

# Socialist Worker

inside

## GENOA:

300,000 march  
against the system

Full reports pages 3, 6-7 & 8

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CARLO Giuliani murdered for opposing capitalism

# ASSASSINS

**★ GLOBAL WARMING** is happening faster than experts thought, according to a report by the authoritative IPCC body of international climate scientists last week. Yet George Bush still refuses to back any action against the threat of catastrophic climate change.

Governments from across the met in Bonn in Germany for their latest discussions on the Kyoto climate change treaty.

That treaty was agreed in 1997 and set very modest targets for cutting emissions of greenhouse gases which fuel global warming. But Bush is so close to the giant oil, coal and car corporations he refuses to ratify even that limited action.

Other governments will huff and puff about whether to push ahead with the Kyoto deal without the US. But few observers expected any agreement to be reached on this major threat to all our futures.

**★ More than 500,000 social welfare recipients will not receive their Budget increases next January, as scheduled, because the government can't be bothered to print new welfare books.**

The increases, to be announced by the Minister for Finance Mr McCreavy, in the Budget on December 5th, will not be received by old age pensioners, widows, one-parent families invalidity pension holders until mid-February, rather than the beginning of January.

**★ THE tax avoiding Ansbacher account holders just received £250,000 in costs after a Cayman Ireland court ruled their names can remain secret.**

Of course if Mary Harney who has a list of account holders, or the Irish Independent (owned by Ansbacher client Tony O'Reilly) who claim to have one as well, would publish them then there would have been now court case and no pay out to the fat Cats.

## George Bush's dirty war

**PRESIDENT Bush is planning to deploy a 'private army' of former US servicemen across South America.**

It is part of an attempt to extant America's dirty war in Colombia

Bush is seeking permission to deploy his own private army comes as Congress prepares to vote on proposals to inject cash into Plan Colombia by lifting a

cap on the number of privatised military personnel allowed to be deployed there.

The cap, which was introduced following fears that the US could be dragged into a new Vietnam war, limited the total to 500, in a supposedly purely training role.

### Deploy

However, a new \$676 million programme - the Andean Counterdrug Initiative - would allow

the Bush administration to deploy as many former servicemen as it wanted.

Questions about American counter-narcotics efforts in the Andean region have risen sharply since April, when Peruvian jets shot down a US missionary aircraft over the Amazon river, believing it was laden with drugs.

The Peruvian fighter was guided in for the attack by a radar plane operated by a CIA contractor.

A provision in the Andean Counterdrug

Initiative legislation exempting State Department contractors from a section of the Foreign Assistance Act that specifically bans them from buying weapons and ammunition with federal funds.

The new legislation would allow the companies to purchase weapons and ammunition for use in the Andean region for 'defensive purposes', a definition, say critics, open to widespread abuse.

## Gap between rich and poor growing

THE GAP between the rich and poor is getting bigger. This isn't according to Socialist Worker but from research by the rightwing think tank the ERSI.

The study shows that there are more people in poverty and they are further behind the rich than ever.

The proportion of people living below the poverty line of half the average income rose between 1994 and 1998, while the depth of poverty experienced intensified. One in five people was living on below half the average income in 1998, compared to 17.4 per cent in 1994, according to the

report. The percentage of households living on below half average income also rose during this period, from 18.6 per cent in 1994 to 24.6 per cent in 1998.

The report also shows that those living in such relative poverty fell 50 per cent further below the half average income poverty line in 1998 than in 1994. The proportion of people aged 65 or over living below the half average income relative poverty line increased from one in 10 in 1994 to more than three in 10 in 1998.

And 1994 to 1998 were the years of fastest growth of the Celtic Tiger.

# No money for the disabled... plenty for consultants and junkets

**GOVERNMENT and judicial contempt for the disabled was brought to light by the Jamie Sinnott case.**

The Supreme court ruled that there is no right to education for disabled people after 18 years of age. People with disabilities, their families and carers have been deeply distressed. In the immediate aftermath of the ruling, the parents of some children with intellectual disabilities were talking about suicide.

People with autism who are now 19 or 20 but who were kept on in schools in anticipation of a favourable court ruling, find that they have nowhere to go.

The lack of a right to education is only the tip of the iceberg of the condition of disabled people in Ireland. The unemployment rate for disabled people runs at forty per cent which is six times the rate for the



**Kathryn Sinnott**

rest of the population.

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

The court upheld an appeal by the State, overturning an earlier High Court decision that Sinnott was entitled to primary education for as long as he could benefit from it.

This wasn't enough Chief State Solicitor's

Office contacted the Sinnott's solicitor, Ernest Cantillon, appealing the award on costs and that an 'error' had been made in conceding costs in the Sinnott's case.

Only when Kathryn Sinnott Jamie's mother confronted government minister Michael Woods on the radio did they decide to back down on costs.

The government pushed the case to save money.

## Gardai smuggled drugs

**GARDAI in the South West were involved in a remarkable operation to smuggle drugs into the country.**

In the late 1990s Garda Jack Doyle, was working with a smuggler to bring drugs into Ireland as part of a sting operation.

Over £20million of drugs was smuggled into Ireland as part of the scheme.

### Cleared

The gardai made sure the smugglers were cleared through customs. In all at least eleven trips were made. On one occasion the drugs were held for three days in a garda station for safe keeping before being returned to the drug gang.

In another operation the Gardai

carried the drugs from Ringaskiddy to Cork, after a smuggler had brought them past customs.

In any operation the gardai would then seize about half the drugs, claiming a huge success in the war against drugs, while the rest stayed with the drug gang.

In essence the drug gang was operating with a garda escort for its operations.

When Garda Jack Doyle attempted to get an official investigation into what was going on around him, his superiors refused to meet him.

He was dismissed from the force on the grounds he was mentally ill. He was never even examined by a psychiatrist before being dismissed.

Nora Owen was the Minister of Justice at the time of the operation. As she said "you have to trust the Gardai."

**NEW FIGURES show that Public Enterprise Minister Mary O'Rourke sanctioned consultants' payments of almost £74 million to advise on the flotation of Eircom.**

Since her ministerial appointment O'Rourke has forked out almost £86 million to consultants, including almost £30,000 to a company called Petrus Consulting. Petrus's director, Michael Griffin, is also deputy director of the Office of the Director of Telecommunications Regulation (ODTR). The ODTR are supposed to regulate the telecoms industry in the interest of the consumer.

**★ GOVERNMENT Ministers and top civil servants are spending millions of pounds, in many cases without justification, by booking the most expensive seats on overseas flights, according to a report to the government by, oddly enough, some consultants: Deloitte and Touche.**

The review of the Department's travel policy found that last year alone more than £5.5 million was spent by Government departments on flights around the world, of which £4m was spent on business class fares.

Last April, government ministers spent more than £300,000 flying business class around the world for St Patrick's Day. For instance Foreign Affairs Minister Brian Cowen and his entourage spent £57,000 getting to Australia.

## Fianna Fail's link to Philip Morris

**RAY MACSHARRY, former EU Commissioner and Fianna Fail Minister for Finance, is a consultant to Tobacco corporation Philip Morris.**

Philip Morris claimed that smoking can save an economy millions on healthcare, because smokers die early. In a report to the Czech government, Morris argued that savings in healthcare and pension costs far outweighed the cost of looking after sick smokers.

In Britain, former chancellor and current Tory leadership contender Ken Clarke is a £100,000-a-year consultant to British American Tobacco (BAT)

MacSharry has a

£150,000 consultancy with Philip Morris. MacSharry is still significant in deciding Fianna Fail policy, so perhaps the Governments claim to want to tackle smoking addiction shouldn't be taken too seriously.

## Tobacco company's sick ideas

**SMOKING is good for the health service. The claim was made in a report carried out in the Czech Republic and commissioned by Philip Morris, the world's largest cigarette company, maker of brands such as Marlboro and Benson & Hedges. Philip Morris controls 80 per cent of the Czech market. Among its 'findings'**

Though the Philip Morris money might explain to the obstacles being put in the way of victims of tobacco are facing in attempting to sue the Tobacco giants in the Irish courts.

the report suggested to the Czech government that it was saving about £100 million a year in healthcare and pension costs because people who smoke die early.

Michelle di Leo, a spokeswoman for the British Lung Foundation, said: "What will Philip Morris argue next, that we should put people down at 50 because it would save us all a lot of money on healthcare?"

what we think

# This movement is unstoppable

**"This movement is unstoppable now in both rich and poor countries. We have seen nothing yet", said French farmers' leader Jose Bové.**

At least three million people have demonstrated against globalisation in the two years since the Seattle world trade talks. Millions more have taken to the streets against specific horrors of the system.

Three hundred thousand people took to the streets of Genoa despite brutal violence from the state, to prove that another world is possible. Yet all we heard from the media and the politicians was condemnation of violent protestors.

*Their hypocrisy is breathtaking. The same politicians who denounce the "violence" of those who challenge their system, inflict violence on a scale which threatens the future of the planet.*

Take the actions of US president George W Bush, for example. Bush launched a missile test over the Pacific Ocean last week as part of his new "Son of Star Wars" ballistic missile system.

This will mean a new global arms race and with it the threat of nuclear annihilation. Was Bush denounced in the press for provoking senseless violence?

**System**

The whole capitalist system is based on the violence of the minority who monopolise all means of producing wealth.

The ruling class around the world has a monopoly on violence, with its weapons of mass destruction, missiles and tanks, armies and police forces. And it uses that armoury with the utmost brutality whenever it feels its rule is threatened.

The rulers of the US and Britain slaughtered thousands of civilians from Iraq to the Balkans in wars fought to defend their power and profits. More than this, Blair, Bush and the other G8 leaders inflict free market neo-liberal policies which condemn 40,000 people to death from malnutrition every single day.

