

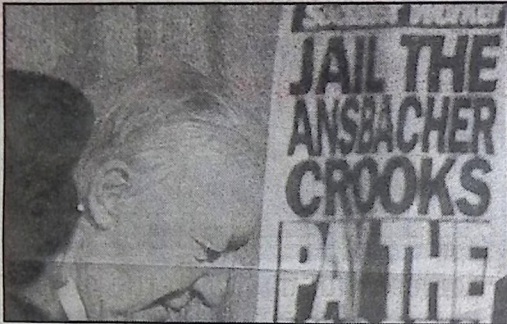
Socialist Worker

inside

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



KEEP A CABIN FOR HAUGHEY

IT IS three years since Charles Haughey admitted receiving £1.3 million from Ben Dunne.

In 1995 Dunnes Stores was liable for £30 million in tax payments because the family trust was being dissolved. Yet after Dunne handed over the money, their tax bill was overturned and the family trust was reformed.

In other words, Ben Dunne got a favour in return for the bribe he paid Haughey.

Yet Haughey is still walking about a free man. The appeal by the Revenue Commissioners for Haughey to pay his taxes on the bribes has now only opened. Originally Haughey got off because Ahern's brother-in-law, Ronan Keating, ruled he had no taxes to pay.

Not only should Haughey pay his taxes but he should be jailed for taking bribes.

Yet instead of locking up crooks like Haughey, this government is targeting refugees.

One thousand refugees are to be confined to 'flotels', which is simply a fancy word for prison ships.

These refugees never robbed this country. They did not help the rich to avoid their taxes and so deprive the poor of valuable public services. Unlike Haughey, they have suffered terribly for their beliefs.

Instead of confining decent hardworking people to 'flotels' it is crooks like Haughey who should be occupying the cabins.

ON THE 'FLOTTEL'

RUC run riot

DOZENS OF police in riot gear saturated the Holylands area, near Queens University, on St Patrick's night attacking students with batons.

Local SDLP politicians have backed the RUC version of events, claiming that students in the area are "out of control". But students present on the night report that they left local bars to be confronted by a wall of riot police.

It was only after this provocation that a number of students began throwing bottles and bricks at the police.

Bystanders were beaten to the ground by riot cops. Over 55 people packed into a public meeting at Queens University last Thursday, to protest at the actions of police.

One woman described how a police baton broke her arm as she bent down to help pick up a friend.

Others told how they had been confronted by police as they tried to make their way home and beaten across the legs.

The meeting overwhelmingly endorsed a call for a march in the Holylands on Thursday 6 April to protest at police brutality and slum landlords.

School students forced to work

A RECENT survey highlights the abuse of young workers in the Celtic Tiger. Over half of the 614 secondary school students interviewed were also working part time, up to twenty

hours per week. The work was usually in bars or supermarkets and the average pay was only £3.74 an hour.

Although sometimes they worked for extra money, poverty was a factor too, with over one third of those surveyed passing on money to their parents.

It is disgraceful that students should feel compelled to work during the school week.

Teachers agree that it always affects the quality of education that students receive. 54 percent of the students actually used their miserably low wages on school expenses.

Bank Bosses Bonaza

THE EXECUTIVES of the AIB all received a 21 percent pay rise last year. The workers in the bank were restricted to 1.5 percent under Partnership 2000.

Top of the tree in the AIB is Frank Bramble who took home a whop-

ping £1,245,000 in his pay packet, but even those poor executives on less than Frank average about £600,000.

The top five bank executives for AIB "earned" as much as 313 of their full time employees.

This from a bank who still owes hundreds of millions in unpaid tax from the DIRT scam.

STOP THE EVICTIONS ... STOP THE EVICTIONS ...

Bosses take action



Even the bosses are putting up pickets! Four fat cats including Esat's Denis O'Brien demanding a bigger share of the Celtic Tiger

Build Public Housing Now

"I CANNOT believe this is happening in the middle of the Celtic Tiger.

Myself and my family and neighbours are being evicted from our homes so that some landlord can get even richer by selling our home. He doesn't care if we all have to sleep on the streets."

This is Brendan O'Neil. He lives in the flats at Landstown Valley where his landlord, is trying to evict all the tenants. Brendan spoke to Socialist Worker about his battle to save his home.

"In the Summer of 1998, the landlord began his attempts to get us evicted. He let the complex fall into a state of complete disrepair. He stopped all maintenance. The drains became clogged and water seeped into the flats.

"Rubbish began to clog up the shoots and the place was infested with rats. The smell was unbearable, you had to run up the stairs holding your breath. The whole place was a health hazard.

"Those tenants who could afford to leave did. The rest of us were forced to stay - we had nowhere else to go. A year later we still have no choice as the housing crisis has gotten even worse.

"Things got even worse when he got the sheriff to try to evict four tenants three days before Christmas. We mobilised our friends, neighbours and supporters in the Housing Action Campaign and SWP. After the mass public support and the media coverage Quinn backed down.

"Then on 21 March he once again tried to evict us. We barricaded the flat so that no one could get in. The sheriff never turned up and we are continuing the occupation.

"All the corporation can offer us is temporary accommodation in a B&B which is completely unsuitable for a family. They told us we would have to wait at least 18 months for a house.

"This whole situation has opened my eyes up to the reality of this so-called Celtic Tiger. It's a Tiger for the rich but ordinary people get nothing."



Atlantic Tax Haven

THE BUSINESS audit section of the Revenue Commissioners is so understaffed that it will take 121 years to check all the traders who were registered in 1999.

There are now only 5 employees

responsible for monitoring Dublin's rapidly growing private rented sector.

These shocking figures were revealed by the president of the tax officer's branch of IMPACT, Ms Pearly Kellegher.

No wonder the Celtic Tiger has become one big off-shore Atlantic tax haven for the rich.

Corruption scandals North and South

State sell-off to FF businessmen

WHILE MARY O'Rourke, was attacking the bus workers, new evidence has come to light about her role in a scandal involving Charlie Haughey.

The Moriarty tribunal is investigating the controversial sale of the site of the former teacher training college at Carysfort.

O'Rourke had opposed the closing down of the Carysfort college but when she became Minister for Education, she was involved in the sale of the site to the developer Pino Harris. He made a £1.5 million profit

over night when he resold the land to UCD. UCD bought the land at an inflated price with state money after Haughey, and O'Rourke met Laurence Crowley of the UCD Graduate Business School to put pressure on them to buy the site.

O'Rourke told the Dail in 1991 that the purchase was excellent value for money despite the fact that it had only cost £65 million weeks before.

Pino Harris was a well-known Fianna Fail businessman who supplied the party with a fleet of vehicles at election times.

Just the sort of character that O'Rourke wants to sell off parts of Dublin Bus to today.

FF most corrupt in Europe?

A CONFIDENTIAL report into mismanagement amongst European political parties has singled out Fianna Fail's group for the toughest criticism.

The Court of Auditors investigation warns of poor accounting and loose controls within EU parties, who receive

£24m in funds through the European Parliament.

Fianna Fail had according to the auditors the worst record for accounting in the EU.

They were criticised for having too many "study days" abroad on expenses.

"The payment and salary scales were not subject to written rules and significant disparities were uncovered in the amounts paid to different agents in the absence of any proof of payment," states the report.

FREE THE GLEN 4

FOUR GLEN of the Downs protesters remain in prison in Mountjoy after defying a court injunction to leave the Glen.

Dominic Wolfe, Michael Hammond, Tony Baird and Dianne Hogker have been imprisoned for refusing to give up their right to protest.

The activists who are currently on hunger strike are demanding that all work on the Glen stop until after their trial date.

They have also been denied any access to the press or media. Their treatment is a direct contrast to that of rich crooks and tax dodgers like Haughey and Burke who stole money out of the pockets of ordinary people.



UUP councillor arrested for corruption

CORRUPTION IS not confined south of the Border. A leading Ulster Unionist was arrested last week for stealing from the government agency he worked for.

Thomas Gribben who served on Banbridge Council and the UUP

executive was charged with stealing over £20,000 from LEDU, where he was an accountant.

He is charged with stealing cheques worth £12,500 and £10,000 and having forged them to himself.

No wonder Fianna Fail are so fond of the Northern Ireland's Tories.

They could probably teach them a thing or two.

what we think

Pay revolt is set to grow

THE GOVERNMENT and the employers have locked workers in another partnership deal which is supposed to last nearly three years. But the new Programme for Prosperity and Fairness will not stop the looming pay revolt.

Strikes on the buses and the trains show workers do not feel bound by the industrial peace clauses.

The Celtic Tiger has the highest rate of inflation in the EU and this has forced many to borrow heavily.

Last year, for example, borrowing grew by a staggering 30 percent even though the Central Banks recommended that any increase over 10 percent was dangerous.

With increased interest payments, many workers find they cannot repay mortgages and car loans unless they get higher wages. They voted for the partnership agreement as baseline increases that can be improved on.

