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# Socialist Worker

## Enough is Enough:

# March on the Dail May 11th

# DRIVE THIS GOVERNMENT OUT

THE LIES of the FF-Green government are coming unstuck.

When public outrage grew about the €1.5 million pension top-up for Bank of Ireland chief, Richie Boucher, Brian Cowen told the Dail that there was 'nothing he could do'. A few days later, it was revealed that his finance Minister Brian Lenihan had sanctioned the pay out!

Then came the revelation about the ballooning national debt.

For months, the government claimed that the bank bail outs had nothing to do with the public spending deficit. That was supposed to be a 'separate issue' which could only be solved by slashing services and cutting public sector pay.

Now we find that the €22 billion spent on bank bail outs has put Ireland at the top of the EU league for government deficits. In 2010, that deficit will hit 18.3 percent of GDP

This revelation is crucial for two key reasons.

First, we have put up with huge attacks on our living standards for more than a year. The government's argument all along was that 'the country is losing €400 million a week and we have to get the deficit down'.

Their slash and burn policies



Brian Cowen and John Gormley say they will stay in office for another two years – no matter what the rest of us think.

made the recession deeper and the ESRI are predicting that 100,000 people will emigrate next year.

But now we find that all the sacrifices were just pointless – Irish capitalism is even deeper in debt and they will want us to pay more.

For each of the next ten years, we will have to fork out €2 billion just to pay for the crime of Anglo-Irish bank. That is half the money raised in the last budget! And then we have to pay even more in interest payments to cover the national debt!

Second, the global speculators are circling Greece to extract their maximum pound of flesh.

The two year bonds to cover Greek government debt now cost a staggering 10 percent in interest payments.

Once these sharks have had their fill with Greece, they will come back to Ireland and the other countries they derisively call the PIGS (Portugal, Ireland, Greece and Spain).

This government will then act as their loudhailers saying 'we have no choice but to pay more to our bondholders'

The picture is now stunningly clear: If we do not bring dramatic change, we will face even worse attacks on our living standards. The time for serious action has well and truly arrived.

### STEP ONE: DRIVE THIS GOVERNMENT OUT OF OFFICE

Brian Cowen and John Gormley say they will stay in office for another two years – no matter what the rest of us think.

But we can no longer put up with this arrogant, undemocratic nonsense – we need to gather in huge numbers to march on the Dail. As the over 70s showed, an effective

mobilisation of people power is the only way to put manners on them.

The Right to Work Campaign, which is sponsored by the UNITE union, has called on everyone to assemble at 7.30 at the Garden of Remembrance in Dublin on May 11<sup>th</sup> to march to the Dail.

We should come out in our thousands to show these modern day aristocrats what we think of their arrogance. Our message should be loud and clear

- Enough of the excuses – Jail Fingleton, Fitzpatrick and all the gang of economic criminals.

- Stop the Bank bail outs immediately – and tell the 'bondholders' to screw themselves.

- Get this government out of office.

A once off demo to 'let off steam' will not achieve this. So we need to show the same determination as the people of Eastern Europe did when they kept marching until the Berlin Wall fell.

May 11<sup>th</sup> should only be the start – we need to stay on the streets until Cowen is gone.

### STEP 2: BUILD A REAL ALTERNATIVE

But if Cowen goes, won't FG and Labour just act the same?

**ENOUGH IS ENOUGH  
PROTEST AT  
THE BANK  
BAIL OUTS**

**WE WANT JOBS & SERVICES**

**MARCH TO  
THE DAIL**

Tuesday 11th May Assemble 7.30pm

Garden of Remembrance,

Parnell Square, Dublin

**Speakers:**

- Fintan O'Toole (Journalist)
- John Kidd (SIPTU Firefighters)
- Janette Byrne (Patients Together)
- Walter Cullen (Unite trade union)
- John Bisset (Canal Communities Project)
- Professor Kathleen Lynch (UCD)
- Siobhan O'Donoghue (Community Workers Co-Op)

**Sponsored by:**



**Organised by:**

Right to Work Campaign Tel: 087-2604143 Email: righttowork@live.com

**Join the March on the Dail, Tuesday 11th May, Assemble 7.30pm, Garden of Remembrance, Parnell Square, Dublin**

# March to defend Wexford General Hospital

A FEW weeks ago the action group to save South Tipperary General Hospital, in Clonmel, organised a public protest that brought almost twenty thousand people on to the streets of that town.

A couple of days later, Pat Kenny devoted his entire Frontline show to the various campaigns that were fighting to protect health services around the country.

No one in the audience even mentioned

Wexford General Hospital - indeed, no one in the audience represented WGH.

This led to a member of staff at WGH contacting Socialist Worker to help organise something in Wexford, and within days, volunteers were leafleting the town publicising a protest march to be held on May 22<sup>nd</sup>.

The main purpose of the protest is to prevent the HSE Reconfiguration Committee from downgrading WGH.

This could be done in by, for example, taking away the 24 hour A&E cover.

The Reconfiguration Group, headed by Dr. Colm Quigley, a former President of the Irish Medical Council and a consultant in the Wexford hospital for seventeen years, may want to close the A&E at 8 p.m. After that patients would have to travel 50 miles to Waterford to attend a Casualty department!

Other services that are under threat

are the Laboratory, which the Group are said to want to centralise in Waterford. If the Laboratory went, that would mean the immediate end of I.C.U., Maternity and Oncology services in Wexford.

The loss of the Oncology/Chemo department would be an absolute insult to the people of Wexford, who only two years ago raised more than a million euro to fund the opening of this unit.

There has been a very positive response

to the campaign so far in Wexford.

Cllr. Seamus Healy, who helped to organise the Clonmel march, has agreed to be a speaker on the day, and several other speakers have been invited also from among the staff, the local political scene and one or two local celebrities.

The simple fact is, that just like Clonmel, just like Portlucan, just like Louth, Wexford needs its local hospital with full services.

## BACK TO EDUCATION GRANT SCRAPPED

THE UNION of Students in Ireland recently called a protest meeting over the scrapping of the Back to Education Allowance.

In the budget of December 2009 a decision was made by the Irish government to stop mature students being eligible for a Back-to-Education student maintenance grant.

This followed a recommendation in the McCarthy report that social welfare recipients should not be entitled to what he calls a 'double payment'.

While his report targeted many social welfare payments, Mr. Colm McCarthy himself was quite happy to receive €35,000 for his eight months' work on the report.