Every day they squeeze billions of pounds of debt from the poorest countries,

19,000 children die. These children have as surely been murdered as if they had had a gun held to their heads.

Multinational companies wreck the lives and limbs of workers in order to squeeze profits from them.

The politicians and the media attempt to use the issue of violence to divide the anti-capitalist movement.

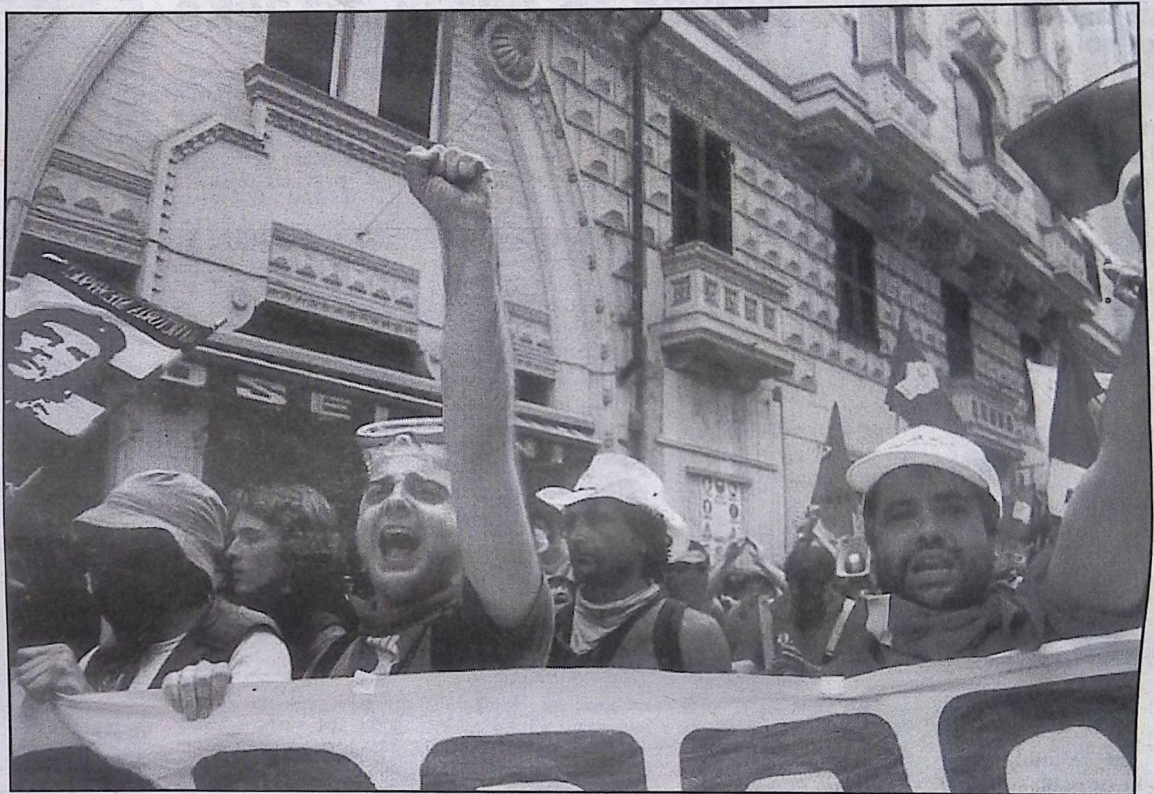
With one arm they try to beat us into the ground with another they try to embrace a section of the movement in their schemes.

**Obscene**

It is regrettable that Bob Geldof and Bono decided to meet the G8 leaders as the police were attacking protestors. It is frankly obscene that Geldof blamed those outside the conference for the trouble while he chatted with those inside the fence.

The G8 and the bosses behind them will go to any measures to defend their power and wealth. They don't listen to pleas to end poverty because their position depends on creating and upholding that poverty. It is anger against the upholders of the system and the search for an alternative to it that has inspired the movement.

This does not mean that it is a choice between lobbying politicians or burning out a car. Most of us became socialists precisely because we abhor violence.



**300,000 marched through genoa**

We want to see an end to war and violence, repression and exploitation. But we also understand that, in a world where people are battered into the ground by poverty and oppression, it is not surprising that people fight back in whatever way they can. Those fighting back against

the neo-liberal policies of the G8 and its institutions—whether in Genoa or Bolivia—have been denied any say over the policies which are wrecking their lives.

Socialists don't join the hypocritical chorus of condemnation of those fighting back against the system. But

socialists are not in favour of individual or random acts of violence. Because such acts cannot rid the world of a global system based on the daily exploitation and oppression of millions of people.

We want to mobilise the maximum numbers and

involve the mass of people in order to collectively transform society for the better.

It is through such struggle that we can fight to get rid of the root cause of violence in society—the capitalist system itself.

And as Jose Bove says, this is only the beginning.

## Build the anti-capitalist movement here

IT WAS fantastic that some 200 people went to Genoa from Ireland. This should be the turning point in creating a huge anti-capitalist movement in Ireland.

Globalise Resistance has pulled together hundreds of activists who want to tackle the system. We now need Globalise Resistance groups in every town and locality across Ireland. Local groups where people can meet to organise action to build the movement.

If you want to get involved with Globalise resistance ring 0864098186 or email [globalise\\_resistance@yahoo.com](mailto:globalise_resistance@yahoo.com).

Across the country there people fighting service charges and incinerators, people horrified at third world debt and poverty. They know it is the neo-liberal agenda that lies behind

the attempts to privatise local transport and the bin charges, the desperate state of the health service, the scapegoating of refugees, and the threats to the environment.

One great aspect of the Genoa delegation was that it contained busworkers opposed to privatisation. Taking the anti-capitalist movement into the workplaces has to be one of the key tasks ahead.

Workers facing job cuts occupy the factory and lock the boss inside. People opposed to sweatshop labour occupy the Gap store in Dublin.

There links are there to be made, a movement is there to be built. It is time to bring Seattle, Prague and Genoa to the growing tide of anger and resistance in Ireland and forge a movement capable of tackling the system.

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# Argentine crisis sparks panic

"WE ARE approaching a riot point in markets," said the head of research for the State Street financial group at the end of last week.

"This is the most nervous time in the emerging markets since Russia's default in 1998," said the head of research at the Credit Suisse First Boston bank.

What was worrying them was the sudden outbreak of a new financial crisis centred upon Argentina, prompted by fears that the country's government may be incapable of continuing to pay interest on its foreign debt.

## Interest

The resulting panic soon spread to other countries. Turkey was the first to suffer, and then Brazil. The *Financial Times* reported, "Now the contagion is spreading in Latin America, Eastern Europe and Asia."

Argentina and Turkey were among the first countries to be hit earlier in the year by the new economic crisis that has been developing in the US.

Governments in both countries reacted by bowing down to demands from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) to cut back on social spending and to try to force down wages.

But this was not enough to prevent renewed crisis, and renewed pressure from the IMF for more cut-backs.

What worries bodies like the IMF is not the hardship hitting the people of such countries.

It is that Western banks will not get the interest payments they are expecting, and that this will in turn make the crisis afflicting US big business worse.

## The power to derail attacks

THE influential *Forbes* magazine in the US points out that "the IMF is responsible for the Argentine crisis. It made Argentina put up taxes in 1995, preventing the economy from growing and paying off its foreign debt."

The Argentine government's response to the crisis was to announce last week a savage attack on public employees and pensioners.

Their payments for this month have been cut by 8 to 10 percent, and the cuts could reach 15 percent in August. On top of that there will be 35,000 sackings in a country where unemployment is already around 15 percent.

One union leader spoke of "the biggest attack on people" since the military coup which established a bloody dictatorship in 1976. Public employees reacted

by holding workplace meetings at which there were calls for demonstrations and strikes.

The national public employees' unions called for a one-day strike.

A wave of such actions warded off the last government attacks back in March. Strikes and occupations by teachers and students forced the government to abandon attacks on the education system.

## Attacks

President De la Rúa only resolved the resulting crisis by appointing as finance minister Domingo Cavallo—a key figure in the previous government.

Effectively the two mainstream parties formed a coalition in order to keep big business and the IMF happy while making concessions to bring the protests to an end.

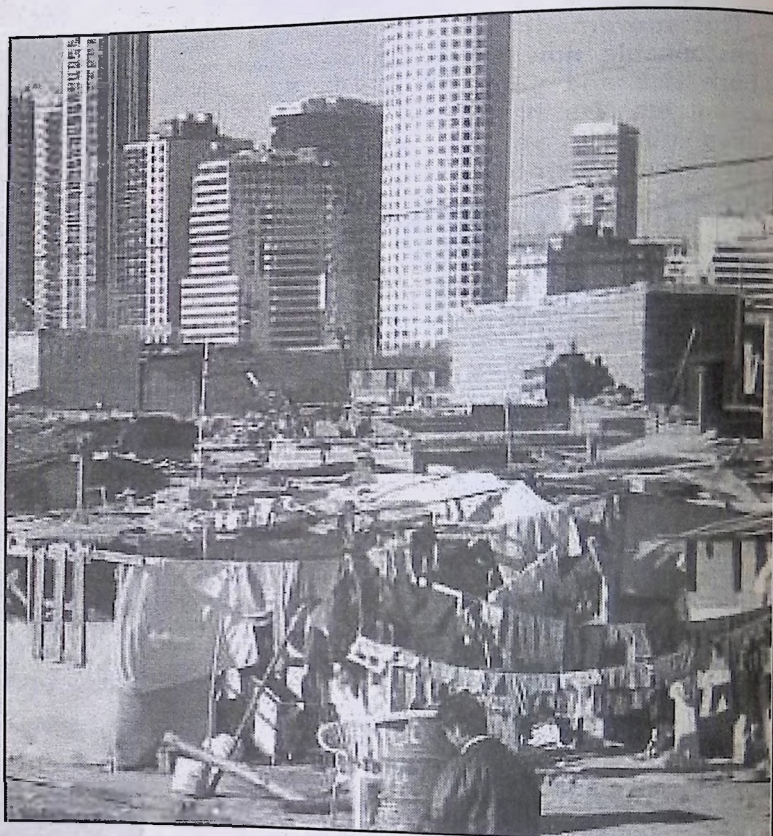
Much of the financial press internationally talked of Cavallo as a "miracle worker", and trade union

leaders told their members the crisis was over. Now it has broken out again, with an even greater impact.

