

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

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Solidarity price £1

The cost of the building boom



41 killed on the sites in 3 years

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110 die on waiting lists

IN THE last four years, 110 people have died while awaiting heart surgery in the Mater Hospital in Dublin.

Another 100 were found to have deteriorated so much that they cannot now have the operation.

All the inpatients who died or who were inoperable had been waiting for surgery for more than a year.

Health Minister Brian Cowen of Fianna Fail has promised more money to cut the waiting lists.

Cowen says the situation is "totally unacceptable", especially when private patients do not face a delay.

Cowen has some nerve. Fianna Fail carried out the biggest assault on the health service in the 1980s, resulting in hundreds of deaths ever since.

Amsterdam Treaty: A charter for warmongers

IN COMING months we will be asked to vote in a referendum on the Amsterdam treaty. We should vote No.

The Amsterdam treaty threatens to cancel out Irish neutrality.

It also threatens the human rights of people seeking asylum in Europe.

The treaty allows the Western European Union to carry out military operations for the EU (the WEU is the European arm of NATO and has nuclear capacity).

The stated aim is to "fully integrate" the WEU into the European Union.

The Minister for Foreign Affairs, David Andrews, has promised that as long as Fianna Fail is in government the state will uphold its veto on military action.

But he is playing down the fact that the treaty gives future governments the

power to throw out Irish neutrality without even having to hold a referendum.

Groups like CND are right when they call the treaty a "carte blanche" for future governments.

It paves the way for Ireland's participation in what former EU president Jacques Delors called "the resource wars of the twenty first century".

Delors used the phrase in the aftermath of the Gulf War when the US and Britain led the slaughter of over 100,000 Iraqis to defend Western oil profits.

Strengthen

The Amsterdam treaty will also strengthen border controls around Europe, making it even harder for people fleeing political oppression and poverty to enter.

Decision-making on immigration, asylum and visa policies will be centralised in Brussels.

No EU country will be able to accept refugees from another member state, because the treaty classifies all EU member states as "safe countries".

But Germany and Italy are now cracking down on Kurdish refugees fleeing state terror in Turkey.

Regime

And Britain regards the Nigerian dictatorship as a "safe" regime which no one genuinely needs to flee.

A country can only take in refugees from other EU countries in "exceptional" circumstances.

Did Ireland or any of the other European countries that turned their backs on Jews fleeing the Nazis regard those circumstances as exceptional?

Tax evasion cover-up

Bank tries to gag the press

THE FIANNA Fail TD, Beverley Cooper-Flynn, is refusing to explain her role in the National Irish Bank's policy of offering offshore financial investments.

Cooper-Flynn says that her work with the bank was confidential.

But RTE has revealed that many of these off-shore accounts were used to evade tax.

The scam involved 188 wealthy individuals who together invested £23 million in a tax evasion scheme.

Touted

And it seems that the National Irish Bank deliberately touted for customers to avail of the arrangement.

National Irish Bank are now trying to gag the press to stop more details of their tax-dodging schemes coming out.



Taxing the 'little people'

THE IRISH rich do not believe in paying taxes. They think that habit should be confined to PAYE workers.

A study by the Revenue Commissioners on 400 people who earned £250,000 a year found that 80 of them were paying a tax rate of 20 percent.

That is far less than a normal factory worker pays.

Fianna Fail has pioneered the tax scams for the rich.

The International Financial Services Centre, for example, was an idea developed by Haughey and his pal Dermot Desmond.

Speculators who buy property there are given a 100 percent tax allowance.

Last year private investors spent £73 million on property in the IFSC.

Ansbacher man backs Ahern

Fianna Fail voted down an opposition bill to investigate the Ansbacher account.

But that is no surprise: The Fianna Fail leader Bertie Ahern has received thousands of pounds in donations from one of the Ansbacher account holders.

John Finnegan, of the auctioneering firm, Finnegan Menton is one of the few names that have been publicly exposed. He held £2 million in this off-shore account set up to avoid tax.

Finnegan was a key backer of Charlie Haughey and helped or-

ganise the many property deals he was involved with.

But it has now been revealed that Finnegan also made donations to Bertie Ahern's "constituency expenses" for a number of years.

Finnegan regularly attends the £2,000 a table annual Fianna Fail fund raising dinner in the Royal Hospital Kilmalsham.

Although there was a direct conflict of interest, Ahern did not step aside when the vote on the Ansbacher account was taken. Instead he told his party to give cover to the Ansbacher account holders.

McCreevy's helping hand

Sometimes the rich do not even have to evade tax. They get a Finance Minister who just cuts the taxes so that they gain.

Charlie McCreevy's decision to slash capital gains tax has brought a bonanza to company directors. They include:

*David Kingston: Gained an extra £26,000 from selling shares. He fought against union members in Irish Life for 18 weeks to reduce their earnings.

*Jean Wood: Another hatchetwoman at Irish Life. She saw her tax bill cut by £44,000 because of McCreevy.

*Jack Casey: A managing director of New Ireland who saved £540,000 on his tax bill after selling shares.

*Chris Horn: This director of Iona Technologies sold shares to his relatives and is now £1 million better off because of the tax changes.

Missing file: "no mystery"

A GARDA file containing details of interviews with Ray Burke in 1974 has gone missing. And unbelievably so has a copy.

The file contains the details of over 20 interviews held with Burke over allegations that he received £15,000 from a builder.

"There is probably nothing mysterious about this," a garda officer explained.

Deafness claims are justified

"IT IS disturbing to think that the lure of easy money could outweigh the traditions of service, loyalty and comradeship which has always been the hallmark of the defence forces".

These are the words of Lieut General Gerry McMahon, the chief-of-staff of the Irish army.

Needless to say he was not complaining about his own salary of £77,316. McMahon's last increase was £8,591—a rise which breached the guidelines of the government's own review body!

No, McMahon was attacking soldiers who are making deaf-

ness claims against the state. Politicians and newspaper editors have accused the soldiers of being "opportunistic" and of "milking the system".

But the real scandal is that for decades the army exposed soldiers to noise levels which would require ear protection in ordinary workplaces.

Workplace

In the workplace such protection is required if the noise level exceeds 90 decibels. A shot from a rifle or handgun emits 154 decibels while machine gun fire causes 155 decibels.

Before 1989 soldiers were not provided with ear protection. This led to high tone deafness resulting in difficulty hearing in group situations or where there is background noise.

Soldiers have as much right as any other group of workers to take action over health and safety. If politicians get away with smearing soldiers for seeking compensation they can do the same to building workers or factory workers.

The hype about "compo culture" is always used against working class people. But the rich operate their own compensation scams.

Take for example export credit insurance. If Irish companies are not paid by the countries to which they export, the Irish taxpayer foots the bill.

This system was widely abused by Larry Goodman's meat companies but the taxpayer still had to pay his court costs after the beef tribunal.

Politicians have no problem giving "aid packages" to big farmers to compensate them for falling prices or BSE in cattle.

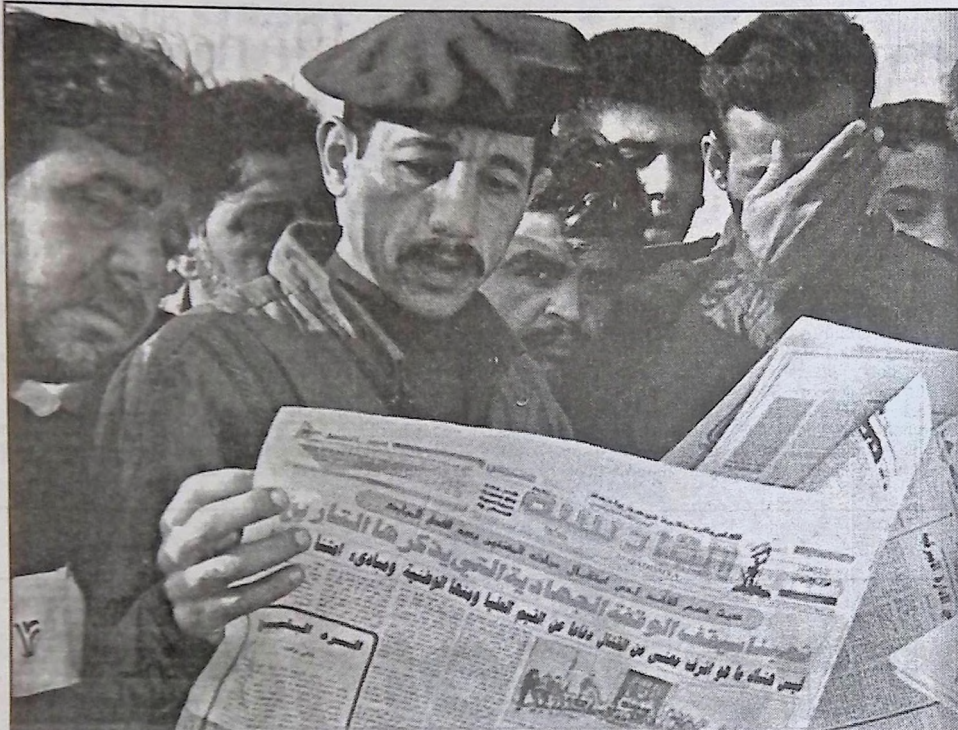
Property developers are compensated when planning applications fail.

If anyone is milking the system it is the Irish rich.

what we think

CLINTON THREATENS IRAQ:

No blood for oil



Iraqi soldiers searching for news

BILL CLINTON has found a new way to restore confidence in his battered presidency—he wants to bomb Iraq.

