however demonstrates that while it has changed a good deal, rumours of its demise are greatly exaggerated.

Today there are in fact far more industrial workers in the world than there were in Marx's time.

When Marx wrote *Das Kapital*, peasants rather than workers were the biggest class in society. The majority of workers worked either as domestic servants in the house of the wealthy, or as agricultural labourers in rural areas, not in factories. Needless to say such workers were far harder to organise into unions than, say, Dunnes Stores workers today.

Industrial workers were a tiny minority concentrated in a few large urban centres in Britain, France, Belgium and parts of Northern Italy. Often in small workplaces and largely uneducated, workers had to try and form unions and "combinations" when it was often illegal to do so. Casualisation was also far more widespread than today.

The majority of workers involved in the 1913 lockout in Dublin, for example, were overwhelmingly unskilled, employed on a casual basis and with little or no tradition of union organisation.



But even then, Connolly and Larkin's ITGWU were capable of shaking the foundations of the bosses system.

In comparison today, the working class is larger and more powerful than it has ever been. There are now more industrial workers in South Korea than there were in the entire world when Marx lived.

**T**he spread of capitalism to the four corners of the earth has meant that for the first time in history workers constitute the majority of the world's population.

Countries such as Ireland demonstrate this trend clearly. Right up to the early 1950s, 45% of adult population lived and worked on the land, only a tiny minority were workers. Today only 12% live on the land, while the vast majority live in cities or larger towns and work in one industry or another.

Of course, there has been some decline in certain manufacturing and primary industries. However this decline tends to reflect the weakness of particular economies rather than be an inevitable product of successful capitalist development.

So while in Britain, France and the US there has been a relative decline in manufacturing in the last twenty years, the most successful post-war economy, Japan, has seen a relative sectoral shift

away from services in favour of manufacturing.

**O**f course, as technology develops and productivity rises there is tendency for jobs to be shed in manufacturing and a growth of services.

However, this should not be overstated and certainly not mistaken for a decline in the size or strength in the working class.

In some areas, for example there has been a tendency for manufactured goods to replace services. Mass produced goods such as washing machines, televisions, videos, personal computers and private transport have all worked to replace things previously supplied in the service sector. Indeed overall world manufacturing output is today higher than it has ever been.

And where technology has meant a decline of the numbers working, it often puts the remaining workers in an even more powerful position.

The recent strike by 3,000 General Motors workers in a plant in Dayton, Ohio demonstrated this clearly. Despite the overall decline in jobs in the US car industry in recent years, just in time production techniques, meant that the strike in Dayton led in a short time to the closure all of GM's plants in the US. The strength of the GM workers is further indicated when we consider the strike led to a one third fall in US Gross Domestic

Product for that quarter.

As to service industries themselves, the usefulness of seeing any fundamental distinction between a whole number of service jobs and those in manufacturing is very much open to question.

Should transport workers, health workers or teachers, for example, be seen as any less essential to the process of production than the workers involved directly in production? Services such as these are an inevitable and essential part of a growing economy and indeed have existed as long as the primary manufacturing industries themselves.

**T**he other great myth is that the growth in white collar jobs has produced a burgeoning new middle class.

Yet the reality is that many white collar jobs are worst paid than manual jobs and are increasingly insecure. A recent survey in the *Sunday Times* of what it termed its "middle class" readership showed that 35% were worried they might lose their job in the coming year.

Much of the confusion over the issue stems from the failure to properly define what we mean by working class. Class for Marx was not a question of income, status, occupation or lifestyle. Rather class was a relationship, and in particular the relationship of people to the control or ownership of the means of producing wealth in society. So while many white

collar workers may see themselves as "professional" they are nonetheless forced to sell their labour power to employers to survive and have little if any control over their earnings or working conditions.

Indeed it is in sectors such as these that there has been the biggest growth in union membership in western countries over the last ten years.

Before the sixties, white collar workers represented only one fifth of the Irish trade union movement but today they are over 40 per cent.

It is also among groups such as bankworkers, civil servants, teachers that we have seen some of the largest and most militant strike action in recent times.

It is only at the upper levels of management that you can talk about people who have some real control over their own conditions and others they work with. By definition these represent a relatively small number.

Of course, the creation of numerous intermediary grades and lower management positions in companies and the public service is designed to encourage divisions among the workforce and foster notions of superiority.

