

Socialist Worker

inside

AS STOCK MARKETS CRASH...



ARE WE HEADED FOR A 1930'S SLUMP?

—PAGES 6-7

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p Solidarity price £1

PROFITS HIGHEST EVER

MORTGAGES & RENTS UP

**GET YOUR
PAY CLAIM
IN NOW!**

WORKERS NEED a massive pay movement to get some real gains before the Celtic Tiger collapses.

House prices, rents and profits have soared but the people who create the wealth are being tied to puny pay rises.

Owen is a computer programmer who has a diploma after doing a city and guilds course for a year. But he is still on only £15,000 a year.

"You won't get a flat in Rathmines in Dublin for much less than £70 a

week.

"I don't smoke or drive a car but I would find that rent really hard to pay — so I am living at home with my parents at the moment. There are others in my job who are even worse of"

Inflation

Accommodation costs are not even included in the official rate of inflation but they are now taking up to a third of many people's pay packets.

Now is the time to tell the unions to

submit decent pay claims.

The recession that is spreading across the world means that the Celtic Tiger cannot last.

If we don't fight for decent pay rises today it will be twice as hard when unemployment rises.

But this is going to mean standing up to the union leaders who are policing the social partnership agreements.

They should be told to fight for those they represent — and stop acting as the managers of discontent.

TIME TO ORGANISE THE RANK AND FILE

—page 10

Harney's war on welfare

—page 2

Twenty-five years since the Chilean coup:

DEMOCRACY DROWNED IN BLOOD



—page 8

SOUTH KOREAN SOCIALISTS SPEAK OUT

—page 6

Also in *Socialist Worker*

Speilberg's Private Ryan



& Why the bosses are boring —page 9

EVIDENCE BURIED

FERGUS FINLAY, former spin doctor to Labour's Dick Spring, has revealed that he gave important information to the Beef Tribunal ran by Liam Hamilton.

Finlay passed on details of three cheques totalling £80,000 and made out to three politicians from a certain party. The three had all served in the cabinet. Nothing happened about the information provided by Finlay.

While Fianna Fail is busy eroding an accused person's right to silence it seems they have no problem with the suppression of evidence of corruption.

As readers of *Socialist Worker* will know Liam Hamilton is now Supreme Court Judge!

Lies, damned lies and 'evidence'

THE US government has provided a key piece of "evidence" for bombing the al Shifa medicine factory in Sudan.

They claim Osama bin Laden, the man they accuse of plotting against them, was planning to invest money in the factory.

The bin Laden family has also sponsored two fellowships at Harvard University since 1992, so can we expect cruise missiles to rain down on Boston?

The US government has wheeled out "former CIA official" Vince Cannistraro to confirm Osama bin Laden had

planned a chemical weapons attack on the US.

Cannistraro was the CIA's counter-terrorism chief in 1988 at the time of the Lockerbie bombing.

He then claimed the bomb was the work of a Palestinian group, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, acting on behalf of Iran and Syria. But now the US says Syria and Iran had nothing to do with the Lockerbie bombing. Instead they blame Libya.

Another desperate attempt to justify the bombing last week was the announcement that the CIA had soil samples from Sudan containing a chemical

called EMPTA (O-ethylmethylphosphonoethioic acid).

This we were told was only used in the for the manufacture of chemical weapons.

But Professor RJP Williams, of the inorganic chemistry laboratory at Oxford, says "EMPTA could also be linked to other quiet synthetic chemical compounds. Insect and agricultural chemicals are not unrelated".

And the Organisation to Prevent the Spread of Chemical Weapons says there is no evidence that the al Shifa plant was making anything other than medicines.

O'Donoghue steps up attacks on refugees

JOHN O'DONOGHUE has not only refused to give refugees the right to work but he is now proposing to cut asylum seekers off social welfare altogether.

O'Donoghue also wants to put refugees into disused army camps similar to Campsfield Detention Centre which houses asylum seekers in Britain.

So people fleeing persecution in their own countries are now to be treated like criminals when they reach Ireland.

Instead of cash, asylum seekers would only be allowed vouchers for necessities like food and clothes.

O'Donoghue claims that social welfare payments to refugees will top £32 million this year.

He is continuing to portray refugees as a "drain" on the economy while refusing them the right to work and contribute to that economy.

One Congolese man said that he was prevented from coaching a school soccer team in Dublin even though he offered to do the job for free!

Many asylum seekers have useful skills which they are not allowed to apply and now they face the prospect of internment at the hands of John O'Donoghue.

Fight Harney's workfare plans

HARNEY'S WORKFARE plan follows on from the Government's new regulations, signed in May. These rules say that someone will be deemed "unavailable for work" if they look for a particular type of work only.

This means, for example, that someone with a wood-working qualification could be forced to work in a fast food outlet.

Time

And there is no guarantee that you would be given time off to attend an interview for the type of work you are skilled to do.

You can also be cut off if you are unwilling to take up full-time work or if you move to a location where job prospects are fewer.

Someone who places "unreasonable restrictions" on their ability to work, due to caring for a relative, can also have their benefits stopped.

So if someone moves to a rural area to care for a sick parent, they could be deemed to be "inflexible", especially if they insist on part time work only.

The regulations also say that you cannot refuse a job if it pays "the going rate".

Reason

This clause sums up the real reason for the new rules: to force people into low paying jobs.

No wonder the cheapskate employers in the Small Firms Association applauded Harney's plans.

A charter for cheapskates

THE IRISH National Organisation of the Unemployed (INOUE) is staging a protest on Thursday 24 September against Mary Harney's workfare proposals.

Harney's Employment Action Plan will force unem-

ployed people to attend interviews where they will be offered a "choice" of a job, a training scheme, Community Employment or Work Experience.

Snoops

Welfare snoops are now targeting under-25's who will be cut off after six months on the dole if they refuse to take up a "reasonable" job offer.

Bosses' fraud exposed

WHILE MARY Harney targets the unemployed, it has emerged that one in four employers defrauds either tax or social welfare.

The main culprits are in the haulage and building industries.

When Crampton's building workers were on strike in Dublin recently, they revealed that exite bosses had insisted on them working in the black economy instead of paying tax and PRSI.

By forcing workers to sign on and work at the same time, bosses can keep their wage bill to a minimum. Now Harney plans to reward them further by forcing the unemployed into low paying jobs.

Workfare will soon extend to over-25's who have been out of work for more than a year.

The Unemployed Workers Group responded to Harney's plan by saying, "unemployed people have been left in no doubt that the primary purpose of these interviews is to get them 'off the dole' as opposed to genuinely offering support".

Scandalously, these latest attacks on the unemployed follow directly from a pilot scheme introduced by Proinsias De Rossa of Democratic Left when he was Minister for Social Welfare.

Landlords profit from flat chaos

SPIRALLING HOUSE prices and a shortage of accommodation means that rents have reached ridiculous levels.

Ordinary people cannot afford to buy a house yet renting has become an expensive nightmare.

Adding to the shortage, with the start of the college terms, there are 35,000 students looking for somewhere to live. Landlords are making the most of this.

According to Majella Doherty of USI, "Flats are small and expensive, a lot of landlords don't want to rent to students. Prices are from over £45 a week for a bedsit to as much as £90".

Property

Since 1993 landlords have had to register their property, but out of an estimated 80,000 only 19,000 have done so. Of these few "honest" ones, 5,000 failed to provide a rent book.



Indo wants blood

THE IRISH Independent want Mary Harney to hit the unemployed even harder, saying her plans were "not tough enough" and "should have contained some further restrictions on entitlements".

The paper went on to argue for an "absolute limit", the same as in the US, on the length of time you can remain on the dole.

But in the US, welfare "reform" has thrown huge numbers of people into even worse poverty and homelessness.

The Indo claims to speak for the over taxed PAYE worker but in reality it serves the interests of a wealthy elite which includes the paper's owner, Tony O'Reilly.

PUBLIC HOUSING NEEDED

USI have shown their Fianna Fail colours in their proposed "solution" to the housing chaos: tax breaks for landlords who rent to students.

This is despite the fact that landlords refuse to register in order to avoid tax in the first place. Those that do sign up already receive huge tax breaks.

The plan if implemented would give landlords carte blanche to discriminate against the unemployed and refugees.

The solution is actually simple

— more public housing. Dublin Corporation have 5,550 people on their waiting list. This is an increase of over 1,500 in a year, yet they are building only 120 houses.

Not satisfied with this, many now charge rents which are over the limit allowed by the health board, forcing tenants to pay out of their meagre benefits.

The Corporation has run out of land to build on so and has resorted to trying to buy back some of the accommodation they sold off in the 1980s.

A massive building program and forcing the gombens to pay their taxes would end the madness of the housing market.

what we think

GET YOUR PAY CLAIM IN NOW!

LAST MONTH, the average Garda got a £1,500 extra cheque in their pay packets. The back pay was the first instalment in the wage settlement that came after their 'blue flu'.

But now Finance Minister Charles McCreedy and the ICTU leaders have forged an alliance to stop other workers following suit.

McCreedy has told the union leaders that 'failure to deliver on pay moderation would undermine the whole basis of partnership.'

Action

Social partnership gives the union leaders a cushy life because they can claim they are prevented from organising action. That is why they are trying to put the clamp on new wage claims.

Yet the reality is that inflation is already rising fast in Ireland's booming economy.

Remember that the official inflation figure, around which Partnership 2000 was negotiated, does not include house prices or rent.

