

# Socialist Worker

inside:

## NATO'S WAR IN EUROPE

pages: 3,5,6,7&8

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p Solidarity price £1

## NATO 'ACCIDENTS' SHOW THAT...



The bombed bus on the Luzane bridge in Kosovo

'WE REGRET every loss of life but we have done a good job in avoiding civilian casualties' said General Nauman, the chair of NATO's military committee after 60 bus passengers on the Luzane bridge in Kosovo were murdered by his bombers..

Nauman claimed that the bridge was 'a legitimate target'. These disgraceful remarks show the horror of the Balkans war. Since it started at least 400 civilians have been murdered by NATO bombs. Television stations, ice cream factories and bridges have all become 'legitimate targets'.

When the IRA talked about 'legitimate targets' in the past, they were denounced for their 'wanton disregard' for human life.

But Blair and Clinton has shown that the violence of the IRA was puny compared to their terror machine. The NATO bombs have only made the situation worse for both Serbs and Kosovans.

Before the war began, 4,000 Albanians were forced to flee Kosovo but now the numbers have reached over one million

Before the war Milosevic faced a strong opposition movement. But now the country has rallied around him against the NATO bombers.

Instead of supporting this bloodshed, the Irish government should refuse to join Partnership for Peace and openly condemn the new terrorism.

# BOMBS MEAN MORE HORROR

STOP THE WAR ... STOP THE WAR...STOP THE WAR

## While NATO bombs fall...

# No welcome for Hilary Clinton

AS HER husband orders the continued bombing of Serbia and Kosovo, Hilary Clinton is set to receive the freedom of the city of Galway on May 12th.

Clinton will also be awarded with an honorary doctorate from UCG and she will give a speech in the Student Centre on 'Our obligations to each other - continuing the quest for peace.'

This is a sick piece of hypocrisy.

How can America's First Lady speak about a 'quest for peace' while the US army fires cruise missiles at defenceless civilians?

### Oppose

If Hilary Clinton genuinely wanted peace, she would oppose the NATO bombings.

She would also denounce the US arms industry which are the largest arms dealers in the world.

The well known Galway playwrights, John Arden and Margaretta D'Arcy said that "the US quest for peace takes the

form of relentless war".

Protests have already been organised in the city.

The No to War Campaign has called on Galway councillors to refuse to issue the freedom of the city to Clinton at this time.

### PROTEST

12 May, Gates of UCG, 10am  
Buses leave Dublin, Virgin Cinema, 7am,  
Tickets £5



## Bombs in London



# 'Smash the Nazi scum'

PROTESTERS CARRYING Anti-Nazi League banners marched through the streets of London after a series of nail bomb attacks on black areas and a gay bar.

Shouting "Smash the Nazi scum" they marched past a police cordon at one of the bomb sites.

Since the march the police have arrested one individual in Hampshire who they claim acted alone. But anti-fascists are not convinced.

One of the groups who claimed responsibility for the Brixton nail bomb attack was Combat 18.

They were also responsible for the riot at the England match in Lansdowne Road in 1995.

### Violent

They are a small but violent Nazi group who worship Adolf Hitler. Their name comes from Hitler's initials: the 1 and 8 stand for the first and eighth letters of the alphabet—A & H.

The group also has links with the UDA.

The police claim they did their best to investigate the nail bomb attacks.

But well before the bombing, Brick Lane, Scotland Yard had a letter to a leading civil rights activist, beginning "Dear Black Bastards" and threatening further attacks in several parts of Britain and even on Dublin.

### Message

The message read, "We will exterminate all Jews, blacks, Muslims, gays and Catholics".

Yet police failed to inform any of the communities mentioned in the letter. Instead they have continued

to harass anti-racists, while allowing fascists to organise openly.

It has been up to anti-racists themselves to confront the Nazis, as they did at Worcester recently when the National Front were forced to abandon a planned march.

This type of mass action, combined with socialist arguments against racism, has weakened the fascists.

That is why, despite the horror of the bombings, the bombing campaign also shows how cowardly and desperate the Nazis have become.

### Fianna Fail

# Bertie's business backers

BERTIE AHERN claims that the days of political corruption in Fianna Fail are all in the past, but a list of donations received by the party in 1998 reveals some familiar faces.

\*Larry Goodman's Anglo Irish Beef Processors gave £20,000 to the party, along with helping out with a round of golf.

### Bill

The company are able to afford such generosity since the tax payer footed the £80 million bill for EU fines for irregularities in the beef industry.

\*Property developer Owen O'Callaghan who bribed FF councillors Liam Lawlor and Colm McGrath gave £50,000 last year.

As *Socialist Worker* revealed, Bertie Ahern helped O'Callaghan get special tax relief for a shopping centre in Athlone in still unex-

plained circumstances.

\*Overall, twelve property developers felt the need to help the Fianna Fail coffers reach £432,501 in donations over £4,000.

### Afford

\*The multinational Fruit of the Loom claimed to be unable to afford the keep their Donegal plant open but they did find enough loose change to give Fianna Fail £5,000.

\*Cantrell & Cochrane, whose chief executive, Tony Ryan, is the fourth richest man in Ireland, handed over £10,000.

At the same time C&C managed to resolve difficulties with the Competition Authority over a profitable share flotation.

There was of course no connection between this and the donation.

\*Finally, it's good to know that Dermot Desmond is still bankrolling the party though noticeably on a reduced scale. He only managed a mere £7,000 donation last year.

## Dublin and Monaghan bombings

# Gardai hold up inquiry

AT 5.30PM on 17 May 1974, three no-warning bombs exploded within ninety seconds in Dublin. A fourth exploded in Monaghan town, 88 minutes later.

A total of 33 people were killed and hundreds maimed. It was to be the biggest loss of life in any single day of the Troubles.

