# Socialist Worker

**INSIDE** 'Muslims are being victimised: We cannot let them be isolated'



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#### McBrearty is just the tip of the Iceberg



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Cinn Eain marching

## RELEASE THE ROSSPORT FIVE JAIL THE REAL CRIMINALS



**Bertie Ahern:** Enterprise Oil (bought out by Shell in 2002) has held major fundraising events for Fianna Fail at the Galway Races. After Enterprise Oil lobbied the government, Ahern as Minister for Finance in 1992 reduced corporation tax on oil and gas to 25%, the lowest in the world. Ahern also met with the President of Shell to encourage the company to re-apply when its first planning application was rejected. Ahern supports the war criminal Bush by allowing 30,000 US troops per month through Shannon on their way to Iraq.





Andy Pyle: Managing Director, Shell E&P Ireland. It is Shell E&P that are responsible for taking out the injunction that has left these men in prison now for over seven weeks.





Michael Lowry In 1996 Fine Gael's Michael Lowry granted the licence for the Corrib Gas field to the consortium of Enterprise Oil (now Shell E&P), Statoil and Marathon Oil. Also involved in scandal over the awarding of mobile phone licence to Denis O Brien. O Brien gave big donations to Fine Gael.





#### sinn Fein marching toward the establishment, the aftermath of the IRA statement

**Kieran Allen** 

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#### New left Party in Germany

Interview with Christine Buchols from the Alternative for Social Justice

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The five men from Mayo known as the 'Rossport five' have been in prison now for over seven weeks.

Yet the real criminals like Ahern, Fahey, Burke and Lowry who gave away the natural resources of this country to private multinationals remain at large.

Gas prices are set to increase by 25 percent. If the gas off our shores hadn't been given to multinationals then the state could provide gas at much cheaper rates. These same politicians have been mired in corruption over their links with big business, developers and oil barons.

But how long will they spend in jail? It shows that in Ireland its one law for the rich and private companies and another for ordinary people who try to defend their rights.

Frank McBrearty Jnr is inviting all those who have suffered from state and garda corruption to his nite club on September 3rd to start planning a national campaign. The Shell to Sea campaign has called for a blockade of Shell Depots on September 10th and a march to Leinster House on October 1st demanding the five are released and Shell go offshore.

Already the sit-ins, rallies, boycotts and marches have forced Shell E&P to defer work on the gas pipe until next year.

This shows that people power can take on and win against the powerful multinationals and their corrupt political lackeys. The corruption that led to the disgraceful treatment of the McBrearty Family is the same state corruption that lies behind the jailing of the Rossport 5.

If the two campaigns linked together with other campaigns they could start to create a new political force. Such an alliance would be a real challenge to the corrupt state and an alternative to the likes of Labour, Greens and Sinn Fein who are grooming themselves to become part of the establishment.

### >>Shell story continues on Page 5

## How the G8 helped bring famine to Niger



A mother holds her baby which is suffering from malnutrition in the French humanitarian organization 'Medecins Sans Frontiers' camp in Maradi, Niger.

#### by LEO ZEILIG

The current food crisis in Niger is the clearest indictment of the "deal for Africa" agreed by the G8 last month. The deal continues to push the very neo-liberal reforms that are responsible for the unfolding disaster.

The scale of the crisis is huge. Of the 3.6 million people who live in the affected region, more than 900,000 urgently need food aid to survive.

However, Niger is not suffering from a lack of food. One commentator reported last week that "there are piles of onions, bundles of spinach" in Niger. Yet a few minutes drive away, "aid workers coax babies with spidery limbs to take sips of milk".

Under the guidance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the price of grain has shot up.

This is the true face of contemporary famine — starvation amid plenty.

Under the guidance of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) the price of grain has shot up. The government was given strict instructions not to interfere in the "natural" processes of the market.

The consequence of all these policies is that Niger's staple food, millet, has more than doubled in price in the last year.

Despite experts blaming the food crisis on plagues of locusts, the Famine Early Warning System Network, a US-based non-governmental organisation, has said these factors only had a "modest impact" on the harvest. This year's grain production was only 11 percent less than the average over the past five years.

#### Poverty

Prices have rocketed because traders have been exporting food to neighbouring countries where they can get higher prices.

The government ignored early warnings of a looming food crisis and refused to intervene. Intervention, they feared, would result in the country being refused further debt relief by the G8 countries.

Niger comes second to last on the UN Human Development Index. Yet the country has recently been lauded for its commitment to free market reforms, and has been held up as a model for poverty reduction in the region.

So wedded has the government been to free market reforms it has refused to distribute food free to those affected by the famine. The government's subsidised millet is still beyond the reach of the poorest people affected by the crisis.

At the same time as the G8 was meeting in Scotland last month, thousands of protesters marched in Niamey, Niger's capital, insisting that the government make food available to the poor.

Only in the last few weeks have the government and foreign donor countries grudgingly agreed to distribute food.

The World Food Programme (WFP), a UN agency, has been infected by the same belief in market-led solutions.

Earlier in the year the WFP shockingly refused to hand out free food, fearing that the interference in Niger's free market would sabotage the country's development strategy.

The neo-liberal policies imposed upon Niger have not come out of the blue. It was one of the first countries to introduce a structural adjustment programme in the early 1980s.

This programme was the condition attached to loans granted by the World Bank and IMF. These insisted on the liberalisation of the country's economy.

#### Privatisation

Twenty years later the country benefited from the Enhanced Highly Indebted Poor Country initiative, which gave debt relief on the condition of further economic reforms.

These reforms included the privatisation of key government enter-prises, especially electricity and petroleum companies.

As a direct consequence of these reforms the population is today poorer than it was at independence in 1958.

The country is still dependent on a handful of primary export products, while 90 percent of the workforce scratch out a living farming and cattle rearing.

More than 20 years of free market reforms and the current "poverty reduction" initiatives celebrated by the G8 — these are the real authors of the current misery in Niger.

Leo Zeilig is the editor of the collection Class Struggle and Resistance in Africa See www.swp.org.uk

### QUOTES IN AUGUST

"I'm totally outraged with the police. How can they kill workers? This is a pain that nothing is going to ever cure.'

Maria de Menezes, mother of John Charles Menezes, the Brazilian electrician shot dead by British police in London

"Muslims do not hate our freedom. but rather they hate our policies" Statement from the Pentagon's defence science board, Autumn 2004

"I have not the slightest doubt that if at the end of the First World War we had done what we promised the Arabs, which was to let them be free and have their own governments, kept out of Arab affairs and just bought their oil...this wouldn't have arisen"

Ken Livingstone, Mayor of London, on the terrorist attacks

"It is plain to all but the most blinkered that the US military are deluded in their faith that they will win if only they could bury enough insurgents beneath the rubble of Iragi homes'

The late Robin Cook, former British Foreign Secretary

"It's a huge success...too much so in fact, because one of the problems is the number of people phoning from outside to get in. But if it gets too crowded those who have paid top dollar complain about that, and it's understandable"

A Fianna Fail source describes the problems of having too many rich friends to invite to your tent at the Galway races

#### "We don't say that everything is flying in every respect. There are problems in some areas. But some of the problems are problems of success"

Minister for Finance Brian Cowen gives himself and his government a pat on the back for its progress so far

"We are getting the strong impression that there are subtle cutbacks which are affecting older people who can be particularly vulnerable and who may be regarded as a soft touch for example in situations where someone used to come in twice a week to give an old person a bath, that may now be down to once a week' Paul Murray of Age Action Ireland

"We don't understand why, if a private consortium can provide the service within the two years, the government couldn't do it within the same time frame"

Dick Roche, Chair of the South East cancer campaign group questions Mary Harney's plan to provide regional radiography services through the private sector

## INSIDE THE SYSTEM

#### A recent Threshold Report has revealed that 50% of households in Cork city dependent on rent supplement are forced to live in accommodation that doesn't meet basic standards.

Problems include windowless rooms, no sinks, inadequate heating dampness and mould. 12% of households had rat or other pest infestations.

Michael Bailey of Bovale Developments- a

company that has been the subject of damning criticism at the planning tribunals- was spotted around the Fianna Fail tent at this year's Galway races.

Bertie Ahern has hilariously described those attending, at the cost of €390 a head, as "ordinary Joe Soaps".

The Inspector of Mental Health Services has produced a damning report on the quality of services around the country.

This is not surprising given that the proportion of the national health budget applied to mental health services has been falling. It is currently 7% of the overall budget whereas in the North it stands at 9.2%. In England and Wales it is 11.6%

Plans are afoot to recruit people from K different ethnic backgrounds to the Gardai to reflect our modern multi cultural society. But instead of encouraging members of the immigrant population here to join up, Garda chiefs are planning to head to Hong Kong to find their new recruits. Maybe the fact that

Hong Kong police are armed and have a record of using excessive force in

#### handling protestors make it an attractive hunting ground for Irish security chiefs. The free legal aid service was established in Ireland 25 years ago. Those working in the service today have revealed that the state has failed to deliver on its

By DEIRDRE CRONIN

promises.

The service is narrowly focused, poorly resourced and excludes many who should be entitled to assistance.