Rebellion

This, of course, is not how the union leaders see it. They are acting as policemen for the new deal and will rush in to extinguish every act of rebellion. They claim that because the majority voted to accept it, no group has a right to seek higher increases.

But who voted for rail maintenance workers to be confined to a miserly wage of £210 a week?

And who agreed that NRBU members would be forced to accept low wages even though they never negotiated on the deal?

Wages are the only item that is controlled in Ireland's deregulated economy. No one is allowed to vote on limiting bank profits to 5.5 percent increases or to restrict property speculators to increases which only match the level of inflation.

As long as this is the case any group of workers have a right to seek higher wages - no matter how the majority voted.

Far from the partnership vote crushing the Left, the struggle for the heart of the labour movement has only been postponed.

Opponents of social partnership need to re-group and form broad based networks inside the union that advocate a return to militancy and socialist politics.

One of the first opportunities to do this comes with the Vice Presidential election in SIPTU. Carolann Duggan is the only rank and file candidate who stands for this approach.

Every member of SIPTU who is a supporter of this newspaper should canvass for a vote for her - and help spread the rank and file revolt.

Strike wave in France



SOME of the biggest strikes and protests seen in Europe in recent years have gripped France. Over 800,000 teachers and education workers struck in France against the Socialist-led government's underfunding and attacks on schools. A quarter of a million people joined demonstrations across the country including tax workers, health workers and engineering workers who have also held mass strikes recently. The strikes represent a deep radicalisation to the left, which has marked the whole of French society in recent years.

Peace without the process

David Trimble's narrow win over Martin Smyth shows that a large section of the Unionist Party cannot accept the mildest reforms contained in the Good Friday Agreement.

Smyth appealed to those who insisted on keeping a 'Royal' police force and in stopping any concessions to Catholics. Trimble is equally un-

enthusiastic but feels there is little alternative but to go along with the British and Irish governments.

The assumption of the Good Friday Agreement was that sectarian structures needed to be managed rather than overthrown. Politics was supposed to be filtered through the communal blocks of Orange and Green and there was little scope for anything else.

But this only encouraged the Unionist party to emphasise decom-

missioning as a way of solidifying its base. After all they had little else to offer the majority of Protestant workers who face poverty and unemployment.

Outside of playing the sectarian game, the North's politicians agree on a right wing agenda.

On a BBC debate recently ex-IRA officer Gerry Kelly lined up with Trimble to condemn proposals for liberalising the law on soft drugs.

Despite the collapse of the execu-

tive, peace has not fallen apart. The issues which occupy the minds of many workers - the job closures or the discriminatory 11 plus exam - are as alive as ever.

Instead of waiting for Trimble to get back with McGuinness, we need to build a movement from below that challenges the system that both now defend.

Will Sinn Fein enter a coalition with Fianna Fail?

THE LEADERSHIP of Sinn Fein are considering entering a Coalition with Fianna Fail.

Irish Times reporter Renagh Holohan claimed their aim was "winning four of five seats at the next election, due within two years, entering a coalition with FF (the only party likely to accept them) holding the balance of power and taking a seat in Cabinet."

The issue provoked a sharp debate at an internal conference two months ago and may surface at the party's Ard Fheis in April.

It shows that Sinn Fein is looking in contradictory ways. In the South, it is using left wing rhetoric

to gain a base in working class areas - but in the North it is shifting to the right to gain greater support from the Catholic middle classes who traditionally backed the SDLP.

The left rhetoric in the South is useless if the end game is joining government with a party that presides over corruption and repression.

The Labour Party used to behave like this. In opposition, there was plenty of radical words but this was all dropped at the first sight of coalition with a right wing party.

Sinn Fein should not follow the same route but should rule out any alliance with FF.

Join the socialists

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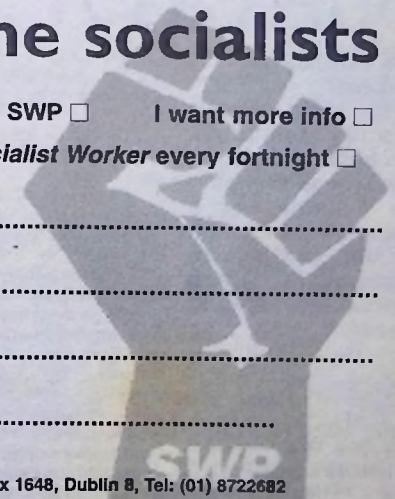
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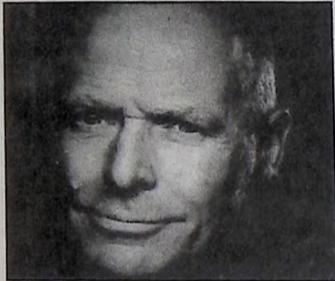
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Bloody Sunday Inquiry reveals...

Army planned to shoot civilians

EAMONN



McCANN

THE BLOODY Sunday Tribunal has provided a rare glimpse into the workings of the machinery of the State.

Documents published by the Tribunal show senior British officers calmly discussing shooting to kill unarmed civilians, and politicians colluding in their plans.

Take the minutes of a meeting on December 14th 1971 at Lisburn between the Tory Home Secretary Reginald Maudling and a group of senior officers, including the General Officer Commanding, Harry Tuzo.

Assault

Tuzo is quoted saying that, while he didn't believe an all-out assault on the Bogside was advisable just then, action would eventually be necessary "which would involve, at some stage, shooting at unarmed civilians".

Maudling replies that he has no doubt that "the military judgment was right".

Again, at a meeting of Stormont's Joint Security Committee just a fortnight before Bloody Sunday, Tuzo remarks that "the situation in Londonderry is a very difficult problem to solve within the law".

None of those present, who included Unionist Prime Minister Brian Faulkner, Home Affairs Minister John Taylor and the chief constable of the RUC Graham Shillington, expressed any surprise or



THE BRITISH army parachute regiment rush Rossville Street on Bloody Sunday where they shot 14 civilians

alarm at the idea of British soldiers going outside the law.

Literally scores of conversations along these lines have come to light through the Tribunal. They reveal a ruling class with no compunction about having admittedly innocent and unarmed people killed if that's what it takes to re-impose "law and order".

Notions such as the sanctity of human life, which they reverently refer to when they are denouncing "terrorists", don't enter their minds when they are planning their own political/military actions.

The Bloody Sunday operation was

aimed against the Northern Catholic working class. Systematically discriminated against over a long period, Catholic workers had risen up in the late sixties and directly challenged the State.

This was expressed and dramatised in the existence of "no-go" areas like The Bogside and Creggan.

So ruling-class anger was focussed on the people of these areas. But it could have been anybody who stood in their way. Every working-class person should pay heed to what is emerging from the Saville Tribunal and draw the appropriate, socialist conclusions.

DERRY BUSINESSMEN WANTED BOGSIDE CLEARED

ONE OF the most intriguing aspects of Bloody Sunday to emerge from the Tribunal has been the activities of business groups in Derry who took it on themselves to negotiate with government and military chiefs behind the backs of ordinary people.

There has been widespread publicity about a memo from the British Army's second-in-command in the North, General Ford, referring to a meeting with the "Strand Road Traders' Association" just three weeks before Bloody Sunday.

Thetraders were worried about unrest threatening the "business life of our city".

According to Ford, they demanded that blocks of flats in the Bogside should be "cleared" and the Creggan and Bogside "occupied". They wanted curfews on Catholic working-class areas and a policy of "shoot on sight".

In the memo, Ford uses these demands to back up his own view that "selected ringleaders" of Bogside "hooligans" should be shot.

What wasn't brought out at the Tribunal was that on the previous day, January 6th 1972, Unionist Prime Minister Brian Faulkner, at Stormont's Joint Security Committee, had instigated the meeting between Ford and the business group.

The leader of the traders' delegation was Robert Ferris, who happened also to

be a leader of the Unionist Party in Derry. In other words, it was a Unionist Party "coup" which led to the meeting taking place.

At the time, Faulkner was under severe pressure from right-wing dissidents in his own party and from Paisleyites to crack down hard on civil rights protestors.

What came together in this instance was a sectarian demand by Orange politicians to put the boot into nationalists, the gung-ho attitude of the military top brass which saw the North as a colony to be subdued, and the stripped-bare belligerence of a business group out to protect its profits at all costs.

Around the same time, a "Committee of 30", apparently drawn from Derry's Catholic establishment, was meeting regularly with police and British Army chiefs to discuss strategy for "restoring peace". Security chiefs evidently believed that, potentially at least, this committee had enough influence to marginalise Republicans and socialists and return the Bogside and Creggan to the "rule of law".

Nobody who was politically active in Derry at the time can recall this committee. Certainly, it had no mandate of any kind. But it was making agreements and offering commitments to the authorities on behalf of working-class people who at the time were bearing the brunt of the political crisis.

Catholic workers had no input into the "Committee of 30"—just as Protestant workers had no involvement in the Strand Road Traders' Association.

But property was purporting to speak for the people as a cover for pursuit of its own interests.

