

# Socialist Worker

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# WHY IS THERE ONE LAW FOR THIS FAT CAT?



■ Denis O'Brien: Laughing all the way to the bank

**TWENTY-ONE working class people have been sent to jail for protesting about the removal of their bin service.**

Six have been fined €1,500 on top of their jail terms.

Their families and friends were threatened with jail when they shouted shame.

But fat cats who pay dubious donations to politicians turn up at Tribunals, knowing that they cannot be sentenced there.

Take the millionaire Denis O'Brien who is appearing at the

Moriarty Tribunal.

He scooped over €290 million from the sale of Esat to British Telecom.

The only reason why Esat was worth so much was that it had been given the mobile phone licence by the Minister Michael Lowry.

## Unusual

There is already a huge level of evidence to suggest that O'Brien and Lowry had a very unusual relationship.

O'Brien met up with Minister Michael Lowry for a pint when the competition for the mobile phone licence was underway.

Esat donated \$50,000 to Fine Gael through fundraiser David Austin's offshore account.

O'Brien bought a house from the same fundraiser in Spain for IR£150,000—double the normal price at the time. £147,000 of this money was subsequently forwarded to Michael Lowry's account in the Isle of Man.

The former chief executive of Esat, Barry Maloney, has said that O'Brien paid over another

£100,000 to Lowry

O'Brien transferred £230,000 to an account to help close a property deal in England, on which Michael Lowry had paid a deposit.

## Property

O'Brien's accountant helped Michael Lowry get another loan of £420,000 to buy more property in England.

O'Brien has publicly stated that the people of Ireland are 'talking shite'.

He has denounced us for

'going communist' and not showing enough respect for politicians and entrepreneurs.

This unbelievable arrogance comes from someone who knows that all they will have to face is a tribunal that goes on for years.

This country is crying out for some real justice. The state has taken off its gloves and has started to jail protestors.

The response of the working class has yet to come.

But when it does the smug arrogance of Denis O'Brien and his class will be shattered

*McCreevy plans more stealth taxes: turn to page three*

## Free school meals

IRELAND has one of the highest rates of child poverty in the EU and the Combat Poverty Agency says there should be free school hot meals for the 100,000 most vulnerable children.

They estimate it will cost €11 million next year.

Yet the Finance Minister Charlie McCreevy is likely to turn down the suggestion saying he has no money.

But he hands out a tax relief for building hotels that cost €12 million a year.

And he has another set of tax breaks for heritage homes and multi-storey car parks which costs €13 million year.

Not to mention a museum for horses in Punchestown built by his friends at the cost of €15 million.

## How FF investigates tax dodging



■ **Tax Dodger Flood**  
FF TD Michael Collins has been named by the Revenue Commissioners as a tax dodger.

Questions have also been raised about how he had a tax clearance certificate which was needed by all election candidates.

Fianna Fail are now conducting an investigation.

But the chief investigator, Chris Flood TD, is also a tax dodger.

He was a major shareholder in Apex Fire Protection which eventually had to make an €87,400 settlement to the Revenue Commissioners.

That is about six times the figure Collins had to pay up.

# Shannon: Pit stop for the US military

## SHANNON airport is rapidly becoming a transit base for the US army.

In September alone, 10,000 troops used Shannon as a stop over en route to pursue their occupation of Iraq.

These figures were provided by Aer Rianta in reply to a Dail question.

However, the numbers may be even higher again.

Transport Minister Seamus Brennan stated that permission was not needed for 'the carriage of military troops on civilian aircraft if they are unaccompanied by weapons or munitions, as is *sometimes* the case'.

The use of the word 'sometimes' is important because the Irish government do not conduct checks to see if the US troops have

weapons.

This means that many more US troops could have gone through without permission and not be recorded.

On 6 October, for example, four chartered aircraft with up to one thousand troops passed through Shannon airport.

### Upsurge

This was a full battalion and the troops were carrying M 16 assault rifles, pistols and rounds of ammunition.

The upsurge in troop movements comes as the US seeks to replenish its forces in Iraq.

In early November Donald Rumsfeld announced that 85,000 US troops have been alerted that they will soon be sent to Iraq to relieve forces that have spent up to a year there.

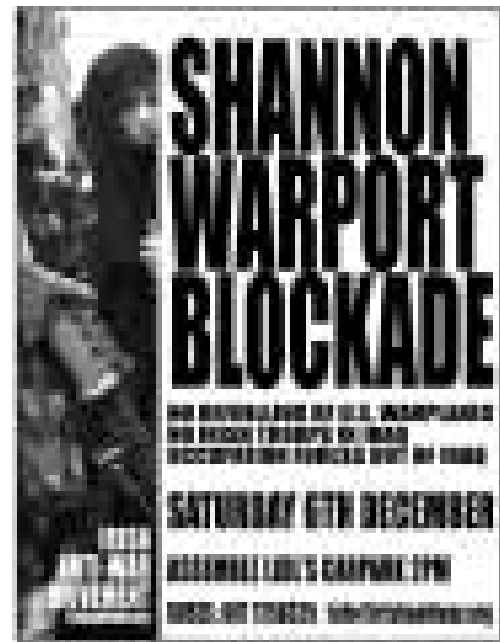
47,000 additional National Guard and Reserve forces have also been told they will be sent to Iraq.

Many of these troops will be flying through Shannon to help colonise Iraq for Bush and the oil industry.

The Irish Anti-War Movement has announced a major protest at the airport on 6 December.

Buses will be organised from Dublin, Cork and elsewhere.

To get leaflets and posters for the demonstration, call 087 2947100.



## Of mice and men (and a killer virus)

THE PENTAGON has apparently reallocated large numbers of military experts hunting for those elusive weapons of mass destruction in Iraq to other duties.

Perhaps they will be brought home, where their searches will yield far faster results.

*New Scientist* last week revealed how, 'A scientist funded by the US government has deliberately created an extremely deadly form of mousepox, a relative of the

smallpox virus, through genetic engineering.

'The new virus kills all mice even if they have been given antiviral drugs as well as a vaccine that would normally protect them.

'The work has not stopped there. The cowpox virus, which infects a range of animals including humans, has been genetically altered in a similar way.'

Mark Buller of the University of St Louis told *New Scientist* his work was neces-

sary to explore what 'bioterrorists' might do.

'But the research brings closer the prospect of pox viruses that cause only mild infections in humans being turned into diseases lethal even to people who have been vaccinated.'

The US has refused to sign up to relevant international conventions on restricting or banning biological and chemical weapons.

# COKE BAN: VOTE UNTIL YOU GET IT RIGHT



## UCD students have been told to vote again on whether or not to boycott Coke.

They had previously voted to ban Coke products after they received evidence that Coke was impli-

cated in the murder of trade unionists in Colombia.

However, just as in the Nice referendum, when the right-wing loses a referendum, people are asked to keep voting until they give the right answer.

Coke is clearly worried about the ban. They are sending one of their top spin-doctors to Dublin.

This is reputed to be Rafael Fernandez Quiros, their director of publicity for Latin America. Colombian trade unionists, however, are restricted from travel by their right-wing government.

During the last referendum, Coke gave SIPTU representatives time off work to leaflet UCD calling on students to reject the ban.

Opposition to the ban also came from a prominent Sinn Fein supporter in SIPTU. Coincidentally, the party has received a \$15,000 donation from the company.

The big corporations have no respect for democracy. They try to pull any strings they can to enforce their will. However, UCD students are organising to resist their power.

## Anti-Capitalists mobilise against the FTAA

TRADE Ministers from 34 nations in the Western hemisphere, and hundreds of their closest commercial friends will descend on Miami, Florida, for the eighth round of the Free Trade

Area of the Americas (FTAA) trade negotiations.

Nine years ago, the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) was signed, linking the economies of

the US, Mexico and Canada.

Similar in many ways to the World Trade Organisation, NAFTA eliminated trade barriers and established a new regime of trade, investment and immigration rules, tilting the balance of power away from democratic control to multinational corporations.

Small farmers in Mexico have been devastated by competition from subsidised imports, while lower wage levels in Mexico have been used to attack workers' conditions across the States.

The US is now forging a new trade deal which will expand the NAFTA to the rest of the western hemisphere to include all

34 countries of Latin America, the Caribbean and North America, with the exception of Cuba.

When they meet in Miami later this month they will be met by a major demonstration involving thousands of activists from groups as diverse as the AFL-CIO, Oxfam, United Steelworkers of America, Students Against Sweatshops and United for Peace and Justice.

Across North, South & Central America the social movements are saying 'Nosotros decimos No!' ['we say no'] to the FTAA and are organising to resist this latest attack on people and planet.

For information check out: [www.stopftaa.org](http://www.stopftaa.org)

## Get your files

A NEW law, the Data Protection (Amendment) Act gives employees the right to get any file on them that the company has.

You can get all personnel data within forty days of a request.

The law requires the company to hand you over not just computer data but all paper files – even if there are defamatory comments contained in them.

Workers who wish to know how their company is monitoring them should put in the request – before they change the law again.

## A little perk for you

ADVANCE Pitstop know how to do business. They gave Iarnrod Eireann's purchasing manager, Howard Napier, a little gift of audiovisual equipment worth €3800.

He was also treated to trips to top golf courses, including the K Club.

The company had a contract with the company, which gave them a profit markup of 40 percent on their account – a staggeringly high profit.

Advance also won a contract to supply Garda cars. They had also invited top Garda officers to golf trips in Spain.

Now there is a company that really understands public private partnerships.

## Aer Rianta report reveals disaster

A REPORT into the breakup of Aer Rianta has predicted that Shannon airport will be making a loss until at least 2006 – even after its debt has been off-loaded onto Dublin airport.

According to Pricewaterhouse Cooper, this will probably mean a loss of 20 percent of the jobs.

The report also says that Dublin airport performance will also be seriously eroded because of the new debts.

This means that landing charges will have to rise significantly.

