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# Socialist Worker

# OFF OUR KNEES!

“WHEN ARE the people going to take to the streets and start throwing bricks?”

That was the question asked recently on the national airwaves - not by any of our trade union leaders - but by Ireland’s leading heart surgeon, the highly respectable and quietly spoken Maurice Neligan.

Neligan is not a member or supporter of the Socialist Workers Party. In fact he’s the co-founder of the Blackrock private health clinic. But he is very angry at the way the government is attacking ordinary people to save the banks.

The radio interviewer cut across him saying, “that’s not how we do things in this country.”

“Well, it’s about time we did,” was the heart surgeon’s instant reply. His voice had the ring of sincerity to it.

Shift the spotlight to the diseased heart of Irish politics, Dail Eireann.

“There will be a revolution on the streets,” was the warning given to Brian Cowen as he announced his latest plan to pump still further, but unspecified billions into the failed banking system.

The speaker this time was none other than Enda Kenny, the ultra-cautious, ultra-conservative leader of Fine Gael.

Neligan clearly meant what he said whereas Kenny, of course, was just posturing.

Yet it is very significant that ideas of militant street protests, and even mass social upheaval,



**Maurice Neligan: Start throwing bricks**

are taking root in the most unlikely sections of society.

Equally significant is the fact that our trade union leaders run a million miles from any such notions. They want to do everything in their power to quell such ideas for the simple reason

they see no alternative to capitalism.

Yet it is clear that the realisation is gradually dawning in wider and wider circles that the crisis is so massive here, and the government so wedded to its anti-working class strategy, that sooner or later Cowen & Co will provoke a furious response.

It seems the political elite are just marking time in a desperate bid to hold back the inevitable wrath of the people, pretending they know what they are doing, and pretending that it is going to work.

But it is all a big con.

Hardly a day goes by without further revelations of ever-increasing bad debt in the banks, and as the government has committed itself to saving the banks whatever the cost, they have to keep doling out the billions.

Some €55 billion is going to fund NAMA. Another €12 billion has already gone to ‘re-capitalise’ the insolvent banks.

Now economists are warning that when mortgage defaults as well as unpaid credit card bills and losses on loans given to property speculators not covered by NAMA (ie all loans under €5m) – when these all come into the picture, as they very soon will, the banks will be looking for as much as another €30 to €40 billion!

In the first instance the government will try to borrow these vast sums of money from international money lenders (so-called financial markets). If they can’t get the money

there they will beg from other European governments.

***But wherever the money comes from, it will have to be repaid with interest, spread over many decades.***

And that is the money that would otherwise have been spent on schools and teachers, hospitals and health professionals, pensions, social welfare, local services and so on.

It’s our future wellbeing, and it’s going down the drain.

If the Cowen gang realise their objective of saving the banks so that capitalism can keep functioning, then workers, their children, and their children’s children are going to be left paying the bill and doing without all the things that make life worth living.

In the meantime, starved of investment, the economy will stagnate. Lower wages, high unemployment, poorer conditions, longer hours, fewer rights, and widespread social misery will be the result.

Don’t expect Brian Cowen or any of his crew to tell the truth about the future that their brave new Ireland will bring. Making Ireland safe for capitalism is going to devastate hundreds of thousands of people’s lives – for ever.

If we don’t want to pay that price then we need to start taking the advice of that gentlemanly old heart surgeon, Maurice Neligan: take to the streets! Build for the revolution.

Public Sector action hots up

Civil Service workers to take strike action

Nurses to implement rollings stoppages

Support staff to strike in seven Dublin hospitals...

Turn to Page Two >>

# Work till you drop!

WHEN THEY tried to take away medical cards from the over 70s, the government got a bloody nose.

But now they have returned to exact a terrible revenge.

The recently announced attack on state old age pensions, which will force people to work for years longer than at present, is as cowardly as it gets.

The government is too scared to inflict the cuts it wants today, so it has put them off for a few years in the hope that anger will be diffused.

But the fact of the delay itself proves that Fianna Fail's agenda is not about balancing the nation's books as a prelude to restoring 'normality', but is aimed instead at using this 'crisis' to permanently smash workers' living standards and shift the resulting savings – whether from wages, state pensions, or welfare – to the rich and powerful.

This is nowhere more obvious than in relation to pensions.

The plan doesn't come into full effect until 2028 when the old age pension won't be paid until the age of 68.

This is the sort of measure pro-capitalist governments would love to impose at the best of times, but wouldn't dare.

But in a crisis like the present, when they have instilled fear and dread throughout society, they think they can get away with murder.

And the employers' organisations have made it clear that despite the later pension age, they will still insist that employees give up work at 65.

They can then be replaced by young people on much lower wages.

So there will be a three year gap between earning wages and drawing a pension.

In an Orwellian moment of cynical doublespeak, Welfare Minister Mary Hanafin applauded the move for 'giving people an opportunity to plan how they would bridge the gap financially'. Thanks to her kindness, the plan 'is actually going to allow people that lead-in time.'

Praise Mary and pass the ammunition.

In the meantime, tax relief for private pensions continues.

It is estimated that around 6,000 of the country's richest people, with personal pension funds worth up to €100 million each, are costing the public purse over €5 billion in lost taxes.

# Grassroots up pressure in the Public Sector

THE WORK to rule in the public sector has begun to bite in the civil service and in social welfare as offices in different locations close for parts of the day.

Low paid civil servants have also voted by a huge majority to serve notice for strike action and to escalate the campaign. The nurses union, the INMO, are also pushing for a stepping up of strike action.

But while pressure is building up from the grassroots, discontent is also rising with the total lack of leadership from the ICTU.

ICTU leaders such as Peter McLoone and Jack O'Connor are hoping to use their action solely to get a phone call from the government to enter talks in a 'transformation agenda'.

This was the deal which was on the table last December and which would have led to massive job losses.

Public sector workers would be required to cover for these job losses and give up on many overtime payments.

In order to sell this deal, the union leaders feel they have to get some phasing out of the pay cuts. Their promise is that government 'savings' can be made up through

other cuts.

The government, however, calculates that the ICTU has so demoralised its members that they could get away with doing a deal on 'transformation' (ie job losses and eroded conditions) in

return for a promise of no further pay cuts, but with no restoration of cuts already imposed.

At this point, therefore, the union leaders are trying to keep protests at a low intensity level – in order to give them a space to haggle over minor

details with the government.

It is vital that these manoeuvres, which are aimed at an unprecedented sell-out, are stopped by a growth in rank and file pressure that pushes for a co-ordinated national strike.



Protestors outside the US embassy in Dublin last month demanded US troops out of Haiti. Photo: Paula Geraghty

# Greece: The struggle continues

THE SCALE of Greek workers' resistance to government attacks on their living standards is worrying Europe's elite.

The EU monetary affairs commissioner, Olli Rehn, flew to Greece in panic recently to demand that the government implements even more severe austerity measures.

Around two and a half million workers in the public and private sector walked out on a general strike against the measures. The strike paralysed Greece.

All flights in and out of the country were cancelled.

There was no live TV, some shops closed, and few buses or trains ran. There were no newspapers the following day as there were no workers to produce them.

"The strike is very strong," Yiannis Theoharis, a union rep at the Intracom telecoms company in



Engineer and Greek socialist Sotiris Kondoyannis from Athens reported to SWP public meetings in Belfast and Dublin on the struggles in Greece in early March. Photo: Paula Geraghty

Athens told Socialist Worker. "The whole working class believes we have to fight back against the government's attacks.

