

Socialist Worker

inside:

**MAY DAY
WE
WERE
RIGHT TO
PROTEST**



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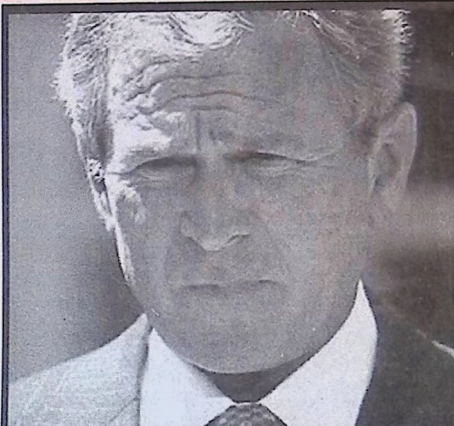
'LIBERATION' U.S.-STYLE

Hooded and
connected to
electrodes...
Tortured and
humiliated in
the same cells
Saddam
Hussein's
torturers used
And they call
this
'liberation'



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BUILD THE ANTI BUSH PROTESTS



**BUILD THE
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*The brutal reality
of Iraq occupation*



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**Southeast Social Forum
Demonstration and
Alternative Environmental
Summit—**

Waterford May 14th, 15th & 16th

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RTE pull 'Three Kings'

RTE pulled at the last moment their planned broadcast of 'Three Kings' on Easter Sunday night.

According to Foine newspaper they abandoned the broadcast because of the increasing violence in Iraq.

However this film starring Ice Cube and George Clooney is actually an anti-war movie that is very cynical about the motives behind George Bush Senior's first Gulf War.

Surely the very type of film that we should be seeing at the moment!

Waste firm and Fianna Fail

A Dublin waste firm that has been charged with illegal dumping in the 'Garden of Ireland' Co. Wicklow is a substantial contributor to Fianna Fail.

According to *The Sunday Business Post* Tony Dean of the Dean Waste Company trading as A1 Waste donated €6,000 to Fianna Fail in 2002.

The company denies the charges and the case is to be heard this summer.

FF spends state money on election

FIANNA Fail Ministers are spending state money to provide information for their party's local election candidates across the country.

Dozens of announcements regarding spending and grant allocation have been issued from government departments in recent weeks. Local FF candidates are tipped-off in advance of anyone else and they contact local press and radio getting all the credit.

Routine annual announcements have been moved to coincide with the local elections. Just one example is the National Lottery funded sports capital programme a yearly cash pot of hundreds of millions given out by the Department of Sport. Last year the grants were announced in July. This year the department is to announce who is getting what just days before the June 11 election.

€400m on tribunals but no-one jailed

The current tribunals have cost the ordinary taxpayer more than €400 million and they are expected to cost €1 billion before they end.

This is the conclusion of the Gail Public Accounts Committee. All this cost and still no corrupt politician has been sent behind bars for any substantial period of time.

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Porn judge's PD link

BRIAN Curtin the Judge at the centre of the controversy over the collapse of his trial for allegedly possessing child pornography is an ex election candidate for the Progressive Democrats. He ran for the PDs in local elections in the early 90s.

Britain: Support for Respect

British Labour councillor Elaine Abbot has joined the Respect coalition. The coalition is taking on Blair and his war in the upcoming European elections.

Abbot is a senior member of Preston council, has sensationally resigned from the Labour Party to join Michael Lavalette as the second Respect councillor in the Lancashire town.

"I've been overwhelmed with support from people in my ward," she told British Socialist Worker. "I've had people from age 25 to 75 applauding me and saying they want to work for my re-election, as a Respect councillor, on 10 June."

"This was a very difficult decision as I have been a member of the Labour Party for 15 years, a Labour supporter all my life and a Labour councillor for Riversway Ward in Preston for the last ten years.

"However, I have been very unhappy with both the Labour government and the local Labour council for some time and decided that I must follow my conscience and resign."

"My views opposing the war in Iraq and the continuing killing and maiming of innocent Iraqi people are well known. I am opposed to student top-up fees and increasing backdoor privatisation of public services to totally unaccountable bodies."

Intel and Israel

In the last issue of *Socialist Worker* we pointed to the massive quarterly profits that Intel announced last month.

Intel is well known as a major employer and powerful political player here in Ireland but what is not so well known is the company's role in Israel.

Intel is one of the biggest supporters of Israel. Their very first development centre outside the US was opened in Haifa in 1974.

Al-Awda (Palestine Right to Return Coalition) has pointed out that the Intel plant at "Qiryat Gat" is built on land Israel confiscated from the Palestinian villages of Iraq al Manshiya, Iraq al Manshiya was a village of 2000 people living in 300 houses with two mosques and one school.

The original Palestinian inhabitants were terrorised out of the village and then the whole village was razed to the ground to prepare the way for the new Israeli settlement of Qiryat Gat.

Colombia 3 cleared

THE Colombia Three were acquitted by a Bogota court on a charge of training the FARC rebel guerrillas last Monday.

After a long campaign fought by friends, family, and political supporters James Monaghan, Martin McCauley and Niall Connolly have been found innocent.

One month before 9/11 the three Irish republican were illegally arrested in El Dorana Airport on Bogota, Colombia.

They were held for six months without charge in constant fear of their lives.

The President of Colombia publicly claimed they were IRA members engaged in training left-wing FARC guerrillas. This was echoed by British and American government sources.

Their trial begun in October 2002 and concluded in August last year in a no-jury court. Judge Acosta, sitting alone, reserved judgement and finally delivered the verdict last week.

They were cleared of the major charge of training FARC guerrillas but found guilty of the lesser charge of travelling on false passports.

They stated that as known republicans interested in the peace process then ongoing in Colombia, it was necessary to travel on false documents.

A number of people from Ireland, Britain, America and Australia travelled to Colombia to observe the trial.

These include former Foreign Affairs minister and MEP Niall Andrews, trade unionist Des Bonas and criminal lawyer Pat Daley and others.

Their commentary on the arrest, imprisonment and



■ The Colombia Three: James Monaghan, Martin McCauley and Niall Connolly

trial of the Colombia Three is devastating.

At that time there was a peace process which was aimed at ending the 40 year civil war and establishing negotiations between the FARC and the government.

As supporters of the Northern Ireland peace process, the three travelled to a demilitarised zone in the south east of the country set up under the now aborted Colombian peace process.

There they met with FARC guerrillas and discussed the peace process.

The prosecution claimed they were handling weapons. Colombian forensic tests proved negative

after 113 tries, but the US embassy claimed that tests it conducted were positive. World famous independent forensic scientist Dr Keith Borer examined the materials of the US embassy tests and concluded there was no forensic evidence against the men.

Testified

The Irish ambassador to Colombia testified that the men were with her in Cuba on key dates which the prosecution claimed they were with the FARC. Other alibi evidence included time dated videos showing the men in Dublin at times and

dates when they were alleged to be in Colombia.

The trial was conducted under an atmosphere of intimidation and terror. The accused were kept in prisons along with right-wing death squads who had openly killed leftists under the noses of the guards.

The Colombia government is keen to get even more cash aid from the US to fight the civil war and in the context of the "War on Terror" the prosecution clearly undertaken to play to US government's priorities.

The Bring Them Home Campaign are now looking for the immediate release of the three Irishmen in the face

of opposition from the Colombian Attorney General.

Defence lawyers indicated they would request the judge to free the men immediately and let them leave Colombia "because of the high risk to their lives".

Caitriona Ruane of the Bring Them Home Campaign said last week "We now have to go and do all sorts of negotiation. We have made a call to the Irish Government to make immediate representations to the Colombian authorities."

The campaign has called for the men to be returned to Ireland as soon as possible as they are still in fear of their lives in Bogota.

Abuse victim in hunger strike protest

Tom Sweeney, a victim of abuse in state educational institutions, entered his third week of hunger strike as *Socialist Worker* went to press

As a child he was sent to two industrial schools in the late 1950s and early 1960s, for truancy.

He suffered serious physical abuse at two of the institutions and serious sexual abuse at one.

He is now protesting at his treatment at the Residential Institutions Redress Board (RIRB).

The board was set up by the government to provide compensation to former residents of children's institutions who suffered abuse or neglect at the homes.

The board, headed by Judge Seán O'Leary, operates on a points system and awards compensation based on the severity of abuse it judges it victim to have suffered and



■ Tom Sweeney on hunger strike outside Leinster House

the effects on the victim in later life.

A victim may then opt for a full-hearing to tell their story.

Medically attested evidence must be provided to back up any claim for compensation.

When Tom took his case to the board he was awarded 40 points in the initial settlement, which translated into an offer of just over €113,000.

Mr Sweeney decided to opt for a full hearing however, because

he wanted to tell his story.

The hearing lasted three hours, during which he broke down.

Hearing

Following the hearing, Tom Sweeney compensation offer

was cut to €67,000. An appeal of this award saw it increase by a further €6,000.

