

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

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**HIROSHIMA,
NAGASAKI:
NEVER
AGAIN!**



**STOP
NUCLEAR
TESTING!**

Coalition dithers on divorce

THE COALITION is dithering again on divorce. They were supposed to produce definite proposals for the referendum but have put it back until September.

One of the reasons for the delay is that the Labour Minister Mervyn Taylor thinks that he can win a referendum by sounding more and more like the Bishops.

Denounced

He has denounced "quickie divorces" and demanded that people wait four years before even applying.

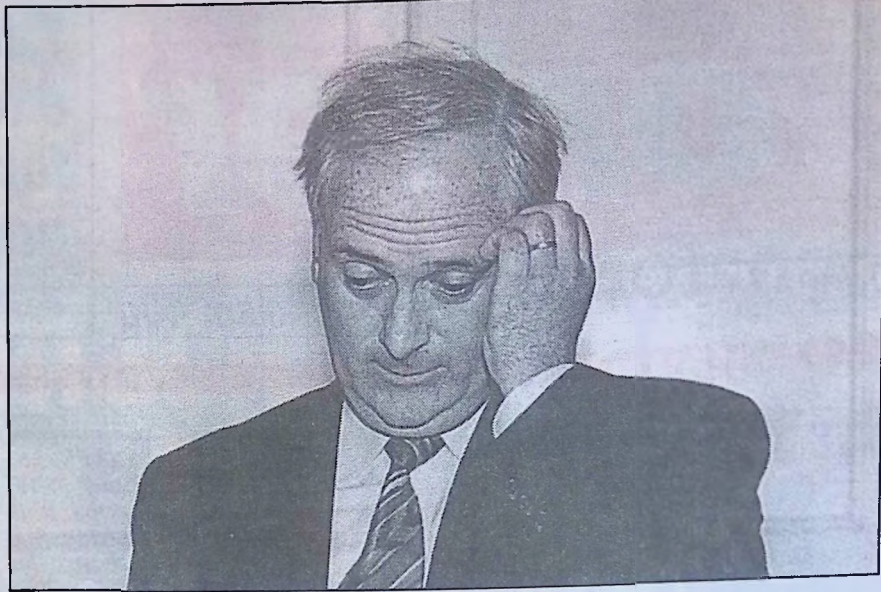
When all the legal procedures are taken account of

this would mean a real period of delay of six years.

Taylor has not explained why this would not discriminate against women in their mid thirties who want to have children in a new marriage.

Democratic Left have become uneasy about the long waiting period and have started to argue about it.

But instead of opposing it outright, they want a three year delay.



Bruton: This is a more complicated business than running a farm!

Protests in the prisons

POLITICAL prisoners in Britain are staging dirty protests to highlight deteriorating conditions.

Their conditions are getting worse with more cell searches, strip searches and continuous harassment. In some prisons closed family and legal visits have been introduced.

Brendan O'Dowd from Kerry has served twenty years of a life sentence for conspiracy. Last December his 84 year old mother died and he was refused parole to attend the funeral.

Another prisoner Patrick Kelly had a cancerous growth removed before he went to prison. In recent months the growth has re-activated and he is in constant pain. Yet the prison authorities will not allow him to be taken for treatment.

Ten prisoners in Britain have already served more than 20 years. Despite a statement by the British Lord Chief Justice that he had no objection to their release, the decision has been referred to the notorious right wing Home Secretary, Michael Howard who has done nothing.

The authorities continue to operate Special Secure Units which are very small and are lit by artificial light. They also maintain the practice of 'ghosting'—moving prisoners between prisons without warning.

Now the Tories have transferred just four prisoners to Northern Ireland—but they are determined to extract concessions for every tiny move they make.

Anti-Jewish bigots

Mervyn Taylor and Alan Shatter.

One parishioner got up and accosted him about his anti-semitism.

The Irish bigots have so far hidden their deep racism. But it has always been there.

In the 1940s, they campaigned to have Jewish victims of Hitler excluded from Ireland.

This time around they will use gossip and innuendo to whip up anti-Jewish feeling during the referendum.

MEANWHILE the bigots who oppose divorce have adopted a new tack.

They are making a major point about the fact that Mervyn Taylor is Jewish.

Recently at a Mass in Julianstown, Co Meath a Fr Daly devoted his whole sermon to discussing the Jewish origins of TDs like

Doctor bans the Pill

A DOCTOR in Blanchardstown in North-West Dublin is refusing to prescribe the birth control pill to local women.

She is Dr Janina Lyons, a member of 'Doctors for Life', the right wing group who oppose even limited abortion information.

But if Dr Lyons does not want women to have abortions why does she refuse birth control, which can prevent unwanted pregnancy in the first place?

The truth is that she wants

women to conform to De Valera's ideal that a woman's 'natural place' is in the home raising kids.

Refused

She said as much to Karen from Blanchardstown, who told *Socialist Worker* how Dr Lyons refused to prescribe her the pill:

"I asked her if this meant I had to have ten kids and she said 'that's the way it should be'."

Many of the women who attend her surgeries in Corduff and Coolmine depend on the

medical card and cannot switch doctors at the drop of a hat.

Women in Corduff have already petitioned the Eastern Health Board to demand action on the case.

Socialist Worker sellers have taken up petitions in other parts of Blanchardstown.

There should be an angry picket at Dr Lyons' surgery and outside Eastern Health Board offices to demand that this bigot be replaced by a doctor who allows women to make their own choices about birth control.

inside the system

McXploitation

McDonalds advertises itself as really caring about kids.

But in a confidential report quoted during the libel case between the fast food giant and two unwaged environmentalists, McDonald's safety officer, Jill Barnes, admitted: "Safety is not seen as being important at store level".

The important libel case, being heard in London, is now in its second year. McDonalds are claiming damages and costs of £3m against Helen Steel and Dave Morris.

Unhealthy

The two had issued a leaflet accusing McDonalds of damaging the environment, promoting unhealthy diet and exploiting workers through low pay and anti-union activities.

McDonalds have admitted that "nutritious" simply means the food contains nutrients, as all food does!

And even though they insist they're not anti-union, they say "workers

would not be allowed to carry out any overt union activity on their premises". One witness who won't be able to testify is 22 year old Mark Hopkins who died of electrocution three years ago when he touched a faulty fat filtering unit in the Manchester branch.

Rwanda: Priests took part in slaughter

MORE THAN 20 Catholic priests and nuns have been have been implicated in some of the most gruesome murders which took place in Rwanda last year.

In a report to be published next month by the human rights group, *Africa Rights*, evidence has been compiled that individual priests murdered Tutsis with machetes, while others pointed out other members of the tribe to be slaughtered.

One of them was Fr

Munyeshyaka who gave lists of people who expressed sympathy with the Tutsie rebels to the militias.

Atrocities

The priests were on the side of the Hutus, who were in government at the time and who committed most of the atrocities.

Bishops in Rwanda sat within the ruling government party. Any church appointment had to be agreed by government - and any plans to murder Tutsis must have been known to the Bishops.

One priest who recently returned to France to expose the clergy-killers has been silenced by his superiors.

The Vatican has refused to comment on the allegations.

Dangerous business

ACCORDING to figures released by the Central Statistics Office, there has been an increase in the number of twins born to mothers in Co. Limerick since major industry moved into the Shannon estuary.

It's well known that livestock are already suffering badly, with one farmer Liam Somers having lost 94 animals.

And in the national dairy herd, twin calves remain an extremely rare occurrence, but in some parts of the Shannon region, as many as 25% of recorded births are twins.

Foals and kittens are now also being born without eyes—both are extremely rare happenings.

And residents in the Rathkeale area have complained of eye irritation and difficulties in breathing.

But still the Government dithers—all because it's looking more likely that some kind of factory or business pollution is behind it.

TAX EXILE

WHO SAYS Ireland drives the wealthy away?

Our tax laws are so attractive to the rich parasites around the world that more and more of them are coming to Ireland.

The latest is John T Dorrance, who is worth an estimated £1.3 BILLION.

According to *Forbes* magazine, "Dorrance voted with his passport against US taxes and renounced US citizenship to become a citizen of low tax Ireland".

Who said US capitalists don't know a good Coalition government when they see them?!!

Corpo roads blunder

SEVERAL months ago a series of mini-roundabouts and traffic islands were built along the Darndale and Greencastle Road in Coolock, North Dublin.

The idea was to reduce the problem of joyriding in the area by forcing cars to slow down every few yards.

But they were built in such a way that allows cars to pass through without having to reduce speed but forces buses to slow down, making roadside attacks on bus drivers much easier.

They also slow down ambulances rushing to Beaumont Hospital.

These constructions

cost approximately £100,000 and now the Corporation have finally realised they are completely pointless and are going to uproot them in October.

Coolock is crying out for houses, jobs and amenities and £100,000 could have helped alleviate these problems.

what we think

Defend the right to march



RUC attack demonstration in Derry against John Major's visit earlier in the year

"GET OFF the streets and leave it to us"—that is the new advice which the British and Irish government are giving to all who want peace in Ireland.

The reality is that almost a year after the peace process began, little has been delivered.

The prisoners who are victims of the conflict are being used as a bargaining chip to force the IRA into an abject surrender of arms.

The new investment that has come to the North is only seeking out low paid jobs.

The politicians who have delivered little have no right to ask parties like Sinn Fein to call off street protests.

There is no comparison between demonstrations which demand basic rights for people and

Orange parades which seek to demonstrate a superiority over Catholics.