Argentina's workers suffered enormous defeats in the mid-1970s. The resulting demoralisation continued to have its effects even after the dictatorship fell in 1983.

Right through into the 1990s there was often a sense of helplessness in face of the attacks of successive governments.

That feeling was encouraged by the leaders of very highly bureaucratized unions. Over the last 18 months the mood has changed. Four general strikes have involved blockading highways and mass picketing by both employed and unemployed workers. The union leaders still see one-day strikes as simply a bargaining counter in talks with the government. But a new militancy has been erupting from below. And that could derail the plans of the government and the IMF.



Workers in Argentina living shanty towns

## Middle East

# Palestinians face brutal terror

As *Socialist Worker* went to press Palestinians buried Diya' Tmeizi a three month old child murdered by a Jewish right wing militia.

A week earlier eleven year old Khalil al-Mugrabhi was shot dead by Israeli snipers while playing near his home in Gaza.

512 Palestinians have been murdered by Israel since the "intifada" or rebellion began last September.

The intifada is against Israel's oppression of Palestinians. Israel has shot people in cold blood, and bombed and bulldozed Palestinian homes and buildings.

A month ago Israel's right wing prime minister called a "truce". Yet the

daily routine of Israeli violence has continued, and in recent weeks has grown worse.

Israel claims it is acting in self defence. Yet five times as many Palestinians have been killed as Israelis during the intifada.

## Fighting

Fierce fighting erupted in the West Bank city of Hebron last week between Israeli troops and Palestinians, including forces of the Palestinian Authority, which has some limited control over parts of the West Bank and Gaza.

Israeli tanks entered a Palestinian-controlled part of Hebron, and armed right wing Israeli settlers went on the rampage in the city.



The funeral of Diya' Tmeizi

Elsewhere in the West Bank Israeli forces seized a Palestinian area of the town of Nablus for a time.

The Israeli army also bulldozed 26 Palestinian houses in Gaza last

week, leaving dozens of people homeless.

The Israeli army claimed the homes were uninhabited. Yet as the bulldozers approached dozens of people living there had to flee for their

lives. Israel's prime minister, Ariel Sharon, says he is committed to talks with the Palestinians, and has sent his son to meet Palestinian Authority leader Yasser Arafat.

But there are signs

that Israel could be preparing even more savage repression. Some ministers and army leaders are pushing for what the US Washington Post newspaper calls "a devastating military attack aimed at liquidating Yasser Arafat and destroying the Palestinian Authority in Gaza and the West Bank".

Sharon and some in the Israeli regime fear the response from both Palestinians and elsewhere. One Israeli military source told the Washington Post that their great fear was doing "something that will make the whole world against us".

That is all the more reason why everyone should stand in solidarity with the Palestinian intifada.

## Eamonn McCann

### The end of 'progressive' Loyalism

IN THE first week of July, as tension tightened across the North, car-loads of men with Loyalist flags arrived at the entrance to the small Catholic housing estate of Fisherwick on the Broughshane Road in Ballymena. They were, they said, protesting against tricolours flying in the estate.

The arrival of the group caused alarm. The previous week, a convoy of vans and cars had driven into the area carrying men with ladders, crowbars and baseball bats. Some kept the few locals who were around at bay with their weapons while others tore a number of tricolours down.

Both anti-Tricolour expeditions were led by Billy McCaughey, a former RUC man with a conviction for sectarian murder who'd previously been associated with demonstrations outside the Catholic church at Harryville.

When it was put to McCaughey that other areas of Ballymena were thick with Loyalist flags, he responded that there was no comparison: those were "legitimate flags", whereas the Tricolour was the emblem of "the fenians".

This was the standard stuff of unreconstructed bigotry—except that McCaughey is the leader of the Progressive Unionist Party in Ballymena, and stood for the party in June's council elections.

A week later, the PUP delegation was to first to leave the Weston Park talks, complaining about the alleged intransigence of Sinn Fein.

These developments surprised many who have seen the PUP as "a breath-of-fresh-air" in the acrid atmosphere of the North.

#### Phenomenon

The PUP's reputation as a hopeful new phenomenon in Loyalist politics dates from its emergence in the run-up to the ceasefires in the 1990s. It was formed by members of the UVF who had become keenly aware that it was always the Protestant poor who went out to do the killing, and dying, for "Ulster", and who were then ditched by the bosses who reaped the benefit. Their resentment was expressed in bitter rhetoric against the "fur-coat brigade", in a generalised acknowledgement that all of the working class had lost out during the long years of one-party Unionist rule, and in the espousal of Left-of-centre policies on the public sector, the extension of the Abortion Act etc.

All of this encouraged a view of the PUP as a progressive group within the Protestant community with a potential to undercut sectarianism and make links with progressive representatives of the Catholic community. This view was eagerly advanced by Nationalists who liked to think of themselves as Left-wingers, by liberals dismayed by sectarianism but with no alternative to offer, by groups on the Left on the look-out for a short-cut to class politics, and many others.

The flaw in this approach has to do with the idea of a party of the Protestant working class. This could only make sense on the basis of the Protestant working class having separate and distinct interests from the Catholic working class. A notion which, from a socialist point of view, makes no sense at all.

The difference between the two sections of the class has to do, obviously, with enclosure within different communities. The PUP, that is, defined itself from the outset as representing Protestant workers vis-a-vis their Catholic counterparts. It hadn't broken with Loyalist ideas but had taken to expressing them in a working class accent.

Given that its membership was drawn largely from a paramilitary organisation with a horrendous history of sectarian atrocity, this was probably inevitable. The result has been that, insofar as the PUP expresses working class anger, in the end, in practice, it channels the anger not against "the fur-coat brigade" at all, but against "the fenians".

This is not to say that paramilitaries, even paramilitaries with records of sectarian crime, can never become socialists. It's to say that this requires a clean break from the ideas of Loyalism.

Those who have sewn illusions in the PUP have helped delay this happening.

### Hayes report shows

# Health service is in chaos

The "radical" shake-up of hospital services in Northern Ireland which was announced in June is no solution to waiting lists and underfunding.

The health service is starved of cash. Government spends less per capita on the NHS in Northern Ireland than anywhere else in the U.K. This review tries to re-distribute the shortage of resources.

Acute services will be scrapped at five local hospitals — the Mater, the Tyrone County, the South Tyrone, the Lagan Valley and the White-abbey — in order to finance expansion at the "Golden Nine". Where A&E departments are to close, nurses, not doctors, will be running basic replacement services.

#### Increase

There will be no overall increase in the number of acute hospital beds. If one hospital needs more, another hospital will have to lose some.

GPs and nurses are to provide more and more former hospital services. There is already a 25 per cent deficit in GPs here. Those posts, says the review, should be filled. But the workload of those doctors will grow exponentially — and already, GPs only have seven minutes to see each patient.

Junior doctors' hours are to be brought down from their current ridiculous levels. But instead of filling all the missing posts with additional junior doctors, the review says that some of their work should be done by nurses instead.

The Hayes Review does recommend serious — and long over-due — cut-backs in management. The four health boards will be merged into one authority, and the 18 trusts will become three "health systems". Sadly, all this will only happen by 2008. Until then, trust chief executives will continue to be paid around £70,000 a year plus perks.

But the biggest flaw in the review lies in the section on funding. It says: "We are assuming that spending on health care in the UK will equate with the mean for the



Standing up to PFI

EU. This implies significant medium term growth."

That is a seriously misleading assumption. Firstly, the U.K. has lagged behind the European average on health

spending for years. Tony Blair has no intention of changing that.

Secondly, where cash is needed in the short term — where will it come from? Of course: "Consideration should be

given to the potential to access private finance."

This review further paves the way for PFI under which the NHS is being sold off.

Private companies in Britain have already

charged up to three times for the same service that used to be provided by central government. Under PFI, we'd be lining their pockets while they're privatising the NHS.

## The lesson of the hunger strikes

AS WE approach the 20th anniversary of the death of Mickey Devine, the last of the ten hunger strikers to die, debate continues about what Bobby Sands and the others would think if they were alive today — about the Good Friday Agreement, the "peace strategy" of Sinn Fein and so on.

"Dissident" republicans say the 10 men are spinning in their graves, that they gave their lives against the Brits and would be shocked at the abandonment of "Brits Out".

#### Evolved

Sinn Fein leaders say that the eight IRA men in particular were loyal members of the Republican Movement and that their thinking would have evolved alongside that of their comrades. That they would have welcomed the electoral strategy of Sinn Fein today — which after all began with the election of Bobby Sands.

Who's to say? Nobody really knows. What we can say is that it's possible to draw a number of different lessons from an experience as huge as the hunger strike. Socialists look back and

recall our success in organising mass support, including major strikes in Derry, Dundalk, Drogheda, Waterford, Cork and Dublin.

The lesson we draw has to do with the importance of mass mobilisation. In this perspective, the campaign outside the prisons was characterised not by clandestine armed struggle nor by putting trust in elected representatives but by people themselves making history, forcing change.

Of course, the election

of Bobby Sands and then Owen Carron to Westminster and of Kieran Doherty and Paddy Agnew to the Dail was a blow to the ruling class.

