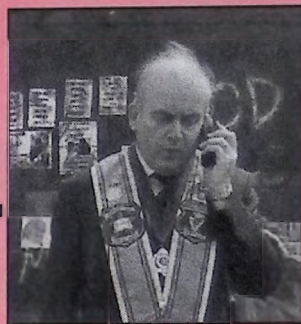


Socialist Worker

inside

Northern Ireland:
**CAN THE
PEACE DEAL
WORK?** PAGES 6-7



For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p Solidarity price £1

Stop starvation in the Third World

CANCEL THE DEBT



IF THE debts of all African countries were cancelled, the 21 million children who will die in the next two years would live instead.

These terrible figures have been produced by the United Nations Development Programme.

But the leaders of the Western powers think that satisfying the greed of the bankers is more important than these children.

After they met at the G8 summit in Cologne last month they agreed a small aid package for Third World Countries.

They wanted to be seen to do something after millions of people supported the Jubilee 2000 campaign.

In Ireland alone 800,000 people called for an end to Third World debt.

Billion dollar scam

But the \$70 billion dollar package of the G8 leaders is a scam. \$25 billion has already been committed since 1996 after what is known as the Highly Indebted Poor Countries Initiative.

A further \$20 billion is composed of "country-to-country" aid for loans which were not being paid off anyway.

The rest of the package is estimated on the basis of future payments

In fact with this package many countries such as Mozambique will end up paying out more in debt repayments.

In real terms the leaders of the wealthiest countries only offered an aid package of \$13 billion and that has to be shared out between 36 countries.

To get that, countries will have to accept "structural adjustment" programmes that are supervised by the International Monetary Fund.

These mean cuts in health programmes and jobs which will condemn many to premature death.

Bill Gates the richest man in the world has a personal fortune worth £138 billion.

That's enough to provide basic healthcare, education, water and sanitation, to all the world's poor five times over.

If Bill Gates was put on a normal income and the Third World debt was cancelled millions would live rather than die.

This modest proposal will never be implemented because of the sick system we live under.

It shows why its overthrow is a matter of life or death.

Social Partnership: A SCAM TO KEEP DOWN WAGES

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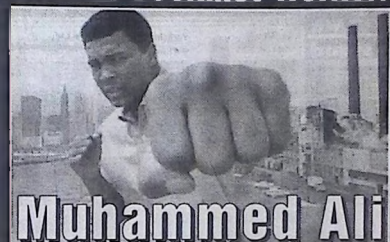
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UN slams Ireland's poverty

IRELAND HAS the second highest rate of poverty of all the industrialised world outside the US.

This is according to the United Nations Human Development Report which ranks countries according to degrees of inequality.

15.3 per cent of the population live in absolute poverty.

McNasty

THERE WAS a great fuss about the triumph of capitalism when McDonalds opened in Moscow in 1990.

Now some of the staff are demanding a trade union.

Natalya Gracheva is one of them. She says her monthly salary has been cut from £260 to £77 over the past year.

Natalya and the other activists accuse the company of withdrawing bonuses, intimidation and rearranging rotas to disrupt union meetings.

A worker who claims he was sacked for union activity is taking McDonalds to court.

"I always thought it was a good company" she says. "I never expected them to react so strongly against the union."

Nato shuns refugees

NATO leaders had a "bottomless pit" of cash for their war in the Balkans but they are refusing to pay for the resettlement of the refugees there.

The UN agency responsible for refugees warned that it was on the point of bankruptcy because NATO governments had not provided the funds needed.

It cannot afford even plastic sheeting and blankets to give returning refugees some warmth and shelter.

Independent inquiry into church abuse

VICTIMS OF clerical abuse by the Christian Brothers are planning to picket Irish embassies around Europe.

The Survivors of Child Abuse (SOCA) represent former pupils of industrial schools who want an independent inquiry into the abuse at Catholic run institutions.

Appointed

The government has appointed three inspectors to look into the issue, but two of them worked for the Departments of Justice and Health which were responsible for the schools.

A SOCA spokesperson, Mick Waters who went to the Artane Boys school says that they will be demonstrating outside Irish embassies. He wants compensation for his members who earned millions for the Christian Brothers in hard labour at this schools.

This means that they cannot afford some of the most basic necessities of life.

The report also found that 23 per cent of the population are functionally illiterate.

Instructions

They have difficulty performing basic tasks such as reading the instructions on a medical bottle.

Last year when the report came out, the government claimed that it was based on

figures which were out of date.

But even after the Human Development Index adjusted some of its figures it still found that the Celtic Tiger was the most unequal society after the US.

The government has claimed that social partnership helps to prevent the exclusion of the poor.

But the evidence shows that Ireland suffers from the worse excesses of right wing economics.

Kissinger reveals ugly truth

HENRY KISSINGER one of the US government war criminals in Vietnam, has revealed just how cynical the NATO countries were in the run up to war in the Balkans.

NATO said force was necessary because Serbia rejected the proposed Rambouillet agreement.

But Kissinger said recently "The Rambouillet text which called on Serbia to

admit NATO troops to Yugoslavia was a provocation, an excuse to start bombing."

He added that up to March the violence in Kosovo "was not a war about ethnic cleansing".

Cynically

Kissinger cynically adds that in the future any "humanitarian" wars will have to be restricted to "soft targets".

Kissinger says "If you asked, would you have done it after the Russians went into Chechnya, you'd say no. Would you do it in Tibet? You'd say no.

"So where they hell do you do it? Only with very weak countries."

Kissinger at first had doubts about the war in the Balkans but then backed it as "necessary for NATO's credibility".

Corrupt politicians but...

Who judges the Judges?

JUSTICE MORIARTY, who is supposed to be investigating the finances of Charlie Haughey, owned £500,000 worth of shares in Cement Roadstone Holdings (CRH).

Moriarty even admits that this could "give rise to a perceived conflict of interest which would preclude my inquiring into certain matters". It is no wonder.

Bagman

The former chairman of CRH, Des Traynor, acted as a bagman to Charles Haughey and operated the Ansbacher accounts from 42 Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin.

The same building is the headquarters of CRH.

CRH bought the Glen Ding woods, in Wicklow, in 1992 for £1.25 million.

The land was sold by the

government without tenders being sought while Haughey was Taoiseach at a bargain basement price.

CRH also bought lands at Kinsealy, Co Dublin, from Haughey, in the early seventies. The company also gave £18,000 in consultancy fees to GEO Engineering, a firm run by Haughey's offspring.

If the tribunal is supposed to investigate the source of Haughey's money, then Moriarty should be investigating his own company.

The tribunal is also supposed to look at how Michael Lowry raised money for Fine Gael.

But at the time Lowry was raking in cash for FG, the deputy chairman of the party was Tony Barry. Tony Barry is the current chairman of CRH.

And yet we are asked to believe that Moriarty will run an impartial investigation.



Ray Burke

Deflating inflation

THE WAGES of most workers in Ireland are determined by the Consumer Price Index because Partnership 2000 wage increases are supposed to be related to the rise in the CPI.

But evidence is growing that the measure is a fake.

Risen

It records an inflation rate of 3 percent because it does not take full account of accommodation costs which have risen dramatically.

RTE News recently let slip that there was a second way of measuring inflation - which they named the 'imputed inflation rate'.

It showed that the rate of inflation in Ireland was actually 6 percent.

That rate means wages are falling dramatically behind prices. Just another reason to get out of the partnership scam.

No questions asked, no answers given

RAY BURKE lodged bribes worth about £107,000 in a building society account during the 1989 general election campaign.

He also had an offshore account in Jersey which at the very least held £95,000.

Yet in a speech to the Dail he denied having any offshore accounts.

Burke also revealed that not much has changed since 1989.

According to his evidence Fianna Fail are currently trying to raise £4.5 million from big business.

Burke's bank accounts and who is bankrolling Fianna Fail remain shrouded mystery.

Most importantly, the tribunals have refused to look into why big business was giving huge amounts of money to politicians in the first place.

Telecom share scam

FIANNA FAIL are gloating over the privatisation of Telecom Eireann.

Telecom was a publicly owned company which is being sold to a minority.

It is the start of a Thatcherite sell-off of the public sector.

The majority of people who bought shares took out loans in the hope that they may be able to make a couple of hundred pounds.

The real money will be

made by the fat-cats at the top of society.

The commission paid to the investment banks which handled the Telecom floatation is £60 million.

One of the two global coordinators is AIB which will share £29.1 million.

However, there is not much of a chance of AIB using this money to pay back the £86 million tax bill they got written off last year.

what we think

Social Partnership is nothing but... A SCAM TO KEEP DOWN WAGES

"THE BOSSES are our partners". This is the motto of the ICTU leaders who met in Killarney in July.

But the reality is that social partnership is a scam to hold down wages.

Since 1987, when the first partnership agreement began, there has been a huge transfer of wealth to the rich.

Over the last decade the share of Ireland's wealth going to profits, dividends and rent has increased by 10 percent.

Decreased

The share going to wages has decreased by 10 percent.

If workers had maintained the share of national wealth they had in 1987, each worker would be £2,500 better off now.

The rich are grabbing a bigger slice of the national cake because they know that social partnership is only a device to hold down wages.

The government claim that the small pay increases for workers are compensated for with tax cuts.

But the bosses are getting

larger tax cuts and they were never asked to show any restraint on their profits.

In 1987, the tax rate on profits was 50 percent.