The government and Aer Rianta management want the report suppressed

But the game plan of Transport Minister Seamus Brennan is now becoming more obvious – to cause a crisis at the state run company in order to open the door to privatisation and allow the second terminal at Dublin airport to be built by Ryanair or the McElvaddy brothers.

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editorial

# GOVERNMENT PLANS MASSIVE INCREASES IN CHARGES FOR STATE SERVICES NEXT YEAR STEALTH TAX RAID

**'MINISTERS told to squeeze public for every cent'. This was a recent headline from the Sunday Tribune.**

The article noted that 'the public will have to pay major increases in charges for state services next year, with the government poised to resort to "stealth taxes".'

The excuse is the need to pay for the benchmarking awards.

However, these awards were only designed to bring up the wages of public sector workers to those of their private sector counterparts.

In return for these rises, the government is looking for productivity measures that will eventually reduce public sector employment.

The real issue is that direct taxes in Ireland have fallen to just 28 percent of GDP compared to the an EU average of 41 percent.

The reason is that this government pursues a naked policy of pampering the rich. They believe that taxes are only for the 'little people'.

A survey of the country's 400 top earners in 1999/2000 showed that they were paying tax at the rate of less than 15 percent.

Many PAYE workers paid a tax

rate of 44 percent at the time

Right-wing governments have cut taxes on corporation profits, on capital gains, on inheritance as well as making up a series of tax allowances for big business.

Now to make up for the shortfall in public spending they want to introduce a host of 'stealth taxes'.

This fits in neatly with the neo-liberal agenda devised by the World Bank and the IMF. They turn every public service into a commodity by introducing a charge on it - and then in subsequent years they sell it off to private bidders.

**Stealth taxes or indirect taxes hit the poorest disproportionately.**

Bin charges, for example, are levied at the same rate for millionaires and workers on low wages.

Hospital charges mean less for property speculators than someone trying to survive on the average wage.

This government is the most right-wing government in living memory.

They pursue an aggressive policy of shifting resources towards their class.

It is time they were met by the same determination on our side.



■ Hundreds of trainee primary school teachers walked out of classes in early November to protest against the introduction of a new online postgraduate training course. Students believe that a course with a high level of online learning cannot adequately prepare students for life in the classroom.

PHOTO: PAULA GERAGHTY

## Mass politicisation has begun

THE opposition to this government will not come from Labour or the trade union leaders.

They accept the same parameters set by capitalism.

This is why every Labour Party in EU has implemented similar policies to its conservative opponents once it has got into office.

The real alternative will come from the deepening politicisation of social movements that are emerging from below.

On 15 February, Ireland saw the one of the biggest demonstrations in its history when over 100,000 marched against war in Dublin and over 20,000 in Belfast.

Many of those who marched thought the govern-

ment would listen to the people.

Now they know that not only was the war wrong but that the Irish government answers more to the White House and the big corporations rather than to its own people.

In recent months, the struggle over bin charges has galvanised working class areas of Dublin.

There is enormous anger over the jailing of protestors while corrupt politicians walk free.

In both these struggles, the far left have played a central role.

The Socialist Workers Party and the Socialist Party have shown that they are capable of mobilising thousands on

single issues - and of continuing the fight when others have jumped off.

In the bin tax battle for example, the Green Party has lined up with the establishment and supported the charges.

The Labour Party says it is against the charges - but tells

people to 'obey the law'.

Sinn Fein says it is more left-wing than Labour - but its TDs have not had the courage of Joe Higgins to join in civil disobedience.

Huge numbers of people have seen these vacillations. They can sense who wants a real fight - and who only wants

to throw political shapes.

Socialists now have a duty to unite and form an alliance, which will offer a real alternative to people in the coming elections. The time for petty sectarianism is over.

The SWP has sought to forge a socialist alliance in the Northern elections - and has been partially successful in the Derry area. Efforts to extend it further were not take up by other parties for spurious reasons.

At the bin charges conference on 22 November, huge pressure must be exerted from below to forge a common front between those who have fought together.

The movement has been politicised. The left must respond.

★ In early November Italy witnessed another two intense days of social struggle. While the government is in big trouble, the workers' movement is not waiting passively for the upcoming elections but is back on the streets. This time the strikes were called by FIOM, the metal workers union.

In Rome over 150,000 people marched for a better contract. They also called for agreements to be voted on by the workers, better safety and health on the job, and a new law on union representation

In Milan the rank and file based union, CUB, struck for European salaries, pensions related to the actual inflation and for equal rights for unions' organisations.

About 70 percent of metal workers backed the strike. This is despite the attempt by Berlusconi's media machine to prevent any coverage of these two days of massive protest.



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 OPPRESSION**

We oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weakens the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.

**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.

## Join the Socialists!

To join the Socialist Workers Party or for more information: Fill in the form and Send to:

ROI: SWP PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682

NI: SWP PO Box 143, Mallusk Road, Mallusk, Phone

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(If applicable)



comment



## Eamonn McCann

# Why safe abortion is a class issue

**ABORTION is a class issue. In Ireland, Britain, everywhere, for generations, well-off women were able to get safe abortions in clean beds in private clinics while working class women risked death with backstreet or self-induced abortions.**

Abortion only became a political issue when working-class women started to have safe abortions too.

Abortion is part of the reality of Irish life, North and South. British Ministry of Health statistics suggest that up to 10,000 women from this island travel to England every year to terminate unwanted pregnancies—more than 7,000 from the South, about 2,000 from the North.

That's over 150 women a week. The actual number may be higher, given that some Irish women do not give their Irish addresses.

This means that perhaps as many as a quarter of a million Irish women have had abortions in Britain since the procedure was legalised there in 1967.

In most cases, at least one other person will have known about and helped them on their journey. In many cases, a relatively large circle will have been involved in getting the money together and making other arrangements.

Abortion has touched the lives of a huge number of people on this island.

Jim Wells of the DUP referred glancingly to the class dimension when he told an Assembly debate in June 2000 that while 40 women a week might indeed be travelling from the North for abortion, the incidence would likely be a third higher if abortion were available here on the NHS.

### Afford

He might have mentioned, although he didn't, that this third is largely class-selected. They are the women who cannot raise around £500 and cannot afford to absent themselves from work in the home or wherever for days.

Wells might also have mentioned, although he didn't, that the fact that abortion isn't available on the NHS here goes a long way to explaining how come women from the North are three times as likely as women across the water to have late abortions—the abortions which, ironically, are prominently and luridly presented in the propaganda of groups crusading against the extension of the 1967 act.

It is against this background that we should consider current moves by "pro-life" activists to tighten restriction on abortion even further by manipulation of the proposed new European Union constitution.

The aim is to forbid women from aborting for reason of severe genetic disorder such as Down's syndrome: the claim is that abortion for this reason is akin to "eugenic practices"—outlawed under the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights.

### Choice

This approach, based on abstract morality and fundamentalist ideology, leaves out of account the fact that the best way to reduce the incidence of abortion is to make the choice of having a baby as unproblematic as can be.

It is surely a matter of observation and not of argument that it's only when parents of children with disabilities enjoy as of right all the support that can be provided, when they know they can depend on speech therapy, physiotherapy, respite care, financial support and all the facilities that modern technology and medicine make possible, when they know that the educational system is structured so as to welcome children with disabilities and to give them every chance of realising all the possibilities within them and that dignified employment will then be open to them, isn't it obvious that only then will it be possible for women to make the decision to have a handicapped child in a positive frame of mind?

But all of these things would require the sort of reordering of social and economic priorities which the overwhelmingly conservative "pro-life" campaigners can be counted on to oppose.

It is remarkable that in a period of intense debate about the political future of the North, these matters go virtually unmentioned. It is surely time that we began to look this reality in the face and to move towards a rational resolution.

# Houses to be pulled down for Ryanair

**UP TO 24 houses in the Donnybrewer area of Derry are to be demolished in order to lengthen the runway at the City of Derry Airport.**

The Socialist Environmental Alliance is opposed to this decision which, it argues, was taken by the unelected management of Ryanair, not the elected members of the Derry City Council.

The facts are simple.

Ryanair management decided to upgrade its fleet, and so needed a longer runway at Derry. They made it clear they'd pull out if they didn't get their way. Without them, it was said, the airport might not be viable. So it was a case of—do Ryanair's bidding or shut up shop.

This is a microcosm of what's happening everywhere as big business imposes its undemocratic will on the world. The issue

here may be tiny when compared to millions in India being displaced from their homes so huge dams can be built, or social services demolished as structural adjustment programmes are imposed on Latin American countries. But it's the same issue nonetheless.

It's unelected big business saying to people—you can have economic development on our terms, or you'll have no develop-

ment at all.

The incident highlights the lie at the heart of Ryanair propaganda. This outfit claims to be the epitome of dynamic private enterprise, in contrast with the stodgy public sector.

But the runway extension, crucial to Ryanair's future profits in this area, will be publicly funded. This amounts to a public subsidy for this supposedly proud free-market enterprise.

Ryanair boss Michael O'Leary pocketed more than £85 million in the last five years simply by issuing himself with shares in the company and then selling them off.

All this wealth comes from the labour of the workforce to create the service the public pays for. But Ryanair won't hear of its workers joining a union, and it arrogantly treats bodies elected by the public as its obedient servants.

# Socialists should work together

*MARION BAUR, from Dungiven, is standing for the SEA in East Derry. She was born in 1957 in West Germany, but has been living in Northern Ireland for the last 15 years and is a full-time handweaver.*

*She has close links to the trade union and anti-capitalist movement here and in continental Europe and is a member of the Communist Party.*

*Here, she explains why she is standing.*

**F**irst, I want to prevent the introduction of water charges and oppose any job cuts in the water service.

We need a better service instead of double taxation and job losses.

I want to put the environment on the agenda in the Assembly. Green energy doesn't have to

be more expensive, it can be cheaper than power from non-renewable sources.

There is no shelter for women suffering domestic violence in East Derry.

### Funding

I will work with women's and community groups to get funding for a refuge.



