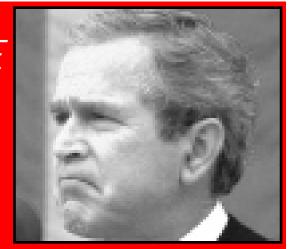
SOCIALIST WOLLOWE FOR THE WAR CRIMINAL

THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

inside:



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AGAINST WAR, RACISM) CORPORATE GREED...

Eamonn McCann & Joe Higgins for Europe

Local Elections: Vote Socialist Workers Party and other Socialis

IRELAND has always been run by right wing parties who go to great lengths to compete with each other - even while same economic policies.

In the North, Sinn Fein and

the DUP fight like tigers – but their only aim is to be the tribal chieftains of 'their community'.

In the South, Fianna Fail and they implements the Fine Gael grew out of a civil war but today both serve the bankers and the US war machine.

The country is crying out for



change.

But only a socialist voice is strong enough to bring it.

Left

Two prominent socialists are standing for the Euro elections. Eamonn McCann, has been the voice of the left in the North for nearly thirty years.

He starts from the fact that working people both, Protestant and Catholic, have more in common than divides them.

In Dublin, Joe Higgins of the Socialist Party was jailed for opposing bin charges - even while the most corrupt right wing politicians walked about freely.

On top of that there are scores of socialists standing in local elections

A vote for the socialist is a vote against corporate greed, Bush's war and racism.

It is a vote for working class solidarity, decent publics services and real policies to prevent environmental decay.

TDs counting the filthy lucre

THE latest Oireachtas Register of TDs' Interests makes interesting reading and expose the close con-nection between FF/PD politicians and the world of high business and proper-

Minister for Injustice Michael McDowell (PD)- Is making money in the booming property market. He owns 10 percent of an office business park block in Clontarf. The business park includes major company to the business park includes major company to the business park includes major company to the business and the business are th park includes major companies such as Oracle and Lexmark. The Minister also owns salubrious property in Dublin 6.

Willie O'Dea (FF) is an investor in the John Teeling run companies Pan Andean, Petrol Resources and African Diamonds. He also has an interest in Ormonde Mining and in

Ned O'Keefe (FF) owns shares in a number of listed companies including Irish Life and Permanent, Greeencore, Kerry Group, Grafton and Bank of Ire-

Why is Royston Brady so quiet?

FULL time publicity seeker and part time Dublin Lord Mayor Royston Brady has been a bit quiet in recent weeks, despite the fact that he is running for the European Parliament.

He has turned down a huge number of media requests to "debate the issues" with his rivals on the radio or TV. This is actually a conscious decision by his FF handlers.

Royston took part in a recent light-hearted radio programme called Under the Whip where this possible MEP was asked to name just two of the states to recently join the EU. After some time he eventually said Slovenia and Croatia. When told the latter was not joining he was left flummoxed live on air.

His handlers decided to keep him of the airwaves

FF/PD ignore mental healthcare needs

The Government has been accused by Amnesty International of failing to recog-nise good mental healthcare as a basic human right in a major new report on psychiatric services in

The Amnesty report claims that under-funding is a key reason why the Republic has failed to a reasonable achieve standard of mental healthcare, saying expenditure on mental health is disproportionately low when compared with other health sectors.

Mental health spending accounted for 9.4 per cent of total health (non-capital) expenditure in 1994, but this had dropped to 7.2 per cent by 2001, the report claimed. "In in-patient care and the community, services remain inadequate, inconsistent in their availability throughout the country and severely under-resourced in staff, money and available therapies," it states.

The international human rights organisation singles out mental health services for children and adolescents, the homeless, prisoners and other vulnerable groups as being particularly deficient.

Iraqi Civilian toll now tops 11,500

THE NUMBER of civilian deaths in Iraq since the invasion is now at least 11,500 and probably more, according to the Independent newspaper.

No one knows for sure because the occupation authorities refuse to keep figures and recently ordered the Iraqi health ministry not to do so.

The US army's chief spokesperson in Iraq, General Mark Kimmitt, embodies the attitude of the occupiers. When he was recently asked what he would say to Iraqis who saw television footage of civilians killed by coalition troops, he replied, "Change the channel."

Allied Irish Bandits: Nationalise the Banks!

ALLIED Irish Banks is making €4 million in profits a day. Yet they pay less tax on their profits than the average PAYE workers does on their wages.

It is a staggering case of greed and hypocrisy that cries out for socialist measures.

Take, for example, its chief exec-

utive Michael Buckley. In 2002, he told workers that they should take a pay pause to bring pay 'on to a lower plane over the next few years'.

Yet a year later he saw his own pay packet swell by almost 50 percent to €1.4 million.

His counterpart over in the Bank of Ireland, Mike Soden, was warning employees about using e mails for

Meanwhile he himself was consulting porn sites while taking in a salary of 1.3 million.

Or look at their attitude to tax. The bankers really believe that taxes are for the 'little people.'

Advised

This is why they set up off shore accounts for themselves - and same.

Ray Douglas, has stated that when he joined the AIB - he understood that an offshore accounts went with the job. Douglas was one of the directors in New Ireland Assurance who saved themselves £1 million in taxes after selling shares when McCreevy reduced Capital Gains

But it was not enough. He still took advantage of his offshore account!

The bankers treat the public with utter contempt.

The executives of the banks told the DIRT inquiry that they had no idea what was going on with bogus non-resident accounts. But they themselves had offshore 'issues'!

The reality is that the banks are operating as a criminal conspiracy to rob resources that should have been spent on schools and hospitals.

They rip off customers, attack the wages and conditions of their own staff because they know that they have the political elite under their

GOLDEN CIRCL









■ Looking out for each other: Charles J Haughey, Dermot Gleeson, Peter Sutherland and Garrett Fitgerald

THE banks get away with robbery because there is a golden circle that links the business and political elite.

There is a revolving door between the bankers and the political elite - they fund right wing politicians and these politicians give them cover and protection.
■ The AIB wrote off the

debts of two former Taoiseachs - Garrett Fitzgerald and Charles Haughty.

In the case of Huaghey, they knocked off £1 million 'because he was a likely to be a man of influence in the future'. National Irish Bank

wrote off the debts of FF TD John Ellis.

Former top politicians and civil servants regularly sit on the boards of banks. The former FF Minister Ray McSharry sits on the board of Bank of Ireland.

■ The current chairperson, Dermot Gleeson, of the AIB is a former attorney general in the Fine Gael/ Labour gov-

He is a former bar-rister who represented Goodman International at the beef tribunal and the banks at the DIRT inquiry.

■ The former chairman of AIB when the DIRT fraud was in place was

Peter Sutherland, the political advisor to the Fine Gael leader John Bruton.

These political connections are used to gain even more financial leverage. Three examples show how it

■ In 1987, the AIB was on the verge of bankruptcy after one of its subsidiaries, ICI, ran up huge debts. The Irish govern-ment rescued the bank by making taxpayers pay for a £60 million rescue plan. The AIB paid them back by rob-

bing taxes. ■ One of the minor aspects of successive partnership pay deals was that all wage cheques have to be paid through the banks. It has helped enormously to build up the customer base of banks.

■ The banks organised a huge tax fraud scam by telling people to pretend they were nonresidents.

Yet the Revenue Commissioners never inspected the non resident forms because of a special Inspection Memo 263 prohibited tax inspectors looking at them until 'further notice'.

The memo was issued in 1986 - and no 'further notice ever followed'

WHY THEY MUST

THE banks control such huge level of funds that they can bend politicians to their will.

They are so powerful that they can manipulate any rule to their advantage.

Because they control the flows of money, they have information and networks of influence that reaches right into every aspect of the economy.

Democracy will always be a sham while unelected bankers have such influence.

Nationalising the banks would give the government full information of the inner workings of the

It would root out criminal corruption. And it would leave the people at large with vast funds to invest in socially useful project.

Top musicians play at anti war concert



THE Irish Anti-War Movement has organised a special antiwar concert featuring

Christy Moore, Damien Rice, Mary Black, Kila, The Revs, Katell Keineg & comedy with

Barry Murphy (Après Match).
It takes place on Saturday 19th
June – The Point Depot, Dublin.

(Doors Open – 5.30pm) SIPTU the country's largest trade union who are affiliated to the IAWM are also major sponsors of the event. Hot Press magazine is also sponsoring the concert

The funds generated from the gig will be used to finance the costs of organising and advertising the STOP BUSH CAMPAIGN protests taking place the following weekend. Any surplus funds will go to the Irish Anti-War movement to finance its on-going anti-war work.

All of the musicians have generously offered their services to perform at the concert free.

Tickets for the event are €30 standing €3.50 seated. (Plus €2 for agents / 12.5% phone and Internet bookings)

A limited number of tickets are available through Socialist Worker. Phone 01 9722682.

■ Also Tickets from The Point, Ticket Master - Usual outlets. Ph: 0818 719300 Internet: www.ticketmaster. Also from CTB at Liberty Hall, Dublin. Ph: 01 8721122

Gardai admit that May Day security was over the top

EVEN the Gardai have virtually admitted that the security operation on May Day was excessive.

In the Garda Representatives Association (GRA) internal magazine 'Garda Review' an interesting article about May Day from the 'Garda point of view' was published.

"More than 5,000 Gardaí and 2,500 troops were deployed in Dublin in anticipation of trouble from antiglobalisation protesters who were travelling from abroad.

For the most part, the marchers were good-natured and in high spirits

But some 20 activists, wearing balaclavas and scarves appeared intent on trouble," writes June Caldwell in the magazine.