**H**owever even these people feel the pinch in periods of recession and restructuring.

The security many of these middle managers and supervisors may have had in the 1980s is disappearing as employers push for more 'teamworking' and 'flat hierarchies'.

Whether these upper grades try to garner favour with their employers or move leftwards depends on the strength of the overall working class.

Those who are eager to bid "farewell to the working class" should remember the story of the French sociologist Andre Gorz who wrote a book of that title in April 1968. Gorz predicted that the western working class would never again engage in a major struggle against the state again because they had now all become middle class. Two months later in May, even before the book was published, the biggest general strike in history took place in France, involving 10 million workers.

The recent events in France involving nearly 5 million workers on strike are only a small foretaste of what is to come in the future. As the bosses system puts ever greater pressure on white and blue collar workers alike, we can expect more of this kind of action. The question is not whether the majority of workers will fight but whether they have the politics and organisation to win this time around.

Linsy German's book *Question of Class* is a classic Marxist account of the growing power of workers. A vital read.

**A question of class**

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play

# The Shadow of O'Casey

"You're not going to beat the British Empire by shooting the occasional Tommy at the corner of an occasional street... it's the civilians that suffer... shot in the back to save the British Empire, an' shot in the breast to save the soul of Ireland."

These are the words of Seamus Shields, the pedlar and one-time Republican who believed in nothing but the gun when "there wasn't a gun in the country" but then took to religion and letter writing. Shields is a central character in Sean O'Casey's *The Shadow of a Gunman*—the first part of his trilogy about the struggle for independence as witnessed by 1920's Dubliners.

The play is like a sad farce—at times brutally realistic but essentially a caricatured dramatisation of the effects the war of independence had on tenement life in Dublin.

Born into a working-class family in 1880, O'Casey had direct experience of the savage poverty which saw the death rate in Dublin rise above that of Calcutta's slums. His own mother buried her husband and eight of her 15 children.

## Desperate

From the beginning of his literary career O'Casey focused firmly on the desperate conditions of the working class and developed an identification with socialist politics.

He became the secretary of the Irish Citizen Army, the worker's defence corps, when it was formed by Larkin and Connolly during the 1913 lockout.

Greatly influenced by Connolly, O'Casey fully supported the aim of the workers' republic but he was also strongly swayed by syndicalism, the belief that workers had to concentrate on building up their economic strength alone.

Impatient with Connolly's belief that an uprising to overthrow British rule had to be supported as part of the fight to achieve socialism, O'Casey broke with the Citizens Army when it allied itself to the Irish Volunteers in preparation for the uprising.

## Flawed

In this way O'Casey was a victim of a flawed political analysis which led him to ignore the importance of the fight against the greatest empire of the day—a position that left him isolated and ineffective.

If followed more generally, it would have meant socialists becoming spectators, unwilling to either join the fight or offer real

alternatives to the Republican leadership.

Hating the dreary Catholic domination of a nationalist Ireland, O'Casey seems to have seen all Republican supporters as dangerous green dreamers or hard minded cynics out to squeeze what they could out of a beleaguered Irish working class.

Unlike Connolly, O'Casey's politics never moved beyond the immediate economic interests of the working class—interests which he saw as incompatible equally with both Irish nationalism and British Imperialism.

## Relevant

Therefore *The Shadow of a Gunman* is brilliantly acute and still relevant today in its exposure and explicit condemnation of bourgeois nationalism and in its portrayal of a healthy working class cynicism towards the abstract rhetoric of Republicanism.

But it offers no alternative—no way of challenging the Irish slum landlords and the British state together.

Either you retire into a life of scratchy self-preservation like the pragmatist Shields or you're blinded to reality by Republican idealism like the naive Mini Powell—doomed to die for her faith in a fake Republican, Donal Davoren, a shallow and opportunistic poet who plays the "shadow" of a gunman.

There is a real gunman in the play but he too dies and never becomes a focus to counter the abstract moralising of the play's other Republicans.

## Narrow

For O'Casey there was no way of attacking British rule which would not lead to naive self sacrifice or narrow self interest.

Ultimately, *The Shadow of a Gunman* is a negative and pessimistic play and the Gate's production does not add a lot of insight.

But for anybody who needs a clear reminder of the limits of Republicanism and the hypocrisy of nationalism O'Casey's Dublin trilogy provides a powerful example.

■ The other plays in the trilogy are "*Juno and the Peacock*" and "*The Plough and the Stars*". The Gate's production runs until September 30th.

