

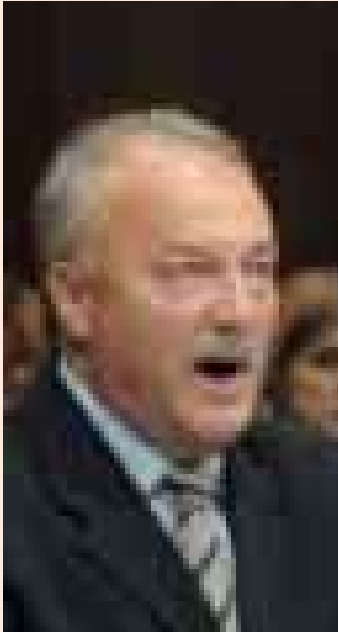
# Socialist Worker

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**Galloway wins worldwide 'Respect'**



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## 'To protest is a right, even more so when the goal is spreading justice and equality'

*Four years after Genoa and the death of his son, Giuliano Giuliani speaks exclusively to Socialist Worker.*

**Giuliano Giuliani a leading Italian Trade Unionist whose son Carlo was murdered by the Italian Police during the July 2001 protests in Genoa against the G8 Summit. Since Genoa, Giuliano and his wife Haidi have become stalwarts of the international anti-globalisation movement, speaking at countless events and protests as well as campaigning for justice for their son. He will speak at a public meeting organized by G8 Mobilise on Thursday 26th May in Dublin.**

**Four years on from Carlo's murder, do you feel any closer to achieving justice for him?**

It is very difficult after waiting for four years to even think about achieving justice. But we are doing everything possible to ensure that the truth be acknowledged. Carlo was killed while he was trying to defend the others and himself from being shot at by the police. Carlo tried to resist: this is the truth.

Along with this truth, we also want to find out the exact chain of command on those days, and we want someone to take political responsibility for Carlo's murder. This is absolutely necessary for our country, for democracy, and in particular for all the other young people who are looking for a better world.

**How have the police behaved during the investigation?**

Terribly, no investigation has really been carried out, not even into the most disgraceful and violent behaviour of the police. After he was hit by a bullet, Carlo was kicked while he



Giuliano Giuliani who is visiting Ireland

was lying on the ground and then one policeman broke his forehead with a stone. This is the behaviour of Nazis. So was what they did at the Diaz school or at the Bolzaneto barracks or in the streets: torture, extremely violent beatings, both physical and mental. These facts are unworthy of a civilized society and they cannot remain unpunished. Instead they are trying to cover, to hide and to mix up everything. Some Judges are also not doing their jobs, because dismissing a case, like Carlo's murder, contributes to the

truth being hidden.

**What message do you have for those who are thinking of attending the protests against the G8 in Scotland this summer?**

To protest is a right, even more so when the goal is spreading justice and equality. In Genoa this right was denied. The state colluded with anyone they could to deny this right. They colluded with various groups:

criminals, fascists, hooligans as well as some dangerously naive people who had deluded themselves into

thinking they could defeat capitalism by breaking some shop-windows or setting cars on fire. These acts, ironically, indirectly profit the insurance companies, a strong aspect of financial globalization! The strength of the movement will be in its principles and its goals. It also lies in the movement's ability not to rise to provocation, and to demand that the police do their job with coherence and dignity.

**>>Interview continues inside on page six**

## Bin Tax Campaign Victory as 'Flat' Tax branded illegal

**By Cllr JOAN COLLINS**

The Dublin City Anti Bin Tax Campaign has won a major legal victory after the Circuit Court branded illegal the collection of a flat bin tax.

It has been established, on two separate occasions now, that the flat charge for bin collection for the years 2001 and 2002 in the Dublin city council area was contrary to law.

Make no mistake about it, this is a major setback for the city council as the use of the courts was a key ele-

ment of its strategy to smash the campaign of mass non payment.

The council's tactic was to take a couple of hundred householders to court, secure court orders for the payment of arrears, and then to use this to intimidate others to pay.

The city council was operating on the basis that individual working people would not be able to afford the high costs of putting up a legal defence.

The court ruling could also apply to the years 2003 and 2004. In those

years the Council brought in the 'incentive' of a smaller bin at a lower charge, but still not a pay per use system as outlined in the 1998 Waste Management Plan, which was the basis of the legal ruling in the two cases heard in the court. This issue will have to go to the courts for clarification.

There is then the question of a refund for those who were bullied and panicked into paying the charges.

There is certainly a basis for taking a test case into the courts on this issue,

at least for the years 2001 and 2002. This could mean the city council having to refund some EUR 13 million.

Those who have not paid and those with arrears adds up to 45 per cent of households in the city. We are now appealing to those who were bullied into paying to rejoin the campaign of mass non payment, and of mass resistance to non collection.

**>>Continues inside on page four**

## Quotes of the fortnight

Oliver Houston of Shareholders United, fans pressure group on the take over of Man U by Malcolm Glazer

**"He's not turning up with a suitcase full of his own cash. He is, in effect, asking Manchester United fans to pay for his takeover, to pay for increased ticket prices and increased merchandising."**

Condoleezza Rice, US Secretary of State, when asked about the importance of drafting a new constitution in Iraq replied

**"Things do not happen overnight. We have become very impatient people"**

Mary Harney in the Dail sums up why Fianna Fail and the PDs need to be kept away from health care

**"In 1997, there were 1,244,459 medical cards or 34.37% of the population...In September 2004...29.3% of the population (had medical cards). In April 2005, 28.32% (were covered)..."**

IMPACT health and welfare divisional executive Cliona Quaid, on the Primary Care Strategy launched in 2002, promising a primary care unit for every 5000 people

**"Not surprisingly, everyone welcomed the strategy. Not surprisingly, everyone asked when they would benefit from it. The simple answer to that question is: probably never."**

The quality of opposition in the Dail slips to a new low when, during the nursing home charges debate, Pat Rabbitte resorts to nurse rhymes to put down Willie O'Dea

**"Wee Willie Winkle runs through the town etc etc"**

Michael McDowell in response to warnings about the unsuitability of the newly purchased prison site in North Dublin

**"I will not be deflected by all this guff"**

Michael McDowell to the Oireachtas Joint committee on Justice and Equality when frustrated by "cock and bull" stories from asylum seekers, lets slip his contempt for equality and justice

**"I would prefer to interview these people at the airport, but the UN insists that I go through due procedure"**

**"As you know he did go into the Dail and make a full apology immediately the remarks had been made, so I think that's the end of it".** Dermot Ahern backs Conor Lenihan following his remarks in the Dail (in a clearly racist reference to the Gama workers) that **"Deputy (Joe) Higgins should stick with the kebabs"**.

# ASYLUM SEEKERS SPEAK OUT: The truth behind McDowell's myth of 'cock and bull stories'

The Minister for Injustice Michael McDowell referred last week to the applications from asylum seekers as "cock and bull stories".

This was a clear attempt to prepare the ground for more deportations and whip up racism against asylum seekers to divide and weaken all workers in Ireland. The Department of Injustice is targeting failed Nigerian asylum seekers for fast-track deportation. An insult to one is an insult to all.

Last Wednesday a Nigerian asylum seeker was forcefully taken from a Dublin hostel by armed immigration officers. After he was put in the Garda van one guard sang "another one bites the dust". The asylum seeker was brought to Clover Hill prison and then deported.

The Civil Rights Movement, an immigrant-led group is calling for regularisation (the right to work and stay) for the thousands of failed asylum seekers and undocumented migrants here in Ireland. Patrick Kawara, an asylum seeker from the Democratic Republic of Congo outlines why he thinks this regularisation should take place and to stop the deportations.

**By PATRICK KAWARA**

The Irish Economy is presently seeking 50,000 immigrant workers to sustain economic growth. The Spanish government recently granted regularisation to 700,000 irregular Migrants. Why are deportations taking place in Ireland while the economy needs more workers?

Asylum seekers on direct provision receive a weekly social welfare supplementary of €19.10. According to 2004 figures by the Irish Refugee Council (IRC), behind the doors of 60 hostels and accommodation centres throughout the Country are 700 Asylum Seekers who spent their third consecutive Christmas in Direct Provision. More than 1,300 have been in direct provision for longer than 18 months. 65% of Asylum Seekers and Refugees have a third level qualification from their home country.

### Illegal deportations

According to the Guardian newspaper, Britain could be contravening the Geneva Convention by forcing Asylum Seekers to go home. Is Ireland doing the same? Jamie Doward and Sri Carmichael, both Human rights activists allege that it is to Ndjili Airport in Kinshasa that Britain and other European countries send Congolese Asylum Seekers whose applications have been rejected.

Many deported Asylum Seekers



The fight for migrants' rights

end up in windowless jails run by the feared National Security Agency. From these dark cells they are transferred to Makala Central Prison, dubbed "the morgue". The US State Department reported that 69 people died in Makala in 2003 as a result of beating, starvation and disease. The Congolese Human Rights activist René Kabala Mushiya said on IRR News on 2 December 2004 that the Asylum Seekers deported to the Congo are facing prison and death.

### Civil War in DR Congo

The peace agreement to end a five-year civil is failing. On 14 February 2005 the United Nations warned of a crisis in DR Congo where recently 40,000 people have fled fighting in the northeast. 45% of the population is living on less than \$1 per day and 73% percent of children under 5 are malnourished.

International Rescue Committee estimated in April 2003 that more than 3.3 million people have lost their lives because of the conflict.

According to Amnesty International, on 2 August 1998 the

Armies of Rwanda and Uganda invaded DR Congo to oust a government they accused of supporting insurgent groups based in the east of the country, including groups that had taken part in the 1994 genocide in Rwanda.

The offensive ended in stalemate. But behind the front lines, in an area controlled by Rebel movements supported by Rwanda and Uganda, a brutal "war within a war" continues to rage. Child soldiers have been extensively recruited and are currently fighting in Ituru.

In the capital city, Kinshasa, on 10 January 2005 the police fired teargas to disperse thousands of protestors who demonstrated against the government decision to delay the elections. There is no hope of a peaceful change of the Congolese government and Human Rights violations are increasing.

### The right to stay and work

My name is Patrick Kawara. I am an Asylum seeker from DR Congo and I have been living in Ireland since

July 2003. I failed my application for Refugee Status and my stay in Ireland currently depends on the decision of Minister Michael McDowell to grant me Humanitarian leave to remain here. I have been labelled as a 'trouble maker' because I helped organise for the rights of other asylum seekers.

Like many others I can't go back home. I will be arrested and may be killed. Thousands of other workers from different countries are currently facing deportation orders while the Irish economy needs more workers.

Section 5 of the Refugee Act 1996 requires that a person shall not be expelled from the state or returned to a state where the life or freedom of that person would be threatened on account of his or her race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group or a political opinion.

We believe that permanent residency in Ireland should be given to Asylum Seekers from countries with conflict zones like Iraq, DR Congo, Angola, Sierra Leone, Nigeria and many others.

## INSIDE THE SYSTEM

**✠** The Irish taxpayer has footed a bill of €10 million over five years for foreign and military aircraft overflights, the majority of which was for the US military.

The US does not pay the bill for air-traffic control and communications services for aircraft passing through Irish-controlled airspace.

The number of troops passing through Shannon in the first four months of this year amounted to 110,766, more than double the 47,149 for the same period in 2004.

**✠** At a time when nursing home beds in public facilities are so badly needed plans are afoot to sell part of the grounds of Bru Caoimhin - a public nursing home in the heart of Dublin's south city - to private developers.

