

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

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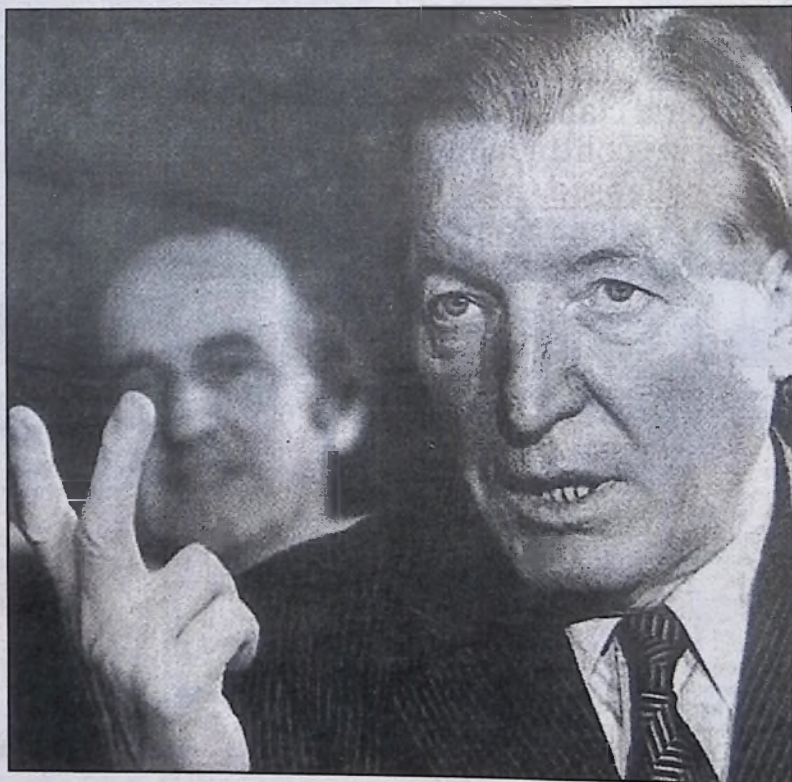
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WHY IS THIS

BRIBE TAKER



STILL FREE?

Latest scandal reveals ...

Fianna Fail's secret backers

FIANNA FAIL kept a secret list of wealthy donors who backed the party.

The 16 secret donors were marked in FF accounts as anonymous, and the party tried to hide their names from the Moriarty Tribunal.

The dodgy donors on the list include

- Beef baron Larry Goodman, who gave £50,000 to Haughey in 1989. Strangely the Beef Tribunal that investigated Goodman's gifts to Fianna Fail seems to have missed the donation.

- Michael Smurfit gave £50,000. Smurfit was appointed as chair of Telecom Eireann where he was involved in a property scam that benefited himself.

- Property shark, Mark Kavanagh gave £100,000 to Charlie Haughey. His company



was awarded the contract by Haughey to develop a £250 million financial services centre in Dublin.

- Oliver Barry the

radio boss got the licence from Ray Burke to run a private radio station.

When Haughey didn't hive off the money into his

Ansbacher account, it ended up in the party leaders account.

The person who signed the cheques out of the

Judge Haugh-Haugh

THE JUDGE who suspended the trial of Charlie Haughey has previous experience of corruption cases.

Judge Kevin Haugh suspended the sentence of Garda John O'Neill, who accepted £16,000 in bribes from the murderers of Veronica Guerin, Brian Meehan and Paul Ward, after he had served just 18 months.

As a barrister for the state in the Brendan O'Donnell trial, Haugh argued against the suspension of the trial despite the adverse publicity of headlines like "satan's child" and an "evil murderer."

Haugh has also admitted driving his car without valid

account was Bertie Ahern.

But when asked at the tribunal about the account Ahern had an inexplicable memory loss.

road tax. The revelation came while he was reducing the fine of the owner of a lorry company to ten pounds.

Sentence

In another decision Haugh gave a one year suspended sentence to a property developer who defrauded the ESB of £40,000 worth of electricity.

At the time he said, "This was a serious charge and I would not like it thought that people with wealth can buy themselves out of trouble. But the evidence showed you had done much good in other matters."

Presumably the same is true of Haughey.

SMURFIT'S DEMOCRACY

SMURFIT IS a key member of the golden circle. He was on the board of the AIB when they wrote off Haughey's million pound debt.

Worth an estimated £250m, he travels by private jet between his many homes, which include one in Beverly Hills and an apartment in Trump Tower in Manhattan. He lives in Monaco to avoid tax, where he is honorary Irish consul.

Smurfit has said that he donates money to political parties "to bolster the democratic process."

In Mexico he has been implicated in making illegal donations to the right wing candidate in the presidential election, Vincente Fox.

Mexican newspapers report that Fox received up to \$95 million from the former Mexican dictator, Carlos Salinas, and that the money was channeled through the Smurfit organisation which has a large operation in Mexico.

Salinas, who is good friends with Albert Reynolds, hid in Dublin for several years after he left office in 1994 to avoid charges of tax evasion. His brother, Raul, is now serving a lengthy prison sentence for corruption.

St Ultans one year on:

Essie's home

ESSIE KEELING, the 76 year old at the centre of the fight against evictions in St Ultans Flats on Charlemont St last year, has moved into her new corporation flat.

Essie, with the support of local residents and the Housing Action Campaign mounted twenty four hour pickets for over six weeks to prevent the owner of St Ultans evicting the tenants of the complex.

The protesters called on Dublin Corporation to take over the flats to provide affordable social housing for the people of the area.

In a huge victory, the protesters forced the landlord to back off and the corporation stepped in and bought the complex. The corporation now intend to build 55 state of the art local authority dwellings for people on the housing list in the area.

Sitting in her new flat, Essie told *Socialist Worker*:

"We were fighting for homes for young people. They offered me money and a private apartment but I wouldn't take it. We wanted to stop these developers and landlords charging people rents they can't afford. The



Essie Keeling

developers are breeding prostitution and homelessness because young people can't afford to house and feed themselves."

Essie was very grateful for the huge solidarity shown during her struggle:

"I am very grateful to all my friends and neighbours, the Housing Action Campaign and the Socialist Workers Party who were there from day one, day and night."

Essie said the lesson is "If we stand together and unite we fight these greedy developers. We forced the corporation to take them and keep out the landlords."

Essie likes her new flat and has decided she won't take up the offer of returning to St Ultans when it is rebuilt. But she is glad other people in the area will now be housed.

"I am delighted with the new place, I am here for keeps", she said.

inside the system

THINGS THEY SAY

"He gave me an envelope. I hope it was white. I didn't open it."

■ BERTIE AHERN, speaking to the Moriarty Tribunal about donations he received from property developer Mark Kavanagh.

"We had reason to believe that Fine Gael, if in government, would not be as supportive to the financial service centre as Fianna Fail."

■ MARK KAVANAGH, defending his decision to donate £100,000 to Fianna Fail. He has since discovered that only £25,000 went to the party.

"Something political has come up. I hope it stays down, rather than up."

■ NOEL DAVREN, FF Minister for Agriculture, explaining the absence of Mary Harney at an embassy reception in London.

"What really pisses me off about boxing is the low-life image. It's not deserved at all."

■ FRANK WARREN, Mike Tyson's multi-millionaire boxing promoter

Blot on dot.com

AT LEAST 18 Internet start-up firms have failed and 5,398 jobs have been cut from the sector since December said a recent report.

The report issued by consulting group Gray and Christmas, which tracks layoffs in the US economy, said it tallied the dot.com data over the last few

months as a result of widespread reports about failures and closings.

The layoffs included some 400 at failed Internet retailer Boo.com. 200 at entertainment site Reel.com, which was recently shut down and 170 at Toysmart, a site shut by its parent firm, Walt Disney.

So much for the new 'industrial revolution'.

NAZI SCOUTS

A French scout movement is in turmoil after it gave details of its membership to Nazi organisations. An inquiry into the Scouts of Europe group found that the names of more than 900 scouts had been passed on to Le Pen's National Front and other Nazi organisations for inclusion on their mailing lists. Scouts received Le Pen literature and other material praising the armed forces of Hitler's Third Reich. The inquiry also found that the Scouts of Europe had organised camps in rural France, which were run on "paramilitary lines".

US child labour

"IN THE fields, the US is like a developing country.

A 12 year old kid can work unlimited hours on a farm." A Human Rights Watch report has slammed US farmers and the government for allowing children, most of them Latinos, to work gruelling hours at the expense of their health and education.

Hundreds of thousands of minors are working 14 hours a day for much less than the legal minimum wage. The children are exposed to toxic pesticides and run a serious risk of accidents from using heavy machinery.

Trouble at the bank

THE WORLD Bank has faced plenty of opposition from people outside its ranks in recent years. But now revolt is growing inside as well.

Ravi Kanbur, author of the bank's annual World Development Report, left over a dispute about the appropriate role of markets in developing countries.

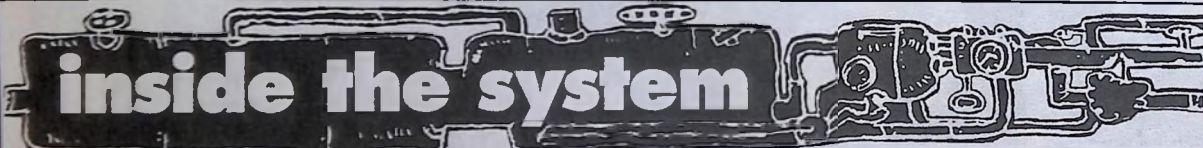
Conflict

Bank staff said Ravi Kanbur's emphasis on income redistribution brought him into conflict with other economists. They argued that "liberalisation" was the way to combat poverty.

