

# Socialist Worker

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## Marxism '91

The future for socialism

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For full details and programme  
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# Haughey, Goodman...

# GIVE THEM THE BOOT!

**C H A R L E S HAUGHEY** wants to be able to leave office 'with dignity'. But he should be booted out the door.

Haughey and the Fianna Fail party have been involved in every stinking scandal over the last twenty years.

Haughey first made a fortune in land speculation in Rabeny. Back in the 1960s Haughey was closely connected with the Gallagher building group.

Haughey was a personal friend of Patrick Gallagher who was convicted for swindling the bank he set up, Merchant Banking Ltd. Haughey had a major loan out from

Gallagher's bank.

After Gallagher was jailed Haughey developed new business connections. Like Dermot Desmond who got all the plum jobs for privatising state companies and then passed on secret information about Aer Lingus to Haughey's son Ciaran, who ran the rival helicopter business.

### Fortune

Or Pino Harris who provided trucks for the Haughey family during elections. Pino made a quick fortune when UCD were pressurised into buying his former site at Carysfort.

Today Charles J Haughey is a wealthy man worth about £8 million pounds.



Haughey: worth £8 million and Goodman 'rampant criminal activity'

Haughey has done well out of politics. But throughout the country he runs, thousands rot in poverty. In every year that Haughey was



Taoiseach 20,000 people were forced to emigrate.

None of the thousands of workers who lost their jobs in places like Gateaux in Finglas could

ask 'to leave with dignity'. Haughey and the party of the Green Millionaires, Fianna Fail, should be treated exactly the same.

**L A R R Y GOODMAN** is another one of the ugly faces of Irish capitalism. He should appear before a tribunal where, according to the judge, he faces allegations of 'rampant criminal activity in your company'.

But Goodman has ways of defending himself which no working class person charged with petty shoplifting could ever have.

Goodman's has hired the best legal brains in the country to represent him. His three lawyers at the Tribunal get £75,000 each just to take up his case.

Each day the Tribunal

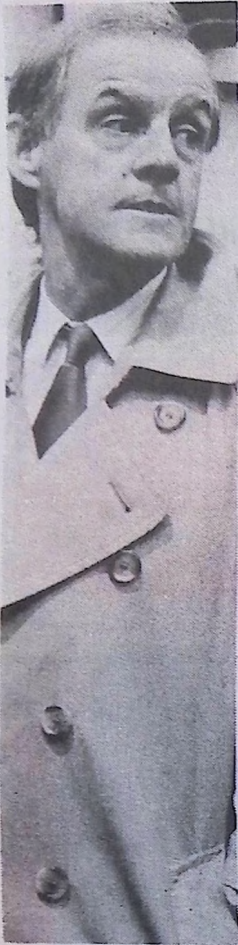
sits they get another £3,500 per day. The three junior lawyers get paid two thirds of that fee.

Goodman made a fortune as a 'scavenger' taking over meat plants, sacking workers and paying lousy wages. On top of all that he learnt to fiddle the EC beef intervention scheme.

The corruption in the Goodman empire is just the tip of the iceberg of what going on in Irish capitalism. The Irish rich are the most pampered in the world with grants and tax breaks.

The real scandal is that ever since the state was founded they condemned thousands to the dole and the emigrant ship. That is why the whole of this class, and not just Goodman, should be put in the dock.

# Goodman: didn't create a single job



LARRY Goodman was once Ireland's richest and most powerful businessman. In 1989 his personal wealth was once estimated at £500 million.

He owns a house worth £2 million. He drives a £100,000 Mercedes. He owns a villa in Portugal worth £100,000.

Before his recent troubles, Goodman International had a turnover of £1 billion. His profits totalled £30 million each year.

Yet in all his time, Goodman did not create a single job or build a new factory. He took over other beef plants and sacked workers to make profits.

Goodman started out in the 1950s as an offal dealer. He eventually got to rent an abattoir for slaughtering cattle.

The Irish border brought good news for Goodman. In the 1960s, he made a fortune moving cattle back and forth over the border.

But it was the EEC that made Goodman a wealthy man. Goodman learned to fiddle the beef intervention scheme. It was all perfectly legal for a while. Just by removing a particular bone from animal carcasses, he could push up his subsidies.

Goodman hit the jackpot after the Fianna Fail government in 1987 chose Goodman Inter-

national as the leading company in the beef trade. It was to be the flag ship for the Irish beef industry in Europe's Single Market.

In the preceding twenty years Goodman spent £20 million building up his

beef business. In the ten months after Fianna Fail came to power in March 1987, Goodman spent £28 million and another £250 million in the next two years.

Goodman was given cheap loans at taxpayers' expense.

He was given £100 million in export credit insurance for Iraq. If Iraq failed to pay for its beef—which was virtually inevitable—the Irish

taxpayer would cough up. He was allowed to take over Master Meats without the issue being referred to the Monopolies & Mergers Commission.

Goodman is deeply connected with the Fianna Fail leaders.

He supplies the raw material for Albert Reynolds' C & D Petfood factory in Longford.

When Reynolds' business got into trouble he was bailed out by a "mystery backer".

Goodman made hefty donations to the Fianna Fail Party.

Charles J. Haughey also received money from a "mystery backer".

This is why, despite the serious allegations facing Goodman, it is unlikely that he will be prosecuted.

## Goodman's Killing Floor

LARRY Goodman bought Clover Meats in Waterford after it closed in 1984. He refused employment to former Clover workers and condemned many of them to a lifetime on the dole.

Here *Socialist Worker* reveals what is was like to work for Fianna Fail's favourite 'entrepreneur'.

The company has a policy of employing teenage boys to do men's work while receiving

boys' wages. There is a high turnover in employment as the workers don't stay very long in the plant.

Two teenagers spoke to *Socialist Worker*, about the conditions. The youngest was only sixteen years old. They were both employed in the killing room.

Their job was to slit the throats of cattle after they were killed. They had to start work at 6.30 a.m., which meant getting up at 5.30. Their day's work would continue until the killing was finished.

They worked a three-day week for a very low

wage, in filthy, unhealthy conditions. Both youths left the factory within four to five weeks of taking up their employment, physically sickened by the blood and stench of the jobs they were doing.

There was no training; no protective clothing; no steel aprons or gloves.

### Amazing

There was just a first aid box at hand for cuts, which are a daily occurrence in the meat industry.

Because there are so few factory inspectors

employed, checks are few. However, when inspectors are going to carry out inspections they give prior notice to the companies. This enabled Goodman's company, AIBP to cover up the lack of safety equipment when the inspector called.

From time to time the boners, who were working for Goodman on contract, were paid in a local pub, the "Briar Rose" in Ferrybank Waterford. Payment was made by someone who drove a Northern registered car.

Ireland's great entrepreneur could give the Mafia lessons on how to operate.

★ ONE hundred and forty people turned up to hear the British miners leader Arthur Scargill address a meeting on the Future of Socialism in Waterford.

Scargill slammed the new realism in the labour movement and argued that class division was still slashed across the face of society.

He said that the massive corruption in Eastern Europe revealed that these countries were not socialist.

SWM speakers from the floor backed up many of Scargill's points but claimed that a new party had to be built outside the Labour Party. 30 copies of *Socialist Worker* were sold.

## New attack on Travellers

DUBLIN County Council management want to kick Travellers out of the county. A racist proposal at the Council meeting on 10th October gave the image of Dublin being "swamped" by Travellers.

Management said that since February the number of families on unofficial halting sites went up from 250 to 313.

This increase is regarded as a "major crisis". But the management solution is not to provide more serviced sites but to re-patriate "non-Dublin" Travellers.

In true apartheid style, the county managers want to move Travellers to the county boundary if they are not "normally resident" in Dublin.

The proposal is supported by ACRA, an umbrella group for residents' associations.

Travellers protested at the Council meeting where the proposal was made. Martin Collins of the Dublin Travellers' Education and Development Group (DTEG) said Travellers would resist the move if it was implemented.

## Bray petition

BRAY SWM recently organised a public meeting with Eamonn McCann speaking in opposition to an increase in hostility towards Travellers. Following the eviction of two hundred Travellers from the Ballywaltrim GAA pitch, the local Council has spent £6,000 on boulders to prevent the site being used again.

Local councillors failed to condemn racist abuse at a meeting organised against the Travellers.

Within a week of the meeting a local Traveller family was prevented from moving into a Council

house in the area after it was occupied and picketed by local people.

### Abuse

Disgustingly, local Councillors eventually accepted a deal that allowed the family to move in only with the guarantee that there would be a liaison committee of local people and Council officials to "monitor" the family and that the family would be moved to another tenancy within a year. No settled tenant

would be subjected to such conditions.

Bray SWM has been leafleting the town to argue that it's not Travellers who are to blame for the growing housing crisis in Bray, with over three hundred families in desperate need of Council housing.

A petition in support of the travellers got 70 signatories in the space of one hour.

Those wishing to help with the petition should contact their local *Socialist Worker* seller or ring (01) 2874721.

BRAY SWM

## Picket on Dublin's racist pubs

ONE of Dublin's most popular pubs—The Palace Bar—has been exposed as a racist bar.

Last month, Glenroe actor Michael Collins was refused a drink for no other reason than that he is a Traveller.