Going by the Gardai's own figures it means there was 375 cops and troops for every "trouble maker" on May Day!

Despite this the article goes on to declare that "Now Gardaí are bracing themselves for a second round of riots to coincide with the arrival of President George W. Bush in Ireland at the end of June.

The article also goes into detail of the huge resources pumped into training Gardai for "riots". Riots that did not materialise on May Day.

"Training began in January 2003, not just for the May



■ Garda overkill on May Day

Day but also for all future large-scale events.

Training started at 10am and continued until 4pm, and involved various manoeuvres and exercises designed to teach participants how to cope with crowd conflict and demonstrators.

Training for the use of

water cannons also took place at Gormanstown, Co. Meath.

An extra 500 officers in riot gear would back up troops at the Accession celebrations, and a further 500 were deployed to seal off Baldonnel airbase and Dublin airport.

In short, a massive security operation.'

Socialist Worker

Paper of the Socialist Workers Party Published fortnightly Socialist Worker, PO Box 1648 Dublin 8 Web: www.swp.ie

Editorial

Email: socialistworker@swp.ie Tel: (01) 862 2209 Fax: (01) 872 3838

Circulation: Email: swcirculation@swp.ie Tel: 01 878 8170 Fax: (01) 872 3838

editorial

HIGHT THE PO

IRELAND goes to the polls in June for the Euro and local elections. The parties backed by big business will spend a fortune on posters, glossy leaflets and advertisements. They want to use elected positions to support the interests of a tiny minority.

We are already paying for these policies. Ireland is one of the most unequal societies in the world - it comes second only to the US for the huge gap between rich and poor.

The country is run as an Atlantic Tax haven where the rich are promised they will pay no tax. The five wealthiest men in the South - Tony O Reilly, Michael Smurfit, JP McManus, John Magnier and Dermot O Brien- do not even pay tax because they get away with the scam of claiming of be 'tax exiles'.

Yet the majority pay for their life of luxury by putting up with poor social services.

Every time we queue for a

hospital bed or accept poor facilities in our schools, we are, in effect subsidising the tax free life style of the rich.

Socialists aim to change this. The change will not happen by elections alone. As long as power is concentrated in the board rooms of big business, unelected people will dictate how society is to be run.

But elections can be used to give a different voice - to help prepare the opposition, to spread its network and to prepare for a

This is why we urge all our readers to vote socialist in the Euro elections and the local elec-

In the Euro elections you can vote for Eamonn McCann who is standing for the Socialist and Environmental Alliance in Northern Ireland and Joe Higgins who is standing for the Socialist Party in

In the local elections there is a host of socialist candidates standing - you can see the SWP candidates in the box below.



ve reasons to vote Socialist

Break the power of big business. The multinationals are making huge profits in Ireland. Every day the AIB, for example, makes €4 million in profit.

Socialists want to take these industries into public control. Instead of being run to benefit a tiny elite who live by greed, they should be used for the benefit of society.

No Privatisation- No Stealth Taxes: The main parties, and even the Greens, favour the introduction of bin charges and water charges.

But these are all part of a strategy to turn public services into commodities that will eventually be privatised.

These stealth taxes are also a direct result of a policy of cutting direct taxes on big business – they are another way of getting the 'little people' to pay up.

Socialists back every struggle against privatisation. We encourage workers to take strike action to defend their public services - and their own jobs and conditions.

No to Bush - NO to War: Socialists have been at the backbone of the antiwar movement.

The main right wing parties from Paisley's DUP to Ahern's Fianna Fail support the war. Ahern makes no more pretence about 'Irish neutrality'. He has opened Shannon fully to the US war machine.

Socialists have helped build the largest anti-war movement Ireland has ever seen. Our aim is to escalate the protests to the level of mass direct action which forces US war machine.

Against Racism - Stop the Attacks Migrants: The right wing parties know they are loosing sup-

But everywhere they try to play the race card to shore up their interests. So they talk about 'citizenship tourism' or 'welfare spongers'. They use immigrants as scapegoats for their own failures.

Socialist believe that people have as much right to move around this planet as money.

There should not be a hierarchy for rights according to where you are born. People should have a right to work freely here – without being forced onto the notorious work permit system that puts workers under the thumb of their employers. We are totally opposed to McDowell's referendum.

For workers in struggle **5** - for people power. Socialists fight for workers interests with the same determination that the right fights for big business.

Every elected position will be used to garner support for workers in struggle. We shall encourage people to organise, to resist and to defeat the powers-that-be through the sheer force of numbers.

Your Socialist Workers Candidates: GINO KENNY:

WATERFORD: ROY HASSEY. Anti-War Movement and convenor of local anti-bin charges Roy Hassey is a delegate to the Water-ford Trades Council campaign. BALLYBRACK: DAVE LORDAN: and a prominent anti-war activist. Award winning poet and anti-war activist OHN CARTY: ARTANE: RITCHIE BROWNE: ATGWU shop stew-ard and anti-bin 21 year old John Carty is a building worker who is secre-tary of the local charges activist. SWP branch. BALLYMUN: KEVIN WINGFIELD: BALLYFERMOT:
BRID SMITH.
Jailed because of her opposition to bin charges, Brid is the PRO of the Dublin **Editor of Socialist** Worker and convenor of Ballymun anti-bin charges campaign. RINGSEND: campaign against bin SHAY RYAN: charges. Care worker and anti-bin charges DUN LAOGHAIRE: RICHARD BOYD Chair of the Irish **CLONDALKIN:**

Convenor of bin charges campaign in Neilstown. RIALTO: BRENDAN DONOGHUE: community worker and anti-racist campaigner. RATHMINES: TERRY CONNOLLY: IMPACT member and local activist. BRAY: CATHERINE KENNEDY: Campaigner for local fire services and community services. JOYCE POWER: Community activist against bin charges.

Capitalism is wrecking the lives of millions and endangering the planet. A new society can only be constructed when the workers take control of the wealth and plan its production and distribution for human need and not profit.

REVOLUTION

REVOLUTION
The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy. To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based on much greater political and economic democracy. AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR

ISM AND WAR
War is a constant feature of capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth. Bush's "War on Terrorism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or economic dominance.
END RACISM AND OPPRESSION
We oppose all forms

OPPRESSION
We oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weakens the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.

FOR WORKERS'
UNITY IN THE NORTH
We stand for workers
unity against the
Assembly politicians
and Blair government. Like great
socialist James Connolly, we believe that
partition has brought
about a 'carnival of
reaction' We want to
see an Irish workers
republic where all
workers gain. Our
flag is neither green
nor orange but red!

FOR A REVOLUTION-ARY 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. We call for co-operation between leftwing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc. We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

The Mainstream Left

ANGER with the right wing parties will mainly flow to the mainstream left - Labour, Sinn Fein and the Greens.

The higher the vote for these parties, the more workers will be encouraged to take on this hated government.

But the mainstream left will not carry through the struggle against big business.

Labour and Greens are already pledged to enter a coalition with Fine Gael.. Yet Fine Gael is only the spare wheel for big business. They support privatisation, law and order and Bush's war.

Already, Pat Rab-bitte, is saying that Labour will not oppose privatisation outright. He does not even call for

nationalisation of the banks - even after the

most recent scandals. Sinn Fein claim to be more radical – mainly because of their recent association with armed

struggle.

But their government ministers in Northern Ireland have been enthusiastic backers of privatisation. And the party's opposition to

Bush's war will be weakened if it gets backing form the UN.

The socialist parties will start as a minority but thousands already agreed on their policies.

The stronger the vote now for the socialists, the more of a warning shot it will be for anyone trying to be an Irish Tony Blair.

loin the Socialists!

To join the Socialist Workers Party or for more information: Fill in the form and Send to: ROI: SWP PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682
NI: SWP PO Box 143, Mallusk Road, Mallusk, Phone 0774 2531617 Email membership@swp.ie Web: www.swp.ie

| Name |
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| Address |
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| Phone |
| Email |
| Union/College (If applicable) |

What Eamonn McCann stands for

AT meetings across the North, from Lisburn and Lurgan to Strabane and Omagh, Eamonn McCann has been taking the opportunity presented by the European elections to spread socialist ideas and build a network of activists who will continue to campaign on the main issues of the day long after the election is over.

Everywhere he talks about the war in Iraq. "We are told that people here don't bother their heads about the great issues of the day.

"Or that, if they do, they don't take them seriously enough to influence how they vote.

"The main thrust of the Socialist Environmental Alliance campaign is rejection of the idea that the issues which are convulsing the world have nothing to do with politics here.

"Our call for a withdrawal from Iraq isn't just an opinion we have when the question comes up. It's our number one

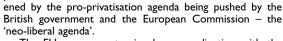
"The outcome in Iraq will be hugely influential in shaping the world we live in for as long as any of us live.

"Millions across Europe will vote primarily to show where they stand on this issue. It seems to be assumed that we in Northern Ireland are such hopelessly petty people that we can be counted on to shut our eyes to what's being done in our name in Baghdad and Basra and to concentrate instead on choosing chieftains for local tribes?

"If the US and its allies are forced out of the region, by Iraqi resistance and world opposition, we'll have put a halt to the gallop of the Cheneys and Rumsfelds, who dream of American military power imposing their neo-liberal economic agenda across the globe. Tens of millions of anti-war Americans will rejoice with us at this outcome.

Support for the free movement of peoples is another of the four main planks of the SEA campaign. As the manifesto points out "Goods and services can move easily across EU borders. Money in billions can be zapped to the other part of the world with the click of a mouse. Why are people not allowed a similar freedom to flee persecution or to seek a better life in an EU country? Aren't people as important as money?"