DUP BIGOT ATTACKS INQUIRY

THE DEMOCRATIC Unionist Party leader in Derry, Gregory Campbell, has been to the forefront in denouncing the Tribunal as a waste of money and a concession to nationalism which Protestants should resent.

It seems likely the Tribunal will cost tens of millions of pounds. But there would have been no need for a Tribunal at all if the original inquiry under Lord Widgery hadn't proven a patently dishonest farce. Nobody could read

The Widgery Report now without concluding that the Lord Chief Justice of England was a liar.

The picture emerging from the Tribunal shows the political and military machinery of the State treating the rights and lives of the people of the Bogside and Creggan as worthless. Campbell implicitly suggests that working-class Protestants should go along with this.

Campbell is expressing in relation to Bloody Sunday the attitude he urges on Protestant workers all the time. Protestants, he says, should examine every issue which comes up in terms of how it affects them vis-a-vis their Catholic counterparts, and automatically interpret anything which seems good

for Catholics as bad for Protestants.

This is the essence of blind bigotry. It invites workers to link arms with the military top brass against other workers. It is stupid and ignorant and of no use at all to workers from any background who have to make their way in a world rigged against them.

Many people who are in favour of the Saville Inquiry are opposed to the massive fees being paid out to lawyers. The Tribunals into political corruption in Dublin have attracted the same justified criticism.

Senior counsel are being paid stg.£1,500 per four-and-three-quarter hour day, plus £200 an hour for all additional "work". This is a scandal. Junior barristers, most of

whom won't utter a word throughout the proceedings, are on half this rate—and have gone to the High Court demanding two thirds!

Meanwhile, security staff employed for the duration are on £4.50 an hour, doing 12-hour shifts. Hired in accordance with fair employment laws, they are both Catholic and Protestant.

But would it ever occur to Gregory Campbell to call for support for the march in Belfast on April 8th for a £5 an hour minimum wage? Of course not.

Campaigning for decent wages has the potential to unite workers across the divide. And that, as his attitude to the Bloody Sunday Tribunal confirms, is exactly what Campbell is against.

Bus and Rail strikes:

A revolt of the low paid

DUBLIN BUS workers have won a £28.74 pay rise because they took militant action to end the scourge of low pay. Most drivers will also get an extra £4 shift premium.

The main bus workers union, the NRBU, has stayed outside the ICTU and is not tied to social partnership deals.

They showed that workers gain far more by taking action than by having cosy relationships with the bosses.

The struggle detonated a revolt of low paid workers when rail maintenance workers came out unofficially to join busworkers on picket lines.

"Our strike brought the city to a standstill and showed the government that we mean business. I never saw such a determined mood with everyone determined to stick it out"

This is how one bus driver, Rob, summed up the mood at Dublin Bus to *Socialist Worker*.

"I cannot believe the arrogance of this government. They want to give themselves a ten thousand pound increase but won't pay us a liveable wage."

Mortgage

Another driver Gerry, told *Socialist Worker*, "I work on average 60 hours a week. It's not out of choice. It's the only way I can pay the mortgage."

"Sometimes I feel like I never see my wife and kids. My situation is no different from the majority of drivers here"

"The support from the public was brilliant. I was worried about that after all the crap in the media."

"But it was just the opposite. People are wishing us luck and saying they support us."

"The government's crap doesn't work on them because their expe-

riences are just the same as ours."

The strike showed the power of busworkers to close a major city. Spontaneous unofficial pickets spread the strike to the DART and Bus Eireann depots.

They showed the government that they could not be intimidated.

The bus drivers almost unanimously turned down a proposal to provide a free bus service during peak hours.

If the army was used they were ready to mount mass pickets and appeal directly to the soldiers union, PDFORA

Although the leaders of SIPTU accepted the 'industrial peace clause' in the partnership deal, their members refused to pass the pickets. 30 SIPTU members attended an NRBU mass meeting and then went down to their own union headquarters where they forced union leaders to call a mass meeting to discuss making the strike official.

If SIPTU had made the strike official, social partnership would have collapsed.

This prospect plus the millions that businessmen lost forced the establishment to move very quickly and make concessions to busworkers.



"I never saw such a determined mood"

ONE OF the effects of the Celtic Tiger has been major traffic chaos.

The chaos would not have been as bad if there had been a decent public transport system.

But tax cuts for the rich have meant there is less money to go around. In 1987, for example, the subsidy

to Dublin Bus amounted to £15 million but today it has declined to half that figure.

The company was being subsidised by the poverty wages of bus workers who had to work around the clock to make up their earnings. As the Table shows Dublin Bus has the lowest subsidy to bus users in Europe.

City	Subsidy
Rome	74.5%
Paris	57.4%
Helsinki	55.3%
Athens	50.0%
Strasbourg	46.0%
Barcelona	39.4%
London	14.5%
Dublin	4.4%

Rail workers defy injunction to win

TRAIN STATIONS also grounded to a halt after maintenance workers placed unofficial pickets against low pay and the use of contract labour.

Workers were demanding a 30 percent pay increase. They were also objecting to management's demands for more productivity, like spread over-duties and 26 weeks of night work a year.

The maintenance staff took swift action after a disgraceful Labour Court recommendation backed up the company. They had an excellent shop steward network that allowed that action to be coordinated nationwide.

Several workers were suspended but in magnificent display of solidarity rail workers across the

country came out.

After less than two days of action the rail workers had won important concessions.

"This dispute has been going on for almost five years and all they keep demanding is more and more productivity. Slaves would be treated better than us" one rail worker told *Socialist Worker*.

Scandalously

Permanent way workers are on scandalously low wages.

The basic wage of a platelayer is £210.59 a week. Even though they work out in the open their meal allowance is a mere £3 a day.

Many of the staff are still temporary even after working for the company for four or five years.

The government and the com-

pany tried to intimidate workers with a High Court injunction. But workers stuck together and defied the law.

Maintenance workers have not been on strike since 1951, and the Labour Court thought they could treat them as lambs and rubber stamp the company proposals.

But the workers stuck to their guns. As a result of their strike the use of contractors has temporarily been suspended.

All suspended workers have been reinstated with no loss of pay or service. The Labour Court recommendations have been thrown out and new negotiations will continue until 7 April.

SIPTU officials have pledged to make their strike official if all the demands are not won — but the rank and file will need to keep a close eye on them.

Competition means privatisation

O'ROURKE and the government are claiming that competition is necessary and are planning to privatise bus routes, contract out buses and de-regulate the whole service.

Already they have contracted out the school service.

But competition does not mean better service. Competition brings in private companies whose only interest is in profit. Services suffer because companies cherry-pick the lucrative routes and times and ignore unprofitable services.

Safety suffers and corners are cut to boost profits leading to avoidable disasters like Paddington train crash.

In London, Ken Livingston is set to win the race for mayor because he is against privatisation. There is huge anger at the way private companies have been allowed to run-down services at the cost human lives all in the pursuit of profit.

Companies embark on union-busting and drive down wages and force up hours of work in order to underbid others for contracts. This is why the Irish Thatcherites want to introduce it in Dublin Bus.

More could of been won

THE DUBLIN Bus strike was called off suddenly at 3 am on a Monday morning without discussion or mass meetings and rushed a ballot was then held.

While important gains were made, the government was not forced to increase its subsidy to Dublin Bus. Instead workers had to make some productivity concessions.

More worryingly, the settlement is only an 'interim' deal. A special three-person committee will examine future productivity measures, which include the contracting out of services. They will use the fact that the pay rise is temporary to hook workers into accepting more productivity concessions.

All of this shows workers must always keep control of their own strikes.

No general secretary should have the right to call off a picket. Regular mass meetings and open discussion are the key to rank and file control.

Racism in America

Killer cops run amok in NY

On Saturday 25 March the coffin of Patrick Dorismond, draped with the American and Haitian flags, was carried to church in Flatbush, Brooklyn. 10,000 people turned out in anger and outrage as well as grief to mark his funeral.

Some of these pulled the American flag off, tore it to shreds and burnt the pieces. Dorismond had been shot in cold blood by the New York police.

1,000 police lined the streets during his funeral. Their very presence was an insult to the young man they murdered.

The father of the victim had one request 'Push the cops away. Every time I see the police I get upset.'

Thousands of New Yorkers felt the same way and gave vent to their emotion in what became a riot.

Outraged

That night New York television bulletins opened to the sight of the blue mass of the NYPD scuffling with enraged and outraged protesters.

Patrick Dorismond was the latest victim in a series of breathtaking murders committed by people who are supposed to protect society.

In the last 13 months the NYPD have shot and killed four completely innocent people. All were unarmed. All were male. All were black.

In a most recent, bizarre incident, a plain-clothes policeman asked Patrick Dorismond, a 26 year old security guard who was off-duty and unarmed, to sell him some marijuana.

Mr Dorismond, unsurprisingly, was offended by the question and reacted angrily.

In response to his anger, the police then shot him in the chest at point blank range and killed him.