■ Marion Baur standing in East Derry for the Socialist Environmental Alliance

I believe that, whatever your personal position on abortion, anyone who supports workers' rights has to support legal abortion on the health service.

Otherwise, you are accepting there should be one law for the rich, another for the poor.

I have some differences with others working in the SEA, but they

are nothing compared to what we have in common—most of all, that Northern Ireland is crying out for change.

I want to be part of changing it.'

# This time televise the talks!

**WHEN the Talks resume after the election they should be televised live.**

This is entirely practicable and would boost the chances of a progressive outcome.

Local channels would jump at the chance to broadcast the Talks. Live coverage would be highly popular and would facili-

tate wide and well-informed public discussion of the issues. What's the objection to that?

Trimble says he needs transparency from the IRA. But he himself is believed to have had a dozen meetings with Gerry Adams in recent weeks. What was discussed? Where are the minutes of these meetings? Why should the

people who are being spoken for be kept in the dark as to what's being said?

The assumption underlying all this secrecy is that the plain people here are dark, dangerous sorts who can't be trusted, that if we were let in on what's going on we would go berserk.

We are supposed to

leave everything to wise leaders who will gently lure us away from the path of war. It's as if we have to agree to be blindfolded and led by the hand because it would be too risky to let us know where we're being taken.

That might be OK for General de Chastelain on his clandestine mission. But the people are sup-

posed to be involved in open democracy. Let's have some of it. This present situation is an insult.

My proposal that the Talks be televised live is intended as a practical suggestion. It is also intended to highlight the extent to which the secrecy surrounding the Talks is a factor in the repeated gridlock. Let in the light!

# IRAQ, USA ...

by AOIFE  
BRESLIN

# Resistance is building

**GEORGE BUSH is looking increasingly haggard these days.**

Resistance in Iraq is growing on a daily basis, prompting even staunchest US ally on the puppet Iraqi Governing Council, Ahmad Chalabi, to declare 'The Americans, their methods, their operations and their procedures are singularly unsuited to deal with this kind of problem.'

Bush's much-hyped visit to London has run into major difficulties.

Although Buckingham Palace refuses to confirm it, reports say the anticipated carriage procession with the queen and direct address to Parliament have both been cancelled due to plans by the *Stop the War Coalition* to flood London with tens of thousands of protestors.

Meanwhile, the anti-war movement in the United States continues to grow.

In Washington on 25 October, over 100,000 people marched chanting '\$87 Billion for Jobs and Education, Not for War & Occupation'.

The march gathered contingents from 145 cities across America and stretched for 20 city blocks.

## Movements

A sister march in San Francisco drew 20,000 onto the streets. Groups like *United for Peace & Justice*, *Bring our Troops Home Now* and *Act Now Against War & Racism* are now linking up with social justice movements to protest at the Free Trade Areas of the Americas meeting in Miami later in November.

Brainstormers in the Pentagon believe that time is running out for the US occupation.

A recent poll by the *Iraqi Centre for Research and Strategic Studies* showed fewer than 15% of Iraqis see U.S. forces as liberators, down from 43% six months ago.

A senior intelligence official told *The Washington Post* recently that the US has only three to six months to put down the resistance, before a coordinated campaign emerges across Iraq.

Such a campaign is already in the making. On 2 November a broad spectrum of Iraqi political forces ranging from communists to nationalists, democrats and Islamists met to demand a specific timetable for the withdrawal of occupation forces before a mass civil disobedience campaign is mounted.

**'As long as there's an occupation, the resistance will grow' – Kofi Annan**



■ Another Black Hawk down near Tikrit

## GIs go AWOL as morale sinks

**ACCORDING to the GI Rights Hotline, morale amongst soldiers in many units in Iraq is now so low that increasing numbers of soldiers are going AWOL (absent without leave).**

The *Hotline* has logged a 75% increase in calls recently, with more than 100 of those calls from soldiers, or people on their behalf, asking about the penalties associated with going AWOL.

One soldier even decided to shoot himself in the foot as

a way to get out of Iraq.

So worried is the top military brass that soldiers are being encouraged to take leave in Germany instead of going home.

Pentagon officials said they had no up-to-date numbers on soldiers who have

gone AWOL, but an affidavit at a recent court martial hearing put the number at 50 plus.

There are increasing worries that if Bush fails to get other countries to join him soldiers will begin to desert en masse.

## Where is the multinational force?

**BUSH'S efforts to build the international coalition are not faring well.**

Despite securing a UN Resolution for a multinational force in Iraq under US command, Bush has yet to find the troops he needs to replace US soldiers scheduled to leave Iraq in February.

Turkey has just reversed its decision to send a contingent of troops while Bangladesh and Portugal have decided not to contribute to the US-led force and staunch allies like Australia

and Spain have begun to pull troops out of Iraq.

And despite its earlier promise to send forces, South Korea is delaying its decision as government officials there claim that the UN Resolution has not diluted domestic opposition to the war.

Perhaps this is why the US Department of Defense website is now looking for volunteers to staff local draft boards.

It would be certain political suicide for Bush to introduce conscription with an election

around the corner, but the Department of Defense seems to be planning ahead by laying the infrastructure for a possible return to conscription.

Bush's popularity today is at the lowest level of his Presidency. Unless he can convince other countries to send troops to

Iraq, he will have very few options beyond calling in reserves.

With increasing casualties, a lowering of morale amongst forces, a growing resistance movement and an election looming, such a move could well mark the end of Bush's political career.

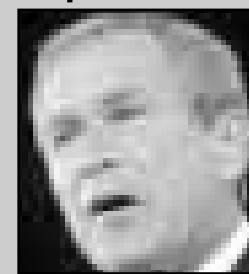
## Bush bullies the planet

**BEHIND closed doors US diplomats are aiming to secure agreements with 'every country in the world' guaranteeing immunity for its citizens from prosecution under the new International Criminal Court.**

So far, Article 98 exemption agreements have been signed with 70 countries, 50 of which are ICC signatories. Countries which refuse to comply will be cut off from US aid.

Meanwhile, Britain has joined forces with the US to significantly water down efforts to create a legal obligation to clear up millions of unexploded bombs and mines in former war zones.

The UN has estimated that cluster bombs are still causing at least 50 casualties a week in Iraq while 17,000 Afghans face injury or death over the next decade because of inadequate US and British bomb-clearing efforts.



■ Bush: war criminals

## US military spending & poverty at home

**MILITARY spending over the coming months will come at a massive cost to social spending in America.**

The Congress has just sanctioned Bush's request for an additional \$87 billion to fund the war on Iraq and Bush is now seeking an extra \$2.2 billion for military aid to Israel for the fiscal year of 2005.

These increases in military spending, paid for by US taxpayers, will mean massive cuts in public services and global aid budgets.

Already in the States, 34.6 million people are living below the poverty line – an eighth of the population. 13 million of these are children.

Since George W Bush took office, an extra 3 million Americans have lost their jobs, 5 million more survive on food stamps and another 2 million have slipped below the poverty line.

Despite its massive wealth, the US has the worst child poverty rate and the lowest life expectancy of any country in the developed world. Instead of pulling American children out of poverty, the priority for the US administration is to spend billions on weapons of mass destruction.

## Profiteering

The US-based *Center for Public Integrity's* six-month study into the profiteering of US companies in the reconstruction of Afghanistan and Iraq revealed that nearly every one of the 10 largest contracts awarded for Iraq and Afghanistan went to companies employing former high-ranking government officials or individuals with close links to the administration.

More than 70 American companies and individuals have won up to \$8 billion in contracts for work in Iraq and Afghanistan.

The top 10 contractors are established political donors, contributing nearly \$11 million to US political parties since 1990. Combined with political action committees and employees, these companies contributed almost \$49 million to national political campaigns and parties since 1990.

More than \$2.3 billion has been awarded to Halliburton subsidiary Kellogg, Brown & Root (formerly run by vice-president Dick Cheney).

Bechtel came second with \$1.03 billion in contracts while Derry-based Raytheon Aerospace, along with its affiliated companies, was the 11th-ranked contractor.

ChevronTexaco, a major U.S. government contractor and political party donor, joined five other international oil companies selected by the Iraqi State Oil Marketing Organization to market Iraqi oil.

JPMorgan, implicated in the Enron scandal, has won the contract for the Trade Bank of Iraq while another corrupt giant, MCI (formerly WorldCom) has been hired by the Pentagon to build Baghdad's wireless phone network.

## Up to 15,000 killed in invasion

**A PROMINENT US-based thinktank *Project on Defense Alternatives* has just released its report.**

The report states that as many as 15,000 Iraqis were killed from 19 March, when American

tanks crossed from Kuwait, to 20 April, when US troops consolidated their hold on Baghdad.

Researchers drew on hospital records, official US military statistics and news reports to arrive at their figures.

Despite the fact that 68 percent of munitions used in the war were supposedly precision-guided, the ration of Iraqi civilians to combatant killed was almost twice as high as the 1991 Gulf War.



# Stop the BNP organising in Trinity!

**THE Philosophical Society in Trinity College has invited Tony Wentworth, youth organiser for the British National Party, to participate in a debate on November 20.**

Wentworth, a politics student at Salford University, believes that "genocide is being committed against the white Aryan race in Britain because of intermarriage and immigration".

Wentworth was caught on film by Yorkshire Television taking photos of anti-Nazi campaigners which later appeared on the Redwatch website, which is linked to Combat 18. Combat 18 is an openly Nazi organisation that believes in attacking and murdering blacks, Jews, lesbians, gays and other minorities.

Anti fascist campaigners who appear on the Redwatch hitlists are considered enemies of the white race and are targeted for attack.

Wentworth should not be provided with a platform to spread hatred and build fascist organisation in this country.

Students at Wentworth's own university, which is multi-racial and multi-cultural, have been campaigning to get him thrown out of the college. A look at the BNP's operations and effects in Britain show why many students feel it is necessary to remove him rather than allow him the freedom to organise.