"The employers, bankers and the EU stand behind

the government. They want us to have cuts in wages and benefits and an increase in our retirement age.

"European leaders want to use Greece to attack all workers on the continent. If they win here they will go further in other places. They want to generalise the attack to Spain, France, Britain, Germany and Portugal. They have already done it in Ireland.

"We need to continue our fight. People need to fight back across Europe."

One of the biggest demonstrations since the fall of the military regime in 1974 took place in Athens. There were other large protests in towns and cities across the country.

The Communist Party-

led PAME union organised a march tens of thousands strong to the Greek parliament.

And the Greek TUC and left wing groups held a 50,000 strong demonstration that followed closely behind PAME's protest.

In a major step forward, African and Bangladeshi migrant workers joined a workers' protest in large numbers for the first time.

The immigrants, who have virtually no rights in Greece and face vicious racism, marched with the Greek Socialist Workers Party. The party has been at the centre of the anti-racist movement.

There was deep anger at the supposedly left-wing PASOK government

for pursuing the cuts, especially from people who had voted for the party last October.

"PASOK is not implementing socialist policies," said Christos Koliass, the vice-president of the postal trade union association.

"People don't want these cuts. They are the policies of Brussels and the German banks. I am opposed to the policies and I am a PASOK supporter."

"We are the generation of 500 euros a month," said George, a young graphic designer. 500 "That is all many people are paid. We don't have enough to live on.

"Now the government wants us to have less money. The EU wants us to pay for this crisis. We don't accept this. The only way is to keep fighting."

Loula and her colleagues from the Speedex courier company joined the demonstration. She said, "The government and the EU want us to have our heads down with fear.

"But if the unions are strong then people don't have fear.

"We have to try to stop these measures. People are angry at other countries for what they are doing to us, but we are angriest with our own government. They are thieves.

"And if you know that there are thieves around, you must do something about it."

# Harney plans more patient deaths

THE RECENT announcement of the closure of St. Michael's psychiatric unit attached to South Tipperary General Hospital (STGH) came as quite a shock to the people of County Tipperary, West Waterford and parts of South Kilkenny.

But a greater shock was in store when at a public meeting held to discuss this closure, and attended by members of the local branch of the Socialist Workers Party, it was made clear that there was a much bigger plan in mind by the HSE.

Under a 'reconfiguration' proposal it was revealed that the HSE intend to cut all acute services in STGH and move some to Kilkenny and more to Waterford Regional.

Cutting services in STGH will force people to travel over 60 miles on rural roads in emergencies, with ambulances taking over an hour to get to their destinations.

At the meeting, hospital consultants highlighted the damage that would be done to the local community by the downscaling of the services offered by STGH.

It will lead to certain deaths.

What's more, the hospitals in Waterford and Kilkenny are already overstretched so they will not be able to cope with more patients.

€40m was spent on renovations to STGH in recent years and the refurbished hospital was only opened in 2007 with new equipment, state of the art operating theatres and day treatment facilities. Now it will stand as a white elephant - a total waste of our money.

The protest meeting, held mid-February, was chaired by Seamus Healy, a councillor from the Workers and Unemployed Action Group - and chairman of the 'Save our Hospital' committee.

It was attended by hundreds of concerned local residents, local county councillors, town councillors and local members of the Oireachtas - with the notable exception of FF minister Martin Manseragh.

It was pointed out during the meeting that since Health Minister, Mary Harney's party, the right-wing PDs, had been smashed at the last general election, she had no right to a seat in government, yet she is dictating this utterly destructive agenda.

The atmosphere was one on anger and frustration, but by the end of the night a new feeling of determination - and a resolve to fight these proposals - had been born.

A plan of action was decided on that night and a county-wide petition to retain acute services at STGH was launched. This petition can be signed in the offices of Clonmel Borough Council.

A public protest will take place on 27 March.

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# The West's Awake!

By KIERAN MCNULTY

UNREST AMONG public service workers and community organisations has been mounting in County Kerry.

Members of the newly formed rank and file Kerry Public Service Workers Alliance picketed TD's Tom McEllistrim's (FF) twice, Jackie Healy Rea (Independent) and John O'Donoghue (FF).

McEllistrim, who is well known for never voicing an opinion if he can avoid it, was confronted by over 100 angry workers at a second meeting. The confrontations with these TDs have been videoed and put up on the Alliance's website: <http://kpswa.wordpress.com>

Martin O'Grady of the KPSWA said afterwards that the McEllistrim was very evasive, and refused to give them support. "The wage cuts will result in a direct loss of over €25 million per annum to Kerry", Martin said. "Local businesses will suffer heavily and more jobs will be lost in a county with an unemployment rate that is twice the national average. Slashing the wages of those who have jobs will not create a single job for those seeking employment".

The Alliance's policy statement says: "The ICTU plan to trade the conditions of service of public servants ("public sector transformation") for restoration of pay is completely unacceptable to the trade union membership."

In a new development, the Alliance said that it would consider running general election candidates if they could get no support from Kerry's TD's.

Earlier, KPSWA activists spoke at a public meeting organised by the Tralee branch of People Before Profit (PBP),

under the banner "Kerry Campaign Against Cuts" attended by almost forty people.

KPSWA speaker Simon Quinn pointed out that Kerry was hugely dependent on the various services provided by the Public Sector. The KPSWA are hoping that other groups of public service workers will follow their lead of initiating grass roots union activism in the fight for jobs, pay and conditions.

Also speaking was Margaret O'Shea of the Kerry Network of People with Disabilities, representing the threatened community development projects (CDP's), where 29 out of 182 projects are due to be cut nationally while the remainder may lose their autonomy to local partnership boards.

At a demonstration of over 250 people in Tralee last year they launched a local campaign against cuts to CDP's in which PBP is playing a leading role.

PBP member Seán Moraghan commented, "In a recession, the establishment seeks to divide sectors of society, seeks to pit them against each other, and likes them to believe that they have little in common in their struggles. This meeting saw two sectors, at least, find common cause, and there was much sharing of campaigning experiences."

Further meetings under the umbrella of Kerry Campaign Against Cuts are planned, with different sectors, such as the unemployed.

## SPREAD THIS ALLIANCE!

The idea of the Kerry Public Services Alliance should be spread to every county in the country.

Only this type of grassroots movement can bring some real change and stop the union leaders selling out.

### Kerry Public Service Alliance advice on how to build

- \* Take the initiative: it starts with one person - be that person!
- \* Contact KPSWA - if you wish - for guidance.
- \* Draw up a list of public sector workplaces and union branches.
- \* Identify key contacts: typically union representatives.
- \* Contact your target people and meet union branches.
- \* Collect and maintain contact details.
- \* Identify actions and clarify your message.
- \* Know your facts.
- \* Call a meeting of public servants in the county.
- \* Organise a series of direct actions.
- \* Organise an effective media and communication campaign

# Green Isle Foods: Six months on the gate and hunger strikes win concessions but...



Above: Rally in Naas last month, John Guinan and Jim Wyse on hunger strike; John Recto, facing deportation. Photos: Paula Geraghty and Tony Sannon

# Hunger striker faces deportation

By KEVIN WINGFIELD

CONGRATULATIONS TO the Green Isle strikers, and especially Jim Wyse, John Guinan and John Recto who undertook hunger strikes.

After six months on strike and an escalating and ongoing hunger strike the company was finally forced to a settlement under the mediation of local TDs.

The company insisted that the settlement terms remain confidential.

This can only be because they fear that the idea of a fight winning concessions would seriously undermine their anti-union policy.

Nonetheless it is understood by Socialist Worker online that the outlines of the settlement are as follows.

