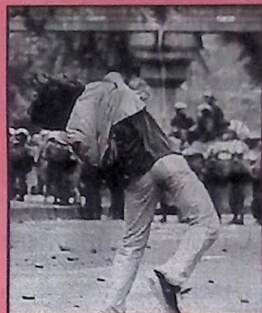


# Socialist Worker

inside

**INDONESIA:  
THE  
REVOLUTION  
CONTINUES**



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

# FUND OUR SCHOOLS & HOSPITALS

# TAX THE FAT CATS

**IRISH FAT cats are making a fortune but they are paying the lowest taxes in Europe.**

Top of the list of profiteers are the bankers. In the first six months of this year, the Allied Irish Banks profits jumped by 66% to a staggering £401 million for a half a year.

This is the same bank which swindled £87 million in unpaid taxes.

**This money could have helped to provide decent social services for those in need.**

Now a major row has broken out in the EU about the way the Irish government is letting the rich off paying their taxes.

Many of the banks, for example, locate

offices in the Irish Financial Services Centre in Dublin where they pay a mere 10% rate of tax.

This means they pay less in tax than the lowest paid cleaner who looks after their plush offices.

### Profits

A number of EU governments, such as the new 'left wing' German government, are arguing for a policy of 'tax harmonisation' to stop the Irish government cutting taxes on all profits to a mere 12.5%.

The Irish Finance Minister Charlie McCreevy and the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Gordon Brown are resisting this.

They say that their 'freedom' and 'national sovereignty' are at stake.

**But the reality is that workers on both sides of the Irish border are already suffering from the policy of pampering the rich.**

All over the country hospital wards are being closed. Schools are starved of resources.

Our streets are gridlocked because there are not enough buses.

Irish workers have as much interest as German workers in seeing a policy of taxing the rich.

**That is why we should reject the flag waving about 'Irish independence' and tell this government to 'Tax the Fat Cats'.**

**Defend Limerick  
shop stewards**

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*The French Revolution*



**THE WORLD  
WOULD NEVER  
BE THE SAME  
AGAIN**

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**NEW LABOUR:  
SAME OLD  
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**STUDENTS**

**Queens  
students  
occupy  
against  
the cuts**



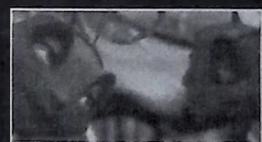
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**REFUGEES  
WELCOME  
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Also in *Socialist Worker*:

**ANTZ  
and  
John  
Reed reviewed**



# "They said I was anti-social"

## Council tenant bullied for making a complaint

A WOMAN who complained to Dun Laoghaire Council about the condition of her flat was called an "anti-social element" and told to stay away from the Housing Department.

Sinead lives in the Mounttown council estate in Dun Laoghaire, where residents are protesting over the delay in providing improved housing.

She told *Socialist Worker*, "I have a 3 month old baby who was taken to Crumlin Hospital with a kidney infection from the cold and damp."

"When I complained, the council sent me a letter saying I was an 'anti-social element' on the estate."

### Complaints

The council told Sinead they had received complaints from her neighbours.

But locals have stood by her and she is now

demanding that the council substantiate their claim.

The case shows how local authorities can use the issue of anti-social behaviour as a stick to beat tenants who stand up for their rights.

But the residents of Mounttown are determined to fight for better conditions.

Mounttown was built around fifty years ago. There is no central heating and many residents rely on open fires. The flats have never been rewired.

### Damp

Many of the flats are damp. Asthma and bronchitis are widespread among children on the estate.

Sergio, another resident, said, "When the health inspector saw the damp in my flat he advised me to try and find private accommodation."

"I've lived here two years. My girlfriend has lived in this flat for eight years and they have never

offered her another place."

The flats were due to be demolished in 1985 but this was postponed.

The most recent starting date was November 1997.

But Environment Minister Noel Dempsey has sat on the Environmental

Impact Report since then.

Six blocks of flats are due to be knocked down and replaced with houses. About 38 people live in these blocks.

The flats in nearby Fitzgerald Park are due to be refurbished—but not for

another eight years.

Yet these flats are in as bad a condition as the ones being demolished.

Residents plan protests to force the Minister to implement the re-housing project.



## Bigots show real agenda

A CONFERENCE held recently in Derry confirms what socialists have argued for years — that the agenda of organised anti-abortionists goes beyond abortion.

The Human Life International conference included sessions on: "Natural Family Planning—Scientific Solution, Creators plan" and "Homosexuality—Psychological and moral condition".

The day ended with a play about "chastity".

Gay rights activists reacted angrily to HLI's argument that gays have a "psychological condition" which can be "cured".

Meanwhile the Irish Medical Council has

issued a new abortion code which explicitly prohibits abortion.

The relevant clause reads "The deliberate and intentional destruction of the unborn child is professional misconduct".

### Allows

This clause is even at odds with the constitution which allows abortion in the case of a physical or psychological threat to the life of the mother.

The Irish Medical Council has powers akin to the High Court. It can strike doctors off the medical register if they violate these ethical guidelines.

However, opinion polls both North and South show that four out of five people think there are circumstances under which abortion should be available.

## Masters of the universe?

A JUNIOR German Financial markets trader caused a panic last week and cost his bosses £13 million.

Computer screens across Germany flashed up that someone wanted to sell 130,000 German bonds worth £13 billion. Not surprising panic and confusion ensued.

One trader said, "At first I thought this was a Rio trade, which is where someone makes a last ditch attempt to recover losses and if it fails they book a one way ticket to Brazil."

It turned out there was a simpler explanation the dealer had pressed the wrong button.

This follows a trader on France's derivative market who caused chaos when he triggered a huge sell order in French bond futures after accidentally leaning on the "sell" key of his computer system a 145 times.

These people are in charge of the world's financial markets and like to refer to themselves as "The masters of the universe".

## BABY BOSSES

IF THE top European industrialists get their way Primary School teachers could find themselves forced to teach business principles to 5 year olds.

In a new report, a group of 44 leading industrialists including Michael Smurfit and Peter Sutherland, are calling for "basic business concepts" to be incorporated into schools, as a means of fostering "enterprise skills" among European tots.

Presumably this will include lessons on bribing politicians, dodging tax and attacking workers' pay and conditions.

# Gardai exposed by the Ward case

JOHN O'Donoghue's plans to give more powers to the Garda have received a major blow after judges in the Paul Ward trial denounced police methods.

According to the judges there was a possibility that alleged statements made by Ward were

planted by Gardai.

They noted how "remarkable" it was that Ward continued to be interrogated by one team of detectives even though he was supposed to have made statements admitting responsibility to another team.

The judges also condemned the "grievous psychological pressure" placed on Ward's girlfriend and mother who were called to the station in a manoeuvre to get him to confess.

One Garda told the Sunday Tribune crime correspondent, "It's a major set-

back. I can't tell you how major it is".

The Ward case follows another recent scandal where Dean Lyons admitted to a murder in Grangeengorman for which someone else was subsequently charged.

### Interview

Significantly Lyons has now been locked away on another unrelated charge of minor theft and has not been available to the press for interview.

More than twenty years ago, after a brutal Heavy Gang had been uncovered in the Gardai, Justice Barra O Briain recommended that interrogations in Garda stations should be recorded.

But every Justice Minister since has bowed to Garda pressure and refused to make this recording mandatory.

O'Donoghue recently gave the pathetic excuse that "there were limited resources" for buying simple tape recorders and video camera".

## ROGUES GALLERY

THE NATIONAL Gallery Foundation is a little cartel of the great and the good designed to raise money for an extension for the Gallery.

Its current Chair is former Fine Gael Minister Peter "teabags" Barry. Until last year it was run by Charles Haughey. Haughey left saying that all the money had been raised.

This is rather odd since the board is currently in crisis because nobody seems to know how much was raised, who gave the cash or even which bank account it had been lodged into.

The board which contains the head of Davy Stockbrokers as well as former Fianna Fail fundraiser Paul Kavanagh is refusing to tell anyone, including the board of the National Gallery how much it has raised.

## Hotelier ran slush fund for Charlie Haughey

THE LIST of bosses that funded Charlie Haughey grows almost daily.

The late PV Doyle who set up the Doyle hotel group ran an over-draft facility in Guinness and Mahon Bank — before it changed its name to Ansbacher — to transfer cash to the offshore

accounts of Haughey.

The deal was run by Haughey's bag man, the accountant Des Traynor.

### Expenses

Some of Haughey's living expenses were funded by Doyle's accounts and, in return, Doyle was able to get a £1 million loan to buy a hotel in London. Brennans' bakery kindly

dropped £500,000 in to the murky

Ansbacher accounts through Doyle — though what happened to the money is a mystery.

The Doyle family's murky traditions continue to this day.

Bernadette Gallagher, PV Doyle's daughter, sits on the National Gallery Foundation.

(see Rogues gallery story).

**what we think**

# New Labour: same old free market

**LABOUR AND Democratic Left will be united by February 1st 1999. Phronsiias De Rossa will become President of the new Labour Party alongside Ruairi Quinn, its parliamentary leader.**

The founding document for the new Labour Party claims that they 'intend to construct a radical participatory political movement, which will lead a Government of Reform'.

