

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

50p

inside

Prague September 26th...
**GROWING RESISTANCE TO
GLOBAL CAPITALISM** page 4

**Loyalism
descends into
violence**
page 5

**Inside the
beast**
page 6-7



Solidarity price £1

Inflation is the highest in Europe

WE NEED ANOTHER WAGE RISE

INFLATION IS running at 6.2 percent and rising yet workers are still tied to meagre increases of under Partnership.

We need at least an immediate 5.5 percent, increase over and above PPF just to keep up with current price rises.

It is a different story for Ireland's elite. Times have never been so good for rich with top bosses earning over £1 million a year in salaries and bonuses. The poorest of Ireland's 100 richest people are worth £30 million.

AIBs chief executive Tom Mulcahy, for example earned close to £1 million last year, while Eircom's chief executive Alfie Kane earned around £1.5 million. While the Celtic Tiger roars, Irish workers are among poorest in Europe, second only to Portugal, with 20 percent of the population living in poverty.

Now is the time to put in a pay claim before rising prices make us even poorer.

Put a pay claim in now!

Victim of sanctions on Iraq

Victim of immigration policy

LAMIA NRURI is a 70 year old woman who is suffering because of the reality of sanctions on Iraq.

Her son Hassan spoke to Socialist Worker. "My mother's health has deteriorated over the last few weeks. There are no medicines for her because of the sanctions, so we managed to get her to a hospital in Jordan.

"The journey lasted 17 hours. She was suffering heart problems, kidney failure, and blood disorders.

"In Iraq she had no chance of survival. The Doctors in Jordan say it will take a number of weeks just to stabilise her. But the problem is that it is costing over \$9,000 a week in medical bills. So I have had to sell my house.

Obstacles

"I am trying to bring her to Ireland to be treated here. But even though I am Irish citizen all she can get is a holiday visa. But they have put obstacles in the way.

I have to prove that she



Sanctions are making life impossible in Iraq

has property back in Iraq so that she has a reason to go back. The government want to be sure that she isn't going to stay here.

"So I have had to get documents from Iraq, and get them translated. Even if they allow her a visa it will take another two months because of the bureaucracy."

Lamia is just one of hundreds of thousands of people who are forced to endure the deadly impact of sanction every day.

Doctors are also forced to tend to skeletal children without the drugs or food to help them, while having to drive taxis at night to feed their own families. Children are dying of

infectious diseases in hospitals that cannot be properly cleaned because sanctions mean there are no antiseptics or detergents.

In desperation, the hospital floors are cleaned with gasoline.

The sanctions mean drugs commonly available in Ireland, such as aspirin and antibiotics, are so rare in Iraq that they fetch huge prices on the black market. Only the very rich can afford to be ill.

Yet the Irish government, who claim to be against the sanctions but continue to enforce them won't even provide a haven for people whose lives are at risk.

Public health at risk...

Stop the pylons

THE ESB are pushing ahead with plans around the country to build pylons. They want to use overhead cables to transport electricity because it is cheaper than putting cables underground.

But overhead cables are unsafe.

The field generated by the current in the cable has been linked to cancer.

They completely overshadow rural areas destroying the look of the area.

Jail

In Cork the campaign has gained pace, with a lively march of some 200 people going through the town centre.

"When the ESB make a start, they will get a very definite response that will take the form of civil disobedience, lying in front of machinery, going to jail - whatever it takes to get the



Pylons are erected without concern for local health

ESB to reverse this undemocratic decision," said a spokesperson from Cork Against Pylons.

"We will protest at any site or outlet working on the project and closing them

down through people power - the ESB won't be able to stand even one pylon and they need 84- so there will be 84 individual battles."

In the North West, plans by the ESB to put 65 miles of

pylons through Donegal are being opposed by a group Alternative to Pylons.

Several hundred people attended a fundraising concert for the group



inside the system

THINGS THEY SAY

"Get some kills"

□ A FORMER British soldier who told the Saville Inquiry that soldier were ordered to shoot marchers on Bloody Sunday.

"After successful direct action in Seattle and Washington, similar protests are being line up for the World Bank and the IMF's next meeting in Prague".

□ THE WORLD Bank

"I support the death penalty in spite of the fact that there will inevitably be some mistakes."

□ US PRESIDENTIAL candidate, Al Gore

"I thought this was the finest moment of his campaign as he explained his position. He did it outside of a press conference, in a suit and tie, with appropriately serious words."

□ JOURNALIST MARK Shields on George Bush press conference to justify the execution of Gary Graham earlier this year.

'Nasty Nick'

The Russian Orthodox Christian church declared a new batch of saints last week. Highlight of the canonisation ceremony was the elevation to sainthood of the last emperor of Russia, Tsar Nicholas II. The faithful are supposed to pray to saints and seek to emulate their virtuous lives and good deeds.

The church praises the Tsar's "meekness, patience and humility". Such qualities would not have been obvious to many Russians when he

★ "It's not just a law of economics but a law of nature-the rich will always be with us." That's not from some free market nut, but the front page of last week's *New Scientist* magazine.

The magazine claims two French physicists have proved, through mathematical formulas, that there is nothing you can do to alter the fact that the richest 20 percent of people own 80 percent of all wealth.

In fact the mathematicians' claims point in quite a different

direction. The Tsar was a brutal dictator. He crushed demands for democratic change, ordering troops to shoot down people in the 1905 revolution.

He sent millions of Russians to a grisly death in the trenches of the First World War and presided over poverty, hunger and suffering. Throughout his reign Jews in Russia were subject to savage pogroms. He was finally toppled in 1917 by a new revolution, but continued to plot with counter-revolutionaries to drown the new democracy in blood.

He was finally shot in 1918. Few people in history have better deserved such a fate.

They assume a "modern" market economy, in which "each individual has a certain amount of money he or she can invest or use to buy the services or goods of others".

They argue that the emergence of inequality is an inevitable result of such a setup. It is not "nature" but capitalism that creates rich and poor.

The *New Scientist* makes one interesting observation, however. "If the rich will always be with us," then, "so will the revolutionaries who want to...chop off their heads."

CIA murder

Forty years after the murder of the Congolese independence leader Patrice Lumumba, evidence has emerged that US president Dwight Eisenhower directly ordered the CIA to "eliminate" him.

A minute-taker at a White House meeting vividly recalls the president turning to CIA director Allen Dulles and ordering that Lumumba be got rid of.

Lumumba was elected the first post-independence leader of Congo when it threw off Belgian control. He was opposed to US control of the country and wanted to use Congo's mineral wealth to improve the country's conditions.

After Lumumba was murdered the US imposed Joseph Mobutu as leader. He ruled up to 1997. He served the US and the West faithfully, leaving the country bankrupt and divided, fuelling the present civil war in the Democratic Republic of Congo.

As the sleaze unfolds...

Reynolds cashes in

FORMER FF Bula Resources. His negotiating skills got him share options worth over £8 million.

The theory was that Reynolds would use his contacts with the Libyan and Iraqi government to secure licences for oil exploration.

Beef

His close friend, beef baron Larry Goodman, gave financial support to Reynolds pet food factory.

Reynolds was acting at the time as a lobbyist on behalf of Irish beef and had granted Goodman International export credit licenses to Iraq in the late 1980s.

★ Reynolds got £80,000 last year is also as a non-executive director of Smurfit and of the insurance company MacDonagh Boland, a firm with long standing Fianna Fail connections.

Slipped

He is has long been a board member of the US private healthcare company Coronado Industries, but despite holding government office for over 10 years, but this slipped his mind as well.

But Reynold has countless other interests:

★ He is chairman of the mining company

internet company which employed him was recently investigated for links with the Mafia and his company Blairton was struck on the register for companies after failing to file annual returns.

March Against GM Food

Starts @ 2pm, September 2nd at the Garden of Remembrance, Parnell Square, Dublin 1
Speakers at Government Buildings

A national disgrace

FILES SENT to the Commission to Inquire into Child Abuse reveal that key Cabinet ministers ignored evidence of child abuse during the 1940s.

The government then refused to allow a tribunal of Inquiry in the abuse allegation in industrial schools.

Details of the government's cover-up were revealed in corre-

spondence between the campaigning curate Fr. Edward Flanagan of Boys Town fame, and the then government ministers.

Fr. Flanagan visited industrial schools in Ireland during 1940s and said he was shocked at the abuse and neglect of the children and described it as 'a national disgrace'. During his inspections Flanagan documented imprisonment, vicious physical abuse and child slavery.

what we think

One in five in poverty — make the rich pay

THE economic boom is passing workers by. That is the damning conclusion of a new report by the National Economic and Social Forum.

More than 20 per cent of the population live below the poverty line. Some 25 per cent of children live in households receiving less than half the average income.

According to the European Commission Ireland has the second highest proportion of people on low income.

