

Socialist Worker

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inside:

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McCANN
CALLS FOR
SOCIALIST
UNITY** —PAGE 4

**MINISTERS
SHOULD NOT
SHOW THEIR
FACES AT
SPECIAL
OLYMPICS**
—PAGES 6 & 7

***'No cutbacks whatsoever are being planned
secretly or otherwise'*** —Charlie McCreevy 17 May 2002

***'We will permanently end waiting lists in our
hospitals in two years'***—FF Election promise
—29,000 people are now on waiting lists

A GOVERNMENT OF

LIARS

***'Did you really expect that each party was going
to come out and say things were absolutely
desperate? I mean, for God's sake!'***

—Charlie McCreevy 11 February 2003

McDowell steps up attacks on immigrants



THE recently formed Immigrant Council of Ireland has issued a report, which illustrates the effects of the government racist policies.

There had been more than a 140 percent rise in complaints about work permits and family re-unions.

Work permits are only granted to companies rather than individual workers so anyone who stands up for their rights can find their work permit has conveniently not been renewed.

Guaranteed

Scandalously, workers are often not allowed to bring their families with them – even if they

are legal.

Meanwhile more than 11,000 parents of Irish children are now living in fear.

This is because they are no longer guaranteed the right to live in the same country where their children are citizens.

McDowell is due to introduce proposals for what is to be done with these parents this month.

TRIBUNALS: How the big fish get off

THE tribunals into corruption in Irish politics are due to run for another 15 years. However, the super-rich is not loosing much sleep.

A company controlled by Tony O Reilly made a £30,000 donation to Ray Burke. Soon afterwards, another of his company's Chorus received a letter saying that best efforts of the Irish state would be used to shut down re-broadcasting of foreign channels, which were rivals to its MMDS system.

Recently discovered files showed that the draft of the letter was actually written by executives of Independent Newspapers.

Despite all this, the Tribunals have not been in touch with Tony O Reilly for four years.

In 1998, an investigation was ordered into the affairs of Dunnes Stores. Ben Dunne had offered

Haughey money just before the issue of the renewal of the trust status of his company came up. The trust status guarantees that Dunnes plays virtually no tax.

Yet nothing has happened to Dunne's Stores. Instead, a new investigation has simply been ordered into its affairs.

Construction deaths

NINE building workers have already died this year on the sites, putting the industry on course to the terrible record for last year.

Yet, only 4,500 safety inspections are scheduled on the sites. This is in contrast to 8,000 three years ago.

SARS: This is pure discrimination

'THE Irish Government is promoting discrimination against persons with mental handicaps. They do not ban tourists and merchants from travelling to Ireland. Why should the mentally handicapped be rejected?'

This was reaction of the David Ip, the chair of the Hong Kong Special Olympics delegation to the ban on athletes coming to the Special Olympics.

100 athletes from Taiwan, Hong Kong Beijing and Toronto are banned from coming to the Special Olympics.

The Irish ban has also been attacked by the President of the Special Olympics movement, Timothy P Shriver who said it was a 'tragic irony' that athletes had to suffer the indignity of being banned when they are already forced to deal with attitudes of exclusion and rejection.

There is one country, however, who will not be banned even though they refuse to make a declaration of SARS cases to the World Health Organisation – the US.

MONSANTOLAND
You have to be genetically modified to resist toxic chemicals if you're going to have a hope of survival around here.

FROM THE PEOPLE WHO BROUGHT YOU
PCB's, DIOXIN & AGENT ORANGE

THE US government is using the World Trade Organisation to try to force GM food down the throats of EU consumers.

Since 1998, EU members states have banned the entry of GM food after surveys showed that more than 80 percent of consumers do not want them.

However, the US government has little time for democracy or any regulations that interfere in the market.

It has put a case to the WTO to demand that the EU lift its moratorium.

If successful, the ban could be lifted.

90 percent of GM food is produced by Monsanto, which makes heavy donations to Bush's Republican Party.

Geldoff gets it wrong

BOB GELDOFF has sunk to a new low by praising George Bush for helping Africa. Bush gave a \$15 billion pledge to fight HIV and AIDs.

However, there are a number of facts that Geldoff forgot to mention.

One third of the money is tied to campaigns to promote sexual abstinence.

US aid is often tied to political conditions – such as lifting bans on GM food.

Bush's aid is dwarfed

by the money Africa is loosing because of US policy on patent rights.

The US is pushing the WTO to stop any relaxation of policies, which protect the big drug companies.

During the anthrax scare in the US, the government forced Bayer to half the price of its antidote. However, when it comes to Africa, he wants poorer countries to pay the full brand price for drugs.

TENANT LEGISLATION: WHERE'S THE PROTECTION?

ENVIRONMENT Minister Martin Cullen has introduced a new Bill, which is supposed to give tenants their rights.

However, it offers only limited protection and is mainly designed to encourage big financial institutions to enter the rented sector. They want more clear cut procedures rather than rights for tenants.

Cullen's Bill does not give any sort of rent control – even though unscrupulous landlords have ratcheted up rents in recent years.

It does not give real security to tenants. Rights are only established after a tenant is there for six months.

Even after that, evictions can still go through if the landlord says they are re-furbishing the flat or wants to use it for family purposes.

The Bill does not come into force until winter – giving landlords plenty of time to evict tenants they do not want now.

Few landlords have bothered to comply with a legal rule that they must register. The PDs and Fianna Fail do not have the political will to enforce even minimal stands.

McLibel goes Italian

TOP Italian food critic, Eduardo Raspelli, is the latest on McDonald's libel list.

Raspelli writes a column each week in La Stampa, a national newspaper, and is watched by about 5 million people on television.

Describing himself as a supporter of the 'Slow Food' movement, which campaigns for food in their original flavours, he recently made some harsh comments about McDonalds.

Their hamburgers were 'rubbery' and their chips were like 'cardboard', he said.

The next week his paper devoted a whole page to the President of McDonald's Italy telling how good they were.

The day after that the business page of La Stampa ran a story saying how

the company was thriving.

Summons

Then last month, Raspelli received a summons to court – he had

NO RIGHTS FOR TEMPS

THE IRISH government is trying to block legal protection for temporary workers in the EU.

They have ganged up with Britain, Germany and Denmark to stop the Temporary Agency Directive going through.

This offers minimal protection to workers who are hired by temp agencies.

libelled the great ones.

As a gesture of solidarity with our top-notch food critic, *Socialist Worker* urges all its readers to boycott the rubbery cardboard food at McDonalds.

Junior Minister Frank Fahey argued that these workers should not receive any protection until they were at least six months in the job.

He claimed that 'flexibility suits people'.

It would certainly suit the employers who normally let these employees go before six months.

Colombians fight against killer Coke

"WE'VE declared ourselves as the 'resistance', a struggle for social justice" announced Ermelina Mosquera on her recent visit to Dublin.

Ermelina Mosquera is a trade unionist working in the food and drink industry in Colombia.

She came to Dublin as part of her European tour to publicise the kidnapping, the torture and the murders of Coca-Cola Trade Union leaders.

It is alleged that Coke know about



these violent attacks on their workers and are turning a blind eye.

As part of her campaign, she wants people to unite in the

boycott of Coca-Cola's products.

The campaign starts on the 22nd July 03 until 22nd July 2004.

1,000 jobs to be lost in East Belfast while Unionist politicians play games

ONETHOUSAND and fifty jobs are due to go at Bombardier Aerospace which will rip the heart out of working class East Belfast and destroy the lives of many families.

However, the Ulster Unionist Party has little to say to workers because it is too busy fighting the Trimble-versus-Donaldson row over who is a stronger supporter of the Royal Irish Regiment.

The workers at Bombardier are being blackmailed by a particularly nasty multinational which demanded a four-year wage freeze and pressurised union leaders into urging acceptance.

However, the rank and file turned it down – quite rightly. In response, the company said their jobs were gone.

The workers will now need to face the down the company's blackmail through militant action that stops them moving plant and equipment from the factory.

Campaign

They will also need to campaign for the company to be taken into public ownership. Private industry is bringing about the devastation of Belfast's manufacturing base and wants to turn the whole city into a giant shopping mall.

The tradition of skilled engineering work, which survived for generations, is being thrown to the wind.

However, none of these issues even pierces the dense walls of the Unionist Party HQ in Glengall St where they are facing yet another split.

The issue this time is the Royal Irish Regiment, which is being used as a sectarian symbol, precisely because it is despised by many Catholics. The forerunners of the RIR were the UDR and, before that, the B Specials.

Donaldson says the British government must give a cast iron guarantee it will not be disbanded. Trimble says the Unionist Party will not sign up for the Government Joint Declaration until Blair denies speculation that he is running down

The tradition of skilled engineering work is being thrown to the wind

the RIR.