As one school student said 'It makes me afraid for my own life, you understand. "Say no to drugs". They tell you in school to say no. So what happens now? Do you have to say yes?'

A day after the shooting, the Mayor Giuliani commended the bravery of the officer, Anthony Vasquez, who shot Dorismond, but offered no condolences to the Dorismond family.

Shortly after the shooting, Mayor Giuliani and the police commissioner Howard Safir revealed, Patrick Dorismond's police record which consisted of two arrests for disorderly conduct.

Disclosure of anyone's records is illegal while they are alive. There is no provision for after death. Clearly the city's authorities felt this was an appropriate response to their

by KIERAN ALLEN

forces killing an innocent man.

They did not immediately release Vasquez' record which included shooting his neighbour's dog and pulling a gun in a bar fight.

Giuliani's response to the fracas on Saturday was 'Decent people don't throw bottles at funerals'.

He went on to praise the police's restraint and professionalism.

Patrick Dorismond is simply the latest victim of the institutionalised racism that pervades the US system of justice.

In August 1997 another Haitian living in Brooklyn, Abner Louima, was handcuffed, beaten and sodomised in a police station by 4 police officers.

He was in hospital for two months after three operations for injuries including a ruptured bladder and colon.

On 4 February 1999, Amadou Diallo, an unarmed, 22 year old, Guinean street trader, was killed, again by undercover police, for standing in the doorway of his own apartment.

They thought he looked suspicious. He was holding something the police said they thought was a gun. It turned out to be his wallet.

A year later on 25 February 2000, the four (white) policemen, Kenneth Boss, Sean Carroll, Edward McMellon and Richard Murphy, who shot 41 bullets at him, hitting him with 19 of them, were cleared of all charges in an extraordinary trial.

After claiming that members of the NYPD could not get a fair trial in New York, their case was heard in the all-white area of Albany.

Thousands joined the several protests before and after the trial of the killers of Amadou Diallo.

A young black man, Malcolm Ferguson, was one of those arrested in these protests.

Five days after the four policemen who had killed Diallo were declared innocent of all wrongdoing, their colleagues shot and killed the unarmed Malcolm Ferguson, three blocks from where Diallo had died.

The NYPD has over 38,000 uniformed officers and 9,000 civilians in its force and receives an annual budget of \$2.4 billion.

No to prison ships ... No to r

Refugee welcome

THE GOVERNMENT announced they were establishing 'flotels' for refugees in the same week as a strike of bus and rail workers closed down the transport system. It was a deliberate attempt to divert anger from themselves on to refugees. The 'flotels' are in reality prison ships where entry and exits are controlled. They also are major fire hazards and are being abandoned by other EU governments

Most of the media have backed the proposals. They are whipping up a campaign to lay the blame for the housing crisis on the small amount of people who have fled poverty, famine, and war to try and rebuild their lives in Ireland.

Here *Socialist Worker* looks at some of the myths about refugees and asylum seekers.

● How many refugees are coming to Ireland?

THE UNHCR estimates that there are 43 million refugees around the world. Ireland has taken in 12000 of these in the last two years.

This is 0.2 percent of the amount of refugees internationally.

Ireland has one of the lowest population densities in the developed world. Thousands of acres of land are unused because it is being held back from the market by greedy speculators. In Holland, a country with a much higher population density and much larger refugee population, a more liberal system has led to



high levels of successful integration.

● Who are the asylum seekers?

AN EXAMINATION of the country of origin of asylum applications to Ireland over the last five years reads like a list of the world's top ten trouble spots.

They include Zaire, former Yugoslavia, Rumania, Somalia, Algeria and Nigeria.

The desperation of people to escape political and economic repression is reflected

in the horrific journeys they are forced to take on cramped, over-crowded cargo ship.

Recent figures by Amnesty International show that at least 823 people have died as a consequence of "Fortress Europe" either preventing the arrival of, or deporting asylum seekers.

● Are refugees to blame for the housing crisis?

IRELAND IS in the midst of a huge housing crisis. But refugees are not to blame.

In the 1970s, the government built up to 20,000 local authority houses a year and there was no housing crisis. Successive governments since then have pursued a deliberate policy of scaling down house building programmes. In 1999 only around 400 houses were built despite the fact that there are over 40,000 people on waiting lists.

Instead of devoting some of the £6 billion surplus to housing, the government reduced capital gains tax from 40 percent to 20 percent.

Neither are refugees living in luxury hotels. The majority live in hostels or B&Bs. This type of accommodation is totally unsuitable for people with families as they are forced to leave the accommodation during the day and roam the streets.

● What benefits do refugees receive?

AROUND 7,000 refugee families are in receipt of Supplementary Welfare Allowance which is the most basic money given to those who have no stamps.

Refugees who are in full board accommodation receive just £15 a week per adult and £7.50 per child. Those who are in self-catering or rented

A refugee speaks out:

"We are treated like thieves. There are security men and security cameras watching us all the time in the hostels. I fled political persecution but I am treated like a criminal"

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No to racism ... No to prison

Refugees are needed here



their home countries and could benefit Ireland. There is huge labour shortage in this country and Mary Harney recently announced that Ireland would need at least 200,000 additional workers from abroad if the economy is to continue current rate of growth. Refugees could easily fill this shortage.

They would be paying tax and could be part of the solution to the fact that an increasing proportion of the population are reaching the age of retirement.

● Why are the media whipping up racism?

SOME OF the most vicious attacks against refugees have come from the Sunday Irish Independent and the Evening Herald.

Tony O'Reilly who is the richest man in Ireland owns these newspapers. O'Reilly is no longer an Irish resident for tax purposes. He pioneered the use of off-shore accounts to avoid tax. No wonder he wants

us to blame refugees because the refusal of the rich to pay taxes has vandalised public services.

Fianna Fail politicians like Ivor Callely and Noel Ahern are also scapegoating refugees. Callely was an active supporter of Charles Haughey and wants to divert attention from the corruption that runs through Fianna Fail. All of them are worried about what will happen when the Celtic Tiger collapses and want to be able to play the racist card.

Roma Gypsies - A history of oppression

THE MEDIA in Britain and Ireland are targeting the Roma gypsies. There are no reports of the discrimination they face in Rumania.

The lives of gypsies since they left India at the beginning of the last millennium, has consisted of deportations, homelessness, interwoven with episodes of forced assimilation and massacre.

In Rumania, they were held as slaves for 400 years, until 1864 when slavery was abolished.

Under the Nazis, at least half a million were murdered. They were the only

group apart from the Jews who were targeted for annihilation on racial grounds.

The oppression of the Roma in Europe continues today. On March 2 of this year in Tirgu-Mures, Rumania, four policemen reportedly punched a drunk Gypsy to the ground and repeatedly kicked him.

A crowd of gypsies gathered around and a further 25 officers were called in to disperse the crowd, beating them, yelling racial abuse and spraying the children with teargas.

There have been 19 cases of police brutality against the gypsies reported

between 1996 and 1998, none of them resulting in the conviction, or even prosecution, of an officer involved.

Gypsy children (some 62%) are placed in schools for the mentally handicapped after little or no testing.

These children have absolutely no chance of further education or decent employment.

The majority of Gypsies who seek asylum in Europe are fleeing extreme persecution and poverty but everywhere they are met with further persecution and deportation.

What we think

THE CELTIC Tiger needs more workers but Fianna Fail needs more scapegoats. This is why they are looking both ways - introducing more work permits but attacking refugees and denying them the right to work.

The proposal to build prison ships and introduce a voucher system is a way of putting refugees into a quarantine so they are separated from the rest of the population. O'Donoghue hates the idea of a multicultural Ireland and even though immigration is necessary he wants to confine it to whites.

Anyone who wants more equality from the Celtic Tiger needs to stand up to the racist cam-

paign. Refugees and immigrants should be welcome here. They should be free to live where they want and not be 'dispersed' as if they were a burden to be shared around.

There is no contradiction between allowing in more immigrants and looking after the poor in Ireland. Just as Irish people helped to build up the economies of other countries, the skills and talents of immigrants can help build this country.

The Irish rich have never 'looked after our own'. They treat the Irish poor and refugees exactly the same. They want to deny us all a decent housing or a proper health service so they can maintain the lowest tax rates on profit and wealth in the EU.

That is why instead of attacking refugees we need to turn our anger onto the fat cat spongers at the top.

what do socialists say?

Leadership and the struggle

THE CAPITALIST view of the world divides people into leaders and led. It places the capitalists and their hangers-on at the top and the rest of us down below.

Increasing numbers of people are rightly rejecting this elitist picture of society. On a day to day level, every workplace is full of stories of blunders and laziness by directors and top managers.

The healthy distrust of leaders extends to those at the top of the working class movement.

We see Labour politicians and trade union leaders compromise with the bosses at the expense of those who elected them. It is tempting, therefore, to reject the idea of having any leaders at all. That would be a mistake.

Leadership is vital to winning any particular struggle against the injustices of the system, let alone to overthrowing capitalism.