All the suspects were known members of the mid-Ulster UVF Brigade. But it is widely acknowledged that given the level of sophistication required to carry out such a deadly operation, it is doubtful that the UVF would have had the capability in 1974 to mount such an attack without professional assistance.

New evidence has emerged that this professional assistance came in the form of the RUC and British intelligence.

Documents have come to light which identifies the British intelligence officer who supplied the explosives, the UDR man who was involved in the attack and the RUC officer whose home was used to prepare the bombs.

It is also widely alleged that several Garda detectives co-operated with the British intelligence officer who was involved with the bombing.

Further allegations suggest that at least two British intelligence officers were brought covertly to Dublin immediately before the bombings by Garda officers.

### Access

The Garda have continued to systematically oppose every attempt to gain access to Garda files relating to their investigation of the bombings.

Even legal efforts by the families have been vigorously fought by the Garda, most recently in the Supreme Court in 1998.

Why have they so viciously suppressed these files if there was, as Bertie Ahern stated, "... nothing in the files that would have suggested or indicated who was responsible." ?

The Justice for the Forgotten Campaign have been pushing for a Tribunal of Inquiry into the bombings. They have been met only with silence by the government and the politicians.

## Irish workers are robbed

IT'S OFFICIAL. Irish workers come out the worst in the European League when pay is linked to productivity.

According to a survey from the British based Personnel Policy Research, Irish workers earn 50 per cent less than their productivity would demand.

"Irish workers are tremendously underpaid because the old image of poverty stays. Employees aren't getting the benefits of your massive growth," concluded Robin Chater, the director of the research unit.

The tests, which involved groups of up to 60 children at a time, were carried out by the Department of Medical Microbiology at UCD. Children were tested for adverse reactions to the 'three in one' vaccine for diphtheria, tetanus and whooping cough. Adverse reactions have been, and continue to be, associated with the vaccine -

including fevers, fits and in some cases brain damage.

In 1992, a Cork family were awarded record damages from Wellcome for irreversible brain damage from a dose of the vaccine administered in 1969.

Some of those who were in the orphanages at the time have campaigned for full disclosure of the tests.

## CHILDREN in Irish orphanages were used as guinea pigs by Irish scientists for commercial drug testing during the 1960's and 1970's.

The tests were conducted on behalf of the Wellcome drug company (now Glaxo Wellcome).

## what we think

# Simply a bloody and brutal colonial war

NATO generals have decided to move to 'area bombing' in the near future, according to the British newspaper, the *Guardian*.

Similar use of unguided bombs to devastate whole areas was referred to as 'carpet bombing' during the Vietnam war. It led to the deaths of thousands of civilians.

When the conflict began, some thought that the horrors of Vietnam would never be repeated because NATO was fighting for 'humanitarian goals'.

But the mask has slipped. US generals are now brushing aside criticisms from Mary Robinson, the United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, to claim their right to bomb anything they please.

### Brutality

The new brutality should alert people to the true motives of this war. It is a US led war that is fought for old style imperialist reasons.

Clinton recently told the American population that 'if we are going to have a strong economic relationship that includes our ability to sell around the world, Europe has got to be a key... That's what this Kosovo thing is all about'.

Before the fall of communism, the US exercised considerable influence on its economic rivals through the role that NATO played in the Cold War. The first secretary general of NATO, Lord Ismay, explained that the military alliance was designed "to keep the Americans in, the Russians out and the Germans down".

After 1989, this began to change. German capitalism

re-asserted itself and pushed the EU into recognising Croatia and Slovenia against US wishes. The Euro currency was established as a rival to the dollar.

Clinton's response has been a determined drive to maintain the US as the dominant military and political power in Europe. Central to this strategy has been a new concept of NATO.

He has used the Kosovo crisis to turn NATO into a military bloc that claims the right to roam freely in large parts of the world.

He hopes that US military dominance can in turn be used to clip the economic ambitions of Europe. The European powers will be reminded that since they needed US military muscle, they will now have to make concessions to US industry in areas such as Genetically Modified foods and other imports.

The European leaders have gone along with the war because they want a wider NATO dominance over the whole of Eastern Europe.

Last year, 3,000 US paratroopers took part in a military exercise in Kazakhstan. Azerbaijan has also asked for a US military base. Both these central Asian republics of the former Soviet empire border the Caspian Sea, where huge reserves of oil and gas make it a rich prize.

By posing as defenders of small nations, NATO countries hope to get their economic tentacles on the markets and resources of the whole of Eastern Europe. Although there are conflicts between them, they unite to achieve their colonial ambitions.

Far from being concerned with the suffering of the Kosovans, these brutes are only using them to further their own imperialist ambitions.



Many protesters turned this year's Dublin May Day march into a anti war protest

## Build the anti-war movement

**THE ONLY** force that can stop this bloody war is a powerful anti-war movement that stretches across countries.

The media have tried to hide the scale of opposition to the war. RTE and the two main national papers refused to report on the first two anti-war demonstrations held in Ireland.

But despite the media blackout, the anti-war movement can grow. And just as the US was defeated in Vietnam after huge opposition at home, an anti-war movement can again thwart NATO's colonial ambitions.

Over the next few weeks we appeal to all our readers to do everything to build this movement.

★ The first step is to join the No to War Action groups that have sprung up all around the country. These groups meet weekly and organise against the war in their area.

★ Join the protest against the visit of Hilary Clinton to Galway where she will give a lecture on 'The struggle for peace'.

Buses leave Virgin Cinema, Dublin at 7 am on Wednesday 12th. Tickets cost £5. Phone 8722682 for your ticket.

★ Build for a major demonstration on May 29th Called by the Coalition Against War.

**ACTION  
AGAINST  
WAR**

No to War Action Groups have been set up all around the country. You can join your local group by contacting the numbers below.