Behind this obtuse division is a row over who will most adapt to Paisley's hysterical ranting. One DUP councillor in Ballymena, for example, sees the downgrading of the RIR as a plot to facilitate Irish troops moving over the border to align with the Provos!

The whole affair shows that the Unionist parties have nothing to offer workers, Protestant or Catholic. They belong to the fur coat brigade that plays with sectarian symbols while the real lives of their constituents are being destroyed.

It is high time that a Socialist Block was created to cut through this nonsense with a strong dose of class politics.



■ Protestors at the G8 summit in Evian, turn to page 10 for full report

TRIAL OF ANTI-WAR PROTESTORS:

The wrong people are in the dock!

ANTI-WAR protestors are due to go on trial on June 21st over actions they took to stop Shannon airport being used by US troops.

Mary Kelly and five members of the Catholic Workers Movement will appear before the Kilrush court, Co Clare. If convicted they could face a maximum of 10 years in jail.

Instead of being tried, they should be treated as heroes. Bertie Ahern and the lying politicians should be in the dock.

Mary Kelly's action in taking an axe to a US Navy C 40 Boeing 737 plane brought home the reality of what was happening at Shannon to most Irish people.

The plane was part of the US army's 59th Fleet Logistics

Squadron and was carrying bombs and soldiers to Iraq.

The Catholic Workers Movement also disabled a plane in order to highlight how Shannon was being used as a 'pit-stop of death'.

After their arrest, the media ran a smear campaign on them claiming that they used violence to overpower a guard. However, some of this pacifist grouping merely said prayers while others disabled the plane.

Damage

The state is claiming that 2.5 euro million of damage was done and Irish taxpayers have to foot the bill.

However, it was the government's action in illegally inviting in the US army that was to blame. Bertie Ahern repeated the lies of Bush and Blair that

the war was about removing weapons of mass destruction. On January 29th, for example, he said that 'War can be averted and is not inevitable if Iraq finally divests itself of its weapons of mass destruction'.

No weapons of mass destruction have been found – so the US military commander in Iraq, Lieut Gen David McKiernan has now tried to change the goal posts to justify a war where over 5,000 innocent civilians were murdered.

He said the invasion had disposed of 'the greatest weapon of mass destruction: Saddam Hussein'.

However, the Irish government said before the war that regime change was not a legitimate ground for war. Its sole justification for letting US troops use Shannon was that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction and was a clear threat to world security.

All the reasons for letting the US troops use Shannon have now fallen apart. Yet, the DPP is pursuing a vindictive trial against protestors who were courageous enough to highlight the scandal of Irish connivance in an imperialist war.

The Irish Anti-War Movement is calling on everyone who came out on February 15th to get behind the defendants at this trial. If you possibly can, come to Clare (Kilrush court) on 21 June.

During the weeks of the trial, we need to highlight the wrongs of this case and put Ahern and Cowan in the dock.

No friends of Shannon workers

A DELEGATE to a recent IMPACT conference revealed that there was a real debate among his members about whether workers had the right to refuse to service US planes at Shannon on the grounds of conscience.

However, the government used the argument that jobs would be lost at the airport, if there were any trouble about letting US troops to land.

Now the hypocrisy about their concern for the jobs of Shannon workers is evident as Transport Minister Seamus Brennan announced that they were backing a US-EU deal on an open skies policy.

This means that the compulsory stopover at the Shannon will be ended and the airport

will have to face the full brunt of a de-regulated global airline market.

The most likely effect is that some airlines, including Aer Lingus, could pull out.

Low-cost

Shannon is more likely to be used as a base for low cost airlines that are given cheap landing charges – or as a seasonal airport for holiday charter flights.

The result for workers will be a growth of seasonal contract employment.

The anti-war and anti-capitalist movements are far better allies of the Shannon workers than the crow-thumping FF and FG politicians who said they should allow US troops to land to safeguard their future.

**ANTI
IMPERIALISM**
a guide for the movement

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Socialist Worker interviews Eamonn McCann



SOCIALIST UNITY CAN OFFER AN ALTERNATIVE TO SECTARIAN POLITICS

The North is more polarised now than at any time in recent years. Doesn't this mean it is a bad time to launch a socialist bloc?

It could equally be argued that it makes organised socialist intervention more urgent.

One of the reasons for increased polarisation—not the main reason, but a factor—is precisely that the argument for class unity isn't heard where it matters most at the times that matter most.

If all we achieved was to force the communal parties to respond publicly to a class-based campaign during an election campaign, it would be an advance.

As things are, they rarely if ever have to react to socialist argument.

Polarisation isn't the whole story, anyway. There is also rising class anger. Look at the response to the water charges threat, or the intensity of opposition to down-grading hospitals.

Anyone involved in the anti-war movement will know there was immediate resonance when you raised the contrast between miserly rises in pensions and unlimited money for missiles.

It's not true that Northern people don't relate to class issues because they're so caught up in Orange-Green rivalry.

What's true is that thinking on class issues isn't reflected in voting.

A socialist slate would give us the chance to challenge the underlying assumption in this.

There's a question of critical mass here. If we have people with sufficient credibility standing in enough constituencies, I believe we can force class politics onto the agenda.

But don't issues rooted in the national question divide even the people who'd have to form a credible socialist bloc? Some make endorsement of the "principle of consent" a condition for joining—but others would refuse to join if that were the case.

Even the Provos have accepted the principle of consent. It would be a bit strange if socialists were now to see it as an issue to split on.

Let's put this in perspective. You can be a member of one of the communal parties no matter what you believe on PFI, minimum wage, a woman's right to choose, etc. All that matters is to be sound on the border, policing, parades etc.

Socialists should reverse this order of priorities.

Defence of the public sector, support for workers in struggle, women's rights, gay liberation, opposition to racism and imperialism—these should be our make-or-break issues.

I'd have no problem being part of a socialist bloc which included candidates who took a different line on the principle of consent.

I'd argue that the class issues



■ Top left: Eamonn McCann; Above: children under sectarian attack in North Belfast and (below) anti-sectarian demonstration

which unite us are more important than the "national" issues which divide us.

What's more, it's only in the context of a raised consciousness of class that the differences with regard to community won't be make-or-break in the working class as a whole.

To say we cannot have Left unity because there's no agreement on communal rights and rivalries is to get things the wrong way round.

But, for example, isn't how to relate to the PSNI a practical question in working-class areas? In an election campaign you can't pick what to say according to which area you're in.

Policing problems here don't entirely arise from specifically Northern circumstances. Much is made of the fact that there isn't a single PSNI member living on the west bank of the Foyle.

But there isn't a cop living on the Shankill either. Nor a garda in Darndale in Dublin or a member of the Merseyside police in Toxteth or a Strathclyde cop in East-erhouse.

There's a hostile relationship with the police in all deprived areas because the behaviour of the police is ultimately dictated by the fact that they represent the class behind the deprivation.

The idea that the Bogside should support the PSNI in the interests of reconciliation with Protestants is ludicrous.

So is the notion that the Shankill should accept further police reform so as to make the PSNI more acceptable in the Bogside.

It's not the job of socialists to act as cheer-leaders for the police anywhere. We should be wary and sceptical of them and pledge, if elected, to hold them to account.

That should be our position in every working class area.

Don't you think that socialists have such diametrically different approaches to Orange parades that it's hard to envisage a common attitude?

The first thing socialists should say about loyalist parades is that we don't think working class people should be on them.

It is the essence of socialism that workers should define their politics by the interests of their class, whereas the point of the loyal orders is to celebrate the supposed common interests of all Protestants.

That's the reason every chapter of the long history of these marches is filled with examples of sectarian excess.

Socialists cannot be divided about the nature of Orangeism or our basic attitude to it when it's on the march.

If we have that common starting point, it should be possible to contain any tactical differences in approach.

We should also be arguing to residents' groups that opposition to Orangism isn't the preserve of Nationalism. In fact when it's expressed solely in Nationalist terms it can become the mirror image of what it's opposing, even a reinforcement of it.

Don't you think that the history of rivalry and argument between the parties makes it very difficult to see them working comfortably together?

A united front campaign could turn into a bear-pit. For a socialist bloc to be meaningful it will have to be more than an amalgam of small parties.

It would have to draw in trade unionists involved in struggle, individuals from community campaigns against cut-backs and so on, women's rights, anti-war, anti-racist and environmental activists, left-wing independent councillors etc.

It's not just a matter of small

parties accommodating one another but a coming together of people many of whom aren't much enamoured of any of the Left parties. There's quite a lot of them about.

Both in the South and across the water, single-issue candidates, on hospital closures, for example, have done well. Doesn't that suggest an alternative strategy should be adopted, that is a more basic "defend public services" campaign, which wouldn't be socialist but in which socialist parties could play a part?

That could pose more problems than it solved. Take the case of somebody who's been brilliant on a hospital closure and gets elected on that single issue.