By 2002 it will have declined to a mere 12.5 percent, which is a smaller tax rate than the lowest paid worker pays.

All the evidence shows that it is time the trade union movement broke with social partnership.

Workers need substantial pay increases of at least 10 percent next year to compensate for all the productivity they have given.

Instead of signing away our right to strike, we need the freedom to negotiate locally to cut into the huge profits that are being made.

Breaking from social partnership will mean a struggle against the government and the union leaders.

That is why the Rank and File conference on September 11th which has been sponsored by over one hundred shop stewards to discuss "The Alternative to Social Partnership" is such an important start.

FF rush through racist bill



Protesting at the Dail against the Immigration Bill

FIANNA FAIL has rushed the new Immigration Bill through the Dail before the summer recess.

It gives Justice Minister John O'Donoghue sweeping new powers to deport refugees.

Fleeing

The bill is designed to replace the 1935 Aliens Act which was introduced when thousands of Jews were fleeing the Nazis in Europe. It ensured that a mere sixty Jewish people were allowed to enter Ireland during the Holocaust.

The new bill gets rid of terms like "aliens" but it is

just as restrictive. It will criminalise many refugees and allow the Minister for Justice to fast track refugees out of Ireland.

Here are the main points of the new Immigration Bill:

■ **It will allow deportations to be made at the sole discretion of the Minister for Justice.**

He can deport non-nationals, whose "deportation would in opinion of the Minister be conducive to the common good". Fianna Fail's record show that millionaires who can buy Irish passport are "conducive to the common good" but poor refugees who flee torture are not.

■ **Any 'non-national'**

who has been charged with a crime can be deported.

A 'crime' as ludicrous as not paying your television licence can mean that you could be expelled from Ireland.

■ **All deportations have to happen within months of the deportation order.**

This will allow O'Donoghue to speed up his deportation policy.

■ **The Bill extends the power of the Gardai to arrest non-nationals "without a warrant".**

This will give the Gardai free reign to continue their harass black people as they have done in the case of Belmondo Wantete.

■ **Anyone who appeals a deportation order or is waiting for their case to be heard can be kept in jail.**

These will allow Fianna Fail to open detention centres for refugees.

Fianna Fail claim that this legislation is needed to deal with the 'refugee problem'. But there is no refugee problem. Ireland is crying out for skilled and unskilled workers.

If all refugees had a legal right to work, they could fill many of these jobs.

The real problem in this country is with the spongers at the top of society like Charlie Haughey and Ray Burke, who are ripping off this country of millions of pounds.

RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE THE ALTERNATIVE TO SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP

"P2000 has been a disaster for workers. Super profits for the rich while workers are constantly asked for extra productivity.

"Yet despite this the union leaders want to take us into another partnership deal. We are in a stronger position than ever before to break from wage restraint, but we need to get organised.

"I encourage every trade unionist to come to the conference."

—CAROLANN DUGGAN

**Saturday September 11th,
Teachers Club, Parnell Square, Dublin**

Organised by the Rank & File Solidarity Network

To get full details of the conference return this form to
105 O'Hogan Road, Dublin 10.

Name

Union

Position (shop steward etc.)

Address

Tel. No.



IRAN

Student protests rock the regime

STUDENT PROTESTS have erupted in Tehran, the capital of Iran.

At least 15,000 marched through the streets.

The *International Herald Tribune* reports, "The protest was the angriest since the Iranian Revolution two decades ago."

It was one of a series of protests after security forces and conservative Islamist vigilantes stormed Tehran University, killing at least one student.

The security forces wanted to repress protests against a parliamentary bill restricting the press.

Relects

The explosion of anger also reflects growing frustration across the country.

Iran's president, **Mohammad Khatami**, won a massive majority when elected in May 1997 on a programme of reform.

Khatami is part of the Iranian establishment.

He won the backing of many liberals and intellectuals who support his calls for more freedom of expression and freedom of the press.

He also won the back-



Iranian Students break through the gates of the Security Ministry

ing of some business with his call to open up the Iranian economy more.

But the key to Khatami's victory was the overwhelming backing he got from ordinary people, especially the young.

More than 60 percent of Iran's 62 million people are under the age of 25.

Khatami was the hero of many of Iran's one mil-

lion university students, who are described by reporters as "left wing".

Now many feel impatient with Khatami's reluctance to confront his hardline conservative opponents.

The police, the military and the judiciary are in the hands of the hardliners. Other hardliners hold leading positions of power.

They even put the mayor of Tehran, a key Khatami supporter, on trial last year.

The judiciary has challenged the opening up of the press and has closed down a number of liberal

newspapers.

Khatami appealed for calm at the start of this week after the protests erupted. But the appeal did not quell students' anger.

"Khatami has to do

something or resign," one student protester told reporters.

"The students have independent power now," said another. "We call the shots. The president must meet our demands."

Greece

Airline workers strike to stop privatisation

SOME 6,000 workers at Olympic Airways, Greece's state owned airline, have held two 24 hour strikes in the last month.

Workers are protesting at the transfer of the management of the company to a subsidiary of the privatised British Airways (BA).

The Greek government of PASOK, equivalent to the Labour Party, has brought BA in to run Olympic as a first step to privatising it.

The strikes were tremendously effective.

There was no scabbing, and the only Olympic flights on the strike days were those sanctioned by strikers' unions under an agreement

to allow one flight to each island or remote destination in the country.

Olympic workers have staged successful strikes in recent years to defend jobs and conditions.

They have forced the PASOK government to back off from a straightforward sell off.

Action

Unfortunately trade union leaders are dampening down further action.

But the workers, who have traditionally been strong supporters of PASOK, have shown they have the power to resist privatisation.

Their strikes have also played an important role in highlighting the people

responsible for unemployment and poor living standards in Greece.

The government has caved in to anti-immigrant agitation from the Greek Tory party in the last few weeks, and launched a campaign scapegoating and deporting Albanian immigrants.

"They are trying to take the popular anger against the bombing of Serbia in a nationalist direction," says Panos Garganas, editor of *Socialist Worker's* sister paper in Greece.

"But socialists and trade unionists have called a major demonstration against the deportations for next week.

That and the Olympic strikes provide the antidote to this kind of racism."

Serbian demos offer chance for real change

PROTESTS HAVE erupted in towns and cities across Serbia calling for the removal of President Slobodan Milosevic.

The demonstrations could point to an alternative to the nationalist scapegoating politics of Milosevic and other Balkan leaders.

Thousands of people have signed petitions calling for Milosevic to go in Serbia's second and third cities, Novi Sad and Nis.

Both cities had been strongholds of opposition to Milosevic, but were heavily bombed by NATO during the war.

The biggest protests have been in southern and central Serbia, in towns which have been loyal to Milosevic's ruling party in the past.

Thousands of demonstrators faced down police in the towns of Leskovac, Cacak and Uzice.

Opposition

A loose Alliance for Change, comprising 30 small opposition parties, has called further protests.

But the opposition parties are deeply split and risk sinking and misdirecting the movement as they did in 1997. Zoran Djindjic is a key figure in the Alliance for Change.

He wants Milosevic out and is much favoured by the West.

But in the past he has been just as nationalist as Milosevic, and supported hardline nationalist Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic during the Bosnian war.

Djindjic and other opposition figures are jockeying for position, hoping to ride the mass discontent to power.

One of those is Vuk Draskovic, leader of the hard nationalist Serbian Renewal Movement.

He defused the 1996-7 protests against Milosevic by accepting a position as deputy prime minister, before being forced out during the recent war. Draskovic, who backed the protests, wants to replace Milosevic as "a strong leader".

All the mainstream opposition leaders want to limit any change in Serbia to just removing Milosevic.

But if they feel they have to mobilise wider forces to achieve that, it provides a chance for workers to strike and take to the street demanding far more radical change, including an end to the scapegoating of Albanians by the Serbian state.

Canada

FORTY-seven thousand nurses in the Canadian province of Quebec took a magnificent stand against anti-union laws last week when they voted to continue their illegal strike action.

The nurses, in the mainly French speaking province, have forced their nationalist Parti Quebecois provincial government onto the back foot.

Cutbacks

The nurses, fed up with suffering years of cutbacks, struck at the end of June demanding a 15 percent wage rise over three years and better working conditions.

The government passed draconian anti-union legislation to try and force them back to work. But the

nurses defied the law and voted by 93 percent last week to stay out.

The nurses enjoy massive support, and it is rising. A plan by the government to try and smear the strikers backfired when an internal document was leaked to the press.

The strike has cut across antagonisms between French and English speaking Quebecers.

This is in a province that was utterly split four years ago over a referendum on separation from the rest of Canada.

The picket lines are a mixture of French and English speakers.

Last week in an inspiring show of class unity a solidarity demonstration of nurses from Ontario and striking nurses from Quebec met in the middle of a bridge linking the two provinces.

■ Fax messages of support to Federation des infirmières et infirmiers du Quebec on 001 514 987 7273.

Eamonn McCann

Catholic atheist or Protestant atheist?

THERE'S been no end of giggling and guffaws at the news that Northerners who identify themselves as atheists in the next census will be asked whether they are Catholic atheists or Protestant atheists. But it's no joke.

The draft census form, published earlier this month, reveals that atheists — or agnostics or humanists — taking part in the 2001 census will be directed to a supplementary question: "What religion, religious denomination or body were you brought up in?"