The house prices have already caused an accommodation crisis in the major cities.

In the months between

March and June, for example, the average price for a second hand home in Dublin rose from £101,985 to £134,037.

This has meant huge increases on mortgages for workers who have been stuck on low pay rises.

Affected

It is not just home owners who are affected. Rents of flats and bedsits have shot up in the last few months.

The union leaders must be told to submit pay claims of at least 15% to catch up with the rising inflation of accommodation costs.

The argument that wage rises are the cause of inflation is nonsense.

Ireland has already one of the highest rates of inflation in the E.U. even though workers restrained their wages for ten years.

A wage rise today is a response—not a cause—of the inflation that has risen already.

However to turn the pressure on for pay rises we are going to need strong rank and file organisations.

And we are going to have to take back our unions from the bureaucrats who are too close to the bosses and the government ministers.

No welcome for Clinton

CLINTON FACES major difficulties in the US, but the Irish government got crowds waving the Stars and Stripes out to greet him.

Throughout his visit no serious attempt was made to justify the US state terrorism. When Clinton was asked at a press conference why he condemned Omagh but bombed the Sudan, he made an incoherent reply.

There was a political process in the North, he claimed, but Islamic fundamentalists like Bin Laden were not political!

Clinton's support in Ireland derived from two main myths.

1. Clinton played a central role in bringing peace to Ireland.

But the real drive for peace came from the pressure exerted by working class communities on the paramilitaries.

Tens of the thousands attended peace rallies organised by the ICTU, often against IRA actions. Protestant workers also responded in huge numbers against loyalist assassinations.

When a Catholic Maurice O'Kane was shot in Harland and Wolff, the



■ 600 protestors turned out at short notice against Clinton's visit

whole shipyard walked out in disgust at loyalist paramilitaries.

Clinton's main role was to flatter and to cajole Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness into accepting this pressure for peace. But that is more reason to oppose republican politics than to celebrate Clinton.

2. Ireland has to be grateful for US investment which has given jobs.

There is absolutely nothing to be grateful for. US firms in Ireland are getting a 23% return on their investment through a mixture of tax dodging and exploitation of cheap labour. This is five times higher than US companies get in the rest of Europe.

They are also denying workers the right to join unions. In 1994 and 1995, for example only two out of the

32 multinationals that established in Ireland recognised unions.

As long as capitalism exists, Irish workers will find jobs in US multinational plants. They have no other alternative.

But that is no reason for the Labour Party, ICTU, Dick Spring, Gerry Adams and or Proinsias De Rossa to tell us that we need to bow down to Bomber Bill.

Socialist Worker Rank and File Trade Union Conference

19th September 11am to 5pm
Teacher's Club Parnell Square
Creche facilities available

MEETINGS ON:

- The Alternative to the Union Leaders' Strategy
- Trade Unionism in Northern Ireland
- Building the union on the shop floor
- Rank and File movements: The experience
- Establishing a Solidarity network

SPEAKERS INCLUDE:

Carolann Duggan, Brid Smith plus shop stewards from Building workers Against the Black economy; Busworkers Action Group; TEAM, Waterford Glass; Limerick Corporation, Fire Brigades Union, Northern Ireland Public Services Alliance

"The failure of the union hierarchy to represent the ordinary workers is shown in the complete sham of partnership. It is the complacency of the union leaders that has led to the growth of the rank and file and I think that is of the best things to happen in the working class movement in years. I wholeheartedly welcome this conference and those of us in the mid west who have been involved in recent struggles will definitely be there."

Matt Fogarty, Chairperson, Limerick No.1 Branch SIPTU.

I want to attend the Rank and File Trade Union conference

Name: _____

Address: _____

Tel: _____

Union Position: _____

Send a £3 Registration Fee. For the full programme and leaflets for fellow workers, write to Socialist Worker PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



news of the world

South Korea:

Workers in occupation attacked as police run amok

THOUSANDS OF heavily armed riot police stormed into seven factories belonging to Mando Machinery Corporation in South Korea on Thursday of last week ending a 17 day occupation by workers.

This is the first time the government of Kim Daejung, who was elected last year as a democrat, has sent police in to smash a strike.

The police ran amok. An eyewitness from the Mando Machinery Workers Union (MMWU) says, "Included in the riot police's arsenal were: automated tear gas machines, fork lift cranes, helicopters, water cannon, teargas bombs and steel pipes

for beating strikers."

Dozens of workers belonging to the 4,500 strong MMWU and their families were injured.

A striker at the Kyongju plant who was seven months pregnant was hospitalised.

At the Asan plant workers and their families fled to the rooftop only to be sprayed with battle grade teargas by helicopters.

Riot police at the Moonmak plant beat women and children up with steel pipes.

Workers and their families fought back with bits of piping, plant machinery and whatever they could lay their hands on.

Over 1,800 strikers had been jailed by the end of the day.

That follows the arrest of five key MMWU leaders two weeks ago. The MMWU is

affiliated to the militant Korean Confederation of Trade Unions.

The savage attack on the occupying workers underlines the depths of the crisis in South Korea. A deepening economic slump has gripped the economy since November of last year.

The giant companies, chaebol, which dominate South Korea have broken their promises of lifelong employment and are trying to sack tens of thousands of workers.

This is fuelling a wave of resistance. The Mando occupations came hard on the heel of sit-ins at the Hyundai Motor Company plant at Ulsan in the south east of the country.

Both strikes and occupations were against layoffs. Management at Mando had demanded 1,090 redundan-



Hyundai workers prevent the boss from entering factory during recent occupation

cies.

The occupation forced them to drop that figure to 300. But bosses also demanded workers pay back part of their bonuses and wages.

The Mando strike hit deep. Car and engineering plants were only a week away from grinding to a halt through lack of parts when Kim Daejung ordered in the riot police.

Despite the end of the occupation the strike has forced management at Mando to retreat from mass sackings.

Similarly the occupation at Hyundai, which union lead-

ers ended after negotiating a deal, left the bosses weakened.

The pro-market Far Eastern Economic Review says, "The company's ordeal has been a sobering lesson for other big businesses, which had regarded the Hyundai case as a litmus test."

Hyundai bosses had planned to sack 1,538 workers but had to settle for 277 immediate redundancies.

But the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions leaders called off the Hyundai occupation short of victory.

Workers were determined to defend the occupation

from massed ranks of riot police. And they have since rejected by two to one the deal their leaders negotiated.

The occupation cost Hyundai \$800 million. If it had continued there was a real chance of occupations spreading beyond Hyundai and Mando.

Despite the limitations of the Hyundai deal more groups of workers in South Korea are drawing the conclusion that militant resistance is the only way to confront the economic crisis.

The KCTU says it is planning a national demonstration against unemployment and is

facing demands for national strike action to stop job losses.

Some 26 supporters of the International Socialists of South Korea were arrested in March merely for discussing socialist ideas and resisting austerity measures.

Several have received sentences of five or four years in prison.

The Committee to Defend South Korean Socialists has produced a factsheet on the case.

Order them for your workplace, union body or community group from 1, Bloomsbury Street, London WC1B 3QE.

South Africa:

Strikes as militant new mood spreads

OVER 200,000 South African metal workers' union members struck for a day last week, the most dramatic sign of a new mood of militancy.

The strike was based around 60,000 workers from motor components, auto spares shops, car dealerships, service workshops and fuel stations.

Their strike continued indefinitely after the one day solidarity strike by their comrades.

NUMSA, the workers' union, is demanding wage increases of between 12 and 18 percent while the bosses have offered just 4.5



Workers are getting disillusioned with Mandela's calls to hold back

percent.

Another mass solidarity strike with the motor components workers is planned for 22 September and a significant number of stewards want their union leaders to go fur-

ther and call the whole auto sector out for long periods.

The latest action follows a successful strike by workers at South African car manufacturing plants.

In addition tens of thousands of chemical workers, airline workers and Edgar's shop workers have also struck in recent weeks.

A socialist in South Africa told *Socialist Worker*, "After three or four years of accepting the union leaders' ideas of partnership with the bosses, workers have found that it simply does not work."

"People have become disillusioned with those tactics and believe they have to go back to the methods they used under apartheid."

Zimbabwe:

Mugabe under pressure

ROBERT Mugabe, the president of Zimbabwe, was under pressure to give in to workers' demands this week as the main union federation threatened a five day general strike.

In talks last week the government said it needed more time to work out the financial implications of the unions' demand that taxes on workers should be reduced.

At the end of last week Morgan Tsvangirai, head of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions, said, "If there is no response from the government a stayaway is imminent."

At first Mugabe refused to let ministers meet with the unions last week, but big private sector employers told him bluntly that he had better do so.

United States:

6,000 PILOTS GROUNDS NORTHWEST AIRLINE

A STRIKE by 6,000 pilots has ground Northwest airline in the US to a halt.

The strike is hitting 1,400 daily flights, affecting 150,000 passengers and is costing Northwest \$12 million a day.

Management last week announced the layoff of 27,500 of its workers-out of a workforce of 50,000-as a result of the pilots' strike.

Northwest is the US's fourth largest airline and is

based in Minneapolis.

Management claims the strike is a disaster for the Upper Midwest of the US.

But opinion polls show three to one support for the pilots.

Some 62 percent of people supported what the union is asking for in one poll. Only 19 percent thought the unions were asking for too much.

Little wonder. Northwest made \$71 million profit in

★ CANADA'S LARGEST airline had laid off half its work grounded planes.