#### DUBLIN:

Northside Group: Phone 0882555250  
Southside Group: Phone: 6689122  
Rialto; Phone: 4911529  
Dun Laoghaire: Phone 2844217  
Dublin City University:  
email miriamduggan@hotmail.com  
University College Dublin: Phone 2844217  
Maynooth University: Phone 0882612634

#### NATIONAL:

Galway Phone 091 3798132  
Derry: Phone 01504308662  
Belfast: Phone 799204  
Limerick: Phone 061 340156  
Waterford: Phone 01 8622209  
Media Workers Against the War:  
Phone 087 2299876  
email: MWATW@yahoo.com  
Nurses against the war: Phone 8204008  
Teachers against the War: Phone 7116298

**OPPOSE THE  
WAR  
JOIN THE  
SOCIALISTS**

- I would like to join the SWP  
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Name:.....

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# Left wing rhetoric at Labour Conference but...

## NO ACTION TO BACK UP THE WORDS

**THE LABOUR Party Conference in Tralee brought the re-appearance of left left wing rhetoric.**

But there was little in the way of solid commitment to socialist policies.

Introducing the Conference, former Democratic Left leader and now Labour Party President Proinsias De Rossa said the shared values of the party "will ensure that the Labour Party will never slide into some meaningless mushy political centre".

He said only Labour could "spearhead a broadly based movement which breathes new life back into the political system and smashes the culture of sleaze and scandal".

Ruairi Quinn used his keynote address to roast Fianna Fail for political corruption.

And he pointed out that "If the Sheedy cases prove anything it is that there is still one law for the rich and one for the poor. If you don't believe

me ask the person on a two year waiting list at a free legal aid centre."

But Quinn failed to back a solid call to jail the corrupt politicians.

The Conference discussed the housing crisis with 135,000 people in the state in need of accommodation. Quinn described this as "a damning indictment of the complacency of a Government."

### Demand

But there was no demand to nationalise building land or even a commitment to introduce rent controls..

On the health service we were told "There are simply too many people falling through the net. 38,000 languishing on waiting lists." But no sign that Labour will fight for taxing the rich to fund an adequate and free health service for all.

The vague calls for a fairer more tolerant society were met with approval from the delegates.

But a minority have started to look for more radical solutions.

## QUINN BACKS NATO'S WAR

**Ruairi Quinn endorsed the NATO war in the Balkans and backed, after a referendum, the Partnership for Peace.**

He argued that the Kosovo crisis "gives rise to serious issues, which require a response on our part. European security is our business. War on this continent affects us all."

He then suggested that Europe constitute itself as a military alliance on the model of NATO so it could intervene militarily in conflicts:

"Why is it that the European Union with its forty-year history of conflict resolution is so marginalised. Why is it that NATO, unsuited to taking action in Eastern Europe for historical reasons, is the only organisation in a position to take on Milosevic?"

Party President Proinsias

de Rossa had opposed NATO bombing of the Balkans but he did not openly disagree at the Conference. Despite de Rossa's silence, many delegates were critical of the NATO action and Quinn's support for it.

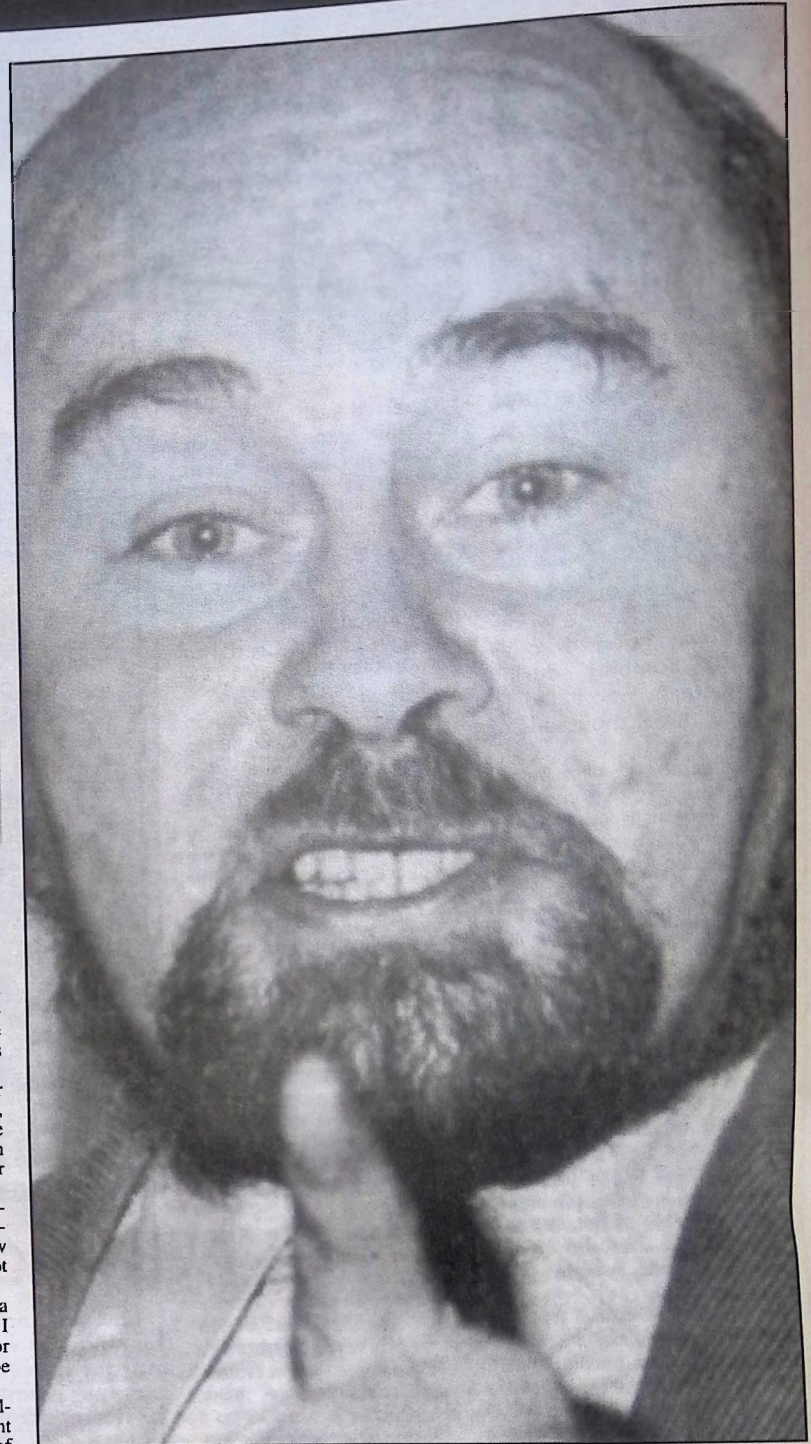
A delegate from Labour Youth told Socialist Worker, "I am completely against the NATO bombing campaign and I know a lot of other members are too."