Over the past few weeks the US administration has launched a propaganda campaign to prepare the way for military action.

They say their aim is to force Saddam Hussein to give up his "weapons of mass destruction".

But this is sheer hypocrisy. The US has the biggest stockpile of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons in the world.

It has refused to sign any convention on biological weapons which has a provision for independent verification.

The most ardent supporter of US policy is the Blair government in Britain.

But it was the British who first developed biological and chemical weapons in the secret laboratories at Porton Down.

The Western powers also say that military action

is necessary because Saddam Hussein denies basic human rights and threatens neighbouring countries.

But the US and Britain props up several dictatorships when it suits their economic and political interests.

The US and Britain supplies weapons to President Suharto of Indonesia, even though he invaded East Timor and imposes a brutal dictatorship on his own people.

The Saudi Arabian regime is just as brutal as Iraq but it gets full support from the US and Britain.

And despite condemning countries who threaten their neighbours, the US sends £7 billion dollars a year to Israel even though it has seized occupied Arab lands.

The reality today is that Iraq is a battered and defeated country.

Over 100,000 Iraqis died in the last Gulf War. Innocent civilians who were burnt alive in air raid shelters were cynically referred to as "collateral

damage".

Since the war ended, another half a million Iraqi children have died from hunger because of UN imposed sanctions.

The US always tries to hype up the 'threat' from Saddam to win support for its warmongering.

Seven years ago they claimed that Iraq had the fourth largest army in the world.

Now they pretend that Saddam is ready to unleash biological weapons on the world.

Reason

The real reason why the US is building up its war machine has nothing to do with protecting the Iraqi people. It is all about one thing: OIL.

Companies like Exxon and Texaco want puppet regimes in the Middle East to guarantee their profits.

We need a huge anti-war movement to stop the Western powers trying to shed blood for their oil profits.

The human cost of the property boom

FORTY ONE deaths on building sites in the last three years.

This is the side of the property boom that the press and politicians ignore

While the government gloats over the success of the Celtic Tiger, the real price is being paid in the construction industry.

The deaths and accidents have increased because the employers know that it is cheaper to take risks than conform to safety laws.

Fine

A boss who breaches safety regulations faces a maximum fine of only £1,500.

And most of them know that their chances of being caught are minimal.

The Health and Safety Authority has only 59 inspectors to cover the whole of industry and operated with a budget of just £4 million in 1996. That amounted to a

mere £3 per head for every worker in Irish industry.

Despite all the talk of social partnership, the Irish state does not even put resources into enforcing its own safety laws.

Traditionally the building bosses have backed Fianna Fail.

Now they feel they have been given a green light to jack up property prices and make a fortune.

One of their principal tactics is to enforce a regime of casual labour.

Instead of hiring workers directly, sub-contractors inform them that they are 'self-employed'.

This means that no pensions, holiday pay or wet time is paid.

With weak or non-existent trade union organisation, the building bosses also know that there will be no independent safety representatives.

It is no better or worse than the system of casual labour that William Martin Murphy demanded in 1913.

But now building workers in Cramptons are taking a stand.

For the past few weeks bricklayers have come together in a campaign of defiance.

They have placed pickets on the company despite being ordered by the High Court to desist.

Class rule

The use of the Industrial Relations Act in this instance is probably the clearest example of class rule you could find.

While building contractors like Zoe Developments only get a fine for having, as the judge said, "the blood of workers on their hands", trade unionists who dare to protest about the lack of safety are threatened with jail.

If over there was a reason to oppose the capitalist system, the property boom shows it.

Socialist Worker urges its readers to get behind the struggle of the building workers—and organise to end this system based on greed for good.

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news of the world

Australian dockers fight union busting

DOCKERS IN Australia are facing a huge union busting attack orchestrated by the Tory government in league with powerful farming interests.

One of the reasons why the Liverpool dockers got so much support internationally is because of employers' offensives against waterfront workers everywhere.

The attack on Australian dockers shows how vicious and underhand the bosses can get.

The Maritime Union of Australia last month lifted the lid on a huge scabbing operation based in the United Arab Emirates port of Dubai.

The union discovered that "industrial mercenaries" were being trained up as a paramilitary strike force, connected to the right wing Australian National Farmers Federation.

This was in preparation for a full scale attack on the union.

The scabs, assembled by a shadowy company called Fynwest, were found to include Australian serving military personnel.

The farmers' federation has wanted to bust the unions out of the docks for some time.

But they had to retreat after the International Transport Workers Federation, umbrella body for dockers worldwide, threatened a shipping ban on Dubai.

But it is now clear that the Dubai backdown was a temporary retreat.

Last week security guards were smuggled by Fynwest operatives on boats into an empty area in the key Melbourne docks.

The security guards then cordoned off part of the Webb Dock area in preparation for the union busting force from Dubai.

Some 180 Webb Dock workers then walked off the job and were locked out.

The bosses want to create a "union free zone" in the Melbourne docks as the first step in taking on the union nationally.

Producers and Consumers Stevedoring the front company that bought up Webb Dock-is run by National Farmers Federation leaders.

The farmers' federation has set up a massive fighting fund with millions of dollars to fight the dock workers. They have powerful friends in government.

Tory government industrial relations minister Peter Reith has been openly encouraging dock companies to use non-union labour. Reith is gunning for the

dockers.

He has announced that a government commission is to investigate dockers' "closed shop" work practices, saying that dockers enjoy "perks that most Australian workers would find shameful".

Dockers' leader John Coombs says, "It's the government that's running this."

"This is being driven by Reith's office. It's about get-

ting us into court, stripping us of our assets and destroying the union."

Spearhead

The Melbourne attack is the spearhead of the Tory government's general assault on Australia's unions.

The government has already toughened up anti-union laws.

The dockers are finding widespread support amongst Australian workers.

Like the dockers in Britain the Maritime Union of Australia has a proud record of supporting other struggles.

Other dock workers have pledged their support. Sydney dockers told newspapers, "Everybody here knows it's do or die this time, and we'll be sticking together."

The leader of the Australian Manufacturers Workers Union says his members will strike in support of the dockers.

Confronted

However, the Labour Party, riding high in the polls on the back of anti-Tory feeling, has kept a shameful silence over the dispute so far. Melbourne dockers have

thrown up a picket around the Webb Dock area and confronted security guards.

Dockers' leader John Coombs says that the law will not stop him from calling action.

However, at the same time he is also saying that he will not be "drawn into a fight".

This means that there has been no strike action yet called at Melbourne docks.

The dockers need to move fast to toughen up their leaders, build for action across Australia's docks and call on other workers to strike in solidarity.

The strength is there to win this dispute and set back the bosses.

Coal miners near Sydney were also set to strike against their bosses, Rio Tinto.

France:

New battle looming over working week

FRANCE'S PRIME minister, Lionel Jospin, appears for now to have ridden out the wave of protests by the unemployed demanding higher benefits.

But the revolt has badly rattled his government which now faces pressure on new fronts.

The Socialist Party government which Jospin heads made some significant concessions to the unemployed movement which occupied job centres and staged waves of demonstrations in recent weeks.

But he managed to hold the line against wholesale increases in benefit rates.

With a majority of French people supporting the unemployed movement the result has been to damage Jospin's popularity.

He now also faces renewed pressure from below, and from the bosses.

Last month saw a national strike by rail work-

ers over wages.

And now a crucial battle is looming over government promises to introduce a 35 hour week for workers without loss of pay.

The plan was a key election pledge when the Socialists swept the Tories from office last year.

Jospin faces pressure from below demanding he honour the pledge, with 63 percent of people supporting it and the spectre of renewed protest if he shows any sign of retreat.

That mood is also straining the coalition with the Communist Party Jospin depends on in parliament. The Communists under pressure from their own base to see that this and other election pledges are delivered.

But Jospin also faces growing pressure from bosses, who have grown daily more belligerent in their opposition to the 35 hour plan.



Flashback: Mass strikes forced the government to back down.

★ **THOUSANDS OF** Croatian workers and pensioners marched through the capital Zagreb last week against unemployment and poverty.

The right wing government of Franjo Tudjman was an ally of the West during the war in ex-Yugoslavia.

It was presented as better than the Serbs.

But it has always been a vicious regime which openly flaunted the symbols of the Croatian gov-



round up

ernment which backed the Nazis during the Second World War.

On last month's protest marchers chanted,

"Down with dictatorship!" They carried banners which read, "They get banks, we get debts." This refers to Tudjman's grandson who was given a private bank by the president.

One pensioner told reporters, "During the war five years ago we were told to make sacrifices for two Croats-one of luxury for them and one of suffering for us." The demonstration was stopped by riot police

who blocked the road leading to parliament.

Unemployment is now almost 20 percent and the government has just pushed through a new VAT type Tax on most goods which has caused prices to soar.

★ **SOME 600 anti-Nazis** rallied in the German city of Lubeck recently to prevent a march by 200 Nazis.

The anti-Nazis drew on a wide base of support, including branches of trade unions and the So-

cial Democratic Party (SPD), equivalent to the Labour Party in Britain.

Over 2,000 people confronted an 800 strong Nazi march in the east German city of Dresden on the previous Saturday.

The main Nazi group organising the marches is the Nationale Partei Deutschlands (NPD).

It has built some support in the east of Germany out of the shattered hopes people had after the Berlin Wall

came down in 1989.