Minister Batt O'Keefe claimed that these cuts are in line with the cost of living, but according to the figures released by the CSO, the cost of education in fact rose by 11.6 % in 2009.

The full maintenance grant last year totalled

€6,690 for the full year. With this grant entirely cut for new students in 2010 it will mean a drop of 27% in their total income.

This cut discriminates against every person aged 23 or over who has been unable to find work and wishes to return to college to gain a qualification and become employable. An estimated four million euro is expected to be saved.

It is absurd of Minister Micheál Martin to state that by 2013 Ireland would be at the forefront in generating and using new knowledge for economic and social progress.

The reality is that any hopes we had of Ireland becoming a progressive 'knowledge economy' in the future are being steadily stamped out.

Last year 18,000 mature students applied to college. This year it is almost twice that. Education should not be perceived as a luxury that can only be accessed by those with means.

## Support strikers at Connolly Shoes



Photo: Paula Geraghty

ONE HUNDRED and twenty people marched through the streets of Dun Laoghaire in support of the strikers at Connolly Shoes. It was a very visible display of the huge support that exists within the town.

The dispute began when the son of the now deceased, long-time owner of the firm, took over the running of the company and sought to impose drastic cuts in pay and conditions on the workforce, while refusing to consult with them or talk to their

trade union, Mandate.

The new owner imposed a 10% pay cut, reduced workers to a three day week, removed parking rights in the shops car-park, and simultaneously sought to increase the employee's workload

When the workers requested consultation, the company refused and failed to turn up at the Labour Relations Commission.

Workers were given an ultimatum to sign up to the new conditions or

face the sack. After 30 years of service each, two employees were dismissed and those who remained were given unworkable hours and degrading conditions.

But the workers were not cowed down and have placed pickets on the Store on Georges St Dun Laoghaire. The owners has responded by constantly calling in the police - even though workers have maintained a peaceful picket.

The workers are well known in the

local community and no one is taken in by the slanderous lies of Connolly's management that this is somehow a 'wildcat' strike.

Cllr Boyd Barrett of the People Before Profit Alliance has called for a boycott of all Connolly Shoe stores until the dispute is resolved in a fair way and the sacked workers have been re-instated.

Connolly Shoes also own stores in Bray, Arklow and Camden St in Dublin.

## SLIGO: UNION ACTIVISTS GATHER

OVER TWENTY five union activists have come together to form the Sligo Trade Union Members Alliance.

The inaugural meeting was addressed by Kieran Allen, President of the Education Branch of SIPTU and chaired by Brian Boyle, a TUI member.

Tommy Conlon from the CPSU Executive told the meeting that many union leaders had forgotten a key weapon that workers had: the right to withdraw labour.

The meeting vowed to campaign against the public sector deal and to produce a leaflet for local workplaces. It also agreed to hold a protest outside the office of a local FF TD, Jimmy Devins, on May Day.

Plans are also afoot to call a bigger protest on Saturday May 29<sup>th</sup> over the bank bail outs.

## Mainstream parties vote to close Sallynoggin Library

THE LIBRARY in Sallynoggin has been closed despite overwhelming opposition.

Instead this working class area will have to make do with a six hour a week mobile service, staffed by volunteers.

The closure is a direct result of the government's moratorium on public sector jobs.

Library posts in the Dun Laoghaire area have shrunk by 21 percent even though,

coincidentally, usage has also increased by 21 percent in the past year as more people come to libraries in a recession.

The decision to close the library came after the three main parties, Labour, FG and FF voted for a budget which cut the service.

Local People Before Profit councillors, Richard Boyd Barrett and Hugh Lewis, have tabled a motion at the council for its re-opening.



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# Public Sector Deal: VOTE NO TO SURRENDER

**MOMENTUM IS building up against the public sector pay deal with more union branches coming out against the agreement.**

The National Fire-fighters Committee of SIPTU has joined the union's 3,000 strong Education Branch in opposing the deal. Grassroots meetings have been held in large workplaces such as St James hospital to build opposition.

Union head offices have responded to this rebellion by launching an all-out assault on democracy.

Despite the fact that the lay delegates to the National Executive of IMPACT voted against the deal, the paid officials have done their best to overturn their recommendation.

They have delayed a ballot until Peter McLoone gets a 'clarification' from his Fianna Fail friends. They are also pressurising the executive to take a neutral position so that the officials can campaign for the deal.

In the PSEU, the union leaders rushed out the ballot papers before the annual delegate conference was to debate the issue.

But the most dramatic attacks on union democracy are occurring in SIPTU.

After a briefing meeting at the union head office, officials have been touring branches to tell workers that their houses will be re-possessed if they don't vote Yes - because they will be out on strike for so long.

The union has refused to call a special conference to debate the issue because, as one senior official candidly acknowledged, this would give opponents a chance to criticise the deal.

Most spectacularly, there has been censorship of literature produced by Dublin Fire-fighter leader John Kidd when canvassing support to become Vice President.

All references to his opposition to the deal were removed - and he has been told not to speak against the deal while being a candidate.



## Why you should oppose this 'deal'

### PAY: WHAT DO WORKERS GET?

Nothing but promises.

- There will be no general pay rises for THREE years, until 2014.

But prices will rise because of higher interest rates, fuel prices, water charges and higher taxes on the low paid. Workers will be able to do nothing about these price hikes because we will give up our right to take industrial action.

- There is No commitment to restore the pay cuts or remove the pension levy.

The government was already supposed to review public sector pay in 2011 according to the Financial Emergency Measures in the Public Interest Acts of 2009.

The new draft proposals contain just two clauses

- 'the review will take account of sustainable savings generated from the implementation of this agreement'

And that: 'in the events of sufficient savings being identified in the Spring 2011, priority will be given to public servants with pay rates of €35,000 or less in the review of pay'

- There is a 'Get out of Jail' Clause for the government.

Everything in the deal is subject 'to no currently unforeseen budgetary deterioration.'

This allows the government to tear up all promises and bring in even more pay cuts. After the new revelations about the doubling of the national debt due to Anglo-Irish Bank, there is bound to be more 'budgetary deterioration'

### REDUNDANCIES AND OUTSOURCING

The union leaders pretend that they have guarantees to stop outsourcing. It is a lie.

But the draft proposals say: 'It is necessary to provide some new and/or existing service on an outsourced basis.' There are procedures by which this outsourcing will occur - but it is written in black and white that it will increase.