As the Guardian noted at the time "Years of myth making go out of the window with the election of Bobby Sands."

And the biggest myth is that the IRA in its violent phase represents only a tiny minority."

But what really sent a deep tremour of nervous-

ness through the ruling class was the sight of tens and hundreds of thousands on the streets, threatening the viability of their rule.

It's when the mass of working class people organise and take action to push their own interests forward that the ruling class anywhere begins to tremble.

This, to socialists, is the main lesson of the hunger strike period for today.

—EAMONN MCCANN

## Taxing business

Former Sinn Fein Councillor Mairtin O'Muilleoir was has some odd ideas on tackling poverty.

In the Andersonstown News of 19th July, O Muilleoir quite rightly bemoaned the lack of a peace dividend "in the parts of our great city [one presumes he's talking about Belfast] which bore the brunt of the 30-year war. Research has shown that of the new jobs arriving in Northern Ireland since 1994, two thirds have gone to areas which were already reasonably well supplied with work. As a result, the gap between deprived areas and better off ones has widened over the last 6-8 years."

But, although the same research makes it clear that

it is both Protestant and Catholic working class areas that suffer from this increasing gap between rich and poor, O Muilleoir is determined that the problem is "US companies operating here employ FEWER Catholics now than they did before the ceasefire!" Thus reducing the notion of a "peace dividend" to a question of "which side" has most opportunity to work in Call Centres or anti-union, low-pay, rotating-shifts factories.

"All of West Belfast needs to be designated an economic empowerment zone with a special status when it comes to attracting new business and bolstering the businesses already based there", writes O Muilleoir. And this "new era of investment and economic building in West Belfast must include a new tax regime which

ages firms (large and small) here by promising them corporate tax levels down from 30 percent to the ten percent more common in the South".

The rhetoric of Sinn Fein in the South — with its demand to share the wealth — in the North is replaced with give the wealth to the global corporations!

Economic justice should not be equated with equality of poverty and misery for Catholics and Protestants. It must be about decent pay and working conditions for all and proper health and education systems paid for by higher levels of corporate tax.

It seems that when it comes to the gap between the poor and the better off, which has widened since the ceasefires, O Muilleoir isn't sure which side he is

REVOLT IN GENOA... REVOLT IN GENOA... REVOLT

# 300,000 march ag

THE press chose to ignore it, but the 300,000 strong march through Genoa was amazing.

It was four times the size of Seattle.

The march was no, "anarchist travelling circus". It was massive, predominantly Italian, united and strong.

The banner of the Genoa Social Forum — which organised the protests against the G8 — was at the front.

So too was the banner of Danone workers in France who are fighting for their jobs.

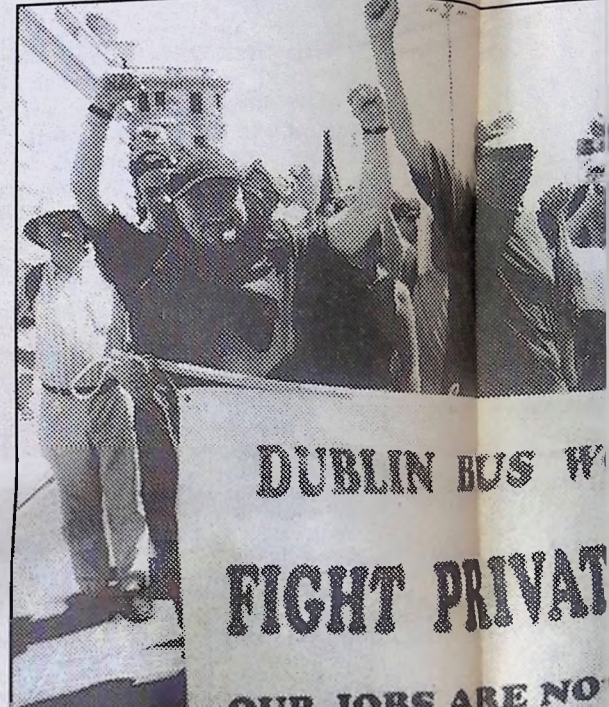
Other banners said, "Reclaim our world", "No to neo-liberalism".

"Resistance and Solidarity", "People before profit" and "Un altro mondo e possibile" - another world is possible.

The march went past for hours. There were people from ATTAC groups from France, Italy, Norway, Tunisia and beyond who are fighting for a tax on financial speculation.



People came from across Europe including busworkers from Dublin



## Struggles

Fabien Thierry from France said, "I came here today for all reasons, because all the social and economic struggles across the world are linked together. We want to be as numerous as possible today, because that is how we will win more justice."

Anti debt protesters carried banners saying, "cancella il debito!" Greens marched with flags. But crucially, there were also workers. The Genoa march showed the unity between workers, environmentalists, students and activists which can take the

anti-capitalist movement forward.

There was a delegation of thousands of metal workers from the FIOM union. They marched together, linking arms, with FIOM red caps, and carrying FIOM red flags. Young and no so young workers marched side by side, militants from Fiat and from factories all over Italy.

"We are against neo-liberalism," said a marching FIOM member.

"We are against job cuts, we are against wage-busting and attacks on our rights as trade unionists. But we are also for peace, justice and human rights for all. We are joining today with

the youth, and all those who are against the system."

There were banners from the CGIL trade union federation - from Padova, Bologna, Brianza and many more. Left wing Italian unions COBAS and BAS had delegations.

## Socialist

Flavio, a member of COBAS, said, "I'm here because I'm against capitalism and want a socialist world."

"I came on a special train of 1,000 people from Brescia. It was made up mainly of metal workers

who have just been on strike against the government.

"This is the beginning of a new international regeneration of the movement. The retreat is finished."

Students Action in Italy carried their banner which said, "Students of the world united!" They marched with clenched fists in the air. There was a big group of students from Naples in specially made yellow t-shirts.

When the students began singing *Bandiero Rossa*, the FIOM workers let out a massive cheer and raised clenched fists.

They joined in the singing, and the two groups marched down the road together singing heartily.

The young anti capitalists who were staying at the Carlini stadium marched together - thousands of them, linking arms.

The Carlini stadium was used by the Genoa Social Forum to accommodate protesters. It got publicity because it was where *Ya Basta*, or *Tutte Bianche*, stayed.

When a big delegation from the Greek Communist Party, chanting and whistling and waving red flags, marched up alongside them, the youth of Carlini whistled, clapped and cheered.

The two groups marched on together.

Many marchers wore black armbands to mark the murder the previous day of 23 year old Carlo Giuliani.

Banners said "assassini" and "criminali!" and chants of "assassini" were heard throughout the length of the march - as were loud chants of "Libera, Genova!"

There were banners from Social Forums from all over Italy which mobilised for the protests - Rovereto, Cremona, Torino, Trieste, Parma and more.

There was the banner of a radical radio station in Bologna, and the Genoa Anti Fascist Committee.

There were hundreds from Legambiente - an Italian green movement and the Lilliput environmental movement.

There were thousands from Rifondazione — the left wing of what used to be the Italian

Communist Party - with red And there was tremor international unity.

## Unity

There were SUD trade unionists from France. There were com workers from Greece. There was the Piraeus Labour Centre Greece, Greek municipal council workers with a banner saying "Capitalism no, People's struggle yes" and hospital doctors Athens. The Balkan Socialist C

# Our world is not for sale

THERE WERE two other days of protest and direct action in Genoa last week.

On the Thursday over 50,000 people marched for rights for immigrants and the free movement of people across borders.

It was an electric, and inspiring protest. And the Friday saw seven different marches and actions against the G8.

Many of the actions were not violent - though you would not know this from the television coverage.

## Meeting

Around 15,000 people marched from the Carlini stadium and tried to get to the live metre high metal fence which was erected in central Genoa to protect the "Red Zone" where the G8 was meeting.

But riot police armed with tear gas stopped them getting there.

Thousands of others joined the International

Socialist Tendency march from the Genoa Social Forum's Convergence Centre on the sea front.

The march confronted the fence separating the G8 from the rest of the city.

The demonstrators then marched to join with French and Italian supporters of ATTAC who were demonstrating at another part of the fence.

The police then tear gassed protesters as they were peacefully leaving!

But united together over 10,000 marched back to the Genoa Social Forum's Convergence Centre.

OVER 1,000 people attended a joint rally of the revolutionary left on Saturday morning. The International Socialist Tendency joined with LCR supporters from France.

A big delegation from Greece marched into the rally to rally massive applause. They were delayed arriving in Genoa after having been stopped by the police 11 times on the way. The Italian riot police even stormed their ferry when it landed in Italy.

# Liars and hypocrites

BEHIND THE fences and the tear gas the G8 leaders talked and issued statements:

"We have always respected people's right to legitimate protest. We recognise and praise the role that peaceful protest and argument have played, for example in putting issues like debt relief on the international agenda," they said. Why then is Carlo Giuliani dead? Why were thousands of tear gas canisters fired into peaceful demonstrators? Why were the headquarters of the Genoa Social Forum raided leaving 66 people in hospital?

"We are determined to make globalisation work for all our citizens and especially the world's poor. Drawing the poorest countries into the global economy is the

surest way to address their fundamental aspirations."

The G8 leaders' final statements mentioned debt relief but offered not even a promise to cancel the debt. Last time they met they least promised to cancel the debt but did nothing about it.

The G8 to much public announcement a \$13 billion Global Fund for AIDS. A single test fire of George Bush's missile defence system cost \$100 million dollars. The Star wars program has already cost 415 billion dollars.

