

# Socialist Worker

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Revolution in Serbia

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WHERE NOW FOR THE  
ANTI CAPITALIST  
MOVEMENT? — PAGE 8



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# WORKERS AT AERLINGUS SHOW THE WAY:

# JOIN THE PAY REVOLT

For details turn to page 3

## Making big profits from FF racism

Fianna Fail are launching another round of attacks on asylum seekers. The Department of Justice is proposing the introduction of compulsory health screening for all asylum seekers.

No other country in the

developed world has made health screening mandatory. It is a policy that is only supported by far-right parties.

### Announced

However the government may find it difficult to implement these measures as many doctors and health care workers are saying they will not

screen asylum seekers against their will.

The government has also announced that they are to 'house' 400 asylum seekers in a prefab camp at Dublin Airport.

The planned camp will be nothing short of a prison. The government are insisting that asylum seekers will be free to come and go. Yet they are installing a high tech round-the-clock security facility and will monitor the movements

of all asylum seekers. Asylum seekers will be given a mere £15 a week for each adult and £7.50 for each child to live on.

The camp will be built on land owned by millionaire arms-dealers Des and Ulick McEvaddy.

Ulick McEvaddy is a close friend of Mary Harney and Minister for Finance, Charlie McCreevy, both of whom regularly holiday at his French Villa.

## WHAT PRICE PEACE?

A NEW report by peace and justice group AFRI entitled What Price Peace? The Irish Peace Process and the International Arms Trade investigates the growing marketing of the North as a prime location for weapons manufacturing.

Both Belfast Short Brothers and Raytheon Systems in Derry have both recently announced expansions to accommodate the development of a new spy-

plane radar system for the British Ministry of Defence.

Economist Dr. Robbie McVeigh, who wrote the preface to the report, complained about the hypocrisy of governments and politicians who talk about taking the gun out of Irish politics, while at the same time expanding the North's arms industry.

"The reassuring aspect of this is meant to be that these weapons will be used to kill people somewhere other than Ireland", he said.

## Child labour returns

AN ICTU survey has found that two out of three school goers work during term time. Many of them work after 10 pm on school nights.

Half of these school goers are in the black economy. The survey found that some were paid as little as £1 an hour.

But instead of cracking down on these employers, Harney is liberalising the law to make it easier to employ teenagers late at night.

At the moment employment of under 18s after 10pm in school term is illegal. Harney is now pushing that back to 11pm on Fridays and Saturdays to facilitate the bar and catering trade.

## Blair rules out Finucane inquiry

TONY BLAIR has turned down a request for an inquiry into the murder of a prominent Belfast solicitor Pat Finucane.

Finucane was threatened several times by the RUC and told he would be got.

Later it emerged that MI5 and the RUC Special Branch knew in advance about the assassination but did nothing. Their double agent, Brian Nelson, was the intelligence officer of the IRA at the time. Since Finucane's assassination in 1989 only one man, William Byrne has been charged. But he has claimed that he was a Special Branch agent at the time. The military unit implicated in the Finucane killing, the Force Research Unit, was also involved in the murder of 67-year-old Francisco Notarantonio. He was gunned down to protect the identity of a British Army agent at the top of the IRA, code named Steak knife.

## Landlords cash in on the housing crisis

# Stop the evictions

Landlords are taking advantage of the housing crisis to throw people onto the streets.

Mosun Adio had been living in Meath for a year when her lease came up for renewal.

Her landlord said he was evicting her and only gave her a week's notice.

### Intervened

He then came back at 9am on a Saturday morning with some hired thugs and threw Mosun and her two children out onto the street.

The landlord even kept all of Mosun's possessions.

After the Housing Action Campaign intervened, a court ruled that the eviction was illegal and that Mosun should be allowed back into her home.

But the landlord is

now using the courts to legally evict her.

It isn't just private landlords who are forcing through evictions.

Dublin Corporation is also trying to clear people onto the street.

Julie Murphy, lives in George Reynolds Flats in Ringsend.

She is seriously ill and since the State won't provide enough support, Rachel's granddaughter has offered to move in to help care for Julie.

But in an act of absolute callousness, the Corporation have demanded that Rachel sign a document that states that when Julie dies she must immediately move out.

As one local housing activist put it, "Julie Murphy has been living in her flat for over forty years, if she had been paying a mortgage she would own the flat by now."

"Yet the Corpo are taking away her rights."

The reality of this hidden policy is affecting another Corporation tenant in Rialto. Mick Devereux was born in

Stanaway Ave. and has been the sole tenant there since his parents died.

According to Dublin Corporation's hidden policy, Mick is no longer entitled to live in his own home, as his parents are the only named tenants. Therefore they are evicting him at the end of the month.

### Campaign

The Housing Action Campaign is organizing to fight against greedy landlords and the contempt for tenants shown by the Corporation. Contact the Housing Action Campaign on: 086-876 5195.



Fighting evictions works: St Ultans last year

## EXCLUSIVE: Bribes to FF to build Tallaght shopping centre

THE SQUARE in Tallaght was built by a company that bribed Charlie Haughey and Bertie Ahern knew all about it.

A £25,000 donation made to Fianna Fail by the property developers, Monarch Properties, ended up in the FF party leader's bank account which was in the names of Charles Haughey, Bertie Ahern and Ray MacSharry.

This same account financed Haughey's lavish lifestyle.

Ahern has claimed to know little about the account but he signed most of the cheques to Haughey. There was at least £500,000 from unexplained sources in the account.

£15,800, went to buy Haughey's French shirts and £15,000 went to pay his bill at Le Coq Hardi restaurant.

After the Monarch donation Pádraig Flynn,

then Minister for the Environment, gave permission for Monarch to build the Square in Tallaght and gave them huge tax breaks.

While attempting to get permission to build the Square in Tallaght Monarch gave cash to

councilors including Tallaght FF's John Hannon and Jim Barry.

Monarch Properties Holdings, has always been closely linked to businessman Noel Smyth. Noel Smyth now controls the company along with Ben Dunne.

Monarch has already admitted giving money to the disgraced Fianna Fail TD G.W. Wright. The company has also admitted giving 'donations' to Dun Laoghaire councilors while getting planning permission for a development in 1996.

## MORE DIRT ON THE BANKS

IRISH BANKS illegally moved tens of millions of pounds to the Channel Islands and the Isle of Man after the DIRT scandal was revealed.

Banks and building societies had teams of executives target large account-holders after they had to close their non-resident accounts.

Details of 'big business' clients were passed on from local branches to head office in Dublin and these account-holders were told this 'hot' money could be moved 'off-

shore" to avoid paying DIRT.

Meanwhile the Irish state continues to openly collude with wealthy tax dodgers.

Over £100 million is now paid out by the health boards in private subsidies to landlords but information on these subsidies is withheld.

£1 billion is still outstanding in taxes from the wealthy according to the Revenue Commissioners.

Only half of this is expected to be collected because of the elaborate lengths that the rich will go to, to avoid paying tax.

## Jail this joyrider

ZERO TOLERANCE was: O'Donoghue, the Minister for Justice, took 48 hours to explain how his ministerial car was stopped for speeding in Co Kerry.

His car was exceeding 100 m.p.h. in a 60 m.p.h zone outside Castleisland.

O'Donoghue's explanation in full

"It appears that on September 10th I wasn't actually in the car myself.

That weekend — as you know I live a long way from Dublin — my wife and family came up as a treat for the All-Ireland hurling final and we attended the game that afternoon and they actually went home."

Some 41 percent of road deaths are

caused by speeding. As O'Donoghue himself has said in the past "The efforts of the Garda, parents and community groups, are ruined by people who act irresponsibly with the added risk to themselves and the general public."

Socialist Worker thinks this is a clear case where zero tolerance is required.

## what we think

*Pensions, bonds, tax cuts are not enough*

# We need a pay rise of at least 5 percent

**A PAY revolt has begun to tackle Ireland's growing level of inflation.**

**Catering workers in Aer Lingus have walked off their job in protest at wages in 'the low pay airline'.**

Teachers are balloting for strike action over a 30 percent wage claim. ESBOA members have deferred strike action for two months — but only a promise of a substantial pay rise.

The pay revolt is fully justified. Workers voted for a partnership agreement in February that allowed for a wage increase of 5.5 percent this year.

### Leaders

They were told that inflation would not rise above 3 percent by government, the ESRI and the union leaders. But inflation has already hit 6.2 percent and is rising. The promises made in February were another con — but this time they will not wash.

The ICTU and the leaders of the country's largest union, SIPTU, have responded to the revolt by demanding compensation to the tune of 5 percent.

But despite initial confusion this is not a direct pay demand. Instead the union leaders say they are looking for 'innovative methods' such as pension bonds or national savings bonds val-

ued at £500 to deal with the inflation crisis.

Co-incidentally Ahern has said that the government will look at this scheme.

Once again, it seems the union leaders are talking tough but behind the scenes are stitching up a scheme to head off the pay revolt. Their hope is that they can string things out until they get small changes in December's budget.

But a £500 savings bonds will do nothing for workers who are hit by crippling housing costs now.

And while the government can promise some extra tax cuts, it can take these back through other indirect measures such as forcing local authorities to impose refuse charges.

The ICTU has accepted the propaganda of right wing economists that pay rises are the cause of inflation. But this is nonsense.