Plans to recruit an additional 17 psychologists to the National Education Psychological Service were shelved recently because of cutbacks. Children already have to wait at least six months, and often years, for an appointment because the service is so chronically understaffed.

**✠** Ordinary people are put in jail for not paying their TV Licence: what about the top RTE broadcasters getting €2,262,143 per year? which interestingly is just under what those other 'public servants', the Cabinet, get (at €2,700,000 per year).

**✠** 1,117 people seeking asylum were refused "leave to land" when they arrived at Irish ports and airports in the first three months of this year. People in need of safe haven are being denied even the opportunity to apply for asylum here.

**✠** Progressive Democrat TD Liz O'Donnell has accepted a directorship on the board of Denis O'Brien's Communicorp - which owns 98FM and has a stake in Newstalk 106 - adding an extra €30,000 per year to her already generous Dail salary. Meantime, our esteemed Minister for Defence Willie O'Dea, has until very recently had shares in a company drilling for oil in Iraq and had diamond interests in West Africa.

**✠** Very good fortune for the McCann Brothers of Fyffes Bananas who managed to buy the Battle

of the Boyne site months before the government announced its intention to purchase it. They bought the site for €2.7 million. The Office of Public Works paid them €7.8 million to take it into state hands.

**✠** According to an Iraqi planning ministry survey, only 54% of Iraqi families have access to clean water, and 37% of homes are connected to a sewage network; this compared to 75% in the 1980s. Unemployment stands at 50%, in the 1990s it was 13.6%.



## TRADE UNION SHORTS

### Gama strike made official

SIPTU and UCATT made the strike of Gama workers official in late May following an overwhelming ballot. This followed a five week unofficial strike by the Turkish workers who had been paid €2-3 an hour for working more than 80 hours per week.

200 of the workers returned to Turkey when they were promised money which Gama had diverted to secret accounts in Holland. However the strike continued as most of the workers feel they have not been given their full entitlements.

SIPTU activists around the country were shocked to discover that as far back as three years ago a deal was done between SIPTU and Gama management to take the workers into membership. Union dues were deducted at source and several thousand euros a month were paid to Liberty Hall. However, the workers, most of whom did not even know SIPTU represented them, received no service from the union until last month, and their abusive conditions of employment were never investigated by officials.

As one SIPTU activist told Socialist Worker, "This scandal was allowed to go on while the leaders of SIPTU sat on their hands. This is a disgrace. An open letter calling for an investigation in SIPTU as to how this was allowed to happen is now circulating. If SIPTU, the largest union in the state, cannot defend its members on super-exploitative wages, its time for big changes."

Residents in Ballymun, where Gama holds massive contracts for the regeneration of the area, were set to protest at the local Civic Offices demanding explanations from Council officials of how public money was given to Gama while these abuses continued.

### Nurses ballot on strike action

31,000 nurses are preparing to strike next month unless a threat to withhold pay increases from them on June 1st is lifted.

Members of the Irish Nurses Organisation (INO) will be balloted on strike action over the next three weeks. At the INO's annual conference it was agreed to take whatever action was necessary to stop employers withholding their pay increases.

INO general secretary Liam Doran said his members had identified difficulties "on professional, legal and ethical grounds" with healthcare assistants doing nurses' work.

He also claimed the employers' threat to withhold pay was in retaliation for the INO's highlighting of the A&E crisis. The Psychiatric Nurses Association has supported the INO. The INO should go ahead with the strike and take on the government. This is the only way real change will be brought about. It would be a very important strike and should be supported by everyone interested in a better health service and worker's rights.

### Strike against Big Brother

Workers at the US pharmaceutical giant Schering Plough in Cork went on strike last week over the introduction of CCTV cameras in the plant.

The strike took place in the engineering, manufacturing and general support services.

### Bol ballot on job cuts

Bank employees who are members of MSF-Amicus union are balloting for strike action against management failure to engage "in a constructive manner" with the union in relation to job cuts.

The Union represents about 400 employees in the Bank's ICS building society and New Ireland Life assurance.

### Tralee Health Service Forum

As part of our campaign for a better health service and following on from our participation in the nursing staff A&E protests at Tralee General Hospital last month, the Tralee Branch of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), held a successful public forum on May 11th at the Abbey Gate Hotel, Tralee. Kieran McNulty, Tralee SWP

# 500 march on the Dail for public radio therapy in the South East

Delegations from Waterford, Clonmel and Kilkenny marched on the Dail on Thursday 12th May last, calling for a public Cancer Radiotherapy unit at Waterford regional Hospital.

Minister Martin Cullen, a supporter of Withfield private clinic was booed and heckled by the crowd of 500 marchers.

Withfield intends charging for radiotherapy treatment, however campaigners say that any treatment must be provided publicly, as privatisation is creating a two tiered health service.

In highlighting support for the campaign, organiser Dick Roche informed SW that over 100,000 signatures had already been collected in the South East.

Among the protesters were Josephine Cuffe of Lisduggan Residents Association, and SIPTU marcher May Sage, who described "sick people travelling to Dublin on an 8 hour round trip for 5 minutes treatment".

Ms Sage's sister Kathleen Regan, a cancer patient, has been away from home for up to 5 weeks at a time receiving treatment.

Ms Regan stated that while "the treatment is bad enough", "to be away from your family, your home" magnifies the ordeal unnecessarily.

Also in attendance was



Photo: Paula Geraghty

Kathleen Regan, a cancer patient with her sister, May Sage, a SIPTU member, on the recent WRH march in Dublin

Councillor Billy Shore of the Clonmel Workers and Unemployed Action Group. He described the current situation as "inhumane" and told SW that "we've been supporting this campaign for the past year and a half now."

"Clonmel also needs this

treatment centre, as Waterford is only an hour away".

Andrea Keenan with the ATGWU, said "I'm here because I'm not waiting to get sick."

"People who are dying of cancer should not be put

under this brutal stress".

Alice Lynch from Clonmel also told SW "when you have cancer and are having treatment you are not able to get up to Dublin."

"It's criminal what patients have to go through".

1000 new cancer patients

are diagnosed in the South East every year, of which 50% need radiotherapy but only 20% actually receive it.

This results in a 36% poorer survival rate for cancer patients in the South east because they don't have access to necessary facilities.

## BATHS PROTEST:

# Largest demonstration ever seen in Dun Laoghaire

On Sunday May 15th more than 1,200 people joined a massive demonstration in Dun Laoghaire, the largest ever in Dun Laoghaire on any issue in recorded memory. Organised by the Save Our Seafront (SOS) group, demonstrators protested against council plans to build an 8-storey apartment and shopping complex on the site of Dun Laoghaire baths, and demanded that councillors vote down the proposals in early June.

The size of and feelings expressed at the protest show that local residents are enraged by the council's plans.

The development will exclude the public from part of the most beautiful and pub-

licly owned seafront views in the country.

It is also accepted that the proposal represents the first step towards the overall privatisation of this public seafront, where large sections will be misappropriated to satisfy the greed of developers.

According to Mr. Richard Boyd Barrett, Convener of SOS and local SWP rep., "the council wants to hand the entire seafront over to the developers and make it an exclusive area," however "the huge numbers on this protest took even us by surprise, (showing) the huge depth of feeling that exists in this area against this scandalous proposal."

Local political representa-

tives, who have been, for the most part, conspicuous by their silence, would do well to take note of the size of this demonstration."

### Councillor calls protesters 'insane.'

Protesters were also angry at RTE News' coverage of the event. RTE's principal interview was with Cllr Niamh Bhreathnach who supports the council's proposals and did not attend the protest. She dismissed the protesters, calling them 'insane' in one interview.

This unbalanced coverage of the protest reflects establishment support for the so-called Public-Private Partnership. It is believed by

many that ninety percent of this publicly owned space will eventually become private, and that the baths proposal again shows PPP is just another name for privatisation of public property.

Leading figures from Fianna Fail and Fine Gael, including Barry Andrews and Cllr John Bailey support the council's proposals, however their party colleagues are sitting on the fence.

"The protests have shifted some of the politicians but we need to escalate the pressure on the others" said Mr. Boyd-Barrett, who suspects "politicians afraid of losing their seats in the immediate area may vote against while their party colleagues still vote the plan through. We must make

clear we will hold all members of every party responsible for the way their party group votes.

"We also need to build on the momentum of this great protest by collecting more signatures and building even bigger protests over the coming weeks."

The next SOS protest will take place outside a special meeting of the council to discuss the baths plans on June 7th in Bewley's Hotel, Sandyford.

Another mass demonstration and rally will take place on Sunday June 13th in Dun Laoghaire

For more info/confirmation contact Richard Boyd Barrett 087 6329511.

## Margaret Watson to continue battle for housing

Margaret Watson (48) and her daughter Fran (26) say they will continue their fight to be re-housed by Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown Co. Council having spent their first night outside council offices in Dun Laoghaire.

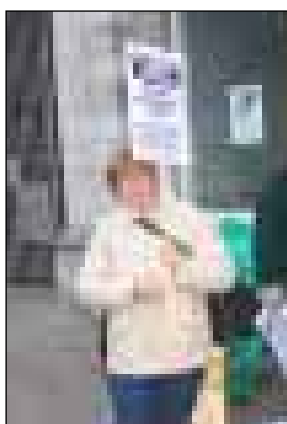
Local members of the Socialist Workers Party have helped Margaret produce posters and petitions to highlight her plight, and the acute housing crisis in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown.

Margaret, formerly a joint tenant with her sister in a 3-bedroom council home in Dun Laoghaire, left the house three

years ago because of domestic difficulties that led to serious ill-health including a breakdown and heart attack.

She applied to the council for re-housing but they refused. Margaret found cheap accommodation with friends over the last three years but is now homeless because they sold their property.

The council are also demanding €5000 in rent arrears for years she was not living in her council dwelling because Margaret refused to hand over the tenancy of her former council home until the council pledged to re-house



her and her daughter.

Margaret has been forced to agree to the council's demands, and it has agreed to provide her with accommodation but has not fulfilled its promise. Because Margaret is still a council tenant, the Eastern Health Board will not give her rent allowance either and so she cannot afford to rent privately.

The council should re-house Margaret immediately. This situation is the result of its failure to build sufficient housing.

People in desperately cramped conditions and those

with no prospect of ever buying their own homes have been rotting on the housing list for years.

It is just not acceptable after ten years of the so-called "Celtic Tiger".

■ Phone message of support to Margaret Watson at 085 7353517

If you are disgusted with the housing situation and want to get involved in our new housing campaign - contact us.

■ Phone: John Dunne at 087-6662454 or Richard Boyd Barrett at 087-6329511

# Thousands of education workers in Northern Ireland walk out against cuts

By MARK HEWITT

On Friday March 13th, thousands of education workers across Northern Ireland walked out on strike and protested at proposed cuts in education.

United, confident, determined, and loud, with women the majority of protesters, this marked the beginning of a campaign in defence of education against a direct rule administration that is determined to drive through cuts.

## Artificial Crisis

The crisis in education is artificial. While the government and some trade union officials argue that there has been mismanagement by the Education and Library Boards,

the bodies that oversee education, this is not the reason for the crisis.

Increased wages, transport and heating costs together with extra spending on Special Educational Needs have meant that Education and Library Boards need an extra £30 million just to balance the books.

## The money is there

Angela Smith, the new education minister, says that there is a lack of funds and there will have to be cuts.

However last July (2004) Secretary of State Ian Pearson announced Northern Ireland had under spent more than £200 million of its budget allocation. At least £50 million of that was allocated for educa-

tion. If we add that to the unnecessary expenditure on the Assembly plus the war in Iraq, the money is there, but the government demands cuts and more cuts.