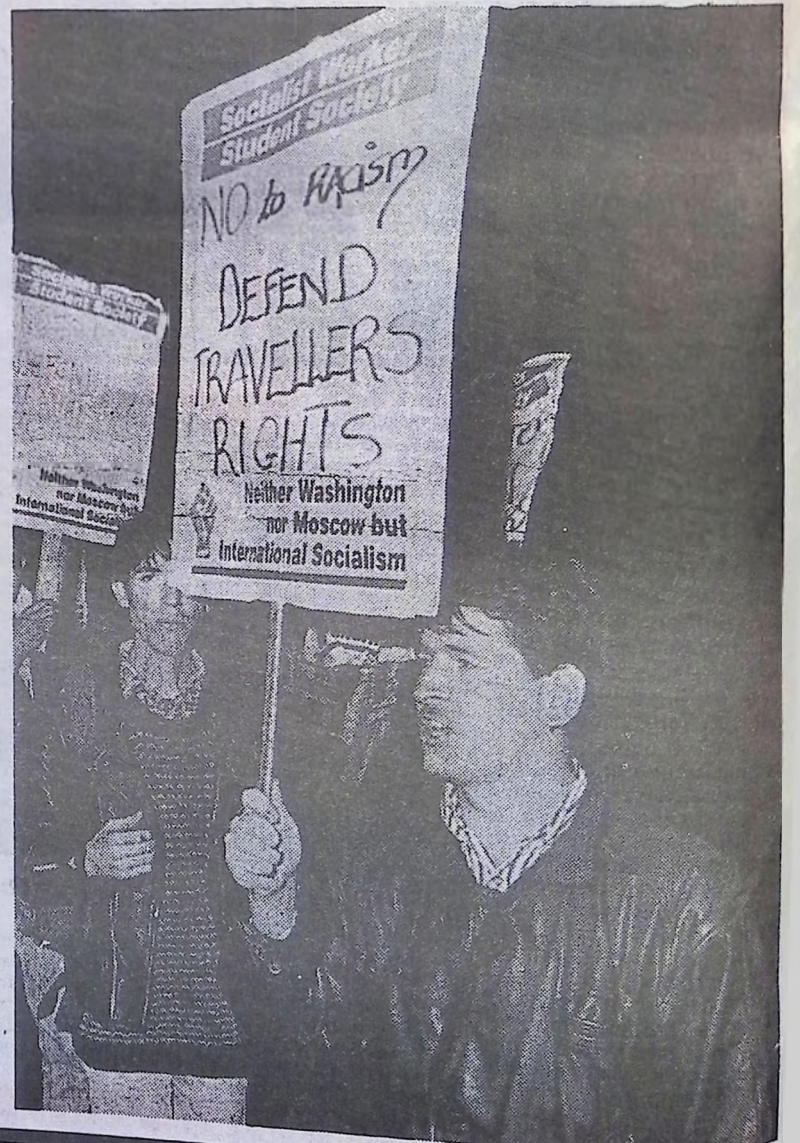
Members of the Socialist Workers Movement mounted a picket on the Palace in protest. A petition taken up among the customers showed that the vast majority were opposed to banning Travellers.

Regular pickets were then mounted every Friday at 5 pm. In one incident Michael Collins and his supporters sat in the pub in protest at the racism.

The Palace called in twenty gardai who arrested Michael Collins and a number of SWM members.

The issue should now be raised at the Dublin Trades Council and in the bar workers' trade union, the INUVG & ATA.

Glenroe actor Michael Collins joins picket on the Palace bar



# WE THINK

## AS HAUGHEY'S MAGIC WEARS OFF...

# Time for a real Left challenge

FIANNA Fail is tearing itself apart. The recent business scandals have terrified the backbenchers in FF. They want rid of Haughey before the next General Election.

The crisis in good news for socialists. For the past sixty years, FF has won the votes of a majority of trade unionists.

Many have drawn pessimistic conclusions from the voting strength of FF. But, in reality, FF has stumbled from crisis to crisis in recent years. Haughey's own career shows that.

Haughey came to power as a direct result of the inability of the Lynch government to deal with the working class upsurge in 1979. In that year 300,000 people came out on tax marches called by local trade councils. 13,000 post office workers stayed out on strike for 19 weeks and won a wage settlement of 15 per cent.

### Militancy

The upsurge in militancy led to a plummeting in FF's electoral support. The FF vote in the Euro election of June 1979, dropped to an all time low of 35 per cent. In November 1979, in a bye election in Cork city, Lynch's home base, the FF vote dropped from 59 per cent to 36 per cent. Voting patterns were beginning to change when workers learnt in the course of class struggle that FF were Green Tories.

Haughey took over the FF leadership in December 1979 on the promise of regaining the party's working class base. In his first years of office, Haughey described FF as a 'left of centre party' opposed to the hard 'right wing monetarists' of the Fine Gael/Labour Coalition. He even gave commitments to nationalise the Clondalkin

Paper Mills where workers had organised a sit in and guaranteed jobs for redundant workers at the Talbot plant.

Haughey also turned on the green rhetoric on Northern Ireland. The North was a 'failed entity' he claimed.

Some on the left were dazzled by the rhetoric and argued that FF was more 'progressive' than Fine Gael. The tiny Irish Communist Party, for example, called on workers to give their second preference vote to FF.

But the growing crisis in Irish capitalism left little room for Haughey's populism. Midway through his second government in 1982, Haughey did a U turn. He introduced a programme of cuts and delayed paying the wage rises of public sector workers.

The explosion of anger in the North on the H Block issue also showed that for all of Haughey's talk about the North being a 'failed entity' he still regarded the republicans as a dangerous breed that needed to be crushed.

When the magic of Haughey's populism wore off, FF formed itself into a set of leadership cliques that squabbled and manoeuvred. The fact that Haughey is now preparing his 'dignified exit' from power gives a real opportunity to the Left to destroy FF for once and for all.

### U-turns

In the past, Haughey and FF survived the U turns and maintained their populist image only because the political alternative to them from the Left has been so miserable.

Labour's record in Coalition disillusioned thousands of workers. The failure of the union leaders to push the tax campaign through strike action made thousands more cynical and demoralised.

Most crucially, the willing-

ness of the union leaders to do deals with Haughey — even when he had turned to the path of 'fiscal rectitude' — has offered a life line to Haughey.

Before coming back to power in 1987, Haughey organised a series of secret meetings with the union leaders which eventually gave rise to the Programme for national Recovery and now the Programme for Economic and Social Progress.

Today the recent scandals and the revelations of the Goodman tribunal show thousands of workers that FF is the party of the Green millionaires. Socialists are

being presented with a major opportunity to build.

### No Labour lead

But the Labour Party is offering no lead. Tens of thousands could have been called onto the streets against the recent scandals. But Spring was more interested in do a star show in the Dail debating chamber.

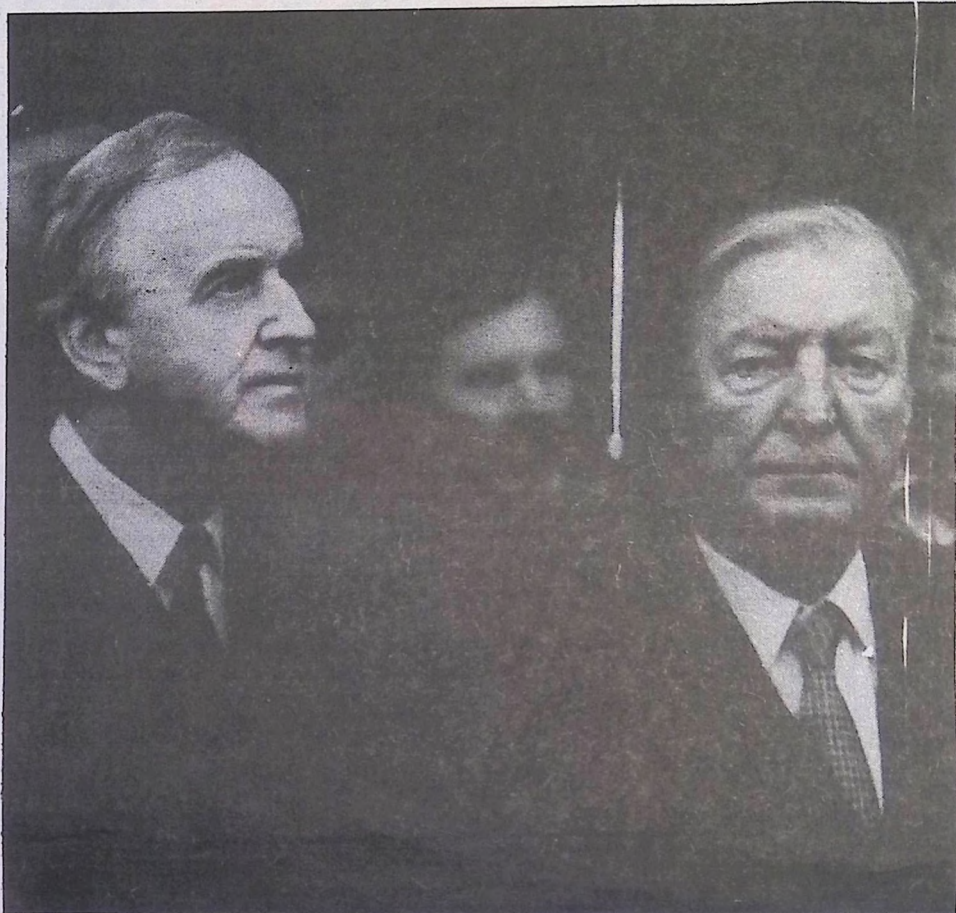
Now Spring is preparing the party for a return to coalition. At one stage, Spring claimed that his aim was to force FF and FG to form a government of the right. But as soon as Labour's standing began to mount in the opinion polls, Spring started to talk about

being being on a 'better bargaining position' and 'ruling nothing out'.

The only strategy of Spring and Ruairi Quinn is to regain the electoral support lost to Labour because of their last Coalition — and then enter a new Coalition with FG. If they can drag the Workers Party in with them, then so much the better.

What is needed in this country now is a fighting socialist party. This is one that understands that class struggle is central to breaking the influence of FF. It is also one that says clearly that the British army has no role to play in Northern Ireland.

The SWM exists to build such a party.



Reynolds and Haughey coming unstuck

## Handicapped want rights not charity

OCTOBER saw the high point in a campaign by parents of the handicapped for better facilities in the South.

