

# Socialist Worker

inside

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UNIONS MUST ACT**

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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

Solidarity price £1

# HAUGHEY

**£8.6  
million  
in  
bribes**



**Slashed  
the  
health  
service**

## A MENACE TO SOCIETY

# LOCK HIM UP!



# Longford siege wasn't the only time ...

# Gardai shoot to kill

**JOHN CARTHY**, a 27 year old building labourer was murdered by the Gardai after a seige in Longford. It seems likely he was shot in the back while he walked away from armed garda.

Up to 30 gardai, many of whom were armed with Uzi sub-machine-guns were involved. Yet Carthy was not a threat to any one other than, possibly, himself.

### Botched

Local people criticised Garda tactics during the operation, saying the large armed contingent may have added tension to the situation. "It has all the hallmarks of a botched job," said Vincent Quinn, a local

farmer. "They didn't seem to have any plan B."

The rules of engagement for armed gardai are an "internal matter" and not available to the public.

John Carthy is not the first person to be killed by Gardai in suspicious circumstances.

■ In May 1998, after the killing of a dissident IRA man, Ronan McLoughlin, during an attempted robbery in Co Wicklow, Gardai initially indicated that gang members had fired first, but later retracted that statement.

The dead man's family criticised the gardai for not arresting the men on their way to the scene.

■ On June 5th, 1997, John Morris (26) was fatally wounded during an attempted raid on a newspaper distributor's warehouse at Golden-

bridge Industrial estate in Inchicore, Dublin. He was shot in the head and stomach by detectives and died in hospital.

■ On January 12th, 1990, Austin Higgins, a

member of a five man gang, was shot dead during a bank raid in Athy, Co Kildare.

One of the other raiders, William Gardner, told the inquest "Without

any warning, there was gunfire all over the place.

"Austin was ahead of me standing and I saw his head explode." He added: "There was no warning, it was murder."

## EU CONDEMNNS GARDA TACTICS

**THE EUROPEAN Union Committee for the Prevention of Torture and Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment** said that members of the Garda Síochána need to be reminded that "no more force than is strictly necessary should be used when effecting an arrest."

The report warned that

once people who are arrested "have been brought under control, there can be no justification for police officers striking them."

### Ill treated

The report says a significant number of people the committee interviewed about their experiences in Garda custody alleged they had been "physically ill-treated" by gardai. This included slaps, kicks, punches and blows from batons.



## inside the system

### THINGS THEY SAY

"When Charles Haughey said in 1980 in what was probably his most famed speech that the country had...to live within their means...that we had to cut our cloth according to what was available, it's a pity he didn't live by it."

■ Bertie Ahern, Haughey's right hand man in the 1980's

"What about the Ansbacher crooks? Why aren't you jailing them?"

■ Convicted money launder, Kevin Meehan

"We are at our most vulnerable at this time of unprecedented success"

■ Turlough O'Sullivan director of employer's body IBEC warning trade unions not to ask for too much.

### COKE WARS

**POLICE ARE panicking about coke wars which have broken out in Europe.**

These coke dealers don't peddle the white powder variety but the fizzy stuff in bottles.

### Fizzy fix

The European Union is investigating whether the giant multinational Coca Cola Company has been fixing the market.

Coca Cola stands accused of offering retailers "incentives" (some might say the word bribe) to sell more coke, and to stop selling other brands of soft drinks made by rivals.

## Ansbacher man robbed the poor

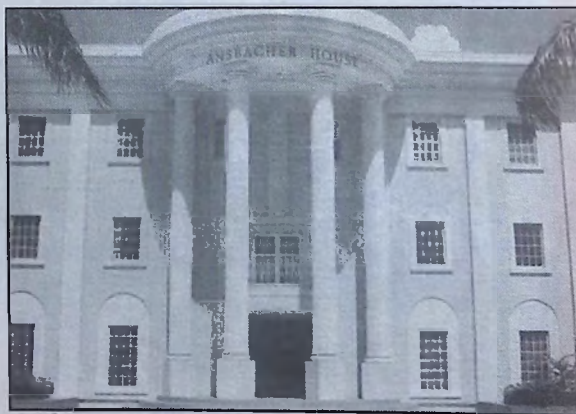
**DES TRAYNOR**, the man behind the Ansbacher scam, was also involved in a money-lending agency that charged the highest level of interest in the state.

The company Jordan Estates charged up to 197 percent interest on a 20-week loan.

The loans were usually taken out by poor people who had to pay for Holy Communion dresses or weddings.

Another director of the company was Jack Stakelum. Stakelum worked for the accountancy firm where he looked after Charles Haughey personal bills.

While he was paying for Haughey's fancy shirts and restaurant expense, he also presided over a company that squeezed the poor for exorbitant expenses.



Ansbacher—the bank that likes to say no to tax

## RE-ZONING PAYS THE BILLS

**PITY POOR Ray Burke. He has made a settlement of £500,000 to the Revenue Commissioners for taxes he should have paid on his many 'donations'.**

In June 1980 alone Burke who was Minister for Communications picked up £117,000 in 'donations'.

Most of the money came from media companies,

including Tony O Reilly's Fitzwilton Group and Oliver Barry's Century Communications.

Burke has paid for his tax settlement by selling off his house for 33 million.

He got this staggering price because, lo and behold, his house was on land which was re-zoned.

Entirely co-incidentally, Charles Haughey has also sold off a bit of his Kinsealy land and got a fine price - after that land was also re-zoned.

## GAMBLERS ANNOYMOUS

**SOCIALIST WORKER has often pointed out that the stockmarket operate like a casino.**

Leading addiction charities now confirm this. They have reported that the biggest increase in compulsive gambling is among traders.

They say traders have become addicted to spread betting-waging on the difference between a bookmaker's prediction and the actual result of an event.

## One-third of Irish prisoners suffered from hepatitis-C

**THE GOVERNMENT is creating a further 700 prison places, despite declining crime figures.**

The Irish Penal Reform Trust said the decision was "shocking and incomprehensible". Its director, Dr Ian O'Donnell, claimed the new prison places would cost almost £500 million.

The National Crime Forum noted that "... in proportion to the number of crimes committed, the Irish prison population is far from low: approximately double the level in the Netherlands or in England and Wales, and much higher than in such diverse

countries as France, Australia or Canada".

One in five prisoners who inject drugs say they began doing so while in custody, according to a government report.

The report also found that over one-third of Irish prisoners suffered from hepatitis C.

### Poor

It costs £894 to keep each prisoner for a week. The vast majority of these are poor working class people who have received a low level of education.

None of the new prison places are being reserved for the Fianna Fail politicians who created poverty while taking bribes.

## GM MUCK-UP

**THE DEPARTMENT of Agriculture has admitted that it 'mistakenly' grew crops from seed contaminated by genetic modification.**

The oilseed rape, which has been harvested, was probably sold for animal food,

One major concern about GM organisms is the possible cross contamination of other crop or weed species.

Now Advanta, one of the biggest GM crop producers, has admitted that its GM oilseed rape grown in Canada was contaminated by GM rape grown at least 800 metres away.

It has also admitted that seed from the GM-contaminated rape has been sold across Europe and unwittingly planted by farmers, spreading the risk of contamination.

GM pollen was also found recently in honey produced in Britain-three miles away from GM crops.

**A NEW US study on the effects of dioxin chemicals contains claims that they may be 10 times more dangerous than envisaged up to now.**

The chemicals enter the food chain when animals eat contaminated plants and have been linked to cancers in humans, including lymphomas and lung cancer.

Dr Conchur Ó Brádaigh, of Galway for a Safe Environment, said the report should be the final nail in the coffin for the plans for six waste incinerators around the country.



what we think

# Desperate, divided and corrupt to the core

**THE POLITICAL establishment is getting desperate as the corruption scandal grows. They wanted to let Haughey and Burke off with a rap on the knuckles by making them pay a tax bill. But their schemes are unraveling and the government could still fall on the issue.**

The weakness of our rulers was shown on the Sheedy affair. They had hoped to pay off Judge Flaherty for keeping quiet about why he was involved with Sheedy by fixing him up with a £147,000 job in the EU. This was after bringing in special legislation to get him a £40,000 a year pension.

**Destroy**

But as the Romans used to say 'Those whom the Gods wish to destroy, they first make mad'. Our rulers are today so distant from the population that they never figured there would be a reaction to their arrogance. The father of Ann

Ryan who was killed because of Sheedy's drunken orgy summed up the outrage when he said, "I worked as a bus driver for years but I never got near the pension that Flaherty got. Why is he being rewarded further?" One result of the debacle was that the Progressive Democrats were exposed. The PDs claim to have clean hands - but they were originally founded with huge donations from big business.

Harney has always worked closely with McCreevy and even took a free holiday with him in the home of the McEvaddy brothers, who were lobbied Harney on the issue of EU noise legislation for aircrafts. It is no wonder she joined the cover-up over the Sheedy affair.

After the affair, Harney tried to regain popularity by calling for the jailing of Haughey. But there may also be a sinister motive behind these maneuvers. Immediately after Harney's statement, Nora Owen of Fine Gael claimed that Harney's statement stopped Haughey getting a fair trial. Nora Owen is part of the Golden Circle that runs this country. She has received money from Frank Dunlop and



Hypocrite Harney

played a major role in planning decisions in North Dublin. She and Fine Gael have a vested interest in stopping the corruption scandals unraveling fur-

ther. The political establishment will play all sorts of complicated games to stop the scandals breaking them apart.