In the South Eastern Board there will be no maintenance except for emergencies and £400,000 has been cut from the library budget. Classroom assistants are to be cut amongst a host of other measures aimed at reducing the "overspend". The effect of these cuts will be felt in local communities when essential services are cut more than likely in the most deprived areas. It is worth bearing this in mind when Blair bangs on about ASBO's whilst 40 after-school clubs face the axe.

## Reducing bureaucracy or slashing jobs?

The Agenda of Blair's government is clear – they want to cut our public services to the bone. They also want to replace 5 Education and Library Boards with 1. The argument they make is that there is a substantial amount of duplication and unnecessary bureaucracy.

Firstly it is not exactly clear that Northern Ireland has excessive education provision. Take Yorkshire (similar in size and population) – they have at least 9 Local Education Authorities! They say reducing the boards will make the service more efficient. While there are all sorts of problems with

the Education and Library boards, not least of which a lack of democratic accountability, this will not solve the problem.

The problem is that the boards are implementing the cuts instead of standing up against them. So the Boards will oversee the job cuts of Secretaries, drivers, and school crossing patrols guards.

## A coordinated campaign

This government has been weakened substantially by the election result. They can be beaten. We need further strike action that is coordinated with the teaching unions before New Labour deepens the crisis (cuts of £100million are being talked

about over the next three years).

This must connect with community organisations that will bear the brunt of the first wave of cuts, e.g. homework clubs. We also need to link the struggle against these cuts with the other attacks on the public sector. Pearson offered the bribe of more money for education if we accept water charges. The connection between the attacks should be easy to make.

Some in the trade union movement argue for the return of the assembly so that local politicians can ensure we don't have the cuts inflicted on us. We cannot depend on that outcome. We have to make sure the fight to defend services begins now, and successful — whoever is in charge.

# Left elbows its way into Northern Elections

By GORETTI HORGAN

Now that the election results are all in and the dust has settled, it's possible to have a more considered look at how the Left did in the North's recent poll.

It was certainly a difficult election for any party standing on a socialist or non-communal platform. As Socialist Worker predicted, there were essentially two elections taking place: one where the DUP managed to wipe out the UUP and another where Sinn Fein increased its vote but failed to deliver the killer blow to the SDLP.

The Left was bound to be squeezed in the middle of this bid for communal supremacy, and it was. Nonetheless, there were respectable votes for Socialist Environmental Alliance (SEA) and Socialist Party candidates and the Greens won three Council seats. So, there is a clear space for parties that oppose the communal, pro-business agenda of the four main parties.

That people want to see the emergence of a new Left that looks to the global anti-capitalist movement was seen in the rejection of the Stalinoid politics of the Workers Party. The WP stood candidates in six constituencies for the Westminster election, but between the six won only 20 votes more than the SEA's single Westminster candidate. Its six candidates got 1669 votes between them, while the



Eamonn McCann of the Socialist Environmental Alliance

SEA's Eamonn McCann polled 1,649 votes in Foyle (pushing the Ulster Unionist candidate into fifth place).

Nor can it be claimed any longer that McCann's vote is a personal one. The SEA stood candidates in the local election in four of the five wards that make up the Foyle con-

stituency. These candidates between them polled 1,321 votes in four fifths of Foyle making it clear that McCann's vote is an SEA vote, not a personal one.

The SEA's Colm Bryce and Oisín Kehoe polled 574 votes, or 5% of the poll between them in Northland, while Liam Friel in

Cityside and Davy McAuley in Waterside each got about 200 votes, or over 2%. Eamonn McCann won 371 (3.9%) votes in Waterside Rural.

The Socialist Party stood in four wards: Enniskillen Town, Belfast Pottinger, Laganbank and Cookstown. It polled 828 votes.

The Greens' results show the potential for a radical non-communal party to elbow its way into the debate in the North. Its 14 local elections candidates polled 5,703 votes between them, electing three Councillors. Brian Wilson was elected in North Down, Bill Corry in Downpatrick and Ciaran Mussen in Newry & Mourne.

From a socialist point of view, however, the most exciting thing to emerge from the election was the SEA's breakthrough in Protestant working class areas.

This had been clear before ever a vote was cast, from the welcome on the doorsteps in areas like Bond Street, Tullyally and Nelson Drive. Certainly, the stance taken by the SEA for workers' rights and against police brutality towards young people from Protestant areas helped in that regard. Both McAuley and McCann's wards are mixed Protestant/Catholic and both candidates' transfers went fairly evenly to nationalist/unionist parties.

In the aftermath of the election, many people who became involved with the SEA are now active in building for the protests against the G8 in July. The Derry Make Poverty History group plans to ring the Derry Walls with people on Sat. June 18th. Local bands and street theatre groups are joining in the event which will help build for the events in Edinburgh and Gleneagles at the start of July.

# Bin Tax Campaign Victory as 'Flat' Tax branded illegal

By JOAN COLLINS

Continued from front page.

The recent court victory vindicating the Anti Bin Tax Campaign's stance of non-payment shows what can be achieved when people stay united.

All sorts of injustices are carried out against working people on the basis that as individuals they will not have the resources to take on the state.

The prime example of this is the 30-year long robbery of the elderly in state care institutions.

Successive governments and the health boards knew what was going on was illegal, but who from this group of the most vulnerable would have the wherewithal to challenge them?

As individuals, working people can rarely take on state institutions, the big corpora-

tions or indeed their individual employer.

But when we stand together in collective action we at least have a fighting chance.

By building up a legal defence fund, based on each household paying €6, the best legal defence was hired to take test cases and challenge the bin tax.

What does this court decision mean? Firstly it means that flat charges in any of the four Dublin Council areas for the years 2001 and 2002 are illegal.

All those brought before the courts to date will win their cases if the council proceeds with them.

The victory in the courts does not of course mean the end of the bin tax.

The council will now move to non collection of the bins of those who have not paid or have arrears.

So far, they have shown a marked reluctance to attempt this in the big working class estates where their method to

date has been very selective and stop start.

They started in the areas with bags, about a third of

households, in January.

In East Wall they have not attempted to stop the campaign from putting bags in the bin

truck.

When faced with protests in other areas they withdrew the truck on the basis of 'safety' while in other areas they resumed collecting all bags after a few weeks.

They are also leaving behind unregistered bins on the same basis.

When they started this in Ballyfermot recently there were so many unregistered bins they had to override the computer after doing a few streets.

Then they came back and collected all the bins the following day.

Whatever the tactics of the council, one thing is clear. Working people can win if they stand together.

Joan Collins is an Independent Councillor on Dublin City Council

## Pay back time in Dun Laoghaire and across Dublin City

**DUBLIN City Council should immediately withdraw arrears demands and refund those who paid bin taxes, or face possible legal action.**

**Richard Boyd Barrett, chairperson of the campaign in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown said the recent circuit court ruling that a flat bin tax was unlawful may have the biggest implications in the south Dublin county.**

This was because the flat charge was in place for five years in Dun Laoghaire Rathdown, from 1999 to the end of 2004, and was higher than anywhere else in Dublin, he said.

"We are calling on the council to immediately withdraw demands for arrears recently sent out looking for up to €1,400 in bin taxes for those years," Mr Boyd Barrett said.

"The council and Bertie

**Ahern's government should apologise to every resident threatened with court and with not having their rubbish collected over the last five years.**

**"They put pensioners and people on low incomes through hell."**

**He added that a campaign meeting decided to fundraise to mount a legal challenge against the county council if it does not comply.**



## INTERNATIONAL:

## IRAQ General strike against occupation in Ramadi

Iraqis in the city of Ramadi and neighbouring towns held a general strike last weekend in a protest against a blockade by US troops.

On Friday 7 May, after US troops surrounded the city a call came from the mosques for a general strike in Ramadi and neighbouring towns. The civilian and military resistance distributed leaflets calling for the two-day strike.

The US blockade started after an attack on US troops. Soliders imposed a curfew and launched raids arresting dozens of young men.

Sheikh Majeed spoke on behalf of the Patriotic Forces Rejecting the Occupation (Wahaj Al-Iraq).

"There is no peace in Iraq," the sheikh said. "The two-day strike is a blow to those who claim that ordinary people do not support the resistance."

The protest turned into a full-scale revolt and the occupation forces have been battling to regain control ever since.

The two-day general strike in the city came as US troops launched Operation Matador, a major offensive against towns and villages near al-Qaim, which is on the border with Syria. They have faced determined opposition from the resistance.

### Germany:

## A new party that will 'draw a line in the sand'

By **CHRISTINE BUCHHOLZ**, member of the executive of **Wahlalternative**

A new left wing party is contested the regional elections in North Rhine and Westphalia in Germany last weekend.

The Wahlalternative Arbeit und Soziale Gerechtigkeit (Electoral Alternative Labour and Social Justice) had its official founding conference two weekends ago.

There were 350 delegates from all over the country, representing 5,600 members.

There were people from trade unions, such as IG Metall and the public sector union, as well as those from the anti-capitalist movement, Christian backgrounds and migrant organisations.

The Social Democratic Party (SPD) and Green coalition government of Gerhard Schröder has continued the destruction of the welfare state begun by the previous Tory government.

It has brought in measures against the working class, reducing unemployment benefits. Unemployment has risen to five million.

Many people are frightened for the future and are refusing to vote for the SPD. People believe we have to draw a line in the sand to defend the welfare state.

### Ecuador:

By **MELISA HALPIN**

At the end of April a popular uprising in Ecuador forced the then President, Lucio Gutierrez, to flee from office.

He came to power in 2000 with support from all the left parties. He was widely expected to be the "Ecuadorian Chavez". Unlike Chavez, Gutierrez quickly revealed himself to be a puppet of Washington and the IMF.

In the middle of April the mayor of Quito called a general strike, which was brutally repressed by the police. The revolt quickly spread from Quito to Cuenca and across the surrounding countryside uniting peasants, workers and students. Gutierrez escaped to the airport in a helicopter only to be met by 3000 protesters who stopped him boarding his plane and he was forced to Brazil in his helicopter.