Ireland's inflation is the highest in the EU even though Irish wages have been restrained for over a decade. If wage moderation brought low inflation this would not have happened.

Productivity levels of workers have increased a record 5.2 percent a year. That is more than enough to offset extra pay without having to raise costs.

Far from wage rises causing inflation they are a response to inflation that has already occurred.

Instead of being fobbed, off workers should join the pay revolt and support any group who take on their employers and the government.



## Big success for anti-capitalist protestors

**1,500 PEOPLE took part in an anti-capitalist carnival in Dublin on September 30th. But you would have heard nothing about it if you were reading the mainstream press.**

Although editors claim there is 'free press', there can be no freedom in the media when it is run by large companies whose only interest is profit.

The press did not cover the anti-capitalist protest in Dublin because they want to present an image of 'real politics' as occurring within a framework that accepts the present system.

A few days before the Dublin carnival, the Prague protests forced the IMF to close down early. The sheer scale of the events meant the media could not avoid it. But they focussed only on the violence rather than the power that came from the huge numbers, which mobilised from across the world.

Once again this was a way of demonising the protestors rather than dealing with their criticisms.

### Revenge

The real violence in Prague in fact occurred after the protest when Czech police took their revenge by beating and torturing many demonstrators.

Over 800 people were dragged into police cells and subjected to systematic beat-

ings. Czech people were separated from non-Czechs and given even worse treatment.

Rory Hearne, the President of TCD Students' Union was one of those arrested and beaten.

"They made us stand in the dark for hours and then beat us. You could hear the screams from neighbouring cells and I heard afterwards that they tried to smash the fingers of Czech people who were arrested. They wanted to break the spirit of those who protested against the IMF. But they will not succeed."

FROM SEATTLE to Prague a new movement has arisen to challenge global capitalism. Tens of thousands have marched because they want to cancel Third World debt, to protect the environment and to end poverty. They want a society where people come before profit.

Capitalism is a system based on greed and competition. It erodes democracy through the power of money. It produces 'a race to the bottom' where multinational firms blackmail governments so they can reduce their wage bills and cut their taxes.

Now many people realise there can be an alternative. A society where workers democratically control their factories and offices — where we produce for human need and not profit.

But to get that we need to be organised. The rich and powerful always organise to protect their interests. We need a strong socialist party that fights with the same determination for our side.

The Socialist Workers Party is looking for hundreds of new members. If you want to get involved or simply want more information, please fill in the form. We have over 30 branches both North and South. To find out about a branch near you ring (01) 8722682

# Join the anti-capitalists

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# news of the world

## Serbia

# This is what democracy looks like



Thousands of people over ran the Parliament building

REVOLUTION has ended the 13-year rule of the Yugoslav tyrant Milosevic. The spark was lit by the action of miners in Kolubara. An opposition member pointed out: "We found the fire in Kolubara, this dynamite that has activated people all around Serbia."

When some 7,500 miners struck at the giant Kolubara opencast mine, 40 miles south of Belgrade it was the turning point in a week long series of protests over Milosevic's stealing of the election.

The miners wanted democracy and better wages. Dragan Pantic, a 41 year old miner there, pointed to his worn out shoes and told journalists, "We are not going to give up. Look at

what I've got after 19 years here."

But they were met with heavy handed repression from the Milosevic regime. Dozens of vans and buses of police in riot gear arrived and ordered striking miners to return to work.

### Occupied

They occupied the mine to make arrests after the state had filed charges against two opposition lead-

ers and 11 miners who had organised the strike.

But angry workers drove a bus through a police cordon and thousands of people entered the mine.

The police were forced to pull back.

After this victory, the opposition movement called on its supporters to assemble in huge numbers on the streets to force Milosevic to go.

Over a hundred thousand people went to the parliament building in Belgrade

and broke through the lines of riot police to set it alight

Thousands travelled the 150 kilometres from Cacak in a column of vehicles stretching for 20km, headed by a bulldozer to clear roadblocks, to join the protestors the square in front of the parliament.

Several thousand people marched on foot towards Belgrade from the industrial city of Pancevo, six miles to the north

The uprising developed with stunning speed, swelling as security forces showed little willingness to battle the largest anti-Milosevic protest ever.

Hundreds of protestors took a tractor and charged the main building of the state-run television station, throwing stones and bottles.

They knocked down the main door and set part of the building alight

Across the country there were protests and strikes. Wherever the police had set up roadblocks they were overwhelmed by the numbers pressing forward.

Protesters used an excavator to shove aside two lorries laden with sand parked across the main road from the opposition-held town of Cacak to Belgrade.

### Demonstrators

Police who fired on demonstrators were beaten. Big trucks with loudspeakers drove through Belgrade blasting folk and rock music.

The downtown head-

quarters of the Yugoslav Left, the neo-communist party run by Milosevic's wife, was demolished, with the graffiti "People's Revolution" sprayed on inside walls.

"I've been waiting for 10 years for this and out of that I spent five years in a queue. I just want to see him finish like Ceausescu," said Stevan, a 45-year-old shopworker, referring to the Romanian dictator killed in 1989.

## The West's hypocrisy

THE WESTERN leaders rushed to welcome the protests in Serbia.

But it was pure hypocrisy. Last year NATO bombed Serbia destroying factories, bridges and killing thousands of the very people who hated Milosevic.

They claimed they were doing it to bring peace to the region and to help the Kosovans. But they created a refugee crisis, and destroyed the infrastructure of both states.

### Genocide

During the war, they argued that Milosevic was another Hitler who was engaged in genocide against the Albanians and could never be overthrown by an opposition movement.

But they lied on both counts. After the war only 3,000 mass graves were found - which was horrific but on a vastly smaller scale than Rwanda, where they never intervened.

And there was a huge opposition pro-democracy movement which was supported abroad only by opponents of NATO's war

Since then Western economic sanctions have increased the suffering of Serbian workers, while businessmen, state officials and the bosses of nationalised industries have

emerged unscathed.

The tens of thousands of people who took to the streets since the election are not pro-Bill Clinton or Tony Blair.

The one part of the area that does not yet have democracy is the part run by NATO - Kosovo. Even after elections are held, the province will be run by

Bernard Kouchner, the UN head of Kosovo as a virtual military regime.

Clinton and Blair told us that Milosevic would be removed by bombing. In reality, NATO attacks killed thousands, and kept Milosevic in power a little longer.

It is despite of Nato that Milosevic was toppled.

## Who is Kostunica?

"WHAT we are doing today is making history," the new President Vojislav Kostunica proclaimed during a speech in front of Belgrade city hall, across from the still burning parliament.

But Kostunica tried to hold back the protests. When crowds chanted for Milosevic's arrest, Kostunica answered: "He doesn't need to be arrested. He arrested himself a long time ago."

He even said he hopes to see Milosevic active in Yugoslav poli-

tics. Kostunica is popular because, unlike the other opposition leaders, he has never negotiated with Milosevic and skilfully expresses the hopes of many Serbs with his slogan of 'No to [Milosevic's] White Castle'.

Kostunica is a nationalist and the 18-party opposition movement, which he leads, have condemned NATO. But his programme for change is limited to removing Milosevic and

his clique from office. Bitterness at unpaid wages and austerity fuelled Kostunica's campaign.

But he is committed to the kind of free market policies which have been a disaster in Eastern Europe over the last decade.

Kostunica calls for "a modern economic ideology for the Yugoslav economy", "balancing the budget", "mandatory privatisation", public spending cuts and higher taxes on workers through the introduc-



Kostunica

tion of VAT. There is a clear gap between the aspirations of those who are taking to the streets and striking in Serbia and the economic policies on offer from Kostunica.

**Don't let them steal the revolution**

THE SCENES of thousands of people on the streets of an East European capital could only remind people of the revolutions in 1989 that overthrew Stalinism.

Those regimes were not based on workers' control of society but on exploitation. A tiny elite collectively owned and controlled the factories and built a military industrial complex that competed with the West.

These regimes were nothing to do with socialism but were state capitalist societies which workers did not support.

What replaced them has been a tremendous disappointment. The leaders of the 1989 revolutions believed that a market economy would bring in investment to 'modernise' their economies. In fact the cumulative foreign investment for the whole of

Eastern Europe between 1989 and 1996 was only half that invested in Britain.

Hundreds of thousands were thrown out of work in a 're-structuring' that did not bring any benefits. The old Communist Party bureaucrats who ran the state simply took over the privatized firms.

If this is not to be the fate of the Serbian people, then the workers will need to advance their own demands and carry forward the revolution against those who want to settle for a new market economy.

The Kolubara miners did not join the march on Belgrade. A strike committee member, Zoran Cvetanovic explained "We wanted to keep our workers in the pits. Because we must persist in our demands and defend ourselves."

That is where the hope lies that the revolution will not be stolen from the people again.

# Eamonn McCann

## Trimble's troubles

"NO DAVID Trimble, no Belfast Agreement — that's the way it looks" — RTE Northern editor David Davin-Power.

They were all singing from the same hymn-sheet on the day after the October 7th Ulster Unionist Party conference. Trimble was holding the line against the anti-Agreement forces in his own rank-and-file—but only just. If the SDLP, Sinn Fein and the Dublin Government didn't back off on Patten, and if the IRA didn't make another move on arms, Trimble would fall, and the Executive, the Assembly and the whole house of cards would collapse with him. So anybody who insists, for example, on the full implementation of Patten without demanding simultaneous IRA decommissioning, is an enemy of peace, an obstacle to reconciliation.