Campaigners organised a sit-in at the Department of Finance, weekly pickets and a lobby of the Dail as it reopened.

The campaign, PAM, was set up in response to the growing crisis facing the handicapped and their parents. There are now

660 people on the waiting list for long-term residential care, while another 534 are in urgent need of day care. As well as hindering the development of the handicapped themselves, stress on parents has reached a level where many have sought psychiatric help.

Finian McGrath, Northside PRO for PAM, pinpointed the case of an 85-year-old woman in Beaumont, Dublin: "She had been caring for many years for an adult son with Downs Syndrome. She has just gone into hospital, but

her son still needs constant attention. He's now being looked after by various relatives who are completely inexperienced and untrained."

PAM have listed 400 other cases of elderly parents unable to cope with handicapped adults at home.

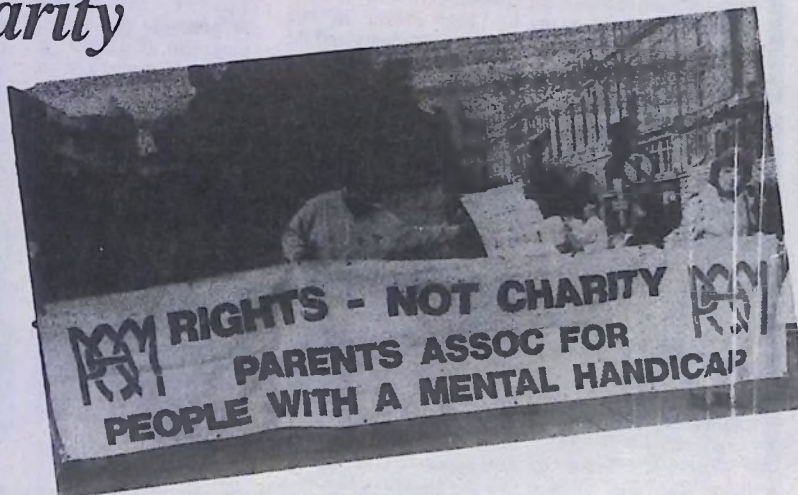
The campaign organisers have estimated that just £10 to £15 million would provide all the necessary facilities for the handicapped. As they point out, over £17 million was spent recently on refurbishing the Taoiseach's

Dublin offices.

Meanwhile, the budget of the Health Department is about to be cut further; Haughey has ordered all fifteen government departments to make cuts amounting to hundreds of millions of pounds. Clearly pressure needs to be put on Health Minister O'Hanlon to provide funds for the handicapped.

Strengthening the links PAM already has with the trade unions and increasing the street protests offer the best hope of doing just this.

■ MARK LYNCH



# FASCISM GROWING IN EUROPE

Immigrant hostels in East Germany have recently come under attack from fascist street gangs.

The immigrant question has put the race card on the parliamentary table again. In the latest state parliament elections in Bremen the openly fascist DUU managed to pick up 6.5 percent of the vote and two seats around the slogan "Germany for the Germans".

On October 3rd—the anniversary of reunification—no less than 23 hostels were attacked, resulting in the hospitalisation of two Lebanese children for severe burns. During that week there were over eighty attacks.

In Hoyerswerda, where the two children were injured, there were attacks every day of the week. Apparently about two hundred onlookers cheered the fascists on.

Hoyerswerda is a town centred around a local power station built thirty years ago, with a population of 70,000. Since reunification unemployment has rocketed and social services have been cut.

Without a viable Left alternative, the fascists have been able to target

GERMANY:

## Rise of the New Nazis



Anti-Nazi demo, Germany

foreigners as "causing" unemployment.

The major German parties have also targeted the immigrants as the problem, using slogans such as "No immigrants, no attacks". For the CDU the reason is obvious—

to take the heat off themselves for the increasing unemployment.

The SPD seems no better than Kohl on the issue. They are calling for "collection camps" and for refugees to be

registered, judged and sent back. Even the Greens call for restrictions. The rhetoric is that Germany is a bubble fit to burst.

In fact Germany lies only twentieth in the league of rich countries in allowing immigrants to enter. There is no legal immigration at all.

After spending long months in hostels with meagre payments to live on, only five percent of refugees are deemed to fit to stay. In fact less than one percent of the population of old East Germany are "foreign". This is in fact less than under the old regime.

Actually, twice as many "ethnic Germans" (400,000) as refugees moved to Germany last year. But most of these are conservative voters, so Kohl stays quiet on this issue.

As socialists we are for the free access of all peoples to whichever labour market they wish to enter. The truth in Germany is that with four million unemployed the immigrant question is nothing less than a scapegoat for the bosses and the rulers.

But what of the Left's

response to the attacks?

Sadly, a lot of the revolutionary Left is dominated by ultra-leftism. It is difficult to get left-wingers to leaflet factories and estates trying to argue for a front against the nazis. A lot of the demonstrations end up with a core of revolutionaries as much intent on a fight with the police as with the nazis.

Another common argument is that ordinary people just don't care about and even support the nazis. For instance, before the demonstration in Hoyerswerda very little was done to open the march to local people as "there was no point". In fact four hundred locals attended the demo and asked others to come back and demonstrate against a nazi victory demonstration.

Our sister organisation in Germany, the Sozialistische Arbeiter Gruppe (SAG), has made some moves towards organising against the nazis, but in the Left political climate such moves to create a united front are as yet only the first steps.

■ ROBERT MOPPETT

FRANCE:

## Resist Le Pen

THE fascist right in France is on the verge of a major breakthrough.

It now looks possible that Jean Marie le Pen, the man who described the holocaust as "a minor detail of history", could be elected mayor of Nice and that his party, the National Front, could capture twenty percent of the vote in a general election.

The support for the NF is a reflection of the growth of racism in France. An opinion poll this year found that 71 percent of those polled believed that there are too many Arabs in France, and 24 percent that there are too many Jews.

In the wake of the NF's growth, racist attacks have increased. Not only have the fascists gained electorally, but they have also shifted the mainstream French political parties further right.

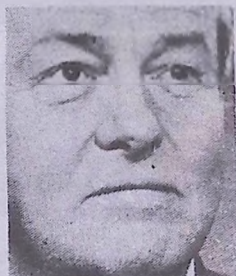
The Conservatives echo le Pen's slogans on immigration, and unfortunately the Socialist and Communist parties have attempted to capture le Pen's support by talking about the "immigration problem".

The statements of

Edith Cresson, the Socialist prime minister, about deporting illegal immigrants play into le Pen's hands. More and more the NF seems to be putting forward mainstream political opinion.

The crisis in the French economy and the disillusionment after ten years of Socialist Party rule provide fertile ground for the NF. Unemployment is at 2.7 million (not including those on dead-end "training courses").

But the French rich have grown richer under Socialist Party rule. The Paris stock exchange has risen steadily while workers have borne the brunt of austerity measures. By blaming immigrants for the increasing poverty, the NF has tapped a mood of anger.



But it would be a mistake to see their rise as unstoppable. During periods in which workers have fought austerity, like the 1986 railways and student strikes and the 1988 nurse's strikes, the NF lost support.

Le Pen thrives on the lack of direct confrontation. The French Left needs to build a movement aimed at exposing the NF as nazis and pointing to the bosses as being responsible for unemployment. If the Left is prepared to mobilise to break up NF marches and meetings, the NF could be put on the defensive.

Last year 200,000 people marched in Paris to protest at the desecration of Jewish graves, and earlier this year young North Africans rioted against police harassment. The potential to build a mass movement against fascism exists. It must be organised now, before it is too late.

■ BRIAN HANLEY

# Law and Order:

NEWSPAPERS such as the *Evening Herald* are screaming about the crime wave. Others claim that the country is being swamped by drugs.

Tragically, many on the left are also trying to jump on a law and order bandwagon. Some are calling for more police 'under community control'.

In the North, the IRA is launching an anti-drugs offensive. Here Brendan O'Donoghue looks at some of the arguments about crime in the South. We also reprint the text of a talk that Eamonn McCann gave to a meeting of the Derry SWM.

Is the country facing a crime wave?

IT depends on what you call crime. Each year the Garda Commissioner compiles a list of crime figures. The figures have to be taken with a grain of salt but they give some indication.

Crime figures for 1990 are in fact only 1 per cent up on the previous year. Murder and manslaughter is down 2 per cent. Armed crime is down 12.4 per cent and offences against property with violence is down 2.7 per cent. These figures show that Ireland is not experiencing a violent crime wave.

But what has increased is offences against property without violence. This is up 2 per cent. The age of the average offender has also dropped.

Out of a total of 17,975 indictable offences 9,319 were committed by those aged between 14 and 21. This is the age group most affected by unemployment. The huge increase in poverty is driving a minority of young people to crime.

Wouldn't more police help the situation?

NO. The number of police in the Republic of Ireland has nearly doubled in the last twenty years. In 1970, there were 6,500 police in this country. Today there are 11,000. One in five of them have now got access to guns.

The job of the police is to protect the property of the rich. It is also to crack down hard on working people who fight back.

In 1979, the police baton charged post office pickets. In 1981 they attacked a H Block demonstration to the British Embassy and fitted up some of the demonstrators for 3 years in jail.

The interests of the police is shown in the pattern of convictions. 51 per cent of all reported assaults on the police end in convictions. But only 11 per cent of reported rapes end in convictions. The police regard some crimes as more serious than others.

But wouldn't more Community Police make a difference?

NO section of the police can ever be under community control in a capitalist society.

# Why it won't solve crime



# Provos wrong on drugs



THE IRA's threat to people allegedly involved in a "major" drugs ring in Derry raises a number of issues which have already brought comment from a variety of sources.

From Unionist and Workers' Party spokespersons we have had the standard line about "leaving it to the RUC". This is nonsense, for two reasons.

First, people worried about drug abuse are very unlikely to take their problem to the RUC, no matter who advises them. The RUC has no credibility with the vast majority of Catholics in the city, and there are many Protestants, particularly young Protestants, who have no time for them either. The idea of the RUC as a suitable organisation for dealing with drug abuse is farcical.