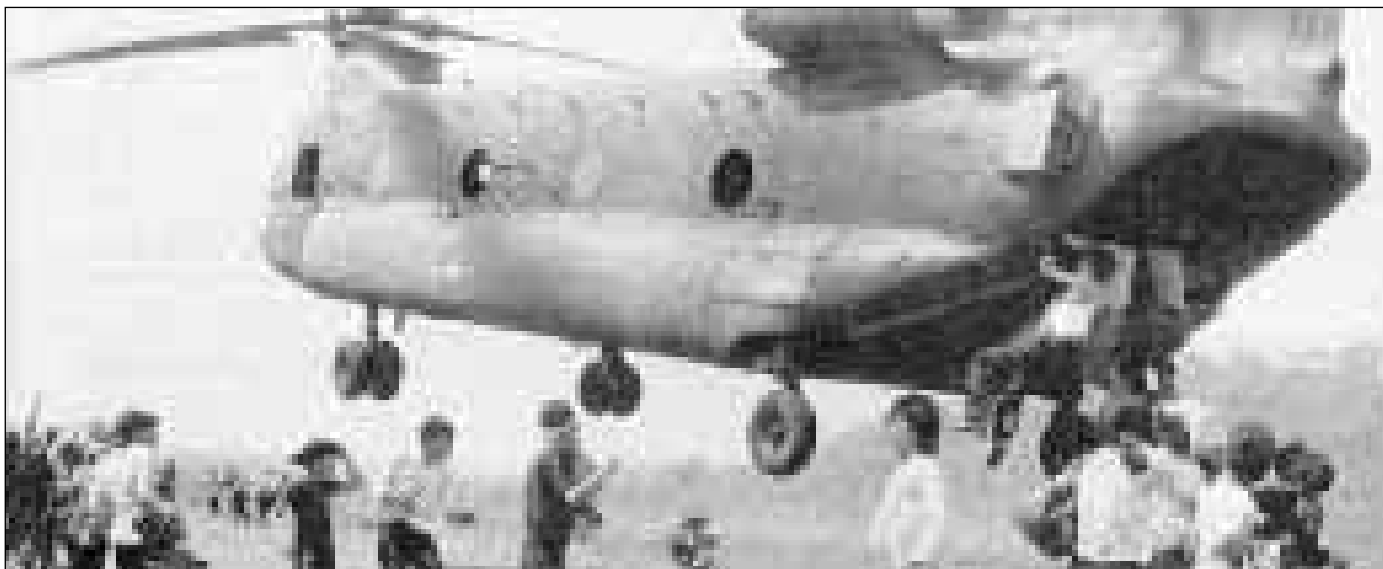
Vice president Alfredo Palacio has taken over and the protests are continuing intermittently under the slogan of "Fuera Todas" ("Everyone Out"). To them, Palacio is just another in a long line of disappointments. But the choice for Palacio is clear if he wants to survive as president he needs to listen to the people and use the power that ousted Gutierrez to stand up to the might of US imperialism.

## May Day Venezuela

By **MELISA HALPIN**

Hundreds of thousands of supporters of Hugo Chavez, Venezuela's left wing president, marched through Caracas, the capital, on May Day in support of plans to introduce worker management across the state run industries.

Workers in Alcasa, the state aluminium company, have already started organising production themselves and electing their shop directors. "It is impossible for us to achieve our goals with capitalism, nor is it possible to find an intermediate path," Chavez told the crowds.



# 30 years on from the fall of Saigon, will Iraq follow Vietnam?



Panic as US troops evacuate after the fall of Saigon

By **CONOR KOSTICK**

Thirty years ago, Saigon, the capital of South Vietnam, fell to the National Liberation Front, the communist army lead by Ho Chi Min.

The scenes on 29 April 1975 were chaotic. Right up to the last the US had been determined to hold on. Their final plan had been to keep up a 'Berlin lift' style of operation for the city in order to prop up the government they had created. But the South Vietnamese regime was falling apart in the face of the advancing NLF forces.

Knowing their time was up, the AVRN, the army of the South Vietnamese, was melting away at the rate of a thousand soldiers a day. Even the most loyal units were spending their time robbing foreigners, especially US personnel, rather than digging in for the kind of stand the top US generals wanted to make.

### Run away

The American Ambassador, Graham Martin, appeared on Saigon television and pledged that the United States would not leave Vietnam. He said, 'I, the American Ambassador, am not going to run away in the middle of the night. Any of you can come to my home and see for yourselves that I have not packed my bags. I give you my

word.'

So they did. Despite a 24-hour curfew people began to gather at the US Embassy. Hundreds wanted to be airlifted out fearing the consequences of their support for the US-backed regime. Others came out of curiosity. A sign that not all in the embassy were as confident as the public statement suggested was the fact that the trees were being cut down to make room for helicopters to land in the compound.

Then, amazingly, 10, 20 and 50 dollar notes began to flurry through the sky. The embassy was burning 5 million dollars before it fell into NLF hands and some of the notes were rising in the fire and escaping unburnt. Sensitive documents were also heading for the pyre, but in the rush and due to the powerful eddies of air created by the arriving helicopters, hundreds were scattered. The radical journalist John Pilger was present and managed to get hold of one dated May 25, 1969:

'Top Secret ... memo from John Paul Vann, counter insurgency ... 900 houses in Chau Doe province were destroyed by American air strikes without evidence of a single enemy being killed. The destruction of this hamlet by friendly American firepower is an event that will always be remembered and never forgiven by the sur-

living population...'

### Panic

A few top South Vietnamese officials and officers fought their way through the crowds to the gates of the compound; panic growing as mortar fire could be heard coming steadily closer. If they were on a special list held by the marines they were allowed to clamber over the fifteen-foot gates. No easy task with your hands clasped tight around bags full of money.

A senior US official watching the fall of the city said, 'If there ever was a moment of truth for me it's today. All these years I've been down there, doing a job of work for my country and for this country, and today all I can see is that we've succeeded in separating all the good people from the scum, and we got the scum.'

At 3.15pm Graham Martin tried to drive out of the embassy but could not get through the press at the gates. Although the South Vietnamese crowding around were assured they would be evacuated, they were abandoned. Later that night the remaining US personnel were airlifted out, while the crowd surging the building was tear-gassed to keep them at a distance.

By the middle of the next afternoon Saigon was entirely in the hands of the NLF. There was

no resistance to their tanks and jeeps. Nor was there a massacre by the NLF against their old enemies. The war was over and the US presence, which had built up since late 1961 to a peak of over 540,000 in 1968, was utterly routed. Despite the fact that some 3 million US soldiers served in Vietnam, 58,000 of whom were killed, the world's biggest superpower had been forced out.

### Iraq

The significance of that day is obvious thirty years later. The US is trying to pursue a very similar strategy in Iraq to the one it adopted in Vietnam, forming a deeply unpopular government and assisting it in military operations against its own people.

A sign of events to come is the recent general strike in the city of Ramadi, 70 miles west of Baghdad, which has just taken place against US 'Operation Matador', a major offensive near the Syrian border. For two days, despite the US driving around with loudspeakers urging people to break the strike, a complete shut down of schools, markets and offices showed the people united behind civilian and military resistance leaders.

The day will come in Iraq when the US will once again face a humiliating withdrawal. Only this time it will not take thirteen years.

**“To protest is a right, even more so when the goal is spreading justice and equality”**

Four years after Genoa and the death of his son, Giuliano Giuliani speaks exclusively to Socialist Worker. Continued from front page

**In terms of building the resistance to globalisation, both within Italy and internationally, how important do you think Genoa 2001 was?**

Genoa showed the strength of a movement which is united by values: solidarity, a desire for justice, and an economy freed from the ultra-liberal dogma of the market.

These values are capable of forging unity much more effectively than any one ideology. For this reason, Italy's right wing government, with the full support of their allies internationally, tried to stop it, using all the might of violence and repression.

In Italy they went further than others might have, because the current right wing government totally lacks all moral values, and they saw in the movement, which was strong and vocal in its support for these values, a serious threat to its power.

**Do you think Berlusconi will be defeated in the coming general election? If so what hopes do you have for the alternative broad left government?**

Every local election result over the last two years has been a defeat for Berlusconi. He and his government are in crisis.

Apart from the penalty points system and the smoking ban in public areas and on trains, not one of his recent initiatives has had any real support.

The government has only been interested in solving the personal legal problems of Berlusconi and in increasing his personal economic power.

Italy is in the midst of a very serious economic crisis: we are in full recession. One family out of every four -especially in the South, but also in some areas of the North- cannot make it until the end of the month.

In the last week of every month even milk sales drop! Millions of workers' contracts are not being renewed, and the government is doing nothing other than making promises to reduce taxation, which will disproportionately favour the rich.

Even the employers' organizations and those trade unions involved in national agreements with the government are becoming very critical. Unions are organizing a general strike.

All the conditions are there for Berlusconi to be defeated and for the biggest embarrassment of our recent history to be removed from Italy.

This is a goal that is shared by the whole centre-left spectrum, which on this point has found a strong unity.

But to rule properly in the interest of the country we need a coherent programme, completely alternative to the one of the right. This programme still does not exist, and this delay is worrying.

**What role do you think radical political parties can have in the social movements?**

This is complicated. The so-called radical coalition could win over 15% in the next general elections in Italy, thus potentially making up 1/3 of the opposition.

The coalition is therefore crucial to the victory of the opposition, so it will influence government policy. The problem is that the coalition is divided and fragmented into five different parties or groups.

So there are leadership problems, problems of representation, and petty power struggles that sometimes affect the movement and can be the cause of crises that have nothing to do with the values of the movement.

We need to get back to a principled tradition with some real goals such as democracy, social rights and protection for all (especially the most vulnerable), access for all to basic goods, a rejection of ultra-liberalism and a submission of the market to the rights and dignity of the people.

# Evidence suggests G8's claim to be working towards 100% debt cancellation for poor nations will result in failure

*Eamon Stack outlines some of the reasons why everyone must protest on June 30th and at G8 summit in Scotland.*



As we prepare to head for the MakePovertyHistory Dublin Rally on June 30th and the MakePovertyHistory massive Edinburgh rally (with the G8 alternative summit) the G7 finance ministers have been preparing the way for the G8 leaders meeting on July 6th.

All evidence suggests that their claim to be working towards 100% debt cancellation for poor nations will result in abysmal failure.

As debt campaigners gathered in Brussels last week the anger was palpable.

Recent communiqués from the G7 meeting, coinciding with the Spring meetings of the World Bank and IMF, tell us that all proposals for substantial debt cancellation have been blocked and what is left is cancellation of about 8% of debt servicing (0.8% of Debt stock).

Debt campaigners have suggested that we might as well call the Gleneagles summit the G8% Debt meeting.

The G8 will probably try and sell this deal to the public as something approaching 100%. This is both blatantly dishonest and it serves to undermine campaigners.

## Multilateral and Bilateral Debt

Most debt of poor nations is divided between Multilateral and Bilateral debt. The Multilateral debt is owed to the International Financial Institutions (e.g. World Bank, IMF and African Development Bank [ADB]), collectively called IFIs.

These institutions are owned by the countries of the world and decisions are made by the Board of Executive Directors.

As voting is weighted by economics the G8 members control at least 50% of IFI votes, therefore they control the decisions.

Because IFI funds are recycled for development and economic support of poor nations, it is vital that any debt canceled comes from new funds and not simply used as a means of reducing future grants and loans of these institutions.

Cancellation of Bilateral debt (through the Paris Club of creditor countries) is likely to follow cancellation of multilateral debt. Thus we focus on a demand for multilateral debt cancellation.

## Assessing Debt cancellation:

Here are four steps we could use to critique any decision to cancel multilateral debt:

1. The debt repayments can be either payments of debt servicing (payments of interest) and/or payments of debt stock (the amount borrowed). Of any deal we ask whether the debt stock or only the debt servicing will be canceled.
2. Of debt servicing we ask, for how long and how much debt stock will be left after that time?
3. We also ask, from which lending institutions is the debt being canceled – World Bank, IMF or ADB?

Finally we ask, for how many countries is the debt being canceled? There are at least 60 countries in debt crisis.

## Brown's proposals

The proposal by Gordon Brown, who currently holds the chair of the key IFI economic committee, is that each nation, proportional to their voting power in the IFIs, pay off the debt servicing to the World Bank and the ADB, of 20-24 of the poorest nations. And he puts his money where his mouth is - the UK is already paying 10% debt servicing of these nations. Canada and the Netherlands have followed and is each paying 2%. Ireland is likely to follow paying its share, less than 0.5%. No one else has joined the scheme to date despite intense canvassing.

The second key aspect to Gordon Brown's proposal was mooted by Debt and Development Coalition Ireland in an excellent study commissioned three years ago. This is to sell the unused and unneeded gold reserves in the IMF treasury, valued at €38bn, to cancel all the IMF debt and much of the World Bank debt. This proposal has been blocked outright by the US.