No such question will be on the census form in England, Scotland or Wales.

The Northern Ireland Office has explained that the point of the question is so government can monitor the working of equality legislation. In order to maintain a balance between Catholics and Protestants in the distribution of jobs, houses or whatever, it's necessary to know what the existing balance is in any workplace or area, and what camp new applicants come from.

Now, this is ridiculous. To give a job or a house to an atheist is not to give it to a Catholic or a Protestant. But the policy is exactly in line with official practice across a wide range of activity, including political activity at Stormont.

Ever since the publication of the Belfast Agreement, we have highlighted the fact that the structures it envisages are not designed to end sectarianism but to manage it. They don't bring people together. Directly to the contrary, they police people apart.

Register

Thus, members of the Assembly are required to register on their first day as Nationalist, Unionist or "other" — with the significant addendum that when it comes to electing an Executive or taking any other "key decision", the "others" don't count. The Agreement is explicit that what's needed is "parallel consensus" between Nationalists and Unionists only.

There is no provision for the existence or emergence of any bloc of "others", not even in the far distant future.

This notion of the entire Northern population being naturally and forever divided into a Green tribe and an Orange tribe is the underlying assumption of British and Irish government policy and is now implicitly accepted by all the major Northern parties.

It is a very convenient assumption, particularly for the British government. They can present themselves as benign and neutral outsiders heroically striving to broker a peace between two tribes which have been at irrational war with one another for hundreds of years.

But this is the greatest nonsense of all. It's impossible to understand the development of sectarian politics in the North, or in Ireland generally, other than by reference to the involvement of Britain in Irish affairs. And this includes very recent history.

The Bloody Sunday Inquiry has reminded us that not all the atrocities of the last 30 years can be fitted into the "two tribes" model.

The new revelations about the Pat Finucane case point to the direct involvement in the murder of the British security services.

On the formal political level, successive British governments have wielded executive power in the North since the collapse of the old Stormont parliament in March 1972. Tony Blair's "Nothing to do with me, gov" stance is contemptible in itself and contemptuous of the Northern people.

Imposing a sectarian identity on the entire population — including people who have no sense of identity with any sectarian group — lets Britain off the hook, while intellectually imprisoning the population within the narrow rigidities of "Green-Orange" politics. It boosts the likelihood of argument within the new structures being dominated by disputation about how each tribe is faring in relation to the other.

The mechanisms established under the Agreement will operate to direct anger and discontent arising from below along sectarian channels. Competition for votes between the various Nationalist and Unionist parties will, more or less automatically, be on the basis of who can secure the greatest advancement for "our" side against "the other side".

In this situation, "justice" will refer solely to keeping a balance between Catholics and Protestants. Which is no joke.

Catholic and Protestant Women's Group stand...

"WHY HAVE the working class people in this country fought each other for the last 30 years when there's so much we could fight together on?"

This is just one of the remarks in a new book *Living With Poverty* published by the North and West Belfast Women Against Poverty Group.

It is a powerful reminder that social class is the fundamental division that shapes our lives.

Class

The group began at a meeting of 200 working class women from Catholic and Protestant areas in November 1997.

As the meeting broke up for lunch, May Robinson, a community worker from the Shankill Road, asked if she could speak for five minutes and began with "Our biggest problem is poverty..."

"I was really taken aback by the response," said May. "People were coming up to me saying 'We knew this but we didn't feel we could say it. If you do something we'll support you.'"

"That's when we decided to plan a campaign. The book came out of a weekend we organised last year, which gave people the chance to speak about their common experiences."

Raised

The campaign aims to get the level of benefits raised.

"I don't know who decides what benefits should be but they are nowhere near enough. An 18 to 24 year old is expected to live on £40.70 a week. If you are over 25 it's £51.40. How can anybody live on that?"

"Our next step is to launch a petition, getting people to go around door to door, campaigning at the grassroots. We don't want to sit in endless meetings. If you don't bring the people with you it won't work."

"In this whole area of 850 houses on the Shankill, I couldn't find a single child who had passed the 11-plus."

"There are houses in every street that are boarded up. There's only a handful of people who have jobs here."

It all comes back to poverty and what we've shown is that it's exactly the same if you are a Protestant or a Catholic."

UNITED AGAINST POVERTY



"It all comes back to poverty it's exactly the same if you are a Protestant or a Catholic."

New Labour has betrayed us

"I WAS overjoyed when Labour got in," says May. "But within about six months I was completely disappointed."

"Blair made a statement earlier this year

where he said 'We're all going to be middle class one day'. But it's just so far away from the reality.

"People's lives are getting worse. The only thing that Labour boast about is the minimum wage but even that has

made no difference."

Joyce Elliot, another member of the group, explains. "This new minimum wage is a disgrace. It's far too low for a start, but even the people who were on £3 an hour lost money from their housing benefit and other

benefits, so they saw nothing. The government gives it with one hand and takes it away with another."

Anne Wilson continues, "All this New Deal stuff from Labour is just blackmailing people."

"Most of the people are sent on courses, with no work at the end or else they're sent somewhere down the country where they have to pay their own fares."

Effects

The booklet is full of the effects of poverty. "We wanted this to be about the people at the grass roots," says May.

"Poverty is a growth industry in this country. Just think of the numbers of social workers, welfare workers, the administrators for benefits, even the loan sharks and debt collectors."

"The middle and upper classes are handling the problems of the poor, but they can just walk away from it. We want the people who are living with it to be involved."

The myths about 'the other side'

THE MOST striking aspect of the booklet is the common experience of women living in Protestant and Catholic areas.

Coming together to discuss the issues helped to break down many of the myths about "the other side". An exchange between a Catholic woman from the Falls and a Protestant woman from Shankill shows this.

"The Falls Road [DHSS] office is the hardest one to get a grant out of"

"No, Snugville Street's the worst."

"You see, that's another thing. What you hear over here [Shankill Road] is that if we were living on the Falls we'd get things a lot quicker because they're awful good to them up there."

"Well, I can tell you that's rubbish! We're told the same thing about you lot."

A repeated theme of the discussions is the frustration with the shape of politics in Northern Ireland. "Every election here is fought on religious or constitutional issues, never on the fight against poverty."

"Before the ceasefires, it would have been very difficult to do something like this," says May. "But I feel the time is maybe ripe to bring these issues to the fore."

For copies of the booklet contact Women Against Poverty, c/o 117 Mayo St, Belfast BT13 3AZ or phone (01232) 232077

Disability:

'Direct action is the way to get change'

PRESIDENT Mary McAleese recently picked up an award from the United Nations commending Ireland's high standard of provision for people with disabilities.

It must have raised an ironic chuckle if not a stream of blasphemies from those who are fighting for disability rights in this country.

The lives of the vast majority of Irish disabled is different to the picture presented by the politicians and bureaucrats in their self-congratulatory "White Papers" and reports.

The experience is largely one of segregation and marginalisation in housing, education and public transport, along with economic and cultural impoverishment.

The unemployment rate for disabled people runs at forty per cent which is six times the rate for the rest of the population.

Another forty per cent of disabled are employed in "Rehab" schemes where they are expected to perform monotonous work for exploitative wages.

Most public and private buildings do not have proper disability facilities. Services taken for granted by the able population - such as cash machines and public telephones are simply not accessible to the disabled.

Only six buses in Dublin and one in Cork allow disabled access.

Successive governments have refused to fund a disabled awareness program in secondary schools, contributing to the general lack of knowledge of the realities of life for the disabled.

Many activists associated with disability rights are now weary of the quiet process of lobbying which has proved ineffective.

They are engaging in direct action as a means of protest.

At the beginning of July several disabled people picketed Dail Eireann in protest at the lack of government funding for their 'Vantastic' service.

This service which provided transport for 300 Dublin disabled had to cease operating at the beginning of June due to lack of cash.

The picket and the huge level of support it generated forced the government to provide funds to get the service back on the road.

It also committed itself to continuing funding in the future.

Hupert McCormack, a disabled activist who was present at the picket, spoke to *Socialist Worker* about the fight for disabled rights in Ireland today.

by DAVE LORDAN

"I am disgusted at the government and medical professionals making decisions on behalf of disabled people while ignoring their demands to have a real say in the decisions which affected their lives".

"The lack of proper funding and services meant that the experience of the disabled was very different from that of the able population."

"Even something as simple as going out for a drink has to be carefully planned in advance."

"The government has evaded its responsibilities and placed the buck in the hands of over-stretched and under-funded voluntary services."

"Even then you can't be sure that publicans will serve you and we are often treated as a nuisance. Disabled people are often asked

by bar managers to leave pubs and this has happened to me on several occasions."

Hubert highlighted the heartbreak that many disabled people have to go through in leaving home at a young age due to inadequate family support.

"The government has evaded its responsibilities and placed the buck in the hands of over-stretched and under-funded voluntary services".

His experience as a disabled person has made him sympathetic with the plight of refugees and travellers who are oppressed and exploited by the elite minority.

"Long and bitter experience had taught me that direct action is the only way to get the government to respond to our concerns".

The Celtic Tiger contains enough resources to transform the lives of the disabled.

But in societies where a rich minority control the wealth, the most vulnerable will suffer the worst ravages of the system.

Many of the disabled are tired of being patronised and treated as objects of charity.

They want their rights and are willing to take action to get them.

Full participation for the disabled in social life will come when their struggles links up with the wider working class to bring the system that oppresses us all to an end.