Air Canada laid off 11,000 workers at the weekend after its 1,100 striking pilots broke off negotiations over wages. The pilots are demanding 12 percent rises. The strike is costing Air Canada about \$5 million a day.

the first quarter of this year. The company's boss, John Drasburg, is the highest paid executive in the US airline industry.

He received nearly \$9 million last year and then cashed in share options worth another \$4.5 million earlier this year!

The workers want a decent pay rise and are angry at the outsourcing of pilots' jobs and the lower pay scale for new pilots.

Northern Assembly

Time for a new dance

'CHOREOGRAPHY' IS the latest buzz word to describe how Northern Ireland's politics works.

It means having your cake and eating it. Take Gerry Adams and David Trimble, for example. They are supposed to represent two rival camps but over the last few weeks they agreed a series of moves behind the scenes and then carried them out.

And according to Frank Connolly, a *Sunday Business Post* journalist with close republican connections, all sorts of powerful people had to be on hand to flatter 'the choreographers'.

Connolly, claims that 'a series of exchanges between Bertie Ahern and Tony Blair, government officials, the National Security Council at the White House and the Ulster Unionist Party and Sinn Fein leaders' finally led to a meeting between David Trimble and Gerry Adams.

Now this is just for one meeting - without the handshake.

Choreography is of course a very delicate act. Gerry had to learn to say very carefully, the exact words that Tony Blair had used a year ago. Something about 'violence being a thing of the past, done with dead and gone' - unless they are black people we can label Islamic fundamentalists.

Turkey

Then Martin McGuinness had to offer himself up to go on a de-commissioning body. This was — read between the lines we are told — a very serious move. A bit like Michael Collins saying he might be able to talk turkey with Lloyd George.

David Trimble, and he really is not a good actor, had to pretend not to be impressed — but he still had to make 'generous' moves. Like hinting to Gerry that if he could learn a few more of those Tony Blair phrases, he might actually get into the cabinet.

Now there are some who find this stuff really interesting. They use words like 'historic' and 'milestone' to feed their own flagging excitement.

The reality is that it is a million miles away from the concerns of most workers. The good thing about the peace is that it starts to unfreeze the communal blocks that were built up over three decades.

The demand to get into line because of the sacrifices that were made begin to wear a bit thin.

Take for example Sinn Fein. Their hard core members have recently taken to reminding socialists that 'none of your members were imprisoned when the war was being fought'.

Grandfather

It is a bit like the Fianna Fail question that was supposed to floor all opponents, 'where were you or your grandfather in 1916'.

But the big question sounds a bit hollow when you are joining a cabinet that will take command of the RUC.

The North's politicians will do everything to maintain their show of opposition. Why else would workers vote for any of them unless they thought they were fighting for their side.

Despite the promises of peace that came with the referendum on the Belfast agreement, they are going to spend the next few years dancing around each other like well practised sparring partners.

But in the end they are going to agree on fundamentals. A cabinet that ranges from Gerry Adams to David Trimble will find a meeting point around New Labour style politics.

There will be a bit of rhetoric about social justice but the strategy will be to promote business.

So there will be a lobby to cut taxes on profits so that the South does not grab all the multi-nationals. There will be a lot of talk about community enterprises that need more grants and state hand-outs. There will be a few complaints about restraints on public spending from Westminster but the green and orange cabinet will still implement the cuts.

And even on the big constitutional issue, there is an agreement to disagree. It is to be left for another decade or so until 'the balance of the population changes'.

All of this could of course break down — especially if Paisley and the DUP also decide to reach for the Daimlers.

But before it does lets hope we have a real socialist alternative that fights for workers' rights and leaves the political dances to the choreographers

NEW REPRESSIVE LEGISLATION WILL MEAN...

More miscarriages of justice to come

THE BRITISH and Irish governments have rushed through emergency legislation. They give 'draconian' powers to the police and courts.

The legislation will be used to restrict civil liberties and further miscarriages of justice like the Birmingham Six and Guildford Four are sure to follow.

The new Irish legislation, allows conviction of a person, who unknown to themselves, is 'associated' with a member of a terrorist organisation.

This law would mean that Elaine Moore, who had a suspected terrorist stay in her flat in London, could get ten years in jail.

Yet the Fine Gael party which campaigned for Elaine, gave full backing to this law.

Jailed

These new laws also means that a person who has information, which could be of assistance to police, could be jailed if they don't come forward.

This was used to jail Northern taxi drivers who had their cars taken by terrorists and threatened if they told the police.

The Gardai will also see their powers of detention increased from 48 hours to 72 hours. This will make it easier to force people into confessing.

In both Britain and Ireland, a person can be charged on the word of a senior police officer with only slight collaborative evidence.

But the police can either get it wrong or deliberately want to frame someone. In the case of the Guildford Four, the Metropolitan Police Commissioner, Peter Imbert, who was responsible for 'taking down' the confessions of the Guildford Four,

Repression against foreign dissidents

TONY BLAIR'S new legislation will make it a crime to "conspire" against another foreign government.

This has been introduced as a result of the pressure from the US, Saudi Arabia and Egypt. Clinton wants the British government to use the this new legislation to help him repress militant movements that challenge US power around the world. Blair has already backed Clinton's attacks on Afghanistan and Sudan.

Saudi Arabia's and Egypt's rulers also want to silence all dissent from their brutal regimes.

Tony Blair has used the Omagh bomb to back up tyrants that have carried out far more murders than the Real IRA.



■How can Catholics expect fair play if they can be jailed on the word of an RUC officer?

said shortly before their appeal in 1989 said that he had no doubts about their convictions.

The journalist who interviewed him, Steve Platt, former editor of *New Statesman* commented that "if the most senior police officer in the land could get things so wrong over an actual bombing, how much more scope is there for wrongful convictions over membership of a proscribed organisation."

The cases of Belmondo Wantete and Steven Lawrence show how both the gardai and the RUC are riddled with racism and incompetence. How can these people be expected not to lie?

The RUC in Northern Ireland is still overwhelmingly sectarian,

so how can Catholics expect to be treated fairly if they can be jailed on the word of an RUC officer?

The politicians claim civil liberties will be safeguarded because the emergency laws have to be renewed within two years.

Supposed

But The Prevention of Terrorism Act introduced in 1974 after the Birmingham pub bombings was also supposed to be a temporary, emergency measure. Yet it has been systematically renewed every year since.

So too was the Offences Against the State Act which was introduced in 1939. It is still being used nearly sixty years

later!

Both governments have said that the new legislation is a response to the bombing of Omagh by the Real IRA. But the RIRA are a group of less than a hundred and have already called a cease-fire.

Public outcry has done more than any repressive laws to defeat them, and they are now on the verge of a permanent cease-fire.

Both governments know this because of reports from intermediaries, Martin Mansergh and Fr. Alex Reid.

The two governments are cynically using people's sense of horror at the bombing in Omagh to bring about more repression on both sides of the border.

THE REAL FACE OF THE ORANGE ORDER

THE DEFEAT of the Orange Order's Drumcree standoff this year, has exposed the sectarian hatred of their small group of hardcore supporters.

A small loyalist "right to march" parade in Portadown on 5 September turned into a sectarian rampage, with loyalists burning a Catholic-owned business and rioting with police for hours afterwards.

Two other Catholic-owned businesses were attacked in the previous week.

The family of Robert Hamill, the Catholic beaten to death by loyal-

ists in Portadown town centre last year, has suffered constant vicious harassment.

At the end of August, some of his relatives were assaulted in a shopping centre as 200 loyalists protesters invaded the local shopping centre on a busy Saturday afternoon.

Pushing

"They called us 'Fenian scum' and 'cowardly Fenian bastards'," one of the women said. "They surrounded me and started pushing me and pulling my hair."

"I don't know if they

knew I was Robert's cousin but they kept chanting

'Robert Hamill, Robert Hamill'. It's a way of annoying Catholics in Portadown."

Only minutes earlier, the attackers were handing out leaflets protesting at Sinn Fein's inclusion in the peace process.

This year, the Order has suffered a major blow in its defeat at Drumcree.

But although the Order is down it isn't out.

And as long as it isn't, it will continue to breed sectarian tension and provide a haven for loyalist thugs.

South Korea

'We need struggles in every corner of the world'

EIGHT SOCIALISTS have received jail sentences of between four and five years each at the hands of the South Korean government.

They were convicted under the National Security Law which was introduced by a military dictatorship during the Cold War. Under the law any critic of South Korean society is branded as a supporter of the Stalinist regime of North Korea.

The only crime of those sentenced was membership of the International Socialists of South Korea (ISSK). The evidence used against them was literature which the SWP distributes in Ireland.

Amnesty International have come out in support of the ISSK members who were jailed under laws kept in place by the country's new president, Kim Dae-jung.

Dissident

Kim was himself a political dissident who came to office just as the country faced a deep recession. The new president ditched any notion of democratic change and promised the International Monetary Fund that he would push through "market reforms".

But this has resulted in attacks on workers' living standards and a crackdown on opponents of the regime.

One of the accused, Mo Seung-hoon, a worker at Hankuk Hanggong company, told the court of his anger when he heard that Kim Dae-jung had received the International Human Rights Award:

"It was just appalling to see him trying to put on a show as if he was a defender and protector of human rights.

There are still 400 or so prisoners of conscience locked up in tiny cells for their ideas."

"While some have the right to propagandise their politics to millions of people through TV programs carefully staged and planned...others are present here in this court just because they have criticised the capitalist system and argued for a new system."