"Now more than ever, the case for nuclear disarmament is of the highest priority. We must never forget what occurred in those tragic days sixty years ago, and do everything we can to make sure it never, never happens again" Carol Naughton Chair of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on the sixtieth anniversary of the bombing of Hiroshima by the US, when 140,000 people lost their lives

"If Shell is sincere about dialogue, why don't they lift the injunction? The men are very annoyed at the blatant cynicism of this move" Mary Corduff, wife of one of the Rossport Five, on Shell's supposed desire for dialogue

### **Protest/Events/Reports** email to swped@eircom.net Phone 01 8722682

#### PRIVATISATION

## Stop the sell-off of Dublin Bus

are being given no information

on the progress of talks or details

is why there has been no funding

for new buses since 2001. What

is required is an extra 150 buses,

as was promised by Ahern and

an adequate public subsidy so we

can have a proper transport serv-

to start some sort of tendering process that would in the long

term undermine our jobs and

demands to be competitive with

non union companies, with driv-

ers hired on lower rates and no

sick, or pension schemes. In

such a case we would face con-

stant demands to reduce our

conditions and adapt more "flex-

between our unions and the

Government before the autumn

drivers should look carefully at

to run our routes now or in the

future it should be rejected. We

need a strong campaign against any such deal. Our jobs are still,

unions represent our interests

(that's why we join unions) and

not do the Government's and the

Company's bidding for them.

Owen McCormack,

**Harristown Garage** 

We want to see our trade

If it allows private operators

Even if a deal is agreed

ible" work practices.

the details.

"not for sale".

Cullen, like Brennan wants

It would mean we would face

The real issue in Dublin Bus

of any deal.

conditions.

This autumn will see the latest attempts to sell off Dublin bus jobs and bus routes to private companies.

The Government and department officials have been meeting over the last months to work out a deal. So far workers have been told that Brennan's plans to break up CIE are gone and that their routes are safe.

But recently papers carried reports that the Govt is replacing the 1932 Act with a new Act designed to allow private operators tender for CIE routes. Exactly the same plan that Brennan had.

A new regulator would have the power to subsidise routes and would be obliged to allow private companies tender i.e. bid for them.

The spin being put on this is that the Government has no choice. It must do it because of a European court decision called the Altmark case.

It is expected that 15% of all new routes will be tendered on the open market.

But what constitutes a new route? If the running board on an existing route is changed or the route is extended by a couple of stops, is this now a new route?

There is a lack of information with unions, SIPTU and the NRBU holding a tight rein on information and banning all discussion on the negotiations.

What kind of democracy is this? Even our elected local reps

**DUN LAOGHAIRE** 

"Save Our Seafront the group

shopping complex on the site of

The event will take place on

an 8-story apartment and

Dun Laoghaire Baths have

announced the details of their

forthcoming March & Rally.

assembling at 1.30pm at the

for the rally and live music.

performances by Christy Moore,

Ronnie Drew & Mike Hanrahan

(formerly Stockton's Wing),

or more will attend the rally on

remain public property and

It will feature live

the last SOS rally in July.

September 18th.

Sunday September 18th

**Big march and rally** 

#### HOUSING



#### Andrew Brett on his protest

## Left homeless by **Dublin City Council**

This is a story of corruption and neglect by Dublin City Council. It shows the McBrearty case is just the tip of the iceberg of state negligence.

Andrew Brett went to go on the housing list in 1995. He gave the necessary evidence such as guardianship of his eleven year old daughter and medical evidence of his bronchitis and that he suffers claustrophobia.

He feels that he suffered quite badly at the hands of housing personnel in Dublin City Council (DCC). "They put me into Weavers Square in Dublin 8 and told me I had no option but to take it because of the housing situation. I disputed that it was illegal.

There were no bedrooms just a bare bed-sit but I was down for

**CIVIL SERVICE** 

a two-bed. I was robbed nine times in that flat and a stolen car was smashed through my door, he said.

Andrew continued, "I went back into DCC in 1996 and they left me homeless so I stayed in a B&B paid by the Eastern Health Board for seven months. I was eventually re-housed in a much smaller place in Tyrone Place. There were no bedrooms and no hot running water. I just couldn't stay there for due to my health reasons. I have tried to be rehoused since but they just leave me waiting for months. I was so angry and frustrated that four weeks ago I held a picket for a week at the City Council offices on Wood Quay.

They don't like anyone tackling them in there. They want to get away with what they can. They treat people illegally and disgracefully. There are many other stories of corporation harassment and intimidation. I am worried about others being left homeless and not given suitable accommodation. People are afraid of coming forward. I was told that 'they had more power than most government divisions'.

There used to be pickets on DCC in the 80s. Where have they gone? If they hadn't stopped we wouldn't be in this situation now. I plan to do another picket soon. I am encouraging anyone who has suffered like me or needs housing to come along and get involved.

**Contact Andrew at** 

#### **IN BRIEF**

#### Irish Anti-War **Movement A.G.M.**

By Sinead Ni Bhroin (IAWM steering committee)

The IAWM held a very successful AGM last month. It was well attended, with lively political and practical discussion. Abdul Haseeb's (IAWM steering committee member & administrator in the Islamic Centre on the South Circular Road) contribution to the discussion on Islamaphobia was a critical reminder that it is the imperialist policies of the Bush and Blair that brought bombs to London, not Islam.

There was discussion on the upcoming Shannon Peace Festival to be held on September 24th. Figures from the Shannon Airport Authority show 153,381 US troops have gone through Shannon between January and June of this year. Ireland is now a major war port for the US administration. This makes the Shannon Festival a critical event for all activists. The AGM also passed resolutions to support the IPSC's call for a boycott on Israeli products and to support the Shell to Sea Campaign.

#### **Ballymun Community** activists come together

The ongoing Regeneration of Ballymun has bitterly disapointed the community of 20,000 people.

Sub-standard housing, loss of amenities, lack of consultation and health and safety issues have sparked activists to organise protests and empaigns to oppose Ballymun regeneration Ltd (BRL).

In Shangan Green locals have picketed and stopped work on the building of a pub which they oppose, in Coultry residents used the same tactics to gain concessions on safety issues, while others have fough on issues like the bin tax and the demand for local employment opportunities on the building sites.

In August over 30 locals came together to discuss uniting their efforts. Several particpants described dangerous road and building sites, others pointed out how the area forums and local politicians had failed to represent the people.

With about half the new housing being private, the withdrawal of the rent allowances for local people is causing huge hardshp and resentment.

The meeing agreed to prepare a report outlining the failings of BRL. It also agreed to mobilise mass action if demolition begins on the old swimming pool and to organise to prevent the eviction from private housing of those cut off rent allowance

Contact kevin Wingfield on r more details

#### For safe and legal abortion

The Irish Family Planning Association (IFPA) has launched a campaign for the introduction of legal abortion services in Ireland.

The 'Safe and Legal in Ireland' campaign will include a legal initiative to challenge the status quo on abortion; a political lobbying campaign and national and international advocacy.

The IFPA's 'Safe and Legal in Ireland' campaign is all about end-



seafront heritage. If the council get away with privatising this key site other public sites across Dublin Bay and throughout the country will suffer the same fate. We appeal to locals and others further afield to come to the rally and support this important struggle." info@saveourseafront.ie"

developed as a public sea-baths and water amnenity without exclusive apartments or shopping centres.

SOS wish to see the Baths

Richard Boyd Barrett, one of the organisers of the event said: "This is vital fight to maintain and develop public amenities and

#### **TRALEE SHELL TO SEA**

Thursday, August 11th, a well attended public meeting was held in Tralee in solidarity with the Mayo based Shell to Sea campaign. The Kerry speakers at the meeting were from the local branches of Sinn Fein, the Green Party and the Socialist Workers Party. Sean Moraghan of the Socialist Workers Party stressed the significant environmental and health and safety risks at stake. A short discussion with the audience then followed upon which it was decided that we in Kerry would formally set up a Shell to Sea support group to meet regularly and also initiate civil protests around the country. Kieran McNulty, (Shell to Sea, Kerry Support Group,

The last payments under **Sustaining Progress have** brought fundamental changes to the terms of employment of civil servants.

Now up to 1 in 10 can be denied their yearly increase and up to 3 in 10 can be denied the right to go forward for promotion.

Initially this new rating system was to have a forced distribution of staff but after rounds of negotiation with unions the distribution of who gets what will be a 'guideline' figure and apparently everyone will be assessed on their 'individual merits'. However having the

workforce divided into percentiles surely contradicts assessing them individually and fairly.

**Opposing Social Partnership** 

What is being sold as an attempt to eliminate 'underperformance', is in fact a cost-saving exercise and unfortunately one which only a small number of civil and public sector workers fully understand.

A minority of the Civil Public and Services Union national executive does not accept these changes for the 2.5% Sustaining Progress and **Benchmarking payments** made in June We have launched a

campaign to inform members and to call a Special Delegate Conference to reverse the union's acceptance.

To convene this Special Delegate Conference will require the signatures of 25% of the membership and if the Conference votes to reject the guidelines then the recent payments will probably be withdrawn.