With Northern Ireland in crisis... CAN THE PEOPLE WORK?

By July 15th all parties have been asked to sign up to the Way Forward document proposed by Blair and Trimble. This calls for a time-table on de-commissioning in return for the immediate entry of Sinn Fein into government.

But even if the Unionists agree to some version of this, recent events shows that the agreement stumbles from crisis to crisis. KIERAN ALLEN looks at the prospect for peace in the Northern Ireland.

Why has there been another crisis in The Agreement?

THE PRESS argue that the crises are the result of two "warring tribes" who cannot get along. But this ignores the history of sectarianism.

The majority of Protestants want some form of accommodation with their Catholic neighbors. In the urban areas, they voted by about 60 percent to 40 percent to support the Belfast agreement.

But the hard right wing of Unionism do not want to make the slightest concession. Big business favours the agreement, but those who have directly fed off the sectarian structures want no change.

This includes most of the ranks of the RUC, rural fundamentalists who think that Catholics are anti-Christ, sections of the middle classes who fear they will lose out because of the openings given to their Catholic counterparts.

These sectarian forces also exert considerable pressure over workers. You only have to look at Portadown to see how this happens.

The Orange Order no longer delivers jobs or houses for Protestant workers. So they need continual confrontation through marching to keep the lodges together.

Ghettos

They want Catholics to feel like second class citizens, fearing to venture out of their ghettos, much like blacks in Alabama in the past. This is the political purpose behind the fifty five murders of Catholics in Portadown, including Robert Hamill.

There is a workers' movement in the town but it is intimidated. Conditions in the local factories for workers are terri-

ble. When working class confidence is broken, thousands can look to bigots and see Catholics as the cause of their problems.

Portadown is not Northern Ireland - but it shows where right wing Unionism leads.

Over the last year, these forces have set the agenda.

They have battered off the fears about the "final settlement" to shift the whole agenda to the right. The result has been that all sides of Unionism increase the demands on republicans and cause new crises.

Does this not mean that Trimble is in a very difficult position and needs all the support he can get?

THE DIFFERENCE between Trimble and Paisley is a matter of degree rather than substance. Trimble is closer to big business but his whole record has been based on sectarianism.

Some ex-left wingers who act as advisors to Trimble have tried to give him a make-over.

Paul Bew and the Cadogan group have urged Trimble to cut the institutional links with the Orange Order and outflank republicanism by presenting Unionists as a misunderstood minority who are fighting for their culture.

But the mask slips too often. Trimble is a former member of the Vanguard Party which threatened to "exterminate their enemies."

When he lectured at Queen's he insisted on calling Catholic students by their English rather than Irish names.

The contradictions in Trimble's own history reflect the wider contradiction within

Unionism.

At one time the Unionist Party fitted the needs of big business. But Orange capital has declined and the multi-nationals now want an accommodation with the Catholic middle class.

The elite in the Unionist Party still want to work the Belfast agreement.

But the party is an anachronism if there is no IRA to oppose or if partnership with Catholics becomes the organising principle of Northern politics.

These contradictions mean that the Unionist Party is now split in several different ways.

In the last Euro election it only got 0.3 percent more votes than Sinn Fein.

That crisis in Unionism can be to the advantage of the working class but it also creates new openings for the hard right around Paisley.

Do socialists support the full implementation of the Belfast Agreement

SOCIALISTS ARE for the peace and against a return to armed struggle. We also believe that Sinn Fein have every right to be in government, given the size of their vote.

Sectarianism has risen in the North over the past two years. You can see this in the growing geographical separation of Protestants and Catholics and the gang fights that go on every weekend in areas like North Belfast

One of the reasons is that the Belfast agreement was never about eradicating sectarianism.

It did not acknowledge that the cause of sectarianism was a state that was built on the exclusion of Catholics.



An Orangeman phones to find out where

Instead it made contradictory promises encouraging Unionists to believe that it strengthened their position while republicans were told it contained a "dynamic" to move to a united Ireland.

More crucially, the agreement institutionalised sectarianism. It set up a long term structure whereby both "communities" compete against each other for economic resources.

The armed struggle was to be replaced by a sectarian economic conflict.

Every politician from Adams to Trimble plays this game.

Community

They use a coded language to say their 'community' is losing out on grants and investment.

They always play the zero sum game so that if unionists look unhappy it must be good for nationalists and vice versa.

Expecting an arrangement between Adams and Trimble to eradicate sectarianism was never on.

Working class to be forged both of them.

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THE SINN ship are enter the They talk conventio who want the job' o ernment.

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crisis...

PEACE DEAL



phones to find out where all his supporters have gone

Working class unity will have to be forged in struggle against both of them.

Why are Sinn Fein now promising to de-commission? Do socialists think they should?

THE SINN Fein leadership are determined to enter the mainstream. They talk and act like conventional politicians who want to 'get on with the job' of being in government.

You can see this in a recent interview with Adams in *An Phoblacht*.

He said that although Britain first introduced the gun into Irish politics, "I believe that this British government can be different and that Mr Blair has a

sense of responsibility".

Remember this is just weeks after Blair launched a war on Serbian civilians in the name of civilising values.

This is a far cry from advocating a long war to defeat British imperialism.

De-commissioning is the entry ticket that is being charged for getting into the establishment and the Sinn Fein leadership are willing to pay.

It is not just a ticket into a Northern cabinet but also into one in the South.

In the next few years there is likely to be a re-alignment in Irish politics where Sinn Fein forge an informal alliance with Fianna Fail.

Today the party talks left in working class areas - but tomorrow they will help to prop up a FF government.

What the IRA do with their weapons is their affair.

But socialists have no interest in sitting in the same government with Trimble, presiding over cuts in social services

while new perks are given to the rich.

What role do socialists play in Northern Ireland?

NORTHERN Ireland used to have a strong left.

After World War 2 for example, the Communist Party had over 2,000 members in Belfast.

But that left was destroyed in the thirty year long conflict mainly because it sought to avoid a frontal challenge to sectarianism.

Today the situation is changing fast. The armed conflict froze the landscape of the North so that many issues were buried.

But once again issues to do with poverty and union rights are re-surfacing. Many are also asking why isn't abortion legislation extended to the North? Why do clergymen have more influence here than in any other part of Ireland or

Britain?

There are also contradictions in the great communal blocks.

The aspirations of tens of thousands of Protestants are no longer reflected in Unionism.

And while Sinn Fein can continue to grow electorally, they have nothing to say about workers' struggles.

If McGuinness ever makes it into government the focus will shift from his IRA record to his policies which favour tax cuts for big business and more US investment.

Socialists have to develop a core membership which can argue the politics of workers' unity.

That means attacking the very basis of loyalism which promotes the oppression of Catholics.

It also means challenging republicanism for urging Catholics to look to a pan-nationalist front built with Catholic businessmen, Irish-American millionaires and the Southern establishment.

If that politics connects with a rise in class struggle, socialists can grow very quickly.

Questions for socialists

Can there be a revolution in Ireland?

by PAUL McCARTHY

by stirring up anti-Chinese racism.

So why aren't there more revolutions in Western Europe? Revolutions come about when the consciousness of workers co-incide with the contradictions in the capitalist system.

This can happen in different ways - the growing contrast between the incomes of the rich and the rest of society; the contradiction between the ideology of capitalism and the reality it produces or when workers enter into large scale confrontations with the employers or the government.

All of this has happened in Western Europe in the past. In fact, until the end of WW2 revolutions occurred regularly - in Germany in 1918 and 1923, in France in 1936, in Spain in 1936.

System

After WW2 capitalism stabilised as it underwent a long boom until 1973. The boom underlay the growth of a strong reformist tradition which encouraged workers to operate within the system.

Today it has changed again. We have reformism without reforms. Workers may look to social democratic parties to get rid of the Right but these parties cannot give any substantial reforms.

You can see this in the treatment of the former German Finance Minister Lafontaine. He offered mild criticisms of the European Central Bank and said that companies should pay a little more in tax. Yet he lasted less than 100 days.

Trotsky argued that revolutions happen when workers feel compelled to enter the stage of history to deal with pressing problems. They do not occur because workers have gone through a long period of passive political education.

Revolutions start when masses of people make simple demands that the system cannot grant. In Russia, the main slogans of the revolution were "land, bread and peace".

As capitalism in Western Europe faces a decline in growth rates and makes ever more demands for "give - back" from workers, it is easy to see how confrontations of the scale of the 1995 general strike in France can occur.

Whether or not these struggles will move to a revolutionary challenge depends of whether workers draw these conclusion in the course of the struggle itself.

The existence of a serious revolutionary party will be a major factor.

RIGHT-WING historians and commentators claim that revolutions belong to a different era or only happen in another part of the globe.

One argument they use is that the working class is ceasing to exist, as economies switch focus from the manufacturing to the service sector.

Workers are supposed to be increasingly middle class, buying into company share options and aspiring to home ownership.

But these arguments are flawed.

First, just because someone has traded in their blue collar for white, does not mean they have changed class. The service industry is increasingly made up of office and telesales staff, many of whom work in cramped boxes in subdivided offices.

They are poorly paid, especially when compared to their employers. They work long hours and are constantly lectured on the need to increase productivity and competitiveness. The service sector is notorious for being non-union and offers little or no job security to its workforce.

Education

Second, today's workforce face the same difficulties workers have always suffered - paying for accommodation, travel, health services and education for their families.