The only thing that can stop these filthy maneuvers is mass protests organised by the trade union movement. The ICTU no longer

has an excuse not to act. Three of the largest unions in the country, SIPTU, IMPACT and the ATGWU have come out in favour of national anti-corruption demonstra-

tions. If the unions called out their members for a day of national protest, the gangsters who run this country would finally feel the heat.

## VOTE HEALY FOR SOUTH TIPPERARY

**THE BYE-ELECTION in South Tipperary provides an important opportunity to strike a blow at the political establishment.** A big vote for Seamus Healy of the Workers and Unemployed Action Group would show that anger at corruption is rising. The Labour Party had hoped to hold the seat and has even accused Seamus Healy of

wanting to be a 'Jackie Healy Rae style independent'. But it was Labour who disappointed the hopes of thousands by joining FF in Coalition in 1992 and bringing in a tax amnesty for the rich cheats. And while the party has opposed corporate funding, it still has not broken its ties with big business. Ruairi Quinn received £10,000 from the property speculators, Treasury Holdings. Healy stands well to the left of Labour.

He has stood by workers when they resisted redundancies. He has opposed all types of local charges as a double tax. He has stood up against state repression of republicans. Support for him will show there is a huge opening for a radical socialist alternative. That is why we urge Number 1 vote for Healy and Number 2 for Ellen Ferris of Labour.

## Back the anti-racist declaration

**SPONSORS SO FAR INCLUDE:** Ruairi Quinn TD, Labour Party; Michael D Higgins TD, Labour Party; Emmet Stagg TD, Labour Party; Patricia McKenna, Green Party MEP; Joe Higgins TD, Socialist Party; Councillor Larry O'Toole, Sinn Fein; Councillor Deszlie Ellis, Sinn Fein; Senator Joe Costello, Labour Party; Senator Brendan Ryan, Labour Party; Kieran Allen, Socialist Workers Party; Professor Farrell Corcoran, Dublin City University; Councillor Finian McGrath, Independent; Councillor Deirdre De Burca, Green Party; Raymond Deane, Composer; Gavin Kostick, Playwright; Fergus Johnston, Composer; Leland Bardwell, Aosdana; Mick O'Reilly, Regional Secretary ATGWU; Des Geraghty, President SIPTU; Brendan Archbold, National Officer Mandate; Peter Bunting, General Secretary NBRU; Jimmy Kelly, Executive member ATGWU; Eddie Conlon, TUI Executive; Phillip Madden, President USI; Marnie Holborow, President SIPTU Education Branch; Carolann Duggan, SIPTU Waterford; Brian O'Shea TD, Labour Party; Jan O'Sullivan TD, Labour Party; Liz McManus TD, Labour Party; Mary Upton TD, Labour Party; Willie Penrose TD, Labour Party; Eamon Gilmore TD, Labour Party; Sean Ryan TD, Labour Party; Derek McDowell TD, Labour Party; Pat Rabbittie TD, Labour Party; Brendan Howlin TD, Labour Party; Breeda Moynihan-Cronin TD, Labour Party; Dr Colin Coulter, NUI Maynooth; Dr Steve Coleman, NUI Maynooth; Sinead O'Connor.

Name .....

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Telephone ..... Union .....

individual £2.50

small organisation £25       Large organisation £50

Make cheques or POs payable to Anti Nazi League, Bank of Ireland College Green, Dublin, sort code 90-00-17, Account no. 42341575 or send to Po Box 4007, DUBLIN 1 Tel (087) 2250947 email: anl@ireland.com

**"We the undersigned, wish to protest at the torrent of abuse that has been stoked up against asylum seekers. The most vulnerable group of people fleeing persecution, oppression and war are being blamed for the ills of Irish society. The housing crisis and the poor state of our health service was not caused by the arrival of a few thousand refugees. These problems result from the failure of successive governments to adequately fund these services. Instead of attacking refugees, we should condemn politicians who led an opulent and corrupt lifestyle while they told the rest of us to 'tighten our belts'.**

**A media who uses terms like 'floods' of people is now inflaming racist sentiment. Yet the reality is that there are less refugees in this country than there were Irish 'illegals' in Boston in the eighties. We particularly condemn attempts to associate refugees with medical illness. People from divergent countries with different experiences should not be de-humanised in this way.**

**The forced dispersal policy of the government and their decision to confine refugees to a voucher system has helped to fuel this racism. Instead of treated refugees as a burden, we call on the government to give them the right to work.**

**We believe that asylum seekers deserve our compassion and help. We call on everyone who wants to see a tolerant and multi-cultural Ireland to oppose this wave of racism and to make their voices heard."**





## — Israel

# Israel's Vietnam

**"IT IS humiliation on the scale of the US defeat in Vietnam and the Russians in Afghanistan." This is how the Financial Times described Israel's pull out from Lebanon.**

FOR 22 years the mightiest military power in the Middle East occupied the southern part of Lebanon at the cost of 20,000 lives. It bombed Lebanese villages, killed civilians and destroyed power plants.

But in a matter of days it was all over. The Israeli army withdrew and the South Lebanon Army which was paid by Israel to act as its bullies, collapsed. Its members gave themselves up or fled to Israel.

The Lebanese rejoiced. Tens of thousands of those who had been driven from their villages returned to see them for the first time in a generation.

They tore open the Khiam prison where the South Lebanon Army hung its prisoners from the walls and beat them with steel rods, using interrogation techniques taught by the Israeli army and equipment supplied by the US.

Above all they celebrated the defeat of Israel.

Israel was built on the violent eviction of Palestinian Arabs from

their homeland in the 1940s. It has acted as the watchdog for US interests in the region ever since.

The Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) emerged in response to Israeli state repression, and the Israeli state did everything it could to crush it. When the PLO was driven from Jordan in 1970, it moved its headquarters to Lebanon.

### Massacre

Israel responded by invading in 1978, withdrawing and then invading again in 1982. These invasions succeeded in driving out the PLO - but not before Israel presided over the cold-blooded massacre of 1,000 Palestinians in the Sabra and Chatila refugee camps in 1982.

Robert Fisk, who visited the camps immediately after the massacres, described the sheer horror of what he witnessed there:

"The murderers - the Christian militiamen whom Israel had let into the camps - had only just left.

In some cases the blood was still wet on the ground. When we had seen a hundred bodies we stopped counting.

Down every alleyway, there were corpses - women, young men, babies grandparents - lying together in lazy and terrible profusion, where



CELEBRATING the Israeli departure

they had been knifed or machine gunned to death... There were babies - blackened babies because they had been slaughtered more than 24 hours earlier and their small bodies were already in a state of decomposition - tossed into rubbish heaps".

### Assassination

The excuse for the massacre was the attempted assassination of the Israeli ambassador to London. In fact this invasion had been planned beforehand.

Three months earlier, in March 1982, the Israeli paper Ha'aretz had written, "Behind the official excuse of 'we shall not tolerate shelling or terrorist reactions' lies a strategic view which holds that the physical annihilation of the PLO has to be achieved."

The US government backed Israel to the hilt. Immediately before the

invasion, Israeli Defence Minister General Ariel Sharon, visited Washington where he informed the US Defence Secretary Casper Weinberger that

Israel would act in Lebanon. There were also massive surges of military supplies from the US to Israel in the first three months of 1982.

## RESISTANCE

THE ISRAELI invasion created new resistance. The Islamist group Hizbollah emerged in the early 1980s. The Israelis and the Western media demonise it as a dangerous organisation of mindless fanatics.

But it has mass support. It runs a welfare network that includes schools, hospitals and clinics.

It rebuilds houses destroyed by Israeli air raids, runs seminars for farmers on rebuilding agriculture, and has nine

deputies in the Lebanese parliament.

Israel's military might, and behind it the might of the US, could not defeat Hizbollah's guerrilla army because of this support.

### Occupation

And because Israel could not crush Hizbollah, the occupation became very unpopular in Israel itself. Ehud Barak won the last election in Israel with his promise to "bring the boys home".

## Millions for Mumia

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL has become a symbol of the anti-death penalty movement in the States. He is a black man accused of the murder of a white policeman. He has spent 18 years on death row in Philadelphia.

In 1972 the US Supreme Court abolished the death penalty as unconstitutional. It violated the 8th Amendment which protects its citizens from cruel and unusual punishment. In 1976 this was overturned and today 38 states have it on their statute books.

Between 1977 and 2000, 450 people have been executed by lethal injection, 145 by electrocution, 11 by the gas chamber, 3 by hanging, 2 by firing squad.

Mumia was briefly a member of the Black Panther Party, a group set up in 1966, to fight racism in

America with ten objectives. Objective number seven was an end to police brutality and murder of black people; number eight was freedom for black people incarcerated unjustly in US jails and number nine was a fair trial by peer groups. If any of these had been won, Mumia would be free today.

### Explosion

There has been an explosion of support for his case and against the death penalty generally. 6,000 people filled New York's Madison Square Garden for a mass rally on May 7. Celebrities such as Rubin 'Hurricane' Carter and Martin Luther King III have spoken out in Mumia's defence. Demonstrations have been held worldwide.

This is the start of the summer of resistance. Campaigners plan to pack the Philadelphia courtroom when Mumia comes to court - the date is not yet set. Protesters are also preparing for the Democratic Convention in Los Angeles on August 13.

## WHAT IS ZIONISM?

ISRAEL'S POLITICAL philosophy is usually described as 'Zionism'. This is a partly religious and partly historical idea that the world's Jewish population has a claim on part of the territory of the Middle East that has been occupied by Palestinian Arabs for well over a thousand years.