The alternative is to continue the cycle of more and more entitlements of low paid civil servants given away for minor wage increases.

ing the hypocrisy of exiling women in crisis pregnancy that choose to have an abortion. Last month, UK Ministry for Health statistics showed that 6,217 women who travelled from Ireland had abortions in England in 2004. Hundreds more women secured abortion services in countries such as the Netherlands, France and Spain last year. This highlights the hypocrisy of Ireland's legal ban on abortion, which is among the most restrictive in the world.

As a core activity of the cam-paign, the IFPA is facilitating a group of three women to challenge the Irish Government's ban on abortion in the European Court of Human Rights. Contact Karen Griffin, IFPA Communications Officer @ 01-8096003

## DEBATTE ON NEW LEFT **SEA in Derry**

#### By COLM BRYCE

The Socialist Environmental Alliance (SEA) has put the left on the political map in Derry and has established a reputation as a radical, progressive and anti-capitalist organisation, writes Colm Bryce.

Having now contested four elections since it was formed in Derry in 2001, it has also managed to unite the left and maintain that unity. It is the conventional wisdom in the North that 'proper politics' has to wait until the sensitive relationships between Protestants and Catholics are brought into a delicate balance. What the four main political parties meant by proper politics was the same neo-liberal, corporate-driven agenda pursued by Blair and Ahern.

Their vision was for Northern Ireland Plc to take its cap-in-hand place among the capitalist nations of the earth. The DUP, UUP, SDLP and Sinn Fein out-did themselves in privatising schools, hospitals and colleges when they were given half a chance.

They have been at it for years on local councils promoting Northern Ireland as a low wage, no tax paradise for multinational companies and counselling workers not to do anything that might scare away investment like demanding better wages or resisting factory closures.

The peace process was not the solution to the problem, instead it locked in the problem.

It drew everything like jobs, investment and housing into the cock-pit of communal rivalry.

If a hospital was being closed, the first question asked in the Assembly was "Is it a Protestant hospital or a Catholic hospital?" If people were moved into houses in North Belfast, was it altering the meticulous communal map of Protestant and Catholic streets? Nowhere was it asked why hospitals were closing or why there were not enough decent houses. Those were questions for another time.

The SEA tackled these questions while still not ignoring the deep roots of sectarianism in Northern Ireland, the wounds left by the Troubles, the deeply sinister role of the state in fomenting and sustaining the conflict.

But we insisted that the best way to create the conditions for resolving these problems and ending sectarianism was to begin by uniting working people on the common problems they faced.

The left in Derry had campaigned together, to stop a waste incinerator; to support striking workers; to oppose a newly-opened Raytheon arms factory; to oppose the Kosovo war; to demand justice for the Bloody Sunday dead. We were inspired by the anticapitalist movement and its spirit of unity.

Its members varied - from SWP and Socialist Party, the Green Party, the Women's Coalition, ex-republican activists, an anarchist or two, trade unionists, and independent socialists; linking in years of experience with the energy of a new generations of activists.

In the last election in May, we withdrew our election literature in support of action by local postal workers. Sinn Fein and the SDLP then followed suit.

I ran into the union rep later that week and he said that he was sure that every in the sorting office was voting for the SEA.

We also were the first to highlight a brutal assault on



Demonstrating in the Erris peninsular



#### By RORY HEARNE

The Rossport five have been in jail now for over seven weeks and the men are intent on continuing their fight.

The marches and protests such as the sit-in the relatives of the Rossport Five held at the offices of Mayo County Council and the Erris Inshore Fishermen's Association planned blockade gained their first major victory this week.

Shell has deferred laying the offshore pipeline until next year.

The company said, however that this will not affect the project's completion schedule. The impact of the campaign has also caused Fianna Fail's support to collapse in Mayo.

It is important that the campaign keeps its momentum over the next few weeks and takes on the myths and lies of the media, Shell and Fianna Fail.

50% state stake in any commercial well, and royalties of 6%-7%.

In 1984 Enterprise Oil a British company began lobbying to reshape the State's oil and gas agreements.

Initially it was the Labour Party's Dick Spring who in 1985 modified the 1975 agreement on Irish Offshore Exploration Licensing Terms and abolished the 50 per cent stake state option instead introducing a sliding scale of royalties and state participation.

Then Ray Burke completely abandoned the 50% Government stake in any commercially successful find and abolished payment of royalties.

In 1992 Ahern introduced a minimum taxation rate of 25%, all of which could be written off against costs. In 1995 Michael Lowry granted Enterprise Oil licences for the Corrib gas field. Shell saw Enterprise Oil's position and in April 2002 bought out Enterprise Oil for £4.7 billion. So lobbying of successive governments by the oil companies paid off handsomely for them.

#### What was given away?

The potential over 3 years in the Erris Slyne basin, which is the area opposite Mayo, is between 4 and 7 Trillion Cubic Feet (TCF), with expectations of between 4 and 5 TCF in the subsequent period. Gas is valued at \$5 Billion per TCF.

This values the reserves in the Erris Slyne basin at between \$45 and \$65 Billion. Each TCF represents a potential \$1 billion input into the local economy which services the off shore rig.

So, contrary to Dempsey's lies Mayo loses if Shell builds on-shore.

#### Why should shell go to sea?

Profit maximisation is why Shell wants to build a openine on shore even though it is unprecedented anywhere else in the world, rather than the more costly alternative of an offshore processing facility. By processing on shore Shell will reduce its capital costs by €360 million, and its operating costs by 40% per annum. The on-shore terminal at Bellanaboy will destroy natural features that are recognised as being of special importance. But it's the safety of the lives of those who will have to live next to the pipeline

that is the important issue. In Louisiana, USA a pipe at a pressure of 55bar ruptured in 1965 with a burn radius of 132m and another ruptured in 1976 at 55 bar with a burn radius of 120m.

In New Mexico, USA in 2000 a pipe at 45bar ruptured killing people up to a distance of 208m away. The proposed pipeline in Erris, Co. Mayo will be at 345bar and the distance to the nearest house is a mere 70m.

#### **Nationalise the** gas-no more privatisation

In the Faroe Islands no exploration company can operate without agreeing to a minimum government take of 55 per cent by way of taxes and royalties.

The oil companies are also obliged to give a commitment to develop a sea port in the area, and these are the same companies operating off the west of Ireland. In Norway, the government take was up to 79 per cent on some of the fields compared to zero per cent here. As gas prices rise by 25% we should not allow the politicians and multinationals take us for fools. We should demand an end to the private control of our resources and that instead the gas is provided by public utilities at much cheaper rates.

a group of young Protestants by the police, which would otherwise have been ignored.

We more than doubled our vote in local elections in the mainly Protestant area of the Waterside with David McAuley, a worker at Seagate, and also doubled our vote to over 570 votes in the Northland ward.

By putting our head above the parapet, the SEA has begun to establish a much wider reputation. People have come to us for support for campaigns such as saving the rail link to Derry, housing for residents in run-down flats and against homophobic attacks.

The co-operation that infuses everything we do is now a straightforward thing for us. We appeal to the rest of the left in the North and Ireland to do the same.

A vibrant, united, serious left alternative is needed by working people.

#### The scandal

The sell-off of Ireland's gas and oil reserves began with Des O'Malley in 1967 who gave control of the entire south coast of Ireland for £500 [€635] to Marathon Oil (USA) who went on to discover the Kinsale gas field.

From 1975 for oil and gas companies there was a tax rate of 50%, an automatic

Marathon Oil and Enterprise Oil both have donated large amounts of money to Fianna Fail with Enterprise Oil hosting numerous fundraisers for Fianna Fail.

## QUESTIONS IN THE MOVEMENT

## **Do protest** marches make any difference?

#### The slogan of the anti capitalist movement "another world is possible" reflects a desire that something radically different is needed.

Across Latin America, the streets are a political arena where hundreds of thousands challenge ruling political elites. In Bolivia two months ago peasants and striking workers demonstrated against the sale of the country's natural resources to multinationals.

The G8 is forced by public protest to meet in remote locations. The opposition to war in Iraq, unprecedented in its scale and global reach, brought people in remarkable numbers onto the streets.

The limitations of democracy, where it exists, have become all too clear.

Elections do not give people access to decision making even at a local level and people power on the streets has begun to emerge as a way that real influence can be exerted.

It is fair to say that but for the thousands that have taken to the streets, our movement- against war and global capitalism- would not exist.

We need to emphasise this because some activists worry about the effectiveness of marching. In the aftermath of February 15 2003, it was felt by some that the failure of millions on the streets to stop the war highlighted the limitations of this form of people power... our rulers don't have to listen.

However, this overlooks some important effects of F15. Bush and Blair went to war but in a context that they did not want.

Today in the US over 50% of the population want the troops to come home. This is directly related to the global protests that exposed from the beginning the lies and deceit that was used to justify the war.

Subsequent elections returned both Bush and Blair to power but those re-elections reflect the lack of any political alternative.

The effects of F15 have not gone away. On the Make Poverty History demonstrations in Edinburgh, people seamlessly linked the issue of world poverty with the war mongering of Bush and Blair.

History shows us that real change has come through people power on the streets. The French Revolution, the Russian Revolution and the pulling down of Stalinist regimes in Eastern Europe are a few examples.

Winning the right to vote, women's rights and civil rights all came as a result of vast public protest. Large protest marches then are a valuable weapon in the armoury of ordinary people.