All these conditions point to the fact that despite the hype of the Celtic Tiger, it's still just the same old system run for the same old elite.

The existence of an exploited working class is the first pre-requisite for revolution. The second is that contradictions emerge which the system cannot overcome.

This is what happened in Indonesia this year. Prior to 1998, the economies of South-East Asia were hailed as the future of capitalism, all booming, with profits up and wages down.

Yet within six months these countries were in turmoil. Total economic collapse fuelled workers' anger at low-pay and dictatorial governments.

Indonesia was swept into the throes of revolution as workers and students overthrew Suharto, one of the world's longest standing dictators.

Suharto had been installed and propped up by US interests since the 1960's.

This was a great victory in the face of Suharto's immense wealth, control of the armed forces, and an attempt to split the movement

The fight for decent housing shows...

A proud history of class struggle

No one living in any Irish town or city could deny that we are in the middle of a serious housing crisis. The boom, fuelled by property speculation, is making massive profits for wealthy developers and their political friends. It is also putting house prices beyond the range of most Irish workers.

You might be forgiven for thinking that this was just a feature of the 1990's. However, a look back through the decades shows how the Irish working class regularly fought the authorities on the issue of housing. The good news is — they regularly won.

In the 1930's, Dublin had the worst tenements of any European city. In 1938, a Dublin Corporation survey found that 28,000 families lived in just 6,000 houses. 70 percent of them had only one room. These houses usually only had toilet facilities designed for one family. Tuberculosis was rampant and infant mortality high.

As far back as 1913, local government reports had recommended that these buildings were "unfit for human habitation" and should "as a first step be absolutely cleared away." As conditions worsened, anger grew against the Fianna Fail government which was supposed to be more socially minded than Cumann na nGaedhal had been.

The first Housing Action Campaign came from the Republican Congress — the left wing of the IRA and others who split from Sinn Fein in 1932. They saw workers' revolution as the key to the defeating British imperialism in Ireland.

The issue of housing was a good means of building roots in the working class and spurred many people to action.

The campaigns focused on the landlords. Lists were published in left-wing newspapers comparing the income of the landlords with that of their tenants. Residents in Gardiner St. were successful in getting the tenements knocked down and corporation flats built in their place.

In Cork city, after a fire in the tenements killed several children, protests forced the authorities to clear the slums and re-house their occupants.

In Moss St., where today residents are organising against high-rise developments, the issues were overcrowding and rats. Thirty people were arrested in Waterford following a battle between housing activists and bailiffs.

The activities of the Republican Congress brought results as Fianna Fail were forced to embark on a house building programme. The showed that mass action and not quiet lobbying



The fight against evictions today is the latest in a long line of working class fights over housing

brought results.

In the 1960's, housing agitation returned with much greater force. Just like today, property speculation put house prices beyond the reach of most workers. The labourers who were saved from emigration by the building boom were unable to afford the houses they built.

A damning report in 1961 forced Fianna Fail to plan the building of 4,000 new houses in north Dublin. But it never happened. In 1963, only 698 corporation houses were built in the city.

The boom showed up the class divide in Ireland as the rich moved to bigger houses in the suburbs and countryside. Contrast this with the fate of the four people who were killed in 1963 when tenements collapsed in Bolton St. and Fenian St.

In the face of a growing gap between rich and poor, many workers and students began to move to the left. When the Dublin Housing Action Campaign was formed it soon attracted huge support, including the more liberal Catholic clergy. It became clear that despite the hype about the modernisation of Ireland, a new era of prosperity for all was not on the way.

In 1968, a noisy protest of DHAC activists was thrown out of City Hall as they heckled the local councillors. A week later, twenty people were injured at Islandbridge when bailiffs tried to carry out an eviction on tenants who could not pay their rent.

Even the clergy were not immune

from the attacks of the Fianna Fail cabinet. Fr. Austin Flannery presented a TV show called Outlook, which regularly discussed the appalling housing conditions in Dublin. On one such show, another priest, Fr. Michael Sweetman, shared a platform with two members of Sinn Fein and the veteran communist, Michael O'Riordain. The Fianna Fail Housing Minister Boland denounced him as a "so-called priest."

The DHAC kept the pressure on the authorities and secured the construction of houses in Coolock and Ballymun. But more was needed. The waiting list for corporation houses rose from 9,000 in 1962 to over 11,000 in 1971.

The Simon Community reported an increase of homelessness, especially among the elderly. Many drank meths to keep out the cold of sleeping in a doorway.

Yet this was a period in which public housing was actually being built. Today, when nothing is being done, the situation is even more serious.

It was in the North that the housing action campaigns were to have their most lasting impact. Unionist controlled councils discriminated against Catholics on housing lists. In areas like Derry, with a Catholic majority, the

government gerrymandered the councils by housing all Catholics in one large area. When this land ran out, they had to choose between housing Catholics in Protestant areas or not housing them at all. As Eamonn McCann points out, they were only too happy to choose the latter.

The Derry Housing Action Campaign was founded in 1968, drawn mainly from the local Labour Party and the James Connolly Republican Club. It regularly invaded Derry City Hall, breaking up corporation meetings to draw attention to the housing crisis.

It quickly became the focus of all anti-Unionist feeling in the city, draining support from the Nationalist Party. They organised squatting in empty houses and picketed landlords who charged high rents. The local Housing Trust office had near daily protests outside.

One of their most successful campaigns centred on a family who lived in a tiny caravan in the Brandywell. It was described as "an oven in summer, an icebox in winter."

One Saturday afternoon, the HAC dragged the caravan onto a main road in the city. Leaflets were distributed and the mayor, police and local newspapers were contact-

ed.

As public support for the family grew, even the RUC were afraid to arrest the HAC for blocking the traffic. This protest was repeated every weekend until the family was guaranteed a house. This is a good example of how working class militancy can win real victories.

Housing proved to be the issue that set the scene for the Civil Rights movement in the North.

The Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association held its first march in Dungannon over another example of Housing Executive discrimination.

These marches culminated in the Burntollet Bridge incident where the RUC and a loyalist mob attacked the protesters.

As the housing crisis continues today, the HAC can learn from the experiences of the 1930's and 60's. The key to winning was mass militant action.

None of the housing campaign adopted a "partnership approach" with local councils because they knew they had to fight them.

Today as the housing crisis deepens, we also need to involve the organised working class in the unions and the workplaces.

Several union conferences have expressed support for the demands of the Housing Action Campaign. Now is the time to translate that into practical support on the ground.

by PAUL MCCARTHY

The CIA's cultural cold war

A new book by Frances Stonor Saunders, *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War*, is a fascinating and disturbing read.

The book tells how a CIA slush-fund sponsored tours by the Boston Symphony Orchestra — an American general apparently thought that “the Krauts” needed to be shown how to go about making music — and sponsored exhibitions of the abstract expressionist painters, Pollack and Rothko, who were supposed to exemplify American freedom.

Writers were sent on goodwill junkets and awarded their own magazines. The CIA spent over a million dollars a year publishing magazines such as *Encounter* and *The New Reasoner*. These pretended to have the loftiest of cultural credentials but functioned, as Saunders puts it, as “the police-review of American-occupied countries”.

The Cold War warriors in charge of this policy were sinister and cynical tricksters. For instance, Howard Hunt, a specialist in what the CIA called psychological strategy, wrote anonymous reviews for the Irish University Review and went on to become one of the Watergate burglars.

Former left-wing artists subsidised by their laundered loot were happy to accept fees and foreign gigs while asking no questions.

In book called *The God that Failed*, Stephen Spender, Ignazio Silone, Andre Gide, Arthur Koestler and Richard Wright all wrote articles explaining how their previous faith in Stalinism and been replaced with love for America.

The book was printed and published by the CIA who went on to produce over a thousand books.

Not all of those involved were formerly of the left. One leading cultural warrior, the poet Robert Lowell, while on a Latin American freebie, unilaterally declared himself “Caesar of Argentina” and clambered naked on to an equestrian statue in a Buenos Aires square to deliver an oration in praise of Hitler.

Influence

The CIA were not just interested in high brow art. John Wayne tamed the world for capitalism in a long succession of war films. He and John Ford were part of the CIA funded “Militant Liberty” group that checked films for communist influence. The CIA’s psychological warfare department bought the rights for George Orwell’s *Animal Farm* and made the cartoon of the book with an appropriate pro-western ending.

The main CIA front organisation that pushed all this nonsense, The American Committee for Cultural Freedom, declared: “We’ll have no more Grapes of Wrath, we’ll have no books or films show the seamy side of American Life.”

Despite its name the group was responsible for the removal of over 30,000 books from America funded libraries in Europe. These included books by Dashiell Hammett, John Reed, and Tom Paine. Writers who had been banned under the Nazis such as, Thomas Mann, Einstein, and Helen Keller, were banned again.

Painters like Pollock profited as the CIA embellished their mystique, and turned out gigantic canvases which looked good in the lobbies of American banks. But in general the CIA Committee for Cultural Freedom was hostile to artistic innovation.

US President Truman used to visit the National Gallery in Washington and attacked the “lazy moderns”. He would have preferred a gallery full of religious paintings.

Stalin and Hitler shared the same taste. Hitler burnt “degenerate modern art” and Stalin ordered artists to turn out socialist realist painting of happy peasants and productive workers.