Zionism had little support among Jewish people until the revival of anti-Semitism in the late 19th century. Zionist leaders tried to win the support of the colonial powers for their cause. Sir Richard Storrs, the first British military

governor of Jerusalem explained that the Zionists wanted to create a 'little loyal Jewish Ulster'.

Zionism gained wider currency following the Holocaust, where 6 million Jews were murdered. Since none of the allies were prepared to offer a home to Jewish people they backed the Zionist calls for a Jewish state.

America in particular recognised the strategic interest in backing Israel because it would give them a power base in the Middle East.

## — Fiji

# Coup for the bosses

FIJI IS a country under military rule. The coup, led by George Speight, has toppled the democratically elected government of Mahendra Chaudry.

Speight said his coup

was aimed at promoting "indigenous interests", in particular keeping land in indigenous Fijian hands.

But the overthrow of the elected government is not about race, but class. As Felix Anthony, secretary of the Fiji Trade Union Congress, declared:

"The Labour-led government had a social agenda to

increase minimum wages, improve working conditions, boost spending on health and education and put price controls on food items. It does not suit the business concerns. That is why George and his boys have done this."

Speight's talk of land for indigenous Fijians has an appeal because most of them own nothing. The Fiji

Times reported at the beginning of May that "close to 200,000 people living in Fiji are poor and another 25 percent live below the poverty line". Indigenous Fijians are over-represented among this mass of impoverished people.

According to one Fijian sociologist the coup leaders are members of a new Melanesian-Fijian middle class who lost out when Labour came to power last year. They are using "indigenous rights" as a

cover to further their personal interests.

Speight and his clique in fact support the privatisation of indigenous-owned land currently locked up in trusts.

Today, 83 percent of land is already owned by indigenous Fijians but the reason that most of the indigenous people are desperately poor is not because of the Indian Fijians, but because the rent and profits generated from these indigenous-owned lands flow into the hands of a few chiefs.



## Eamonn McCann

# Disunited family

THE DEMOCRATIC Unionist Party appears to believe that "revolving" their ministers every few weeks will reduce the Executive to ridicule. But, more likely, it's the DUP which will be made to look light-headed.

What the strategy reveals is that the DUP doesn't know which way to turn. Paisley and Willie McCrea, driven by religious fervour, would like to declare the Executive anathema. Dodds and Robinson, driven by ambition, are desperate for the perks and status of office.

The antics of some Ulster Unionists are based on similar low-mont considerations. Michael McGimpsey sits at Stormont alongside Martin McGuinness and Bairbre de Brun, then takes his official car to Belfast City Hall to vote Sammy Wilson in as Mayor and keep Alex Maskey out.

Wilson praises the UUs for "maintaining the unity of the Unionist family", then announces that he will persist in his efforts to "wreck" the arrangement whereby "traitors" like McGimpsey sit in the Executive with Sinn Fein.

Unionism has begun to fracture as it tries to come to terms with change while simultaneously shoring up its traditional base. The depth of the contradiction is reflected in the fault-lines running every which way through all unionist formations.

### Discrimination

Unionist professionals and middle-class elements realise that the days are long gone when a section of the working class could be bought off with the spoils of discrimination, and political trends outside "Ulster" ignored. If they are to lay their hands on a share of the loot generated by an open market economy, they must adapt. They won't make it into the mainstream of the boss-class of the future unless they accept the bona fides of the Green boss-class too.

But their individual political careers depend on reassuring the grass-roots that they are still "sound"—and convincing as many Protestant workers as possible to keep believing that their future lies in defending their position vis-a-vis their Catholic fellow-workers.

The fact that some of them are personally genuinely bigoted serves to sharpen the contradiction: John Taylor is particularly volatile because both his sectarianism and his greed know no bounds.

The parties which claim specifically to represent "working class unionism" are even more tangled up in blue-nosery. David Ervine and Billy Hutchinson marched into the lobby to back the nakedly sectarian Sammy Wilson as Belfast's Lord Mayor. Then Paisleyites, Trimbleistas and the PUP all linked arms to exclude Sinn Fein a second time and elect Frank McCoubrey of the UDA/UDP as Wilson's deputy.

The UDP meantime is pledging its support for the Belfast Agreement, while its paramilitary associates offer to provide muscle for the Drumcree Orangemen to destroy the Agreement.

PUP representatives spin a fine line about the need for a new class-based agenda while, on the ground, the UVF breaks the bones of anybody who challenges the idea of "our" community against "theirs".

Desperately defending their power-base against rival unionist factions while staking their claim to a share in the non-sectarian future, they build and burn bridges simultaneously.

How it all will shake out is impossible to say. If the Executive survives, a sizable chunk of the UUP may split off and realign with a majority of the DUP.

Within the DUP, the personally-ambitious secular sectarianism may break with the Beast of Babylon merchants who believe that even to sit down with a Nationalist is to sup with the devil. Loyalist paramilitarism may, scorpion-like, sting itself to death and drag at least one of the "new" Loyalist parties down, too.

What's certain is that ALL of these outfits, from Right-wing ranters to Left-sounding rhetoricians, have a political interest in keeping working-class people corralled within their "own" community. They become incoherent when they try to relate to politics which don't involve one community competing with the other.

None of them has anything to offer workers but stupid delusions of sectarian grandeur.

## Anger grows at watering down of Patten Report

# Disband the RUC

ANGER IS growing at the watering-down of the Patten Report on policing.

Controversy has focused largely on name and symbols.

The former Tory minister Chris Patten had wanted no mention of "RUC", and a new badge on police uniforms, so as to signal that the police aren't the "property" of one community.

In his draft legislation, Peter Mandleson fudged these and other recommendations, in a transparent effort to protect David Trimble from UUP elements who won't hear a word against the RUC's sectarianism.

Yet again, a British minister backed off from modest reform in an attempt to buy off bigotry.

### Bigotry

If Mandleson doesn't at least reinstate these Patten recommendations, the chances of the SDLP, much less Sinn Fein, urging supporters to become policemen and women will be nil.

This would spell an

end to the chances of producing the first-ever "balanced" police force in the North.

The impasse is an illustration of the difficulties ahead in trying generally to reform the machinery of a State based on sectarianism since its inception.

But Mandleson has also ditched changes which had less to do with sectarianism than with the class nature of the Northern State.

The RUC has never been accountable to the Protestant community as a whole.

It was accountable only to itself, and to the Orange ruling class.

Working-class Protestants had no say-so over the RUC.

Patten would have at least made the police answerable to outside agencies.

The police "ombudsman" would have had power to initiate and supervise investigation of complaints, for example.

But under Mandleson's proposals, the Chief Constable and the Secretary of State would keep ultimate control of all discipline.

The local supervisory boards envisaged by Patten have been so emasculated by



### Not many pictures in this

Mandleson as to be meaningless.

New Labour would like to have as unsectarian a police force as is compatible with keeping David Trimble's leadership secure.

But it doesn't want the police force to be accountable in a meaningful way.

After all, the police in Britain are effectively unaccountable — as are the gardai in the South.

Twenty-two people have been shot dead by British police in the last 10 years, more than half of them unarmed.

### Injustice

No policeman has been convicted as a result.

Following the same pattern, no guard will be

charged or convicted for the gunning down of John Carthy in Abbeylara in Longford in April.

Even if achievable, a Northern force "balanced" between Orange and Green won't mean an end to injustice at the

hands of the police.

Republicans want a police force they can urge people to join.

Socialists, in contrast, say workers should organise against police power in any class-divided society.

## IDB debacle

A GOVERNMENT report has exposed the Industrial Development Board for Northern Ireland for wasting millions of pounds on failing companies.

Blair and Straw label asylum seekers, who get by on £35.25 a week, as a burden on the economy. Yet between 1988 and 1997 the IDB stuffed £397 million into the pockets of foreign bosses who set up shop in Northern Ireland.

### Targets

The IDB also continued to spend huge amounts of cash on companies which were falling well short of their employment targets.

The government's Public Accounts Committee found that out of the 52 companies who received IDB money between 1988 and 1994, eleven went out of business. By March 1997, only 36 per cent of the promised jobs had actually been created.

That's despite the IDB giving more than £38,000 in

assistance for each job created by a foreign investor.

In 1991, the IDB was specifically told to bring more jobs into areas with high unemployment and poverty levels. But by March 1997, only four of Northern Ireland's 11 areas of social need had seen any new jobs at all. Two of the poorest areas, Moyle and Strabane, had received no fresh employment from the IDB.

## Public Meeting

"Why the 11 Plus must go"

Speakers: Des Rainey, INTO president, John Price, CAS secretary, NASUWT plus others.  
7.30pm, Wed 21 June, WELB Library, Foyle Street, Derry

## 'KICK RAYTHEON OUT OF FOOTBALL'

The missiles and arms manufacturer Raytheon is informally discussing sponsorship with Derry City football club.

The issue has caused lots of discussion in Derry. The Foyle Ethical Investment Campaign collected more than 300 signatures against Raytheon in an hour - and many Derry City supporters feel queasy at the thought of sponsorship from the

company that produces Tomahawk and Patriot missiles.

FEIC members leafleted a meeting of Derry City supporters and board members under the slogan "Kick Raytheon out of Football".

The club has in the past turned down sponsorship from the Sun newspaper. It should do so again with Raytheon.

As socialist and Derry City supporter Eamonn McCann put it: "The only rockets at the Brandywell are Liam Coyle's."



# Jail the corrupt

**DESPITE THE** revelations about corruption and bribery, Charles J Haughey is still walking about as a free man.

People have been jailed for not paying their television licences. But when it is revealed that a former head of state lived off bribes, all we get is a costly tribunal.