### Reform

The problem this analysis presents to supporters of the Agreement is that, up to a point, it is valid. While the letter of the Agreement doesn't benchmark policing reform against IRA decommissioning, it does make the deal conditional on retaining the support of "both communities".

If a majority of the members of the Assembly designated as Unionist withhold their backing from Trimble—or, and for practical purposes it amounts to the same thing, he loses the support of the Ulster Unionist Council—the Agreement cannot survive. Nationalist commentators can reasonably argue that it's ridiculous to elevate David Trimble's political survival into a make-or-break issue for the entire Process.

But that's what follows from an Agreement which divides the whole population into Orange and Green camps and gives each a veto over progress.

In the week after the Agreement was signed, in April 1998, Socialist Worker pointed out that it represented a consolidation of sectarianism and for that reason was pre-programmed to deadlock. We were right.

Mainstream commentators who say now that they are for the Agreement but against concessions on policing to save David Trimble are shutting their eyes to the requirements of the deal which they endorse.

Socialists don't begin with the question of how to save the Agreement. We come at the problem with a different perspective, seeing the communal politics inherent in the Agreement as the problem.

On policing, for example, Republicans take the view that a "policing service" representative of "both communities" can emerge from the full implementation of Patten. They say they will give allegiance to such a force when and if it is established, and urge their followers to join it.

Socialists don't urge working-class people to join the police force of any capitalist society. Our role is to urge and organise working-class communities to hold the police force to account, to monitor its activities, to expose its bias against the poor and actively to resist it when it attacks working-class interests.

### Implemented

Beginning from that position, we intervene in debates over policing by continuing to demand an end to the RUC and drawing attention to the need for a political focus for distrust of the police—even if Patten is implemented in full.

On the broader questions, it's understandable that former IRA prison commander Brendan Hughes should look at his ex-comrades preening themselves at Stormont as they grapple with the contradictions in the Agreement, and ask in the *Observer*: "What happened to the idea of a 32-county socialist republic. That was what it was all about..."

In the minds of many activists, maybe. But the IRA's armed struggle was a Nationalist, not a socialist struggle. Physically and ideologically, it was based on the Nationalist community, not the working class.

The Agreement is the logical outworking of Nationalist politics. It ends up dependant on the survival of Nationalism's partner in compromise, David Trimble. It serves no purpose to try to devise a better Nationalist project, or retrospectively to recast the Republican struggle as socialist.

The task is to build a real revolutionary socialist presence in Northern politics.

**Socialist Worker** looks at the reality of Republican ministers in government

# Why won't McGuinness scrap the 11 plus?

THE Gallagher Report on selection in education has been published. But Education Minister Martin McGuinness has failed to act on the findings. Instead, he back-pedalled by setting up yet another 'review body', not due to report until May 2001.

by COLM BRYCE and GORETTI HORGAN

Scandalously this 'independent' review body, is headed by former ombudsman Gerry Burns. Burns is a supporter of the grammar system and sits on the Board of Governors of a prestigious Enniskillen grammar school.

### Supporter

But why is McGuinness who suffered from the eleven plus himself, appointing someone who is not going to scrap the system.

And why doesn't he act now rather than delay things to a time when the assembly could col-

lapse?

The Gallagher research report showed how the selective system discriminates against working class pupils.

While a minority of students who attend grammar schools are very high achievers, the majority of school pupils are failed by the system.

It also found that 47 percent of children in primary schools received coaching outside school, at an average cost of £15 an hour.

### Parents

Three out of four groups of parents they interviewed said they would pay for a coach to tutor their children.

But the researchers say the views of the fourth group, from a deprived inner city area, "were so divergent from those articulated in the other three schools that they merit special atten-



Adams and McGuinness

tion". The parents didn't know that half those sitting the 11+ had paid tutors and, when they heard the cost involved,

"were unanimous in their assertions that the cost would be beyond their capacity to pay".

If McGuinness were really concerned with the

welfare of pupils from the working class areas he represents in Derry, he would take his chance to scrap the 11 plus while he has it.

# DeBrun: Minister for health cuts

Hospitals in Northern Ireland are already facing a major beds crisis, long before the normal winter increase which led to chaos last year.

Health Minister Bairbre de Brun claims that she is asking for more money from the British government.

But De Brun is also implementing cuts in staff and beds in every hospital.

Craigavon Area Hospital warned last week that it would have to sack 100 staff and shut dozens of beds in order to repay a £3 million over-spent to the Department of Health.

Craigavon Hospital was supposed to take the patients from the South Tyrone hospital, shut by Bairbre de Brun earlier this year — yet she demands 'efficiency savings' at Craigavon.

The Royal Victoria Hospital, which is £10 million over budget, is

not replacing nurses and doctors as part of its efficiency drive.

There are currently 47,000 people on waiting lists for surgery in Northern Ireland, the highest in the UK. In early October all major hospitals in Northern Ireland cancelled surgery.

Heart surgery patients are being sent to Scotland for surgery in private hospitals because of the strain on the Royal Victoria in Belfast.

The cash crisis is the result of years of under-funding.

But Bairbre De Brun has spent much of the year on a 'review' of hospital services. Without extra resources this is just a matter of rearranging the deck chairs.

The irony is that Sinn Fein claims it is a 'radical' party.

But if they were really radical De Brun would be using her position to stir up a revolt against the cuts rather than implementing them.

## Why are they backing PFI?

The Public Finance Initiative was invented by the Tories to turn over huge parts of the public services to profiteers.

Since they came to office, Labour has swallowed it hook, line and sinker.

### Cost

Chancellor Gordon Brown says PFI will turn the "public sector into purchasers of services from the private sector."

What he won't say is that it will cost the NHS hundreds of millions of pounds more than it otherwise would have.

The Royal College of Nursing says:

"While these handouts go to private business, one third of nurses are so badly paid that they're doing second jobs."

But now it seems that the republican Ministers are buying into PFI.

Martin McGuinness said he was "delighted" that St Genevieve High School in Belfast has signed a £14 million PFI contract to pay for badly needed school buildings which successive governments have allowed to rot.

The Royal Dialysis Unit in Belfast City Hospital was one of the first PFI pro-

jects here which was endorsed by de Brun.

New investment sounds good. But PFI will let the government off the hook in the future.

### Investment

What happens when more investment is needed in health and education but private companies aren't interested because there are no profits to be made?

Instead of part-privatising public services, McGuinness and de Brun should stop wasting money on grants and subsidies for private firms and plough it into the NHS and our schools instead.

## Health

# A cheque book health service

THE IRISH health system is in crisis because of under-funding and the entrenched power of hospital consultants.

by SINEAD KENNEDY

The defeat of Dr Noel Browne's mother-and-child scheme in 1951 has had lasting consequences. It ensured that no comprehensive free health service was established.

Instead of people being treated on the basis of suffering, money decided who got treated first.

Officially, Ireland has a 'mixed care model' where a public health system and a private health system run in tandem. But the patients who cannot afford private medicine lose out.

80 percent of Irish consultants who are employed by the health service have a lucrative private practice.

Many of them skip off to treat their private patients. The vast majority of doctors who treat emergency cases tend to be junior doctors. Consultants can earn up to £86,000 from the state but they are also receiving an average of another £87,000 from the VHI.

### Funding

This means they have an incentive to treat their private patients sooner and better.

Chronic under funding of the health service increased in the eighties under Charles Haughey.

As the public health system came under multiple assault a booming private sector gradually emerged.

The Blackrock Clinic and the Mater Private Hospital opened in Dublin in the early 1980s, the first purely profit-driven hospitals in the Irish system. One issue that highlights the horrific state of the Irish health system is the high mortality rate of women with breast cancer in this country.

OECD figures show a 45 per cent mortality rate in the Ireland. Compared with approximately the same breast cancer incidence, Australian women have a mortality rate of only 33 per cent.

Dr John Crown, a medical oncologist at St Vincent's Hospital in Dublin commented recently that "there is no doubt in my mind that the cancer treatment service which I joined on my return from the US in 1993 was clearly, measurably and palpably among the very worst in the developed world."

"We have waiting lists

which are unheard of in other Western countries," he says. Patients can wait several weeks to a month to see a surgeon when they find a breast lump".

Long waiting lists for treatment are standard practice there were nearly 32,000 people on lists this summer. Dublin has a lower proportion of hospital beds per head of population than any other country in the EU.

Government policy has been to cut back on public health spending and force people towards the VHI.

It is small wonder that membership of the VHI, seen as the way to jump queues, has soared from 22 per cent of the population in 1979 to 41 per cent today. When other private insurance schemes are included, some 45 per cent of the population is thought to be in the private sector.

"I know people who would scrub floors, just to get the money for VHI cover, out of fear of having to depend on the public health," says the chairman of the Irish Patients Association, Stephen McMahon.

A consumer survey conducted by the ESRI for the EU in 1990 discovered that among respondents who had VHI cover, 62 per cent cited "being sure of getting into hospital quickly when you need treatment" as the most important reason for having this insurance. There remains approximately 25 per cent of the population who have neither medical cards nor private insurance.

The direct result of this policy is clear and horrific. If you are poor, you die younger, as the ESRI report proved. Based on figures from the 1980s, it found that for Irish men aged 55 to 64, higher professionals had a death rate of 13 per 1,000 compared to 22 for the semi-skilled and 32 for the unskilled manual groups.