The latest resignation comes soon after the departure of former World Bank chief economist Joseph Stiglitz.

He wrote recently, "In theory the IMF supports democratic institutions.

In practice it undermines the democratic process."



what we think

HAUGHEY:

Why was he let off?



Some of the 450 protesters who attended the Jail the corrupt politicians rally in Dublin

photo: Paula Geraghty

CHARLES HAUGHEY has walked off scot-free. This is what Judge Kevin Haugh's indefinite postponement of his trial means.

Haughey was due to appear before the courts for lying to the McCracken Tribunal and could have faced a jail sentence. But Haugh claimed that adverse publicity stopped him getting a fair trial. This

is the first time this has happened.

Haughey has made unusual judgement in the past.

He gave the garda who passed information to the gang that shot Veronica Guerin a suspended sentence.

And now his judgement means that no one can call for jail sentences for a man who has publicly admitted he lied about big business donations.

This is a gross form of censorship. The Haughey scandal broke nearly four years ago and not a single politician or businessman has even been arrested.

Haughey's ruling amounts to a demand that people wait meekly for another few years until justice is handed down by judges who were appointed by Fianna Fail and Fine Gael.

In reality, it is not going to happen. The freeing of Haughey means that the establishment is closing ranks.

They know that if Haughey gets sentenced he will spill the beans on Ahern and other top leaders of Fianna Fail.

If even deeper revelations emerge it will rock the whole political system. So they are willing to engage in complicated games, letting Marry Harney 'take a hit this time'.

But whatever their differences, they agree behind closed doors not to push each other so far that it would rip the whole ruling class edifice apart.

MAKE THE UNIONS CALL A NATIONAL PROTEST

THE ONLY way that corrupt politicians will be punished is if tens of thousands mobilise on the streets. This is what happened in Italy and as a result the former Prime Minister Craxi had to flee the country.

The key lies in the hands of three unions. At their annual conference this year both SIPTU and IMPACT - the two largest union sin the country - called for a national protest demonstration.

If this call went out, it would be met by a huge enthusiasm as workers sensed that it could actually start to achieve its desired objective: jail for corrupt politicians.

But the union leaders are doing

everything to avoid this course of action. They are tied into social partnership deals and do not want to rock the boat.

It will take huge pressure from the rank and file to change this. It will be part of a battle to re-take our unions for the grassroots members - to make them fight on issues like inflation and wages as well as political corruption.

FROM CYNICISM TO ANGER

THE REACTION of Irish workers to the corruption scandals is in a transition al phase.

The vast majority have been sickened by the antics of the corrupt politicians. But up to now there is a huge cynicism that anything can be done.

When anger and cynicism coincide, there is often no public protest. But under the surface there is an enormous withdrawal of support for the political system.

There are, however, signs that the

mood is shifting.

Opinion polls showed that nearly 80 percent of the population voiced their disgust at the appointment of Hugh Flaherty to the £140,000 post at the European Investment bank. And in South Tipperary, FF were humiliated when they scored their lowest vote ever.

Disgracefully, a Labour Party spokesperson described the Healy vote as 'anti-politics'. In reality it was a rejection of the establishment politics that Labour has become caught up in. And that reaction is now beginning to turn to full-scale anger.

PASS THIS RESOLUTION

We call on the ICTU to organis a national demonstration and work stoppage to press for the jailing of corrupt politicians. In the event of the ICTU refusing to do this, we call on our own union and /or the local trades council to call a major demonstration and invite others to attend.

Mugabe gets narrow victory but ...

Vote shows workers clamour for change

PRESIDENT ROBERT Mugabe has just held off a massive challenge from the opposition in Zimbabwe. But the election results also demonstrate that workers are clamouring for fundamental change. Mugabe's Zanu-PF party won 62 seats, the opposition Movement for Democratic Change (MDC) got 57, and another party got one seat. But Mugabe will have a clear majority in the parliament because he appoints 30 more MPs.

The MDC won overwhelmingly in the cities and big towns. In some of these areas it took 85 percent of the vote and routinely won over 70 percent. Three senior government ministers, including the home affairs and justice ministers, lost their seats.

Intimidation

But in the rural areas Mugabe's supporters held on. Violence and intimidation by Mugabe's thugs played a role. Large sections of peasants and rural workers voted Zanu-PF because the party promised to take the land from the rich white farmers.

This was gross hypocrisy from a man who has totally failed to redistribute land during the 20 years he has led the country. But the MDC leaders, seeking international and local backing from the rich, gave Mugabe a huge boost by denouncing the move as "extreme" and "unfair". Mugabe's narrow escape will not stop the ferment inside Zimbabwe.

The election will not solve the economic crisis. Unemployment is now well over 50 percent and wages are low. Mugabe has also sent 11,000 troops to a wasteful and bloody war in the Congo. He has tried to hold down wages and cut services to please local and multinational capitalists. The health service is in tatters, corruption is rife inside the government, and AIDS kills thousands every week. These issues have not gone away and will increasingly come the focus for political debate.



Members of the MDC celebrate

Voice of the struggle



MUNYARADZI GWISAI

MUNYARADZI GWISAI, a member of Socialist Worker's sister organisation in Zimbabwe, was elected as the MP for Highfield in Harare this week. He stood as an MDC candidate but raised a clear socialist programme during the campaign. He won

73 percent of the poll and took 12,616 votes compared to Zanu-PF's 3,234. Munyaradzi Gwisai spoke to Socialist Worker:

"The atmosphere in the cities was electric during the elections. There was a sense of excitement and waiting for change. In this constituency our main themes for the campaign were "Power to workers and the poor" and "Tax the rich to fund the poor". We also pushed the slogan "Forward to socialism".

Seizure

We called for price controls, subsidies on basic goods, land for the peasants and the seizure of big farms without compensation, an end to the IMF adjustment plans for the economy, jobs for youth, houses for the masses, and labour rights.

This programme was well to the left of the one put forward by the MDC leaders.

But they knew it was popular and did not dare to move against us. Although the outcome is not a win for the MDC, the cities have spoken clearly.

The workers want Mugabe out. They want change. It is not simply a rejection of one man. It is a revolt

against a whole system of running the country.

Young people especially do not feel any reverence towards Mugabe. The MDC's victories will give confidence to sections of workers.

The fact that an overall victory has been snatched away will increase the anger against Mugabe and his supporters.

The MDC is at a crossroads. It has a good base, but it will develop it only if it reverses the move rightwards. There will also be many questions about the way the MDC leaders campaigned politically.

They played into Mugabe's hands in the rural areas by lining up with white farmers. The results have favoured the middle class elements in the MDC. There are about six worker MPs elected.

Some of them are clear that they will have to work to develop independent positions. We will now step up our efforts to put the case for socialism, revive workers' committees and to develop the confidence of the working class to fight.

My role is to build the struggle and to stand with those who are really crucial, the people fighting for change, for economic and social liberation. I want to be a voice for them, not for the bosses and the bankers."

Tensions open up inside the MDC

THE SUCCESS of the Movement for Democratic Change will unleash a period of acute tension between its leaders and its mass base. It arose originally out of the country's trade unions, and workers and the poor provide most of its votes.

But its leaders have gone out of their way to court big business. That is why it has the support of much of the British media and New Labour ministers. The movement's contradictory nature means its MPs include Munyaradzi Gwisai, on the one side, and Eddie Cross, a former chairman of the industrial employers' association, on the other.

The MDC is the product of three years of sharp class struggles. Since 1995 the acute economic and social hardship in Zimbabwe has driven more and more workers and peasants into clashes with Mugabe. As popular protest grew, workers and peasants demanded that leaders of the Zimbabwe Congress of Trade Unions set up an opposition party. So the MDC was launched in September last year.

Its president, Morgan Tsvangirai, was until recently the ZCTU general secretary. The MDC claims to have recruited over one million members in its first five

months. Most of these were workers, peasants, students and the unemployed. As Tsvangirai said at the MDC's inaugural congress in January, "Don't forget where we come from. Our base is the workers, peasants and the poor-75 percent of the people of Zimbabwe."

The MDC's growth terrified Mugabe and he has unleashed a violent campaign against rank and file MDC activists. But while the poor flooded into the MDC, its leaders were moving sharply rightwards.

The MDC's manifesto did promise some reforms in health and education, and to end the Congo war. But its economic policy favoured the bosses. The MDC said it was for privatisation and a cut in state spending.

The MDC leaders' move rightwards intensified as Mugabe tried to rebuild support by encouraging occupations of white-owned farms. Broad sections of the landowners were ready to back the opposition and so were more businessmen.

The MDC could have called for the land occupations to be extended and could have attacked Mugabe for taking 20 years to begin any sort of land reform. Instead it called for "law and order" to be restored and backed the white farmers.

Yet the MDC's mass base still wants what it fought for six months ago. Tsvangirai began to reflect this in more radical speeches towards the end of the campaign. Zimbabwe still faces a period of highly charged political change.