Then they turn out to be a racist pro-lifer. And socialists would have helped them onto the platform to amplify these views.

That's not an abstract possibility. It happened in the North in the 1990s.

Would we accept onto the ticket somebody who was 100 percent on defence of the NHS but supports the war on Iraq or wants harsher laws on immigration?

I think we have to be audacious, to go for the maximum of what's practical.

What is the relevance of the anti-war movement?

The fact that a largely left-led movement drew tens of thousands from all sides to the centre of Belfast on February 15th is highly relevant. For some of us, it spurred efforts to build unity on the electoral front.

It showed that people here in large numbers can identify themselves in politics other than by reference to the religious community they come from; that given the chance and when imaginations are sparked, people are delighted to work together and feel better for having done it.

The anti-war movement also clarified what imperialism means in this century.

The idea that an anti-imperialist in Ireland is just someone who's against the Brits makes no sense when the main imperialism is made in the USA and Britain is a junior partner. We should take no nonsense from Republicans about class politics having to take second place to "the anti-imperialist struggle".

That's just de Valera's "Labour must wait" in a new guise.

When Bush was at Hillsborough the real anti-imperialists were outside protesting against political leaders, not the Republicans glad-handing the warmongers inside.

I see the anti-war movement as a vital part of the base to build the socialist bloc on. When you looked out at the crowd at Belfast City Hall you had to think, if not us, who? If not now, when?

FRANCE:

Huge strikes over pensions

INCREASES in life expectancy means that European workers are inconsiderately living on long after their use to capitalism has ended.

The French state, for example, forecasts a 50 billion Euro shortfall for pensions by 2020.

Neo-liberals across the continent are therefore attempting to dramatically alter pension rights won by workers after the Second World War.

This is particularly true in France, the country which currently has the best pension rights for workers, and where the conservative Prime Minister, Raffarin, has put his government on the line in a battle with the unions.

Backed by the OECD and other international business organisations, Raffarin is attempting to push the age of retirement up from 60 to 65.

He is also pushing a wide ranging assault on education which would pave the way for a two-tier system and privatisation.

So far the opposition to the proposal has been magnificent.

Even though the special pensions of railworkers were left untouched by the current proposed changes, they have led the protests. It was railworkers who in 1995 were at the core of opposition to a similar plan by Juppé.

As one railworker explained to a French socialist paper, "In 1995 the railwaymen led the struggle.

"If we don't mobilise now, they'll attack us when we are isolated. We've had letters from the CEO of the SNCF telling us that for the moment our pensions will not be changed.

"They just want to isolate us in order to pick us off more easily.

"We gave Juppé a hard time, so this time they're not starting with us...

"The policy of Brussels is to bring people down to the lowest level.

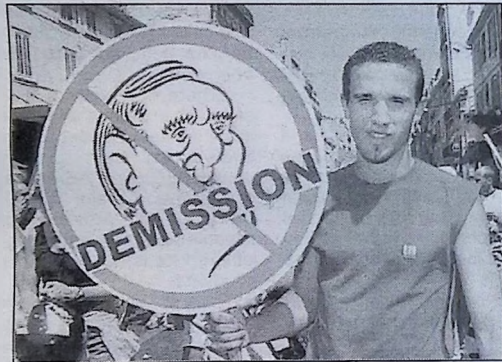
"We think all pensions should be raised to the level of our pensions."

On May 13th a massive strike and demonstrations involving over a million

people took place against the plan, drawing support from hospital workers, gas and electricity workers, as well as non-teaching staff in schools who are faced with 'regionalisation'.

Support

Again on May 19th and 25th hundreds of thousands demonstrated, followed by a major protest on June 3rd, supported by postal workers, telecom workers and air traffic managers.



■ Telling the French prime minister to resign

Despite public support for the strikes and a willingness among railworkers to lead the fight on behalf of all French workers, the battle is going to be a close one.

Raffarin has published an open letter committing himself to this change, making the issue a make or break one for his continuance in government.

But the union leaders have shied away from drawing the logical conclusion—

that they have to escalate the conflict to bring the government down.

The government is trying a tactic of divide and rule.

They have proposed leaving their plans for education until September so as to concentrate on winning the pensions battle now.

It also persuaded the leaders of the CFDT, a major union confederation, to accept the core of the pension plan.

The leaders may have been persuaded but ordinary members are not so easily fooled, or bought off.

Many CFDT members have rebelled and joined the strikes.

One railworker saw the situation clearly, "I am retiring soon. I've got three children, all of whom are now teachers.

"I'm on strike for them. I think, in order to win this, we're going to need a general strike. It might have to go as far as bringing the government down."



■ Part of the huge protests in Marseille

ZIMBABWE:

Mass protests rock Mugabe

ZIMBABWE was brought to a virtual standstill last week as businesses, shops and offices closed in a week-long strike or "stay-away".

Demonstrators braved mass arrests, beatings and tear gas in a protest aimed at forcing President Robert Mugabe from power.

By the end of the week it was reported that two people had been killed by Mugabe's forces.

The action was called by the Movement for Democratic Change (MDC), the main opposition party since the fraudulent elections last year which returned Mugabe's ZANU-PF to power.

The opposition leader, Morgan Tsvangirai, was arrested and charged with contempt of court. Also arrested were six other MDC MPs and dozens of MDC officials as well as hundreds of protestors.

Socialist Worker spoke to Luke Choto, a Zimbab-

wean.

SW: What is life like for ordinary Zimbabweans?

LC: It's getting worse. There is a grave economic crisis.

There are severe shortages of fuel, food and even currency.

There is no money in the bank for ordinary people and businesses are turning to 'dollarisation'—valuing everything in US dollars and not the Zimdollar.

The IMF and World Bank suspended contributions in the 1990s and recently there have been sanctions from the EU. The debt situation is very serious.

Life is made worse by the drought which is affecting southern Africa. AIDS is also a big problem.

SW: What are the politics of the MDC?

LC: When the MDC was formed it had two wings: the trade union and progressive elements (Morgan Tsvangirai was General Secretary of the Zimbabwe Congress of

Trade Unions), plus what is called the 'technocrats': that is, business people, commercial farmers and so on.

The technocrats embrace the neo-liberal, free market policies.

But now the left is on the defensive. After the election, people expected an uprising to depose Mugabe, but the MDC leaders said 'wait, do it through the courts'.

Now a lot of people are demoralised and some even talk about an outside intervention to depose him.

SW: Who are involved in the protests?

LC: The urban poor are out on the streets. In the rural areas, Mugabe's party, ZANU-PF holds sway, but in the cities, people support the MDC.

But now you are seeing the right wing climbing on the back of an uprising of workers and underprivileged.

The US and Britain supported these protests even before the groundwork was done.

It's unusual to see the US

and Britain supporting mass protests and demonstrations.

The right wing are using Tsvangirai as a popular figure-head.

He has been accused of plotting to assassinate Mugabe.

The chief witness against him is a completely discredited figure who was formerly an agent of Israeli intelligence (Mossad).

It's a complete frame-up, but it is giving the right wing in the MDC who oppose Mugabe more mileage.

SW: What about the land issue?

LC: Many of the white commercial farmers have now left the country and have received land in Zambia or Mozambique. Others are in New Zealand or Australia.

But things are bad for the small farmers. Their efforts are sabotaged and they don't have enough implements to work the land. Agricultural output has collapsed.

SW: What about Mugabe and ZANU-PF?

LC: Mugabe is very unpop-

ular and is now isolated. Cracks are opening up in ZANU-PF.

There are two wings, one the Stalinists who are now personal rivals of Mugabe and the other wing, those who are moving to neo-liberal policies.

They think it is possible to come to some agreement with the MDC.

They say we will be able to negotiate a better deal to get on good terms with the IMF. Mugabe is very weak, all he has is repression and his party is splitting apart.

SW: Was the stay-away effective?

LC: In the cities it was very strong. The stay-away was called by the MDC and supported by the National Constitutional Assembly—a coalition of civic groups, churches, women, youth and students.

The government ordered the shops and businesses to open and tried to force them to.

But the workers stayed away and no work was done. At the moment though

the people are divided between ZANU-PF in the rural areas and the MDC in the cities. When the struggle was against Smith and the Rhodesian regime this unified people. Mass struggles have the potential to do the same if an argument for socialism is raised.

The business people and capitalists are of course afraid of revolution.

They will even be prepared to negotiate with Mugabe to prevent further mass actions.

As Trotsky says the bourgeoisie are always afraid of the mass action leading to what he called Permanent Revolution.

They will want to call a halt and open talks.

But there should be no talks. The actions will have to be called again over the next few weeks and months.

This will be an opportunity for the Left to begin to offer a lead and raise the argument for genuine socialism that offers an alternative to both Mugabe and neo-liberal policies."