Haughey had at least £8.6million pounds in bribes to fund his lavish lifestyle.

This amount doesn't include Haughey's salary as leader of Fianna Fail or the tens of thousands raised for his son, Ciaran Haughey's firm, Celtic Helicopters.

It doesn't include the £16,000 he spent on shirts or the £12,000 a year he spent in just one fancy restaurant. Because that money came from the taxpayer.

## Expenses

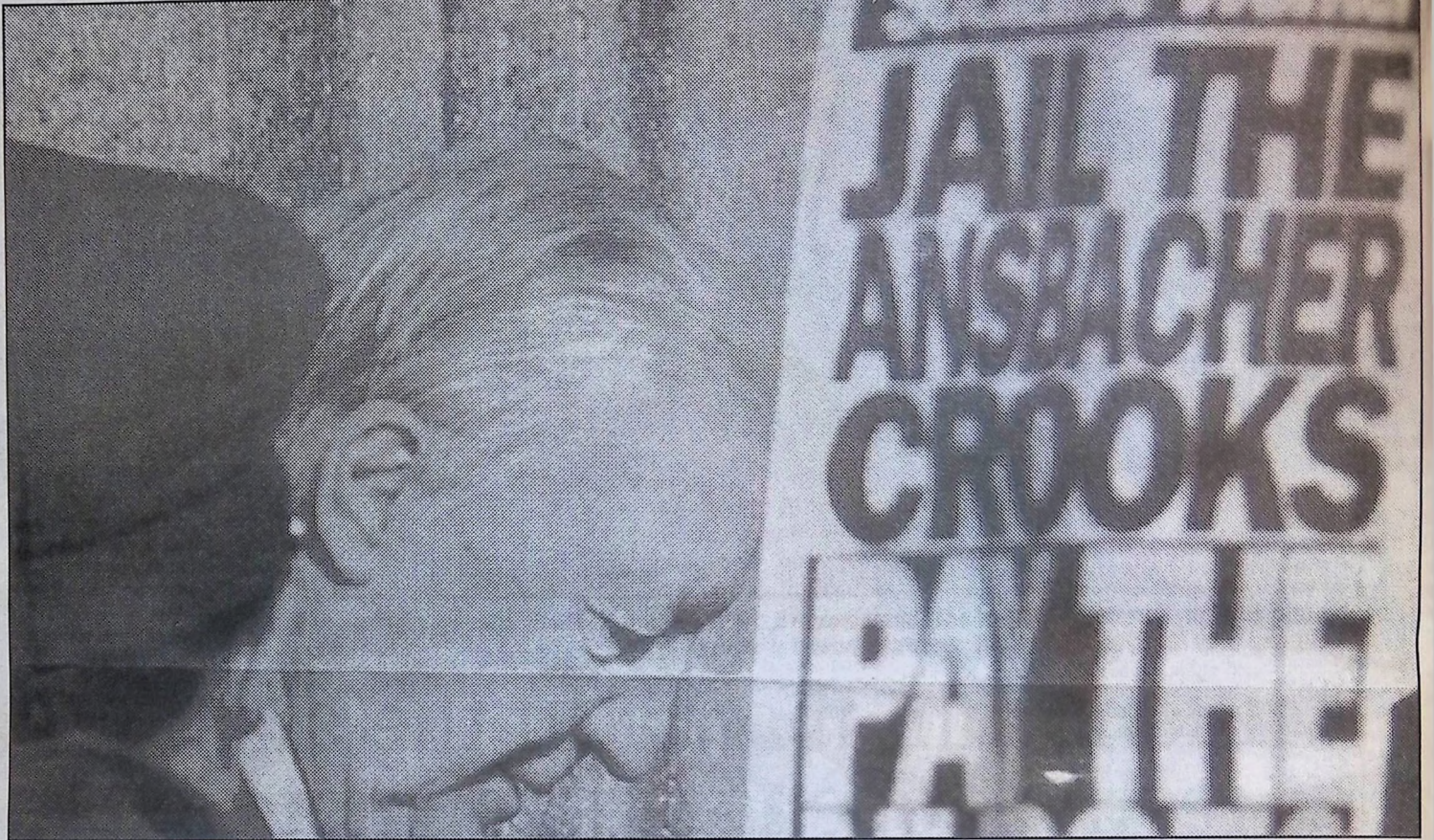
Between January 1985 and January 1991, his former firm, Haughey Boland, paid his bills — he got just under £23,000 per month for personal expenses.

Haughey's main donors included Ben Dunne, the late P.V. Doyle and Dermot Desmond.

The latest revelations show that the low pay supermarket boss gave Haughey £2 million. But he is still claiming he got nothing in return.

He said that he couldn't remember how much he gave to Haughey because he had "over £17 million going across my desk each week."

The late hotelier P.V. Doyle gave Haughey £330,000. PV



there should be more protests as haughey heads into court

Doyle Holdings, the upmarket Dublin-based hotel chain is worth at least £146million.

Directors' payments have totalled more than £8m since 1996.

£50,000 came from the Saudian Arabian Fustok who bought an Irish Passport.

Dermot Desmond gave £353,000 and then paid £217,000

(sterling) to buy Celtic Mist, Haughey's yacht.

Dermot Desmond made his fortune from the International Financial Services Centre where companies make massive profits while only paying 10% tax.

In the six months after his re-election as Taoiseach in February 1987, £660,000 in bribes went into Haughey's personal accounts.

## Taxes were only for the 'Little

**Haughey's bag man Des Traynor set up the illegal Ansbacher bank to avoid tax. It, and similar funds, were used by the rich who believe that taxes were only for the little people.**

They include Tony O'Reilly, Ireland's wealthiest man, who owns most of the newspapers.

The various crooks involved even had the gall to claim tax relief on the money they were using to evade taxes.

Because, in withdrawing money from the Ansbacher accounts, they were technically "borrowing" their own money, they were able to claim tax relief on the "interest" on these "loans".

sive. According to a government inspector, it involved "a few hundred million pounds" hidden away.

The scam was run from the offices of Cement Roadstone Holdings, Ireland's largest industrial company, which recently reported a pre-tax profit of £124 million.

Eight of the 15 board members of CRH in 1987 held money with Ansbacher.

CRH bought the Glen Ding woods, in Wicklow, in 1992 for £1.25 million.

The land was sold by the gov-

## Scale

The scale of the fraud is mas-

## The silent partner

Almost half of the funds came from companies associated with the multi-millionaire property developer, John Byrne, including a £50,000 transfer on February 18th, 1987, the day after the general election.

John Byrne says he never gave a penny to Haughey. Perhaps, but his companies certainly did.

He is worth at least £48 million and owns the Carlisle Trust, a company that uses an offshore address to avoid tax.

Byrne had nearly £6 million in the notorious Ansbacher account.

One of the directors of his companies used to be Haughey's bagman, Des Traynor.

Byrne has built up a fortune by



John Byrne

persuading the state to rent some of his high priced property.

One of the properties involved is D'Olier House in Dublin for which tax payers are currently paying a staggering £375,000 a year.

Overall Byrne's companies gets £1.5 million a year in rent

from the state.

As soon as Haughey became Taoiseach in 1980, he appointed Byrne - who used to be known as his 'silent partner' - to the Irish Horse Racing Authority.

## Horses

Byrne was big into horses and invested in the Simonscourt Stud. Haughey then introduced a special scheme so that no taxes were paid on stallion stud farms.

Byrne has also benefited from tax breaks given under the Urban Renewal schemes.

In one case his hotel, the Mount Brandon, was included in an Urban Renewal Zone even though the local Tralee council had never requested it.

The Mount Brandon hotel had £250,000 move mysteriously from its accounts to the Ansbacher funds of Haughey.

## UNIONS, TIME TO

**POLITICIANS WERE caught with there hands in the till in Italy in the early 1990's.**

Workers marched against the corruption and for a redistribution of wealth from the rich to the poor. People threw coins at politicians as a sign of contempt.

The Italian trade unions mobilised their members against corruption and it meant over 2,000 corrupt businessmen, officials and politicians were investigated, two prime ministers were prosecuted one of them was sentenced to ten years in jail.

But for the last four years the Irish union leaders have done nothing.

Delegates at the largest union, SIPTU, agreed to call on the ICTU to organise a national protest. The second biggest union, IMPACT, has also agreed to

organise a national protest. Now file to

## PASS THIS M

We call on our union to initiate a major demand the jailing of corrupt politicians. call at the local Trades Council and with event of their refusal to act, we shall movements to organise the protest ourselves

# The unions mu



# Capt politicians!

## What a gang!

The most  
devious  
one of  
them all



**DENIS FOLEY**  
DENIS FOLEY, the Kerry North Fianna Fail TD, has been exposed as one of the Ansbacher gang. Foley still has £130,000 in the dodgy account.

Yet he was one of the TDs who was in charge of investigating the massive tax scam by the banks. The report into the DIRT scam which he co-wrote said that the politicians did not turn a blind eye. He was given a 14 day holiday from the Dail as a punishment.

Foley used to run dances for hotels owned by property shark John Byrne.



**RAY BURKE**  
THE FORMER Fianna Fail Minister Ray Burke built up a secret account of over £400,000. Burke was the chairman of Dublin County Council in the mid-eighties when developers made a fortune from the re-zoning of land.

According to James Gogarty, who claims he handed him money in a brown envelope, Burke was in a position to influence planning decisions on Dublin County Council.