Many people desperately want to re-distribute wealth in the Celtic Tiger economy. They are tired of the pro-business policies of Fianna Fail and Fine Gael and want a party that stands for workers interests

Unfortunately the new Labour Party will offer them very little.

**Wrong**

In all the discussion about the merger, there has been one issue which has been completely avoided: what went wrong when the Left were last in government?

In 1992, Labour and Democratic Left achieved the highest left vote since 1927 but five years later their vote collapsed and Fianna Fail returned.

The Labour leader, Ruairi Quinn, has claimed that people turned against Labour because their policies were not packaged well.

But the reality was that Labour and Democratic Left turned on their own supporters and pursued a business agenda that was indistinguishable from Fine Gael.

Both parties imposed water

charges on their supporters and stood by while workers were hauled before the courts for not paying.

As Finance Minister Ruairi Quinn imposed cuts on community employment schemes, pushing the poorest sections of workers back on the dole.

And even on the liberal agenda, Labour and Democratic Left bowed to the Bishops when they allowed them the legal right to sack teachers and nurses who did not conform to a Catholic ethos.

None of this is simply a matter of past history. The new Labour Party is again firmly committed to pro-market policies.

Across Europe there has been a rise in support for social democratic parties but the new Irish Labour Party is modelling itself solely on Tony Blair's party.

This was seen in a recent argument in the EU which broke out after the new German left government called for tax harmonisation to stop governments reducing business taxes.

Disgracefully, Labour's new spokesperson on finance, Derek McDowell gave full backing to the Fianna Fail policy of reducing corporation tax to 12.5%, here compared to 35% elsewhere.

Yet if Labour has given up on taxing company profits, how can they promise any redistribution of wealth?

How can they guarantee any improvements in hospital care or primary school education if will not squeeze money from the rich?

One Labour TD Pat Upton said that if Labour and Democratic Left merged this would open the way for a radical challenge from the left.

He is right. The Socialist Workers Party has every intention of taking up that challenge.

**An Independent Inquiry into Health Inequalities in Britain has produced startling evidence that poverty can seriously damage your health.**

The inquiry which was chaired by Donald Acheson has recommended a series of socialist measures to transfer wealth from the rich to the poor.

The inquiry found that the difference in death rates has grown in the last twenty years.

**PINOCHET: LET HIM ROT IN HELL**



There were celebrations around the world when the House of Lords allowed Pinochet's extradition from Britain to go ahead. It is now up to New Labour; Jack Straw to stand up for democracy and human rights by extraditing the dictator.

**Poverty is bad for your health:**

In the late 1970s, for example, death rates were 53% higher in the two lowest social classes compared with the highest. By the later 1980s death rates were 68% higher in the poorest groups.

Poorer people also more likely to experience long term illness which limit their enjoyment of life.

In 1996, for example, 17 per cent of professional men aged between 45 and 64 reported a limiting long standing illness compared to 48% of unskilled men.

Donald Acheson, the inquiry chairperson said, "We believe that all policies likely to have an impact on health

should be formulated to favour the less well off.

Some health inequalities are so gross that a sustained effort will be necessary over ten years to have an impact".

**Benefits**

The report recommends an increase in benefits for mothers and young children by as much as 25%; a policy of taxing the rich and reducing indirect taxes; free fruit and free meals at school; free nicotine patches to help people get off cigarette.

Nearly twenty years ago, the Black report made the same link between social class and health.

The Tory government made sure that only 260 copies were released and then dismissed its findings.

This time the Labour Party Health Secretary, Frank Dobson, welcomed the Acheson report but he refused to agree to the specific recommendations.

The reality is that the Acheson report is a damning indictment of the policies of New Labour.

By dropping any strategy to tax the rich, they are ensuring that health inequalities grow.

## Will you sell Socialist Worker to five people?

DO YOU have friends, workmates or fellow students who would like to read **Socialist Worker**?

**Socialist Worker** is the No. 1 selling socialist newspaper in Ireland. Every fortnight we carry socialist arguments and news of struggle. We need a network of people who are fighting for socialist politics. Help us get an even bigger circulation and spread socialist ideas even further.

Take 5 copies and see if you can sell them. You only pay for what you sell.

- I will take five copies of Socialist Worker to sell
- I want to Join the **Socialist Workers Party**
- I want more information

Name:.....

Address:.....

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Return this Form to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, or PO Box 103 Tomb Street, Belfast.



# news of the world

## United States

# Don't let them murder Mumia

**THE PENNSYLVANIA'S state high court has recently rejected Mumia Abu Jamal's appeal for a new trial. This opens the way for Governor Thomas Ridge to sign his execution warrant.**

This marks a new stage in the former Black Panther's 17 year old nightmare of injustice.

The case of Mumia Abu-Jamal shows the racism that lies at the heart of the American justice system.

In 1981 Mumia was convicted and sentenced to death for a crime he didn't commit- the shooting dead of a police officer Daniel Faulkner. But right from the beginning Philadelphia's notoriously racist cops had their reasons for framing Mumia.

Years earlier Mumia had been a founding member of the Philadelphia chapter of the Black Panther Party for Self Defence.

Later as a broadcast journalist he was known as 'the voice of the voiceless' for his reporting on police brutality and corruption in Philadelphia.

Mumia was also a supporter of

the radical black organisation MOVE and an outspoken critic of the Philadelphia police siege on the group's home in 1978, in which 18 people were injured

During his long struggle for freedom, conducted from Pennsylvania's death row he has gained international renown.

Mumia has powerful enemies who worked to ensure his conviction. They are now intent on sending him sent to the death chamber.

The Fraternal Order of Police

(FOP) has carried out a fanatical campaign to silence Mumia.

Pennsylvanian politicians like Ridge and Philadelphia Mayor Ed Rendell are all too eager to execute him in order to please the FOP and appear "tough on crime".

The mainstream media have shamelessly repeated the story cooked up by the prosecutors and the cops - and openly censored Mumia's effort to get the truth out

But if these figures are out to get him, Mumia has been able to

count on the support of millions of ordinary people across the world.

When Ridge signed a death warrant for Mumia's in 1995 activists from Sydney to New York and beyond organised a fightback that resulted in a stay of execution.

After this latest ruling activists have launched another mass campaign to support Mumia and get his conviction overturned.

## Speaking out from death row

ON OCTOBER 31, Mumia issued a statement on the Pennsylvania Supreme Court's ruling. The following are excerpts.

"...In recent months, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court has upheld death sentences in cases where an impartial reading of transcripts or pleadings would make an honest affirmation all but impossible. They have ignored all evidence of innocence, overlooked clear instances of jury taint and cast a dead eye on defence attorneys' ineffectiveness.

What they have done in my case is par for the course. This is a political decision, paid for by FOP, on the eve of the election. It is a Mischief Night gift from a court that has a talent for the macabre.

I am sorry that this court did not rule on the right side of history. But I am not surprised Every time our nation has come to a fork in the road with regard to race, it has chosen to take the path of compromise and betrayal.

On October the 29, 1998, the Pennsylvania Supreme court committed a collective crime: it damned due process, strangled the fair trial and raped justice.

Even after this legal ledgermain, I remain innocent.

A court cannot make an innocent man guilty. Any ruling founded on injustice is not justice. The righteous fight for life, liberty and for justice can only continue."



A protest defending Mumia in Pennsylvania

## Zimbabwe

# Workers' and peasants' struggles shake Mugabe

**STRUGGLES BY workers and peasants are increasing the pressure on President Mugabe to go.**

A member of Socialist Worker's sister organisation in Zimbabwe says, "In the last months we have seen a deeper crisis for the government.

"There have been two general strikes pushed for from below, peasants demonstrating in the streets and taking over about 25 farms, and dissent inside the army.

"This is a very serious situation for Mugabe and the prospects are that the crisis will get worse for him."

When Mugabe announced a 67 percent rise in fuel prices in early November, thousands of workers spontaneously

demonstrated against it.

Trade union leaders denounced them.

But the feeling was so militant that within four days those same leaders had organised a general strike to stop the situation "getting out of control".

They promised a weekly general strike. The second was bigger than the first.

The workers' resistance has encouraged the rural squatters' movement.

## Land

Peasants have spontaneously taken back some land.

That has forced Mugabe to promise the government will nationalise some white owned farms.

Some newspapers urge sympathy for the white farmers.

But the land in Zimbabwe was originally stolen by a small army of

whites led by Cecil Rhodes who invaded the area in 1890. Through violence and trickery they grabbed a whole country from the Africans who farmed it. They named it Rhodesia.

Today 100,000 white farmers have 11.2 million hectares of land (110 hectares per person) while the majority of Zimbabwe's population are peasants.

Seven million of them live on 16 million hectares of crowded and over-worked "communally owned" land (2.25 hectares per person). Black people can farm the land just as efficiently as white commercial growers, provided they have access to the same machinery, loans and fertilisers.

Mugabe says some farms will now be taken over. But he has promised this before and not delivered.

## South Korea

# WORLDWIDE OUTRAGE AT SOCIALISTS' ARREST

**HUNDREDS OF people from around the world have shown their solidarity with 26 South Korean socialists arrested in March for the "crime" of discussing socialist ideas and organising against the government's austerity measures.**

The names appear in an advert in the current edition of the New York Review of Books-a highly respected magazine.