The response of the Sinn Fein leaders to the Irish government request was weak in extreme.

'Managing'

Gerry Adams explained that the protests were only a way of "managing" the grievances that had arisen and would be reviewed.

He sees the protests only as a way of prodding the conscience of 'nationalist Ireland'—the government parties and Fianna Fail.

But there is a different way forward.

Far from leaving matters to the two governments, the North needs a force that can start to fill the vacuum of frustration which people like Paisley are trying to build on.

Here the Irish Congress of Trade Unions has a major responsibility.

This is an organisation that straddles the North's sectarian divide.

If it called its members on the streets to oppose the rising sectarianism and to promote working class demands for a decent health service and trade union rights, it would get massive support.

It would help to show that real unity between Catholic and Protestant workers will not be delivered by right wing politicians—but will be forged in struggle against them.

NO DIVIDEND ON REPRESSION

THE FINE Gael Minister for Justice, Nora Owen, is pushing through one of the most vicious pieces of repression this country has ever seen.

If her proposals go through the Gardai will be able to enter any house at will with a warrant signed by a senior police officer. They will be able to lock people up for seven days on the

mere suspicion of dealing in drugs.

These measures would have been thrown out if politicians who profess to be concerned with civil liberties had shown the slightest

ounce of principle.

But Owen got immediate backing from the Independent TD, Tony Gregory, who claimed that he had 'no hang-ups' with the measures.

Gregory should no know better. He was a former supporter of the Irish Republic Socialist Party whose members were viciously beaten

and framed when the Gardai last got powers of seven day detention.

Measure

He was joined in his support for the measure by the Labour Party and Democratic Left. After the IRA ceasefire Dick Spring proudly proclaimed that the official

'State of Emergency' in the South was being lifted. There was supposed to be a new dividend on civil liberties.

Now this has been shown to be pure hypocrisy. While it has been in government, the Labour Party has supported some of the greatest increases in police powers this country has seen in

a long time.

In the last two years the Gardai have won new powers to disperse groups of more than 12 people; to arrest people who shout 'abusive' words; and now to lock up people for seven days.

None of these powers will eradicate crime or drug use. That would re-

quire a concerted effort to remove the causes of poverty and unemployment which have blighted the lives of so many.

The record of Labour and Democratic Left on repression shows just why we need a strong socialist alternative to these failed parties.

Save Abu-Jamal

MUMIA Abu-Jamal is facing a legalised murder in America on August 17th.

He has been framed for murder because he was one of the leading black activists who played a prominent role in the Black Panthers.

The Panthers were a revolutionary black movement in the 1960s who terrified the US establishment.

They were the target of an FBI anti-insurgency campaign, COINTELPRO to break them up. Many of their members were gunned down by the police and the organisation was broken up by systematic infiltration.

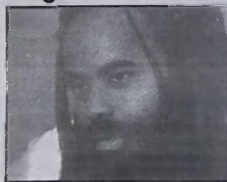
Mumia Abu Jamal was the press officer for the Panthers and the US authorities are determined to extract their revenge.

On the night of December 9, 1981 he was driving a taxi when he saw a black man who had driven up the wrong way of a one way street being beaten up by the police. He pulled over to intervene only to find out that it was his brother.

What happened next is not clear. As more police arrived, Mumia was shot in the stomach by a police revolver and a police officer was shot dead.

Notorious

The gun which killed the officer was never found. Mumia was brought to trial before the notorious Judge Albert Szabo who has sentenced to death 31 people—more than any judge in the US. All but two of his



victims have been black.

The trial was rigged and much was made on Mumia's previous involvement with

SOCIAL RESEARCH GAG

THE Western Health Board in Northern Ireland is refusing to publish a piece of social research on the Bogside and Brandywell area.

The Bogside and Brandywell are among the most deprived places in Northern Ireland according to the 1991 census.

The 'needs assessment' study would show that there is a need for massive spending in the area.

There is little difference between the Bogside and Brandywell and the Fountain area of Derry where a health survey showed a great deal of ill-health among Protestant workers' families.

The controversy over the Bogside/Brandywell study was front page news in the same week that the papers carried short reports about the announcement that all health and social services in the Western Board area were to become self-governing Trusts next April.

All hospital services are to

the Black Panthers.

Last month, Mumia published a book *Life on Death Row*, a collection of essays written in jail.

A few days later, the governor of Pennsylvania signed his execution warrant. Since then he has been moved to an isolation unit and cut off from all ties to the public.

Today an important campaign has grown in the US to save his life. It has won high profile support from Whoopi Goldberg, Ed Asner and Alice Walker. There should also be an international clamour of outrage about this terrible case.

PEACE DIVIDEND BONANZA FOR MULTI-NATIONALS

NEW EVIDENCE that the North's peace dividend is really about giving the multi-nationals a bonanza has come with the activities of the Japanese company, Fugitsu.

It plans to open a major plant in Springvale in West Belfast. But workers there will not be treated any better than those in the company's small plant in Antrim.

60 Fugitsu workers there are being paid £40 less than their counterparts at the Birmingham plant.

When the CWU turned up at the plant gate to organise them, 80% of the workforce joined the union.

Yet management has refused to recognise the right of workers to have their union negotiate for them.

Fugitsu has been given £1.7 million from the Industrial Development Board.

It just shows why the real issue is not whether jobs are located in Protestant or Catholic areas—but how well workers organise to fight these vicious bosses.

Wards

The first thing all Trusts have done is to close wards and sack nursing and other caring staff. The cuts will leave all working class people worse off.

Yet all the focus in Derry is on which community is going to do better from the European "Peace and Reconciliation Fund".

The peace process encourages people to compete against each other for these funds.

Instead of competing for scarce resources and being suspicious of "the other side's" facilities, it would bring us together to fight for better services for everyone.

Socialist Workers public meetings

HIROSHIMA, NAGASAKI, NEVER AGAIN!

STOP NUCLEAR TESTING!

DUBLIN: Thursday 3rd August, 8.00pm, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey St

TALLAGHT: Tuesday 8th August, 8.00pm, Killinarden Community Centre

BLANCHARDSTOWN: Tuesday 8th August, 8.00pm, Blakestown Community Centre

DUN LAOGHAIRE: Tuesday 1st August, 8.00pm, Smyths Bar, Lwr Georges St

BELFAST: Wednesday 2nd August, 8.00pm, Central Hall, Rosemary St

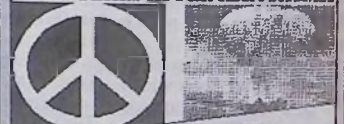
CORK: Thursday 10th August, 8.00pm: See local posters for details

DERRY: Wednesday 9th August, see local posters for details

GALWAY: see local posters for details.

DEMONSTRATION

FIFTY YEARS AFTER HIROSHIMA



MARCH AGAINST NUCLEAR TESTING

Saturday August 12
Assemble 3.30, Garden Of Remembrance, Parnell Square, Dublin
Speakers from Green Party, CND, SWP and others
Called by CAMPAIGN AGAINST NUCLEAR TESTING

Drugs: The new excuse for police powers



WHEN THE IRA campaign ended, politicians were left with a problem: How could they justify the wide-scale powers the Gardai enjoy in this state?

Under the present law anyone can be arrested on sight, sent to trial in a non-jury court and convicted on the evidence of a Garda Superintendent.

All these measures were supposed to "protect the state from the terrorist threat".

But now a new excuse has been found to keep these powers and strengthen them. It is drugs.

The Minister for Justice, Nora Owen, is giving the police the right to hold people for seven days and to search houses at will.

According to Dr Paul O Mahony, author of *Crime and Punishment in Ireland*, "It will not get at the drug profiteers."

"Seven day detentions may be unpleasant for them—but it will not produce any evidence."

"These people have the resources to insulate themselves from crime."

"They employ people to handle the drugs and the money".

The vast majority of drug arrests are for soft drugs. Last year 3,000 were arrested for charges related to the possession of cannabis but only 81 for heroin.

Target

The poorest drugs users and young people who take soft drugs will become the target of the new police powers.

Behind all the hysteria there are three facts which the press has tried to hide about Ireland's drug scene.

First, the country is not swamped with drugs.

There has been a small rise in the numbers taking hard drugs. One community worker told *Socialist Worker*:

"In 1983, there were an estimated 3,000 heroin addicts in Dublin. Today it is around 5,000. This rise has to be taken seriously—but hysteria will not help."

Second, the vast majority of drug addicts are from impoverished backgrounds. According to the most recent *Health Research*

Board report, 80% of drug addicts who presented themselves for treatment are unemployed.

A staggering 40% left school before the age of 15.

As Paul O Mahony put it, "We are told we live in a classless society but it is nonsense."

"Every study shows that the roots of heroin use are in deprived areas."

"If you want to solve the problem, you have to deal with the issue of social justice".

Third, the recent deaths from the drug ecstasy have been caused by dehydration because the clubs where young people go to rave are trying to sell water at exorbitant prices.

When 20 year old Stephan McMillan died last month in the Point Depot, *Socialist Worker* was one of the few papers to reveal that bottles of water were confiscated from the ravers.

Response

Politicians like Owen want to use the drugs issue as an excuse for more police powers.

They have no serious strategy for dealing with the issue.

But community workers who deal with drugs at a grass roots level adopt an entirely different approach.

Mary Ellen McCann is the co-ordinator of the Ballymun Youth Action Project.