The BNP is not a "normal" party. The BNP is riddled with violent criminals and racist thugs. A Who's Who of the leadership reads as follows

Nick Griffin (party leader) - conviction for incitement to hatred - two year suspended sentence  
Tony LeCombes (group development office) - multiple convictions for firearms offences. Three year jail sen-

tence imposed in 1991 for attacking a Jewish teacher who was attempting to remove a BNP sticker from a tube station

John Tyndall (founder) - six convictions in total including one year in prison for incitement to hatred  
Warren Bennett (chief steward) - numerous convictions for football hooliganism  
Kevin Scott (North East regional organiser) - convicted in 1993 for throwing a glass at a black customer in a pub  
Luke Smith (Burnley councillor) - conviction for football hooliganism  
Alan Winder (Eastbourne organiser) - attempted to set up the KKK in Britain in the 1980s  
The list goes on and on.

## Image

Over the last number of years, the BNP, as most fascists throughout Europe have done, have gone for the respectable image and focused much of their efforts on obtaining electoral credibility.

This is a strategy designed to give them greater exposure and to build up support by stoking up racist tensions.

Last May they ran a large number of candidates in the local elections and they now intend to target the European Parliament elections in 2004.

There are now 17 Nazi councillors in Britain but it was not quite the breakthrough that the BNP had hoped for.

The true reality of what the BNP Nazis means can only be seen in the misery that has been meted out to the immigrant and minority communities in the areas in which they are organised.

Burnley, a deprived former mill town in Lancashire, now has eight BNP councillors. It has seen a massive increase in attacks on Asians and other

minorities in the last three years since the BNP began seriously organising there.

Between April 2002 and March 2003 there were 237 racist attacks recorded. This constituted an increase of 147% over the April 2000 to March 2001 period.

When the BNP had its headquarters in Welling, racist attacks rose in the area by 210%. There were four racist murders including that of Stephen Lawrence whose only crime, as one newspaper put it at the time, "was being black in Britain".

It is outrageous that a student society in Trinity College is giving a platform to a Nazi organiser. Wentworth has been targeting elite universities like Oxford and Cambridge for recruitment and will also aim to establish a Nazi cell in Trinity.

Fascists will smash all democracy if given the chance. We have to learn the lessons of history. In the words of Hitler "Only one thing could have broken our movement—if the adversary had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed, with the most extreme brutality, the nucleus of our new movement".

By allowing thugs like Wentworth the opportunity to spread his racist messages, we deny many others the basic right to feel safe in their communities and thus jeopardise all our freedoms.

We are not taking away Wentworth's freedom of speech.

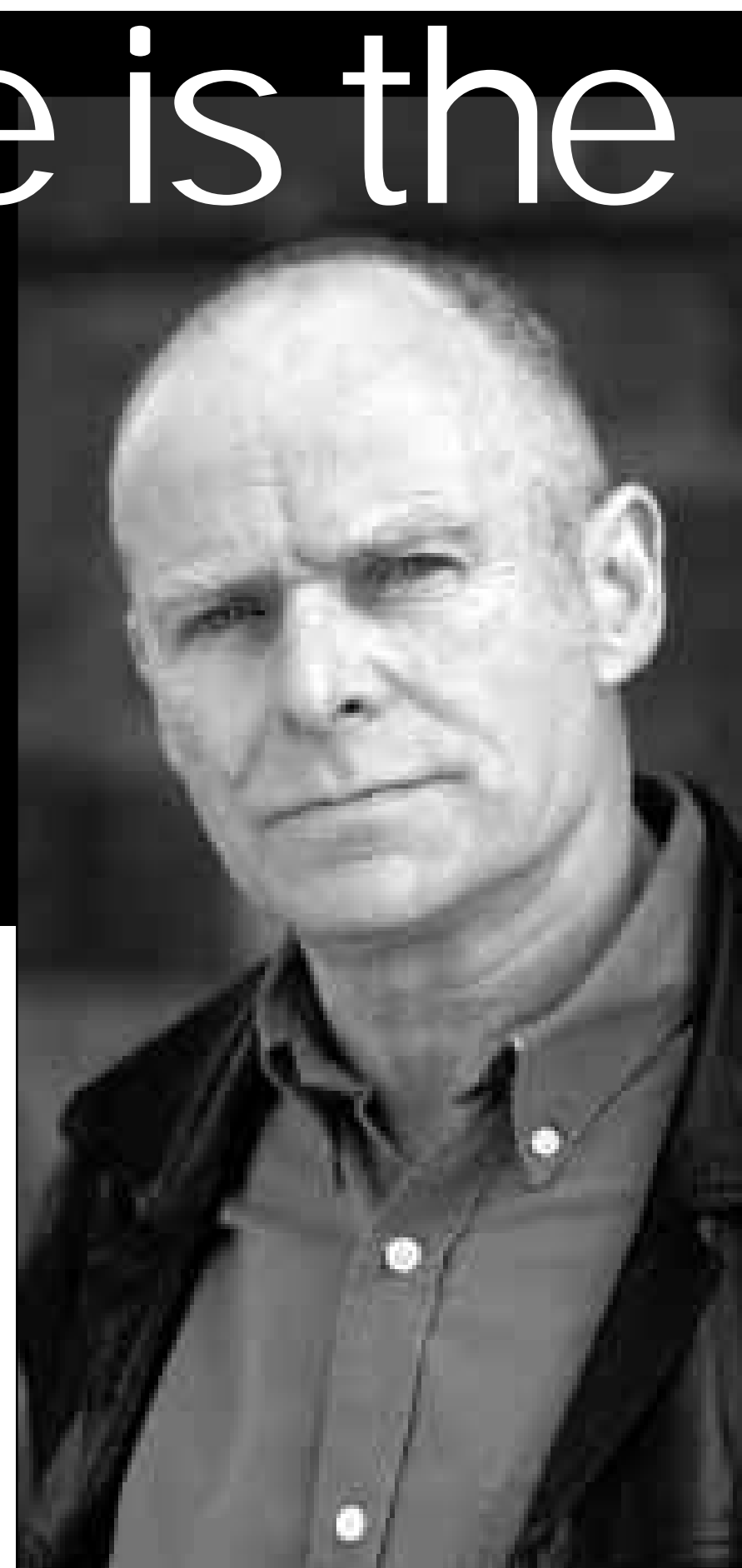
The Trinity student society is choosing to privilege what he has to say and we, and many like us, do not think he and his party deserves this privilege.

The British National Party is not welcome in Dublin. Join us on 20th November in TCD to make our voices heard.

## Eamonn McCann says 'Class not Creed'

# 'Class struggle is the alternative to communal conflict'

The Socialist Environmental Alliance is contesting two seats in the Assembly election, Eamonn McCann is running in Foyle and spoke to *Socialist Worker*



**As most people see the election being a sectarian headcount, why is the Socialist Environmental Alliance bothering to stand?**

**W**e live in a world dominated and distorted by the unaccountable power of huge, ruthless, profit-driven entities.

The SEA is a local expression of global resistance to this grotesque, unequal, undemocratic system. We are part of the drive for a safer, saner, socialist world.

If elected our candidates will register as 'others' in the Assembly, to promote the common class interests of all working people, as opposed to the communal basis of politics in Northern Ireland.

The last Assembly was characterised by dour stalemate and acceptance of conservative economics.

It is not inevitable that we repeat this. We want to represent trade unionists and activists in working class communities.

We are part of the anti-war and anti-capitalist movements. We will bring a positive new dimension to local politics and challenge not just this or that policy but the whole basis of the political set-up here.

This won't end sectarianism but it will at least help reduce it a bit, in contrast to the institutionalised sectarianism of the mainstream parties.

It is a fact everywhere in the world that the higher class issues are on the agenda, the less dominant divisive community issues become.

Catholic and Protestant workers have never united on the basis of not fighting with one another: they have only united to fight together for common objectives.

Class struggle is the alternative to communal conflict. Leave it all to parties based on either Nationalism or Unionism, and we'll end up with outright apartheid. It would have been absolutely wrong NOT to provide a socialist alternative to sectarianism and poverty.

**Poverty seems to be a thorny issue in the SEA campaign. Is it really such a big issue?**

**I**t has to be. Poverty in the North is worse than in any other part of these islands. One in three children here live in a household entirely dependent on benefits. This compares with one in five in Britain.

Unemployment is still a massive problem, although government figures tell us it has almost gone away. It has not.

Yes, people who are signing on are forced onto the New Deal or some other scheme and so the figures look better. But they are still unemployed, still looking for a decent job.

But there are few jobs around, not even lousy low-paid jobs. And low-paid jobs are the only ones being brought to

Northern Ireland. In spite of Gordon Brown's Tax Credits, Government research found that half of all children living below the poverty line here are living in families with at least one adult in work.

This confirms what trade unionists have said for years—that poverty among those in work is steadily growing. Almost one in three of people living in poverty are in employment—an increase of five percent since the early '90s.

Three quarters of all manual workers here are earning under £350 a week. Thirty-eight percent are earning under £250 a week. One in ten earns less than £180 a week. At the other end, forty percent of non-manual workers now earn more than £450 a week.

And ten percent take more than £707 a week. This yawning gap between the better-paid and the low-paid gets worse year on year. And these figures do not include the real rich - owners and directors of businesses, and so on.

**Don't all the parties say they are against poverty? What's different about the SEA?**

**T**he difference is that the other parties, without exception, pretend that poverty is something beyond their control, like the weather. It's not.

True, they can do nothing about miserly benefit levels - these are decided by Westminster.

But, for example, they could stop promoting Northern Ireland as a low wage economy.

Just look at the Invest NI website (www.investni.gov.uk). It informs potential overseas investors that the North offers "Employment costs that are highly competitive and up to 32% lower than in the US and 25% lower than the EU average..."

"Within our key target sectors of software and contact centres salaries are up to 35% lower than the rest of Europe at junior levels."

The SEA encourages low paid workers to fight for better wages. So, when the bus workers went on strike we congratulated them and pointed out theirs was action against poverty.