Amongst the signatories backing the campaign for the release of the members of the International Socialists of South Korea are:

Jose Ramos-Horta,

Indonesian winner of the 1996 Nobel Peace Prize

Lula, president of the Workers Party in Brazil and runner up in last month's election

Noam Chomsky, academic and opponent of US imperialism across the world

Harold Pinter, playwright

The Canadian Labour Congress (equivalent to the ICTU)

Tony Benn MP

Ken Loach, film director

George Mavrikos, deputy president of the General Confederation of Workers in Greece (equivalent to the ICTU)

Beryl Bainbridge, author

The signatories come from many countries, including Australia, Canada, France, El Salvador, Germany, Greece, Ireland, Italy, Indonesia, India,

Kenya and Poland.

Amongst those signing in defence of the ISSK in Ireland are Professor Farrell Corcoran, Phronias de Rossa from Democratic Left, John Gormley Green Party and Caoimhin O Caoilean from Sinn Fein.

The signatories form Britain include the Liverpool dockers.

They are joined by MEPs Glyn Ford and Hugh Kerr, academics like Victor Kiernan of Edinburgh University and G A Cohen from Oxford

University, and Guardian journalist Francis Whelan and Observer journalist Nick Cohen. There is an impressive list from the United States that includes the lawyer Leonard Weinglass, Art Reyes of the UAW union at General Motors, and academics like Cornel West, Fredric Jameson, Manning Marable, Howard Zinn,

Mike Davis and Robert Brenner.

From Greece, signatories include Nikos Exarchos, the president of the Power Workers Federation.

The South Korean government of Kim Dae-jung is continuing its repression.

The president of the Korean Metal Workers Federation, who is also vice-president of the Korean Confederation of Trade Unions, was arrested last month for his role in organising general strikes earlier this year.

Some ISSK members have already received their sentence, while others are still waiting to hear. International protest can still have an effect.

■ Rush your support to the Committee to Defend South Korean Socialists, c/o P.O. Box 1648 Dublin 8.

■ A factsheet about the case is available from the same address.

## PATTON COMMISSION

# Disband the RUC

THE GOVERNMENT appointed commission to consider policing in the North, chaired by Tory politician Chris Patton, has been holding a series of meetings throughout the North. This has sparked a flurry of speculation about the future of the RUC.

There is no doubt that there is something fundamentally wrong with the RUC.

It has recently been criticised by two human rights groups, the United Nations Committee Against Torture and Human Rights Watch.

There is also the question of the make-up of the RUC only 7.7 percent of its membership is Catholic and only 2.2 per cent of the RUC Reserve is Catholic.

It has recruited only 70 Catholics in the last three years.

This isn't surprising given that a number of Catholic RUC officers have recently spoken out about life in the RUC.

### Fired

One Catholic policeman had a gun filled with blanks fired at him in a police station by an officer who said "We have had enough of you Fenian Bastards"

The only talk of change in the RUC has concerned flags and emblems.

For example, the Union Jack will no longer fly on police stations on the 12th of July.

All Tony Blair's Labour government could come up with was an independent ombudsman to examine complaints

**The Hostility to reform within the RUC can be seen in the recent statements by the chairperson of the Northern Ireland Police Federation Les Rogers.**

He said that he had no problem with RUC men being in the Orange Order.

This is backed up by a recent report by Colin

by SEAN McVEIGH

Smith of the British Inspectorate of Constabulary concluded that the problem was with the RUC itself; senior officers were reluctant to implement change.

He also said that the only people who wanted reform of the RUC were "criminals, terrorists, drop-outs and young rebels".

The problem with the RUC is more than simply the sectarianism of senior officers.

Sinn Fein's contribution to the debate has been to call for one set of cops to be replaced by another set of cops. Sinn Fein's Alex Maskey has said "the people of West Belfast need to be policed".

This is ridiculous. Crime comes from poverty. The people of West Belfast need to be free of police, both of the knee-capper variety and the Orange variety.

Socialists argue that the police are part of the capitalist state machine.

**The function of the police is to defend the interests of the bosses.**

It makes little sense to argue that the RUC in some way belongs to ordinary Protestants.

The RUC like every police force has never worked for the interests of ordinary people.

The RUC needs to be disbanded. But it should not be replaced by sectarian community police forces.

Neither can we look to Chris Patton's police commission or his advisers in the Republican movement for change in Northern Ireland.

To end sectarianism and poverty we need class politics.

## Queens occupation

# Did George Bain order attack on Queen's Students?

STUDENTS WHO occupied Queen's University in protest at the introduction of tuition fees and the abolition of maintenance grants were attacked by security staff.

Several of them sustained serious injuries. Two women were dragged out by the hair. Some were kicked heavily in the ribs and one sustained a black eye.

The Vice Chancellor of Queens' is George Bain. Many are now asking about his role in the attack.

Bain was appointed by Tony Blair to the Low Pay Commission. He recommended £3.60 an hour and a paltry £3 an hour for all workers under the age of 21.

### Protest

The peaceful occupation of Queen's University Administration began on the afternoon of Wednesday Nov. 18th. after a loud and militant protest around campus.

John Tolan Vice-President of U.U. Jordanstown who spoke at the rally said, "The entire student culture is at risk."

"Everyone should have the right to education, regardless of their background, regardless of whether their family can afford to pay for it or not."

"At the moment grants are being paid in three instalments, and with student loan payments being delayed, a student could find themselves with £300 to live on from the start of term until Christmas".

This is borne out by the record number of students who have applied for stu-



Students occupying Queens University

dent hardship loans.

Security guards moved in on the student protesters without warning at 6 am on Sunday morning November 22nd.

Anne-Marie one of the student occupiers told *Socialist Worker* that one of the security guards commented "she deserves it" as one of the students was dragged out of the building by the hair.

One young student had a rolled towel wrapped round his neck as he was dragged out of the building by this 'leash'.

Another student traumatised by the violence was lifted and thrown onto the ground outside injuring her back.

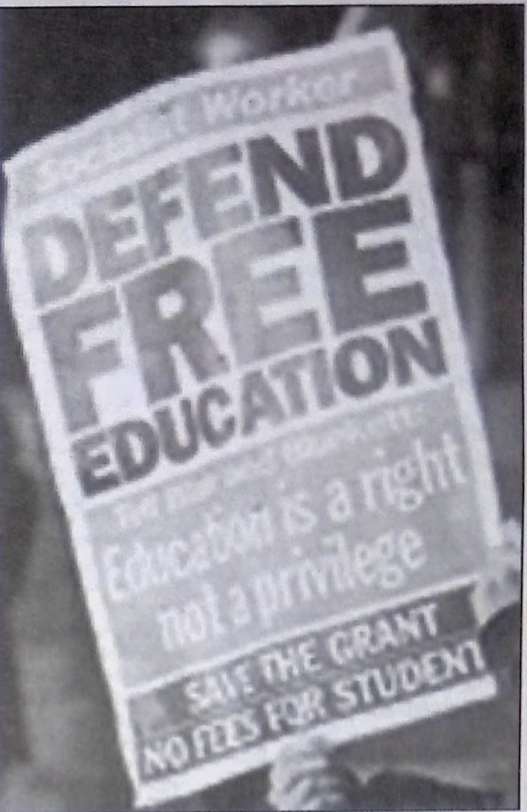
Bain continually

refused to meet the student occupiers and the university went to the High Court to get an injunction against them.

### Injured

Stuart, a Politics student at Queen's who was one of the protesters injured in the occupation, told *Socialist Worker* that, "despite the use of violence and the victimisation of three students who appeared in court, for standing up for the right to a free education, the campaign will carry on and not be intimidated."

"We have received so many messages of solidarity from around Ireland and Britain, and from as far away as Florida and Sydney to Cairo in Egypt.



"We intend to step up our campaign in order to repay the support from trade unions like the Fire Brigades Union, members of the Association of University Teachers and the 2,500 people who signed petitions of support endorsing our demands on George Bain".

The leaders of the students union in Queen's condemned the occupation claiming it was "just a *Socialist Worker* rent-a-crowd". But the reality is that the union officers won their positions by playing with tokenistic politics.

The student President was elected with strong republican backing in a controversy around Irish.

They have no perspec-

tive of uniting Catholic and Protestant students around the issues which directly affect their lives signs. Instead they want to fit into the communal politics which dominates Northern Ireland.

The Queen's occupiers however showed that a different set of politics is now rising in Northern Ireland.

Andy one of the student protesters summed up the potential,

"If students in Indonesia can get rid of Suharto, we can get rid of tuition fees. We hope that this is only the start and that students will keep up the protest on fees not only in Queen's but in other colleges as well"

**CALL CENTRES**

**White collar sweatshops**

IN Ireland about 6,000 people now work in about 50 call centres. By the year 2000, that figure is expected to double.

These centres are usually set up in working class suburbs with the aim of giving jobs to young unemployed workers at low wages.

For example, IBM employs 550 young workers on the phones at its vast call centre in Blanchardstown near Dublin.

Companies like IBM claim they are rejuvenating deprived areas but the reality is much different.

A recent report by the Centre for Economic Policy at the London School of Economics likened call centres to perfectly controlled prisons where workers are constantly visible and the supervisors power is absolute.