They work because it allows people to raise the issues that our rulers, their media and their state don't want raised. It gives confidence, popularises opposition and encourages others to get involved. It often helps people make connections between issues.

But those who say that marching is not always enough are right. It is when the power of people on the streets is matched with our power as workers it can become unstoppable.

Because we do have a trump card- if we stop working,

A left alliance formed this year in Germany is becoming a pole of attraction on the left at the same time as undercutting electoral support for the extreme right.

Known as the Alternative for Social Justice (WASG) and formed in January 2005, it is headed by former finance minister Oskar Lafontaine and Gregor Gysi of the PDS, the Party of Democratic Socialism, the successor to East Germany's Communist Party.

Last month it decided to support the PDS-list with its candidates to offer a left voice in advance of the upcoming elections in Germany.

Opinion polls put the new alliance at 12 per cent, according to Christine Buchholz, who is on the national executive of WASG and is a leading member of the SWP's sister organisation Linksruck.

the five per cent hurdle for a seat in the federal parliament".

The Financial Times ran an article recently headlined Germany's neo-Nazis suffer from shift to left of society's disillusioned voters.

Last autumn Germany's neo-Nazi NPD won nearly one in 10 votes in the federal State of Saxonia.

But the FT article quotes the NPD's deputy chairman, as admitting that the protest vote is now looking to the left and voters look set to vote for the new Left party rather than the NPD.

Ms Buchholz continued: "In this process of building the election campaign we have attacked the bosses for trying to get further cuts through.

They want to make it much easier to fire workers, especially in smaller firms, she said.

Part of the conservative CDU election campaign is a proposal to increase VAT, that is the tax on goods people buy, which will hit the poorest hardest. "The SPD is in a contradictory position. "They want to continue the neoliberal policies of Agenda 2010 and labour reforms in Hartz IV and at the same time present themselves as a social alternative to the CDU," she said. "The WASG is saying that we need a radical change in politics which at the moment is dominated by

the CDU and the SPD whose policies are the same.

We need a politics that demands taxing the rich and corporations, introducing better protection for real jobs, for trade union rights and saying no to the war on terror and yes to getting the German troops out of Afghanistan," she maintained.

However Ms Buchholz went on to say that while this huge new force on the left in German politics is emerging, it is not without its contradictions.

"Parts of the PDS feel that its okay to go into government to stop the worst aspects of market reforms they are in government in Mecklenburg-Vorpommern, a state in the north East of Germany and Berlin," she said.

"But we are arguing that it's vital to see that we can't just put aside some demands, we have to fight for all of them.

"The creation of the WASG, involving many middle rank trade unionists, has created a pole of attraction away from the SPD in the workers movement," she continued.

"The creation of this pole of attraction is to help trade unionists distance themselves from the SPD and has undoubtedly influenced the recent announcement by the trade unions that they will organise political strikes against any attacks by the new government," she said.

"The coming together of the PDS and WASG is important in breaking the five per cent hurdle and getting left candidates elected to parliament.

"The WASG is growing considerably but after the election we will be raising the question of creating a more plural new left party," Ms Buchholz said.



**A New Left in Germany** 

WASG demonstrate over welfare cuts

the capitalist system comes to a halt.

The billionaires, who strut across the globe, and their political puppets, are only powerful as long as we create their wealth for them in their factories, sweatshops and call centres.

Ultimately it is this power that can topple the system and become the basis for creating something different.

People power is a potent force. It doesn't mean that we don't also use other tactics in our fight to change the world.

But to underestimate the power of protest marches, whether it's to release the Rossport Five or to prevent the privatisation of natural resources in Latin America, is a big mistake. Our strength lies in the fact that we are many, they are few.

We need to constantly remind our rulers and ourselves of this.

In an interview with Socialist Worker, Ms Buchholz said: "This is a massive shift to the left. The conservative Christian Democrats (CDU) and Schroder's Social Democrats (SPD) are being forced to give off a left image. "It's now very unpopular to talk of neoliberalism and social cuts which is a huge

success.

"Only six months ago the Nazis thought they could get into the Bundestag.

"But now it looks like they will not even get over

"To stop the reforms we have to rely on the trade union movement and the movement in general and not the government," she stated.

"The experience shows that being part of the government doesn't lead to a fundamental change of politics but leads to you adapting your politics," she said.

"The government is an obstacle to building resistance and resistance is needed to win.

Opposition to neoliberalism and war is giving rise to new left alliances and parties across Europe.

Along with the WASG in Germany there is Rifondazione in Italy, Respect in Britain, the SSP in Scotland, the Left Block in Portugal amongst others.

In Ireland the movements and the left should learn from what is happening in Europe and start to come together to create a new left alliance.

## The "War on Extremism" – A World turned upside down

#### By RICHARD BOYD BARRETT

In the wake of the recent bomb attacks in London and Sharm El Sheikh, George Bush and Tony Blair have declared a new "global war against violent extremism." In Britain, the new war will take the form of draconian new security measures.

Some of those mentioned include compulsory ID cards, racial profiling, special anti-terrorist courts, new laws banning organisations accused of being "extremist" and new crimes such as "indirect incitement or justification of terrorism".

These measures suggest a serious attack on the civil liberties of all citizens and increased harassment of the Muslim community, in particular.

Racial profiling will give police the power to single out particular racial or ethnic groups for harassment and search, providing legal legitimacy to institutional racial discrimination. With the finger of blame for the London attacks being pointed out at Islam it is clear the Muslim community will particularly suffer as a result of such a measure.

#### **Detained without change**

Proposed special terrorist courts will allow suspects to be detained for months without charge or trial on the word of secret courts with no juries. Defendants will not have the freedom to choose their own lawyer but will be defended by counsel selected and vetted by the state.

Proposed new crimes such as "incitement", "indirect incitement" or justifying terrorism, allowing the banning of "extremist" organisations raises the prospect of critics of government policy being banned or criminalised.

Many in the anti-war movement, for example, defend the right of Iraqis to resist the US/UK occupation. The right of occupied peoples to armed resistance is clearly established in International law. Yet under the planned legislation supporting or defending such resistance may be a criminal offence.

Socialist organisations that describe themselves as revolutionary because they believe in a more extensive form of democracy than the existing parliamentary system could also be targeted.

The most alarming of all the new policies being introduced in the so-called "war on extremism" was witnessed with the horrific shooting of Brazilian Carlo De Menzies. The innocent young Brazilian was brutally shot eight times at point blank range in the head as he lay face down on the floor of a London tube. His only crime was to be dark skinned, wear a padded jacket and run from two men wearing plain clothes that he clearly did not recognise as policemen.

While apologising for the murder the Police and Blair's government restated their intent to continue the policy of shootto-kill and even admitted that more innocent civilians might be killed as a result.

#### **Blair's nonsense**

Blair says such draconian measures are needed to prevent atrocities like 7/7 being repeated. This is nonsense.

The ideas and writings of Al Qaida and others are easily accessed on the Internet regardless of any bans or laws a government may impose. ID cards would have done nothing to stop the 7/7 attackers who were British citizens. Laws aimed at increasing levels of harassment for Muslims will fuel the alienation that provides recruits for Al Qaida in the first place.

Most importantly, the war on violent extremism is based on hypocrisy and an attempt to cover-up for the real violent extremists – Bush and Blair themselves.

Since 7/7 Blair has dishonestly denied any link between the London bombings and the Iraq war. Yet London was placed on high alert since the war started precisely because the British authorities knew the invasion would fuel support for Al Qaida. In the most recent poll 85% of Britons believe the Iraq war and London bombings are connected.

The "global war on extremism" turns the world on its head. The US and Britain slaughters tens of thousands of innocent people with tanks, missiles and cluster bombs and call it "liberation." Those that resist such actions or simply condemn their hypocrisy are labelled "extremist" and criminalised.

Bush and Blair's policies and blatant hypocrisy will further escalate the cycle of violence that US and western foreign policy in the Middle East has created.

The resistance of the Iraqi people to occupation and the solidarity of the International anti-war movement are the key to ending the conflict and violence and preventing further London-style attacks.

In 2003, Bush's envoy Richard Haas publicly thanked the government for the use of Shannon. He stated that in terms of "location and capacity" "Shannon was one of the most capable facilities in this part of the world."

Military Analyst, Tom Clonan, writing stated that Shannon was "absolutely vital" to the US military as its location allows the US to maximise the "fuel to weight" ratio of the planes allowing them to carry less fuel and more troops and equipment

### Why Shannon matters-Protest September 24th



Left: devastation in Fallujah; Right: The bodies of bricklayers arrested on suspicion and held in closed va



#### By RORY HEARNE

Last January the British and US governments claimed that the elections in Iraq were going to "pave the

way to a stable situation" in Iraq. Now they claim the new constitution will bring stability. But as long as the US and British troops

At least 37 US military personnel have been killed in Iraq in the last 10 days which brings the US death toll to more than 1,800 and at the hands of coalition forces who are "still the main cause of death".

#### **No WMDs**

Bush and Blair lied about the reasons they went to war in Iraq. No WMDs were found and there is no proven link between 9/11 and Saddam.

Bush's approval rating for his handling of Iraq has dropped to an all-time low of 38% while 51% of Americans believe the Bush administration deliberately misled the public about WMDs in the run-up to the war.