Bus workers can earn no more than £13,500 a year without working a level of overtime which will soon be illegal, once the EU working hours directive is implemented.

We are for strong trade unions that stand up to bullying managements. In the fire-brigade, the post office, the civil service etc., we see bosses testing out how far they can go any time they sense weakness, renege on pay deals, imposing new work patterns without consultation etc.

In the Assembly, I will ensure that no group of workers lacks a clear and unequivocal voice speaking loudly in their support.

**You seem to talk a lot about "equality". Are you joining Gerry Adams in his call for "an Ireland of equals"?**

**T**here is a fundamental difference in the approach of the SEA to the question of equality and that of all the other parties.

The top quarter of wage earners here takes home NINE times the money of the bottom quarter—the biggest gap anywhere on these islands. Only the SEA puts this inequality at the top of its agenda.

This inequality - between the well-to-do and the rest - affects every other part of the "equality agenda". It affects women, gays, disabled people, people of all religions and none.

The historic gap that saw far more Catholic families living in poverty than Protestant is steadily closing, while the gap between the rich and poor WITHIN each of the two communities is steadily growing. Mainstream politicians are settling for an "equality of misery".

It IS possible to fight poverty and inequality. And this is best done through good old-fashioned class struggle. For example, at the lower end of the pay scale - and particularly for women - public sector workers earn considerably more than private sector.

So, public sector manual women workers earn on average 18% more, and non-manual women a third more, than their counterparts in the private sector.

While men in the public sector earn more on average than in the private,

the difference is nothing like as great for women. So, to truly address the equality issue, we must defend public services and refuse to accept PFI or other privatisation schemes.

**But is this not all "gas and water socialism"? What about imperialism?**

**W**e are unashamedly anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist. We are actively against the occupation of Iraq and the corporate agenda which enforces cut-backs and privatisation across the globe.

The threat to water service jobs here and introduction of water charges is an example. Those who see themselves as anti-imperialists should see that this is the front to fight on for the future.

The fight against imperialism in 2003 is a fight against US-led imperialism across the globe, or it is nothing. Those who welcome Bush as "a friend of Ireland" position Ireland on the side of imperialism.

We reject the idea that the issues

which are convulsing the world have nothing to do with politics here.

We make common cause with all across the world struggling for the same aims.

We wouldn't have taken George Bush's hand at Hillsborough except to twist it up his back and run him out the door.

**Do you really think there is room in the Assembly for a socialist voice?**

**Y**es. We need at least 5,000 first preferences to win a seat. It's not going to be easy but we believe we can do it.

There's at least that number of people who know that what we have doesn't match up to what we need and are entitled to.

We are being fobbed off with a settlement which from ordinary people's point of view is second-rate. We are told that it's either this or a return to all-out violence.

This is an insult. There is a better and more radical way forward which we represent in this election.

# Why the US wants to run the world

By **CHRIS HARMAN**

**SEVENTY FIVE percent of people across Europe now believe the war against Iraq was wrong.**

Even in the US feeling against the cost of the occupation of Iraq is beginning to put in doubt George Bush's prospects for re-election next year. And the war was a major factor in New Labour's loss of support in by-elections here.

But Bush and Blair show no sign of retreating from their commitment to holding on to Iraq and still hint about further adventures in the direction of Syria or Iran.

Why are they behaving like this?

This is a question that perplexes many opponents of the war. A new book by Alex Callinicos, *The New Mandarins of American Power*, makes a powerful and easily accessible attempt to answer it. It begins by a frontal assault on all the arguments used to defend the war that you hear from Bush, Blair and their supposedly "liberal" supporters like Christopher Hitchens.

Everyone who has campaigned against the war will find it useful to read these arguments. But the real strength of the book comes when Alex Callinicos goes on to discuss the real reasons for the war.

He does so by tracing the rise of the people who now make policy in the White House, the "neo-conservatives" clustered around the Project for the New American Century. Callinicos shows how they are not motivated merely by the desire to increase the profits of the oil companies or even by the need to keep supplies flowing to the gas-guzzling industrial heart of US capitalism.

At stake is something more fundamental—the determination of all US governments in living memory that their capitalism should be able to enforce its interests on the rest of the world.

This has meant attempting to crush liberation movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America. It has also meant laying down the law to the ruling classes of other advanced capitalist states.

Alex Callinicos shows the degree of continuity between what Bush is doing and what Clinton and Madeleine Albright did before him.

Clinton showed greater willingness to engage in "coalition building" with the other advanced states than Bush has. But his administration actually sent troops to attack foreign countries more often than the Republican administrations of Ronald Reagan and George Bush Sr.

But there is discontinuity as well.

The neo-conservatives reflected a powerful feeling inside the US ruling class in the 1990s that not enough had been gained from using the arms race of the Reagan years to bankrupt and break apart the old USSR.

They insisted there was a window of opportunity that had to be seized if the new century was going to be the "American century".

And that meant the government should stop pussy-footing with the docile leaders of the main European capitalist states

and embark on a massive new arms drive, accompanied by a much more aggressive foreign policy than that of any previous administration, replacing the language of "containment" with that of "pre-emptive strikes".

Iraq, they insisted, was a key country to be subdued, as part of a drive to control the oil supplies on which the other advanced Western states depend. It is an understanding of this drive which lies behind the unwillingness of the right wing French government to back Bush in the way that Blair does.

It also ties in with the US's unhesitating support for Ariel Sharon in Israel. This is not a result, as some commentators claim, of "the Jewish lobby" in the US.

Nor is it a result of the way a new breed of traditionally anti-Semitic Christian fundamentalists have suddenly discovered biblical support for Israel emptying Palestine of its people.

US support for Sharon flows from the role the Bush gang, like the Clinton gang before them, see an Israeli state dependent on US money and arms playing in shaping the whole region in the interests of American capitalism.

It is this which leads virtually the whole of the US ruling class, mainstream Christian, fundamentalist Christian, agnostic and Jewish alike, to line up behind Israel.

Finally, the Bush gang's concern with world power also leads them to portray China as a potential threat.

Hence the Son of Star Wars programme on the one hand and a ring of bases from the Philippines right round to Uzbekistan on the other.

Alex Callinicos is able to make the connection between the drive to war and the devastation to people's lives in other ways.

"The dominant fact about this world is not the 'war against terrorism'," he writes, "but the remorseless growth of poverty and inequality."

"Will the imperial war machine finally fall by bringing on the great catastrophe which market capitalism has long been secreting within itself, in the process destroying the rest of us, and perhaps the earth itself as well? Or will collective political action bring the great juggernaut to a halt, as it did the Pentagon's attempts to subjugate Vietnam?"

He wrote these words six months ago, just as Bush was triumphantly proclaiming mission accomplished.

These words are even more relevant today as, haunted by the vision of a new Vietnam, the gang in the White House have begun to openly row with each other.

■ **Alex Callinicos, *The New Mandarins of American Power* (Polity £12.99 sterling).**



# European Social Forum:

# Making another world possible

**TENS OF thousands of anti-capitalists from across Europe are gathering for the European Social Forum in Paris.**

The ESF is the body that met in Florence last year and called the international day of action against war on 15 February.

The huge protests did not stop the war – but it made it much more difficult for Bush to continue into Iraq and Syria. In addition, the movement is now becoming more active again as resistance grows in Iraq.

The European Social Forum meets against a background of a revival of worker militancy.

Germany is a good example of what is happening across the continent.

On 1st November, 100,000 people demonstrated in Berlin against welfare cuts, which are the latest instalment of Gerhard Schroeder's Agenda 2010.

## Measures

These measures – which include cuts in unemployment benefit – are designed to push Germany further down the route of neo-liberal economics.

The huge demonstration came out of a coalition between anti-capitalist activists and trade unionists.

This forced huge unions like IG Metall – which is affiliated to the ruling Social Democratic Party – to give implicit support.

It also offered an alternative to the decaying politics of the 'old left'.

The SPD, which is the traditional party of German workers, has lost 20 percent of its membership in the past year and has not won a single by-election.

The PDS, the older Communist Party, which is based in the former East Germany, is also losing support because it is implementing cut-backs in the regional government in Berlin.

The European Social Forum therefore meets at a decisive moment. On one hand, the argu-



■ Huge anti war demonstration at last year's European Social Forum in Florence.

ments of the anti-capitalist movement are touching growing numbers of workers.

On the other hand, the rulers of Europe need to push an even more aggressive policy of neo-liberal reforms in order to build up the EU

empire as a rival to the US.

## Radical

The radical Italian union COBAS has proposed that the ESF should call for 'social 15th February' – for a co-

ordinated day of action, possibly, on the day of the launch of the EU constitution, against the dominant neo-liberal consensus at the top.

Another proposal is to turn 20 March into another global anti-war day. Anti-war activists in the

US have named this as a day of action.

There is now the chance to galvanise the growing opposition to war and neo-liberalism.

This is why the gathering at Paris is crucial to all our futures.

## FRANCE: AT THE HEART OF THE DEBATES WITHIN THE MOVEMENT

**BUT THERE** are also huge debates at the centre of the anti-capitalist movement. Political developments in France illustrate the background.

At the start of the summer, France experienced its biggest protest and strike movement since the general strikes of 1995.

The issue was attempts by the government of Raffarin and Chirac to cut pensions by up to 30 percent and 'decentralise' the education system. The protests were hugely popular with nearly two thirds of the population rejecting the plans of the Minister of Social Affairs, Fillon.

Yet the movement did not succeed because the union leaders and the old left opposed escalation towards a general strike.

French unions are organised on a political basis with the CFDT having close links with the Socialist Party and the CGT being close to the Communist Party.

Like most labour parties, the

French Socialist Party is pursuing a 'social liberalism' – the equivalent to Tony Blair's 'Third Way'. This in reality means accepting the agenda of privatisation, a 'flexible' workforce and a shrunken welfare state.