The strikers and the three sacked men at the centre of the dispute are to receive a redundancy package.

It was obvious that the company did not want the strikers back and although some strikers would have preferred to

return to work after the settlement, others were satisfied that because of the ill-feeling the company's actions had produced, there was no serious prospect of returning, nor would they want to.

The strikers were unanimous in accepting the settlement and are fairly satisfied that they have got the best deal going after their six months on the gate.

The settlement was arrived at after 60 hours of negotiation culminating in an overnight session lasting from 5pm on Wednesday to 7am on Thursday.

Strikers attending the talks at a nearby hotel were taking turns grabbing short spells of sleep on chairs and sofas as the talks continued.

As one striker told Socialist Worker, "The feeling was unanimous. We fought hard for 26 weeks and the settlement was the best we were going to get. We are generally satisfied."

One very important issue, though, remains unresolved.

John Recto, the last of the hunger strikers and one of the three sacked men, is still facing deportation of himself, his wife and his three children in the next few days.

This is because John, who is Filipino, had his work permit cancelled by the immigration authorities.

It is hard not to see the vindictive hand of Green Isle management in this decision.

John's union, the TEEU, is lobbying the immigration authorities over his case.

It would be a massive cause of shame if John, who has fought steadfastly beside his Irish brothers in this dispute and has earned himself a place of honour in the Irish labour movement, were to be thrown out now along with his family.

Finally we have to ask why it took so long for the company to be forced to the negotiation table. The hunger strikes broke the media black-out and, with the call for a boycott of their

products, Green Isle/Northern Foods stock was falling in the markets.

This no doubt concentrated minds among company management.

However, the official movement was slow to give serious backing the strikers. Jack O'Connor, president of ICTU at last week's rally in Naas, called for a boycott of Green Isle/Northern Foods products, but pointedly failed to call on trade unionists in the retail and distributive industries to black all movements of product, as called for in the Socialist Worker leaflet.

It was scarcely likely that the leaders of ICTU would defy anti-trade union laws and call for nation-wide blacking unless massive pressure from below was brought to bear.

As on the issue of social welfare and public sector pay cuts and the other measures consequent on the bank bail outs, the ICTU leaders' performance has been at best incompetent and at worst treacherous.

There is an urgent need to

replace dullard bureaucrats with others willing to lead a serious fight.

This needs to be backed up by rank and file networks of shop stewards, union activists and the others who can deliver solidarity action, and defy the obstructions of repressive trade union law, when the official leaders fail to do so.

A fighting trade union movement worthy of the name would have put the screws on Green Isle/Northern Foods tighter and earlier and forced a resolution long before the heroic decisions of Jim Wyse, John Guinan and John Recto in putting themselves in harm's way were made.

The best celebration of the efforts of the strikers, and the duty of trade unionists and the Left, is now, more than ever, to create those rank and file networks.

**STOP PRESS**  
As Socialist Worker went to press we learned that John Recto had won a renewal of his work permit and no longer faces deportation

## RADIO ROBBERY

SOMETIME LAST summer on the News at One, our bluer-than-white Green minister for communications Eamon Ryan said, in reference to the banks, we can't have one law for the rich and one for the rest in society.

But is he going to do anything about the local

radio station in Clare, Clare FM?

Clare FM may be breaking the law several times a day by breaching its advertising limit of 10 minutes an hour.

Evidence about this was given to the broadcasting authority, the BAI.

It included notification of about 300 breaches over 15 months. Yet the authority did nothing and Eamon Ryan did nothing.

Meanwhile, Clare FM recently told the Labour Court that it pays all presenters across the board €65 a day - that's 44% of the average wage

in Ireland.

Some of those presenters have been at the station over 20 years. Clare FM was taken to court by a former female presenter for bullying and harassment.

One journalist, at Clare FM for 11 years, didn't receive a wage increase

during the last 10 of them.

Yet the main owners, Liam O'Shea and Gay Mangan, have enough money to buy up other radio stations and build a personal empire.

This is the reality behind the corporate media.

**WHAT THE SOCIALIST WORKER PARTY STANDS FOR**

Capitalism is creating the lives of millions and endangering the planet. It can only ever be dismantled when the workers take control of the wealth and stop its production and distribution for human need and not profit.	greater political and economic democracy.	working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.	workers gain. Our flag is neither green nor orange but red!
<b>AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR</b> War is a constant feature of capitalist rule as the imperialist powers try to dominate the world.	<b>FOR AN INDEPENDENT IRELAND</b> We stand for workers unity against the assembly politicians and Brown government.	<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> To win socialism we need to organise in a revolutionary party.	<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> To win socialism we need to organise in a revolutionary party.
<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy.	<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> We stand for workers unity against the assembly politicians and Brown government.	<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> To win socialism we need to organise in a revolutionary party.	<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> To win socialism we need to organise in a revolutionary party.
<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> To destroy capitalism, we need to organise the present class struggles and create a workers' state based on socialist principles.	<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> We stand for workers unity against the assembly politicians and Brown government.	<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> To win socialism we need to organise in a revolutionary party.	<b>FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY</b> To win socialism we need to organise in a revolutionary party.

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## Save Capitalism - and Win a Prize

By MARK WALSH

THE RECIPE for economic recovery in Ireland, peddled by politicians and bosses' organisations, has three main ingredients: beef up the banks to get credit flowing again; cut state spending to the bone to stabilise the public finances; and cut workers' wages and conditions to regain competitiveness.

This, they assure us, will put the country in a position to take advantage of the upturn in the global economy, whenever that materialises.

In the meantime, as we await the elusive recovery, and to keep our minds from rebellious thoughts as they dip deeper into our pockets, the elite have devised a number of elaborate campaigns to encourage us to devise our own solutions to capitalism's problems.

They're even offering prizes!

Last year, the Ideas Campaign was launched in a blaze of publicity by business journalist and corporate consultant Aileen O'Toole.

It invited the public to suggest ways of boosting economic growth, and got almost 5,300 replies.

An action plan with 44 proposals was produced, and the government agreed to implement 17 of them.

Many of the ideas were old-hat, and their economic impact has been zero.

But the real aim was psychological: forget the bad news and focus on the positive.

As O'Toole said at the time, "We need to have different conversations about the Irish economy - about looking forward, about recognising positive developments ... and about capitalising on our qualities."

It would certainly take the heat off the Irish elite if we'd forget about the policies and the people who brought the economy down.

They'd love us to 'think positively' instead of asking why we have to bail out the banks while accepting cutbacks, evictions, mass unemployment and the return of emigration.

Now, in the wake of the banal Ideas Campaign, we have Your Country, Your Call, launched on 17 February by President Mary McAleese with a central aim of "lifting the mood of the nation."

Again, the supposed objective is economic growth, but where Ms O'Toole produced 44 ideas, Mary McAleese wants just two, but they have to be "truly transformational proposals so big that, when implemented, could secure prosperity and jobs for Ireland." Wow!

The lucky winners stand to pocket €100,000 each, a lot of money for ordinary



folk, but just the small change from a banker's bonus.

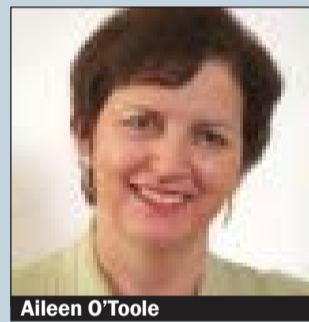
And true to form, the campaign will also help generate "hope, confidence, and positive thinking."