The banality of Socialist Realism under Stalin was mirrored by cold war b-movies with names such as Red Terror and I was a Communist for the FBI.

All this was an enormous waste of money and would be laughable were not for the fact that at the height of McCarthyism, thousands lost their jobs. For all the talk of artistic freedom the most public aspect of the anti-Communist crusade was the witchhunt in Hollywood.

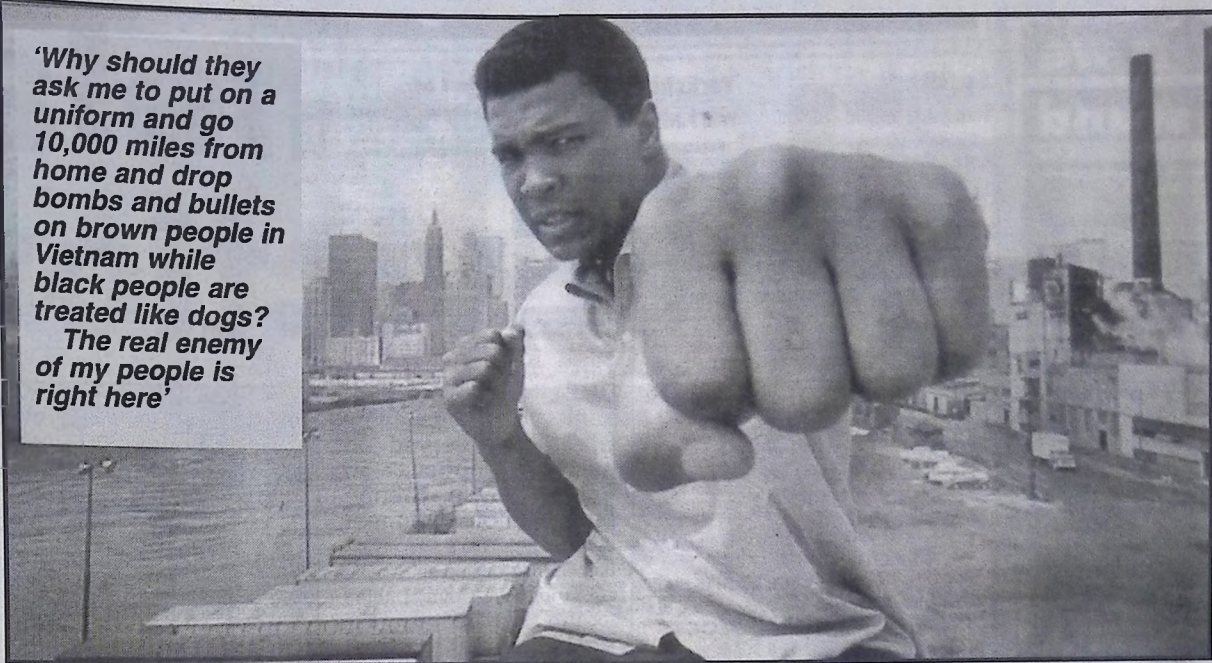
The cultural cold war was part of a secret war that included running drugs, planing assassinations, attempting coups, supporting dictators and overturning elections.

It was all in the name of freedom, and like all our rulers talk of freedom it was nothing but hypocrisy.

■ *Who Paid the Piper? The CIA and the Cultural Cold War* by Frances Stonor Saunders, Granta £23.

by SIMON BASKETTER

‘Why should they ask me to put on a uniform and go 10,000 miles from home and drop bombs and bullets on brown people in Vietnam while black people are treated like dogs? The real enemy of my people is right here’



STINGING BLOW AGAINST RACISM

MIKE Marquese's new book, *Redemption song: Muhammad Ali and the Spirit of the Sixties* has just been published.

Mike talked to MARTIN SMITH about Ali's life and the mass protests in the 1960s.

‘IT DISTURBS me that Ali is being turned into a great American hero.

What defined him more than anything in the 1960s was opposition to the US establishment. This was a man who refused to fight in the Vietnam War, was accused of being a traitor and was persecuted for his stand against racism.

I find it fascinating that the greatest popular icon of love and peace of the second half of the 20th century is a boxer.

The Vietnam War was the defining issue of the time. It polarised the whole country. It's hard to think of many rock 'n' roll heroes who stood out against it.

Yet a black American boxer from a working class background made the ultimate stand against the Vietnam War.

When he stood up against the draft in April 1967 everyone predicted that would be the end of his career.

He consciously risked going to jail for his stand. Everyone believed he would suffer the same fate as every other black American who had ever stood up against the US state.

But Ali had a great mass movement at his back and he was able to survive.

He didn't start out as a champion against racism. The young Ali had no intention of getting involved in politics. Early in his career he said, “I don't want no dogs or hoses on me.”

He said that at a time when black youth in their tens of thousands were out on the streets protesting and getting beaten up by the police. It's an extraordinary statement from the person who ends up being the most politicised figure in sporting history.

At the age of 22 Ali knocked out Sonny Liston and became the heavyweight champion of the world.

The next day he announced his conver-

sion to the Nation of Islam, at the time the most vilified organisation in the country. But the dynamic of the 60's forced Ali to act and speak out.

The 1960's were a brief moment when the culture of popular culture became radicalised.

In the early stages of his career Ali was very close to Malcolm X.

Greatest

Ali's greatest gift was his ability to shape the political and social significance of his fights. The most famous example was in 1965 when he fought Floyd Patterson. Patterson was known as “the liberals' liberal”. The

white establishment were desperate for him to beat Ali.

When Ali announced that he was to become a Muslim, Patterson said, “I want to fight Ali to regain the championship for America.”

In the ring Ali demolished Patterson. Ali knocked him down again and again, and every time he said, “Get up white America, get up white America.”

Even today it is great to see Ali walking through the streets of Brixton being cheered on by tens of thousands of people. He also endorsed the Drop the Debt campaign.

One of the most important reasons to

look back on Ali and this period is to get inspira-

tion. No sooner had I finished my book than the bombing of Yugoslavia began. I drew the lesson that just as Ali opposed the Vietnam war every-one should oppose this war.

If you isolate Ali from the great mass upsurges of the 1960's he would just be a great boxer and nothing else.

We can't all be great boxers like Ali, but we can all do what he did. We can all stand up and be counted. We can all protest and fight back.

Redemption Song: Muhammad Ali and the Spirit of the Sixties is available from SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Price £17.

The business of murder

THOMAS HARRIS has turned the subject of serial killers into a big business.

Since the success of *Silence of the Lambs* there has been a growth in the cult of the serial killer.

Sainsbury's supermarket magazine recently had this headline on its cover: “Inside the mind of a serial killer — the truth about the men who murder: PLUS . . . Delicious new ideas for autumn cookery.”

Hannibal is the third book in a series by Harris. It differs from previous books in focusing on the media's obsession with celebrities.

A shoot-out makes FBI agent Starling a target for tabloids and television. There is a thriving market in Hannibal Lecter memorabilia: the autographs he signed in asylum crayon being particularly prized.

Lector visits an exhibition of torture instruments not to look at the equipment but to watch the



Anthony Hopkins as Hannibal Lecter

crowd of voyeuristic visitors. It is a sharp point, though one on which Harris is himself impaled, because, *Hannibal*, is another such exhibition.

The world of the novel is corrupt and corrupting: The “standpoint of economy” prompts meat-kings to feed pigs with “ditch liquor, made of fermented animal waste”.

On airlines tourist-class passengers breathe “economically reprocessed air”.

In fact, Clarice Starling, the FBI agent, kills more people than the serial killer.

A large part of the success of

the Lector character is that he was unknowable. The first two books in the sequence, *Red Dragon* and *The Silence of the Lambs*, each had two principal villains, one of whom was eventually explained for us when we found out what had “made” him the wretch he was, while the other, Lector, remained merely evil.

He repudiated “the dead religion of psychoanalysis” and all expert attempts to shrink him into a “case”: “Nothing happened to me, Officer Starling. I happened. You can't reduce me to a set of influences,” he says.

Interestingly, in the latest instalment Lector has now acquired a childhood and with it the beginnings of an understanding.

But overall the whole phenomenon encouraged the most right wing ideas about crime — that the people responsible are beyond our understanding.

Hannibal by Thomas Harris, £16.99

—SIMON BASKETTER



Workers create all the wealth in capitalist society. A new society can only be constructed when they collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution.

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM
The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion.

To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:
The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class.

We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.

We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry.

We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party. This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system. The SWP aims to build such a party in Ireland.