Under funding of the health service has gone hand in hand with the lowering of corporation tax. Over 92 per cent of funding for the health service comes from the pockets of PSRI workers.

Unless the wealthy are taxed heavily and the power of consultants is broken, Irish workers will continue to suffer a poor health service.

# Security forces murder over 70 and

# Israeli's kill

A 12-YEAR-OLD boy is shot dead in his father's arms. Teenagers throw stones and are met with live ammunition. Over 70 Palestinians have been killed and over 2,000 seriously injured.

This is the horror of the Israeli repression of the Palestinians. On the one side stands the US's biggest ally in the Middle East and one of the most militarised states in the world.

### Drove

On the other side are the Palestinians, who are still living in refugee camps after the Israeli state drove their grandparents out and forcibly occupied the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

There were protests across the Middle East against the Israeli repression, including a general strike in Lebanon's 13 refugee camps, where the majority of the nation's 400,000 Palestinians live.

The riots by Palestinians were provoked by the visit of Ariel Sharon-leader of Likud, a right wing Israeli party-to a

sacred Muslim site, Mount Temple, in Jerusalem.

Arabs across the Middle East despise Sharon for his role in the 1982 invasion of Lebanon.

Tens of thousands of unarmed Lebanese and Palestinians were slaughtered in an invasion which culminated in the murders at Sabra and Shatilla refugee camps in Beirut.

Christian fascist militia did the killing while Israeli troops led by Sharon troops sealed off the camps.

Even an Israeli inquiry found Sharon indirectly responsible for the massacre.

Sharon arrived at Mount Temple on the anniversary of the Sabra and Shatilla massacres.

### Deployed

But he did not come alone. One thousand Israeli troops and special units of 'Border Guards' were deployed to protect him.

As soon as Palestinians threw stones they opened fire

with live rounds.

Behind these events is an Israeli attempt to take control of the city of Jerusalem. Over the past few years, the Israeli government has encouraged Jewish settlers to move into East Jerusalem.

They seized Palestinian land and built a ring road to sever that part of the city from its West Bank hinterland.

Palestinians who had to leave the city to get jobs lost their rights to reside in the city.

During the Camp David negotiations in the US in July this year Israel pressed for more concessions on Jerusalem. At first the Palestinian leader, Arafat, agreed but this only encouraged Israel to look for more.

Finally the 'liberal' foreign Minister Ben Arni declared that Israel wanted control over the Mount Temple site. He said 'no nation can give up its sacred sites'.

Behind the right wing fanatic Sharon therefore stands the Barak government. They talk about peace but the forced Israeli withdrawal from the Lebanon has shocked them.

And now they are taking their revenge in the whole scale murder of unarmed Palestinians

## Israel: The racist state

The uprising in Jerusalem has involved the 1 million strong Israeli Arab population for the first time.

It is no wonder. They face a history of discrimination that was worse even than Northern Ireland.

\* HOUSING: No Arab town has been built since the 1940's. This year alone Israel has refused 22,000 building permits for Arab citizens.

In 1995 only 2.3 % of Arab applicants were granted mortgages. Arabs are ineligible for most of the grants and rent subsidies given to Jews.

\* SOCIAL SPENDING: Per capita spending on Arab town is one seventh of that for Jewish towns.

Infant mortality for Arabs is double the Jewish mortality rate.

\* JOBS: The average hourly wage for Jews is 33 percent higher than Palestinians

# No Justice, no Peace

THE OSLO peace deal created a series of small townships in the Occupied Territories over which fly the Palestinian flag. Their sum total is 3 percent of the West Bank and 60 percent of Gaza. Four million Palestinian refugees who lost their land and houses were given nothing at all.

The economy, including most workers' wages, is almost entirely dependent on Israel.

All candidates in elections have to be approved by the Israelis.

### Control

Israel continues military control of the West Bank and Gaza, and has established 62 new military bases on the West Bank since the peace deal was signed.

Israel controls all the exits and entrances to the Palestinian towns. It controls all the roads and as well as security outside the towns. It controls water, air space and airwaves.

All commercial traffic



DAVID VERSUS GOLIATH

between Gaza and the West Bank is in Israeli hands.

A truck carrying tomatoes from Gaza to the West Bank must stop at

the border, unload onto an Israeli truck, and then reload onto a Palestinian truck in the West Bank.

The operation is guaranteed to rot the goods and raise their costs.

The areas which the new Palestinian Authority controls are wracked with poverty.

Two thirds of the 900,000 inhabitants of Gaza are refugees from the first Israeli-Arab war of 1948 and live in camps constructed as temporary shelters by the UN in 1951.

The housing is substandard, the facilities often unhygienic. There is now a 70 percent level of unemployment in Gaza.

### Refugees

Palestinian refugees expelled in 1945 have no right of return: but Jews anywhere in the world can claim Israeli citizenship.

The Jewish National Fund which buys up and administers huge swathes of land bars its sale or lease to non-Jews.

It isn't peace, it is no less than apartheid.



ISRAELI SOLDIER

# History and

Israel was built violent eviction Palestinian Arabs from their homeland in the 1940s. It has acted as the dog for US imperialism in the region ever since.

# How Palestine

THE NEW laws that the Palestinians received give them no defeat is strong. The US pressure on the East to get control their region. America in the region. The Palestinian 'Intifada' to unravel a 'unfortunate' operation of the 'unfortunate' to population. It accept the

and injure thousands as...

# Will Peace



ISRAELI SOLDIERS shooting at Palestinians

## History of repression and of resistance

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 war for Palestine was bitterly fought in 1948 between Zionist militias and several Arab armies from neighbouring states. Three quarters of a million Palestinians were forced to flee their homes and became stateless refugees.

The Zionists militias used bloody terror to create the fiction of 'a land without people for a people without land'. Israeli leader Ben Gurion wrote in 1948, 'Blowing up a house is not enough. What is necessary are cruel and strong

reactions... If we know the family strike mercilessly, women and children included.'

In the village of Deir Yassin right wing Zionist militia, led by the former Israeli Prime Minister Begin, murdered hundreds of unarmed men, women and children and then played recordings of their screams in other cities to create a panic exodus of refugees.

The United States backed the declaration of the state of Israel with a \$1 billion loan.

In 1967 Israel defeated its Arab neighbours in a full-scale war. Afterwards it seized a huge amount of new Arab territory including the Palestinian West Bank and Gaza.

Israel became the US's most heavily funded client state in the world. But the Palestinians have always fought back.

At the end of 1987 the Intifada (Palestinian uprising) broke out in the West Bank and Gaza. Palestinian teenage stone throwers confronted heavily armed Israeli troops and caught the imagination of the world.

It forced the Israeli state into negotiations. But the Oslo peace accords never gave the Palestinians their rights.

It isn't peace, it is no less than apartheid.

## How can the Palestinians win?

**THE NEW** rebellion shows that the spirit of Palestinians that has survived generations of defeat is still alive and strong. The US brokered the Middle East 'peace process' in order to get Arab rulers to control their own populations. America wants stability in the region to secure oil supplies. The new Palestinian 'Intifada' threatens to unravel all that. Unfortunately, the leadership of the Palestinian Liberation Organization has matched the militancy of the population. Not only do they accept the Oslo peace

accord but also it developed a heavy security regime to crack down on dissidents.

It aimed to tie itself into a friendly relationship with US imperialism, much as the IRA attempted to do in Ireland.

Yes, the more concessions the PLO made, the more Israel demanded. It is now estimated that the Israelis have broken over 50 of the accords in the original peace deal.

A separate Palestinian state was supposed to be declared five years after the Yasser Arafat and Shimon Peres shook hands on the White House Lawn. But

over seven years later and there is no Palestinian state.

Arafat is now under immense pressure. The defeat of Israel in Lebanon has encouraged people to fight back against Israeli oppression.

However, unfortunately, the politics of the PLO does not break with imperialism or the local Arab rulers who prop it up.

The real hope lies in the struggle of the West Bank and Gaza strip spreading to the Arab workers of the region rising up to defeat imperialism and overthrow the thugs and tyrants who dominate the Middle East for the West.

## what do socialists say?

### Revolution: Is this what it looks like?

**'REVOLUTION IN Belgrade' screamed the press headlines. The news was now coming from 'liberated' Serbia.**

It is not often that the Western press are celebrating revolutions. This was all supposed to belong to the past. And Serbia of all places.

During the most recent Balkan war, Irish Times journalist Fintan O'Toole described the country as a fascist state and scoffed at any possibility that the democratic opposition could overthrow Milosevic. The only answer was to reign down NATO bombs.

Yet here was that same opposition storming the parliament, taking over the television stations and chasing down Milosevic supporters.

#### Uprising

The Serbian events contained many of the elements of a classic revolution. There was an uprising to paralyse the centres of power which the old regime controlled. In modern society there can be no real change until control of the state media is wrested from the old rulers.

There was the confrontation with and final winning over, of the security forces of the old regime. The confidence of the police had been undermined but it was only the sheer power of numbers which broke their resolve to act.

Masses of people who had previously accepted their lot suddenly decided that it was their mission to change the course of events. All pleas to take the constitutional road or to return to a new electoral contest were brushed aside.