COLOMBIAN TRADE UNIONISTS INTERVIEWED

'We will defy Bush's plans'

ALVARO URIBE Velez is a good friend of George Bush and Tony Blair. The right wing president of Colombia was the only South American ruler to back war on Iraq. Uribe now sounds like he wants his powerful backers to send their forces to Colombia.

Bush and Blair are not about to order a full scale military intervention. They are, though, pouring in money and weapons to bolster the Colombian military and right wing paramilitaries. The US-sponsored Plan Colombia will see some \$1.3 billion, almost all in military aid, pumped into the country.

The aim is to help Uribe defeat a 30 year old guerrilla rebellion which enjoys considerable support and is fuelled by the lack of genuine democracy and human rights in Colombia. Uribe is also trying to crush workers and community organisations that stand in the way of a drive to privatise industry and open the country further to multinationals.

Two Colombian trade unionists spoke recently to *Socialist Worker*. Samuel Morales is from the CUT Colombian trade union federation in Arauca, one of the country's key oil producing regions.

"The US intervention in Colombia is key to its wider strategy of containing popular movements in Latin America, symbolised by the election of Lula in Brazil, Gutierrez in Ecuador and above all Hugo Chavez in Venezuela," he explained.

"The US is pursuing the same kind of policies as it did in central America in the 1970s and 1980s in countries like El Salvador and Honduras, with their 'dirty wars'.

Multinationals

"The multinationals in Colombia are central too—companies like BP, Spain's Repsol oil company, Shell and the US Occidental. The areas of Colombia where the multinationals are active are where you get a concentration of paramilitary activity. In Arauca an area greater than one million hectares has been handed to the US.

"There is a huge US military base, with Apache helicopters, 400 US marines, huge radar and satellite installations. The US is concerned about the natural resources—oil but also coal and minerals—from Venezuela and Colombia and the Amazon.

"This is not just about control of a single country, Colombia, but a whole continent. Venezuela is especially important. The paramilitaries are allowed by the Colombian regime to penetrate and violate the Venezuelan border. Uribe is Bush's representative in Latin America.

"We are not coming to Britain for sympathy, but for solidarity. We are also bringing our experience of neo-liberalism in the hope that this can help you ensure these same systems don't destroy what you have won."

Francisco Ramirez from Colombia's mining unions also spoke.

"Uribe is pushing forward a huge economic project involving multinationals from Canada, Europe and Japan as well as the US.

"Bush's strategy is also to undermine any independent leadership in the region such as Chavez in Venezuela, or Lula in Brazil or Gutierrez in Ecuador. On the border with Ecuador you are getting the imposition of paramilitary and military control.

Resources

"You also have a combination of US and Japanese companies trying to take control of the water resources there. If you look in the other direction, towards Venezuela, you see the paramilitary AUC strengthening their presence.

"And this is linked to the presence of companies like the US coal corporation Drummond and Occidental Petroleum. On the border with Brazil it is similar, there the rivers are important but there is also uranium, gold and US and South African multinationals. It is not just about economics.

"These are areas of massive biodiversity, the lungs of the world, and if we destroy them it's a global disaster. So what Uribe is doing is dangerous not only for Colombians but for the whole world."

■ For details on how you can offer solidarity contact Colombia Solidarity Campaign <http://www.colombiasolidarity.org.uk/>

SPECIAL OLYMPICS: Government should not show face here

THE Special Olympics will be a magnificent show case for the achievement of people with disability.

Thousands of athletes from all over the globe will demonstrate that they can reach the highest standards of athletic prowess.

But many disabled people in Ireland do not want the government to use the Olympics as a giant photo-call for themselves.

"My son Eoin is one of the hundreds leaving school this year who will have no guarantee of service. How can we allow members of this government to go and represent us at the Special Olympics? John Ryan of the Limerick Parents and Friends of the Mentally Handicapped said recently.

Up to the age of 18, those with a disability are guaranteed a place at school. After that their parents often go through intense worry and stress about where they will go from there.

This year government cut backs are making it far worse as no new places are being created on adult training services. In the Mid Western Health Board area there are, for example, 65 people, leaving schools with no places to go to.

It is the same story with respite care. Each Friday, there is a protest at St Vincent's School on the Navan Rd in Dublin.

One local activist explained, "From June, respite care at the weekends has been cut off. It is gone completely. This means more pressure on parents of children with profound mental handicap."

Michael McDowell has recently taken to making speeches attacking the idea of 'rights-based legislation'. Just like the neo-conservatives who staff George Bush's think tanks, McDowell does not accept that there are any social or economic rights which can be enshrined into law. That would be 'interference in the market'.

This right-wing rhetoric has a huge impact on people with disability.

To participate fully in society, the disabled need some recognition of their special needs. Laws, which guarantee them access to transport

services or the right to proper educational services, could give some protection.

However, McDowell believes that idea of 'rights' only applies to political liberty. Society does not need to make guarantees to the disabled.

It is the brutal logic of the economic doctrine of the 'survival of the fittest'.

This approach unsurprisingly has worsened the lives of many.

A staggering 80 percent of people with disability suffer from chronic poverty and are dependent on social welfare.

They suffer direct and indirect discrimination. Many employers do not want to take on disabled people believing that they cost more and sometimes also that they might be bad for their company's 'image'.

Even where disabled people find jobs, they have huge problems getting to work. Transport support for people

with disability is lamentable. Many offices do not have wheelchair access.

Disabled people can easily become isolated and marginalized. Those with mental disabilities tend to be 'hidden away' in institutions, which the vast majority of society never encounters.

A recent Report from the Inspector of Mental Hospitals showed that 600 people with mental disabilities were confined in psychiatric hospitals and called for this practise to be changed, but little has been done.

There is a growing level of autism in Ireland and there is considerable evidence that intervention from a very young age, say 2-6 years, could have a major impact. However, the provision of speech therapists and physiotherapists is nowhere near adequate.

Parents still send their children to Northern Ireland to avail of superior services there.



■ Many disabled people in Ireland do not

This should not be voluntary

SERVICES for the disabled are still affected by the tradition of Catholic social teaching.

For decades, the Catholic Church used its 'principle of subsidiarity' to argue against the idea of a welfare state and to claim that families and voluntary organisations should look after 'problems' in society.

One result of this thinking was that Ireland never got a free national health services even though people like Noel Browne argued for it back in the fifties.

But an abiding legacy of the same philosophy is that the vast majority of the services for the disabled are still run by voluntary bodies such as religious groups like St John of Gods or parents association such as St Michael's House.

Another result is a complete absence of monitoring or proper regulation of the residential care services.

There are no inspections or no

prescribed standards for many of the places which care for disabled people.

There are regulations and mon-

itoring of prisons through Prison Visiting Committee there is a long over-due national standards and m

WHAT IS REAL

UNDER capitalism, work for an arms industry constitutes 'real work' because it is for profit.

However, caring for the disabled is not treated as work but only as a voluntary activity to which the state gives some support.

There are about 130,000 carers in Ireland who help wash, clean, feed,

and support people with disability.

But the Irish state does not recognise their activity as work of value.

Only 20,000 people receive a carers allowance—and for some this can be as low as 10 euros a week.

It is a means tested form of social assistance.

If there is more than one person in a house they are caring for, they still only receive the one allowance.

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Government ministers show their



disabled people in Ireland do not want the government to use the Olympics as a giant photo-call for themselves

be voluntary work

ity of itoring of prisons through the of residential homes' said Deirdre
 iled Prison Visiting Committee but Carroll, secretary of the National
 non- there is a long over-due need for Association of Mental Health in
 national standards and monitoring Ireland.

IS REAL WORK?

nd support people with disability. But the Irish state does not recognise their activity as work of value. Only 20,000 people receive a carers allowance—and for some this can be as low as 10 euros a week. It is a means tested form of social assistance. If there is more than one person in a house they are caring for, they still only receive the one allowance. They are expected to be involved in care on a 24-hour basis. If they spend more than 10 hours on either work or study, their allowance can be withdrawn. The attitude of the Irish state is that anyone claiming a carers allowance is potentially involved in defrauding the exchequer. They have to pass through a whole series of bureaucratic hoops to get the allowance. 'I had to show all my credit union accounts. I was interviewed several times. 'They even kept asking me: "are you sure you are living by yourself?"' 'It was just humiliating'. This is how one carer described her recent experience. Yet businessmen applying for loans and grants can be treated with courtesy because their priorities are in the right place.

A test for society

SOCIETY's attitudes to disability reflects the values it holds. Under capitalism, the disabled are seen as a problem because they might initially require more training and more facilities to meet their needs.

This is why it creates structures where the disabled are often marginalized and even shut off in segregated institutions.

Yet, modern society has the potential to gain hugely from the varied talents of disabled people.

Modern technology, for example, has advanced to such a high degree that the initial barriers to the participation of disabled people could easily be removed.

There are now many software programmes to scan books and to transmit data to blind or partially-sighted people through voice messages.