This is a community response unit to drugs which had been in existence since 1981.

It has not received much press coverage from sensationalist papers like the *Evening Herald*.

According to Mary, "If you are serious about dealing with the issue, you have to start from the reality that people have always experimented with mood altering drugs."

"So you need a variety of strategies for dealing with abuse."

"For the very young, you need a programme which gives them the skills to say 'no'."

US war on drugs: a war on the poor

IN THE 1980s, successive US governments launched a War against Drugs.

All the measures which Nora Owen is now proposing were tried—and more besides. They included:

■ **Seven day detention orders:** This only led to greater police harassment of people living in America's ghettos.

■ **Mandatory life sentences for drug pushers.** This only led to younger children being used as carriers.

■ **Depriving convicted drug users of social welfare benefits.** This only pushed more of the poor back to crime.

■ **Forced fostering of children born to mothers who were drug addicts.** This led to great attacks on

black mothers.

The prison population doubled and drug treatment centres were run down.

After 1986, there were hardly any more centres opened.

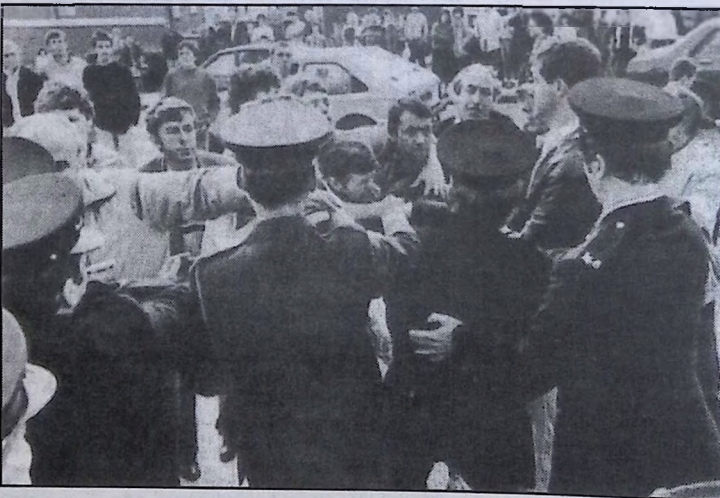
Roots

The policy of war was a complete failure. The numbers of drug users kept rising because the politicians were never interested in tackling the roots of the problem—poverty.

Today the US has the biggest drugs industry in the world.

The war on drugs was an excuse for launching a war on the poor and building up police powers.

Today black men make half the US prison population although they are only 3% of the population.



"For older teenagers who are already experimenting, you need a harm reduction strategy."

"You need to ensure that there is basic health and safety standards at clubs."

"There should be a chill out room; lots of free water and a break in the music every hour."

She also agrees that drug use and poverty are directly linked.

"If you are rich and an addict you have the resources to get off the streets, to meet new people, to change your environment. If you are poor, you are trapped".

Serious

A government that was serious about the drugs problem would pour resources into impoverished

inner city areas.

It would make sure that there are jobs for people who want to work.

It would provide more drug treatment centres for those who want to get off drugs.

But this government will do none of these things.

Instead it is bent on more repression to fill the gap left by the peace process.

Seven day detention will bring more miscarriages of justice

UNDER Owen's new law, anyone suspected of trafficking in drugs can be held for seven days.

All experience shows that this power will be used very widely by the Gardai.

In 1976, after the assassination of the British Ambassador the Fine Gael Minister for Justice, Paddy Cooney rushed through an Emergency Powers Act which gave the Garda powers for seven day detention.

The Gardai used the act to harass people who were not involved in any sort of terrorism.

People like 62 year old Elizabeth Walshe who was the Press Relations Officer of the Irish Civil Rights Association. She was dragged off to a garda station and strip searched because she tried to organise a protest picket.

Photographs

Or Phil Ryan who was an active member of the Unemployed Workers Association.

He was held from November 27th to December 1st after he was seen taking photographs of the Christmas shopping displays.

A "Heavy Gang" was formed inside the Gardai at this time.

They knew that with seven day detentions there would be no evidence of physical assaults.

Thomas Connors from Tipperary was one of their victims. He jumped from a two storey window in the

Cahir Garda station in a suicide bid after being beaten by the Heavy Gang.

Another was Nicky Kelly. He was part of the famous Sallins mail train case in 1976. A week after the robbery, Nicky Kelly was arrested, beaten heavily and forced to sign a false confession.

Later he proved that he had been the victim of an appalling case of a miscarriage of justice.

Owen's new measures will lead to the same effect. They will do nothing to stop the rise of drugs—but they will attack everyone's civil rights.

Two years ago, the Labour/FF Coalition pushed through the Public Order Act. It was supposed to cut down on rowdy gangs creating a disturbance on the streets.

Now it is being used widely by the police. Protesting TEAM workers were told last year that the Public Order Act would be used against them.

Owen will turn a blind eye when the police use these powers in the same way.

They will search more houses for no good reason. They will keep people longer in Garda stations to extract confessions. And all the time the big drug barons—just like the big capitalists who do not pay tax—will walk scott free.

This is why this vicious measure should be opposed.

AS BOSNIAN BLOODSHED INTENSIFIES...

Should West go in over safe havens?



A Muslim mother stranded in Srebrenica hospital

REPORTS FROM Bosnia since the fall of Srebrenica show the horrifying face of modern war.

Half starved civilians flee in terror. Young men are herded into detention camps. People are shot in the back of the head for no reason. Women are raped. Homes are shelled, villages are destroyed.

The TV pictures are especially horrifying since Bosnia seems so close. But the events are no different to what is happening in a dozen countries—from Afghanistan to Rwanda, Chechnia to Angola, Tajikistan to Liberia.

what we think

the UN, NATO and the European Union should do.

But these powers have shown themselves again and again to be part of the problem, not the solution.

Their giant arms companies provide sophisticated weapons which all sides use to slaughter and maim civilians.

The French government, which claims to be so concerned with Bosnia, equipped the murderous militia behind the slaughter in Rwanda.

And while the French President Chirac called for a strong force to be sent to Bosnia, his army was endangering the lives and environment of the people of the South Pacific with nuclear testing.

Recent revelations in the American press show the US army and the CIA trained forces which destroyed 662 villages in Guatemala over the last 30 years, killing 100,000 civilians.

Blasted

Only four years ago the Western powers intervened in the Gulf where they blasted over 100,000 Iraqis as they fled from Kuwait to Basra.

The awful truth is that these powers are in no position to end the horror in Bosnia.

Anyone who doubts that should look at what happened in Somalia. There the US led forces was supposed to intervene to stop a civil war—but they ended up bombarding innocent civilians and then withdrawing in disgrace.

Western intervention in Bosnia would lead to the same result.

Murdered

In each case rival armies have murdered and raped civilians.

There were 82 major wars between 1989 and 1992 and four out of five casualties were civilians.

UN figures show these wars left 1.5 million dead and 4.5 million disabled. More than 40 million people were turned into refugees.

The horror in Bosnia led to a great debate about what Western governments and intergovernmental organisations like

No good sides in this dirty war

THE press have presented the Serbs as the only wrongdoers in this terrible war.

They have certainly engaged in horrific forms of ethnic cleansing. But tragically they are not the only one to do so.

The war in Bosnia started largely because of an agreement struck between Serb leader, Slobodan Milosevic and Croat leader Franco Tudjman to carve up the territory in the former Yugoslavia between them.

They whipped up eth-

nic hatred to deflect attention from the political and economic crises in their own areas.

Both of them tried to grab as much land as possible.

Ejected

This year, for example, Croat forces who overran Western Slavonia—a traditional Serb populated area in Croatia—ejected civilians from their homes just as ruthlessly as the Serbs.

Bosnia survived as a multi-ethnic area for longer—but the logic of war and nationalist poli-

tics has led the official Bosnian leadership to mimic the tactics of the Serbs and Croats.

Bosnian forces in the Zenica area engaged in a massive "cleansing operation" against local Croats.

The journalist Ed Vulliamy, from the *Guardian* described the Bosnian government leader, Izetbegovic, as "a man who had embraced the ethnicisation of politics as eagerly as any of his contemporaries."

Instead of picking sides to support, socialists should denounce the warmongers of all sides.

A history of intervention

WESTERN intervention in the Balkans is not new. It goes back over a century to the Congress of Berlin which carved new states out of the old Ottoman (Turkish) Empire.

The "justification" for this at the time was the alleged atrocities by Muslims against Greek Orthodox Christians.

It did nothing to stop the spread of ethnic and religious hatreds or the politicians' manipulation of these. It culminated in the two Balkan wars of 1912-13.

After WW1, the British and French government installed and sponsored a Yugoslav monarchy which persecuted its Croat and Muslim minorities.

Catalogue

Intervention by Italy and Germany in World War Two led to "ethnic cleansing" and mass murder by the fascist Croat Ustashe.

More recent interventions have simply added to the catalogue of horrors.

Germany's decision to recognise a Croatian state intent on oppressing its Serb minority transformed simmering ethnic conflict into war four years ago.

The recent upsurge of fighting has followed secret US intervention. US army officers have trained the Croatian army and ensured that it is supplied with modern weapons.

They encouraged an alliance between the Muslim and Croatian forces and urged them to win back territory.



Chirac: Wants to distract attention from French nuclear tests

Today the Western powers are split about what to do.

Some are wary of getting too deeply involved and want withdrawal.

Others believe that a combination of air strikes and the supply of more arms to the Bosnian Muslims could turn the tide of the war.