But there were also some key elements missing from this particular revolution. The revolt had begun with the defiance of the miners in Kolubara (see page 5) who occupied their workplaces and threatened to close down the power supply.

But this example did not spread significantly or deepen.

The result is that when the mass of people finish celebrating getting rid of Milosevic, they have no leverage to allow them to impose their will on society.

This creates the space for a new set of rulers to steal their revolution from them. And the hangers on of the old regime know this well and so quickly learn to change their clothes.

In the Romanian Revolution of 1989, for example, there was an enormous explosion of anger on

the streets. But behind the scenes, the bureaucrats of the old regime stitched up a Provisional Government, which retained many of the practices of the old Ceausescu regime.

The mass of people can come out on the streets of Serbia again, but their power will really only grow if they take control of the productive system of society.

A socialist revolution differs in this respect from what happened in Serbia. Typically, it involves workers combining street protests with strike action. This leads to an intermingling of political and economic demands.

If the strike is extended to its maximum level — to a general strike, which paralyzes society — workers need to create new institutions to co-ordinate their organisation.

During the French general strike in 1995, for example, delegates from teachers visited train stations and post-office to establish links to organise their movement. If these had deepened and had led to proper assemblies that brought delegates together from different workplaces, they would have been able to impose their will on their local areas.

A social revolution as against political revolution therefore has to involve the creation of new institutions which begin to gather power into the hands of the mass of people. These workers councils contain the embryo of a new society.

#### Remove

To reflect the changing mood of the masses they have to be thoroughly democratic. And they tend to remove the false distinction between what is 'political' and what is 'economic'.

The experience of Russia in 1917 was that these institutions could co-exist alongside the old state for a period of time. But eventually dual power is untenable. Either the state re-organises and crushes the workers councils or the workers councils uproot all the repressive power of the old state.

That often involves huge arguments within the workers councils. In Germany, in 1918, workers council delegates were persuaded to give up their power whereas in Russia in 1917 they accepted the slogan 'All power to the soviets' (workers councils) and organised an insurrection.

The main difference was that in Russia a substantial socialist party existed that pressed for the completion of the revolution.

by KIERAN ALLEN



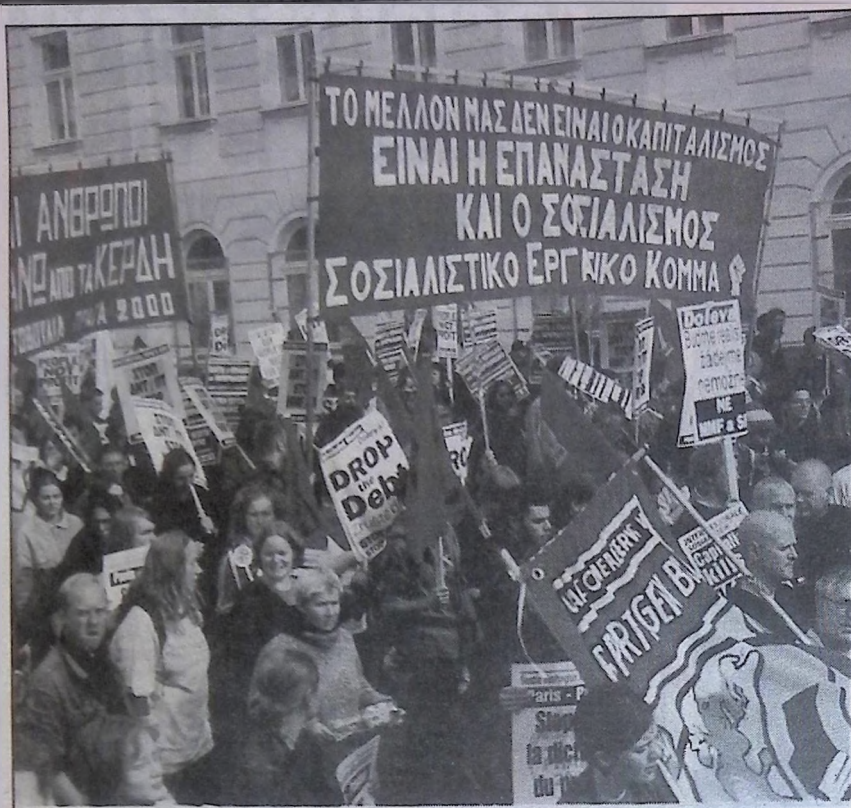
## THE IMF, GLOBALISATION AND RESISTANCE

A Socialist Worker pamphlet by Chris Harman

Price £1 from Socialist Worker sellers or

OUT NOW

# After the Prague protests stop the IMF...



Anti-Capitalist demonstration in Prague



pic:Paula Geraghty

**“T**oday is a great day but it is only the beginning. It is up to us here today to bring the spirit of Prague home to our communities, to our workplaces, our schools and universities. We must not only fight the system, but also organise resistance to the system”.

These are the words of Sallos, a Greek Telecom worker, addressing the demonstration against the IMF in Prague recently.

On September 26th thousands of people from across Europe mobilised to oppose globalisation, the free market and the growing inequality that exist in the world today. Students, anti-debt campaigners and environmentalists marched along side trade unionists from Greece, Germany, Austria, Britain, Turkey and Ireland.

The Czech authorities, who were aided and abetted by the CIA, blocked demonstrators on a bridge, beat them with truncheons, fired water cannons and sprayed them with tear gas.

The IMF and their free market supporters could only meet in a conference centre that resembled a fortified bunker surrounded by all the armoury of the Czech state.

But none of this deterred the protesters who began gathering from 6am on September 26.

**T**he day began when over 1,000 marched from the Florenc bus station in an unplanned demonstration, led by Socialist Worker supporters and its sister organisations from across Europe. They chanted, "The IMF kills, Kill the IMF!" and "Our World is not for sale!"

The march then joined more protesters in Prague's Namesti Miru, or Peace Square.

The atmosphere was carnival like with thousands of people from across Europe.

"Today shows how the world has changed", said one protestor, Karl, from Germany. "We are no longer prepared to sit back and let the bankers destroy our world."

From now on the bankers will know that wherever they go, they will be met with protest and resistance."

## WHICH WAY NOW FOR THE ANTI-CAPITALIST MOVEMENT?

The entire Square cheered when hundreds of students and protesters from Greece arrived singing the Italian socialist song "Bandiera Rossa".

The delegation included 30 Telecom workers who had recently struck against privatisation and representatives from the Greek Seamen's union that won a huge victory against low pay and longer working hours.

Over a thousand protesters came from Britain including many trade unionists. Bill Brown a trade union activist in the London Underground spoke about the need for solidarity with workers across the world. "The policies of the IMF and the World Bank don't just affect the peoples of the Third World, peoples far away. They affect us in the West too."

"I work for London Underground, which is owned by the same company that builds dams in Turkey, displaces thousands of people in China, and attacks British workers with its privatisation agenda."

There were several serious attempts to break through the police barricades outside the conference centre but the defences were too strong, with some 6,000 "Robocop" style riot police surrounding the centre.

But the protesters undeterred marched back to Wenceslas Square inspired by the news that they had forced the conference to end early. An illegal rally followed by a blockade of the State Opera house, which forced the cancellation of a special performance to

entertain the IMF delegates.

"The streets of Prague belong to the demonstrators. This is a fantastic victory it is a continuation from Seattle, building on the same movement. And we know where it comes from. It comes from every country where people are fighting against the policies of the IMF, against the policy of the system. Today shows the power that we have," said one of the French protestor at the rally.

One of the big questions being asked by many protesters was "What next?"

**“T**his is a crucial time for the anti-capitalist movement", said Paul who was part of 200 strong Polish delegation. "We have had Seattle, Washington, Millau and Melbourne but we can't just keep on protesting forever. It is clear that something has changed since Seattle."

"A year ago you couldn't even have thought about mobilising for something like Prague and it has been fantastic. But is still not enough."

"The movement needs to be bigger, stronger and it needs to have the working class at the heart of it. There is still debate within the movement about which direction we take. Do we smash

the IMF or just try to reform it?"

The Financial Times editorial after Prague attacked James Wolfensohn, president of the World Bank for beginning too soft on the protesters in Prague. "How should the World Bank respond to these uncivilised representatives of civil society?" It asked.

"With contempt is the answer . . . They must be opposed." But Wolfensohn and others are pursuing a different strategy. They are attempting to co-opt sections of the NGOs that criticise assaults on the world's poor.

They are being forced to talk of growth and equality. The World Bank has renamed its structural adjustment policies "poverty reduction strategies". Wolfensohn said last week, "I embrace the commitment of a new generation to fight poverty. I share their passion."

An argument is now taking place within and between the NGOs about how to respond to this charm offensive. This debate was evident at the wide variety of meetings and forums in Prague last week.

Ann Pettifor from Jubilee 2000 attended a meeting with Vaclav Havel, president of the Czech Republic, Wolfensohn from the World Bank, Horst Kohler of the IMF and other NGO representatives.

She argued Wolfensohn and Kohler are powerless civil servants, that real power lies with the nations of the G7 and that pressure must be brought to bear to reform institutions.

Walden Bello from the Philippines,

however, argued at the same meeting that institutions like the IMF cannot be reformed, they must be disbanded, and that protesters should seek to "intensify the crisis of legitimacy" facing these institutions.