The competition website comes complete with dreadful propaganda videos by Irish celebrities and McAleese herself, promoting the same old nonsense about 'pulling together' in a time of crisis.

The ideological idiocy of the campaign is borne out by its name.

The notion that it is 'our country' and 'our call' suggests that we live in a democracy where what we want is taken seriously. Never has this been further from the truth.

Just as McAleese's campaign was launched, the European Commission (how many members can



Aileen O'Toole

you name?) approved the NAMA bank bailout scheme, which will shift €54bn of public money into the bankers' coffers, while Brian Lenihan reminded us that at least another €2bn of cutbacks are on the way this coming December, all to appease the big international money lenders.

Have we ever consented to any of this?

If given a choice wouldn't we say a resounding NO to this daylight robbery?

Of course all the main parties are wedded to the bank bailout and cutback consensus.

And that's why the only way we can achieve an alternative solution to the economic crisis is through mass rank-and-file trade union action and people power on the streets to force this government out of office.

Our fellow Greek workers are giving a lead and we should follow their example.

In the meantime, here's an idea for Mary McAleese: Stop NAMA now, let bank investors suffer their losses, and channel public money into job creation instead.

And Mary, please send the €100,000 prize to the Socialist Worker fighting fund.

# Fianna Fail's Fraud

By KIERAN ALLEN

**'TAKE THE hard medicine now and you'll be rewarded when the economy booms again in the very near future.'**

This is the argument advanced by the government and its economist gurus.

In the 1980s, they say, Ireland didn't tackle the spending deficit quickly enough and there was a lost decade. But once the 'hard medicine' was taken, the roaring Tiger economy was our reward.

This is the fairy story that is driving Ireland's slash and burn economic strategy. But it is false at every turn.

The Celtic Tiger will never return. This was a unique moment that arose because US capital wanted a platform inside the EU to export finished goods such as computers and pharmaceuticals to the new single market.

In reality, large scale US investment ended in 2002 and the boom was only sustained after that by a local property and construction bubble.

Even if there was a massive new surge of US investment to Europe after the current crash, it will to countries like Poland or the Czech republic where workers are paid a quarter of Irish wages.

But even if there is no more Celtic Tiger, could the government's strategy lead to a modest recovery? Once again the answer is No - if by a recovery we mean a sustained period of growth.

Any recovery would be dependent on the world economy.

The recent small pick-up in the world economy, trumpeted as a new dawn, has been fuelled by a two thousand billion euro injection of funds by governments to save the system from collapse. This is utterly unsustainable.

The problems are already becoming clear.

First, many capitalists are still not investing - even after huge stimulus programmes. In Holland, Switzerland, Sweden, Britain and Ireland, private sector 'savings' exceed 10% of the value of entire economy. In the US the figure is 7.3% and in the Euro-zone it is 6.7%. Neither capitalists, nor ordinary punters, have any faith in the supposed recovery.

Second, cheap credit that used to stimulate the world economy has allowed speculators to borrow enormous sums to mount huge attacks on sovereign debt. They gamble that countries such as Greece will not pay back its debts and so they force up interest on its bonds. Spain and Portugal may be next, but the US, which owes \$15 trillion, could also be targeted.

In itself this creates a huge source of uncertainty. But ever-rising government debts still have to be paid - not by capitalists, because governments want them to invest their money (even though they're not doing so) - but by working people all over the world who will be squeezed dry. As the Financial Times put it, 'it will take a generation of pain before the debt is reduced to pre-crisis levels.'

Third, governments do not know when to stop pumping money into the system to entice capitalists to invest.

The IMF says they may have to do so until 2011, but each government is worried that if they keep stimulating their economy, all the cash they pump in will simply go to help other countries as their own

people spend more on imported goods and services.

So they may turn off the injection of cash too soon - and destroy any hope of private capitalist investment. Or, they may keep injecting money for too long and create further sovereign debt crises that will make Greece look like a tea party.

These are some of the reasons why even its most fervent advocates are deeply worried about the future of the capitalist system.

Nouriel Roubini, who was one of the few economists who predicted the Wall Street crash of 2008, has warned of a 'double dip' recession that could be triggered by a further collapse of US house prices or the crash of the latest Chinese property bubble.

Within this broader framework, the position of Irish capitalism is even more precarious.

The core of the government's strategy is shoring up the banking system and appeasing international bondholders.

But the more it looks after the financial sharks, the worse the real economy gets.

Tax receipts have again fallen by 6% more than the government anticipated. In January alone 7,000 additional workers lost their jobs - the highest since June 2009.

Huge pockets of unemployment are growing. In Limerick, for example, an astounding two out of every three young men are out of work.

The government's gamble was that by pumping money into banks, they would provide credit for the real economy. But the opposite is happening: the banks are hoarding the cash to boost their share prices.

And the continuing collapse of property prices means that the NAMA fiasco has started to unravel.

After one property in Athlone, bought in the boom years for €30 million, was re-valued at just €600,000, panic set in among bankers and property speculators. All sorts of tricks are being played to shore up supposed valuations, but the reality is that the real worth of assets going into NAMA has totally collapsed.

As a result, the banks will get far less when they sell their loans to NAMA. If they didn't, the EU Commission will have to blow the whistle on the whole scam.

And as bank assets are knocked down, desperate bankers will come back to the state demanding more funds. As Cowen & Co have told us the banks have to be saved 'at all costs', they will get whatever they need.

Scandalously, over the next few months, they will extract another €10-€20 billion from the Irish taxpayer. And the money will be robbed from the National Pension Fund - just as people are told they will have to work until they are 68.

As the real economy keeps shrinking, the question becomes: where are new engines of growth to come from to sustain a recovery?

Vast swathes of Irish capital have already been destroyed in an orgy of speculation. More is being wiped out though the government's slash and burn economics. If you keep cutting wages and public spending, you squeeze even medium sized Irish capitalists as no-one can afford to buy their goods.

One of the government's pet solutions is a 'knowledge economy'



Foreign Direct Investment of the sort that established the Intel plant in L...

based on a new round of foreign investment.

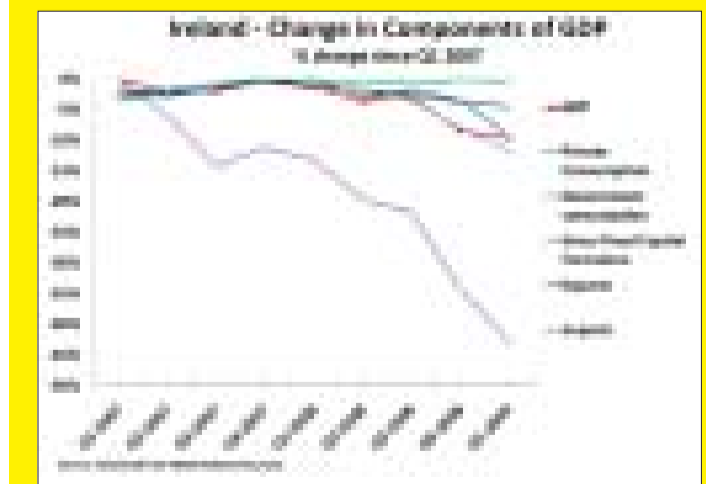
But the 'knowledge economy' is just a piece of bureaucratic short-hand for more subsidies to Microsoft, Google, the financial services and pharmaceutical giants.

In reality, it is a continuation of the failed policy of offering even more handouts to foreign capital.

Another hope is that major financiers will move from dodgy tax

This is why they are introducing new tax breaks for software patents and for research and development, and tying the universities even more firmly to the needs of private business. Now they say they want 'industry and business leaders' to regulate standards in higher education.