The socialist vision of leadership, however, is the exact opposite of the capitalist view. It starts by recognising the tremendous power and abilities of the mass of people, who those at the top of society write off as stupid.

History is full of periods where ordinary people have suddenly risen up, challenged or overthrown their supposed betters.

People excluded from power and official society stormed the Bastille prison in Paris in 1789 and drove forward the French Revolution. Workers in Russia forced the abdication of the Tsar in February 1917 and went on to establish the first state in history run by workers and peasants.

Bosses in Russia and across the world

thought that the labouring masses were too stupid to run society and that the workers' state would collapse in a few weeks.

But it held on, despite invasion and military blockade, for a decade. Most struggles and acts of resistance fall short of revolution. All show the capacity of ordinary people to run society in a different way.

When Liverpool dockers fought for two years for jobs and union rights from 1995 to 1997 they and their family members discovered hidden abilities. Every struggle involves leadership at one level or another.

The Romanian dictator, Nicolai Ceausescu, called a mass rally in December 1989 which he expected to support him. Instead the crowd began booing and started a revolt which deposed him. Someone in the crowd was the first to boo. They provided leadership.

Such informal leadership is present everyday. Someone at work or college challenges a racist or sexist comment and helps create a climate where such ideas are not acceptable.

In any struggle some people have a clearer idea about what needs to be done, or are more confident about taking the first step, than others.

This is not because they are naturally gifted. They may have learnt important lessons from their own experience.

They may have learnt from discussions with other people or from previous struggles from history. Socialist leadership is about drawing such people together and building their confidence and capacity to change the world.

It is needed because the unevenness among people means there is always debate about how to

take a struggle forward.

Even among those who are most militant, some people will look to ideas and tactics which can win while others will look down blind alleys.

Ultimately, those who want to defeat capitalism need clear leadership because those who defend it have a centralised state machine.

Spontaneous revolts can shake the system and win hugely important victories, as happened with the ousting of Suharto in Indonesia in 1998. But shattering the capitalists' power as a whole and creating a new society requires leadership.

The Bolshevik Party gave such a lead and guided the Russian Revolution to victory in 1917. Its founder, Lenin, said that every member of a revolutionary socialist party is a leader.

Socialist leaders do not try and win battles on behalf of other people, but try to encourage as many people as possible to break with pro-capitalist ideas and resist the bosses' system.

Sometimes socialists find that workmates, neighbours or other people around them suddenly become fantastically angry at the system.

Socialists can find themselves behind those whom they thought they were in front of. That is why a revolutionary party constantly has to learn from and draw in the most militant people. It has to get all its members to develop the understanding of the system and develop the confidence of those who at any one time are showing how best to build the fight against capitalism.

by KEVIN OVENDON

OUT NOW

Ideas to change the world
★ Socialist Review



From your Socialist Worker seller or from P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8

g some of s to hous- t reduced n 40 per-

accommodation receive rent allowance and cash payment of £72.50 a week which is exactly the same as any unemployed person.

But the government is trying to replace these meagre cash payments with a voucher system. These vouchers would only be redeemable in certain shops and would mean, for instance, separate queues for refugees in supermarkets.

● Are refugees just milking the social welfare system?

ASYLUM SEEKERS are not allowed to work and are forced to depend on social welfare.

Less than 200 work permits have been given to refugees even though last year O'Donoghue promised to allow them off the dole.

Refugees are almost exclusively young. They have skills and abilities, which are lost to

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Time to organise to fight the system

The Socialist Workers Party recently held its annual conference with over 100 delegates in attendance from across Ireland.

Grace Lally opened the conference. "We have entered a period which is characterised by the growth of an anti-capitalist mood.

"In some cases this has crystallised into definite movements and milieus as was seen in Seattle itself or on a smaller scale through growing links between people who identify 'the system' as the problem.

"Beyond these milieus there is a massive audience who reject the values of neo-liberalism. Across Europe this audience looked to social democratic parties but as these parties have never broken from the market, they are facing splits and tensions. The key challenge facing socialists is to break with all inward looking habits and immerse themselves in the growing anti-capitalist movement. Our task is to link that movement to the organised working class."

Owen, a striking bus worker, spoke of the new confidence people were gaining through the strike and went on to argue "The bus strike is just one battle in the war. The bosses will come back after us. If we not organised then the ruling class can claw back pay rises. What we have to do is build a working class revolutionary party that can organise the fight to tackle the system."

A student from Trinity College explained "We went from making links with the different societies, to calling joint protests, to organising a Conference against Capitalism which drew in over 100 people. This type of united front activity has created a huge audience for socialist ideas and one of our members has been elected as the Student Union president."



Fighting racism

RICHARD BOYD Barrett spoke on the rise of racism "Racism is being actively encouraged by establishment political parties, in particular Fianna Fail. It is being used to divert attention away from the real source of problems in society.

"However, this has also pro-

duced a strong anti-racist sentiment among a substantial minority. This minority must tie their anger against racism to opposition to corruption and poverty."

A civil servant said, "We campaigned in Coolock under the slogan 'Defend the rights of Refugees' but the response was poor. You have to link the fight against racism to anger at the system. You will gain support when you argue that it is corrupt politicians who should be

High price for partnership but workers will look for more

THE SWP'S Industrial Organiser, Brid Smith opened the session on the unions. "The result of the Partnership deal was a higher Yes vote than last time, but the bosses had to

pay a high price to get the deal.

"They believe their own propaganda that the Celtic Tiger will boom for ever. Yet the alarm bells are already ringing. The Celtic Tiger is tied to the US boom which has floated on share price specula-



tion and high levels of debt.

"What is remarkable is that before the ink was dry on the deal, the bus workers were tearing up the restrictive clauses of the deal. The potential for the strike to be the first blow in a revolt against the inequalities of the Celtic Tiger shouldn't be underestimated."

A primary school teacher said, "The majority of teachers have voted against partnership for the first time. Even though INTO leader Joe O Toole was a key figure in the ICTU we were able to pull together a high profile opposition to the Partnership Deal."

"This has laid the basis for pulling people together at a rank and file level to push the fight for further militancy in the unions."

A nurse spoke, "Workers are saying they will take the rises under partnership and put them in our back pockets. But they will be back for more. What else could you do with inflation rising?"

A Council Worker reported how socialist ideas had been central to the refuse workers strike in Bray. "It was Socialist Worker that covered the strike. It was SWP members who carried the arguments to build support and called the street protests that made the council back down. Management were convinced that everyone was SWP. Unfortunately they're not - they should be though."

Build the party

KEVIN WINGFIELD introduced a session on Socialist Worker. "Socialist Worker is not just a paper with the best political ideas on the left - it is also an organiser of working class opposition. The paper buyers of today, are the members of tomorrow.

Shay Ryan a community worker recounted how someone that he had been selling the paper to for four years had joined the organisation that week. "Obviously this was in part because of change in the political atmosphere but also because we have been getting the paper to her regularly. There are thousands of people interested in socialist ideas. We need to be organised to get the paper to them."

Kieran Allen spoke about how the SWP is changing "Over the past number of years we have become used to recruiting individuals here and there.

"Now people who join the SWP don't want to be part of a small organisation - they joined to build a mass party that is going become a factor in Irish history. None of this is simply wishful thinking because dramatic growth is now possible. For instance over a hundred people have joined the SWP in the last two months.

"The SWP has to rise to the tasks ahead. Our branches need to be turned into storm centres of agitation where socialists learn the tactics and strategies needed to lead big struggles."

Jackie from Rathmines said, "If you look at what we are involved in just this week: - building solidarity for the Bus strike, mobilising against racism and fighting evictions in Drimmagh, we have to grow as a party in order to keep up with the level of struggle of ordinary people."

Mamie Holborow said "We are in a period akin to the years running up to the major explosions of 1968. The level of political generalisation is even higher than in the years preceding 1968 coming as it does after 15 years rampant neo-liberal economic policies. Under these conditions there is an unprecedented opportunity for the growth of revolutionary organisation. Now is the time to make a qualitative leap forward."

An opening for class politics in Northern Ireland

COLM BRYCE introduced a discussion on Northern Ireland. "Northern Ireland is not an exception to the growing anti-capitalist mood. There is a growing class bitterness, which is finding more opportunities for expression since the ceasefires.

"The paralysis in the peace process exposes the fallacy of relying on communal politicians to end sectarianism. The main political leaders have no solution to the problems faced by ordinary people and therefore use issues like decommissioning to shore up their communal support. The brief experience of the NI Assembly showed that it locked into sectarian rivalry, especially over issues such as hospital closures.

"The blame for the current crisis lies firmly with the Ulster Unionist Party and the British government who are prepared to risk the peace for their own short-term interests. But there is also a major crisis for Sinn Fein's peace strategy, which has been based on accepting Unionist politicians as the legitimate representatives of all Protestants and the British government as 'persuaders of Unionism'."