One SP leader, Michael Rocard, indicated that they effectively supported the plans for 'pension reform' when he said 'As a socialistically-orientated government, we would have come to a similar solution'.

## Memories

The other main party of the left, the Communist Party, is now in terminal decline, getting less votes in the last Presidential election than two far-left parties.

The CP only added to their problems by also opposing a general strike.

In a period of overall defeats, set backs such as occurred over the fight on pension reform can lead to significant demoralisation.

But when there is a general revival of militancy, setbacks

can lead to a deeper politicisation as millions look for other ways for expressing their aspirations.

This is precisely what has happened in France. The struggles against neo-liberalism and war are now leading to much more support for the two far left parties, Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire and Lutte Ouvrier.

The LCR in particular is closely identified with the anti-capitalist movement – while LO remains aloof.

Recently, the front page of *Le Monde*, led with the headline 'The Far Left launches an Electoral Challenge.' It reported that a new electoral alliance – (desperately needed in Ireland also)—was scoring 10 percent of the vote – and that a further 22 percent would consider backing the alliance.

These amazing figures indicate that the worst nightmare of reformist politicians is coming true – a mass party is emerging on their left, which is challenging them for the allegiance of workers.

## ESF: WILL IT SHIFT LEFT?

**THE political development in France provides an important backdrop to debates at the ESF.**

One of the biggest anti-capitalist movements in France is ATTAC – an organisation originally founded to promote a Tobin tax against financial speculation. Some of its leadership, grouped around Bernard Cassen and Jacques Nikonoff, however want to restrain the movement so that it does not clash with the limits set by the old left.

The old left often seek to identify with the social movements in the hope of reviving their base and giving themselves a more radical image. But they worry about it 'going too far.'

The leaders of ATTAC believe they can progress by getting the SP, the Greens and the CP back into government – and then lobbying them for reform.

So in August, after a huge gathering in Larzac organised by Jose Bove, Nikonoff launched a blistering attack on the far left accusing them of 'the verbosity, the violence, the gesticulation, the sectarianism which mark the far left'. An invitation to Jose Bove, an LCR supporter, to speak at an ATTAC school was withdrawn.

Disgracefully, Nikonoff claimed that 'free market liberals always prefer the far left, because they know it has never won and that it will never win'.

The right wing of the movement are also wary about placing too much of an emphasis on war and imperialism, denying that there is a connection between Bush's policies in Iraq and the economic policies of the world elites.

In order to tone down the movement, the ATTAC leadership often link up with autonomist currents to claim that the

far left are 'manipulative,' and that the movement needs a tradition of 'consensus decision-making' as a safeguard.

'Consensus decision-making' means that there are no democratic votes – but long, long discussions that seek to arrive at a consensus. In practice, it can mean the dictatorship of the minority who oppose action.

A recent gathering of the Irish Social Forum, for example, did not take a stance on opposing the bin charges because the Greens favour them. It did not even agree to mobilise against the Irish Presidency of the EU next year.

## Reformist

In practice, institutional structures that hinder mobilisation suit reformist forms of policy whereby the movement becomes a lobby group on the powers that be.

All these issues are likely to surface at Paris.

There will be a debate on the need for full mobilisation against war.

Organisations going from Ireland such as Globalise Resistance and the Irish Anti-war Movement will be fully backing the call for making opposition to war central to the movement.

Many activists will also argue for outright opposition to anti-Muslim racism and for the anti-war movement to work closely with the victims of this racist aggression.

Many will also support the idea of a 'social 15 February' which involves strikes and demonstrations on a coordinated basis across Europe. This fits with the revival of workers' militancy and could become an important lever against the dead hand union bureaucracy, which desperately wants to keep the workers' movement in chloroform.

book

# Workers' side of rail strike

by JIMMY KELLY

ATGWU Chief Shop Steward in Waterford Crystal

## LABOUR Court Chairman Not Available? 'I already smelt rats—big smelly, diseased ones, with long dragging tails'

Off *The Rails - The Story of ILDA* by Brendan Ogle, leader of the train drivers has just been published.

In it, he outlines the reasons for the drivers leaving SIPTU and NBRU, forming The Irish Locomotive Drivers Association, and the events which followed, including the three month lock out by Iarnrod Eireann of 118 of its drivers.

Those workers who stayed in SIPTU and the NBRU and who gave support to the ILDA drivers have to be commended for their great solidarity.

Brendan Ogle recalls as follows

'It must have been around 8am when I awoke and lifted the TV remote control in my room. I switched on the RTE teletext service as I had done on hundreds of occasions over the previous few weeks, but on this occasion, the headline hit me like a bolt from the blue. "Dublin Bus services hit by wildcat pickets".'

'I jumped up in bed and read the page. It outlined how ILDA members in Dublin had mounted flying pickets on Dublin Bus garages from early that morning, and how services had been decimated.

'Apparently Dublin Bus workers had supported our members and refused to take out their buses, leaving the capital city with little or no peak-hour bus service.'

As soon as the strike hit Dublin the Labour Court stepped in to take an 'initiative' which results in Brendan Ogles' quote used at the top of this article.

### Joining the ATGWU

The book also deals with the subsequent decision of ILDA members to join the ATGWU and the forces brought to bear on the drivers (including dismissal of Regional Secretary Mick O'Reilly) in the fight for recognition, which is still 'unresolved'.

It is to the train drivers' eternal credit that they have stayed true to their decision to join the ATGWU and have had to endure a lot during very difficult times.

They must now be given the sort of representation that they have been so wrongfully denied.

Thankfully, a significant number of members in the ATGWU including myself are committed to bringing an end to all of these injustices inflicted on the Irish Region of the ATGWU by the leadership of Sir Bill Morris in London supported unfortunately by a minority in Ireland more interested in their own petty personal advancement than the interests of our members.

### Political Conclusion

In terms of criticisms of the book, I would say there is a danger that workers could see here just a set of seemingly insurmountable difficulties, and also a view of the media as all powerful which they are not.

I thought that the book would have benefited greatly from a section devoted entirely to the solidarity given to the train drivers and that this would be the best way to have shown how workers united can become an unstoppable force against any of the other forces in society.

Also we have to acknowledge that while the forces ranged against workers on strike can be pushed back and defeated, it must ultimately be our aim to link all of the struggles in society into a challenge to the capitalist system itself.

Finally the author declares correctly that as workers we have been 'let down by all political parties' and goes on to analyse perfectly the betrayal of workers by the Labour Party here and in Britain.

All the more difficult then to understand his recent decision, outlined in the book, to 'join the Labour Party because Pat Rabbitte has pledged not to enter into coalition with Fianna Fail'.

Given that the events in the book are covering the very recent past, anyone involved in the Socialist, Labour and Trade Union movement will most certainly enjoy the book.

■ Brandan Ogle, *Off the Rails, The Story of ILDA*, Currach Press, €18.99

book

# Cartoon history of the holocaust

by DAVE LORDAN

## IN THE racist mythology of the Nazis, Aryans were a pure blooded species superior to *untersmenschen* like the Slavs and Jews.

Propaganda posters of the 1930's designed to stoke up war fever and hatred of minorities depicted these enemies of Nazism as mutants and animals.

Art Spiegelman turns these fascist representations on their head in his comic book *Maus* in which the Jews are drawn as mice, Poles as pigs, Nazis as cats and Americans as dogs.

*Maus* tells the story of how Spiegelman's father Vladek and mother Anja survived the holocaust.

It begins in pre-war Poland when Vladek, a factory owner, is called up by the Polish army in their hopeless attempt to hold back the German blitzkrieg.

It goes on to describe in vivid detail the worsening situation of the Polish Jews as one by one their liberties are stripped away and their dignity erased as the Nazi murder machine lines them up for annihilation in the ovens of Auschwitz.

The sadism of the Nazis and the pitiful

condition of the ghetto Jews is evoked in striking imagery.

One drawing depicts a soldier punishing a whining toddler by picking it up by the legs and smashing it against a wall.

The careful detail of the drawings makes for a dynamic sense of movement and action and pulls us right in to the situations of the characters.

None of the aspects of the holocaust are glossed over. Vladek tells us about the Jewish policemen who helped the Nazis round up the Jews for transport and were 'as bad as the Germans.'

The book is divided into chapters, which is helpful as it is difficult to take everything in, in one sitting—it took Spiegelman thirteen years to draw the whole book.

### Suicide

Each chapter is prefaced with drawings of Spiegelman visiting his elderly father, whom he never got on with, to hear his account of the holocaust.

Spiegelman's mother committed suicide in 1968 and this is also part of the story. Spiegelman's politics are informed by the New York counterculture and he cut his teeth on the censorship defying comic books of 1960's Greenwich village.

After finishing *Maus* I was left with a sense of



■ Nazi racist images turned on their head in Spiegelman's drawings

the reality, horror and continuing effects of the holocaust far greater than I experienced after

watching *Schindler's List* or *A Beautiful Life*.

It reminded me why we must never let it

happen again.

This is the highest recommendation I can give it.

film

# Memento: Insight into battles with insurance companies

by DAVID LYNCH

## MEMENTO, recently screened on Network 2, is a story about a man who loses the ability to make new memories after he suffers brain damage.

The film depicts the frustration of living with this condition, and the vulnerable position it places the person in, as he is manipulated by those around him.

As the film is shown in short snippets, going backwards from the

present to the past, we experience a certain amount of the confusion and uncertainty which the main character, Leonard, lives with.

### Memories

But the film doesn't just deal with disability and human relationships, but also highlights an issue which is close to the heart of many a sick person—the battle with insurance companies. Leonard used to work as a claims investigator for an insurance company.

His first major case involved a man who

was unable to make new memories—the same condition he himself has now.

Leonard went out of his way to 'prove' that this man's condition was psychological, so that the insurance claim could be refused.

Leonard is rewarded for his efforts, but the effects on the man and wife are devastating.

This is storyline which will be instantly recognisable as only too true by many sick and disabled people.

The biggest disability insurer in the US, UnumProvident has been nicknamed Underhanded Nasty Unethical Mean for its

appalling behaviour.