But it isn't just that people are

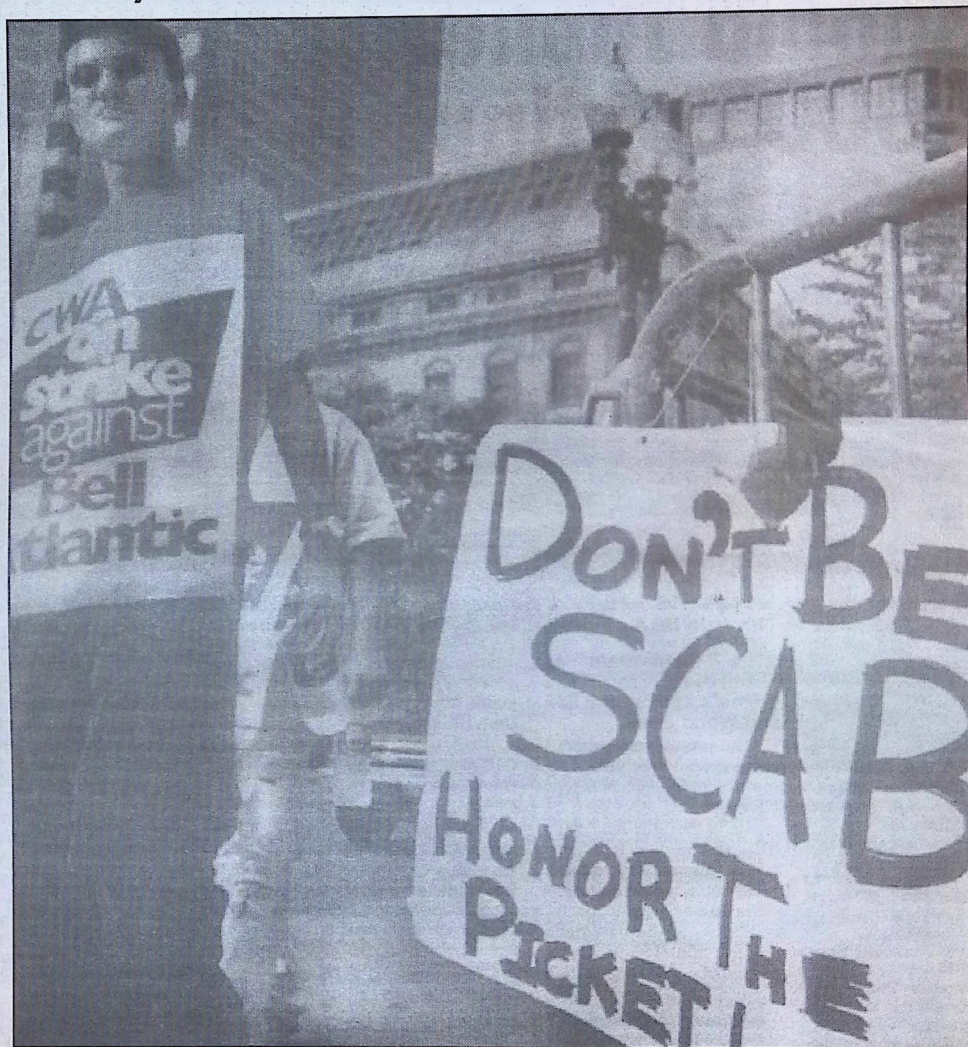
trapped in poverty, the gap between the rich and the poor is getting wider.

A recent report by the Justice Commission of the Conference of Major Religious Superiors, found a "dramatic" widening of the gap between the poor and the rich between 1994 and 1999.

Dramatic

The gap is so wide that if a person's height were related to their income, an average worker of 5 feet 9 inches would be working for the chief executive of a major company who was at least 300 feet tall.

500,000 on strike in America



"THE GREAT movement which began in Seattle has grown massively." That's the verdict of Todd Chretien of the Socialist Worker's US sister organisation on recent demonstrations outside the Democratic Party convention in Los Angeles.

REAL WAGE INCREASES NOW

THE GOVERNMENT has finally admitted that inflation is more than the rises due under the Programme for Prosperity and Fairness.

Parents are struggling to buy clothes and books as children go back to school as inflation runs rampant. Ireland already has the highest childcare costs in EU because the state does not provide cheap and subsidised crèche facilities. And the rising cost of childcare isn't even included in the inflation figures.

Hardship

Neither are rents or mortgages. Yet as many Irish people have taken out big debts to cover mortgages and other items, the expected rise in interest rates will cause huge hardship.

When the latest deal was brought in Finance

Minister Charlie McCreevy assured workers inflation would not rise above 3 percent for this year.

The trade union leaders joined in this chorus.

Even though all of this has proved to be nonsense, workers are supposed to pay the costs of their mistakes.

All of this shows what a fraud social partnership is.

Profit, prices, rents can all shoot through the roof but the only item, which is controlled, in the Celtic Tiger is wages.

Workers were conned into believing that inflation was under control - and when this turn out to be a fantasy we are still supposed to stick to a fraudulent agreement for three years.

The Trade union leaders are making a lot of noise about inflation. But their only proposal is for workers to wait for the December budget.

The pleading to McCreevy is simply an excuse to avoid putting in extra wage claims.

In fact, there are no guarantees that the budget will help workers. The

bosses organization are putting pressure on to stop tax cuts for workers and the Small Firms Association is wants employers to pay less PRSI.

The union leaders are so wedded to the comforts that social partnership brings them that they will allow their own members suffer from the erosion of their pay packets. They care more about keeping social partnership than anything else.

The new ICTU President Joe O Toole has said that workers need an extra 5.5 percent pay rise to cover inflation.

He is right, but we don't need to wait till December.

We should all be putting in wage claims at least 5.5 percent above PPF before we are hit with yet more price rises.

The Celtic Tiger is set for major winter of discontent.

And it is time for workers to start exercising their muscles now.

How to solve the housing crisis

WITHIN HOURS of college places being offered to students, queues were forming outside flats in Dublin. Within three days all the on campus accommodation in Cork and Galway was full.

Student groups have described the search for accommodation this year as the worst ever due to rising rents and a shortage of suitable properties near the main colleges.

USI's accommodation officer, Alison Gibney, said there was "near-hysteria" among students at present

because the stock of student housing had reduced sharply over the last year.

"Many landlords are converting accommodation that was previously earmarked for students into luxury apartments, which are out of the range of students," she said.

Blame

She added that landlords in newer apartment complexes in Dublin had shown little interest in offering accommodation to students.

Disgracefully Fintan McNamara of the Irish Property Owners Association tried to blame refugees for

the shortage.

In fact the greed of landlords putting up rents as much as 50 percent in some cases is one major cause for the crisis.

According to the Union of Students in Ireland. Accommodation prices have risen 97 percent in the last three years.

There are currently 17,500 new students looking for accommodation since the CAO offers were made and landlords are trying to cash in.

The root of the accommodation crisis is the government's refusal to build any local authority houses, leaving housing to the madness of the market and the

greed of developers.

Some simple measures could solve the housing chaos:

★ Compulsory purchase orders could be placed on development land and an immediate public housing building programme could begin.

Assets

★ The assets of land speculators like Bovale should be seized because they engaged in bribery.

★ Rent controls and security of tenure could be introduced to stop greedy landlords preying on tenants.

Subscribe to Socialist Worker

Name:

Address:

..... Tel:

E-mail:

Subscription rates

6 mths (£9) 12 mths (£18)

Make cheques / PO's payable to Socialist Worker. Return to SWP, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Tel: 01 8722682

26 September, a chance to take on the bankers

Resistance to a rotten system



"This bunch of hungry, greedy, and self-promoting band of gangsters have the gaul to 'try' and give some kind of credibility to what they are doing, when in fact they are destroying every basic human need all for the sake of profit.

"It sickens me to think of these 'Fat Cats' trying to hide themselves behind a cloak of deceit when in fact they prey on human destitute by keeping 'their' elitist club intact...we in this country have a term 'Celtic Tiger' for the buoyancy of our economy when in fact its a 'Celtic Vulture', so the same could be said for this band of 'Global Vultures'.

"Its high time 'the people' from all countries all around the world, stand together as a Global Community and oppose the menace of profit making multinationals, so as to provide a more humane, fair and morally just 'Global Community'."

■ HARRY PHELAN, DROGHEDA RESIDENTS AGAINST BIN CHARGES AND PRIVATISATION



The true face of capitalism, as peaceful protest is met with violent terror. Seattle Dec. '99

The momentum is building for the protests against the IMF and World Bank.

The protests are supported by several Latin American movements, which met in Nicaragua recently.

In France the left wing SUD trade union federation is now putting on a train to take people to Prague.

In Turkey some 22 organisations, including trade unions and NGOs, have formed the Ankara Initiative Against Globalisation.

There are a 1,000 people signed up to go to the

protests in Prague already. There are 10 coaches going from Sweden and 20 from Britain.

In Greece the Prague protest is getting a brilliant response.

Over a thousand people are booked to go to Prague and Telcom workers are booking an entire plane.

Panos Garganas, editor of Workers' Solidarity, Socialist Worker's sister paper in Greece, says:

"This initiative is getting official support from the unions. You can sense the unions feel that Prague is

going to be an important event."

"Seattle is now the code word for anti-capitalism. As soon as you mention that word, everybody knows what you are talking about.

"Every union in Greece affiliates to both a national union federation and a local labour centre.

"Now the three biggest and most important labour centres in Greece are sending representatives.

"Athens is half of Greece, so the Athens labour centre is the most important in the country.

"It passed a motion that ended by saying Prague gives the labour movement all around Europe the opportunity to demonstrate there is a global resistance to the forces of capital.

We hope that all the trade unions in Europe will be present at this big mobilisation in order to make Prague the new Seattle."

Here in Ireland 30 delegates are going to Prague and a Carnival Against Global economic injustice is to be held on September 30th.

If you want to get involved email: gracelally@yahoo.com or ring (086) 4098186

"The Carnival for Global Economic Justice in Dublin on Sept 30th provides an opportunity for members of the public, community groups, environmental and development organisations and political parties to demonstrate their opposition to the neo-liberal economic policies, which underpin the current process of economic globalisation.

These policies have weakened the scope of democratic, political control over economic life. They have resulted in new inequalities in income, wealth, access to work and quality of life for many people, as well as contributing to widespread environmental destruction.

I urge all those who wish to see a more just, sustainable and democratic global economic system to become part of the growing international movement for change."

■ DEIRDRE DE BURCA, (GREEN PARTY COUNCILLOR)

Together against capitalism

Socialist Worker spoke to Andreas Ytterstad of the International Socialists of Norway.

"We are sending 10 coaches to Prague, 3 of which are for school Students.

"Union support is growing. For the first time in years unions are inviting speakers from outside the workplace to make appeals against the IMF and the WB. The Oslo Transport Workers Union have sponsored over 30 delegates to Prague from its different sections.

"Thomas Dawson, leader of the IMF's "external Relations Department" was just here trying to convince NGOs on the blessings of the IMF. He was however met by demonstration.