The testimony of Joo Soo-Young a delivery person for a daily paper, who was arrested while her leg was in a cast due to

a bone fracture, brought anger to the court

"After I was arrested by the police, I witnessed how a capitalist state treats people inhumanely. The police hauled me when my leg was hurt and allowed me no sleep for two days.

The inhumane treatment by the capitalist system has made me hate it more"

Another of the accused, Yoo Young-me, told the court she had "never praised nor encouraged North Korea...On the contrary, I have argued that North Korea is a system which exploits and oppresses the working class...and that the working class should overthrow the ruling class by themselves."

Kwon Oh-hyun reminded the court of press reports that, "operatives close to [last year's] presidential candidates were making contacts with North Koreans in Beijing and making deals with them".

Joh Young-jae defended his political activity saying, "If supporting workers solidarity and seeking their gains are considered 'acts of anti-state' than the government itself is defining 17 million workers as its enemy".

Among those "enemies" were the Hyundai workers who recently occupied their car plant.

Struggles like this have been fuelled by the growing class divide in South Korea.

Mo Seung-hoon described how he himself worked "slavishly" for a wage. "For six months I have never had a day off on Sundays. Two days after I was arrested I was able to rest for the first time on a Sunday"

Joh Young-jae described how the wealthy elite escaped the effects of recession: "In Kangnam region, many fancy bars are filled with people who got richer after the IMF crisis toasting glasses by shouting 'Let this be!' It is a well known fact that it is hard to reserve a golf course near Seoul now. On one side, poverty is getting worse while on the other side, the wealth is piling up like a skyscraper."

Mo Seung-hoon ended his testimony by saying, "We need struggles in every corner of the world.

"I live with the hope that my ideas of socialism will get stronger than the ideas of the ruling class. Such hope will illuminate more brightly in the 21st century."

As the world's Stock markets

Are we heading 1930's style

Why is there so much talk of a world recession at the moment?

THERE are three main centres to the growing chaos in the world system.

First, there has been an economic collapse in South East Asia. This was once hailed as the success stories of the free market by politicians like Mary Harney and Tony Blair.

Today the economy of Indonesia is set to fall by 15%, Thailand by 8% and Korea by 7%. These huge falls have already had a powerful impact on the second most powerful economy in the world, Japan.

Markets for its exports have fallen and Japanese banks are under even more pressure as loans will not be repaid.

Second, the Russian economy is a disaster zone. Remember that the free market was supposed to overcome the chaos of soviet planning but it only made it worse. Throughout the nineties, the Russian economy shrank by 40%. Fifteen million people in this former superpower were malnourished.

And that was before the recent stock market collapse that at one point reduced the value of Russian shares to the value of the Sainsbury shopping chain in Britain!

Third, the 'market contagion' is a set to spread to the emerging markets of Latin America and China. Capital poured into these economies in recent years searching for high rates of return. But as nervousness grows, the investors are pulling back their money, threatening disaster in debt laden countries.

Already 40% of the world economy is in recession and so the main debate is whether there will be a 1973 style recession or a depression that is closer to the Wall St Crash of 1929.

But many experts are saying that the European Union and the US are basically healthy and we will not be affected.

You have to remember that the 'experts' used by the Irish media are stock brokers who have a vested interest in promoting good news about the market.

In reality, the recession will spread further.

A collapse in Latin America will have a major effect on the US which is regarded as the motor of growth for the world economy.

There are also huge problems on the



stock exchanges. Up to recent weeks, Wall Street stood at its highest level in 125 years.

In the US, shares are now valued at twice the annual household income. Many American workers were persuaded to take out share options and private pension schemes.

But the shares were completely overvalued. They are supposed to represent pieces of companies.

The real economy in the US has grown very slowly in the nineties yet the stock exchange was like a casino where you gambled without any regard to real values.

The growing recession throughout the world has thrown the markets into a panic as the rich try to sell before a bigger collapse.

The stock exchange does not control an economy, but a collapse in share prices can help to spread the recession throughout the system very quickly.

A company that tried to expand would have borrowed heavily on its stock market valuation — but now it finds itself in trouble. It is now facing a 'credit crunch'

What will a recession mean for workers?

In every recession, the bosses try to off load the costs on to workers. They will slash jobs, demand cuts in pay, and

longer hours for less money.

Some individual speculators like George Soros, who lost two billion, got burnt.

But the rich try to move their money out of risky areas like industrial production — and shift over into holding government bonds.

These are bits of paper used by governments to raise money to pay off debts. The rich take out bonds and are guaranteed a return with interest.

Meanwhile they close factories but live off the interest paid for by taxes.

Can governments intervene to control the market?

Up to recently the buzz word was globalisation. It was code for saying that governments could not intervene in the market or else money would flee.

But now the argument is changing. The International Monetary Fund is urging Japan to start spending more to get their economy growing. It wants the Russian state to take over banks.

Countries like Malaysia are again using exchange controls to stop capital leaving the country.

Even the newspaper baron, Tony O'Reilly, is now calling for more government intervention to stop the biggest

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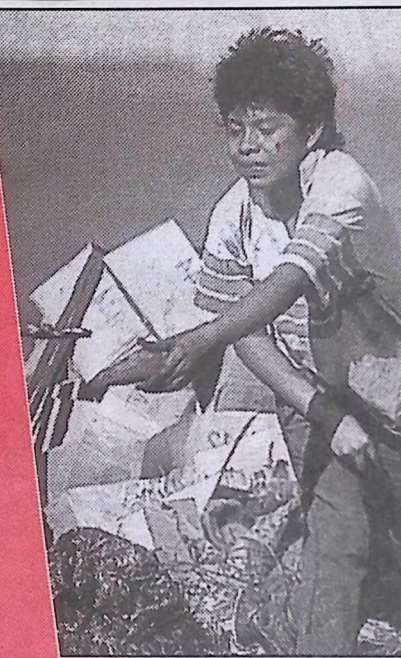
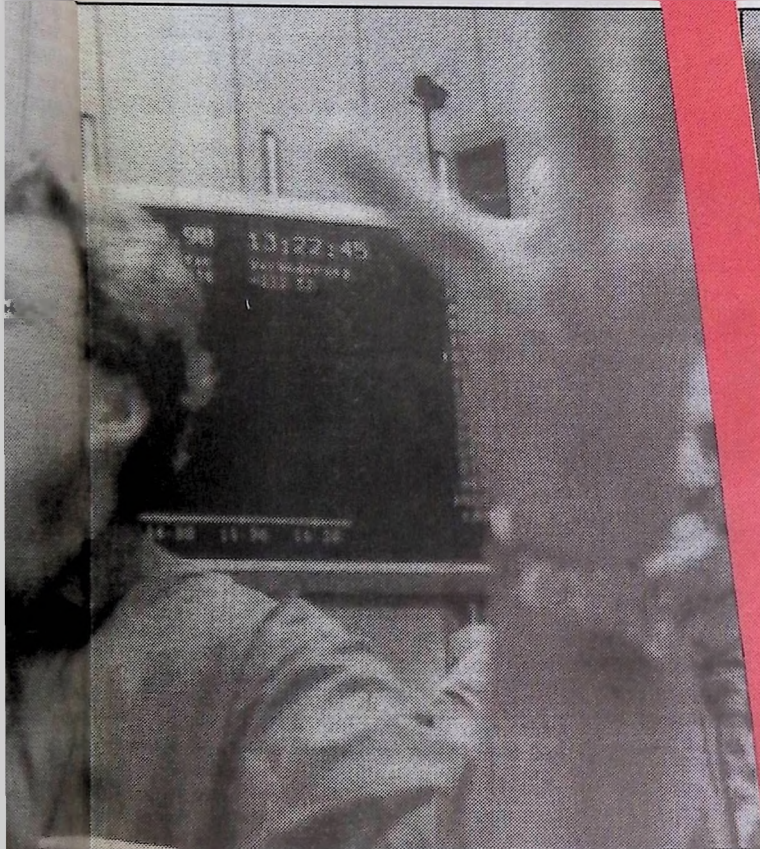
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crash...

by KIERAN ALLEN

Leading for a slump?



A stockbroker watches share prices collapse and in Honduras a young boy scavenges on a rubbish heap. (The red line shows the Dow Jones index for August)

meltdown since World War 2.
Of course there can be government intervention — but the real issue is what is the intervention for.
One way that economies will hope to escape the crisis will be through increased exports. Prices will be cut and states will devalue their currencies and play a more active role in the export drive. This may be combined with protectionist measures at home.
But this only leads to a vicious cycle of beggar thy neighbour that can spin out of control, leading even to military conflicts.
So that is one type of government intervention that is being practised in Asia. Socialists say that a government should intervene to protect workers. That would mean cutting the debts to the bankers and the bond holders. Factories could be kept open by reorienting production away from luxury goods to things workers need.
But that can only happen by confronting the bosses and their state.

Why do recessions happen?

WE ARE now facing the fourth recession in twenty five years. Supporters of the market can no longer blame 'the oil crisis' or 'public sector spending'.

There is something more fundamental going on.

Marx pinpointed two reasons why the market produces recession.
First, the system is anarchic so you find that it encounters problems in the midst of a boom.
Each capitalist races ahead, trying to get credit, raw materials and skilled labour.
But without any planning beforehand there are sudden shortages, prices rises and some companies go bankrupt. This in turn has a knock on effect that spreads the chaos.
Second, every company and government tries to push down their wage costs to compete against their rivals.
But if wages are being held down who is going to buy the goods they are all desperate to sell?
You can see how it works in the recent closure of a major Siemens plant in North East England.
When Siemens planned to build the plant, the computer chips sold at over 5 dollars each.
But by the time the factory was open, they had fallen to just over one dollar.
They had to scrap their multi-million pound investment which led to a knock on effect on other firms.
This type of sheer waste is never taken into account by those who tell us that the market is efficient.