On the back of this the US antiwar movement is regaining strength. It is planning a huge demonstration on September 24th

calling for troops home now.

In a significant move, the A CIO union federation in the which represents millions of workers, voted last week to cal an end to the occupation of Iraq the quick return of US troops.

It is the first time in its 50 history that the AFL-CIO has ta a position directly opposed major US foreign policy or mil action.

A national tour by anti-occ tion Iraqi trade unionists in , this year travelled to a number cities speaking to large group US workers urging them to sup an end to the occupation.

Once again Taoiseach Ahern says Ireland is playing no role in the Iraq war and there is no danger of London style attacks here. Yet the government claims AI Qaida cells exist in Ireland. Such is the threat; they claim they need to introduce similar draconian security measures to those planned in Britain.

The government has signed a new treaty for enhanced co-operation with US intelligence services to monitor, arrest and interrogate "terrorist" suspects in Ireland. Both can't be true. In the first six months of 2005 153,381 US troops came through Shannon. This is double the number that went through last year. It is also roughly the number of US troops presently in Iraq. In January alone, 34,647 US troops went through, almost treble the monthly average going through in 2003 when the invasion began. The London and Madrid bombings show countries connected to the US led occupation of Iraq are potential targets. Ireland may not be a prime target but for Ahern to say there is no risk is a lie.

More importantly, Ahern is acting against the wishes of the majority of people in this country who want no association with Bush's brutal colonial war in Iraq.

On September 24th at Shannon it is vital we join with the US and British anti-war movements to say no to war and no to collaboration with war.

For information on buses to Shannon contact 087 6329511 or in Northern Ireland 07742531617

22 car bombs, with 10 on a single day.

with more than 13,000 wounded. In

Reporter Patrick Cockburn said after a recent visit to Iraq, "Iraq is now an unwinnable conflict that is inspiring a worldwide insurgency". He wrote "The government, whose members seldom emerge from the Green Zone, make bizarre efforts to pretend that there are signs of a return to normality."

A report by the UK-based group Iraq Body Count (IBC) shows that a total of 24,865 civilians were killed and 42,500 wounded in the first two years of the war (almost 20% of them women or children). The report lays the blame for the killing 51% of Americans

believe the Bush

administration

deliberately misled the

public about WMDs in

the run-up to the war

#### **Trade unions**

Bush and Blair try to paint of sition to the occupation as "for jihadis and extreme fundamen ists" but the truth is the overwhing majority of Iraqis want US British troops to leave immedia

Ghasib Hassan, of the I Federation of Trade Unions "this is not liberation it is occ tion. At the beginning of the century, we thought we'd seen end of colonies, but now w entering a new era of colonisatio On the 22nd of July 15, Southern Oil Company wor



n for 14 hours—they all died

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Despite being the capital of Iraq's oil reserves, the governorate is still struggling with entrenched poverty, malnutrition and an unem-June ployment rate of 40%. er of os of

limited capacity.

Recruitment and retainment in he US army is in crisis proportions

from the General Union of Oil

Employees - Iraq's largest inde-

pendent union -held a 24-hour

strike today for a higher percentage

of Southern oil revenue to be

ploughed back into Basra's local

economy. Basra's sewage system,

electricity grid and medical services

are still damaged and running at

US Military Out of Shannon Ireland Peace Rally Saturday September24th

## The demonisation of Islam

#### By GORDON HEWITT

Despite Tony Blair's protestations to the contrary, since the July 7th bombings there has been a relentless demonisation of Islam and the people who follow

Politicians, reporters, news presenters and various 'experts' have all denounced Islam as a reactionary ideology which spurred the suicide bombers.

Blair has claimed that Islamic militants are conducting a religious war and has banned a non-terrorist Islamic organisation. He has also introduced new laws to deport Islamic clerics, curtailed civil liberties with the introduction of stop and search, shoot to kill and detention without charge or trial (internment), and put the blame for the suicide bombings on to the Muslim community.

The result has been a dramatic rise in racist and faith based attacks.

The Islamic human rights commission stated that they had had 320 complaints of attacks in the week after the July 7th bombings, whereas prior to that the number of complaints was steady at 5 per week.

The Metropolitan Police issued a statement saying that faith based crimes had increased by 600 per cent., and the most recent survey of police forces saw a substantial increase in race and faith based attacks over a wide range of constituencies, not just in London.

While it is easy to see how this has been driven by Blair's government desperate to find a scapegoat to divert attention away from the real cause of the bombings in London, the war in Iraq in particular and British and US foreign policy in general, there are however some underlying issues which socialists and anti-capitalists need to have clear answers to.

#### **Reactionary ideology**

Is Islam the reactionary ideology that not just Tony Blair, but some on the left argue? Does it somehow lead to suicide bombing in a way that other ideologies do not?

There is a common currency that Islam is akin to fascism.

Is this the case? And what of "Islamic Fundamentalism" surely no socialist could support such an ideology.

Islam is like all religions. It is contradictory. I stayed in a village in Palestine a few years ago which was considered a Hamas village.

Most of the people were Hamas supporters, and devout Muslims. Within the regular visitors to the house in which I was staying were vicious anti-Semites who supported the "martyrs" and wanted their sons to be

suicide bombers, other people who utterly rejected this form of struggle saying that it was best to go through the democratic processes, a woman's rights activist who had gone on a hunger strike after refusing an arranged marriage (she won and the marriage did not go ahead), a person who was opposed to fighting the occupation because it brought suffering and various women who "refused to be dishwashers," along with various men who thought that when I washed the dishes I was being subservient to women.

There were women who wore a full veil and others who wore a half veil and others who didn't want to wear any veil.

Islam is a broad church of progressive and bigoted ideas.

On the one hand there can be the Islamic tax on the wealthy, and on the other the view that employers should be respected.

A brief reading of Islam for Today shows the scope. It is for the free market, and for the rule of law.

It is for democracy and for minority rights within it.

It is against state ownership of the means of production which is

forbidden apparently under sharia law, and opposed to socialism because it restricts the rights of the individual.

It also appears to stand for relatively liberal views with regards women in society.

#### **Political Islam**

Socialists defend people's rights to worship in whatever form their religious ideas sees fit but we also seek to understand the basis of the religious ideas and put forward alternatives to them. But what of "Political Islam", or the Islamic Fundamentalism of the Taliban?

Firstly, Blair has lied about many of the ideas of some of these groups particularly with regards to the demands of Al Qaida.

According to David Morrison's excellent analysis of the London Bombings, Al Qaida have asked for western forces to be withdrawn and for an end to support of Middle Eastern dictators.

Nowhere does it say what the troops should do once at home, what religion they should practice or what economic system should exist.

As for suicide bombing there is nothing specifically Islamic about it at all. The secular Kurdish group PKK and the secular nationalist Tamil Tigers both used this method.

There has never been a suicide attack from Iran or from the Sudan both hard-line Islamist countries.

Between October 2003 and October 2004 the number of US soldiers going AWOL's went from 500 to 5,000 and that is Pentagon figures.

The crisis inside Iraq and the US ntalis deepening. The anti-war movement must keep the focus on Iraq and and deepen the crisis for Bush and Blair. That's why we must turn out raqi in large numbers on September said 24th to demand the troops come home now. 21st

> See AFL-CIO report www.aflcio.org/aboutus/thisisthe aflcio/convention/2005/ns0727 2005.cfm

with music by: The Revs Jimi Cullen \*The Chapters \*Pete Courtney \*Cypher \*Dermot Byrne \*22 \*Idle Hands \*Mark OConnor

Assemble Shannon Town for March to Rally and Music Shannon Airport from 2pm

Irish Anti-War Movement vw.irishantiwar.org/ info@irishantiwar.org /01 8727912

Because the class base of some Islamic movements is akin to that of fascist groups it can easily be mistaken as the same thing, but this is a mistake

Political Islam is far more contradictory than that, and doesn't necessarily mobilise the middle classes to attack the working class.

There is also an anti-imperialist element to political Islam which confronts often the existing state structures.

Therefore islamo-facism is a misleading description.

The failure of secular or even Islamic nationalism to advance the struggle against imperialism, combined with the high levels of personal and political alienation many young people and particularly young Muslims feel in Bush and Blair's new world has opened the door for more extreme forms of political Islam.

Today we need to defend Muslims against race and faith based attacks while understanding the roots of Islamic ideas and of their more extreme variants.

Knee-jerk reactions to Islam which accept the racist ideas of the ruling class will not get us anywhere.



## Rules of the game are changing

"The rules of the game are changing. This is the beginning of what will be a lot of battles in the months ahead", declared Tony Blair. Using the London bombings as an excuse, he is introducing legislation that uses a definition of terrorism that could include anyone who criticises state policy.

Here in Ireland attacks on our civil liberties are evident in the new 'anti-terrorism' treaty signed with the US and in the proposed Criminal Justice Bill which includes ASBOs and further powers for the Gardai such as stop and search and detaining people without charge.

Blair compared the threat from the ideology of Al Qaida as ""something of the same characteristics as revolutionary communism." It is no longer a war against terror but a war against extremism (i.e. Islam).

Islam has replaced communism as their justification for global war. Bush and Blair are ratcheting up their preparations for a broader war.