"He told us quite unashamedly that, "yes, you're quite right, I am a capitalist" and jokingly referred to the "Primal scream against Capitalism" that is observable at the moment.

"With the current enthusiasm and determination for Prague spreading across the World, lets make sure we not only scream but win."

Carnival for global economic justice



Workshops:

- ★ CONDEMNED TO DEBT — THE IMF & WORLD BANK IN THE THIRD WORLD
- ★ THE POLITICS OF RESISTANCE
- ★ HOW THE IMF/WB ARE DESTROYING OUR PLANET
- ★ IS THERE AN ECONOMIC ALTERNATIVE TO NEO-LIBERALISM?
- ★ RACIST CONTROLS IN A "FREE MARKET" WORLD
- ★ MULTINATIONALS, PRIVATISATION, DE-REGULATION & WORKERS RESISTANCE

Saturday Sept. 30th ◆ Temple

↑ WORKSHOPS
10:30am - 1:30pm

↑ STALLS —
All Day

↑ LIVE MUSIC & DJ's -
5pm til late

Contact s26ireland@yahoo.com

Eamonn McCann

Divided loyalties

"You could cut the air along the road with a knife", said Billy Hutchinson of the PUP as the funeral of the UVF victim Bobby Mahood passed through the Shankill.

On the same day, the directors of Fred Olsen Ltd. were meeting in Oslo to decide how many more Shankill workers to throw onto the scrapheap. Olsen own the shipyard, one of the traditional sources of employment for Belfast Protestant workers.

Sickened by fear as the Loyalist feud escalated, few Shankill workers will have had space to consider how best to fight for the jobs. Class struggle can seem an abstraction when there's murder on the streets.

It has frequently seemed that there are no politics involved in the Loyalist feud at all. This is Peter Mandleson's line--"squalid gang warfare...about drugs and criminality".

But politics is involved. Johnny Adair and his associates are anti-Agreement because they don't want to give an inch to Catholics. They spelt this out in Portadown in July when they gathered to cheer as the anti-Agreement LVF founded by Billy Wright loosed off shots and threatened "fenians".

When Adair and his henchmen denounce the PUP as "traitors to loyalism" they mean that Hutchinson and David Ervine support the Stormont Executive with its SDLP and Sinn Fein ministers. Meanwhile, leaders of the formally pro-Agreement Ulster Democratic Party like Gary McMichael are sidelined.

This is a clear enough political division here, although not along class lines.

But no faction involved has put the politics plain. PUP leaders have differed from Mandleson only in attributing the criminality to one side--the UDA/UFF, while implicitly exonerating the UVF.

At the time of writing, no PUP spokesman has been heard calling on the people of the Shankill to rally to the Agreement and reject the efforts of the Adair-ites to bring the Agreement down. Instead, we have heard defiant, politically-empty references to which side will provide the "last man standing".

Communal

The reason is that the PUP has never broken with the politics of communal identity. It speaks of the working-class but seeks to represent only the interests of its "own" section of the working class.

This requires constant magnification of the perceived differences between the interests of the Shankill and the interests of the Falls.

So even though the PUP is much more explicit about its class nature than the UDP, competition between the two tends to come down to which is the more vigorous representative of Loyalism.

Inevitably, when an oaf like Adair decides to stir the sectarian pot, the class realities are lost sight of.

What we haven't heard at all during the feud is how, in terms of the class interests of the Shankill people, the PUP would make life better than the gang they are in dispute with.

Ultimately, the solution answer lies in a clean break with the politics of communal identity and an acknowledgement of the common interest of all sections of the working class.

Abstract? Well, just over a year ago, the NI Life and Times Survey asked whether "Ordinary working people get their fair share?"

Overall, 18 percent agreed, 64 percent disagreed. The figures for Catholics were 16-66, for Protestants 21-61. So while the Catholics were slightly more bolshie than the Protestants, there wasn't much in it.

Or take attitudes to the rule of law, widely seen as a communally divisive issue.

Asked whether there is one law for the rich and one for the poor, people voted Yes, by a thumping majority of 70-14. The Catholic majority was 71-14, the Protestant margin 69-16.

These attitudes are grounded in material reality. A report commissioned by Belfast City Council and published a year ago revealed that the lowest category of earners in the city were making only 29 percent of the top earners' pay. Fifteen years ago the figure was 35 percent.

The gap between the rich and the poor in both Catholic and Protestant communities is not narrowing, but growing wider.

Only a fight along class lines--against the fat-cats of Fred Olsen, for example, for starters--can change this reality, marginalise the bigots and offer a vision to the Shankill which would also give hope to the Falls.

As UFF and UVF battle for control of the Shankill ...

Loyalism has nothing to offer

THE CRISIS in Loyalism, which erupted into violence in the last few weeks, has seen three people killed and the return of British troops to the streets of Belfast.

Socialist Worker spoke to people living the areas where the paramilitary violence has been at it's worst.

Exaggerate

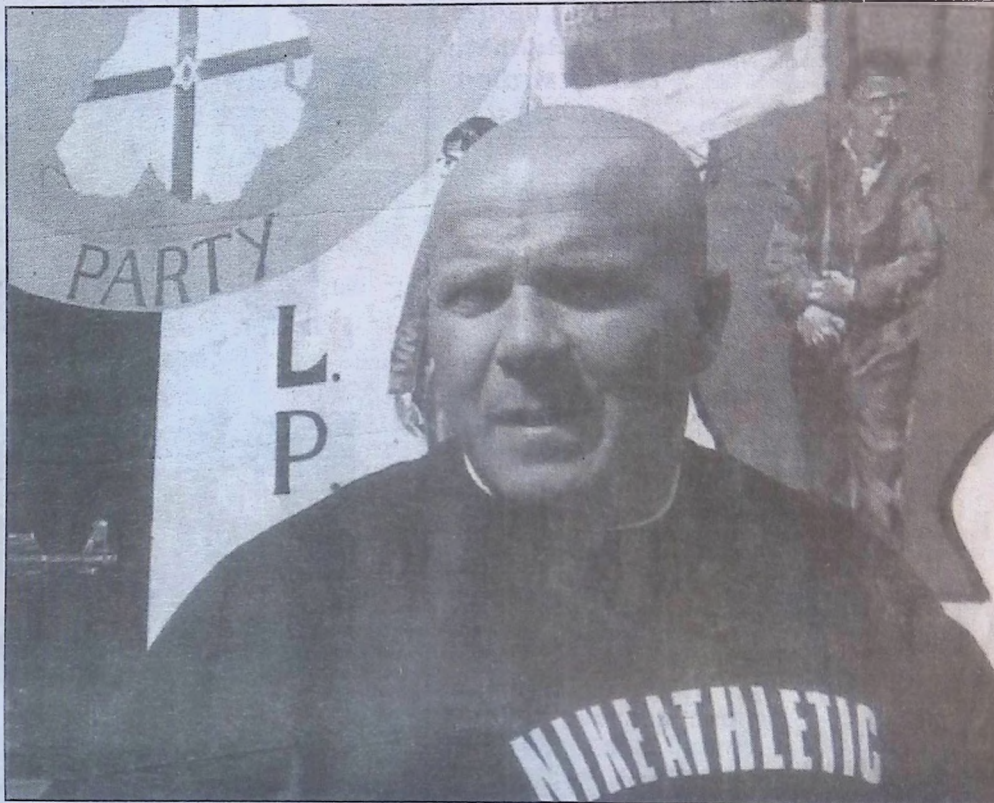
"The main reaction to friends who live and work on the Shankill is that they are scared," according to Heather. "They are worried that it will spiral. Most of the trouble comes from a handful of areas involving at most dozens of people."

"The news talks of thousands of UDA supporters but that's nonsense. Okay people might say that's a UDA family, if the sons were involved with the paramilitaries, but that just exaggerates it all. People like Adair and John White are made out to be high profile leaders but 2 years ago most people on the Shankill barely knew them"

Niall agrees "The media talk of UDA areas and UVF areas but that doesn't show the whole picture. Most estates and streets only have a few people aligned to the paramilitaries - at most 1 in 50. And that would include someone who plays in a band or someone who socialises in a lodge".

Fracturing

Loyalism is fracturing over the agreement. Sections of the paramilitaries are totally opposed to the peace process. They want to go back to killing Catholics. The others while supporting the agreement and paying some lip service



MAD DOG Adair: Yet another reason not to wear Nike

'Everyone I know is trapped in poverty'

LOYALISM HAS brought nothing to the working people of the Shankill but low wages, low educational standards and high levels of poverty.

Since the Mackies' factory closure, with the loss of over 300 jobs in March 1999, any new jobs in the area have

been low-skill and low-paid.

The latest New Earnings Survey shows the average household income in Northern Ireland as only £359, compared to £421 in Britain.

Closure

That's the average. For working class areas like the Shankill, the gap is even wider.

The poor results of the schools in the Shankill are well known - in some years not a single pupil from the primary schools passes the 11 plus.

Only one percent of the population of the area will ever go on to 3rd level education - even as mature students.

This, too, can be traced to loyalism. There was a chance, in the early 1920s, to scrap the North's outdated education system and to bring in a more child-centred, non-sectarian system.

The Rev. William Corkey, who was manager of NINE schools in the Shankill area, organised a campaign against the pro-

posal. Echoing his Catholic sectarian counterparts in the South, he insisted on 'Protestant teachers to teach Protestant children'.

He won and the education of Protestant working class children on the Shankill has suffered ever since.

The reality of poverty in West Belfast is well known. But it is usually thought of as on the Falls Road.

Things are little different on the Shankill.

Trapped

As one woman told the "Women against Poverty" group:

"I was born on the Shankill Road. Everyone I know is trapped in poverty.

Even people in jobs aren't paid very well either. The minimum wage is a joke.

I would love to see the people who decide what we can survive on waiting to 7.30pm on a Friday or a Saturday at Tesco's to hear the intercom announcing that bread, meat and other groceries are reduced to half-price, so that the family can get decent food to eat."