Eamonn**McCann****Why won't McGuinness back term time staff**

"HE FINISHES work at Stormont next week to embark on his holidays on full pay—while today he's asked us to accept a deal which does nothing to alleviate hardship."

So said union negotiator Janette Murdock at Stormont on June 28th after Education Minister Martin McGuinness had rejected pleas for help from term-time workers facing two months without pay or social security benefits.

The incident spoke volumes about the conservative reality of Sinn Fein in government, in contrast to the radical rhetoric they were able to get away with over the years they were kept out of office.

The North's 1,500 class-room assistants, secretaries, technicians etc., unlike teachers, get no pay over the summer months. And under new social security regulations imposed by the Labour Government, they aren't allowed to sign on either.

Through their union, the NI Public Sector Alliance (Nipsa), they pushed the Education Boards to make up the difference. But the Boards offered literally nothing. The only proposal put on the table was that the workers' 10 months wages would be spread over the full calendar year.

Regime

Many of the Nipsa members had high hopes that the new regime at the Department of Education would make a difference, that Minister McGuinness would back the workers and not the Boards. They got their answer at the June 28th rally outside Stormont after they'd handed in a petition of 22,000 signatures asking the Minister to support the payment of retainer fees over the summer.

Minister McGuinness said he sympathised with the workers' position, stressed that the problem resulted from changes in social security rules and not from any initiative by his Department, urged further negotiations, appealed for all sides to "look at the bigger picture" and so on. And he suggested that the union forget thoughts of strike action.

It was exactly the sort of things which would have been said by a Ulster Unionist, SDLP or DUP Minister had one of those parties picked Education in the divvy-up of Stormont departments. It's what a NIO Minister would have been saying if the Assembly had not been revived. It's word-for-word what we might have heard from a Fianna Fail Minister had the issue arisen in the South.

There may still be a whiff of cordite about Sinn Fein. The party and some of its personalities may be still be seen in some circles as dangerous characters. But the establishment can rest content: when it comes to class issues, Sinn Fein means no harm.

There is nothing surprising about this. One of the most striking aspects of Republican history this century has been the speed with which militant fighters against the State merged into the mainstream once they'd abandoned armed struggle. It always turned out that the armed struggle had been only thing differentiating them from conventional parties.

One lesson that needs learned is that workers cannot rely on any of the Assembly parties to resolve their grievances. The notion that once there was local control over local affairs, policy decisions would be based on the interests of local people has been shown up for what it always was—a delusion.

What we have at, in fact, is new personnel running the same old system.

And the only reliable thing rank and file trade unionists have at their disposal to advance their own interests is their ability to organise and the support of other workers.

Nipsa responded to the slap-down from the Minister by threatening "the most serious and disruptive industrial action education has ever seen", beginning in September. The term-time workers should organise to ensure that the strike threat is followed through, and that teachers and students are on-side when the time comes.

Annual attempt to whip up sectarianism**Orange Order loses support***But without much support*

A RALLY for all Orange Order members on 24 June, advertised in nearly every local newspaper, could only muster 500 people.

A march on Sunday 2 July, for which the Order was refused permission, attracted 2,000.

This is a far cry from the estimated 20,000 it drew in 1997 and sign of a deep crisis.

The hardliners at the heart of the protest in Drumcree show no signs of recognising the reasons for their lack of support.

Ignites

One local lodge member, Ivor Young, said "If we take a beating from the police it could be the spark which ignites a fire all over Ulster. Ordinary Protestants would awaken."

He went on talk of his regret that loyalist thug Billy Wright wasn't around to lead the charge.

But there is a deep split in the Orange Order itself. Brian Kennaway, who recently resigned from the education committee of the Orange Order in protest at their refusal to speak to the parades Commission, said last week,

"We need to project a different image. The image we have is confrontational and it's turning people away."

The problem lies much deeper. The function of the Order is to instill a sense of common purpose among all Protestants in the face of the Catholic 'enemy within'.

It is not only anti-Catholic, but also opposed to any left-wing ideas.

Marching thorough Catholic areas was always part of the package.

The respectable face of the Orange Order has always been a thin cover for the most vicious anti-Catholic hatred.

Today the Orange Order is desperately trying to distance itself from the murder of the Quinn children in Ballymoney during the 1998 standoff.

But in the same week there were 137 other petrol bombs and pipe bomb attacks on Catholic homes in the North.

Disputed

The Order is being left behind by fast-changing attitudes in the North.

Most Protestants supported the Agreement, because like most Catholics, they were sick of the violence.

In order to keep the illusion of a common enemy, the Orange Order has increasingly sought to rally support around disputed marches, like Drumcree and the Lower Ormeau Road.

In doing so, it has attracted the most bigoted elements and alienated many thousands of Protestants.

This minority is still capable of terrible violence. In North Belfast in recent months, the Housing Executive reports that 21 Catholic families have had to be rehoused because of sectarian intimidation.

In June the UFF threatened to resume murdering Catholics and then withdrew the threat later.

The competition between UDA and UVF flags in Protestant areas of Belfast this summer is part of the same desperate search for headline support.

Orangeism has nothing to offer most Protestants except the empty illusion of superiority over Catholics.

The decline in support for their protests is a clear indication that they are badly misjudging the attitudes of ordinary Protestants.

Executive slum lords

THOUSANDS OF Housing Executive tenants across Northern Ireland are to be told that improvements to their homes will not happen because of government cuts in the housing budget.

The Executive has lost £13 million of its budget this year, on top of another £19 million cut last year.

As a result, essential maintenance work in around 1,500 homes will not

go ahead. Many tenants still have kitchens and bathrooms that are 20 years old.

Meanwhile there are 44,000 dwellings in Northern Ireland that are unfit for human habitation. Most have no inside toilet and no bathroom.

Around 4,000 Housing Executive homes are still being sold off. And the cash from the sales is not even ploughed back into housing but is creamed off by central government instead.

That way, £50 million has been lost to the housing sector over the past five years.

NAZI'S FEED ON DESPAIR

NAZI nailbomber David Copeland was jailed for bombing Brixton, Brick Lane and Soho. He murdered three people and seriously injured dozens in attacks aimed at black people, Asians and gays.

Copeland was acting out the message of racist and homophobic hate promoted by Nazi groups like the British National Party.

Copeland was a former member of

the BNP and the National Socialist Movement, aligned with Nazi terror group Combat 18.

A recent notice in the BNP's newspaper asked members to write to Copeland in jail claiming he was a 'Prisoner of War'.

Alarming

It is alarming that the BNP now claim to have set up a branch in Northern Ireland and say they are aiming to stand in the South Antrim by-election. They have been

leafletting working class Protestant areas in Newtonabbey, north of Belfast.

The real face of the BNP is the twisted, murderous hate of Soho bomber David Copeland.

The trade union movement in Northern Ireland needs to urgently campaign against Labour and the Tories racism.

An Anti-Nazi campaign, especially among postal workers, is needed to ensure that Nazi candidates are denied the chance to distribute their hate mail during elections.

Autobiography of a revolutionary

A WORLD TO WIN
TONY CLIFF

£1.99 from Sw books, Po Box 1648, Dublin 8.

Genetics

All in the genome?

SCIENTISTS recently announced they had "cracked the code of life". The culmination of the Human Genome Project was hailed as a revolutionary breakthrough.

The *Irish Mirror* said that the project mapped all the genes in the human body which "determine the shape and colour of your eyes, your height, your ability to absorb cholesterol, your sexual orientation and your susceptibility to disease".

The genes also "determine if you are gay, athletic, musically talented or a manic depressive. Some researchers say your genes will even determine your criminal record."

The Human Genome Project is the most expensive scientific project ever undertaken. Yet it will tell us few of the things claimed by its backers.

Genes are chemicals in every cell in the human body, and of every living thing. They are made of four chemicals, which are linked, together in long chains in various combinations.

The idea of the Human Genome Project was to map the entire sequence of these chemicals. This "genome" would be the "blueprint for life", and open the door to explaining human biology and behaviour, and herald miracle cures to disease. The whole notion is deeply flawed.

If the genome is a "blueprint", it is only so in the sense of a very general definition of what a house is - it has walls, a roof and so on. Such a definition does not tell you the specific design of a particular house, still less how you go about organising the raw materials, tools and labour needed to actually build it.

Genes operate only as part of a complex series of chemical and biological processes.

These involve a vast range of other chemicals interacting with each other and the wider environment. An understanding of all these elements, and the role of genes in them, is the foundation of a proper understanding of biology.

The simplistic vision pushed by those behind the Human Genome Project is far from that.

They suggest there is a simple relation between individual genes and disease. That is simply false.

Cystic fibrosis, for instance, is supposed to be "caused" by a defect in a single gene. But Steve Jones who is a leading geneticist involved in the work on cystic fibrosis points out that "the gene can be damaged in many ways. Every population, sometimes every family, may have its own mutation. More than 1,000 different cystic fibrosis mutations are known. One illness, an alteration in a single gene, has a multiplicity of causes."

For other diseases, he argues, "the problem is spectacularly worse". For over a decade we have

Genes operate only as part of a complex series of chemical and biological processes.

These involve a vast range of other chemicals interacting with each other and the wider environment.

heard hype about how "gene therapy" would cure all sorts of disease. Yet as Steve Jones argues, "In spite of all the fuss about gene therapy there is not a single convincing case in which that treatment given alone has cured a disease."