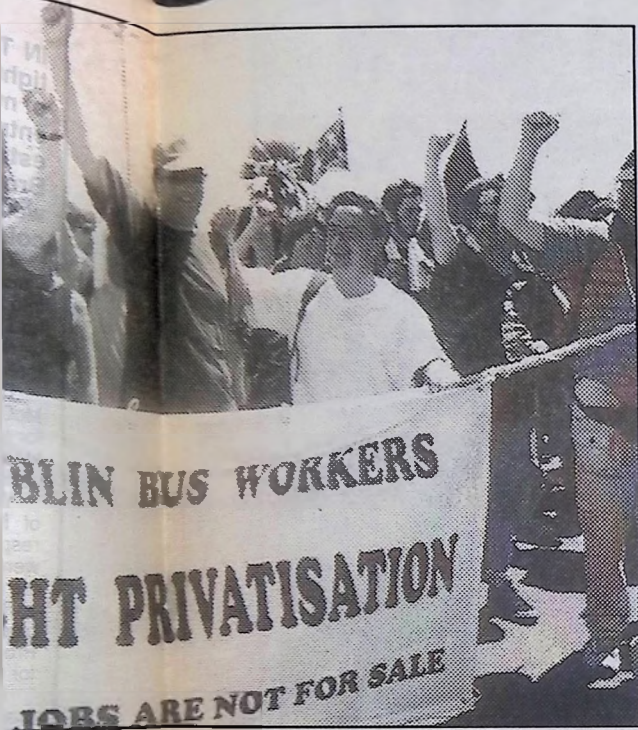
All world summits have commercial sponsors. The G8 was no exception, over 40 companies were "privileged sponsors" of the summit. The companies providing hospitality for the politicians had no problem putting the case to the G8. They included Phillips, Toyota, Xerox and different banking institutions.

# Another world is possible! Build it

**REVOLT IN GENOA ... REVOLT IN GENOA ... REVOLT**

# against capitalism

## Murderous thugs defend the system



Communist Party - with red flags. And there was tremendous international unity.

### Unity

There were SUD trade unionists from France. There were telecom workers from Greece. There was the Piraeus Labour Centre in Greece. Greek municipal council workers with a banner saying "Capitalism no. People's struggles yes" and hospital doctors from Athens.

### hypocrites

The surest way to address their fundamental aspirations... The G8 leaders' final statement mentioned debt relief but offered not even a promise to cancel the debt. Last time they met they at least promised to cancel the debt but did nothing about it. The G8 announced a \$1.3 billion Global Fund for AIDS... single test firing of George Bush's missile defence system cost \$100 million dollars. The Star Wars program has already cost \$415 billion dollars. All world summits have commercial sponsors. The G8 was no exception. Over 40 companies were "privileged sponsors" of the summit. The politicians putting their hospitality for the G8 had no problem putting their case to the G8. They included Phillips, Toyota, Xerox and 15 different banking institutions.

carried their banner saying "globalise revolution!" There was a delegation of World Wildlife Fund supporters, complete with flags with pandas on. Karin from Moscow said, "there are 50 of us here from Russia and the Ukraine. We are here to show another face of Russia, to show that Putin doesn't represent us. The results of the liberalisation of our economy have been awful. Only a small portion of capitalists benefit."

And Pedra, a student from Germany, said, "I am here to demonstrate against the system as a whole. All issues are connected. We have to build a world of solidarity, where everyone is equal, no-one is forced to be an illegal immigrant."

There were the hundreds who travelled on the Globalise Resistance train from Britain. The train was cancelled after pressure from the French government, but protests by French rail unions succeeded in putting it back on again.

And there were thousands from the International Socialist Tendency across Europe and beyond who marched together. Not all the march made it to the final rally because the police viciously attacked the demonstration.

But those who did see the support they had amongst the ordinary people of Genoa. Genoese waved from their balconies and raised their fists. An old woman waved a red scarf. Others filled buckets with water for the hot demonstrators to drink, to the joy and laughter of all.

### CARLO Giuliani was murdered by the police for opposing capitalism.

A shot came fired point blank range from Carabinieri Land Rover at about 5.30 p.m. on Friday 20th July.

The police Land Rover then ran over his body to make sure he was dead. That was how the police responded to protest at the G8.

The police claimed Carlo was killed by stone throwers. They said he was English, then Spanish and a junkie with convictions for violence. They claimed he was killed by a stray tear gas canister, they claimed it was self defence.

### Facts

In fact, he was from Rome but lived in Genoa and his conviction was for obstructing a policeman. Carlo Giuliani, was the son of a well-known Genoa trade union official and a member of a group calling themselves Punkabestia (Animal Punks). He was murdered by live round from a police pistol. Not satisfied with having

killed Carlo they proceeded to slander him after his death.

The truth was simple. This was the logic of the police assault on the hundreds of thousands of protestors who came to Genoa against the G8.

The media across Europe had been hyping up trouble. Body bags were brought into Genoa the week before the protest.

They turned Genoa into an armed camp, even placing a missile defence system on top of the conference centre.

From before the protests started the Italian state met protestors with violence.

Greek trade unionists arriving in Genoa were baton charged as they came of their ferry.

Throughout the three days of demonstrations the police assaulted thousands of protestors. Police Agent provocateur were used to cause violence.

Hundreds were arrested as the police repeatedly ran rampage. When people ended up in hospital they were then arrested.

Perhaps, one of the worst events came the evening after the main demonstration. Over 200 hundred police charged the centres of the Genoa Social Forum and Indymedia.

Police vans smashed down the doors and then

police went on the rampage. Over 66 people were hospitalised from this one attack.

The Police then took files and computer and video equipment, much of what was taken had the details of people arrested in the previous days.

There were frequent reports of police wearing fascist insignia. People were brutalised in the cells, with frequent reports of torture.

The violence from the police was ordered from the top.

### Corrupt

The Italian Prime Minister SILVIO BERLUSCONI is a corrupt media baron. Just some of his crimes include being found guilty of illegal financing of a political party, bribing the financial police and false accounting.

Berlusconi has constructed the most right wing Italian government for a generation. Some of his ministers are from the National Alliance and the Northern League.

Gianfranco Fini's National Alliance was called the MSI until the early 1990s. The MSI was an outright fascist party that harked back to the days of Mussolini. The Northern League has led a witch-hunt against immi-



Making Genoa safe for capitalism

grants, and it scapegoats poorer people in the south of Italy.

Berlusconi used a web of political contacts to get control of virtually all of Italy's private television network in the 1980s, despite laws against monopolies.

Mass strikes and protests ended his previous attempt at being prime minister in the mid-1990s because of his savage cuts package.

It is the fear of the same revolt against the government that meant he pushed his police to attack.

## Bloody Sunday 1972 — Bloody Friday Genoa 2001

Bloody Sunday 1972- Bloody Friday Genoa 2001 was the hastily made banner of the 200 strong Irish contingent to protests in genoa after the shooting of Carlo Giuliani.

Paul from Kilkenny said "I started reading about global issues recently, I am on a FAS Training course. I going to do a report back to my colleagues when I get back. We all got interested in globalisation during the Nice treaty referendum, which was a real kick in the teeth for the government.

Next to it was a banner that read Dublin Bus Workers Against Privatisation. The delegation had come out of a 80 strong rank file meeting against the attempts to privatise CIE. According to one busworker, "We are

here to make the link between privatisation and the global movement."

James Redmond from Carlow said, "I'm shocked by the police, but there is no reason why we can't build a massive anti-capitalist movement in Ireland."

On the Thursday the Irish contingent had joined the immigrant solidarity march which saw over 50,000 people march, predominantly the march was made up of kurds, Iran and Pakistani immigrants to Italy who suffer constant harassment by the police.

### Opening

The march emphasised that while the G8 leader talk of opening the world up to trade they want to close down for people.

Before the summit, the Italian Prime minister



Globalise Resistance tackle the Red zone

Berlusconi had asked the people of genoa not to hang out their washing. Every washing line was sticking two fingers up to the government and met with a cheer from the protestors.

The Irish contingent was part of several thousand who marched to fences of

the red zone on Friday. Peaceful non-direct action was met by heavily armed police firing CS gas into the crowd.

Terry, a librarian from Dublin said, "I was hit seven or eight times in the head with a baton. They were like animals."

**Build the anti-capitalist movement**

# REVOLT IN GENOA ... REVOLT IN GENOA ...

# Where now for anti-capitalism?

**T**HE ANTI-capitalist movement has developed astonishingly in the 20 months since the great anti World Trade Organisation protests at Seattle. In every country in the world significant minorities of people identify themselves with it.

Yet only ten years ago we were told the collapse of the USSR had ended all possibility of opposing capitalism.

All this is reminiscent of the late 1960s, the last time there was such a sense of revolt against the system.

Prior to 1968 establishment thinkers proclaimed the "end of ideology" and said the working class had become "embourgeoisified" (made middle class)-some on the left agreed. There were growing minority currents of dissent arising from the peace movement and the US civil rights movement. But in the mid-1960s they were still very small.

*This changed quite suddenly in 1967 and 1968. The Black Panthers were suddenly emerging as a very important force in the Northern cities of the US. The murder of Che Guevara at the behest of the CIA in Bolivia turned him into a symbol of rebellion for a whole layer of young people across Latin America.*

A 100,000-strong demonstration confronted armed troops at the Pentagon in Washington and pushed protests against the war in Vietnam to the centre of the US political stage.

The police shooting of a student in Berlin gave rise to a massive left wing student movement right across Germany. Thousands of Italian students occupied their colleges. Then in May student confrontations with the police in Paris were followed by the largest general strike in history.

The international activist minority grew tenfold in a matter of weeks. So in Britain the first

demonstration in support of the national liberation struggle in Vietnam attracted about 15,000 people in October 1967. A year later there were 100,000.

**T**he left wing Students for a Democratic Society in the US had about 300 members in 1961. By the late 1960s estimates of its membership vary from 30,000 to 100,000.