In its drive for profits the company has denied and cut off many genuine claims, and adopted aggressive tactics to wear claimants down. This has led to millions being awarded against the company in the courts.

### Spoken Out

Cases of clients who had their payments cut off include that of an eye surgeon who had a hand tremor from Parkinson's Disease.

Former and current workers have spoken out about the practices

in the company, and about the pressure that was put on them to deny claims.

(For more see <http://www.corporate-crimefighters.com/>)

All the more infuriating then to think that UnumProvident co-sponsored a meeting on disability which took place at the recent Labour Party Conference in Britain.

Memento is a great film which not only tackles the issue of disability but the social and economic consequences which it brings.

Look for it on video.



# Civil servants to strike?

The pay 'rise' consists mainly of an annual progression increase that civil servants were entitled to receive automatically from 1 April this year.

Management are refusing to pay out this money, instead they are using it as part of this year's deal.

## Misinformation

Of course bulletins issued to all civil servants by management are full of misinformation; they claim that this pay offer is 'inflation busting'.

The pay offer gives workers no increase in rates of pay from 1st

April 2003. It is effectively a 0% pay offer with no 'cost of living' increase.

In fact it represents a real cut in pay given that workers have already lost 1% in additional national insurance contributions and inflation is running at almost 3%.

When NIPSA recently met the government minister responsible for public service pay, Blairite Ian Pearson, he refused to up the offer, indeed he threatened them with the implementation of regional pay.

That would mean an end to parity of pay with the Home Civil Service. Instead rates of pay would

be in line with those in the private sector.

So civil servants already on low wages would be forced to endure a pay freeze until rates of pay in the private sector caught up with those in the civil service, thus ensuring 'equality of misery'.

The pay offer sticks in the throat of civil servants for more than one reason. It took five months for Civil Service managers even to discuss NIPSA's pay claim.

## Bonuses

However in July Senior Civil Servants

received pay increases from 1 April of between 4% and 9% at an overall cost on the pay bill of 5.3%.

They all received bonuses of up to £6,000; the bonuses are the fruits of the labour of lowly paid civil servants.

They earned these pay rises because of our productivity.

All this has led NIPSA to issue a ballot. They are asking NIPSA members to make a stand.

The importance of this ballot cannot be overestimated.

The government plans to cut our pay and if a strike vote is lost they will tear up our terms and con-

ditions.

We know this because of their attempt to make earlier pay offers conditional on the acceptance of 'reforms'.

In reality these reforms are no different to the Bain report which was packaged as modernisation in the Fire Service; everything that workers in the civil service have gained in the past 30 years will disappear in the name of a more 'flexible' workforce.

## Confidence

The loss of a ballot on pay by the CWU in the postal service gave Royal

Mail management the confidence to launch an onslaught on the terms and conditions of postal workers and to intimidate union activists.

This meant workers taking wildcat action to defend themselves. Civil Service management are no different to Royal Mail.

Therefore in order to win real pay rises civil servants must be prepared to strike, we must vote YES, YES on the ballot papers.

A NO vote will take us down the highway to hell. A YES can take us down the road to victory.

**TWENTY thousand members of the North's largest trade union, NIPSA, are being balloted for strike action for the first time in 16 years.**

The ballot comes on the back of an insulting pay offer of 3.67%.

# Marxism 2003

**Anti-capitalist weekend conference**  
28,29,30 November  
Trinity College Dublin

**MARXISM 03** is one of the foremost events for discussion and debate on the Irish left. It brings together speakers from the Irish and international movements against war and neo-liberalism.

**INTERNATIONAL SPEAKERS** include **MIKE DAVIS**, US author of *City of Quartz*; **ALEX CALLINICOS**, Professor of Politics at York, **PLUS** socialist speakers from the Middle East and Africa.

**IRISH SPEAKERS** include **EAMONN McCANN**, **IVANA BACIK**, **PATRICIA McKENNA**, **RICHARD BOYD BARRETT**, **RONIT LENTIN** (CAMPAIGN AGAINST DEPORTATIONS) **ANDY STOREY** and many more...  
Tickets €20 waged, €10 unwaged Phone 01-872 2682  
Or send a cheque or postal order to Marxism 03 c/o P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8

## Timetable

### FRIDAY 6.30 - 7.45 pm

- ★ Does the movement need political parties?—Rory Hearne
- ★ Strumpet City: James Connolly and 1913 lockout—David Lynch

### FRIDAY 8.00 - 9.30 pm

- ★ Rally: Another World is possible: The New Resistance to Global Capital and War—Middle East socialist, Alex Callinicos, Brid Smith, Mike Davis

### SATURDAY 10.00 - 11:15 am

- ★ The politics of Noam Chomsky—Sinead Kennedy
- ★ Cinema and radicalism: Film and social change—Roy Hassey
- ★ Franz Fanon and African nationalism—Willy Cumming

### SATURDAY 11:45am-1.00 pm

- ★ Global warming, GM crops: How can we build a sustainable world?—Patricia McKenna, Owen McCormack
- ★ Blood and Oil: The real history of the Middle East—Dave Lordan
- ★ The body for sale: "Babes", backlash and the new sexism—Melisa Halpin
- ★ Leon Trotsky's Marxism—Mark Hewitt

### SATURDAY 2.00 - 3:15 pm

- ★ Debate: Is national liberation possible in the modern world?—Eamonn McCann, Eoin O Broin (Sinn Fein)
- ★ Global & Local: Resisting the new privatisation agenda—Mick O'Reilly, Brid Smith, Detta McLoughlin, Dick Roche
- ★ Is the EU a progressive alternative to the US?—Andy Storey
- ★ Lenin: The state and revolution—Deirdre Cronin
- ★ Blues, Rock and Elvis—Shay Ryan

### SATURDAY 3:45 - 5.00 pm

- ★ The movement of the imagination: Art and revolution—Mike Davis
- ★ The sickness of the Irish Health System—Dr Juliet Bressan
- ★ Unequal exchange: How can we make world trade fair?—Colin Roche (Oxfam Ireland), Helena McNeill
- ★ Women and Globalisation—Goretta Horgan
- ★ Why did the Russian revolution



lose?—Sean Dunleavy

### SATURDAY 7.00 - 9.00 pm

- ★ Can we defeat the US Empire?—Richard Boyd Barrett
- ★ Middle East socialist Revolutions and revolutionaries
- ★ Bush to Schwarzenegger: Can US workers revolt?—Mike Davis
- ★ Drugs: Why is Ireland high?—Mary Smith
- ★ The writings and politics of George Orwell—Paul O'Brien
- ★ The communist Manifesto: Marx's critique of capitalism—Kevin Wingfield

### SUNDAY 10.30 - 11.30 am

- ★ Ghandi, civil disobedience and resistance—Aoife Farrell
- ★ Robert Emmet and the 1803 rising—Pat O'Sullivan
- ★ The working class in the age of globalisation: Are they still a force for change?—Niall Smyth

### SUNDAY 11:45 am - 1:00 pm

- ★ Corporate power versus the people:—Can we stop capitalism destroying democracy?—Kieran Allen, Ivana Bacik
- ★ Global permanent war: A new era of Imperialism?—Donal Mac Fhearraigh
- ★ Gramsci and the Marxist theory of Ideology—Marnie Holborow
- ★ Third World Exploitation: who

gains?—Luke Choto (Zimbabwean socialist)

### SUNDAY 2:00 - 3:15 pm

- ★ Church, State and Child abuse—Magdalen Memorial Committee speaker, Eoin O'Sullivan (author *Suffer little children*), Dr Peadar O'Grady
- ★ Apartheid wall and Israeli state terror: Can Palestine be free?—Dr Nazih al'Din (Ireland Palestine Solidarity Campaign), Ryan McKinney
- ★ The origins of women's oppression—Kate Packwood
- ★ Theories of globalisation—Joe Carolan
- Is human nature a barrier to socialism?—James O'Toole

### SUNDAY 3.30 - 4:45 pm

- ★ The future of Anti-capitalism—Alex Callinicos
- ★ Radical Islam and the fight for justice in the Middle East—Nuria Mustafa, Richard Boyd Barrett
- ★ Fortress Ireland: Immigration, asylum and globalisation—Barbara Muldoon, Ronit Lentin, Segun Nelson (Nigerian socialist)
- ★ Identity politics and gay liberation—Jo Tully
- ★ Life after Capitalism - How will socialism work?—Colm Bryce

### SUNDAY 4:45 - 5:15 pm

- ★ Final Rally: Building a mass socialist party

## Special offer ticket prices

€20 waged, €10 unwaged (Advanced booking)

## Booking form

Name: .....

Address: .....

E-mail: ..... Tel: .....

- I want \_\_\_\_ tickets to Marxism 2003
- I need accommodation in Dublin for the weekend (accommodation will be with Dublin SWP members)
- I need \_\_\_\_ places in the creche

Makes cheques / POs payable to *Socialist Worker* and post them to: *Marxism2003, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Tel: 01-872 2682*

# ATTACK ON CIVIL LIBERTIES

THE state has taken its repression against bin charges protestors to a new level.

Several individuals

have received letters stating that they have been spotted on bin charges protests and have been asked to reply to the city council's legal department.

The letters demand

that they do not facilitate or call for any protest against the waste collection department of the corporation.

These draconian measures are designed

to intimidate protestors.

They follow a shift in tactics by the High Court.

Heavy fines are being levied on protestors as well as jail terms. Even those who give

an assurance to abide by injunctions are being fined.

In addition, all rights of political prisoners have been withdrawn. In the past, protestors were often sent to the

training unit in Mountjoy.

But now they are being housed with the general prison population.

However, resistance is still strong.

Over 250 people marched to Cloverhill prison last Saturday to give their support to the six bin tax prisoners from South Dublin who have been the latest to suffer state abuse.