**S**ocialist Worker's Alex Callinicos was well received when he spoke at the counter-summit and outlined an alternative vision of society:

"It is not globalisation that is the problem, but global capitalism," he said. "Core institutions like the IMF, World Bank, WTO and NATO sustain and defend global capitalism. They cannot be reformed. We must mobilise forces in order to break them. We must tie the power of protest in the streets to the power workers have in the factories to stop production."

We must harness those forces to fight to replace capitalism's logic of competition and profit with production based instead on meeting human need."

This does not mean a return to local small-scale capitalism or 'localisation'. All big capitalists started off small in the beginning. Nostalgia for the past is still nostalgia for class societies. More to the point 'traditional agricultural' cannot provide an answer as to how to feed a world population that is expected to double over the next three decades.

We all live in a world system that has not just developed in the last couple of decades, but at least from the 16th century onwards.

The answer to the horrific faults of the system is not to cut individual countries or localities off from the rest of the world but to use the wealth that exists on an international scale for all of the planet's people.

In all the great years of revolutionary struggle the problem has never been how to build a movement but what direction the movement takes.

The great hopes of the 1960's turned into the defeats of the 1970s and 1980s because of the political weaknesses of the movements themselves.

We now have ample proof of what happens when the challenge to capitalism is only half hearted. To build a successful and permanent challenge to capitalism requires not only activism but also socialist politics and organisation.



## in my view

### Vatican recruits man from IMF

**IRISH LIBERALS** are up in arms about the Vatican's latest assault on other religions.

They have rallied to Mary McAleese for her speech to the annual conference of priests in Dublin last month in which she expressed anger at the Pope calling Protestant denominations "defective".

But the fact that the President of Ireland had intervened at all in a doctrinal dispute within Catholicism was surely more significant than what she said. The presidency is a secular position. The Catholic Church has no "special position" in the Republic any more.

But Ms. McAleese seems to see herself as a Catholic president - albeit a progressive one. A Catholic president - for a Catholic people.

*There's been hardly a word about the Vatican's far more insulting references to non-Christian churches. The document McAleese was reacting to - the Declaration Dominus Iesus - asserts that Islam, Judaism, Hinduism, etc., not only don't deliver salvation but constitute "an obstacle to salvation" - precisely the basis on which the Crusaders were given sanction to slaughter "heathens".*

The author of the Declaration, Cardinal Joseph Ratzinger, head of the Congregation for the Doctrine of the Faith (formerly the Inquisition) is a tough-minded conservative who has waged war on "liberation theology" for more than 20 years and who wants the Church to go forward as a tightly-disciplined global institution proclaiming "traditional" values in a fast-changing world - he's for obedience, good order and acceptance of the way things are, against women's liberation, sexual freedom and the fight for a better life.

In an important sense, Ratzinger is right. If all mortals ultimately face either never-ending agony or eternal bliss, then the question of how people live in this world is a trivial one.

#### Proclaim

And the basic argument of the Declaration isn't out of line for any organised religion. The Muslim imam and the Jewish rabbi would likewise proclaim his own chosen creed as the one, true way.

A consistent argument against the Declaration needs deeper ideological roots than Mary McAleese's aspiration to be seen as "progressive" in relation to Protestantism.

The practical implication of Ratzinger's line for the real world came into focus with the recent appointment to the Vatican's Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace of Michel Camdessus.

Camdessus retired earlier this year as Managing Director of the International Monetary Fund. During 13 years in the position, he had presided over the imposition of structural adjustment programmes on a wide swathe of the so-called Third World.

The current edition of the Columban Order's journal, *Voices for Justice*, quotes Camdessus at his farewell reception at the IMF last February: "It is hard to leave the Fund... This institution embodies the tradition of public service at its best... You can count on me every time it will be necessary to speak about the Fund".

*Voices for Justice* comments: "The public perception is that the view of the IMF has now been endorsed at the highest level of the Church".

*Tens of thousands of words have been written about how the Ratzinger document has made things difficult around the dinner tables of Irish ecumenists, but scarcely a syllable about one of the chief representatives of global capitalism taking up a position alongside the cardinal at the Vatican.*

It wouldn't occur to McAleese to hit out at the appointment of the IMF man.

She and Ratzinger are essentially at one in being content with the economic organisation of the world.

The religious element with whom socialists might usefully engage in discussion on these matters are the untrendy Columbanians who are forthrightly opposed to the IMF but, as far as we can tell, don't lose sleep over whether Mary McAleese gets run down by a cardinal as she parades her conscience along the middle of the road.

by EAMONN McCANN

film

# Homer run

by KATE  
HARTNELL

**OH BROTHER** Where Art thou? follows the adventures of three escaped convicts as they cross the Southern states of the USA in the 1930's, trying to reach Peggy (Holly Hunter), the wife of Everett (George Clooney), before she remarries.

On the way the trio encounter sirens, guitar players who have sold their soul to the devil, corrupt politicians and the Klu Klux Klan. If all this sounds rather haphazard and random that's probably because it is.

The film is more a sequence of events and a tour of the 1930's South than a coherent story.

However, it is skillfully held together by the Cohen brothers by way of humour - and it is very funny.

All three of the main performances are excellent and extremely watchable, milking the comedy for all that it's worth.

Another bonus is the soundtrack. Even a diehard country-folk music hater will have no choice but to fall for it.

Underneath all of the fun there is a darker strain running through the film. Satire often provides the backbone for the comedy and its target is the corruption involved in a state election.

The film is littered with characters ruthlessly on the make, most symbolically a bible salesman who is not above violently mugging convicts for extra money.

The Cohen brothers once again demonstrate their skill by never being heavy handed or preachy in their exposition of the corruption or the violence that underpins the society in which the film is set.



Escaping the violence of the system

exhibition

## The dogs of war



**MAKE SURE** you go to the Museum of Modern Art before 15 October when the Leon Golub exhibition closes. It's not often you

suddenly walk into a series of portraits of Fidel Castro.

Golub, born in Chicago in 1922, was part of a circle of painters called the *Monster Rooster* group, who believed that art had to be connected to events and actions in the real world for it to have any relevance.

He has been politi-

cally active all his life and has tried to encourage others to be aware too.

In 1968 he was involved in a protest to persuade Picasso to remove his painting *Guernica* from the Museum of Modern Art in New York, on the basis that the American involvement in Vietnam was the equivalent to the Fascist bombing of Spain.

His anger and outrage are reflected powerfully in massive works, such as *Mercenaries*, *White Squad*, and the *Napalm* and *Vietnam* paintings.

On a smaller scale, there are also portraits of men like Castro, John Foster Dulles, Ho Chi Minh, George Wallace, Mao Tse-tung, Francisco Franco; people chosen because they wield power.

Appear

Savage-looking dogs appear in several, symbolising chaos and aggression. In one painting, *Scratch*, he quotes Auden's 1939 poem 'In Memory of WB Yeats'.

"In the nightmare of the dark

All the dogs of Europe bark"

Despite the grimness of his view, his continued creative commitment is life-affirming.

He hasn't given up the struggle. Go see this and be inspired.

## ROCK AGAINST LOGOS

**THE ROCK** band Radiohead have a released new album, *Kid A*, out and have just finished touring the country. *Kid A* sums up what it feels like to be scared of a world full of war, poverty and destruction.

But the great thing about Radiohead is that they don't just leave it at that. Thom Yorke, the band's lead singer, was on the anti-capitalist protest in central London on May Day this year, and all the band are supporters of Jubilee 2000.

When the G8 summit of the world's richest coun-

tries at Okinawa failed to cancel any debt earlier this year, Yorke responded by saying, "This is free market killing."

Radiohead have been inspired by the brilliant book *No Logo*, written by Naomi Klein, which attacks the corporations that are destroying the planet.

Ed O'Brien, the guitarist, says, "No Logo certainly made me feel less alone. She was writing everything I was trying to make sense of in my head. It was very uplifting."

Radiohead are also encouraging others to take action. Their website,

[www.radiohead.com](http://www.radiohead.com), has a link which told you, "Go here now". When you clicked on it, it took you to reports on the protests against the IMF and World Bank in Prague.

The website is littered with links to campaigning organisations such as Amnesty International and the World Development Movement, as well as to reports on the Seattle protests.

Radiohead are often portrayed as all doom and gloom, but the message they are sending out is that you have to get organised to change the world.