Telephone operators sit in row after row of tiny cubicles herded together like a human battery farm. Workers are confined to these tiny cubicles by the constant force feeding of calls, forced to answer in the same regimented way as if they were stamping labels on tins of peas.

Bosses keep workers under supervision at all times monitoring all calls and penalising anybody who falls behind.

This constant measuring of workplace statistics is condemned as dehumanising by the report.

The report said that "The tyranny of the assembly line is a Sunday school picnic compared to the control that management can exercise in computer telephony".

It claimed that "sheer boredom and constant repetition are probably the worst things about it, particularly when you are working to a set script"

Companies try to use young workers or part time women workers in their call centres because they think these groups will be less likely to go on strike.

But there is no reason why these workers will not resist the conditions they are forced to endure.

A Telecom strike in the US this summer showed the power of call centre workers to resist the bosses. Workers at Bell Atlantic won a fantastic victory after just two days on strike.

Call centre bosses in Ireland should not be allowed to run non-union sweatshops.

With a major recession on the way, it is important that these workers are organised for the fight back against increased pressures from the bosses.

On of its leaders is Megawati, the daughter of the famous Indonesian nationalist leader, Sukarno. Soon after Suharto was toppled she urged the nation to "show compassion and stop battering fallen president Suharto".

A member of the Indonesian elite she was paralysed by her terror of the masses. She has repeatedly declared her support for the constitution which among other things entrenches the army as the dominant political force.

The other main opposition leader is Amien Rais, chairperson of the vast Muslim movement Muhammadiyah. He claimed that Habibie

was 'a good Muslim' and 'too intelligent to be a puppet of Suharto'

Not only have Megawati and Rais failed to mobilise people who were only too ready to fight but they have also poured cold water on those who joined the struggle.

Rais was honest about his fears when he told an ABC interviewer, "mobilising people is easy, but controlling them is difficult".

If May had resulted in a quick political revolution in which Suharto was replaced by Megawati or Amien Rais it might have prevented a political process whereby the demands for political and economic change are increasingly merging.

But as the revolution deepens, the left has a chance to emerge.

Before 1965, Indonesia had one of the largest communist parties in the world. But its policies of seeking alliances with progressive army officers was a disaster.

Now new socialist organisations are emerging. Some believe that they should seek a grand coalition with Megawati to press her to be more determined to achieve democracy.

But others are moving to a strategy of 'total reform' or social revolution to uproot

the structures that Suharto established. The reality is that it was the riots of the urban poor that broke the power of Suharto's dictatorship. But the poor will not settle for purely political change, when the market is devastating their lives. The hope is that Indonesia's huge working class, estimated at number over 80 million, intervenes decisively.

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These fanatical Muslim groups also attacked Christian churches, leaving 14 dead in a weekend.

Increasingly the choice in Indonesia is between an armed struggle to complete the revolution — or a turn to ethnic conflict and military dictatorship.

by SHAY RYAN

strained eyes are also common ailments among call centre workers.

Call centres also employ people around the clock without paying overtime or shift rates.

This is based on the theory of the "24 hour society" where "customer choice" means people have to be able to pay their bills or phone the bank at any hour of the day or night.

But the 24-hour culture is self-perpetuating. The only reason someone might "choose" to pay bills late at night is because their own boss has forced them to work longer hours!

Life on the white collar production line is as stressful as any factory. Reports show that this sort of work results in astronomical levels of turnover and high levels of absenteeism.

The results of the huge stress is causing the bosses problems. Some are being forced to offer higher wages to keep staff.

Companies try to use young workers or part time women workers in their call centres because they think these groups will be less likely to go on strike.

But there is no reason why these workers will not resist the conditions they are forced to endure.

A Telecom strike in the US this summer showed the power of call centre workers to resist the bosses. Workers at Bell Atlantic won a fantastic victory after just two days on strike.

Call centre bosses in Ireland should not be allowed to run non-union sweatshops.

With a major recession on the way, it is important that these workers are organised for the fight back against increased pressures from the bosses.

**INDONESIA**

**THE REVOLUTION GOES ON**

by SINEAD KENNEDY

SIXTY MILES south of Indonesia's major city, Jakarta, lies a magnificent 2,000 acre cattle ranch owned by former President Suharto. Since Suharto was forced from power in May, ownership of the estate has been disputed by local villagers.

They had farmed the land for generations before Suharto seized it in the 1970's. But when they tried to plant crops on it after the May uprising, they were attacked by security forces and ranch officials.

**Political**

The struggle for the Bogor ranch sums up the political situation in Indonesia. Six months after the tyrant Suharto was overthrown by a mass revolt and replaced by B. J. Habibie, little has changed.

fought and have seen their friends die in the struggle for democratic reforms.

They know that Suharto still controls his financial holdings and estates from his home in Jakarta. "We believe that if Suharto is not brought to account there will be no real change," said Alex, one of the thousands of students who recently marched on Suharto's home in the wealthy area of central Jakarta.

Mass protesting and rioting is continuing. The army's killing of 16 student demonstrators who were demanding political reform reignited the movement.

Habibie has been forced to conduct a corruption inquiry into the fortunes and vast land holdings accumulated by the Suharto family during his 32 year dictatorship.

Already a search of 74 Indonesian banks has located accounts worth £2 million of an estimated £25 billion.

The inquiry shows just how tenuous Habibie's hold on power is. Habibie had long resisted the inquiry yet the scale of the protests has forced his hand.

The pace of the investigation is too slow for many who have

helped persuade Suharto to step down. Then he was portrayed as a moderate who wanted to return slowly to democracy.

But now reports are emerging that the army is involved in setting up a third army, in an effort to bring down the riots in May which left more than 1,000 people dead.

In November gangs of a youth who were paid by the government died with their parents, shouting Allah is greater.

These fanatical Muslim groups also attacked Christian churches, leaving 14 dead in a weekend.

Increasingly the choice in Indonesia is between an armed struggle to complete the revolution — or a turn to ethnic conflict and military dictatorship.

**Armed**

Stopped from approaching the house by heavily armed soldiers, the students wave banners shouting "Hang Suharto".

It is not just Habibie that people want out. The military who brought Suharto to power in 1965 are also beginning to lose much of their influence.

In a recent protest by 50,000 students outside the parliament there were calls for the hanging of General Wiranto, the commander of the Indonesian army which is known by its initials,

ABRI, which was the only responsible body when 16 were murdered by his troops and 450 injured.

Six months ago Wiranto helped persuade Suharto to step down. Then he was portrayed as a moderate who wanted to return slowly to democracy.

But now reports are emerging that the army is involved in setting up a third army, in an effort to bring down the riots in May which left more than 1,000 people dead.

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These fanatical Muslim groups also attacked Christian churches, leaving 14 dead in a weekend.

**The forces challenging for power**

THE US embassy in Jakarta has a ready made proposal for Indonesia. It wants a smooth transition from the dictatorship to a moderate pro-American politician.

This is what happened a decade previously in the Philippines when Marcos was replaced by Cory Aquino.

But the crisis in Indonesia takes place against an economic crisis which resembles a full scale 1930s style slump.

The liberal opposition in Indonesia has so far been unwilling to seriously challenge the army.

On of its leaders is Megawati, the daughter of the famous Indonesian nationalist leader, Sukarno. Soon after Suharto was toppled she urged the nation to "show compassion and stop battering fallen president Suharto".

A member of the Indonesian elite she was paralysed by her terror of the masses. She has repeatedly declared her support for the constitution which among other things entrenches the army as the dominant political force.

The other main opposition leader is Amien Rais, chairperson of the vast Muslim movement Muhammadiyah. He claimed that Habibie

was 'a good Muslim' and 'too intelligent to be a puppet of Suharto'

Not only have Megawati and Rais failed to mobilise people who were only too ready to fight but they have also poured cold water on those who joined the struggle.

Rais was honest about his fears when he told an ABC interviewer, "mobilising people is easy, but controlling them is difficult".

If May had resulted in a quick political revolution in which Suharto was replaced by Megawati or Amien Rais it might have prevented a political process whereby the demands for political and economic change are increasingly merging.

**Chance**

But as the revolution deepens, the left has a chance to emerge.

Before 1965, Indonesia had one of the largest communist parties in the world. But its policies of seeking alliances with progressive army officers was a disaster.

Now new socialist organisations are emerging. Some believe that they should seek a grand coalition with Megawati to press her to be more determined to achieve democracy.

But others are moving to a strategy of 'total reform' or social revolution to uproot

the structures that Suharto established.

The reality is that it was the riots of the urban poor that broke the power of Suharto's dictatorship. But the poor will not settle for purely political change, when the market is devastating their lives. The hope is that Indonesia's huge working class, estimated at number over 80 million, intervenes decisively.

If their struggles are linked to a social organisation that does not want to limit demands to achieve a compromise with liberal opposition, they could bring deep change to the region.

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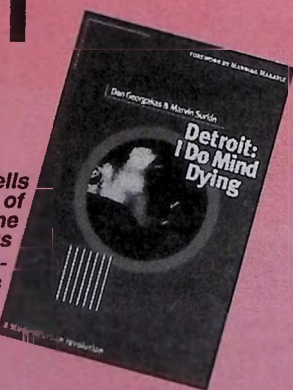
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# EVOLUTION

# ON

ABRI. Wiranto was the officer responsible for "Bloody Friday" when 16 students were murdered by his troops and 450 were injured.