The idea that genes hold the key to complex social phenomena is even more laughable. There is not, nor can there be, a "gay gene". Sexuality has a basis in biology but is a complex, socially constructed phenomenon which cannot be reduced to the workings of a string of chemicals.

Claims about a "criminal gene", for example, are an attempt to deflect discussion from the real causes, which are social and linked to class and poverty, and from considering what is meant by crime.

Stealing to feed your family is crime. But stealing from workers for profit isn't.

What is particularly obscene about the Human Genome Project is the way profit-hungry corporations have seized on it to patent human genes.

These companies hope they can make millions from pushing genetically based "cures" based on such patents. They may well come a cropper on that quest. But in the process the same drive could see these patents used to release all sorts of untested and potentially dangerous chemicals and organisms.

For instance the American Government patented the genes of a man from Papua New Guinea. Researchers now receive invoices every time they test for the Cystic Fibrosis gene.

If just a small part of what has gone into the project was used for more serious research, including genuine investigation of genetics, far more real scientific advances would be made.

Judges:

ONE LAW FOR ANOTHER FOR



Hugh O'Flaherty

HUGH O'FLAHERTY, the judge at the centre of recent controversy, lives like a prince. He lives in an enormous seven bedroom house in Dublin's exclusive Herbert Park which is now selling for an expected price of over £2.5 million. He is walking into a top job that pays £140,000 a year in the EU.

The former speechwriter for Charles Haughey cannot rival the wealth of the Lord of Kinseally, but he is getting close.

Poverty

Yet many of those who are deeply pained by Hugh O'Flaherty's decisions have to live in poverty.

O'Flaherty resigned along with a newly appointed High Court judge, Cyril Kelly, over the case of Philip Sheedy.

Sheedy, a wealthy architect and an acquaintance of several prominent Fianna Failers, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in November 1997 after murdering the mother of two children, Anne Ryan, in a drunk driving incident.

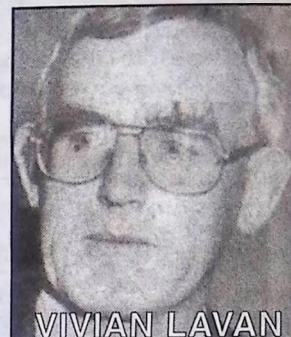
After the intervention of O'Flaherty, his case suddenly came up for review and the remainder of his sentence was suspended.

He served only one year.

O'Flaherty was forced to resign when the details of his intervention were made public. But his political cronies in Fianna Fail ensured he was well taken care of. Last June special Fianna Fail had special legislation passed granting him an annual pension of £40,000.

Sabrina Wash lived in a very different world to Philip Sheedy.

She lived her entire life in



VIVIAN LAVAN

A former Fianna Fail adviser he was appointed to the High Court by Charles Haughey. Educated at Terenure College, Roscrea, he was regarded as one of Ireland's wealthiest barristers before he was appointed to the High Court.

EXCLUS

THE IRISH justice system is riddled with class prejudice from top to bottom. Nearly all the judges come from wealthy backgrounds.

Two of the High Court judges are sons of judges.

They earn salaries of £80,000 and more.

They have little knowledge or interest in the lives of ordinary people. Yet these men — and the overwhelming majority are men — are supposed to be impartial upholders of the law.

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LAW FOR THE RICH HER FOR THE POOR

HUGH O'FLAHERTY, the judge at the centre of recent controversy, lives like a prince. He lives in an enormous seven bedroom house in Dublin's exclusive Herbert Park which is now selling for an expected price of over £2.5 million. He is walking into a top job that pays £140,000 a year in the EU.

The former speech-writer for Charles Haughey cannot rival the wealth of the Lord of Kinsealy, but he is getting close.

Poverty

Yet many of those who are deeply pained by Hugh Flaherty's decisions have to live in poverty.

O'Flaherty resigned along with a newly appointed High Court judge, Cyril Kelly, over the case of Philip Shеды.

Shеды, a wealthy architect and an acquaintance of several prominent Fianna Failers, was sentenced to four years' imprisonment in November 1997 after murdering the mother of two children, Anne Ryan, in a drunk driving incident.

After the intervention of O'Flaherty, his case suddenly came up for review and the remainder of his sentence was suspended.

He served only one year.

O'Flaherty was forced to resign when the details of his intervention were made public. But his political cronies in Fianna Fail ensured he was well taken care of. Last June special Fianna Fail had special legislation passed granting him an annual pension of £40,000.

Sabrina Wash lived in a very different world to Philip Shеды.

She lived her entire life in



VIVIAN LAVAN

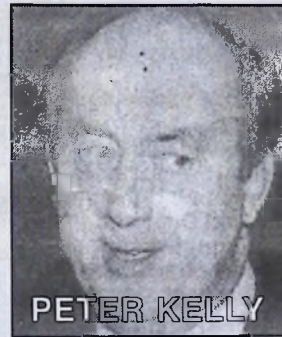
A former Fianna Fail adviser he was appointed to the High Court by Charles Haughey. Educated at Terenure College, Roscrea, he was regarded as one of Ireland's wealthiest barristers before he was appointed to the High Court.



FREDRICK MORRIS

Morris is the President of the High Court where earns a healthy £98,657.

Before becoming a judge under Albert Reynolds he had strong Fianan Fail connections.



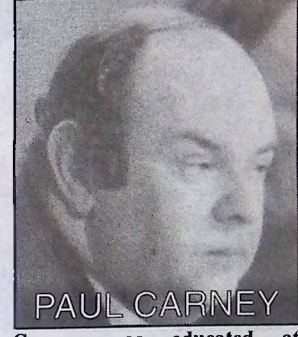
PETER KELLY

Well nown for his deeply conservative and religious views he attends Latin Mass as often as possible. He ruled that building workers striking against subcontracting could be jailed for picketing.



LIAM HAMILTON

THE CHIEF JUSTICE receives £106,560 runs the judicial system. He was the man who investigated the Beef scandal and managed to find no wrong doing by either Larry Goodman or Fianna Fail.



PAUL CARNEY

Carney was educated at Gonzaga College and presided over the Kilkenny incest case in 1993. He was election agent for the Progressive Democratic TD Michael McDowell. He was appointed to the High Court in 1991 when, surprise, surprise, the PD's were in government.

EXCLUSIVE OLD MEN'S CLUB

THE IRISH justice system is riddled with class prejudice from top to bottom. Nearly all the judges come from wealthy backgrounds.

Two of the High Court judges are sons of judges.

They earn salaries of £80,000 and more.

They have little knowledge or interest in the lives of ordinary people. Yet these men — and the overwhelming majority are men — are supposed to be impartial upholders of the law.

Judges are unelected and are extraordinary arrogant. In 1996, for

example, Justice James Carroll called the foraman in charge of renovations at the Four Court to his bench and told him that if there was any more noise from building work he would be imprisoned.

Although Judges deal with sensitive issue like rape and child abuses they get no training.

They say their background makes them more than qualified.

But nearly all judges share the same elite privileged background.

Among the 22 current High Court Judges for example the majority were

educated in exclusive fee paying private schools such as Belvedere College.

No wonder they make judgements that help maintain the power of the rich.

Exclusive

Judges live in this exclusive world.

At their private yacht and golf clubs, they socialize with leading politicians and the bosses of big industry.

Most of them have close ties with political parties, as they need these connections to be appointed.

Take Liam Hamilton for example.

He was a Labour Party supporter and was promoted to Chief Justice of the Supreme Court after he produced a white wash report, which exonerated the beef barons, and the politicians who supported them.

This class prejudice is why Haughey will never face trial and why the prisons are packed full of people who come from the poorest sections of society.

One study by criminologist Paul O'Mahony found that 80 percent of prisoners had been unemployed before being incarcerated.

For 74 percent of prisoners the best

job they ever had was in one of the two lowest socio-economic categories.

Francine, who has just been released from Mountjoy, after 8 months spoke to *Socialist Worker* about the reality of life faced by people in Mountjoy.

"The judge that put me away didn't even look at me.

"He couldn't even get my name right" she said. "To him I was just another junkie and he probably put about a dozen of us away that day.

He made me wait for an extra two hours so he could have his lunch.

Then he sen-

tenced me to 13 months and ordered my kids into care".

Criminal proceedings are never used against the rich.

Despite the wholesale level of tax evasion in this country no one has ever been jailed.

Ten people have died on building sites this year but there are no building bosses in Mountjoy.

The cases of Francine, Sabrina show how ordinary people will never get any justice in this country as long as the judges preside over a system that has one law for the rich and one law for the rest of us.

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She had wanted to become a nanny but before long found herself addicted to heroin and began to steal to feed her habit.

In June 1997 Sabrina had the misfortune to steal the

handbag of a rich tourist in the swanky Café En Seine in Dawson Street.

The handbag unfortunately contained £10,000 cash along with expensive jewellery.

Sentenced

She was sentenced to nine years in prison.

She appealed this exces-

sively severe sentence and Hugh O'Flaherty presided over her appeal.

He called her "a cancer on society" and told her that he would only reduce her sentence by three years.

Socialist Worker spoke to some of Sabrina's friends and neighbours. "I could hardly believe it when I heard they had sent her down for six years.

"And that Judge who does he think he is? It makes me sick when I see that bastard Haughey walking free and Sabrina's life destroyed" said Marie Mahony.

"Who carries £10,000 in a handbag?

"If they do they deserve to get it stolen.