Second, people foolish enough to go to the RUC about a drugs problem would get no satisfaction. The RUC would interest itself in such an issue only insofar as it might be able to use it to its own advantage. The interests of people at risk would be secondary.

However, the fact that the RUC is useless doesn't mean that the IRA is right.

ist tabloid press campaign against "house" parties, the forerunner of "raves".

The idea of drug abuse and drug addiction does, understandably, strike terror into many people, particularly the parents of adolescents, and it is easy to take advantage of this by promising a swift and decisive "solution". But a lot of the terror is based on ignorance and myth.

By any informed, rational standard there is not a major drugs problem in Derry. For example, there isn't a single heroin addict in Derry and cocaine usage is virtually unheard of.

There is fairly common use of cannabis, a drug which like any other can be abused but which is non-addictive and very much less harmful than tobacco or alcohol. Many people use cannabis just because it is cheaper than alcohol. From being a "hippy" drug in the 60s, its use has become an overwhelmingly working class phenomenon.

There is also a current fashion for "acid"—LSD—and for the "designer drug" ecstasy. These fashions will pass, for the good and simple reason that most people eventually have bad experiences using these substances. Acid was much more common in Ireland some years ago and had almost gone out of circulation before its recent temporary "comeback".

Of course, there are instances where the misuse of these drugs has been harmful. But the level of disruption and misery associated with them is of utter insignificance when compared with the havoc and ruination caused in this city by alcohol.

Families are torn apart, women and children unmercifully beaten, lives blighted and indeed lives lost week in and week out

because of alcohol abuse and addiction. Nothing remotely comparable can be blamed on the illegal (under British law) drugs which the IRA had in mind.

The sad zombies who tap money in the city centre didn't get that way by smoking joints or using acid.

Republicans are entitled to their point of view as to what life styles of forms of behaviour are the best or most healthy or most socially progressive or whatever. They are entitled to campaign for their point of view.

## Forefront

The SWM has been to the forefront both North and South in defending the Republicans' right to free speech and in campaigning against the political censorship used against them. But what Republicans are definitely not entitled to do is to impose their morality on others.

No matter how it is dressed up, this is what the IRA "initiative" on the drugs issue amounts to—an attempt to impose a particular moral viewpoint on the community and to establish themselves as arbiters of what is acceptable within the community. The SWM reckons that over the years we have had quite enough of that sort of arrogant edict from all sorts of other quarters.

It is important that the difference of opinion on this issue is not seen as lying between the IRA on the one hand and the "law and order" merchants on the other.

There are many young working class people in the city who are opposed to the very notion of "law and order" in this twisted and narrow society—and who are also totally opposed to the unliberated and unliberating view of the IRA on this matter.

■ EAMONN McCANN

### Anti-drugs campaigners in Dublin

Look at what happened to Derek Fairbrother. He was severely beaten by the Finglas police. A photograph of his bloodied face appeared in all the press. Dick Spring raised the matter in the Dail. But the police got off scot-free.

The job of the Community liaison officers in the police is to present themselves as friendly officers while at the same time identifying potential opposition. Where this opposition is political, names are handed over to the Special Branch for harassment.

The Irish Special Branch operates more brazenly in working class areas than does the KGB in Russia. And the community police work hand and glove with them.

### Wouldn't more prisons and longer sentences deter criminals?

SOME people on the left are now calling for more

'humane prisons'. While we are all for prison reform, more prisons are not the answer to crime.

Spending on prisons has grown from £45 million in 1983 to £67 million today. It now costs £80 a day to keep someone in prison. It's a complete waste.

More than half of those in prison have been there before. 28 per cent of prisoners have been in prison more than five times.

Prison sentences are already barbaric. Despite the fact that 97 per cent of prisoners are in jail for crimes against property, most of them are serving sentences for more than five years.

Today many prisoners are locked up for 24 hours—often in cells with three people. Ireland's

prison suicide is double that of Britain.

When you brutalise people like this, is it any wonder that the only thing they have learnt about is a life of crime.

### So what's the socialist solution?

THE most successful criminals in this country are the rich. Recent scandals have shown that they avoid tax and rip off state companies.

The playwright, Bertold Brecht, once

said that 'the most successful criminals are those who own banks rather than those who rob them'. Socialism will deal with this type of crime immediately by confiscating their wealth.

When it comes to petty crime, socialists favour making the state pay for measures that give more security to working class people. We are for more intercoms on doors in working class housing estates; we are for more public lighting; we are for every pensioner having a phone.

But we understand that this only alleviates matters. As long as we live in a society where there is mass unemployment and poverty, there will be crime. The point is to change it.



More gardai not the answer

# Environment in crisis-

In May, 1990 a conference of 44 industrial nations met in Bergen, Norway to discuss climate changes resulting from the greenhouse effect.

The previous year, James Hansen, the world's leading expert on climate changes, had issued a dire warning. Rising global temperatures, melting ice caps and rising sea levels would be a fact of life for future generations unless dramatic action was taken.

Hansen warned that carbon dioxide and methane emissions had to be controlled immediately.

The USA, one of the leading producers of both gases, bluntly told the Bergen conference that it was not taking any dramatic steps. The reason given was costs and profits.

They produced a report that showed that a cut of 20% in the emissions would cost 36 million dollars. But US industry was not willing to pay.

In 1974, scientists discovered that the ozone layer around the world was being damaged by the use of CFCs. The depletion of the ozone layer leads to a major increase in skin cancer.

Governments drew up a plan to phase out the use of CFCs from aerosol cans. But as late as 1985, 45,000 tons of the most dangerous CFC, F-12 was still being put into aerosol cans in the US.

The reason why no real action was taken was again: profits. Instead the US interior secretary, Donald Hodel, told people that they should use 'hats, sunglasses and sunscreen lotion.'

The free market offers no solution to environmental chaos. Individual capitalists and nation states compete with each other. Driving down costs is key to making profits. This is why environmental protection measures are always cut.

Despite the new green rhetoric, governments know that they cannot seriously interfere with the big polluters.

In 1988 14,000 investigations into pollution took place in the Republic of Ireland. But this resulted in only 101 prosecutions for pollution. The most expensive fine was just £1,500.

In the same year that these prosecutions took place:

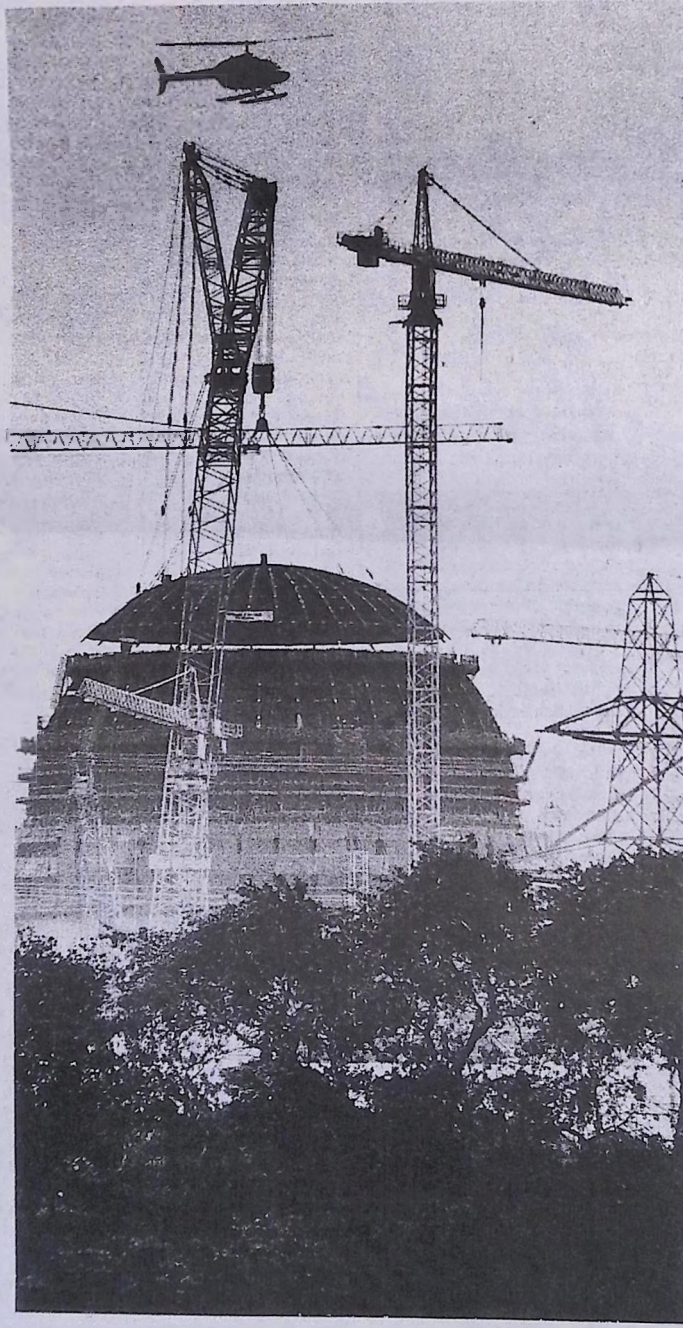
- over a quarter of Ireland's rivers and one third of the lakes were seriously affected by pollution

- the Irish Sea was designated the most radioactive sea in the world while the Irish government only made feeble protests over Sellafield

- Dublin Bay was awash with raw sewage because the FF government would not spend an extra penny on sewage treatment plants.

- £1,000 million was spent on building new roads while only £45 million was spent developing the cleaner and safer public transport system

## Who is to blame?



by OWEN McCORMACK  
and MARY SMITH

THE main instrument of environmental destruction, the Greens claim, is global industrialisation. At first glance, it sounds an appealing argument.