Six months ago Wiranto had helped persuade Suharto to step down. Then he was portrayed as a moderate who wanted to move slowly to democracy.

But now reports are emerging that the army is involved in stirring up ethnic hatred. A recent official report found that the army, in an excuse for a crackdown, had instigated the ethnic riots in May which left more than 1,000 people dead.

In November, gangs of armed youth who were in the pay of the government clashed with students, shouting 'Allah is great'

These fanatical Muslim groups also attacked Christian churches, leaving 14 dead in one weekend

Increasingly the choice in Indonesia is between an all-out struggle to complete the revolution — or a turn to ethnic conflict and military dictatorship.

## er power

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## Freedom for East Timor



**A student defies the army in Jakarta**

**THE INDONESIAN army has shot dead over sixty people after protests in East Timor.**

This is their response to the calls for independence which have grown since the revolution in May. In 1975 the Indonesian military invaded the former Portuguese colony of East Timor with the full support of the US government.

The US supplied 90 per cent of the weapons used and the US intelligence supplied the Indonesian army with a list of names of Communist Party leaders and trade unions, women's and

youth groups. The CIA stood by checking off the names of those killed or captured for torture on what was known as the "shooting list".

As one US state department expert commented "Many people had to be kept for interrogation or "kangaroo courts" because the Indonesians didn't have enough goon squads to zap them all!" But since the uprising throughout Indonesia in May, opposition to military rule has grown enormously.

Students have demanded that the Indonesian government revoke Law 7/1976 - integrating East Timor with Indonesia. They recently occupied the

provincial parliament there. Students activists have travelled all over the rugged mountain terrain spreading a message of struggle and independence.

But the murder of protesters in East Timor shows the iron fist behind Habibie's pretence at reform. A month ago he was claiming that army numbers were being decreased on the island.

Now the future of the independence movement is tied to the fate of the revolution Indonesia itself.

If that revolution breaks up the power of the army and the wealthy, it will open the way for the freedom of the island.

## what do socialists say?

### Is the economic crisis now over?

**SHARES ON Wall Street** have now climbed back to the levels reached before the major turbulence on international markets due to the collapse of the Asian Tigers.

This has prompted many economists to claim that the threat of global recession has receded.

A recent editorial in the *Financial Times* said: "From global financial meltdown to mere economic slowdown in the space of a month - the stellar pace of adjustment in stockmarket expectations is astonishing. Global recession, it seems is yesterday's worry.

However others are not so sure. The *Economist* magazine says, more soberly: "Do not be fooled by the past weeks rally in share prices. The world's financial and economic troubles are not over . . . . Take off the rose tinted spectacles and the monsters still loom large".

Far from the global crisis ending, there are still many signs of economic chaos about.

Almost half of Russia's 1,500 banks are facing collapse over the coming months because the government does not have the money to rescue them.

Russia's sovereign external debt amounts to some \$150 billion. Next year \$17 billion of repayments will become due. Compare this to expected tax revenues of just \$9 billion, which itself could be threatened if the economy goes into further recession. An estimated 40 million people are now facing starvation in Russia.

#### Rescue

The Japanese government's largest ever rescue package of \$28.4 billion was regarded as a total flop when it was unveiled recently.

The September unemployment figures are the highest since records began. This reflects the slowdown in industrial production over the past year.

**In South East Asia where the crisis began, the economic meltdown has far from run its course. The main region of concern at the moment is China.**

The Chinese government was recently shaken by one of the country's biggest ever bankruptcies when the largest and oldest state owned sugar mills collapsed owing £51 million. On the same day the government had to shut down one of the countries largest unofficial stockmarkets in Wuhan.

The *Economist* says of China: "The danger of an economic collapse is growing. Such a collapse would hurt Asia directly and would damage the rest of the world too."

Europe too is facing huge economic instability.

In Britain, for example, the Bank of England warned last week that prospects for the economy are still darkening. One job is now being lost every

**The Economist magazine says, more soberly: "Do not be fooled by the past weeks rally in share prices. The world's financial and economic troubles are not over . . . . Take off the rose tinted spectacles and the monsters still loom large".**

ten minutes.

Even Ireland, which has the fastest growing economy in Western Europe is expecting lower economic growth rates.

The reality is that the boom in share prices on Wall Street has nothing to do with increased production of goods and increased employment.

The recent sharp rise can be attributed to a series of high profile mergers, including an \$113 billion stock bid for AMP, the electrical equipment company, by Tyco; the merger of the two of the largest oil companies, Exxon (market value \$175bn) and Mobil (market value \$60bn) and the merger of the two major Internet companies AOL and Netscape.

In world of increasing globalisation and competition it's marry or die. Given the current economic uncertainty it is only the strong that survive.

**The US economy, the world's biggest capitalist economy, is still not in recession. But fears are growing.**

The reality is that the shockingly high share prices are not a positive sign for capitalism but are reminiscent of the period before the 1929 Wall Street Crash.

The Wall Street share valuations assume that earnings will grow by 15 per cent. In a world of increasing instability this can no longer be guaranteed.

Therefore turmoil can hit the markets at any time and in the world of financial wheeling and dealing it spreads like wildfire.

And even if the crisis were over what does this say about the world we live in? One day we are told we are facing a world-wide recession on the scale of the 1930's and the next we are told the crisis is over.

All this does is confirm the fact that we are living in a world of high economic uncertainty where things can go under at any time.

This is little consolation to the millions of working class people throughout the world, whose lives are held to ransom by the dictates of the market

by SINEAD KENNEDY

## THE GREAT FRENCH REVOLUTION

# World would never be the same again

**THE FRENCH Revolution shook the world. Its calls for liberty and equality terrified ancient monarchies.**

The revolution gave all adult men the vote for the first time in history. It abolished the power of the king and severely weakened the Catholic church's stranglehold on society.

The famous quotations from the revolution are still relevant today. Think of the revolutionary Robespierre's warning, "Do not trust the generals—almost all of them are nostalgic for the old order. I have faith in the people, in the people alone."

Remember the words of St Just who said, "Those who make half a revolution dig their own grave."

The French Revolution was the first ever revolution with direct participation by the masses. Millions of ordinary people struggled to shape their own futures.

At every key moment as their leaders wavered or tried to compromise, it was the pressure from below that drove the movement forwards.

It was not a workers' revolution and in the end it led to a society dominated by property owners.

But the French Revolution decisively smashed the notion that "revolutions never achieve anything".

### ALL AGAINST THE KING

**A DECADE before this social explosion revolution looked impossible.**

The French monarchy had existed for more than 1,000 years and the latest king, Louis XVI, ruled with almost total power.

Behind the king stood the privileged orders—the leaders of the church and 400,000 nobles. They were a tiny minority of the population of 28 million.

These puffed up and corrupt wasters were exempted from most taxes and received large payments from the poor peasant majority.

This structure was under threat.

A new class of rich merchants and manufacturers grew in size and wealth as French industry developed.

But they remained subordinate to the nobles and the clergy. The bourgeoisie were very reluctant revolutionaries. They were pushed to revolt by the refusal of the king to bend to their demands for reform.

In the summer of 1789 the king summoned the representatives of the three great "estates"—the clergy, the nobility and the rest of the population—to discuss ways of raising taxes.

The representatives of the



**A HUGE crowd led by women marched to the royal palace at Versailles.**

"third estate" were not poor. Half were lawyers, the others mostly merchants, businessmen and landowners.

Almost all of them believed in a reformed monarchy and that only property owners should have a vote for parliament.

But even these demands went beyond anything the king and the nobles would concede.

At crucial moments in history people find that in order to win reforms they have to confront the whole structure of society.

In 1789 the "third estate" found themselves forced into bitter conflict with the old order.

They proclaimed that they were the National Assembly and would not go away until they had won a new constitution from the king.

Instead Louis XVI prepared to smash his opponents.

He failed because people from the poorer sections of Paris demonstrated and then began to seize guns.

On 14 July they marched to the Bastille fortress, a hated symbol of authority, where opponents of the regime were locked up. Soldiers joined with the crowd to seize the Bastille and take over the streets. The masses had shown they could win.

### WHOSE VICTORY?

**THE NATIONAL Assembly passed laws which, in theory, stripped away the power of the landlords over the peasants.**

The assembly proclaimed the

Rights of Man.

Fine words were backed up by a huge crowd, led by women, which marched to the king's palace at Versailles and forced him to move to Paris where his every move could be watched.

As in all revolutions, there was a tremendous thirst for debate and ideas. In the second half of 1789 over 250 newspapers exploded into existence.

Political clubs sprang up everywhere. The best known were the Paris ones such as the Jacobins, dominated by the lawyer Robespierre, and the Cordeliers, led by Danton and Marat.

**Such men were to be the most radical leaders of the revolution.**

The revolutionary atmosphere grew as issues of politics and economics fed on each other.

Agitation against price rises, unemployment and food shortages mixed in with political anger against speculators and aristocrats.

So much had changed, and yet the revolution had hardly begun.

Revolutions are not an isolated event or a single day of strikes and street fighting.

They are a process which unfolds over years, punctuated by decisive turning points.