According to the right wing chairman of the US foreign relations committee, Jessie Helms, the UN should "begin treating the Bosnians as we did the Nicaraguan Contras."

This section of the US establishment wants to counter any future Russian influence in the area and is prepared to risk a spreading of the war to other parts of the Balkans.

"I think we'd let that happen" was the response of the US Republican leader Robert Dole when asked about this.

ONLY ONE HOPE FOR PEACE

THE LEFT and the liberal press in Ireland has been thrown into confusion by the war.

The youth wing of Democratic Left has called for 'stronger action'—bombing of the Serbs.

The radical journalist Maggie O Kane has urged the Irish government to phone Chirac to "say Ireland is behind you" in sending in the French Foreign legion.

Mary Holland even urged people to call to the French embassy to "express support for President Chirac's stance".

Many of these writers argue that the situation is like the Spanish Civil war in the 1930s and that radicals should oppose any 'appeasement'.

But it is a different kind of war. In Spain, Franco sought to annihilate working class organisation and the Republican government promised to improve workers conditions.

Poverty

In Bosnia all sides are fighting for control of territory where the same old poverty will remain.

Genuine socialists cannot support either side in this war. It results from the success of rival right wing politicians in dividing workers and peasants along ethnic lines.

It cannot be treated differently to other civil wars around the world. Western intervention can only make things worse. The only real solution is to fight for unity of workers of different backgrounds against all the warmongering politicians.

Unless that starts to happen, this succession of horrifying wars will go on indefinitely.



The real story of Coke

COCA-COLA is probably the single best known brand name in the world.

It is a soft drink, now 99 percent sugar water, that began as a 19th century mixture of cocaine and cola and was pushed as a patent medicine.

How did its makers rise to become the sixth greatest US multinational?

Mark Pendergrast tells the story in a fascinating book, *For God, Country and Coca-Cola*.

The history of Coke is a history of US capitalism.

The company's first boss was Asa Candler, a Methodist fundamentalist, who told Coca-Cola salesmen to see themselves as missionaries selling "the American Dream".

The company was based in Atlanta, a state renowned for allowing child labour. Candler became mayor of Atlanta in 1908 and defended his right to employ children:

"The younger a boy begins work," he said, "the more beautiful does his life become."

Coca-Cola has continued to profit since from treating its workers appallingly.

In 1969 the company's Florida citrus groves were found to be crowding 6,000 migrant workers of all ages into insanitary barracks. It paid them a minimal wage.

When Coke workers in Guatemala tried to organise in 1975, the death squads moved in.

Death

Union leaders were tortured to death. One local activist revealed, "Coca-Cola is now commonly known as the 'glint of death'."

But the company has always been able to ride out bad publicity.

Its bosses have maintained the closest relations with governments. They have helped choose "friendly" presidents and thrown considerable resources into the campaigns of White House candidates.

The close drinking friends of past and present Coca-Cola bosses include presidents Roosevelt, Kennedy, Johnson, Carter and Clinton.

This tie up between company and state ensured Coca-Cola expanded along with US

by **FRAN CETTI**

imperialism during and after the Second World War.

Coca-Cola salesmen became "technical observers" in the US army, with uniforms and military ranks.

The "Coca-Cola colonels" supplied drinks to the troops and surveyed "liberated" countries as prospective new markets.

But the company was not exclusively tied to the US.

On the contrary, the Coca-Cola empire in Nazi Germany displayed the swastika alongside Coke adverts. The head of the German subsidiary proclaimed, the "deepest admiration" for Hitler.

Wherever German troops overran territory, the German arm of Coca-Cola followed and set up plants using concentration camp labour.

The makers of Coke have been more than happy to live with fascist regimes and military dictatorships.

In fact, they have helped dictators come to power if it seemed a way to ensure continuing profits.

In Guatemala in 1954, the company which ran the Coca-Cola bottling Plants—United Fruit—joined in the military overthrow of a democratic regime.

After the revolution in Nicaragua in 1979, Coca-Cola backed the owner of its main bottling plant who became a general in the vicious right wing Contra army.

The company had lost control of its plants in the revolution and it wanted them back.

Coke continues to be marketed on the back of a myth of peace and international harmony—the Myth of American imperialism itself.

The true story of Coca-Cola could not be more different.

■ *For God, Country and Coca-Cola* by Mark Pendergrast (Weidenfeld and Nicholson), £20.

FIFTY YEARS AFTER HIROSHIMA

NEVER AGAIN!

"FIRST CAME the flash and nearly a hundred thousand people perished. Then came the blast and the city was gone.

"Then came the mushroom cloud—and the living dead cried for water. Their rubbery faces slipped off like masks and their corpses ran awash in the Ota river."

At 8.15 in the morning of August 6th, 1945, the US dropped a nuclear bomb on Hiroshima.

Those within one mile of the detonation point had their internal organs boiled away in the heat and their bones were boiled to a cinder. Birds exploded in mid air. People ran screaming into the rivers, their skin hanging loose like shreds of torn cloth.

Even 50 years on, hereditary cancers and genetic mutations are still found. Altogether 200,000 died as a result.

Three days later, Nagasaki was hit and another 70,000 people were murdered by the Allies.

The victims included as many Allied prisoners of war as Japanese troops. After hearing of the completion of the attack on Hiroshima, President Truman claimed, "This is the greatest thing in history".

But as the truth emerged to a horrified world the justifications began.

The politicians claimed that the bombings actually saved lives by ending the war quickly. Even now, Western rulers rush to justify the barbarity. Clinton has said: "If I had the same information as President Truman, I would have done what he did."

The Allies had never been concerned with stopping needless slaughter. With the Japanese airforce crushed, the Allies had been firebombing cities with the intent of killing as many civilians as possible.

Bombers

Altogether B29 bomber raids destroyed over 3,100,000 homes leaving 15 million homeless and one million dead.

The May 25th firebombing raid on Tokyo created a gigantic firestorm that engulfed the city. From an altitude of three miles pilots could smell burning human flesh. It was a week before American pilots could get back through the smoke and haze to photograph the devastation they had caused.

This was the final straw for



Nuclear madness

WHEN THE Stalinist states of Eastern Europe collapsed, many believed that this would herald the end of nuclear weapons.

But the West never had nu-

clear weapons simply as a defence against the "Russian threat".

Preparing

Nuclear weapons were deployed and made ready for use

during the Gulf War. British ships during the Falklands war had nuclear weapons on board.

Now in the South Pacific, France is preparing to test 8 bombs in the next year. If they get away with it, it could be the start of a new nuclear arms

race. China has a nuclear device. The army generals would prefer their weapons. The government that their tests a

UP IN SMOKE

★ While more than half the people of the planet live in poverty, our rulers still spend a vast amount on arms.

■ Since the

1980s, the US has spent one trillion dollars on building up nuclear weapons.

■ In 1980, an American nuclear countdown was set

off by a chance formation of Newfoundland geese.

■ Every 10 days the Western governments spends 20 billion dollars on arms.

■ In the Gulf War, 1 billion dollars was spent every day.

■ Even small nuclear powers like Britain has spent £5,000 million on its Trident system.

ways and means to conclude the war."

The Allies were well aware of these developments.

It was clear that Japan was militarily exhausted.

Ninety percent of its navy had been sunk.

The atom bomb was dropped

solely to put America in pole position in the post-war world.

Dictate

As Jimmy Byrnes, America's Secretary of State said, "The atom bomb might well put us in a position to dictate our own

terms of the end. The specific shima is a natural off the bomb. An internal re Hiroshima, a city hills, would pre effect which wo increase the blas Bombing Hir Russia from co Asia. I give the An over Russia in ments. It was Americ interests that di ping of the bom The same forc Until so today human need and threat of a repeat still want us.

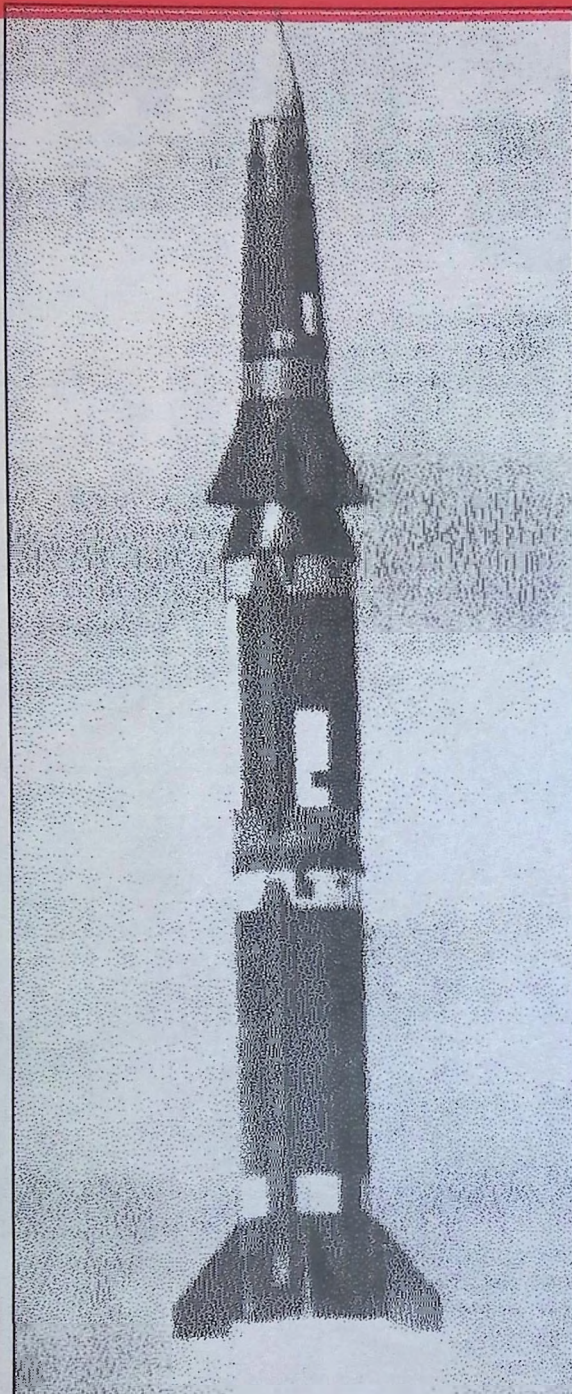
HIROSHIMA...