NAZIS TRY TO ORGANISE IN NI

THE BRITISH Nazi Party are trying to organise in Northern Ireland.

The BNP are trying to downplay their skinhead image and are putting on suits over their swastika tattoos, but they remain a Nazi organisation.

All the leaders of the Nazi BNP have convictions for race hate crimes. The current leader of the BNP, Nick Griffin was convicted in Harrow Crown Court in May 1998 of inciting racial hatred after publishing literature denying the Holocaust. The BNP Election Organiser, Tony "Bomber" Lecomber, has been jailed for a nailbomb attack.

David Copeland, the London nail-bomber, was a member of the BNP. At his trial Copeland claimed that he wanted

to start a 'race war' after which the BNP would take power in Britain. There were notices in the BNP paper after Copeland's conviction asking readers to write to this 'Prisoner of War'.

Wherever the BNP go there is an increase in racist violence. Six young black men, among them Stephen Lawrence, were murdered after the BNP opened an office in Welling, South London in the early 1990s.

Every January the BNP attacks the Bloody Sunday commemoration marches in London. The Anti Nazi League is determined to stop the British Nazi Party getting a foothold in Northern Ireland. If you want to join the fight against the Nazis trying to organise, Contact the ANL PO Box 2566, London N4 1WJ Tel 020 7924 0333, enquiries@anl.org.uk

Prague 2000

'Sweep away the IMF'

THE INTERNATIONAL Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were conceived as instruments for holding down the Third World and maintaining American economic hegemony.

Look at what the US delegation did during the 1944 Bretton Woods conference which gave rise to both these institutions.

They effectively ensured the global economic system would be organised in such a way that their continued economic dominance was secured forever.

What the IMF has done since is precisely what the Americans wanted it to do, which is to enforce a neoliberal world order-one which values the resources of developing countries very low and values the resources and expertise of developed countries at a much greater rate.

by George Monbiot, environmental campaigner and Guardian columnist.

The IMF's core strategy has not changed-to keep control of other countries' economies to ensure that, just as in colonial days, industrialised countries can determine what happens in developing countries.

I think it is critical that protests like that planned in Prague in September take place and highlight the IMF's deficiencies, and call for a wholly new global economic architecture.

That global architecture should have as its purpose the introduction of fair terms of trade based on much fairer exchange rates and a redistribution from creditors to debtors.

We must remind our politicians that they are representing us in their global negotiations rather than only representing themselves.

We need to make this into a major political issue so they don't forget that there are more interests at stake than just a few well-heeled bankers.

In my view the IMF and World Bank are unreformable.

There is no purpose in saying they've got to do their jobs better.

It is the very nature of the job that is wrong.

Imposed

We have to set our sights high if we are going to make a meaningful protest, and not just call for a bit of minor reformism but call for them to be swept away and a new system imposed.

Of course at the moment we don't have the power to do that.

But all protest movements start small.

If you look at the beginning of the civil rights movement in the US, it was small and involved the least powerful people of all.

Eventually it won some, if not all, of its aims.

It is key to bear in mind that all these things start small, but if we can build them up we can make ourselves just as powerful as the countervailing forces.

Austerity

This ensures that developing countries can't receive a fair rate for their goods and labour, and also imposes unfair terms of trade and so called austerity measures whose purpose is to open up developing countries' economies to Western corporations.

If we look at the Structural Adjustment Programmes brokered by the IMF and World Bank in, say, sub-Saharan Africa you see a consistent pattern. In order to pay off their debt-a debt which should not exist at all-sub-Saharan African countries have been forced to cut public services massively, with the result that there is far less money available for health and education.

In Zambia, for example, as a result of the Structural Adjustment Programme they had to close down many of the hospital beds that were previously open.

Patients are also having to provide the money for their own treatment when they didn't have to provide that money before.

Many simply cannot afford that, with the result that thousands of people are now dying from utterly preventable and treatable diseases.

My argument is that the cost of joining the IMF is far higher than the cost of keeping out.

But it is very tough, even for enlightened leaders, to sell that message to their own people when the country is being subject to massive economic sanctions if it does not sign up to IMF Structural Adjustment Programmes.

The IMF's new language, about poverty reduction strategies, is the same old programme with different

The IMF's core strategy has not changed - to keep control of other countries' economies to ensure that, just as in colonial days, industrialised countries can determine what happens in developing countries.

McDonald's

INSIDE

THE

BEAST



MCDONALDS IS a symbol of everything that is wrong with global capitalism. The company has spread its claws around the globe, bringing with it, bad food, low pay and environmental damage—all in the pursuit of profit. In the first six months of this year the company made an obscene \$977 million profit. While its chairman Jack Greenberg got \$3.4 million in pay last year, and another \$5.8 million from share options, thousands of workers in McDonalds are forced to endure low-pay and horrendous conditions

Destroying the Rainforests

MCDONALD'S IS one of several giant corporations with investments in vast tracts of land in poor countries, sold to them by the dollar-hungry rulers.

These countries are trapped into producing more and more food for export.

Out of 40 of the world's poorest countries, 36 export food to the USA - the wealthiest.

Malnutrition

Many of these countries, where children are dying from malnutrition, are exporting their staple crops as animal feed - to fatten cattle for turning into burgers in McDonalds.

Every year an area of rainforest almost three times the size of Ireland is cut down.

Globally, one billion people depend on water flowing from these forests, which soak up rain and release it gradually.

The disasters in Bangladesh and Central America are at least partly due to uncontrolled deforestation.

In the Amazon where there are now about 100,000 beef

ranches - about 40 percent are owned by McDonalds - torrential rains sweep down through the treeless valleys, eroding the land and washing away the soil.

Mc-sploitation

NEARLY ALL McDonald's advertising is aimed at children. Their advertisements portray McDonald's as a happy, circus-like place where burgers and chips are provided for everybody.

The offer 'free' toys with the meals, usually designed to promote Disney, another vicious anti-union company, latest blockbuster. These toys are produced in by child workers in South East Asia.

McDonald's know exactly what kind of

pressure this puts on people looking after children, especially parents with little money.

Pressure

A leaked Internal Operations Manual revealed the truth behind their 'child orientated PR: Schools offer excellent opportunities. They are a high traffic [sales] generator. Students are some of the best customers you could have...we are competing for a share of the customer's mind.

McDonald's restaurants around the world have become targets for anti-capitalist protesters.

McLibel

But for all their clever marketing and gimmicky slogans McDonalds made a huge mistake the day they decided to sue two young, unemployed environmental activists, Helen Steel and Dave Morris. The result was the longest running libel trial in British history. Although the judgment was mostly in favour of McDonalds, it revealed the horrific truth behind McLibel

Unhappy m

MCDONALD'S CLAIMS its food is nutritious, they try to show in their "Nutrition Guide" that mass-produced hamburgers, chips, colas, etc. are a useful part of any diet.

What they don't make clear is that a diet high in

fat, sugar, animal products, sodium, and salt - which McDonald's describes as an average meal - is linked to cancer, heart disease, bowel, and heart "under" figures show that a "quarter" of his sort of fake food is 48 percent water, and the sodium content is



JOSE BOVE - backing Millet's fight

sacked

Millet is... He was... McDonald's in the town of... a beggar... allow... sacked as a... he sake of

by SINEAD KENNEDY



WHAT'S IT LIKE WORKING FOR MCDONALD'S?

EIGHTY PERCENT of McDonald's workers are part-time and its annual staff turnover is 60 percent (in the USA it's 300 percent).

It's not unusual for their restaurant-workers to quit after just four or five weeks. This suits McDonalds fine as workers out of the door in four months don't demand pensions, promotions, training or unions.

McDonald's have a policy of preventing unionisation, they hire former senior police officers from around the world to monitor any union activity and to ensure that pro-union workers are got rid of. In the US they have hired the notorious union-busting law firm, Jackson Lewis of New York

Like all junk-food giants McDonalds depends on the labour of young people

for their fat profits, three-quarters of its workers are under 21.

They insist that they are not anti-union but were recently forced to admit that any workers joining a union

"would not be allowed to collect subscriptions...put up notices...pass out any leaflets...or to organise a meeting for staff to discuss conditions at the store on the premises".

Anti-Union

Socialist Worker spoke to Amy Tyrell (16), a former worker, about what it was like to work in McDonalds.

"They advertised the job at £4.75 an hour but I only got £3 an hour. The other figure is for over 18s and full time workers. But every one is part-time and most of us are at school or in college.

"For every hour you work you get 50p meal allowance to spend in McDonalds. But they only let you get burgers, the cheap stuff. Working there would turn you off eating there, its disgusting. They cook their chips in lard, not oil.

"It can be very hard work, especially those children's parties, they have you running around. The kitchens are boiling as there is no-air conditioning.

"When you start work they give you this questionnaire on safety but they give you the another sheet with the answers and tell you to copy it.

"One of the worst parts of the job is the uniforms you have to wear, they're old and tatty. But you have to pay for them all the same. They take three pounds out of your wages every week for them".

"I left after a while as I just couldn't take it anymore."

Workers Fight Back

MCDONALD'S WORKERS around the world are fighting back against the company's anti-union policy.

In Denmark won union recognition in the late 1980s. They took on the multinational and won.

Socialist Worker spoke to Bo Magbussen of the restaurant workers' union in Denmark about how they did it:

"McDonald's had just come to Denmark and it absolutely refused to have any union agreement.

We only had a few union members, but we pulled them out and we paid them strike pay.

"We also built a boycott campaign. We held demonstrations outside the company's restaurants.

Our symbol was a dog urinating on the McDonald's logo.

Intimidation

Now they pay £7.27 an hour for over 18s and £4.43 an hour for under 18s, plus extra for nights and weekend working.

"Workers get all the normal rights, like two days off

each week, six weeks annual holiday from next year, a 37 hour week, and half a year's parental leave on full pay. It was a hard fight, but you can win."

McDonalds workers in Moscow are just the latest group to fight for union rights.