SWP Branch meetings

- ATHLONE:**
Contact 01- 872 2682 for details
BRAY:
Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at the Mayfare Hotel at 8pm
BELFAST CENTRAL:
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St
BELFAST EAST:
Contact 01- 8722682 for details
BELFAST SOUTH:
Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Queens Students Union
CORK:
Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket
July 22nd: Republicanism and Socialism
July 29th: The Politics of Drugs
DERRY:
Meets every Thursday at 8.15pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St
DUNDALK:
Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details
DUN LAOGHAIRE:
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Christian Institute
DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre opp. Artane Castle
DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St
July 21st: Who are the working class?
Speaker: Conor Kostick
July 28th: Republicanism and Socialism
Speaker: Brid Smith
DUBLIN NORTH WEST:
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in the Vietnamese Centre, Hardwicke St (off Parnell Square)
July 21st: Why working class kids fail at school?
Speaker: Colm O'Riain
July 28th: Republicism and Socialism
DUBLIN RANELAGH:
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Tom Kelly Flats, Charlemont St. Community Centre
DUBLIN RIALTO:
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto.
DUBLIN RATHMINES:
Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St
DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St
DUBLIN TALLAGHT:
Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre
ENNISKILLEN:
Meets fortnightly on Saturdays at 4pm. Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue
July 17th: Was World War II a war for democracy?
Speaker: Joe McCarroll
GALWAY:
Meets every Thursday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square 8.30pm
July 22nd: Republicanism and Socialism
LIMERICK:
Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at 8pm. Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue.
TRALEE
Meets every fortnight on Mondays at 5.50pm Harty's Bar, Tralee
WATERFORD:
Meets every Thursday in at 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

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If you want to join the Socialist Workers Party, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

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Housing crisis

Pamela — 1 Evictions — 0

DUBLIN Corporation sank to a new low when they served an eviction notice on Pamela Foy, a twenty-one year old pregnant woman.

Pamela had been a sub-tenant at Cromcastle Court, Dublin, for two and a half years. She paid her rent regularly and had even overpaid the Corporation.

The eviction notice prevented Pamela from availing of tenancy rights which she would have had after three years.

However, Pamela's family made contact with the Housing Action Campaign to prevent the eviction.

Members of the Housing Action Campaign and the Socialist Workers Party began gathering at the flats along with local residents. There were 60 people waiting for the Sheriff at the appointed time. Confronted with this show of solidarity, the Sheriff never showed up.



Local residents protesting against the eviction of Pamela Foyle

million on Farmleigh mansion up in the Phoenix park to entertain their rich friends on the one hand and on the other they are trying to throw people in Pamela's position out onto the street."

A SIPTU shop steward who works on the night shift at Dublin airport brought four of his work-mates down to the picket.

He had been contacted by the HAC the night before and had spread the word around. "I'm well aware from my own experience of trying to find accommodation for myself and my family what the Corpo are capable of, but trying to evict a pregnant young woman is going a step too far. It's great to see people standing up for themselves and we will be giving as much support as we can".

After the picket was kept up for two days, the Corporation offered talks with Pamela, her mother and representatives of the local tenants association.

The corporation offered alternative accommodation but the Housing Action Campaign refused to lift the protest until a written guarantee was offered to Pamela.

The following morning the written assurance arrived to confirm that Pamela would be provided with a flat in Ballymun within three weeks. In the meantime they agreed to house Pamela in a proper hotel.

If people had simply respected the law as they were told, a young expectant mother would have been confined to B&B accommodation for months.

Instead protests have won a victory.

Alternative

Pamela spoke to Socialist Worker: "I have pleaded again and again with the corpo to let me stay or provide alternative accommodation but they haven't listened to me. They told me there was nothing they could do and that I would have to go to a homeless shelter - but I have a two year old child and am six months pregnant.

"They dragged me into court last November and the judge made them promise to find me something but nothing has been done.

"The stress has made my asthma a lot worse and two weeks ago I had to go into hospital for six days - it got so bad. I'm glad I took a stand and I was determined to stick it out to the end."

Many of Pamela's friends and neighbours came out to support her.

One of them, Bridget, said that "It is disgraceful that the government can lash out twenty three

UPDATE...

THE CAMPAIGN to stop the eviction of tenants in St. Ultans flats in Charlemont Street is still ongoing.

While the Corporation are continuing negotiations with the owners to take the flats into public ownership and all indications point to a successful outcome, the tenants involved are not taking anything for granted.

The Housing Action Campaign are determined to keep up the pressure until the sale goes ahead and firm guarantees are given that all the tenants will be housed.

Join the march to Dublin Corporation's offices to support the tenants of St. Ultans and to demand local authority housing.

ASSEMBLE 2.30pm, MONDAY JULY 19TH ST. ULTANS FLATS, CHARLEMONT ST. D2

CANCEL THIRD WORLD DEBT

The Fight for Socialism in Africa
Speaker: Antonater Choto (Zimbabwean socialist)
Mon. 19th July 7.30pm, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey St.

Oppositon to Orange Order in Portadown

THE PROTESTS at Drumcree have received massive coverage over the past few years but the other side of these sectarian marches has been the devastation of Potadown.

Already one large supermarket has closed down and many small businesses are struggling, due to the perception that Portadown is no longer a safe place to be.

This, and the marches and sectarian violence which have been stoked by the Drumcree crisis, have galvanised opinions in both Catholic and Protestant

areas against the Orange Order.

The protests this year were much smaller than expected, the death of the Quinn brothers having demonstrated the logical conclusion of Orange bigotry.

The Orange Order was reduced to bussing in people from all over the North to maintain their presence in Portadown.

Sectarianism is pushed people away from conventional politics in the North.

It is time that socialists provided the lead in pulling people towards class politics.

STUART HALFORTHY, Portadown

Letters to the editor

Agree? Disagree? write to Socialist Worker PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.



KEEP LETTERS TO SOCIALIST WORKER SHORT AND TO THE POINT...

NINE MONTHS after the German greens entered government for the first time, tensions and divisions are threatening to tear the party apart.

Hundreds of thousands of green party supporters were outraged by the Greens support for the war in the Balkans.

Now in the aftermath of the war it looks as if the split in the party has merely been delayed rather than avoided.

A small group of young centralists have

launched a campaign against leftwing Green's. They are supported by foreign minister Joschka Fischer, the parliamentary leader Rezzo Schlauch and former student radical, MEP Daniel Cohn-Bendit.

They have called for the expulsion of left-wingers from the party and are demanding the resignation of Jurgen Trittler, leader of the leftwing Greens and federal environmental minister. Already Tritten has

been forced by Schroder to block EU regulations which order the car industry to recycle used cars at its own cost.

The right in the Green Party are on the offensive, trying to usurp the Free Democrats as Germany's third major party and become modern liberal party which will see them doing deals with they very people they told us they would oppose.

SOPHIE, Berlin

news/reports/politics/industry/unions (01)8722682; fax (01) 8723838;
email: swp@clubi.ie web: www.clubi.ie/swp

Iarnrod Eireann

Strike against victimisation

LOCO DRIVERS took action in July against Iarnrod Eireann management's attempts to victimise officers of the Irish Locomotive Drivers Association.

The strike arose from an inquiry which was held in Cork following a derailment. Any worker may nominate another to represent them at such an inquiry. The driver involved in the Cork incident nominated Christie Holbrook, President of the ILDA, to represent him at the inquiry meeting.

But contrary to all accepted practise, the company refused to pay Christie Holbrook.

On the following Sunday train services came to standstill as members of all three unions, SIPTU, NRBU and ILDA refused to report for work in the Cork depot.

One driver told *Socialist Worker*, "This was an attempt to pick off the newly formed ILDA but we got magnificent support from drivers in the NRBU

and SIPTU. If the company does not provide a letter stating that Christie Holbrook will not be discriminated against in future, this dispute will go national next Sunday".

Two days before, services throughout Athlone and the West of Ireland were hit when the company tried to victimise Brendan Ogle, Executive Secretary of the ILDA.

Again the issue was the right of a driver to have an officer of the ILDA represent them at a meeting with management.

After the meeting management rang Brendan Ogle and told him an employee could have anyone represent him except Ogle.

Company

Brendan Ogle then demanded a letter from the company lifting this discrimination.

When it was not forthcoming trains were cancelled in Athlone and the stoppage spread to Ballina and Westport. By 9.00pm the company backed down and issued the letter Ogle had demanded.

only word for it. But the strike forced the manager to apologise.

"After the strike, head office told the manager to go on a course and learn some human relations skills."

Workers in the supermarket receive very low pay.

Standard

Another Ballymun worker told *Socialist Worker*: "The standard rate is £3.75 an hour which is a scandal. But a few of the young part-timers are even on £2.62 an hour."

"Morale has dipped so low that many of the staff that have been here for a few years left over the last few weeks."

"But the strike showed the managers they cannot take their workers for granted."

The IDLA was formed recently when a number of drivers left SIPTU and the NRBU complaining of bad representation and set up a new union.

What lies behind management's attempts to isolate the ILDA is the planned Viability Plan for the railways involving company demands for flexibility and other concessions from the workers.

The IDLA has rejected

the plan at meetings of its members. SIPTU and NRBU leaders still hope to do a deal and want to strangle the IDLA at birth.

These ambushes are designed to test the strength of the new union and if possible isolate its influence.

The IDLA claims more than a third of the 304 main line loco drivers are members of its union and that members of all other unions have supported its stance.

Builders

Victory over Sub-contracting

BRICKLAYERS and labourers at the Dublin City Development site have scored another stunning victory in their battle against sub-contracting.

The company, which is involved in building the St Raphael's Manor housing site in Celbridge, Dublin, is owned by Sean Dunne who is reputed to be close to Finance Minister Charlie McCreevy.

Last year Dunne was involved in building a new house for McCreevy.

The building workers on the site were originally told they had to work the sub-contract system. This saves the

employer money as they do have to pay proper PRSI stamps or holiday pay or wet time pay.

The seven bricklayers and three labourers involved demanded full PAYE employment. They mounted pickets on the site on a Thursday and brought work to a stand still.

The company threatened them with legal action, sending a registered letter to the house of every one of the strikers saying that they would be personally liable for any losses.

Intimidation

However the workers did not bow to this legal intimidation and the pickets were kept up.