"But there's a lot of pressure to cement the DL-Labour merger and to show unity so many people are not speaking out just now."

A delegate from a Munster branch added: "I think it's very important for Labour to stand up and be counted on this."

"The bombing of civilians is punishing innocent people for the crimes of Milosevic."

"The establishment in this country is too willing to go along with America. Labour should have stood up and



said NO!"

The No to War Campaign was present at the Conference and organised a fringe meeting in

Tralee. Speakers included Ciaran O'Callaghan of Labour Youth and Kevin Wingfield of the No To War Campaign.

Scores of Conference delegates signed its petitions calling for an end to NATO bombing and joined the Campaign.

## NHS in crisis

# Money for bombs but not for the old

**A RECENT survey undertaken in North Belfast, looked at peoples attitudes to NHS care for senior citizen. It showed that most people feel that senior citizens are being discriminated against.**

Pensioner Lewis Cahill spoke about how he had no faith in the NHS.

"Just look what this current government has done with our health care system, its in ruins.

Elderly people only turn to the NHS when they need help but soon find out that they are discriminated against when it comes to treatment.

"I have paid my stamps for 60 years and what thanks am I getting now? Its a real kick in the teeth for people of my generation."

### Funding

James from North Belfast said "It is interesting to note that while hospitals are closing wards and reducing beds, as well as waiting lists getting longer due to lack of funding, the

government is able to find tens of million to bomb the Balkans

"Peoples eyes are starting to open over the hypocrisy of this government who hand out money hand over fist for the War, but tell us to tighten our belts when it comes to the Health Service".

Eamonn and his daughter Zoe believe that the way pensioners are treated is a disgrace.

"It is not right that old people are being discriminated against.

"I'm not looking forward to getting old.

"It's a scary thought that you could be in urgent need of medical attention and

they will turn a blind eye.

Petitions should be set up to make people aware of the age discrimination that occurs in the NHS today."

Sarah, a student working in a North Belfast home, said, "I feel sorry for the senior citizens but we have come to expect this from this government.

"I'm working here for pittance to pay my pay through college.

"The NHS is underfunded as a whole, so is the education system, not to forget the miserable minimum wage".

## Health workers made sick by the NHS

**A major survey carried out by the public sector union, UNISON, found that backbreaking work was taking its toll on workers health, with mainly women workers affected.**

Workers have been unable to go to work and there are soaring incidents of illness such as muscular pain, resulting in half of Northern Ireland's cleaners seeking medical advice

Workers are forced to use heavy and sometimes faulty, equipment such as buffers and industrial vacuum cleaners, with poor training, which increases stress and accidents levels.

Joe Donaghy of UNISON said "This survey gives us real evidence. We need need to tackle this problem with employers, manufactures and the workers themselves.

"These health problems have a detrimental effect on morale"

Catherine a cleaner in the RVH Belfast said "I haven't long started working here and every evening I go home with aches and pains.

"People say cleaning is easy, but as young woman pushing large machines about and constantly bent over, cleaning is very strainful as well as stressful. "I feel there needs to be better terms and working conditions for cleaners."

STOP THE WAR...STOP THE WAR...STOP THE WAR

# NATO bombs murder innocent Serb civilians

**WAR  
IN  
EUROPE**


**MILICA FLATLEY and ALEXANDRA DJUR-DJEVIC are Serbian sisters living in Ireland. They spoke to Socialist Worker about their experience of the Bosnian war and their feelings now about the NATO bombings.**

Milica recalled how different their lives were before the war, "Yugoslavia was a really beautiful country - a prosperous country. I don't remember any kind of hatred.

"We never considered ourselves as Serbs before but all of a sudden you had to have that label. There is so much inter-marriage and lots of people have a Croatian grandmother and a Serbian father and so on."

## Interference

They are both angry at how Western interference had created the problems.

Alexandra spoke about the effect sanctions had on their lives, "Dad's monthly salary was only enough to buy a tube of toothpaste.

"Money had no value. You would see teachers and professionals rooting through containers for food.

"Every morning there were queues for food - you're talking about a mile or two miles long at 5 o'clock in the morning. In the winter it was freezing and I remember sitting in the dark with no heat or water and nothing to do.

Milica was also angered at how the suffering of ordinary people has been ignored, "When you know all that it hurts very much to hear people say Serbs must suffer. Serbs know all about suffering.

## Refugees

"I feel very sorry for the Kosovar refugees. They are being treated like cattle. Even if the bombing stopped now there's only five months to rebuild a country before it's winter again. Where do they plan to bring the refugees?"

Milica and Alexandra have been in constant contact with their family in Serbia since the bombings began and Milica spoke about the situation there now.

"When you see Serbians

standing as human shields on bridges they're not doing it for Milosovic, they're defending their country.

"There is no professional army in Serbia - it's 18 year old conscripts. When they bombed the military barracks in my town that's who got killed.

"They also bombed a shoe factory in my home town that's in the middle of a residential area.

