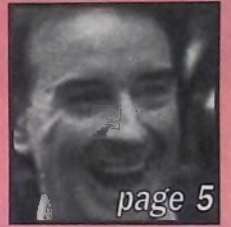


# Socialist Worker

inside

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*Blair's Tory  
comes to N.I.*



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**The fat cats that funded Haughey**  
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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p Solidarity price £1

## SAVE THE HEALTH SERVICE

# PAY THE

# NURSES

**£70,000**

TD's average  
salary and  
expenses

**£22,339**

The most a  
nurse can make  
after ten years

## Signing us up for the arms race

**FIANNA FAIL** have declared their intention to sign up Ireland to Partnership for Peace without a referendum.

They say that being a member of PpP will not affect Irish neutrality but this is an outright lie.

PpP is the junior wing of NATO which is the foremost military alliance in the world.

When PpP was launched in 1994 NATO announced that it would play "an important role (in the) enlargement of NATO".

### Require

According to the Clinton administration PpP membership will require the "acquisition of NATO compatible equipment".

This means money that should be used for healthcare and education will be spent on arms.

An estimated £80 million was spent by Hungary, the Czech Republic and Poland on modernising their armies when they joined PpP and now they are members of NATO.

NATO only exists to protect the interests of big business.

So-called "peace enforcement missions" by NATO and PpP have never brought peace. In one such mission in Somalia in 1995 10,000 ordinary Somalis died before the troops finally pulled out.

The Irish government is not signing up to bring peace but to become part of a military alliance that enforces Western colonial interests.

# FIANNA FAIL: CORRUPT AND RACIST

**FIANNA FAIL** are continuing their racist attacks on refugees. The Government have signed up to the new EU-wide procedures for fingerprinting all asylum-seekers and refugees.

This new law will

make it easier for Minister for Justice John O'Donoghue to implement the Dublin Convention, which requires that all applications for asylum be considered in the EU state where the applicant first arrives.

This new law will mean

that refugees and asylum seekers will effectively be treated as criminals.

### Criminals

Meanwhile the real criminals, like Haughey and the Ansbacher tax fraudsters, who have robbed hundreds of millions of pounds off tax payers, walk free.

# Rail crash — Our turn next?

**THE RAIL** accident in Paddington, London has brought home the terrible cost of privatisation. The Chief Executive of Railtrack earned £400,000 a year but his company refused to install vital safety equipment.

In Ireland, the major problem is that, until recently, the government has starved the railways of funds.

### Recent

The most recent report from the management of CIE admits that 'a shortfall in investment is now impacting on safety'.

A special review of safety found that there is an unacceptable level of risk because

of inadequate signaling facilities, bridges in need of renewal and old track.

Half the rail track is nearly fifty years old and is composed of old jointed track that rests on timber sleepers.

The neglect is so bad that on the Westport and Sligo lines trains have to travel at very slow speeds.

The under-funding of the railways is just one other consequence of the failure of the rich to pay their taxes.

**Picture right: The harrowing search for bodies after the Paddington train disaster**



# Ahern signed Charlie's shirt cheques

**BERTIE AHERN** says that there is no money to pay the nurses. But when he was the Fianna Fail Treasurer, Ahern signed the cheques for Haughey's shirts.

The money was paid by Irish tax payers and was given to Haughey because he was leader of a political party.

Ahern has lied through his teeth about how the money was used.

He told the Dail that the money was used "for bona fide party purposes" and that "there was no surplus and no misappropriation".

Ahern tried to stop the Moriarity Tribunal investigating the party leader's account and also tried to stop it investigating the Ansbacher accounts.

### Wonder

It is no wonder. Bertie Ahern has received money from one of the businessmen who hid money in the Ansbacher accounts.

John Finnegan the Dublin estate Agent, had £2 million in Des Traynor's dodgy bank.

Finnegan has a long relationship with Ahern and regularly attends Bertie's £2,000 a head annual fund-raising bash.

Finnegan arranged the purchase of Ahern's Drumcondra home, which the local party branch bought as a present.

No wonder Ahern doesn't want the names of the Ansbacher account holders released.

And inquiries into Haughey's life of luxury might throw a dark light on his little helper who is now Taoiseach.

### Relief

At the Cologne summit this year it was agreed that 90 per cent of this form of debt should be written off. Clinton has only added a small bit of extra relief — but gained huge publicity to cultivate his 'caring' image.

Jean Somers of the Debt and Development Coalition told *Socialist Worker*,

"We had people ringing us up to congratulate us for winning the campaign. It was amazing because, in reality, the US has only agreed to write off an extra \$500,000 above what was agreed in Cologne"

**Despite all these adjustments poorer countries will still be paying off enormous amounts of money.**

It is estimated that if the people of sub-Saharan Africa did not spend a penny for a whole year, they still would not have paid off the interest owed on the debt.

### Western

In Zambia, for example, ten times as much money is spent paying off the Western banks, than is spent on primary education.

**In countries where there are high instances of HIV, needles are shared in hospitals because governments are paying off debt rather than funding their health service.**

Instead of publicity stunts from Clinton, the debt should be canceled immediately.

## Has Clinton cancelled debt?

**THE MEDIA** has given the impression that US President Bill Clinton has canceled Third World debt. But it is only a publicity stunt that will barely alleviate hardship.

Clinton is proposing to the US Congress that loans granted directly by his government be written off. This will still leave the vast bulk of debt, that is owed to commercial banks and agencies like the World Bank, untouched..

The US gave export credit loans to countries who agreed to buy produce from American companies. As early as 1979, the United Nations Development Programme argued that these debts should be written off.

## Not so clean

**JOHN BRUTON** claims to have clean hands when it comes to corruption. But he learnt one trick from Haughey.

Charlie used to offer up government contracts without public tender, such as the sale of the Glen Ding woods to Cement Roadstone Holdings.

### Sale

When Bruton was Minister for Finance in January 1997 he pushed through the sale of a building in Dublin's Merrion Square to Irish Intercontinental Bank, which was used by the Ansbacher depositors to get tax free loans.

All the media and the TD's were worried about what Bruton got in return.



**Charvet for him — hairshirts for the rest of us**

# Legal blow to ex-Black Panther

**THE US Supreme Court** has refused Mumia Abu-Jamal, who is on death row an appeal for a new trial.

Mumia, is a former Black Panther who has been charged with murdering a police officer. His case has become famous for illustrating the way black people are treated by the court system in the US.

One eye witness Veronica Jones has said that she was threat-

ened by police officers with arrest if she testified that Mumia was not involved in the murder.

Mumia was sentenced to death by the notorious Justice Albert Sabo who has sent more people to death row than any other judge in the US.

### Police

Sabo was also a member of the Fraternal Order of the Police.

After the verdict, Mumia said, "It was not unexpected that the

Supreme Court would deny my appeal. However we can't forget that the truth shall set you free. I still believe that. I'd be a fool not to".

The number of people executed in the US is soaring to record levels.

More people have been executed this year than in any year since 1954.

Some 78 people have been legally murdered, and Amnesty international thinks that the figure could top 100 by the end of this year.

## what we think

# Striking to save our health service

**THE NURSES fight is the most important struggle in over decade.**

If they win, the first steps will have been taken to improve the health service so that

## What nurses demand

After ten years a staff nurse earns only £22,339. She is then stuck on that for the rest of her working life.

She can barely pay for huge mortgages that have soared with the hike in property prices. If she has child care costs there is very little left over for herself after all the normal expenses. Over 90 percent of nurses are women and this has meant that successive governments thought they could pay them below their worth. But not any more. Nurses are demanding:

- Long service increments: A nurse who stays on in the job should receive major pay increases every three years. Teachers won this years ago. There is no reason why nurses should not receive the same.

- Proper Qualification Allowances: Nurses have often undertaken training at their own expense to gain extra skills. But still they are not paid properly by a penny pinching government.

- Increased pay for promotion grades who deal with extra responsibility. These are the official demands that the union is making but many nurses believe they should go further.

Nurses in St. James hospital have circulated a petition looking for a 20 percent pay rise across the board.

it can cater for all, regardless of income.

Ever since the late eighties, Irish hospitals have been in crisis.

**Hospital wards have been closed and brand new operating theatres in hospitals, such as Tallaght, cannot be opened because of a staff shortages.**

There are 900 vacancies for nurses in the Eastern Health Board alone.

### Shortage

The staff shortages have led to high levels of stress and near compulsory overtime for nurses.

Marion, a psychiatric nurse, describes what is happening in the community psychiatric service.

"In my unit there are

only two full time staff when there should be five.

"I have seen very ill and violent patients discharged because we do not have the staff to look after them.

"It is a scandal when you consider how thieves like Haughey robbed us."

A staff nurse from St. James Hospital says,

"The hospitals are run by nurses who do excessive overtime just to keep the place going.

"You can sometimes find that there are only two or three nurses to a 35 patient acute ward, who have to keep an eye on surgical procedures or medical interventions."

The main cause of this staff shortage, and the high stress levels that go along with it, is poor pay.

## Cuts kill — not strikes

**FIANNA FAIL Ministers have attacked the nurses as 'claim jumpers' and the Minister for Health, Brian Cowen, has tried to blame nurses for putting patients lives in danger.**

These are disgusting lies. Nurses have well organised strike committee at local levels and in the run up to the strike they have spent hours planning out the levels of emergency cover needed.