So where does that leave the Celtic Tiger?

THE IRISH economy is already growing too fast, according to the European Central Bank. It is already encountering the type of shortages that could trigger off a fall.

But the Irish rich want to pretend that the laws of gravity are suspended. They think they can sail through with hype.
The warning signs are already there. Britain, which is still a major market for Irish goods, is already entering recession.
The companies that were most damaged by the stock market collapse were high tech companies like Intel.
The rich are already getting their parachutes ready. You only have to look at how the top management of Fruit of the Loom are bailing out.
This is why workers should start fighting for everything we can get now. It is only by breaking from the nonsense of partnership that we will build up the power to resist in future.
To stop them off-loading the costs on to us, we are going to have to be far more militant. When plants close, we will have to occupy. When they say there is no money around, we will have to say cancel the debts to the banks.

What do socialists say?

How would a revolution spread?

IT WOULD be enormously to the advantage of the working class for the socialist revolution to occur more or less simultaneously in a number of countries.

Nevertheless so far in this series I have assumed a revolution occurring first of all only in one country.

This is realistic. The experience of revolutions up to the present

by **JOHII MOLYNEUX**

suggest that the differences in the national patterns of class struggle are such that the revolutionary breakthrough will at first be confined to a single country.

This being the case, the spreading of the revolution beyond these boundaries will be a task of paramount importance for the young workers' state.

This task is not just a matter of internationalist duty, but also absolutely vital for the self preservation of the revolution.

Socialism cannot be built in one country. Indeed a workers' state cannot survive indefinitely in one country.

Of course it is possible to hold out for a period against the weight of international capitalism, just as workers can maintain a factory occupation or an uprising in an individual city for a time.

But sooner or later unless the revolution spreads it will go down to defeat.

Either world capitalism, which as long as it exists remains stronger than the isolated workers' state, will crush the revolution by military intervention, or the threat of such intervention, combined with intense economic pressure, will eventually oblige the revolutionary state to compete with capitalism on its own terms.

This is to engage in a competitive struggle to accumulate capital. If the later variant occurs, as it did in Russia, at the end of the 1920s, then a new exploitative class will emerge as the agency of capital accumulation, and capitalism will be restored by internal counter-revolution.

Overthrowing the world of capitalism, however, may seem a daunting task. So the question we must ask is whether it is possible.

In this, as in all other areas of the class struggle, it is naturally impossible to give any guarantees.

But there are a number of factors which permit us to say confidently that it can be done.

The international nature of the capitalist economy makes its crises international too.

So the crisis lying behind the revolution in one country will already be affecting other countries. The first revolutionary breakthrough will greatly deepen this crisis.

The political impact of the revolution will be even, more important. The very existence of an example of real workers' power and workers' democracy will cause an ideological

crisis for the ruling classes.

At the same time the revolution will give inspiration to workers' movements everywhere. It will show that the working class can take power into its own hands and thus make the case for revolutionary socialism infinitely easier to argue.

Also, many of the divisions and splits in the ranks of the socialist and revolutionary movement will be healed, because there will be concrete proof of the strategy and tactics necessary to achieve victory.

After a future revolution the reality of workers' power will be flashed around the world on TV screens.

But of course the victorious revolution will not just sit back and wait for all this to happen. It will bend every effort to speed the process.

It will use its authority to appeal to workers world-wide to overthrow their own rulers.

It means organising a revolutionary movement internationally. The new workers' state will form a workers' international to build, coordinate and unite revolutionary workers' parties in every country.

Moreover once workers' power spreads to several countries all the factors outlined above will be greatly magnified. An irresistible momentum will build up. In the sixties the strategists of US imperialism feared the 'domino' effect of Vietnam and other national liberation struggles. The domino effect of workers' revolutions, with an internationalist outlook, will be far, far greater.

At this point let us make a leap and assume the victory of the socialist revolution world-wide. It is a huge assumption. But not, as I have tried to show, a utopian one. It is worth considering some of its implications.

It will mean that the threat of nuclear annihilation is lifted from the human race. It will mean that national wars, which have claimed well over 100 million lives this century, will cease.

It will mean that the problems of world poverty and under-development can be tackled and overcome in a coordinated way.

It will mean that international socialism, the harnessing of all the world's resources for the benefit of united humanity, will become a reality.

Twenty five years since the Chilean Coup...

Is getting socialists into parliament enough to bring change? What would happen if a real left wing government took power? Wouldn't it be able to bring socialism without revolution? Events in Chile twenty five years ago offer a resounding 'No' to all these questions.

In December 1970 Salvador Allende was elected president of a left wing government and set about bringing in a series of mild reforms.

Many were a continuation of the plans of the previous right-wing government to improve production, and carry out land reform.

These had been forced on them by a series of worker and peasant rebellions, including a national strike in 1968.

The new left wing government of the Popular Unity (UP) was mainly made up of a coalition of the Socialist Party and the Communist Party. Both had built deep roots in the working class but believed in gradual change from above.

The government announced plans to nationalise key industries, but the majority of firms were to be left in private hands. And as if to prove his moderation, Allende signed a "Statute of Guarantees" promising to uphold 'the rights of property'.

In the first year of the government landless peasants carried out a series of land occupations to force the pace of change, but workers were kept in check by their union leaders.

By 1972 the right-wing felt more confident. An economic crisis was pushing inflation higher and the government was starting to come into conflict with workers and peasants.

The bosses adopted a strategy of withdrawing investment. By creating unemployment and economic chaos they hoped to undermine the Allende government. Upper class women from the suburbs also organised a "March of the Pots" against shortages, bringing their servants onto the streets.

Soon the crisis began to mount. In the town of Concepcion, a right wing student demonstration was due to be met by a left-wing counter demonstration. The Communist Mayor banned all marches and called in the riot police who murdered one left-winger. The government simply condemned violence on all sides.

This summed up the position of the Popular Unity government. Facing pressure both from the right and a growing militant workers movement, it preached neutrality and respect for the constitution.

In another town, Meiphilla, a number of agricultural workers were arrested for protesting about land distribution.

Protest demonstrations brought workers from the nearby industrial belt out in support. For the first a new form of organisation appeared, the cordones.

These were workers committees formed from delegates from factories, offices and local working class communities.

They offered the possibility for



■ Allende resists—just before his death

DEMOCRACY DROWNED IN BLOOD

organising that was not tied to the old order.

But the Communist and the Socialist Parties demanded that their members have nothing to do with the emerging movement. It was workers themselves who knew they had to go on the offensive.

The rising militancy of workers meant that the bosses too began to escalate their actions. Their most serious was a strike by lorry owners which was set to cripple the country. Shop owners joined in, as did whole sections of the professional classes.

But workers responded to the bosses strike by keeping production going. They discovered that they could run factories successfully even when some of the technical staff joined the strikes. The cordones began to spread throughout the country and price and supply committees

were set up in most areas.

Every form of transport was commandeered. Armed guards made sure there was no sabotage of production. Queues formed outside shops which

ness and they pay us in cash, so we can pay wages without using the banks at all."

When some doctors went on strike with the bosses, hospital workers kept

the hospitals open saying, "Despite the strike ordered by the right wing, people will see that we can provide better and more efficient services by working

together with the local health committees which include people from the working class districts."

Journalists and printers took over two right wing newspapers and supported the workers. Part of the reason for the radicalisation was that the right wing had gone further than economic sabotage. They sponsored terrorist groups and started to attack workers' demonstrations.

One worker at the Ready-mix concrete plant summed up the mood, "We've got to thank the fascists for

that anyway, for showing us that you can't make a revolution by playing marbles.

When there's a problem, we workers have to be in the front line, we've learned more in these few days than in the last two years."

The Allende's response was to try and rein in the worker's movement. The Popular Unity government declared a state of emergency and army generals were invited into the cabinet. Ironically they included future dictator General Pinochet.

AFTER workers had beaten back the bosses Allende needed to keep them in check. The problem was that this meant using the forces of law order who had tried to wreck the reform package.

Allende used all his influence in the unions to restrain the workers movement but he was not fully successful

The town of Constucion was in turmoil over the return of factories to the bosses, and the issue of what land could be used for housing.

A mass assembly of the people met and simply assumed control of the town. Yet this was only a local revolt. Thousands of other disputes were fought and won but there was no substantial revolutionary party to bring them together.

The Allende government floundered, spending their time disarming the workers, while their arms control laws did nothing against the army or fascist gangs.

Eventually the right wing saw their opportunity and moved decisively. Plans for a coup d'etat were put in place by the CIA and the army generals.

The choice in September of 1973, was either that the workers went forward and took power through the cordones or the right staged a bloody coup. However the workers movement was paralysed because of the influence of reformist politics, and so an American backed coup, took place on September 11th.

The coup began with the bombing of a shanty town in Santiago and ended with the taking of the Presidential palace.

Even though Allende went down bravely fighting to the last with a machine gun, his politics had disarmed the shanty towns and the factories by force.

What followed was vicious. Hundreds of people were rounded up and shot on the spot. Thousands were taken to the National Football Stadium, then tortured and murdered. In the next twelve months over 30,000 people were killed. The workers movement was crushed for a whole generation.