"It's just terrible to see her in Mountjoy.

"It was the drugs that

destroyed her" said Paddy Gallagher another neighbour. "But none of them judges or guards care about that.

"She really wanted to come off the drugs, was always talking about it.

"That same day they left some priest off who had abused all these kids.

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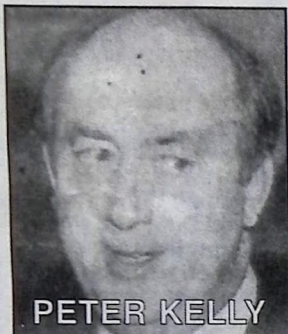
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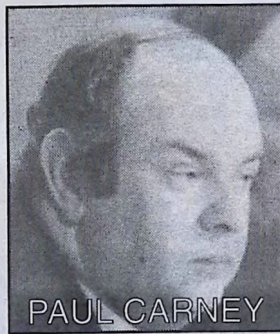
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what do socialists say?

We need a socialist alliance at the next election

The election of Seamus Healy in South Tipperary caused shock waves among our rulers. The Fianna Fail vote slumped to its lowest level in any previous bye-election and a left wing radical topped the poll.

Elections are like barometers on the mood of the working class. For the past four years revulsion has grown with the scale of corruption at the top of Irish society. But that revulsion was also tinged with a cynicism that 'nothing can be done' and 'they will just get away with it'.

Fianna Fail played on this cynicism, asserting that all political parties were the same, with everyone just out for themselves.

This cynicism in turn demoralised those who wanted to fight. When Michael Lowry was re-elected in North Tipperary in the last general election it seemed to confirm that the Irish people had almost a sneaking admiration for corruption.

The election of Seamus Healy is a clear rebuttal of this. Cynicism is turning to anger and many want to hit back at the establishment. There is now a real opening for left wing parties to exploit the weakness of FF.

The best way to do this is to forge an open electoral alliance of socialist parties that agree on a simple platform — for jailing of corrupt politicians, for taxes on the rich to redistribute wealth in the Celtic Tiger, for properly funded public services and opposition to privatisation.

Such an alliance should rule out corporate funding for political parties. The rich should not be able to buy political machines to use for their own ends.

There also should be agreement in advance not to enter a coalition with right wing parties.

The impact of this left alliance would be enormous. Voting patterns are not simply decided by the clarity of argument or even the energy of activists. Right wing politicians feed off a belief that the left will 'always' be marginal and so nothing can do.

If the socialists, however, came together and showed there was a strong alternative on the left of Labour, the impact would be far greater than the combined forces of each individual party.

In brief, the sum would be far, far greater than the constituent parts.

Differences

There are of course differences between socialists on the role of parliament. The Socialist Workers Party does not believe that socialism can be achieved by legislative changes.

The parliament is only the front stage that hides an unelected state where the likes of Justice Haugh can set Haughey free or where the head of the Revenue Commissioners openly collude with big business to allow them off taxes.

Parliament does not even control the state machine — not to mention the enormous power that is concentrated in the boards of big business.

So even if socialists had a majority in parliament those institutions would not be the vehicle for destroying

capitalism./

It does not follow however that socialists should ignore elections. As long as the majority of workers place some hope in parliamentary change, it is necessary to intervene in the process. Moreover a socialist deputy can use the parliament as a platform for encouraging workers to fight for themselves rather than looking to him or her.

James Connolly's motto was that a socialist representative should act as a 'disturber of the public peace'.

They should use the limited freedoms of parliament to expose the hidden state, to attack particular employers and to advocate policies for workers.

This also means avoiding two dangers. One is to abstain from pressing an open socialist programme even if aspects of it may lose votes.

It is unfortunate for example that Seamus Healy claimed that the term socialist was 'an old label' which he did not use.

The other is to make elections the central focus of all agitation. Socialism can only come from the self-activity of workers.

That means that socialists advocate strategies based on militancy and solidarity rather than telling me to concentrate on getting good people into parliament.

Given all that, however, it make perfect sense now for the left to come together into an electoral alliance that can offer huge hope to those who want something far stronger than Ruairi Quinn and Labour can offer.

by KIERAN ALLEN

Socialist Review

Ideas to change the world



£1.50 from your Socialist Worker seller or from P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8

Income per head in sub-Saharan Africa has fallen 50 percent since the 80s



The average life expectancy of a slave was three years

How Africa was underdeveloped

AFRICA IS often referred to as part of the 'developing world', implying that the difference between Africa and the West is simply a historical gap. But Africa is not catching up with the West. In fact it is falling even further behind.

In sub-Saharan Africa income per head has fallen by 50 percent since the 1980s. In 1960 the richest fifth of the world's population had 30 times as much wealth as the poorest, but by 1994 that figure had risen to 78 times. By the following year the top fifth had 82 times more than the bottom fifth.

Africa was once a highly developed society, far outstripping the West in human advances. For example by the eleventh century cities like Timbuktu, Benin and Mali were successful commercial centres.

Zimbabwe had developed a highly sophisticated infrastructure for the mass transportation of cattle. Prior to the development of capitalism and slavery, contacts between Europe and Africa were on the basis of a meeting of equals.

The cartographers maps of the known world gave African kings the same status as European monarchs. Africa was a combination of states much like Europe at that time.

The introduction of firearms and gunpowder into Africa changed the balance of power between African states. The only way guns could be paid for was in slaves. Each African state would raid the others to pay for goods and this formed a dynamic in which Africa, in

Marx's words, became the commercial hunting ground of black skins.

Trade in sugar and tobacco was the foundation of the British empire and the source of this wealth was the West Indies. Huge plantations were established there. Labour for these plantations initially came from "the Americas". The first slaves in the New World after Columbus' arrival were natives who were subject to mass assault. In South America the population declined by 30 million.

Having exhausted the local people as a source of labour, the planters turned to white indentured labour. Up to 340,000 people were sent from Europe. But this was still not enough labour to run the massive factory-style plantations. In the Communist Manifesto Marx described how capitalism is constantly driven by this need to expand.

"The need of a constantly expanding market for its products chases the bourgeoisie over the whole surface of the globe. It must nestle everywhere, settle everywhere, establish connections everywhere."

So the planters turned to Africa for labour and there began the most horrific trade in human beings ever seen. Once they arrived the average life expectancy of a slave was only three years - they were seen as cheap and replaceable.

Up until the beginning of the twentieth century, countries like Britain, France and Belgium had begun to dominate the world as colonising powers. By the outbreak of World War I, the US also began to come into the picture, so

that by this period 84 percent of the planet had been colonised by the major powers.

The effect of colonialisation was to drain wealth in the form of raw materials, mineral wealth and human labour, so at a very early stage the less developed countries became locked into a situation from which they found it difficult to escape and in which the majority of their populations suffered terrible poverty and exploitation

This situation began to improve slightly in the postcolonial era. A series of anti-colonial struggles in several African countries like Zimbabwe began to throw off the worse shackles of imperialism. But the impact of the world recession in the 1970s brought this process to a grinding halt.

During the height of the Cold War, in the 1960s, the US government spent more money than it earned and to make up for this they decided to print more dollars.

So the world's stocks of dollars fell in value. This was bad news for the major oil producing countries, whose oil was priced in dollars. The money made from exports now bought less. So in 1973 they hiked their prices. They made huge sums of money and deposited it in Western Banks.

Then the trouble hit. As interest rates plummeted, the banks were faced with an international financial crisis.

They lent out money fast, to stop the slide and turned to the poorer countries who wanted money to maintain development and meet the rising cost of oil. In the end, little of the money borrowed benefited the poor. Across the range, about a fifth went on arms, usually to shore up brutal and repressive regimes. Many governments started up large-scale development projects, most of which proved to be of little real value. All too often the money found its way

into private bank accounts.

As Margaret Thatcher said as she cut government aid to poverty stricken areas, "let these countries rely on the creativity of capital markets"

But the crash came with the recession of 1981 and the rise of world interest rates. Suddenly the Third World countries that had borrowed money were almost strangled by their new debts. In the 1970s third world countries paid £1 billion in debt service. By 1989 that figure had increased tenfold, to £160 billion. Since then countries have been taking out further loans, not to build new factories or hospitals, but simply to pay the interest on their existing debts.

The real beneficiaries of the debt crisis have been private banks who made the massive loans.

As soon as it looked like countries would be forced to default on repayments these bankers abandoned their free market rhetoric and looked to the major powers for backing.

They demanded the nationalisation of the debt which transferred the burden of debt onto the backs of the world's poorest people.

So now when a child is born in the Congo republic they already owe \$2,278 to western banks.

"We foreign bankers are for the free market when we're out to make a buck and believe in the state when we are about to lose a buck", one of them told

the Wall Street Journal.

The US stepped in via the IMF and imposed severe austerity measures, which led to cuts in the already minimal social spending of Third World governments.

As a result the banks made record profits in the 1980s while millions starved in Ethiopia and Sudan.

The process of debt extraction led to the creation of tyrannical regimes because, as the writer Susan George explained, "it takes a strong armed regime to bleed its people dry."

African dictators, who were backed by the US, added substantially to their countries' burden through corruption. President Mobutu's wealth in former Zaire was equivalent to its entire external debt.

When talking about Africa today an important question arises for socialists; do western workers benefit from the oppression of Africa?