Student protests erupted in Poland, Yugoslavia, Mexico, Argentina, Czechoslovakia, Italy, India, Pakistan, most German cities, and elite US universities like Columbia and Harvard.

And virtually everywhere there were huge and increasingly militant demonstrations against the Vietnam War.

It was as if the mindset of a whole generation was changing overnight.

**AT FIRST** the authorities were shaken by the protests. But by the end of 1968 they were learning, virtually everywhere, to cope with them. In some cases they beat demonstrators to a pulp in Poland in March and outside the Democratic Party convention in Chicago in the summer.

In Mexico they simply shot them down, killing hundreds. In other cases, as in Britain, they deployed so many police that the activist minority began to feel they would never get anywhere simply by demonstrating.

**J**ust as the movement was reaching its highest point, heated and sometimes bitter arguments broke out among participants about the way forward. Two basic positions emerged. The first grew out of an obsession with the tactics of confronting the police on demonstrations. It involved groups using ever more violent methods in an effort to fight the state.

They imagined they could beat the state by their own efforts, or at least inspire masses of people to fight by engaging in such confrontations. By the late 1970s there were such "autonomist groups" in many European cities. Similar arguments led many student activists in Latin America to turn themselves into small guerrilla groups.

This inspired some small groups in the advanced countries to emulate them. The Red Brigades in Italy, the Red Army Faction in Germany and the Weathermen in the US turned to planting bombs, kidnapping industrialists, and even shooting politicians.

★ **THE SECRETARY** of the Refounded Communist Party, Fausto Bertinotte, summed up the events in Genoa.

He said of last weekend's demonstration, "The tragedy of the dead youth and the clashes on the demonstration must not conceal a giant fact: we are faced with the real birth of a movement.

"These 2-300,000 people, the entry of a new generation, is political and cultural fact of enormous importance. Those in power show they cannot tolerate the movement, they try to break it up, to put the blame on it, to provoke splits within it.

"But today 80 percent were under 30 years old. And we saw the same spirit expressed in the metal workers' strike of the week before last.

"This is the rise of a new generation, and this generation will not be broken. It will not stop challenging repression, the G8, globalisation, the government.

"I think that this movement can provide the force for an alternative left."

The approach was disastrous.

The power of a ruling class and its state does not just come from the military force it deploys.

Behind that military force lies the vast wealth it controls as a result of exploiting millions of people. It cannot be overthrown unless these millions move against it and begin to fight for control of that wealth. Short of that, sooner or later, the state was going to be able to reorganise itself to isolate and crush small militaristic groups.

**CROSS LATIN** America literally thousands of activists were hunted down and murdered. In the advanced countries they were usually lucky enough just to face spells in prison.

Meanwhile their methods provided excuses for the state crackdown on the whole far left with the blessing of mainstream trade union leaders. The other response to the impasse faced by protesters in the late 1960s was to move on from arguments over demonstration tactics.

Many wanted to connect with wider social forces-above all the working class, whose position in the capitalist economy gave them the power to bring it grinding to a halt.

This approach received a huge boost with the French general strike of May 1968, the virtual uprising by motor workers in the Argentinian city of Cordoba in 1969, and the Italian "Hot Autumn" of strikes and occupations in the



**Storming the gates of the system**

same year. Activists could see with their own eyes that hundreds of thousands of workers in militant confrontation with the state could paralyse its forces and achieve victory.

**T**he task of activists was not to substitute themselves for workers' struggles, but to find ways to help build and generalise them. The movement today has one great advantage over the movement of the 1960s. Although we have not yet experienced anything on the scale of May 1968, it is already a movement against capitalism.

As such it has the possibility of connecting with the everyday experience of everyone who lives under the system.

Neo-liberalism is the latest phase of capitalism.

In every workplace in the world people are being driven to work harder and longer, and often for less.

In every locality in the world, schools, healthcare, welfare benefits and social housing are being cut back. The privatiser lurks behind every door, and the IMF behind most governments.

Right across the world mass movements are already arising spontaneously. There are a range of tactical discussions about how to take particular protests and demonstrations forward.

The debate among anti-capitalists about such issues is one of the strengths of the movement.

It is about taking the best experience of the last great upsurge and seeking to broaden the movement to involve even wider forces.

★ **AN OPINION** poll in France last week found 60 percent of people say they are favourable towards the goals of the anti globalisation movement.

Another opinion poll in Greece last week also found that:

54 percent of people favoured the demonstrations in Genoa, and only 10 percent opposed them.

59 percent said that, "the domination of multinational corporations" is the first thing they think of when they hear the word globalisation.



# in my view

## Unreal TV

IT'S HARD to imagine anything as managed and pre-scripted as the so called reality television series that are occupying more and more prime time on every channel--and not only there.

The gameshow format is also the subject of a film--Series 7: The Contenders--though it's not a particularly new idea. Remember Rollerball, Death Race 2000, and The Running Man? The difference is that those 1970s and 1980s films were still presented as futuristic horror movies, paranoid imaginings.

What is distinctive about the new crop of programmes is that they are filmed as documentaries. Their landscapes are recognisable and familiar, their characters resolutely realistic. Of course, nobody yet has been asked to kill their fellow contestants, as they do in Series 7. But participants are being pushed to denounce, expose, criticise, punish and humiliate each other.

Big Brother 2 is much edgier and more prurient than the first series, which still passed itself off as a kind of pop anthropology. This time it's Hello! magazine with moving pictures. The websites are full of speculation about the contestants' intimate habits, coy hints at sex to come, and endless speculation about the way each one sees the others. It's an endless hall of mirrors, with everyone watching everyone watching us watching them.

### Alone

One night the team were playing ghosts and one contestant rushed into the sealed room where they can communicate with Big Brother to make sure that there were people watching--that they wouldn't ever be left alone!

But in a way Big Brother already seems a little old fashioned. It has given way to Survivor or RTE's Treasure Island, America's response to Big Brother, and one step nearer to the death race formula.

The really disturbing feature of all these shows is the way that they ask us to see human beings--the behaviour they lead us to see as normal.

In Big Brother group solidarity may briefly exist, but the weekly vote ensures that all human encounters will be ambiguous and uncertain, all smiles are Janus faced, and all friendships and love affairs shortlived. So in the end, like the frightened girl listening to tales of horror, only Big Brother can be relied on. On a tropical island, survival skills are individual and competitive--collaboration, waiting for the slowest, is weakness, and it carries a terrible price.

Reality television is not about the real world, for all its scientific trappings and pretence to objectivity. What it does offer is an image, a vision, of how human societies work.

Beyond the gameshow format, with its promise of wealth for the single survivor of these games on the edge of the void, are all the other reinforcing elements, the framing pieces for the jigsaw. Airports and driving schools and theatres and hospitals merge into an endless blur of accidents, emergencies and general mayhem--chaos kept at bay for the moment, but always about to return.

Makeover shows, change your life contests, stars for a day--they all promise change, but change brought by some invisible and finally unnameable force beyond our control.

### Protector

Everything goes back to Big Brother, and we are asked to be grateful for that all seeing eye, as if it were our only protector. The endless preoccupation with the details of our (and everyone else's) private life becomes the alternative to following the changing patterns of our social existence. All that we can hope to control is the trivia of everyday living. The rest is down to the Great Producer beyond the one-way mirror.

I don't think it would be an exaggeration to describe this as a new religion, because like all the old ones it encourages us to surrender our own powers to someone above or beyond us, and to see ourselves as weak and flawed--yearning for fame and frightened of the dark.

The alternative, of course, is to do what the hero does at the end of Peter Weir's fine film The Truman Show--tear down the walls of their reality and rediscover our own.

## book

# A guide for a whole movement

"WE ARE really at war...history is handing us an enormous opportunity and we've got to seize it." Author and activist Susan George

The new book *Anti-Capitalism: A Guide to the Movement* is a brilliant weapon in the war against global capitalism.

In an exciting and accessible way it collects together eyewitness accounts, debates and analysis from the growing anti-capitalist movement.

### Ammunition

Here is all the ammunition you need against multinational corporations, the governments which do their bidding, and institutions like the International Monetary Fund and World Bank and their neo-liberal free market catastrophe.

The book's format reflects a movement bursting with ideas, initiative and imagination.

The articles are packed with information on debt, the environment, GM foods, sweatshop labour, the pharmaceutical companies' war on AIDS victims, refugees, war and imperialism.

There are inspiring eyewitness accounts and photographs from all the major protests against global capitalism.

There is a lowdown on the "unholy triumvirate" of the IMF, World Bank and WTO, and five of their multinational ringmasters--WalMart, McDonald's, Nike, Glaxo-SmithKline and Shell.

What makes the book so exciting is that it springs from a worldwide resistance which is angry, confident and growing.

The book puts together the big street battles, from Seattle in November 1999 to Quebec in April 2001, alongside lesser known strikes and protests around the world against the effects of neo-liberalism.

Mike Gonzalez writes on a wave of struggles in Latin America--from the Zapatista uprising in

1994 to the victory of Bolivian peasants and workers against water privatisation.

There are amazing descriptions of workers fighting IMF-imposed austerity across Africa.

There are round-ups of little known struggles against neo-liberalism in India, China, Russia, the Far East, Papua New Guinea and elsewhere.