They are threatening sanctions against Iran over its nuclear development. Domestically they are targeting 'extreme' Islamists but could include socialists, anti-capitalists, anarchists, civil rights campaigners, the five mayo men in jail and anyone who 'incites hatred against the state'.

But no amount of anti-terror legislation or measures will turn off the tap of recruits to Al Qaida and suicide bombings. The source is western imperial crimes in Iraq and the wider Middle East.

In building for Shannon on the 24th, the anti-war movement has to argue in the media, on the streets and in workplaces why the troops must leave Iraq immediately, why our civil liberties should not be rolled back and why Muslims are not the cause of terrorist bombings.

## The Colombia three return

Miscarriages of justice and human rights abuses are at disgusting levels in Colombia. In 2001, UN researchers estimated that in Colombia one woman 'disappears' every 14 days.

Three out of four murders of trade unionists internationally takes place in Colombia. The Colombian government backed by the US in its so called 'war on drugs' pay right-wing paramilitaries to carry out attacks against the left-wing insurgents FARC. Many of the resource-rich parts of Colombia are controlled by FARC.

In their first trial in Colombia the judge found Jim Monaghan, Niall Connolly and Martin McCauley not guilty. He heard direct evidence from all the witnesses. The appeal court which heard no witnesses overturned that ruling and imposed a seventeen years sentence on the men.

In light of these facts the media and establishment reaction to the return of the three was disgraceful. But it was not surprising. For the PDs, Fine Gael and the Labour Party it was another opportunistic and cheap chance to bash the republicans.

But the three should be welcomed home and not extradited back. Instead, Colombia's appalling human rights record must be highlighted.

### **COMMENT/OPINION** Send your views to swped@eircom.net



A subsidiary of Coca-Cola has threatened Mr. Sharad Haksar with a lawsuit unless the billboard he drew (above) was replaced. Directly preceding the Coca-Cola ad, and part of the billboard, is a dry water hand-pump,with empty vessels waiting to be filled up with water. Mr. Haksar's billboard highlights the severe water shortages being experienced by communities that live around Coca-Cola's bottling plants across India. visit: www.sharadhaksar.com www.IndiaResource.org

## **McBrearty just the tip of the iceberg**

#### By EAMONN McCANN

Susan couldn't understand why the guards insisted her husband must have been killed by a glancing blow from a wing-mirror.

The father-of-three had stepped out of his taxi to leave a passenger off. He was a big man, an ex-boxer, six foot plus, 22-stone. The blow had sent him flying clean over a ditch. She was puzzled that the driver of the death car hadn't been breathalysed.

'Sure there was no need', the superintendent told her. The incident had happened at 4am on the morning after Xmas. She discovered CCTV footage of the driver drinking in two pubs earlier. But the superintendent wasn't impressed. 'That's no good. If he was drunk at 3.30am, it doesn't prove he was drunk at four' he said.

The man had been allowed to leave the scene, given a lift home. When Susan pressed on, the superintendent roared that if her husband had survived he would be up on very serious charges. "It was then I realised that this man wasn't here to help me," Susan says. "But he wanted to find something damaging or intimidating, to keep me quiet." She suspects senior guards involved in the case were in a close relationship with an insurance company. nightclub owned by the McBrearty family.

Over an afternoon, a dozen families from around the state told of false charges brought in some cases, no charges in others, of lost forensics and perjured evidence, of bluster and threat.

What the cases had in common was suspicion of garda corruption, and anger at the refusal of the political system to get to grips with it.

Albert Fullerton told of the farce which passed for an investigation into the 1991 murder in Buncrana of his father Eddie, a Sinn Fein councillor.

There had been no forensic examination of the scene. Evidence suggesting collusion by Northern security forces was ignored.

A mother of eight whose fisherman husband was lost off Kinncasslagh in 1981 told why she believed that political corruption to do with tonnage allocation lay behind the authorities' failure to probe the case tried to frame for a murder which never happened, hopes will mark the launch of a national campaign against corruption in public life.

#### **Corrupt system**

The conditions are ripe. In every area of the state, people know that the system is corrupt, that those with clout are often immune to the laws that the rest of us must live under.

Banks rob ordinary citizens, businessmen ride roughshod over planning regulations, judges turn a blind eye to truths which don't suit them, the cops fit people up.

And most of the time most of the people feel there's nothing they can do about any of it.

To take on the issue is to risk retaliation. Legal action requires money ordinary people don't have.

Solicitors are reluctant to go against people with power. The mainstream media act as mouthpieces for the establishment. Few politicians want to know. The victims, stressed out, suffer in silence. But a campaign which draws various cases together could give people a confidence which it is impossible to develop in isolation. It would resonate right across society. There is a widespread understanding that the cases which have come to light don't represent a deviation from the norm, a distortion of the way things generally are done. They are typical of the way society works. It is this which gives the campaign Frank McBrearty Jr. has in mind its huge potential. Every socialist should be involved.

### **Inspirational Heathrow workers**

SIPTU recently launched their campaign against the privatisation of Aer Lingus with the publication of a pamphlet 'The Alternative to Selling Our National Airline'.

There is a stark contrast between SIPTU's strategy of campaigning and the inspirational solidarity strike action Heathrow workers, led by T&G members, took last week to defend their conditions and rights. SIPTU does not take any action that is against Social Partnership.

This strategy is destroying workers rights, public services and union organisation. Irish workers need to campaign urgently for a union movement that follows the Heathrow strategy.

#### **Families' stories**

Susan's was one of a succession of stories of garda misbehaviour and worse recounted at a meeting last month at Frankie's, the Raphoe probe the cuse.

She named TDs from whom she had sought help and who had instead had made it more difficult for her, "Pat the Cope? Pat the Joke!"

The meeting made the connection between, on the one hand, garda corruption of the sort which the Morris Tribunal is supposedly investigating and, on the other hand, political corruption whereby crooked politicians and businessmen routinely conspire to rip the public off.

A further meeting is set for Frankie's on September 3rd, which Frank McBrearty Jr., the man gardai

## AFTER THE IRA STATEMENT Sinn Fein marching toward the establishment

#### By KIERAN ALLEN

he IRA disbandment statement came as an anti-climax. Rather than the normal statement signed by 'P.O Neill', a middle aged man appeared on video to state that the IRA was being wound up. Unlike previous orders to dump arms, it will be followed by a ritual gesture of de-

it will be followed by a ritual gesture of decommission to appease Ian Paisley. The British government welcomed

the move because they can now redeploy more soldiers to Iraq. IRA spokespeople themselves also started a new myth about their own campaign.

They were supposed to be fighting a clean war for national liberation – unlike the 'Islamic terrorists' who massacred civilians wholesale.

The modern Provisional IRA was born after pogroms conducted against Catholic areas in Belfast and Derry by Orange mobs, police and a state sanctioned para-military force, the B Specials.

The British army intervened, supposedly to protect the Catholic population but soon it was bolstering the loyalist state, imposing curfews and ransacking Catholic areas like the Falls. This led hundreds to join the IRA.

#### **Terrible events**

Inevitably, in the course of the thirtyyear conflict, there were terrible events, which brought suffering to large numbers of civilians. The Le Mon bombing or Bloody Friday were just some.

But terrible as the violence was, it was a response to state led violence and sectarian oppression. The 'shoot to kill policies' and banning orders which Blair is using in Britain today, were all perfected in Northern Ireland.

It is true that the IRA did not kill as many civilians in one incident as the London bombers. But this is not because they were republicans rather than Islamic militants or because theirs was national liberation whereas the other was just 'fanaticism'.

As the Algerian writer Franz Fanon pointed out, the scale of violence of the oppressed is directly affected by the nature of the oppression that rules over them. The Iraqi people have faced more devastation in two years than Ireland faced in thirty.

The brutality and humiliation that has been imposed on Arabs and Muslims by Western imperialism is far more intense that that endured in Ireland.

So it is only the levels of anger and desperation that distinguishes the psychology of an IRA fighter from today's suicide bomber.

Which is not to glorify either - but to explain.

Unlike republicans, socialists have never believed that actions of a brave few was the 'cutting edge' which changed history.

The ethos of republicanism is that sacrifice and martyrdom awakes the passive masses and, once awakened, their role was to support the republican



Adams, McGuinness and others outside number 10 Downing St

struggle against empire.

A united Ireland forged though the existing Irish state over the back of a million Protestants would bring institutionalised sectarianism on a scale even greater than now exists under the Belfast agreement.

But even before this, there are two serious obstacles on Sinn Fein's way.

The first is policing. The RUC was a deeply sectarian force – and the PSNI is little better. Like all police forces, its main activities are directed at working class people – rather than the rich who break all laws with impunity.

Yet Adams and McGuiness have already reached an understanding that Sinn Fein will eventually support the police and encourage their members to join – after they win some extra concessions. Adams has promised to hold a special Sinn Fein conference on this issue.

At a recent meeting during the West Belfast festival, the South African police were held up as a role model to follow.

There was no mention, however of how the same South African police have recently violently attacked anti-privatisation protestors.

The second is neo-liberalism. You cannot participate in government with right wing parties today and not adopt neo-liberal economics.

When Sinn Fein was in government in Northern Ireland they supported privatisation schemes in health and education and also favoured a reduction in corporation profits tax. In the coming years, this trend will increase.