An SWP member from Belfast described the success of an initiative to taking an open letter around West Belfast shop stewards in support of the Harland and Wolff workers as an example of how socialists can practically intervene to overcome communal politics.

"The crisis at Harland and Wolff is not just an industrial issue, but also has enormous political implications for challenging communal and sectarian politics."

in my view

Apology not accepted

DURING HIS recent visit to Israel the Pope assured Jewish people that "the Catholic Church . . . is deeply saddened by the hatred, acts of persecution and displays of anti-semitism directed against the Jews by Christians".

This was coupled with an 'act of contrition' on behalf of the church by the Pope and the publication by the International Theological Commission of Memory and Reconciliation: the Church and the Faults of the Past.

There is certainly much to apologise for. Throughout its 2,000 year history the Church has perpetuated numerous acts of atrocity throughout the world all in the guise of bringing God's message to the world.

The complicity of the Church in the genocide of the Jews is passed over as "a sad historical fact" and no specific details are given. There is no mention of the fact that the Vatican's response to the Vichy government's anti-semitic law, passed in 1942, was that "In principle, there is nothing in these measures which the holy see would . . . criticise".

Pope Pius XII never publicly condemned the Nazis' persecution of Jews, even when over one thousand Jews were forcibly marched to their death under his windows in the Vatican.

Extermination

When asked whether the Pope would protest against the extermination of the Jews, he reportedly replied to Eduardo Sentro, the Berlin correspondent of L'Osservatore Romano: "Dear Friend, do not forget that the millions of Catholics serve in the German armies. Shall I bring them into conflicts of conscience?"

He continued to receive Croatian Bishops who advocated the forced conversion of Serbs and the extermination of Jews. Moreover many Vatican officials were supposed to have been involved in aiding Nazi war criminals escape Europe after the war.

If the present Pope is "deeply saddened" by these events, then why is he beatifying this Pope?

Many centuries previously the Crusades were instigated by the Church to promote the massacre of Muslims. Pope Urban II, anxious to assert Rome's authority in the east, sent a military expedition in 1095 to reconquer the holy land. The Crusaders ravaged the countries they passed through and massacred the Muslim, Jewish and even Christian population of Jerusalem after capturing it in 1099.

In one instance hundreds of defenceless men, women and children were slaughtered in the name of Jesus in the Mosque at Jerusalem.

The attempts to combat 'apostates', Jews and Muslims, at the time of the Reformation spawned tribunals across Europe. Ecclesiastical queasiness about flowing blood led to the use of racks, thumb-screws and red-hot metal instead of blades. 2,000 people were burned at the stake during the tenure of Spain's first grand inquisitor, Tomas de Torquemada.

Genocide

Slavery was also justified by the church. When in 1610, a Portuguese Catholic priest wrote to his superiors about the Brazilian slave trade he was informed that 'We have among us very learned Fathers and never did they consider the trade as illicit. The Fathers of Brazil buy these slaves for our service without scruple'.

Of the 31 pages of text in Memory and Reconciliation, just five are related to sins being confessed and there are no specifics. You might think that the Church would be most grieved about the role it played in genocide or subjugation or torture, but no, it is more upset about the 'disunity' of the Church.

The Church as an institution, it seems, has no responsibility. Any sins, such as they are, are committed by individuals within the church, and the Pope and the Church cannot be held accountable.

Therefore this much-heralded, 'courageous' apology is no such thing. It is a clever and carefully constructed denial of the role of the Church in some of the worst crimes perpetrated.

An apology is worth little if it comes too late or if it only appears because it has become unavoidable. Reading Memory and Reconciliation, the famous Arab proverb springs to mind "Sinning is the best part of repentance".

SINEAD KENNEDY

Film

A flagon of a good movie

by PAUL McCARTHY

MICHAEL CAINE has won a well-deserved Oscar for his role in *The Cider House Rules*. The film is set in an orphanage in New England in the 1940's. Caine plays the eccentric Dr. Larch who looks after the children and their young mothers.

The story centres on the coming-of-age of one of the orphans, Homer Wells, who is being trained by Larch into medicine and shows the damage done by sexual repression and hypocrisy.

All the women who seek his help are teenage mothers-to-be.

The *Cider House Rules* earned controversy because Larch provides abortions to young women, free of charge. What is amazing about the film is that there is no moralising in it.

Distressing

Homer initially refuses to carry out terminations but he is forced to confront his own views in the most distressing scene in the film, in which a young girl dies in the orphanage as the result of a back-street operation.

Larch points out that if abortion was legal and free, this wouldn't have happened.

Homer learns, when he leaves, that his moral positions don't work in the outside world, where



he is confronted with the reality of racism, women's oppression and abuse.

Throughout, Dr. Larch has to fight against the Governors, who preach at him for his lack of religion, yet continue to

under-fund the orphanage.

One of the boys with tuberculosis is only kept alive because Caine makes him an oxygen tank himself.

When *The Cider House Rules* was first

shown in America, pro-life campaigners held protests outside cinemas and abused people going to see it.

This is typical of the hypocrisy of the religious-right who ran the orphanages and industrial

schools in this country where children were subjected to physical and sexual abuse for years.

This is a must-see film that is moving without being sentimental, but do bring something to dry your eyes with.

Music

Hey there what's that sound?



RATM

Book

It's the system

ARUNDHATI ROY'S first novel, the beautiful and lyrical book, *The God of Small Things*, won her international acclaim.

Her new book *The Cost of Living* - a reprint of two essays - is a little different. It is a result of her decision to "step out from under the fairy lights and say what's on my mind" - and it is devastating.

The first essay, "The Greater Common Good" looks at the huge Sardar Sarovar dam project on the River Narmada in central India.

India is the third largest dam builder in the world. Since its independence in 1947, various Indian governments have built 3,300 dams that have uprooted millions of people. Yet 250 million people across India do not have access to safe drinking water. Roy attacks the links

between the politicians, the bureaucrats and the dam construction companies. She condemns those who have ignored arguments about the human, environmental and economic costs of the dam project.

The second essay, "The Cost of Living", denounces the Indian government's nuclear tests, the arms race between India and Pakistan, and the nationalism it has unleashed. "I'm a little baffled by their logic: Coke is western culture, but the nuclear weapon is an old Indian tradition?"

Roy concludes her wonderful book by looking at the root of the problem, she writes "To run the risk of sounding like a 1960's hippy dropping acid ("It's the system man!")... But it is the system, man. What else can it be?"

The Cost of Living by Arundhati Roy is published by Flamingo and costs £7.99

"THAT WTO thing in Seattle people stopped that - just ordinary people, farmers, trade unionists. People fighting back man its inspiring" says Bobby Gillespie of the band Primal Scream.

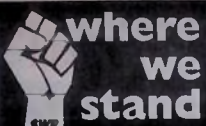
Primal Scream spent most of the 1990s in an introspective drug haze and the music showed it but now they see themselves as part of the growing protest movement against the system.

This month SELECT magazine has a special feature on revolution rock. Being by music journalists it's all about image. But the anger of the bands and the depth of politics come across.

Some of the bands like Primal Scream have moved to the left with their audience. Others like Rage Against Machine found sticking to their guns means filling stadiums. Their latest video by left wing filmmaker Michael Moore has the band and fans storming the New York stock exchange for real.

The radicalisation ranges from punk techno band Atari Teenage Riot "Any damage to the system is good", to New York rapper Phaorahe Monch who declares, "Over injustice of any kind to any people I'd be willing to die on my feet rather than live on my knees".

The hardest campaigners of them all, Asian Dub Foundation mix all the styles together brilliantly and argue "We're due another social upheaval... You have to work outside the established powers".



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 detail

BELFAST CENTRAL:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Whites Bar.

BELFAST QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY:

Meets every Wednesday at 1pm Queens Students Union, (mature students room)

BELFAST SOUTH:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union

BRAY:

Meets every Wednesday at the Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm

CORK:

Contact 8722682 for details

DERRY:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm 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

DUN LAOIGHIRE IADT:

Stall every Tuesday 12.30pm till 2pm 11th April: Refugees are welcome here

DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre opp. Artane Castle

11th April: Will the Celtic Tiger survive?

18th April: Refugees are welcome here

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St

DUBLIN NORTH WEST:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in O'Mahoney's Pub, Phibsboro

DUBLIN RIALTO:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto

12th April: Refugees are welcome here

DUBLIN RATHMINES:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in O'Connell's Pub, Sth. Richmond St.

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St

12th April: Can Socialism come through parliament?

19th April: Refugees are welcome here

DUBLIN TALLAGHT:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre

12th April: Will Ireland's boom turn to bust?

19th April: Ken Livingstone and the crisis in New Labour.