If every school student were given laptops and access to these programmes their lives would be improved immensely. And they in turn would bring tremendous insights to society.

However, this would be interfering in the 'free market' because the state would be ordering computers which would not be generating huge profits.

It would also break the absurd notion of 'intellectual property' rights on such programmes so that they would be made freely available.

It would mean making provision of facilities for the disabled more important than for instance useful activities like weapons production or advertising. In other words, it would mean valuing human beings above profit.

And for Michael McDowell that would mean turning the world upside down.

MIDDLE EAST:

Where will the Road Map lead?

by AOIFE FARRELL



A Palestinian demonstration against the Road Map in June

ALTHOUGH it has been much lauded by the international media, few Palestinians have pinned any real hope that the recent Aqaba Summit will deliver an Independent Palestinian State.

Indeed, thousands have already protested across the Gaza Strip chanting "the homeland is not for sale!".

Ten years since the failed Oslo Accords, can this latest offering really deliver justice to the people of Palestine?

The substance of the plan is similar to Oslo—if the Palestinians relinquish all their claims to their homeland and end their resistance to occupation, then by 2005 they may have a state comprising roughly 11percent of historic Palestine. However, this time round the rhetoric was slightly more upbeat.

Sharon's statement that the occupation must end and Bush's references to a "contiguous Palestinian State" took media pundits by surprise.

However, a quick glance at the Road-Map shows these pronouncements to be nothing more than empty declarations cynically timed to fool Arab leaders and international peace activists that Sharon and Bush actually give a damn.

The Road-Map comprises three phases leading to the creation of an independent Palestinian state by 2005.

The plan is to be monitored by the 'Quartet'—the US, Russia, EU and UN—who will decide if each side has fulfilled its demands before moving on to the subsequent phase.

However, a US veto means that the Israeli government can continually block progress.

The document itself fails to address the real issues that fuel the Intifada. External borders, settlements, Jerusalem and the right to return of the 1948 refugees are all left to the final stages. 80 percent of the document makes demands on the Palestinians to reform while demanding little of Israel.

It hinges on an end to Palestinian violence while ignoring the 3:1 ratio of Palestinians to Israelis, killed during the Intifada.

Despite this, the Israeli Cabinet has still managed to find 14 objections which Sharon calls "a red line that cannot be crossed".

Israeli demands include: that all claims to historic Palestine are waived,

that no mention is made of the right of return or Jerusalem, that the only UN Resolutions to be mentioned are 242 and 338 and that there be no discussion of settlements other than illegal outposts.

These 'illegal outposts' are just tiny percentage of the more than 140 Israeli settlements in the West Bank, Gaza Strip and East Jerusalem.

It was Sharon himself who, while serving as Minister of Infrastructure in the Netanyahu government, called on settlers to grab as much West Bank hilltops as possible.

There are currently some 400,000 settlers occupying land that is earmarked for a future Palestinian state.

The Road-Map makes no demand on Israel to evacuate these settlements.

The document also neglects the apartheid wall currently under construction around the West Bank which will cage in more than two million Palestinians or the electrified fence which imprisons one million Palestinians in Gaza.

The wall is almost 3 times the length of the Green Line (the internationally recognised border separating Israel and the West Bank until the 1967 war) and is winding its way deep into the heart of Palestine Authority territory.

When it is complete, thousands of Palestinian farmers will have been removed from their livelihoods, the sabotaging one of the cornerstones of a future Palestinian economy.

The Oslo Accords were agreed and the US were terrified at the anger and spontaneity of the Intifada. Today they witness the growth of political Islam and are frightened that they will lose their friendly relationship with client Arab states.

Furthermore, they understand the question of Palestine was at the core of the global anti-war movement and that they cannot continue with their permanent global war if they are not seen to address the issue. Like predecessors, the Road-Map is sham but its very existence shows its impact that the global movement is having.

Ultimately, this is where the route to freedom for Palestine lies—through a compromise with Zionism but through a global movement against war and imperialism.

Life After Capitalism



Women demonstrating in Milan during the general strike in Italy in February 1974

Change from below

JOHN MOLYNEUX is author of the pamphlet *The Future Socialist Society*. Here he looks at alternatives to capitalism

Workers' control of production and distribution has to be central to our vision of life after capitalism.

Under the present system all the democratic rights we have won—such as the right to vote, freedom of speech, and so on—are



John Molyneux

ultimately undermined by the fact that the world of economics remains completely undemocratic.

TDs can say what they like, ministers can come and go, and new governments can be elected. But real power stays in the same hands—the unelected hands of the banks and big corporations.

Workplace democracy would be simple to organise but revolutionary in its effects.

Instead of managers being appointed by private owners and boards of directors, they would be elected by and responsible to the meetings of the workforce.

Instead of receiving obscene salaries, bonuses and share options they would get the same pay as the workers they represent.

It would slash the horrible inequality that disfigures present society and strike a blow at the heart of class divisions—the division between those who control the wealth and those who produce it, those who give the orders and those who do the work.

THIS WOULD be a key mechanism for ensuring we produce goods that people need rather than just what makes the most profit. Decent homes for the masses and tractors for the Third World, not luxury hotels and flash cars for the rich.

It would get rid of the bureaucratic, top-down management of our public services. Schools and hospitals (run by elected teachers, students, doctors, nurses, support staff, etc) would be able to focus on the real needs of pupils and patients, not government-imposed targets and competition.

Above all, it would change our experience of work, the basic experience of our lives. Instead of being bored, alienated and humiliated people we would start to be involved and empowered.

In his recent book, *Participatory Democracy*, Michael Albert was right to reject the idea that this is "utopian". We are conditioned to believe that workplace democracy wouldn't work because ordinary people are not

"clever" enough to run things.

In reality the workforce, especially as a collective, has far more knowledge than the bosses and top management about how to do the actual work.

What bosses are really "expert" at is not how to make things or provide services, but how to control and exploit people.

Insofar as specialist technical and scientific knowledge is needed, the specialists would simply work for the elected worker managers instead of working, as they do at the moment, for the unelected bosses.

However, workplace democracy would face one major problem and it is a problem Albert did not deal with—the state.

By the state I mean the network of institutions—the army, police, prisons, courts and government ministries, and so on—that stands above society and exercises a virtual monopoly of legal force over it.

Apart from the fig leaf of parliament the apparatus of the state is even more authoritarian, hierarchical and undemocratic than the rest of society.

Moreover, it is run by generals, judges, top civil servants and so on. These people are part of the same class that run business, and share the same economic and political values.

The tiny minority of those who came from working class backgrounds get their positions only on the condition that they adopt the priorities and perspectives of the ruling class.

Such a state cannot coexist with widespread workplace democracy for any length of time. Indeed, it will use its considerable power to try to prevent democracy at work even coming into being.

To expect otherwise is really to be utopian—to "ask a tree to fly", to use Albert's phrase.

If workers' democracy is to survive, the existing capitalist state has to be broken.

Breaking the existing state does not mean a coup by a self appointed minority. It means mass struggles from below by

working people in their millions—crucially through general strikes and workplace occupations.

It means winning over the rank and file of the armed forces and, where possible, of the police to the side of the people, thus paralysing attempts to repress the movement.

In this situation workers' councils can start to develop organically out of the struggle as they have done often before—in Russia in 1905 and 1917, in Germany and Italy after the First World War, Hungary in 1956, Chile in 1972 and Iran in 1979.

This is not because they fit some theoretical blueprint, but because they meet the practical needs of the masses to coordinate their struggles—to decide what is produced and what is not produced, which services run and which don't, how to combine the solidarity of the strike with meeting the basic needs of the people and the movement.

ONCE THEY take on these functions, workers' councils start to become an alternative centre of power which first challenges then deposes the old state.

What makes workers' councils much more democratic than parliament or local councils are the principles of election from collectives and recallability.

Electing representatives from collectives like factories, offices, call centres, hospitals, etc, means that the choice can be made on the basis of democratic discussion and that representatives can be recalled if they break their promises.

Under the present system it is impossible for the electors of a constituency to get together, except at the time appointed from above, to call an TD to account.

With workers' councils all that would be needed to check or remove a delegate would be organising a mass meeting at work.

Some people worry that this system would exclude those who are not in workplaces (pensioners, the unemployed, etc), but actually these people could easily form

associations and be given representation.

In the early stages of the new society there would certainly have to be some form of armed defence against reactionaries, fascists and the like, plus some protection against anti-social behaviour.

At present the army and the police are segregated from the rest of society, and are more or less unaccountable to the mass of people.

Alongside workers' councils could go a workers' militia in which people would serve on a rota basis. Here too the democratic principle of election of officers would apply.

For some people, because of the tragic experience of Stalinism in Russia, Eastern Europe and China, my mention of workers' power conjures up images of a monolithic one-party state.

In reality many different parties and groups can operate within the workers' councils in proportion to their support at the grassroots.