—Patricia McManus

book

# Western myths of wild frontier

by YURI PRASSAD

AMERICA IS a nation founded upon myths which are regularly repeated in the present day.

They say that the US is the "land of opportunity", in which there is equality for all.

If there is one period in American history that is supposed to represent the forging of these ideals it is the colonisation of the west.

## Theme

The western, as a theme for novels and Hollywood cinema, has provided us with a version to back up these claims.

The hard work and sacrifice of the settlers are rewarded by prosperity. John Wayne guards the wagon trains from evil savages (Native American Indians) and from those who would not play by the rules (outlaws).

Cowboys lead a romantic idealised life on the prairies in what are supposed to have been simpler times.

Dee Brown, author of the classic *Bury My Heart At Wounded Knee*, sets out to demolish these claims in his latest book, *The American*



Life for Cowboys fell short of the Hollywood image

West.

It is based on painstaking research and a commitment to representing the lives of ordinary people and the oppressed.

His chapters on cowboys for example recreate the picture of a miserable life beset by danger and exposure to the elements.

The constant threat of cattle stampedes meant that for the weeks that cowboys spent on the trail they never slept too deeply, being always aware that a small

noise could trigger the deaths of their colleagues and themselves.

But it is in considering the Native Americans that the book comes into its own.

Marx asserted that capitalism came into the world bathed in blood. Hollywood portrayed the Indians as the barbaric ones, violent tribes with an illogical hatred for whites and progress.

Brown shows how most tribes were content to live

alongside settlers who did not threaten their livelihoods.

## Fertile

This began to change when the American state stepped in to back settlers during the Gold Rush by dividing the land and restricting the movement of the tribes.

The Indians had no concept of land ownership and worked in common to produce what they needed.

As the government sent troops to drive the Indians out of fertile hunting grounds into ever smaller reservations, resistance to their plans grew.

Brown shows the strategic genius of many Indian chiefs when it came to warfare. Against the odds they were able to humble some

of America's most renowned generals.

Custer was just one example. Before his last battle he proclaimed he would crush the Sioux nation and would become president in Washington.

But, outsmarted on all counts, he and his men died in one of the bloodiest campaigns ever.

In the end the might of the American state prevailed, but not before the Native Americans had given it several bloody noses.

The original photographs and maps make this book come alive to tell us the real story of how the west was won.

■ *The American West* by Dee Brown. Published by Simon and Schuster, £9.99.

video

# The Battle of Algiers

*THE Battle of Algiers* was a film made in 1966, four years after Algeria achieved independence from French rule.

The Algerian crisis as it was known caused political upheaval in the French ruling class.

## Government

The De Gaulle government at the time was threatened with civil war both in France and Algeria.

For someone like me who knows little of Algerian history, this film was very good not only for its history of the fight against French Imperialism but for its relevance to the situation in Algeria today.

The film is set in Algiers in 1957. The National Liberation Front



De Gaulle's government was rocked by the rebellion in Algiers

(FLN) is beginning a guerrilla campaign of shootings and bombing in the Casbah, the European quarter of Algiers.

The uprising itself is brutally crushed by

French paratroopers.

A brilliant moment in the film is when the FLN calls a seven day strike.

## Argues

It is very successful. One of the leaders of the FLN argues that only violence can achieve their political objectives.

Another argues that the way to defeat the French is by every worker going on strike.

## Further

He goes further to say "It is hard to start a revolution, but it's even harder to keep it".

The film may have been made 30 years ago, but it still makes enough impact to make anyone fight against imperialism.

—Gino Kelly

Journal

# The crisis of economics

THE LATEST edition of the *International Socialist Journal* provides a wealth of arguments and insights for socialists into a wide range of topics.

Chris Harmans article "*The Crisis of Economics*" explains the complete failure of mainstream economics to come to terms with the crisis in capitalism over the last thirty years.

Harman charts the inadequacies of both Keynesianism and free market economists in coming to terms with societies continuing instability or in providing any strategy for overcoming it.

The centenary of William Morris has led to resurgence of interest in the nineteenth

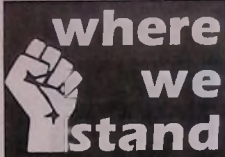
century Socialist and designer.

Hassan Mahamdalle puts Morris's life and work into context and reclaims him, from those who want to champion the designs while ignoring the politics that lay behind them.