Gracheva, a security guard, who is one of leaders of the struggle said that McDonald's have pursued a campaign of intimidation.

"I've always thought it was a good company. I never expected them to react so strongly", she said.

Inflation and devaluation have whittled down her salary so much that she now only earns 3,000 rubles a month, (about \$122).

A year ago she was earning about \$416.

Their struggle has attracted much attention as other multinationals are worried that it could provoke a mass-unionisation drive throughout Russia.

what do socialists say?

Do all organisations lead to hierarchy?

WHEN YOU think about the way that small numbers of people at the head of states and multinationals wield tremendous power it is easy to appreciate the belief that all organisation leads to hierarchy.

More than that, people are quite rightly opposed to what passes for organisation amongst mainstream politics - a few people at the top transmitting ideas down to a passive base.

Spontaneity

The new movements against capitalism that have sprung up around the protests against the WTO/IMF and World Bank have emphasised freedom of expression, non-conformity, spontaneity and creativity.

But is it the case that all organisation leads to the situation where a few people come to dominate? It is important to recognise that there are lots of different kinds of organisation.

There is a world of difference, for example, between the way the managers of CIE organise the company and the way that the rail workers in ILDA have organised. The managers issue commands that have involved the input of tiny numbers of people. ILDA refers all the important decisions to its full membership.

Furthermore, the managers of CIE are part of an Irish capitalist class whose interests are in maximising profit - at the expense of service and safety if necessary. While the members of ILDA have a common interest in resisting exploitation and defending public safety.

In other words, what makes capitalist structures hierarchical and undemocratic is that they serve the material interests of a tiny minority who are exploiting the majority.

Similarly Stalinist, Labour and Trade Union organisations have become hierarchical as they have given rise to bureaucracies whose interests are different to those of the rank and file members.

In the early days of the ITGWU it was a very democratic organisation with leaders like Jim Larkin and James Connolly. But as it grew, acquiring wealthy assets and many full time officers, that democracy was lost.

But precisely because the capitalist system is highly organised, our side needs to be as

well. A central thrust to struggle always makes it more effective.

The Seattle protests against the WTO are often seen as a model of spontaneity, but in fact they were a good example of democratic organisation.

Against the centralised power of the major media corporations the Seattle protesters created the Independent Media Centre, a highly organised yet highly creative and effective source of information on the side of the struggle.

There are many examples from history that show how successfully and democratically workers can organise.

Ever since the Paris Commune of 1871 workers time and again have created mass popular democratic structures that have embodied equality and the right to recall over delegates.

Socialists do not talk about organisation for the sake of it. We want people who are against the system to have the maximum impact.

It would be madness to demand that everyone had to agree 100 percent with your political programme before you worked with them.

But it would also be fatal to sit back and merely celebrate a "diversity of views", whatever they are. For example, when it comes to workers' strikes there are always arguments to take up about how to win.

Sections of strikers may be sidetracked by racist ideas. It would be criminal for people to stand back, to merely cheerlead the strikers and ignore the racism.

Intervene

People have to meet, decide how they were going to argue against the racism, agree a plan of action, intervene, and hopefully sway the majority of workers.

Finally, supposing the anti-capitalist struggle does break through to new heights, with mass movements all over the world pushing the capitalist class onto the defensive. What then?

Will we create a new form of society, or will the struggle die down again with power still in the hands of the current ruling class?

Marx gave the clearest answer to this question at the time of the Paris Commune when he wrote of the necessity of shattering the old state and replacing it with a new, truly democratic, workers' state. A state which will "wither away" as the battle is won and the new society established.

And in the fight for that society a democratic revolutionary party will be essential.

by CONOR KOSTICK



A WORLD TO WIN

Autobiography of Tony Cliff



£11.99 from SW Books, P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8

E

McDonald's

T

libel

marketing and gimmicks made a huge decision to sue two environmental activists. Morris, for libel. The judge ruled in favour of McDonalds, the trial behind McDonalds

Happy meals

at sugar, animal products and salt - which describes an average McDonald's meal - is linked with cancers of the breast and bowel, and heart disease. Even their own figures show that a "quarter-pounder" contains 48 percent water. This sort of fake food encourages over-eating, and the high sugar and sodium content can make people

develop a kind of addiction - a 'craving'. That means more profit for McDonald's, but constipation, clogged arteries and heart attacks for many customers. McDonald's even require that their "fresh lettuce leaf" is treated with twelve different chemicals just to keep it the right colour at the right crispness for the right length of time.

Sacked for compassion

Rene Millet is a hero in France. He worked for McDonald's in the southern French town of Albi. When a Gypsy beggar came into his restaurant he gave her his lunch allowance, five free cheeseburgers. He was sacked as a result. For the sake of McDonald's

image, we do not give to Gypsies," he says his boss told him. His case went before an industrial tribunal last month, and there was a protest outside the court building. Albi is only a few miles from Millau, where last year local left wing farmers' leader José Bové dismantled a McDonald's restaurant in protest at the World Trade Organisation. Bové is now backing Remi's fight for justice.

Sixty years since Leon Trotsky's murder

Relentless fighter for a better world

SIXTY YEARS ago the great revolutionary Leon Trotsky was assassinated by an agent of the Russian dictator Stalin.

Trotsky had dedicated his whole life to the fight against inequality and oppression, and for international socialism.

In February 1940, just months before his murder, he wrote:

"If I had to begin all over again I would of course try to avoid this or that mistake, but the main course of my life would remain unchanged.

"My faith in the communist future of mankind is not less ardent, indeed it is firmer today than it was in the days of my youth."

Trotsky was persecuted for his beliefs and revolutionary activity for nearly his whole life.

He was first imprisoned in 1897 at the age of 18 for fighting against the despotic Tsarist regime in Russia. He was sent to Siberia before escaping abroad.

Western rulers have always tried to discredit the Russian Revolution by claiming that the terror of Stalin's regime was its inevitable outcome. They claim that revolution will always lead to tyranny. The Evening Herald took time off from attacking striking workers to accuse Leon Trotsky of being "an old communist mass murderer."

But Trotsky's ideas and struggle give the lie to such notions. Stalin's regime was the opposite of everything that Trotsky had fought for. At the centre of Trotsky's ideas and struggle was his belief in workers' ability to bring about their own liberation.

TROTSKY WAS thrown into the leadership of the revolutionary movement when a wave of struggle swept Russia in 1905.

At the age of just 26 he was elected as the head of the Petrograd Soviet—one of the democratically elected workers' committees which sprung up in the course of the revolution.

With the defeat of the 1905 revolution Trotsky was again imprisoned by the Tsar. He used the time to write pamphlets and essays, which were smuggled out. He argued that workers could fight for a socialist revolution even in an economically backward country like Russia.

He saw that although Russia had a mainly peasant population, workers were concentrated in giant factories such as Petrograd's giant Putilov engineering works, which employed 40,000 workers. Trotsky used the trial that followed the defeat of the 1905 revolution as a platform for these revolutionary convictions.

Again he was sent to Siberia. Again he escaped across the frozen wastes and into exile to organise the revolutionary movement from abroad.

by HAZEL CROFT

Trotsky's beliefs were vindicated in 1917. Workers smashed the old Tsarist regime and established their own state.

Workers took control of factories, banks, offices and the transport system. Peasants seized the land from despotic landlords. The Bolshevik Party led by Lenin and Trotsky was able to steer workers in their conquest of a new society.

Trotsky was again elected head of the soviet in Petrograd and organised the insurrection itself. He also played a crucial role in building the new workers' state. He negotiated the peace treaty when the new workers' government pulled out of the carnage of the First World War.

He was head of the international grouping of communist organisations, the Third International, which had the support of millions around the world. And he led the five million strong Red Army which fought to defend the revolution against the invasion of 14 foreign armies and counter-revolutionary forces.

Above all, Trotsky argued that the revolution had to spread internationally to survive. Tragically, Trotsky was proved right. Although the Red Army beat off the imperialist invasion and the counter-revolutionary forces, the workers' regime was left economically decimated and isolated.

STALIN'S RISE to power came out of this situation of economic collapse and international isolation.

In the course of the 1920s power shifted into the hands of a growing layer of bureaucrats centred around Stalin. His doctrine of "socialism in one country" destroyed hopes of spreading the revolution.