# Union leaders stab in the back for the bin charges campaign

JUST over a month ago, after the courts had jailed the first two protestors, Joe Higgins and Clare Daly, union leaders told a march of 5,000 anti-bin charges supporters that they had a plan of campaign.

ICTU leader David Begg had issued a statement denouncing the protestors and opposing the tactic of the blockading trucks.

But he implied there was another better way of tackling the issue.

Now over a month later the union leaders have revealed their better, more superior strategy for dealing with bin charges. It comes in the form of a motion to the Dublin Trades Council.

It deserves to be printed in its entirety to illustrate the abject and craven nature of those who have inherited a title once occupied by Larkin and Connolly.

## Ganged Up

The leaders of IMPACT, SIPTU and TEEU have ganged up to propose,

That the Dublin Council of Trade Unions establishes a forum on the proper financing of Local Authority Services, such as Domestic Refuse Collection, inviting Trade Unions, Political Parties and Community and Voluntary groups to present their analysis and recommend alternatives in the context of:

- promoting a fair and equitable Taxation policy
- recognising the social and economic value of providing these services through direct labour, and
- having regard to the

## Oxigen: A company built on intimidation

MORE THAN fifty workers at Oxigen have been on strike to gain union rights in Dublin. Oxigen is contracted by Dublin City Council to collect and organise the recycling of the green bins.

It has a vicious anti-union policy and imposes totally unreasonable conditions on its workers.

Jack, a worker in Oxigen talked to *Socialist Worker*.

"Our conditions are very bad. We are supposed to have an eight-hour day. But we are given a number of estates to collect bins. If we are unable to complete the route in eight hours, for example because of traffic or just the sheer size of the route, we are expected to work on until the job is finished.

There is no overtime so I personally frequently have to work ten hours or more to complete my day's work.

The company call it "task-to-finish." If you do finish a few minutes early, you find more streets have been added to your route.

This is done without any negotiation, the manager simply orders you to do more work.



■ Council Bin men stopped work and joined Oxigen strikers.

PHOTO: PAULA GERAGHTY

Our pay is pretty bad. It is much lower than council bin men and if there is any complaint we lose our bonus.

For example I am expected to keep my truck clean and in good order. But the company sends a

"customer relations" van around checking the trucks. Often they will turn up toward the end of a shift and stop you in the road.

If there is any dirt around the cab - after you've been lifting bins for eight hours - you are reported

and lose your bonus. It's simply a way of them cutting your wages.

There is an atmosphere of intimidation from management running right through the company. If you are called into the office over some disciplinary matter, you are

not allowed to bring a witness, but must face the manager on your own.

## Deducted

One driver was called in to the office the other day. He was told he had been seen reversing without his helpers guiding the vehicle.

No evidence was produced and he was not allowed to know the source of the allegation. He was simply told he would have his bonus deducted.

We've had examples where people leave their bin out late and miss the collection. The managers are then on the phone telling you to go back and pick up the bin.

We need the union here to deal with this situation. Only by sticking together can you expect to get your rights. That's why we're on strike.

The company have organised scabs to do our work coming from down the country. As well as that we have had threats, assaults and intimidation to try to stop us organising a union in this job. This is a fight we have to win. We were delighted that the Council workers came out in our support for the half day.

They know these lousy conditions await them if the Council gets away with the bin tax and privatises their jobs."

social and economic requirement of effectively removing and disposing of waste safely and in the most environmentally friendly manner possible

■ with the objective of developing a policy platform and effective campaign strategy within an acceptable timeframe around which Trade Union and Community support can be rallied in the run-up

to the Local and European Elections in 2004.'

## Ganged Up

That's it - that's the big plan. The unions are setting up a forum so that they can have a document for candidates at the local elections in June.

One union, the ATGWU, however stood out against this nonsense by

asking the Trades Council to condemn the jailing of one of its activists, Brid Smith, and called on them to organise a protest stoppage during working hours.

They also urged the union movement to adopt a policy urging bin workers to pick up all bins - rather than leaving behind those of the non-payers.

The leaders of the main unions have a vested inter-

est in social peace. They have sold their souls to the government to get a partnership deal.

Their job is now to manage discontent - to ensure social calm.

This is why they have refused to back their members who wanted to disobey council orders and collect all bins. Disgracefully, IMPACT issued two letters telling workers to do what they were told.

The latest piece of treachery is designed to leave working class people who protest at the mercy of ruling class judges.

By not calling action, SIPTU, IMPACT and TEEU leaders are giving this government a signal to put in the boot.

It is time to reclaim the union from careerists who are in it for their annual pay cheque - currently almost €100,000 for the top SIPTU leaders.

## GE SUPERABRASIVES

WORKERS in GE Superabrasives in Clonshaugh in North Dublin have been taking industrial action over the past couple of weeks.

The US based multinational GE is the largest company in the world but is planning to sell Superabrasives.

A private investment company, Littlejohn, is set to take over the subsidiary. Founded by Scottish based investor Angus Littlejohn, the equity company specialises in buying "underperforming" companies, reorganising them to increase returns to shareholders and then selling them on for a fat profit.

Littlejohn has taken over, slimmed down and sold off 10 to 15 companies over the past few years but this is the first company outside the US they have gone for.

GE has said that conditions of service will be maintained for the workforce, but given Littlejohn's track record, workers are seeking written guarantees from GE, in partic-

ular over severance pay in the event of redundancies. So far GE have failed to provide any written guarantees.

There is a lot of bitterness among the workers that a massive company like GE refuses to give guarantees to a loyal workforce.

Ninety-one SIPTU workers are taking rolling strike action and have been supported by the 30 maintenance workers, members of TEEU and AEEU who are respecting the picket line.

As one worker told *Socialist Worker*, "Over the past few years we have given flexibility and co-operation to the company and have had five re-organisations involving redundancies.

"There are workers here with 22 years loyal service and we fear that without written guarantees they could be let go with only statutory redundancy.

"We now plan to escalate the action which will shut down production at the plant."

## GALWAY

At a meeting in Galway on Thursday 6 November an anti-bin tax campaign was launched.

Recently letters have been sent to householders threatening non-collection. Thousands of households have not paid their bin-tax so there is obviously a strong feeling against the tax in the city, but unless there is an organised campaign the tax will not be defeated.

It was decided at the meeting

to produce a leaflet outlining the arguments against paying the bin-tax, and to go from door to door in working class estates to discuss the issues with people and try to help set up local estate based anti-bin tax groups.

Anyone interested in getting involved should ring Séan on 087-9123184

## CORK

Cork has held its second anti-bin charges meeting after the council issued a warning that

they would not collect from protestors.

Forty people turned up to a meeting in Ballyphane to hear campaigners denounce the double tax.

The meeting agreed to approach bin workers to encourage them to collect all bins. It also gave support to the policy in Dublin of blockading trucks which do not collect.

'I will never pay this tax - it is unjust' is how one activist summed up the mood.



# Socialist Worker

inside:

*Civil servants ballot for strike —PAGE ELEVEN*

*Eamonn McCann*

*interviewed: —PAGES SIX & SEVEN*

PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY €1.00 / £0.70p

## ASSEMBLY ELECTIONS:

### IT'S TIME TO BREAK OUT OF THE STRAIT JACKET OF ORANGE AND GREEN POLITICS

# Vote SOCIALIST

#### THERE IS an urgent need for a socialist voice in the Northern Assembly.

In the last Assembly almost everyone was corralled into one or other of the Orange and Green camps.

Privatisation through the PFI backdoor and growing levels of inequality and poverty were the result.

All the traditional parties are fully signed up to the 'Programme for Government'—essentially a programme for privatisation, job losses, attacks on services and low wages.

For them, there are two elections: one in each of the 'orange' and 'green' camps.

There is a growing layer of people who are not only sickened by the communal politics here but are looking to the global movements for change.

The conditions are more favourable than they have been in a generation for driving a socialist wedge into the sectarian quagmire.

This was best illustrated by the momentous demonstration on 15 February of 20,000 Catholics and

Protestants against the war on Iraq—a demonstration that swept away the notion that the North was forever inward looking and exceptional.

What an anti-sectarian socialist could do in the Assembly is illustrated by the Socialist Environmental Alliance campaign for the re-nationalisation of Northern Ireland Electricity. NIE was privatised in 1992.

Since then, householders have faced higher electricity bills and a worse service.

The sudden closure of the ShopElectric shops and the loss of 280 jobs is just the last straw.

These shops are not just another electric goods' outlet.

They provide important services to the poorest sections of the working class.

Those who want to avoid getting a pay-as-you-go meter can pay their bill off bit by bit through the shops.

More importantly, people who cannot get credit elsewhere were able to buy their cooker, fridge, washing machine or TV and pay for it in instalments through their electricity bill.

That one lifeline left to the more

than one in four people in the North who cannot afford to replace essential household items was removed overnight by the shops' closure.

The other parties barely reacted.

The SEA took to the streets, plastered every ShopElectric front with posters demanding re-nationalisation.

The SEA pointed to the lies we were told about privatisation.

We were told the 'dynamic private sector' would guarantee a bright future.

Instead, privatisation has proven a disaster for everyone—apart from the fat cats who have run off with the cream.

This closure shows the need to turn the tide on privatisation, which is also affecting our schools and hospitals and transport and water services.

We need a socialist voice in the Assembly to blow the whistle on future privatisation plans and to lead the fight against the neo-liberal policies the other parties follow.

Socialists standing in the Assembly elections include: Jim Barbour (South Belfast) and Tom Black (East

Belfast), standing for the Socialist Party.

The Socialist Environmental Alliance in the North West shows that socialists with differing views

can nonetheless work together to advance class politics.

Standing for the SEA are Marion Baur in East Derry and Eamonn McCann in Foyle.

#### Support these candidates:

*Foyle:*

EAMONN McCANN **No. 1**

*East Derry:*

MARION BAUR **No. 1**

*East Belfast:*

TOM BLACK **No. 1**

*South Belfast:*

JIM BARBOUR **No. 1**

Turn to pages 4, 6 & 7 for the candidates' views