The German Tory government has opened the door to the far right with its attacks on welfare and its campaign against Kurdish refugees coming to Germany.

But the opposition to the Nazis is encouraging.

For the first time a number of SPD and trade union branches are supporting mobilisations which seek to stop the Nazis from marching and to deny them a platform.

Northern talks on brink of collapse

SINCE the peace talks restarted in January, they have shown that they cannot end sectarianism nor stop the loyalist death squads.

Instead, they have reinforced division by exaggerating every minor change as a "concession" to either side.

Recent weeks have made it clear that the Unionist Party is not prepared to give an inch.

Even the announcement of a new inquiry into Bloody Sunday has been slammed by UUP negotiator Ken Maginnis as a "sop to nationalists".

In response, Trimble demanded an inquiry into gun-running by Southern politicians in the early 1970s.

The same thread runs through the entire peace process.

The upsurge of revulsion amongst Catholics and Protestants at the loyalist killing spree hardly registered in the talks.

In early January, David Trimble looked smug as the British government presented the heads of agreement discussion paper which downplayed the role of North-South bodies.

He knew this was completely unacceptable to Sinn Fein and the SDLP.

He gloated that Sinn Fein would "just have to recognise that the talks will lead to a partitionist settlement."

By the time the talks moved to London the government was pressurised to restate its commitment to North-South links.

The UUP's Geoffrey Donaldson tore up the new document while Trimble sniggered in the background.

This would be farcical if it wasn't a matter of life and death for people on the streets



PUP leader Billy Hutchinson confronting Sinn Fein's Gerry Adams

of Belfast.

On the same day, LVF victim John McColgan, a Catholic taxi driver, was being buried in Belfast.

Threats

The UDP, the party speaking for the UFF, was forced to leave the talks.

A week later, UDP leader Gary McMichael was making veiled threats about "terrible consequences" if the party wasn't readmitted in the near future.

The loyalist murders are the product of the grandstanding that's going on inside the talks.

Sinn Fein has argued that Britain can be the "engine for

change" by convincing the Unionist Party that a united Ireland is in their interest.

But the British government has continually given in to Unionist pressure and there are now more troops on the streets than before the ceasefire.

Last week, Mo Mowlam reassured the RUC that there would be no major changes before a settlement was reached.

Unionism was built on maintaining partition and keeping Catholics in their place.

David Trimble is only concerned about the border. Tony Blair's cuts to the welfare state and a recent wave of redun-

dancies which have hit Protestant and Catholic workers across the North do not matter to the UUP.

The talks can only focus on the question of the border.

The peace process, far from laying the basis for peace, entrenches the existing divisions along sectarian lines.

Fallen

Even the PUP and the UDP, which claim to speak for Protestant workers, have fallen in behind the "fur-coat unionists" they once criticised by complaining about concessions to Catholics.

The same process is reflected by the nationalist par-

ties.

Their main concern is to win symbolic changes for Catholics, playing up the importance of the Irish language and the right to "identity" with the Southern state.

This is why North-South bodies are so important to Sinn Fein.

The peace process can only be about communal point-scoring.

It points in a different direction to the working class unity that is so desperately needed.

Instead, the talks are reinforcing sectarianism and laying the ground for the loyalist murders that have always been its hallmark in Northern Ireland.

in brief

LABOUR BREAKS CLASS SIZE PROMISE

★ TEACHERS in the North are already feeling New Labour's penny-pinching.

Class sizes will not be reduced for the years from P1 to P4 as Labour had promised because teachers are now told that the resources are not there.

Labour has given £2 million towards nursery school expansion, nowhere near enough to give every child access to one year's nursery education, according to the northern secretary of the Irish National Teachers' Organisation, Frank Bunting.

The politicians are going along with Blair's idea that the money isn't there.

Alliance member Stewart Dickson, who is on the Northern Education and Library Board, recently said that funds should be taken from secondary schools in order to pay for primary education.

He said: "If there is to be

no extra money then we should consider reallocating some secondary school funding to them."

NASUWT regional officer Tom McKee slammed the proposal, saying it was like "robbing Peter to pay Paul".

"Redistribution is not the answer," he said. "It sounds like bankrupting someone to help someone else. I know of one school with £500,000 budget deficit and a lot of others are in debt."

Blair's election slogan was "Education, education, education".

It sounds hollow in the North where teachers, pupils and parents are getting a raw deal from New Labour.

The money is there: Britain's directors, for one, are rolling in it.

It's time to tax big business to pay for our education. Teachers will have to stand up to Blair and force him to do so.

★ Directors of building firm Moore Homes have been fined a mere £600 each for leaving a teenage worker paralysed in a wheelchair for the rest of his life.

Safety on one of Moore's sites in Lame was so bad that apprentice bricklayer Greg Maybin, then 17, fell through an open stairwell, suffering serious neck injuries. There were no guard rails around the opening.

With seven directors paying £600 each, Maybin's ability to walk is valued at exactly £4,200.

★ Blair's benefit cuts have meant that a 28-year-old dying cystic fibrosis sufferer's Incapacity Benefit has been slashed from £111 to £50- because he spends too much time in hospital!

"The government says I am in hospital too much and I am not eligible for almost all of my benefits," he says. "Well, excuse me for dying. Life still goes on. I still

have bills to pay, food and clothes to buy. It seems to me the sicker you get, the less help you get.

"As my condition slowly gets worse, will I have to start paying the government for the privilege?"

★ A 19-year-old Derry teenager, Jonathan James McCourt, has been given a three month jail sentence for rioting last July.

RUC officers claimed he had thrown bottles at them. They also said he had kicked them but they were obviously so unsure of this that they left it out of their statement.

What was certain, however, was that they called him "Fenian bastard".

It is worth remembering that Derry's former DUP mayor Richard Dallas walked free from the same court after it accepted that he had blocked one of the bridges into the city during the 1996 Drumcree standoff.

behind the headlines

Will Bloody Sunday Inquiry tell the truth?

by GORETTI HORGAN

THE NEW Inquiry into the events of Bloody Sunday is a tremendous victory won by long hard years of campaigning by the relatives of the 14 unarmed civil rights marchers killed on that day.

They and their supporters have spent 26 years trying to establish the truth about why innocent civilians were shot down by the Paras in cold blood.

But the relatives have made it clear that they want the new Inquiry, under Lord Saville, to look beyond the actual shootings to who ordered them, and why.

That is why the families say they want to see the former British Prime Minister, Tory grandee Sir Edward Heath, and John Taylor, Deputy Leader of the Ulster Unionist Party, called as witnesses in the Inquiry.

The families will also ask for the minutes of cabinet meetings at both Westminster and Stormont, and of a meeting at Downing Street on the Thursday before Bloody Sunday between Heath and then Stormont Prime Minister, the late Brian Faulkner.

The relatives fully expect a refusal to release these documents, with a Labour government using the Public Interest Immunity Certificates which saved many a Tory hide.

But they say they will fight any attempt to use "national security" to keep the truth hidden.

The Stormont Joint Security Committee met on the evening of January 26th, four days before Bloody Sunday. Among those present was John Taylor, then junior Home Affairs Minister, now David Trimble's Deputy.

At the time, the ruling classes across these islands were very worked up over a series of illegal civil rights marches and the existence of "no-go areas" across the North, with Derry's Bogside the most blatant.

In the no-go areas, working class people exercised a certain amount of control over their own lives, with no interference from police or army.

Faulkner was under huge pressure from Paisley and his followers to "do something" about both the "illegal" civil rights marches, and especially the no-go areas.

Paisley had announced that he was to hold a "prayer rally" in the Guildhall Square at the exact time that the civil rights march was due to arrive there.

Minutes

The day after the Stormont meeting, Faulkner flew to London and met with Heath at Downing Street for more than an hour.

The next morning, January 28th, another Downing Street meeting involved Heath, the then Home Secretary Reginald Maudling, Defence Secretary Lord Carrington and the Leader of the Commons, William Whitelaw.

Faulkner came home, met Paisley and Paisley promptly announced he was calling off his "prayer meeting" because "we have been assured that the civil rights march will be halted by force if necessary".

The families believe that the political sanction for an operation which it was clear would, at the least, put civilian lives recklessly at risk, was given at this series of meetings.

That is why they are determined to see the minutes of the meetings and hear the testimony of those still alive who were present.

On the evening after Bloody Sunday, Heath and Widgery attended a meeting in Downing Street.

The minutes of this meeting, obtained in 1996 by solicitors acting for the families, report Heath telling Widgery that "it had to be remembered that we were in Northern Ireland fighting not just a military war but a propaganda war".

The big question in every one's mind now in Derry is: will Blair keep fighting the "propaganda war" or will the truth finally come out.

As evidence mounts of political backing at the highest level for the Para action, it is increasingly clear that Bloody Sunday was the result of the ruling class in London and Stormont trying to "teach a lesson" to the people of the Bogside who dared to keep out their army and police.

Whether this will ever be allowed to emerge is the question which only the new Inquiry will answer.

GLEN O THE DOWNS: HOW CAN ROADS PROTESTS WIN?

THE PROTESTS at the Glen of the Downs in Wicklow have received widespread coverage in the media. Eco Warriors have finally come to Ireland.

The protesters can only be applauded for highlighting the widespread destruction that road widening in Wicklow is causing. The proposed extension to the motorway which is costing millions of pounds will mean the cutting down of 1,500 trees.

Yet the widened road will only allow traffic to reach the traffic jams of Dublin a little bit quicker than before.