Opposition to privatisation is the third plank in the campaign. The SEA points out that all our public services are threat-



The EU now operates in close coordination with the World Bank and World Trade Organisation, pushing for "liberalisation." This has already had its effect here in Northern Ireland. Many workers have seen their pay and working conditions suffer as a result of contracting-out, Private Finance Initiatives and PPPs.

Protecting the environment informs all the policies of the SEA and is the fourth main element in the election campaign. As Eamonn McCann says "It is now obvious to everyone that global warming is a reality. It is a basic tenet for both social ists and environmentalists that we should leave the world to our children in a better shape than we inherited from our

"The biggest threat to our environment comes from the corporate interests which put profit before protection of the earth. We want a taxation regime which makes industrial polluters pay. We need a Europe which takes the environmental crisis seriously, which recognises the need for a radical shift in energy consumption and transport policy, based on sustainable energy sources, to tackle the nightmare of global warming and climate change.

'Nuclear energy must be phased out and replaced by cleaner, safer and renewable alternatives. We campaign for a massive expansion of public transport, especially rail, and fewer private vehicles pumping poisonous fumes.'

The SEA believes that in campaigning on these issues, "the shift in perspective which they represent would enable us to deal better with the seemingly intractable problems arising from our colonial history and divided present. Mobilising on these issues will bring people together, not drive us apart.

'We stand not as Unionists or Nationalists but as campaigners against war and against capitalism, for the interests of the working class, of the marginalised, and of all who are being left behind, irrespective of their religion or whether they have religion at all."

Alternative Ulster shows its face



■ Eamonn McCann running in the Euro election in Northern Ireland for the Socialist Environmental Alliance

veteran socialist, Eamonn McCann is making a dramatic impact in the Euro election in the North. Standing for the Socialist and Environmental Alliance, he is running on an openly anti-capitalist manifesto that challenges the grip of both Sinn Fein and the DUP.

Recent figures show that Northern Ireland is the poorest area in Britain with the worst jobs record, the worst public housing stock and the highest prices of any region for everything from groceries to heating fuel.

Over 90 per cent of people live in estates where only one religion is represented.

A vicious loyalist feud in East Belfast, sectarian rallies in South Belfast and the prospect of a summer of sectarian disturbances all hark back to the worst elements of the past.

Yet anyone who has visited Belfast over the past few months will see the possibilities of the future competing vigorously with images of the past.

The latest workplace statistics show that more than ever workplaces are thoroughly mixed.

Belfast is more multicultural than ever before with black, South East Asian, East European and Arab faces appearing on the city streets and at political events.

The Cathedral Arts Quarter Festival and the Festival of Fools were bulging at the seams with appreciative audiences.

The BBC's One Big Weekend and Music Live turned Belfast and Derry into international music centres with huge crowds attending both events.

The popularity of the strike by NIPSA workers, still solid after five months and supported widely, is an example again of the desire for a different society.

In the European elections the choices are stark. The four main parties competing vigorously for "tribal chieftain" of each community represent the past.

The DUP along with the UUP and even the SDLP's entire election strategy has been to argue for votes on the basis of stopping Sinn Fein from top-

more than platitudes about being at the forefront of a new Europe but say little on water charges, job cuts or

John Gilliland, the former president of the Ulster Farmers Federation has run an extensive campaign; but Sinn Fein has promised little has little in the way of solutions for

ordinary people and is a champion of free enterprise.

The Greens have a strong environmental record but too often fall for market solutions such as water

A real alternative to sectarian competition

SEA election manifesto launch was unique in Northern Ireland politics.

Journalists commented on how the platform assembled by the SEA, including the Chair of the Anti-Racism Network, a representative from the **Travellers Association** and punk renegade Terry Hooley, was just different to the mainstream parties.

The whole basis of SEA campaigning has been to reverse the priorities set forward by the four major parties. At the forefront politically is the opposition against the occupation of Iraq, linking the imperialist project of both the US and Europe and how the prosecution of the war, the anti-Muslim racism, the torture and killing of Iraqis and the huge expense, impacts on working class lives in Northern Ireland.

Eamonn McCann is the only candidate who proposed a non-payment campaign against upcoming water charges, who is opposed to privatisation and the rule of neo-liberalism and who campaigns

for workers' rights.

The SEA has run meetings in Newry, Enniskillen, Antrim, Limavady, Derry, Strabane, and other meetings have been organised in Lurgan and Dungannon. At an Amnesty International hustings with most of the candidates represented the large audience cheered every response given by McCann, from complete opposition to criminalisation of Asylum seekers to support for the Palestinian people.

Through the meetings the SEA has unearthed anti-phone mast campaigners in Newry and Enniskillen, anti-war activists in Enniskillen and Strabane and various other people looking for a chance to connect with

other activists. More importantly the meetings have shown the desire for a new political approach. At the Strabane meeting Eamonn McCann pointed out the similarities between paramilitary activities and the British state's oppression of teenagers either through beatings or new laws enforced by various

The SEA approach is to combat the poverty which creates the community tensions in the first place. Eamonn also pointed out that the communal parties acceptance of neoliberalism means they have no answer to the attacks on working class people.

The SEA was the only organisation to campaign against Ryanair and the expansion of Derry airport runway, that raised objection to the direct rule minister Ian Pearson's attacks on NIPSA strikers, or to question the continued use of Private Finance

Initiatives which hand public services over into private hands.

WE ARE BUILDING AN

FROM one stall in Derry five weeks ago to ten stalls across the North this weekend the SEA has extended it's campaigning network.

Despite being denied a party political broadcast activists have prepared one to be shown on the Internet. Banner drops, inventive postering methods and relentless campaigning has generated new activists and reinvigorated older activists.

activists.

In Newry a Protestant from East Belfast who had never heard of Eamonn or the SEA, who thought that republicans ran the civil rights movement in the 60's and who was hostile to socialism was convinced to campaign for the SEA.

As McCann has said at every public meeting, every TV appearance or fundraiser, "whatever vote we get it will not be able to be explained by the communal analysis of the past but by the ideas and possibilities of the future."

'They treat us like animals' says Mayor of Rafah

'I HARDLY recognised my own street. I don't think an earthquake could do what the Israeli army did to this area.'

Those were the words of Abdel Rahim Abu Jazer, after Israeli troops left Gaza's Rafah refugee camp—after a six-day siege by Israeli forces that left 42 Palestinians dead.

Scenes of devastation awaited residents around every corner, as many people left their homes for the first time in a week to survey the damage-flattened cars, levelled buildings, toppled power lines and raw sewage flowing in the streets. It was the most devastating assault since Israel occupied Gaza in 1967.

Israel claims that its operation was designed to stop "terrorists" from using underground tunnels connecting Gaza and Egypt to smuggle arms and explosives. But Israel's atrocities left no doubt as to who the real terrorists are.

Even Israeli Justice Minister Yosef Lapid, a Holocaust survivor, denounced the atrocities in a Cabinet meeting, saying that the scenes reminded him of his grandmother, who died in a Nazi death campa startling comparison from an Israeli minister that sent shock waves through the establishment.

"When I saw a picture on the TV of an old woman on all fours in the ruins of her home, looking under some floor tiles for her medicines, I did think, 'What would I say if it were my grandmother?' We look like monsters in the eyes of the world, said Lapid, who is the leader of the centrist Shinui Party

Said Zoroub, the mayor of Rafah, told *Socialist Worker*, "In five days Israel has killed more than 48 people and injured more than 300. The Israelis have demolished the infrastructure of roads. They have destroyed 2,300 houses in Gaza in the last three years. We expect another 500 to 1,000 houses will have been destroyed in Rafah.

Sharon. They are the same thing. The of people have left the Brazil camp.



■ Devastation in Gaza as Sharon (inset) orders houses razed to the ground

Israelis are dealing with people like they are animals, not human beings.

"It seems that human rights laws do not enter the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Unbelievable

Ali Barhoum, the city manager of Rafah municipality, told Socialist Worker, "I live in the Brazil camp. Israel occupied it. I am now living in my brother's flat. Is 'All this is the decision of Bush and it safer? We don't know yet. The majority

'The Tel Sultan area was completely closed for six days. No one was allowed to pass in. Some 30,000 people live in the place. It is two kilometres from the border with Egypt. It is unbelievable when Israel says there are tunnels there.

'We don't expect anything from George Bush. Condoleezza Rice promised Israel cooperation with its plan.

'This is the first time Israel has done this to Rafah. The people are crying, but there is no answer from the international

community.

'People are very angry. In Tel Sultan they refused international aid. They said they didn't need it, they needed the area of Tel Sultan to be open.

'Sharon's plan is to dominate everything. He wants us to go back 50 years. People are suffering from occupation.

"We have housing, human resources, education. Sharon wants to destroy all this, to keep people weak and suffering.

REFUGEES REFUGEES

GAZA became a refuge for about two-thirds of the 700,000 Palestinian who had been forced out of their villages by Zionist militia in the drive to create the State of Israel in 1948.

Gaza—a tiny area 27 miles long and 3 to 7 miles wide—is full of refugees whose original homes and land (now occu-pied and owned by Israelis) are only hours from where they now live in destitution.

Unbelievable

Completely fenced in, Gaza has only one crossing-point into Israel at its northern tip, where every day thousands of Palestinians line up to try and get to jobs in Israel.