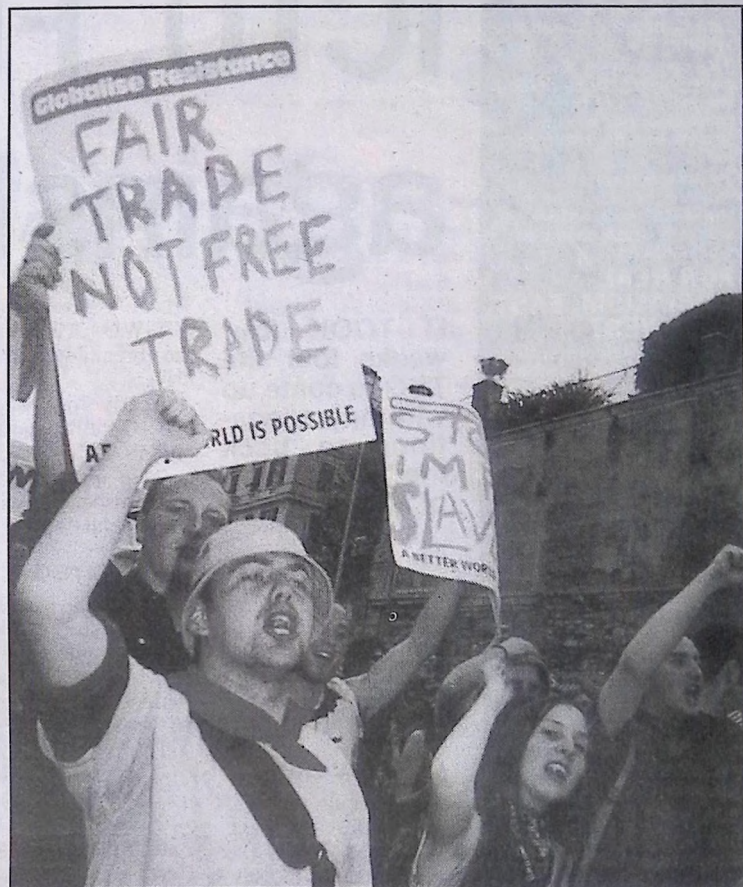
Put together these examples provide a brilliant sense of the potential power and scope of a movement on the ascendant.

Above all, the book makes a major contribution to the debates flourishing in campaigns, against, but what are we for?

Susan George argues for a "global citizens' movement" which is international and broad-based.

### Argue

Kim Moody argues that we urgently need to develop the "Teamster and turtle" alliance glimpsed on the streets of Seattle and Quebec City: "The great need is to pull these two forces together--the mobility and audacity of the movement in the streets with the social weight and numbers of



### Marching in Genoa

the organised working class."

In the final article Alex Callinicos examines the key debates in the movement. He poses the question of whether we can reform the system or whether, as he main-

tains, we need to overthrow it.

You cannot be without this book. Read it. Tell your friends about it. Try and get your trade union branch, college library, community centre and local

bookshop to order it. **Anti-Capitalism: A Guide to the Movement. £10 + £1.50 package and post from SW books, Po Box 1648, Dublin 6.**

## books

# Summer reading

### World Unseen by Shamim Sarif £9.99

THIS GRIPPING book shows the impact of apartheid in South Africa through the lives and experiences of Indian families who settled in the country. It gives a real sense of 1950s Pretoria and the pressure on those who are in mixed race relationships.

### Perdido Street Station by China Mieville £7.99

WINNER OF this year's Arthur C Clarke award for best new science fiction published in Britain. It is a novel set in the alien world of New Crobuzon, where the parliament and its militia rule over the population. This order is turned upside down when a stranger arrives in town.

It is an action packed, thought provoking novel. As the story unfolds, the parallels between this world and our own are revealed.

### Before Night Falls by Reinaldo Arenas £8.99

THE BOOK behind the current

film about the gay Cuban writer Reinaldo Arenas.

It shows how popular the revolution was in Cuba in 1959 after years of brutality under the dictator Batista.

The author was one of those who joined the revolution's guerrilla forces at the age of 13.

As a gay man he hoped the new society would bring sexual liberation. But under the pressure of the US blockade Cuba's leaders turned to the model of the Soviet Union and clamped down on free expression.

Arenas was one of those gays who suffered under the persecution. The book and its film version have provoked controversy, but it is a powerful and moving read.

### Hard Time by Sara Paretsky £5.99

THE LATEST adventures of the US's toughest detective, V I Warshawski. After she runs into a dying woman fleeing from prison, our heroine is on a collision course with the police, prison service and big business.

### Chomsky on Globalisation £3.99

A USEFUL pocket book of extracts from the US left winger's writings against the power of multinationals.

### The Case of Mumia Abu-Jamal £4.99

PRODUCED BY Amnesty International, it has the facts about the miscarriage of justice against the US political activist who is on death row.

### Revolutionary Portraits

HOW ABOUT a book the size of a CD about the life and works of a great artist? That is what these four books are about.

They cover jazz musician John Coltrane, painter Diego Rivera, composer and musician Mozart, and the artist Rembrandt. The portraits document how each artist's work was shaped by the world they lived in, and also how they gave expression to wider revolutions in society.



**where  
we  
stand**

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

**FOR REVOLUTION,  
NOT REFORM**

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

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

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

**FOR REAL  
SOCIALISM, EAST  
AND WEST**

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

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

**FOR AN END TO  
ALL OPPRESSION**

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

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

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

**FOR WORKERS'  
UNITY IN THE  
NORTH**

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

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

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

**FOR A FIGHTING  
TRADE UNION  
MOVEMENT**

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it. We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

**FOR A  
REVOLUTIONARY  
PARTY**

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

news & reports/politics/industry/the unions (01) 8722682 /fax (01) 872 3838 e-mail swp@clubi.ie

PHONE REPORTS ABOUT STRIKES/LOCAL CAMPAIGNS/PROTESTS

**ATGWU**

*Mick O'Reilly suspension...*

# ICTU, FF, Blair united against fighting unions

**IT TOOK four weeks for the T&G to come up with any allegations to back the suspension of Mick O'Reilly.**

It isn't surprising that the 200 page report was in the hands of Independent group journalists before it had got to Mick O'Reilly or Eugene McGloin.

**Reveal**

In among the odd slander the 200-page report does reveal the reason behind the suspension.

It criticises the recruitment of 110 ILDA train drivers.

Despite some vicious rumours in the right-wing press the report does not include any accusation of financial impropriety.

It quotes from SIPTU bureaucrats complaints about the

ATGWU recruiting the breakaway train drivers.

Nearly four weeks ago O'Reilly and the union's Belfast secretary, Eugene McGloin, were suspended without explanation.

**Barred**

They have been barred from their office, unable to even put together a defence against charges that they hadn't seen.

This provoked outrage among ATGWU activists and full-time officials.

Jimmy Kelly, an elected member of both the Irish and British executives of the union told *Socialist Worker*:

"This is really about an attack on the whole ethos of the ATGWU in Ireland.

"We have a reputation of being a union which is close to the rank and file.

"We are a fighting union that are opposed to social partnership.



*Mick O'Reilly and Brendan Ogle*

"Bill Morris, though, is trying to get close to the Blair government in Britain.

He would love the sort of social partnership deal that operates in Ireland.

"That is why he is trying to get rid of these officials."

## This is a fight for the soul of our unions

**ON BOTH sides of the border a fight has erupted over the soul of the labour movement.**

Mick O'Reilly and Eugene McGloin.

Inside the ATGWU, the elected members of the Regional Executive should take charge of their own affairs.

**Dismiss**

Bill Morris has no right to dismiss officials who have the trust of the democratically elected lay representatives of the region.

If this involves the union in conflict with the ICTU or the London head office, then so be it.

**What you can do?**

● Circulate the petition in defence of Mick O'Reilly. Available from rank and file solidarity network, 105 O'Hogan Road, Dublin 10. Tel (01) 8722682.

## Anything to defend Partnership

**AN UNHOLY alliance of Fian-na Fail and elements close to the ICTU are working to attack Mick O'Reilly.**

Recently the ICTU called on workers to vote for the Nice Treaty.

The one voice of opposition came from Mick O'Reilly

**ILDA**

O'Reilly also agreed to take the ILDA train drivers into membership of the ATGWU.

This group had formed through a

rebellion against a terrible pay and productivity deal, which had been imposed on them by SIPTU and NRBU leaders.

The ATGWU recently sanctioned a strike of train drivers and their pickets received huge support from rank and file SIPTU drivers.

Worried about were this could end up the defenders of partnership started to move.

*Socialist Worker* can reveal that two months ago, T&G assistant general secretary Ray

Collins held a meeting in Dublin with the Irish Congress of Trade Unions' outgoing secretary, Peter Cassells. This was during the three-day rail disruption over ILDA/ATGWU recognition.

**Ahern**

Behind the scenes, Bertie Ahern got on to the Labour Party in Britain to send the message to Morris to rein O'Reilly in.

The ICTU leaders told the London based leadership of the ATGWU that they would be

thrown out of the ICTU unless they broke with the train drivers.

This type of pressure was enough for Morris.

He had previously attacked the Liverpool region of his union for supporting the Liverpool Dockers.

Just like the ICTU leaders he puts a cosy relationship with the employers above standing up for working class fighters.

Unions can either organise opposition or they can capitulate.

In the South, the union leaders are even more wedded to the establishment. Behind the scenes they are busy attacking any group of workers who try to move beyond social partnership.

During the nurses' strike, the Sunday Business Post, reported that ICTU leaders were encouraging the government to stand firm.

During the teachers pay battle, the ICTU worked with appointed officials in the ASTI's head office and the leaders of other teachers union to undermine the strike.

The attempt to dismiss Mick O'Reilly is the culmination of this battle.

Trade unionists across Ireland should rally to the defence of

Peerless

CIE

## Never mind the ballots

STRIKE action halted the Tralee rail service, as *Socialist Worker* went to press, due to unofficial action by train drivers more than a month ahead of planned official stoppages.

The decision to embark on unofficial action was taken by the drivers' negotiating committee. They asked the two union officials to leave the room, and then voted to have a lightning disruption.

The latest dispute follows the rejection by the Labour Court of a "catch-up" claim by mainline drivers for the same pay and conditions as DART drivers.

Intercity train-drivers are seeking pay parity with DART and set to ballot on strike action. The strike would begin on August 31st and continue on selected weekends in September.