The new road will not alleviate traffic congestion but cause it. Many surveys have shown that making roads wider merely encourages more traffic.

The insensitivity of Wicklow County Council and the developers beggars belief. They carried out an environmental impact survey and concluded that the environmental damage would be minimal.

Yet the survey failed to notice that a stream ran down one side of the proposed road.

Pressure has already forced Wicklow Council to modify some of their plans.

The new road is now going to be narrower than originally intended in order to avoid the stream they had failed to notice.

The disregard the planners have for local people is shown by the fact that originally the plans had no provision for pedestrians to cross the road. After protests they are now going to build one bridge.

But while the protests have highlighted the destruction to the trees, it is often forgotten that the car culture which is foisted on us by modern capitalism does most harm to people.

Road accidents remain one of the biggest killers of children. The exhaust fumes from cars are linked to rising levels of asthma levels in urban areas.

The Glen of the Downs protesters have shown courage in helping to highlight these issues but some of their tactics make it harder to take on the developers.

Their strategy of a small number of people occupying trees in a rural area over a long period of time is one that cannot involve most working people.



■ Swampy

Publicity

Instead many of those engaged in the protest believe that action by the few can generate enough publicity to help change the world.

The ironic thing about the protests is that they combine an important rejection of capitalist values with a belief that the good offices of the press can help prick the consciences of the establishment.

Yet all experience shows that mobilising large numbers is the key to change rather than relying on passive support generated by the media.

The recent spate of roads protests in Britain shows this. From Twyford Downs to Manchester Airport the protests received huge levels of publicity.

Figures like Swampy who burrowed underground were even turned into temporary media heroes. Yet all those campaigns were lost in the end.

There is however an alternative way of dealing with the chaos capitalism is causing on the roads.

If we want to cut down the amount of cars and traffic congestion, then a hugely expanded public transport system will be required.

We need more railways, buses and suburban links. Instead of subsidising the car industry with an ever expanding road network, resources should be channelled into providing free public transport. Workers have an active interest in promoting this approach. Today a worker has to spend an extra two hours of their day caught up in traffic jams.

A decent, regular free public transport system would benefit everyone.

At the moment workers in Dublin Bus and Bus Eireann are resisting plans to cut unit costs and make their industry more cost efficient.

Their arguments that transport cannot be reduced to market mechanisms is one that everyone concerned for the environment should support.

Mass protests and firm links with the working class movement is the way to stop the developers and money merchants.

ICTU rallies in the North 'Protests give me ho

AS PESSIMISM grows about the prospects of the peace process in Northern Ireland, thousands of workers have expressed their opposition to a return to violence.

At the end of January ICTU rallies took place in Belfast, Coleraine, Antrim, Lurgan, Omagh, Enniskillen and Derry.

Five thousand workers attended the Belfast rally and there was genuine anger at the recent spate of killings.

One woman denounced the loyalist death squads, "These people are trying to create a climate of terror. We are here to show that we are not afraid."

Several schools also held protests. One pupil from a Protestant school said "I finally thought that we were going to get peace, and I think people have to protest to get it."

Justice

On the Enniskillen rally the mood was the same. Kathleen, whose son had been murdered by soldiers said, "The rally is a good idea, we all want peace—peace with justice."

At the rally Jim Brown of the ATGWU said, "We in the trade union movement can halt these brutal murdering fascists whose sole object is to destabilise the peace process."

At the Belfast rally a health worker from the City Hospital said; "Today should be the start of people taking action, peace will really come about when we all come together to protest."

A nurse from the Royal Victoria Hospital agreed "The talks are in lots of ways irrelevant to most people, they are going on without making much difference to people.

"The paramilitaries want to keep people off the streets, we shouldn't let them. Protests like this give me hope."

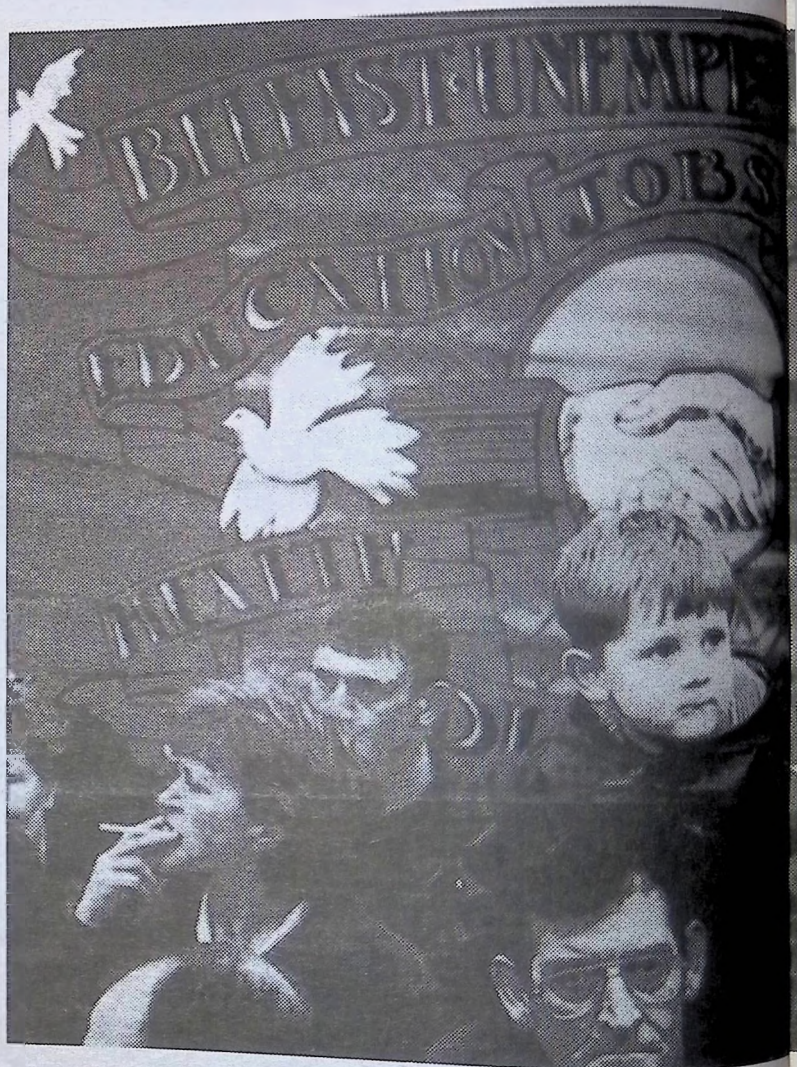
Dave from a loyalist area of Belfast said "They are talking about a settlement by May, then having a referendum. Paisley and his crowd have already started campaigning against it.

"The odds of us getting everything sorted before the marching season look slim.

"There is a feeling of despair that we are back where we started, the pubs are empty, people don't want to go out as much. The LVF are about creating fear."

"But", he continued, "in the area I am from there is little support for the paramilitaries, things like the rally today give us an opportunity to go forward.

"Instead of waiting for the politicians to sort it out we can make a difference ourselves."



STRIKING

THE ICTU leaders claimed that their rallies had been organised with the co-operation of the bosses' organisation, the CBI.

But in many workplaces workers had to protest to be allowed to go on the rallies.

In Belfast in one Post Office sorting office management refused to let workers leave work for the rally but they took up a petition against the killings and showed their anger.

"Everybody signed it, so management had no choice but to let us go," one postal worker said.

Fight

Shop workers also had to fight to leave work.

A worker in a Belfast supermarket told *Socialist Worker*, "My boss said that we weren't allowed to go to the rally because the shop would be busy. But we said we were going anyway and told him to get lost. This is more important."

In a number of offices people just

left work regardless of what their bosses were saying.

The other group that took action were taxi drivers who have been one of the main targets for the loyalist paramilitaries.

On the day of the ICTU rallies taxi

drivers all across

in protest at the

One taxi driver

Worker:

"We have had

year taxi men

to make a living

'The bigots are in a minority'

THE KEY to the mood against the

in the workplace.

Mark, who works

school, told *Socialist*

mood is completely

hand the Loyalist

but the vast majority

peace.

"At the moment

cuts and layoffs

This has had a

Northern Ireland

"These changes

across the country

"It's not just

show the way...

by SIMON BASKETTER

Take this 'peace'

—Nurse,
Royal Victoria
Hospital



WE THINK How to build workers unity

JANUARY'S peace demonstrations, organised by the ICTU, are an important start in bringing workers together to oppose sectarianism.

But there are also important weaknesses which reflect the politics of the labour leaders.

Instead of calling a full scale stoppage, the ICTU only called lunchtime rallies.

This meant that workers from industrial estates on the suburbs could not attend.

And tragically, the organisers refused to focus on the recent loyalist campaign. Instead the ICTU leaders attacked a contingent of West Belfast workers who carried banners linking the Loyalist killers to the sectarian state.

The union leaders believe that Catholic and Protestant workers can only unite on the most apolitical basis.

But this means leaving sectarian ideas go unchallenged.

When the TUC in Britain organises rallies against racism, it does not appeal to any form of "balance" to stop it openly denouncing groups like the British National Party.

Why should it be different in Northern Ireland?

If the ICTU were leading workers into a militant class struggle against the employers and the sell-outs of the Blair government, it could forge a strong united movement against sectarianism.

But its moderation on the economic front is complemented by its fear of openly denouncing loyalist violence.

This makes it all the more urgent that socialists campaign openly for workers unity against the loyalist death squads.