A majority of the population is unemployed, dependent on United Nations (UN) relief to

There are 7,500 Jewish settlers who occupy 30 percent of the best land in the strip in settlements that are connected by exclusive Jewish roads and border crossings.

VENEZUELA:

Is another coup on the cards?

by AOIFE **BRESLIN**

AT THE beginning of last month, 130 Colombian paramilitaries were discovered on the outskirts of Caracas, Venezuela.

One of the captured Colombians stated that the group was training and preparing for a coup to overthrow the Venezuelan government. Once again the radical Venezuelan President Chávez is under pressure.

Along with three leaders of the Colombian paramilitaries, a colonel of the Venezuelan air force and seven officers of the National Guard were detained along with wealthy Cuban-Venezuelan Roberto Alonso, of the extreme right-wing opposition Democratic Błock.

The purpose of the operation, according to one of the anti-Chávez generals, was to "steal arms from the base to give to a 3,000 strong paramilitary group". Their ultimate aim, to cause a crisis of stability in Venezuela giving the necessary pretext for an intervention by Colombia's armed





■ Hugo Chávez, once again under pressure from a right-wing coup, and (right) Roger Noriega: threats

Last year, the opposition began demanding a referendum to recall Chávez, claiming that his policies were akin to a dictatorship. To call for a referendum, 20 percent of the electorate, about 2½ million people, must sign a petition.

The National Election Council (selected by the National Assembly) has declared 800,000 signatures invalid because signers did

not fill in their personal data themselves. There is also widespread reports that employers were forcing employees to sign. Until May 30, Venezuelans who signed had the opportunity to verify that they had in fact intended to sign.

If sufficient signatures are collated, a plebiscite will be held where Venezuelans will be given

the opportunity to recall Chávez.

Should the recall fail, the opposition "Plan B" envisions large-scale resignations of public representatives to trigger a crisis.

US Sub-Secretary of Inter-American Affairs, Roger Noriega, has also said that if the recall referendum against President Chávez is not convoked, Washington will not stand idly by.

Who are the opposition?

■The Democratic Coordinator opposition is made up of Fedecamarac (employers federation), political parties opposed to Chávez, the *CTV* (pro-government trade union federation), and representatives from the media and the Catholic church.

■The Democratic Block, is the more extreme wing of the opposition and calls for a military coup.

■ National Endowment for Democracy (NED) is a US organisation which funds these blocks.

As the fourth largest exporter of oil in the world and the third largest supplier to the US, the Bush administration is keen to ensure that Venezuelan oil remains in the hands of friendly allies.

Why do they hate Chávez?

Hugo Chávez, was elected president of Venezuela in 1998 on an angry surge of popular revolt. His *Movement for the 5th Republic* draws its inspiration from Simon Bolivar, a 19th century Latin American independence leader. In a country where 80 percent survive below the poverty line, Chávez's radical policies of land reform, increased funding for housing & education has won huge support.

Chavez has doubled the tax on the oil industry and used extra oil revenues to fund a popular "bricks and milk" programme. Many upper-class residents allege that he is a leftist dictator who has befriended Fidel Castro, wrecked the economy, and fostered class hatred by referring to wealthy Venezuelans as corrupt "squalid ones."

But millions of poor people adore him for creating massive literacy programs, handing out land titles to slum dwellers and peasants, and combating a ruling class they say pillaged the nation's vast oil wealth.

However radical a reformer he is. Chávez is no anti-capitalist. Since the 2002 coup he has called for "national accord" with the right wing. He has made repeated concessions to placate the opposition and insists he favours a "mixed economy" rather than an onslaught on capitalism.

Instead of harnessing the power of the millions of ordinary people who took to the streets to reinstate him, Chávez relies on constitutional means to stay in power. But relying on the constitution may not prevent another coup.

SOCIALIST WORKER PAGE SEVEN PAGE SIX SOCIALIST WORKER

After the massacres come the



crimes.

Bush and Blair insist that any soldier found guilty of brutality will face justice. JUDY COX looks at what happened after similar incidents involving US and British troops

THE MY Lai massacre was one of the US army's most notorious war crimes.

On the morning of 16 March 1968 the soldiers of Charlie Company marched into the Vietnamese village of My Lai.

Three hours later they had massacred over 500 people-men, women, children and babies.

The soldiers went berserk. They shot families huddled together in their huts. They raped young girls before killing them. They mutilated the bodies of

their victims, carving "C Company" into their chests. Only one US soldier was injured. He shot himself in the foot while cleaning his pistol.

Around a hundred or so US soldiers refused to take part in the massacre. A handful were prepared to talk about the atrocity thev had witnessed.

The US military and political establishment launched a coverup and suppressed all rumours about My Lai.

It was a whole year before US journalist Seymour Hersh (the same man who recently exposed the truth about Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq) broke the story of the nassacre to a horrified public.

The revelation of the massacre tore apart the lies which the US authorities had peddled about Vietnam. For many people it was a turning point which made them

The outcry forced the army to set up an investigation, the Peers inquiry. It heard from 400 witnesses and read 20,000 pages of testimony before it reported in March 1970.

The inquiry concluded that US soldiers had murdered, raped, sodomised, maimed and assaulted Vietnamese civilians. It concluded that brigade commander Colonel Henderson and commanding officer Lieutenant Colonel Frank Barker had "substantial knowledge" of the mas-

sacre but did nothing to stop it. The inquiry recommended that charges be brought against 28 officers and two noncommissioned officers for their involvement in covering up what happened at My Lai.

But army lawyers decided that only 14 should face charges. Of these, only one case actually came to court. The soldier was

Investigation Division set up its own inquiry into what the soldiers did at My Lai. It reported that there was enough evidence to

charge 30 soldiers with majo

But 17 had already left the army and charges against them were quietly dropped. Top-ranking officers were charged with "dereliction of duty" rather than murder.

They were acquitted despite evidence that they encouraged the killings. Captain Ernest Median told the soldiers, "Everyone in the village is a Communist," the night before the

General Koster, in overall charge, watched the massacre from a helicopter. At one point the genera

radioed the soldiers, telling them to stop firing and "take a lunch break". But only enlisted men and lower ranking officers faced trials. At each trial, the army tried to portray what happened at My Lai

as an isolated incident, carried

out by a few roque troops. Charlie Company's commanding officer, Lieutenant William Calley, was the only one to be convicted. He was sentenced to life imprisonment with hard

He spent just three days in a military stockade before President Nixon ordered his release.

Calley was kept under house arrest for three years. In 1974 he was released on bail.

Then his sentence was cut by ten years and he was released or

Colin Powell, today's US Secretary of State, was an up and coming young army officer based at US headquarters in Vietnam in

Powell was handed a lette written by a young soldier, Tom Glen, to General Creighton Abrams, commander of all US

Before Hersh broke the story Glen reported rumours of a massacre of Vietnamese villagers at My Lai. The accusations were detailed and horritving, and they echoed complaints received from other soldiers.

Glen warned that the abuses "are carried on at entire unit levels and thereby acquire the aspect of sanctioned policy." Powell never even interviewed the soldier.

Instead, he sent a memo to his superior claiming the young soldier had not given enough specifics upon which to base an

After conducting a cursory investigation followed by a report faulting Glen, Powell concluded, "In direct refutation of Glen's portrayal is the fact that relations between American soldiers and the Vietnamese people are excellent."

Colin Powell's memoirs do not mention the letter or any other part of his role in covering up the

ELCOME



US will still control Iraq after June 30

By BRYAN WALL

THE 30th of June has been dubbed the beginning of the future of the Iraqi

According George Bush, sovereignty will be handed over and for the first time. Iragis will have a say in how their country is run. But nothing could be further from the truth.

Governing Council are supposed to be ones who will decide how their country is run. But in reality they will have very little power at

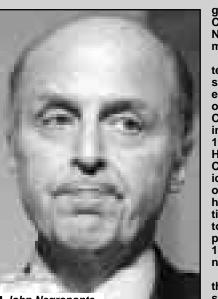
All of the members of the Governing Council were picked and appointed by the U.S and there is no sight of any democratic elections for the foreseeable future. The new

Minister, Iyad Allawi, has close connections with the CIA and M15. He is a former member of the Baath party who established an opposition grouping, Iraqi National Accord, after he fell out with Saddam Hussein, He was one of the main sources for the claim that Iragi weapons of mass destruction could hit British cities within 45

Even Adnan Ali from the Dawa Party which is represented on the Governing Council said. 'There is no real justice... the decision (to appoint him) was made without taking into account the polls or public opinion'.

The U.S will still have a considerable military force in the country after June 30th.

The head of the U.S



Paul Bremer, has stated that 100,000 U.S troops will remain in Iraq in four-

teen bases. These troops will still have control of the country and the newly formed Iraqi army. Bremer's excuse for this is that the U.S has "found a legal basis" and no democratically elected government can ask them to leave.

The real power in Irac will be held in the U.S. embassy in Baghdad. This is projected to

house over 3,000 staff and will become the largest U.S embassy worldwide

The man who will be pulling the strings is U.S ambassador to Iraq is John Negroponte.

Negroponte was political officer at the U.S embassy in Vietnam, during the height of the war between 1964 and 1968, while gross human rights abuses took place including extra judicial executions and massacres of the Vietnamese people

But it was as U.S ambassador to Honduras from 1981 to 1985 that he really made his name.

gal aid to the Contras fighting the Nicaraguan govern-He oversaw a

tenfold increase in staff and his embassy housed one of the largest C.I.A deployments in Latin America. In 1994 the Honduran Rights Human Commission specifically accused him of a number of human rights violations including the torture and disappearance of at least 184 political opponents.