"I don't think I got a fair hearing at the redress board," he told reporters. "I wanted to tell my story at a full hearing, and I feel I

was punished for doing that."

He has rejected this offer, saying he feels further abused by the redress board process.

He says he intends to continue with his hunger strike indefinitely.

"I thought I was going to get a fair hearing and a fair settlement. I didn't. It's too late now for me."

Tom is conducting his protest outside Leinster House.

But gardai have prohibited him from using a tent to shelter from the weather and he is reduced to lying in a sleeping bag.

Christine Buckley, of the Aislinn Centre, said, "I feel that what has happened to Tom, and what has happened to other victims raises very, very serious concerns. Clients have stated that they felt abused at the redress board, they felt they were not believed."

"They say they were subject to disparaging remarks."

editorial

THE MOVEMENT DEFIED STATE REPRESSION

Now Stop Bush!

DESPITE the hype in the press, and the unprecedented police operation involving borrowed water canon from the North and a full mobilisation of the state's repressive forces, thousands protested and marched against a Europe of racism, war and profit on May Day.

The suffocating garda presence provoked only a minor skirmish which the press played up as though as full scale riot (see pages 6 and 7)

In fact thousands marched peacefully and stood their ground against massive harassment.

The movement is unbowed. We need to demand the release of the two dozen charged as a result of police tactics.

And we need to go on to stop Bush.

Despite a murderous assault on Falluja involving at least 700 civilian deaths—and probably many more—the population of that city of 300,000 remain defiant and the Americans have had to withdraw.

Despite the use of systematic torture and abuse (see page 5) in Iraq the resistance is growing. We need to pull out all the

stops for June 25/26 to Stop Bush.

The Irish government is providing full diplomatic and technical support to Bush's continued brutal occupation of Iraq. Many of the 15-20,000 Iraqis who have been killed there have died as a result of US soldiers and equipment passing through Shannon and Baldonnell airports with the full complicity of Ahern and Co.

Repression

The May Day movement that defied Irish state repression must be the network building for massive protests on June 25/26.

If each one of those demonstrating takes leaflets and posters to their workmates, college friends and neighbours, an unstoppable movement will be built that robs the war monger Bush of any semblance of legitimacy when he comes to be wined and dined by the Irish government in June.

With the Empire in crisis and behaving with the most barbaric brutality we must seize the opportunity.

We appeal to every reader of *Socialist Worker* to do their utmost to help end the bloody reign of Emperor Bush II.

Contact the Irish Anti War Movement at irishantiwar.org, or 087-6329511.



Another Europe is Possible May Day march and carnival

PHOTO: PAULA GERAGHTY



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 on 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.

Adams eases the worries of Dublin's business elite



Gerry Adams: 'Pragmatism'

SINN Féin is riding high in the opinion polls and the party is looking forward to a very strong vote at the local elections in June.

Much of this support comes from working class people who are sick and tired of the corruption and right wing policies of the more establishment parties. When many people are looking for an alternative Sinn Féin seems to offer a left-wing and anti-establishment option.

However a recent speech given by party President Gerry Adams in front of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce must worry many left wing supporters and members of Sinn Féin.

Ominously a *Irish Times* journalist who attended the event said that Adams' question and answer session with the Dublin business elite displayed "the more complex colours emerging in Sinn Féin's attitude to business, Adams' background message was that his party understands the need for pragmatism."

The nature of this "pragmatism" was found when Adams talked about three issues important to trade unionists, anti-bin tax cam-

pagners and others.

*On Public-Private Partnerships Adams acknowledged that Martin McGuinness had reluctantly accepted the need for private investment while Minister for Education in Northern Ireland. So while PPPs were to be opposed in theory when faced with them in practice Sinn Féin were willing to accept them

'Pragmatic Politics'

"Well, we are against them," he said. "Having said that, Martin McGuinness, as education minister, faced with the reality that he would either have no schools or an involvement in a qualified way with private finance, went for it."

"So I suppose you could argue that that is the emergence of pragmatic politics."

■ On Bin Charges, Sinn Féin's acceptance of service charges in Sligo was justified by Adams, despite the party's involvement in the Anti-Bin Charges campaign in Dublin "Sinn Féin councillors in Sligo, rather than seeing the service go entirely over to privatisation, and seeing the aged, or people on low incomes, suffering, then went for a more

pragmatic approach. The same thing has happened in Monaghan. Our position is against it.

"But in terms of the actual practicalities of working out these matters, as part of local government, the party made compromises on it," he told the Dublin capitalists.

■ Even on Corporation or business tax, Adams would not come out clearly to say that if in power his party would tax the rich.

"I am reluctant to say that

we would do A or we would do B. We are not in principle against tax increases, but we have no plans to introduce them.

"We just think that there should be a far, far better way of doing business," he told the relieved business community of Dublin.

So despite the talk of radical politics now, Sinn Féin is willing to follow "a more pragmatic approach" when they gain power. Where have we heard all this before?

Join the Socialists!

To join the Socialist Workers Party or for more information: Fill in the form and Send to:
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Name.....
 Address.....
 Phone.....
 Email.....
 Union/College (If applicable).....

comment



Eamonn McCann

Cooper-Flynn is only small fry. What about the big fish?

THERE has been much tut-tutting and shaking of heads at the reaction of Mayo voters to Beverley Cooper-Flynn coming a cropper in her libel action against RTE.

The Fianna Fail TD had complained about RTE's saying she had made a mint by selling tax-avoidance schemes to well-off people who didn't fancy paying their whack towards schools, hospitals, etc. The Supreme Court upheld a jury verdict that Flynn was a liar and a fraudster. Bertie Aherm moved swiftly to have her drummed out of Fianna Fail.

But reporters who trekked down to her Mayo constituency found that some local people thought she'd been badly treated.

"We'll support her, we won't let down our own," was one man's defiant response. Which was widely interpreted as parish patriotism taking precedence over political ethics.

But maybe folk around Castlebar figure that it's unfair Flynn should be singled out for doing something which was common practice among the monied elite.

After all, the most revered entrepreneurs in the land make no secret of their view that outsiders have a damned cheek questioning how the rich became rich and whether they broke any laws in the process.

Consider Tony Ryan, for example, founder of Ryanair. Three and a half years ago, he was asked by Matt Cooper of the *Sunday Tribune* what he thought of the tribunals into political and business corruption then getting into their stride.

The tribunals had set out the areas they intended to investigate but hadn't yet got round to taking evidence from most of the major players.

"I think it is time to drop (the tribunals) and put them behind us," declared Ryan. "Fortunately, they are of no interest to anyone other than the Irish public. They get no coverage overseas...The Irish just like this type of gossip."

Cooper also interviewed Michael Smurfit. He'd been chairman of the semi-State Telecom Eireann when its Ballsbridge HQ was sold to a shadowy company which it turned out he had a stake in for a fiver, then sold on for a zillion pounds. (The figures are approximate but the political point is exact.)

Prurience

Smurfit hoped that "this purgatory" for Irish business would soon end. "I don't see that it does Ireland any good. This is self-flagellation...As soon as these tribunals are over and done with the better for everybody."

Then there was the fat and fabulously rich Tony O'Reilly. "The tribunals are an instrument of politics, not of law. They are an opportunity for prurience, allowing people to look over the garden wall."

He, too, believed that they should be wound up and forgotten about.

What's interesting about this trio is that they are supposedly a cut above the likes of Joe Murphy, Tony Gilman etc., builders who ruthlessly clawed their way up from lowly beginnings, using fair means and foul for advancement.

Ryan, Smurfit and O'Reilly are the creme-de-la-creme of the Irish ruling class. Not millionaires but billionaires, moving in the highest circles of global capitalism.

Not one of them wants the corruption at the heart of Irish public life brought into the open.

And with good reason. They understand, even if mainstream politicians and the media contrive not to, that the entire edifice of Irish capitalism has been built on a dung-heap of corruption, of tax-evasion, bribery, fraud and theft.

Allow the mass of the people to "look over the garden wall" and they'd see what a moral slum the mega-rich exist in.

This may be what the Mayo man had in mind. Why come after Cooper-Flynn for cheating the State of hundreds of thousands when the highest in the land measure their ill-gotten gains by the multiple million?

Where the moralists of Mayo get it wrong is in suggesting that Cooper-Flynn ought therefore be let off the hook. The proper solution is to throw the rest of the criminals into the clink with her and throw away the key.

Stoker stokes sectarianism



■ Bob Stoker

up with poverty and looking for someone to blame.

People in Sandy Row, as elsewhere in Northern Ireland, have been left behind in the 'new' Northern Ireland.

When the anti-Catholic leaflets went around and their political leaders refused to condemn them, Bob Stoker and his ilk gave the green light to the bigots to whip up the kind of hatred that led to the march.

Stoker had, in effect, said 'it's okay to blame the people in the apartments for all the ills of Sandy Row'.