#### Debate

Danny Morrison has said that the winding up of the IRA will open the way to more debate in Sinn Fein – and he is probably right on this.

For the first time in decade, the leftright conflicts within the party can start to come into the open.

But the Adams leadership will seek to control this by a greater emphasis on gesture politics. Once whiff of gunpowder is removed, you need other mini-dramas to sustain your movement.

So Sinn Fein will press for Northern representatives to get a voice in the Southern parliament or they may even consider running Adams for Presidency next time around.

This type of gesture politics will seek to re-enliven the old cleavage in Southern politics between the republican block of FF/ Sinn Fein and the Fine Gael/Labour axis.

The stupidity of Labour is that they play right into this by dovetailing their rhetoric to Fine Gael's.

In response to a question about Sinn Fein entry into government, Labours Rosin Shorthall sounded more like Ian Paisley in calling for a 'decontamination period' while labours Liz McManus effectively called for the arrest of the Colombia Three

fighters.

Socialists, by contrast, point to the power of working people to organise themselves; to collectively move from small steps to militant actions; and through 'people power' to bring the rich and powerful to their knees.

If the dissolution of the IRA were to be followed by a new strategy to foment militant struggle from below, socialists would thoroughly welcome it. Unfortunately, it will not be.

## Armed struggle or constitutional nationalism?

Historically, Irish republicanism switches from armed struggle to consti-

tutional nationalism. The speed of the switch can come as a surprise. In 1922, Eamon de Valera was a fugitive from the law.

By 1926, he broke from the armed struggle to set up Fianna Fail on the basis of radical rhetoric. By 1932, he was in government paving the way for Irish capitalism.

In the 1940s, Clann na Pobhlachta was formed by former IRA members. By 1948, they were in a right wing coalition government with Fine Gael.

There is ample evidence that Gerry Adams and Martin McGuinness will pursue the same track.

Their aim is to enter government in

Colombia I nree.

the South with Fianna Fail and to force

the bigot Ian Paisley into coalition with

respectability and expand their organi-

sation in the South by recruiting more

electoral candidates from professional

activity on an all Ireland basis combined

with the growing Catholic population in

the North will bring an all Ireland by

be true, it would bear little resemblemble

to the original republican ideal of uniting

Catholic, Protestant and dissenter in a

Even if such a scenario turned out to

2016, the centenary of the 1916 rising.

They believe that constitutional

They want to don the mask of

them in the North.

backgrounds.

#### New left alliance

However, Irish politics does not have to be a fight about a green block versus an orange rainbow.

The fundamental issue now is who is willing to fight the corporate take over of the country – without compromising or seeking to manage Irish capitalism.

It is vital that a new left alliance is forged that offers a real challenge to the fake radicalism of the Sinn Fein leadership.

This challenge must be built on the ground through giving a lead to local struggles. But it must also offer a different type of politics to republicanism.

fugitive from the law.

In 1922, Eamon

de Valera was a

#### By 1926, he had

broken from the

#### armed struggle to

set up Fianna Fail

## PREVIEW **Revolutionary sound at Festival of World Cultures**

By Rory Hearne

Ojos de Brujo are a flamenco hiphop collective from Barcelona and sound like a cross between Asian Dub Foundation and Manu Chao.

They infuse a mix of musical genres – the strongest influence is the traditional Spanish Flamenco (a haunting music of the 'Gitanos' or Spanish gypsys) but also include Indian, Catalan, rumba, reggae and electric. Ojos de Brujo or 'Eyes of the Wizard' in English are a sevenman/one-woman collective.

Their music is quite political and reflects the views of Marina Albad their lead singer and songwriter.

A song off their new album is dedicated to street children and the dangers they face (they did a concert recently in Mexico city dedicated to the street children there). In a recent interview with the Manu website inspired Chao 'Radiochango' Marina said "I think that as a person who writes lyricssomething very idealistic-art is always on the side of ordinary people.

"You can get across what you see and hear on the street". 'Revolution' Radiochango was set up in 2000 to "promote interna-tionally 'mestiza' music which is a mixture of rhythms that know no borders and protests against injustice.

"To be at the same time a catalyst for rebellion and the struggle for a better world". Marina continued, "Until I see a better world I wont stop complaining. I open my eyes and all I can see are the problems created by capitalism.

"We have a system that is falling apart. A system that is made to



Ojos de Brujo

#### screw the poor."

They won the 2004 BBC 3 World Music Award and are currently working on their third selfproduced album, which includes collaborations with leading musicians Nitin Sawhney and Asian Dub Foundation. Should be a great

Picture Copyleft Jose M Conlon Toscano

of World Cultures in Dun Laoighre on Saturday 27th August @ 5pm @ Newtownsmith Main Stage

www.radiochango.com/english

Ojos de Brujo play at the Festival http://www.festivalofworldcultures.com

#### **Come Good Rain**

George Bwanika Seremba will read from his awarding winning play Come Good Rain at the Festival, Based in Dublin since 1997, George was forced to leave Uganda in 1980 having barely survived a botched execution at the hands of Uganda's military Intelligence.

His play Come Good Rain ran in Trinity recently. It was a moving, insightful and inspiring play. But it was much more than a play. It was just George and a drummer and between the two they brought to life George's incredible story.

He was a student activist and as a result was supposed to be executed by the Ugandan military. But they messed it up and he escaped. In a discussion after he said "my play is about hope.

Africa is full of hope. When I left Uganda it was torn apart by the military. Now it is torn apart by poverty and the World Bank." Unfortunately, as with many great political artists in this country he finds it difficult to get financial support for his work.

Another reason why we should have a well funded public arts.

While the Festival is a great example of what can be done by Local Government they should make a commitment to adequately staff their arts and heritage and other cultural, recreational and community departments sufficiently to ensure year-round cultural use of public spaces and to encourage community ownership of cultural development.

George reads on Saturday 27th in the Pavilion Theatre at the Festival at 2pm

#### **Discussions at the** Festival

Sunday 28th - Pavilion Theatre -2pm - AT HOME IN THE WORLD Can indigenous music survive in a rootless and restless global culture? When everything is mixed up and cross-pollinates, is it possible for anything to be authentic anymore? Who decides what music is the official expression of a culture anyway? Rossa Ó Snodaigh (Kíla), Áki Nawaz (Fun 'Da' Mental), Oki, Sainkho Namtchlyak and panellists

## **Crisis at the Abbey Theatre**

#### PAUL O'BRIEN

William Butler Yeats in 1921 said that the Abbey Theatre in Dublin, fulfilled, "more than any other theatre he knew, the possible definition of a people's theatre, where the actors were chosen from the general mass of people, the plays written by people chosen from the general mass.

In the same way they drew their plays from all classes". Yeats's statement of the Abbey's democratic principles has been severely tested over the last



redesigned when it was rebuilt in 1966 after a fire destroyed the original building, the limitations of the new building soon became apparent. For some time it has been obvious that a new theatre that can cater for modern production methods was needed.

The question was where? The present site is not large enough and the Minister for the Arts has announced that the new theatre will be built will be built on a site facing the River Liffey on St. George's Dock close to the International Financial Services

### **UPCOMING THEATRE**

#### **Politics, Sex and Death**

The exhibition of William Orphen's paintings at the National Gallery in Dublin runs till the end of August. He was born in Dublin in 1878.

After art school he moved to London. He is best know as a portrait painter, but his early work contains a series of nudes that at the time were considered quite scandalous. Unlike earlier idealised and static forms that were the norm, Orphen's paintings have a movement and a sexuality that suggests intimacy.

He returned to Dublin in 1904, but he had little sympathy for the tionalist movemen engaged with the cultural revival. In 1917 he obtained a posting to the front as a war artist. The work he produced there was his most experimental and haunting, which captures the fear and barbarity of war, but never really manages to challenge the base of war itself.

#### A View from the Bridge by Arthur Miller

A new production of A View from the Bridge is playing at the Gate Theatre in Dublin, directed by Mark Brokaw, who was responsible for the wonderful production of The Price at the Gate last year.

Arthur Miller, who died earlier this year aged 89, was a giant of 20th century American theatre. With a writing career that spanned over 50 years, he will be best remembered for the classics Death of a Salesman. The Crucible, All My Sons and A View

#### eighty years.

The Abbey's centenary in 2004 should have been the occasion to redefine the role of a national theatre in the cultural life of this country.

Instead it has been mired in artistic and financial wrangles that have overshadowed this debate.

The centenary celebrations turned sour with the revelation that the losses for 2004 were likely to exceed €1.85 million, twice the expected figure. It seems that costs were allowed to spiral with big losses being occurred on the production of The Shaughraun and the American tour of The Playboy of the Western World.

The losses had led to fears that the

William Butler Yeats: "people's theatre"

theatre could become insolvent, but the financial intervention of The Arts Council has stayed off the crisis for the moment. The board of management had been forced to resign and a restructuring process is already under wav.

Though the theatre was completely

#### Centre.

Traditionalists have objected to the Abbey leaving its historic home, but a theatre is more than a building.

The issue facing the Abbey in its role as a national theatre in this century will be its ability to make itself relevant to writers and directions that have something to say about the Ireland of today.