This man looks the other way when serious atrocities are committed, so he seems the logical choice for Bush.

Negroponte will also control the Iraqi economy. The U.S embassy will have the responsibility of disbursing \$18.4 billion in 'aid" to Iraq. However, these funds will be used to award contracts to American firms in charge of rebuilding the Iraqi infrastructure. This will give the U.S long-term control over everyday life in Iraq.

The recent images of the abuse of Iraqi prisoners by U.S soldiers has disgusted many. But the soldiers responsible for the abuse of the prisoners will be immune from prosecution in Iraq.

They will only be subected to the domestic law of their home country.

Even the new Iraqi flaq has been designed in London. This has outraged the Iraqi people, as they believe it is modelled on the Israeli flag. The only type of democracy to come to Iraq after June 30th will be an American style democracy.

In simple terms, the people will be Iragi

military was forced to withdraw. Americans want' This is what one government source told the Irish Times when the contro-

versy about Shannon airport first blew up. Last year 125,855 US troops passed through The average passing through every month has suddenly jumped from 10,000 to the current figure of 16,679 in March of this year.

Bush's visit to Ireland is deeply connected with the role that Shannon airport plays in the US war machine. Bush wants a photo-opportunity to use in the US elections - but he also wants to thank his toady Ahern for his support for the war. Shannon airport has become one of the

major transport hubs for the US occupation of Iraq. The former US special envoy Richard Haas said that it was 'extremely useful' because of its capacity and location. 'Are there alternatives or substitutes? Yes.

Would they be as good? No. Shannon is one of the most capable facilities in this part of the The government first tried to hide what was

going on in Shannon but its cover was blown after protests at the airport gave workers the confidence to leak details to the press.

Since then, Ahern has tried to normalise the situation claiming that there has been many

But his own Department of Foreign affairs noted in a memo on December 16th 2002, that permission as being granted only on 'an excep-

The reason why it was exceptional was that the troops were carrying weapons – and were

unarmed and not part of a military mission. Ahern has destroyed whatever vestige of neutrality existed. Austria, for example, refused to allow any US re-fuelling from the very start, claiming it breached their neutrality

Opposition to the Bush visit needs to be linked to an outright rejection of the use of The practice for the previous fifty years was Shannon by US troops.

ANYONE wishing to come to Shannon, or

The vast majority of local people, including the Bishop of Shannon and Killaloe are against the security presence in the Shannon area and the implications of Ireland showing more support for the

information, all people liv-ing or coming to Shannon, over the age of 18, have to register their Name, Address and Approximate Age, Make, Model and regis-tration of Car to receive in

advance a permit.

being erected. Visits by relatives,

Widespread lack of knowledge of the need to register or the refusal by people to provide their of locals say that they do not want the undemocration

iberties under attack in Shannon

Newmarket-On-Fergus in the end of June has to have a permit as a result of the George Bush visit.

American war on Iraq. friends and even local birth Instead of using existing day parties have been postponed – due to George

People without a permit will be sent back from the security cordons, which are

details again has brought about a situation 91 percent gung-ho "president" to visit here.

George Bush is scheduled to visit Ireland on June 25th and 26th. But there should be no welcome for a war criminal who is responsible for torture, hostage taking and wanton murder of Iraqi

civilians. Evidence of Bush war crimes has mounted in the

TORTURE:

The torture at Abu Ghraib and other prison was not caused by a few lower level 'bad apples'. It was ordered from the very top.

One book which US army officers were encouraged to read was, *The* Arab Mind written by Raphael Patai. It was re-issued in June 2002 with an introduction by the former head of Middle East Studies at Fort Bragg, Col. Norvell De Atkine.

Atkine stated that the book was essential reading' because 'at the institution where I teach military officers, The Arab Mind forms the basis

of my cultural instruction'.

particularly vulnerable to sexual

According to the award winning ournalist Seymour Hersh, it became the bible of neo-conservatives and they took from it two themes, 'one, that Arabs only understood force, two, that the biggest weakness of Arabs is shame and humiliation'.

The torture tactics at Abu Ghraib

were based on these principles. They aimed to break down the adult per sonality of detainees and get them ready for interrogation. The US military authorities knew about torture all along.

The Red Cross issued a report last April and according to the New York Times. 'met more than once with top American officials in Iraq and Washington'.

tary tried to curtail Red Cross inspec-Control of the Abu Ghraib was in the hands of Major General Geoffrey Miller who was formerly the warden at Guantanimo Bay.

The methods used there were

imported directly into Iraq.

But after the report the US mili-

According to sworn testimony of a top US intelligence officer, Col. when her father surrenders. Thomas Pappas, Miller ordered the The book argued that Arabs were use of military dogs against prisoners. Americans going to a house looking the clinic and killed an ambulance

Last October the head of US for someone and when they can't find forces in Iraq, Ricardo Sanchez, issued an order giving military intelliin his place' said Bassem al-Rubaie gence control over prisons with the aim of manipulating the detainees'e-Defence Care. 'This has been going

involved in the torture has stated that Sanchez was present when the torture The situation was monitored by an ultra secret 'black operation' in the

motions and weaknesses'

Pentagon run by one Stephen Cambone, the under secretary of defence for intelligence. Donald Rumsfeld appointed Cambone to obtain 'fast actionable intelligence'.

HOSTAGE TAKING

he US military are holding dozens of Iraqis as bargaining chips to put pressure on wanted relatives to surrender.

One example is Dhafir Ibrahim whose only crime is to be married to Jeanan Moayad. Her father is a scientist and former Baath party official who fled to Jordan after the invasion.

he US authorities have told Jeanan that her husband will be released 'We have ,many cases of

him, they take another family member director of the Council of Legal on since the early days of the One of those accused of being American occupation'

MURDER OF

S gunship crews murdered 40 innocent Iraqi wedding guests at **U** a wedding in the tiny village of Makr Al-Dib and then claimed they were 'bad people' who were running

a terrorist supply line. The victims included twelve women and seven children under the age of eighteen. Despite taking no prisoners or producing weapons, US generals have persisted with their lies. 'It shows their complete disrespect

for the Iraqi people' says Eman Ahmed, director of the Baghdad office of International Occupation Similar evidence has emerged

about the US siege of Fallujah. According to Abdul Jabbar, an orthopaedic surgeon at the local hospital, the US closed off the hospital to the injured, shot at the front door of

Hundreds of Iraqis civilians were murdered at Fallujah before the US

PRIVATISED TORTURE

capitalist dream... die wish list foreign investors and donor agencies dream of for developing markets'

The Economist on economic policy in Iraq under US occupation.

200 state owned companies have been privatised and total foreign ownership allowed. Income and corporate taxes have been capped at 15% and there is virtually no import duties.

Even the practice of torture has been privatised. Titan Inc made a \$40,00 donation to Bush election campaign and won a contract for interrogation'.

CACI International was originally set up by a Nobel winning economist to develop a software programme for stock market speculation and then moved into the interrogation business'. It has close links with Israel.

David Lynch explains why you should ...

Vote No to the Referendum

What is the present situation regarding citizenship in Ireland?

A rticle 2 of the Irish Constitution states that: "it is the entitlement and birthright of every person born in the island of Ireland, which includes its islands and seas, to be part of the Irish nation."

It means that citizenship and the rights that go with it are bestowed on anyone who was born here.

This open definition of citizenship came as part of a referendum on the Belfast Agreement.

In return for dropping the older territorial claim to Northern Ireland, the Irish government declared that everyone who was born on the whole island of Ireland could be a citizen.

So why the referendum?

inister for Justice Michael McDowell believes he has discovered a problem.

He claims the present situation gives foreign mothers an incentive to give birth here, causing a crisis in the maternity hospitals.

McDowell tried to enlist the support of the Masters of Dublin's three maternity hospitals for a proposed referendum.

'They pleaded with me to do something to change the law in relation to this. They didn't ask for additional resources, they were asking me to change the law'

he told the media.

McDowell wants to bring in changes to Article 9 of the constitution so that it modifies Article 2. This article would give the Dail the right to decide on nationality. His aim is to restrict citizenship to people who have parents who are already Irish

So he was just reacting to the concerns of the Master's of the Maternity Hospitals?

o. Two of the Masters, Dr Daly and Dr Michael Geary, issued a statement stating that 'at no time had they pleaded for a referendum' and that, in fact, they had highlighted the need for more resources.

Dr Sean Daly even said they were being used as 'scapegoats'. They wanted to distance themselves from the Justice Minister.

It also emerged that less than 1% of all last year's newly born babies country-wide were born to women who were non-Irish nationals and who had first turned up in an Irish maternity hospital in the very late stages of pregnancy.

So what is the real reason for McDowell's referendum?

his FF/PD government is extremely unpopular with the voters as people react to cutbacks in health and education.

McDowell has attempted to deflect anger against the government towards the small number of refugees and asylum seekers in this country in the weeks before the local and European elections.

As the Irish Refugee Council said "It can, however, be safely assumed that, in its reflections, government anticipated gaining real electoral advantage and adding to the confusion that exists on immigration issues as Deputy Noel O'Flynn so successfully did on a previ-



■ McDowell says 'Not Welcome'

ous occasion.

Most people in Ireland are not racist, but there is little doubt that racism does exsist in the country and this referendum could make the situation worse. A recent Amnesty International survey showed that seventy nine percent of individuals from black or minority groups have experienced racism or discrimination. More than a third experienced open racist abuse frequently and another third occasionally.