ENNISKILLEN:

Phone 01-872 2682 for details

GALWAY:

Meets every Wednesday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba)

LIMERICK:

Phone 01-872 2682 for details

MAYNOOTH:

Meets every Thursday at 1pm, NUI Maynooth

SLIGO

Meets fortnightly on Saturdays, phone 01-8722682 for details

TRALEE

Phone 01 8722682

WATERFORD:

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

WEXFORD

Meets every fortnight, phone 01-8722682

Service charges

Can't pay won't pay

OPPOSITION is growing to the D u n Laoighaire/Rathdown council's attempt to introduce service charges. Mass meetings in Dun Laoghaire, Shankill, Ballybrack, Churchtown and Ballinteer have attracted hundreds of people.

People are furious that once again the government and local authorities are trying to force ordinary people to pay for local services.

Mick Murphy, a long time activist who had been involved in the anti-water charges campaign spoke at the Churchtown meeting, which had over 160 people in attendance.

"This is in effect double taxation" he said. "Those Ansbacher crooks have robbed us of millions of pounds and the state does nothing."

"Yet they can threaten us with law and order. This system is lined up against us. None of these characters will ever do a day behind bars. But they'll threaten us with prison".

"We should not pay, even if that means breaking the law. This tax is completely unjust. If they make us pay £150 pounds this year it will be £250 the next."

Services

"The money they collect from this refuse tax will not be about improving services for us."

"The corporation will spend it on trips to

No to Double Taxation

PAYE workers have been crippled for years by very high tax rates. Any gains for workers from the tiny tax reductions in the last budget will immediately be lost by the introduction of these charges.

Meanwhile the wealthy are still getting massive handouts. Capital gains tax on building land has been cut by 50 percent and tax on corporation profits was cut again by another 4 percent. This adds billions to the already massive profits earned by the super-rich.

Those connected with the recent Ansbacher and Lichtenstein tax scams read like a who's who of the Irish rich.

If these tax loopholes for the rich were closed down there would be no need for a double tax on workers.

Jacinta O'Reilly summed up the mood of most people in this country. "These charges are not justified, they are completely unfair. As a single person I already pay enough tax. Its makes this new partnership deal a complete joke. How can there be equality in this country when the fat cats get all the money."

Chile to see how they manage waste."

Martin who was also at the Churchtown meeting agreed. He told *Socialist Worker*, "We defeated them on water charges and now they are just trying to get us on service charges."

"But we know we can beat them again. I'm not paying - I cannot afford to."

Protest

The protest meetings have been conducted in a very democratic manner with people voting for a non-payment campaign.

In Churchtown, the local Labour Party representative, Eithne

Fitzgerald argued against the non-payment tactic.

But Richard Boyd Barrett from the Socialist Workers Party argued vigorously for this tactic and the meeting backing his view almost unanimously.

A striking feature of the meetings has been the way in which the two main organisations of the far left, the SWP and the Socialist Party have put all their differences aside to build a strong campaign.

★ Contact the Campaign against services charges on 2844217 or 2961902

How do we beat the charges?

NON-PAYMENT is the key to defeat the service charges.

When the government tried to bring in water charges, they were forced to back down because of the mass non-payment campaign.

Organisation is the key to getting this going.

On each estate residents need to be encouraged to join the Campaign against Service Charges and pay a small membership fee that will help to defray any legal costs.

If any attempt is made to take individuals to court, they need to be met with big protest demonstrations outside.

Council workers should also be given special representation in the campaign.

Their jobs are on the line if privatisation goes through.

But they can defy orders to only collect the refuse of those who pay up.



THE REAL answer to the waste disposal crisis is for the government to invest in recycling facilities.

Currently 90 percent of waste in Ireland is dumped and only 5 percent of waste is recycled.

Yet the government's own figures say it is possible to recycle 80 percent of all waste. In reality, even more could be recycled if industry was forced to produce less waste.

But recycling needs an initial investment to provide facilities and this government does not want to tax its rich friends.

Instead it has chosen to make householders pay so that unscrupulous contractors and big business can further pollute the environment.

Fianna Fail also plan to allow private companies to set up incinerators to burn waste such as the one now proposed for Ringsend in Dublin.

Every serious study of incinerators shows that they produce dangerous dioxins, which increase the risk of cancer and other serious health problems for those living in the surrounding areas.

There is an alternative. If tax on profits were restored to the 50 percent level of 1987, the government could easily find the money to establish recycling facilities in every council area and integrate them into local authority refuse collections.

Privatisation — the real agenda

THE experience of service charges in Wicklow shows it as a first step to privatisation.

A service charge of £80 per year was introduced in Bray some years ago.

Last year Bray UDC voted for a £150 increase in the service charges and to privatise the refuse collection.

Home based domestic refuse collection

has also been withdrawn in Arklow and Wicklow by the local authorities forcing householders to pay private contractors.

Once refuse collections and other local services are passed into private hands ordinary people lose any control over them and there is nothing to stop charges being increased at will.

**PROTEST OUTSIDE DUN LAOGHAIRE/RATHDOWN COUNCIL
Monday April 10th, 4.30 County Hotel,
Marine Road, Dun Laoghaire.**

Tel: (01)8722682; fax (01) 8723838; email: swp@clubi.ie web: www.clubi.ie/swp

SIPTU

Vote Carolann Duggan

BALLOTING FOR Vice President of SIPTU takes place from April 25th to May 13.

The candidate of the left is Carolann Duggan, the Waterford factory worker who shocked the union establishment with a high poll when she contested the post of General President in 1997.

In her manifesto, Carolann Duggan says, "I am the only candidate who opposed the Partnership for Prosperity and Fairness programme. It was yet another agreement to restrain wages. In the Celtic Tiger profits, house prices and rents can all shoot up but the only item which is controlled is wages".

While one third of SIPTU members have consistently voted against the last two partnership deals, their views have not been represented among the top echelons of the union.

The Vice President is charged with responsibility for industrial affairs and Carolann Duggan has a long record of pressing for solidarity with workers in

struggle.

Her main opponent is Jack O'Connor, who is a Labour Party member and a close supporter of Des Geraghty. O'Connor has sought to tack left and has even won nominations from some of the more militant branches in the union. But O'Connor's left rhetoric is limited.

He is an avid supporter

of the last partnership deal and defends the Geraghty leadership to the hilt. During the recent battle against the privatisation of local authority refuse collections, O'Connor operated a strategy which kept the struggles in Bray, Wicklow and Drogheda separate. He has made no criticism of the union leadership's handling of the bus

strike.

While O'Connor has worked through the union machine to secure the majority of branch nominations, he is still a relatively unknown figure at grass roots level. Mobilising for a vote for the left candidate Carolann Duggan will play an important role in building a serious rank and file network in SIPTU.

Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown Council

REFUSE COLLECTORS in Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown county council are being threatened with privatisation unless they accept a major restructuring plan.

The council want twenty redundancies and a significantly increase workload for workers that remain. Workers are being asked to increase from 700 to 1200 the number of houses they collect from each day with two less men to do the job.

This will add an extra two to three hours onto their working day.

In return the council are offering only a weekly bonus of £54. However,

this is not an increase in basic pay and so will not be paid during holidays or if workers are sick.

Workers are also very unhappy with the redundancy package on offer. They are only being offered statutory redundancy or five weeks per year of service. Worst of all those who take redundancy will lose all their pension entitlements.

One worker told *Socialist Worker*, "There are fellas here who have been paying super-annuation for twenty or thirty years but will be left without any pension. It's ridiculous".

Workers in the smaller Dun Laoghaire depot have also been asked to move to Sandyford as part of the restructuring deal. They to accept the deal under the

threat of privatisation.

Workers in Sandyford, however, are set to reject the proposals out of hand. They also believe that the proposals are directly linked to the council's efforts to bring in refuse charges to the area.

They believe that regardless of whether or not they accept these proposals the council plan to privatise refuse collection.

"The introduction of refuse charges is about preparing the whole service for privatisation," a Sandyford binman told *Socialist Worker*.

Workers have attended all of the mass meetings against refuse charges in the area and the meetings have pledged their support for any action the workers take to defend their conditions and the service itself.

TUI

TUI MEMBERS in third level colleges are balloting for action to advance the claims of hourly paid part time teachers.

Since the start of the academic year the union has been negotiating a special year long contract where these teachers would be paid a proportion of the full time rate.

But the goals posts were suddenly changed the whole issue was effectively put on the long finger.

There are over 1,000 hourly paid teachers in the Institutes of Technology and 200 of them stood to benefit from the contracts. Overwhelming support for industrial action is expected.

N.I. Firefighters

Ballot for strike

Firefighters in Northern Ireland are balloting for strike action over cuts in conditions for new recruits.

The Fire Authority are cutting the NI Allowance, which is paid for attending civil disturbances, cutting annual leave by four days and removing other rights and allowances.

Jim Barbour, Fire Brigade Union leader told *Socialist Worker*, "Firefighters take their role seriously, we're concerned about public safety and we don't go on strike lightly. We haven't been on strike since 1977.

"The issue here is not about money, it's about a principle.

"The NI Fire Authority wants second class contracts for new recruits.

"They are the only ones out of 59 employers who are forcing this through and we think it is a scandal and is being done in a callous way."