40% of pollution in Ireland is caused by heavy industry, particularly the chemical and pharmaceutical industries. But it is the way that industrialisation is organised and controlled that is the real problem.

The technology that gives us an ICBM can just as easily raise agricultural output and feed the planet's starving. It is the capitalist control of industry that leads it to cause environmental destruction.

In 1989, for example, the Longman, Browne and Nolan plant in Drumcondra in Dublin was brought to court for pumping noxious gases, vapours and odours into the air. To put the problem right would have meant installing a scrubber on their chimney, at a cost of £200,000.

Longman, Browne and Nolan

# IS INDUSTRY THE PROBLEM?

were fined £100 for the pollution they had already caused and told to solve the problem. Instead of installing a scrubber, however, they decided to extend the height of the chimney. It was a much 'cheaper' solution — but one that involved spreading the problem to other areas.

The Irish government has put a big effort into attracting chemical companies to Ireland. But as well as the usual 'tax holidays' it also offers 'pollution holidays'. Anti-pollution laws are weaker here than elsewhere.

12% of the total cost of building a chemical plant in the USA is made up of pollution controls. But in Ireland it is only 6%. So it is the way capitalism has developed in Ireland

## Are there too many people?

'THE high level of emigration shows that Ireland has a population problem. If we had one less Irish person we could feed 40 or 50 extra people in these poorer countries,' said Jonathan Porritt, author of *Saving and Earth* and leading Green spokesperson.

The idea that Ireland has too many people seems crazy. But many Greens

now believe that the world is overpopulated. They argue that there are not enough resources of oil, coal, and arable land to feed the world. We are becoming a burden on nature.

There is nothing new about this argument. In the 18th century, Thomas Malthus claimed that the world was already overpopulated. He argued against a minimum wage and poor law relief. If people had a better standard of living, he said,

## GREEN OR RED?

ROGER Garland T.D. boasts that the Green Party is 'neither Left nor Right but we are above it all'.

He went on to say 'I've always had trouble with the whole trade union thing ... I've always been aware of the great inconvenience caused by strikes'.

For many Greens, the real division in the world is between man and the environment, not between the different classes in society. Greens want a fundamental change in society but not by attacking its institutions. Instead they want to reform them.

The main strategy is one of building public awareness, convincing people to buy the environmentally correct products, pressurising big business and lobbying Governments.

For the Greens all of humanity are the problem. Therefore everybody can play a part in providing a solution.

James Lovelock, who invented the idea of the earth as one organism: Gaia, was a personal advisor to Thatcher. Jonathan Porritt, is an advisor to the food giant Sainsbury.

In Ireland, the Greens have been joined by the ex-Fianna Fail right winger, Richard Greene, who wants to stop funding the rape Crisis Centre.

By ditching class politics, the green message can be hijacked by the very forces within society that are responsible for the planet's destruction.

The big oil companies, still dripping blood from the Gulf, can feign concern for the environment and spend a few quid to get a green gloss.

By emphasizing 'consumer power' the Greens manage to let the guilty parties off and wrongly apportion blame. But it is obvious that the unemployed, the poor, the most oppressed in society have no choice or control over how they consume.

Socialists argue for a different approach. The environment can only be saved with the overthrow of capitalism. Then the madness of the market can give way to democratic planning of where resources should

# INDUSTRY PROBLEM?

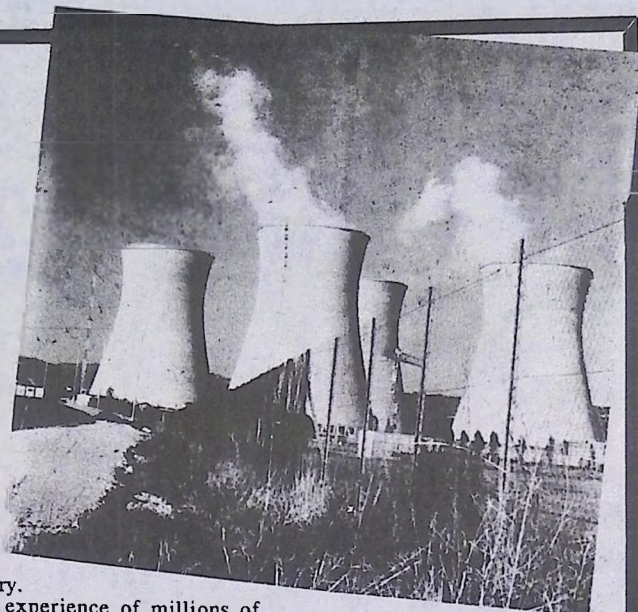
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which leads to more industrial pollution. In the 1980s, Merck, Sharp and Dohme were convicted of damaging the health of Tipperary farmer, Michael Hanrahan, his family and his animals. At the time MSD were making profits of 1 million dollars a week.

All this pollution happens because the weaker Irish capitalist state feels itself more at the mercy of the market than elsewhere.

The choice should not be between industry and the environment — but between planned industrialisation and capitalism.

Mass production under capitalist control has created pollution. But it has also created the possibility of freeing humanity from poverty and



drudgery. The experience of millions of people on the planet has widened because of the experience of industrialisation. In the 17th century the average life expectancy in Europe was around 40. Today it has risen to 75. Access to books, recorded music, cheap clothing has occurred. The world could not be fed today without mass industrialisation. The

use of tractors has dramatically increased agricultural productivity. Seeking a return to a pre-industrial age — as some Greens argue — is a reactionary dream. The point is to develop the possibilities that industry offers and suppress the threat of pollution. That can only happen in a democratically planned economy.

# too many people?

the world . They are not of oil, land to We are en on

they would have more children and put an even heavier burden on the world's resources.

Just like Malthus, Jonathan Porrit today calls for doing away with child benefits and family allowances after the second child.

What is missed out in the argument about overpopulation is the fact that even now under capitalism the resources do exist to feed and clothe the world's population.

At present while over 30 million people starve to death in Africa, the world stocks of grain measure 200 million tonnes. Just over 3 million tonnes would eliminate starvation

from that continent. Food production grows annually by between 2.5% and 3.5%. The world's population increases by 1.7%. Where famine does occur is because of the social organisation of society.

People in Africa do not starve because there are too many Irish — but because African workers and peasants have to pay too much in debt re-payments to Western Banks — including banks like the AIB and the Bank of Ireland.

People like Porrit do not want to look at the way society is organised.

But by ignoring social organisation, they end up claiming that industrialisation itself — rather than capitalism — is to blame for environmental chaos.

Logically enough they are then driven to claim that without industrialisation the world will have to have fewer people. But the Irish case shows just how wrong Porrit is.

As every school child knows, Ireland originally had a population of 7.5 million. But it was the effects of colonialism and the failure of Irish capitalism which forced thousands to leave. Ireland does not have a population problem — it has a capitalist problem.



Roger Garland, T.D. with supporters

be allocated. This form of planning has nothing to do with the command economies of Eastern Europe which destroyed the environment.

Workers can play a leading role in the fight to save the environment. In 1980 Raybestos Manhattan workers in Ringaskiddy were subjected to four spillages of poisonous asbestos over a five month period. Each time they took strike action in protest. But the company closed down rather than implement proper safety measures.

Today 58,000 tonnes of toxic waste are generated from the chem-

ical plants every year. Efforts have been made to dump this waste on working class areas — first at Ringaskiddy and then at Dunsink in Finglas. Each time it has been local workers and residents which stopped the moves.

The latest plan is for Du Pont—the worst corporate polluter in the US— to build an incinerator in Derry. If anything went wrong clouds of dioxin — one of the most lethal of poisonous gases could be released. Du Pont workers and local residents should link up to fight this poison plant.

Across the world workers have

been to the fore in fighting to defend the environment. In Britain it was the National Union of Seamen that got nuclear dumping at sea banned. Liverpool dockers forced the Canadian government to stop exporting toxic chemicals to Britain.

In Poland, members of the Solidarnosc union in the early 1980s forced the closure of toxic plants. In Australia it has been the building workers trade unions that insisted on preserving 'green belts' around cities.

All of this shows that fighting to save the environment is a class issue.

# Defend the Brook Centre: Demonstrate December 7

ANGER is growing at the attempts of right wing bigots in Belfast to stop the Brook Advisory Centre opening.

Students unions in Queen's University and Magee College have voted overwhelmingly for the opening of the centre. 69 people signed in Magee College to join the Campaign for Information and Choice.

Now a major demonstration is planned for Belfast on December 7 to assert the right of young people to freedom of information on sexual matters. Thirty prominent activists, writers and trade unionists have signed an open letter calling for the demonstration.

Brook Centres have been operating for 25 years in England giving advice to teenagers. They provide information on contraception and abortion.

But the bigots in Belfast—organised principally by SPUC—have charged that a Brook Advisory Centre would corrupt youth.

A SPUC leaflet claimed that "lollipops and Barbie dolls will be given out with condoms". The SPUC leader Kathleen McQuaid says that "it is time that people looked at the facts and got over the whole idea about having freedom to do what they want to do".

The open letter, which was initiated by SWM branches in Northern Ireland, has been signed by, among others the singer songwriter, Sinead O'Connor, and Sean McGouran, Secretary of the Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association.

The letter begins by warning against the "fundamentalist backlash" on the issue and calls on youth from both sides of the community to take to the streets on the issue. The full text of the letter reads:

**Dear Friends,**  
We, the undersigned, are alarmed at the strength of the fundamentalist backlash which has emerged in Northern Ireland in relation to the Brook Advisory Clinic. We feel that bigots on both sides of the community are using the Brook issue to promote a wider attack on basic civil and personal liberties.

We support the right of young people to sex education—and to information about their sexuality and about all aspects of birth control.

We therefore call on all those who support the rights of young people to support the demonstration in Belfast organised by the Campaign for Information and Choice for Saturday, December 7th. The theme of the march is defence of the right of young people to sex education and to information on contraception and abortion.