But don't we have to change our citizenship laws to be in line with rest of EU?

reland has long offered citizenship to all children born anywhere on its soil.

While this is unique in the EU, a few dozen other countries, including some with far higher intakes of immigrants than Ireland, have been able to survive and prosper despite - or because of - offering citizenship as a birthright. The US and Canada are two such countries and many of their current citizens are descendants of Irish ancestors.

Something that Bertie Ahern and his other cronies in Fianna Fail might consider is that American citizenship allowed Éamonn De Valera escape execution in 1916 before going on to become Taoiseach and Uachtarán na

Also while saying that they want to bring citizenship law in line with other European countries, McDowell, Ahern and co. are much slower to argue that Irish corporation tax rates should be brought in line with (the much) higher

rates in other EU countries.

You never hear McDowell saying that Ireland's underfunded welfare state should "be brought in line" with the much more extensive and better funded welfare states in other EU countries.

Is there a crisis in the Maternity Services?

ichael McDowell's claim that foreign women are clogging up the maternity wards is absurd because Irish birth rates have fallen dramatical-

The number of births averaged 70,000 in the ten year period 1971- 1981. But in the most recent inter-census period 1991-1996, this had fallen to 50,000.

The FF/PD government have centralised medical services and cut back on local services. So the increase in births in Holles St is not simply the result of Ireland having more immigrants or Irish people having more children. It is also a reflection of the closure of maternity hospitals such as those in St James and Loughlinstown. Similarly the increased numbers of births in the Rotunda and Lourdes hospitals reflects the closures of hospitals in Dundalk and Monaghan.

Currently, 40 percent of all births take place in just three hospitals – the Coombe, National Maternity and Rotunda.

The current policy of the Department of Health is to close even more maternity hospitals. Ennis hospital, for example, is scheduled to close its maternity ward,

The other reason there is a problem in the maternity services has been because of government cutbacks. The overall income of the National Maternity Hospital in Holles St, fell from €,726,000 in 2003 to €,132,000 in 2004.

If the referendum passes what will happen?

early 40 million Americans claim Irish descent. But if Michael McDowell pushes through his notion of citizenship

based on 'blood', an extraordinary situation will emerge.

If you are born in Boston and both your parents lived in America for all their lives, you can still claim an Irish passport as long as you have an Irish grandmother.

All you do is go to the Irish embassy and put your name on the Foreign Births Register. The embassy will give you a certificate which entitles you to an Irish passport.

But if you are born in Dublin and your parents have paid taxes to the Irish government, you will be denied.

Or if you are a Filipino nurse who has worked in one of Ireland's maternity hospitals over the past three years, your child would not be entitled to Irish citizenship if you give birth in one of the hospitals you have worked so hard in.

But aren't there too many refugees in Ireland. There are floods of them coming every day?

ot true. In 1995, just over one thousand asylum applications were made.

Since then the numbers increased by between one and two thousand a year.

This rose to 11,634 in 2002 but the numbers have fallen since.

But this is a drop in the ocean of the number of asylum seekers and refugees in the world. According to the United Nations High Commission on Refugees, there are 22.3 million 'people of concern' on the planet. One of the biggest group, seven million, are 'internally displaced people' - that is refugees within their own countries.

In general, Ireland takes in only 1.5 percent of all asylum applications to

But don't Asylum seekers get special treatment above and beyond what other people on social welfare get?

o. Asylum seekers have been removed from the normal welfare system since November 1999 when the government brought in its 'dispersal and direct provision' policy.

Under this, asylum seekers have been sent to temporary communal accommodation in 84 different centres in 24 counties

After getting their three meals, the asylum seekers are forced to live on an income of €19.10 a week and €8.55 for each child.

The numbers in these centres range from 24 to 400. Asylum seekers experience a lack of privacy and are forced to eat meals which differ from those they were used to. These are not "spongers" that FF/PD like to make out.

Who are the real spongers then?

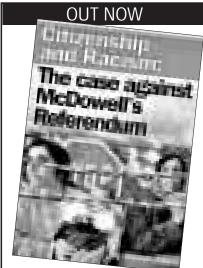
o take an example. Dermot O Brien, Denis Desmond, John Magnier, J.P MacManus, and Tony O Reilly are probably some of the wealthiest people in Ireland.

Yet each of them claims to be tax exiles. In other words, their official residence lies outside Ireland and they cannot stay in Ireland for more than 183 days a year or 280 over two years The status of being a tax exile brings extraordinary privileges.

Let's take one name from our list above—Denis O Brien. He made a staggering €92 million profit from the sale of Esat Telecom to BT. Esat Telecom only became a valuable company because it was awarded a mobile phone licence by Michael Lowry. It might be argued that some of these huge profits should have gone back to Irish society.

But by claiming to reside in the Algarve area of Portugal as a tax exile, O Brien saved himself 1 million in capital gains tax. These taxes that could have gone to build schools or hospitals.

Sources of information on McDowell's referendum. http://www.swp.ie/resources http://www.integratingireland.ie/pdfs/13_Referendum_Analysis.pdf



Citizenship and Racism: The case against McDowell's Referendum, €4 from SW Books, PO Box 1648 Dublin 8

reviews

cinema

Michael Moore's Other America



By CONOR KOSTICK

MICHAEL MOORE, the most well known critic of the US political system, has by all accounts made his most powerful, funny, and disturbing film Fahrenheit 911, which recently won the Palme d'Or, the highest prize, at the Cannes Film Festi-

But the question is whether audiences in the US will get to see it.

The documentary starts with the arrival of the Bush administration in 2004, then looks at the September 11 attacks on New York and Washington in 2001, and scrutinises the situation in Iraq.

It shows original footage taken by camera crews who, with a great deal of foresight and imagination, were embedded by Moore with the American forces in Iraq under more legitimate credentials. The film includes video footage of soldiers in the field abusing Iraqi prisoners as well as interviews with discontented

And it spends time with such people as Lila Lipscomb, a Michigan mother who changes from patriotic support for the Bush administration to heartbroken despair after she loses a son to the war.

The film points to social and financial connections between the Bush family and wealthy Saudis, including the royal family, Prince Bandar (the Saudi ambassador to Washington) and the Bin Laden family. The documentary also explores the US government's role in the evacuation of Bin Laden relatives from the United States after the September 11 attacks.

The documentary uses a lot of previously unseen images of Bush, to portray him through his own words and expressions as a small minded president, hopelessly out of his depth, and personally keen to strengthen his family ties to Saudi oil money - including the relatives of Ósama bin Laden.

As Moore summarised his project, it is an alternative history of the Bush years, 'as if Howard Zinn had a movie camera.' (Howard Zinn wrote a brilliant radical history of the United States)

Indictment

The film is also, not unexpectedly, an unapologetic and incendiary indictment of the current administration's policies and their implications. It makes the case that Bush and his officials deliberately misled the United States to start the Iraq war for their own ends.

In his acceptance speech at Cannes Moore accused the White House of exerting pressure to stop the film from being seen in the United States before the presidential elections. Distribution deals have been arranged for every other country in the world for a release around July 4th.

Walt Disney had the rights to distribute the film in the US, having funded its production through Mira-

But, as Moore put it, 'we got final word from Disney that they will not distribute the film.

They told my agent they did not want to upset the Bush family, particularly Gov. Bush of Florida because Disney was up for a number of tax incentives, abatements ... whatever.

'The risk of losing this - we're talking about tens of millions of dollars - they didn't want to risk it over a little documentary.'

Recently Disney released all rights to two of its studio executives, who now hold rights personally. This means that the company have washed their hands of

However this also creates the possibility of a new distributor being found, the prospects for which have been greatly strengthened since the press reaction to the film at Cannes.

As usual, Moore relishes the fight.

'I fully expect the right wing and the Republican Party to come at me and this film with everything they've got. They will try, as they have unsuccessfully in the past, to attack me personally because they cannot win the debate on the issues the film raisesnamely, that they are a pack of liars and the American people are on to them.

And, if the early screenings of Fahrenheit 9/11 are any indication, those who see this movie will never view the Bush administration in the same way again. Even if you already can't stomach George W. Bush & Co., I think this movie will take you to places you haven't gone before, with laughter and with tears.



■ The New Yark skyline after climate change devastates the planet

By CONOR KOSTICK

The Day After Tomorrow is more than a conventional disaster film. It is a superbly realised warning about the danger of ignoring global warming.

There are scenes in this film that are worth paying into the cinema for, just for their absolutely stunning scope, such as the enormous surge of ocean that engulfs the Statue of Liberty, or the howling tornadoes that rip apart Los Angeles.

Against the background of environmental disaster the film concentrates on the struggle for survival of Sam Hall (Jake Gyllenhaal) in New York and the efforts of his paleo-climatologist father, Jack (Dennis Quaid) to reach him.

As adventure stories go, its perfectly enjoyable, but what makes the film genuinely scary, is the helplessness of human beings in the face of massive environmental change.

The politics of the film are important and relevant, as it is entirely believable that the US authorities would ignore scientific warnings to take the environment seriously.

Cinema going audiences will be in no doubt that the message that even if it affects profits now, greenhouse emissions have to be cut to save our future, is a correct one.

There has been an attempt to undermine the ecological message of the film by attacking the specific way in which the disaster happens which is a reversal of the gulf stream and the creation of tornado like storms that open the lower levels of the atmosphere to the intensely cold

Several newspapers and journals have claimed that the science behind

But these criticisms miss the point. This is a film not a science documentary. For the sake of drama, events that would take decades have been condensed into weeks.