Burke was also given money by Rennicks, which is owned by Tony O'Reilly, who had a major interest in the deflector television system in rural areas.

Burke was the Minister in charge of giving out licenses and O'Reilly's company got 20 out of the 27 licenses.



**JOHN ELLIS**  
JOHN ELLIS, the Fianna Fail TD for Sligo/Leitrim. The National Irish Bank paid his £243,000 debt to stop him going bankrupt and being thrown out of the Dail.

At the time, NIB were trying to take over the state owned ACC bank and Bertie Ahern's mate, Jim Lacey, was the chair of the bank. Haughey also stepped in with £26,000 from Fianna Fail accounts to pay his bills.

There was no mercy however for the small farmers whose lives were destroyed when Ellis' company went under. Ellis threatened to bankrupt one farmer because of £2,701 owed in legal costs - even though he refused to pay the farmer money he was owed for 10 cattle.

Ellis says he doesn't have enough money to repay the farmers. But his earnings amount to more than £100,000 a year.



**LIAM LAWLOR**  
THE MR BIG of political bribes got £40,000 from Frank Dunlop, who specialised in dispensing money from builders

Lawlor also got £3,500 a month from Tom Gilmartin, another property speculator.

Lawlor claimed these were 'consultancy fees' but Gilmartin denied this saying 'I would not have that man consulting on a shit-house'.

Lawlor was also on the board of Larry Goodman's meat company.

At the same time he was chairman of the Oirteachtas Joint Committee on State sponsored bodies when Irish Sugar was being privatised - and the main prospective buyer was Larry Goodman.

Lawlor owned twenty-three acres of land on Newcastle Road Lucan, which he sold off in 1995 after it was rezoned by South Dublin County Council.



**BERTIE AHERN**, the man Haughey called "the most devious of them all" is surrounded by scandal.

At least £1 million of tax payers money ended up in Fianna Fail's accounts and was used to fund Haughey's lavish lifestyle.

Almost all the 1,615

cheques drawn from the account were signed by Ahern. One went to Haughey's son's company, Celtic Helicopters, and at least one ended up in the Ansbacher account.

Ahern says he can't remember what the cheques he signed were for.

## 'Little People'

ing to a government involved "a few hundred" hidden away. was run from the Cement Roadstone and's largest industrial which recently reported profit of £124 million. e 15 board members 87 held money with

erment without tenders being sought while Haughey was Taoiseach at a bargain basement price.

### Kinsealy

CRH also bought lands at Kinsealy, Co Dublin, from Haughey, in the early seventies.

The company also gave £18,000 in consultancy fees to GPO Engineering, a firm run by Haughey's offspring.

## BANKERS FOR ORGANISED CRIME

**THE BANKS are at the centre of the Golden Circle that links business and the top politicians.**

The AIB wrote off the debts of two former Taoiseach: £1 million for Haughey and £140,000 for Garret Fitzgerald.

The bank liked to collect "key business influencers" - politicians who could help it make more profits.

One benefit for the bank was that Haughey opened the Financial Services Centre in 1989, in which the AIB was the first, and for over a year the only, company to take advantage of the tax scams on the Dublin quayside.

In March 1985 when the AIB owned Insurance Corporation of Ireland (ICI) was in danger of collapsing, their friends in government bailed them out.

AIB profits were £80 million

at the time — more than enough to bail out the company - but the Fine Gael/Labour coalition agreed to use tax payers money instead.

To this day £18 million of tax-payers money is still with the AIB

from the bail out scheme.

A year later Deposit Interest Retention Tax was introduced (DIRT).

The AIB systematically avoided paying this tax by opening off-

shore accounts.

When the bank was finally caught by the Revenue they did a deal that allowed them to avoid £86 million in tax.

Just in case clearing politi-

cians' overdrafts doesn't give them enough friends in low places the AIB donates to all the political parties including Labour.

The average donation is £40,000.

## We paid for the bribes

"TAX AVOIDANCE was rife in the 1970s and 1980s," according to Maurice O'Kelly. And he should know, O'Kelly was a Managing Director of Guinness and Mahon bank and helped run the Ansbacher scam.

The Irish rich can afford to bribe politicians because they don't pay any tax. Even when they don't hide it in offshore accounts, bogus or otherwise, big business pays a minuscule amount to the exchequer.

In 1987, the tax rate on profits was

50 percent. By 2002 it will have declined to a mere 12.5 percent, which is a lower tax rate than the lowest paid worker pays.

Corruption means, the Ireland has the second highest rate of poverty of all the industrialised world outside the US. This is according to the United Nations Human Development Report. 15.3 percent of the population live in absolute poverty.

The report also found that 23 percent of the population are functionally illiterate.

Further, each year over 2,000 peo-

ple are jailed for non-payment of debts or fines. That is nearly a third of the whole prison population. Yet the politicians are getting away scot free.

If the assets of the crooked developers and politicians were seized we could use the money to fund the education system.

The money in the Ansbacher accounts alone could fund a huge programme of building local authority houses.

But for that to happen we need trials instead of tribunals for the crooks at the top.

**TO ACT!**  
organise a protest itself. Now is the time for the rank and file to turn on the pressure.  
**HIS MOTION**  
to initiate a major demonstration to corrupt politicians. We shall raise this Council and with the ICTU but in the to act, we shall make practical arrange- protest ourselves.

# Must call action!



# Where working men are out on strike Joe Hill is at their side



**JOE HILL was murdered by the US state in November 1915.**

His "crime" was to be an activist and songwriter for the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), or the Wobblies as they were popularly known.

Tens of thousands of workers across the US sang Joe's songs. The US ruling class took its revenge on Joe by framing him for murder and then executing him by firing squad.

But Joe's spirit lived on in the songs he had written. They continued to inspire workers on picket lines throughout the 20th century.

The Wobblies were formed in 1905. They were at the forefront of the struggles of the US working class at the beginning of the 20th century.

They aimed to unite workers into one big union. They concentrated on organising unskilled and immigrant workers who had been ignored by the skilled workers' unions of the time.

The IWW organised strikes, protests and sit-ins. They attracted tens of thousands of unskilled workers into their ranks, especially recent immigrants from Europe, along with black and women workers.

Joe Hill was himself an immigrant into the US.

He was born Joel Haagland to a poor family in Sweden in 1879. He emigrated to the US in 1902 at the age of 23. He thought America offered the promise of a better life, as did millions of other poor Europeans.

That dream turned to dust. The vast majority of immigrant workers faced poverty, exploitation and racism.

Joe's first job was cleaning spittoons in saloons in New York. He spent the next eight years working at any job he could, from stacking wheat and laying pipes to working on the docks.

He saw how the bosses tried to turn workers from different ethnic groups against each other. He was fired from at least one job for trying to organise his fellow workers.

He changed his name to Joe Hillstrom, later shortened to Joe Hill, to avoid being put on a list of agitators.



**HE JOINED THE IWW in 1910 when he was a docker in San Pedro. He threw himself into political activity.**

He helped organise strikes and agitate for free speech.

He wrote, "The working class and the employing class have nothing in common. There can be no peace so long

as hunger and want are found among millions of working people and the few, who make up the employing class, have all the good things in life."

Above all Joe used the talent he had for writing songs to build support for the Wobblies.

Joe's first song was "Casey Jones, the Union Scab". He wrote it in 1911 to help the fight of railway workers on the South Pacific Line.

The song was printed on coloured cards which were sold to help the workers' strike fund. Joe became a frequent contributor to the Wobblies' Little Red Song Book, which aimed "to fan the flames of discontent".

He would pen lyrics relevant to workers to the tunes of popular songs and hymns.

His song "The Preacher and the Slave" was sung to the tune of a Salvation Army hymn:

*'Long haired preachers come out every night  
Try to tell you what's wrong and what's right,  
But when asked how 'bout something to eat,  
They will answer with voices so sweet:*

*You will eat, bye and bye,  
In that glorious land above the sky:  
Work and pray, live on hay,  
You'll get pie in the sky when you die.'*

He believed the songs were a way of convincing people who spoke many different languages about the need for the union.

One reporter commented on the songs on the picket line during the 1912 Lawrence textile workers' strike. "I shall

not forget the curious lift, the strange sudden fire of the mingled nationalities when they broke into the universal language of song."

Joe captured the potential power of the organised working class:

*'There is a power, there is a power,  
In a band of workingmen,  
When they stand, hand in hand,  
There's a power, that's a power,  
That must rule in every land,  
One Industrial Union Grand.'*



**JOE MOVED to Utah in 1913, where he helped the IWW organise a strike by 1,500 miners at the Utah Copper Company.**

The workers were demanding a nine hour day and a 25 percent wage rise. The Copper Company, which was financed mainly by the Mormon church, hired armed thugs to attack the picket line.

But the bosses could not beat the strikers and were forced to recognise the union.

The copper bosses and the Utah establishment wanted revenge. They seized their chance in January 1914 when two masked men shot the owner of a grocery shop, former policeman John Morrison, in Salt Lake City.

The Utah establishment framed Joe for the murder.

Police kicked down Joe's door and arrested him. As Joe reached for his trousers, the police shot him in the hand, claiming he was reaching for a gun.

Joe had been shot and wounded in a separate incident on the same night as the murder of Morrison.

Joe's gunshot wound was the only evidence linking him with Morrison's murder.

The one witness to the shooting, Morrison's 13 year old son, could not identify Joe.

The trial was a sham.

The prosecutor made it clear throughout the trial that Joe's real crime was his union militancy. He told the jury to enforce the law so that "anarchy and crime shall be pushed back beyond the pale of civilisation".