Currently, there are no compulsory redundancies in the public sector at the moment - but this new draft opens the door.

It says that 'Compulsory redundancies will not apply... subject to compliance with the terms of the agreement and to... redeployment being delivered'

For the first time, compulsory redundancies will apply in the public service if you don't accept management demands, particularly redeployment to wherever you are told to go

### WHAT WORKERS HAVE TO GIVE

This proposed deal will ask union members, who have already taken two pay cuts to agree to extra productivity. That is, MORE work for LESS pay.

While billions are made available for the banks, yet again public sector workers are asked to sacrifice.

**SUPPORT JOB CUTS:** The proposals endorse the government's policy of reducing public sector numbers. It makes reference to the McCarty Commission which advocates getting rid of 17,358 public sector jobs. These job cuts include:

6,930 jobs in Education  
6,168 jobs in Health

Paragraph 3 states 'This Agreement will enable public service numbers to reduce substantially over the coming years in accordance with a new Public Service numbers policy, which will facilitate a progressive reduction in staff numbers across the Public Service by end 2012'

However, cutting 17,358 public

sector jobs will help to deepen the recession. It will remove the hopes of many people of obtaining a job - and so encourage emigration.

### DESTROY UNION CONDITIONS

In order to cover this massive job haemorrhage, public sector workers will be expected to give up long standing rights won by unions in the past.

**New Contracts.** The draft states that 'the Parties have agreed to review and revise contractual or other arrangements or practices which generate inflexibility or restrict mobility.'

This is one of the most sinister of the suggestions. It is so vague it could mean any kind of change, and you can be certain that it will be interpreted in a way most disadvantageous to us.

**Re-deployment anywhere.** The agreement states that 'barriers to a unified public service labour market will be dismantled' and that 'cross sectoral redeployment may take place, within a geographical area if possible'.

Management can first ask for volunteers, but if none are available can compel staff to move to a new workplace that maybe as much as 45 kilometres from their current workplace or home address.

This gives management huge power to intimidate those who do not conform by threatening them with re-deployment.

**Management by stress:** The draft means that all increments will now be linked to your performance. The relevant clause states 'There will be significantly improved performance across all public sector areas, with promotion and incremental progression linked in all cases to performance'

You will not get an automatic increment for years of service as is the

custom now but increments will be conditional on the judgement of your line manager or on a Performance Management Development System.

**New Pensions Scheme:** The pensions of public sector workers were normally based on the final year of their salary. Under the government's new plan, the pension will be based on the average midpoint of your salary for new entrants.

And, make no mistake, once they have introduced this for new entrants, it will spread to the rest of the workforce when they discover another crisis in public finances.

**Cuts in Overtime and Sunday Premium:** The proposals for the health service give management the right to change rosters over an 8am to 8pm time period so that less overtime is available.

### THE ALTERNATIVE: REJECT THE POLITICS OF FEAR

The union leaders have demoralised workers by leading a fake battle over pay cuts. Now they want to use that demoralisation to frighten workers with talk of all-out industrial war.

But who would want to go into a serious fight led by incompetent generals who want to wave a flag of surrender? The real alternative is

1. Keep trade unionism alive by voting No and retain our rights to defend condition.
2. Tell the union leaders who negotiated this deal to resign.
3. Call open branch meetings and special union conferences to devise a fighting strategy
4. Co-ordinate action across the public sector and combine it with mass demonstrations to drive this government out of office.

# Volcanic Ash: Profit comes before safety

AT 6:30 in the evening of 6 March 1987 a passenger ferry called the Herald of Free Enterprise left Zeebrugge to cross the English Channel.

For 196 of the people on board, Free Enterprise heralded death when the ship capsized. In a shallow sea just minutes from port, a modern ship on a route safely travelled by similar ships thousands of times, became a death trap for the unsuspecting passengers and crew.

How did this happen? Free-market governments across Europe, obsessed with removing all obstacles to maximizing profits encouraged eager bosses to treat health and safety regulations as an unwelcome and unnecessary intrusion into their pursuit of profit.

In this culture it had become routine for roll-on roll-off ferries to set sail before the bow door was closed and three inches of water on the car deck was enough to capsize the ship when it tilted.

The same decade and the same culture allowed meat to become contaminated with a virus called BSE.

In the following two decades Britain, under free-enterprise cheering Conservative and Labour governments, suffered a series of fatal train crashes because train operators were relieved of the responsibility for track maintenance.

Recently Willie Walsh, ex Aer Lingus and now union-busting boss of British Airways, decided that he knew better than the experts on the effects of volcanic ash on a jet aeroplane.

Despite having no permission from air traffic control, he put 28 flights into the air in the USA and declared that they would land at Heathrow and Gatwick.

Willie doesn't know that the energy of collision of each ash particle is approximately 40 Joules. He doesn't know that, even if there is only one ash particle per metre, this equates to the energy of five electric drills applied to each leading point on the plane for the duration of the ash cloud.

He does know, however, that in 1982 a British Airways Jumbo Jet lost power to all four engines whilst flying through an ash cloud off Indonesia. He also knows that in 1989 the same thing happened to a KLM jet over Alaska.

He knows that on both occasions crashes were narrowly averted. He knows that international scientific opinion recommends zero tolerance to ash clouds following analysis of the potential damage and the consequent threat to safety that they pose.

Willie doesn't concern himself with these details. Like all bosses he is driven by the need to compete for profit and he wants regulation to be just another column in his spreadsheet, like workers' pay and conditions, that he can juggle and compromise to build his business.

Air travel has been relatively safe over its short history because regulations have dictated a culture where safety is paramount and independently enforced.

Cowboy-Willie's high-noon style showdown with air traffic control, the Civil Aviation Authority, the experts who actually understand the potential risks and the British Government is a dangerous precedent that we are likely to see repeated as bosses become more and more desperate to increase profitability.

"Freeing business from red tape", "creating an enterprise culture" and "easing regulation" are all phrases Capitalist parties of every hue are likely to be peddling more and more as they promote their solutions to recession and soaring national debt.

It is no surprise that the Brown government caved in to Walsh's bullying. Having rewarded the culprits, governments across the world are determined to help business overcome the economic crisis whatever the cost to those that actually create the wealth of society.

In a sane, rational world we would have spent the last two weeks marvelling at the pictures of nature at its rawest and explaining what was happening to our children.

With the ever-increasing wealth of Socialist production we could happily live with such interruptions. In the madness of the never-ending need to increase profits, for Capitalism such events are merely invitations to take risks and devalue human life.