Crushed

As co-writer Jeffrey Nachmanoff put it, 'are you likely to be crushed by a giant ice cube in London or Manhattan any time soon? Probably not. But if you're a farmer in Bangladesh, or if you are someone who lives in a low lying area where the effects of global warming are already beginning to be felt, then this is not something to dismiss as simple Hollywood fantasy'.

Similarly, Tony Juniper, the Director of Friends of the Earth has defended the film, 'although the depiction of the science is exaggerated and at times misleading the scale of the threat and the underlying politics are all too true.'

The facts are that over the last century temperatures have risen by 0.6 °C. Last year saw some highly unusual weather events, including forest fires in Siberia and floods in Southern America. Temperatures are predicted to rise by between 1.4 and 5.8°C during this century, with a consequent risk of water shortage to 3 billion people, and 100 million more at risk from coastal flooding.

Another wickedly shown political irony in the film is that the populations of the advanced countries are fleeing to the developing nations, and Mexico closes the border against the US until the President renounces all Third World debt.

But alongside the message, it is the extraordinary scenes of the coming of a new ice age that have been created for this film which make it worth seeing in a cinema. Don't wait for the DVD.

obituary

JOE FALLON



IT IS with great sadness that we learned of the death of Joe Fallon.

Joe had joined the SWP in 1996, he was then a bus driver based in Phibsboro garage. Joe immediately w himself into organising his col leagues against a proposed management attack on CIE workers pay and conditions

Alongside other drivers he founded the Busworkers Action Group in 97 and began writing for and distributing the groups newsletter "Busworker"

The first action the group took was to successfully organise along with rail workers an unofficial stoppage to coincide with Budget day that year. Joe was instrumental in organising what became an unofficial national transport stoppage by CIE workers.

He was elected as shop steward for the NBRU and managed to raise issues outside of the traditional concerns of bus workers.

He organised a delegation of drivers to march, with the unions national banner, at a number of anti racism marches in Dublin.

He was a staunch defender of the ILDA rail drivers when they where attacked by the media and the unions national leadership.

Despite instructions from his union he backed the train drivers unofficial pickets on bus garages in 2000.Despite a huge campaign in the media those pickets successfully shut vented CIE management from destroying the ILDA during that dis-

Pickets

Joe collected funds and supported a number of strikes over the years. He travelled many times to support the pickets of the striking Montupet workers in Belfast, believing that a strike that united catholic and protestant workers was hugely important to win. He even dragged his unions General Sec and the national banner to the picket on one occasion.!!

In 2000, with the financial backing of his Phibsboro workmates Joe attended the anti globalisation protest in Prague as part of the Irish delega-

He was excited and enthusiastic about the potential of the new anti capitalist movement and was keen to raise its issues in his workplace. When he returned, he wrote a elegant report for the "Busworker" which crystallised the issues that faced the workers movement and explained what the protests where all about.

Joe was a voracious reader of his-Marxist classics on subjects from the colonisation of Africa to the history of the US workers movement.

Joe principals and beliefs in the power of trade unions saw him clash frequently with his full time officials.

On one occasion he was disciplined by his union for publicly criticising the role of union officials and for been photographed with a copy of the Socialist Worker on a picket line in Phisboro!!

Joe had been looking forward to the visit of G Bush in June and had planned to take part in the protests in Dublin and Shannon.

In his work in the trade unions and the SWP Joe represented the finest traditions of the Irish workers move-

Joe will be sadly missed by his colleagues in Dublin Bus and his comrades in the SWP.

He is survived by his three sons and daughter.

-OWEN McCORMACK

NIPSA: McCANN SAYS:

'They are right to strike'

Direct Rule Minister lan Pearson branded **NIPSA** members fighting against poverty pay as 'dishonest and disgraceful. Eamonn McCann, the SEA candidate for Euro elections responds.

'Pearson wouldn't recognise honesty if it jumped up and bit him in the face in broad daylight.

The government he's a member of has become a byword for lies and deceit throughout the world.

It says something about our political system that a Blairite third-rater can launch an attack like this on local trade unionists without provoking a storm. If it had been a paramilitary group which he'd called 'dishonest and disgraceful,' the controversy would be all over the front pages. Political reaction would be leading the

"But when it's low-paid workers who are under attack, the response from the mainstream is so muted it can hardly be heard.

"From their lies over Iraq to their claims about tackling child poverty, New Labour has been consistently 'dishonest and disgraceful'. They say they want to end child poverty but the reality is that the NIPSA strikers' action will do more to fight poverty than all of Gordon Brown's rhetoric.

"More than half the children living in poverty come from families where there is at least one person working. And some of these workers are the government's own employees. Many of the civil servants Pearson is attacking are so low paid they can Working Family Tax Credit.

"While the government talks about ending child poverty, the strikers are trying to do something about it.

NIPSA follows the issuing of new government guidelines on working families' tax credit (now known as child tax credit) that amount to a vicious attack on working class families and trade unionism.

"The new guidelines penalise the families of workers forced into extended industrial action. Families are now threatened with severe financial retaliation if low-income bread-winners try to improve their families' living standards.

Intimidation

"This is the most 'dishonest and disgraceful' form of intimidation of trade unionists I have come across in some time.

"This particular attack is contained in the guideline document 'Notes to go with your annual review and declaration.' This now states on page nine: 'If you were involved in industrial action

days, when you should have been at work, you would still qualify for working tax credit. However, from the 11th consecutive day of industrial action, you are no longer able to claim working tax credit.'

"This passage was not contained in previous guide-

"The benefits system is being used to weaken trade unionists contemplating industrial action to remedy a grievance or protect rights. It uses their concern for their families against them. By the same token, it gives managements a new stick to beat the workers with.

"I pledge, too, that I will raise it throughout the campaign, and will use any mandate given to me on June 10th to highlight this issue and help build resistance to

"The need for a voice speaking up unequivocally for working-class people



Re-trial: June 15th in Kilrush, Co. Clare

MARY KELLY is a fifty year old nurse and mother from Athlone in

She has been a political activist and advocate for Palestinian rights for many years. In 2002 she risked her life to get medical aid to Palestinians 'I AM FIGHTING A under siege in the Church of the Nativi-**CRIMINAL**

ty in Bethlehem. In January 2003, using an axe, she damaged a US military warplane at Shannon airport, temporarily dis-abling it. At the time, she was vilified by the media and government who tried to separate her actions from what was happening at Shannon.

Mary has always maintained that her actions were in defence of international law which the

Fianna Fail/PD gov-ernment has flouted. She was tried for trespass and criminal damage in Kilrush in July

BUSK AGAINST

stopped to listen to local musicians Niall Lawlor,

Leo Kelly and others play

at St Michaels church

while members of the

Dun Laoghaire anti- war

group handed out leaflets

advertising the upcoming Anti Bush Demonstra-

Hundreds of people

War crimes. Busk against

Bush will take place for

the next three Saturdays

starting at 1 o'clock.

ANTI-WAR

MOVEMENT

TAKES OFF

The Irish Anti-War Move-

ment is mushrooming in

lined up to sign a petition indicting Bush for

BUSH

tions.

criminal government that has been involved in an illegal war. We have facilitated more than half the US troops that went to fight in an illegal war. Also they've torn our Constitution to

GOVERNMENT'

"What I am fighting here is a

shreds. They've not even allowed our Gardai and security forces in Shannon to go on board these planes and find out what was in them. There is a huge arsenal of

Scott Ritter, former

U.S. marine and U.N.

weapons inspector in

Iraq was a witness for

her defence, but was

prevented from testifying fully by the judge.

Denis Halliday, former U.N Assistant Secretary

weapons flying over Shannon and there is no concern for the safety of the citizens in that area. Ireland has been complicit in an illegal war, despite the will of the Irish people." —MARY KELLY

> General who resigned his position after 34 years with the UN in protest against the sanctions against Iraq, which

he described as "genocidal", was another witness on Mary's behalf.

Ramsey Clarke, former US Attorney General also testified in Mary's Defence. The jury returned an undecided verdict

But Mary Kelly is due to be ré-tried on June 15th for trespass and criminal damage, and faces up to ten years in prison if convicted. . You can help Mary

■ Supporting her at the re-trial in Kilrush To support her, the Irish Anti-War Movement is organising transport down to the opening of the

Call 087 795 5013 to book a seat on the bus

■ Fundraising for her defence campaign (funds raised can be lodged to Bank of Ireland Credit Card Account Number: 5432

6730 0868 1596 Maire Ni Ceallaigh Mastercard) ■ Raising awareness in

your local community.

response to the Bush visit. Jamie from Sligo

'We called together a meeting with Declan Bree Labour TD, Sean McManus The first Dun Laoghaire Busk Against Bush was a Sinn Fein and Kieran great success. Allen from the anti-war Crowds of passers by

reports,

movement and thirty people turned up. It was a good prac meeting and we soon agreed to hold a regional demonstration in Shannon. The two elected representatives said we

a thousand people out on the streets. We have been meeting since with about 15 people turning up to an organising meeting. We

could probably get about

are all ready to go. Meetings are being planned all over the country from the small village of Tuamgraney in Clare to Balbriggan in Dublin.

In Rathmines, there is a Jazz against Bush concert organised for Thursday June 17th in Madisson' Pub.

In Newbridge, the local group are organising a demo in the weekend before Bush arrives.

Belfast has already organised four buses to come to the Dublin demo on Friday 25th. There are two from Trades Council, one from the Irish Palestine Solidarity Campaign and one from The Belfast Anti-War Movement.