"I'm getting really worried about my father. He works in a sugar factory. My mother is a GP and when they bombed last week she had to go to the hospital at 12 o'clock at night and try to deal with the casualties with no lighting or electricity.

"Milosovic is fine and safe in his big castle. He won't be affected by the bombings. He won't go hungry."

Milica and Alexandra were both involved in the pro-democracy movement against Milosovic. Alexandra spoke about the protests she was involved in,

"There has been constant opposition to Milosovic. In March '92, 200,000 students



The TV station bombed by NATO

marched against him and he sent in tanks.

"It was really bloody. In the Summer of '93 we occupied

our colleges for a month and a half to get rid of Milosovic. People were supporting us and sending food.

But independent TV was

often blocked and the government tried to say that we were foreign agents and that all the young people had been poisoned by western influence.

The West say they want to get rid of Milosovic but when were they when Serbian people needed them?"

## Opposition

Milica agreed that the West has never supported opposition to Milosovic from within Serbia.

"The foreign diplomats always came to meet with Milosovic.

"Why didn't they meet opposition forces? The West gave Milosovic credibility

"In the winter of '97 when Milosovic rigged the elections, there was a huge opposition movement that lasted for three months. It was really wonderful - so powerful. There were thousands on the streets every day."

For Milica and Alexandra this movement from below was the only way to get rid of Milosovic.

They are all too aware that NATO bombings will do nothing but strengthen Milosovic and cause more suffering for ordinary people.

## Labour MP visits sites of NATO bombing...

# 'I've seen it with my own eyes'

**ALICE MAHON, the left wing British Labour MP, visited Serbia two weeks ago to see for herself the impact of the NATO bombing campaign. She told Socialist Worker what she saw:**

I WANTED to talk to trade unionists and ordinary people. The first visit was Novi Sad. We arrived there late afternoon and stood on the one remaining bridge with the protesters who were there to protect it.

## Power

The other two bridges across the Danube had already been blown up. One had carried the water and power supply to the main hospital. People were pretty devastated about that. We were allowed to talk to who we wanted to.

I did pick up some denial about the ethnic cleansing in

Kosovo. But I also found a lot of sympathy for what was happening to the Albanians. Since I was there NATO has shattered that

bridge as well. There were people on the other bridges when they bombed them, so NATO is clearly not worried about civilian deaths.

About three quarters of an hour after we left, Novi Sad had the heaviest bombing of the war up to that point.

## Toll of death

**NOBODY CAN be certain how many people have died and what has been damaged by NATO's bombs.**

But we are not getting the truth from our newspapers and television. Serbian sources claim that after the first month of bombing:

★ About 500 civilians have been killed and 4,000 injured.

★ About 500,000 workers are jobless because of the destruction of oil

refineries, factories and transport links.

★ 24 major bridges, 12 railway stations and nine major roads are no longer passable or have been totally destroyed.

★ 36 factories have been damaged or destroyed.

★ 16 chemical plants, fertiliser plants and oil refineries have been attacked, causing huge pollution problems as well as loss of life.

★ 16 hospital facilities have been damaged.

★ Over 190 schools and colleges have been damaged.

★ Severe damage to housing blocks, telephone lines, post offices, meteorological stations, libraries and offices.

Some of these claims may be exaggerated - although, for example, the death toll Serb sources claim in Aleksinac is lower than that reported by Independent Journalist Robert Fisk.

But nobody can doubt that the large majority of these reports are essentially true and that they bear witness to a campaign which is hitting ordinary people, not Milosevic's regime.

STOP THE WAR...STOP THE WAR...STOP THE WAR...STOP THE

# War brings crisis to the Greens

The Green Party are among the main opponents in Ireland of Nato's bombing of Serbia.

Green MEP Patricia McKenna and TD John Gormley have spoken at a number of meetings and protests against the war.

But sadly the Green Party leaders in Germany, France and Italy are among the most belligerent supporters of the war.

*In each of these three countries the Greens form part of a coalition government with Labour-type parties.*

The Greens in Germany enjoyed a major period of growth during the 1980s when they helped to lead huge anti-nuclear protests.

During the 1970s, their leader, Joschka Fischer, marched against the Vietnam War and opposed General Pinochet's CIA-backed coup in Chile.

But now Fischer is the foreign minister in Germany's government and has urged on the Nato bombers. Many Green Party members are horrified that someone who once stood up to imperialism is now sending the German airforce to war for the first time since 1945.

The Greens in Germany look likely to split as rank and file activists push for a No War position to be adopted at the Party's special conference this month.

## Solution

The Green Party leaders in Italy say they favour a "diplomatic solution" to the war but have refused to publicly condemn the bombing and they remain loyal to their government partners.

*In France some Greens appeared on early anti-Nato protests but the Party has since shifted to total support for the war. The Party's National Council recently voted 72 percent in favour of continuing the bombardment.*

The Green environment minister, Dominique Voynet, initially criticised the war but is now justifying Nato's actions saying,

"Military intervention is inevitable and justified in the face of a dictatorial racist regime."

Voynet went on to say that the crisis had shaken traditional Green values but "our pacifism is not in question!"

The key "intellectual" persuader of Europe's Greens on this issue is Daniel Cohn

Bendit—formerly known as "Danny the Red" during the 1968 student revolt.

Cohn Bendit is campaigning to become a Green MEP and has boasted that he persuaded his close friend Joschka Fischer to back the war.

Cohn Bendit uses radical rhetoric in support of Nato intervention. He compares the situation in the Balkans to Spain in 1936, with Milosevic as the equivalent of the fascist leader Franco.

In 1936, Cohn Bendit argues, socialists in France marched to demand that the prime minister Leopold Blum intervene on the side of Spain's anti-fascists. If that was correct in 1936, the argument goes, then surely socialists should back the war against Milosevic today?