In order to teach a lesson, each morning, the river Mapocho, in the capital Santiago, ran red as maimed bodies floated down it, to show the brutality of the new rulers.

Those who had tried take the parliamentary road to socialism led the Chilean workers movement to the football stadiums and paid with their own lives and those of thousands of trade unionists.

Chile is a dark reminder that our rulers will not simply go away because we demand change. It shows why a revolutionary strategy has to be at the heart of the fight for socialism.

by SIMON BASKETTER

CLINTON VISIT:**Forget the robes, the real problem was Bomber Bill**

JOE Harrington used to be one of the finest socialists in Limerick.

Politicised in the aftermath of the Vietnam war, he became a thorn in the side of the establishment, when he settled in Limerick first. After getting a job in the US multi-national, SPS, he set about unionising the workers.

Soon Joe and a few other left wing shop stewards were producing *The Bottom Dog*. It campaigned against the boss class, attacked the cowardice of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union leaders, and denounced US aggression.

What a terrible pity then to see Joe Harrington, now the Mayor of Limerick, present the freedom of the city to Bill Clinton.

Of course, there were still a few old gestures to radicalism. Joe refused to wear the city robes. He mentioned the trade embargo on Cuba, Malcolm X and racism, but then claimed that Clinton supported the right of workers to organise in multi-national plants. (The last one is probably news to US workers.)

Backward

Joe had gone to Omagh to meet the relatives of the victims of the Real IRA. A few days before Clinton arrived he said, 'It is very hard for me then to turn on the television and see missiles being fired into backward places like Africa and Asia.'

But there he was joining in all the sycophantic honours for a man who has wrought far more violence on the world than the Real IRA.

Clinton, the chief salesman for the £250 billion US arms industry, parades himself as a man of peace. Even aside from his recent bombings, there are nearly a quarter of a million of Iraqi children who have died because of his sanctions.

Yet even as the *Cork Examiner* denounced Clinton, there was Joe Harrington giving him the freedom of the city.

Sometimes there are weakness in an individual's socialist politics that never seem to matter in the heat of a campaign or struggle.

Joe was a member of the Fourth International, a movement which claimed to stand by the Trotsky's words while discarding his revolutionary spirit.

They argued that the U.S.S.R, China and a host of Third World states were 'degenerated workers states'. The fact that actual workers seemed to have little control over their factories or offices was not considered crucial.

Instead state form of ownership and state planning was sufficient to merit the accolade of a 'workers state', that socialists were obliged to be defend against US imperialism.

The Fourth International believed that 'anti-imperialist movements' had a 'dynamic' which could open the way to workers state. So for many years, Joe and his comrades in Peoples Democracy argued that the republican fighters in the North would be the vanguard for the coming Irish revolution.

When the tide runs out of ideas that no longer make sense of world, individuals lose their way.

Today there is no 'progressive bloc' of allies of the USSR. The republican fighters have donned their Armani suits and are crawling into the establishment.

So many of the groupings associated with the Fourth International across the world have split or disintegrated.

Elected

Joe Harrington's approach was to retreat into community politics. Elected on a wave of opposition to service charges, he and other left wing councillors concentrated on maintaining their electoral base.

The anchor to working class struggle was increasingly cut. This year for example, Limerick Corporation workers fought a magnificent battle to defend their conditions. Craft and unskilled workers stood shoulder to shoulder in a strike denounced by the union leaders.

Yet none of the councillors who had once spoken so boldly about dismantling capitalism was vocal in their support.

Having lost the plot on the bigger picture, the left in Limerick's council chambers put 'community' popularity before sticking with fighting workers.

No wonder none of them dared to voice opposition to making Bomber Bill a free man of the city.

—KIERAN ALLEN

film

Spielberg's myth of the 'good war'

Reviewed by ASHLEY SMITH

FOR DECADES, the Second World War has been portrayed as the "good war. Hollywood depicted the war in sanitised battle scenes, with John Wayne and Robert Mitchum as heroes fighting for freedom, democracy and the American way.

At least Steven Spielberg's *Saving Private Ryan* departs from this flag-waving tradition.

The movie shows the Second World War with all its fury, confusion, senselessness and naked violence.

However Saving Private Ryan ends up accepting most of the key myths about the war and waving the flag at the same time.

The film starts with the 1944 D-Day invasion of France-as U.S. soldiers scramble onto the beaches of Normandy under a barrage of German machine-gun fire. During the invasion, three brothers from the same family, the Ryans,



Tom Hanks making the world safe for democracy

die in combat.

U.S. Army Chief of Staff Gen. George Marshall orders Capt. John Miller (Tom Hanks) to gather a small band to find the remaining brother, Private Ryan (Matt Damon), so that he can return safely to his family.

On the mission, Miller and the soldiers he commands express their frustrations and anger about the war.

Miller, whose hand shakes uncontrollably as a result of war stress, says: "Every time I kill, the further away, from

home I feel"

But for all the questions it raises the movie accepts other ideas about the war without criticism.

Evil

All German soldiers are portrayed as equally evil. A reviewer for the *New Yorker* magazine said the film nearly drove him to stand on his seat and yell "at Tom Hanks to kill more Germans, and then when he had finished killing Germans, to kill more Germans."

Despite its realistic portrayal of war, Saving Private Ryan ends up a standard war story of noble sacrifice for a great cause. However, the Second World War had little to do with noble causes like fighting fascism or defending democracy.

The world's most powerful countries, including the U.S., initially tolerated fascism in Italy and Germany and only went to war when their interests were threatened.

Far from battling the Nazis' greatest crime,

the Holocaust, the U.S. did nothing to save Jews while it had the opportunity.

Instead, it limited Jewish immigration and refused to bomb rail lines into the concentration camps where six million people died in the gas chambers.

At home, the U.S. government suspended democratic rights and interned 120,000 Japanese Americans in concentration camps of its own.

Spielberg could have shed some light on these facts.

Instead, he chose to make heroes out of the likes of Gen. Marshall.

However Marshall is no hero.

He began his career as a commander in the colonial war to occupy the Philippines, in which more than one million Filipinos were killed.

Segregation

During the Second World War, he defended segregation in the military, referring to Blacks as "darkey soldiers." He insisted the U.S. wouldn't hesitate "about bombing civilians."

The idea that Marshall took a personal interest in the lives of rank-and-file soldier, is also preposterous.

More typical was the attitude of Marshall's henchman, Gen. George Patton.

He once slapped a decorated soldier, hospitalised with shell shock, called him a "yellow bastard", and declared "there's no such thing as shell shock. It's an invention of the Jews."

Instead of challenging the myths built up around the war, Spielberg has added his powerful voice to those of the myth makers.

book

Bosses are boring

SOCIALISTS SHOULD read business journalism.

The pages of the Financial Times and the Economist are written by unapologetic free marketeers for an audience interested in the bottom line of profit.

But they often give a brutally honest appraisal of their economic system. Sadly Ireland's Entrepreneurial Elite does no such thing.

The argument of the book is that Irish entrepreneurs are beset by an obstructive government which blocks the path to profit with high taxes and government regulations.

It is as if Ireland has never known tax amnesties, Section 23 tax dodge property schemes, or 10% corporation tax rates.

One of the heroes of the book is East



Esats Denis O'Brien: Hard done by?

Digifone's Denis O'Brien, to whom over six pages are devoted.

Three years ago Esat was awarded a licence to operate in the lucrative Irish mobile phone market. Esat won the licence in the face of stiff competition and amid allegations of political favouritism. Months after the award, the then Minister for Communications Michael Lowry

had to make a public statement denying any such favouritism.

Lowry himself has since resigned in disgrace because of "favours" received from Ben Dunne.

The second biggest shareholder in Esat is a close friend of C.J. Haughey, Dermot Desmond, who has himself been linked with past scandals.

In 1996 Esat signed an agreement with the Garda Commissioner Pat Byrne which allowed the private company to use police masts for their transmitters.

Far from being an establishment outsider, obstructed by government, Denis O'Brien has had a cosy relationship with the Irish state.

There are no dissenting views in the book, the only people quoted are business people. Their line runs more or less like this.

'We worked hard, the banks didn't help us, the government didn't help us but we made it anyway.'

It is self congratulatory nonsense and it becomes very repetitive. Spend your £15 on something else.

Ireland's Entrepreneurial Elite by Richard Curran and Declan Hayes, Blackhall Publishing £14.99

—PAUL MURPHY



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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system. The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion. To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

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

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

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT: Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers.

We stand for independent rank and file action.

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

Time for the rank and file to organise

by **DAVE McDONAGH**

THE FIRST signs of rank and file militancy are beginning to re-emerge in the trade union movement.

Building workers have won some impressive victories on the sites because they have adopted a policy of defying the Industrial Relations Act.

The Busworkers Action Group has organised unofficial action and train drivers have also acted independently of their union officials.

During the summer craft workers in the health service and local authorities came out in defiance of their officials' attempts to sabotage a pay strike.

Action from below has re-emerged because workers are both bitter at the failure of the Celtic Tiger to deliver and confident because they know they are in demand in a growing economy.

Interests

Many know that their union leaders are more committed to keeping social partnership arrangements with the bosses than advancing workers interests.

Rank and file organisation shows the possibility of an alternative to the bureaucrats. It provides a better strategy for change than simply trying to get 'better people' into the top of the union.