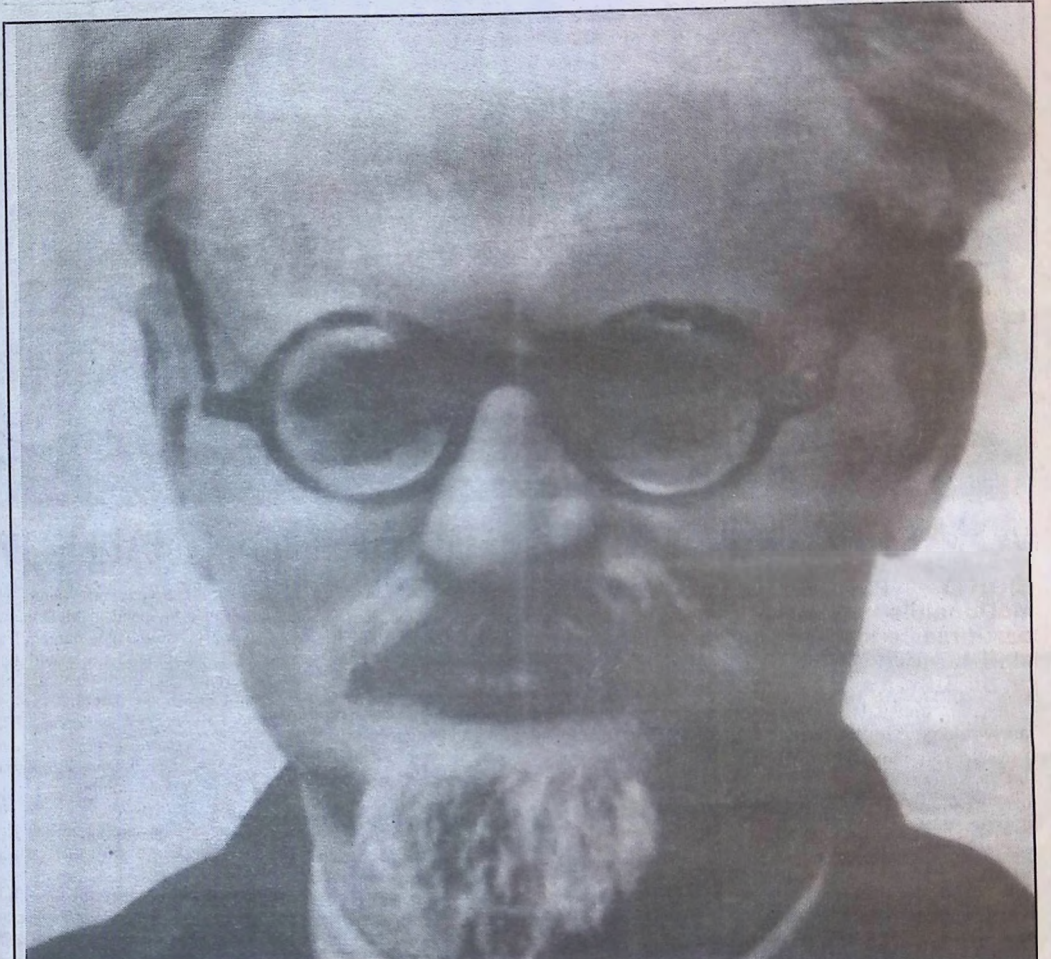
In the late 1920s he embarked on a massive industrialisation programme to try to compete with the West. Workers were ruthlessly exploited. To seal his rule Stalin had to physically wipe out the memory of 1917 and the generation which had made the revolution. In the 1930s he systematically executed all the leaders of the revolution in grotesque show trials. Of the two dozen or so of Lenin's general staff of 1917, only one survived Stalin's bloodbath—the ambassador to Sweden Alexandra Kollontai.

All the others were listed as shot, dead, missing, as having committed suicide or disappeared.

Stalin tried to erase Trotsky from history. His image was even removed from pictures of the revolution.

Trotsky undertook a life and death struggle against Stalin, who he called "the gravedigger of the revolution". He was expelled from the party in 1927, kicked out of Russia in 1929 and hounded from one country to the next. Stalin persecuted Trotsky's family.

His first wife was sent to die in a Siberian labour camp. Two of his four



TROTSKY PHOTOGRAPHED on his arrival in Mexico in 1937. Despite being hounded across the world by Stalin's agents, Trotsky never gave up fighting for socialism

children were murdered by Stalinist agents and one committed suicide. Another daughter died after her health broke down following the deportation of her husband. Even the wives, husbands and children of Trotsky's family were executed or "disappeared".

But despite such tragedy Trotsky never relented in his fight against Stalin. In a series of brilliant writings, such as his marvellous History of the Russian Revolution or in The Revolution Betrayed, Trotsky insisted that Stalinism had absolutely nothing in common with the real Bolshevik tradition.

He wrote of the forced industrialisation that "in scope of inequality in the payment of labour, the Soviet Union has not only caught up to, but far surpassed the capitalist countries." This "process of extermination" took place in every area of life, argued Trotsky.

Women's oppression had returned as the bourgeois family was rehabilitated and glorified, and prostitution reappeared.

Stalin's strangulation of the revolution extended "in like measure to the concentration camps, to scientific agriculture and to music," he wrote. "It would be difficult to imagine a contrast more striking than that which exists between the schema of the workers' state according to Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the actual state now headed by Stalin."

At the height of the show trials Trotsky wrote, "The present purge draws between Bolshevism and

Stalinism not simply a blood line, but a whole river of blood."

IN EXILE Trotsky never ceased—whether on a remote Turkish island, in a Norwegian village or finally in Mexico—to try to rebuild the revolutionary tradition based on the real legacy of the Russian Revolution.

Even though he was far removed from events, Trotsky produced some of his best and most important writings during the 1930s—years of economic crisis, the rise of fascism and the lead up to the Second World War.

Tragically Trotsky did not have the forces on the ground which could influence the course of events.

But Trotsky's work was invaluable in providing a link with the genuine Marxist tradition. That is why Stalin and his murderous agents pursued him across continents, until they finally succeeded in assassinating him. Trotsky's murderer, Ramon Mercadier, was acting under Stalin's orders. He had posed as a supporter of Trotsky. On 20 August he

visited Trotsky's home on the pretext of showing him an article about Russia.

As Trotsky read the article Mercadier smashed the back of Trotsky's skull with an ice pick.

To the very end Trotsky fought for his life. One account tells how "Trotsky uttered a terrible cry and threw himself at his assailant.

Trotsky bit his hand and wrenched away the axe then staggered back." He told his wife, Natalya, who had rushed into the room, "Now it has happened," before slumping to the floor.

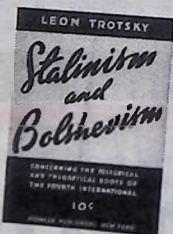
Trotsky died the next day. At his funeral Trotsky's body was carried through the working class suburbs of Mexico City where huge crowds of poverty-stricken people lined the streets.

But Stalin could not wipe out the revolutionary tradition Trotsky stood for.

Trotsky's struggle and his writings enabled a new generation of socialists to reclaim the tradition of socialism from below that was so inspirationally put into practice in the 1917 revolution.

When the next revolutionary upsurge takes place it will be the name of Trotsky, not Stalin, on people's lips. As Trotsky himself wrote in 1927,

"The vengeance of history is more powerful than the vengeance of the most powerful general secretary."



in my view

Don't blame George Orwell

SUDDENLY, BORING people are more boring. For a limited period only, you have another reason to fear the bus queue, the work get-together or those difficult conversations with your dad.

Embarrassing pauses are banished as people will talk and expect an answer about Big Brother. I knew I was in trouble when someone attempted to get me involved in a conversation about the health of the Big Brother house chickens.

The premise of the show is to lock people up and deny them any contact with the outside world. Then every move they make is filmed and every conversation is recorded. You can watch it every night, if you are so inclined you can spy on them on the internet.

In Britain, around six and a half million switched on to see "Nasty Nick" being given the boot from the television show. This wasn't supposed to happen any more in a time of multi channels, digital and satellite dishes. The idea of a collective television experience was over. Yet the minority Channel Four is topping the ratings.

Manipulation

So the Tory yuppie Nick filled acres of newspaper space, while the politicians are on holiday. I suppose it meant the Independent group had less room to attack the train drivers. However, my favourite was a leading senior executive of a London City PR firm telling the press that Nick was ideal for a career in financial PR: "Manipulation is what it's all about in this game."

But why is it popular? Well we are social animals. We spend our time relating to other people, it is what makes us human. But the dynamics of this society, distort and exploit this. The whole idea of gossip is social interaction and understanding. But, and it is an important but, gossip is about sharing insider knowledge, making the trite better known. Being in on knowledge of others becomes a sign of social acceptance, because we have so little control over how we spend our lives.

It works for celebrity gossip in the sense of "I can't live like the rich but I can know everything about how they live." When it is about ordinary people it means one can put aside one's hassle over the rent or relationships and wallow in someone else misery.

That is part of the attraction of Big Brother, we have little control of our lives but we can spy on other people's and revel in their petty squabbles. We even get a chance to pass judgement on their characters once a week in a phone poll.

Retreat

There are suggestions of putting the programme in another setting. It wouldn't work because of the other reason for the interest. Our homes are where we retreat to, after the grind and chaos of daily life; they provide some sort of sanctuary from the outside world.

The house in big brother takes that idea to an extreme. But the programme takes the other part of 'home' to an extreme as well. Our homes may be sanctuaries but for many people they can be prisons, full of miseries both petty and significant.

Seeing the home/prison of Big brother is a reflection of life in capitalism. And like society in general people are being exploited. OK they volunteered but just because people are desperate for £70,000 prize money or a job as a TV presenter doesn't make turning them fodder for a ratings war acceptable.

The contestants are sad, vulnerable people. But, Channel 4 is not just exploiting the contestants. It is exploiting us. I don't just mean the CDs and the T-shirts. Watching Big Brother drags us into dehumanising process, and then sells it back to us as entertainment. It says a great deal about the nature of the structure of society, that very basic aspects of human relations can be commodified and turned into a gameshow.

George Orwell would be scared — and rightly so.

by SIMON BASKETTER

film

Rehabilitating Imperialism

THERE HAVE always been two streams of Hollywood movies about the armed forces — those made with the assistance of the army, navy or air force, which have constituted the majority, and those, usually the more critical, which have not sought, or have been denied, official assistance.

Rules of Engagement belongs very clearly in the former category. The Arab characters - in this case, Yemenis - are, without exception, portrayed as deceitful, bloodthirsty fanatics.

Massacres

The "hero", an American Marines colonel, massacres 83 of them, and as the film suggests in no



Justifying the killing machine

underhand manner the sort of thing that is justified for the greater

good of America. The US troops commit the violence and the vic-

tims are Arabs from Yemen. It has been a while

since Hollywood as produced such a nasty and right wing film, even going so far as to attempt to rehabilitate the US role in Vietnam.

James Webb, US Secretary of the Navy under Ronald Reagan, is responsible for the story.

G Gordon Liddy, the most right wing member of Nixon's Watergate conspirators, even has a cameo voiceover in the film.

The Yemeni people are all depicted as Islamic fundamentalists willing to give their lives for the "Holy War" against the US.

book

Mumia's defiant voice

by ANNA ROIK

IRELAND ON Sunday recently launched a **unwarranted attack on the campaign to free Mumia Abu-Jamal, arguing he wasn't worthy of a campaign. Mumia has lived the last 18 years on death row in the US for a crime he didn't commit.**

A new collection of mainly previously unpublished essays, *All Things Censored* (Seven Stories, £20.00), shows just how wrong the hacks in the Sunday papers are.