**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**

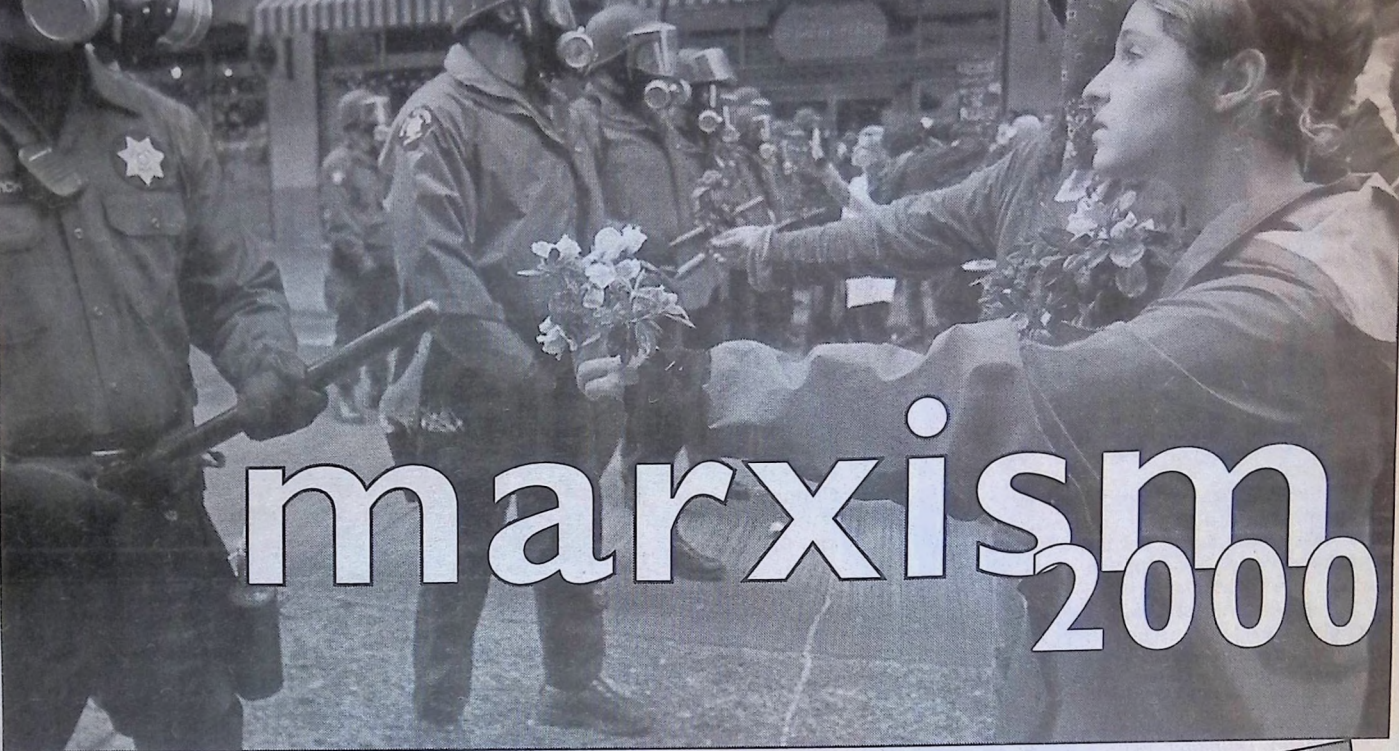
Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it. We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

**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.

# The anti capitalist conference

Nov 17 - 19, Trinity College Dublin



# marxism 2000

**A MAJOR anti-capitalist conference is due to take place in Trinity College Dublin from November 17th to 19th.**

Marxism 2,000 is an annual conference that is sponsored by Socialist Worker and this year it is devoted to the debates within the global anti-capitalist movement.

It kicks off with a major rally with Kevin Danaher and Chris Harman speaking. Danaher was an organiser of the protests in Seattle and Washington.

Chris Harman edits the British Socialist Worker and has written a major article on Anti-Capitalism: Theory and Practice.

Tickets for the conference are available now. They can be purchased for £10 in advance and places are limited.

The highlight of the Friday night meetings is a forum on **GLOBALISATION AND ANTI-CAPITALISM**. The speakers are **KEVIN DANAHER** a leading anti-capitalist activist from USA, who has edited *Gloablise This!* an account of the protests that closed down the WTO in Seattle, **CHRIS HARMAN** Editor of *British Socialist Worker* and author of the new pamphlet *The IMF Globalisation and Resistance*.

Earlier in the evening, **RORY HERNE** the president of Trinity College Students' Union and a speaker from the Ivory Coast discuss **HOW DO WE BEAT THIRD WORLD DEBT?**

Also **MARY SMITH** looks at **DRUGS: HOW CRIMINALISATION HAS FAILED** and **DR. PEADAR O'GRADY** discusses the ideas of **FREUD**.

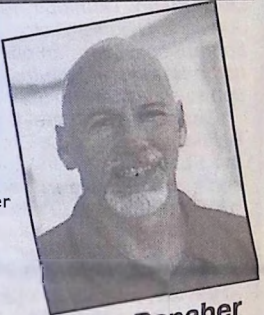


Direct action and protest

On Saturday renowned critic and Professor of English **TERRY EAGLETON** looks at **YEATS AND IRISH SOCIETY**.

**KIERAN ALLEN** the editor of *Socialist Worker* talks on **DIRECT ACTION AND PROTEST**. There is a **FORUM ON EDUCATION** with **JOHN PRICE** (CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE 11 PLUS) and **CREA RYDER** (CANDIDATE FOR INTO GENERAL SECRETARY) **GM FOODS: WHY WE SHOULD STOP THEM NOW? IS INTRODUCED BY KEVIN DANAHER**.

Well known journalist and author **EAMONN MCCANN** talks about



Kevin Danaher

**REPUBLICANISM: FROM ARMED STRUGGLE TO CONVENTIONAL POLITICS.**

**HOLLYWOOD'S DREAM FACTORY** is discussed at by **SIMON BASKETTER** and **BRIAN KELLY** looks at **AS A NEW LEFT EMERGES IN AMERICA: COULD THE US GO SOCIALIST?**

On Sunday the meeting include:

**SINEAD KENNEDY** looking at **CHOMSKY AND THE MEDIA**.

While Derry socialist **GORETTI HORGAN** talks on **WHAT'S CHANGED FOR WOMEN IN THE IRELAND?** And **HAIDER AND THE FIGHT AGAINST EUROFASCISM** is discussed by **GRACE LALLY**.



Eamonn McCann



Chomsky

The changes in the Trade Union movement are debated in **RANK AND FILE TRADE UNIONISM AND THE FIGHT AGAINST SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP** with **OWEN MCCORMACK FROM BUSWORKERS ACTION GROUP**, **PAT CAHILL OF THE ASTI** AND **JIMMY KELLY FROM THE ATGWU**.

Tickets for Marxism 2000 cost £10 or £5 (unwaged) return this form for full programme and tickets.

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## SWP branch meetings

ATHLONE: Contact 01-872 2622 for details

BRAY: Meets every Wednesday at the Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm

BELFAST CENTRAL: Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Kitchen Bar, 16 Victoria Square, near Commarket

BELFAST SOUTH: Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union

BELFAST WEST: West Belfast Branch meets Divis Road, Community Centre Falls Road, Monday 7.30pm.

CORK: Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Donoghue's Pub, Crossbarry St.

DERRY: Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Redgrave Bar, Victoria, Orchard St.

DUNDALK: Contact 01-872 2622 for details

LUCAN: Contact 01-872 2622 for details

DUN LAOGHAIRE: Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in the Christian Institute

DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK: Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreation 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 KILLBARRACK: Phone 087 6235071

DUBLIN STONEYBATTER/CABRA: Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Aughm St Parish Hall, Prussia St

DUBLIN BALLYMUN: Phone Kevin at 8622209

DUBLIN DUNDRUM: Meets every Wednesday 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 Thursday at 8.30pm in Innon the Park Harolds Cross

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL: Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St

DUBLIN RINGSEND: Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Ringend Community Centre

DUBLIN TALLAGHT: Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre

ENNIISKILLEN: Phone 01-872 2622 for details

GALWAY: Meets every Wednesday in Currants Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cully) 8.30pm

LIMERICK: Phone 01-872 2622 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.

**Aer Lingus**

# Airline workers start pay revolt

**WORKERS IN Aer Lingus are in full scale revolt against the low pay policy of the airline. Catering staff walked out and marched around the airport a number of times. Pilots have imposed a ban on working on their rest days.**

Every grade of worker has voted overwhelmingly for strike action in pursuit of extra pay.

The most astounding was a 99 percent vote from the cabin crews who have switched from SIPTU to IMPACT.

Some years ago the cabin crews were attacked in the Cahill 'survival plan' and pay for the entry grade was reduced. But even though Aer Lingus is now making a profit, the company does not want to compensate the workers.

**Result**

The result is that the cabin crews are now taking strike action to increase their pay and win early retirement. This demand is more than justified as long hours spent in pressurised aircraft could cause health difficulties.

The catering crews are paid as little as £6 an hour. They started an overtime ban to demand their share of a productivity cost savings deal and then lifted it when management indicated that they were ready to make an offer.

But that amounted to a derisor; £12 extra a week. After this the catering staff stepped up their protests by engaging in lightening two hour stoppages and marching around the airport.

In a vindictive move, top management in Aer Lingus withdrew their travel concessions.

Baggage handlers have also voted for action because they were unhappy with management's plan to compensate them for a productivity scheme. Originally management wanted to distribute the value of a £900,000 productivity scheme merely as a lump sum. But after the strike

ballot it looks like they may now concede increases on basic pay.

Meanwhile pilots have put in for a 45 percent increase after they discovered that their wages lagged far behind their counterparts working in British Airways and American Airlines who are part of the One World Alliance that Aer Lingus has now joined.

After the pilots started their work to rule, the clerical staff got all the flak from the public.

It only highlighted their low paid status.

They walked off the job in a one and a half hour protest.

As one of their shop stewards explained,

"We are already badly paid and are certainly not

paid to take abuse for Aer Lingus". Clerical staff have also balloted overwhelmingly for longer-term action on pay.

The revolt is terrifying the national leaders of SIPTU as it could be a sign of the future. After 1,400 of the cabin crews defected, they changed their officials at the airport.

**Official**

A new official, Dermot O Loughlin, who used to be a shop steward with Servisair was appointed. He was a popular choice and has regained some ground for SIPTU.