Obviously, he thinks it is better to blame Catholics than the politicians who have overseen a massive growth in poverty since the peace process began.

As the marching season begins, this kind of hate-mongering invites sectarian attacks, even murders. Socialists in Belfast are trying to turn the spotlight on Bob Stoker, taking around a petition calling for his resignation.

It's time we stopped allowing politicians to whip up sectarian tensions in order to sidestep their own liability.

SEVERAL hundred people marched on a block of apartment flats in the Sandy Row area, just before May Day.

They carried banners reading 'Republicans Out' and 'Sandy Row is Sandy Row'.

The march came after anti-Catholic leaflets had been distributed in the area.

Before and during the march, barely veiled threats have been made to Catholics living in the apartments.

They were asked to leave their homes "voluntarily".

After the march, anti-Catholic graffiti was smeared on the flats where the targets of this sectarian hate campaign live.

Ulster Unionist Party councillor and former Lord Mayor, Bob Stoker has publicly identified himself with this campaign to remove people from their homes.

Instead of working to decrease sectarian tensions, he refused to condemn the anti-Catholic leaflets—because, he said, he hadn't seen them.

Nor would he condemn the clearly sectarian march on the apartments.

Sandy Row is a desperately poor area. Since the collapse of the North's tradition-



■ Loyalist mural in Sandy Row

al industries, there has been mass unemployment in the area and the residents have sunk deeper and deeper into poverty and despair.

Yet, just a hundred yards from Sandy Row is Belfast's 'Golden Mile' which is full of shops selling T-shirts at over £100 a throw and where

a meal for two can cost the equivalent of what a family in Sandy Row might get in benefits for a month.

The apartments that were the target of the sectarian outbursts are not really part of the 'Golden Mile' society.

They are mainly rented out to students and workers at

the nearby City Hospital, some of them Chinese.

No one really knows what is the religion, if any, of the people living in the apartments.

But most of the Sandy Row residents that marched on the apartments are probably not bigots, just people fed

Civil servants show leaders how to fight

By a NIPSA activist

CIVIL SERVANTS in Scotland and Lancashire had the perfect response to intimidation by management recently when they walked out on mass after activists were suspended for taking part of the work to rule in furtherance of their pay dispute.

NIPSA members have also been walking recently.

A couple of thousand civil servants and supporters from other unions marched through Belfast demonstrating their continued anger at the government for imposing a pay cut.

They crammed into the Ulster Hall to listen to speeches from PCS General Secretary, Mark Serwotka, and NIPSA leader John Corey.

In Derry hundreds of NIPSA members also attended a rally on Wednesday 28th April in the Millennium Forum. Again it was standing room only. Both rallies showed clearly that there is plenty of fight left in the union's rank and file membership.

However there is also a lot of frustration, here and in Britain, at the tactics adopted by the union executives charged with leading the disputes.

The NIPSA leadership are currently relying on a 'long war' strategy. This means 'selective strikes' involving only a tiny minority of the overall membership taking action for short periods of time.

The DWP executive in PCS look to be headed in much the same direction. Just like NIPSA they have begun their dispute with limited 'service wide' action choosing instead to concentrate on the 'work to rule' (refusing to attend training is one example).

Both strategies are very weak. NIPSA are taking out the staff responsible for issuing car tax disks for an indefinite period. Management have got 81 Post Offices doing the job instead!

This greatly reduces the impact, elsewhere management will eventually find ways to ride out this type of action.

The DWP executive have a strategy of asking members on the brink of suspension to back down!!

This was the policy adopted by the NIPSA leadership when CSA staff were suspended back in February. The members refused to back down, but their colleagues were so angry with NIPSA for refusing to openly back them or up the ante that they wouldn't walk out.

The PCS members in Scotland and Lancashire who walked out on the 22nd April and the eight offices in London who did the same a few days later show exactly what needs to be done when management go on the offensive.

The union executive should now call more official action to back them up rather than go down the path that NIPSA have taken.

The response by members to NIPSA's rallying call was again magnificent.

The turnout in Belfast and Derry is reflective of the anger felt by members right across the north.

The fact that Mark Serwotka addressed the Belfast rally was equally important. Greater cooperation between NIPSA and PCS could be the key to defeating New Labour's pay policy.

So far the members of both unions have led the way and the union leadership's have been the weakest link. Unless they up the ante NOW they could be the key to defeat.

SEA oppose political vetting

Socialist Environmental Alliance candidate in the European elections, Eamonn McCann, has joined in calls for the government to dissociate itself from one of the recommendations of the Independent Monitoring Commission (IMC).

Recommendation 8.7 states "no organisation, statutory, commercial or voluntary, should tolerate links with paramilitary groups or give legitimacy to them".

There is a real fear among community groups in the poorest areas of the North that this is the start of a new round of political vetting of groups.

In the 1980s, community groups that were considered to be too close to Sinn Fein - often defined by the areas they were in, or the fact they promoted the Irish language - had their ACE funding withdrawn. It took a campaign that went right to Westminster to get the funding reinstated.

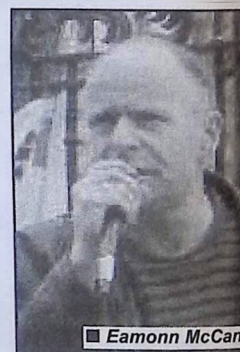
This time round, groups in working class Protestant areas are in as much danger as those in working class Catholic areas. In many neighbourhoods, it is former

loyalist prisoners, who have maybe studied while in prison, who started up much needed youth and community groups.

Now the IMC seems to be saying that these groups should exclude the people who have worked hard and long to improve their neighbourhood.

"There must be no return to political vetting" says the SEA's Eamonn McCann.

"This time round the government will face a united opposition from both Protestant and Catholic communities. We just will not have it."



■ Eamonn McCann

JOBLESS RISE IN WEST BELFAST

THIRTY jobs are under threat at Bass Ireland. Management at the West Belfast brewery has said the jobs are at risk because they lost a bottling contract with soft drinks manufacturer Lucozade.

West Belfast now has the highest level of unemployment in the North of Ireland, with the official figure running at almost 10 per cent.

But the real figure is much worse than

this.

Last year the Eastern Health and Social Services Board released figures that gave a much more realistic picture of unemployment in West Belfast. It estimated that unemployment amongst the economically active was running at over 27 per cent.

It also showed youth unemployment to be 30 per cent in West Belfast.

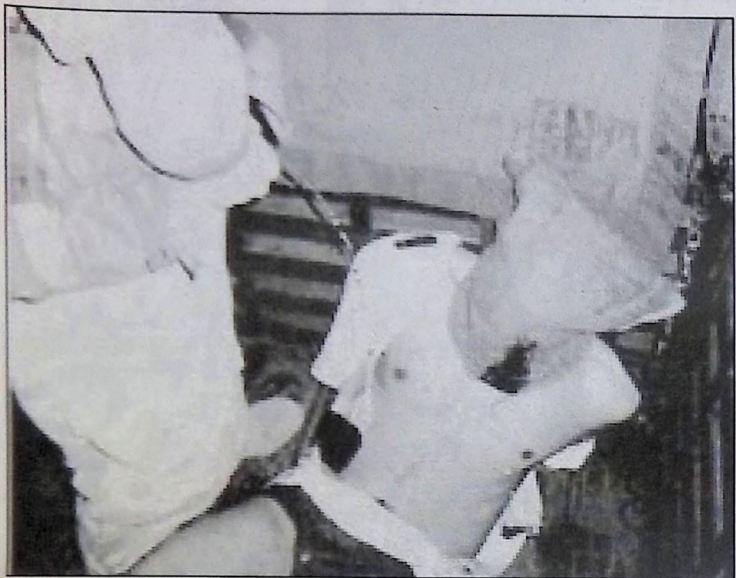
There are also

huge numbers of people considered 'economically inactive', either through ill-health or because they have just given up on ever getting a job.

Long-term unemployment is also worse in West Belfast, 41 per cent of those who are unemployed have been out of work for two or more years.

The average in other areas is 29 per cent.

This is what the occupation looks like



Pictures of US troops abusing and torturing Iraqi prisoners and (top left) a British soldier urinating on a hooded prisoner. But a secret report has revealed that the torture and humiliation is systematic "softening up" of detainees for interrogation by intelligence officers.

THE US television network CBS broadcast last week pictures of US soldiers committing acts of abuse against Iraqi prisoners, in the notorious Abu Ghraib prison outside Baghdad where thousands of Iraqis are imprisoned and subjected to human rights abuses

One picture depicts an Iraqi soldier standing on a box with wires attached to his hands. He was reportedly left on the box for a long period and told that he faced electrocution if he fell off.

Another shows prisoners kneeling on each other in a human pyramid, naked except for hoods covering their heads.

Another shows naked prisoners

being forced to pretend to have sex with one another.

Many of the photographs show US soldiers smiling and flashing thumbs-up signs.