Here is an assessment of Brown's proposal according to the four steps above:

This deal involves only cancellation of debt servicing and no debt stock cancellation;

It only involves cancellation until 2015. But as the debts have a 50 year repayment schedule, a rough estimate of 60% of the debt will still exist in 2015.

The cancellation only involves World Bank and ADB debt which is less than 70% of debt servicing.

And finally, it only includes

20-24 poor countries out of over 60 countries that are in crisis.

The resulting debt service cancellation (NOT debt stock) is 40% of 70% of 30% = 8%

And if we include debt stock in our calculation we might as well say this results in 0.8% debt cancellation of debt stock for all nations in crisis. You do not need a degree in economics or maths to say that 0.8% is not a pass mark.

People are dying in their millions because of this outrageous situation. \$38bn of gold is sitting in the IMF reserve - we cannot say the resources are not there.

The Irish government had over €500m excess in VAT receipts in the first three months of this year.

Liam Neeson, narrator of the first 'Click Ad', tells us that a child dies every three seconds of poverty. Do our leaders really care? We say the G8 leaders have an absolute ethical obligation to make absolute poverty history now.

Get out on the street and let your voice be clearly heard on June 30th - at The Spire, O Connell St at 1830hr. "G8: do not try and sell this pathetic response to this world debt crisis in July. G8% is 92% failure - you've got to do much better".

■ Eamon Stack, a veteran of the Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition and former Jesuit, he spent 10 years in Community Development in Ireland and Latin America. He is currently working with the Debt and Development Coalition and is coordinating the MakePovertyHistory - Drop the Debt Dublin Rally on June 30th.



## CAMPAIGN AGAINST ASBOS AND THE CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

# Asbos are based on a false prospectus

By MATT FOOT

The recent elections in the UK saw New Labour return with the lowest share of the vote for a governing party since 1832. The lies justifying the war in Iraq undoubtedly led to the decline in Labour's vote.

With that in mind, Justice Minister Michael McDowell's recent proposal to add Anti-Social Behaviour Orders (Asbos) as an amendment to the Criminal Justice Bill seems even more surprising. His decision must have been as a result of discussions with Blair's government.

Fine Gael and the Labour Party have followed suit and given support to McDowell's proposals.

Like the emperor's new clothes, nobody has thought to raise the rather obvious question, where is the evidence that Asbos work? In fact not one single British Home Office research document exists to show Asbos are effective in dealing with anti-social behaviour.

This is not so remarkable given that there was no evidence before the introduction of Asbos that anti-social behaviour had risen.

McDowell's announcement of the need for Asbos has been followed by a visit to Leicester by Billy Kelleher, Fianna Fail TD for Cork, to find evidence of how Asbos have been working.

Leicester is not a good example and will not reveal the full extent of the abuse of Asbos. Only 16 Asbos have been granted there since 1999 as opposed to over 600 in Greater Manchester and 150 in the London Borough of Camden.

### What are Asbos?

An Asbo is a civil order that can be applied for by the police, local authority or can be imposed by the court after sentence.

Under this civil order you can be banned from any behaviour at all. Some common conditions imposed by Asbos include no go areas and restrict association with more than 2 or 3 people.

However there have been orders banning 'being sarcastic', 'playing football' or saying the word 'grass'. If



Criminalising young people for the clothes they wear

you breach an order you commit a criminal offence which is imprisonable for five years for adults and two years for juveniles.

An Asbo could be served against any one of us due to the ridiculous breadth of 'anti-social behaviour' as defined under Jack Straw's Crime and Disorder Act 1998.

You can be served with an order if you have behaved in a way 'likely to cause alarm' - that is all that is required. This definition has led to a large number of diverse cases including Asbos banning a woman from trying to commit suicide, a man with mental health problems from sniffing petrol and a woman from going in the garden in her underwear.

In this case, the local Asbo unit handed out diaries to her neighbours to record when she was seen in her underwear which suggests state sponsored voyeurism and gives a whole new meaning to Neighbourhood Watch.

The British Ministry of Defence have even applied for an Asbo banning Lindis Percy, a long-standing peace campaigner, from protesting outside Menwith Hill US army base with an American flag which says

'stop meddling', although the court refused.

As worrying as these cases is the increase in the number of Asbos - with a rise from only 200 granted in the first two years to 1800 granted in the last year alone. Almost half of those were against juveniles, some as young as ten.

### Asbos don't work

The idea that anti-social behaviour can be solved by simplistic banning orders is nonsense. At least 42% of Asbos have been breached. This is hardly surprising given the age and vulnerability of many of those served with orders.

As Asbos last for a minimum of 2 years, and can last for life, the true breach figure is likely to be much higher. More than half of those who breach an order go to prison. We now have a national scandal in the UK with ten young people a week going into custody because of Asbos.

There they will receive little or no rehabilitation in prisons that are already full. These institutions will soon start to resemble the poor houses of old with those 'undesirables' being cleared off the streets through Asbos -

including beggars, prostitutes, drugs and alcohol addicts, and the mentally ill.

The cost of imprisonment is enormous and similar to Ireland where it costs €250,000 a year to detain a young person in Oberstown or Trinity House detention centres.

Asbos are a serious attack on civil liberties. An asbo can be granted using hearsay evidence and with no right to a jury.

As a result 97% of Asbos have been granted. Some police and local authorities are clearly applying for Asbos as an alternative to using the criminal law where a defendant would have a number of safeguards. It seems inevitable that there will be miscarriages of justice.

Asbos also mean that many people are going into custody for behaviour that is non-criminal (the man who sniffs petrol who is now in prison) or for non-imprisonable offences (such as begging or prostitution).

### The opposition

In sharp contrast to the pathetic response of the so called opposition parties to McDowell's proposals was the enthusiastic launch of the Irish

Coalition Against Asbos on the 4th May in Dublin which includes the support of Barnardos, Liberty, The Children Rights Alliance and many youth clubs. It followed the launch of a similar campaign in the UK, Asbo Concern, which brought together over 30 organisations at a packed meeting in London and is galvanising support for a full public government review.

As Geoffrey Shannon, a child law expert said at the launch of the Irish Coalition, 'we need to stop panicking and behave responsibly when discussing anti-social behaviour'. Shannon makes the important argument that Asbos would undermine the Children's Act 2001 which contains practical policies to help address such behaviour by diversion schemes to try and keep young people out of custody. Those arguments have been taken up by the Minister for Children, Brian Lenihan, who has made representations to McDowell.

Asbos do not exist anywhere else in Europe. An active campaign combining charities, trade unions, justice and youth groups could ensure they don't spread and protect your right to express yourself without a threat of five years in prison.

Matt Foot is a Criminal Defence Solicitor in London

### Campaign against Asbos and the Criminal Justice Bill events:

(involving Hotpress: see [www.hotpress.ie](http://www.hotpress.ie) for petition, Union of Students Ireland, UCD Student Union, Socialist Workers Party, Labour Youth, Green Party, Sinn Fein and others)

#### Monday May 30th 8pm Public meeting:

Speakers; Fr. Peter McVerry, Ivana Bacik, a Community worker. Wynns Hotel, Abbey St, Dublin 1

#### Sat June 11th - Protest for Civil Liberties, Dublin

Contact 087 6838746 for details

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# Socialist Worker

## Editorial

Web: www.swp.ie Email: swped@eircom.net Phone: 01 8722682

### Why Aer Lingus should not be privatised

The government's decision to privatise Aer Lingus by selling off a majority share should be opposed outright by Trade unions and the Left.

The government claims that the sell off is necessary because the state cannot invest the required equity to replace the fleet and expand the airline. The government says this is due to EU laws. The EU excuse is not true. ICTU's Paul Sweeney argues in his book: "Selling out?" that, "Under the 'market investor principle', if the company is viable, the state can invest in it without reference to anyone."

The money is there. Why not use the €64m of Irish taxpayers money which is currently invested through the National Pension Reserve Fund in aviation companies and airlines around the world (over €7m in Ryanair)? Why not use the €107 million Aer Lingus made in profit last year or the billions of Euro that the Government has wasted in the overruns on the road programme?

#### Reality of privatisation

The facts are that privatisation is not in the interests of workers or consumers. In 2003 the Terminal in Paris' Charles de Gaulle-Roissy airport collapsed killing four people. The CGT Union said that completion of the terminal had been rushed, for purely commercial reasons and that corners had been cut.

Privatisation means huge job losses (over 1,300 jobs could go at Aer Lingus) and attacks on workers rights and conditions. Currently each Aer Lingus worker processes 1,781 passengers. Ryanair workers process 10,000 passengers each. Private investors will expect much higher rates of exploitation of workers.

Workers will be offered shares but Telecom shows the disaster of share option schemes. Workers end up paying any gains back in terms of reduced conditions especially new employees. Contracting out to non-unionised companies becomes the norm.

As the Telecom fiasco showed, privatisation means the big multinationals will sell off the airline's assets such as key landing slots to repay the venture capitalists funding the privatisation and then cherry pick the profitable routes. We could end up with British Airways taking over Aer Lingus and deciding what routes from Dublin are serviced.

#### Illegal Golden Share

The government's 25% minority 'golden share' will do nothing to stop this. In fact the European Court of Justice has rejected as illegal the UK Government's golden share in BAA saying that it restricted the free movement of capital within the single European market. This proves we were right when we argued that EU treaties would prevent investment in public services and lead to further privatisation.

Whatever the union leaders may believe, the real reason for privatisation is Ahern and Harney's FF/PD commitment to the neo-liberal agenda of their big business friends. They actively promote the privatisation agenda of the EU backed up by the G8 and the WTO. The goals of this neo-liberal agenda are the destruction of workers rights and the facilitation of profit making for private capital. The government wants to turn Aer Lingus into another version of Ryanair.

There is nothing inevitable about privatisation. Working class communities in Dublin who protested for years have just won a fantastic victory against the neo-liberal Bin tax. In Bolivia communities and workers struggled against and reversed the privatisation of their water supply. If the trade unions and the left led a similar struggle to defend our national airline we could win too.

#### Campaign against the sell off

However, the Labour Party is absorbed in fighting over which pro-privatisation party (FF or FG) they will go into government with. Meanwhile the trade union movement, led by ICTU, is signing secret deals with the government that called off the transport strikes last year. The deal on the Airport terminals for example does not give the unions any explicit guarantees on pay but merely "supports the objective of the maintenance of pay and terms and conditions". SIPTU's Jack O'Connor insists this will protect airport workers in the new second terminal from "slave wages". Can't we do better than that!

The trade unions are busy issuing statements. The cancelled strikes, had they gone ahead, could have stopped this privatisation madness. The opportunity still exists for a fight. A broad campaign against this privatisation of Aer Lingus could win. This is a real test for trade unions and the left. We must do all we can to pressure them to follow the route of struggle that puts the interests of workers and consumers first rather than the "social partnership" model that, as Eddie Conlon so accurately describes in this paper, just lines the pockets of the wealthy.

## COMMENT

# Could Jeffrey Sachs' ideas bring about 'The End of Poverty'?

By Kieran Allen

Why has no national newspaper run this headline: "More than 20,000 people perished yesterday because of extreme poverty?" It is as if these deaths are natural – they just happen and nothing can be done.

Jeffrey Sachs has written an important book to challenge this complacency – *The End of Poverty*. The introduction, written by Bono, says it is a handbook 'on how we could be the first generation to outlaw the kind of extreme, stupid poverty that sees a child die of hunger in a world of plenty, or of a disease preventable by a 20c inoculation.'