Some Third World agencies believe that living standards are generally too high in the West and that western workers will have to make sacrifices for the current situation to change.

But this ignores the fact that their is a huge class divide in western societies.

Western banks do not give their profits to workers, far from it, many of these banks get their core wealth from squeezing Western workers via mortgages and loans.

If Western workers benefited from the exploitation of African workers you would expect our living standards to rise as those of the Africa to fall.

But in fact, although Western workers may be better off than many workers in Africa, their living standards tend to rise and fall together.

What this shows is that worker throughout the world have a direct interest in seeing real development in Africa.

by SINEAD KENNEDY

in my view

Tourist trap

AROUND THIS time of year, the Dublin middle classes used to get agitated about the arrival of language students from Spain and Italy. The topic provided radio phone-in shows with hours of fun, with every irate crank in Ireland claiming their bus-route was worst affected by the 'swarms' or 'gangs' of Europeans.

Today, unfortunately, racists have a more vulnerable group as the target of their bigotry - refugees. But it did illustrate some strange attitudes to the Irish tourist trade.

Similar ironies are evident amongst who are against refugees coming to their towns. They said they could not cope with the size of the 'influx.'

Yet many of these same towns double their populations in the summer time due to tourism. The leaders of the anti-refugee campaign are often the same hoteliers and bar owners who make a fortune from the influx of holiday-makers.

Exploitation

Tourism is big business in Ireland. A few companies dominate the hotel industry and their owners are making a killing.

Ryan Group Hotels are valued at around £96 million. Other major players include Doyle-Jury's, whose founder, P.V. Doyle was a large contributor to Fianna Fail.

It's no surprise then, that this is an industry based on extreme exploitation of workers. Wages are usually well below average.

In some Dublin hotels, staff are lucky if they get £4 an hour. Jobs are often advertised at a higher rate that is never realised.

Ed works in a large city-centre hotel: "Officially I get £6 an hour, for an eight hour shift. But more often than not, I end up having to work an extra three or four hours unpaid. That only works out at £4."

This story is repeated everywhere. Hotels hire people casually. If they aren't willing to put up with this exploitation they can be fired just as casually.

Hotels are one of the few places that people without work-permits can get a job and bosses use this to maintain low wages, encouraging racism. The use of underage labour is also frequent.

In some areas of the country, tourism is the main, if not the only source of employment. This also allows bosses to take advantage of workers' desperation in the face of unemployment.

Wages are not the only thing to suffer. Every year, parts of Ireland are under threat of destruction due to tourism.

Local people and others concerned, are blackmailed into choosing between the environment and employment.

Damage

This was the argument used for the proposed development at Mullaghmore in the Burren. Plans were laid to build an interpretive centre right in the middle of an area with unique plant-life, some of which is already under threat due to environmental damage. The issue was extremely divisive as west Clare has a high level of unemployment.

You also have to feel sorry for the tourist, occasionally. Herded around Dublin and the rest of Ireland on overcrowded buses, they are sold a romantic version of Irish history in order to prise the money from their pockets. Tour guides are instructed to bring their groups to the most expensive shops and restaurants in the area, where prices are deliberately inflated.

Culture is ransacked in pursuit of profit. The 'literary tour' is big news at the moment. This is where you travel around looking at sites linked to famous Irish writers.

Sligo has taken this really seriously. The only local map available in the tourist office there has 'Yeats County' plastered all over it. Yeats may have had some odd ideas, and his poetry has tortured generations of Leaving Cert students, but he doesn't deserve to be turned into a tea-towel!

PR agencies are paid millions to sell Ireland abroad. Recently, the Celtic Tiger has even been used as a way of attracting tourists as well as multinationals. But they never mention the reality of the Celtic Tiger - low wages, unaffordable housing, racism and an environment under threat.

This summer, spend your holidays in the fight against this beast!

by PAUL McCARTHY

play

A good man fallen among Fabians

by PAUL O'BRIEN

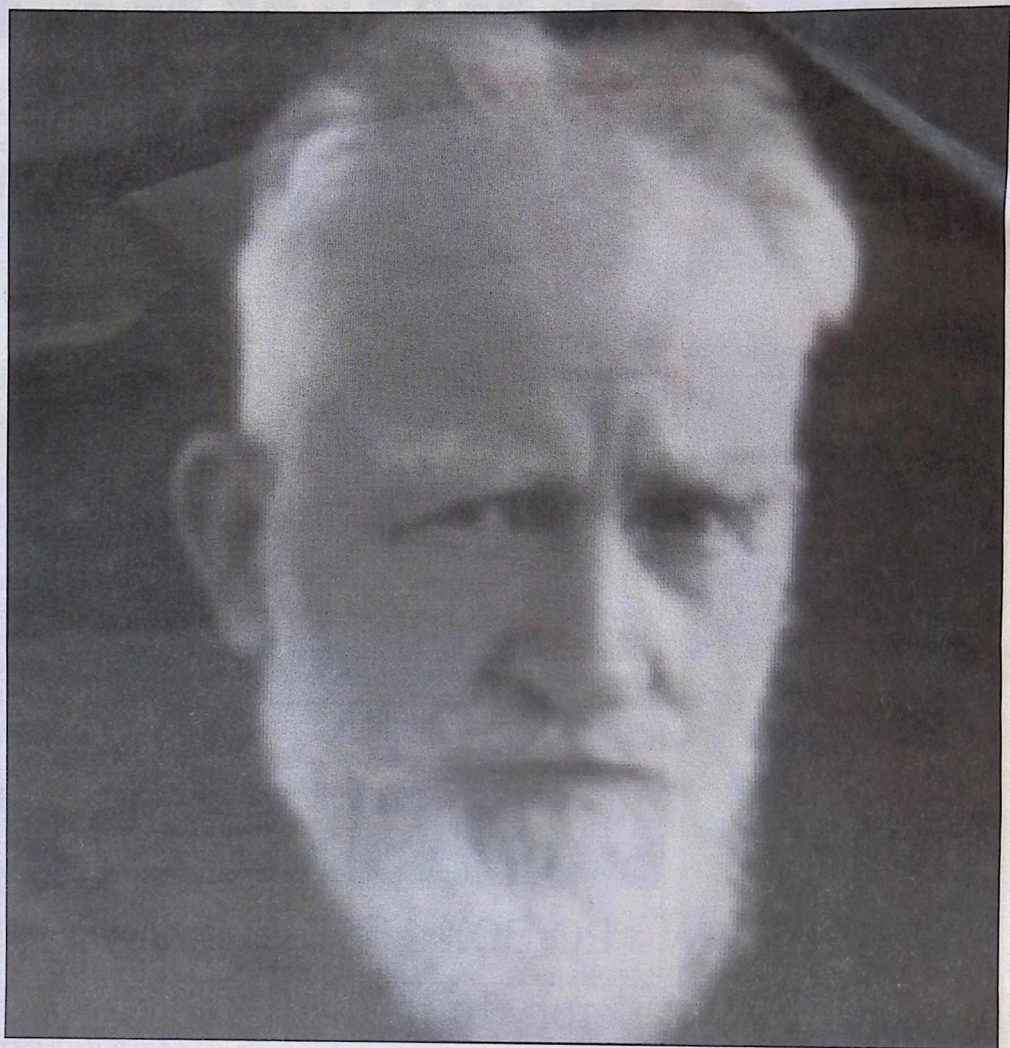
AFTER YEARS of neglect, George Bernard Shaw is enjoying something of a revival. The Abbey recently produced Mrs. Warren's Profession and the Gate is currently showing Arms and the Man. The Gate in their publicity describes it as a romantic comedy, but Shaw always called it an anti-romantic comedy.

The difference is important; Shaw in his best work always tried to show the contradiction between the false morality of the ruling class and the reality of the world on which it is based.

Snobbish

In Mrs Warren's Profession, it is the contradiction between the snobbish lifestyle of her daughter, and the fact, that unknown to her it is derived from Mrs. Warren's life as a prostitute and brothel owner.

The play horrified its Victorian audience and was censored. But it is as little about sex as Arms and the Man is about



war. It is an argument about class.

In 1882, Shaw discov-

ered Marxism and became a well-known activist. But this was a short phase in his career. In time he aban-

doned Marxism and became openly identified with Fabianism. Fabianism meant a belief that reform

could only be carried through by benevolent middle-class intellectuals.

Criticising Shaw has always been easy. His support for Stalin, and his flirtation with Mussolini, marked his long decades of decline from the twenties to his death in 1950.

But there remains the Shaw that Lenin and Brecht admired.

First of all there is Shaw's unashamed partisanship.

Unlike so many of today's writers, who believe that form is more important than content, Shaw made no attempt to conceal the fact that he was writing for a purpose.

Critical

In his practical activity as a Fabian socialist, speaking at meetings and street corners, Shaw was in continual contact with working class people and he learned a great deal from them.

He learned to be critical of himself as perhaps no other Fabian was.

And he gained the sense, never to be lost, that it is the people who must be brought into action if change is to take place.

That sense is always alive beneath the outward Fabian veneer.

He fell among Fabians; but he was as Lenin once said 'a good man fallen among Fabians'.

song

41 Bullets on black skin



Bruce Springsteen

by JAMES REID

"I ONCE met a man who didn't like Bruce Springsteen. I never met another one so it was a shock to read this about the singer, 'He has all those good songs and

everything, American flag songs and all that stuff, and now he's a floating fag. You can quote me on that... He's turned into some type of fucking dirt-bag.'