The journal also includes book reviews on William Blake by Paul Foot, Darwin by Alex Callinicos and Gill Hubbard on the history of feminism.

*International Socialism Journal* 71 is available from SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 6 £3.00 plus £1 postage

—Simon Basketter



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.

The courts army and police are 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 SWP 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. 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 SWP aims to build such a party in Ireland.

# Afri arms report reveals...

# Irish firms' links to the business of blood

**ARDEE Sports Company Ltd sounds like an innocent enough little firm, no doubt producing running shoes and shorts—who knows, they might even sponsor Sonia at the next Olympics!**

But according to the human rights group Afri, a spokesman for Ardee Sports said the "company supplies the shooting requirements to different countries for military, police and sporting supplies".

Ardee Sports has denied the charge but again Afri quotes the company spokesman as saying:

"We represent many famous brand names and have numerous contacts in the arms business throughout the world."

Adtec Teo-Timoney Holdings is a Navan based company also named in the report. Company boss Professor Eanna Timoney is proud of the fact that his name will soon be on fire engines on US air bases all over the world.

## Report

The company is named in Afri's new report on Irish links with the arms industry. *Links: Ireland's Links with the Arms Trade and Military Industry* reveals how over a dozen Irish based companies are involved in a trade which brings death and destruction worldwide.

## Air Force

Apart from supplying the design for fire tenders for the US



The third world receives more in weapons than it does in aid

Airforce, Timoney also assists in the production of armoured cars and light tanks.

The professor has had a long involvement in this line of work since his days at Alvis, the UK company which produced the armoured Saracen and Saladin vehicles.

## Company

According to the Afri report: "Deliveries of the Timoney Armoured Personnel Carrier Mk5 began in 1978 to Belgium. Belgium... has produced an improvised version - the Vickers Valkyr. The Kuwaiti armed forces are known to possess the Valkyr."

Afri also reports that the Singapore Saker armoured car has recently had an input of Timoney technology.

## Companies

Among the other companies mentioned in the report are:

□Analog Devices of Limerick which produces components for US fighter aircraft and the UK Ministry of Defence.

□Befab Safeland Ltd of Shannon which is listed in the International Defence Directory and offers 'runway arresters capable of arresting the full range of military aircraft'.

These are the devices used to assist warplanes landing on aircraft carriers like the USS JFK which visited Dun Laoghaire recently.

Befab describes the arrester as 'safety equipment that saves lives' - but not before the planes themselves have carried out bombing raids that destroy thousands of lives.

## Lives

□Moog Ltd (Ireland) based in Cork whose spokesperson confirmed to Afri that the plant "makes electronic controllers for a range of main battle tanks, infantry fighting vehicles and

anti-aircraft guns in Europe and the US".

Labour's Joan Burton, in her capacity as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, rushed to defend the companies named in the report.

She said it was 'unfair' for Afri to saddle the government with 'guilt by association'.

## Deadly

But Burton and the Labour Party recently welcomed the JFK and its deadly cargo while the SWP and others were attacked in the media for protesting against the ship.

Foreign Minister Dick Spring wants to ditch any pretence that Ireland is neutral.

Commitment to the so-called 'Partnership for Peace' will result in Ireland forging closer links with NATO.

In this climate it is not surprising that Irish industry forms a link in the chain of the \$156 billion arms business.

## Arm yourself with these facts

■The top 100 arms producing companies in 1993 had combined arms sales of \$156 billion.

■According to the Afri report, "the instruments of genocide are the products of firms that reside comfortably among the list of top multi-national companies with whom most of us are familiar".

These include Boeing who build B-52 bombers and a General Motors subsidiary called GM Hughes which makes missiles and military radar.

■Military spending in 1992 totalling \$815 billion—was equal to the combined income of half the world's population.

■The main capitalist countries spend over \$500 billion annually on the military but devote only \$50 billion a year

to development aid.

In fact aid is linked to arms sales. For example aid to countries that do not buy British arms has been reduced by 12 per cent in the past ten years.

Meanwhile aid to countries which buy British arms has increased by almost 20 per cent.

■Poorer countries spend \$120 billion a year on arms. Yet the cost of universal primary education, clean water, sanitation and nutrition would total less than a quarter of that figure.

■Developing countries now have eight times as many soldiers as doctors.

■The majority of the 23 million killed in wars since 1945 have been civilians. In the last 20 years the number of war refugees has gone up from 3 million to 15 million.