## Rights

But Franco was opposed by a coalition, including socialists, whose aim was to preserve and even extend democratic rights.

*Nato are not opposed in principle to dictators. Indeed they have helped to prop up dictators like Suharto and Pinochet in the past. Their war aims in Kosovo are about extending their colonial dominance over the region.*

Cohn Bendit also claims he is not a champion of US imperialism in this war. Instead he wants Europe to play a stronger role instead of relying on the US. To this end, he believes Kosovo should become a European "protectorate".

But this simply means replacing US imperialism with European imperialism. It fits in with moves towards a common defence policy to fight what former EU leader Jacques Delors called "Europe's resource wars".

So why have Europe's strongest Green Parties dropped their pacifism in favour of war?

The answer lies in their politics.

The Greens won a base by opposing some of the worst aspects of capitalism, including war and environmental destruction.

They have often appeared as a radical alternative to right wing parties, and to Labour-type parties who have betrayed workers.

But Green politics never amounted to an all out attack on the capitalist system.

So when they found themselves in government in Germany, France and Italy they ended up accepting the priorities of the system, including all-out war.

# GROUND TROOPS MEAN MASSACRE

**TONY BLAIR and Bill Clinton are about to send ground troops into Yugoslavia.**

But the intervention of troops will make the situation worse.

The history of invasions by American troops has always been one of slaughter hiding behind humanitarianism.

In the Gulf War, supposedly to save Kuwait, 200,000 Iraqis were massacred as they retreated from Iraq's second city of Basra. Afterwards a US general said it was like a 'turkey shoot'.

In 1992 US Marines went to Somalia. The American government claimed that the troops were there to end famine and civil war.

*But the cruelty of the 26,000 US troops pushed people back into the hands of the warlords they were supposed to disarm. Night after night, US helicopter gun ships attacked the city of Mogadishu. 10,000 civilians were murdered after Operation Restore Hope.*

In 1993 20,000 ground troops went to Haiti. This time Operation Restore Democracy was supposed to back up the elected president Aristide.

However, America allowed the leaders of the military regime to escape overseas.

The US set up a interim police force made up of the militia thugs who had murdered countless people under the military regime, and joined with them in smashing protests.

## Killed

During the 1960s and 1970s the US fought a war against the ordinary people in Vietnam. One million people died and another million were killed in Cambodia.

During the war, the ground troops used the methods Clinton now condemns Milosovic for using, burning villages and forcing massive numbers of people to flee from their homes.

*In 1967 in the village of My Lai, 500 people were killed by US marines. A US army author, Lieutenant-Colonel George Walton said that, "Several old*

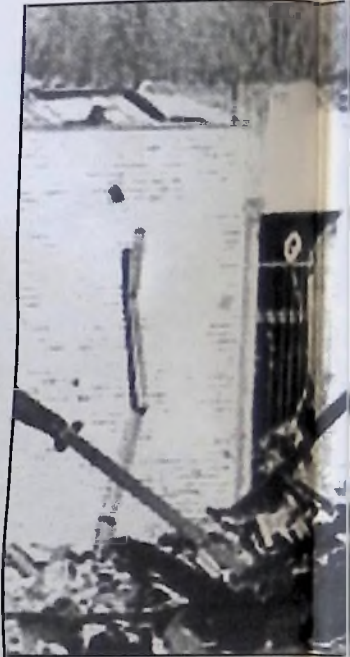
*men were stabbed with bayonets and one was thrown down a well to be followed with a hand grenade. Some women and children praying outside the local temple were killed by shooting them in the back of the head with rifles.*

## Grenade

"Occasionally a soldier would drag a girl, often a mere child, to a ditch where he would rape her. One GI threw a grenade into a hut where a girl of five or six lay that he had just raped. The young were slaughtered with the same impartiality as the old. Children barely able to walk were shot at point blank range.

The effect of troops going into Kosovo will be the same as troops going into Vietnam, Somali or the Gulf.

It will be the slaughter of the innocent civilians.



# Workers un

**PANOS GARGANOS, from the Greek SWP spoke to Socialist Worker about why opposition to NATO is so strong.**

"The bombing of Serbia by NATO has nothing to do with the protection of the Albanians in Kosovo. These are the same so called "peacekeepers" who disarmed the Albanian workers when they rose up in arms against their own corrupt ruling class two years ago.

"Simitis, the Greek Tony Blair, is claiming he is not involved in the bombing. But American spy planes are using air bases in Greece, and NATO tanks and troops are using Salonica as their port of entry on their way to Macedonia and Kosovo.

"Greece is the second biggest trader with Serbia, Albania and Macedonia. The mines in Kosovo are in the hands of a Greek company. That's why Greek bosses are backing NATO to impose a quick "solution" that will keep everybody in their place.

"Greece is the only Balkan member of both NATO and the EU. It sees itself as the local launching pad for military and economic dominance by Western multinationals and it is in direct competition with Turkey which is also trying to claim the same role.

"So, on top of vicious pro-market econom-

ic policies, the Greek government bears the huge burden of an arms race.

"No wonder workers in Greece have seen Simitis co-operate with the repression of Kurdish leader Ocakli."

**GREECE HAS been a major force in Europe. Opinion polls show that the majority of Greeks oppose NATO bombing.**

★ The rail workers in Greece have pledged to go on strike in the area.

★ There have been protests against the war in Greece. We had to use tear gas in Athens.

★ On the 2 April there was a strike and many workers took part in a peace concert in Salonica.

★ On Sunday 18 April there was a strike in the Adriatic to protest against another 3 issued strikes. A demonstration was held in Piraeus against NATO bombing.

★ On Thursday 18 April there was a demo against NATO bombing.

THE WAR...STOP THE WAR...STOP THE WAR...