If Willie Walsh wants to fly through an ash cloud let him strap on a pair of wings and climb Mount Leinster. I'll give him a push.

# IRELAND'S ARISTOCRACY

**Ireland's moneyed aristocracy is small, mean and very incestuous. Here Rory O Connor reveals the 'golden circle' that stands behind the bankers**

**The locus of power of the elite lies in the board rooms of the biggest Irish corporations, the banks, and, of course, the political establishment.**

**Ireland's two largest enterprises are Cemer Holdings (CRH), the cement business, and Smurfit, packaging giant.**

**Both are examples of that went global, and in their owners phenome**

## CRH: The power be

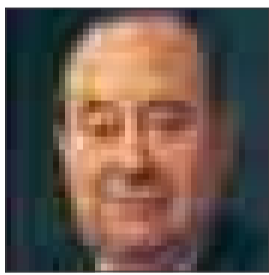
ORIGINALLY, DES Traynor was the lynchpin of this power nexus. He was chairman of CRH, and chairman of Guinness and Mahon Bank.

An accountant by training, Traynor was a close friend and financial manager for Charles Haughey, before and during his period in power.

Traynor organized an elaborate scheme of off-shore banking in the Cayman Islands so that Haughey and his pals, as well as most of the head men at CRH, could hide their wealth away from the Irish tax authorities.

Criminal behaviour and membership of the ruling class went hand in hand.

Among the CRH top brass with tax-dodging accounts in the Cayman Islands was Jim Culliton. Regarded as one of the pillars of the Irish establishment, Culliton served as Chairman of the RTE Authority and as Chairman of Allied Irish Banks (AIB).



Des Traynor

Culliton had succeeded Peter Sutherland, a former Fine Gael Attorney General, as chair of AIB. Sutherland went on to head up the international division of

global banking giant Goldman Sachs. In mid April, US authorities accused Goldman Sachs of engaging in deliberate fraud by selling bundles of mortgages they knew would never be repaid to other investors.



Peter Sutherland

Another of Des Traynor's Cayman Island clients was Ken O'Reilly Highland, chairman of Burmah Oil, and a leading fundraiser for Fianna Fail. At the time of operating his off-shore account, O'Reilly Highland was a director of the Central Bank, the Bank that was responsible for regulating all the other banks, including Traynor's Guinness & Mahon where the Cayman accounts were managed.

Two other CRH directors, Tony Barry and David Kennedy, also sat on the board of the Bank of Ireland. Barry is also a director of Ireland's biggest venture capital outfit, DCC, where he sat alongside fellow Bank of Ireland director, Maurice Keane, keeping the circle nice and tight.

Another Bank of Ireland top man, Pat Molloy, was chairman of CRH.

The tradition of CRH main-

taining interlocking directorships with Bank of Ireland continued right up to now in the person of Terry Neill.



Terry Neill.

Howard Kilroy, managed to serve as Governor of the Bank of Ireland, while also a director of CRH, and a director of Smurfit, where for years he was the right hand man of Michael Smurfit himself. When Kilroy cashed in his Smurfit share options he bagged around €15m overnight.



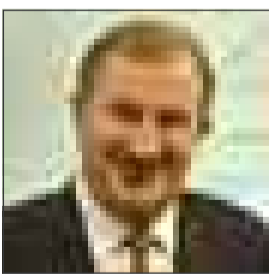
Ray MacSharry

Alongside Kilroy on the boards of both Bank of Ireland and Smurfit sat former Fianna Fail and EU Commissioner and finance minister, Ray MacSharry, and big shot lawyer, Mary Redmond.



## Anglo-Irish: The Smurfit Conn

SMURFIT BOSSES have also played key roles in running Anglo Irish Bank down the years.



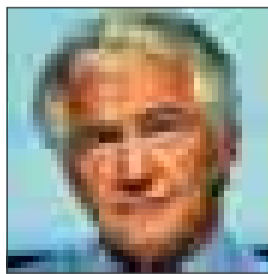
Paddy Wright

One of the key figures in this nexus was Paddy Wright, the head man at Smurfit and also a one-time head of the RTE Authority, who joined Anglo Irish Bank in the 1990s,

Another key player was Paddy McGann, current head of Smurfit who sat on the board of Anglo for six years and chaired

its Audit committee during the years of the most reckless lending to property speculators.

And to close the loop, Anglo boss, Sean Fitzpatrick, was appointed in 2007 as chairman of Smurfit.



Sean Fitzpatrick

Fitzpatrick had to work harder than most to worm his way into the inner circles of the ruling elite. The son of a small farmer, and a one-time dodgem attendant, he has become an easy scapegoat for the tight-knit old-

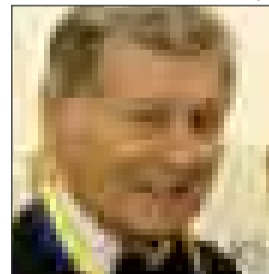
pal network who ran Ireland's banking network.

Smurfit supremo, Michael Smurfit, managed to extend his directorships into the property business by joining the board of Sean Mulryan's Ballymore Homes, where he sat alongside Peter Bacon, the economic consultant who dreamt up the great NAMA robbery.

Mulryan himself is a close personal friend of Taoiseach, and former FF finance minister, Brian Cowen. Cowen is a frequent guest at the parties Mulryan hosts at his 350 acre stud farm.

And, looping back again, Cowen's big pal Fintan Drury (yet another chair of the RTE Authority) was also a director of Anglo Irish Bank, and, some believe, an intermediary between Cowen and Sean Fitzpatrick on the night of the bank guarantee

when Anglo was saved at a cost of €25 billion to the taxpayer



Michael Smurfit

Michael Smurfit is joint-owner of the K Club in Co Kildare, the luxury golf resort surrounded by some of the most expensive real-estate in the country.

Smurfit's co-owner is Gerry Gannon, a major Fianna Fail backer, and one of the so-called Anglo 10 – the men who were lent money by Anglo to buy the bank's own shares in a 'share

### Hazards to aviation from volcanic ash cloud

The ash cloud from Iceland's erupting volcano was the cause of air



# POLICY: KNOW THY ENEMY

non-banking  
at Roadstone  
ment and aggregates  
the paper, card and

f Irish companies  
n the process made  
nally wealthy. Fianna

Fail allowed CRH to establish itself as  
a monopoly in the cement business in  
the sixties, even though competition law  
prohibits monopolies.