A proposal from baggage handlers to defect to the ATGWU was shot

down after it was pointed out that the ATGWU had sold out the Glanbia workers.

SIPTU has also sanctioned more action than ever before. But how long this lasts will depend on the strength and confidence of the rank and file.

One activist told *Socialist Worker*, "We are facing major upheavals at the airport. All the groups voted to go out individually but whatever happens there is going to be one mass row or a long period of sporadic rows. Mary O'Rourke does not want to hand over a single penny. All she is focussed on is privatising the airline..

"We have to stick together".

**Glanbia**

## 'ATGWU officials let us down big time'

**LOCKED OUT workers in Glanbia Foods in Tallaght returned to work at the end of September after more than seven weeks outside the gate.**

They were fighting an attempted victimisation of a shop steward and company demands that the workers sign new contracts before returning to work.

When management instituted legal proceedings against shop stewards and ATGWU officials failed to honour promises to make the dispute official, the workers felt they had no alternative but to sign the new condi-

tions and return to work.

The workers were able to get the company to give an undertaking to drop legal action and negotiations on conditions and procedures are set to begin after two weeks.

**Company**

One worker told *Socialist Worker*, "Workers are very bitter. 16 left the company rather than sign the new contracts.

"But we don't intend to let the company away with an inch. If there is any breach of health and safety we just say No Way!"

Another worker added, "We need to have a shop stewards' committee linking up all the workers across the Glanbia group. We are hearing rumours of grievances and disputes across the company but nothing firm.

"We would have been in a much stronger position if at the beginning of this dispute we could have gone to other shop stewards and said 'Here's what the company is trying to do to us — It will be you next' "But we were in the dark when we began seven weeks ago and the union official did everything in his power to keep us that way.

**Teachers**

# Vote for strike action

**SECONDARY teachers are due to ballot on a 30 percent pay claim from mid October onwards.**

"We are not part of the Programme for Prosperity and Fairness and it has nothing to do with us. We want a 30 percent increase — and that is for one year period, not spread out in several stages" an activist from the Association of Secondary Teachers in Ireland told *Socialist Worker*.

The government has already paid all teachers a 5.5 percent for this year. The ASTI are looking for additional payments to meet their claim.

Teachers have given huge productivity in the past decade. New curriculum changes have affected both the Junior Cert and Leaving Cert programmes.

The new Education Act also means they have to devote more time to administrative duties and to meeting parents.

Over that period, they have watched as their pay has dropped below other jobs.

In 1995, a teacher's salary amounted to 92 per-

cent of the average earnings of Gardai but by 1999 it had dropped to 86 percent.

Teachers also had 93 percent of the average earnings of prison officers in 1995 but this had dropped to 73 percent by 1999.

Today a maintenance engineer in the private sector earns over £30,000 but the top of the teacher's salary is less even if they have worked 25 years.

Originally the ASTI was pursuing the claim for a major increase alone and the other two unions, the INTO and the TUI, were waiting

for the benchmarking process where pay could only be increased after 2003.

But the rank and file of these unions are very sympathetic to the ASTI. And it now appears that TUI members will be told not to pass pickets on November 14th when the first strike is due to start.

Even before then ASTI members will start a work to rule, which means they will not undertake supervisory duties in schoolyard. This could easily precipitate the closure of schools.

## THE INTO SHOULD SUPPORT THIS FIGHT

CREA RYDER, a primary teacher in Dublin is seeking a nomination to run in the INTO election for General Secretary.

She is a founder member of Teachers United which campaigned against social partnership and won 49 percent of the vote in the INTO.

One of her main policy planks is support for the ASTI's action.

"The ASTI has taken a lead on the issue of teachers' pay. Rather than leaving our colleagues alone in their campaign the INTO should ally itself to the ASTI. We should take solidarity action on November 14th," she said.

**Cable and Wireless**

# STRIKE AGAINST LAYOFFS

**SOME 116 workers in Cable & Wireless, Athlone went on official strike on 6th October. All of the workers except one respected the SIPTU picket line at the factory.**

John O'Shea the Managing Director has been laying off workers over the past few weeks.

Since the summer holidays he has put most of the workers on a week on week off basis. But the workers are angry at his decision to treat them in this manner.

Cable & Wireless say their export business is suffering and that it is cheaper to buy in cable from outside. Instead of dealing with the workers however, the bosses are laying them off in an arbitrary manner and saving themselves a fortune.

Most of the workers have over 20 years service in the company and are

outraged at being treated like commodities.

One of the workers told *Socialist Worker*, "They are selecting as they choose who to let go and when. But we don't want them to get rid of any of us. We are all here a long time and he is just using us as he chooses.

"If anybody has to go it has to be on a last in first out basis. And there's other issues too — they are trying to change us around from doing the jobs we have done for years. So everybody feels the same. Enough is enough."

**Biggest**

Cable & Wireless is wholly owned by Alcatel who are one of the biggest producers of cable in the world.

"We are well organised. Our shop stewards have done out rotas for picket duties and we are working on the strike in teams.

"And we are getting in all the facilities we can to keep this picket line going day and night everyday. The support is solid".

**Student Fees**

## Farren's sellout on student fees

**THE NORTHERN Ireland Assembly is set to introduce a new graduate tax to replace student fees. Sean Farren, SDLP Education Minister says it is the only affordable alternative to up front fees.**

Farren took this decision even though the Assembly's Education Committee recommending that tuition fees be abolished and limited grants re-introduced.

Currently 49 percent of students in Northern Ireland pay fees.

The National Union of Students/Union of Students in Ireland has warned that graduate tax would be levied on a far higher number of students and "generate even greater levels of graduate debt." Students currently leave university with debts of between £10,000 and £20,000. In recent public statements Farren has played down the reality of student hardship.

But figures show that there was a massive 5.3 per-

cent drop in over 25's applying for university places this year, mainly due to the fear of debt. Farren's proposals are a clear sell-out of the SDLP's election manifesto. to abolish fees and restore grants.

Sean MacEachaidh, Student Union President at UU Jordanstown told *Socialist Worker*, "As far as I'm concerned there's nothing to review. There should be no fees and no loans. And every political party in that Assembly has in their manifesto that they are for free education. If they don't abolish

fees now and restore grants they are renegeing on their manifesto."

The Assembly is due to make its decision on student fees in the next month. Students are organising a protest at Farren's office to demand grants not fees and no graduate tax.

**GRANTS NOT FEES — NO GRADUATE TAX PROTEST AT SEAN FARRIN'S OFFICE**  
2.30pm Wednesday 18 October  
33-49 Adelaide St (behind City Hall) Belfast  
Called by Campaign for Free Education at Jordanstown and Socialist Worker Student Society  
for more info phone 07855 006964

# Socialist Worker

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**WHERE NOW FOR THE ANTI CAPITALIST MOVEMENT? — PAGE 8**

Solidarity price £1

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

## Israel and US break peace:

# JUSTICE FOR THE PALESTINIANS



Israeli troops firing on Palestinians

THE ISRAELI government is threatening full-scale bloody war on the Palestinians. After conflict emerged over the Mount Temple site in Jerusalem,

the Israeli army fired live rounds and used Apache helicopters to attack working class tower blocks.

Then it issued an ultimatum: if

the Palestinians did not accept defeat the peace process was over.

Israel's commander in Gaza Maj. General Tov Samia even demanded that Palestinian television stop showing pictures of funerals of people shot by his troops because it was inflammatory.

Israel's National Security advisor, General Uzi Dayan, said his army would consider bombing Yasser Arafat's headquarters if he did not stop Palestinian resistance.

But Arafat cannot stop people fighting back.

He has already bent over backwards to compromise with Israel and the US. But every time he makes concessions they ask for more.

The Israeli government has created this crisis because it wants to destroy any possibility of Palestinian autonomy. Its economy nosedived and its army has been defeated in Lebanon.

Far from being peacemaker the Israeli Prime Minister Barak

wants to bring the right wing thug Sharon into his cabinet.

Israel was built on the dispossession of Palestinians from their homes.

Now it wants to crush the grandchildren of those it dispossessed.

It should be stopped.

### The racist state

★ ISRAEL IS only able to terrify its neighbours because it gets huge backing from the US. It receives more US aid than any other country in the world

Money that could be used to feed the poor in America is spent on Israel's military budget.

The US spent \$631 million to equip Israel with an Arrow missile programme.

Israel is used as the watchdog for US interests in the Middle East.

It deliberately intimidates its neighbours to make it easier for US companies to control oil supplies.

#### Intervene

It shows that when the US does not want to intervene directly it gets Israel to do its dirty work.

Clinton's talk of peace whether in Ireland or in the Middle East is pure hypocrisy.

### Anger spreads through the Middle East

ISRAEL'S ACTION has provoked a huge wave of anger in the Middle East with one journalist describing the protests as 'the most widespread since the 50s and 60s.'

In Egypt students have organised daily marches and sit ins. In Morocco left wing parties have mobilised hundreds of thousands on the streets. Even in Saudi Arabia thousands have burnt US flags.

But the Arab governments are desperate to stay on side with US imperialism. That is why they say they are for the Palestinians but then try to crack down on protests.

In Jordan, for example, the King donated his blood to help wounded Palestinians — but then banned all marches in their support.

The Arab working class have the power to take on these rulers. The hope is that the new uprising will encourage them to do just that.