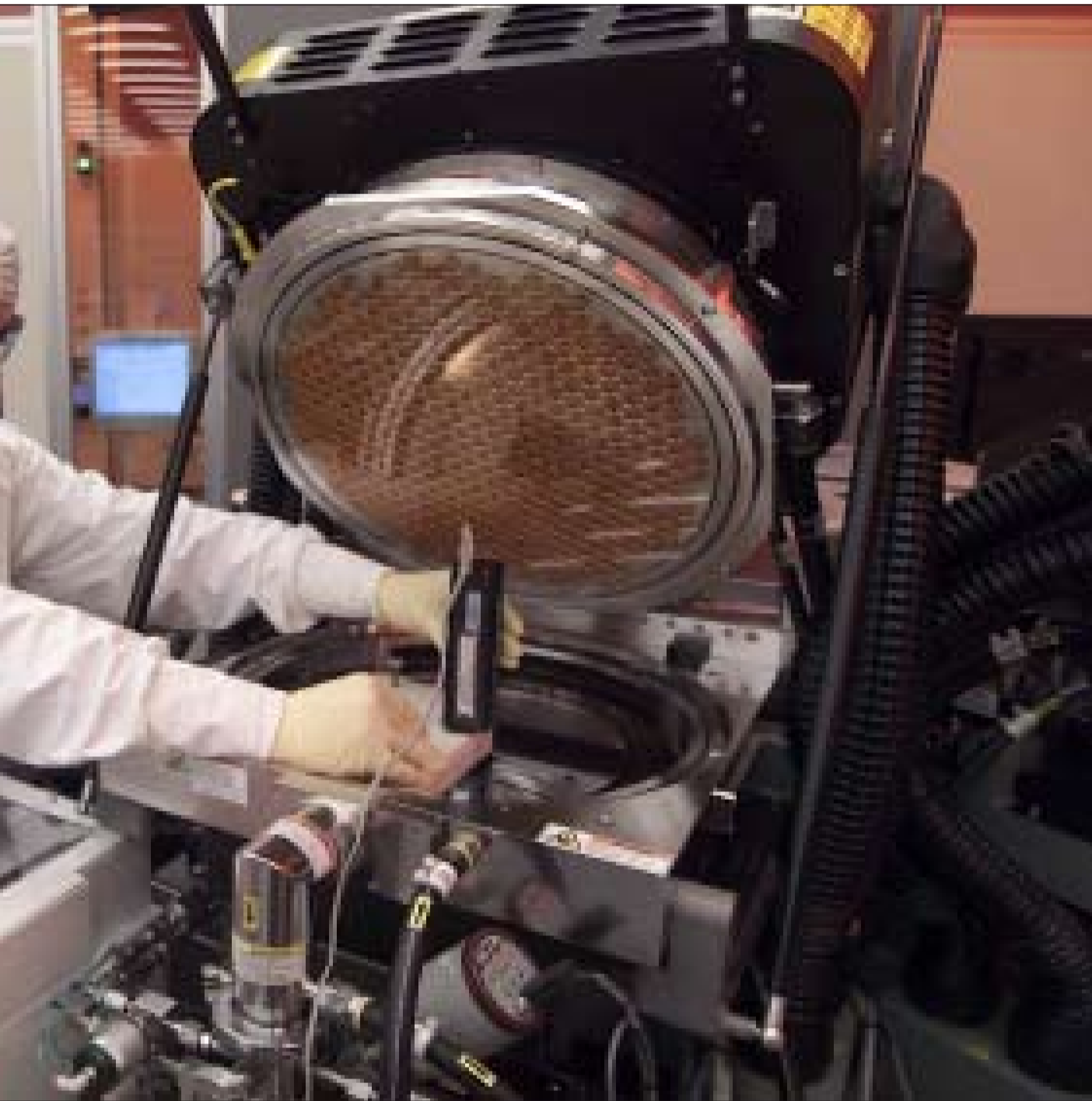
## THE COLLAPSE



The downturn in Ireland has been concentrated in an extremely severe collapse in investment. Ireland's gross domestic fixed capital formation, by the first quarter of 2009, had fallen by a 42.9% compared to its peak in the first quarter of 2007.

To give a scale of comparison the equivalent fall in Germany from the peak level has been 11.4%, in the UK 14.7%, and in the US by 14.7%. (Figures 1 and 2) The decline in investment in Ireland has been by far the worst in any OECD country except

# Indulgent Fairy Tale



exclip (above) has practically dried up

havens such as the Caymen Islands, and re-locate to Dublin's IFSC because it is a more 'respectable' tax haven. Already 14 percent of the Irish workforce is employed in finance as against 13 percent in manufacturing.

This is a pathetic basis for a sustained recovery. Even if it were to work, it would provide jobs for a limited section of the workforce only. But it is also a totally risky

strategy as it tries to base itself on finance - one of the most volatile sections of the global economy, and the one most closely associated with the crash.

It is also closely tied to the fortunes of US capitalism which carries its own risks.

**D**espite all the negatives, at some point there will be a 'recovery' of sorts. If an

economy shrinks by 10 percent, there is eventually some increase from a lower base. Figures may then show small increases in GNP and the chattering classes will hail Brian Lenihan as the strong man who saved the day.

But any such 'success' will soon be pulled down by continuing and insurmountable problems in the global capitalist economy.

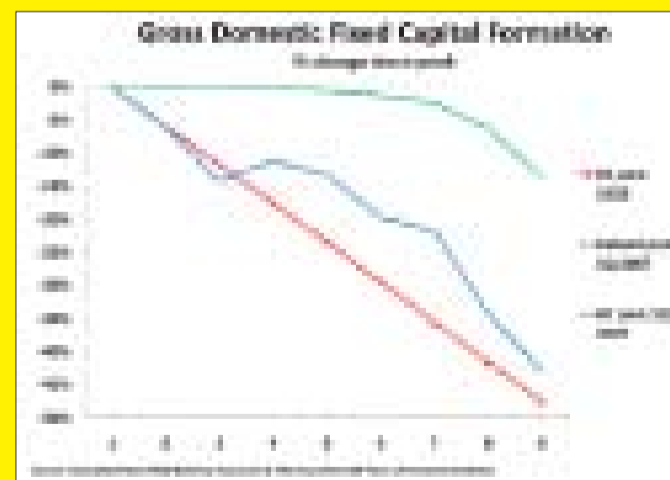
The only certainty is that workers

will experience very little recovery. There will be few jobs and many will be told to emigrate again. We will continue to suffer pain to pay for the bankers by working longer, taking further pay cuts and putting up with abysmal public services.

If that is the only recovery that is on offer, why accept the terrible sacrifices?

Don't save capitalism! Get rid of it!

## E OF CAPITAL INVESTMENT IN IRELAND



for Iceland (where, due to the disintegration of the financial system, investment had fallen by over sixty per cent).

Figure 3 shows the percentage decline of investment in the G7 as a whole since its peak in the first quarter of 2007, the decline

in investment in Ireland in the same period, and, for comparison, the decline in investment in the US at the beginning of the Great Depression in 1929

It may be seen that the scale of investment decline in Ireland is far closer to the US in 1929

than it is to the decline in the G7 in the current recession - the fall in fixed investment in the US in 1929-31 was -47.6% compared to the fall in a similar two year period in Ireland in this downturn of 42.9%. For comparison the fall in investment in the G7 in this

recession in the same period was 13.4%.

The decline in investment in Ireland is, therefore, without exaggeration, of 1929 proportions.