## SWP branch meetings

**BELFAST**

Meets every Wed at 8pm Central Hall Rosemary St.

**CORK**

Meets every Tues at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.

**DERRY**

Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm

**DUN LAOGHAIRE**

Meets every Tues at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

**ENNISKILLEN**

Meets every fortnight Contact national address for details

**GALWAY**

Meets every Thursday at 6pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

**MAYNOOTH**

Contact 8722682 for details

**WATERFORD**

Meets every Thurs at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.

**DUBLIN NORTH-WEST**

Meets every Tues at 8:30pm

in The Old Brogue, Dorset St.

**DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK**

Meets every Thurs at 8.30pm Contact national address or phone 872 2682 for details

**DUBLIN DRIMMAGH**

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Lowes Pub, Dolphins Barn

**DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL**

Meets every Wed at 8:30pm in Conways, Parnell St.

**DUBLIN RATHMINES**

Meets every Wed at 8pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.

**DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL**

Meets every Thur at 8pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.

**DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN**

Meets Tues Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village.

\*There are Socialist Worker members in:

ENNISKILLEN; COLERAINE; LURGAN; CAVAN; DONEGAL; NAAS; LIMERICK; KILKENNY; DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA.

If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, D. 8

## JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

If you want to join *Socialist Worker*, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

Name .....

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# East Timor — on the receiving end

MILITARY components are made in the pleasant surroundings of greenfield sites but the end product strikes terror into the heart of those at the receiving end.

Take East Timor, a tiny country invaded by Indonesia in 1975.

Planes bought from the US and more recently Britain have been used to carry out mass genocide.

they bring: "Hawks are a small aircraft ... perfect for moving in and out of the mountains.

## Sound

"They have a terrible sound when they are coming in to bomb, like a voice waiting.

"We immediately go into the caves, into the deepest ones, because the bombs are so powerful. They fly in low ... and attack civilians.

"Four of my cousins were killed in Hawk attacks near Los Palos. Most people in East Timor know about British Hawks."

## Killed

A total of 200,000 people—one third of the 1975 population—have been killed by blanket bombing which has destroyed agriculture.

British Aerospace has commenced delivery of another 24 Hawk aircraft.

One eye-witness account tells of the terror

**news & reports — politics; the unions**  
 send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

## Wellman on strike

# Workers fight back against attacks on conditions

**WORKERS at Wellman International in Cavan have been on strike for over a month against company plans to change their conditions. They voted by nearly four to one to take the action.**

The trouble began when Wellman built a new extension and installed equipment worth nearly £5 million. As soon as the changes occurred, they transferred 30 workers to different departments.

### Refused

"They just refused to negotiate with us on the issue. We had about 35 meetings with them on the subject — but they were just announcing what they intended to do. All they did was refer the issue to the Labour Court, know-

ing full well that it would make a recommendation in their favour.

It is obvious that this is a pro-employer institution with about 80% of cases going in their favour," a shop steward told *Socialist Worker*.

As a result of the changes workers who have been on day shift, some for as many as 14 years, have been transferred onto a four cycle shift pattern.

### Polyester

In one section where polyester is made under very hot conditions, there

have been cuts in staffing levels which has increased the workload for the remainder.

The heat sometimes reaches levels of 70 degrees celsius and some workers are assigned to an eight-and-a-half hour shift in this area.

### Programme

On top of all that the company is trying to introduce a 'job-enrichment' programme which involves more team working.

"It's not job enrichment -- it's job enlargement. They want us to take on the role of electricians, fitters and even supervisors for only a small amount of extra

money" said the shop steward.

Wellman are a fabulously wealthy company. Up to November of last year, the parent company had turned in over £1 billion in profits.

From a workforce of just 480 in Muragh, Co Cavan the Irish operation makes around £24 million in profit.

The company has a profit sharing scheme with the workers but when pay-outs reached a few thousand, the company changed the rules.

### Scam

Just like at Gypsum in Kingscourt, Cavan they showed that profit sharing schemes are a scam to help create greater productivity for the bosses.

Far from employees having a stake in the company, they are still treated like unit costs to be ma-

nipulated and mistreated. Local papers like the *Meath Chronicle* have adopted the bosses side in the dispute.

They are trying to convey the message that there is no real solidarity with the workers.

### Reality

But the reality is that most workers today know about management attacks — and are often willing to give backing to any group that stands up for their rights.