### Result

The spokesperson for the nurses union has made it clear that no one will die as a result of strike because nurses will be working for free to keep a basic service going.

Yet over the past decade scores of people have died in Irish hospitals as a direct result of the vandalism to the Health Service organised by Fianna Fail politicians in the past.

In 1987, Charles Haughey launched a savage

programme of cut backs which saw wards closed and huge staff cuts.

### Record

Ireland soon established the record for the highest rates of closure in acute beds in Europe per head of

population.

It led to long delays for operations, even for life threatening illness.

It is Fianna Fail, and the rich vandals who robbed the health service to save themselves tax, who put lives at risk—not the nurses who are fighting for a better health service for everyone.

## Solidarity is the key

**THE NURSES strike is the first major battle to give workers back their share of the Celtic Tiger. If the nurses win other workers will gain the confidence to put in their claims.**

This is why it is vital that every trade unionists does their utmost to ensure victory. Here is what you can do in your job.

### Crippling

The 23,000 members of the Irish Nurses Organisation will not receive a penny in strike pay.

Cowen is hoping that crippling mortgage costs will drive them back to work after a week or two. This is why workplace collections should be taken up each week from the start of the strike,



## Part of a worldwide struggle

**NURSES HAVE become one of the most active groups of trade unionists worldwide.**

This year has seen major struggles in several countries.

**America:** Nurses in California staged a 14 month campaign of one day and two day strikes against the Kaiser private health care insurance corporation. The company wanted a 'take-away' contract where they reduced wages

by 12 percent over six years. The Californian Nurse Alliance fought back and defeated the company.

**Quebec, Canada:** Canada has seen huge strikes by nurses. In August 47,000 nurses staged an illegal general strike to win a 10 percent pay claim. The Quebec government docked two hours pay for each hour nurses spent off the job. Despite this, the nurses stuck together and defied the law — until they were ordered back to work by a cowardly union leadership.

**Saskatchewan, Canada:** In April 8,400 nurses defied the law and staged an illegal strike. Other health care workers and doctors joined them on the picket line. They fought the government to a stand still for ten days until their union leaders again stopped the action.

**Kenya:** Kenya's nurses staged a national strike for a 500 percent pay rise this year. The average monthly wage of a Kenyan nurse is £140 a month. The government denounced them for causing hospital deaths but the nurses stuck together to extract concessions

The press and the government will try to turn public opinion against the nurses. It is vital that their case is heard. Invite nurses to speak at canteen meetings and union gatherings.

Build the links. Delegations should

be organised from workplaces to visit local hospital picket lines. Trade unionists should bring banners and messages of support to the national nurses demonstration to the Dail on Thursday October 21st.

## SPREAD THE STOPPAGE

**NURSES CANNOT stop work completely, so the labour movement as a whole has a responsibility to help them win.**

A wave of solidarity strikes from across the public sector would bring victory to the nurses strike in a matter of days.

Mary Smith, a former nurses shop steward in South Wales, explained her experience there, "We always knew that solidarity was vital when it came to a major dispute. On one occasion, nurses in uniform organised picket lines outside the mines. The miners stopped and the level of support was just overwhelming. It forced the government to back down very quickly.

"Can you imagine what would happen if similar pickets were put on the ESB or Aer Lingus. It would bring this right-wing government to its knees within hours."



## Austria

# Nazi vote grows

**AUSTRIA'S extreme right wing Freedom Party, was won 27 percent of the vote in Austria's general election last week, putting the scapegoating of immigrants at the centre of their campaign.**

Their leader, Jorg Haider, deliberately echoes the language of Hitler's Nazi party in the 1930s.

Haider has praised the "orderly employment policies of the Third Reich" and refers to former members of the SS as "decent fellows".

### Warning

His electoral success is a warning of how racist politicians can get a hearing as mainstream governments, of various stripes, fail to make life better for ordinary people across Europe.

*Most people across in Austria and across Europe are shocked that someone like Haider could come second in a general election and be invited into discussions about who should form the new government in Austria.*

Some political commentators, however, have reacted with staggering complacency.

An editorial in the *Guardian* on Tuesday of last week argued we should "not take the Haider seriously". It ended with a lyric from a

pop song — "This means nothing to me. Oh, Vienna."

It suggested that Haider would be "kicked back into noisy obscurity" by the formation of a coalition government of the Tory People's Party and the Social Democratic Party, which is equivalent to the Labour Party.

Yet this "grand coalition" has governed Austria for 13 years.

*Haider has been able to grow out of resentment at the attacks the government has launched on working people, and the corruption which sees plum state jobs going to loyalists of the two main parties.*

There is a sharp divide between rich and poor inside Austria's population of eight million.

There was virtually full employment in Austria for most of the years since the Second World War.

But by 1997 unemployment had reached 7

percent.

Although it has fallen since then, it remains higher than in the 1980s.

All the political parties support further privatisation and moves towards a more free market economy.

*A continuation of these policies by a new grand coalition could provide fertile ground for Haider to build.*

Exit polls show that two thirds of those who voted for Haider put disillusionment with the two main parties as their main reason for doing so, not agreement with his racist immigration and welfare policies.

His success, however, gives confidence to racist thugs and can push mainstream parties to echo his attacks on immigrants.

The day after the election French, German and British government ministers called a press conference calling for more savage immigration controls and more deportations of asylum seekers.

**HAIDER SEIZED control of the Freedom Party in 1986.**

Up to that point it had been a third party in Austria similar to the Liberal Democrats in Britain.

He shifted it to the right and won the electoral support of Austria's fragmented Nazi organisations.

He has not built the kind of street fighting force which were the core of Hitler's Nazi Party and a central feature of Le Pen's National Front in France.

He is playing a role similar to the racist Tory Enoch Powell in Britain in the 1970s. Powell's rantings opened the way for the growth of Nazi parties and led to racist murders.

Haider aims to form a far right

parliamentary government. But elements within the Freedom Party and Nazi groups want to build a movement to smash working class organisation and all forms of democracy in the way Hitler did.

They want to turn racist ideas into forced repatriation and even extermination of minorities.

Haider's guarded praise for some of Hitler's policies shows he is quite capable of adopting his methods if he feels his path to power through the ballot box is blocked.



Jorg Haider: leader of the Nazi Freedom Party

## Haider can be stopped

**PEOPLE IN Austria are not "naturally" attracted to the far right. Haider can be stopped.**

Karl Luger, the mayor of Vienna at the beginning of this century, whipped up anti-Semitism before the First World War.

But millions of Austrian workers looked to socialist leaders who often came from Jewish backgrounds.

Hitler seized power in Germany in 1933, crushing the best organised working class movement in the world.

A year later, workers in Vienna rose in insur-

rection against a fascist takeover.

Their sacrifice encouraged workers in France and Spain to fight back against fascism.

The ruling and middle classes in Austria embraced Hitler in the late 1930s and 600,000 people joined the Nazi Party.

### State

After the war many ex-Nazis got positions in the political and state bureaucracies.

But there was determined anti-Nazi resistance during the Second World War and after, including a long running campaign to expose leading politician Kurt

Waldheim as a former SS officer.

Left wing forces beat back the Nazis' attempts to organise in the 1970s.

Today, most Austrians oppose Haider. His celebration of "Germanness" does not fit with the family backgrounds of the large number of Austrians whose ancestors were Hungarian, Czech or from the Balkans.

There have been numerous protests against education and welfare cuts in recent years.

These point to a collective socialist alternative to the grand coalition, and the potential to build a mass movement to confront Haider.

## Germany

# Schröder loses — again

**BERLIN BECAME the scene of the latest electoral disaster for the German Social Democratic Party, led by "Germany's Tony Blair" Gerhard Schröder, on Sunday.**

The SPD recorded its worst result in the city since the Second World War, with 23 percent of the vote.

This follows catastrophic showings in a string of regional

and local elections.

Schröder has adopted Blair's "Third Way" policies and has launched a major attack on the welfare state with cuts of £10 billion.

He has repeated the call for more free market policies with each defeat at the polls.

Schröder's government is a year old and is already on the rocks.

The Greens, who are junior partners in Schröder's coalition, have also lost support.

There is now open warfare in the party as its leaders in par-

liament fight to ditch any remaining left wing policies, drive grassroots activists out of party positions, and transform the once radical protest movement into a tame electoral party.

There are also tensions within the SPD.

Left winger Oskar Lafontaine, who was driven out of a key post the government earlier this year, has launched a broadside against Schröder in a new book *The Heart Beats on the Left*.

## France

**OVER 100,000 school students took to the streets of France on Thursday of last week demanding more resources and better**

They were joined by a delegation of British school students who took part in a 1,000 strong march in the Channel port of Boulogne.

The French students' revolt is a reflection of a more general dissatisfaction with society after the govern-

ment coalition led by Prime Minister Lionel Jospin's Socialist Party has failed to deliver change for the better.

A year on from the school student demonstrations of up to 500,000 protesters many feel their hopes have been betrayed.

Where the current wave of protests will lead no one knows.

But they are continuing to fuel a sharpening political atmosphere in France whose general thrust is to the left.

# Eamonn McCann

## A right or a privilege?

**THE ISSUE** of journalists' right to keep their sources confidential has moved centre-stage in the North.

Ed Maloney, Northern editor of the Sunday Tribune, faces contempt proceedings for refusing to hand over notes relating to an interview with former UDA man and RUC Special Branch informer William Stobie about the murder 10 years ago of solicitor Pat Finucane.