CBS was pressurised by the Pentagon into keeping the pictures secret for two weeks during the US assault on Falluja which cost over 700 Iraqi lives.

When other news outlets got wind of the photos CBS finally broadcast them. Following the airing of the photographs, US officials now admit that the affair has become even more far-reaching.

Captives

Later the same week the *Daily Mirror* printed pictures of British soldiers beating and urinating on Iraqi captives.

One picture showed the disfigured body of a man whose face was bloated, having been beaten to death by Iraq's "liberators".

But all the evidence points to

routine torture and mistreatment of the more than 10,000 Iraqi captives held by US and British forces.

Last summer US troops destroyed the village of Abu Sifa, north of Baghdad. 73 men from the village were rounded up, including all four of Rejan Mohammad Hassan's sons. The Americans didn't find the arms caches they were looking for, but the soldiers took several trucks and large sums of cash. Nine months later, 15-year-old Ahmed tar Hassan is only one of two villagers to have emerged from custody.

He told Aaron Glantz, of Free Speech Radio News, "For the first six days, we were all staying in open fields surrounded by razor wire.

"There was no tent and no mat under us, and we were exposed to the sun and the rain.

"There were no toilet facilities, so we had to relieve ourselves out in the open. It was impossible to

sleep. Every night the American soldiers threw pebbles at us all night long."

Eventually Ahmed was transferred to Baghdad's Abu Ghraib prison. There he was held in solitary confinement in a three-foot by four-foot cell.

The same cell used to keep political prisoners during the reign of Saddam Hussein. He was not allowed outside to exercise, or to see his family, and not allowed to see a lawyer.

"At night they would throw a dog in the cell to frighten me. It was kind of a wolf dog, a police dog."

After nine months in prison, the American military released Ahmed tar Hassan, never charging him with any crime.

US Brigadier General Mark Kimmitt said of the torture and mistreatment exposed in the CBS pictures, "This is reprehensible, but this is not representative of the

150,000 soldiers that are over here."

But a secret US army report reveals that abuse of Iraqi prisoners by American military personnel was systematic, widespread and encouraged by military intelligence.

Between October and December of 2003 there were numerous instances of "sadistic, blatant, and wanton criminal abuses" at Abu Ghraib prison.

The report reveals that intelligence services urged reservists at the prison "to set physical and mental conditions for favourable interrogation of witnesses" by means of "the pouring of phosphoric liquid on detainees; the beating of detainees with broom handles and a chair; the threatening

of male detainees with rape; allowing a military police guard to stitch the wound of a detainee who was injured after being slammed against the wall in his cell, and the sodomising of a detainee with a chemical light and perhaps a broomstick."

In one case CIA and other intelligence officers so "stressed out" one prisoner that he died.

His body was packed in ice and wheeled out of the prison on a trolley with an intravenous drip to make it look he was going to hospital, then dumped away from the prison.

In other cases inmates were left naked in their cells for up to three days "with little or no clothes, no toilet or running water, no ventilation or window".

Iraq victim was top-secret apartheid killer

REPORTS have surfaced recently of mercenaries posing as civilian contractors who were previously associated with death squads operated by apartheid South Africa and Pinochet's Chile.

Gray Branfield, 55, was a "security contractor" who was killed in Iraq in April. He was once one of South Africa's most secret covert agents, involved in apartheid's "silent wars".

He was part of a death squad which gunned down Joe Gqabi, the ANC's chief representative and Umkhonto weSizwe operational head in Zimbabwe on July 31 1981. Gqabi was shot 19 times when three assassins ambushed him as he reversed down the

driveway of his Harare home. Author Peter Stiff who knew Branfield,

said he was a former detective inspector in the Rhodesian police force specialising in covert

operations against guerilla organisations.

Branfield came to South Africa after Zanu-

PF came to power in 1980.

There he joined the SA Defence Force's secret Project Barnacle, a precursor to the notorious Civil Co-operation Bureau (CCB) death squad.

Given the rank of major, Branfield was put in charge of operations in the urban centres of Zimbabwe, Botswana and Zambia.

Stiff said Branfield also helped to lay the groundwork in 1982 for Operation Lebanta, an attack on ANC targets in Maseru. One of the targets was Chris Hani.

In 1985 he was involved in planning the now notorious SADF raid on Gaborone in which 14 people, including a five-year-old child, were killed.

Ex-RUC men mercenaries in Iraq

MORE than 1,000 former security personnel from the North currently work in Iraq.

Most of them are working as mercenary soldiers recruited by numerous private security companies.

According to the *Phoenix* magazine first into the field in 2003 were 600 former prison officers made redundant after the closure of Long Kesh and the H-Blocks in recent years.

Most of these men have been recruited by a London based security firm called Rubicon International.

They are working on highly paid contracts and they are "guarding" some 10,000 Iraqi prisoners of war.

Former RUC men are also known to provide security for VIP convoys and at economic and military installations.

Rubicon is run by Major General

Bob Hodges who is the former commander of British Land Forces in the North.

According to Rubicon's own website they "employ high quality individuals of proven ability, intelligence, adaptability and discretion.

They are drawn mainly from former members of UK and Commonwealth Special Forces and associated agencies.

They have a range of experience from security policy at the highest national levels to extensive operational experience on the ground."

Iraq has become a bonanza for the burgeoning \$100billion a year private military sector.

Some experts have claimed that it is the "fastest growing area of the global economy over the past decade."

Irish Anti War Movement

**NO
WELCOME
FOR BUSH**



**No More War
No More Lies**

**DEMONSTRATION
Friday June 25 at 7.00pm,
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Followed by buses to protest at location of Summit Meeting between Bush and Bertie Ahem

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US MILITARY OUT OF SHANNON



■ Pictures from May Day from top left: Protestors assemble in Dames St for Another Europe is Possible march and carnival; Grassroots Network protest sets off from GPO; Garda with truncheons and water cannon; press blow up minor skirmish; young protester enjoying AELP carnival at Heuston station
Credits: PAULA GERAGHTY, ED LEE, INDYMEDIA

MAYDAY PROTESTORS DEFY PRESS HYSTERIA AND POLICE REPRESSION



May Day welcome

OVER 5 million euro was spent on the Garda and army "security" operation on May Day.

In one of the largest security operations ever seen in the State, more than 5,000 Gardaí and 2,500 troops were deployed.

A 36-hour shutdown of Phoenix Park was in effect closing down the park to the people of Dublin and preventing families and friends of the sick and elderly visiting the hospital within the walls.

The Gardaí made use of two water canons that they had "borrowed" from the PSNI in the North for the operation.

Ranger commandos the elite of the Irish Army were stationed within the Phoenix Park during the whole of May Day.

Garda leave was cancelled with 4,000 officers lining the march route armed with riot gear and water canons.

Members of the Defence Forces' chemical, biological, radiological and nuclear unit were said "to be on stand by" during the day.

Razor wire was put in place almost

around the whole length of the Phoenix Park boundary wall.

The Naval Service patrolled Dublin Bay.

A prison wing, which accommodates up to 100 prisoners in Dublin's Cloverhill jail, was cleared "in case large numbers of protesters are detained during Saturday's demonstrations," according to a Garda spokesperson before May Day.

Prisoners had been transferred to Wheatfield Prison to make room.

Operations pencilled in for the weekend at Tallaght Hospital were cancelled and people were warned not to use Accident and Emergency over the weekend because of "fears that they will be crowded with protesters."

The sheer scale and cost of the security operation is made all the more ridiculous and sinister when compared with the overwhelmingly peaceful nature of the protesters actions through-out the day.

MILITARY MOB TO C MAY
But Bertie says

Thousands march in Mayday protests

OVER 1,000 people took part in the Another Europe is Possible protest on May Day.

Young anti capitalists and parents with children assembled outside the Central Bank and set off in bright sunshine to the sound of a samba band, drums, whistles and songs up the quays to a carnival at Heuston Station.

Despite the dire warnings of violence from the Gardai and the mass media the protest and carnival passed off completely peacefully.

Rory Hearne the convenor of the Another Europe is Possible umbrella group said that the crowd that gathered for the march had "refused to be intimidated by the talk of violence."

"You that are here today will form the backbone of the movement that will build for the protests against George Bush later in the year," he said.

"We will not be frightened off the streets and despite all the scare stories we will defend our right to march and to free speech."

Speakers including Susan George (ATTAC France), Patricia McKenna (Greens), Mary Lou MacDonald (Sinn Fein), Kieran Allen (SWP) and Joe Higgins (SP) addressed the crowd.

Delegations with banners included St Michaels House, Ballyfermot anti war

group and Dublin Bus workers as well as political parties and individual hand made banners and placards.

The crowd roared their approval when it was pointed out from the platform that the massive policing operation at an estimated €5 million is money taken overcrowded hospitals and run down public services.

Stewards from the component parts of the Another Europe is Possible coalition lined the route and the massive police presence stayed at arms length.