- Yours,**  
**Signed:**  
Eamonn McCann, Chair of National Union of Journalists, North West Branch; Sinead O'Connor, singer and songwriter; Sean McGouran, Secretary, Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association; Bronagh Gallagher, actor, *The Commitments*; Stephen Rea, actor; Neil McCafferty, journalist; Dr Noel Browne; Michael Farrell, lawyer and writer; John Gray, historian and author;
- Edna Longley, writer and critic; Michael Longley, poet; Bill Rollston, lecturer and author; Dolly Morton, North Down Executive of NAS/UWT; Roisin McDonagh, community worker; Jennifer Fitzgerald, women's activist; Emma Flynn, Women's Rights Officer, Queen's University Students' Union; Sammy Douglas, community worker; Goretti Horgan, Executive Derry Trades Council; Fergal Sadlier, Resident Students' Union, Belfast Institute of Further & Higher Education; Mark Hewitt, NAS/UWT representative; Alan Sheerin, community worker; P A Magloughlainn, Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association; Linda Moore, researcher; Margaret Keenan, Campaign for Information and Choice; Anita Villa, Derry Socialist Workers Movement; Sean McVeigh, Belfast Socialist Workers Movement

## ORGANISE NOW!

There is now one month to organise this demonstration. To make it a success, a number of things must be done:

- The letter should be raised in trade union branches, students' unions and women's organisations.
- More copies of the letter are available from: Campaign for Information and Choice, 13 Westland Ave, Derry. Organising groups for the demonstration need to be formed in the major towns in Northern Ireland and in the colleges. For information on how to set up a group contact the campaign.
- Buses for the demonstration are already being organised from Derry and Dublin. For details, about the Derry bus contact Campaign for Information and Choice, c/o Magee Students Union, Magee College For details of the Dublin Bus contact SWM at PO Box 1648 or telephone (01) 722682

# Can the market be controlled?

*In the early 1980s, the Workers Party were fulsome in their praise of the Soviet Union.*

*But now the shock waves from the collapse of Eastern Europe have led the party to campaign for a 'social market'. Here KIERAN ALLEN argues that the Workers Party illusions in the market are just as bad as their old illusions in the USSR.*

THE Workers Party's recent party programme re-defines socialism. Instead of the nationalisation of industry the party now seeks to build a 'social market'. Their argument is relatively straight forward.

The experience of Eastern Europe shows that the market is necessary because price competition is the only way to allocate resources efficiently. A socialist government has to intervene in the market rather than abolish it.

This can be done in a number of ways. The state can offer incentives to pressurise private capital to invest in useful projects and to create jobs. A socialist government can also encourage more 'social ownership' as well as co-operatives that will promote more humane values.

The argument from the Workers Party has to be examined in the light of the existing tendencies within capitalism. What are the facts?

Take the issue of co-operatives. All experience shows that far from co-operatives humanising the market place, they have to adopt the same methods as their private capitalist rivals.

Twenty one years ago a co-op was established in the Crannac furniture factory in Navan. But it only survived when the original workforce was cut from 49 to 25. It had to take more than 120 outside shareholders who insisted on their dividend. Its wage rates have to be as competitive as those of its rivals.

The same argument applies to 'social ownership'. The last Fine Gael/Labour Party Coalition brought in a scheme to encourage workers to take up shares in their own companies. Waterford Crystal workers

were among the first to take advantage of the scheme.

But the worker 'shareholders' found that the decisions were made by Tony O Reilly and the Morgan Stanley bank who had invested substantial sums of capital. They demanded a high dividend. Vague phrases about 'partnership' and 'social ownership' meant nothing.

The form of ownership becomes irrelevant when it comes to market place competition. Each individual company has to accumulate as much surplus capital as possible.

Those who do not reinvest in machinery, in marketing, in property and financial speculation are taken over by their rivals or driven out of business. This applies as much to co-operatives as to multi-nationals.

It might be claimed that we have left the role of the state out of the account. State spending in Ireland is the equivalent of almost 60% of GNP. Why can the state's control over these vast resources not be used to cajole and pressurise private capitalists?

This argument ignores the extent to which capital -- as a result of the dynamics of the marketplace -- has become concentrated and internationalised.

40% of the workers in Irish manufacturing industry work for the multi-nationals. But some of these companies rival the Irish state in their turn-over.

The internationalisation of capital means that no one state can exercise an effective control. The BCCI scandal in Britain has highlighted the fact that there is an estimated £600 billion in 'floating capital' in the world -- that is capital completely unaccounted for.

The pathetic efforts of the Irish state to track down the owners of the off shore companies that invested in the property scandals shows the scale of the problem. If it takes so long to even find out who owns property, how could a government led by either the Workers Party or Labour Party manage to dictate where these capitalists invest?

**BUT the problems with the 'social market' go even deeper. Few can argue any longer that the business cycle of recession and boom is not endemic to capitalism.**

*EC beef piled high (Right) while Third World kids forage for food (below)*



But what happens when 'social markets' enter slumps? How is a socialist government to respond?

Because a government is resting on a market economy it is forced to first restore that economy to health before it can even try to direct capitalists where to invest. After all if they are making no profits they cannot invest anywhere.

But to restore profitability in a slump you have to cut workers wages. You have to remove all requirements on capitalists to provide creche facilities or time off for adult education or whatever the new 'social market' has promised.

This has been the actual experience of every Labour or Social Democratic government in Sweden, Spain, Australia and France.

**THE Workers Party have been drawn to the market because they had**

the wrong analysis of what happened in Russia.

In December 1982, their paper *Workers Life* argued that 'Trotsky and his followers had to be exposed and their efforts to subvert the party and the state had to be defeated'.

Exposing the 'Trots' meant accepting at face values the claims of the Russian bureaucrats. The Workers Party accepted that Russia was a genuinely planned economy. They never asked how there could be planning in a country that was geared so exclusively to arms competition with the West.

When Russia failed, they came to believe that any planned economy could not work and that the market was always needed. But it is simply not the case that the only way efficiency is guaranteed is through a market.

There is, firstly, nothing part-

icularly efficient about the vast waste of resources that occurs in a capitalist slump.

But secondly, in a genuine socialist society there are other ways to encourage efficiency than by means of market mechanisms. The market means that a tiny handful of capitalist press for efficiency in order to make more money.

But there are other incentives to efficiency besides money. Ordinary experience tells us that 99% of drivers respect a red light not because they are afraid of paying fines but because they want to live longer.

The instinct for self preservation is related to other human impulses like minimising the time spent on boring mechanical tasks. In a socialist society based on workers control, the impulse to efficiency can come from the fact that everyone could gain a shorter working week.

If increased efficiency meant a 25 hour week, why would workers not strive for it? If meeting democratic planned production targets ahead of time meant increased holidays or free travel vouchers, why should workers put in the effort?



# Marxism '91

## The future for socialism

A weekend of discussion and debate organised by the Socialist Workers Movement. November 22, 23, & 24, Institute of Adult Education, Dublin 1

Time	Large Room	Small Room
<b>FRIDAY EVENING</b>		
6.00-7.15		Do Animals have Rights? <i>Johnnie Joyce</i>
8.00-9.30	Forum: After the Events of Eastern Europe What future for socialism <i>Proinsias Breathnach (Contributor "Making Sense"); Michael Taft (Labour Left); Eamonn McCann (SWM); John Rees (Editor "International Socialism")</i>	
<b>SATURDAY MORNING</b>		
10.00-11.15	Women's Oppression: Are men the problem? <i>Lindsey German</i>	The Plan and the Market <i>Kevin Wingfield</i>
11.45-1.00	Can there be a Revolution in the West? <i>Kieran Allen</i>	Marxism and Democracy <i>Brian Hanley</i>
<b>SATURDAY AFTERNOON</b>		
2.00-3.15	Why Does Britain stay in the North? <i>Eamonn McCann</i>	Where is the USSR going? <i>Marnie Holborow</i>
3.45-5.00	Travellers: victims of Irish racism <i>Mary Smith</i>	Why do we need a Revolutionary Party? <i>Jason McElligot</i>
<b>SATURDAY EVENING</b>		
7.00-8.30	In Defence of Lenin <i>John Rees</i>	What causes crime? <i>Goretti Horgan</i>
<b>SUNDAY MORNING</b>		
10.00-11.15	Socialists and Pornography <i>Ger Tuohy</i>	Why is the Environment being destroyed? <i>Owen McCormack</i>
11.45-1.00	The Marxist view of History <i>Lindsey German</i>	Can Protestants Break from Loyalism? <i>Linda Moore</i>
<b>SUNDAY AFTERNOON</b>		
2.00-3.15	Why does Capitalism go into crisis? <i>John Rees</i>	Introduction to the Politics of the SWM <i>Marnie Holborow</i>
3.45-5.00	FINAL RALLY: Which way forward? <i>Eamonn McCann and Kieran Allen</i>	

### What we stand for

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

#### FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

We begin from the proposition that what determines the nature of any society is the system by which its wealth is produced. In the system we live under, capitalism, production is geared to profit, not to human need. Among its inevitable features are poverty, war, racism and sexism. Capitalism cannot be destroyed and these evils thus eradicated by piecemeal reform. It can only be destroyed by revolutionary action by the class which creates all the wealth, the working class. The machinery of the capitalist state -- parliament, courts, army, police etc -- is designed to protect the interests of the ruling capitalist class, not to regulate society in a neutral fashion. At most, parliament can be used sometimes, to make propaganda against capitalism. It cannot be used to smash capitalism. Only a workers' revolution can do that and establish a truly democratic society in which workers hold power directly through delegates elected from workplaces and areas and are re-callable and replaceable at any time by those who elect them.

#### NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

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

#### FOR AN END TO PARTITION

The Northern State was created by British imperialism in its own interests. Sectarianism and bigotry were built into it and will continue to exist for as long as the state exists.