ness

China has already exploded a nuclear device in 1993. US army generals are also clamouring for the right to re-test their weapons. These governments claim that their tests are safe because

terms at the end of the war." They specifically choose Hiroshima as a natural theatre to show off the bomb. An internal report stated that Hiroshima, a city surrounded by hills, "would produce a focusing effect which would considerably increase the blast damage". Bombing Hiroshima blocked Russia from controlling Eastern Asia. It gave the Americans an edge over Russia in post war settlements. It was American imperialism's interests that dictated the dropping of the bomb. The same force wreaks havoc today. Until society is run for human need and not for profit, the threat of a repeat of the bomb will still haunt us.



by TADGH CAREY

Workers' action can stop the tests

GREENPEACE mounted a great campaign to force the oil company Shell to stop sinking the Brent Spar in the North Sea.

But it will take more than a consumer boycott to halt the new arms race.

The real power to stop the madness lies with workers. Here the Australian trade union movement has shown a great example of what can be done.

Australian dockers have already put a ban on some French ships in response to their nuclear testing.

In the 1976, Australian unions organised a national rail strike after one of their members refused to service a train carrying uranium—the raw material for nuclear weapons.

On the day of the strike they gave out leaflets warning of the danger of nuclear power.

After the strike the Australian Congress of Trade Unions placed a ban on some uranium exports.

This type of action and not the crocodile tears of politicians is the way to end the nuclear madness.

The Irish trade union movement should make a start by refusing to service any French military vessels that try to call into our ports.

they are carried out in underpopulated areas.

But *Socialist Worker* has received information from Pierre Riant, a reporter with Radio National Pacific Service who visited Tahiti which is near where the French army are carrying out their tests.

Atoll

"In Tahiti every household has a story.

"A nephew who worked at the atoll whose kids have no arms or legs. An uncle there in the 1960s who died of leukaemia.

"There is a video called *The Big Secret*. The French government tried to stop it being screened.

"People in Tahiti talk about poisoned fish, about water.

"Some people think it is not important, but it's the islanders' life"

The destruction that these tests are causing has already led to huge protests.

Tahiti is a tiny island but already 15,000 people have taken to the streets to protest.

Many are now demanding independence for the island.

Spring's hypocrisy

DICK SPRING claims to be putting diplomatic pressure on France to end their nuclear testing.

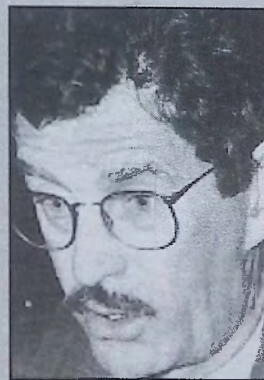
But it is pure hypocrisy. Spring signed the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty despite the advice of organisation like Greenpeace.

This farcical treaty banned testing from May 1996—but this only encouraged countries like France to push through their tests earlier.

Spring is trying to push Ireland closer to a common defence policy with the rest of the European Union.

This would end Irish neutrality and line up this country with the nuclear powers.

The Coalition government has also given ap-



proval for a massive Loran-C mast to be built in Loop head.

It is a navigational instrument which could help countries like France guide their nuclear subs through the Atlantic.

what do socialists say?

Will socialism make us dull?

SOCIALISTS want everyone to be equal, but that will just drag us all down to the same level. Everybody and everything will be the same—grey, mediocre and boring.

Like many of the standard objections to socialism ("You can't change human nature", "There will always be leaders", etc) this has been repeated so often that it has come to sound like common sense.

In fact it is a piece of capitalist "ideology"—the system of ideas developed by the capitalist class over centuries which sees the world from the standpoint of that class and which serves to justify its domination of society.

The idea that equality will produce mediocrity is typically capitalist (even though it is often repeated by workers) because it looks at the whole question from the top down, from the point of view of the privileged few.

As a consequence it fails to notice that if privilege and inequality are necessary for individuality and achievement, then capitalism, by its very nature, condemns the large majority of people to uniform failure.

Capitalism ensures that most people do boring jobs for roughly the same low pay and live in the same grey, miserable conditions. If individuality is dependent on inequality, what individuality is there for workers on the production line or for people living in tower blocks?

Again it is typical of capitalist thinking to identify individuality and achievement with wealth, property and privilege.

A moment's reflection

on personal experience shows how false this is. Think of any group of people living and working in the same conditions — workers on the factory floor, children in a class at school or even children in the same family. Clearly they will have many things in common, but are they all the same?

Variety

Not at all. What is more, a group of working class people show just as much variety and individuality as a group of stockbrokers, bankers or industrialists.

However, the fundamental flaw in this anti-socialist argument is that it completely misrepresents the kind of equality that socialism stands for.

Socialism is first and foremost concerned with people's relationship to the means of production and to their work.

At present the means of production are owned and controlled by a tiny minority—the capitalists.

This minority apart, everyone else in society is equal in their relationship to the means of production in that they equally do not own or control them in any way and are therefore equally wage slaves.

The aim of socialism is to turn this non-owning majority into the collective owners and controllers of the productive process.

In so far as ownership of the means of production and control over one's own work are necessary for freedom, self expression and the development of the personality, socialism will mean an enormous increase in all these things for the vast majority.

In terms of living standards and conditions of life, socialism will mean a levelling down only for the tiny minority who currently prosper by the exploitation of the majority.

For the majority it will mean levelling up. In particular it will mean that masses of people are lifted out of the conditions of poverty, unemployment and malnutrition which degrade and crush people and prevent them from realising their individual potential.

If every child has a decent home, a good diet and an enriching education, and if every adult has a socially useful job with a shorter working week and universal childcare facilities, will that make everyone the same?

No. It will increase and enhance individuality, creativity and diversity.

If at work the average person ceases to be an appendage to the machine or a mere cog in the wheels of bureaucracy and becomes a conscious participant in the democratic control and planning of industry and society, will that reduce them to mediocrity?

No. It will raise their dignity, their self respect and their freedom of thought and deed.

And that is what real socialism has always been about. Our basic aim is, in the words of Karl Marx "an association in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all."

But for that working people must overthrow a society in which the freedom and individuality of the privileged few are based on the exploitation and oppression of the vast majority.

by JOHN MOLYNEUX

OUT NOW! The Irish Famine

by Vasco Purser

£1 plus 40p p+p from: Bookmarks, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



A book that exposes the market myths...

Explaining the madhouse

THE ECONOMY is supposed to be too difficult for most of us to understand. Like the weather, it seems to be beyond human control.

The economic 'experts' never offer any real solutions to unemployment—except to tell us to make sacrifices and do with less wages.

Dave McDonagh and Jane Elderton look at a new book by Chris Harman, *Economics of the Madhouse* which shows how everyone can understand the economy.

It is a book that should be read because it shows that there can be an alternative to the market.

IN THE United States—the richest country in history—32 million people live below the poverty line.

Yet a new book *The Overworked American* by Juliet Schor has shown how the average American now works "an average of 164 hours more annually than 20 years ago."

This amounts to about a month more at work a year.

How can people work longer—and yet end up much poorer?

This is a simple question which conventional economists hardly ever ask.

Instead they simply insist that our economy works according to natural laws like that of "supply and demand".

But they never tell us where supply and demand come from in the first place.

Marx, writing 150 years ago, argued that capitalism was quite different to all previous societies.

Before this system emerged, production was for immediate use.

Even though peasants were forced to give up a half or more of their output to the lord, the goal of work was the satisfaction of human need.

What was eaten and beer drunk.

But today, according to Chris, "very little production is for immediate use".

Computer workers do not make computers for their own or even for their bosses' use.

Goods are produced to be sold and through exchange the "effort of one individual is linked to the efforts of millions of other individuals throughout the world system".

But it is not linked in a way which benefits them.

Capitalism has a world workforce of around three billion.

There is no co-ordination as people are forced to compete against each other.

The result is that workers are constantly urged to work harder to create more wealth but they get little benefit from their efforts.

As Marx wrote, "The worker works in order to live.

"He does not even reckon la-

bour as part of his life, but rather a sacrifice of his life.

"The worker who for 12 hours weaves, spins, drills, turns, builds, shovels, does he consider this as life?"

"On the contrary, life begins for him when this activity ceases, at the table, in the public house, in bed".

One of the key things economists try to hide is the source of wealth.

They talk of the capitalists being rewarded for being "wealth creators".

Marx disagreed. He saw profit and wealth coming from what he called "surplus value".

He wrote:

"If it takes four hours to produce the goods you live on but you work an eight hour day, then the capitalist is taking four hours a day off you for nothing".