Many from the carnival made their way to the Grassroots Network protest announced for 6pm outside the GPO.

More than two thousand assembled and agreed to assert their right to march to Phoenix Park.

The entirely peaceful march was confronted with an increasingly menacing police presence as it made its way up the Navan Road. 200 yards from the Phoenix Park it was met with ranks of gardai in riot gear and water canon.

The protestors sat down. A small skirmish was enough to set a police assault on the protestors with batons flailing and water from the canon.

The police then seized two dozen protestors who were charged with various "public order" offences and brought to a special night-time sitting of the court.

The movement needs to take up the defence of these defendants.



The movement is growing

By RORY HEARNE
(Convenor Another Europe is Possible)

THOUSANDS marched peacefully in Dublin on May Day against war, racism and corporate greed despite huge levels of police intimidation and media hysteria.

Another Europe is Possible, the alliance of the anti-war movement, Trade Unionists, Community Groups, Socialists, left-political parties and anti-capitalists organised completely peacefully a march of three thousand people from the Central Bank to Heuston Station yesterday.

The main message that came from

the march was that despite the media and garda hype of violence thousands of people were not intimidated from protesting for a Europe of peace, properly funded public services and free of racism. We will not be intimidated from protesting in our tens of thousands when George Bush comes in June.

We showed yesterday that there are a significant number of people in Ireland who oppose the direction in which the EU is going. We feel that the EU is becoming dominated by the interests of the large multinational corporations and arms manufacturers. Far from being a Europe of welcome for immigrants it is creating a fortress of exclusion."

Thousands marched today in the Another Europe is Possible march and carnival in Dublin for a better world. It was completely peaceful as we said it would be.

The Grassroots march to Farnleigh House Saturday evening was met with riot police and water canon.

The police restrictions were an incitement to confrontation.

By denying people's democratic right to march the state created a situation of conflict.

Even in the face of this the majority of demonstrators remained peaceful and marched back in an orderly and peaceful fashion.

It should not be hyped up beyond its significance.

We showed today that all the scare stories in the media of 1000s of violent protestors coming to cause May Day mayhem was completely false.

This highlights the complete waste of millions of taxpayer's money on an unprecedented security operation when schools and hospitals remain hopelessly under funded.

This shows that the movement against war and capitalism is growing and state intimidation will not stop us marching in our tens of thousands against Bush in June



Welcome to Fortress Dublin

length of boundary Service Day, which up to 100 Dublin's was cleared numbers of demonstrations, a Garda before May d been trans- field Prison to make room pencilled in for the week. Hospital were warned not to use Emergency over the week. "fears that they will be protestors. scale and cost of the security all the more ridiculous compared with the previous of the process.



came straight from Gardai leaks.

The Star on Sunday screamed from its front page "2,000 Key Rioters are on way for May Day Madness". That is despite the fact that the Garda Press Office was eventually forced to admit that they were expecting no more than 300 protestors to come from abroad for the march.

"LET DUBLIN BURN" said another tabloid story that quoted unnamed Garda sources who said that

Anarchist from foreign parts were planning on engulfing the Irish capital in a destructive blaze. It was not just the right-wing tabloids that indulged in this Garda sponsored hype. The normally sober Sunday Business Post ran a story that said that a small hardcore group of anti-globalisation activists may try to attack a major shopping district during the EU May Day protests, according to garda sources. "There are intelligence reports that

they intend to target a specific shopping area in Dublin, possibly the Blanchardstown centre," a senior garda told The Sunday Business Post.

The panic stories and intimidatory garda presence had one purpose—to scare people off the streets and to prepare the way to use any pretext to attack demonstrators.

A minor skirmish on Saturday night was the opportunity for a massive police assault on demonstrators. A small scale incident has been blown up by the press into a major riot in what was overwhelmingly a day of peaceful protest by anti-capitalists.

The government is terrified that thousands will come out again in June when George Bush visits Ireland.

They want no repetition of the massive, peaceful, protest of February 15 last year which brought over 100,000 people onto the streets to oppose the invasion of Iraq.

But May Days protests showed that we will not be intimidated off the streets. Despite the massive nature of the security and the huge media hype thousands of people still marched on the streets of Dublin on May Day.

30 YEARS SINCE PORTUGAL'S REVOLUTION: EYEWITNESS

'I went to factories under workers' control'

THIRTY YEARS ago this week officers in the Portuguese army overthrew the country's fascist dictator, Caetano.

The coup triggered a rash of strikes, demonstrations and factory occupations, as workers began to seize the opportunity to air long-suppressed grievances.

The explosion from below led commentators to begin talking of the "Portuguese Revolution".

Over the following 18 months great waves of struggle raised the prospect of a radical transformation of society, while the right repeatedly tried to end the radicalisation.

DAVE HAYES, now an industrial organiser for the Socialist Workers Party, witnessed the impact of the revolution first hand.

What was it like to visit Portugal in 1975?

As soon as you touched down at the airport you got a sense of the atmosphere around the Portuguese capital, Lisbon.

Normally when you go through an airport there are immigration controls and police in the airport, but none of these existed in the main international airport. You just walked straight through. The workers were very well organised. They had their own workers' committee which controlled the airport.

There was a real sense in Lisbon that something was beginning to change. There were posters and murals painted on nearly every wall celebrating the revolution and the demise of the fascist regime. That was what struck me first.

The other thing that struck me was the number of bookstalls on street corners—everywhere you would see people setting up bookstalls with Marx, Lenin and other classics on, and people would gather round.

There was a definite sense that Portugal had been liberated. There was a flourishing of all kinds of literature that had been banned under the old Caetano regime. People discussed all kinds of issues.

Central to this were the army units around Lisbon—nearly all of them were supporting the revolution.

We visited the Relais army barracks. I saw a photograph of the Relais barracks where soldiers were lined up and, instead of saluting their officer, they had clenched fists and were saying, "All power to the Portuguese Revolution."

Why were you in Portugal, and what did you do while you were there?

The impact of the Portuguese Revolution in Britain was immense. No one had expected to see the Caetano regime collapse overnight.

At the time I was a postal worker. We had suffered a major defeat in 1971.

But when the revolution broke out we started having regular collections in the Gateshead post office where I worked. We sent the collections off to a solidarity fund.

There were regular delegations of trade unionists who twinned their workplaces with Portuguese ones.

I travelled to Portugal on 1 November 1975. When I got to Lisbon I did two things. Firstly I tried to make contact with various workplaces—for example Massey Ferguson, which had the same management in Britain and Portugal.

When you went to factories under workers' control, the union rep would come out and meet you and take you into the boardroom. You got a real sense of the power and ability of workers to start organising.

The second thing I did was to try to meet representatives of the PRP, which was one of the revolutionary socialist groups in Portugal and which had a number of worker militants in crucial workplaces.



Revolution in Portugal April 1974



Portugal's revolution ended in 1975. How was the ruling class able to regain the initiative?

The right tried to crush the revolution several times, launching attempted coups in September 1974 and March 1975.

Each coup attempt provoked a great upsurge of workers which saw off the coup and also radicalised the revolution to the left.

Sections of the armed forces were also radicalising, traditional army discipline began breaking down and you saw the emergence of rank and file soldiers' organisations.

Within the working class a great debate and battle was going on.

The Socialist Party had won elections in April 1975 and had real mass influence.

The Communist Party was huge and a key force among the working class, especially in the crucial Lisbon area.

They both stood for limiting the revolution, confining it within the limits of capitalism and with some form of parliamentary system, with their leaders as ministers in a government.

There was a big far left which stood for building on the impulses you saw in the factories, the workers' committees,

the army rank and file, and was for a more far-reaching transformation of society.

On 25 November, a week before I left Portugal, there was a coup to restore the government's power.

Only a week before that coup Portugal's largest ever demonstration took place.

Some 300,000 took to the streets out of a population of just eight million.

Being on that demonstration and being there when the coup took place allowed me to draw some lessons about the missed opportunity.

The Communist Party had established workers' commissions, organisations based in individual factories, in the Lisbon belt—the key industrial area of Portugal.

They drew together 2,000 delegates from the area to a general assembly. When you think of the power that general assembly represented you saw the possibilities.

A revolutionary strategy would be for every group of workers under the influence of revolutionaries to engage with that assembly, to get as many workplaces as possible represented, to send revolutionary delegates.

They should have tried to turn that assembly into something much closer to the workers' councils in the Russian Revolution.

But the PRP, for example, sent just one person to that meeting. They didn't see it as a forum in which they could unite with and influence other workers who looked to the Socialist or Communist parties.

If the revolutionaries didn't find a way of doing this and of pushing the revolution

forward, at some point the right would be able to regain the initiative.

How did rank and file soldiers respond to the coup?

The soldiers had moved to the left, but there was a problem. During the Russian Revolution soldiers set up their own committees and started trying to control things themselves.