Sachs is a defector from the Washington consensus. From Bolivia to Eastern Europe he advocated the 'open market based economy'. Now like other former conventional economists such as Joseph Stiglitz and Paul Krugman, he denounces the World Bank and works with the UN Millennium Development project. Visiting Ireland recently, he attacked Bush's war and told his audience that the best thing Ireland could do for America is get US troops out of Shannon.

Sachs is an important influence on the Make Poverty History Campaign which will be mobilising hundreds of thousands to protest at the G8 summit in Scotland this summer.

#### Extreme Poverty

According to Sachs, 1 billion – or a sixth of the world's population – live in extreme poverty. They have a precarious existence between life and death – too ill and too poor to cope with small changes such as drought or a decline in the price of cash crops. If the world economy is like a ladder with different rungs reflecting levels of wealth, these people are not even on



Jeffrey Sachs

the first rung.

Sachs wants this form of extreme poverty ended by 2015 – and he is absolutely right. It can be done. As a start the industrialised countries should cancel the debts of poorer countries immediately and pay over at least 0.7 percent of their GDP to the developing world (the US currently pays a mere 0.15 percent). There should be no strings attached to aid. There should be 'trade justice' so that big farming interests in the West are not subsidised with huge grants, enabling them to dump their produce on world markets and so undercut poor producers. Any reduction on these subsidies should be at the expense of rich farmers – the livelihoods of poor farmers and workers should not be undermined.

Sachs argues these measures will put the poorest countries back on the rung of

development. After that the free market can take off and each country, by finding a 'comparative advantage' can find niches in their world market.

Here, however, Sachs goes profoundly wrong – and why his project should be regarded both as a critique of neo-liberalism and an attempt to co-opt sections of the anti-capitalist movement back into the system.

#### Free market doesn't work

If free market mechanisms work, then how can one explain why the economic conditions in 19th century Ireland worsened after the Act of Union. This Act removed the manifestly unfair restrictions on Irish trade but it still subjected a poor country to the full wind of competition from stronger firms.

The same would happen on a far more dramatic scale today.

Consider how the price of most primary produce – like coffee – has dropped in recent decades. The reason is companies like Nestle have opened new plantations in Vietnam as a leverage to force down prices paid to poorer farmers in Brazil or Colombia. The 'market' always exacerbates existing inequalities and, despite talk of 'freedom' leads to the growth of oligopolies who carve up the global market between them.

Sachs also advocates more 'philanthropy' as a solution to poverty and praises Bill Gates. But why should the poor be made dependent on the whims of the very wealthy? Gates is one of the three billionaires with more wealth than all the people of sub-Saharan Africa.

We will not make poverty history by appealing to the conscience of billionaires. We also need to make capitalism history.

# Toni Negri shouldn't be calling for a yes vote in EU constitution referendum

By SALVATORE CANNAVO

This is an edited translation of a reply by the deputy editor of *Liberazione*, the daily paper of Italy's *Rifondazione Comunista*, to Toni Negri, the anti-capitalist writer. Negri said in the French newspaper *Libération* that French people should vote yes to the European Constitution in the referendum on 29 May.

Toni Negri has reached the wrong political conclusion by applying the analysis of Empire, laid out in a book he co-wrote in 2001. This analysis is certainly attractive, but this shows its inadequacies and limits.

Negri's reasoning can seem pragmatic and concrete. That's why it has been praised by the French intelligentsia, who fear a no vote in the referendum. Negri says he is a "realistic revolutionary". This realism is dictated by his determination to prevent the rejection of the European Constitution. This rejection, he believes, would allow the interests of Empire to win.

Empire, for Negri, is the new globalised, capitalistic society. He thinks of Europe as being a brake on the ideology of economic unilateralism which is capitalist, conservative and reactionary. So Europe can become a counterweight against US unilateralism.

The brake must not be that of what Negri calls "the shitty nation state that is destined to disappear". Instead, Europe is the political space in which the state can disappear, despite the fact that the constitution is neo-liberal and cannot be an alternative model for society.

"This isn't the point," says Negri, because the constitution is a "passage" towards a supranational state. If France defeats the constitution, says Negri, the



Toni Negri

whole edifice will collapse, leaving the nation state as the only counterweight to Empire. If the yes campaign wins, we have a chance to compare two models—the European and the American.

#### Undifferentiated

The no voter is a conservative. The yes voter is "realistically revolutionary". A yes will strengthen the drive for Europe to become a political, economic and military power. If that is so, Negri's analysis of Empire has problems. This states that the planet is governed by multinational networks of power that transcend nation states.

Opposition to it cannot be based on states, but by an "exodus" of the multitude of people who are held down by this power. The world is criss-crossed by a thick network of links, but this is only one part of reality. The war on Iraq demonstrated the limits of claiming there is an undifferentiated Empire. The US fell back on its traditional instruments of imperialist rule.

The war split Europe, especially the French-German alliance. This could not be explained by Empire. So Negri argued that the US had performed a U-turn and had executed a "coup" against Empire in order to push its particular interests.

Negri faces contradicting himself again. Europe should have been a component of the problem, but now it is a brake on Empire. Empire becomes the US again, downplaying the capitalist nature of the European Union. What this doesn't take account of is that approval of the constitution would indeed be a counterweight to US power—but only because it would boost the European neo-liberal project.

This ends up mirroring something that was an option available to the workers' movement of the 20th century, and which the movement often fell for.

This ideology leads you to support the most progressive element of capitalism. Then you realise that the workers' movement has been sacrificed to the interests of the strongest capitalist player.

This is what is at stake in Europe today. A victory for European capitalism is not better than a victory for US capitalism. It is the anti-capitalist and anti-war movements that have created the supranational networks that we need to build up.

This workers' movement will imagine an alternative to both British and US models, without having to look to nationalism. The victory of the no campaign in France would open up the possibility of driving forward a process of solidarity.

Negri doesn't like the word socialism, so let's put that to one side. But don't make us out to be conservatives, because he is the conservative.



# SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP: WHO BENEFITS?

**'Irish labour productivity growth during the 1990s was the highest in Europe. In 2002 productivity per hour was 18% higher and in 2004 we had the lowest unit labour costs in the EU 15.'**



Gama workers taking to the streets

By EDDIE CONLON

The period of Social Partnership (SP) has witnessed an unprecedented boom in the Irish economy. Growth averaged 7.3% per annum between 1991 and 2002.

Only two other countries, China and Singapore, matched this level of growth. Ireland moved from having an income per head that was 60% of the EU average to a position now where we exceed the average.

We have moved from a debt ridden country to a position where it is projected that the government will have a current account surplus of over €4 billion in 2005.

This transformation was facilitated by SP which led to a productivity boom.

While workers created the boom, the fruits of it went to employers and the wealthy. SP has been central to the creation of a set of conditions in which national and international capital has prospered.

Economic growth resulted from a massive increase in labour productivity:

■ Between 1995 and 2004 Manufacturing Unit Wage Costs fell by 39%, Output Per Person grew by 142% and out put per hour went up by 162%

■ Irish labour productivity growth during the 1990s was the highest in Europe. In 2002 productivity per hour was 18% higher and in 2004 we had the lowest unit labour costs in the EU 15.

## Management Led

There are two reasons why this has happened. Social partnership has facilitated a deep and pervasive management led agenda for change. ICTU has colluded with an agenda that has seen workers work harder.

SP has been used to generate consensus around the need for a more flexible economy and isolated those who wanted to resist.

The Irish labour market is more flexible than in other countries. As a Central Bank economist has put it:

*"In terms of labour market regulation, Ireland...ranks well in international comparisons with a more flexible labour market, including less strict employment protective legislation than most countries in Europe".<sup>1</sup>*

What this means is that workers here have less rights and worse conditions. There is a myth that SP has led to workers having a greater say in the workplace. Professor Paddy Gunnigle from Limerick University tells it differently:

*"The period since the 1980s has witnessed a regression in the quality of work life as many workers are expected to undertake increased workloads and experience intensification in the pace of work [without] an increase in their influence over day to day activities".<sup>2</sup>*

The second reason is that the level of unionisation has fallen, especially in the private sector. SP was supposed to protect the position of the trade union movement (TUM) yet most of the new investment coming is from anti-union companies.

The proportion of workers who are union members has fallen, with some claiming that membership in the private sector is as low as 20%. While the state embraces the TUM as a social partner it is not prepared to support statutory union recognition.

Many workers have no protection against increasing employer demands for greater flexibility.

Where flexibility has been delivered it is employers who get the greatest gains.

While the volume of profits in national income increased by 207% between 1995 and 2002 and self-employed incomes rose by 160%, wages and pensions rose by only 110%.

This is not surprising given that the only thing SP constrains is wages. All other incomes are free to grow.

This has meant an enormous shift of wealth to employers as the wage share in national income has declined here to a much greater extent than in other developed economies.

## Wage Share (%) of National Income

	1971-80	1987	2003
Ireland	77	71	55
EU 15	74	71	68
US	70	69	66

Source: European Economy No.6, 2003 p.464.

## Beneficiaries

The major beneficiaries have been international investors. The IDA have shown that the rate of return for US investors is 20%. The next highest rate in Europe is in the Netherlands at 14.6%. But to make the same level of return as they do here investors would have to increase their profits by 34% in the Netherlands.

Trade union leaders argue that the restraint of workers is justified in that SP gives the unions a seat at the Cabinet table and an influence over government policy. In this way they can increase the social wage and improve our quality of life. It is also argued that by reducing taxation they can put more money in our pockets. Another myth!

## Neo-liberal

SP has helped transform Ireland into a neo-liberal's dream. The country has a low level of taxation and a low level of social spending. And both have declined as a proportion of GDP in recent years.

A recent study by the Combat Poverty Agency shows that social spending fell from 21% of GDP in 1992 to 14% in 2001. Per head we spend 61% of the EU average. The study concludes "At its level of national wealth, Ireland should be

spending...almost twice as much on social protection...were it to conform to the overall pattern evident among EU member states".<sup>3</sup>

What this means is long waiting list in hospitals, large class sizes and increasing levels of homelessness and poverty. It doesn't mean more equality. Yet that's what SP was supposed to deliver. Consider the following:

■ Between 1994 and 2003 the numbers in poverty increased by 7%. The risk of poverty for those in work has increased to nearly 10% (from 3% in 1994). Incredibly for a country which claims it cares for the elderly the risk of poverty for older people jumped from 6% to 36%.

■ Since 1987 the share of disposable income of the bottom 20% of households has declined. The top 10% have the same income as the bottom 50%. The top 10% have an income 13 times the bottom 10%.

## Corporate Tax

A key feature of SP is that tax cuts were offered to workers in exchange for low pay increases. But tax cuts have gone to everybody though only the incomes of unionised workers were restrained. Higher earners have done best and the biggest cuts have been to the corporate sector with corporation tax falling to 12%:

■ Between 1987 and 1996 somebody

on 50% of average earnings saw their tax rate fall by 5% while somebody on 500% of average earnings saw a fall of 8%. An analysis of the five budgets to 2003 by the Combat Poverty Agency shows the richest 10% received 25% of the Budget giveaways while the poorest 20% received under 5%.

■ Ireland has a high level of taxes on consumption such as VAT. This hits the poorest hardest. Price levels here are 18% higher than the European average and in the last 5 years nearly a quarter of price rises were due to increased spending taxes. Tax cuts are a myth. While the rate of income tax declines the government takes it back through stealth taxes.

■ Unlike the rich, workers have to pay their tax. In 2001, 41 people who earned over €500,000 paid no tax. This is mainly because of legal forms of tax evasion which costs the exchequer over €8 billion per year.