Both CRH and Smurfit have been inter-  
twined with the Irish banking and political  
establishments for a long number of years.

## Behind the bankers



## Connection

### IBEC: Hit men for the aristocracy

support' scheme of dubious  
legality.

The other intriguing link  
between the K Club and dodgy  
banks runs through former  
Fianna Fail finance minister,  
Charlie McCreevy. He bought a  
€1.5m house at the K Club with  
money lent by Irish Nationwide,  
the building society run by the  
Fianna Fail groupie Michael  
'Fingers' Fingleton.

Fingleton was another fre-  
quent guest at Sean Mulryan's  
bashes, often seen enjoying a  
joke there with Anglo's Sean  
Fitzpatrick.

And, just to close off this lit-  
tle circle, 'Fingers' Fingleton  
was a star guest at Michael  
Smurfit's 70<sup>th</sup> birthday bash on  
his yacht in the Mediterranean  
— as were Gary McGann and  
Paddy Wright of Anglo, and  
Howard Kilroy formerly of Bank  
of Ireland.

IRELAND'S MONEYED aris-  
tocracy shelter behind IBEC  
— which functions as the hit men  
for the rich.

The banks have massively  
funded IBEC in the past and do-  
nated €1 million in 2008 alone.



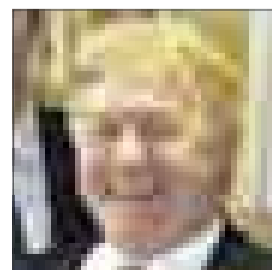
Richard Burrows

Richard Burrows, IBEC presi-  
dent, moved seamlessly into the  
chair at Bank of Ireland where  
he sat at the time of the bank  
guarantee.

Burrows is a former boss of  
Irish Distillers Ltd which held

fundraisers for Fianna Fail  
and financially backed Mary  
McAleese, the Fianna Fail  
Presidential candidate, whose  
re-election campaign was run  
by Laurence Crowley, Burrow's  
predecessor as Governor of the  
Bank of Ireland.

Gary McGann, of Anglo Irish  
and Smurfit fame, is another  
former IBEC president, while  
Tony O'Brien, former chairman of  
Anglo, was an IBEC treasurer.



David Dilger

David Dilger, former boss

of Greencore and a director of  
Bank of Ireland, is an IBEC trustee,  
along with Maurice Pratt,  
chairman of Bank of Scotland  
Ireland.

Closing off the loop is Eugene  
Sheehy, IBEC council member  
and chief executive of AIB.



Eugene Sheehy

This tight little circle runs  
Ireland. They dictate policies that  
promote wage cuts and bank bail  
outs. Their attitude to the rest of  
us is 'Let Them Eat Cake' — or,  
better still, emigrate.

## IRELAND'S GAS AND OIL: The giveaway continues

### Criminalisation of activists within the Shell to Sea campaign

FISHERMAN PAT O' Donnell\* is  
undergoing  
a seven  
month  
sentence in  
Castlerea  
prison and  
has recently  
been joined  
by another  
Shell to  
Sea activist  
activist Niall  
Hartnett.

The  
campaign  
is now in  
its second  
decade and  
a significant

number of Shell to Sea  
protestors have been brought  
before the courts.

The Shell to Sea campaign  
emerged from community  
resistance to plans by  
Shell, Statoil and Marathon  
(recently taken over by  
Vermillion) to develop an  
onshore high pressure gas  
pipeline and refinery in a  
rural area in North West  
Mayo, for the processing of  
gas from the Corrib gas field.

The campaign is directed  
by three fundamental areas  
of concern — serious health,  
safety and environmental  
risks; the giveaway of  
Ireland's gas and oil; and  
human rights abuses.

### Corrib — the future for Dalkey?

Critical reports on the  
criminalisation of activists  
has been relatively absent  
in the mainstream media.  
References to Ireland's gas  
and oil mainly have been  
mainly limited to Providence  
Resources' recent  
announcement of a potential  
870 million barrels of oil off  
the Dublin coast.

Locals in Dalkey may not  
be too enthusiastic about the  
prospect of oil production  
in their backyard, as most  
people are now aware of  
some of the risks associated  
with the Corrib project.

The press coverage  
neglected to mention is that  
Ireland won't benefit from  
this wealth.

### Ireland's gas and oil — the giveaway continues

Our country receives no  
royalties, profits or even a  
basic guarantee of supply  
from our own gas and oil.

We have to pay full market  
prices for our hydrocarbons  
while licences granted  
prior to 2007 mean that  
companies only have to pay  
a tax rate of 25%, against  
which they can offset all  
costs related to the project.

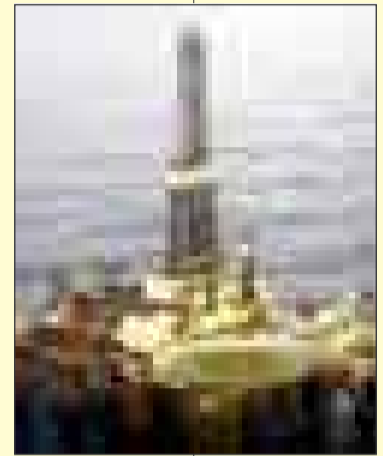
Due to growing pressure,  
Eamon Ryan, Minister  
for the Department of  
Communications, Energy and  
Natural Resources (DCENR)  
introduced new licensing terms  
of the exploration, development  
and production of Ireland's gas  
and oil in 2007.

These terms introduced a  
profit resource rent tax (PRRT),  
meaning companies face a tax

of up to 15% on their profits  
in addition to the 25% tax  
rate designated in the 1992  
Licensing terms. However,

companies  
can still  
offset all  
their costs  
before they  
pay any tax  
and the  
PRRT is only  
payable  
on large,  
profitable  
fields.

Expert  
petroleum  
consultant  
Daniel  
Johnston  
compared  
changes



in government take in 45  
fiscal systems and found that  
Ireland still had the lowest  
returns from its gas and oil,  
even with the PRRT, resulting  
in government take of around  
28%.

The second lowest returns  
to a state were in Peru which  
had government take of over  
40%. Indeed, 38 of these  
fiscal systems meant returns  
to their governments of over  
50% with three countries  
(Venezuela, Libya and Iran)  
receiving returns of over  
90%.