**WAR  
IN  
EUROPE**



# TROOPS WILL MASSACRES

**Trotsky and B52 liberals**



**THE US IS acting for "genuine humanitarian" motives in this conflict. This is what Irish Times columnist, Fintan O'Toole, proclaimed on the second day of the war.**

Three weeks later, doubts began to appear. After NATO bombed a television station, O'Toole wrote that that the means were not reflecting the "humanitarian goals".

Yet this 'unhappy' supporter of NATO has continued to back the bombing. In a recent *Irish Times* article, he claimed that there "is a deep seated impulse within Serb nationalist ideology towards the extermination of the Kosovan".

He even offered a highly selective quotation from Leon Trotsky's journalistic writings on the Balkan wars of 1912-1913 as evidence and then compared the impulse in Serbian nationalism to a similar impulse in German nationalism to eliminate Jews

**O'Toole's use of Trotsky to justify NATO is extremely dishonest. Trotsky was one of the first writers to see how the Balkans were a ' tinder box ' that could set Europe aflame.**

But far from blaming one particular nationality, he argued, that the problem sprang from the fact that "the frontiers between the dwarf states of the Balkans were drawn not in accordance with national conditions or national demands but as a result of wars, diplomatic intrigues and dynastic interests"

**Formented**

The Great Powers in Europe had formented the ethnic conflict when they were grabbing as much of the former Ottoman Empire as they could. The tragedy of the Balkans was that the region was never given the chance to develop in a way that could encompass the various nationalities before imperial interests got to work.

O'Toole wants to ignore all this in order to focus on the pathological quality of Serb nationalism. The effect is to demonise a whole people

This was a popular technique during the Bosnian war in the mid-1990s. Instead of looking at how the different elites responded to an economic crisis by exchanging their communist policies for nationalism, a number of commentators saw the Serbs as the sole aggressors.

Yet the largest piece of ethnic cleansing throughout the whole war was carried out in the Krajina area of Croatia, when 250,000 Serbs were driven from their homes.

The implication O'Toole's article is that Milosovic is a new Hitler and that only NATO can stop him.

Milosevic is undoubtedly a nationalist thug. Yet his policies do not differ from those of the Turkish regime which has 'ethically cleansed' the Kurds.

**Nor strictly speaking is he engaged in 'genocide' or 'extermination'. The Kosovan population have certainly been brutalised and murdered. But although the Schindlers List image has often been evoked, the trains leaving the region are not going to concentration camps but to the frontiers.**

Hitler also led one of the major industrial powers in the world and his regime was a focus for all fascist movements around Europe. Milosevic runs a country that has the GNP of Tunisia and is hardly a beacon for racists everywhere.

Labelling someone a 'new Hitler' has become the standard justification for NATO wars. During the Gulf War, for example, Saddam Hussein was portrayed as another Hitler with the fourth largest army in the world.

The point of the Hitler comparisons or the claim about a Serbian 'impulse' to genocide is to rule out the possibility of local opposition to tyrants.

But the reality is that Milosevic's regime has been deeply unstable. In 1991 and 1996, hundreds of thousands marched against him.

**Before the present war began, mothers of conscripts attacked his hypocrisy in protecting his own son while he sent others to die. It has only after NATO bombing began that Milosevic has united much of the Serbian population behind him.**

Fintan O'Toole had a marvelous record in the past. But there were also weaknesses.

He often wrote about the IRA as if they too were simply an expression of the pathological quality of Irish nationalism without looking at how they arose from the sectarian structures of Northern Ireland.

That same tendency to ignore the role of imperialism in the modern world has led him to become a B52 liberal who offers justifications to the brutes who order the bombing of civilian targets.

## s unite to end the war

ies, the Greek government is imposing the burden of an arms race on the workers. The Greek government is imposing the burden of an arms race on the workers. The Greek government is imposing the burden of an arms race on the workers.

operating in the war. At the same time, the government plan to shut the borders so that refugees cannot find their way into Greece. "In response to all of this Trade Unions have called a 3 hour general strike against the bombing.

"The alternative both to the brutality of NATO and the nationalism of the local rulers is the unity of workers fighting against war and poverty, against the oppression of minorities, and for a socialist society where Serb and Albanian, Greek and Turkish workers can live peacefully together.

"Workers have united in struggle in the past. In the resistance against the Nazis, Serbs, Croats, Macedonians, Albanians fought together. In the Greek civil war the Turkish and the Macedonian minorities in Greece fought with the Republican Army against the Greek ruling class and its US and British allies."

"Today, the working class in the Balkans is stronger than ever. The miners in Romania gave a taste of this power only months ago with a victorious strike and march on Bucharest. Workers in Albania shook their own rulers with an uprising two years ago. Workers in Greece have staged huge demonstrations in support of Kurdish leader Ocalan and against the current war.

"Armed with Socialist ideas we have the power to put an end to this rotten system that brings only war and poverty."

- ★ Greece HAS been the scene of the largest anti-war movement in Europe. Opinion polls show 9 percent of people are opposed to NATO bombing.
- ★ The rail workers union and the dock workers in Salonica have pledged to go on strike if asked to move NATO troops to the war.
- ★ There have been dozens of demonstrations across Greece against the war. On 26th March 16,000 marched in Athens. Police to use tear gas to protect the US Embassy.
- ★ On the 2nd April, Local Government workers went on a 24 hour strike and marched to the American Embassy. On the same day a strike in Salonica attracted 100,000 people in a city of 1 million.
- ★ On Sunday 8 April, the Greek Destroyer "Themistocles" sailed to join NATO forces. Two sailors refuse to sail, and statements against the war. Over 2,000 people demonstrated against the ship sailing.
- ★ On Thursday 22 April, the Athens Trades Council called a union demo against the war. Around 10,000 marched to US Embassy.

STOP THE WAR...STOP THE WAR...STOP THE WAR...STOP THE

Interview with veteran war correspondent Philip Knightley

**WAR  
IN  
EUROPE**



# Truth is the first casualty

PHILIP KNIGHTLEY is a veteran foreign correspondent. He is author of the authoritative book *The First Casualty-From the Crimea to the Falklands: The War Correspondent as Hero, Propagandist and Myth Maker*.