Source: *Socialist Economic Bulletin*

## Has Europe Saved Ireland?

By PATRICK MCKENNA

OF ALL the positive thinking wheezes sponsored by ruling elites to bring an end to Ireland's economic crisis, none was as crisp as the one adorning lampposts last autumn: Vote Yes For Jobs.

With 17,000 more people joining the dole queues since Lisbon 2, Voting Yes For Jobs sure looks like a beaten docket, but who knows?

It might still turn up as a proposal on Mary McAleese's Your Country Your Call website.

Seriously though, what happened? Has the European Union refused to heed Ireland's call?

If you're out of work, the answer may be a resounding Yes.

For the government however, and the banks whose interests it serves, voting Yes for Lisbon was one small element of a broader plan in which the EU is playing its full part.

We know the rest of the plan: cutting funding for social welfare, health and education, ploughing untold billions into zombie banks, and slashing workers' wages.

The result is what former IMF Chief Economist Simon Johnson describes as 'a nation in a financial death spiral'.

But it's a death spiral both demanded and supported by the EU, because the government's brutal assault on workers is its way of meeting the EU's Stability and Growth Pact target.

More positive thinking came in the idea that a Yes to Lisbon meant Ireland would "remain at the heart of Europe, where our future belongs", as a jubilant Brian Cowen announced when the rerun delivered the right result.

Cowen was right in a sense: Irish workers will indeed "remain at the heart of Europe", but as debt slaves.

Some say that if not for the EU, Ireland would be much worse off, pointing to Iceland, which was not an EU member when its coffers ran bare, but whose membership is now being fast-tracked.

Yet Ireland's EU membership has allowed it to rack up a mind-blowing €174 billion debt with German banks: a far greater burden per capita than that of Iceland.

If you'd been listening to official propaganda, you might think the European Central Bank is a sort of benevolent uncle, lending the wayward Irish a dig-out, not least by allowing Irish banks to exchange their NAMA bonds for ECB cash.

More positive thinking.



Former IMF Chief Economist Simon Johnson: 'a nation in a financial death spiral'.

The EU-backed financial death spiral means deep depression will persist in Ireland when the economies of bigger states return to higher rates of growth, because the ECB will hike interest rates in response.

When that happens - as it certainly will - Irish workers will be plunged into even deeper depths and the economy will shrink even further, with even higher levels of unemployment.

And as even the dogs in the street know, the ECB cash supplied to Irish banks conjured through NAMA will do nothing to stimulate the economy.

As the boss of AIB admitted, they intend hanging onto the money to boost their share price.

Claiming things would be worse in Ireland if not for the EU is rather like the child chimney sweep in the William Blake poem who says getting your head shaved means you don't get your hair dirty: an absurd consolation borne of an intolerably nasty situation.

But it's not enough to claim (more positive thinking) that the solution to all this is simple withdrawal from the EU or from the Euro.

Irish workers would still be enmeshed in an exploitative capitalist system, at the mercy of the same crooks who currently run the country.

The only solution, as demonstrated from Greece to Green Isle, is for workers across EU states to confront the local ruling class with strikes and mass resistance.

It is only by this route, and not spurious 'positive thinking', that the European Union's vast apparatus of class domination can be conclusively dismantled.

# Mandela's South Africa

## Twenty Years On

By MARGARET RENN  
in Johannesburg

WE ALL recognise the photo: Nelson Mandela, hand in hand with Winnie, clenched fists in the air. It is one of the great iconic moments of the twentieth century.

As he walked out of prison on 11 February 1990, we all knew apartheid was finished.

The pass laws, township riots, Sharpeville, Soweto, exile, suicide, hangings and shootings slipped into history and memory.

But while Western governments and media praise the once hard-line black freedom fighter for making peace with the rich white establishment, those who put Mandela's African National Congress into power - the South African working class - are still struggling against poverty and exploitation, proving again James Connolly's warning that 'national liberation' without socialism means only a change of flag and a new ruling class.

Twenty years after Mandela's release, someone decided President Jacob Zuma would give his State of the Nation address on this anniversary.

No doubt the ANC had hoped that some of the magic of that moment would rub off.

How could it? The economy is in a bad way, the townships are still burning, and just the week before the media revealed the existence of yet another woman and another baby in Zuma's life.

No amount of pomp and red carpet - not even Mandela's presence - could hide the fact that this nation is in a poor state.

South Africa is a mining and manufacturing economy. But even before this world recession, huge



Nelson and Winnie Mandela on his release from prison on 11 February 1990

numbers were unemployed - 23% officially, 40% realistically. The figure is highest among young people.

In 2009 almost a million real jobs were lost, out of a working

population of 14 million.

Eskom, the national electricity supplier, has just announced price hikes of almost 25% this year, and the same for the next two years. This sort of increase will push up

the price of almost everything.

There is a chronic shortage of housing. While the Government says millions have been built since 1994, the reality is that it is not enough, and much of it is

of such a poor standard that it is falling down. The Daily Dispatch has reported that in the Eastern Cape there is a backlog of 800,000 homes to be built, 20,000 homes have to be rebuilt, and many more

have no water and electricity.

Education is in a desperate state.

Only 7% of primary schools have something that can be called a library. The health care system likewise.

Anyone with money opts out - private health care, private education, private security, private transport.

South Africa has one of the largest equality gaps in the world: half the population survives on 8% of national income.

Dumisani, a university cleaner who survived a jobs cull after privatisation of the service last year, earns less than €2,000 a year.

Yet following the latest budget, those earning €100,000 just got a €350 tax cut.

Cracks are appearing in the alliance between the ANC, COSATU - the main trade union federation - and the Communist Party. Corrupt politicians get tenders for government contracts and get obscenely rich and drive around in flashy car. Just last week a man was arrested for giving the finger to a blue light police escort - the security men pushed him in a car and put a bag over his head.

It's the sort of thing that happens in other African countries, or even America or Afghanistan, but, you might think, not South Africa.

Throughout last winter and up to today there is rioting in townships in protest at the failure of service delivery.

No water, no sewage system, no housing, poor schools, no hospitals or transport system. There are places in South Africa that the long walk to freedom walked straight past. 6

### FILM REVIEW

## 'This is capitalism, a system of giving and taking - mostly taking'

By Rory Connolly

### Michael Moore's Capitalism: a love story

MICHAEL MOORE'S new film, *Capitalism: a love story*, should be seen by all readers of this paper.

The film opens with scenes depicting the rot and corruption that brought about the fall of the Roman Empire, intercut with their contemporary equivalents in today's America. Funny and oh so true.

Soon we are watching a home video of an eviction: seven police vehicles arrive at a small house and the cops batter the door down. As they smash in, the occupant's crutches, propped up near the door, slide to the floor.

'There has to be some kind of rebellion between the people who have nothing and the people who have it all,' says an elderly man during another eviction. 'Why do they do this to hard working people?' asks a tearful woman.

Moore offers the answer: 'This is capitalism, a system of giving and taking - mostly taking.'

He interviews a man from Condo Vultures, a real-estate company that deals in repossessed homes.

Capitalism, the 'vulture' tells him gleefully, is about 'taking

advantage of somebody else's disadvantage.'

Capitalism, the man from the Wall Street journal opines, 'is more important than democracy,' a common view among his kind. 'In fact', he adds, 'I'm not a big supporter of democracy.'

We are given a series of snapshots depicting the absurdity of modern capitalism: a privatised prison that paid a judge \$2.6m to jail scores of innocent teenagers just to boost its profits; the blue-chip corporations who secretly insure their employees' lives, calculating how many they need to die so they can profit on their policies. It's known as 'dead peasant insurance.'