The jury found Joe guilty and the judge sentenced him to death.



**THE IWW launched a campaign to defend Joe. They organised meetings and protests around the country.**

They produced thousands of leaflets and a special Joe Hill edition of the *Little Red Song Book*.

Workers from across the US sent protest letters. One telegram read, "Ten thousand organised painters in Chicago demand there is a stay of execution for Joe Hill."

A Salt Lake City newspaper reported, "The governor is being flooded with

letters, telegrams, cards and petitions against the execution.

The communications come largely from labouring men, socialists, IWW members and labour organisations throughout the country."

He wrote one of his most famous songs, "The Rebel Girl", while he was in prison awaiting execution.

It was a tribute to IWW member Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and a call for women to get involved in the union. He urged Elizabeth Gurley Flynn "to be sure to locate a few more Rebel Girls like yourself, because they are needed and needed badly".

In September, just before a last minute stay of execution, Joe wrote to Solidarity, the IWW's newspaper, "Tomorrow I expect to take a trip to planet Mars and, if so, will immediately commence to organise the Mars canal workers into the IWW."

He told the board of pardons, "I want a new trial or nothing. If my life will help some other workingman to a fair trial, I am ready and willing to give it. If by giving my life I can aid others to the fairness denied me, I have not lived in vain."

The authorities rejected his plea for a new trial.

The night before the state murdered Joe, a man called William Busky signed an affidavit saying he had been in a brawl with him at the time of the murder.

This proved Joe Hill's innocence and it was telegraphed to the governor of Utah. He ignored it.



**ON THE morning of the 19 November, Joe was strapped into a chair and gunned down by the firing squad.**

The Utah Copper Company thanked the governor for his handling of the case.

Some 30,000 workers attended his funeral in Chicago.

A local paper reported, "The red flag floated unmolested at every turn. No creed or religion found a place at the services. There were no prayers and no hymns, but there was a mighty chorus of voices joining in songs written by Hillstrom."

The Irish socialist Jim Larkin told those gathered, "Joe Hill was shot to death because he was a member of the fighting section of the American working class, the IWW."

Joe's last words to the IWW before he died have inspired socialists ever since: "Waste no time in mourning, but organise our class and march to victory."

## Don't mourn, organise!

*'I dreamed I saw Joe Hill last night  
Alive as you and me  
Says I, "But Joe, you're ten years dead"  
"I never died says he"*

*"Joe Hill ain't dead," he says to me.  
"Joe Hill ain't never died,  
"Where working men are out on strike  
"Joe Hill is at their side".'*

by Alfred Hayes and Earl Robinson, sung by Paul Robeson among others





# in my view

## Standing on the shoulders of giants

Tony Cliff, who died recently, began his political life in a small Trotskyist group in Palestine.

He was to become one of the most successful revolutionary figures in the late twentieth century. Serious parties that were inspired by his ideas now exist in Britain, Germany, Greece, Ireland and other countries.

His distinctive approach to Marxism is summed up in a wonderful autobiography that has just appeared *A World To Win*.

Cliff's Marxism was characterised by a rigorous theoretical honesty. During the 1950s most socialists defended the USSR. But Cliff proclaimed that the four letters USSR were lies: it was not a union; it was not a soviet; it was not socialist and there were no republics.

Instead he showed that it was a state capitalist tyranny and demonstrated by meticulous evidence that a privileged ruling class exploited workers just as they did in the West.

Cliff was always audacious and determined. In 1951 he established the Socialist Review Group in Britain with 33 members.

At the time one of the leading Marxist intellectuals was Issac Deutscher. Deutscher was critical of the USSR but wanted to defend its 'progressive role'. His solution to this conundrum was to 'withdraw to the watchtower'. Cliff despised this sentiment with all his heart and so set out to build the small group.

He describes his method, "We always looked to what was common between us and the people who did not belong to our group, but whom we talked to, and what differences there were between them and us. If there was nothing in common there was no way we could influence them - it was like speaking Greek to English people. On the other hand if we only confirmed what we had in common we could not teach them anything.. There must be tension between members of the group and people outside. At one and the same time, there must be tension inside the group - intellectual tension. It is neither only agreement or only argument. Both are needed."

Success came in Britain in the sixties when the re-named International Socialists grew to 2,000 members by 1974. The organisation was able to relate to the rising anti-capitalist movement of the day because of its open style and its belief that the role of students in modern capitalism had changed. Far from being the privileged minority who scabbed on the British General Strike of 1926, they were force fed an education geared to turning them into white collar workers.

### Turn

But more crucially, Cliff led a turn to industry. His approach was always to make a concrete analysis and then bend the stick to grasp what he considered the next link in the chain. The IS bent all its effort to winning a layer of militant shop stewards to their ranks. They established factory branches, launched a National Rank and File Movement, turned out scores of factory bulletins and industrial newspapers.

The British working class faced defeat after 1974 - first through a social partnership style incorporation of full time convenors and later through an all out Thatcherite assault.

Cliff argues that strategy and tactics had to change according to the objective situation. But reading the objective situation can sometimes be as difficult as a driver trying to negotiate a mountainous road in the fog. It is impossible not to make mistakes - but to key is to admit mistakes and correct them.

In the late seventies it was Cliff who led the 'orderly retreat' into a more propagandist organisation that concentrated on building up Marxist theory. That was the only way to cope with the downturn and preserve the revolutionary party.

By contrast, at the end of his life he argued for a turn to relate to the new anti-capitalist movement that was born after Seattle.

Cliff's belief was that if socialism comes from the self-empowerment of workers, then revolutionaries could not lie to the working class - or to themselves. Facing the world, applying Marxism as a concrete method and above all audacity - this is how a party is built.

KIERAN ALLEN

## book



The planned Spencer Dock development in Dublin

# Destroying Dublin

**James Masterson fell to his death on the Zoe Developments site on Charlotte Quay in Ringsend, Dublin. He was one of the numerous victims of the building boom.**

But he is merely a footnote in Frank MacDonald's new book *The Construction of Dublin*. Instead MacDonald points to the how the Charlotte Quay development is "an example of how buildings can contribute positively to the urban environment."

### Irrelevant

The fact that nobody from Ringsend can afford to live there is apparently irrelevant.

MacDonald previously campaigned against the property speculators and fought to defend the architectural heritage of the city. He always had a tendency to be more concerned with Georgian facades than with the living conditions of those who lived there. But he was at least against the vandals and their pursuit of profit.

His latest book contains a wealth of information about the recent developments in the city. He is critical of the planning process,

and the refusal of successive governments to plan transport. His account of the corruption around the Liffey Valley Centre is clear.

But MacDonald suffers from overwhelming confusion about class. He is delighted with the boom, but regretful that it isn't shared equally.

He is appalled at traffic chaos, and the mess over LUAS, but thinks that the workers in CIE are holding the country to ransom.

The most telling section is on Temple Bar. MacDonald lives in one of the "nice" developments he praises and he glows over the mod-

ern architecture in the area. The problem, apparently, is not that working people can't afford to live there but pubs. For MacDonald there are just too many noisy oiks getting in the way of the culture. You get the impression that if good liberals like Frank

were to take charge with their sense of European style everything would be fine. The real issue though is that we need to take planning out of the hands of the profiteers and their puppet politicians.

The construction of Dublin, Gandon Press £15  
— SIMON BASKETTER

## film

# BREAD AND CIRCUSES

by CONOR KOSTICK

**AD 180. Europe is ruled by the immensely powerful Roman Empire. An Empire, which is capable of incredible monumental works — such as the Colosseum in Rome, built to hold 50,000 people.**

Yet at the heart of the extraordinary achievements of Rome is a barbarity greater than that of the tribes who have succumbed to the Roman military machine.

The immense resources devoted to



A slave with an axe to grind

the Colosseum are for the purpose of providing an arena for the public to watch wild animals tear apart human beings, and for the spectacle of condemned men slaughtering each other in mock battles.

Ridley Scott's new film *Gladiator* is centred on the Colosseum and the fate of one of these fighters.

As in 1492, the powerful visual effect of Scott's direction is to contrast the freedom of life on the land to the dark and cloying decay of the city.

The cruel and unstable Emperor Commodus is using "bread and cir-

cuses" to keep the mass of urban poor behind him in his battle with the Senate.

But basing his popularity on the crowd is a risky business - especially when they begin to follow a Gladiator determined to obtain revenge on Commodus.

### Spartacus

This film may not have the sophistication of the politics in *Spartacus*, nor the same spine tingling moments of solidarity and rebellion, but it does have extraordinary battle scenes and a good tale of defiance against absolute power.

As Ridley Scott put it, in a quote that is consciously ironic given the role of Hollywood:

"Entertainment has frequently been used as a tool of leaders as a means to distract an abused citizenry.

The most tyrannical ruler must still beguile his people even as he brutalizes them. The gladiatorial games were such a distraction.

"Our story suggests that, should a hero arise out of the carnage of the arena, his popularity would give him tremendous power...and were he to be a genuine champion of the people, he might threaten even the most absolute tyrant."

**Autobiography of a revolutionary**

**A WORLD TO WIN**  
**TONY CLIFF**

**£1.99 from**  
**SW books,**  
**Po Box 1648,**  
**Dublin 8.**





**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.

Fax (01) 872 3838  
E-mail swp@clubi.ie

or send to

**letters**

PO BOX 1648, Dublin 8

**DRUG USERS NEED  
TREATMENT CENTRES**

**THE RECENT and as yet unexplained, serious illness affecting injecting heroin users in Glasgow, Dublin and England and Wales has brought the issue of drug use to the fore over the last fortnight.**

In Dublin there has been a cluster of deaths among heroin users and eight people have died at the time of writing.