Catholic workers in the North are systematically discriminated against by the state, but Protestant workers derive no benefit from this. It is in the immediate interest of Protestant as well as Catholic workers to fight against their exploitation. It is in the interest of all Northern workers to unite against the state and aim at socialism in Ireland.

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

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

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

#### FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

#### FOR A FIGHT IN THE UNIONS

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

#### FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

The venue for Marxism '91 is the Institute of Adult Education, 2 Mountjoy Square, Dublin. This is located five minute's walk from O'Connell Street, within easy reach of public transport. Those from outside Dublin requiring overnight accommodation on Friday and Saturday nights will be provided with somewhere to sleep (usually a floor so please bring a sleeping bag) in the homes of Dublin SWM members. If you will require accommodation please fill in the details. Any last-minute changes to the timetable will be prominently displayed in the Institute of Adult Education during the weekend. The price of a weekend ticket for Friday, Saturday and Sunday is £5.00 (waged) and £2.00 (unwaged). There will be a professionally staffed creche operating throughout the weekend at no charge. If you will require use of the creche please fill in numbers and ages of children so we can plan ahead.

- I would like ..... tickets at £5.00 (waged)/£2.00 (unwaged) for Marxism '91 (delete as appropriate)
- I/we will require accommodation
- I/we will require use of the creche for ..... children

Ages.....  
NAME.....  
ADDRESS.....  
PHONE.....

Send to: Marxism '91, PO Box 1648, James's Street, Dublin 8

## Join us!

If you would like to join the SWM or want more details, complete and send to:  
SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

- Please send me more details of SWM
- I want to join the SWM

NAME.....

ADDRESS.....

PHONE.....





# Yugoslavia: Horror goes on

## Shadow of a Playwright

SEAN O'Casey's *Shadow of a Gunman* was produced for the Dublin Theatre Festival recently. The play was slammed for a poor production.

The *Shadow of a Gunman* was the first of O'Casey's three Dublin plays to be written. A number of earlier attempts never reached the quality required for production, and most do not survive in any form today. The play is really a product of O'Casey's apprenticeship as a writer. The characters lack credibility.

Donal Davoren, the central character, is mistaken for an IRA gunman and basks in the reflected glory of it. He is a poet given to reciting Shelley, but as a character lacks all depth.

The minor characters appear for no other reason than to move the play on,

and while the play in patches is rich in dialogue and melodrama, it really cannot be ranked alongside *Juno and The Plough*.

The real problem is not that it is a poor production or a minor play—it is worth a production from time to time—but rather it is that nobody is willing to go beyond the safe realist plays of Sean O'Casey.

His fourth play, *The Silver Tassie*, was influenced by the expressionist movement in Europe, particularly the German playwrights. The play is a transition between the realist Dublin plays and his later plays, which use movement, form and language to explore and lay bare reality rather than merely reflect it.

There was another development in O'Casey's

work. By the mid-1930s he had been influenced by the struggle against fascism and had become a supporter of the Communist Party in Britain. His plays such as *The Star Turns Red* and *Within the Gates* take on a radical content as well as form.

### Magical

His later plays have a magical content to them that makes them hard to produce. O'Casey was out of favour with middle class theatre audiences in

the post-war period and few of his post-Dublin plays were ever produced. But he refused to compromise in order to please anyone.

We now have an O'Casey summer school to dissect O'Casey for the pleasure of academics. But what is missing is an attempt to produce the later plays of O'Casey and interpret them in a way that has relevance to life today. Political and economic cowardice rules the theatre today.

■ PAUL O'BRIEN



THE full horror of the war in Yugoslavia was shown by the bloody siege of the Croatian towns of Dubrovnik and Yukevar. Thousands fled and many more were left to face bombardment by the army.

European Community leaders are desperately trying to stitch up a deal between the warring factions. But not out of concern for the plight of the country's people. What terrifies Western rulers is the prospect of war spreading throughout the region or even to Russia.

So the plan put forward by European Ministers would do nothing to reverse the economic collapse which lies at the heart of the conflict. And it would leave the two warmongers, Milosevic of Serbia and Tudjman of Croatia, in power.

Socialists should not take sides between the nationalist leaders. The crimes of Milosevic are clear for all to see in the destruction of Dubrovnik, but Tudjman is just as bad. He is an admirer of the wartime fascists, the Ustashe, responsible for the slaughter of Croatia's Serbian minority.

### Break-up

The fact that Serbia rejected the plan for going too far towards Yugoslavia's break-up and Slovenia rejected it for not granting them their independence shows that the divisions run far deeper. No simple re-drawing of national boundaries can solve the problem without massive upheavals and further bloodshed.

The republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, for instance, is inhabited by a mixture of Muslims, Serbs and Croats. A Serbian woman living in the capital, Sarajervo, explained to reporters that her neighbours are Muslim and Croatian.

The war has strengthened the hand of both leaders, allowing them to divert attention from Yugoslavia's worsening poverty.

Tudjman used the fear of a "Greater Serbia" under Milosevic to win the election in Croatia. As recently as March, student demonstrations in Belgrade threatened Milosevic's position.

The only way to bring about a lasting peace is for Yugoslavia's workers to reject the butchery of Milosevic and Tudjman and unite to fight for their own class interests. This means opposing the domination of any nation by another and respecting the rights of the minorities in each republic.

Tragically there is a long way to go and a lot more suffering to be endured before that is likely to happen. But there are some hopeful signs. The federal army is finding recruitment increasingly difficult even in Serbia.



### FILM:

## Boyz 'n the Hood

BOYZ 'N The Hood is written and directed by John Singleton, one of the new black filmmakers currently taking the cinema industry by storm.

The film revolves around the life of Tre, who after becoming involved in a school fight is brought to live with his father, Furious, a financial adviser, so he can be taught "to be a man". This is done to prevent him from falling into the trap of his peers, many of whom are either unemployed, dope heads or involved in rival gangs.

celebrating his release from prison and is a gang member, while Ricky is a father and applying for a football scholarship to get to college. When Ricky is shot dead, Tre joins Doughboy and gang to hunt the killers but relents and returns home alone.

Singleton seems to imply that each character's chances are defined by the presence or absence of a sturdy father figure. Within this framework, Furious serves as a prototype father figure and black nationalist. He speaks out against gang rivalry as merely serving white oppression, and points to the fact that the gun shops and liquor stores on every corner of the black neighbourhood won't be found in Beverly Hills.

But both black nationalism and "parental guidance" confine the

fight against racism to the black community. The film itself touches on the division of the black community into two halves. Tre's mother, with a hard-won college education, falls into a small middle class that meets prejudice when it tries to compete with whites for a few professional opportunities. Tre's friends are part of a permanent, workless "underclass" for whom racism and rival gang warfare come hand in hand with economic disadvantages.

### Misery

This film reflects poverty and misery, but with a fighting spirit that shouts "get off your knees, use your heads and fight back". Anyone interested in really finding out what the American dream holds for working class blacks won't be disappointed, only angered and informed by the reality that Singleton confronts them with.

■ BEN YEATES

### Friendship

Tre develops a close friendship with Ricky and Doughboy (Rapper Ice-T), two half-brothers living with a single mother. Seven years on, Tre has grown up, Doughboy is

## LETTERS

Write to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

## COMMUNISM: DEAD OR STILL ALIVE?

Anita Villa (October SW) is wrong about Socialist Worker's September headline. She argues that to say "Communism is Dead" is to pander to right-wing ideas.

This was only part of the headline. The main part read "Now Fight for Real Socialism".

The headline gave a clear message—we welcome the end of tyranny in Eastern Europe

but we also want to fight for genuine socialism.

"Communism" is the term used by the vast majority of people to describe what existed in the East.

True, Marx and Lenin used the term to describe a real classless society. But the Stalinists robbed the term and altered its meaning.

Earlier this century Marxists described themselves as Social Democrats. But after the

World War in 1914 which many social democrats supported, socialists like Lenin ceased to call themselves social democrats because the term had become identified with a betrayal of socialist ideas.

With the rise of Stalin in Russia, "Communism" also became identified with betrayal.

■ DAVE McDONAGH, Dublin

## SAWDOCTORS

Socialist Worker, Ken Mulkearn's article on the Saw Doctors in the last SW edition did little to combat anti-rural prejudice as embodied in terms such as "muck savage".

He declared that the Galwegians did not qualify as "muck

savages" because one member had worked with a drama group and others had played in rock and roll acts for years. Does this mean that us non-urban folk without theatrical or musical experience are still mere gobshite culchies?

I accept that the general tenor of the article was enlightened, but surely the whole mode of thinking(?) which lies behind such prejudice could be demolished more effectively.

■ PAUL MURPHY

## Letter from Croatia

THE war in Croatia is the only thing that people can think about. Lots of people have died and lots of them will die in the near future. Lots of my friends are in the Croatian army.

People die with guns in their hands. The Yugoslav army has artillery, airplanes and tanks. We wait for help from Europe but Europe has only words for us. In a short time maybe we will die. The world must be ashamed because of that. You can't think how it is when your mother is crying and running for shelter. Yesterday, the Yugoslav army was bombing the centre of Zagreb.

Do something for Croatia. Talk with people. Tell Amnesty International about Croats in Serbian prisons.

■ DENIS, Zagreb

# Cork jobs anger

**★ FIFTY** people turned up to a meeting in Cork on unemployment. The meeting was addressed by Gerry O Sullivan, the Labour T.D. who made a brief appearance. Senator Brendan Ryan attacked the free market economists and establishment media who had no answer to the mass unemployment. A follow up meeting to organise activities is being planned. Meanwhile there are further rumours of more redundancies in Western Digital which employs 300 workers. The talk is of a take over and a slimming down of the whole operation. Shop stewards at the plant need to begin organising to raise the morale of the workforce for a possible fight. The levels of unemployment in Cork now mean that every job should be fought for.