All but the aristocrats celebrated the capture of the Bastille. But the revolution's motto, "Liberty, Equality, Fraternity", meant different things to different people.

To the poor it meant food on the table and an end to the privileges of the rich.

To the rising capitalists it meant the room to trade and the equality of all before laws

framed by a bourgeois parliament.

So despite the momentous events in July the National Assembly left the king in place and gave him great powers to veto laws.

One section of the new ruling class declared that "the revolution is over". Strikes and trade unions were banned.

When a crowd gathered to demand the end of the monarchy, 50 of them were shot down by the National Guard.

But repression did not stifle the pressure for real change.

Riots rocked Paris in 1791 and 1792 after bad harvests and the soaring inflation that followed as the rich tried to grab bigger profits.

These riots also saw an increasing role played by the small traders, craftsmen and shopkeepers—the radical "sans culottes", so called because they wore trousers rather than the breeches of the wealthy classes.

In the countryside bands of armed peasants descended on the markets to stop price rises.

### THE SECOND REVOLUTION

**IN 1792 the National Assembly declared war on Austria. The king hoped foreign invasion would restore his power.**

The leaders of the National Assembly hoped fighting would restore national unity behind them.

The war began disastrously with a string of defeats for the

French forces.

But again the masses moved to destroy the hopes of those who wanted to restore the king's powers.

Thousands of people too poor to vote flooded into political life, attending meetings and signing up to fight invasion.

Revolutionary enthusiasts rushed to Paris from the provincial towns, with the marching song of the Marseilles group becoming the anthem of the revolution.

As the king's armed supporters threatened to descend on Paris, the moderate bourgeois leaders, the Girondins, were forced to run to the popular movement in order to save themselves.

**The result was an armed uprising of the Parisian sans culottes in June 1792.**

This second revolution went far deeper than the first. Meetings of the political clubs mushroomed and now the call was for the end of the monarchy. The sans culottes marched on the king's palace and, after a bloody struggle, defeated the royal troops.

At home the mass movement turned on the counterrevolutionaries. Abroad the revolutionary troops defeated the invading forces at the Battle of Valmy.

In Paris the new National Convention voted to abolish the monarchy and, a few months later, ordered the king's execution.

Now the revolution was an open threat to every crowned head in Europe. Foreign powers redoubled their efforts to strangle it.

But the revolution survived by going deeper and becoming more radical.

Another Parisian uprising overthrew the moderates. The Jacobins under Robespierre took over.

The peasants' feudal duties were abolished and price rises were outlawed to help the poor.

"The Terror" was unleashed against counter-revolutionaries, speculators and profiteers. Despite the propaganda about how bloody it was, the Terror was as nothing compared to the previous cruelties of the old ruling class.

As the US writer Mark Twain put it, "There were two 'Reigns of Terror'. The one lasted mere months, the other lasted a thousand years."

Robespierre's regime quickly defeated the counter-revolution.

But because Robespierre unleashed terror against his opponents to the left as well as to the right, he undermined his own base.

The mainstream capitalists were terrified of the revolt and moved to end the turmoil.

Robespierre was left isolated and the sans culottes were too weak to play an independent role.

The rule of property was firmly established and Robespierre went to the guillotine.

But, despite the defeat of the radicals, the monarchy was finished forever. The revolution had changed history.

It transformed the whole way that people across the globe thought about kings, the church, democracy and nationhood.

People had won more freedom than they had ever known before. Moreover every subsequent attempt at reaction would in the future be met with mass revolt.



## in my view

## Toys — A horror story

Watch any station on day time television and you will be inundated with ads for children's toys. Not only are many of them over-priced, but they are increasingly bizarre.

Not only are girls now encouraged to comb a doll's hair, but now clean their nappies — the latest Barbie doll produces her own regular quota of excrement.

Yet the real story of how these toys are produced is rarely told.

The vast bulk of the world's toys are produced in the southern Chinese province of Guangdong. Situated beside Hong Kong, this has long been China's entry point to multi-nationals.

The two main toy manufacturers, Mattel and Hasbro have many factories in the region.

Mattel produces the Barbie doll and also owns the Fisher Price, Disney and Tyco brands. Profits for Mattel reached £192.6 million in 1997.

Hasbro is its main rival. It produces Teletubbies, Furbies, Star Wars toys and Playskool products. In the first nine months of 1998, it earned £2 billion through sales.

Conditions for the workers who make the toys are appalling. The average daily wage in a Chinese toy factory is 16RMB or less than £1.30 a day. However new workers often earn even less.

New workers on probation in a factory producing Mattel toys reportedly received as little as 40RMB per month, or less than £3.20.

## Fines

In addition, workers are cheated of even of these paltry wages through a quota system and fines.

One worker told the Asia Monitor Resource Centre, which has links with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions:

"I left Tri-S (which producers for Mattel) three days ago because I could not stand the low wages any more. This month I received only 350RMB (£28). This is largely because of the quota system.

Every group of workers is given a quota that they should finish every day... the group cannot finish the quota even though the experienced workers work faster. What is more the unit rate is becoming lower and lower. I earn less and less."

Fines are also used to reduce workers' wages still further. In Keyhinge factory, which produces the give away toys for McDonalds, workers are fined 100RMB, or 7 to 10 days wages, if they leave the factory without permission.

Safety and health pre-

**Conditions for the Chinese workers who make the toys are appalling. The average daily wage in a Chinese toy factory is 16RMB or less than £1.30 a day. However new workers often earn even less.**

cautions are discarded. In 1993, the world's worst ever factory fire took place in the Kader toy factory in Thailand, claiming 188 lives.

Six months later, a fire killed 87 workers in the Zhili toy factory in China. Workers are often exposed to toxic chemicals without proper protection.

The Christmas rush is probably the worst time to work in the toy industry.

The cut throat competition and the fast changing fads which dominate the industry means there is immense pressure on workers to churn out the products in time.

Already reports indicate that this year toy workers have been working between 10 and 16 hours a day, six or seven days a week to meet the orders.

In the Dar Lok factory which produces Teletubbies for Hasbro, workers are forced to work from 7.30 in the morning to 5.30 in the evening and then return to work at 6.30 and work until 2 am.

Free independent trade union are effectively banned in many factories — although workers have begun to organise.

Trocaire, the Irish aid agency that is linked to the Catholic Church, are mounting an 'ethical shopping campaign' this Christmas to highlight these conditions. They are not calling for a boycott on the toys but want consumers to write to the companies.

Yet far more than 'ethical shopping' will be needed. The multinationals who exploit workers do not have a conscience that can be appealed to. Consumers letters are simply handed over to their PR department.

The real threat to the multinationals comes from the growing revolution in Indonesia.

As workers increasingly assert their power they can set off a spark that could rebound throughout the toy factories of South East Asia.

For more information on the toy campaign contact ICTU Development Education Project, 6 Gardiner Row Dublin 1. Telephone or e mail djoyce@ictu.iol.ie

KIERAN ALLEN

## film

## Colony of revolt

by ANNA HUDSON

"IT'S A boy meets girl, boy looses girl, boy helps in the creation of a new social system kind of story" These are the words of Z-4195 (voiced by Woody Allen) in the new cartoon Antz.

Antz is set in a computer generated world of a busy ant colony, a world surprisingly similar to own.

At birth it is decided if each ant will be a worker, a soldier or a manager.

## Slave

The worker ants slave in the soil, carrying out all the boring jobs, the soldier ants protect the colony and the managerial ants stand around and shout orders at the workers.

They come out with things like "It's for the good of the colony" or "All ants will benefit from this".



Talking about a revolution: Z and Bala in Antz

The only thing that sets them apart from our own managers is the number of legs.

The hero of the film, Z is a soil relocation engineer, who suffers from feelings of insignificance and has a firm belief in "insectopia".

When he falls in love with Princess Bala he accidentally

manages to end up fighting in battle and returns as the sole survivor.

## Hero

Suddenly Z is a hero but when the ruling class ants find out that he is not a soldier he is forced out of the colony tak-

ing Princess Bala with him.

He and Bala go off in search of 'Insectopia'.

Z learns that you don't have to follow orders all your life.

However, when Princess Bala is captured and taken back to the colony by the evil General, Z is forced to return to the real world.

Can Z save the day? Can the work-

ers fight back against the system?

Antz is a hilarious film that is guaranteed to please everyone.

It shows a courageous fightback against an oppressive system.

And when the ants come out with phrases such as "Its the workers who control the means of production" not only will you be laughing but also agreeing.

## book

## JOURNALISM TO SHAKE THE WORLD

JOHN REED'S work as a journalist is the exact opposite of the bluster and confusion that passes for journalism in today's media.

Reed was born into a wealthy American family and went to Harvard University.

In 1912 he was assigned to report on the Lawrence strike which was organised by the Industrial Workers of the World, the militant union which threw up figures such as Joe Hill.

The strikers, who ran up the famous banner "We want bread and roses", changed Reed's life. He became a revolutionary socialist and from then on combined journalism with political commitment.

## Inspiring

Reed is best known for his brilliant account of the Russian Revolution, *Ten Days That shook the World*. By placing himself on the side of the side of the revolutionaries, he was able to write some of the most inspiring journalism ever produced.

This new collection by Bookmarks brings together some of Reed's best

writings.