It is only by opposing the notion of sectarian superiority that lies at the heart of loyalism and by arguing with Catholic workers that their allies are not right wing nationalists that lasting unity will be forged.

FOR PEACE

stopped work
to be over.
"Yet last night we only had two taxis
out, because nobody wanted to risk
working."
"The LVF said they were now only
going to kill known republicans. That's
a joke because to them anybody who's

a Catholic is a republican."
"John McColgan was killed as he
went to pick up a job for somebody
else, he died doing someone a favour.
His wife and kid won't be comforted
by the LVF statement or the talks."
A radio control worker for a firm in

a Protestant area said:
"Nobody is working this lunch time.
The lads in this firm haven't as yet been
at risk, but nobody wants to go back
to where we were before. There's no
support as far as I can see for what the
paramilitaries are up to."

to build the
arianism is
the 1970s."
Colin also teaches in a Protestant
school.
He says, "Even those people who
are quite entrenched in the politics
of Unionism were outraged when
Catholics were shot in response to
the killing of Billy Wright."
"None of them shed any tears for
Wright."
"People feel the peace process has
little to do with them."
A civil servant told *Socialist
Worker*, "People want peace. People
have had 30 years of sectarianism
and don't want to go back to it
again."
"But ordinary people are fed up

to the back teeth with the whole of-
ficial peace process, and don't ex-
pect to get much from it."
"At work people are fuming at the
fact that Tony Blair, from whom peo-
ple expected so much is hammering
benefits for ordinary people."
"That's why you need people to
stand up and be counted. You can't
give ground to the sectarians."
A trade unionist who works at an
East Belfast print shop with a mainly
Protestant workforce told *Socialist
Worker*:
"There are one or two individu-
als who have been trying to whip up
bigotry in recent weeks."
"Someone sprayed 'LVF' on the

walls. But it was quickly covered up."
"These bigots are in a minority.
The overwhelming feeling is that
people want peace."
"There are signs that shop stew-
ards and other trade unionists are
beginning to move towards taking a
stand against sectarianism."
"People went on the ICTU demo
to fight against sectarianism. If in-
stead of talking about uniting with
our bosses, ICTU called strike ac-
tion people would respond. People
aren't taking action because of a lack
of confidence."
"We need to give people that con-
fidence."

What do socialists say?

Why immigration controls are always racist

FOR THE past forty years the main focus of racism in Western Europe has been on immigration controls.

Racists like Aine Ni Chonaill argue that foreigners must be dealt with by strict immigration controls because they are "different".

Unfortunately many people who are not racists have accepted to varying degrees the notion that immigration controls are necessary.

But unlike people, money is allowed to move around the world at will. The rich are allowed to concentrate their wealth, regardless of borders, wherever they can reap the greatest profit, be that the USA, South East Asia, or Ireland.

Capital can pack its bags and move on to a new area whenever it wants (look at Seagate's recent departure from Clonmel for richer pickings in Asia). But when workers try to follow that wealth and escape poverty and unemployment up go the controls.

Politicians, the media and others use many arguments to try to convince people of the need for tougher controls. For example, they talk of "floods" of refugees coming into the country.

First of all, there are no "floods" of immigrants coming into Ireland. In 1997 just under 4,000 people came to this country looking for asylum.

Refugees

That is a negligible percentage of the worldwide figure of refugees.

In fact Ireland has experienced a net outflow of people through emigration. Every year for the past two centuries tens of thousands of Irish people have left this country for a life elsewhere.

In the past year or so there has been an increase in people coming here to live. But eighty percent of these are returned emigrants.

Also Ireland's birth rate has dropped dramatically in recent years. The Irish economy needs all the young, healthy workers it can get if the growing population of elderly is to be supported in years to come.

Another argument used against immigrants is that they are taking housing and Social Welfare from Irish people. But the facts are that immigrants here are forced to go on social welfare because they are not allowed to work.

They are also far more likely to be renting from unscrupulous landlords than living in local authority accommodation.

Many people attempt to justify immigration controls by using ostensibly anti-racist ar-

guments. They say that immigration causes resentment and leads to racist attacks.

But the crackdown on immigrants in other countries has always led to a strengthening of the racist right.

The Labour government bowed to the right wing in Britain in the 1960s and clamped down on immigration. But this only encouraged racists like Enoch Powell to step up his rhetoric about immigration causing "rivers of blood".

Harrassment

In recent years in France, governments have responded to the growth of Le Pen's National Front by increasing the harassment of foreigners. But each turn of the screw only encourages the fascists to call even louder for repatriation of all immigrants.

The real reason racism grows is because right wing politicians use refugees and immigrants as scapegoats for economic crisis.

Ireland is going through a boom but not everybody has benefited. Although employment has grown, there has been no improvement in the lives of tens of thousands of working class people.

In fact for many conditions have got worse as the government refuses to spend more money on housing and welfare provision and on vital social projects such as drugs treatment schemes.

Politicians, and particularly Fianna Fail politicians, deal with this by trying to get working class people to look for scapegoats.

But instead of falling for this we should be turning our anger against the tiny minority of Irish people who are creaming off all the benefits from the boom.

All workers, wherever they are from, whatever their colour, have the right to work and to have a decent standard of living, health and education. They also have a right to expect the solidarity and support of their fellow worker, be they black or white.

The argument for immigration controls, even limited immigration controls, goes against this idea that all workers are equal. It is also used to justify a false unity between workers and their bosses, on the grounds that they share the same nationality.

For these reasons all sincere anti-racists and socialists must oppose all immigration controls.

By EIMEAR MALONEY

RTE documentary misunderstood...

AT THE end of January, RTE showed a disgraceful documentary on the Civil War. What was presented as history was simply propaganda against Republicanism, then and now.

Even in formal terms there was no attempt at objectivity, for every voice against the treaty, there were four hostile to the Republicans.

Worse, every single academic, speaking as though giving some sort of divine judgment on events, was bitterly opposed to those who rejected the Treaty.

The essential view of the Civil War presented by the programme was that it was an unnecessary and irrational conflict.

It divided families, left the population bewildered and was the creation of a small group of extremists.

The title of the programme "the madness from within" says it all, particularly when you are aware that the quote was used by Free State Minister for Defence, Richard Mulcahy, to refer to the Republicans.

In fact the Civil War was far from irrational. It was a conflict to determine the shape of the state of Ireland, and only those who are anxious to portray current society as the best of all possible worlds would seek to cover up the deep roots of the war.

On Tuesday 6th December, 1921, the Treaty was signed between Lloyd George and an Irish delegation led by Griffiths and Collins.

It agreed that a new Irish Free State should come into being, with more or less the same constitutional status of Canada.

That is, it would remain within the Empire, host a crown representative, take an oath to the King, allow Britain to keep naval bases and service the public debt.

The North was to be excluded from the Treaty pending a "Boundary Commission." This settlement was a far cry from the independent nation that the mass of Irish people had been fighting for in the radical upheavals of 1919-1921.

Excuses have been made for the delegation who signed the Treaty; that they were tired; that Lloyd George was threatening immediate war (which he was); but the fact is that the signatories and their supporters in Ireland stood by the settlement to the point of war.

As they saw it, they gained some control over Irish finances, tariffs, judiciary, police and army. Above all, the Treaty offered stability in a climate that to them seemed dangerously revolutionary.

Who gained from the Treaty?

On the return of the delegation a huge debate broke out in Ireland. For the Treaty stood all the "respectable" figures of Irish nationalism: large landowners; brewers; railway owners; dairy owners; bankers and bishops—in other words the upper class of Ireland.

All the major newspapers and 15 bishops quickly urged acceptance of the Treaty.

This was the class who had previously backed a strategy of co-operating with Britain during the Great War, in the hope of Home Rule.

Their normally powerful influence over events had been lost with the development of a far more radical na-



The ruins of the Four Courts

The Politics of the Civil War

ionalism, based on the working class and lower middle class which found its focus in Sinn Fein.

For the upper classes the Treaty was a way back to control over Irish politics. As Countess Markievicz put it during the debates: "This Treaty is a deliberate attempt to set up a privileged class".

Following the Dail debates, a narrow majority of deputies supported the Treaty. The remainder, led by de Valera, walked out, while the pro-Treaty deputies set up a Provisional Government to implement its requirements.

The main opponents of the Treaty were those people who had fought hardest and risked most in the War of Independence.

IRA members had given up work, lived for months on the run and in poverty, and were reliant on the sup-

port of the population around them.

Although the Army HQ split seven for, six against, the bulk of the rank and file were against the Treaty. Following an army convention on 26th March, 1922, which the Provisional Government tried to ban, an anti-Treaty Army Executive was elected with Liam Lynch at its head.

The reasons this Executive gave for opposition to the Treaty were highly varied, united only in an appeal to Irish nationalism and a rejection of symbols, especially that of the oath.

Their alternative vision of Ireland ranged from a socialistic, state capitalism, espoused by Liam Mellows, to an unashamed rule by the military.

This reflected the divergent and often utopian aspirations of the various middle class strands from which they drew their support.

In active opposition to the Provisional Government the Republicans occupied the Four Courts as their headquarters, with a garrison of 120 men.

By ordering the seizure of £50,000 from the Bank of Ireland they made it clear that they considered themselves to be the legitimate authority of the Irish people.

The most important political opponent of the Treaty was de Valera.

According to Tim Pat Coogan in RTE's documentary, de Valera suffered a "perpetual brainstorm" at this time. This shallow comment is matched by the argument that the size of the opposition to the Treaty was the result of de Valera's personality.