This was said by the President of New York State Chapter of the Fraternal Order of Police, Robert Lucente, after Springsteen sang his new song 'American Skin' at Madison Square Garden, NYC, on 12 June.

The performance led to insults and boycotts by two major New York police groups, as well as

condemnation by mayor Giuliani.

The subtitle of the song is '41 shots' and is about the murder in 1999 of an unarmed black man.

Amadou Diallo was shot 41 times by four plainclothes police officers, while standing in the doorway of the apartment building where he lived in the Bronx.

Acquitted

Diallo was holding out his wallet. Many New Yorkers find it hard to believe that the police, who have such familiarity with guns, could mistake a wallet for one at such close range.

The trial of the police was originally to be held in the Bronx but was moved to the mainly white Albany.

All four were

acquitted.

If the police and mayor listened to the words of 'American Skin', Springsteen is very careful.

He never mentions Diallo by name and describes a cop 'kneeling over his body in the vestibule/praying for his life.'

Springsteen's songs are so popular everyone wants to appropriate them. 'Born in the USA' was played at a rally for the right wing Pat Buchanan on August 14 1999.

The lyrics are actually a bitter lament on a soldier's experience in the Vietnam War.

What the establishment really object to is the issue being raised now.

When the fuss dies down, the police will probably adopt the song in their recruitment ads.



where we stand

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.

Dublin is Europe's expensive city...

Government has no solution to inflation



The Minister for inflation

DUBLIN IS now the fifth most expensive city in Europe, according to a recent official report.

But as the government unveiled its strategy for controlling inflation, there is not the slightest chance it will bring prices down.

Only alcohol is being made subject to price control.

There are to be no controls on the price of building land even though only a handful of property speculators control the majority of the land bank around Dublin.

Many of these specu-

lators — such as Bovale Ltd — have made huge donations to FF.

Nor are there any rent controls even though rent in the major cities is now soaring.

The Government is also setting aside £40 million for childcare.

But this is pittance. Ireland already has the highest childcare costs in EU because the state does not provide cheap and subsidised crèche facilities.

Charges

There is also to be a freeze on charges by semi-state companies. But CIE has already got its price rise and prices at the ESB are falling

anyway. Many semi-state companies such as Eircom have now being privatised. Proposals for minor price cuts such as reducing VAT on certain items were rejected by McCreevy.

And there are no plans to raise social welfare payments to help poorer groups deal with rising prices. Oil prices and interest rates are already rising on a

global scale.

As many Irish people have taken out big debts to cover mortgages and other items, the interest rates will cause huge hardship.

By the end of the year, inflation in the Celtic Tiger will probably rise over 6 percent. That in turn means that wage rises agreed under the PPF will once again see workers falling short.

PUT IN YOUR PAY CLAIM

DISGRACEFULLY the ICTU gave a 'guarded welcome' to McCreevy's plans.

According to the Irish Times, the union leaders "are hoping as much as the government that it contains enough to keep their members quiet for another few months".

The union leaders care more about keeping social partnership than anything else.

Salaries

It guarantees them a quiet life on hefty salaries.

But the rank and file of the unions cannot adopt this attitude. Inflation hits the poorest groups of workers and adds to the stress of living in the Celtic Tiger.

For that reason, workers should follow the lead of key groups

who are looking for extra pay to compensate for inflation.

★ Bar Staff: They have won a 33 percent in their pay, bringing the top rate to £11 an hour.

★ Bank staff, who are members of the IBOA have won a special Dublin allowance of £2,000.

Other bank workers are putting in claims to follow suit.

All sorts of reasons can be found for a pay claim.

Some employers are raising pay at the entry grade because they cannot get workers.

If they do, those on higher grades should look for comparable increases.

Workers can also find extra productivity they have given and can demand extra pay.

The thing is to get in a pay claim before we are hit with new price rises.

Fax (01) 872 3838
E-mail swp@clubi.ie

or send to

letters

PO BOX 1648, Dublin 8

US State murder

THE MAN who wants to become head of the "free world" George Bush jr. revealed his ruthlessness again when he presided over the execution of a black man on death row. Gary Graham

This "compassionate conservative" has presided over the death of some 135 people—about one fifth of all those executed across the US.

Texas, in the southern US, has the worst record of state murder since the death penalty was reintroduced in the 1970s. It has killed 221 people.

Gary Graham struggled till the end. His last words were, "They are murdering me tonight. They know I am innocent. Keep marching, black people." Graham had spent half of his life on death row after being accused of murder at 17 years old.

But there is growing opposition to the death penalty across the US. There were demonstrations in cities all across the US as Graham was killed.

□ Cathy Thompson, Dublin

Victory to the Aldi workers

SOME friends of mine work in ALDI in Letterkenny. They were telling me about the strike in Dublin. I also read about it in your paper. I think it is disgusting that any company can treat its staff this way. They have no respect for workers at all. We saw this in Donegal over the Fruit of the Loom closure. It's time to teach them all a lesson.

□ John O'Donnell, Letterkenny.

Taste the pollution

I CAN'T get over the level of pollution in Dublin. Since coming here from Sweden, I've noticed the effect it has had on my health.

Every day, there are queues of cars on the streets and queues of people for buses.

You can taste the pollution in the air.

In other countries, where proper public transport exists, this would be unacceptable.

When are we finally going to get such a system in Ireland?

□ Johanna, Rathmines, Dublin

Join the Socialists

(PLEASE USE BLOCK CAPITALS)

Name.....

Address

Telephone Union.....

E-mail.....

- I want to join the SWP
- I want more information
- I want to get Socialist Worker fortnightly
- I want to subscribe to the SWP e-mail network

Return to SWP PO Box 1648 Dublin 8. Tel (01) 872 2682

SWP branch meetings

□ **ATHLONE:** Contact 01- 872 2682 for details

□ **BRAY:** Meets every Wednesday at the Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm

□ **BELFAST CENTRAL:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the WhytesBar.

□ **BELFAST QUEEN'S UNI** Meets every Tuesday 1pm (see poster for details)

□ **BELFAST SOUTH:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union

□ **CORK:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Donoghue's Pub, Drawbridge St

□ **DERRY:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.

□ **DUNDALK:** Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details

□ **LUCAN:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Courtney's Bar, Lucan village

□ **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 FAIRVIEW:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Fairview Inn

□ **DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways Pub, Parnell St

□ **DUBLIN KILLBARACK:** Phone 087 6235071

□ **DUBLIN STONEYBATTER/CABRA:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Augh-

rim St Parish Hall, Prussia St

□ **DUBLIN BALLYFERMOT:** Meets Tuesdays in Ruby Finnegans, Lower, Ballyfermot.

□ **DUBLIN BALLYMUN:** Phone Kevin at 8622209

□ **DUBLIN DUNDRUM:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Dundrum family recreation centre

□ **DUBLIN RIALTO:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR

□ **DUBLIN RATHMINES / RANELAGH:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm Upstairs in La Touche, 24 Earlsfort Terrace Dublin 2

□ **DUBLIN HAROLDS X:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in O'Connell's Pub, 5th Richmond St

□ **DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm

in Trinity Inn, Pearse St

□ **DUBLIN RINGSEND:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Ringsend Community Centre

□ **DUBLIN TALLAGHT:** Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre

□ **ENNISKILLEN:** Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details

□ **GALWAY:** Meets every Wednesday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba) 8.30pm

□ **LIMERICK:** Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details

□ **SLIGO** phone 087 6329511 for details

□ **TRALEE:** Phone 087 6329511 for details

□ **WATERFORD:** Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the ATGWU all, Keizer St.

ILDA

DRIVERS STRIKE FOR PASSENGER SAFETY

TRAIN DRIVERS in the Irish Locomotive Drivers Association are refusing to work new rosters and work practices because the "new deal" amounts to an assault on drivers' conditions.

One driver from Dublin's Inchicore depot summed up the mood: "It's about worsening conditions and more pressure. We are worried about passenger safety and the safe operation of trains."

Increased

The maximum working day is increased from nine to eleven hours and guaranteed rest periods are abolished.

One driver explained

to *Socialist Worker*, "A driver has to report at Dublin's Inchicore depot, drive a train from Heuston station to Tralee.

"There the driver has half an hour in which to turn the locomotive, complete safety checks and take a toilet break. He must then drive the same train back to Dublin over a notoriously bad stretch of track."

"Would you drive a car from Dublin to Tralee and back again with just half an hour break?"

"The company expects us to do this safely when we have responsibility for the safety of hundreds of passengers on the train."

Another driver from Cork's Ceannt station said, "We are supposed to carry out an engine check before the train

SOLIDARITY IS THE KEY

SIPTU and NBRU officials told their drivers to work overtime to undermine the ILDA action. But numbers of rail workers have given solidarity to the ILDA drivers.

A driver said, "In Cork all the SIPTU drivers and a number of NBRU drivers have not gone to work in solidarity with the ILDA drivers and in disgust at their union officials."

"The traffic staff-guards, checkers and shunters have stopped work. As they have told us, they are facing similar attacks down the road. And the permanent way workers said 'You supported us and we are now supporting you'."

"Some bus workers have also assured of their support. We will need to escalate to draw on this support," said a driver.

leaves.

"Under this sort of pressure there is a danger there won't be time to do these vital checks properly."