At the same time, a number of British journalists and media outlets have been ordered by the Saville Inquiry to hand over material about Bloody Sunday.

Although the issue of principle is the same in both cases, the surrounding circumstances are very different, and point up the problem journalists will have unless they see the right to confidentiality in a political context rather than as an abstract matter of professional ethics.

In the Maloney case, the journalist is not being pursued because the authorities believe that his notes contain information which they don't have and would otherwise find it difficult to get their hands on. On the contrary, the court hearings have confirmed that the police have known the facts in the Stobie interview for at least nine years—including the fact that the Special Branch had been aware in advance in general terms that the Finucane murder was to happen, and aware in detail afterwards of how it had happened.

The prison threat to Maloney is designed not to throw light on hidden aspects of the case but to deepen the murk which surrounds it—while simultaneously warning-off troublesome journalists for the future.

### Progressive

Most people who consider themselves broadly progressive will have no difficulty backing Maloney's stance. In the Bloody Sunday case, however, journalists, including Peter Taylor of the BBC and Alex Thompson of Channel 4 News, have been ordered to reveal the names of informants who helped discredit the original Widgery Inquiry.

Crucially, Channel 4 News carried a series of reports in 1997 and 1998 in which soldiers who had been present in Derry and who had never previously spoken publicly flatly contradicted key evidence accepted by Widgery. Saville says he needs these soldiers' evidence, and therefore needs to know who they are. To many, the journalists' refusal to hand over this information over will seem self-indulgent.

**The search for the truth about Bloody Sunday has been long and painful. The issue which has arisen now is a question of priorities, it will be argued. And justice for the Bloody Sunday families must take precedence.**

The result might be that Taylor, Thompson and the others, if they follow Maloney's example, will be left stranded on their ethical high ground as investigative journalism faces what could be a make-or-break challenge from the State. If well-known reporters from establishment outfits like the BBC, ITN, UTV and the *Daily Telegraph* cave in to Saville, nobody will readily believe journalists who promise in the future to protect the source of any information they are given.

The journalists won't win this argument with the wider public by droning on about their professional principles. They will have to defend their resistance to Saville by explaining that, almost invariably, it is when powerful people and institutions are being called to account that the protection of sources becomes vital.

**Working people and their organisations are rarely in a position to threaten a publication with dire consequences if they aren't told who supplied information they would rather hadn't come out.**

It's governments, State institutions and big business who usually have things to hide from the people and reason to intimidate individuals who blow the whistle on wrong-doing.

The defence of journalistic confidentiality, if it's to be plausible, cannot be based on a high-and-mighty moral stance but has to be based on taking sides with the powerless against the corrupt and evil rich.

# Mandelson appointed NI minister:

## Blair's little Tory

Peter Mandelson, one of the most hated people at the heart of New Labour, has been appointed as Northern Ireland minister by Tony Blair.

Mandelson's arrival signals no obvious shift in policy.

But Mandelson's role is certain to be coloured by the absolute contempt for working class people on which he has based his career.

### Right-wing

Mandelson is one of the chief architects of New Labour, the head-long shift to right-wing Tory policies by the Labour Party in the 1980's and 90s.

**He argued that Labour had to accept privatisation, be tough on 'law and order', attack the unemployed and continue cuts in public spending in order to get elected.**

Mandelson's reputation is based on the idea that these policies got the press to support Labour and so won the 1997 election.

It is a myth. Mandelson and Blair were shocked by the 1998 election result.

They thought it would be decided by a few marginal seats in middle England.

**But the landslide proved that millions of working class people rejected everything the Tories stood for.**

In spite of this, New Labour has clung to its right-wing commitments,

disappointing their supporters at every turn.

**Mandelson resigned from the cabinet last year after it emerged that he had taken a 'loan' from Geoffrey Robinson, a millionaire fellow Labour MP.**

Robinson made his millions through a company called Transtec, which operates a factory outside Derry.

Workers report that conditions in the factory are Victorian, with dozens of workers injured each year by molten metal.

This is the only connection that Mandelson has with Northern Ireland.

Mandelson has no new ideas for Northern Ireland.

He is a friend of the rich and dines regularly with Elisabeth Murdoch, daughter of Rupert.

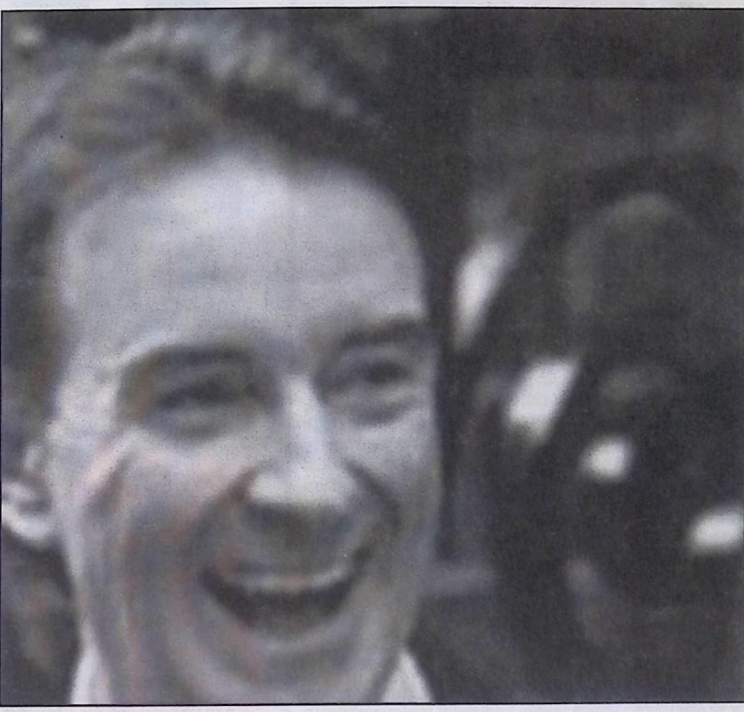
### Career

He is simply here to further his career.

**He will do nothing to stand up to the hard-right of Unionism who are determined to wreck the peace.**

He offers nothing new to the poor of the Shankill or the Falls.

He hates the very idea of working class struggle, which is why the best thing we could do is to turn our hatred of everything he stands for into a united class struggle against Blair's Tory policies.



Mandelson

## Unionist Party stalls peace deal

**THE UNIONIST** Party conference showed the depth of sectarianism in the party.

A *Sunday Times* survey of delegates revealed that 61 per cent of delegates would not agree to power sharing with Sinn Fein even if de-commissioning was completed, by May 2,000.

De-commissioning has become a rallying point for right wingers who want to blame the IRA as the sole cause of the thirty years of Troubles. It is a way to exonerate the old Stormont regime.

On reform of the RUC, only one delegate in a hundred UUP delegates could be found to support the Patten Commission report.

The Unionists have forged a new alliance with right wing newspapers like the *Daily Telegraph* and the *Daily Mail*.

The terms of the debate on decommissioning shows that there is little hope that setting up the executive will lead to a new dawn in Northern Ireland. Instead the Assembly will be dogged by arguments about RUC reform.

Every issue will be used by the hard-right to increase sectarianism. And they are likely to be able to set the agenda.

There are reports that Blair is pushing for the Drumcree march to be forced down Garvaghy Road some time this year in order to "give

Trimble some room to manoeuvre". There is palpable frustration in Northern Ireland at the deadlock in the peace process.

It is a frustration that is tied to the lack of any change in working class people's lives since the Agreement was signed. It reaches across communal division, especially in areas like Belfast.

The anti-Agreement Unionists want to push that resentment back into sectarian lines.

The best answer to them is to build a class based alternative to their rotten divisions.

It will take socialist politics to do just that.

## Defend the clinics

**FLUSHED WITH their 'victory' in intimidating the Ulster Pregnancy Advisory Association into closing, Bernie Smyth of Precious Life has declared that they 'intend to close Family Planning and Brook'. On BBC Radio Ulster she said 'sex education is ruining our young people's lives'.**

Precious Life say they picket Brook because it refers young women to England for abortions.

But Brook doesn't do pregnancy counselling or abortion referral. It provides sex education, contraception and the morning after pill to teenagers.

Precious Life want to turn the clock back to the days

when young people lived in ignorance about sexual matters.

Like its American backers, Precious Life wants to promote 'chastity' until marriage and condemn the easy availability of contraception.

### Opposition

Since 1987, it has been British Labour Party policy to extend the Abortion Act to Northern Ireland.

Blair and Mowlam each voted twice for the extension of the Act while in opposition.

But in government, they stick to the Tory line that 'all the politicians are against extension and we cannot impose it'. This has boosted the confidence of the tiny minority that

Precious Life represents.

Since Labour came to government, over 5,000 women from the North have travelled to Britain for abortions.

The campaign to force Mowlam to extend the Act is growing as anger over Precious Life spurs pro-choice people into activity.

A poster campaign is about to start and Alliance for Choice is to take a judicial review of Labour's continuing inaction on abortion.

The majority of people in the North, as in the South, want young people to have all the information and access to contraceptives they need to help them make safe choices around sex.

The bigots want to keep them in ignorance. They have to be stopped.

## China

# 50 years of capitalism

THE RECENT 50th Anniversary of the People's Republic of China was celebrated in grand style with an enormous parade displaying its military prowess.