In fact de Valera gave a number of valid reasons for rejecting the Treaty.

Essentially he believed that there was more to be won, particularly in the area of naval bases and the constitutional link.

Neither the Army Executive, nor de Valera talked about the class nature of the emerging state. Nor was the loss of the North cited as a principled reason to reject the Treaty.

James Connolly had written that the partition of Ireland would cause a "carnival of reaction" and his prediction proved tragically correct.

Workers suffered the most as a result of the acceptance of the Treaty. In the South the new structures of the Free State were rapidly used to crush working class militancy and civil liberties.

The right to strike and the right to hold public protests were severely curtailed, with Free State troops arresting trade unionists.

In the North partition meant the institutionalising of sectarian divisions with pogroms against Catholics and active Protestant trade unionists. Both sides of the yet-to-be-decided border wages plummeted along with membership of the trade unions.

Yet Labour leaders did not try to rally workers against the Treaty. With Connolly dead and Larkin in an American prison, the new generation of conservative Labour officials, represented by William O'Brien, had turned their back on militancy.

During the War of Independence they had ridden a wave of fantastic working class militancy, but channelled it in behind Sinn Fein.

Now, officially neutral, they backed the Provisional Government and subsequently provided a very respectable opposition in the Parliament of the Free State.

The tiny Communist Party quite rightly opposed the Treaty, but adopted a stance which was uncritical of de Valera and the Army Executive.

Leadership, and with growing signs of demoralisation, the workers voice was missing in the Civil War. It is this, and the huge resources at the disposal of the pro-Treaty side that explains their narrow victory in the election of 16th June, 1922.

The actual fighting of the Civil War was a one-sided affair.

Although the Republicans had around 50,000 troops, the Provisional Government was able to take advantage of growing unemployment to recruit 1,000 men a day until they could muster 60,000.

On 28th June, with artillery borrowed from the British and under pressure from the British government to act, the pro-Treaty forces attacked the Four Courts.

After two months of direct confrontation the Republican positions had collapsed, for another eight months they struggled on - guerilla fashion.

With the victory of the Free State, Ireland's best chance to end all oppression as a result of the link with Britain was over.

The subsequent history of both States has proven that the Treaty ultimately benefited only the elite, North and South.

by CONOR KOSTICK

The lottery miracle behind Padre Pio

EARLY IN 1919, it was reported that a young monk called Padre Pio was performing miracles.

The "miracles" concerned "stigmata"—the Greek word for marks or bleeding wounds—which had appeared on his hands, feet and side.

Just before Christmas last year, the Vatican gave its own definitive judgement on Padre Pio when the Congregation for the Cause of Saints declared him "venerable", thus paving the way for almost certain subsequent beatification and then sainthood.

In modern times the Catholic Church has tended to make saints of those whose practical, organisational skills have been in evidence.

If you have founded a religious order in recent times, your chances are pretty good, being a member of Opus Dei also helps a lot.

Vatican reaction to Pio's bleeding was initially very cool. The Vatican held 25 inquiries into Padre Pio and his controversial life. One investigator reportedly claimed he had used phenol or carbolic acid.

The Vatican "investigations" prompted Pio to be temporarily suspended on several occasions.

Even when Padre Pio was in his seventies the Vatican accused him of regularly having sex with pilgrims who visited his cell late at night.

In a report to Pope John XXIII, Msgr Carlo Maccari wrote: "... bis in hebdomada copulabat cum muliere" (twice a week he copulates with women).

Padre Pio's fellow monks were so concerned that they placed a microphone in the confessional - to listen in when the monk was receiving a female penitent.

Fraud

He was also accused of fraud in relation to the 1956 bankruptcy of a certain Giuffrè, an enterprising financier who became involved in the affairs of the hospital built with money from Padre Pio's followers.

But as news of Padre Pio's stigmata spread and as his fame grew, the Vatican seems to have changed its mind.

This perhaps has to do with two other stigmatics who are in Italy at the moment.

One is very similar to Pio and is loyal to the church but the other, speaks not just to the Virgin Mary as he bleeds but also to aliens as well.

The Vatican are pushing Pio as a genuine saint against the new 'heretics' who are gaining immense popularity.

This brings me to the woman who saw Christ in a dust cloth in Birmingham.

The woman was widely dismissed as a lunatic by the media.

Yet no sooner had Gay Byrne and the Irish Times laughed at this rather sad woman than they greeted with gravitas the announcement that the Turin shroud is to be shown

What is interesting is that in a chaotic world people try and look for solace wherever they can get it. Sometimes that is in the right wing conspiracy theories of the X files or in the case of Holland, a crying statue of Elvis.

to the public again.

It seems if Christ appears to you in a church owned sheet that is a miracle, but if it is a dust cloth then it's madness.

Finding a miracle is now the problem for Padre Pio. To make it to full sainthood he needs a miracle.

The likeliest source seems to be two Irish lottery winners in 1996 who shared £1.6 million by using the numbers of Pio's birth ordination and death as their lottery numbers.

Considering the odds of winning the lottery are fourteen million to one, it is indeed a miracle.

But there is more to this than meets the eye. In a more and more chaotic world people look for explanations.

As the ability of the orthodox church and politicians to explain the world diminishes, it is not surprising that people put their faith in bizarre happenings.

A few years ago when Hindu statues started drinking milk or when statues of the Virgin Mary began to cry it was easy to simply scoff.

Yet what is interesting is that in a chaotic world people try and look for solace wherever they can get it.

Sometimes that is in the right wing conspiracy theories of the X files or in the case of Holland, a crying statue of Elvis.

I suspect we will see more and more miracles and cults in the next few years not because of the approach of the year 2,000 but because of the sense of chaos in society.

And like the old fraud Pio don't be surprised if the Catholic church declares some of them genuine as it scrambles to keep its influence.

by SIMON BASKETTER

play

Class divisions on show at the Abbey

by SINEAD KENNEDY

FOR THIRTY-FIVE years, the plays of Tom Murphy have dramatised a changing Ireland, exploding the myths and falsehoods of urban and rural life.

He has, with an unswerving commitment, exposed the class hypocrisy of Irish society, and his new play *The Wake* is no different.

It is a play about social division, greed and the human capacity to survive in the face of adversity. In *The Wake* social class reigns supreme.

Explodes

Murphy explodes the myth of rural Ireland as a homogenous society and shows that the small town is a place that is as rigidly divided along class lines as anywhere else.

With gritty determination, he uncovers the attitudes endured by those who live in the estate known as "The Punjab".

When Vera, played brilliantly by Jane Brennan, returns from America for the auction of the hotel and family home and to pay her respects to her dead grandmother, she sets in motion a chain of events that exposes rigid class divisions and



Exploding myths about life in Ireland

moral hypocrisy.

Her brother and sisters are disgusted with her open flaunting of sexual and class conventions. Vera insists on staying with her old love Finbar in the council estate.

Her family are obsessed with property and inheritance, an obsession that resulted in Vera's

beloved grandmother dying alone and forgotten.

Vera is determined that they come to some realisation of their actions.

Vera, who has survived by becoming a "high class" prostitute, eventually returns home a battered and fragmented individual, but is determined to retain her sense

of selfhood.

Although she loses in material terms, she remains true to herself, realising it is the only way she will survive the loneliness.

The Wake is a play that is large scale in its concerns, dealing with the big questions and the grand forces of life.

The characters struggle to communicate their shattered selves with one another.

It is one of the most compelling and brilliant plays to have emerged in Irish theatre for some time.

Its triumph is that it is a tragedy that refuses to be tragic.

book

Lifting the lid on the Golden Circle

SAM SMYTH'S book *Thanks a Million Big Fella* is a catalogue of the bribery, corruption and tax cheating that lies at the core of Irish politics.

The Socialist Workers Party were the only party to demand "Jail for Corrupt Politicians" when the scandals first broke out.

Since then the demand has gained in popularity and the politicians have been pushed to set up the McCracken Tribunal.

An opinion poll taken three days after the McCracken Tribunal showed that 90 percent believed that Haughey and Lowry should go to jail if convicted of breaching tax and exchange control laws.

An overwhelming 89 percent said the former Taoiseach should be prosecuted and 87 percent believed the former Minister should face criminal charges for their roles in the payments of

by JIMMY KELLY

politicians scandal.

Another poll showed that 79 percent of people were convinced that business and political cosy cartels existed and nearly two out of every three voters believed that financial corruption was widespread among TDs.

The McCracken Report was scathing.

It did not accept Haughey's evidence that he was not aware of the monies held for him in Ansbacher Caymen.

Deliberately

It maintained that Haughey deliberately 'shrouded the gifts' in secrecy to ensure the Revenue Commissioners would not know.

McCracken continued, "It is quite unacceptable that a member of Dail Eireann and in particular a cabinet

member and Taoiseach should be supported in a personal life style by gifts made to him personally.

"It is particularly unacceptable that such gifts should emanate from prominent businessmen within the state.

"The possibility that political or financial favours could be sought in return for such gifts, or even be given without them being sought is very high and if such gifts are permissible, they would inevitably lead in some cases to bribery and corruption."

Sam Smyth's book has only confirmed what has long been suspected.

Investigative journalists can expose the bribery and corruption.

But the real change will only come when the undoubted anger felt by Irish workers becomes a force which brings the Golden Circle to its knees.

journal

Addicted to profit

DRUGS ARE constantly in media and politicians typically use the problem to call for more gardai and stricter sentences.