Every issue facing the new society will be debated passionately, and leadership will be able to pass monthly from one party or group to another if opinion changes at the base.

At present we live in a world dominated by the combination of McDonald's and McDonnell-Douglas, General Motors and General Franks.

We say another world is possible. For this to be achieved we need a democratic alternative on both fronts.

This alternative is workers' control of production and workers' political power through workers' councils.

More from John Molyneux

John Molyneux's pamphlet *The Future Socialist Society* is available for £3 from Bookmarks: (01)872 2682. Other titles available by John include *What Do We Mean By Revolution?* (£2), *Rembrandt (£6)* and *Is Human Nature a Barrier to Socialism?* (£1.50).

book

The underground goes mainstream

by **DEIRDRE CRONIN**

ERIC Schlosser's new book *Reefer Madness* puts America's black economy under the microscope.

He examines pornography, the plight of migrant workers in Californian agriculture and the war on marijuana use.

He is motivated by the belief that 'the mainstream and the underground are ultimately two sides of the same thing. To know a country you must see its whole.'

In the section on *marijuana* Schlosser exposes the hypocrisy of criminalising marijuana, thought to be the US's largest cash crop.

Some marijuana offenders have been punished more severely than murderers.

In 1992 a small time crook was given a life sentence for possession when 0.16 of a gram was discovered in a friend's flat where he was arrested.

A paraplegic in Oklahoma who smoked marijuana to relieve muscle spasms was given a life sentence.

Schlosser highlights the plight of *migrant workers* who are paid a pittance in the black economy for their work on highly lucrative farms.

They live in labour camps if they are lucky; if not, in forests and caves.

They are used to drive down wages to the lowest level while growers cream off the profits.

The section on *pornography* is disappointing. Schlosser exposes the hypocrisy of moral crusades against pornography.

He details how pornography has moved to the mainstream but most of this section of the book is devoted to a biography of Reuben Sturman, a multi-millionaire porn baron who died in prison in 1997.

It is a very sympathetic account of his life and

Schlosser bizarrely paints Sturman as a victim while hardly mentioning the abuse and exploitation of women in the porn industry.

Schlosser challenges the idea that the free market, unfettered and uncontrolled, can deliver freedom and prosperity.

Supporters of free markets and small government are the very people who use "big" laws to ban soft drugs and to limit sexual free-

doms. When it suits them, like in the case of wages and working conditions, they oppose the enforcement of labour laws.

Schlosser breaks down the division between the mainstream and the underground and exposes a society that is far away from the American Dream.

■ *Reefer Madness*, by Eric Schlosser



CD

Exciting music with attitude



■ *The Frames* have survived outside the mainstream precisely on the basis of the vivid intensity of their songs

by **CONOR KOSTICK**

'THE MUSIC business is a cruel and shallow money trench, a long plastic hallway where thieves and pimps run free and good men die like dogs. There's also a negative side.'

Glen Hansard is fond of quoting Hunter S. Thompson and no wonder. The Frames have twice been sucked in and spat out by major record labels (Island and Trevor Horn's ZTT), seeing close up

the extravagance and waste in one of the world's biggest industries, as well as its pressure on artists to adapt to their perception of market trends.

The Frames have survived thirteen years to come through as an independent band, with their own label and a core following sufficient to give them freedom from the industry giants.

As a fifteen year-old Glen Hansard started busking on Dublin's Grafton Street and he has not lost his working

class roots, always willing to perform in order to aid campaigns such as the Anti-Nazi League.

In a recent interview he was asked what did he like best about Steve Albini? (producer of *For The Birds*). He replied 'His eloquence.'

'He can talk all day, about anything, always has an opinion, and it's always hardcore.'

'He's the only real socialist I've met in music.'

He was also asked which AC/DC album title describes him best? 'When I

made my confirmation, I took Angus as my name.'

'As myself and my ma stood before the bishop, he commented on what an unusual name I'd chosen, so my mother interjected with 'he's the guy with the horns, on the cover of "Highway To Hell." We were ushered on pretty lively.'

Being a band with decent politics and attitudes does not guarantee good music, but The Frames have survived outside the mainstream precisely on the basis of the

vivid intensity of their songs. In particular their live performances have earned them a devoted following.

Set List is their latest album and it catches the electric atmosphere of their gigs, all the songs being recorded live with the crowds playing a large part in creating the mood of excitement and passion that fills the CD.

All their strongest songs are here, making it a great introduction to one of Ireland's best bands.

■ *Set List—The Frames*

movie

How do our rulers keep their power?

by **DAVID LYNCH**

IF YOU want some answers, then see the film *The Leopard*, which is directed by the Italian Marxist Luchino Visconti. It is based on the novel by Prince Giuseppe Lampedusa, an aristocrat from Palermo in Sicily, who understood the psychology of his class.

The background to the film is the struggle to unite Italy—to free it from the grip of princes and the Vatican who had divided the country up into tiny fiefdoms. Garibaldi's Red Shirts wanted to carry this through from below. They hated the Pope and encouraged people to rise against local landlords who were tied to the Bourbon monarchy.

On 11 May 1860, Garibaldi and his volunteer army, the Thousand, landed at Marsala in Sicily's west coast. The Leopard is about how the Prince of Salina (played by Burt Lancaster) responds to this revolt.

The political scientist, Gaetano Mosca, once claimed that there are two elements to any elite—lions and foxes. Lions are the stronger, more courageous elements who are full confidence in their right to rule. Foxes have become soft from a life of privilege and try to manoeuvre and manipulate.

The Prince of Salina, played by Burt Lancaster, is very much the lion—or the leopard in Lampedusa's imagery. His family, however, are retiring, timid, sexless and lifeless from living a parasitic existence.

When news of the revolution comes, the family get on their knees to join the priest in reciting the rosary. The Prince, however, insists on visiting Palermo, confident that his class can ride out the tide.

Fighters

He adopts as his son, his nephew Tancredi who, from daring and some instinctive understanding that change is coming, decides to join Garibaldi's fighters.

Tancredi puts on a show of military heroism to create a 'revolutionary' image for himself.

But he some becomes the conduit for the old habits to re-assert themselves—at first unconsciously, then consciously.

When he brings back officers from the Republican army to his uncle's mansion, he turns around slyly to note 'This is the first time they disobeyed an order of Garibaldi by calling you Excellency.'

The aura of the aristocratic rule, its 'cultural capital' is used to evoke the old habits of deference.

In another scene, the Prince explains to one of the more naive royalists why it was politically necessary to embrace the revolt.

He publicly identifies himself with the middle class leaders of the revolt, encourages his nephew to marry one of their daughters, and brings them along to his ball while sniggering at their crudeness behind their backs.

The dynamics of how the old aristocrats incorporated elements of the rising bourgeois into their ranks are brilliantly portrayed.

Privileges

This film observes how they play on habits of deference to recover ground or how they cynically shift positions to keep hold of their privileges.

Their motto is 'Everything must change so that everything can stay the same'.

The Italian Marxist, Gramsci, said that unification of Italy was a 'revolution from above'.

There was political change but the old class structures were not shaken from below.

The landlords and the clergy learnt how to navigate the rapids of revolution and restore their order and legality.

This depressing result is not inevitable. This was a bourgeois revolution, where the urban poor intervened through barricades and street fighting. There was no self-conscious workers' organisation that was both confident of its own power and was able to develop a vision of a classless society.

The middle class feared the revolutionaries around Garibaldi more than they hated the aristocrats. As the Prince put it, 'They don't want to get rid of us—only for a space to be made for them'.

Some fundamental truths are illustrated in this film that still have relevance today. A revolution is a challenge to the existing order, but right in the heart of the movement there will be a fight between the old habits and the aspiration for change.

If we want change we have to be organised to make sure the techniques of incorporation do not win out—because the ruling class will fight with both guile and brutality. They after all will be fighting for their lives.

■ *The Leopard* is showing at the IFC until June 19.

OUT NOW!
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by **Alex Callinicos**

AN ANTI-CAPITALIST MANIFESTO



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Storm of protest descends on G8

NEARLY 100 Irish anti-capitalists descended on the G8 summit in Evian on the June bank holiday weekend.

They joined over 100,000 other protestors who were united in rage against the policies of Bush, Blair, the French President Chirac and five other of the world's most powerful rulers.

'To the eight who want to rule the world, the world replies RESISTANCE!'

Discussion

The chant was in French, but was taken up by people from a dozen or more European countries and by some from Africa, Asia and Latin America too.

Protesters set up giant campsites, which attracted large numbers of local young people.

Around the tents and stalls with anti-capitalist and anti-war material, a hum of discussion went on late into the night.

During discussion on the future of the anti-capitalist movement in Europe, Rory Hearne of Globalise Resistance put out a call for protestors to come to Dublin on October 20th and 21st to protest at the World Economic Forum on competitiveness.