It is only in recent years that the state has invested in treatment services, and the number of people on methadone maintenance has grown to about 4,600.

The recent number of deaths has made the issue more topical, and the calls for rational and informed discussion of the issues surrounding dependent drug use in particular are welcome.

It is to be hoped that this debate will allow dependent drug use to be seen as a public health problem, rather than primarily as a criminal one.

It is also saddening to note that while underfunding of services played an important role in the non-availability of treatment in 1980's and early 1990's, that probably the greatest present obstacle is the reluctance of communities to accept treatment services in their areas. Such

fears have been turned to electoral advantage by local politicians and have resulted in a situation where treatment is available in some areas, but not in others, often among the worst affected.

The continued expansion of these services, and their need to be accessible and attractive to drug users, has never been more necessary.

□A doctor, Dublin

**RECENT ATTEMPTS by Fine Gael, Labour, the PDs and Fianna Fail to distance themselves from the corruption of the 1980s rings hollow in the light of Frank Dunlop's statement that councillors accepted bribes last year and the fact that Fianna Fail got £450,000 from property developers in 1998.**

Corruption is still rampant in politics. The 'punishment' of Denis Foley with a 14 day holiday makes a farce of this supposed democracy. As does Labour's corporate golf classic fundraiser. It shows the country and its politicians are still run for and by capitalists. However, it is not just an Irish phenomenon. A minister resigned last week in Israel after admitting he was bribed. Corruption is inherent in the system.

□Rory Hearne, Tramore, Co. Waterford.

**Heritage  
highjacked**

**AS AN archaeologist I would like to let people know about what's going on in the industry.**

The Government and the powerful road lobby are attempting to reduce the amount of archaeological work taking place in this country. They want to build more motorways quicker and

don't want to pay for excavations.

If they force through this reduction archaeological workers will be made unemployed. There is the chance that important archaeological sites may be destroyed, like Newgrange, because of the developers greed to make money at the cost of our heritage.

□Paula Geraghty Dublin

**Race and  
class**

**I WOULD like to tell you about the Anti Nazi League Collection I did in school.**

I went into school and said to my teacher that I had a form about stopping racism in Ireland.

She instantly read the letter out to the class and almost everybody wanted to sign it and put money towards putting the Declaration in the paper.

□Molly O'Grady (Age 10) Rialto, Dublin

**Hatred**

nates the North. But again I found myself in trouble because I had an Albanian mother.

There is still huge hatred in Kosovo. I think that Western interests have stoked it up and there was no need for such terrible bombing to get rid of one man, Milosevic.

But my life is in danger if I go back. Why is your government threatening me now?

□Kosovan Refugee.

**BIG CHALLENGE FOR SOCIALISTS**

**'THIS IS the first time since the sixties that a significant minority has identified capitalism as the problem. In the US and France, there is an anti-capitalist movement. In Ireland it is still only a mood but it is coming. We have to prepare'**

This is how Kieran Allen opened the 50 strong National Committee meeting of the Socialist Workers Party.

"Revolutionaries have been saying 'Jail the Corrupt Politicians' for four years. Now Mary Harney apparently agrees but only because hundreds of thousands of workers have started to see through the system. We are witnessing a huge change - and

so our party has to change.

"Up to now we met in bigger branches and had a general discussion. If we are honest we mainly organised ourselves, the minority of revolutionaries. Now we must shift to leading struggles in local areas. That means you have to have roots; you have to adopt an agitational style; you have the answer the question what is to be done."

The National Committee agreed to re-organise the SWP into small agitational branches, starting in Dublin.

In the next few weeks new branches are being formed in Ballyfermot, Kibbarrack, Fairview; Stoneybatter, Cabra, Lucan/Leixlip, Dundrum.

**Storm centres**

Each meeting will start with a topical subject and become

storm centres of agitation.

One of the first initiatives will be popularising the anti-racist declaration. The National Committee agreed that every SWP member should raise at least £20 in their own workplace to fund the declaration.

One comrade described her workpiece, "Anti-racist work has made a huge change in my job," one comrade said. "I got 17 people to the recent Anti-Nazi League March. We raised £90 for the declaration. It is all helping to shift the atmosphere in the office."

"Up to now we got the usual sexist Women from Venus Men from Mars e-mails. Now all the e-mails are about corruption," she added.

"Shifting to smaller branches is going to change the SWP. Everyone is going to have to learn to organise, to recruit and to integrate new members. I



**Revolutionary youth marching against racism**

think we can build well in Kilbarrack" said Gearoid.

Johnny from Waterford agreed, "There are three or four of us living in Ballybeg, a large working class area in Waterford. Fianna Fail have a cumman on the estate and spread their poison about travellers. We recently

organised a successful anti-refugee charges meeting there. We should now get a branch going, announce ourselves and start pulling people in to defeat FF lies". The party also agreed to shift to a major recruitment drive to expand in the new climate.

**Join the Socialists**

(PLEASE USE BLOCK CAPITALS)

Name.....

Address.....

Telephone ..... Union .....

E-mail.....

- I want to join the SWP
- I want more information
- I want to get Socialist Worker fortnightly
- I want to subscribe to the SWP e-mail network

Return to SWP PO Box 1648 Dublin 8. Tel (01) 872 2682

**SWP branch meetings**

- ATHLONE:** Contact 01- 872 2682 for details
- BRAY:** Meets every Wednesday at the Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm
- BELFAST CENTRAL:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in WhytesBar.
- BELFAST QUEEN'S UNI** Meets every Tuesday 1pm (see poster for details)
- BELFAST SOUTH:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union
- CORK:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Donoghue's Pub, Drawbridge St
- DERRY:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.
- DUNDALK:** Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details
- DUN LAOGHAIRE:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Christian Institute
- DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:** Meets

- every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre (opp. Artane Castle)
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways Pub, Parnell St
- DUBLIN NORTH WEST:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in O'Mahoney's Pub, Phibsboro (near Crossguns bridge)
- DUBLIN DUNDRUM:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Dundrum family recreation centre
- DUBLIN RIALTO:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR
- DUBLIN RATHMINES:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm Upstairs in La Touche, 24 Earlsfort Terrace Dublin 2
- DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:** Meets every

- Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St
- DUBLIN TALLAGHT:** Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre
- ENNISKILLEN:** Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details
- GALWAY:** Meets every Wednesday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba) 8.30pm
- LIMERICK:** Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details
- LUCAN:** Phone 01-8722682 for details
- SLIGO** Meets fortnightly on Saturdays, phone 01-8722682 for details
- TRALEE:** Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details
- WATERFORD:** Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.





**IMPACT**

# Conference shifts left

**DELEGATES AT a recent IMPACT conference voted unanimously to organise a national protest to demand the jailing of corrupt politicians.**

The conference took place against a background of recent revelations from Frank Dunlop, which showed that bribery has become part and parcel of the planning process.

IMPACT organises most of the low paid clerical staff in local authori-

ties.

While top managers like George Redmond, received regular 'donations' from builders these workers tried to maintain a service for the public.

The union also took a strong stance against racism. Delegates voted to oppose the government plan to fingerprint refugees.

They also voted to organise a ballot for action against the government refusal to pay refugees their proper welfare entitlements.

Anyone who is out of work is legally entitled to social welfare. There is

no mention in the law that they have to be Irish citizens.

Yet the government is treating refugees who came here since November 1999 differently and insists on only giving them a £15 a week allowance plus provision for their food and board.

## Organise

The decision of IMPACT to organise a ballot shows there is a strong sentiment in the trade union movement against racist discrimination.

The conference also showed that it was dissatisfied with the progress the union was making on wages.

The union leadership won the argument that they should enter the government's 'benchmarking system'.

But everyone who voted for this assumed that their own grades would get a rise in pay because their wages did not reflect the true value of their work.

In reality 'benchmarking' will turn out to be a system of putting extra pressure on workers and anger will grow when expectations have been disappointed.

Despite the argument of the union general secretary, Peter McLoone, the conference passed a resolution from the Dun Laoghaire branch calling for a serious push to win higher pay for clerical officers who form a large component of the union's membership.

According to Roisin Cronin, "A starting salary of 10,000 is not good enough when the economy is booming and house prices are so high. We need improvements".

In one instance, conference voted to replace the women's committee, seen as controlled by the leadership, with a more open equality commission and payment for health and safety courses.

One long-standing delegate told *Socialist Worker*: "This year there has been a strong opposition to the union leadership."

"A fighting mood is emerging but this now needs to be focussed and organised."

Social workers from North and West Belfast who had been engaged in strike action over jobs and funding were warmly applauded by the delegates.

"The social workers show what action can achieve," said one delegate.

There was uproar over the union leaders' failure to support action by term-time workers employed in schools who had recently voted to ballot for industrial action.

Term-time workers, such as classroom assistants, receive no pay and can't claim benefits during school holidays.

## Ballot

The Southern Education and Library Board workers were told by NIPSA leaders that they couldn't go ahead with the ballot.

Delegate after delegate called for support for term-time workers.

There was a walkout of 50 delegates when the decision was reported to conference on Thursday.

A meeting of 100 term-time workers and their supporters in Killilea on Thursday night resolved to take unofficial action.

This was reported to the conference on Friday morning and succeeded in getting an emergency meeting of the General Council to support the dispute.

The left-wing mood of the conference was reflected in the sales of 62 copies of *Socialist Worker*.