The lack of returns to the  
Irish state is very disturbing  
when one considers the  
lost potential revenue. The  
DCENR provides estimates  
of around 10 billion barrels  
of oil equivalent off the  
West coast of Ireland,  
worth approximately  
€600,000,000,000  
(depending on fluctuating oil  
prices).

This figure does not  
include the potential from  
the rest of Ireland's offshore  
such as the Dalkey prospect,  
nor does it include onshore  
gas and oil for which the  
DCENR recently invited  
applications for exploration  
licences.

### Accelerating the giveaway of Ireland's gas and oil

Offshore Ireland is littered  
with exploration licences, 16  
under the 1992 licensing  
terms and 11 under 2007.  
Each of these licences has  
the potential for commercial  
production, with little or no  
returns to the state.

Other new developments  
related to Ireland's  
hydrocarbons include  
plans for a Liquid Natural  
Gas processing plant in  
the Shannon Estuary and  
the development of the  
Petroleum Exploration and  
Extraction (Safety) Bill 2008.

The giveaway of Ireland's  
gas and oil, on top of the  
bank bailouts and NAMA  
shows an absolute disregard  
by the political elite for the  
average Irish person.

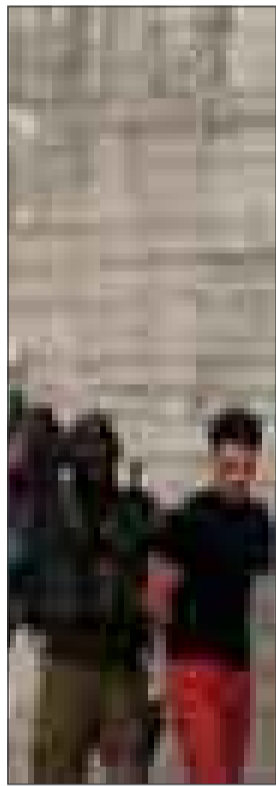
Now is the time for people  
to retaliate and fight to  
ensure the resources of  
Ireland benefit the people of  
Ireland.

\* For letters of support, Pat's address  
is Castlerea Prison, Harristown, Castlerea,  
Co. Roscommon.

**ISRAEL:****From Lockdown to Deportation**

THE ISRAEL Defence Force (IDF) has issued a new military order that will enable Israel to capture or deport tens of thousands of Palestinian residents in the occupied West Bank who do not have a permit issued by the Israeli authorities.

This means that 60-70,000 Palestinians with papers naming their birthplace as the Gaza Strip who are living or working, with Israeli "permission",



Palestinian arrested in Israeli swoop

in the West Bank will automatically become criminal offenders.

They are liable to be punished with expulsion or indictment on charges that carry a seven-year prison sentence.

It is common in the West Bank for members of the same family to have different IDs like married couples or even children can have different IDs if they were born in Gaza, the West Bank or abroad. Consequently families will be split up and segregated and any chance of their visiting each other denied.

Should anyone not leave within 72 hours of being given the order to go they could get an enormous fine or a prison sentence.

The order labels anyone without an official permit from the Israel authorities, "an infiltrator".

But in an act of defiance Palestinian citizens with Gaza IDs and residents from across the West Bank recently held a protest in the centre of Ramallah.

The protest sent a clear message that Palestinians will continue to resist and confront the decision regardless of the order.

**HUNGARY:****Fascists on the march**

Members of the fascist Jobbik on the march

**ADAM FABRY looks at the reasons behind the success of Hungary's fascist Jobbik party in recent elections**

The Jobbik party grabbed 17 percent of the vote in the first round of the Hungarian general election, in a chilling warning to the rest of Europe. It came third with 842,306 votes – only just behind the ruling Socialist Party.

Jobbik has risen quickly from its birth in 2003 and since it took 2.2 percent in the national elections of 2006.

Nobody should doubt the party's agenda or character.

*Der Spiegel*, a German magazine, reported on Jobbik's 50,000-strong rally in the capital Budapest earlier this month:

"Members of citizens' militias and neo-Nazi groups have taken over patrolling the streets... In combat boots, camouflage or black military uniforms...

"Hungary belongs to the Hungarians," the crowd hears... Roma will be encouraged to emigrate.

"They should leave, they should leave" the crowd chants in unison...

"Chants of 'Jewish pig, Jewish pig' now sound from the bank of the Danube River... where Budapest mayor Gábor Demszky has positioned himself..."

"A shout goes up, first tentatively, then louder: 'To the concentration camp, to the concentration camp'."

Many media and left wing commentators hope that now the fascist party is becoming a parliamentary force it will be sucked into mainstream politics.

But history shows that when fascists grow, they feel more confident to implement and act on their beliefs.

Although the court of justice banned Jobbik's paramilitary wing – the Hungarian guard – it simply changed its name – the

New Hungarian Guard – and continues as before.

Jobbik's rise has been fuelled by the economic crisis in Hungary and the shift to the right by the mainstream political parties.

It is strongest in the northern and eastern parts of the country – areas with the highest levels of unemployment and the highest concentration of Roma.

These areas used to constitute the industrial base of the country and have traditionally been strongholds of the Socialists (MSZP), but industry has been all but eradicated since the collapse of the Stalinist regime in 1989 and now the Socialists have been ousted too.

Jobbik's rise is significant.

It has made a partial break with the euro-fascist model followed by the British National Party and others – which focuses on respectability, populist politics and electoral gains, and keeping their fascist politics under wraps. In a sense, Jobbik's style is more like that of the fascists in Italy and Germany in the 1930s.

Jobbik's rise has been fuelled by a long-term economic crisis and the political bankruptcy of Hungary's main parties.

The two main political parties are the ex-Stalinists, now turned into social democrats (MSZP), and the conservatives who form the Alliance of Young Democrats-Hungarian Civic Union-Christian Democratic People's Party (Fidesz-KDNP), which looks set to take power after the second round of voting this weekend.

Jobbik benefited from the moral bankruptcy of the mainstream politicians. Because it built itself as a street movement, not an electoral party, it gained support quickly.

Jobbik is also critical of aspects of global capitalism and neo-liberalism – again making it popular with the disillusioned and angry

electorate.

The vacuum created by the political and economic crisis has also created opportunities for the radical left – but it has struggled to make gains.

In 2009, a democratic charter was established and a few thousand people demonstrated, forming a broad coalition.

But the movement was co-opted by elements from the old regime and the Socialists, and lost credibility.

And the radical left alternative has not been able to reach out to the minorities being targeted.