Full time officials form a conservative bureaucracy because they are removed from the pressures of the shop floor. They are not subject to the demands for 'flexibility', the low wages or the threat of the sack.

Even if individual left wing trade unionists get elected to top positions, they will be subject to the

social pressure of the bureaucracy and forced to conform.

Against this strategy rank and file groups need to organise independently of the union leaders by:

■ Building strong shop floor organisation. There should be directly elected shop stewards who can be instantly replaced if they are not representing the workers.

■ Going directly to other groups of workers for solidarity and collections instead of waiting for the wheels of bureaucracy to turn.

■ Respecting picket lines from the start of a dispute, instead of waiting weeks for the ICTU "all out picket".

■ Defying anti-trade union laws like the Industrial Relations Act.



It's the time to build strong shop floor organisation.

UNITE POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

THERE was a major weakness in the rank and file organisations of the 1960s which eventually led to their defeat during the recession in the 1970s — they lacked the politics needed to carry the movement forward.

The Labour Party were the main political force which grew from the militancy of the 1960s. In the elections of 1965 and 1969 the party received its highest votes to date.

But the Labour Party leaders were only interested in getting into government. They saw strikes as a nuisance, rather than as a test of workers' strength in opposing capitalism.

When Labour entered coalition with Fine Gael in 1973, they left many militant workers betrayed and disoriented. Some followed Labour to the right while others moved towards republicanism.

Without a real socialist leadership, the rank and file groups failed to stand up to the ICTU's renewed attempts at curbing what one official described as "do-it-yourself trade unionism".

The result was the "two tier picket"—making scabbing respectable—and a return to pay restraint and social partnership.

Rank and file organisation collapsed because of the limits of syndicalism: militant trade unionism that tries to survive without socialist politics.

Today, increasing numbers of workers may have the confidence to go on strike and defy the law but they face another obstacle: the politics of the union leaders.

The bureaucrats constantly echo the bosses' arguments about the need to accept the free market. Instead of demanding a real share in the boom, the ICTU argues for further wage restraint in case we "fuel inflation".

Militant trade unionism is not enough to combat these arguments. This is why revolutionary politics are needed to challenge the logic of the market and to transform the emerging militancy into a struggle for a better world.

THE FIRE LAST TIME

THE LAST time rank and file politics took hold in Ireland was in the late 1960s and early 1970s. In this period, an expanding economy gave confidence to a new generation of workers.

Fianna Fail were in government throughout most of this period of unrest. They relied on the union bureaucrats to preach restraint and moderation.

But the bureaucrats had to run to catch up with their members, sometimes having to make radical speeches to stay on side.

In 1966, the ICTU recommended a maximum pay increase of £1 a week. But workers demanded £1 as the minimum they would accept. Dockers, confectionery workers and CIE craftsmen either struck or threatened to strike for this demand.

The CIE workers were led by a rank and file group who challenged their officials with a statement that read: "We are not plebeians and have no intention of being treated as such. Accordingly as people who are paying you and keeping you in office we demand that you arrange for the officialising of this stoppage."

Action from below

THE SPIRIT of rank and file trade unionism is summed up in the leaflet issued by the Clyde Workers' Committee in Scotland in 1915, which read:

"We will support the officials just so long as they rightly represent the workers, but we will act independently immediately they misrepresent them.

"Being composed of delegates from every shop and untrammelled by obsolete rule or law, we claim to represent the true feeling of the workers.

"We can act immediately according to the merits of the case and the desire of the rank and file."

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

ATHLONE Contact (01) 872 2682 for details

BELFAST CENTRAL Meets every Thurs 8pm, Garrick Bar, Chichester Street.

BELFAST SOUTH Meets every Weds at 8pm, Queens University Students Union Club Room.

BELFAST NORTH Meets every Thurs at 8pm, The Snug, Dasset St.

BELFAST WEST Meets every Thurs at 8pm, The Snug, Dasset St.

BELFAST EAST Meets every Thurs at 8pm, The Snug, Dasset St.

BELFAST SOUTH Meets every Thurs at 8pm, The Snug, Dasset St.

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BELFAST SOUTH Meets every Thurs at 8pm, The Snug, Dasset St.

BELFAST NORTH Meets every Thurs at 8pm, The Snug, Dasset St.

ENNISKILLEN Meets every fortnight. Contact (01) 872 2682 for details

GALWAY Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Curran's Hotel, Eyre Square

LIMERICK Meets every fortnight. Contact (01) 872 2682 for details

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

DUBLIN NORTH Meets every Tues at 8.30pm in The Snug, Dasset St.

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Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Black Forge (formerly the Benflay), Drimnagh Rd

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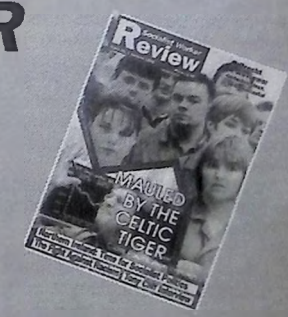
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Hartmann closure

Workers' protest vigil outside plant

OVER 100 workers in Hartmann International in New Ross have been locked out of their jobs since the middle of August.

There has been a round-the-clock vigil on the factory to prevent management moving machinery or equipment. Last Thursday the workers voted by 63 to 1 to take whatever industrial action would be considered necessary to secure a redundancy payment of 5 weeks per year of service.

Hartmann has offered £1 million as an overall payment which would amount to only two weeks per year of service. The workers have re-

jected this offer and the negotiator for Hartmann responded by taking a weeks holiday.

But according to one of the workers representatives, "Our determination is not weakened by the response of management and we will adopt whatever tactics are necessary to win this dispute".

Some local Fianna Fail politicians have been trying to put themselves on the side of the workers to gain credibility. But the workers are aware that in one case at least that the FF support is for personal gain.

A local FF representative bought land around New Ross very

cheaply from the IDA some years ago and is now trying to sell it back to them. He has been arguing that the Hartmann plant will be of no use to anyone in manufacturing. This is obviously to try and get his sale of land through.

Another local businessman who would hope to gain from the dispute is the famous Jimmy Nolan of the Nolans Transport company who would be willing to move equipment for Hartmann.

Any attempt by Nolan to cash in on the dispute should be resisted by all unionised workers in the region.

One of the shop stewards told

Socialist Worker, "The support from local people has been fantastic. There has been food and drink and supplies dropped around to us on the vigil and we don't have to put our hands in our pockets. People in New Ross really want to see us win."

A fundraising social is organised by the workers to buy a caravan to be used during the lock-out. It will be held in James Ryan's pub, Mary Street, New Ross on Wednesday 16th September at 8.30pm. Donations towards to cost of the caravan should be sent with messages of support to SIPTU, Connolly Hall, Summerhill, Waterford.

BATU

Bricklayers clean up

THE SURGE of militancy inside the Bricklayers union, BATU continues to bring results.

The most recent firm to be hit for using sub-contractors was Fajon Developments, in Stepside Dublin. They broke an agreement with BATU and used the sub-contracting firms of Cooke and Hickey.

Bricklayers responded with a picket that brought out union members from other sites. Pickets were supported by carpenters, painters and general operatives.

When one sub-contractor tried to drive a jeep through the picket line, there was a sit down. Even though the Gardai was called, the sub-contractor could not gain access to the site.

By the afternoon, Fajon Developments caved in. Six bricklayers have now been taken on as a direct employees.

Meanwhile a one man picket brought the Albany Homes, formerly Manor Park, site in Blanchardstown to a close.

"The company had not employed a bricklayer directly in ten years — but they were still beaten" one BATU activist told *Socialist Worker*.

Even though the company got an injunction, the BATU member stood his ground and forced the bosses to climb down. Another PAYE job was created. Congratulations again to BATU.

Fruit of the Loom

Hundreds face jobs loss

HUNDREDS OF jobs are under threat at Fruit of the Loom, one of the biggest employers in the North West. The Dungloe factory has already closed with the loss of 48 jobs and the other 3,500 workers in Derry and Donegal fear that at least 700 jobs are set to go.

A worker from Buncrana said, "The last few years it has just been constant uncertainty. Last year they put us on a three day week. But no matter what we do, you just never know what is around the corner. The union is now saying that they have been assured that the jobs are safe until Christmas. But then what happens?"

The redundancies are the result of a growing recession that is sweeping the global economy. Vicious competition is not breaking out as the devastated economies of South East Asia are cutting prices.

But sackings are evidence of sheer corporate greed. Fruit of the Loom has received millions in IDA and IDB grants to set up production in Derry and Donegal. None of this will be repaid if the factory closes.

The owner of Fruit of the Loom, Bill Farley is involved in a major tax dodge. He wants to move the parent company to the Cayman Islands in order to avoid paying \$100 million in corporate tax. This is leaving the company open to the threat of take-

over. Farley made millions out of stock market speculation in the 1980's and is a close associate of Michael Milken, the jailed junk bond king.

Their tactics were to buy companies, cut the workforce and then sell off each part for a profit. Farley has made a fortune out of other people's misery.

Farley is an also an active member of the US Democratic Party and a close associate of Bill Clinton.

Since 1989 he has concentrated on cutting the workforce at Fruit of the Loom plants throughout the world, pushing up productivity and chasing government grants for new factories. In 1995 he laid off 6000 workers at nine US Fruit of the Loom factories and moved production to Latin America and the Caribbean. In 1997 he sacked another 7000 in seven factories.

While Farley cries poor and holds the axe over the lives of thousands of workers in Ireland and elsewhere, he is making a fortune. According to Forbes magazine, he received a 200 per cent pay rise last year, earning a salary of \$950,000 together with a bonus of £1.9 million.