But the Portuguese Revolution was led by a layer of army officers who had removed Caetano—they still had a lot of credibility among the soldiers.

Although there was a move to set up rank and file soldiers' committees, the dominant view was to look to officers like General Otelo de Carvalho as the leaders of the revolution.

During the November coup one small group of commandos moved against the entire Lisbon barracks.

Because there was no rank and file organisation of any real influence among the soldiers, after the leading left wing officers had been arrested, there was no organisation that could coordinate the different units to fight off the commandos.

It was a real defeat for the revolution. But the Portuguese ruling class had to be very careful. They were frightened of the power of the working class and didn't dare try and turn the clock back completely.

They didn't dare carry through anything like the coup in Chile in 1973. Instead they had to concede the sort of political and trade union rights we had in Britain, and look to the Socialist Party to try and restabilise capitalism under a parliamentary system.

Timeline

1932

The fascist Salazar takes power in Portugal.

1961

Portugal faces rebellion in its African colony of Angola. Similar rebellions in Mozambique and Guinea-Bissau place increasing strain on Portuguese economy. By 1974 Portugal's colonial wars are consuming half the country's state budget.

1968

Caetano succeeds Salazar as head of the fascist regime.

1974

25 April: People awake to find tanks on the streets of the capital, Lisbon. A group of 400 middle-ranking army officers have overthrown Caetano and handed power to the right wing General Spínola. Sections of the ruling class want to see Spínola resolve the colonial conflict.

26 April: The hated secret police are disbanded, and people begin to purge society of fascist agents, hated factory foremen and others associated with the old regime.

1 May: Growing strike wave involves 200,000 workers in 158 workplaces. 100,000 march through streets of Lisbon to celebrate May Day.

9 May: Spínola sets up provisional government involving the right wing PPD, the tiny Socialist Party and the Communist Party.

June: Strikes now involve nearly every major group of workers. Communist Party attacks many of the strikes.

27-28 September: Spínola plots a right wing coup to halt the revolution. Workers build barricades in Lisbon and other cities. Railway workers strike. Workers and rank and file soldiers defeat the coup plan.

30 September: Spínola resigns as president. Replaced by another general, Costa Gomes.

1975

7 February: Delegates from 38 factories organise a 40,000-strong demonstration against rising unemployment and a visit by the NATO fleet.

11 March: Another attempt at a right wing coup. Workers strike, build barricades and demand arms from soldiers.

August: Rival groups of army officers put forward different documents with proposals on how to reorganise Portuguese society.

24 November: Carvalho, one of the army officers who led the coup against Caetano, is removed as head of the Lisbon military. Seen as an attack on the left.

25 November: Left wing units of the army take control of radio and TV stations and barracks around Lisbon. Revolutionaries are unprepared for a serious confrontation and the Communist Party acts to stop workers taking action. Eventually a Socialist Party government under Mario Soares is able to restore capitalist normality in Portugal.



obituary

BRIAN MANNING:

History is all about today

By CONOR KOSTICK

THE interpretation of history has always been a battlefield, as conservatives strive to show that it is unreasonable to believe in radical change, and revolutionaries the exact opposite.

And the greatest polemics of historians are to be found precisely when they are arguing over revolutionary periods, such as that in England from 1640-1660.

With the tragic death of Brian Manning while on holiday in Italy, the left has lost its most formidable champion of a Marxist understanding of the English Revolution.

Brian Manning was a postgraduate student of Christopher Hills at Balliol College, Oxford. Hill was the socialist historian who provided the most well known and path-breaking inroads into a revolutionary understanding of the seventeenth century, and as such became the target of self-consciously 'revisionist' historians, intent on belittling the role of class conflict in that period.

Understanding

For all Hill's daring, witty and incisive writings, in many ways it was his younger colleague whose work more effectively took up the task of answering the views of the revisionists.

More effectively, because by the time of the publication of Manning's key work, *The English People and the English Revolution* (1976) revisionism was in full flow and indeed, in the climate of a retreat from the highly politicised early 1970's, would have swept aside a radical understanding of the era, but for the stubborn, precise, powerful work of Manning.

It helped that Brian Manning was an extraordinarily convincing speaker.

Thoroughly in command of his material and perspectives, Manning had no fear of presenting the views of his opponents with utter clarity only to rebut them.

His students from his time at Manchester University remember his lectures as being extraordinarily lucid.

The excitement of his themes drew non-history students to Manning's classes and helped nurture a tradition of radical historians.

The core ideas which Brian Manning advocated were formed to challenge the view that the English Civil War was no more than a conflict within the ruling class. He strove to show that at key turning points in the period it was popular activity of the masses that shaped events.

Much of his work is necessarily technical, with detailed dissections of the social forces at work in England at the time. But his vivid portrayal of the intervention of the revolutionary London crowds in the 1640's makes *The English People* a classic work of Marxist history.

New Left

Politically Brian Manning was formed by the New Left of the late 1950's, a movement of people looking for an alternative to Labour and the Communist Party. He participated in the Partisan cafés and in the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. Manning served on the editorial board of the journal *Past and Present*, a journal set up in 1952 and which became the key voice of Christopher Hill and Communist historians.

Although supportive of Communist historians like Hill, Manning made it clear in an early review that he was as opposed to Russian imperialism as US imperialism.

This allowed him an appreciation of the work of Karl Marx, undistorted by having to apologise for dictatorial nature of the Eastern European regimes. Manning's works displayed a very considerable engagement with Marx, and it is in his writings, more than those of the Communist historians, that the clearest exposition of Marx's theory of history can be found, along with an appreciation of how it aided understanding of the seventeenth century.

After a period in the Labour Party, Manning moved to teach at the University of Ulster (1980), where he later joined the Socialist Workers Party (Ireland).

Throughout his career he supported the annual Marxism conferences in London and Dublin, and made several important contributions to the *International Socialism Journal*. He also regularly attended and spoke at the London Socialist Historians Group.

Retirement from teaching, as so often the case with historians, allowed Manning to focus on his writing. His *Revolution and counter-revolution on England, Ireland and Scotland, 1658-1660, 2003* showed that he was at the peak of his powers and in a position to appreciate the swing of the pendulum back away from the more extreme revisionism of the 1980's.

His loss is all the more cruel for this, although the strength of his work provides an unshakeable basis for the revolutionary interpretation of the seventeenth century to grow and flourish.

music

Music US band Dead Prez's new album aims to take political hip-hop one step further

Right kind of revolution?

By YURI PRASAD

HIP-HOP HAS always been a music with two souls. One soul rages against ghetto life, against racism, police harassment and "the system".

The other soul reflects the divisions among those who suffer.

It promotes sexism and celebrates a cash-rich lifestyle that will always be out of the reach of most of the fans. Dead Prez come from the soul of resistance.

Their hip-hop is about a rebellious tradition that goes back to the Black Panther Party.

Let's Get Free, their first album, offered themes that varied from a Marxist account of the development of the state, to why US schools fail black kids and the need for revolutionaries to have a good diet and regular exercise (no, I'm not joking).

The new album, *Revolutionary But Gangsta*, has a disappointingly narrow scope. Ghetto life still informs the lyrics but there are too many concessions to the "gangsta" style.

Dead Prez paint a picture of people struggling to make ends meet. It's a life of welfare lines, food stamps and "minimum wage" jobs.

It's a life where the fat gold chain image of hip-hop never meets the reality.

Speaking from experience they rap about how hopelessness can lead to alcoholism and how the vio-



Dead Prez: Turning the tables on the racist police?

lence of the system tears people's lives apart.

Revolutionary

But *Gangsta* is also about resistance—but resistance of a certain type.

Many of the tracks are fantasies about turning the

tables on racist police.

There is a near obsession with guns and martial arts training and, while the anger of "gangsta rap" is generally directed against other rappers, Dead Prez have more fitting targets.

But as they reel off a list of black revolutionaries who

have been killed in gun battles by the police you can't help but think that the strategy of armed confrontation has problems.

The limitations of this album are not only political. Musically, Dead Prez seem locked into a style that does not appear to have developed

much in the last ten years.

It's disappointing that, while mainstream hip-hop presses ahead with experimentation and is embracing influences from Asia and Latin America, political hip-hop shows so few signs of making something that sounds genuinely new.

book

More than a little off the Mark

By DAVID LYNCH

THE former RTE Washington correspondent and now co-presenter of Prime Time Mark Little has written a book that does not know what it is. *Zulu Time* is part bog-standard war reportage and part arrogant and insulting critique of the anti-war movement in Ireland.

Little spent some time on the 'Northern' front in Iraq. Sadly for him and his many co-journalists nothing much happened on that front in the war, so page after page of this book drifts by like Waiting for Godot.

To be fair to Little, his account of sitting around in the Kurdish controlled area in the weeks before the war is almost completely free from the sad macho posturing that marks much of war reportage. His insights into the role played by embedded reporters and the 24 Hour News stations in their lack of objectivity in reporting on the war, is interesting but hardly novel.