Mumia moves deftly from descriptions of his experiences on death row to sharp polemics on everything from the US air strikes on Iraq to the ongoing struggle of the Zapatistas in Mexico.

The book is accompanied by the CD *'Banned'*, a selection of Mumia's commentaries.

In "From an Echo in Darkness, a Step into Light" Mumia explains how prisoners are "treated as bodies kept alive to be killed" in the prison's restrictive death row regime.

At the time of his conviction Mumia was a well respected journalist, nicknamed "Voice of the voiceless", for National Public Radio (NPR) in Philadelphia.

He had a radical political background. At 16 he joined the radical Black Panther Party as their minister of information, working on the party newspaper.

History

It was at this time that the FBI started "watching" Mumia, eventually amassing a 600 page file. In his trial political quotes he had made years earlier were used in arguments to the jury for Mumia's execution.

Censorship and attacks on free speech are common themes in Mumia's essays. "The Illusion of Democracy" describes a country whose government



Mumia Abu-Jamal

claims to be democratic but whose history shows the opposite to be true.

Mumia sums up the situation accurately: "For, if women are 52 percent, blacks 12.5 percent, Hispanics 9.5 percent and Asians/Native Americans/others 3.8 percent, then Americans have been systematically excluded from democracy's empty promises."

Only in America can a 'democracy' oppress the majority."

But it is in the essay "A Death Row Remembrance of the Rosenbergs - Never Again" where Mumia's voice is most haunting. Ethel and Julius Rosenberg were the victims of the US gov-

ernment's Cold War "red scare" campaign.

The courts and prosecution took extreme measures to ensure not just a conviction, but the death penalty on charges of spying for the Soviet Union.

Their only "crime" was to be "communists". "I know the Rosenbergs in a way many will never know, the feeling of being pinpointed for one's political beliefs and associations.

I know the profoundest loss that results from being sentenced to the gallows. If the state has its way I will join them in death."

This book shows why there is such a big international campaign for Mumia's freedom.

Children

Even the Yemeni children are shown as gun-carrying maniacs who are a danger to US Marines.

A little girl who struggles about on crutches is later seen with a gun

The film's argument is that the world is a hostile place and the world's major superpower has the right to use force anywhere it chooses.

The Islamic suicide bomber or terrorist is an ever-present figure in the justifications of the US ruling class for its role in world events.

—SINEAD KENNEDY



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.

Eircom debacle shows ...

Only fat cats gain from privatisation

HALF A million people were persuaded to buy Eircom shares after a huge advertising campaign.

It was supposed to bring wealth to ordinary people and create a 'share-owning democracy'.

But the reality has been very different.

Workers who scraped together their money to buy shares have lost a third of their savings.

The 2,500 Telecom employees who were persuaded to take a voluntary severance deal have also lost out badly.

They were encouraged to take up a special offer of extra shares — and now find themselves with less money for their old age.

Benefit

The harsh reality is that privatisation was never meant to benefit the 'little people'. No matter how the shares fare, the main beneficiaries are the fat cats.

Chief among these is the company's chief executive Alfie Kane.

Kane pushed through a huge redundancy programme in the run up to privatisation and has been well rewarded.

His annual salary amounts to £300,000 a year, which is far more than he would have received if the company, had remained in state ownership.

But Kane's salary was only his most basic income.

On top of that, he received a total package that came close to £1.5 million.

His finance director Malcom Fallen received an additional package worth £700,000.

This enormous income was voted in by a special committee of the board of directors of Eircom.

Amongst the members of this special 'remuneration committee' are two former politicians, Ray McSharry and Dick Spring.

Hack

McSharry is a Fianna Fail hack who is on the board of other companies like Ryanair while Spring is the former leader of the Labour Party.

Despite coming from the left and right of the political establishment

both argued in their own parties that privatisation would lead to greater efficiency and cost reductions.

Spring played a key role in persuading sections of the labour movement to go along with privatisation.

Spring is on the board as a workers representative, yet workers in Eircom have no say in the bonuses.

Yet both of these individuals have gained hugely. McSharry received a 'salary' last year of £110,000 simply for chairing the company.

Spring received a payment of £36,000 simply for being a 'non-executive director'.

The other interesting

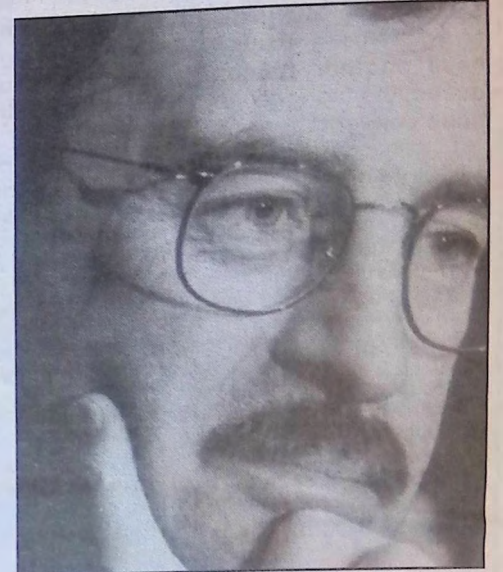
figure who has gained from these bonus payments is Billy Atlee, the former SIPTU General Secretary.

Atlee and Spring argued that the Labour Movement had to modernise and accept privatisation. As a result, there was not the same vocal opposition to the privatisation agenda in Ireland as there was in Britain.

The Eircom saga should be a warning to other groups of workers who are on the government's hit list for privatisation.

These include Aer Lingus and Dublin Bus.

Whatever about the sweet-talk, the reality is that privatisation is made by and for the fat cats.



Dick Spring laughing all the way to the bank

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

letters

PO BOX 1648, Dublin 8

Galway burns a trail

THE FANTASTIC victory by organised protesters that beat the incinerator plans for Galway shows the way for the rest of the country.

The biggest incinerator planned to bring dioxins into our lives, is still on the agenda for Poolbeg in Dublin.

The residents in Ringsend and surrounding areas have been very involved in local meetings and discussion about this insane 'waste management' proposal, which is more concerned with making a profit than establishing publicly, supported recycling facilities.

There is universal

opposition in the area, but the campaign has not escalated to protest action, like the 'Ban the Burn' marches the last time round, which would push the immediate removal of incineration from the Dublin waste management plans.

The recent success in Galway has shown how to win, and it is time for us in Ringsend to move beyond 'consultation' with the local authorities and pro-privatisation TDs, to jumping into a confident protest movement that would gain support throughout the country.

John Wilson
Dublin

Come and work if you're white

IN THE last issue of Socialist Worker I read the astounding fact that the government is actively looking for 40,000 extra workers to fill the labour shortage in the Celtic Tiger, while deporting as many people as it can get away with.

This is the same government who rushed through their racist immigration bill last summer two days before their summer holidays, and several months before it was scheduled, making Ireland one of the most miserable places to live if you are seeking refuge from economic or political oppression.

I've talked to many asylum seekers who have survived horrific hardship. For example, one man saw his four children murdered. Another had been repeatedly imprisoned and

denied the right to work by authorities that were punishing him for involvement in a movement for parliamentary democracy. Both of these people are trained professional. Upon their arrival, they are faced with enforced dispersal, racist commentary in the media, denied any chance to work, and finally deportation.

Why is this government so willing to manage this horrific treatment of people looking to make a life for themselves, as any of us would, when they are scrambling to entice migrant workers from Canada and other western countries to fill the labour shortage?

Catherine Boothman,
Dublin

I'VE JUST heard that the US government is squashing plans for the establishment of an international court, which would deal with war crimes. What can Bill Clinton and his colleagues be afraid of?

Is it that they might be charged for turning their guns on the Iraqi and Kurdish opposition to Saddam Hussein? Or that they might be asked to account for

bombing the democratic and strike movements against Milosevic in Serbia?

The powers that be in the US certainly are well used to fully supporting international organisations, like the WTO and the IMF - but maybe they make more money from this, without any of the hassle justice might bring.

Chris Leavy
Dublin

Join the Socialists

(PLEASE USE BLOCK CAPITALS)

Name

Address

Telephone Unlon

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 the 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

- LUCAN:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Courtney's Bar, Lucan village
- 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 FAIRVIEW:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Fairview Inn
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways Pub, Parnell St
- DUBLIN KILLBARACK:** Phone 087 6235071
- DUBLIN STONEYBATTER/CABRA:** Meets

- every Thursday at 8.30pm in Aghrim St Parish Hall, Prussia St
- DUBLIN BALLYMUN:** Phone Kevin at 8622209
- 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 / RANELAGH:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm Upstairs in La Touche, 24 Earlsfort Terrace Dublin 2
- DUBLIN HAROLDS X:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in O'Connell's Pub, Sth Richmond St
- DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St
- DUBLIN RINGSEND:** Meets

- every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Ringsend Community Centre
- DUBLIN TALLAGHT:** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm 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
- SLIGO:** Meets fortnightly on Saturdays, phone 087 6329511 for details
- TRALEE:** Phone 087 6329511 for details
- WATERFORD:** Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.



CIE

After ten weeks on strike... ILDA return to work united and defiant

AFTER TEN weeks, ILDA drivers went back to work solid and united. They had fought to guarantee a safer rail network and decent conditions for workers.

"We took on the burden of rail safety alone. Now we are insisting that the Labour Court and the Labour Relations Commission take up this issue," said Brendan Ogle, the ILDA leader.

The workers were forced to give up their protest because of financial hardship. But in the ten weeks they fought they showed an amazing spirit of determination and bravery.

Hounded

The drivers were hounded by the Independent group of newspapers. The *Evening Herald* ran a headline denouncing Brendan Ogle for being the sole cause of the dispute.

The union leaders of SIPTU and NRBU joined in the assault.

They issued a letter to their members instructing them to scab. They staged a press conference of union loyalists to denounce the ILDA drivers.