There have been, and will continue to be, efforts to build coalitions and organise events such as last year's music concert against racism and fascism.

Workers' resistance is also vital to any movement against fascism – a confident movement resisting cuts and austerity measures could draw workers together and begin to resist.

There have been some industrial battles since the crisis began – at the beginning of this year the entire capital was blocked for a week because of a public transport workers' strike.

The centre-left had already abandoned the minorities targeted by Jobbik – Jews, gays and Roma – in a desperate attempt to cling to power.

And they continue to shift rightwards, frightened by Jobbik and the gains by the conservative party. This makes it even more important for the left to organise.

The situation in Hungary must send warning signals to anti-fascists across Europe.

There is a need to galvanise support in every country so that if an organisation like Jobbik emerges it can be driven back. That can give hope to those of us fighting them in Hungary.

**GOLDMAN SACHS: Selling Fire Insurance to Arsonists**

*ROLLING STONE* magazine labelled the investment bank, Goldman Sachs, "a vampire squid wrapped around the face of humanity".

Now the US authorities are charging the bank with fraud after it emerged that it deliberately set up financial products in order to fail.

If the US government's lawsuit against the bank is correct, the blow-up of the housing market that began in 2007 was, in part, a controlled demolition engineered by Goldman and John Paulson, a billionaire hedge fund manager.

Brokers wanted to find a way to sell mortgages to those who could not afford one and the sub-prime mortgage market emerged.

Dodgy mortgages were put together and

chopped up into parcels of debt, some riskier than others. These parcels of debt were known as "collateralised debt obligations" (CDOs).

John Paulson assembled a series of these CDOs which were based on mortgages he knew would turn bad. Goldman Sachs sold them around the world.

The institutions who bought these CDOs did not know that Paulson and Goldman were "shorting" them, or, in other words, making a bet that their investments would turn worthless.

It was like a broker arranging for fire insurance to be sold to an arsonist by misrepresenting the arsonist as a member of the fire brigade, and then, selling him matches and a can of petrol to start the fire.

# New Election: Same old Sectarianism



Anyone for a sectarian head-count? DUP and UUP back Rodney Connor in Fermanagh and South Tyrone, and Sinn Féin withdraws in South Belfast to give Alasdair Mc Donnell (SDLP) a clear run for the 'Nationalist vote'

By GERRY CARROLL

ONCE AGAIN sectarianism has become central to the Westminster elections in Northern Ireland.

In Fermanagh and South Tyrone, an alliance has been formed between the UUP and the DUP to ensure that Unionist MP Rodney Connor is elected.

In response, Sinn Féin has pulled out their candidate Alex Maskey from South Belfast to give current SDLP MP Alasdair Mc Donnell a chance to 'defend nationalist seats'.

And while schools and hospitals are being starved of funding the DUP minister for culture,

Nelson McCausland, announced that his department had found the money to support the construction of two Ulster-Scots cultural centres as part of a new "Ulster-Scots infrastructure" across the North.

It's not unusual or surprising that such events happen in the North given the way politics is shaped.

The Good Friday Agreement asserted that there were only two communities in NI – that being the Nationalists and Unionists.

The Stormont Assembly is set up where the first thing elected MLAs have to do is determine whether they are Unionist,

Nationalist or other and take their seats accordingly.

Class is left to the side and almost deemed irrelevant because it's stated that the main difference between people is creed not class. The sectarian nature of the state forces people to see their difference as being between flags rather than class.

There are historical differences between SF and the DUP on the issue of the border. But they are in agreement on economic policies.

The latest example of Stormont Thatcherism came on 26 March when a new law came into force in Northern Ireland - the Local

Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act. This legislation was guided through the Assembly by the DUP controlled department of the environment and got the wholehearted support of Sinn Féin.

It is one of the most significant actions undertaken by the Assembly and will have a massive and negative impact on the North's public sector.

The Act grants wide-ranging powers to local councils to enter into Private Finance Initiative type agreements with private businesses and allows councils to contract out services to the private sector. Previously the ability

of councils to contract out services was constrained by a raft of laws which place statutory duties on local government to provide services such as environmental health.

The new Act removes these constraints and provides a series of legal protections for private companies. It opens the door to the privatisation of a range of services such as bin collections and leisure centres.

The Executive said the Act was necessary because there was a "lack of private sector confidence concerning the powers of councils to enter into long-term service contracts".

This law is a declaration by SF and the DUP that they intend to do away with a part of the public sector.

As the two parties put themselves at the service of big business and attempt to make working people pay for the recession, they will simultaneously try to shape politics around cultural identity in the hope that people will not see what is really going on.

Socialists need to build an opposition to the Executive. Part of building that opposition will be the exposure of the neoliberal agenda behind all the talk of cultural identity.

## WORKERS UNITE AGAINST THE CUTS

THE THREE major parties in Westminster Parliament have promised severe cuts after the UK election.

Despite playing the 'pass the parcel' blame game with regard to cutbacks, all the parties in the Northern Ireland Assembly have also signed off on a budget that includes major cutbacks.

The people who will bear the brunt of those cuts will be working class people in poorer communities.

COMMUNITIES AGAINST THE CUTS has been set up to fight these attacks on working class communities. It has taken off across the North.

In Derry weekly meetings are getting over 30 people attending with representatives from both Catholic and Protestant community groups.

Community workers and activists from Gallaigh, Rosemount, Bogside, Tullyalloy, Strabane, Drumahoe and other communities have been meeting weekly to co-ordinate protests and resistance to any cuts.

At a meeting in Drumahoe, a Protestant community, representatives from Catholic and Protestant community groups committed to support each other against any cuts

"as if they were in our own community".

Similar groups are being organised around the North, with community workers from the Shankill in Belfast attending the last meeting. Communities Against the Cuts has also made links with community groups in the South fighting similar

cutbacks.

Communities Against the Cuts has called on the mayor of Derry to organize a debate on the cuts with all the prospective candidates before the Westminster election.

If the Mayor refuses to organize the event in the Guildhall, the campaign will hold a public

hearing and debate outside the council offices.

A spokesperson for Communities Against the Cuts said, "We are not prepared to stand idly by while the community sector and public services are dismantled wholesale".

"Our community infrastructure along with our public services are under severe attack as a result of planned and ongoing cutbacks by the government in Stormont.

Communities against the Cuts, based in Derry, are an alliance of individuals, community activists and political activists who have come together in the common fight to retain what is in place and to campaign for more vital services for communities.