Audrey Farrell's article in the latest *International Socialism* should be read by every socialist who wants to respond.

Addicted to Profit explains the way in which drugs have become central to capitalism.

It looks at the reasons why people take drugs and examines the relationship of addictive but legal drugs like tobacco and alcohol to capitalism.

The article looks at the arguments for legalisation and offers a socialist solution to the drugs crisis.

Che Guevara has re-emerged as a symbol for revolution once again. In a fascinating article Mike Gonzalez looks at the life of the revolutionary behind the myth.

Far from romanticising Guevara, Gonzalez faces up openly to his shortcomings.

The *International Socialism Journal* also contains a useful article on how India was partitioned fifty years ago years at the end of British rule and another on the controversial controversial book Hitler's Willing Executioners.

All of this makes the *International Socialism Journal* an important part of every socialist's bookshelf.

International Socialism Journal. Price £3 plus £1 postage costs.

Order from SW Books c/o PO Box 1648.

where we stand

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.

Protests against racist speaker

WHEN THE racist Aine Ni Chonail was invited to speak by the Law Society in UCC she was met by a demonstration of 50 people which was called by the Socialist Workers Students Society.

A student who was at the debate later told *Socialist Worker* "Ni Chonail spouted her own racist nonsense but the audience was largely hostile. Her motion was voted down with an overall majority of 250 votes against."

Despite this Ni Chonail, founder of the Anti-Immigration Platform, was invited back to UCC a week later.

This time her sponsors were the Philosophical Society who in the past have tried to host David Irving, a man who says the holocaust never happened.

UCD's Literary and Historical society also invited Ni Chonail but this time she didn't turn up.

A successful protest of 60 people was again organised, this time by the Anti Nazi League.

Within the space of a few weeks Ni Chonail has been given platforms in RTE,

UCC and UCD. The people who invite her to speak say they do so in the interests of free speech, but nothing could be further from the truth. RTE did it to boost their

viewing figures, the college societies did it to get new members. All these groups are cashing in on Ni Chonail's attempts to whip up racism. They know she is a con-

troversial figure and as such will attract people's attention.

Attacks

But giving Ni Chonail a platform can give her racist

views a certain credibility. This encourages racism and can even lead to attacks on immigrants. This is why she should be met with protests everywhere she turns up.

Residents object to freight park

THE PROPOSED new proposed National Distribution Park for heavy freight vehicles to replace one in North Wall is supposed to be built in the Dublin suburb of Bawnogue.

The original land for the site was set aside by the council in the seventies for general amenities in the area.

Bawnogue is a working class area with high rates of unemployment.

If the park goes ahead in the area, it will lead to massive levels of traffic and noise pollution.

Now residents in the area are raising objections because of the costs to the environment.

Normally freight parks are placed miles away from residential areas in the rest of Europe.

Pressure has already forced the investors to build a major ring road around the area.

But many residents in this working class area want the park to be moved away completely.

Refugees facing deportations

THE HIGH Court has temporarily barred the deportation of a Chilean family after their fourth child was born here.

Julio and Pamela Suarez arrived in Ireland last May and settled in Ennis with their three children.

They immediately applied for asylum and were told by the Department of Justice that because they had arrived here from Britain their application should be made to the UK.

Orders for their deportation

were then sent to Gardaí in Ennis.

Last week an injunction was granted on the basis of the constitutional right of the newborn baby, an Irish citizen, to the care of her family and parents.

Prospect

Now the family have to wait for the outcome of a judicial review of their case.

The Suarez family is not the

only one facing the frightening prospect of deportation.

The Department of Justice has issued letters to 23 Asylum seekers giving them 14 days to leave the state.

Fifty other refugees are also waiting for similar letters.

That deadline has now passed and no deportations have taken place, but their future in this country is looking very uncertain.

Threatened

The refugees threatened with deportation can make a fresh legal case as to why they should be allowed to stay.

But any new argument has to be based on separate issues to those stated in their previous asylum application.

So for example, if they have fresh evidence which proves anything they claimed in their first application, it's worth nothing.

If they originally claimed they were tortured or fled political oppression and in the

meantime have managed to gather documents or other evidence to prove it, it doesn't mean a thing.

The immigrants can argue, for example, that they are now fully integrated into Irish society.

But that's a difficult thing to achieve, let alone prove, if you're not even allowed to work here.

According to an *Irish Times* survey there are only 3,883 refugees seeking asylum in Ireland. 512 decisions have been taken so far, 208 of whom have been given refugee status, and 304 refused, the rest, that's 3,371 people have been left in Limbo.

Democratic Left have called for an amnesty to allow asylum seekers already in the country to stay.

The Socialist Workers Party fully backs an amnesty for refugees.

But in the long term legislation is need to allow immigrants the right to permanent residency, housing and work here.

ADVERTISEMENT

Anti Deportation Committee (Anti Nazi League)

STOP THE DEPORTATIONS

Protest Outside Dail 6.00pm Thurs February 10th

News from the SWP

Party launches new recruitment drive

The Socialist Workers Party is once again launching a major recruitment drive.

Radicalisation has begun to grow as many see the Celtic Tiger bringing few benefits.

One sign of this has been the growing interest in meetings about Karl Marx.

Discussions on the relevance of Marx today are winning a new audience among young people looking for change.

Another is the huge anger that has swept the country at the

activities of the loyalist death squads.

But alongside the radicalisation there is also a confusion of ideas.

The battle against racism and deportations, for example, has only just begun.

In the North there are conflicting moods of sectarianism and a desire for class unity.

The key is building a party that stands well to the left of Labour and

Sinn Fein. In every town there needs to be an organised network of socialists who are linked together through a paper that challenges the ideas of capitalism.

Over the next month and a half every branch of the SWP has been set a target of recruiting five members.

Each new member should be encouraged to take at least five papers to build up the socialist network in their area.

SWP branch meetings

BELFAST Meets every Thurs 8pm contact 8722682 for details

CORK Meets every Weds at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Commarket St.

DERRY Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm

DUN LAOGHAIRE Meets every Tues at 8pm in Christian Institute.

ENNISKILLEN Meets every fortnight Contact national address for details

GALWAY Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Curans Hotel, Eyre Square

MAYNOOTH Meets every Thursday at 16.30pm Class Hall D Arts Maynooth college

WATERFORD Meets every Thursday at 8pm in

ATGWU Hall, Keyser St. DUBLIN NORTH-WEST Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in The Snug, Dorset St.

DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm Artane/Beamount Recreation Centre opp Artane Castle

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

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL Meets every Wed at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St.

DUBLIN RATHMINES Meets every Wed at 8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond St.

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

DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN Meets Monday at 8pm in the Steering Wheel, Clondalkin


There are Socialist Worker members in: COLERAINE; LURGAN; CAVAN; DONEGAL; NAAS; KILKENNY; DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA. If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

Students for Socialism

A MARXIST UNIVERSITY
Organised by the Socialist Workers Student Society

Friday 20th and Saturday 21st February Trinity College Dublin

HIGHLIGHTS INCLUDE:
★ Can there be a revolution in Europe?—Eamonn McCann;
★ Socialist Planning or Free Market?—Moore McDowell (Economist) debates Kieran Allen (editor Socialist Worker);
★ 1798: The politics of the United Irishmen—Mark Hewitt



"Was Marx right all along". That was a headline in the British Independent following the collapse of the Asian Tiger economies. On the 150th anniversary of the publication of the Communist Manifesto, Students for Socialism is a chance to look at the experience of struggles past and present and discuss how we organise to bring about real change.

Name _____
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Please send me _____ ticket(s) for Students for Socialism @ £2.50 each, I enclose £ _____
 Please send me full programme
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Return to Students for Socialism, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8 Tel (01) 872 2682

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.....

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news & reports— politics; the unions

send in your reports: telephone (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

Ryanair

Time to take the gloves off

RYANAIR'S decision not to attend the Labour Court shows that they are determined to break the SIPTU union in their company.

Ninety five per cent of the baggage handlers at Ryanair joined the union because of low pay rates. The staff are paid only £13,000 a year, which includes payments for weekend working.

They are penalised £108 out of their monthly basic pay if they miss a day's work.

This contrasts sharply with the handouts to senior management. Three company directors at Ryanair, including the chief executive Michael O'Leary, received payments of £24 million in a share transaction.

Ryanair has received the full support of the employers union, IBEC, who have stood over their anti-union policy.

SIPTU Vice President Des Geraghty has warned the government and the employers that they risk "serious confrontation" because of the Ryanair dispute.

Student nurses

STUDENT NURSES are holding a national day of protest on Thursday 12 February because of the failure of the Department of Health to increase their non-means tested grant of £2,500 per annum.

They are calling for an immediate increase in the grant which has not been raised since 1994.

They also want a full review of the money they have to spend on travel,

food and accommodation when they're doing clinical placements.

Student nurses work hard but they're not paid for it.

Instead, they are forced to rely on help from their family or to work part-time on top of their full day's work in the hospitals.

Training for nursing today is based on a new diploma or degree course.

Alongside the new programme there has been a phasing out of former benefits such as subsidised income, accommodation and free meals.

Miners strike for pay

SIXTY FOUR miners and millers at Galmoy have taken strike action over pay levels. The rest of the workforce refused to pass the pickets

The mines are owned by Arcon which is controlled by Tony O'Reilly Junior.

Miners at Galmoy earn between £15,000 and £17,000 a year. Shift allowance and bonus rates are included in this. But for dangerous work that includes working 300 feet underground this is considered very low.