Peter Bunting, the NRBU General Secretary, denounced ILDA as a 'breakaway union' even though his own union was founded as a 'breakaway'. Bunting is seeking to move

his union closer to the ICTU and so he set out to prove how closely he could work with management by attacking the ILDA.

But despite the best efforts of the SIPTU and NRBU leaders, the rank and

file busworkers ignored the call to scab.

When ILDA drivers placed pickets on bus garages, over 90 percent of workers respected them.

Despite all this, the ILDA drivers stuck it out for

two months.

The return to work is a setback.

But they developed an amazing tradition of solidarity and militancy that will allow them to recover in future.

This was a strike over safety

HUGH, an ILDA executive member spoke at a Socialist Worker meeting to support the ILDA drivers.

He explained what the ILDA struggle was all about. "My advice to any group of workers is not to let their union become a power cell that is controlled by the government and union officials.

"Our struggle was about safety on the rails. Iamroid Eireann want to recruit 'contingency drivers' who would drive inter-city express trains and then go back to work on the platforms in railway stations.

Dispute

"The agreement that caused this dispute meant there could be eleven hour rosters. After that amount of driving it is difficult to concentrate on signals and stops.

"There were no guaranteed breaks. If trains were late drivers could end up driving back and forth to Cork with no breaks.

"Iamroid Eireann also want to introduce a 48 week training period. But

across Europe railway companies are moving away from this short training period. The unfortunate drivers who were involved in the Paddington rail disaster only had a 48-week training period.

"The full consequences

of this deal were not seen while the ILDA dispute was going on. Iamroid Eireann were so glad to get any driver to work that they did not implement it fully.

Our dispute shows that we have to stop our unions being taken over by the political establishment".

THE START OF A RANK AND FILE REVOLT

THE ILDA dispute was the opening shot of a rank and file revolt that is set to deepen.

On many occasions in the past workers have used breakaway unions to try to give the rank and file control of their own unions.

It is a strategy that has major weaknesses - mainly because it strengthens the hand of the union bureaucrats in the old unions. But the formation of unions like ILDA still shows a powerful desire to take the unions back from the career bureaucrats that now dominate them.

The Partnership for Fairness and Prosperity

has become a shambles for most workers. The union leaders gave 'assurances' to their members that inflation could not eat away their wage rises. But even though they have been proved totally wrong, they are still trying to stop workers putting in special wage claims.

The rank and file is not going to accept this.

What is needed are strong rank and file networks throughout the unions. This network should press for special pay rises but they need also to wrest control of their union away from the overpaid bureaucrats that are strangling them

Construction

Workers win 44%

CONSTRUCTION workers have won an overall increase in pay of 44 percent after protracted negotiations.

Scaffolders and other general operatives in the industry were due to take strike action over pay in the next two weeks.

The new deal combines pay increases under partnership and a shortening of the partnership period with further significant percentage increases.

The employers see it as a means of undermining the number of unofficial strikes in the industry.

But the workers know it is the very least they are due in a booming industry that is

also the most dangerous place to work.

As one of the SIPTU representatives told *Socialist Worker*, "With rampant inflation rates and the price of rent and housing soaring, this seems like scant reward for workers at the coalface of this most dangerous business".

In the last few years dozens of construction workers have been killed and suffered serious injuries on sites which are continually ignoring health and safety regulations.

It is a quicker way to cut costs and make profits.

This pay increase is significant because yet again it shows other workers that the pay limits set by partnership can be broken.

Aldi

Workers put manners on multinational

THE STRIKE at the Aldi supermarket in Parnell St Dublin has ended after the giant multinational made some concessions to the strikers.

The struggle at Aldi went on for three months. But just as trade unionists from across Dublin began to mobilise for a major mass rally outside the store, the German multinational opened negotiations with the MANDATE union through a solicitor.

They eventually agreed to lift the dismissal notices on five of the strikers. They also guaranteed to give them references for their time spent at the company.

The strikers had no desire to return to work for Aldi.

In return for a compensation offer they all resigned from their positions.

Aldi, however, did not go on from this to fully recognise unions. Instead they agreed to adopt the code of conduct of non-union firms that came out of the Ryanair dispute. This

simply means that individual workers can process their grievances to the Labour Court.

Much more could have been won at ALDI and the strike might not have lasted so long if the full resources of MANDATE were mobilised behind the strikers.

The union could have organised a levy of its Dublin members and it could also have called out mass pickets.

Instead much of the solidarity work for the strike was organised through a small support group mainly composed of the strikers and various socialists.

The six people involved in the strike, however, gave a powerful, example to the wider labour movement on how to take on a multinational.

"We showed that a union can get things done. We showed that the company were not paying us for the full hours we worked. We pressed for proper overtime rates. I hope workers in Aldi in the future will join a union" said one striker.

Organising

Building workers have been to the fore in taking militant action on pay and safety over the last few years.

They have shown the way and know that this is not the end of the struggle.

In the words of one shop steward, "There is an attempt to casualise this industry which is killing people. We have to be very vigilant against the greed of employers who are creaming off profits and are non-compliant with the pay structures and safety.

"The Minister Noel Dempsey has blamed workers pay demands for inflation increases in the industry.

"But let him remember it is not the workers who have been getting the brown envelopes from developers and builders.

"It's workers who have been losing their lives."

Shorts

STRIKE ACTION ESCALATES

WORKERS AT Shorts in Belfast have voted to escalate their industrial action for a £1 an hour pay rise.

They are moving to one day strikes each week, an increase from the half-day strikes and overtime ban in force since early July.

Shorts want to tie workers into a three or four year pay deal, with rises of just 3 percent each year.

This would mean a rise of just 20 or 25p an hour, for many Shorts production workers. Unions have signed similar deals for the last ten years, resulting in a massive decline in pay levels by over 10 percent compared to pay for engineering workers in Britain.

Davy McMurray of the ATGWU said, "Unless the

company responds to the very reasonable demand of the unions, for an extra £1 an hour, we have no option but to escalate this dispute."

Shorts are making major profits - £48 million in 1998 - and recently announced an extra 1200 new jobs.

But Shorts management are raising the threat of

sackings if the strike action escalates.

But so far, Shorts bosses have sat out the strike action, moving production to other lines to ensure that urgent orders are completed. Their threats show that the action is beginning to have an effect.

Shorts operates a 'just-in-time' system for orders and parts needed for their assembly plants in Canada.

Shorts workers know they are in a strong position.

Now is the time to face down the threats and blackmail from management and escalate to all out action to win the dispute.

Harland and Wolff

Workers at Harland and Wolff shipyard in Belfast faced the threat of hundreds more redundancies and the possible closure of the yard.

The threats are a deep betrayal of the workers, who agreed to wage cuts, reduced hours and limited redundancies four months ago.

During a similar crisis, four months ago, the yard bosses blackmailed the workers by refusing to

sign a contract for four new ferries unless the workers agreed to cut their wages.

There were two stormy mass meetings at the Ulster Hall where many workers complained that a 'gun was being put to their head'. But the new orders haven't materialised.

Now Harland and Wolff bosses are saying that they can't afford to keep paying the workers.

Teachers

A MAJOR pay revolt is gaining momentum amongst teachers.

The majority of teachers in Ireland voted against the recent pay agreement PPF last March.

However, as partners in ICTU, the deal was brought in despite the wishes of teachers.

ASTI, the secondary teaching union were the most militant of the three teaching unions and demanded a pay increase of 30 percent.

They disaffiliated from ICTU and are now waiting for the outcome of their claim.

The leader of the INTO, Joe O'Toole, has been blowing hot air about the huge increase in inflation rates but he refused to call action on the issue.

Instead his answer is to work through the 'bench-

marking' process which is part of the PPF and in effect means that increases will not be forthcoming immediately, if at all.

The TUI leadership have been silent on the issue.

ASTI have given a lead

NASUWT

TEACHERS IN the NASUWT union returning to schools this week will begin industrial action over workload. This follows a fantastic 95percent vote in favour of action.

It comes less than 2 years after the end of a previous campaign against bureaucracy. The vote shows the anger in schools against New Labour's continuation of Tory policies in education.

Education Minister David Blunkett has gone further than the Tories bringing in performance related pay, extending privatisation and

on the pay issue.

It is important that this is continued and stepped up. Rank and File teachers need to push for action over pay as soon as the school year starts.

continuing to divide schools through the use of 'league tables'.

The support for action should boost the confidence of teachers, parents, pupils and others campaigning to halt the notorious 11 plus system in the

North. As one NASUWT member told *Socialist Worker*, "It shows we are not prepared to sit idly by while Government, local or national, puts obstacles in the way of teaching while undermining the conditions for a more equal system of education".

THE CAMPAIGN AGAINST SELECTION
campaign_against_selection@hotmail.com
or phone secretary John Price on 01846-660011

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

50p

Bankers have
killed 4.5 million
children this year



THE GREAT DEBT BETRAYAL

NINETEEN THOUSAND children die every day in the Third World because money goes to debt payments, not health and education.

The grim toll has already reached over 4.5 million this year.

Western leaders, the bankers and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) promised there would be debt relief. They betrayed those words at last month's Okinawa summit, and they have betrayed them again.

The detailed figures for debt relief show some countries paying more, not less. In 1999 Zambia in east Africa paid £91 million in debt interest. After the "relief plan" Zambia will pay £155 million a year. Three quarters of Zambia's population already live on less than a dollar a day.

Feeling against the World Bank and IMF poli-

cies is growing across Africa. One sign is the mass strikes in Nigeria, South Africa and elsewhere against privatisation, market reforms and money spent on debt rather than health and education.

Earlier this year heavily armed police broke up a peaceful demonstration against the international banks organised by the Nigeria's trade unions and human rights activists. Some local protest leaders described it as "our Seattle".

Capitalist globalisation is wrecking people's lives and murdering the planet. But resistance is also increasingly global.

Thousands of people will demonstrate outside the IMF and World Bank meeting in Prague on September 26. Across Europe people are mobilising for the protests.

■ See page 4 for details of protest in Prague and Dublin