His account of the Mexican Revolution of 1912 made him a household name in America. He had the guts to go to the front rather than believe the propaganda of the army. It is war reporting at its finest.

Reed's journalistic accounts of the Russian Revolution are a useful addition to *Ten Days That Shook The World*.

He brings the struggles of ordinary people to life, by putting workers to the front of the story.

His article *The Colorado War*, an account of a massacre of striking workers by mine owners, is simply the most moving piece of political writing I have ever read.

The concise introduction by John Newsinger gives useful background to the reports and a brief guide to Reed's life.

As remedy to much of the crawling in the bosses press and as a work of working class history, *Revolutionary Journalism* deserves a place on every socialist's bookshelf.

John Reed: *Revolutionary Journalism Bookmarks* £11.95

—SIMON BASKETTER

## film

## THAT SINKING FEELING

BASED ON Mary Costello's novel, *Titanic Town* is a funny and moving film about a peace campaigner Bernie — played by Julie Walters and her family.

Set in Andersonstown, West Belfast in 1972 against a background of internment and the IRA campaign, it tells the story of how a middle aged woman has fame thrust upon her as the spokesperson of a women's peace movement.

Outraged by violence from both sides Bernie seeks to have IRA actions, "rescheduled" from daylight hours after an innocent woman is shot whilst doing her shopping. In turn she brings the IRA's demands to the government minister at Stormont.

This is poignant because it begs the question of what an ordinary, politically naive good Catholic mother can do under such circumstances.

The elitism of an armed force means that self-activity and political ideas amongst its supporters - are not seen as important.

Bernie sees herself as representing families who just want normality. But the film points out the idea that change, both within families and society is unavoidable.

Government ministers proceed to use Bernie's petition against violence as a propaganda tool against the IRA.

This leads the family to being ostracised by neighbours and eventually forced out of their home.

There are no solutions given by the film, but it allows us to make up our own minds about where the conflict came from.

—DAVE JACKSON



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.

# Build up of militancy on trains and buses

**THE TRAIN drivers who brought the rail service to a halt in November have been denounced by the media.**

The Evening Herald which is owned by Tony O'Reilly ran a front page story where it claimed that the drivers were engaged in 'brainless blackmail'.

**Pressure**

Yet O'Reilly has put far greater pressure on the government.

One of his companies gave money to Ray Burke in order to ensure he got exclusive rights to the deflector television system

The train drivers were absolutely right to take action. At the core of their grievances is another Viability Plan that represents a major threat to

their conditions. Under this plan - which is still under negotiation, CIE want to: ■ Introduce 15 rates of pay for 360 drivers. This is

a plan to divide and rule. ■ Introduce annualised hours where workers are on call all the time. As one worker put it 'they want to take our

social and family life off us' ■ Create a new grade of auxiliary drivers who would work at peak periods A damning report on

safety in Iarnrod Eireann has claimed there is a major risk of casualties. But now management want 'auxiliary drivers' on the trains.

## UNION MANOEUVRES

**THE STRIKE** of train drivers received a strong degree of support from the leaders of SIPTU and NRBU.

They saw the one day action as a means of outflanking the National Loco Drivers Association (NLDA) which is chaired by Brendan Ogle.

The NLDA is a rank and file group which is organised on a highly sectional basis. Unlike supporters of Socialist Worker, it has set out on the road of creating a new union.

The union leaders gave support to the strike action as a way of undermining the NLDA but they also ensured that the action was not directed at the Viability Plan itself, because the union leaders want to

sell this to their members. The main objective is to ensure that the union leaders have access to Mary O'Rourke.

Nevertheless even though the union leaders effectively called the strike as a short term manoeuvre, it got huge support from the rank and file. It demonstrated their real power to effectively stop the Viability plan itself.

**Response**

This is why the response of the NLDA was very wrong. Statements by Brendan Ogle about the strike undermining the 'professionalism' of drivers were used by the right wing press.

The reality is that, under the pre-

sent conditions, those who want to set up their own union are forced to offer assurances of their moderation in advance.

To their credit, the NLDA members did eventually support the action. But they walked themselves into the trap set by the SIPTU and NRBU leaders.

Management at Iarnrod Eireann still see the NLDA as the greatest threat. John Keenan, the personnel manager for the company says that 'this group has the potential to undermine the normally good relations between staff, unions and ourselves'.

What all Iarnrod Eireann workers need is united rank and file pressure to reject the Viability Plan.

## Busworkers accept viability after pay rise breaks P2000

**DUBLIN** Busworkers have finally voted to accept the viability plan that was pushed by the government, the union leaders and management.

The vote was 1,100 in favour and 640 against. This was the third

ballot on the issue and busworkers only accepted the deal after major new con-

cessions were offered.

Although they canvassed actively against the deal, it was the pressure from the rank and file Busworkers Action Group that forced the company to give more than they had intended

This rise is a significant break with Partnership 2,000 and should help to encourage a wider revolt against pay restraint.

However, important trade union principles were also given up in the deal.

New recruits into Dublin Bus will now start significantly below the present entry rate.

It will take them six years of incremental increases before they get to that rate.

School bus services are also being contracted out to private hackers.

This will mean higher charges for working class parents and will also be used as a wedge to push for further privatisation.

## The leaders who like Fianna Fail

**THE NRBU** General Secretary, Peter Bunting, spearheaded the campaign against the Busworkers Action Group. Bunting, who was formerly regarded as a left winger, wrote a special article in the union paper against the Busworkers Action Group.

**Half Truths**

The article was a mish mash of lies and half truths. But the attacks were more a means of disguising the new turn the NRBU leader himself is making.

Bunting's republican politics have led him to seek a closer relationship with

the Fianna Fail government.

Although Fianna Fail brought in the Industrial Relations Act and have embarked on a campaign of privatisation, Mary O'Rourke is now being hailed as a friend of workers.

For union leaders like Bunting, Fine Gael's John Bruton is now the main enemy rather than Fianna Fail. In reality, both Fianna Fail and Fine Gael are right wing parties that pursue a business agenda.

The unions need to stay independent of both and organise against their plans to worsen the conditions of public sector workers.

**Worse**

If workers had accepted the original recommendation of the SIPTU and NRBU leaders, they would have done far worse.

Now busworkers will receive a £1,350 lump sum offer before Christmas and they will also get a 7 percent pay rise.

**Join the socialists**

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

Name .....

Address .....

Phone .....

Union .....

**SWP Branch meetings - all welcome**

**ATHLONE:** Contact (01) 872 2682 for details  
**BELFAST CENTRAL:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St  
**BELFAST EAST:** Phone for details  
**BELFAST SOUTH:** Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm Renshaws, University Avenue  
**BELFAST QUEENS UNIVERSITY:** Thursday 1.00pm Mature Students Room  
**CORK:** Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Dennehy's pub, Cornmarket  
**DERRY** Meets every Monday at 8.00pm in Sandinos

**DUBLIN ARTANE /COOLOCK:** Meets every Tues. 8.30 in Artane/Beaumont Recreational Centre opp Artane Castle Shopping centre  
**MAYNOOTH:** Meets every Wednesday at 6.30pm in Classhall D, Arts Block Maynooth College  
**DUBLIN RIALTO:** Meets every Tuesday 8pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto.  
**DUBLIN TALLAGHT:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Jobstown Community Centre  
**DUBLIN CENTRAL** Meets every Wednesday Conways, Parnell St.  
**DUBLIN NORTH WEST:** Meets every Thursday at

8.30pm in the Snug, Dorset St  
**DUN LAOGHAIRE** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Christian Institute  
**DUBLIN RATHMINES:** Meets every Wednesday at O'Connells  
**DUBLIN STH CENTRAL:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St  
**DUBLIN UCD:** Meets every Wednesday 1pm. Ring (01)8722682  
**GALWAY:** Meets every Tuesday in UCG room AC213 8.30  
**SLIGO** Contact (01)8722682  
**WATERFORD:** Meets every Thursday in at 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Keizer St

**Public meetings**

**EYE WITNESS FROM INDONESIA**

Thursday, December 10th, 7:30pm, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey Street.

**STOP THE DEPORTATIONS: THE FIGHT AGAINST RACISM TODAY**  
 Monday 14th December, 8pm, Greater Blanchardstown Development Project, Parslickstown House, Mulhuddart

news/reports/politics/industry/unions (01)8722682; fax (01) 8723838;  
email: swp@clubi.ie web: www.clubi.ie/swp

WRH

## Solidarity wins out

A MAGNIFICENT strike at Waterford Regional Hospital showed that solidarity is not a thing of the past.

Laundry workers at the hospital went on strike on the last Tuesday in November over allegations of bullying by a manager.

With health boards being forced to stay within their budget, demands for productivity have obviously given the green light to some managers to abuse their staff.

Workers complained of constant verbal abuse and harassment. The turnover in the laundry was high as many could not stick to the conditions.

Once pickets were placed the workers stood together and their picket was supported by craft workers, catering staff and contract cleaners. Some nurses also stayed away.

### Official

This happened even though the strikers' union, the ATGWU, did not make the strike official.

With about 250 workers at the Regional on strike, the pickets spread to St Otteran's and St Patrick's Hospitals on the Wednesday.