The way the capitalist pocket a surplus number of hours is the real source of their profit.

This exploitation is at the heart of the system.

IN THE last twenty years there have been three major recessions.

It is now impossible to ignore the fact that the system swings from boom to slump.

So why does it happen?

Under capitalism each firm rushes headlong into investing in the latest technology and a mountain of new consumer goods soon appear on the market.

Firms are encouraged to expand further with the new opportunities.

But it does not last because there is no co-ordination.

Car manufacturers try to expand their output—before the necessary expansion in the steel industry has happened.

Chris explains, "In every boom that capitalism has experienced, a point has been reached at which shortages of raw materials, components, skilled labour and finance suddenly arise".

The result is that the boom gives way to rising inflation.

The rising costs quickly destroy the profits of some firms and force them to the edge of bankruptcy.

"The only way for them to



Waiting for famine relief—while food is stockpiled

protect themselves is to cut back on production, sack workers and shut down plants.

But in doing so they destroy the market for the goods of other firms.

The boom gives way to slump.

"Suddenly there is 'overproduction'.

Goods pile up in warehouses because people cannot afford to buy them.

The workers who have produced them are sacked, since they cannot be sold.

This means workers buy fewer goods and the amount of "overproduction in the system gets greater".

IN THE last century the slump was used to 'cleanse' the system by letting inefficient firms go to the wall.

The remaining firms would then buy up plant and machinery on the cheap and start the cycle all over with new investment.

Right wing politicians have often praised this 'cleansing' of the system by a crude misuse of Darwin's

theory of the 'survival of the fittest'.

But as capitalism has developed two things have happened which prevent the system from ever fully recovering from a slump.

Firstly, more and more capital or wealth has become concentrated in fewer and fewer hands.

TODAY THE world economy is dominated by a few giant multinationals.

The fifteen biggest—including General Motors, Shell, Exxon and IBM—have a combined income greater than that of over 120 countries.

If one of these went bust it would bring down a whole section of the economy with it.

So the state is more likely to intervene to save it.

This means the system can no longer be 'cleansed' of lame duck firms.

Secondly, the amount of machinery grows in proportion to the amount of workers employed.

A machine cannot be exploited in the way that a worker can.

The boss can try to force a

worker's wages down or try to get more productivity out of the worker.

But machines cost a set amount of money and cannot be made to work faster for less.

And no machine has ever reproduced itself the way a worker can!

As more money is invested in machines less profit can be squeezed out of the workers who operate those machines.

So over time the rate of profit tends to fall.

CHRIS HARMAN's book shows clearly how these ideas of Karl Marx are still relevant today.

They answer all the lies told by employers to persuade workers to 'embrace change'.

Today Labour Parties admit they have no answers to the central problems of unemployment, increased workloads and pressure to accept lower living standards.

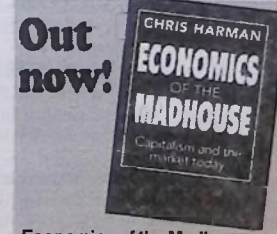
This is because they have accepted that the market should dominate people's lives.

But for Harman there is an alternative.

If the whole system is the product of what we do then we have the power to take control and make decisions.

As Harman says: 'If we look at the way society is developing today in many parts of the globe we can see, all too vividly, the face of barbarism.

But we can also see struggles against the system that repeatedly throw up notions of real advance, based on solidarity, on co-operation, on people caring for each other as they consciously and collectively work out their own futures.'



Economics of the Madhouse—Capitalism and the Market Today
by Chris Harman
£3.50 + 70p p+p from:
SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

COMMENT

Why we oppose the Orange Order

"WHERE'S their parity of esteem now?", a flush-faced member of the Ballynaveigh Orange Order shouted at TV news cameras last month.

He was complaining that his lodge hadn't been allowed (not that time) to march through the Catholic Lower Ormeau area.

His argument was that the "parity of esteem" which nationalists have been demanding must also apply to his tradition.

To stop the Orangemen marching was to deny the Protestant community the right to express itself.

This has become a popular line of argument, and not just from the Orange Order itself.

It ran, hazily, through a three-part *Irish Times* series by Fintan O'Toole last month.

'Culture'

Orangeism is part of the "culture" of the Protestant community.

To express hostility towards it is to display antipathy to Protestants.

We should celebrate diversity, even enjoy the colour, vigour and carnival atmosphere of Orange processions. Live and let live.

This is not to suggest that Orange demonstrations have a right to march anywhere they choose.

Those who see Orangeism as a cultural phenomenon are pretty adamant on this score: they do NOT approve of Orange marchers insulting or behaving in a triumphalist manner towards Catholics.

Each side should respect the other, that's the whole point.

A similar point was made by John Bruton and Proinsias de Rossa when they condemned Sinn Fein for planning marches to demand the release of prisoners and inclusion in all-Party talks.

Marches could easily get out of hand, had we not just had evidence of that on the Garvaghy Road in Portadown?

The Orange Order had a right to march. Sinn Fein had a right to march.

But each of them had to be careful, and sensitive to the feelings of others...

All this is a load of baloney.

The reason Nationalists in the North have campaigned for "parity of esteem" is that they were denied parity of esteem.

The State was organised in such a way as to give expression to the identity of one community only.

The most important mechanism for sustaining this situation was the Orange Order.

The set of ideas reflecting and reinforcing the set-up was Orangeism.

To suggest that the Orange Order and Orangeism should be respected in the name of "parity of esteem" is to turn the truth on its head.

What's more, no parallel can be drawn between Orange and Republican marches.

Sinn Fein is not a socialist organisation.

It has members with a sectarian—in the normal sense of the word—attitude to Protestants.

The IRA campaign—Shankill, Teebane—had a sectarian content. But the Republican Movement is not a Catholic equivalent of the Orange Order.

The Orange Order admits Protestants only, is explicitly devoted to maintaining Protestant power, forbids its members upon pain of expulsion to attend Catholic services.

Most of all, it has paraded, literally, its hatred of Catholics through the streets of the North for generations, and put this hatred into practice both in physical terms and in terms of the manipulation of the machinery of state.

And the Orange Order doesn't represent "the Protestant community" anyway.

It plays a specific political role within it. O'Toole quoted one of the modern ideologists of Orangeism spelling out what this is: "Orangeism crosses the class divide...it prevents Protestant and Roman Catholic workers from coming together. But is that a bad thing...?"

Thus, working-class unity, which socialists seek, cannot be achieved other than through opposition to Orangeism.

We are against all sets of ideas—including nationalism—which give weight to the community people come from than to the class they belong to.

And we are particularly against ideas which encourage one community to imagine itself superior to another.

Opposition to sectarianism does not mean toleration of Orangeism. On the contrary, it means giving Orangeism no quarter.

— EAMONN McCANN

PAMPHLET

The 'free market' caused the famine



The Irish Famine by Vasco Purser reviewed by Bríd Smith

BETWEEN 1845 and 1850 one million people in Ireland died of starvation and a further one million emigrated on the notorious "coffin ships".

The destitution and misery suffered by the poor in Ireland is echoed by the scenes of famine in Ethiopia, the Sudan and Somalia which have flashed across our TV screens in the 1990's.

The key argument of *Socialist Worker's* new pamphlet on the Irish Famine is that the failure of the potato crop was not responsible for the death and suffering which followed.

Priorities

Instead it was the priorities of the market that caused this enormous human tragedy.

Vasco Purser shows how

Irish agriculture could feed "in the region of 10 million people in pre-famine times".

Even after the failure of the potato crop "the bulk of the remaining supplies, cattle and corn, butter, beef and pork which would have fed all the inhabitants, continued to be exported to England to pay rent".

Any relief operations were kept to a minimum with strict adherence to the free market dogma. In all, the Government spent £8 million on the Irish Famine, compared with £69 million on the Crimean War.

Little has changed in 150 years. Today, western pow-

ers spend \$20 billion every ten days on arms while millions starve to death in a world bulging with food.

The same arguments that are advanced today about why people starve have been made about the Irish famine.

Claim

Journalists like Kevin Myers of the *Irish Times* have tried to claim that the Irish Famine was a "natural disaster" in order to cover for the crimes of British colonialism.

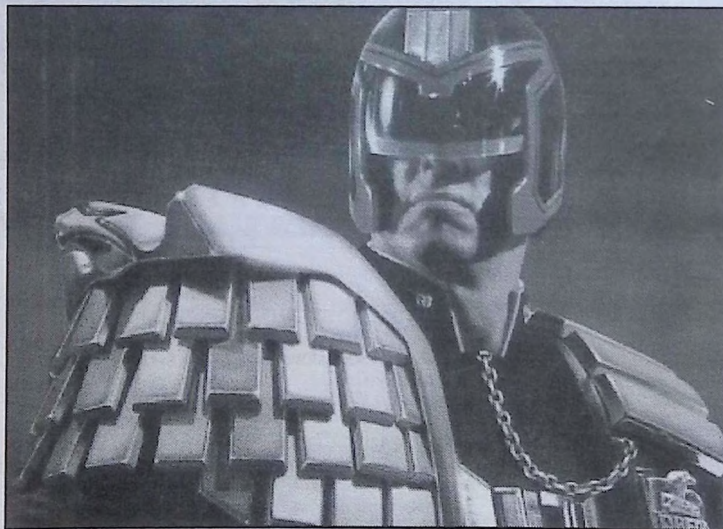
Revisionist historians like Roy Foster even went so far as to argue that 'Irish outrages' discouraged investment.