## SWP activist meetings — all welcome

- **ATHLONE:** Contact 01-872 2682 for details
- **BRAY:** Meets every Thursday at the Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm
- **BELFAST CENTRAL:** Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Kitchen Bar, 16 Victoria Square, near Cornmarket
- **BELFAST SOUTH:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Queens Students Union
- **BELFAST WEST:** ring for details 07771 781 958
- **BELFAST QUEENS UNIVERSITY:** Wednesdays 1pm, Peter Froggatt Centre
- **CORK:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Donoghue's, Drawbridge St
- **DERRY:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.15pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.
- **DROGHEDA:** Meets Wednesdays 8.30pm in McHugh's Pub St, Lawrences Gate
- **DUNDALK:** Meets Wednesdays 8pm phone 01-8722682 for details
- **DUN LAOGHAIRE:** Meets every Thursday 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 Pub, Parnell St
- **DUBLIN BALLYFERMOTT:** Meets Tues 8.30pm in Ruby Finlans Pub
- **DUBLIN CABRA:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Aughrim St Parish Hall, 13 Prussia St
- **DUBLIN BALLYMUN:** Meets every Wednesday at 6.30pm in Balcurris Road Phone Kevin on 086-3074060 for details
- **DUBLIN DUNDRUM:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Dundrum Family Recreation Centre
- **DUBLIN RIALTO:** Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR
- **DUBLIN RATHMINES:** Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm downstairs J O'Connells (Pub) Sth. Richmond Street Dublin 2.
- **DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:** Meets at 8.30pm every Tuesday upstairs Bowes (pub) Fleet Street Dublin 2
- **DUBLIN TALLAGHT:** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Jobstown Community Centre
- **ENNISKILLEN:** Phone 01-872 2682 for details
- **GALWAY:** Meets every Wednesday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba) 8.30pm
- **LIMERICK:** Phone 01-872 2682 for details
- **MAYNOOTH:** meets Thursday lunchtime ring (01)8722682 for details
- **SLIGO:** Phone 087 6329511 for details
- **SWORDS:** Meets Tuesdays 8pm Semior Citizens Hall
- **TRALEE:** Phone 087 6329511 for details
- **TRINITY COLLEGE:** Meets Thursdays 7pm see posters for details
- **UCD:** meets Wednesdays 1pm see posters for details
- **WATERFORD:** Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

# Workers occupation to fight for jobs

ON JULY 4th over 60 workers at Peerless Rugs in Athy, staged a lock-in of management and the receivers when they were told the factory was due to close down.

The workers were given less than two hours notice of the closure and they were refused their rights to redundancy payments. The receiver told them that all they would receive was statutory redundancy payments.

A meeting of the workers then voted to lock in management and the receivers until they gave guarantees on the future of the workers.

Management were unable to leave the factory from 4.30 in the afternoon until 1.30 in the morning. It was only after local politicians intervened and the workers extracted a promise from management to meet them the next day to discuss redundancy payments, that the workers agreed to open the gates to let management go home.

## Force

By this stage there were over 25 Gardai waiting outside the gate and the local superintendent had threatened to force their way into the factory.

Most of those working in Peerless have between 15 and 28 years service with the company. One shop steward Esther explained, "There is an average service of 22 years for each worker in here. We have given most of our working lives to this company and some of us have husbands, wives, daughters and sons working in the same place."

The company shut down the Athy operation despite the fact that the receiver could not show a loss at the plant. Remaining orders and

future work has been transferred to the Rothberry plant in Cork.

Negotiations took place between the company and the union and a full Labour Court hearing took place. But the bosses did not turn up for the hearing. The Labour Court has recommended 3½ years per year of service but no money has been paid up so far.

The workers are still in occupation of the factory. The company have paid over cheques due for savings and back payment of wages. But *Socialist Worker* has learned that many of these cheques have already bounced.

## Stolen

A delegation of SIPTU reps met Minister for Enterprise and Employment last Friday. Mary Harney said that there was little she could do.

But as one worker said in response to this, "Our money and livelihood has been stolen from under our noses but the Government cannot do anything about it. If one of us was guilty of stealing the least amount we would be locked up. This management are getting away with murder".

Peerless Rugs is part of the Reffon Group which owns factories in Scotland, in Cork and in Mountmellick. The owners of the plant are making handsome profits but want to increase these by laying off the Athy workers and pushing up productivity in the other areas.

Workers in Athy are only asking for decent redundancy payments and the money is there to pay them. But it will have to be extracted from the bosses.

The government are not going to make them up unless they have to.

The Athy workers need to take this struggle to every SIPTU factory in their area. They need to make this a major political issue and start to send delegations to



argue their case to every corner of the country.

Any arguments against action on this issue should be ignored. At the least the workers deserve decent

treatment after giving all their working lives to this company.

As one worker put it, "The loss of 60 jobs in Peerless, Athy is equal to 1,000

jobs going in Tallaght.

We have to make the bosses and the Government listen to us. They have taken our rights away and tell us it's because of foreign competition.

But we know they have made profit from our labour and we won't settle for being treated like this."

As we go to press the workers in Peerless Rugs are continuing their occupation. But they are determined to fight on and to spread the action to other plants if necessary.

Messages of solidarity should be sent to Peerless Rugs, Athy, Co. Kildare or phoned to the factory at 0507-31828.

## Campaign against the Bin Tax



OVER three hundred people protested against at the inauguration of the New Lord Mayor of Dublin. The protest saw Anti bin charge campaigners from across the city angrily confront councillors who backed the bin tax. contact the campaign on 087 9090166

INO

## Theatre nurses take action

Theatre nurses in the East Coast Area Health Board (ECAHB) are taking industrial action at St Colmcille's Hospital, Loughlinstown.

The INO have given notice that theatre nurses will no longer work on-call at the hospital from

today.

Consequently, there will be no surgical procedures at the hospital after 4.30pm each day while the dispute lasts, and no general accident and emergency service in operation in the evening times.

The nurses are seeking an increase in the on-call pay rate for theatre nurses

in the hospital. The health board offered a restructuring of rosters. The nurses rejected a minor increase offered by the Labour Court.

★ Over 500 people marched through Drogheda against incineration on July 21st.

★ Cork Couple Neil O'Sullivan and his pregnant partner Bernadette Barnes are homeless after being kicked out of their house by a landlord. Without any notice.

The landlord held on to half of their deposit. To highlight their case they have pitched a tent outside the lord mayors office and have vowed not to leave until the Council provides them with accommodation.

## Tesco

### Strike forces concessions

STRIKE action at Tesco has forced the giant retail chain to make concessions to their workforce.

Starting wages in Tesco are due to increase from £4.86 to £5.14 an hour. Overall the any increases amount to about a 5 percent pay rise.

"We will get an extra

£10 a week because we stood up to this company and forced them to back down. They tried to intimidate us but we showed that trade union action gets results" one worker said.

The company had originally tried force workers to give them productivity concessions in order to gain their wage increase.

But they were also

forced to back down on this.

Despite the gains, many of the lower paid workers think that it is not good enough.

"It is still below the rate that is paid at Dunnes. We could have turned up the pressure on them and won much more. Look at Arnott's in Dublin - they got an 18 percent pay rise" one activist said.

## The battle of Kinsale

ON JULY 1st hundreds of protestors occupied the Golf Course at the Old Head of Kinsale in Cork. The success of the first protest means the campaign is going back.

"The Old Head of Kinsale has been enjoyed for generations by walkers, fisherpersons, rock climbers and bird-watchers. Now it is now closed to the public by the owners of the new exclusive golf course. We want it back!"

Open Picnic to Reclaim The Old Head of Kinsale Sunday, July 29th 2 pm - 6 pm

Meet at 2 pm at entrance at Old Head of Kinsale OR

Meet at 12 pm at City Library, Cork (for car pool/transport to Kinsale) Contact

# Socialist Worker

inside

## GENOA:

300,000 march  
against the system

Full reports pages 3, 6-7 & 8

Contact SWP: (01) 8722682 <http://www.clubi.ie/swp> e-mail: [swp@clubi.ie](mailto:swp@clubi.ie)

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## UN Development report shows:

# THE CELTIC TIGER IS ONLY FOR THE RICH

★ 15% in  
poverty

★ Lowest  
spending  
on health  
in the  
western  
world

**THERE IS a higher proportion of people living in poverty in Ireland than in any other industrialised nation outside the US, according to the United Nations.**

For the fourth year in succession Ireland languishes near the bottom of the league table which measures the extent of "human poverty".

### League

The UN Human Development Report ranks Ireland 16th out of 17 Western countries, with 15.3 per cent of the population living in poverty.

Ireland has high levels of functional illiteracy - almost 23 per cent of the population cannot perform basic tasks such as reading a bus timetable.

The report shows Ireland spends less on health than any other Western nation, and has proportionately fewer doctors than most. With 219 doctors per 100,000 people, Ireland has fewer doctors than Argentina, Azerbaijan and nearly every state in eastern Europe.

Yet the wealth in the country is massive. Ireland has easily the highest economic growth rate in the

Western world, averaging 6.1 per cent a year for the 1990s.

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

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

Those neo-liberal policies mean poverty has got worse during the boom.

As the boom comes to an end the inequality can only get worse unless we start to fightback to take back the wealth we create.

## Around the world the poor get poorer

- ★ 1.2 billion people live on less than \$1 a day, 2.8 billion on less than \$2 a day
- ★ The richest 1 percent of the world's people receive as much income as the poorest 57 per cent
- ★ The richest 10 percent of the world have 127 times more than to poorest 10 percent
- ★ The developing world has 826 million undernourished people.
- ★ Nearly one billion people still lack access to adequate water sources.
- ★ Around 36 million people are living with HIV/AIDS.