But where Little is a little novel and a whole lot condescending is in his treatment of the anti-war movement and those who marched against the war in Ireland.

Little spent many years reporting on United States politics and he believes that this has given him an insight into the whole multi-layered and heterogeneous nature of

American life that those who marched against the war in Iraq are seemingly unaware.

You see Little creates an image of an anti war protestor who views the whole American nation as gun-toting, obese, ignorant imperialists who happily wave the flag in support of Bush's atrocities across the planet.

Invasion

In trying to argue that those who marched against the war on February did so more out of anger against what American culture supposedly represents rather than Bush's impending invasion of Iraq, Little actually does what he is supposedly criticising—he creates a "useful parody."

His view of the 100,000 plus who marched last year is trite,

"In my experience of street protest in Dublin there are usually only a small collection of words you can describe those who turn up, such as active, committed, angry, and passionate. On February 15, the people who turned up to protest were, by and large, nice."

Little worries about these poor "nice" people and "the relative innocence of that huge crowd". The RTE correspondent believes that the anger that people display against Bush and American foreign policy, is almost exclusively cultural

rather than political. This is because Little believes that young Irish people are no longer political. In a typically cliqued passage Little reflects on a meeting with a UCD student president. The RTE presenter wistfully looks back on his time as a student and how they had "real political" causes to fight over. "On issue after issue, we achieved all or part of what we wanted. I felt like apologising, for using all the good issues."

There is something uniquely annoying about somebody reminiscing about their alleged role in "fighting the good fight" some decades previous just to tell today's activists that they have little to fight about now.

The central kernel of this book seems to be a defence of American life from being wrongly portrayed as a one dimensional parody. Not a bad aim in itself, but Little is aiming his critique at the wrong people.

A huge number of those who fight against Bush and his war have been moved to political action by reading writers from the North American continent, Michael Moore, Susan Sontag, Naomi Klein, Naom Chomsky to name a few. The vast majority are also aware that Bush received minority support from the American people in the elections four years ago. And most significantly those involved in

the anti-capitalist movement look to that great old city of Seattle as the spiritual birth-place of the movement that has swept like liberated wild fire across the globe since that epic battle in 1999.

Mark Little attempts to save the United States from becoming a "useful parody" but in doing so he parodies those (including many millions of Americans) who fight against the war.

Zulu Time, Mark Little New Island 13.99 euro.

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Citizenship and Racism: The case against McDowell's Referendum

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LOCAL ELECTIONS JUNE 11

SWP candidates say 'people before profit'



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Dates for your diary

PRE ELECTION RALLY

BUSH'S WAR

RACIST REFERENDUM & RIP-OFF IRELAND...

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE

Speakers:
BRID SMITH (local election candidate)
EAMONN McCANN (Euro election candidate)
RICHARD BOYD BARRETT (Chair Irish Anti War Movement)
Wynns Hotel Abbey St Dublin
8pm Wed 12th May

BOOK LAUNCH MEETINGS

Cork: Wednesday May 5th
8pm An Spailpin Fanach, 8.00pm
Drogheda: Thursday May 6th, 8.00pm
Westcourt Hotel, West St Drogheda
Gorey: Monday May 10, 8pm, Coachhouse
Swords: Thursday May 13, 8pm
Swords Youth & Resource Centre
Waterford: Thursday May 20, 8pm
ATGWU Hall, Keizer St
Copies available price €4 from Bookmarks Ireland, PO Box 1648 Dublin 8

EDUCATION FOR PROFIT



IRISH UNIVERSITIES AND THE THREAT OF PRIVATISATION
Liberty Hall Dublin Sat 22 May 10am-1.30pm
HOSTED BY EDUCATION BRANCH SIPTU
For details contact:
educationbr@siptu.ie or marnie.holborow@dcu.ie

South East Social Forum
People And Planet Before Profit:
Another Europe Is Possible
Demonstration & Alternative Environmental Summit
@ EU Environment Ministers Meeting, Waterford May 14th, 15th, 16th
Organised By The South East Social Forum
Demonstration @ EU Meeting
Assemble The Glen, Waterford, Saturday May 15th 2.45pm
also
Alternative Environmental Summit
<http://www.freewebs.com/sesf/>

Socialist Worker Marxist Forums

Clondalkin: Empire in Flames: Is Iraq the New Vietnam? Thurs May 6, Steering Wheel, 8pm
Dublin North City: Empire in Flames: Is Iraq the New Vietnam? Wed May 19, The Snug Drset St, 8pm
Ballymun: Empire in Flames: Is Iraq the New Vietnam? Thurs May 20, Axis Central, 8.30pm
Dundrum: US Elections: Will Kerry change US foreign policy? Mon May 10, Dundrum Family Recreation Centre, 8pm
Ballyfermot: US Elections: Will Kerry change US foreign policy? Tues May 11, Ballyfermot Civic Centre, 8.30pm
Dublin South City: All children are equal: The case against McDowell's Referendum Sat May 22, Cultivate Centre Essex St, 3pm
Rialto: Citizenship and racism: The case against McDowell's Referendum Wed May 19, St Andrews Resource Centre SCR, 8pm
Dun Laoghaire: Citizenship and racism: The case against McDowell's Referendum Tues May 11, Smyths Pub, 8.30pm
Rathmines: Citizenship and racism: The case against McDowell's Referendum Mon May 10, Maddisons Pub, 8pm
Swords: Citizenship and racism: The case against McDowell's Referendum Thurs May 13, Swords Youth & Resource Centre SCR, 8pm
Ringsend: Islam and the new resistance in the Middle East Wed May 19, The Community Room (below Ocean Bar) Charlotte Quay, 8pm

COMMUNICATION WORKERS UNION CONFERENCE

Members make Con Scanlon step down

By a CWU activist

THE CWU Biennial Conference was held in Galway in the last week of April.

The resignation of Con Scanlon, CWU General Secretary, in the week before the conference, made this an historic event.

Scanlon, as well as being General Secretary of the CWU, was also vice chairperson of Eircom and chair of the Employee Share Ownership Trust.

As a result of the refloating of Eircom he received a whopping €1.2 million pension and bonus package, as well as



■ Gone: Con Scanlon

600,000 free Eircom shares.

No Confidence

This was all on top of his €100,000 per year salary from the Union.

A motion of no-confidence in him as General Secretary had been tabled at the National Executive Council.

This had majority support. In order to avoid

humiliation, Scanlon resigned in advance of the vote.

In the NEC election at the conference, some of Scanlon's closest allies failed to be elected.

This is a positive development as the balance of power is now back with the elected Executive as opposed to full-time officials.

This Executive should insist on a full review of the Partnership arrangements entered into with Eircom, An Post and Vodafone under the Scanlon leadership.

A number of motions opposed to recent Union policy were also passed by the delegates.

Hopefully this signals the beginning of the end of the CWU's involvement in partnership arrangements with the companies employing its members.

Victory for picketers in Rochestown

A GROUP of labourers put a picket on Ellen Construction at their Rochestown Ave site on Mon 19th of April.

Ellen had laid them off

the week before despite there being at least five weeks work left on the site.

The labourers, who were directly employed, were replaced by agency workers. These workers were mostly Romanian and

non-union.

Ellen construction claimed that the agency workers were being employed by a different firm called McKeelin.

But McKeelin is run by two directors of Ellen Construction!

The picketers demanded compensation for loss of work.

Organise

Local SWP members helped to organise the picket. Within a couple of hours the workers had been offered the compensation they sought and the protest was won.

The practice of employing non-unionised foreign workers on lower rates of pay is widespread now in the building industry and is a deliberate strategy to undermine all workers conditions.

The building unions must launch a campaign of mass recruitment of all building workers regardless of nationality.

This is the way to halt a spread of racist sentiment on the buildings which will divide the workers and play into the bosses hands.

Outrage at developers plans

AROUND fifty residents attended a meeting called to organise opposition to the building of a nine storey apartment block on the site of the Iceland supermarket and surrounding area on Cumberland street in Dun Laoghaire.

The building would put the houses of many locals in partial or total shadow. The council recycling facility, adjacent to the Iceland site, has been sold to private developers. Many are asking why council land is being used for private development when there is such a crying need for social housing in Dun Laoghaire

Protection

Local election candidate Richard Boyd Barrett said "The Socialist Workers Party is calling for a complete halt to the use of council lands for private development and an emergency social house building programme.

"We also want the protection of heritage buildings such as the old Dun Laoghaire fire station. We will be supporting the residents campaign against the development"

After pressure from Environment minister Marten Cullen DLRD County council recently passed the controversial county development plan. It had already been rejected by the council on two occasions.

The plan removes all restrictions on scale and height of buildings in Dun Laoghaire and also allows for building on Archaeological Heritage Areas.

Boyd Barrett said "This plan is a charter for private developers who will try to use its terms to build large scale luxury developments in the area and so drive the price of housing in the area further out of the reach of working class people.