# Bus workers fight back

**BUS EIREANN** drivers showed that attempts to introduce private buses can be stopped.

Over 140 drivers, members of SIPTU and NBRU, went on strike in October after management had contracted work out to private operators.

For two and a half weeks the workers stopped all buses into and out of Dublin.

Eventually the unions agreed to an independently chaired monitoring committee which will "examine" future use of private coaches. Clearly this wasn't a decisive victory as it leaves the basic issue unresolved.

## Lessons

Nevertheless, the strike provides all CIE workers with valuable lessons. Firstly, there was the impressive show of solidarity by the drivers' fellow workers. Other areas voted by four to one in favour of extending the

strike action.

At Broadstone itself, maintenance staff respected the pickets and stayed out. When management used over sixty private coaches as scabs on consecutive weekends, almost a third of the strikers turned up to angrily picket Busarus.

Unfortunately, the actions of union leaders also provides valuable lessons. It was not until the Tuesday after the strike commenced that the union stopped all buses entering Dublin. Some drivers had been bypassing Broadstone and Busarus to avoid the pickets.

However, much more seriously, no attempt was made by either union to encourage workers in Dublin Bus, Dart, or rail to show any form of solidarity.

Clearly if CIE workers are to defend their conditions, then support and solidarity between all groups is essential. Broadstone strikers have shown that such solidarity can be built. But the arguments must begin now.



# Court workers locked out

AS we go to press, 274 court workers are still in dispute with the government. They were locked out when they took action to win upgradings.

Under the new Courts Bill, clerical workers in the District and Circuit Courts will be given more responsibilities. But they have been refused more money despite having kept the courts going for years. Dublin barristers re-

cently won a 31 percent rise in fees, following a strike. They were already receiving £276 for the first day of a case—more than most clerical workers receive in a week.

The clerical staff are members of the Civil and Public Services Union (CPSU). They have applied for an all-out picket as the most effective means of winning their claim.

## Around the hospitals

### MONAGHAN

OVER 30 workers have been taken off the pay roll in St Davnet's Hospital in Monaghan. The workers had decided to leave SIPTU and join the Psychiatric Nurses Association.

The workers complained about no representation from SIPTU.

The tactic of changing unions has often been used by workers in Ireland. The busworkers union, the NBU, shows that the new union are not more militant than the old.

But management have no right to take workers off the pay roll. They should keep their noses out of union business.

### WATERFORD

NURSES in SIPTU in Waterford decided to hold a ballot for industrial action after a mass meeting in late October. In a statement the nurses claimed that the cuts in the health service were putting the lives of patients and staff at risk.

Cuts in the Southern Health Board have become drastic. Non-emergency operations are happening fewer times; hospitals wings have been closed and there are huge delays on the waiting list.

The Southern Health Board are claiming to be bankrupt and are demanding still more cuts.

Tragically, the Labour Party Councillor, Billy Kyne, has gone along with the new demands for cuts.

The decision of the nurses to ballot for strike action represents a major change of mood. Earlier in the year, they passed domestics' pickets at St Otterans.

If the matter comes to strike action all workers should respect the nurses picket lines and build unity between the nurses and the domestic staff against the cuts.

# POSTAL WORKERS:

# Six per cent secured

AN POST workers have won payment of their outstanding six percent arbitration award. A two-day strike and an overtime ban in October secured the increase.

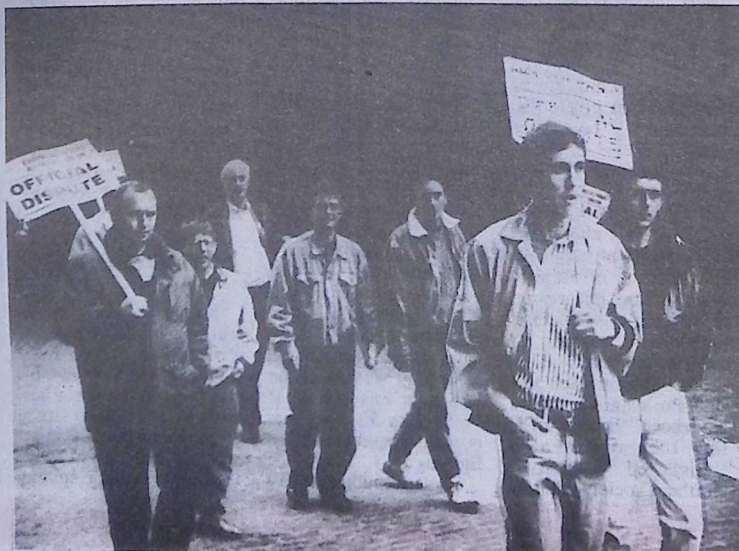
Management had said they would not pay until the Communication Workers' Union agreed to cost-cutting measures.

The union did agree to enter talks on cost-cutting. The four percent PESP increase has been put back to February 1991—but it will be backdated to November 1991.

Postal workers have forced management to change their plans twice this year. First they forced back the shedding of 1,500 jobs in the Viability Plan. Now they have won the six percent.

An Post will try to use the cost-cutting talks to force through the Viability Plan. That can also be stopped.

An Post workers picket at Dublin's Sheriff Street



# FIGHT THE BIGOTS

Continued from page 12

Office went on strike for four days in support of their demand for a better pay deal. In the summer of 1990, Northern Ireland rail workers struck for similar reasons.

And it's not only about pay that workers unite. DHSS workers have walked out in protest at sectarian threats on numerous occasions.

Dole offices have been closed in Belfast, Derry, Lisburn, Strabane and other areas at different times as Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance (NIPSA) have gone on strike in defence of workers.

Usually, the paramilitaries have had to withdraw the threats under pressure from the people who've been affected by the strikes.

Most recently, DHSS workers in mid-Ulster and Derry went on strike last month in protest at an IRA assault on a fraud officer in Pomeroy. Offices closed in Cookstown, Dungannon, Asylum Road Derry and Lisnagelvin, Derry.

In Northern Ireland most workers live in segregated housing estates and most working class children attend segregated schools.

## Workplaces

For many working class people, the only time they meet people from the other community is at work. The only place they can come together to fight sectarianism is at work.

For this practical reason only the organised working class can defeat sectarianism.

But trade union leaders have failed to lead the fight.

By ignoring issues to do with sectarian discrimination and repression over the years, they have lost credibility. Their latest proposal for a conference on "peace" holds out little hope of any initiative except another version of the useless "Peace, Work and Progress" campaign of the 80s.

Rank and file trade unionists need to demand mass action against the sectarian killers.

This would both marginalise the loyalist killers within Protestant working class communities—and show Catholic workers that the image of Protestants as a "privileged" elite defending sectarianism is itself a bigoted slander. But the unions also need to launch a militant fight against unemployment and poverty. The lack of such a fight allows right-wing ideas to grow.

It's not true that "there's nothing we can do" about sectarian killing. We can force the unions to take action!

■ GORETTI HORGAN

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism 35p

Defend the Brook centre

Open letter page 7

## Catholic and Protestant workers unite...

# FIGHT THE BIGOTS

## STOP THE SECTARIAN KILLINGS!

BELFAST is a town gripped by terror. Working class people are afraid to go out of doors. They hold their breath when a car or motorbike slows down outside their house at night. Taxi drivers don't know if a call for a cab is a set-up for murder.

The recent spate of sectarian killings has returned the atmosphere in working class areas—Protestant as well as Catholic—to that of the 70s. While the vast majority of the sectarian murders have been carried out by loyalist murder gangs, the IPLO have also shown themselves to be no more than a bunch of sectarian thugs.

There is much more to the loyalist violence than the reorganisation of the UDA/UVF which the media is so concerned about. That reorganisation is itself a product of the changing mood within the Protestant

section of the working class. Over recent years, Protestant workers have joined the dole queues in increasing numbers. There has always been poverty in Protestant working class areas, but now it is becoming far more visible and

widespread.

These economic realities, combined with a feeling that the British government has sold out loyalism through the Anglo-Irish Agreement, have left many Protestant workers totally confused about where their loyalties should lie. Many have started to cast about for an alternative to loyalism.

### Divide

Some are looking leftward, realising that the real divide in Northern society is between the haves and the have-nots. Others have adopted the rhetoric of class politics but still

want an independent Ulster which would leave the working class even more splintered than ever. A tiny minority of Protestant workers are moving to the right and give some backing to the UDA/UVF.

Any Protestant worker questioning loyalist politics finds that the most obvious alternative is Republicanism. But the politics of Republicanism are not geared to working class interests and offers nothing to Protestant workers.

The Republicans say that Protestant workers have been "bought off", that they represent a "privileged" section of Northern society. This is

utter nonsense as anyone who takes even a brief look at Protestant working class estates like Tullyally in Derry or Ballybean in Belfast will know.

Socialists understand that there is a difference between the UDA/UVF and the IRA. The IRA came from a mass movement which sought to fight oppression. The loyalist paramilitaries were set up to defend bigotry and discrimination against Catholics. Nonetheless, we also have to understand that a 32-county version of the South is exactly what Protestants fear, yet that is what Republicans are fighting for.

Some Republicans say

that they want a 32-county capitalist Ireland only as the "next stage" on the way to socialism. Nationalists everywhere say this sort of thing. But even if Republican strategy worked, the "next stage" is all that's on offer now. Not surprisingly, Protestant workers reject Republican politics.

### Hopeless

Most working class people Catholic and Protestant alike, feel hopeless and helpless in the face of the sectarian murders. Neither Republican nor Loyalist tradition offers any way out of the killing spiral.

But there is another tradition in the North which offers hope for an end to sectarianism. That is the tradition of workers, Protestant and Catholic, coming together to fight in defence of their interests as workers.

Socialists have to argue that, despite all, Catholic and Protestant workers *do* unite and fight all the time—against cuts in the health service and against privatisation in Shorts and Harland & Wolff, for example.

Just earlier this year, Protestant and Catholic counter staff in the Post

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