Supported

"The main issue is the NI Allowance, which means whole-time firefighters get £1.50 for attending civil disturbances. The FBU has always supported the peace process. We look forward to the day when Northern Ireland is no different anywhere else.

But that day hasn't arrived and we still regularly attend civil disturbances. The total hypocrisy of the manage-

ment position is exposed by the fact that new recruits are still to be trained to deal with civil disturbances but they won't be paid the allowance."

"There is also a major equality issue," said Jim. "The Fire Brigade, after a lot of prompting from the union, is now making efforts to recruit from under represented communities such as women and Catholics. Is it reasonable that they be brought in

with second class contracts of employment?"

"Firefighters are massively solid on this.

"We have pledges of support from the UK and the Republic of Ireland. We're convinced and determined to keep first class contracts."

Firefighters plan to take discontinuous strike action from early May.

The campaign is likely to start with a massive march of firefighters from across the UK and Ireland.

Ballygowan

Some 50 workers in Ballygowan took unofficial strike action over pay and a demand to create permanent jobs. They forced management to fulfill a commitment to make seven part-time workers permanent.

Before the strike half the workforce were classified as temporary despite having been employed for up to five years.

"Full time factory workers were receiving a basic £220 weekly wage with temporary

workers getting about £20 less than that. They would not be entitled to join the sick pay or pension schemes," said one worker.

"Workers in Clonmel in the same firm and doing the same work are on a basic pay of £298 a week but we are being paid a basic of £227. That's £90 a week less for doing the same job. It's perfectly clear we are being underpaid," another worker said.

In a show of solidarity, workers at the Clonmel Showers plant placed unofficial pickets on their plant.

ESB

Clerical workers at the ESB have lodged a claim for a 16.5 per cent increase.

The ESBOA represents more than 2,000 white collar workers in the ESB.

ESB employees have been excluded from the latest 3 per cent award for teachers and civil servants, paid as compensation for getting 'early starter' pay

rise compared to the later increases given to nurses and the Garda.

The ESB is set to be privatised and there are proposals to sack over 500 staff. One worker told *Socialist Worker*, "The bus drivers are going about this the right way. Put in the claim now because if they think that by privatising us they can walk all over us they're wrong."

Airmotive

Workers win concessions

WORKERS at Airmotive have made some significant gains after their recent strike over the use of contract labour.

They will be receiving a 20 percent increase, with a considerable proportion coming from new money.

The company has also agreed to pay out £2000 in loyalty bonuses.

Contract workers will be allowed to complete their work schedule over the next three months but after that their jobs will be replaced with direct employees.

Health Service

Student nurses

"We need to increase the number of protests"

"THE GOVERNMENT just don't seem to be listening. The only solution is to increase the number of protests," according to Sharon a student nurse in Galway. "They aren't satisfied with making us work for nothing in hospitals, they want us to pay for the privilege."

Around the country student nurses are campaigning to force the Government to withdraw tuition fees.

Galway, which has spear-headed the campaign, saw hundreds picket University College hospital for nine hours last month.

Mary, one of the picketers told *Socialist Worker*, "The

TD's are getting a pay rise but tell us we have to wait two years to have fees abolished. The government can't even decide which department is responsible.

"It's a joke. The Department of Education says it is a matter for the Department of Health and Health claim it is

Education's problem.

"The hospital managers aren't much better. One of them came out and told us to keep the noise down because it was disturbing the patients.

"The patients will be a lot more disturbed when there aren't any nurses on the wards when we've all died of starva-

tion.

"We are losing our days off or missing important lectures because we know we have to fight to win this."

Disturbed

Huge levels of understaffing means that student

nurses who are supposed to be 'supernumery' (i.e. observers only) are regularly putting in a full 39-hour work-week on the wards in addition to doing their college work.

According to Sharon, "What is brilliant is the support we have from the public. Everyone is stopping to sign the petition and the cars are beeping their horns.

"Everyone is getting a real lift from the protests."

Mary agreed, "The staff on the wards have been brilliant, the nurses and the junior doctors know that we aren't just fighting over fees but against the contempt the government has for the health service."

As *Socialist Worker* went to press another day of action was set for April 5th.

Eastern health board

DOCTORS IN the Eastern Health Board addiction services who prescribe methadone to heroin addicts are planning industrial action.

They have been casually employed at an hourly rate since the development of the service in the early 1990's, and only first received a pay rise in 1997, following a work to rule.

Since then, they have not been paid any of the pay rises due under two separate national pay agreements, and remain casually employed, with no pension scheme, and no annual leave payments.

Addiction services are poorly funded at

all levels, and it is felt that the casualisation of staff is a reflection of the level of political commitment to their value.

Doctors are keen not to jeopardize the availability of methadone to their patients, and therefore are planning a work to rule which will involve the stalling of the waiting list, rather than all-out strike.

General Assistants in the drugs service are also planning industrial action, as they are not properly paid for the important clinical role they have in helping patients and handling body fluids and medicines, and yet are paid at a very low rate, reflecting unskilled labour

Junior Doctors

TWO AND a half thousand junior doctors are being balloted by their union the IMO to take strike action at the end of April.

The last time junior doctors went on a national strike was in 1988, when they won the right to a 65 hour week after two weeks of all-out strike action.

However, over the past twelve years conditions have

been clawed back, and many doctors now find themselves bullied by management into working up to seventy or eighty hours a week.

Overtime is paid at £4.20 per hour up to 65 hours, after which it is unpaid.

Junior doctors are angry that the European Union 39 hour week legislation excludes them, and that they were also excluded from the national pay agreements, partnership 2000 and PPF.

Socialist Worker

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

inside

Eamonn McCann on the Bloody Sunday inquiry



page 5

SHIPBUILDING AND TEXTILES

STOP THE JOBS MASSACRE

THESE JOBS ARE UNDER THREAT

- HARLAND AND WOLFF — 1,800
- COATES VIYELLA — 400
- LOVELL AND CHRISTMAS — 300
- HAWKESBAY — 150

THE FUTURE of Harland and Wolff workers still hangs in the balance. Even if a new order is received, there will still be some redundancies.

Shop stewards have been given assurances that New Labour would save jobs at the yard. But the 90 day

redundancy notices are still in place.

The government strategy for Northern Ireland is to allow manufacturing to decline and pump resources into the low-paid, non-unionised high-tech industries.

A new report from the Industrial Development Board, claims that shipbuilding and clothing manufacturing are "sunset industries".

The threatened closure of the shipyard coincides with a massive jobs crisis in Britain. Up to 50,000 jobs could go if Rover Longbridge is closed. On April 1st the trade unions called a monster demonstration to oppose the closure in Birmingham.

The demonstration tapped a mood of massive disappointment with the Blair government. There are increas-

ing calls for strikes and occupations of the Rover factories, aimed at forcing the government to nationalise the company.

The same approach would make a massive difference in Belfast. The

government could nationalise Harland and Wolff and guarantee a future for the local communities.

Shipbuilding, because of the nature of the high investment, needs outside support.

Sectarian politics has nothing to offer

JOHN TAYLOR, deputy leader of the Unionist Party, made a scathing attack on shipyard workers, claiming they were to blame for being "unproductive" and there being too many of them, even though employment in the yard has declined from 20,000 to less than 2,000 today.

An editorial in the *Andersonstown News* claimed that Catholics in West Belfast should welcome the closure of the shipyard as it was "a symbol of Unionist domination every bit as much as Stormont."

Taylor and the owners of the *Andersonstown News* share one thing in common - they hate the power of organised workers. Their sectarian politics leads to a dead end.

There is no doubt that there was discrimination at the shipyard in the past. But shipyard workers also have a history of taking strike action to defend the health service and other groups of workers. And in 1993, when Maurice O'Kane was murdered in the shipyard by loyalist paramilitaries, the workforce walked out in protest.

There is already widespread support for a campaign to save the yard. Thousands of people have signed petitions on the streets of Belfast.

On 21 March, 65 trade unionists, attended a public meeting in Belfast addressed by Billy McCracken, an ATGWU shop steward at the yard and speakers from other local unions. The mood of the meeting was defiant, very critical of the government strategies.

Derry jobs threatened

SOME 400 workers at the Coates Viyella plant in Derry have been also given redundancy notices.

The management treated the workers with contempt, not even telling the trade unions until the decision was announced.

Now management have dangled the prospect of jobs being available in a new factory

They hope to get the machinery from Coates Viyella at a knockdown price and to move to IDB owned premises. But they also want workers to put up some of their own money to finance it.

As one machinist told *Socialist Worker* "they must think we came down in the last shower. Managers

will all be share holders in the new company but had no plans for the workers who invest their redundancy money to have shares."

Like Harland and Wolff, the textile industry needs government intervention to save it.

The money is there. A fortnight ago, New Labour handed over £500 million to British Aerospace to build a luxury jet liner for the rich. Blair has promised to spend £52 billion on a new nuclear defence system along with the United States. This is a colossal waste of money that could be used to save jobs.

But it will take occupation by workers to force this government to respect their needs.