This is why the best way to win the strike is to start build up a solidarity fund now to help sustain the action for the weeks ahead.

The company hopes to have broken the strike by September when the markets pick up again.

If workers are to survive that deadline they will need to get collections from trade unionists throughout Cavan, Meath and Dublin.

## The real cost of the construction boom

**DUBLIN's Jervis Street building site is fast running up a terrible record on accidents. In early August, a man fell three floors from the scaffolding and broke his limbs and ribs.**

Two weeks before a wall fell on top of two workers when drilling vibrations rattled the foundations.

There have been over 150 accidents at the site since it began.

### Centre

Three contractors' Pierse, O'Kane and McNulty, have taken on sub-contractors to complete a new shopping centre by November.

Safety conditions at the 250 strong site are very poor.

No shoes or gloves are provided and rules about hard hats are not properly enforced. There is a big turn-

over of workers as the working day can stretch to over 12 hours.

Jervis Street shows the ugly side of the building boom in Dublin. With many workers being pushed on to a self-employed status, the employers have set out to weaken union organisation.

### Special

*Socialist Worker* is researching a special survey of safety on Ireland's building sites which will appear in the next few weeks.

Any information on what is happening on the sites will be dealt with in confidence.

## Strike at Galway hospital

**350 workers in Galway's Regional Hospital have taken strike action after management threatened to privatise the catering service.**

The strike which lasted one day is now set to escalate unless management backs down.

The hospital bosses decided that a contract to distribute meals to patients should be given to a private company.

### Friends

That way some of their friends could get to make more profits from sick people.

The 14 catering workers were to be re-deployed as porters or orderlies.

### Objected

The workers objected to privatisation in principle.

They believe in the importance of a public health system.

They also claimed that their particular skills lay in catering and did not see why they had to be transferred to duties as diverse as security or lifting patients.

The issue has gone to the Labour Court three times.

But no solution has been offered to workers.

### Days

SIPTU are now planning to increase the number of days on strike and are also looking for solidarity from the wider union membership which numbers 700 at the hospital.

## CPSU restructuring deal...

# Why you should vote no

**THE PAY ballot in the CPSU is continuing, with a result expected in late August.**

The deal is an improvement on previous offers from the Department of Finance thanks to the industrial action taken by civil servants earlier this year.

But the CPSU leaders have made some last minute concessions:

□ There is a lower entry scale for the new clerical grade, which is 4 per cent below the current entry scale.

□ The starting point for Staff Officers will be reduced by over £2,000 a year.

### Leaders

□ The union leaders have agreed to the suppression of 150 posts.

Just like the nurses, civil servants are being

are being asked to make big concessions.

The deal opens the door to flexibility across the grades, along with new technology and 'atypical' or temporary employment.

It is similar to deals made in Telecom Eireann after it became a semi-state company.

### Return

There, the workforce agreed to flexibility in return for an annual bo-

nus.

But now the company wants to scrap the bonus and curtail pay increases while continuing to introduce widespread change and cutbacks.

### Years

If CPSU members accept this deal now they will face big attacks on conditions over the next few years.

**That is why a resounding NO vote is needed in the current ballot.**

## Action can win

**It was industrial action which won the improvements on offer in the civil service.**

But instead of fighting for more the momentum was thrown away.

The jobs embargo is officially gone but the government still wants to shed 570 jobs in the next year.

The executive says posts will have to be fought for area by area instead of taking a united stance.

But in the year of the EU presidency, strike action across the civil service would embarrass and weaken the government.

It is the only way to get a decent pay deal and protect jobs and conditions for the future.

## Afraid of debate

**CPSU General Secretary John O'Dowd is desperate to have the restructuring deal accepted.**

He used the editorial in the latest issue of the union magazine, *Aontas*, to attack activists who spoke out against the deal at the recent CPSU conference.

The executive is split over the deal with some members offering to debate before branches on the issue.

But the CPSU head office refused to send

a representative to speak in favour of the deal at a recent debate in the OPW branch.

Why should anyone vote in favour of this deal if John O'Dowd is afraid to send someone along to argue in favour?!

# **Socialist Worker**

**inside:**

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workers  
against  
Orangeism**  
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# **OPPOSE ORANGE AND RUG BIGOTS**

# **WORKERS UNITY TO SMASH SECTARIANISM**

***The trade unions must call action***