In summary, workers have created the boom but have been deprived of the benefits which have gone to the better off. Real problems facing the working class have not been addressed, yet the state has the resources to tackle these problems. SP has not protected us from the excesses of neo-liberalism.

SP has turned the union leadership into cheerleaders for the government. It is interesting to note that while the 2005 budget continued to give the greatest benefits to the better off there were more benefits for those who were worse off than in previous budgets. This was not because of SP but because the government got a kick in the teeth in the local and European elections. This highlights the need for political campaigning against this government. Far from treating them as partners the unions should be leading the campaign against them.

This article is based on a talk delivered to the recent meeting of the Trade Union Activist Forum. Eddie Conlon is a lecturer in DIT and member of the TUI.

1 Cassidy, M "Productivity in Ireland: Trends and Issues", Central Bank Quarterly Bulletin, Spring 2004.

2 Gunnigle, P "Involvement, Participation and Partnership: A Review of the Debate and Some Reflections On the Irish Context" The 24th Countess Markievicz Lecture, Dublin, 1999.

3 Timonen, T "Irish Social Expenditure in A Comparative International Context: Epilogue" Combat Poverty Agency, Dublin 2005.

	Ireland 1990	Ireland 2004	EU 15 2004
Tax as % of GDP	38	33	44
Government Spending as % of GDP	39	30	42

Source: ICTU "Tax Cuts Did Not Create The Celtic Tiger", Dublin, 2004.

## REVIEWS

## Star Wars: Episode III: "If you're not with me, you're my enemy."

**Star Wars: Episode III - Revenge of the Sith, opened in the United States last week to accusations that it carried an anti-Bush message.**

Conservative analysts angrily castigated Mr Lucas for the comment by Luke Skywalker as he transforms himself into the evil Darth Vader that: "If you're not with me, you're my enemy."

President George Bush said after 9/11: "Either you are with us or you are with the terrorists."

The liberal advocacy group moveon.org plans to run advertisements on CNN this week comparing the film's power-hungry Chancellor Palpatine with Senate majority leader Bill Frist for trying to end the minority's right of filibuster. Mr Lucas sees a parallel between his final Star Wars episode and America's war in Vietnam.

But as he once noted: "The parallels between what we did in Vietnam and what we're doing in Iraq now are unbelievable."

## Paul Foot's The Vote

Paul Foot completed his book *The Vote* just before his death last year. A large number of his friends gathered in Newman House in Dublin on May 25th to celebrate his life and work.

Field Day Publications hosted the evening and Seamus Deane and Eamonn McCann spoke about Paul Foot and *The Vote*.

He was honoured on many occasions for his journalism particularly for his columns in *The Daily Mirror*, *Private Eye*, *The Guardian* and *Socialist Worker*.

He was a great friend to campaigners and socialists in Ireland and spoke here often. For years, he was a lonely voice in the British press demanding justice for *The Birmingham Six* and *The Guilford Four*.

He was a tireless campaigner against injustice and a writer and speaker of extraordinary ability.

His book is the dramatic story of the long hard-fought battle for the vote in Britain and the way in which the franchise was undermined by powerful forces outside the control of parliament and a powerful polemic arguing that the right to vote like democracy itself has been subverted and we had better do something about it.

Since Tony Blair took over, the Labour Party has given up pretending to represent the interests of workers. In the recent election New Labour got 36% of the vote, the lowest share for any governing party since 1832.

Of all the recent books about New Labour only *The Vote* provides an adequate historical and political explanation.

His love of Shelley was also mentioned and the fact that almost single-handedly he introduced a new generation of readers to Shelley's poetry and vision.

*The Vote* published shortly after his death, will surely stand alongside his book *Red Shelley* as a lasting memorial to his life and work.

*The Vote: How it was Won and How it was Undermined* (Viking, London, 2005) €35.



Alex Callinicos debates John Holloway on the question of power ★ Inside the Bolivarian revolution ★ Reviews: City in Revolt ★ Tracy Emin ★ The Scottish revolution and more... To order: info@swp.ie or phone (01) 872 2682

# The great appear great because we are on our knees: let us rise!

A review of: *Radical Politics in Modern Ireland: The Irish Socialist Republican Party 1896-1904.*  
Author: Dave Lynch.

By RORY HEARNE

"A socialist party in a colonised country calling on the proletariat (working class) of that country to actively campaign for a socialist society while also fighting for an independent nation was almost unheard of in the international socialist movement."

This excellent book on the Irish Socialist Republican Party (ISRP) by Dave Lynch gives an important historical account of one of the first parties that sought to link the struggle for independence with the struggle for socialism through the establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic.

In the pages of this book Dave Lynch brings to life the tireless commitment and self sacrifice of the ISRP and the real challenges that this fledgling group faced in one of the most inhospitable environments for socialism. Minutes of meetings of the ISRP, newspaper articles of the time and the accounts of those involved in the party are used to great effect.

### Building

Connolly described the difficulties facing the ISRP in building a socialist party in Ireland: "They were without a press of any kind, their propaganda was generally supposed to be hostile to the religious views of the majority of the people...their opponents had had more sovereigns to spare for political work than they had coppers, they were in a country undeveloped industrially...in short generally regarded as Ishmaels in the political life of Ireland...but they sowed the seeds of Socialist working-class revolt in the furrows of discontent ploughed by the capitalist system of society".

Public meetings held at Phoenix Park and at Foster Place in Dublin City Centre were, according to one ISRP member, "often at the mercy of the Irish weather and could be completely washed out at very short notice."

"Hecklers also disturbed the meetings and sometimes the odd scuffle broke out at the fringes of the gathering". They also faced constant financial problems which forced them to take advertising for bars and bicycle shops in their paper the 'Workers' Republic'.

The ISRP united with activists such as Maud Gonne to mobilise an anti-war movement against the Boer war. They clearly saw imperialism as an extension of capitalism just as Lenin and Luxembourg did.

They argued that a military defeat for the British empire in



James Connolly memorial outside Dublin's Liberty Hall, below: James Connolly



South Africa (just as for the US in Iraq today) would not just be a blow against British capitalism and a victory for the people of the Boer Republics but it would forward the cause of socialism in Britain and Ireland.

### Internationalists

They were very much internationalists.

They commemorated the anniversary of the Paris Commune of 1871 annually on the 18th of March. They booked a hall where Connolly would give a fiery speech and then party members would launch into a string of revolutionary songs.

They sent delegates to the Paris meeting of the Second International in 1900 where they found themselves on the left of the International.

They supported motions against the French Socialists (led by Millerand) going into coalition government with conservative parties.

"The battle-royal over Millerand raged for hours during which the French 'right' chanted 'Vive la Republique' while the left of the international interrupted with 'Vive la Commune'."

Lynch outlines the key demands of the ISRP which are as relevant today as they were then: nationalisation of industry, free education up to and including university, free maintenance for children, widows,

infirm and orphans, nationalisation of the banks and the separation of religion from education.

The ISRP's programme was printed in full in each edition of the Workers' Republic and it included the demand for,

"an Irish socialist republic based upon the public ownership of the Irish people of the land, instruments of production, distribution and exchange...the co-operative control by the workers of the machinery of production; without this co-operative control the public ownership by the state is not Socialism — it is only state capitalism".

Thankfully, Lynch eulogises neither the politics of the ISRP nor James Connolly. He critically assesses their actions and seeks to answer the key question, why did the group not succeed?

### Anticapitalists

He firstly points to the failure of the ISRP in achieving their key goal. That was convincing progressive nationalists and republicans of a socialist perspective.

Lynch points out that contrary to what Connolly thought, republicans are not necessarily anti-capitalist and instead see a cross class alliance as the key to bringing about national liberation. Consequently they will make their peace with capitalism.

Therefore socialists rather than spending energy on trying to convince these 'advanced nationalists' of socialism should concentrate instead on convincing their audience and support base to move away from nationalism to a strategy of workers struggle from below as the way to win both national liberation and socialism.

Also Lynch notes it is often the decisions and politics of socialist organisations that determine their success as well as the objective circumstances.

The main focus of the ISRP

was getting socialists elected to parliament, therefore they missed the potential of gaining strength from supporting strikes that were going on at the time.

They lacked a focus on education for socialists — seen as one of the reasons for the ideological and political deficit among members in the final months of the organisation.

Differences emerged within the party over what some have said was Connolly's bossiness and domination.

But Lynch argues that underneath this disagreement was a more fundamental difference over perspective.

The same disagreement was being played out among socialists across the world.

Connolly was moving left, more towards revolution while those breaking away were trying to dampen the radicalism.

### Socialism

This is an excellent book that should be read by everyone interested in the politics of change for the better on this island and indeed across the world, that is the politics of socialism from below.

Although it is over a hundred years ago, the experience of the ISRP contains important lessons for those of us trying to build socialist organisations today.

The vision of Connolly and the ISRP remains unfulfilled. But their struggle for socialism is as important today as it was then.

With the growth of the anti-capitalist movement a new generation have the opportunity to make the dream of Connolly and the ISRP a reality.

Radical Politics in Modern Ireland is published by Irish Academic Press  
Available from bookshops, Irish Academic Press 44  
Northumberland Road Dublin 4:  
(Email info@iap.ie or web  
www.irishacademicireland.com.  
Price €39.50



# Demand justice for Palestine: Protest June 4th

**On June 4th Israel plays Ireland at Lansdowne Road. The Ireland-Palestine Solidarity Campaign (IPSC) is calling on anti-war activists, football supporters and the general public to use this major sporting occasion to call for justice for Palestine.**

June 5th marks the 38th anniversary of Israel's occupation of the West Bank, Gaza Strip & East Jerusalem. Since then, Palestinians have endured a brutal military occupation which has caused the deaths, in the past 4 years alone, of over 3,600 Palestinians.

The IPSC is asking you to show your support for Palestine on June 4th by:  
 joining the protest that day (assemble 3pm Central Bank, followed by a march to the Israeli Embassy in Ballsbridge)  
 bringing Palestinian flags & banners to the match if you are going

## FACTS

In the past 4 years, 650 Palestinian children have been killed by Israeli soldiers, including 3 boys shot last month while playing football

Over 60,000 Palestinians have been made homeless as Israeli authorities have demolished their homes

87 Palestinians, including children and pregnant women, have died at checkpoints after being denied passage to hospitals. In the last 3 years, 52 women have given birth at checkpoints

8,814 Palestinians, including some 300 children, are currently imprisoned in Israeli jails & detention centres

75% of Palestinians in the Occupied Territories live on less than \$2 per day

390,000 Israeli settlers live illegally on Palestinian land

## APARTHEID ISRAEL

Despite Israel's reputation as the Middle East's only democracy, it continues to discriminate against its Palestinian citizens (known as Israeli-Arabs).

Palestinians living in Israel are given lower child benefits than other Israeli citizens. They are prevented from living in 93% of Israel and are denied the right to bring their spouse or children from the West Bank or Gaza to live with them.

## RACISM IN ISRAELI SOCCER

The Israeli Government counters charges of racism and ill-treatment of Palestinians by pointing to the inclusion of three Palestinian (Arab-Israeli) players in the national team. They do not say however, that these team members are subjected to vile racist taunting by sections of Israeli supporters. "Death to the Arabs" has been chanted at Israeli league matches.

## RESTRICTIONS ON PALESTINIAN SOCCER TEAM

Israeli authorities regularly prevent Palestinian players from attending international games. In September 2004, 5 players were prevented from travelling to the World Cup Qualifier against Uzbekistan. Players are regularly detained at checkpoints and prevented from getting to training.