Most commentaries argue that China was once a socialist country but is now moving towards capitalism. The problem with such views, however, is that they can make no sense of the Chinese revolution or of the present day.

Mao is supposed to have stressed the revolutionary role of the peasantry in a country where the working class was a fraction of the population. In short, argue his admirers, Mao adapted Marx and Lenin to fit the conditions in China.

This is complete fantasy. The leadership of the Chinese Communist Party was drawn primarily from the urban classes, particularly intellectuals. The peasants who joined the People's Liberation Army - after several years of guerrilla war - had become professional soldiers. The struggle was not a class struggle but rather a military one.

## Revolution

Nor was it a workers revolution. The working class played only a passive role in the victory. When Mao's army crossed that Yangtze river on its way to the southern cities, he issued a proclamation expressing the hope that "workers and employees in all trades will continue to work and that business will operate as usual."

The capitalist system was not the primary target. Mao made this very clear right from the start. "We must unite with the national bourgeoisie in the common struggle." The revolution placed in power a party committed not to socialism, but to using its control of the state as a lever to develop China's economy.

After the revolution, China became a state capitalist society where a new ruling class collectively exploited workers in order to promote national development. Mao's hero was Stalin and workers were not allowed to organise in unions.

In the 1950's Mao's Five-Year Plans launched a frenetic economic drive, one of which became known as the "Great Leap Forward". Its whole basis was to jump start the economy through a massive mobilisation of the country's human resources. It was a disaster and China was gripped by a famine that killed between 30 and 50 million people.

The disasters brought on by the Great Leap Forward produced a revolt within the Party bureaucracy and Mao was reduced to a figurehead with little power.

In January 1965, he launched the "Great Cultural Revolution". For Mao to regain power, he had to attack sections of the bureaucracy and create a counter-force. So he looked outside the party apparatus to a force he thought he could personally control.

Students became that force and were urged to form the Red Guard to destroy his adversaries. To speed up the process Mao virtually shut down China's educational system for several years, as millions of students attended daily mass meetings, show trials and street fights.

In the beginning Mao was elated with the results but it soon became clear that events were not moving in the direction he anticipated. The anti-capitalist slogans and cries for equality were taken seriously by millions of ordinary people. The "Great Cultural Revolution" threatened to unleash a real revolution.

One commentator at the time described how the mushrooming of the "self-organisation of workers spread like a plague all over China. It took the army two years - from 1968-1970 - to clear the way for the return of the party to the factories.

Those who actually believed Mao's rhetoric about revolution found themselves in for a rude awakening when in July 1968 he told the four main Red Guard leaders: "I am the black hand that suppressed the Red Guards."

The rise of Deng Xiaoping, "the reformer", saw the break with the "Great Cultural Revolution". Deng instigated "market reforms" or what he termed "socialism with Chinese characteristics". But this break was not a sign of a fundamental transformation of class relations in China. Rather, it was another path by which the aims of China's ruling class could be most effectively met.

Genuine socialism in any form never existed in any form in China. That is why it has slipped so easily over into a privatised, market driven economy.

by SINEAD KENNEDY

# ANSBACHER SCANDAL REVEALS:

# The fat cats backed Haughey

THE REVELATION that Charles Haughey spent £16,000 on his shirts gave a rare glimpse of the luxurious life of the Irish rich.

The wealth of the Golden Circle is astronomical. There are 4,006 people in Ireland who have a declared income of over £250,000 per year. But as the DIRT and Ansbacher scandals, show they salt away much of their wealth to avoid tax.

Today the rich pretend they had nothing to do with Haughey. But the truth is that his sumptuous lifestyle was funded by the fat cats who got a good return on their investment: Haughey cut their taxes by vandalising the public services.

Here are some of the fat cats that benefited most from Prince Haughey's reign.

**JOHN DORRANCE** is Ireland's richest man. He has never worked in his life. He inherited over a billion dollars worth of shares in the food company Campbell. He became an Irish citizen in 1994, which helped him avoid £500m in American taxes.

**TONY O'REILLY** is worth at least £1,286 million. O'Reilly has accumulated £250m in shares, options and salaries from Heinz in the last six months. The man who owns most of Ireland's newspapers, used the dodgy Ansbacher Bank for some of his deals. Not really surprising since he has a home on the Cayman Islands where the bank is based.

One of O'Reilly's companies also bribed Ray Burke and another of his companies got most of the licences for digital television TV masts.

**LARRY GOODMAN** (£35 million). Goodman was given a staggering £6.44 million to cover his legal costs for the Beef Tribunal. He gave £20,000 to Fianna Fail last year. The company are able to afford such generosity since the tax payer footed the £80 million bill for EU fines for irregularities in the beef industry.

**MICHAEL SMURFIT** (£170 million) owns the K Club where the rich and tedious go to play golf, drink, and unwind after a hard days tax evasion.

A night in the Viceroy room of the K Club costs £1,000. Smurfit was on the board of AIB when Haughey was allowed run up huge debts. Smurfit's chief executive is **HOWARD KILROY**, who has a £27 million fortune. He also has sat on the board of



A Smurfit dining room in the £1,000 per night K Club

the AIB.

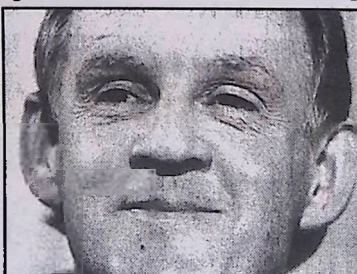
**THE DOYLE FAMILY** Anne Roche, Bernadette Gallagher, Eileen Monahan, and their mother Eileen Doyle, own PV Doyle Holdings, the upmarket Dublin-based hotel chain worth at least £146million.

Directors' payments have totalled more than £8m since 1996. The Doyle group were heavily involved in the Ansbacher accounts.

**DERMOT DESMOND** probably has in excess of £150 million and was originally the man behind NCB Stockbrokers. NCB acted as consultants to Bord na Móna, ESB, Telecom Eireann.

They also played a central role in the Greencore and Irish Life flotations where they received hugely inflated fees. When Desmond was on the Board of Aer Rianta, development plans were "accidentally" leaked to a rival company owned by Haughey's son.

**BEN DUNNE** (100million) despite being thrown out by the rest of the family for bribing the "big fella" he still has a huge store of wealth from residential land, art, equities, gilts, cash and a leisure centre. His little donation to Haughey meant that a £30 million tax bill from the Dunne's family trust was written off.



Larry Goodman

## TAX

THE IRISH pay so much tax they can't pay any tax.

Even when you shore account bogus or other big business minuscule amount to the exchequer.

In 1987, the tax on profits was 50 cent. By 2002, it had declined to 12.5 percent, which is the lowest tax rate that any company pays.

The hugely profitable Athlone last year made its £150.3 million but they paid less than 1 percent.

Tony O'Reilly's tax rate of only 1 percent. Most of its workers pay PAYE tax strikes. There is no tax. Nobody is exacted. Designed to help companies in the tax on their profits.

## Built

SOME OF THE richest in Ireland are the builders. Traditional big donations from GEORGE, each own a third of the company for

## LOW PAYING, ANTI-UNION

**MARGERET HEFFERNAN** owns a £190 million stake in Dunnes Stores. Heffernan is arguably Ireland's highest-paid executive with more than £1.3m a year. Other assets take Heffernan £202m. Her brother **FRANK DUNNE** the managing director of Dunnes Stores has £222 million. **SHARON, BRIAN, PAUL and SEAN McMAHON**, other members of the Dunne Clan, have another £190 million in the family coffers.

Other supermarket owners are also making a fortune while paying their workers a pittance. **FEARNAQUINN** has £94 million from his Superquinn shops.

## Notorious

**PETER J MUSGRAVE's** and **HUGH MACKEOCK** stake in Musgrave Group is worth £57 million. The group owns Ireland's SuperValu and Centra notorious low pay supermarkets. Other employers see it as essential to oppose unions to hold onto their wealth.

VEALS:

by SIMON  
BASKETTER

# Cats who Haughhey

## TAX CHEATS

**THE IRISH rich are able to make so much cash because they don't pay any tax.**

Even when they don't hide it in offshore accounts, bogus or otherwise, big business pays a minuscule amounts to the exchequer.

In 1987, the tax rate on profits was 50 percent. By 2002 it will have declined to a mere 12.5 percent, which is a lower tax rate than the lowest paid worker pays.

The hugely profitable Elan Corporation in Athlone last year paid out a mere 2.6 percent on its £150.3 million profits in tax. The year before they paid less than 1 per cent.

Tony O'Reilly's Waterford Wedgwood had a tax rate of only 14%.

Most of its workers are on a 45 percent rate of tax and a decade ago they organised a series of PAYE tax strikes to demand relief from that burden. There is probably £500 billion in the IFSC. Nobody is exactly sure because the centre is designed to help business move money around. Companies in the IFSC only pay 10 percent tax on their profits.



John Byrne



## Not all in it together

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

This is according to the United Nations Human Development Report which ranks countries according to degrees of inequality. 15.3 percent of the population live in absolute poverty.

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

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

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

Further, each year over 2,000 people are jailed for non-payment of debts or fines. That is nearly a third of the whole prison population.

building and engineering contractor. Sicon's profit rose 44% to £6.8million in 1997 on a £375 million turnover.