This is a gathering of 400 up business people and politicians who back privatisation. He call was warmly received.

At 5am on Sunday morning over 500 people from the camp marched right across the city to join other protestors in blockading bridges across the River Rhone in central Geneva.



■ Anti capitalist protestors in Geneva for the G8

va. "A-Anti-Anticapitalista!" was the chant as people converged on the first bridge. Soon the five key bridges were in protestors' hands, and remained so for several hours.

The blockades could not, of course, stop the rulers' summit taking place over 20 miles away.

But they could disrupt the hangers-on and bag carriers at the summit.

On Sunday impressive demonstrations took place in the adjacent towns of Geneva in Switzerland and Annemasse in France, and smaller protests in Lausanne in Switzerland.

Tens of thousands marched from the centre of Geneva out to the nearby French-Swiss border.

Equally huge numbers headed from Annemasse towards the border. In all over 100,000 people joined a colourful and lively but angry and determined protest.

And a few thousand marched in Lausanne.

The anger went wider than the immediate policies of the G8, and key issues like Third World debt. Protesters made clear in their slogans and placards that they were standing against capitalism itself.

As on other anti-capitalist

protests in the last two years, in cities from Seattle to Genoa and Florence, the vast bulk of protestors were from the area itself.

Anger

Wherever they meet, the world's leaders' presence condenses into protest a mood of anger against them and their system.

The Geneva march was made up mostly of Swiss people, young and old, families with children, trade unionists and pensioners.

"I am proud that we are having an event like this here

in Geneva and in Switzerland," said Marie-France Jalbert, a local student.

"Me and my friends demonstrated against the war, and today is still about that, but also about the G8, which doesn't do anything about Third World debt".

Press, politicians and police had tried to whip up panic among local people in Geneva that their town was to be sacked by some invading army.

The reality of the feelings of many local people was underlined by the vast numbers of rainbow-coloured "Peace" banners in shops, offices, houses and apartments around the

EYEWITNESSES:

Violence from cops

THE MEDIA coverage of the protests focused on vandalism and clashes between police and some protestors at the G8.

But the overwhelming majority protested forcefully but peacefully, and were well received by local people.

There were some incidents.

Very small groups of masked people-labelled the "Black Bloc" by some in the media-who had nothing to do with the bulk of protestors engaged in causing pointless damage.

A BBC reporter was also witnessed talking to three men dressed as anarchists and telling them exactly what camera angles and shots he wanted.

The three 'anarchists' then proceeded to orchestrate the action while the BBC man sheepishly hid his ID under his shirt.

That gave the police the pretext to use provocations and attack both protestors and local youth. By far the worst violence was meted out by police.

Blocking

One British protester, Martin Shaw, was hospitalised after police deliberately cut a rope he was suspended from as he took part in a protest aimed at blocking the road from Geneva to Lausanne.

Police also invaded a campsite at Lausanne, and arrested around 400 people for a time, and they teargassed protestors staging a sit-down protest near Annemasse.

But over 100,000 people on the main demo made clear their anger at the far greater violence meted out by the world's rulers.

city. As the two marches met at the border there were jubilant scenes, and cheers from the waves of people lining a succession of bridges above the protest route.

The united march pressed across the border, and in a moving moment the strains of the workers' song the Internationale were taken up by many

protestors. Protesters climbed and danced on the roofs of the abandoned border post buildings, creating a brilliant, colourful and festival-like atmosphere.

The protest confounded anyone who believed the worldwide anti-war and anti-capitalist movements have evaporated.

Marxist Forums

Big ideas discussed in informal settings

Artane-Coolock

Will Labour bring a Fair Society or a Blair Society? 8.00pm Tuesday June 17th Beaumont Leisure Centre

Ballymun:

Which way forward for Irish Left? 8.00pm Thursday June 19th Snug Pub (upstairs) Drumcondra Rd

Blanchardstown:

Which way forward for Irish Left? 8.00pm Thursday June 19th Snug Pub (upstairs) Drumcondra Rd

Clondalkin:

Which way forward for Irish Left? Thursday 12th June 8pm Oakfield Lodge Hotel, Clondalkin

Cork:

After Evian: Where now for Anti Capitalist Movement? Saturday 14th June 3pm Spaipin Fanach, South Main St

Crumlin:

Eyewitness report from Evian G8 summit protest. 8.00pm Thursday June 11th, Cashel Hall, Cashel Road,

Crumlin

Dublin North City-Drumcondra

Confronting the rulers of the world: the movement after Evian Wednesday June 11th The Snug, Dorset St. 8pm

Dublin South Inner City:

Noam Chomsky: Ideology and the Corporate Media, Wed 18 June 8pm, The meter Street Cafe, Tara St, D2

Dundrum:

Confronting the rulers of the world - the movement after Evian 8pm Mon 16 June, Dundrum Family Recreation Centre.

Dun Laoghaire:

Palestine: road map to peace or dead end? 8pm Thurs 26 Farrells Pub, Marine Rd, Dun L

Fairview

Which way forward for Irish Left? 8.00pm Thursday June 19th Snug Pub (upstairs) Drumcondra Rd

Liberties:

The fight against privatisa-

tion, 8.30pm Wed 18 June, The Viking Lounge, Francis St

Lucan/Leixlip: Contact Micky McGuigan for details at 086 3849882

Rialto:

Which way forward for Irish Left? Wednesday 18th June 8pm St Andrews Community

Ringsend:

Weapons of mass deception: does the media control our ideas? Wed 18 June, The Committee Room, under the ocean bar, Charlotte Quay, Ringsend

Stoneybatter-Cabra

Noam Chomsky: Ideology and the Corporate Media, Tuesday 8pm June 17th Augrim St Parish Centre, Manor St

Tallaght:

Which way forward for Irish Left? Thursday 12th June 8pm Oakfield Lodge Hotel, Clondalkin

Waterford:

Lula and Chavez: Can they deliver for Latin America? Thurs June 26th 8.00pm Old Rogue Michael St.

■ For details of other Marxist Forums contact (01) 872 2682

Dublin Campaign Against the Bin Tax

PROTEST AT BERTIE AHERN'S CLINIC
Saturday 14th June 10.30am
Campaign Hotline: 087-2837989

REVOLUTIONARY YOUTH: Forum: Palestine-Road Map to Peace or Dead End?
3.00pm Saturday 21 June, The Beanery Cafe, Burgh Quay

WHERE WE STAND

Capitalism is wrecking the lives of millions and endangering the planet. A new society can only be constructed when the workers take control of the wealth and plan its production and distribution for human need and not profit.

REVOLUTION
The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy. To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based much greater political and economic democracy.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR
War is a constant feature of capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth. Bush's "War on Terrorism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or economic dominance.
END RACISM AND OPPRES-

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH
We stand for workers unity against the Assembly politicians and Blair government. Like great socialist James Connolly, we believe that partition has brought about a 'carnival of reaction' We want to see an Irish workers republic where all workers gain. Our flag is neither green nor orange but red!

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. We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc. We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

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Clonmel march for redundant workers

MORE than 300 workers took part in a march in Clonmel, Co. Tipperary against the closure of Ronans Tannery in the town.

Ronans are offering workers only minimum statutory redundancy and refusing to negotiate with the ATGWU.

Many workers at the tannery have worked there for many years and for most of their lives.

Earlier this year they were given one-day's notice to lay-off for five weeks, which was later increased to nine weeks.

On 30 April this was extended to seven months closure with only minimum statutory redundancy payments to the workers.

John Ronan and Sons sold their assets to Michell Ireland Ltd in Portlaw Co. Waterford in order to avoid increased costs associated with new environmental laws. In return John and Paul Ronan are to be appointed directors of Michell Ltd and receive an annual salary of €100,000.

Organised

Costs are lower at Michell because of a traditionally less organised and less radical workforce than in Clonmel.

ATGWU shop steward, Billy Shore, told the crowd: 'We gave this

company years of loyal service and they just turn around and slap us in the face.

'We could have left Ronans for better jobs

with better pay, but we stayed loyal to the company, in return they force us out of our jobs and livelihoods.

'They refuse to nego-

ciate with the union in case they are forced to pay more than statutory redundancy.

'But if they think we are going away, they

have another think coming. We are going to stay and fight this.

'We are not going to allow them profit while we suffer.'

CPSU solidarity motion ignored by officials

AS pickets by CPSU members locked out by the Department of Agriculture enter their 10th week, the union executive has watered down a solidarity motion passed at

the recent CPSU conference.

The motion, unanimously accepted at conference, calls for a mass picket of the Department of Agriculture and one-day stoppage across all Departments.

Disgracefully, the executive and officials have instead decided to ballot branches individually for 'work-to-rules' or stoppages depending on whether these officials think members will say 'yes' in that ballot.

This backsliding by the officials comes amidst reports that farmers are calling for those on strike to be sacked. It is unbelievable that there has been no adequate response yet from the union.