A National theatre must create a space where critical voices can be heard, and where those outside the mainstream of Irish cultural life will be welcomed.

If the perspective is just to provide revivals of past glories then the Abbey might as well stay where it is.

The tactics and bitterness of the Irish war of independence shocked him and he never returned to Ireland. He remained in London and died in 1931 at the age of 53.

His work dropped out of fashion as he was perceived to be oldfashioned and dated, but in the last decade or so their has been a revival of interest and this exhibition is a chance to see and reassess the work of a fine painter.

from the Bridge.

Set in 1956 Brooklyn, New York, this is a story of love and revenge in a tight-knit American family. A View from the Bridge is shaped by the depression, the central event, in Millar's opinion, that fashioned the modern United States.

Longshoreman Eddie Carbone agrees to shelter his wife's Italian cousins. Marco and Rodolpho, who have arrived to work illegally.

But trouble begins when his orphaned niece Catherine becomes attracted to the charming Rodolpho. Familial love turns to sexual obsession and retribution ultimately leads to tragedy in Arthur Miller's captivating tale of illicit desire. Paul O'Brien

### Whats On/Events email to swped@eircom.net Phone 01 8722682

#### ANTI-WAR

After 7/7 Iraq, Islam & the "War on Terror." Irish Anti War Movement Public Meeting:

Speakers include: Raeid Al Wazzam (Eye witness from Mosul) & Speaker from Federation of Islamic Students. Friday Aug 19th at 7.30pm, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey St, Dublin

#### Shannon September 24th: Troops Home Now, Defend Civil Liberties, Defend Muslims, No to War.

On September 24th, tens of thousands will take part in protests in Washington, San Francisco and London. In Ireland, a peace rally and festival in Shannon will take place to coincide with these protests.

We will be uniting to say troops home now, defend civil liberties, defend Muslims, no to war.

There will be a bus leaving from your Area. Book your Place on the busses going to Shannon. Call 0878289243 or 018727912

#### SEND SHELL/STATOIL TO SEA

#### Protests:

Aug. 26th 5pm Nationwide Blockade of Statoil Garages Aug 22nd-28th Solidarity week, Rossport September 10th -Blockade Shell Depot, 8 am Clontarf Dart Station October 1st- National demonstration to the Dail

Public meetings: Wednesday 24th August, 7.30 p.m. ATGWU Hall, Lower Abbey St., D 1 Speakers: Fintan O Toole (Irish Times Journalist), Brid Ni Sheighin (daughter of Michael O Seighin), Maura Harrington (Shell to Sea campaign, Mayo)

Tuesday 16 August 8pm Steering Wheel pub Clondalkin Village Speakers: Family member of Jailed

protesters Shane O'Connor (Sinn Fein) Gino Kenny (SWP)

Wednesday 17 August 8pm Lower Cherry Orchard Community Centre, LeFanu Road, Ballyfermot Speakers Family member of jailed protesters Aengus O'Snodaigh TD (Sinn Fein) Brid Smith (SWP) Gladstone Ogbonna (Nigerian Socialist) Thursday 18 August 8pm St Andrews Community Centre, Rialto

Speakers: Family member of jailed protesters Aengus O'Snodaigh TD (Sinn Fein) Andy Storey (AFRI) Mary Smith (SWP)

Thursday 18 August 8pm The Imperial Hotel,

Dundalk Speakers: Family member of jailed protestors Arthur Morgan TD (Sinn Fein) Bendicta Attoh (Nigerian Activist) Brid Smith (SWP)

Tuesday 23 August 8pm The Coach House Bar



http://www.shelltosea.

Socialist Workers Party

#### END GARDA AND STATE CORRUPTION

Have you been a victim of state or garda corruption? Come and be part of a national campaign.

September 3rd, Frank McBrearty's nite club, Raphoe Co. Donegal Contact frankmcbreartyjnr@eir com.net for details

US Military Keep Shannon Ireland Peace Raly out of Saturday War September2000 War With musk by The Revs With musk by The Revs War Saturday I and the Saturday I and the September2000 War



Speakers: Raied Al Wazzan (Iraqi Eye-witness recently retuned from Mosul). Abdul Hasseeb (Federation of Islamic Students) & speaker from the Irish Council for Civil Liberties Friday August 19th at 8pm. ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey St.



### For a new paper reflecting the new movements:

Support the Socialist Worker financial appeal: please subscribe now

Socialist Worker is your paper. It's the alternative voice, the voice of socialism and struggle.

Whether it's nurses protesting against underfunding, asylum seekers on hunger strike against their deportation, campaigns against the Bin Tax or support for the Iraqi resistance and opposition to the US use of the Shannon 'Warport', Socialist Worker is giving the real opinions, the real voice of those movements. The lack of a political alternative both North and South to oppose privatisation, war and racism has never been more obvious.

Socialist Worker is committed to building such a new alternative left voice, building support for the movements from below, and building toward a world without capitalism, the other world that we believe is possible and more necessary in 2005 than ever before. Currently Socialist Worker is a completely voluntary production. We get no advertising finance and it is funded completely by sales.

In order to fulfil the potential that exists in this current period and build support for the projects outlined above we need a higher quality paper and ultimately much higher sales.

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With this in mind we appeal to you to take out a subscription for Socialist Worker, donate whatever sum of money (large or small) to the paper fund, and if possible take extra copies of the paper to sell to work colleagues, friends, classmates etc. It's your paper; together

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plan its production and distribution for human need and not profit.	capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth.	racist. FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE	To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party.	Name
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patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy.	military, strategic or economic dominance. END RACISM AND	politicians and Blair government. Like great socialist James Connolly, we believe that	for overthrowing the system. We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong	Email
To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based on much	OPPRESSION We oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weakens the	partition has brought about a 'carnival of reaction' We want to see an Irish workers republic where all	socialist bloc. We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.	Phone

# Socialist Worker

## **'Muslims are being victimised: We cannot let them be isolated'**

-Billy Power former Birmingham Six prisoner



IT USED to be if your name was Murphy you were suspect, now it's if your name is Abdul you get it in the neck, a former Birmingham Six prisoner has said.

Billy Power, who was framed by the British state in 1974, spoke to Socialist Worker in the aftermath of the London bombing and the scapegoating of the Muslim community.

"When I listen to debates in the House of Commons on the response to the London bombings I think the Labour Party has gone mad," he said. "They are doing their best to bring in the most draconian laws and methods into Britain.

"The recent horrendous bombings in London brought back our experience to me very clearly," Mr Power said. "Only days after the bombs they announced they had caught the bombers and even claimed to have killed one of them who turned out to be an entirely innocent victim of state shoot to kill policy.

He continued: "In our case they announced they had caught those responsible for Birmingham within days - all to placate the political establishment and for the state to make itself look good.

"They brought in the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act which was to last six months and is still with us over 30 years later," he said.

"Being Irish then meant once you opened your mouth you could be attacked, lose your job, your flat and have to flee from racist abuse. "It is the same atmosphere now for the Muslim community, but it is even harder for them," he said.

"Because they often don't speak the same language and look different to a degree the Irish population mingled in with the British but this is not the same for the majority of Muslims and black citizens," he said. Mr Power also spoke about the

Mr Power also spoke about the enormous contribution the Muslim community has made to Britain and its economy.

"When workers were needed in the 50's and 60's foreign workers were brought into the country, especially Indian and Pakistani workers," he said.

"They experienced much the same as the Irish immigrants and now are going through the fear and alienation that the Irish community did in the 70's and 80's.

Mr Power stated: "The London bombers should be caught and nobody condones what they did. But all of the Muslim community are being tarred with the one brush.

"People should wait to see what evidence there is against them - in a democracy we should expect the presumption of innocence to apply," he said.

"But it hasn't and it will be followed with the use of improper procedures," he predicted. "God knows, but in 12 or 15 years time we might realise that some of these people were just in the wrong place at the wrong time." He continued: "The real problem is of course that everybody knew these bomb s could happen because of Blair's lies and collusion with the war.

"Blair's policies in my view are illegal. The bombing of Afghanistan and Iraq are illegal. And there are men women and children in Afghanistan who never even heard of the Twin Towers but have bombs raining down on them every day. Where's the justice for them?" he asked.

"Muslim people are being victimised. We cannot let these people be isolated.

When they came after the Irish we stayed quiet but let's not do that now.

With all our experience of the past, of the state, of the lack of democracy, we need to be more vociferous and stand up to racist scapegoating," he said

### Why protest at Shannon on September 24th

 Shannon now most important European
 hub for the US occupation of
 Iraq. In the first six months of
 2005 153,381 US troops
 came through Shannon.
 Islam being blamed by politicians and media
 for bombings rather than
 Iraq, leading to a rise in anti-Islam racism.

McDowell's agreements with the CIA and other attacks on our civil liberties Ahern giving Irish support to Bush and Blair's wars means we are at risk just like London. Shannon used by US planes involved in the illegal kidnapping of alleged "terrorist" suspects for

Only by creating such a movement can we stop the carnage in Iraq
On September 24th at Shannon it is vital we join with the US and British antiwar movements to say no to war and no to collaboration with war.
For information on buses to Shannon contact 087

to Shannon contact 087 6329511 or in Northern Ireland 07742531617