The pickets were lifted on the Friday when the manager at the centre of the row took up regional duties and the deputy manager took over the day to day running of the laundry.

Written complaints about the manager in question will be processed through the Labour Relations Commission.

Decisive action backed up by solidarity brought an important victory over alleged workplace bullying.

## Stena Victory

STENA workers forced management to abandon plans for 30 redundancies at Dun Laoghaire harbour.

Management were instead forced to create 3 new positions and give improved rates of pay to the existing temporary staff and the new recruits.

Stena announced the cost cutting proposals early in 1998. It was met with determined opposition from the workforce who balloted for strike action.

The workers successfully defended the existing jobs with ten voluntary redundancies and some changes to work practices.

## Limerick Corporation

# DEFEND LIMERICK SHOP STEWARDS

**SHOP STEWARDS in Limerick Corporation have become the target of a vicious report by the Labour Relations Commission.**

The report which was written by Declan Morrin, the Director of its Advisory Service, claims that the situation in Limerick Corporation is 'bordering on anarchy'.

In a thinly veiled reference to the effectiveness of the shop steward organisation, it said that 'management's right and duty to manage was constantly being challenged by some workers and shop stewards'.

### Invitation

It issues an open invitation to victimise these shop stewards when it claimed that 'a few people were jeopardising the future of Limerick workers'.

The report comes as no surprise to union activists who have long been concerned about the collusion that exists between SIPTU officials

and management.

"We knew that the report was going to be slanted from the beginning. SIPTU officials held private meetings with Morrin. They refused to discuss what they said with their own section committee - even though they are supposed to represent us" one union activist told Socialist Worker.

The report failed to address the central issue of why there is poor industrial relations in Limerick Corporation.

Over the past four years the Corporation has embarked on a policy of privatisation.

The number of refuse collection workers has been cut down from 34 to 12 even though the

number of supervisors and engineers have stayed the same.

In their place, a private contracting company, Mr Binman is increasingly used.

An agreement to maintain the number of road repair crew at 353 workers has steadily been eroded and private contractors are taking over the work. Private contractors

are also employed in the parks.

To push through this policy Limerick Corporation have embarked on a policy of harassing individual shop stewards who have sought to protect their members.

Last February, the whole corporation closed down when skilled and unskilled workers staged an unofficial strike against the attempt to victimise a craft shop steward.

Instead of dealing with these issues, the Morrin report advocates a policy of undermining the shop stewards.

It has recommended the appointment of two new personnel managers.

"It is funny how they can always create extra managerial jobs when they are cutting back on the people who really do the work" one representative told Socialist Worker.

It has also recommended the formation of a Partnership Forum which will cut out effective shop steward representation.

The Morrin Report reflects the joint hatred that management and union leaders have for popular and powerful shop stewards. This is why it must be resisted.

## Rank and file back the stewards

**ON THE night that the Morrin report was released, a well attended union meeting of Limerick Corporation workers gave full backing to their shop stewards.**

They pledged to fight any attempt at victimisation and denounced SIPTU officials for not standing by their shop stewards.

SIPTU official Alan O'Leary had in fact revoked one shop steward's creden-

tials.

He carried out this move without any mandate from the section committee or the branch committee he is supposed to be answerable to.

### Divisions

Ever since divisions opened up in SIPTU over the vote on P2000 when 42 per cent of the union voted NO, the union officials have stepped up their campaign against anti-partnership activists.

Instead of respecting their democratic right to organise, evidence is growing that they have worked with management to organise attempted victimisation.

A spokesperson for the newly formed Rank and File Solidarity Network said,

"SIPTU must be told to defend its shop stewards who are the life blood of the union. We have every intention of letting activists around the country know what is really happening in Limerick."

## Botanic Gardens

**Craft Gardeners at Botanic Gardens have experienced first hand the reality of partnership with bosses.**

Since October 16th they have been locked out and denied rights to negotiate about their conditions of work.

Management attempted to make the gardeners responsible for training students on modular courses. The gardeners wanted recognition of these additional duties.

Instead the employers demanded the workers accept the extra work and rejected the alternative put by the gardeners which would have cost less overall, and locked them out.

One striker told Socialist Worker, "It's a battle of wills between us and the management. We are prepared to picket out here for as long as it takes."

One of the difficulties with the dispute is the role of the SIPTU leadership.

Brendan Hayes, Dublin Regional Organiser for SIPTU, is telling the workers to wait for an all out picket from the ICTU. But SIPTU General Operatives are still working as normal and are crossing the picket line.

### Pickets

The SIPTU leaders should spend more time on the picket line and less time standing for positions like General Secretary.

All SIPTU members should be out in support of the craft gardeners and there should be mass pickets on the Botanic Gardens.

The Botanic Garden strikers have had huge support from other Workers. Collections made by SIPTU members in DCU and Dept. of Arts, Heritage CPSU branch together raised £300. A table quiz organised by the Socialist Workers Party received huge support and raised £320.

## CPSU

# Vote to pull out of partnership

**THE CIVIL and Public Service Union (CPSU) is set to ballot its 11,000 members to withdraw from Partnership 2000.**

A motion at a recent conference was carried, instructing the Executive to ballot members with a recommendation to withdraw.

### Number

The CPSU organises clerical workers in the Civil Service and a number of

semi-states, including Telecom Eireann and An Post.

The union has consistently backed partnership deals, with CPSU leaders arguing that national pay agreements protected low paid workers.

As recently as October, CPSU General Secretary Blair Horan said the media reaction to the Garda pay deal was hyped up and there was no crisis in Partnership.

But now Blair Horan has to recommend withdrawal from P2000.

The special conference ignored his advice to stay in P2000 and wait for more tax cuts in the budget.

Dave McDonagh, proposing the motion for Telecom No 1 Branch, pointed out that the tax cuts for workers were tiny compared to the huge cuts given to the rich.

"If partnership gives the unions a 'say' in running the country, why haven't they stopped the cuts in health and education?", he asked.

Speaker after speaker said that workers had made sacrifices under partnership and this had fuelled the

boom.

Other speakers complained of management breaking the terms of partnership when it suited them.

Blair Horan was forced to agree that there had been a 10 percent shift from wages to profits and workers

had lost out.

But he tried to convince the conference that it was better to "make partnership work" than to withdraw.

But the motion was carried and CPSU members will now take part in a ballot that could spell the end of partnership.

## Oppose divisions

**BLAIR HORAN is trying to use divisive tactics to undermine the CPSU ballot on partnership.**

He claims separate ballots are needed in Telecom, An Post and the Civil Service because they all have separate deals.

But the union voted as one body to enter Partnership 2000.

Imagine if SIPTU had separate ballots for each of the many employments in which it has members?

Telecom workers have so far gained nothing from P2000.

They were blackmailed into a flexibility deal when management threatened to withhold their P2000 increases.

CPSU members should stick together and throw out partnership.

They should then lodge a pay claim similar to the nine percent demanded by the fire fighters.

# Socialist Worker

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

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**INDONESIA:  
THE  
REVOLUTION  
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# REFUGEES ARE WELCOME HERE

# Stop the deportations



*Pulu and Lulsa Macula protesting outside the Department of Justice*

**FIANNA FAIL** have stepped up their war against Ireland's tiny refugee population.

In a petty vindictive move, the Department of the Environment has removed driving licences which were granted to asylum seekers.

The licences were only given to those who had fully complied with the proper application process.

Each year, thousands of holiday makers are allowed to drive in Ireland. But refugees who have fled torture and poverty will not even be let use a car.

The Department of Justice is also attacking refugee parents of Irish born children.

There are currently 500 immigrants who have children born in Ireland. These children are automatically entitled to Irish citizenship and normal-

ly their parents would have a right to stay here.

In 1989, for example, the Supreme Court ruled that Irish born children had a right to 'the company, care and parentage' of their foreign born parents.

But John O'Donoghue is now trying to expel these parents. Fianna Fail's concern for family values does not extend to refugees.

The reality is that Fianna Fail hates the idea of a multi-cultural society in Ireland. They want a white, Catholic society where everyone wraps the green flag around them.

Their attacks on refugees give them a useful scapegoat to deflect people's anger from the corruption and greed of the Irish rich.

As O'Donoghue steps up his policy of deportations, he needs to be met with a huge movement that says, **REFUGEES ARE WELCOME HERE**

## O'DONOGHUE CAN BE BEATEN

**FIANNA FAIL'S** policy of deporting refugees has relied on secrecy as its vital weapon.

Every time there has been open opposition to deportations, Fianna Fail have been forced to back down.

■ In Blanchardstown a huge wave of public support grew for the Costinas family who were threatened with deportation. O'Donoghue was forced to grant them a temporary reprieve.

■ In November, the Macula family travelled from Clare to begin a hunger strike outside the Department of Justice. These Hungarian gypsies were being deported back to Romania where

they faced terrible discrimination. After just one day, they got an assurance that the Department of Justice would look into their case.

Fianna Fail want to keep the image of Ireland as a friendly welcoming country - so they try to carry out deportations in secret. But they can be beaten if big campaigns are built around refugees who are facing deportations. Regional conferences of SIPTU, Ireland's major union, have come out openly in defence of refugees.

It is now time to mobilise that support and that of wider community organisation to beat back O'Donoghue's racist policy.