A week later a meeting was arranged

in the Construction Industry Federation Headquarters and most all the workers' demands were conceded.

The company agreed to put them all

on PAYE employment.

They were to be paid £18 an hour - which is one of the highest rates on housing sites.

As one activist put

it, "Who says traditional trade unionism is out of date. Social partnership is a joke."

"We need strong union activity to secure workers rights."

Bosses sue brickies

BRICKLAYERS are facing the threat of further legal action as Kilburn Developments, a labour only sub-contracting company, takes them to the High Court.

The company which is owned by Martin Young has done contract work for the larger building firm McNamara on a regular basis.

Members of an unofficial group Building Workers Against Intimidation

have mounted pickets on the firm following their refusal to end the practice of labour only sub-contracting. Sites at Beaumont and the City West Business Park have all been affected.

Threats

The pickets had to put up with threats from scabs. Threatening phone calls and video camera have all been employed to break their morale.

The contracting company has now decided to take the legal route and have named the chairman and vice-chairman of the Dublin Branch of BATU as being responsible for the pickets. They are suing them for substantial damages.

Legal action was used before to jail two building workers who had demanded the right to PAYE employment.

The fact that an employer can once again go to the courts shows what a scandal the Industrial Relations Act really is.

At their conference in Killarney the ICTU unanimously condemned the use of the act to intimidate workers.

If the legal proceedings now progress against the bricklayers result in fines or jail sentences, the ICTU will have to match their words with deeds.

attempt to stifle debate.

Two delegates to the conference, SWP members, Jimmy Kelly and Richie Brown argued that sectarianism meant that one third of the workforce in Northern Ireland earned less than £5 per hour and that the union had to give a lead in opposing this sectarianism.

They succeeded in getting the conference to reject the executive's statement

Motions from branches in Ireland that called for an end

to the Diplock Courts, the repeal of all emergency legislation, and an end to all discrimination on the basis of religion and political opinion was passed unanimously.

The rank and file showed that they are not prepared to be classed as two tribes - Unionist/Protestant v Catholic/Nationalist, that can't be trusted to debate any of their different views as trade unionists in the same way as all other members of the union.

Waterford mutiny

THE 18 seamen who walked off the Russian registered vessel the Firyuza when the ship docked in Waterford port recently are still protesting.

The crew have not been paid in over 3 months and they are owed over £20,000 in back wages.

The seamen are refusing to leave the ship or let it leave port until they are paid.

Management are still

Tara Mines

Nationalise the mine

THE BOSSES at Tara Mines in Navan are still threatening closure of the mine unless workers accept even more cuts in their conditions.

The company want to cut the 630 miners' earnings by 25 per cent and introduce 10-hour shifts underground.

But even with the current working hours Tara Mines already has a dangerous record of accidents - 15 workers have lost their lives in the mine.

Management complain that the mine is losing \$200 for every tonne of

zinc mined, yet the workforce received no extra money when the mine made profits of \$85 million over the last 10 years.

Why should they pay for the losses of the profitable multinational just because the price of zinc has fallen because of the madness of the international market?

The company claims to have no money yet it currently is attempting to buy Bula Mines off the receiver.

The Bula site is next to Tara and would be a major expansion of the company's mining operation.

Unfortunately the unions have followed a

partnership approach with the Outokompu, the Finnish owners.

SIPTU leaders have offered the company 90 percent of the cuts. The union is proposing that workers give an extra 6,000 working hours for free and has offered savings of £1.4 million.

Yet every time the workers make concessions management comes back for more.

Target

They achieved a production target of 2 million tons per year but management said that had to be pushed up to 2.5 million. Last year that target was reached and they still wanted more.

In the last few years up to 500 jobs have been lost at Tara Mines. It's time the unions in Tara Mines stood up to this intimidation and faced down the bullying tactics of this company.

Instead of the mine company been in the hands of the thuggish owners it should be nationalised.

The state used to own 25 percent of Tara Mines but Charlie Haughey sold it off in 1989.

The solution now is to take the Tara and Bula mines back into public ownership to save jobs.

Johnny Fox's

STRIKERS AT Johnny Fox's pub in Wicklow have been attacked while on picket duty.

Men wearing balaclavas and carrying pump action water pistols attacked the picket line, spraying the strikers with a mixture of ink and water.

Security guards employed by management have also been seen shouting sexual insults at young female strikers.

Workers in the pub have received no pay increases in over five years and did not get any increments under PCW or P2000. Conditions in the pub are intolerable with many workers forced to work 10 or 12 hour shifts. Management often dock wages for taxi fares and other expenses.

Wages

One of the workers told *Socialist Worker* how one worker received a minus £5 in his wages after working a 42 hour week.

Management who initially refused to meet with the workers' union, MANDATE, have agreed to go the Labour Relations Committee.

But despite the intimidation and bullying of management the strikes are determined to stay out until they win. As one worker told *Socialist Worker* "We are stronger than ever. Coaches are no longer passing the picket and not a single strikers has gone back to work".

Tesco

WORKERS AT the Tesco supermarket in Ballymun staged a two hour strike at the beginning of July.

This followed months of growing anger at heavy-handed management tactics and attempts to force through changes in work practises.

One worker at the store told *Socialist Worker*: "Since the arrival of the new manager a few months ago things have got very much worse."

"Young women workers have been told after finishing a twelve hour shift that they must stay on until 10pm. They are told they have no choice."

"One lad was even locked in and told to sweep up the floors before he could go home. Sweeping up was never part of his job."

"I think bullying is the

N.I Post Office

POSTAL workers in Northern Ireland are worried about the new threat of privatisation.

In the past they had to organise against Tory plans to privatise the Royal Mail but now it is Labour which is following the same route.

Labour has announced that Royal Mail is to be turned into a Public Liability Company where the government will be the majority share holder. But this is only the first step to selling off the service.

On a recent Panorama programme Blair refused to give an assurance that the postal service would be kept in the public sector.

A worker at Belfast Tomb Street Office spoke to *Socialist Worker*, "Privatisation will mean speed ups and more attacks from line managers."

"A significant part of our pay already comes from productivity. If privatisation goes through, they will just push up the targets and turn the pressure on all of us."

"Our union also represents British Telecom and we have seen what has happened there. Tens of thousands of jobs have been lost."

"We don't want that happening in Northern Ireland where there is already a huge rate of unemployment."

"The union should embark on an immediate campaign of resistance"

Socialist Worker

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De-commissioning is a ploy because...

Trimble wants a permanent veto



THE BELFAST AGREEMENT WON'T END SECTARIANISM

TONY BLAIR'S Northern Ireland Act has opened the way for excluding Sinn Fein from the Executive. Yet Trimble is still increasing his demands on the republicans.

De-commissioning is being used to humiliate a major section of the Catholic population who voted for Sinn Fein. The Unionists are not worried about a return to war.

They know that the IRA leadership could not mobilise support for an armed campaign even if they wanted to. Their real purpose is to get Republicans to accept that they have been defeated.

Release

Today Trimble says that the release of para-militaries should be tied to de-commissioning. But even the Unionist government did not even demand de-commissioning before they released IRA prisoners after the 1956-1962 campaign.

Nor has Trimble anything to say about the 150,000 weapons that are in the hands on Unionists. After the Dunblane massacre in Scotland when the British government moved legislation to ban small arms, Trimble pleaded that an exception should be made of Northern Ireland.

Yet weapons from 'respectable members' of the Ulster Clubs

who were set up to oppose the Anglo-Irish agreement have been used to kill innocent Catholics.

Even today loyalists paramilitaries in Carrickfergus have announced that their aim is to ethnically cleanse Catholics from the town.

Focusing on IRA weapons hides the fact that the Northern state was built on a history of violence. Yet only when that sectarianism is uprooted is there a lasting basis for peace.

There is an alternative to communalism

THIS YEAR more people than ever left Northern Ireland in order to escape the 12th of July.

"They left not so much from fear but because they are sick and disgusted about how nothing has changed" is how one Belfast socialist put it.

At the start of the peace process,

Gerry Adams said that the Protestant population needed a 'de Klerk type figure' who would compromise.

The equation of Protestant workers with white South Africans was particularly stupid because there are no Catholic maids cleaning swimming pools in East Belfast.

But the republican view that an accommodation could be reached

BLAIR'S LATEST moves shows how unstable the Belfast agreement is.

Under pressure from the Unionists he has demanded that total IRA de-commissioning must take place by May 2000.

Even if the IRA gives up some weapons the Unionist Parties can always insist that they have not completed de-commissioning.

The British government has given the Canadian General, de Chastelain, the power to say whether the IRA has completely disarmed or not.

De Chastelain was a Canadian army general when

his troops committed terrible massacres in Somalia.

De Chastelain cannot look under every stone in Northern Ireland. He will rely on the RUC to give him 'intelligence reports'.

Rejected

Yet this is the same RUC who are rejected by all nationalist politicians. Faced with the threat of disbandment, they will work with Unionist politicians to undermine the power-sharing executive.

All of this shows that even if Trimble agrees to enter an executive, Northern Ireland will still be run on sectarian lines.

with those at the top of society was equally wrong.

The reality is that sectarianism can only be uprooted in the course of a class struggle which unites Catholic and Protestant against the 'fur-coat' brigade on all sides.

Working for that future offers a far better prospects than hoping that Trimble and Adams can deliver a genuine accommodation.