Instead of listening to advice to stay quiet and respectable, workers should fight these redundancies with all they have got. They should demand that Farley and his cronies pay the costs of a system that is in chaos.

Lifts strike

Bosses bring in scabs as strikers fight on

STRIKING LIFT engineers voted unanimously in early September to reject IBEC proposals after long hours of negotiations in the Labour Court.

A deal hammered out between the union and IBEC was reneged on by the multinational companies. Otis and Schindlers Lifts are insisting on drastically cutting the travelling time paid to the workers concerned.

But the media are portraying this dispute as one of greed and avarice by the workers.

In particular they are using the issue of the Ballymun flats lifts to criticise the strikers.

The residents of Ballymun flats have suffered as a result of the strike but it is the employers who have prevented a settlement by refusing to pay full travel time.

Now the army are fixing the lifts in the Ballymun flats and scabbing on the strike.

The hardship of the residents has been acknowledged by the striking workers who provided an emergency service for most of the time since the strike started on 13th July.

The money which should have been paid by the Corporation to the workers was given over by the strikers to community funds.

But the employers have upped the ante by serving protective notice on apprentices and white collar workers.

Scabbing on this dispute is now reported to be widespread.

In Blanchardstown shopping centre the Gardai and Security

workers protected three scabs from England who were brought in to fix the escalators.

Similar scabbing on Stephens Green shopping centre and in Cork city has been reported. All of the scabs are being brought in from England and Scotland.

One of the shop stewards told *Socialist Worker*, "The greed of the multinational companies means they will go to any lengths to defeat us in this dispute.

"They want to de-skill our work and introduce helpers and others who can take over our jobs.

"This is a pattern in craft work generally and is all about increasing productivity.

"But the straw that broke the camel's back was the bosses reneging on the travelling time we had negotiated in the Labour Court."

With a unanimous vote for rejection and the determination to win, the strike is now set to escalate.

The lift engineers will have to organise mass picketing on areas that are using scab labour. It is in the interest of all workers to support these strikers against scabbing.

The bosses are moving to a 1913's style operation and using worker against worker to hammer a defeat on the union.

It is vital that members of the TEEU organise a levy to support the strikers. They are over 8 weeks out. Workplace collections should be taken up in all craft areas to ensure the victory of the strike.

Workers solidarity can teach this William Martin Murphy management a short sharp lesson and put an end to their scabbing tactics.



■ Strikebreakers from England brought in Schindlers Lifts working in Blanchardstown Shopping Centre

Colleges

MANUAL STAFF in the universities are up in arms over an attempt to peg down their wages below that received by manual workers in Dublin Corporation.

The corporation workers received a minimum increase of £16.80 with some workers receiving much more. In addition they got extra leave and the chance of more promotions. In all the increase amounted to a

rise of 15%.

But the university authorities want to peg their manual staff to a rise of only 5.5%

This cap on public sector rises was agreed by the ICTU and the government but it is now far below workers expectations.

The new term in the colleges could see industrial action if management do not back down.

Health Service

ON SEPTEMBER 19th, there will be a mass rally in Downpatrick in defence of the Downe hospital. After the recent 20,000 strong march in Dungannon in support of the South Tyrone hospital, the organisers are hoping for a huge turnout.

Downpatrick is the latest focus for a long running campaign against the strategic health plan drawn up by the Tory government but continued under Labour. This proposes that there will be only four large acute hospitals in the North, three of which are in Belfast. Hospital cover in rural areas will be decimated.

The mass protests in Bambridge and Dungannon have shown an overwhelming will to challenge the priorities of the Blair government. But union leaders are throwing away this opportunity by relying on lobbying tactics or 'waiting for the Assembly' to reconvene.

The key to defeating the closure is for hospital workers to engage in a campaign of industrial action and rally militant support behind them.

COMMUNITY NURSES BALLOT FOR ACTION

COMMUNITY nurses attached to St Ita's hospital have balloted in favour of all-out industrial action in support of a pay claim.

A commission set up after the nurses strike had recommended a £2,200 allowance for community nurses to compensate for loss of premium payments for overtime and shift work.

But management are refusing

to pay the allowance simply because a number of nurses do weekend work.

"You can see the contradictions. If I sit at home and do not work long weekends, I get the allowance. But if I work I lose it".

Nurses in other areas are closely watching to see if the health board are going to provoke this strike.

Queens University Lecturers fight sackings

AS THE new university term begins lecturers at Queen's University are preparing to fight a serious attack on jobs from management.

Queen's new Vice Chancellor is a Thatcherite academic George Bain who has singled out 107 academics for compulsory redundancy or early retirement.

Four 'uneconomic departments' are also to close. The lecturers union, the Association of University Teachers is furious about the attacks.

Hundreds of students have also signed petitions to support the threatened geology department — the only one in Ireland. 103 prominent academics have also written to the Belfast Telegraph to denounce the Bain plan.

An AUT member spoke to *Socialist Worker* about the background to the dispute.

"The pretext is that Queen's is under-performing in research and we need fresh blood but when you look at the context it is complete nonsense. In recent years there has been a boom in student numbers but resources have not gone in to match the demand.

"Some departments at Queen's have seen student numbers almost double while staff numbers have actually gone down. Overstretched lecturers had to make a choice between teaching and research and we choose

to put the students first.

"Queen's is rated one of the top universities for teaching quality and we are very proud of that".

He is also suspicious of the motivation behind the 'centre of excellence' proposals for more emphasis on research.

"The university plans to spend £13 million paying off old lecturers and hiring new ones. For a fraction of that they could just hire some extra lecturers, solve the staffing problem and then we could have more research.

"But this isn't about excellence in research. It's about a big business agenda — medical research being sponsored by pharmaceutical companies and so on."

"Bain was head of the London Business School and I have no doubt he wants to move us closer to the corporate agenda. This isn't just a fight for jobs — it is a fight for the soul of education".

The anger of lecturers at their treatment by an arrogant management is obvious. Hopefully the AUT will build on that anger in the new term by moving from a PR campaign to organising industrial action. They should also link up with students who will be fighting over tuition fees. Together lecturers and students can defeat these attacks.

Socialist Worker

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inside

AS STOCK MARKETS CRASH...

ARE WE
HEADED
FOR A
1930'S
SLUMP?

—PAGES 6-7



■ Panic on the markets

RECESSION THREATENS ANOTHER JOBS MASSACRE

A 1930'S-STYLE global recession has taken a huge jump nearer after the economic collapse in Russia. There is open panic in the world stock markets

For years governments allowed the stock exchanges and the demands of multinationals to dictate policy. They privatised industry and ordinary people suffered from waves of redundancies.

Leaders like Margaret Thatcher told workers, "If it isn't hurting, it isn't working".

Now the free market is wreaking havoc as it goes into reverse.

And the same bosses who made a fortune gambling on the stock market boom are now looking for ways to make us pay for their losses.

Workers

Even before the recession fully hits Britain and Ireland, thousands of workers are losing their jobs every week.

Two weeks ago, 197 workers at the City shirt factory in Derry were told they were to lose their jobs.

The Fruit of the Loom clothing firm, which employs 2,500 workers in Derry and Donegal, has closed its Dungloe factory and there are strong fears that hundreds of jobs are set to go in the next few months.

These companies were handed millions of pounds in government

grants and tax breaks but all of it is now set to go to waste as the factories are left to rot.

Incredibly, some of the most senior economists are welcoming the news.

Gavin Davies of Goldman Sachs investment brokers, and a close adviser to British Chancellor

Gordon Brown, claims that Britain needs to increase unemployment by 500,000 in order to keep wage demands in check.

The Bank of England and the bosses' organisation, the CBI, are now arguing that unemployment will have to rise by at least 130,000 by next year.

Political leaders have no answer

POLITICIANS throw up their hands and say nothing can be done. Peter Mandelson, British Trade and Industry minister, put the closures down to "global forces."

Only a year ago, Mandelson and Tony Blair were visiting Singapore and South Korea and hailing their "Tiger" economies as the model for Britain. Now they are prepared to sit back and watch as workers pay the price.

It is the same with politicians in Ireland. In the North, John Hume, Gerry Adams and David Trimble have all held out the promise of inward investment as the reward for the peace settlement.

All of this is now in tatters as existing jobs

look increasingly uncertain.

The "Celtic Tiger" in the South has been based on computer components, which are at the heart of the collapse across the globe.

After years of sacrificing wage rises to feed the boom, workers are now threatened with unemployment and more demands for wage cuts to pay for the crisis.

Ireland's richest man Tony O'Reilly, told the *Sunday Tribune*, "Over the next two to three years the concentration of our managers will be on finding ways of doing things cheaper."

O'Reilly lost around £280 million in the share market collapse last week, but is still worth at least £500 million. Now he will try to off load the costs.

**Get ready
to resist**

THERE IS a danger that sudden threat to your job can lead to resignation and bitterness. The union leaders feed into this by telling people to follow procedures and respect the law.

But socialists encourage a policy of resistance. Every time we accept cuts or low wages the bosses will only come back on us harder.

This is why the answer to any factory closure has to be a policy of occupation. The rich should not be allowed to take valuable machinery out of the plant while workers are thrown on the unemployment scrap heap.

A factory occupation can become the focus of solidarity as it helps to rally around trade unionists.

Over the next period we will need a strong socialist presence in the unions to encourage this campaign of resistance.