"New councillors must throw out the plan in June"

PSEU CONFERENCE

By a PSEU activist

As someone who had never previously attended a trade union annual delegate conference, being a delegate to this year's Public Service Executive Union's ADC seemed an exciting prospect.

However, as the golfbagged delegates swarmed to the bar exchanging pints for promises of votes, my initial burst of enthusiasm faded and the reality of bureaucratic trade unionism began to set in.

From the outset, this was a bizarre sort of conference. Delegates were greeted with a very welcome global solidarity stall where we signed postcards to the Olympic Council of Ireland demanding an end to sweatshop labour.

However, taking our seats we each discovered a bottle of River Rock water - owned by Coca-Cola - the company who metes out death and intimidation to trade unionists in Colombia!

A quick glance through the agenda showed that the union executive was reluctant to condemn the government's parochial use of decentralisation to win votes at local elections at a great cost to the tens of thousands of civil servants working in Dublin.

Instead, a watery motion reaffirmed the union's policy of neutrality on the issue.

Similarly, radical motions on a range of issues had either

been moved to the bottom of the agenda (as was a motion to seek to overturn the current ban on political activity for civil servants) or not allowed and deemed irrelevant (such as an emergency motion condemning the upcoming referendum attacking children's rights).

In fact, during the course of the conference motions which had managed to scrape through, but which weren't to the liking of the executive, were skimmed over due to time constraints.

Revolt

Nonetheless, there was light at the end of the tunnel and left activists within the union ensured that conference got off to a roaring start.

A motion that in future the General Secretary be directly elected by a ballot of the membership was ruled out of order (apparently such a concept makes "no sense") but got widespread support from the floor.

Furthermore, a delegate who challenged the ratification as union official of the former General Secretary of the Association of Garda Sergeants & Inspectors, received a loud round of applause. In addition, although the executive's motion on Sustaining Progress was carried, the vote was extremely close, reflecting the disillusionment felt by low-paid civil servants about social partnership.

However, it was the discussion on the proposed merger with the CPSU and Impact unions which really lived things up.

For many years in the PSEU, motions calling for merger discussions with the CPSU, which represents lower-paid civil servants, have been carried but have not been pursued by the executive.

This year, the executive got wind of a planned merger between the CPSU and Impact (which represents everyone from the very lowest paid to top-level management in the public sector) and decided to try and get in on the deal.

An identical motion is to be presented to the conference of all three unions giving their respective executives the power to enter discussions with the aim of establishing a new super-union.

While there was support for a single bargaining unit within the general service, delegates were strongly opposed to a merger with Impact which many argued had an overly bureaucratic and largely undemocratic structure.

Former members of the Impact Tax Officers Branch pointed out that they had spent some ten years trying to get out of Impact and had no wish to get back in again.

Other delegates argued that individual members would receive less representation in a new super-union and that the executive had gone too far without consulting the membership.

The motion was finally defeated 2:1 much to the exasperation of the union bureaucracy.

Proof that resistance can pop up in the unlikely of places.

Baldonnel anti war protest called

THE Clondalkin Anti War group has called a protest outside the gates of Baldonnel Airport for Sunday, May 9th at 3pm to highlight the US military use of the airport.

"This is an important issue for the people of Clondalkin and surrounding areas," said Gino Kenny, local anti war activist and Socialist Workers Party candidate in the Clondalkin/Newcastle ward in June's local election.

"We do not want to be dragged into supporting this war. The Irish government has already ignored the wishes of the 150,000 who marched against the war last year in Dublin, but we have to keep the pressure on Fianna Fail and the PDs."

Gino Kenny has called on the Irish government to end the American military use of Casement Aerodrome Baldonnel.

Fears arose earlier this year when a US C-130 Hercules military aircraft was photographed flying a "skull and crossbones" flag at Baldonnel. The C-130 Hercules is an important part of the American military, carrying cargo as well as providing midair refuelling for fighter jets.

"It is a disgrace that the American military can use Baldonnel. It makes a mockery of our supposed neutrality," said Gino Kenny.

"America's bloody occupation of Iraq has cost the

lives of thousands of innocent Iraqis and we should not be helping the American military in any way."

Gino Kenny was heavily involved in the Irish Anti-War Movement last year that organised a number of protests at Shannon airport over the use of that facility by the US military.

"We all know that Shannon was used by the US during the build up to their war and it continues to be used today," he said.

"But with the higher rotation of troops from Iraq taking place it increases the possibility that Baldonnel will become a regular stop off point for American military planes heading to and from Iraq."

The Clondalkin Anti War

group has called a protest outside the gates of Baldonnel Airport for Sunday, May 9th at 3pm to highlight the US military use of the airport.

The Irish government has already confirmed that Baldonnel is being used by the American air-force. In answer to a Dail question in March 2003 Minister for Defence Michael Smith said that there had been 22 landings of United States Airforce military aircraft at Baldonnel in the previous year and a half.

These planes included Learjets, DC 9s, Hercules and 727s.

There will be car pool going to the protest from Clondalkin Village.

For more information contact Gino Kenny at 085-

7211574

■ Gino Kenny is a care worker and SIPTU shop steward and union activist. He is co-ordinator for the North Clondalkin Campaign against the Bin Tax.

He is standing in the Clondalkin/Newcastle ward in the forthcoming local elections as a SWP candidate.

Ballymun protest

UP to a hundred residents of Belclare and Poppintree in Ballymun took to the streets in late April.

They were protesting at plans by Ballymun Regeneration Limited (BRL) to drive a road through Poppintree Park. This, along with crowded development around the park will mean the decimation of one of the few local amenities.

Residents were angry that they had previously been told the road would not be built.

As one protestor told Socialist Worker, "This will create a rat run from Ballymun to Finglas and leave nowhere for our children to play."

The protestors marched to BRL headquarters at Ballymun Civic Offices.

They were joined by others protesting at the closure of the Corporation swimming pool and its replacement by a privately managed pool where youth clubs and other local groups will be squeezed out.

Kevin Wingfield, Socialist Workers Party candidate in the local election was on the protest and told Socialist Worker, "There is huge anger across Ballymun at the loss of amenities and poor housing provided by Ballymun Regeneration.

"Protests like this point the way forward. Ballymuners need to get organised to stop being given the run around by BRL and the City Council."

Belclare residents plan further protests in May.

ST MICHAEL'S ESTATE CAMPAIGN LAUNCHED

St Michael's Estate in Inchicore have just launched a campaign to save their community regeneration plan. This plan was launched by Dublin City Council with a promise that it would transform the area into "a very nice place to live".

The €83 million plan carried local people's hopes and wishes after two years of intensive consultation. City Manager John Fitzgerald said: "The last thing we want to do is get it wrong and have to re-do it all in 10 years time". The plan had everything which is needed to develop a decent community including facilities and a mixture of housing.

Then the plan was rejected by the Dept of the Environment saying there was no government money. The state now want to sell the "lucrative" 14 acre site to private developers who will provide limited social housing in a public-private partnership. As the campaign leaflet reminds us: Public land once sold never comes back into public stock. Dublin City Council are robbing land from the working class.

The campaign also reminds us that this is a David and Goliath battle. It's a local neighbourhood campaign to stop the destruction of a community. They ask for widespread support because what is happening in St Michael's Estate is happening in many other inner city flat complexes where land is valuable.

What St Michael's want is a regeneration for people. A place to grow up in, to belong to and to come back to. An urban village has people at its centre. They want their agreed plan back on the table. They cannot do it without widespread support. Get involved in their campaign by collecting petition signatures, volunteering for the campaign or donating funds. Contact information: www.pec.ie/michaels or contact Eilish Comerford, Regeneration Worker, Family Resource Centre, 70 St Michael's Estate, Inchicore, Dublin 8. Ph: 4533938.

NO TO PRIVATISATION OF THE CARLISLE PIER

Demonstration

Monday May 10th 7pm

Dun Laoghaire Town Hall

Organised by Save Our

Seafront

087 6329511 for details

Socialist Worker

(01) 8722682 <http://www.swp.ie> info@swp.ie

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MAY DAY MARCHERS FACE DOWN POLICE INTIMIDATION

WE ARE RIGHT TO PROTEST!



Irish Anti War Movement

NO WELCOME FOR BUSH



No More War No More Lies

DEMONSTRATION

Friday June 25 at 7.00pm,
Parnell Square, Dublin

Followed by buses to protest at location of Summit Meeting
between Bush and Bertie Ahem

Book your Bus places now or book a bus from your own area.

Info & Bus Bookings contact:

Tel: 087-7955013 / 087-2839964 / 087-1274315

E-mail: info@irishantiwar.org Web: www.irishantiwar.org Write to: PO.Box 9260, Dublin 1.

US MILITARY OUT OF SHANNON

PHOTO: INDYMEDIA

Turn to pages six and seven for full report