The abolition of guaranteed rest periods mean if there are delays, drivers

will be required to skip meal breaks to maintain the schedules.

Incinerators

RESIDENTS IN Glanmire, Co. Cork are protesting against the Council granting permission to Ahern Industrial Sites to build a waste incinerator in their community.

The residents want guarantees that the construction will not process toxic waste. Local Representative Loughlin Ryan has said "we can never tell whether the waste burned is toxic or not. It puts the whole area and the population at risk."

Glanmire is an area just outside the city which has seen huge growth in recent years but no development of local amenities.

Activists in the area hope to stop the incinerator before the EPA grants a license and are engaging in a militant local campaign.

This action comes amid great concern in the Cork area over environment and health issue since the discovery that Kinsale Road industries regularly release over 700 times the restricted level of mercury.

Shorts

Vote for strike action

WORKERS AT Shorts in Belfast are planning rolling strike action over pay.

The company wants to tie workers into a four year pay deal which would mean a rise of just 3 percent each year.

Bobby Carson, President of the Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions said, "When companies negotiate a multi-year deal because of the stability it

Aldi

Fighting for union rights



Determined to win

photo: Paula Geraghty

THE SIX sacked workers at Aldi are entering into their second month on strike. The workers were sacked after they joined MANDATE.

Management put up a huge banner saying 'business as usual' but the reality is that the strikers say half as many people as usual are going into the shop.

Management are stepping up their attempts to intimidate the sacked workers. They are making a series of ridiculous claims that they were sacked for poor performance, despite the fact that one of the workers was offered a management post only days before being fired.

But the lies and intimidation from Aldi management aren't that surprising considering the conditions for workers in the shop.

"The breaks were when management decided," one of the strikers told *Socialist Worker*. "You could be asked to take a break almost straight away after starting work, then have to work till eight in the evening without a break because you had lunch first thing in the morning. Even then they keep the people caught shop lifting in the tiny room they

call a canteen."

Another worker said, "The conditions were horrible. I always came home stressed to the nines. They were too mean to use bar codes so you have to memorise all the prices. They put up lists of whose till was short or over to try and get people to turn against each other."

Contracts

The strikers say workers were told to sign contracts without been given time to read them. Whether people were paid for staying late or even what time they could go home depended on "what

sort of mood the managers were in." That treatment has given the workers the determination to take on the German multinational.

There have been successful one day pickets of the Aldi stores in Letterkenny and Cork as well as at the opening of a new store in Galway. On the first Saturday of the month the picket line was swelled with socialists and trade unionists. As well as supporting the pickets and publicising the strike, trade unionists need to take up collections for the strikers.

Send donations to Aldi strike Committee c/o Mandate, Parnell Square, Dublin 1.

Hawksbay

SOME 100 workers from Hawksbay Clothing company in Derry came to an unofficial union meeting in Derry on Monday 19 June. The workers have been on short time working since February, with the company claiming it was waiting for orders.

They have received little assistance from their union, the GMB and most workers were left at home knowing nothing of what was happening at the factory.

Working

Until recently, workers had been able to claim Job Seekers Allowance when they weren't working. However, an unusual demand for them to work three full days at the beginning of June disqualified them from claiming any further benefits as it exceeded the maximum hours for casual work. The workers, mainly women, were then told they were not needed for the rest of the month.

One worker, employed at the company for 15 years, told *Socialist Worker*, "This boss just treats us like dirt. We demanded a meeting

with him in March to find out what was going on. He told us that we should be grateful for any job because we had no other qualifications and all we could do was sew. When we started to question him he just got up and left and he hasn't said a word to us since."

Sinn Fein councillor Mary Nelis, who attended the meeting, told the workers that an accountant from the Industrial Development Board had been appointed to investigate the company, which is applying for IDB grant aid.

This was the first the workers had heard of this and raised concerns that their three days work was merely window dressing for the investigator, leaving them with no money for the rest of the month.

The meeting was convened by local socialist Eamonn McCann and the meeting elected a committee of representatives from each workplace section to negotiate with management on rostering of any work that was available and to organise protests aimed at securing the jobs.

Management dirty tricks

Iarnrod Eireann management have resorted to a campaign of dirty tricks and lies to try to undermine the drivers' action.

The company claimed non-existent trains have run. A Cork driver told *Socialist Worker*, "On one one typical day Iarnrod Eireann issued a statement claiming there were four trains in and five trains out of Cork station."

"The truth was that only one train left the station early in the morning and there were no further trains into or out of the station."

As for alleged "intimidation", a driver from Connolly station said, "Managers are phoning the gardai complaining of intimidation, but as far as I'm concerned the only people doing the intimidating are Irish Rail. They

took ILDA officers to court a few months back claiming £140,000 damages from individuals threatening to take their houses off them.

"We've had a stream of managers coming down to us here outside the gate saying 'You'll be out there a long time' or 'You're finished', but we're not going to let that sort of stuff get to us."

The company claims a majority of driver support the "New Deal". Not true. ILDA was excluded from negotiations and opposed the new deal. Its 114 members refused to vote in the ballot in protest. Of the remainder, 112 voted for the deal and 83 against. This means the deal commands the support of about a third of loco drivers!

Service Charges

THE CAMPAIGN against the new £150 refuse charge in Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown continues to grow. The call by the campaign for mass non-payment of the charge has met with a tremendous response.

Even the council admit 75% of people in the area have refused to pay the charge. This compares with only 50% non-payment in the successful campaign against water charges in many areas in Dublin a number of years ago.

Hundreds of people across the council area have now attended public meetings.

Cork Mosque

CORK'S MUSLIM community are appealing against the Corporation's attempt to close their mosque in Riverview Estate, Cork.

In April the corporation slapped a closure order on the house being used as a place of worship citing lack of planning permission and safety as their reasons.

The house served as a mosque since 1994 and is regarded as an absolute necessity by local Muslims.

Dr. Farghal Radwan of the Cork Muslim society told *Socialist Worker*, "It is very

important to us. We have to keep it open. It is a basic right to have a place of worship."

Dr. Radwan is disgusted at the spurious claims made by the local and national press on the issue. Some reports have generated racist sentiment, suggesting hygiene issues, rat infestations and people sleeping in cars were of concern to residents. He says, "This is absolute nonsense. The mosque and its garden are kept in excellent condition and people are not sleeping in cars."

The result of the appeal will be known on July 14.

Working class people are furious that they can be asked to pay twice for something they already pay for through central taxation. The huge corruption and tax evasion scandals have shown that while workers pay the vast bulk of tax in this country big business and the super wealthy were ripping the whole country off.

They also have rejected claims that the refuse charge is a green tax. The overwhelming majority of waste is produced by industry and large-scale agriculture yet these people pay the least tax.

the campaign plans to escalate its protests and build the level of non-payment. Richard Boyd Barrett, the chairperson of the campaign said: "The council have been rocked by the scale of opposition to the bin tax. If we stick together and build the campaign, we can force the council and central government to back off and make those who are really responsible for the waste management crisis pay to sort it out, instead of taxing working class people again."

To contact the campaign contact Richard Boyd Barrett at 087-6329511 or Lisa Maher at 01 4934696.

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Stand up to Labour's racism

ASYLUM SEEKERS WELCOME HERE



THE 58 Chinese men and women who suffocated in the back of a refrigerated lorry in Dover in June were the victims of New Labour's vicious anti-asylum laws.

Home Office minister Jack Straw has made it impossible for anyone to claim asylum in the UK, insisting that they apply in their own countries if they are fleeing political persecution. Straw is trying to outdo the Tory opposition by threatening ever harsher measures against refugees.

Straw tried to turn the blame for the deaths onto organised gangs of smugglers. But there would be no market for smuggling if it was possible to make a legal application for

asylum. Disgracefully, a week later the British and Irish governments met to plan new ways of tightening the laws against refugees entering the country.

Both governments are deliberately using racism to distract attention from their own failure to deliver change for working class people.

Distract

New statistics released in June show that public spending has actually fallen by almost 32 per cent to £2.6 billion a year under the New Labour government.

Labour is spending 50% less on investment in health, education, transport and than in the last year of the Tory government and only a quarter of what the Tories spent in the three years to 1996.

Reports issued the same week

show that cancer patients are dying because of delays in treatment. Waiting lists for operations are still growing. Social services are crumbling.

In June the South Tyrone hospital announced the closure of all its acute services.

The ambulance service in Northern Ireland faces a desperate shortage of resource.

Social workers in child protection agencies in the North West are threatening to take strike action over a massive shortfall in funding.

New Labour has the money to address this. The boom in the economy has meant that it is sitting on an £18 billion budget surplus. It just got another £22.5 billion from the sale of radio licences to mobile phone companies.

But Labour's commitment to free market economics means that they are terrified to spend it in case it frightens the big corporations and the gamblers

on the stockmarkets.

These are the real spongers and the people most responsible for the savage cuts in public spending.

Labour are not frightened of attacking working class living standards and public services, despite widespread evidence of a deep disillusionment among Labour voters.

Straw's racist attacks on refugees are a cynical diversion from the real cause of these problems. They have only encouraged the Tories.

The Blair government has been so right-wing that some opinion polls are now estimating that the Tories are only three points behind Labour, raising the frightening prospect that they could even win the next election.

There is an urgent need for a genuine socialist opposition to Labour, to challenge this racist scapegoating and direct the anger of working class people at the real causes of their problems.



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