"For too long our politicians have not had to be accountable to the people that they represent but we intend to change that and make these politicians answerable for the decisions that they make which affect the lives of working class people".

"How can government justify job losses and cutbacks in public services whilst they use OUR MONEY to bail out the banks. Government is failing the people, protest and direct action can succeed."

### Save Ballymagroarty post office

OVER 50 people protested against the closure of Ballymagroarty post office last week.



The post office is heavily used by pensioners and people on benefits.

If the post office closes they will be forced to travel into the

city incurring extra costs that many cannot afford.

A packed meeting set up a campaign to save the post office and organize a campaign of protests to force the Post Office to save the service.

## Foyle Pride Festival 2010

By WENDY McCLOSKEY

2010 WILL be the first year the LGBTQ community in the Derry area will march in the city, since the Anti-homophobia demonstration in 1995 which saw marchers being attacked. The parade will follow the route of the original October 1968 Civil Rights March from Duke Street in the Waterside to the Guildhall Square.

Events will include the launch of 1,000 rainbow flags campaign, where local businesses and community groups will be invited to display a rainbow flag for the week of the festival.

A week of queer cinema will be screened by the Nerve Centre Cinema.

There will also be a series of political discussions, health workshops, family events and entertainment.

A spokesperson for the festival said, "This years Foyle

Pride March is a crucial step for LGBTQ rights in the city.

A few years ago Derry was known as the homophobic hate crime capital of Europe but due to the committed action of groups like the Rainbow Project and socialists on the ground we have raised the profile of the queer community in the city and instances of homophobic attacks are at a low.

"But the fight is not over and we call on the LGBTQ community and activists from across the island to come to Derry on the 28<sup>th</sup> of August and march with Pride across our city to celebrate sexuality and diversity and demand what is ours – our rights!"



# Socialist Worker

## VOTE McCANN

### Fight to save jobs and public services

**EAMONN McCANN**, People Before Profit candidate in Foyle, gave the opening speech at the Irish Congree of Trades Unions conference in Derry on the 27th April.

Eamonn, a life long trade unionist, is vice-chair of the Derry Trades Council and Northern Ireland representative of the National Union of Journalists.

Eamonn called for union rights for all workers and the repeal of Thatcher's anti-union laws.

All the other political parties in Stormont have already signed off on a budget of cuts and a programme of privatisation of public services – possibly including water.

A strong and vibrant trade union movement is needed to defend jobs and public services.

Recent years have seen the devastation of jobs in Derry. There are now over 55,000 people unemployed in the North and over 18,000 are under the age of 25.

Rather than more cuts, we need investment in services and jobs. We need major investment in sustainable energy, in recycling, in rail and other forms of public transport.

Eamonn McCann is the only candidate to give unequivocal support to workers rights, trade unions and expanded public services. That is why he deserves your vote.



## The North is set for savage cuts

By **EAMONN McCANN**

ALL FOUR main parties are backing the budget at Stormont – and then, on the streets, protesting against the cuts when they inevitably come along.

Already, services for the elderly, for people needing domiciliary care, for children and others with disabilities are suffering. The effects will get significantly worse as the new cuts bite.

The main parties - the DUP, Sinn Fein, the SDLP and the Ulster Unionists are telling voters that “front-line services will be protected”. Each attacks the others for the way they are implementing cuts in their Departments while claiming that their own Ministers are looking out for the most vulnerable.

This is spin and nonsense. They are arguing about marginal matters. All of them have accepted the budget which makes front-line cuts inevitable.

Finance Minister Sammy Wilson announced on December 19th last that

“Executive ministers have reached an agreement in principle on cuts to the Stormont budget for the next financial year.” He estimated the deficit which had to be filled at £367 million.

In face of the certainty of a mass non-payment campaign, he conceded that water charges wouldn't be brought in for 2010-2011 - which put on even more pressure.

Since the Executive has unanimously rejected the option of bringing water fully back into the public sector - and funding it through a radically reformed rates system which would make the rich pay their fair share - the extra money will be grabbed from the budgets or taken for other services.

On January 9<sup>th</sup> last, Wilson spelt it out: Health would lose £113.5 million; Regional Development £80.5 million; Education £73.7 million; Employment and Learning £27.8 million; Culture £25.9 million. And so on.

The DUP and Sinn Fein have signed up to these cuts. The SDLP has argued

against them, but offered no plan of resistance. Ulster Unionist Health Minister Michael McGimpsey is the only member of the Executive to say he won't accept the proposed reduction.

Many will find it remarkable that on this central issue a Minister from the Ulster Unionists - the gerrymandering party which ran Northern Ireland for 50 years - has taken a stance to the Left of Sinn Fein Ministers.

#### No Action

Said Brian Campfield, general secretary of the public service union NIPSA, “The attempt to attribute the £367m shortfall mainly to the non-introduction of water charges conceals the fact that the Executive has wasted almost two years during which it could have devised a system for incorporating the costs of water into the regional rates payments.

“Unfortunately, the Executive took no action to progress an alternative which would have been fair and acceptable to

the people of Northern Ireland.

“The Executive could avoid the cuts by lifting the freeze on the regional rate as well as the unacceptable cap on the maximum amount on which rates can be raised”.

“The cap on rates creates a situation whereby those in our society who are rich, especially in assets, are making proportionately less of a contribution to public finances than those who are less well off”.

But this argument has cut no ice with the Executive.

The People Before Profit Alliance has been arguing during the contest in Foyle that the only effective method of challenging the cuts is to organise grass-roots resistance in communities and among rank-and-file trade unionists.

Under the slogan, “Defend every job, fight every cut!” PBPA has been involved in campaigns around the threatened closure of the Foyleville home for the elderly, the need for suitable play facilities for children in the Galliagh estate, defence

of jobs in the tax office, the campaign to save recycling plants, etc, etc.

We want to generalise these campaigns and bring them together in a coordinated movement of resistance.

The Executive was able to go to London, bang the table and come back with an extra £800 million for the police - more than twice the shortfall announced by Minister Wilson.

But there seems no prospect of the stance on policing being applied to cuts to vital services.

None of the four main parties will hear tell of grass-roots opposition – after all, it's their budget.

The PBPA has made it clear that we'd use a Westminster seat to support and help build resistance, that a constituency office would be an organising centre for trade unionists in struggle, communities campaigning for their rights etc.

We believe that time is right to ask people to go beyond the Orange and Green and come together to fight together in our common interest.