## POLITICS & SPORT

The recent Israel/Ireland match in Tel Aviv was used by the Israeli Government to deflect attention from its apartheid wall & programme of illegal settlement expansion. We should use the upcoming football match to show Israel that Irish people support freedom for Palestine.

During the 1970s and 80s, Irish sporting fans showed their opposition to apartheid by boycotting sporting events with South Africa. The IPSC is asking you to show that same solidarity with the people of Palestine today by demonstrating against occupation on June 4th.

More info: [www.ipsc.ie](http://www.ipsc.ie) 086 812 4085

# EVENTS

Notify us: Email [swped@eircom.net](mailto:swped@eircom.net) Tel (01) 872 2682

## G8 Mobilise and Make Poverty History Events:

**Thursday 26 May:** Father of Murdered Protestor to speak in Dublin.

Giuliano Giuliani, a leading Italian Trade Unionist whose son Carlo was murdered by the Italian Police during the protests against the G8 in Genoa, is to speak at a public meeting organized by G8 Mobilise. He will speak alongside Andy Storey (Development Studies, UCD) and Lara Kelly (Make Poverty History). 7.30pm in The ATGWU hall on Middle Abbey Street, Dublin.

**Saturday 28 May**  
 G8 Global Justice protest at Irish Stock Exchange, Temple Bar, 2.30pm. Called by G8 mobilise.

G8 Mobilise organising meeting. Bowes bar, Fleet Street, Dublin, 5pm. All welcome.

**Saturday June 4th**  
 Make Poverty History Rally, Customs House Square, Belfast

**Thursday 30 June**  
 Make Poverty History- Drop the Debt Rally, 6.30 pm, The Spire, Dublin.

**Saturday 2 July**  
 Make Poverty History demo, Edinburgh

**Sunday 3 July**  
 G8 Alternatives counter summit, Edinburgh. To book tickets for the counter summit go to [www.g8alternatives.org](http://www.g8alternatives.org)

**Monday 4 July**  
 CND blockade of Faslane nuclear submarine base.

**Tuesday 5 July**  
 Protest at asylum seekers prison, Dungavel.

**Wednesday 6 July**  
 Another World is Possible protest at the G8 summit, Gleneagles.

## Book place on bus to G8:

Short trip. Leaving Friday morning, July 1st Back in Ireland late on Sunday 3rd July. Price @ €100 For Dublin buses ring Dave on 087 270 3564 Buses from Northern Ireland- Contact Gordon at 00447742531617

## Students against Poverty Northern Ireland

Students against Poverty have filled a bus to go to the G8 protests in Scotland in July. To book a seat on a bus call Sean on 0771 712 3462 or email student\_against\_poverty@hotmail.com.

## Demand Justice For Palestine

**Saturday 4 June** Israel play Ireland, Lansdowne Rd. Protest, 3pm Central Bank, followed by a march to the Israeli Embassy in Ballsbridge. See below.

## Campaign against ASBOs and the Criminal Justice Bill

**Monday 30 May** Public meeting 8pm, Wynns Hotel, Dublin. Speakers: Ivana Bacik, Fr Peter McVerry and others.

**Saturday 11 June** Busk against the Bill, Temple Bar. Supported By USI, Hotpress, UCDSU, Green Party, SF, SP, Lab. Youth.

## Right to stay and work for asylum seekers

**Thursday 9 June** No Deportations protest at Garda National Immigration Bureau, Burgh Quay, Dublin, 12.30pm

**Saturday 18 June** National Demonstration, Dublin. Called by Residents against Racism.

## Conference on opposing the EU Constitution

Saturday 28 and Sunday 29 May, Irish Film Centre, Dublin

## 'War and Peace in the 21st Century'

**Tuesday 7 June** Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa. Royal College of Surgeons, Dublin, 7pm, Adm €10. Tickets from Afri on 01 8827563 or on [afri@iol.ie](mailto:afri@iol.ie)

## Make Poverty History Northern Ireland

The rally is an excellent initiative and could see thousands attend. There are however difficulties emerging with the approach taken by the Make Poverty History campaign.

The demands of the rally and the general thrust of Make Poverty History is to concentrate on cancelling debt, increasing aid and ensuring trade justice for the heavily indebted countries. If we leave it there and particularly if we remove the occupation of Iraq from the equation, as Make Poverty History have decided to do, then we are weakening the intensity of the pressure on Bush and Blair rather than increasing it.

As the Blair Government drives a ruthless campaign of cuts in Northern Ireland; Education, Civil Service job cuts and Water Charges, to remove the question of local poverty from the day of action on June 4th, also weakens the movement.

We should be linking all aspects of the anti-capitalist movement in order to concentrate our forces against Bush and Blair and the rest of the G8. It is not the case that somehow people will be put off from attending the rally if the war is linked to the general campaign. The response to George Galloway's US senate appearance has been universally positive, even by those who do not support him generally.

Furthermore by linking the local to the global, instead of limiting the number of people who will build the rally to anti-debt campaigners and celebrities, it would include water charge, education cuts and anti-war activists. This would ensure a bigger and more powerful message was sent to the G8 leaders.

Make Poverty History's response has been to schedule a day of action for local poverty. Again this is about separating the movement into sections rather than combining the issues. This strategy has the potential to damage our effort to force the G8 leaders to act. We must do all we can to ensure that a golden opportunity is not wasted by a faulty strategy.

Gordon Hewitt

## WHAT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY STANDS FOR

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

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

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 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 REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party.

This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system.

We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc.

We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

## Join the Socialists

Fill in the form and send to  
**SWP PO Box 1648 Dublin 8**

Name.....

Address.....

Email.....

Phone.....



# Socialist Worker

## Galloway wins worldwide 'Respect' in showdown with US administration

Below are excerpts from Galloway's fantastic address to the US senate committee. Galloway stinging attacks on the US administration struck a blow for the global anti-war movement.

"Now I know that standards have slipped in the last few years in Washington, but for a lawyer you are remarkably cavalier with any idea of justice. I am here today but last week you already found me guilty. You traduced my name around the world without ever having asked me a single question, without ever having contacted me, without ever written to me or telephoned me, without any attempt to contact me whatsoever. And you call that justice.

"As a matter of fact, I have met Saddam Hussein exactly the same number of times as Donald Rumsfeld met him. The difference is Donald Rumsfeld met him to sell him guns and to give him maps the better to target those guns. I met him to try and bring about an end to sanctions, suffering and war, and on the second of the two occasions, I met him to try and persuade him to let Dr Hans Blix and the United Nations weapons inspectors back into the country - a rather better use of two meetings with Saddam Hussein than your own Secretary of State for Defence made of his.

"I was an opponent of Saddam Hussein when British and American governments and businessmen were selling him guns and gas. I used to demonstrate outside the Iraqi embassy when British and American officials were going in and doing commerce.

### WMDs

"I told the world that Iraq, contrary to your claims did not have weapons of mass destruction. I told the world, contrary to your claims, that Iraq had no connection to al-Qaeda. I told the world, contrary to your claims, that Iraq had no connection to the atrocity on 9/11 2001. I told the world, contrary to your claims, that the Iraqi people would resist a British and American invasion of their country and that the fall of Baghdad would not be the beginning of the end, but merely the end of the beginning.

"Senator, in everything I said about Iraq, I turned out to be right and you turned out to be wrong and 100,000 people paid with their lives; 1,600 of them American soldiers sent to their deaths on a pack of lies; 15,000 of them wounded, many of them disabled forever on a pack of lies.

If the world had listened to Kofi Annan, whose dismissal you demanded, if the world had listened to President Chirac who you want to paint as some kind of corrupt traitor, if the world had listened to me and the anti-war movement in Britain, we would not be in the disaster that we are in today. Senator, this is the mother of all smokescreens. You are trying to divert attention from the crimes that you supported, from the theft of billions of dollars of Iraq's wealth.

"Have a look at the real Oil-for-Food scandal. Have a look at the 14 months you were in charge of Baghdad, the first 14 months when \$8.8 billion of Iraq's wealth went missing on your watch. Have a look at Haliburton and other American corporations that stole not only Iraq's money, but the money of the American taxpayer.

"Have a look at the oil that you didn't even meter, that you were shipping out of the country and selling, the proceeds of which went who knows where? Have a look at the \$800 million you gave to American military commanders to hand out around the country without even counting it or weighing it.

"Have a look at the real scandal breaking in the newspapers today, revealed in the earlier testimony in this committee. That the biggest sanctions busters were not me or Russian politicians or French politicians. The real sanctions busters were your own companies with the connivance of your own Government."



## Documents used against Galloway were a forgery

The central document used against George Galloway by the US senate committee investigating Iraq's oil for food programme was a forgery. Socialist Worker can reveal that evidence crucial to the alleged case against the Respect MP was fake — created after the fall of Baghdad in 2003.

The allegations are another desperate attempt to smear the opponents of the war on Iraq, and to make them appear as the corrupt hirelings of tyranny.

In Britain the material is another dirty weapon to be employed in an effort to destroy George Galloway and halt the rise of Respect.

Most of the accusations hurled against George Galloway by the senate committee on investigations this week were based on testimony that was supposedly freely given by former officials in Saddam Hussein's regime who are now held by US forces.

In many cases these sources are not even named.

But there is one piece of evidence that at first glance seems persuasive. It is in the findings of the Duelfer Report — the conclusions of the Iraq Survey Group headed by Charles Duelfer which last year admitted Iraq did not have weapons of mass destruction.

The senate committee's document says, "According to the evidence in the Duelfer Report, the Hussein regime granted Galloway six oil allocations totalling 20 million barrels of oil."

The list contains hundreds of names of individuals and corporations, many of which, according to Duelfer, legally dealt in Iraqi oil under the UN's oil for food programme.

The first mention of George Galloway is contract M/09/23. This alleges that 1.014 million barrels of oil were allocated to "Mr Fawwaz Zurayqat — Mr George Galloway — Aredio Petroleum (French)".

But the words "Mr George Galloway" were added after the list was prepared, perhaps stuck on and then photocopied to produce the list in the Duelfer Report.

Elsewhere the Duelfer Report revisits this same contract note and, citing an internal Iraqi document, says the allocation was to "Fawaz Zurayqat — Mariam's Appeal".

Was this the original name, which was then changed in order to smear George Galloway?

For links to video footage of Galloway's defence of himself in the US senate go to [www.respectcoalition.org/?ite](http://www.respectcoalition.org/?ite)

**There is other clear evidence of forgery surrounding the oil for food documents.**

The first list of alleged "beneficiaries of Saddam Hussein's oil vouchers" appeared on 25 January 2004 in the Al-Mada newspaper, published in the US-run Green Zone of Baghdad.

The paper claimed to have obtained a list (in Arabic) of 270 organisations and individuals awarded allocations of oil by Saddam's regime. Al-Mada published the names, including George Galloway.

There is testimony that this document is also a forgery. On 10 February 2004 the newspaper

Al-Watan published the account of Sajad Ahmad Ali.

He explained how he forged the original Arabic document obtained by Al-Mada:

"I'd like to indicate here that it was us who made — that is to say we forged — this list of names and titles of people who got money from the ministry of

information, the palace and the oil for food programme.

"We worked for ten days, and then we steamed the papers a bit, then dried them out so that they would look old. I made a few mistakes in some of the lists.

For the full article (in Arabic) go to [www.alwatanvoice.com/articles.php?go=articles&id=3090](http://www.alwatanvoice.com/articles.php?go=articles&id=3090)