JOHN BYRNE is worth at least £48 million. Byrne is one of the Ansbacher Depositors. Haughey was his silent partner and Byrne used one of his companies as a slush fund for Haughey.

## Building bosses

**SOME THE wealthiest people in Ireland are making a fortune out of the building boom.**

Traditionally the building bosses make big donations to Fianna Fail.

GEORGE, HENRY and JOHN SISK own a third of Sicon, the Dublin holding company for John Sisks, Ireland's largest

is 26 percent than £300m. and's largest the tax dodg- him to £95m. tri which may to call for the

## ANTI-UNION AND OBSCENELY RICH

ERNAN owns a million Stores. Heffernan aid executive with her assets take the million. HON, the another

PAUL and SEAN Mc family owners and a fortune FEARGAL shops.

KEOWN's million. The notorious-

Notorious VE's and unions

TONY RYAN (approximate wealth £360 million) who owns a third of anti-union firm Ryanair is a tax exile in Monaco. He has on of the finest art collection in Ireland. Ryan is chief executive of Cantrell & Cochrane who gave £10,000 to Fianna Fail this year.

At the same time C&C managed to resolve difficulties with the Competition Authority over a profitable share flotation. There was of course no connection between this and the donation.

MICHAEL O'LEARY (£136 million) is chief executive of Ryanair, and has a 12 percent stake worth £92m. He made £9m selling part of his stake in June and has received £15m in bonuses.

PATRICK CAMPBELL owns Bewley's he has £31 million. Earlier this year he tried to stop workers getting a minimum wage and claimed that he couldn't get people to work for "decent" money.

While NEIL McCANN makes £74 million as chair of Fyffes, the anti union fruit distributor. Fyffes have a banana "manufacturing plant" in Dublin which allows them a special tax discount. McCann was also involved in the rescue of Goodman's companies.

## what do socialists say?

### Is Marx still relevant?

**THE EIGHTIES was a terrible decade for left wing ideas. Workers everywhere suffered many defeats and setbacks.**

In Britain, Thatcher defeated the miners while in the US sacked all the unionised air traffic controllers.

In Ireland unemployment and emigration soared and workers paid the highest tax rates of any European country.

After the collapse of the Stalinist dictatorships in Eastern Europe, the media argued that Marxism was dead and that socialism had no future.

But something strange has happened over the past few years.

#### Collapsed

The economies of South East Asia, which were held up by economists and politicians as the future of capitalism, collapsed. The model that Ireland was supposed to copy lay in ruins. The world economy hasn't been as fragile since World War II.

The pin-striped suits of the *Financial Times* and the *Economist* were stuck for words. They couldn't explain why boom-time countries like Malaysia, Thailand and Indonesia faced ruin and even revolution. And then, they thought the unthinkable. What if Marx had been right all along?

Reading *The Communist Manifesto* and *Capital*, it is amazing how much the world described by Marx in the 1840's and

50's resembles our world of the late twentieth century. He predicted a growing gap between rich and poor, as capitalism accumulates wealth in the hands of a few. And that is what has happened.

In the 1960's the richest quarter of the population had thirty times the wealth of the poorest. Today they have 81 times the figure.

Marx, and later Lenin described how rivalry between capitalist states led to imperialist wars for territory and spheres of influence.

Throughout the twentieth century the US and its main rival Russia sought to dominate various areas of the world. NATO's latest attempt to expand into Eastern Europe during the recent Balkans war is evidence that this will continue, despite the ending of the Cold War.

Marxism also explains why booms, like in Ireland today, are short-lived. Marx argued that the boom-slump cycle was a natural feature of capitalism.

As individual capitalists compete for business, they must invest more and more money to stay afloat. Production costs increase and as each one tries to reduce labour costs they find they cannot sell their goods to meet these costs.

The weaker firms go to the wall setting off a chain reaction that can become an economic black hole. "Anarchy in the marketplace and despotism in the workshop" is how Marx described how the system works.

If Marx was right in his description of capitalism, what about his

opinions on how to overthrow it? The left-wing academics who claim to have rediscovered Marx are happy enough to give him credit for his analysis, but they don't want to climb out of the ivory tower to consider a revolutionary party.

The main issue at stake here is the role of the working class. Most of the "new left" thinkers have accepted for years the idea that the working class is dead as a political force.

#### Class

This is because they argue that only people with traditional "blue collar" jobs belong to the working class.

However Marx's own argument identified all those who produce wealth for others as workers. High-tech workers in plants like Intel and Microsoft have the same class relations with their employers as blue collar workers.

In both cases, profit are made from the extra unpaid value their labour creates.

The role of the working class is central to the overthrow of capitalism as they produce the wealth in the economy. They still have the power to withdraw labour, and bring the country to a standstill.

They are, as Marx pointed out, the first class in history who both have an interest in acting collectively and the power to bring enormous change.

All of that means that they can liberate themselves and in the process help free the rest of society. That is the main relevance of Marx's writings for today.

PAUL McCARTHY

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# Veteran activist joins the Socialist Workers Party...

# STILL FIGHTING FOR CHANGE

**JOHN DECOURCY**  
IRELAND is the President of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. 87 years old he has been involved in the socialist and working class movement for most of this century. He spoke to CONOR KOSTICK about why he has joined the Socialist Workers Party.

**SW: When did you first become a socialist?**

WHEN I was 17, various experiences that I had at sea shook me. The poverty in Brazil was unbelievably horrible.

We were unloading cargo and I tried to speak Spanish. I said to a docker "you have a beautiful cathedral here."

He replied "I wish the bloody thing was burnt to the ground".

I asked him why? He said "If you get a chance come and see my house."

And I did. It was beaten earth for a floor, no water or electricity, but it was within a hundred yards of the cathedral.

**SW: And what organisation did you join?**

HAVING run away from school to sea I thought I better try and get a scholarship to some university outside of Ireland. So I slipped up to Oxford and took the history scholarship - which I got - although I hadn't had a history lesson since I was 13.

So I went there. There was a café there, where Michael Foot and his older brother, G. D. H. Cole and the Oxford socialists met.

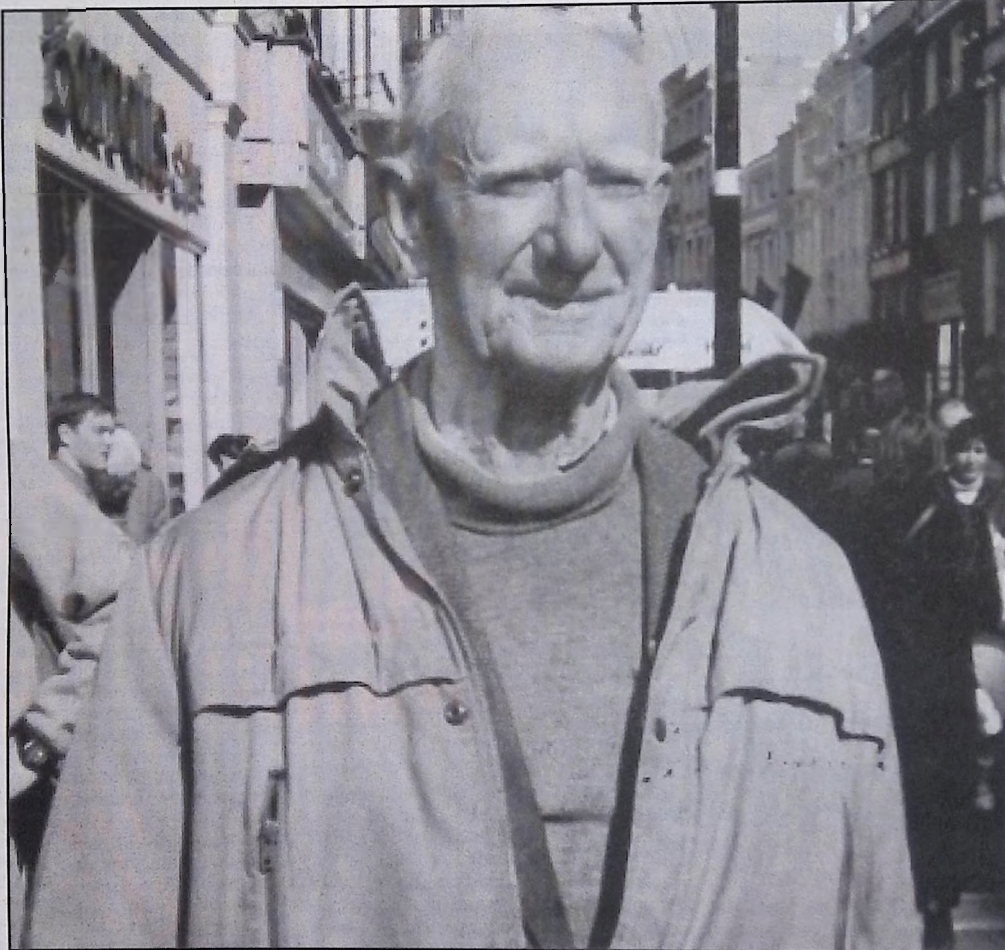
I joined the Labour Party in 1931. After that, I've been in and out of various Labour Parties.

I have at least one record: I'm the only person who has been thrown out of both the Northern Irish and Southern Labour Parties.