Moore interviews a Catholic priest, and even a bishop, who tell him capitalism is 'obscene' and 'radically evil.' Why then, Moore asks, has it survived? Because, the priest says, 'the system has the ability to convince people who are its victims to support it.'

Moore shows quite brilliantly how big finance - in the shape of senior executives from banks like Citibank, Merrill Lynch and Goldman Sachs - came to dominate George Bush's White House, and how they manipulated the economy so that ordinary people became massively dependent on debt just to keep going from day



Michael Moore's new film *Capitalism, a love story*

to day.

Skilfully blending serious analysis with popular story-telling, the film points out that these were the people 'who promised financial deregulation would make us all rich,' and guess what? 'Personally, they were all made

incredibly rich.' And when their merry-go-round stopped with the collapse of sub-prime mortgages, they fomented panic, threatening the end of civilisation if they weren't immediately given \$700 billion by the American taxpayers. Sounds familiar.

Marcy Kaptur, a Democratic Congresswoman from Ohio, tells Moore this bank bailout amounted to a financial coup d'etat. 'The Treasury Department', she says, 'is basically an arm of Goldman Sachs.' She advocates popular resistance.

Moore sets off to get the people's money back.

The official responsible for 'oversight' of the billions given to the banks is initially dumbstruck when Moore asks, 'what happened to all the money?' 'I really don't know,' is the embarrassed reply.

Moore uses a megaphone to tell Wall Street bankers he has come to arrest them, advising them to come out with their hands up and 'stand away from the building'. Security men drive him off from bank after bank. He returns to unroll hundreds of meters of 'scene of crime' tape around their hallowed institutions.

This is Moore at his knock-about best. But there is much more.

Moore, whose own father was a car worker in Detroit, knows that working class struggle is the only real alternative to capitalism.

He identifies the stirrings, goes to the picket lines and sits, talks to the workers, and while recalling heroic struggles from American labour history, advocates full scale rebellion. 'Capitalism is evil, and you can't regulate evil. You have to eliminate it.'

You are right there, Michael, you are right!

# Government reneges on Education for All



By GILLIAN SMITH

THE 2010 Budget saw the government draw back on its stance that education is vital for pulling Ireland out of recession and getting people into work.

The shocking attack on special needs teachers has received considerable publicity, but other shameful measures have been largely ignored.

Just months after encouraging and inviting people to enhance their education, the government has now introduced a number of measures which will make a return to education unattainable for many people.

This is a repercussion of the budget for the Department of Education and Science being slashed by a massive €603m.

Amongst those affected by the new measures are participants in Senior Travellers' Training Centres (STTCs),

participants in the Vocational Training Opportunities Scheme, and early school-leavers participating in the Youthreach programme.

Allowances to each will be cut and places in the STTCs will be reduced from 984 to 684.

It isn't hard to see how cuts in these areas have the potential to place already vulnerable people and communities in an even more precarious position during this volatile economic period.

Recently, the loudest voice of discontent has come from those affected by changes to the BackTo Education Allowance scheme. (BTEA)

As a finance measure, this scheme has enabled mature students and people receiving various social welfare benefits including jobseeker, one-parent family and disability benefits, to make a return to education.

The scheme is a valuable

resource for many people who view it as a gateway to employment and self-sufficiency.

Those in receipt of the BTEA had also been entitled to apply for maintenance grants and top-up grants. From 2010, this is no longer the case for new applicants and the allowance has been cut by 5% for all students.

College fees and student support charges will continue to be covered and at the start of each academic year recipients will still receive a €500 'cost of education' allowance.

But a further set-back for future mature students and applicants for the BTEA is the abolition of The Millennium Partnership Fund and a 5% reduction in scholarships for new and existing students.

All these cuts and reductions seem contrary to what the government have said in the recent past about the need for Ireland to re-educate or up-skill its people in order to

create a smart or knowledge economy which is competitive on a global scale.

The cutbacks are also in direct contradiction to the OECD's argument that investment and innovation in education are essential for a country to emerge from recession.

Instead it seems like the government is trying to keep the already disenfranchised out of the education system and at a distance from the job market.

Measures introduced by Budget 2010 blatantly favour and privilege the already wealthy or at least those who can afford to pay for an education.

Even with fees and student charges being covered, the Central Statistics Office revealed that in the year to October 2009, the cost of education rose by 11.6%.

Findings by the OECD published late last year show

that people who already have a higher education are most likely to return to education throughout their lives. The government seems to be supporting this trend rather than offering an education to those who never obtained one.

Education now seems an impossibility for the average single parent who needs to pay childcare or the average unemployed person with a family who wants to increase the opportunities available to them.

This government seems utterly indifferent to the suffering and hardship its policies are inflicting on ordinary people and those most in need of state support. And the policies it is pursuing are not geared towards short-term savings that can be restored in the near future. They are designed to row back permanently on all the gains made in recent years.

They must not be allowed to get away with it.

COMMENT

## On the wrong road... Again

By EAMONN MCCANN

THE KILLING of Derryman Kieran Doherty by the Real IRA on 24 February sparked a firestorm of denunciation not just from mainstream politicians and commentators but from the Left.

Supporters of People Before Profit were to the fore in organising a trades union protest rally in the city centre.

Kieran, 31, a member of the Real IRA had been seized, stripped, shot in the head and his body dumped on a lonely road just outside the city for alleged involvement in running a 'cannabis factory' over the border in Donegal.

The cruelty of his killing and the grief of his family touched a nerve in Derry.

Some of those who denounced the killing, however, were reluctant to face the facts about 'dissident' Republicans and the reasons they are able to keep operating.

The Real IRA and other 'dissidents' do not dissent from the Republican tradition at all. What they dissent from is the departure of Sinn Fein and the Provisional IRA from the tradition.

This doesn't make the dissidents right. It means that if they are wrong, then so is the tradition of armed struggle of which the Provisional IRA has been the main expression in modern times.

Sinn Feiners denouncing the Real IRA are denouncing a part of their own past which they are trying to persuade their supporters - and maybe themselves - to forget.

They are also wrong when they argue that the dissidents have no support.

The support may be more passive than active and confined to particular areas. But it is growing.

This doesn't have to do primarily with a craving for resumption of armed struggle. Even in estates regarded as hard-line Republican, there is no stomach for renewed war for a

united Ireland.

Many might retain the aspiration. But for the present, they have parked it.

Support for the dissidents is rooted in a different reality.

Whole communities have been left behind by the peace process. They hear the babble from embedded journalists about joy throughout the land at a new policing deal being done.

Then they glance around them, at the fact that, far from being empowered by the process, they have been left powerless in the face of a new elite.

They look at run-down estates and closed-down services, poverty wages, fear of losing their jobs or never getting a job, anxiety about the future and the future of their children, and they ask themselves - what have people around here gained from the changes which have delivered so handsomely for those whose smiling faces we see on television every night?

At least, some conclude, especially young people, the dissidents are still fighting.

This is the main source of the dissidents' strength, and moralistic denunciation won't make a dent in it.

In the absence of any different, more credible way of fighting back, in the absence of a grass-roots movement to oppose the cut-backs, the withdrawal of services to the most vulnerable, the lack of consultation on facilities and planning, in the absence of a movement taking up and confronting the problems people face day by day and presenting a vision of a better future, dissidents will continue to find ground to take their stand on.

The task of the Left is to provide that alternative, to show that there's a better way forward than yet another round of violence in pursuit of a united Ireland.