If your area is not organised, you need to move fast to galvanise the opposition to Bush

Book a local public meeting with a speaker from the Irish Anti-War Movement and a local representative. The IAWM will supply you with a standard poster.

Get your friends together to do a Busk against Bush or a music event or a poetry reading session - or anything you want!

Order posters for your area. They are colourful dramatic and they will help you mobilise.

You can contact the Irish Anti-War Movement by ringing 087 2839964 Or by emailing info@iris-hantiwar.org

n the march for cancer treatment

THE Waterford Council of Trade Unions and the Cancer Care Alliance have called a march in Waterford City, in support of the campaign to win a radiotherapy unit in the south-east.

This is the fifth march called by the trades council, including two work stoppages. The march assembles in the Glen, Waterford City on Saturday 5th June at

3.00pm. In October last year, the government belatedly released the report of the Special Review Group on cancer care, a deeply flawed report which used outdated population figures and dubious surveys. The report recommended that the southeast should not get the life saving cancer unit.

An alternative report, put forward by Dr. Jerry Cowley TD, has shown how radiotherapy services can be provided in Waterford, Limerick and Letterkenny at the same cost of the present system. However Michael Martin has failed to even acknowledge this alterna-

SWP local election can didate, Roy Hassey, who is also an executive member of the Waterford Council of Trade Unions: absolutely crucial that we build on the turn-out for previous radiotherapy demonstrations and get thousands more on the streets this time.

Some may be asking what the point of another march is, but I think the people of Ennis and Nenagh can answer that question.

Tens of thousands of people marched in those two towns against the implementation of the Hanly report,

back down and making Hanly almost defunct.'

"The day the special report was released, Martin Cullen went on local radio and told everyone not to worry, that two separate business cartels are in the process of constructing private radiotherapy units in

Waterford City. This will work out fine

for those who can afford it, but those who can't will continue to suffer'.

Figures just released by the National Cancer Registry show that cancer patients in the region do not receive the same level of treatment as in

In some cases this results in up to 36% poorer survival rate for cancer sufferers

Dun Laoghaire residents resist

RESIDENTS of George's Place in Dun Laoghaire have begun a major campaign of resistance against plans to build a 9-storey apartment block on the Iceland site.

Packed meetings of residents have agreed to lodge an appeal with An Bord Planala against the council's decision to grant planning permission to the develop-

The council granted permission despite overwhelming opposition by local resi-Residents are opposing

the development because its enormous height will block off sunlight to surrounding houses and because it will further erode the community spirit of the area.

The residents believe the new designation of "land-mark site" in the county development plan is a concocted term to allow more

high-rise exclusive developments all over the town.

They want sites like this to be used for social and affordable housing or public amenities that serve the needs of the community.

Richard Boyd Barrett, SWP candidate for the area is supporting the campaign:

"All available building land is being taken by developers to build exclusive apartments. Space that should go to build council housing or public amenities is developed purely for profit further driving up the cost of housing.

The FF/FG dominated council and the county manger ram through every development of this kind but do nothing to build council houses or provide public amenities.

The new County development plan is a blank cheque to the developers to

build more exclusive high rise developments on key sites and public spaces.

They want the Baths, Carlisle Pier and every available bit of space to turn the town into a "yuppie Riv-iera" driving working class people out altogether.

Incredibly, the council even sold the re-cycling yard in George's place to private developers.

This is the same council that tells people to recycle and claims they have no land to build council houses.

A cosy cartel of developers, top officials and councillors are carving up the area for profit at the expense of ordinary people and the local environment.

We need people power on the streets to demand public amenities, social housing and democracy in local plan-

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Wexford's dilapidated schools

AT TWO recent public meetings held in the Gorey district which attended were by **Socialist Workers Party** candidate John Carty the shocking reality of the state of the education system in north Wexford was revealed.

Dilapidation, overcrowding, underfunding and false promises seemed to be the order of the day.

Community In Gorey School a request for ten new classrooms was rejected by the Department of Education.

Overcrowded

Already overcrowded by double its capacity it has had to exclude six national schools from its catchment area.

Ballycnew National School is also overcrowded with children taking classes in the Gen-



■ John Carty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Gorey

eral Purposes room.

for him/her to teach in.

It now has the required Kilmuckeridge Vocational attendance to employ an extra College is where the Departteacher but has no classroom ment of Education suggest those excluded from the Gorey catchment area attend but since they haven't received buildings promised almost seven years ago they don't have adequate facilities to cope with the influx of students.

Millions

John Carty asks "Are the parents of these children really expected to believe that our government can spend millions on a spike in Dublin, millions on visiting EU politicians, tens of millions on electronic voting and tribunals but cannot build a few rooms which are desperately needed?

"People inside and outside the catchment area need to unite together and take to the streets to demand proper education for young people in

Civil servants organise against de-centralisation

THE FF/PD plan to decentralise 10,500 civil and public servants is slowly falling

The cynicism of an exercise that plans to move the Department of Marine to **Cavan or Probation Officers** dealing with Dublin to Navan is obvious.

Surveys have indicated that only a minority are interested in moving to new

SIPTU have advised members to boycott the online application system. IMPACT, at its recent conference, has agreed to industrial action in the event that any member is moved without agreement.

Many are nervous about their future and feel under pressure to apply to hold their jobs if they ever want promotion..

It is essential that activists organise to give members the confidence to force the government to revise its plans.

Now one IMPACT branch has taken an initiative and called an open forum so that grass roots er and build resistance.

'We feel that the unions needs to move more strongly on this. Decentralisation is not really voluntary because people who do not move have been told they will not

be promoted again.
'Most civil servants need promotion to get a living

We don't see why we should be used as pawns of failed right wing politicians'

Public Meeting Decentralisation A debate

Wynns Hotel, Middle Abbey St. Dublin 1 7.30 pm Weds. 9th June

Sponsored by the AE&HS Branch IMPACT

New Bin Charges on the way for Dun Laoghaire

SOCIALIST Worker has learned details of Dun Laoghaire Rathdown **County Council's plans** to move to a pay by weight system next January.

A lump sum payment of €150 will be required and householders will subsequently be charged each time they avail of the service.

A charge of €2 per lift is proposed alongside a payment of 10c per kilogram.

Proposal

There is a proposal currently on the table to require a €300 payment in January

Householders who do not run up a waste charges bill of



■ John Carty, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Gorey

this amount by the end of the year will have their account in chairperson of the Anti Bin credit for the following year.

Richard Boyd Barrett, Tax campaign and SWP candi-

date in Dun Laoghaire, believes that "this shows that the suggestion that the pay by weight would be a fairer system is utterly bogus.

"Most people would end up paying at least as much as they are now"

"It is still an unfair double tax on working class people. This is not as the council and government has claimed an application of the polluter pays principle. It is just another way of squeezing money out of working class people.'

"We must continue the campaign of resistance until household charges are abolished and the real pollutersindustry and big business- are forced to pay their fair share of

Dundrum Anti War Group

Stand up for immigrant rights BRENDAN Donohue

has been canvassing in the South West Inner City

Brendan, a community worker in Rialto, is well known for his anti racism work in the area. He recently helped members of the local immigrant community in Emmet Court register so that they can avail of their right to vote in the forthcoming election.

"The neglect of the South West Inner city by successive governments is scandalous." says Brendan. "They have refused to invest in housing, facilities



■ Brendan Donohoe

for children and education in this area and countless other working class communities across the country.

"The people of this area want something better and we need to campaign on the ground to force both the council and government to put the needs of people first".

Opposition

Brendan has been very vocal in his opposition to the citizenship referendum that is being proposed by Michael McDowell as it will seek to deny children born in this country their right to be citizens.

According to Brendan "this is just another ploy on the part of the politicians to blame anyone but themselves for the problems in this country.

Immigrants are making a huge contribution to our country and it is appalling that their children if born here would not be treated the same as all other children.

'The reason for poverty and poor services in this country is not that there are too many people coming here.

It is because money has been creamed off by the rich, big business hasn't paid its fair share of taxes and the government prefer to spend money on horses than people'

lingsend: Where are the jobs?

Dublin **Docklands** Development Authority (DDDA) is responsible for overseeing the development of the North and South

It is one of the areas in the city that has witnessed the highest level of development in recent times, first with the construction of the Irish Financial Services Centre and subsequently with the building of endless high rise apartment blocks and hotels.

With a large development now planned for Grand Canal Dockscomprising hotel, arts centre and apartments- local people are wondering where their needs fit in.

One south inner city resident told of his struggle to get building work on DDDA projects in the

"When the first high rises were constructed local people were very worried about the blocking out of sunlight and other prob-



■ Shay Ryan

lems.

"We were in contact with the DDDA and we were assured that they would look after us. We were promised that all the developments would benefit us by providing jobs for locals and training"

"For the last number of years thirty people from the Dublin 2 and Dublin 4 area have been constantly looking for work from them. Just four people have got employment.

"Subcontractors are using immigrant labour. They are paid € an hour whereas the going rate should be about €14.

They are on work permits and are being pushed to work all the hours God sends. This encourages racism. But it's not the fault of the immigrant workers.

"Nothing is being done to help people locally to get work. Charlie McCreevey's budget has made it more difficult for people on Family Income Supplement to take up a job without losing benefits like the medical card.

"Many of these subcontractors only provide a few months work at a time so it's not something that you can give up your benefits for too easily. They are exploiting everyone"

Stop Bush **MEETING** Wednesday June 9th, 8pm Islamic Cultural Centre, Clonskeagh

Socials Demonstrate Friday 25th June 7pm Parnell Square, Dublin (And regional protests)

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