**SW: Did you know Jim Larkin?**

I WAS extraordinarily lucky and I believe I am not lying when I say I became a socialist because he became my mentor. In 1935, I had a holiday, and Betty and I went straight to Dublin and the Workers' Union office where I was introduced to Larkin. Far from asking him questions — which I was longing to do — he was terribly interested in what we had to say.

He asked Betty about the catering industry, myself about the sea, as well as the conditions in Manchester where we were both members of the Labour Party. He was so determined to get the



**John de Courcy Ireland - bringing 70 years experience to today's struggles.**

picture and, typical of him, when it came to 1pm, he said "Listen. It's time we had some lunch, come home with me." So he took us to Wellington Street, number ten.

Then he started talking about the movement here. We said we were in touch with Sinn Fein and the Republican Congress. So from that he began to develop his picture of the situation as it was then. Then he said "listen, it's getting late. Why don't you come and stay with me?" So for the rest of the holiday we did and it was absolutely stunning.

**SW: When we look back at that period we see the Republican Congress as a very promising organisation — but would you agree that it threw away the possibilities of building a strong socialist party by the decision to concentrate on achieving the Republic first, before raising class issues?**

ABSOLUTELY RIGHT. I'm certain you are right. This is what Larkin thought. Larkin had a very cynical view of Peadar O'Donnell. O'Donnell was brilliant and a very

good speaker, but a very unsatisfactory socialist.

**SW: You spent some time in the North?**

YES. Before the war I had a contract to write a book about the border. Ever since I was on a protest against Basil Brooke in Manchester I had a lot of dealings with the B Specials.

So we decided to live just outside the North, about a hundred yards from the border near Derry. We joined the Northern Ireland Labour Party in Derry. There was a great crowd there, and very bi-partisan.

There was a fellow who used to come to Sunday meetings of the branch in his bowler hat and orange sash and he was a very powerful trade unionist. Eventually we drew up a constitution that suggested a federation between North and South. We circulated it and that was why I was thrown out of the NILP by Harry Midgely. I was on the Executive at the time.

**SW: Were you involved in the split in the Labour Party in the 1940's?**

Young Jim Larkin and Larkin Snr. had decided to join the Labour Party because there were some first

class people involved in Dublin. We had this Central Branch which really built things up. There were about 30 branches, which meant that young Jim and I had just enough days in the month to visit them all.

We formed the "Dublin Executive", which is not in the Labour Party constitution. Young Jim was made President of it and I was made Secretary. William O'Brien and the Union threw out our nomination of Jim Larkin for the 1943 election and that began the split. We called a meeting of the Dublin Labour Party immediately. We got someone to propose that we stand Jim Larkin, and of course he got in, to the horror of O'Brien.

And that was the beginning of my troubles. They had thrown out Owen Sheehy-Skeffington and started a witchhunt against me. The 1944 election saw half page advertisements on young Jim and me: that we had been trained in Moscow to burn churches! Which was difficult for me as I taught in St. Patrick's Church Grammar School.

**SW: Where were you during the Hungarian revolution of 1956 and what was the effect here?**

I WAS in the Dun Laoghaire

Labour Party. And that was the first time I said anything publicly against the Soviet Union.

We began to see from that moment on—and it wasn't particularly easy to see—the extent of the dictatorship. It was a shock.

In fact the first shock was in 1953 with the workers movement in East Germany. There was someone I knew in the Connolly Association in London and he was editor of *Irish Freedom*—before getting a very good job on the *Observer*.

He spoke out against the events of 1953 and was thrown out of the Communist Party in 1956. And round about 1964 he was thrown out of the *Observer* for being too left!

**SW: You have been a campaigner for peace since the foundation of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament here in 1958. How would you respond to the recent wars where the US and Britain have claimed to be acting for "humanitarian" reasons.**

IT'S A lie. There is no question that it is an entire lie. It is a cover behind which they do the entire opposite and East Timor is the greatest example of that. I have no doubt that the really rich, the arms manufacturers and that lot in the US have no conception of humanitarianism.

I learned that very young when I was in ships taking bananas from Colombia to Europe. And the first night in the first ship I was woken by an awful lot of firing. And I asked somebody the next day on deck, that I knew, who was one of the bosses of the United Fruit Company, which owned our ship, "What was that firing about?" He said "When natives go into the banana plantation we shoot them." He said it just like that! In just so many words. In that little town the company owned the shops, the cinema, the clergy. Any little money that you did earn went straight back to them.

**SW: Why have you decided to join the Socialist Workers Party?**

THE FIRST time I began to think that this is what I ought to do, aged though I am, is that whenever CND got anything going and wanted to get public support it was the SWP who turned up. One time, at some government office, you were the only ones to come.

Not one of our own people apart from myself and the chair. That really touched me.

You give me the same feeling as I had in the party with Larkin in it. He was old at the time but he was an inspiration. Just for a moment watching you in operation, I thought "gosh this is rather like 1940-42" in Dublin when people really went about it. I do admire the way you do things.



# A threat to us all

**YOU WOULD** think the recent nuclear "accident" in Japan was a minor affair from the way the media quickly dropped the story. In fact it was the world's third worst nuclear power accident and it could have serious long term consequences.

The disaster at the Tokaimura nuclear plant was one the nuclear industry said could never happen. Three workers at the plant mixed together seven times more enriched uranium nuclear fuel than is safe.

The result was that the radioactive uranium went "critical", with a blue flash signalling the kind of runaway nuclear reaction that happens in an atomic bomb.

Radiation levels in the surrounding area reached 15,000 times as much as normal.

The disaster took place only 80 miles from Tokyo, one of the world's biggest cities. No one yet knows the damage done.

**Radioactive dust went high into the atmosphere and could fall as rain over a wide area in the coming days and weeks. This is exactly what happened after the world's worst nuclear disaster, the 1986 Chernobyl explosion. Radioactive rain fell as far away as Wales, and in the Ukraine thousands of people are still suffering from awful diseases like thyroid cancer.**

The disaster in Japan reveals a scandalous contempt for safety by the private business running the plant, and by the government. The private company operating the plant, JCO, told government officials there was no need for safety precautions against a critical nuclear chain reaction occurring.

## Precautions

The government accepted this. So the company was allowed to build a plant in a populated area without many of the most basic safety precautions.

Japanese law said the enriched uranium fuel should only enter the acid vats used in the production process through valves which limit the amount going in. But the company's own manual told workers to ignore this, and to carry the deadly nuclear fuel around in buckets.

"From at least two years ago we had an internal manual that we did not present to the government and that called for using buckets," a JCO official admitted. "We knew this practice was illegal, but it is faster." So the three workers involved in the recent disaster were simply following company orders putting faster production and profits first, even at the risk of a nuclear explosion.

Cutting corners on health and safety to safeguard profits is common practice throughout the nuclear fuel industry making Irish concerns over British plants such as Sellafield well-founded.

**British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL) says it can be trusted, but its record hardly inspires confidence. In 1957 a fire at the Sellafield plant destroyed the core of a nuclear reactor and spread radiation over a wide area. An official report later acknowledged the disaster probably caused dozens of deaths. In 1983 Sellafield pumped radioactive liquid waste into the Irish Sea.**

More than 20 tonnes of enriched uranium, and the even more deadly plutonium, is stored at Sellafield, Dounreay, Aldermaston and other sites in Britain. At each site there is at least enough material to cause a disaster up to 1,000 times greater than that in Japan.

A series of recent "incidents" of an unknown nature at Sellafield have already prompted the sending of a 13 strong official inspection team there. Yet now the New Labour government plans to privatise 50 percent of BNFL, making further accidents more likely.

When nuclear power was developed in the 1950s and 60s, governments said it was safe, clean and cheap. One day it would mean electricity would be too cheap to even bother metering. That was a lie. Nuclear generated electricity is vastly more expensive than almost every other known means of generating electricity.

The British public for example, has to pay a 10 percent surcharge on fuel bills to subsidise nuclear power. Governments want nuclear power so they can have nuclear weapons. Nuclear power is a deadly insanity. It should be shut down now.

GRACE LALLY

# FOSSILS INTO DINOSAURS

**IF, LIKE** me, the only Greek and Latin you knew at school were names like **allosaurus** and **triceratops**, then you're in for a real treat.

An exciting new TV series, *Walking With Dinosaurs*, is anything but a dry and dusty lecture illustrated by a few old

Taking the standard nature documentary as its format, but using the latest computer animation technology, the series provides us with a complete recreation of the time when dinosaurs walked the planet. The series draws your interest by focusing on the lives of particular dinosaurs. You follow the formative years of a young diplodocus as she narrowly escapes being eaten by a number of vicious predators and breathe a sigh of relief when she gets big enough, 30 metres long, to be able to defend herself.

On a somewhat smaller scale we watch to see whether a couple of cynodonts, peculiar little reptiles who live in burrows, will manage to escape a marauding pack of dinosaurs who try to dig them out.

If you're not on the side of the underdog here, you should be. These are our ancestors, forerunners of the mammals.

or grasses, just ferns and mosses.

All the land masses of the earth were joined together in one huge continent.

Evolution is brought to life in the series. The programme argues against the idea

in the desert like conditions that existed at the beginning of the Triassic period.

meteor, which we know landed in the Caribbean around this time, created a huge nuclear winter and led to a mass extinction.

A series of huge volcanic eruptions in what is now India may have had a similar effect. Alternatively, more gradual climatic changes may have cooled the planet.