**Aldi**

# Sacked for joining a union

**WORKERS AT the German Supermarket chain ALDI are on strike after the company sacked five workers for joining the trade union Mandate.**

Aldi has been in Ireland only about six months but in that time staff say they have had nothing but problems.

One of the worker described to *Socialist Worker* what its like to work in an Aldi supermarket

shop. We don't get paid for any of the hours we work before opening or after closing.

"Everyone is on 20 hour contracts but nobody works 20 hours. We work at least 40 hour, often a lot more. But it suits them to keep us on contracts.

"We are entitled to two weeks holiday pay but because our contracts are for 20 hours they only give us 40 hours holiday pay when we should be getting much more".

"We are shop assistants and cashiers but we are expected to clean floors and toilets at weekends.

"That is not our job but they threaten you if you don't."

"Bulling by management is commonplace, it the worst part" said another worker.

"It's our right to join a trade union and we are prepared to fight for that right".

The Aldi company negotiates with unions in Germany and in Denmark but refuse to do so in Ireland.

## Boycott

Workers are asking people to boycott the Aldi shop in Parnell St until they Aldi agree to recognise Mandate.

They are particularly appealing to members of the refugee community, many of whom shop at Aldi to boycott the shop and plan to produce leaflets in the language of the major refugee groups.

"If people don't pass the pickets we know we can bring Aldi to its knees," said an Aldi striker.

## Advertise

"They advertise in their window that they pay £7 an hour but that is a lie.

"They pay £6.25 an hour and getting that out of them is a nightmare, they constantly leave us short.

"Two women have already had them up in court over this.

"We are only paid for the trading hours of the

## N.I. Social Workers

**Limited industrial action taken by social workers in North and West Belfast has ended. According to Kevin Lawrenson, a NIPSA Rep. 'in the view of members the campaign of industrial action was effective'.**

The action saw social workers working a strict 37 hour week and refusing to undertake other work.

Even without the two planned half day strikes, management agreed to six extra social work staff.

The social workers showed how industrial action can force employers into remedying workers' grievances.

Across the North, social work staff, their managers and politicians agree that children will not be protected without more investment in services.

But nothing was done

until the threat of strikes. The industrial action was called off as review groups — composed of union reps, practitioners and management— were set up to examine the NIPSA issues.

Management has agreed to accept the findings of the review groups, whatever the cost implications.

## PNA

**PSYCHIATRIC Nurses who have been operating a work to rule action were planning to escalate the action into all out strike from June 6th as *Socialist Worker* went to press.**

Over 1,000 nursing officers in three major psychiatric hospitals are protesting at the governments attempt to renege on commitments given under the new partnership deal.

The government had agreed to differentials between grades, which would be paid by October 2001. They are now saying that they will not be paid until PFP expires

**NIPSA**

# New mood to fight

**THE NORTHERN Ireland Public Sector Alliance (NIPSA) conference in Newcastle last week was the most left-wing for years. Around 250 delegates repeatedly overturned motions from the conservative NIPSA leadership.**

The conference coincided with the return of the Assembly at Stormont and delegates speaking from the floor said repeatedly that this meant it was time to address the issues affecting public sector workers.

The right wing leadership of the union was outvoted on a number of issues.

**Pfizer**

**UNOFFICIAL STRIKE action by 140 SIPTU production operators at the multi national Pfizer Pharmaceuticals closed down production in one third of its Ringaskiddy plant in Cork.**

The six-day action was precipitated by the temporary suspension of two workers for refusing to work new schedules, which had not been arranged with the union.

In a display of solidarity over 50 construction workers currently at the plant refused to cross the pickets. Construction Industry Federation bosses were supposed to be 'livid' at the action and pressurised the building firm to clamp down on the workers.

One worker said, "We are sick and tired of the way management treat us. Our stress levels are as high as our productivity - social partnership has not benefited us a bit."

The new work schedules have been suspended pending a Labour Relations Commission review.

**TUI**

**MEMBERS OF the Teachers Union of Ireland have voted overwhelmingly to pursue a pay claim beyond the limits of PPF.**

Workers voted 3 to 1 against accepting the 3 percent "early settlers" increase, which the ICTU tried to claim was part of PPF.

The motion put to members said that the 3 percent claim "does not bridge the gap between teachers and other public sector workers.

Feelings are running high in the union with many

members become increasing angry by the terms of PPF.

A member of the TUI executive who spoke to *Socialist Worker* said the vote was "very significant, which was reflected in the high turnout."

## Voted

Sixty percent of the union's 10,000 members voted.

The other teachers union the ASTI have already put in for a 30 percent pay rise.

What is important now is that the TUI and ASTI join forces to fight for a decent pay rise for its members.

**Trinity College**

# BALLOT FOR ACTION

**MEMBERS OF SIPTU at TCD were balloting for industrial action over the issue of car parking spaces as *Socialist Worker* went to press.**

Early in 1999 staff could avail of 500 free parking spaces, however these have been slashed due to major building works by the college.

What has really incensed staff, however, is that a temporary parking space opened by the college has not been used to protect the staff's free-parking facility.

Feelings are running so high that many non-union staff members are likely to

join in whatever industrial action is decided upon.

Already, before the cuts in parking spaces, the inadequate numbers of parking spaces was causing some 20 percent of staff to consider leaving Trinity.

## Campaign

The union is simultaneously running a campaign for greater government subsidies of public transport - but in the meantime point out that if staff have to pay for city centre parking they face a wage cut of about 10 percent.

Action is not expected to begin until after the summer.

**Colmeg Ltd**

**After five weeks 22 workers at Colmeg Ltd. of Cork Street have voted to end their dispute.**

The company is owned by Brian Tucker, a small-time textile capitalist with a track record of opening and closing businesses with no regard for his

staff. In this case he never even met the workers to tell them that they were to be laid off, but simply locked them out and left a note telling them that their wages were in the pub.

Tucker nearly landed himself in trouble, when the workers, who were members of SIPTU, put up pickets

instead of walking away.

Their main demand was that Tucker meet the union to negotiate a proper redundancy package.

The support from passing traffic on Dublin's busy Cork Street was non-stop and the local branch of the SWP found huge support for the workers at their

stalls. But after five weeks of subsistence on strike pay, the workers voted to end their dispute - having to settle for just statutory redundancy.

The shop steward said "I'm very disappointed, but I understand why people voted to end it. They are suffering from real hardship."

SIPTU is a union with enormous resources and many members in the textile industry locally — yet not one collection was organised by officials during the five weeks of the dispute.

Had the evident support been tapped, manners could have been put on this greedy employer.



# Socialist Worker

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## Assembly starts with a whimper

# FIGHT FOR WORKERS RIGHTS

**THERE WAS very little celebration when the new Northern Ireland Assembly was restarted on 28 May. And no wonder.**

After weeks of tortuous negotiations and the close vote at the Ulster Unionist Council, the first week of the revived assembly was dominated by arguments over flags and the threat of further instability from anti-agreement unionists.

The assembly has been the focus for the aspirations of many working class people, who still hope that it will symbolise a new era for Northern Ireland politics. But the first week shows that it will frustrate those hopes at every turn.

The assembly's structure is

dominated by sectarian division. Paisley's DUP know that by getting 60 per cent of unionists to support them, they can bring it down.

Paisley's party have decided to take up their ministerial positions in the executive, but will not attend executive meetings with Sinn Fein or meetings of the cross-border ministerial council. They have said that they will put their salaries into a fighting fund to defeat Trimble's pro-agreement unionists at the next election.

The Ulster Unionists say they want the assembly to work but they are repeatedly drawn back on to the hard right agenda, for fear of losing their own electoral support.

Two days after the first meeting of the executive at Stormont, the pro-agreement Ulster Union-

ist, Reg Empey, voted to support the anti-agreement DUP Sammy Wilson for mayor of Belfast.

That same day, Empey, who is Minister for Trade, had been trumpeting the announcement of new jobs for both Harland and Wolff and Shorts.

### Sacking

Yet by the end of the week, it became clear that Harland and Wolff would still be sacking 300 workers after this month and there was considerable doubt about the firm supposedly behind the new contracts. A local newspaper tracked down the offices of the company who plan to build two super liners to a run down flat above a shop in Luton.

The contradiction of working

with Sinn Fein while maintaining that republicans are the "real enemy" will continually threaten to tear unionism apart.

This is fertile soil for the right wing of unionism who will use every device, from flags to changes to the police, to re-draw the sectarian division again.

But there is an alternative to the bigots. Across Northern Ireland there is now a mood to shift onto class issues that have taken a back seat during the years of armed conflict.

Many know that a divided working class means that we receive some of the lowest wages in Britain and Ireland.

They want to overcome those divisions - but that will mean confronting the communal politicians with a socialist alternative.

## WHY DON'T THEY SAVE HOSPITALS?

WHILE THE politicians argue about the flags flying from public buildings, public services in the North are fast being run down.

Public transport is being cut back due to underfunding.

Local hospitals still face closure, with acute services being withdrawn from the South Tyrone Hospital in Omagh.

Jim Kerr of the South Tyrone Action Group said, "In the last eighteen months we have seen Dungannon go from being a thriving hospital to nearly nothing now. It now looks like they will close the hospital by

the end of July, which is devastating for the people here."

Jim says that the real problem is lack of resources.

"Craigavon hospital is where they say they are concentrating resources but it has over one thousand people on the waiting list for elective surgery."

The only solution is to tax the rich to provide a decent service. Yet every party in the assembly want to reduce tax on company profits.

Nothing could more clearly show why we need to build alternative politics from the ground up.