Vasco Purser's pamphlet destroys these arguments with good factual evidence. It is essential reading for anyone who wants to see through all the myths that were created about Ireland's greatest tragedy.

■ *The Irish Famine*, by Vasco Purser, a *Socialist Worker* pamphlet, £1.00 +40p p+p from: Bookmarks, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

FILM

Dreddful movie



I FIRST came across Judge Dredd when he appeared in comics. He patrolled a nightmare city, (New York in the future) dispensing justice to a city of criminals.

The future had nothing but doom and gloom to offer, with extra doses of alienation and violence for the people trying to survive in it.

A perfect subject for a Hollywood film. I must admit that I was not surprised to see Sylvester Stallone starring in it.

I'm sure he loved acting as a leather clad, unemotional dictator.

Practically every "criminal" in the city had his head blown off by our hero.

The fact that some

a ropey plot just about keeping things together.

The story followed the usual formula: a fight between good guys and bad guys to the death.

At the end we see our hero, victorious over the combined forces of evil, going into the city to continue his fight against injustice.

The film tries to tell us that the future was safe in his hands, but with poverty and unemployment all over the city you somehow get the feeling that a bunch of policemen with a fixation on leather and guns are no solution.

Colm O Riain reviews Judge Dredd

people were innocent was not an issue, they were killed or locked up anyway.

Fist-fight

Dredd probably learnt a lot from the US police of today.

The film sped from gunfight to fist-fight to high speed chases, with

FILM

Beyond Rangoon

Reviewed by Niamh Kelly

JOHN BOORMAN's latest offering of a war piece takes us to the turbulent and poignant Burma.

Burma is country which we have heard little about in recent years.

The 1988 a pro-democracy movement was brutally crushed by a military dictatorship. Up to 700,000 Burmese fled the country and two million were forcibly relocated.

Set against this backdrop, Patricia Arquette stars as an American doctor, Laura Brown who is trapped as the junta close the airports and impose curfews.

Grappling with a personal tragedy she ends up desperately trying to save her life. She meets up with an ex-professor and revolutionary, U Aung Ko, who stars as himself.

The two help each other flee from the onslaught of the approaching jack boots. Boorman attempts to illustrate the political through the personal, adding dashes of dialogue.

The film is compelling but nowhere near as insightful as Stone's *Salvador* or *The Killing Fields*.

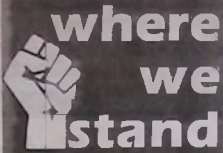
The reason is that it fails to take the political background seriously. Boorman even has one student talk about how, "We Burmese are too polite to resist. Instead we end up suffering in silence".

This is absurd. The pro-democracy movement was able to launch a massive general strike. Towns like Mandalay were run for months by students and radical Buddhist monks. In other towns soldiers had begun to join the demonstrations.

The tragedy was that leaders like Aung Sah Suu Kyi—the recently released Oxford academic—called on the army to stay united. She wanted a quick and peaceful transition through negotiation with the generals.

Boorman's film is a disappointment because it deals with these events in the most superficial way. The acting is wooden and ends up reinforcing the view that the opposition movement was primarily a middle class affair.

For anyone who really wants to understand what happened, a much more useful source is Bert Lintner's book, *Outrage*.



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 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.

news & reports—politics; the unions—

Dunnes workers go back 'strong and proud'

DERRY: UTA BALLOT FOR ACTION

AFTER their magnificent three week strike, Dunnes workers have returned strong and proud to their jobs.

"The customers to the shops have been really supportive. They were outraged when Margaret Heffernan came swanning around the stores after the strike to shake the hands of scabs and management. They're still on our side", according to a young worker in Cornelscourt.

Many workers are in no doubt that they could have won more if they had stayed out for a better settlement.

"If the union had recommended that we fight on, we would have fought and won more".

These workers knew the strike was solid.

But the Labour Court settlement voted in by the workers has meant some significant gains. Part-timers are now guaranteed at least 15 hours per week.

One worker told *Socialist Worker* "It's a big improvement for me. I used to only get a measly eight hours".

In some cases part-timers are getting more than the minimum 15 hours.

Sunday payment is now at time and a half.

Dunnes management have been forced to concede that Sunday work deserves more than just the miserable flat rate that was being paid. Some full-time staff are

still entitled to double-time for Sundays.

But in one Dublin store, workers told *Socialist Worker* that the Sunday work is going to the scabs. Very few of the strikers have been rostered for the Sundays.

"These scabs are management's pets but we don't talk to them except when we have to. They have nothing to be proud of", according

to one Shop Steward. Management in some stores have developed "an attitude" to the workers who were out on strike.

Abuse

Also there have been cases of abuse and harassment.

But as one union activist put it: "Some of these managers would love to have a

go at us if they thought that they could break us. But we are fighting them on every issue that comes up".

Dunnes workers now have the chance to build strong rank and file organisation in their stores.

Most workers are union members and have the experience of their recent strike behind them.

Every store should call union meetings to get well

organised.

They should elect more shop stewards and insist that officials are involved in all grievances.

Further negotiations on the issues of sick pay, pensions and PESP payments have yet to be hammered out between Dunnes and the unions. More gains can be made as long as union organisation is strengthened.

WORKERS IN Derry's United Technology Automotive (UTA) plant are balloting on industrial action after management insisted on a 'restructuring' deal in return for an 8 per cent pay rise.

The strings attached to the 8 per cent include: ■ total flexibility—which means everyone has to agree to working anywhere in the plant, doing any job they are asked;

■ acceptance of shift working—already rejected by the workers in three separate votes;

■ restructuring of all staff to replace the sixteen different rates paid in the plant with just three grades.

Management want these changes in order split the workforce and keep costs down. One line worker told *Socialist Worker*:

"They hope to get rid of workers who earn top rates or are union militants and replace them with lower paid 'yes' men and women."

The workers in UTA are in a very strong position. Management didn't offer 8 per cent out of the goodness of their hearts but because they have mountains of work lined up and are worried about the growing anger in the workforce. That means that an all-out strike would put them on the run.

ESB: Stop the sell-off

SIPTU's national industrial secretary Jack Nash has warned the government and ESB management that the massive jobs losses they are trying to push through will not be acceptable.

This is a welcome statement from a union leader for workers in the ESB.

SIPTU has also indicated opposition to the "contracting out" of work and the privatisation of some functions in the company.

The government had hoped that talks with the unions would clear the way for privatising the service throughout Ireland in line with EU de-regulation.

But the experience of Britain and other countries has shown that privatisation can only lead to more expense on the

ordinary consumer and fat profits for the rich.

Many ESB workers are angry at the plans for the future of the company.

One ATGWU steward told *Socialist Worker*: "There is a large body of opinion among the workers that all the changes are not for the good."

"We supply the cheapest electricity service in Western Europe and still put profits back into the Exchequer."

"ESB workers want to make the service efficient and cheaper to the consumers but we are not in-

terested in making profits for private, rich individuals."

Jobs losses of up to 3,000 are being sought by the government along with drastic changes in work practices.

Closing

But as the ATGWU steward pointed out:

"Many workers in their '50's may want to take the voluntary redundancy but it won't be anything like 3,000."

"They say there will be no forced job losses but if they start closing plants and transferring workers to jobs 100 miles away, that would be coercing them out of work."

"We work on the lines and we don't accept that

work like this should be contracted out.

"How could we trust a contractor who owns a few JCB's and brings in low paid workers to make more bucks for himself."

"Our workers are experienced and skilled and in a dangerous job like this we need to be able to trust each others ability."

Over the next few months the government will try to push through the deal to finalise the selling-off of electricity services.

The only way they will be stopped and forced to see sense is by the workers in the ESB standing up to them.

They have the power to defend jobs and services.

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

BELFAST CENTRAL
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Penny Farthing Bar, Upper North Street

8pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay.

DUBLIN BLANCHARDSTOWN
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Blakestown Community Centre, Blakestown Way.

Community Centre, beside Finglas Inn.

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Conways, Parnell St.

Currans Hotel, Eyre Square—contact national address for details.

BELFAST SOUTH
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Queens Students Union.

DERRY
Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Bar at 8pm

DUBLIN COOLOCK
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd.

DUBLIN RATHMINES
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond Street.

NEWRY
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm—contact national address for details.

WATERFORD
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU hall, Waterford.

CORK
Meets every Thursday at

BRAY
Meets every Thursday at 8pm Contact national address for details.

DUBLIN CLONDALKIN
Contact 8722682 for details of meetings

DUBLIN PEARSE ST/RINGSEND
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St

DUBLIN TALLAGHT
Contact 8722682 for details of meetings

DUN LAOGHAIRE
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

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

Address.....

Phone.....

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Bentley Pub, Drimnagh Road

DUBLIN TALLAGHT
Contact 8722682 for details of meetings

DUN LAOGHAIRE
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

DUBLIN FINGLAS
Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Rosehill

DUN LAOGHAIRE
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

GALWAY
Meets every second Thursday at 7.30pm in

There are *Socialist Worker* members in: ENNISKILLEN; COLERAINE; LURGAN; CAVAN; DONEGAL; NAAS; LIMERICK; KILKENNY; DUNDALK; BRAY; ATHLONE; DRUGHEDA. MAYNOOTH.

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

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ACTION WINS AT CORK HOSPITAL

CATERING staff at Cork's University Hospital took two days strike action over the treatment of casual staff. The action was unofficial.