This is the challenge which People Before Profit has taken up.

## Because they're worth it



OUR TDs never tire of telling us that we have to get real about pay and conditions, take the hard medicine, put our noses to the wheel, pull together, work longer, bend our backs, wear hair shirts, think positively, and get on with things.

For the good of Ireland, of course.

In the meantime, they have been extremely busy (for once) feathering their own nests - all at our expense, of course.

The latest outrage concerns their pensions - revealed just as the government announced it intends withholding the state old age pension from ordinary workers until they reach 68.

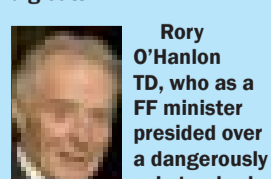
For former ministers, there isn't even a requirement that they have ceased to be TDs before they draw their pensions,

let alone that they reach any sort of retirement age.



**Bertie Ahern TD**, the disgraced former Taoiseach who enjoyed 26 pay rises in

10 years before proposing another hike to give himself \$50k a year more than the president of the USA, gets the biggest ministerial pension of all - worth €99k last year. That's on top of his TD's salary and obscenely generous expenses. Plus the usual dig-outs.



**Rory O'Hanlon TD**, who as a FF minister presided over a dangerously substandard health service, pocketed over €82k in state pension in 2009.



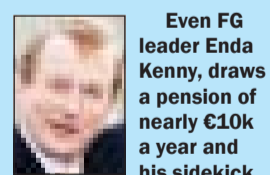
**Former Labour leader, Ruairi Quinn TD** - who as Finance Minister introduced

an amnesty for tax cheats - bags a pension of nearly €42k, while FG's Michael Noonan, the man who ruthlessly fought victims of the state's poisoned blood bank through the courts to avoid paying them compensation, nets €40k.



**Frank Fahey TD**, FF's boot-boys on behalf of Shell Oil, gets an annual pension of over €37k

annually, while Michael Woods TD, the man who let the child-abusing religious orders off the hook by making the state liable for 90% of the €1.2bn compensation bill, is on a pension of €33k.



**Even FG leader Enda Kenny**, draws a pension of nearly €10k a year and his sidekick

Richard Bruton snaffles over €13k.

Nine other sitting TDs shared pensions of almost €170k last year.

Among former TDs, Albert Reynolds (another tax amnesty merchant) pocketed the biggest pension at €110k, closely followed by Garret FitzGerald on €104k.

Charlie McCreery, the former Finance Minister who can claim much of the credit for wrecking the economy, is on a €75k a year Dail pension, while his replacement on the EU



**Commissionaire Maire Geoghegan-Quinn** gets over €64k a year as a pension from



**the Dail member Ray Burke** - who accepted bribes as a minister and served 6 months for

tax fraud - draws a Dail pension of €57.5k a year, while his fellow blagger, Pdraig Flynn, gets over €50k, equivalent to the cheque from developer Tom Gilmartin he trousered while Minister for the Environment.

Other former ministers who have carved out very lucrative careers on the back of their public profiles are also in receipt of Dail pensions: John Bruton (€100k), Dick Spring (€77k), Des O'Malley (€56k), Alan Dukes (€45.5k), Ray McSharry (€41k), and Tom Parlon (€19k).

Now, forget you every read this article. Tighten your belt, stop complaining and knuckle under.

# Socialist Worker

## MURDERERS, TORTURERS AND LIARS TO VET BLOODY SUNDAY REPORT



By EAMONN MCCANN

THE BRITISH Government wants MI5 and the Ministry of Defence to have a chance to examine the Bloody Sunday report and suggest deletions before the families of the victims are allowed to set eyes on it.

Northern Secretary Shaun Woodward claims that, as “publisher”, he has to make sure the report doesn’t breach national security or put lives at risk - and that MI5 and MoD officials are the only people capable of doing this.

The real reason is so his agents can prepare to spin the findings in a way which won’t be open to the families.

More than 30 years on, still no level playing field.

The MoD was the employer of the paratroopers on



Northern Secretary Shaun Woodward: ‘national security’

Bloody Sunday. MI5 lied in the run-up to the massacre, hyping up beyond all reason the dangers the paratroopers would face in the Bogside..

More recent events show MI5 as totally untrustworthy when it comes to “national security”.

In the appeal court in

London earlier this month, Lord Neuberger attacked MI5 for conniving in the torture of former Guantanamo detainee Binyam Mohamed and lying about it afterwards.

He suggested that Foreign Secretary David Miliband had been hoodwinked by MI5 into issuing three Public Interest



Foreign Secretary David Miliband: ‘hoodwinked by MI5’

Immunity Certificates falsely claiming that documents relating to the case should be withheld because national security was at stake.

Neuberger suggested that the real reason was that the documents supported Mr. Mohamed’s claim that MI5 officers had flown to Pakistan

where he was being held by the CIA to put questions to him, even though they knew that he had been tortured by the Americans to try to force him to give information - information which, it turned out, he didn’t have.

In other words, MI5 has just been found by a British

court to have connived at the torture of an innocent man and then suborned a Government Minister to issue three separate fraudulent documents to thwart the efforts of the courts to get to the bottom of what had happened.

Now Woodward wants MI5 given privileged access to a report on a massacre which they themselves had a hand in!

It is in the interests of every section of the working class that the uniformed representatives of the State who massacred unarmed citizens be held to account.

Socialists in the North will be supporting the Bloody Sunday families as they embark on the last obstacle-strewn stretch of long their journey towards the truth.

## Vote People Before Profit Alliance in May’s Westminster Election

WE ARE told that the global crunch means we have to tighten our belts.

But the bankers who brought on the crisis are pocketing billions in bonuses. If these resources were properly used there’d be no need for cut-backs and closures. We’re up for a fight to make this happen.

This view of the world is behind our radical vision for the development of Derry. We challenge the consensus among the other parties that basing everything on attracting private investment is the only way forward.

We stand for the interests of the working class, the marginalised and oppressed. We believe that it is through organising in communities, workplaces and colleges that we can advance. We will use the platform of a Westminster seat to support and speak up for grass-roots organisation.

We go beyond Orange versus Green to speak for the common interests of all who have been left behind by the peace process. We are united with People Before Profit in the South. Campaigning for change across the island is our all-Ireland dimension.

## MCCANN’S THE MAN!

**Eamonn McCann, People Before Profit Candidate in Foyle**

If elected, I will use the position of MP to:

- campaign to transform Derry into a vibrant city that is focussed on its people and on public services.
- help organise united action by communities to solve common problems, instead of competition between communities which can flare up into violence - around the Fountain or elsewhere.
- encourage grass-roots resistance to the cuts which hit hardest at the most vulnerable - and expose parties which vote for budgets which make cuts inevitable and then protest against the cuts when they come.
- help build a mass campaign of non-payment if there is another attempt to impose water charges;
- defend the public sector and oppose privatisation;

- make migrant workers welcome;
- support major investment in sustainable energy, public transport and recycling;
- work for a fair tax system in which the rich pay their share to help fund the services we depend on;
- campaign for repeal of Thatcher’s anti-union laws - now being maintained by the Stormont administration;
- back an activist campaign for the repeal of Section 44 of the 2000 Terrorism Act allowing the police to stop and search without establishing suspicion of wrong-doing;
- opposition to dependence on the police or vigilante groups to solve problems such as drugs which mainly arise from social deprivation. A community mobilised to fight for its rights will be better able to confront all of its problems.
- campaign for integrated all-ability schools allowing life-long learning, and a massive expansion of nursery provision.