The original wage rates at Galmoy were set according to the norm prevailing in the locality.

When SIPTU tried to look for significant wage rises the company refused to negotiate. They told SIPTU that Partnership 2000 precluded them making wage claims.

But workers are not accepting this scandalous situation. Galmoy was only opened last

March and is already sending 100 trucks of zinc each week to Rosslare harbour for export.

Davy Stockbrokers have claimed that company share prices are likely to rise because of the big profits expected in the future.

Since last autumn the miners have been pressing for a major pay rise. Two previous attempts to bring the issue to strike action were stopped by the union officials but now workers have had enough.

Issue

The company are trying to force the issue into the Labour Court but the strikers do not want to go in this direction.

They know that the Labour Court is giving recommendations that back up the employers and are determined to win their own demands.

The miners are in a battle with the elite of the Irish business class. They know that their struggle will not get a fair coverage in papers like

Dublin Bus

Dublin Bus workers, under threat from vicious cost cutting plans are sending out clear signals to both management and the unions that any sell-out deals will meet with heavy resistance.

Already a high profile rank and file organisation, the Busworkers Action Group, (BAG) exists in the garages.

The latest manifestation of shop floor democracy is in the Phibsboro garage where Imp

drivers are attempting to organise a representative committee, with the assistance of the BAG.

Imp drivers drive smaller buses, get lower pay and are treated with less regard than other drivers.

They receive low priority rating from radio controllers and do not have the benefit of autofare systems on their buses. This leaves them exposed to robbery and assault.

They are also burdened with some long and tedious duties and are made drive badly maintained buses, sometimes in

sweltering hot conditions due to lack of air circulation.

Despite many complaints to union officials, the Imp drivers have been fobbed off with platitudes and promises of future action.

The IMP drivers committee hopes to "sharpen" the representations made on their behalf. The fact that groups of workers find it necessary to organise such rank and file structures is symptomatic of a more widespread dissatisfaction among workers throughout the country.

Cramptons

Building the fightback

OVER ONE hundred people attended a public meeting in Dublin last month to raise support for Cramptons building workers.

The workers are in dispute against Cramptons' use of sub-contractors on their sites.

One speaker told the meeting that safety on building sites has deteriorated since the introduction of C45s, which made many workers "self-employed".

Average

In the 1980s there was an average of six deaths a year on sites but that average has more than doubled, with 41 deaths in the past three years.

By putting builders on C45s and using sub-contractors, building

firms are avoiding employee legislation. "Self-employed" building workers lose their right to redundancy money, paid holidays and wet time. The dispute arose when brick-

layers were sacked for refusing to work in the "black economy".

They were employed by a nineteen year old called Mickie, who told them there was no tax or PRSI and they would

be paid cash in hand.

When Cramptons took out an injunction the judge ignored the fact that the workers were being told to work illegally. Instead he banned the strike.

Defy the Industrial Relations Act

WHEN HE introduced the Industrial Relations Act in 1990, Bertie Ahern said he was not copying Thatcher's anti-union laws in Britain.

Ahern claimed that the requirement for a secret ballot before going on strike was there to protect workers.

He even promised that employers would not be able to challenge

a ballot result in order to undermine a strike.

Yet that is exactly what happened when Nolan Transport had a strike by SIPTU members banned under the Act.

Ballots

The rule on ballots has now been used by Cramptons to ban the strike by building workers.

The judge granted an

injunction on the grounds that ballot papers were not folded and that two lapsed union members had not been given a vote.

A number of speakers at the building workers meeting in Dublin argued to defy the Industrial Relations Act.

One worker asked, "Why aren't we picketing Cramptons every day? Then we could get the support from other workers."

Limerick Corporation

WORKERS IN Limerick Corporation are on all-out unofficial strike after a shop steward was suspended.

The steward, who is a member of the UCATT union, tried to hold a discussion with his supervisor but the attitude was one of "do what I say".

Later the supervisor made an allegation that the steward had threatened him with

violence.

Despite the fact that no evidence was produced to substantiate this claim, the shop steward was suspended.

"All this talk of partnership at a workplace level is nonsense.

"This suspension is an attempt to intimidate all shop stewards from properly representing their members," a SIPTU activist told *Socialist Worker*.

Limerick corporation are

drawing up plans for a major attack on their workforce.

The steward who is suspended comes from the housing department where attempts are being made to introduce private contractors.

Despite a promise three years ago that the number of staff would be maintained at 353 workers, fifteen jobs have been lost in the meantime.

Greater use is being made of CE scheme workers and while the manual staff is being cut there is a growth in administration.

Rank and file workers have responded magnificently to the attack on their union organisation.

Members from different unions are respecting the picket and there is great solidarity.

But the union officials have not matched the determination of their members.

Instead they are hiding behind the Industrial Relations Act and refusing to make the strike official.

Corporation workers throughout Ireland should send messages of support and raise solidarity for their Limerick colleagues.

SIPTU

Carolann Duggan for general secretary

CAROLANN DUGGAN, the Waterford factory worker who has shook up the SIPTU establishment, is on the campaign trail again.

She is standing for General Secretary of SIPTU against two officials, John McDonald and Brendan Hayes.

Meetings of her supporters are now being organised across the country with the first one starting in Dublin on Saturday 14 February.

Anger amongst the SIPTU grassroots is growing because of the failures of Partnership 2000.

"How can you talk of partnership when the employers are backing up Ryanair? Why are the unions standing by when McCreevy so obviously favours the rich?"

"I am standing in this election to raise up the rank and file. We have been treated as suckers for too long. It is time the unions woke up".

Carolann Duggan is a member of the Socialist Workers Party.

"There is an old phrase which I really like: Try to help the poor and they call you a Christian — Ask why they are poor and you are called a Red.

"I think this union needs people who will follow in the footsteps of Connolly and Larkin. That way we can be sure that our organisation fights for our members with the same determination that the IFA looks after farmers or IBEC looks after bosses".

Carolann Duggan campaign for SIPTU General Secretary Dublin Supporters Meeting Teachers Club, Parnell Square Saturday 14th February 12pm

TEAM

CRAFT UNIONS representing TEAM workers have pulled out of talks about the sale of the company to FLS.

FLS has a reputation for attacking workers' conditions and has even used military controlled labour in Burma. Shop stewards at TEAM claim that there is little point talking to a company that refuses to honour its agreements.

So far TEAM workers have not even been paid the first phase of the Partnership 2,000 agreement.

The move to pull out of talks was originally raised at a mass meeting of workers some weeks ago. But union officials would not allow a vote on the matter, claiming it was just an information meeting.

Now however the union officials have been pressurised to take a firm stand.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

Inside:

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The politics of the Civil War—PAGE 8

Solidarity price £1

NO TO DISABILITY CUTS

Don't fall for Blair's welfare myths!

NORTHERN Ireland has a higher level of poverty and illness than the rest of Britain.

Thousands of people are forced to live on disability benefit or survive on lone parent allowance.

But the Labour government is planning massive attacks on the poor. To prepare the way it is promoting a number of myths about the welfare state.

MYTH 1: The cost of the welfare state is spiralling out of control

Blair says that spending on benefits has increased by £43 billion since 1979.

But the economy has grown at the same time. Spending on benefits has hardly changed for 25 years and is not going up significantly now.

In addition some of the rise in spending is because of Tory measures designed to punish the poor.

So the rise in housing benefit spending is entirely since 1992.

This is because the government forced through huge rises in council rents. Rent controls on private landlords were also reversed.

MYTH 2: Spending on welfare is a drain on ordinary people.

New Labour claims that welfare costs each family £80 a week.

But the vast majority of people get about as much out of the welfare system as they put in. It acts as a sort of collectively run savings bank for old age, times of sickness and unemployment.

A recent Rowntree report into welfare showed that 60



■ Blair: Rent rises

percent of people gain more from the welfare state than they put into it and that a further 20 percent pay in only slightly more than they get out.

The only people who put in a lot more than they get out are the top 15 percent of the income scale.

Afford

These people can and should afford it.

The welfare state is a mild form of re-distribution.

It takes some money from the richest and redirects it to the poorest.

MYTH 3: We can no longer afford the welfare state.

Instead of cutting ben-

efits, Labour could tax the rich and businesses.

The top people in Britain have a combined wealth of £87 billion. Why not take back some of this cash?

The rich are getting richer. In 1979 the richest fifth of people took 37 percent of all income. They now grab 47 percent. These people can well afford to pay taxes to support disability benefits, lone parent benefits and a decent health service.

MYTH 4: The welfare state does not help the poorest.

The present system is inadequate. Benefit levels are barely enough to scrape by on.

Moreover, official poverty increased massively during 18 years of Tory rule—from 9 percent of the population to 25 percent.

But the reason more people are in poverty is not because the "well off" are claiming benefits. It is because the Tories forced more of the old, sick, young and unemployed onto means tested benefits.

New Labour now suggest an "affluence test". This is code for more means testing.

Universal benefits have a much higher take up than means tested benefits. The best way of targeting the poor is through extending, not ending universal benefits.

MYTH 5: We could save £4 billion by targeting benefit "cheats".

The real problem is not those who "cheat" the system but that people do not claim benefits they are entitled to. It is estimated that £3.5 billion of benefits go unclaimed each year.

The Labour government should be targeting the real fraudsters who avoid paying billions by fiddling their tax returns.

Why not start with Tony Blair's friends, like Postmaster General Geoffrey Robinson, who has stashed his million abroad to avoid paying tax.