In order to raise money for the continuing struggle a fundraiser has been organised by the CSO and other branches for the 18th of June.

Further details and collection sheets are available by contacting 085 7158567.

★ A member of the CPSU who was sponsored as a delegate to attend the protest at the G8 meeting in Evian gave a report back meeting this week.

He spoke of how the protest and counter conferences in Annamasse and Geneva which coincided with the G8 meeting proved that the anti-capitalist movement is still as strong as ever and that the mood of resistance to war has shifted now into wider anti-capitalist politics.

The meeting discussed how to get the rank and file to organise to send more people as delegates to the European Social Forum this November.

WE WILL RESIST THE BIN TAX!

It is expected that new legislation allowing councils to refuse to collect the bins of those who haven't paid their refuse charges will be passed very soon.

At a meeting of the anti-bin tax campaign in Fingal on June 7, a summer of unrest was promised.

Targeted

Campaigners believe that Fingal may be the first council area to be targeted, possibly as early as July.

The tagging system used in the area means that payers are immediately visible and no research has to be done to identify non-payers.

Meetings will be held all over the council area in the coming weeks to prepare to resist this. Co-ordinated attempts will be made to tail lorries and to stall/prevent the collection of bins by peaceful protest



Bin Tax campaigners outside Dublin's City Hall last year

and civil disobedience.

Areas where resistance is high will be prioritised.

Within weeks the situation can be brought to crisis point.

According to Jo Tully, who is on the Fingal steering committee, "The mood of the conference was very positive.

"Many of the people who attended have been through the water charges campaign and know what tactics work".

HOW TO RESIST

- Call local meetings and keep everyone up to date with what's happening.
- Organise phone trees so people can be contacted quickly.
- Meet with local bin workers and ask for their support.
- Prepare groups of people to tail lorries once non-collection begins. Use peaceful protest to prevent trucks leaving estates where all the bins have not been collected.
- Identify areas where resistance to the charges is high. Successful blockades there will give confidence to other areas.
- Solidarity and support from campaigners across the country is vital. Campaigners from other areas should help out where they can.

Dublin Bus:

OUR JOBS ARE NOT FOR SALE!

THE FIGHT to save our public transport has stepped up a gear with the setting up of a Joint Action Committee to co-ordinate industrial action across the three CIE companies.

The protests planned to upset Transport Minister Séamus Brennan's Thatcherite schemes range from one day stoppages to all out action and are likely to take place right across the country's Bus, Rail and Dart networks.

Meanwhile Rank and File Bus Drivers are organising a

major campaign against Brennan's plans.

NBRU assistant secretary Mick Flaherty spoke at a public meeting on June 10th in Dublin which laid the basis for a network of public support to strengthen the fight back against the carving up of our transport system.

At the meeting, British transport worker Dave Manningham related the terrible price of privatisation and called on Irish workers to continue the fight to defend public services.

WATERFORD WILL FIGHT INCINERATOR

A NEW anti-incinerator campaign has been established in the south-east in response to the news that Waterford Port Authority is to build an incinerator at Belview Port.

The incinerator will be operated by a private company called Herhof, part of Treasury Holdings.

The location of the facility in a deep sea port and next to a railway line indicates the intention to ship in waste from across Ireland and beyond to feed the incinerator the 150,000 tonnes of waste it needs annually to make a profit.

Incinerators lead to increased dioxin levels

in the environment. Dioxins are one of the most carcinogenic materials known to man and have been proved to cause cancer, respiratory disease and infant mortality.

There is no guarantee that these dioxins won't enter the food chain for a radius of up to 30 miles.

Samples

There is no indigenous body to monitor dioxin emissions, meaning that samples would have to be sent to Europe for examination leaving a delay of days for results.

For every three tonnes of waste burnt, one tonne of toxic ash is produced, which must be buried deep under ground, giving the lie to the claim that incinerators

will do away with landfill.

Amazingly the Port Authority is planning to dispose of this ash in the south-east's biggest tourist attraction, the sea-side town of Tramore.

Rather than encouraging recycling, incinerators need the creation of waste to meet basic minimum production for profit.

Cities in the US were forced to scale back recycling initiatives in

order to feed incinerators.

Incineration is the worst of all possible worlds in terms of the environment and waste management, but is a highly profitable business for private enter-

prises, which is why the government is pushing it so much.

Minister for Environment, Martin Cullen has pushed through new legislation to stop elected representatives having any say in whether incin-

erators are allowed in their areas.

Campaigns across the country have shown that local people won't stand for incinerators.

Mass resistance will be needed to stop these dictatorial moves.

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inside:

EAMONN McCANN CALLS FOR SOCIALIST UNITY —PAGE 4

MINISTERS SHOULD NOT SHOW THEIR FACES AT SPECIAL OLYMPICS

—PAGES 6 & 7

RESISTANCE GROWS TO US/UK OCCUPATION OF IRAQ

BUSH & BLAIR'S LIES EXPOSED

BUSH and Blair's lies about Iraq have returned to haunt them.

They said Iraq possessed weapons of mass destruction, including biological and nerve gases.

Two months after the war was finished, not a scrap of evidence has been found.

'If this was their best intelligence, what was the rest like?' Hans Blix, Chief UN Weapons Inspector, asked bitterly.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair told parliament in September that Iraq had weapons of mass destruction that could be deployed within '45 minutes'.

But his information was based solely on the uncorroborated statement of an Iraqi defector who is part of the Iraqi National Congress.

The INC is backed by the ultra-hawkish Donald Rumsfeld and the US Pentagon.

Even the CIA has admitted the evidence is fake. Vince Cannistraro, former chief of the CIA's counter-terrorism operations, reports that claims about weapons were based on 'fraudulent' intelligence. In October 2002, Bush claimed Iraq posed an imminent threat to the U.S.

because of the country's alleged ties with al-Qaeda and its endless supply of chemical and biological weapons

But the Washington Post has now revealed that Vice-President Dick Cheney pressurised

CIA staff to produce reports about the alleged al Qaeda links.

Refuted

And the International Atomic Energy Agency has refuted

Bush's claim that Iraq was six months away from developing a nuclear weapon.

Documents that were supposed to show that Saddam had attempted to import nuclear material from Africa were

exposed as forgeries.

Even US Secretary of Defence Donald Rumsfeld and Assistant Secretary of Defence Paul Wolfowitz both said publicly during recent interviews, that the war in Iraq was planned

two days after the September 11, 1991 terrorist attacks on the US.

That is more than a year before the war was begun and well before the issue of WMD was even discussed by the Bush administration

US slaughters wedding guests

US SOLDIERS opened fire on a wedding party in the small town of Samarra in Iraq. When the shooting was over, the floor of a truck carrying mainly children to the wedding was awash with blood.

Four people were killed and nine injured. Britain admitted last week that it has used cluster bombs in built-up areas despite the fact that using these weapons, each of which leaves hundreds of unexploded bomblets that act as mines, in civilian areas, is banned under the Geneva convention.

Unexploded munitions cover large populated areas of Iraq. Up to 10,000 bomblets could be lying in cities, on farmland and on main roads.

Resistance to the occupiers. Unsurprisingly, Iraqis are beginning to resist the brutality of the US and British occupation.

At least seven US soldiers have been killed in the last two weeks.

Two were killed in a rocket attack on their base in Fallujah and another in a grenade attack in the town.

Frustrated

Mayor Taha Badawi Alwani says Fallujah was never particularly pro Saddam Hussein.

But neither do its inhabitants want to see US fighting vehicles. He estimated that 80 percent of the city's population, frustrated with living conditions, want the Americans to

leave.

Abdul Wahid, head of the city's education department, told US reporters: 'No security. No salaries. Not any services.'

Our country may be the

only one in the world to export petroleum and not have enough gas for our cars. Tell your nation that Bush did nothing to keep his promises.'

On Thursday US occupa-

tion forces were driven out of the town of Hit after residents protested at house to house searches.

Riots erupted in the town of just 20,000 people when US forces continued to invade homes despite earlier peaceful protests calling on them to stop. The riots were fuelled by fury at worsening living conditions.

The price of petrol has risen 20-fold since the occupation began.

Teacher Saleh Dayeh said, 'Petrol is the property of the Iraqi people, but now the Americans are stealing it.' Over 500 Shia Muslims marched in Baghdad on Thursday of last week to protest against the arrest of clerics by US forces.

DEMOCRACY DITCHED

PROMISED democracy for the people of Iraq is evaporating.

The US's overseer, Paul Bremer, has ditched plans for a 300-plus national conference which was supposed to take place next month.

Instead he is to appoint a 25-30 member advisory council which will leave power firmly in the hands of the US and British forces.

In Basra Britain's attempt to set up an administration collapsed at the weekend.

A committee of 30 Iraqi technocrats walked out when the British army insisted on chairing the body.