The series is packed with new facts.

Some dinosaurs lived in polar regions, which were still pretty cold even in this warmer period of earth's history.

There is now speculation as to whether these dinosaurs were warm blooded or instead hibernated during the winter months.

A superb production, this is definitely one to record for future repeated viewing.

And maybe someone could send a copy to the bigots who are currently trying to ban the teaching of evolution in US schools.

*Walking With Dinosaurs*, Mondays, 8.30pm, BBC1.

by JOHN PARRINGTON



Fantastic to watch as it is, this is not just a rerun of *Jurassic Park*. But it also carries some serious scientific messages.

One is showing just how alien our planet would seem if we really could travel back through time.

When dinosaurs first appeared on earth 230 million years ago, there were no mammals, birds or lizards. Plants looked different too.

There were no flowers

that natural selection is primarily about direct competition in which "superior" lifeforms succeed.

The dinosaurs did have certain unique features that allowed them to prosper while older forms of reptiles died out. But a large amount of luck was involved.

Dinosaurs lost very little water in their excrement. Such a quirk only became a survival feature

became so extreme that over 90 percent of the earth's life forms became extinct.

Chance also seems to have played a similar important role in the dinosaurs' eventual demise.

We still don't really know why they became extinct. A popular theory when I was a child claimed that mammals ate dinosaur's eggs.

There is no evidence for such a view. The series explores some of the more sensible possibilities.

One is that a giant

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- ★ Owen McCormack & Paul Sweeny (author of *The Celtic Tiger*) debate **PARTNERSHIP AND THE TRADE UNIONS**
- ★ Special meeting on **EAST TIMOR AND THE INDONESIAN REVOLUTION**
- ★ **GM FOOD AND GENETIC ENGINEERING**
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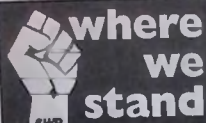
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Workers create all the wealth in capitalist society. A new society can only be constructed when they collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution.

**FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM**

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

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

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

**FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:**

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class.

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

**FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION**

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

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

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

**FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:**

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

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

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

**FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:**

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

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

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:**

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

**SWP Branch meetings**

**ATHLONE:**

Contact 01- 872 2682 for detail

**BRAY:**

Meets every Wednesday at the Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm

**BELFAST CENTRAL:**

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St.

**BELFAST SOUTH:**

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union

**CORK:**

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket

**DERRY:**

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.

**DUNDALK:**

Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details

**DUN LAOGHAIRE:**

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Christian Institute

**DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:**

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

**DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:**

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St

**DUBLIN NORTH WEST:**

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in the Vietnamese Centre, Hardwicke St (off Parnell Square).

**DUBLIN RANELAGH:**

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Tom Kelly Flats' Community Centre, Charlemont St.

**DUBLIN RIALTO:**

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

**DUBLIN RATHMINES:**

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

**DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:**

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

**DUBLIN TALLAGHT:**

Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre

**ENNISKILLEN:**

Meets fortnightly on Saturdays at 4pm.

Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue

**GALWAY:**

Meets every Thursday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba) 8.30pm

**LIMERICK:**

Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at 8pm.

Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue.

**TRALEE**

Meets fortnightly on Mondays at 5.50pm in Harty's Bar, Tralee:

**WATERFORD:**

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

**SPECIAL REPORT: SIPTU CONFERENCE**

**Delegates anger muted**

**SIPTU'S BIENNIAL conference in Killarney reflected some of the new militancy among workers. But delegates overwhelmingly backed the leadership's line on entering negotiations on a new partnership deal.**

SIPTU leaders had tried to stop anger developing against a proposal to limit strikes in essential services.

**Issue**

The issue arose out of a report from the High Level Group on union recognition. This was set up under the last partnership deal and was supposed to deal with the issue of union recognition.

But it only proposed that unions be given the right to process individual grievances to the Labour Court, and in return, it demanded that the union agree to ban strikes in essential services.

Delegates from SIPTU's Civil Aviation and Local Authorities branch opposed this move vigorously.

**Solidarity**

One delegate said, "If this had been in place Aer Lingus workers could not have come out in solidarity with Ryanair workers because there would have to a 'cooling off period'. But it was instant solidarity action that was important."

Brendan Hayes, the Dublin Regional Secretary, tried to persuade delegates to refer the issue back to the National Executive Council but he was given short shrift as speakers from the floor demanded that the union "categorically



*SIPTU members marching against deaths on the building sites*

oppose moves to limit strikes in essential services".

Sensing the mood, the union's President Jimmy Somers did a quick retreat and endorsed opposition to the restrictions.

The SIPTU leaders were also forced to go along with the anger of delegates on the

Ansbacher scandal.

An emergency resolution from the Education branch was circulated on the opening night of the conference.

It called on SIPTU to organise a national demonstration in working hours to call for the jailing of those involved.

The leadership watered this resolution down and put the onus on the ICTU to organise a protest but nevertheless this is still a significant move.

The rank and file now need to keep the pressure on to ensure that the ICTU carries through.

**Green light for talks on new partnership deal**

**THE MAIN area where the left suffered an overwhelming defeat was on the partnership vote.**

The leadership used a number of manoeuvres to get their way. The most disgraceful was their use of a

fake "membership survey" which was supposed to reflect overwhelming support for a new deal,

But the questions in the survey were framed as if a new deal was inevitable and the response rate for the poll was never revealed.

However despite these

manoeuvres, it was clear that most delegates are not against partnership in principle.

They accepted the argument that "it was better to at least talk to the government and the employers".

The union leaders also said they could extract a high wage settlement from the employers.

**Gesture**

And in a gesture to the huge anti-partnership minority in the union, they promised there would be a month's consultation before the vote was finalised.

*The reality however is that employers have no intention of allowing through big pay settlements.*

They know that growth in US economy has begun to decline and that the Celtic Tiger growth will not last.

Yet it is one thing to discuss a new deal with the employers - it is a very different thing to sell another deal that limits pay.

**Soft left hold their grip**

**RUAIRI QUINN turned up to one of SIPTU's social gathering to make a speech praising the Celtic Tiger and appealed for delegates to join the Labour Party.**

The pitch for recruitment shows how hypocritical the demand to "keep politics out of the union" is.

SIPTU today is controlled by a small group around the former Democratic Left activist, Des Geraghty.

Geraghty is due to assume the Presidency of the union when Jimmy Somers, the last prominent right wing Labour Party supporter retires.

Geraghty trades on an image

of being a working class activist over twenty years ago. But many of his key supporters on the NEC occupy managerial positions.

Geraghty argues that "strikes put off the younger generation". This however is nonsense. The fastest growing union in 1998 was MANDATE who organised a major strike of young workers at Dunnes.

By contrast Geraghty managed to snatch defeat from the jaws of victory at Ryanair and could do nothing when a key shop steward who fought for recognition was victimised.

Socialists do not advocate strikes for the sake of it but they do argue that it is necessary to stand up to the employers. The new SIPTU leadership have yet to prove they are capable of doing this.

## Builders

# Bricklayers stand up to intimidation

**BRICKLAYERS at McNamara sites in Dublin city are still out in protest over the issue of subcontractors. This is part of an ongoing campaign to rid the construction industry of subcontracting.**

They want an end to subcontracting because it undermines the wages of regular workers.

At a time when building bosses are making a fortune, charging prices for houses beyond the reach of most workers, they should be hiring workers directly.

It is ironic that these bricklayers are on strike for the right to work legally and pay tax, at the same time that the record

## Waterford Hospitals

**A STRIKE has begun at three hospitals in Waterford, including the large Waterford Regional Hospital, Saint Otterans and St. Patricks.**

300 people are now involved in the dispute, which started on Monday October 11th.

This is an official dispute involving eight members of the TEEU directly who are fighting a bullying management.

The craft workers rely a lot on overtime payments but managers were doing their work at weekends and in evenings.

## Refused

ATGWU members have refused to pass the pickets despite intimidation from the South Eastern Health Board.

ATGWU members say they themselves have a long list of issues which hospital management have not addressed over time.

The action follows an unofficial strike last month after TEEU members were dismissed.

This action has received widespread support from the public.

of tax evasion by the Irish rich is being exposed.

It would be interesting to see how many construction bosses are named on the Ansbacher list.

One bricklayer told *Socialist Worker* of the intimidation his colleagues have faced over this issue. "Phone calls were made to our homes

in the middle of the night. Our children have been threatened. One family even had to leave Dublin for a few weeks because of it."

Last week fifteen bricklayers were arrested at the main picket site in Merrion Square.

They were trying to prevent a lorry crossing a picket line.

Pickets are also up at sites on Kildare St. and in Trinity College and the mood is defiant. Many remember the dispute last year when bricklayers defied a High Court injunction and blocked the city centre.

"They took us to court before and we beat them. We'll take to the streets again if we have to."

## Colleges

# Hundreds join the socialists

**SOCIALISTS have found a bigger audience than ever in the colleges this year. Hundreds of students from Belfast to Cork have joined the Socialist Workers Student Societies.**

In Cork 75 students joined in just one day. SWSS in UCD and Trinity now have memberships of more than 70 and new SWSS groups are now up and running in colleges such as Augier St. DIT and Tallaght IT.

Socialists look set to make a big impact on student politics this year.

There is a real anger over student hardship when the country has never been doing so well.