Canteen workers on sick leave or holidays are replaced by a number of casuals who are not paid any shift allowance. Some of the casual workers have been employed for many years.

The shift allowance could amount to as much as £30 extra a week.

One worker told *Socialist Worker*, "You can be working alongside someone else on the exact same hours and conditions—and still they are paid less. It is a disgrace".

Management had refused to talk to the workers about these issues before the strike.

The action closed off canteen services to visitors and staff but services to the patients were maintained. It forced management to enter talks with the workers.

If the talks do not succeed, workers are planning to ballot for full scale industrial action.

AIRMOUNT HOSPITAL, WATERFORD

Domestic workers win severance pay

THE STRIKE by 22 domestic workers at Waterford's Airmount hospital ended on 11th July. The women had picketed the hospital 24 hours a day for over one month.

They were demanding that redundancy money promised to them two years ago by the Medical Missionaries of Mary be paid up.

After the intervention of the local Labour TD, Brian O'Shea, talks took place between SIPTU and the nuns who are trying to sell the local hospital.

But not surprisingly, Sister Rosaleen, the head accountant for the nuns, pleaded poverty. She claimed, "We are only a new

order and have no funds." But like the rest of the Church's institutions, they are set to make a fortune by selling off their property.

Service

Already they have been offered £4 million for their Drogheda headquarters.

Noreen, the shop steward told *Socialist Worker* "We are pleased with the outcome. We won three weeks pay per year of service from the Health Board.

"But it wasn't just about money. We wanted the right to the redundancy and all along the nuns kept telling us there were jobs for us in the Regional Hospital.

"Most of us are 60 years old and older and don't want to have to work any longer.

"We deserve to retire and receive recognition for our years of hard work".

Workers in the local glass factory had collected £500 for the hospital strikers.

But when their strike ended so soon afterwards, the hospital workers decided to donate the money to the strikers from Dunnes Stores in Waterford.



Workers picketing Airmount Hospital

Irish Press staff denied dole

JOURNALISTS who were employed by the Irish Press Group are still without any income, seven weeks after their occupation of the Burgh Quay premises.

The Department of Social Welfare has refused any payment to the 200 journalists because they have been "deemed to be in dispute with their employer". This decision has been appealed by the workers to a Social Welfare Tribunal. The results of the tribunal are expected next week.

The Minister in charge is none other than the Democratic Left leader, Proinsias De Rossa who has hidden behind bureaucratic red tape.

"The decision of the department is very harsh on us especially since we did agree to end our occupation on the basis of talks with the employer", according to one journalist who spoke to *Socialist Worker*.

"Workers are being threatened by landlords that they will be thrown out of their flats or they have to plead with financial companies for a moratorium on their mortgages."

The irony for the journalists is that they would have been entitled to social welfare payments if the liquidation of the company went ahead. Instead they argued for an examiner to make a decision on the future of the company. That decision is expected by August 9th.

Some journalists believe that "most likely, if a new owner takes over we won't all get our jobs back. There will probably be a whole new re-structuring and the use of 'Yellow pack' grades".

Meantime the only financial support the journalists have is the money they raise from the sales of their broadsheet, produced from their campaign office in Liberty Hall.

The Minister for Social Welfare, Proinsias De Rossa should be hounded by NUJ members and told to pay the dole money to the Irish Press journalists.

Teachers action called off

THE LEADERS of the teachers' unions have called off their campaign of industrial action for early retirement.

They have been promised full talks in September. But already the outlines of a deal are clear.

Teachers who are aged over 55 and have 20 years service will be able to retire if they cannot work "at a high level of commitment".

But only a small number of teachers each year will be able leave the service.

Only 150 a year in this category will be let go. In return for this tiny concession, the government have added some strings.

They are demanding greater productivity from teachers.

They plan to lengthen the school year and force teachers to attend in service training in their own time. This could mean an extra 40 hours per year when account is taken of parent teachers meetings as well.

No wonder the education correspondent of the *Irish Independent*, John Walshe, claimed that it would "require considerable leadership from the unions to 'sell' a package to the members in ballots in the autumn".

WEXFORD FIREFIGHTERS: Strike goes from strength to strength

THE STRIKE by the 52 Wexford fire fighters has grown from strength to strength.

Overwhelming support has been received from firefighters in the surrounding counties who have voted by a huge majority to black the army scabs being used to break the strike.

This action has pushed the local council management to seek the intervention of the Labour Relations Commission.

Talks were held with both parties at the LRC last week. But so far nothing has come out of them.

The Urban District

Council meetings in the four main centres in Wexford have been successfully picketed out by the workers.

Nobody passed the pickets except for a small number of councillors in Gorey. But even they had to abandon their meeting because of the low at-

tendance.

The firefighters are encouraged by the massive support they have received from the public and other workers.

Country

Collections for the Support Fund are pouring in from around the country and from firefighters in England.

The strikers were busy around Wexford's Strawberry Fair collecting petitions and building support.

"The support was very encouraging and we feel we are in a strong position to win this one", according to one of the strikers who spoke to *Socialist Worker*.

The Wexford firefighters should maintain their strike to win a complete victory.

They have the local authorities sweating and could give the lead to other fire services that face cut-backs around the country.

Socialist Worker Trade Union Conference

Saturday 23rd September, Teachers Club, 36 Parnell Square Dublin

SESSIONS INCLUDE:

Rebuilding Union Organisation: Jim Larmour (Belfast Trades Council); Marnie Holborow (SIPTU Shop Steward)

Militancy or Partnership: Eamonn McCann (Derry trades Council); Jimmy Kelly (Chief Shop Steward, Waterford Glass)

Socialists in the unions: Brid Smith (Socialist Worker Industrial Correspondent); Laura Duffy (INTO Shop Steward)

Time to make our unions fight... Come along and discuss how we rebuild solidarity and militancy...

Why I'm going

"I think this conference is very important for trade union militants. Union leaders today are always talking about compromise and the need to be competitive. Instead of us making all the sacrifices in our jobs we need to get better organised at shop floor level and give the lead ourselves."—John, a mechanic in CIE.

Please send me more details and a full programme of the Socialist Worker Trade Union Conference

Name.....

Address.....

Phone.....

Return to Socialist Worker Trade Union Conference, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8 or Tel: (01) 872 2682

Open to all who support the policies of this newspaper

Socialist Worker

inside

FIFTY YEARS AFTER HIROSHIMA: NEVER AGAIN

—centre pages



Sectarian attacks on the rise:

DON'T LET THE BIGOTS DIVIDE US!



Paisley: stirring up hatred

THERE HAS been a sickening rise in sectarianism in working class areas of the North since the start of the Orange marching season.

Over a dozen young people were taken to hospital in North Belfast alone as a result of physical attacks.

In the village of Newbuildings just three miles outside Derry city, a number of Catholic families who had lived there for fifteen years were forced to move.

Graffiti such as "Trick or Treat" (a reference to the UDA massacre at Greysteel), "Fuck the Pope" and "Taigs get out" were written on the walls of these families' houses.

Three Protestant homes were attacked in the Whitewell area of North Belfast prompting one of the families to complain that they were being "ethnically cleansed" from the district.

These attacks are on

the rise because the Peace Process is not delivering on its lofty promises.

The Tories have deliberately stalled every de-

velopment to appease their own right wing.

Morale

They released Clegg to preserve the morale of one of the most brutal regiments of the British army—but they keep over 1,000 prisoners

who have been victims of the troubles locked up.

Their stonewalling has given a greater confidence to bigots like Ian Paisley and David Trimble to re-organise and whip up passions in the Orange marching season.

They insisted on marching through Catholic areas for the sole purpose of intimidation.

Controlled

They wanted to see Catholics hemmed in by the RUC while they con-

trolled the streets.

They wanted to show that they could blockade Larne and have no one arrested—while 30 people in Derry face serious charges for daring to protest against a visit by John Major.

The Unionist party and the DUP have al-

ways had a vested interest in sectarianism and they need to stoke it up regularly.

How else could these dinosaurs who vote with the Tories and oppose every liberal measure present themselves as representatives of Protestant workers?

A process that won't bring peace

THE EVENTS of the last few weeks should teach us that we cannot rely on right wing politicians like Major, Clinton or Bruton to bring peace to the North.

The peace process was never designed to break their grip of sectarianism.

It was based on the notion that people in Northern Ireland could only ever identify themselves in politics by reference to the re-

ligious community they 'belonged' to.

It assumed that we were born fenians and orangies and would always remain so.

It was about managing sectarianism not ending it.

It is nothing more

than a plan devised by the British and Irish establishment to create a new economic competition between Catholic and Protestant working class areas.

Compete

In this new Ireland we would compete against each other for multi-national investment by accepting the lowest of wages.

Genuine peace will only come when we get working class unity.

We have a common interest in opposing Tory cuts and attacks on our conditions.

To get that unity Protestant and Catholic workers need to stand up against the antics of Paisley.

There can never be peace without justice and equality.

If Catholic workers

are to be intimidated by a heavily armed RUC and told they have to accept a Unionist dominated state, there will never be peace.

Dole Queue

But neither is 'parity of esteem' worth much if it just means equality on the dole queue or an equal chance of competing

for a job at McDonalds.

After 25 years of suffering we deserve more than a peace process which tries to police us apart to make us accept a new capitalist order.

We need a fight to transform the whole of this island and drive out the Green and Orange Tories who divide us and wreck our lives.