There is also a general anti-capitalist revulsion over what's happening in East Timor and third world debt.

SWSS groups in Trinity and UCD had a great start to the year. They protested at various government ministers who thought they could have an easy meet-and-greet walk-about in the colleges.

In UCD, Mary Harney made a quick exit after the SWSS group heckled her over the price of accommodation, her attacks on CE schemes and of course, her junket

holiday in the south of France. The SWSS group in Trinity, combined with the One World Society, followed a red faced Bertie Ahern around campus, when he came to visit the Fianna Fail club.

Ahern's bare-faced lies about joining Partnership for Peace were the focus of this protest, with many students joining in and showing

their anger.

When he visited the college canteen to shake hands with the workers there, all the students having their lunch applauded the protesters.

SWSS groups have a huge opportunity now to tap into this growing sense of anger and lead a radical fight-back in the colleges.

## Translink

TRANSLINK bus drivers in Northern Ireland are continuing an overtime ban in pursuit of a 6 per cent pay rise.

For the last two weeks, drivers with Citybus and Ulsterbus have been refusing to work overtime and are beginning to have an impact on services, especially private hire and extra services on busy routes.

Translink management had offered 3.2 per cent, just 1.2 per cent above inflation. The joint union negotiating committee, made up of the GMB and TGWU, recommended acceptance of the offer, but it was rejected by union members.

A driver from the Short Strand depot explained why: "It's the same every year. They start with a low offer and gradually inch their way up. They try to get the weaker unions to agree and expect everyone else to follow.

This time we said we've had enough. 1.2 per cent is next to nothing. We want a real

pay rise. We know that the money is there."

A mass meeting on Sunday 3 October voted to continue the action.

Translink's reaction to the overtime ban has been to try divide and weaken the union. Management have been claiming that hardly any services are affected and that only 38 per cent of drivers voted for the action.

The drivers will need to escalate the action to win, including building towards strike action. Other transport workers, especially on the railways, should be asked for support action.

The pay deal at Translink is used as the benchmark for annual wage rises in other sectors of public transport.

If the drivers' action wins it will lift the sights of many workers in Northern Ireland.

Already council workers in Belfast are reported to be launching claims for similar pay rises.

## Fulflex

# Workers take on and beat a multinational

**THE THIRTEEN week lock-out at Fulflex in Limerick has come to a close after workers forced management to back down on making them use swipe card.**

Management wanted workers to use this swipe card every time

they left the line to go to the toilet or have a tea break.

This was a gross insult to people's dignity — especially as management made no offer to use swipe cards to monitor their time spent on business lunches.

## Protest

Originally the Labour Court had recommended that workers operate the swipe cards "under protest".

But this was overwhelmingly rejected in an 81-7 vote.

Workers also stepped up their protests by following scab trucks and contacted dockers around the country to urge the blacking of goods for Fulflex.

It was this type of militant pressure which

forced management to back down.

After the intervention of a local TD, management agreed to suspend the operation of the swipe cards.

Instead a joint union-management monitoring committee is being set up to examine the situation.

*There are a number of problems with this deal.*

There was no compensation for the time that workers were locked out.

The monitoring committee could also involve workers in supervising themselves.

But despite this the workers have achieved a lot by sticking together. They showed that it is possible to take on multinationals and stand up for basic union principles.

They could have won far more if the SIPTU leadership had got behind them properly.

*The strike was barely reported outside Limerick and national collections should have been organised to sustain the strike.*

A good collection of £1,700 was collected at the SIPTU conference after a socialist delegate highlighted the urgency of the strike.

But far more could have been done.

Workers will return to work after the annual shut down.

They will hold their heads high after standing up to a bullying management.

## Evictions

# PICKET AGAINST BELFAST PROPERTY DEVELOPER

**Anti-eviction campaigners held a picket of a wealthy property developer in Belfast on Saturday 25 September.**

The organisers of the protest allege that Joe Kavanagh, a Belfast millionaire, has large areas of property in central Belfast and stands to make a fortune by selling it off to developers.

The sell-off will also mean the forcible eviction of a family which has lived in the area for generations.

The property deals

over the land, in and around Castle Court, are currently the subject of a major court case being prepared on behalf of Freddie Andrews, the handicapped son of a Belfast car dealer.

Freddie has a mental age of 12 and was made a ward of the court in 1979.

## Speculators

Despite this, the land and property left to him by his father, was repeatedly sold to developers and speculators, including Mr Kavanagh and the developers of Castle Court.

None of the money

was passed on to Mr Andrews and his family insists he would have been incapable of signing the legal papers to authorise the sale.

In the late 1980's it emerged that Mr Andrews was living in squalor with his family. Mr Andrews is still surviving on a meagre income and is currently cared for by his elderly sister, Eileen Wright.

The Torley family has been living in Wine Tavern Street for gener-

ations.

Annie Torley was born in the house 68 years ago. Joe Kavanagh, has threatened to evict Mrs Torley and her family and has said she has no rights as a tenant.

The protest was addressed by Eileen Wright, the Torley family and a number of Belfast City councillors have pledged their support.

## Ballymun playgrounds

# "We've had enough being on the bottom of the pile"

**Residents in Dublin's Ballymun estate are organising to fight for playgrounds in the area.**

Ballymun's 20,000 residents are promised playgrounds in the Regeneration scheme which will take seven to ten years to complete.

In the meantime Ballymun's children are left with no-where

to play.

At a recent public meeting organised by the Ballymun Playgrounds Action Group, residents told how childcare was a big issue.

Many of the families in Ballymun are headed by single parents and there are 400 to few nursery and crèche places.

Parents in flats have nowhere for their children to safely play under professional supervision.

The meeting agreed to organise a petitioning campaign demanding Dublin Corporation immediately build properly staffed playgrounds for all areas of

Ballymun and guarantees money for play-leaders and other staff for the planned play areas in the Regeneration plan.

"We've had enough of being at the bottom of the pile. It's about time we told the government and Corporation to pay up for the needs of communities like our own," one of the residents said.

The meeting organised a protest march on Stormanstown House, the office of the Dublin Corporation's Ballymun Regeneration Ltd, to hand in the petitions and a letter of protest.

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inside

**MANDELSON:**  
Blair's Tory  
comes to N.I.



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**Far right grows in Austria**  
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# TIME TO FIGHT 'TORY' BLAIR

## Portadown shop stewards back march

**THE HORRIFIC** train crash near Paddington station in London last week has brought home the true cost of privatisation. The public outrage has been so great that the Blair government has backtracked on privatising air-traffic control and put on hold plans to privatise the London Underground.

But only two weeks ago Blair was defending all of these policies at the Labour Party conference in Bournemouth.

### Voters

No wonder an opinion poll in the *Observer* showed that 50 percent of Labour voters think Blair cares more about the rich than the poor.

Everyone who feels betrayed by Blair should get to the "Time to fight poverty, Time for workers' rights" demonstration in Belfast on Saturday 23 October, which is demanding an end to privatisation, low pay, student

fees, poverty pensions and hospital closures.

A community worker from North Belfast told *Socialist Worker*, "The cuts in government spending are costing lives.

*"I know of loads of people who are waiting for occupational therapists to come and assess their homes after having been in hospital but the backlog is enormous. And it all comes down to a lack of public spending."*

### Deaths

Jim Quinn, regional chair of the Fire Brigade Union which is supporting the march, said "The amount of fire deaths have increased dramatically in the last year.

"We need more money in the fire service, not less. But Labour is pushing the employers everywhere to cut jobs and appliances. There is no doubt that it will lead to more people dying in fires."

"Workers in the civil service are really angry at what Labour is doing," says Raymond, a civil servant in Belfast.

"They are selling off the informa-

tion technology section to a private company.

"But this same company have made a complete shambles of it in the passport office and they got paid a fortune.

"It only means that we have to work harder and longer to pick up the pieces."

As well as the disappointment with Blair, the protest is tapping into a deep frustration that nothing is happening in the Assembly.

"We've been going around to community centres all over Belfast and the feeling is the same whether you are in a Protestant or a Catholic area," said Patrick, one of the march organisers.

### Pressures

"Working class people face the same pressures of badly paid jobs, run down areas, no facilities, but this is never mentioned in Stormont. All you hear about is what divides the politicians.

"That's why this march is so important, as a show of anti-sectarian feeling by working class people."

A packed meeting of Transport and General Workers Union shop stewards in Portadown last week voted to support the march and organise their own bus.

### Support

Barbara Muldoon, one of the march organisers who addressed the meeting said, "There was tremendous support for the demands of the march and a really lively debate about issues like privatisation.

"At the end they said they would all go back to their factories and publicise the march and make sure they also got people from around the area on the bus.

"It was fantastic to see when all you ever hear about from Portadown is sectarianism. It shows that real class politics is the only alternative."

## TIME TO FIGHT POVERTY, TIME FOR WORKERS' RIGHTS

Belfast, Saturday 23 October

Assemble 12 noon Art College Gardens, York St.

LET'S TELL NEW LABOUR AND THE ASSEMBLY:

Increase benefits and pensions, stop hospital closures, 35 hour week, £5 an hour minimum wage, abolish student fees, restore the grant, full trade union rights, abolish the 11-plus

Rally at City Hall to be addressed by trade union and community activists.

Bring union banners and placards. Phone (01232) 290586 for posters, leaflets and transport.