He talked to *Socialist Worker* about how our rulers have always attempted to use propaganda to hide the bloody truth about war.

## HOW SHOULD WE VIEW NATO'S OFFICIAL SPOKESMEN?

**YOU SHOULD never believe official war spokesmen on either side. Official spokesmen will always lie to you when they feel the need to do so.**

You never actually learn about those lies at the time. They are reluctant to lie to you if they think they might be found out in the course of the war. But if they think you won't learn about it until later, then they won't hesitate.

We did not know until long after the First World War was over that a lot of the atrocity stories about the behaviour of Germans had been invented by the Ministry of Information.

They had invented stories of nuns having their breasts cut off, of babies being bayoneted and rape camps.

They demonised the enemy so thoroughly, and the public was in the end so disgusted that they'd been conned, that when in the Second World War the first stories about German death camps for Jews began to come out, people didn't believe them.

In the 1991 Gulf War they said new bombing techniques meant that targets could be hit with pinpoint accuracy and wouldn't cause any "collateral damage"-civilian casualties.

Only after the war was over did we learn that at least one in four of the so called "laser smart bombs" had failed to hit the target and had caused civilian casualties.

## WHAT DOES NATO SPOKESPERSON JAMES SHEA'S ATTEMPT TO COVER UP THE REFUGEE COLUMN BOMBING TELL US?

**SHEA MADE the error of pretending he knew what had happened and then was forced to retract.**

Even more important, he was following a plan for managing the media in wartime that the Ministry of Defence has had in operation since the mid-1970s. I summarise it like this:

\* "Appear to be open, transparent and eager to help." You should be suspicious of that because they may be

concealing things.

\* "Never go in for summary repression or direct control." In other words, don't try and impose censorship or order somebody not to print something.

\* "Control the emphasis of the story rather than the facts. Balance bad news with good. Lie directly only when it is certain that the lie will not be found out during the course of the war."

## WHY DO THE MILITARY AND POLITICIANS USE TERMS LIKE "COLLATERAL DAMAGE" AND "DEGRADING MILOSEVIC'S CAPABILITY"?

**THAT ALL helps conceal the bloodiness of what's happening.**

"Collateral damage" does not sound as bad as dead men, women, children and old people. "Degraded" doesn't sound as bad as blowing up.

Those conducting the war are sensitive to what people think. They don't want to lose public support like the US lost it in the Vietnam War.

The military don't want pictures on the television screen like the attack on the refugee column.

They are happy to have pictures of people looking distressed and cold and hungry, but they don't want ones with lots of blood and arms and legs flying around.

## HOW DID THE US LOSE THE PROPAGANDA WAR DURING VIETNAM?

**JUST AS today, there was never an official declaration of war. That meant that the military could not impose censorship.**

The reporters were left to their own devices. The military didn't worry about that to begin with because they thought the media were "on side". For a long while they were. But then, like now, the correspondents began to complain about the way the war was being run. They complained about undue optimism and that winning the "hearts and minds" of the people of Vietnam meant burning, bombing and pouring napalm over them.

Journalists began to attack the military. It became an absolute litany of horror stories, atrocities and bungled operations. The truth of the war began to emerge. People at home began to say, "We don't want to fight this war any more."

## WHY IS BLAIR'S GOVERNMENT SMEARING BBC JOURNALIST JOHN SIMPSON AS BEING THE "MOUTH-PIECE OF MILOSEVIC"?

**GOVERNMENTS HAVE always done this in time of**



**During the Gulf War America claimed that surgical strikes didn't kill civilians yet thousands died in the 'turkey shoot' along the Basra road.**

**war. The most recent parallel would be Peter Arnett who stayed on in Baghdad after the Gulf War broke out and reported the bombing.**

He was attacked for being a traitor and there were demands to put him on trial. Going back further you have James Cameron who went to Vietnam in 1965 to report. He later said that "the kindest thing that anybody could say at me when I came back was that I was a 'misguided, gullible, commie tool'."

If you can intimidate one person, and the more prominent the better, then you can intimidate the lot of them.

## HOW IMPORTANT IS PROPAGANDA TO GOVERNMENTS CONDUCTING WAR?

**GOVERNMENTS THAT go to war have got to get the public on their side. So we were told we fought the Falklands War to maintain "national integrity".**

So you suggest that the "national integrity" or the "national identity" is at risk and you are being attacked by a vicious, brutal enemy. You then demonise that enemy to make him appear subhuman so it's quite OK to kill him. Milosevic is being demonised in much the same way as they demonised Saddam Hussein.

They are using a lot of the same phrases. "Hitler", "intent on genocide"-this is the jargon. But I deplore it. It's inaccurate.

I object to the phrase "ethnic cleansing" because I'm not certain what it means.

If it means people who are somehow different because of religion or culture being forced to relocate because they've lost some battle or civil war, then this has happened throughout the ages.

The use of the word "genocide", which has a very specific meaning, is an inaccurate use in the case of Kosovo. Genocide means an attempt by a major industrial power to eliminate a particular race from the face of the earth.

It may be nasty, what is going on in Kosovo, but I do not see an attempt to eliminate a whole race. People must try and probe behind the rhetoric and not allow themselves to be fooled by politicians, whatever political party they may be.

## HOW IMPORTANT IS IT THAT WE FIGHT TO GET THE TRUTH OUT ABOUT NATO'S WAR AGAINST SERBIA?

**THE MORE that the truth comes out, the less support this war will have and the more rocky the NATO alliance will be.**

It becomes very difficult to wage a war when victory is not immediately in sight and once the truth of how that war is being waged comes out. The trouble is that the daily newspapers and the television tend to treat the war on a day by day basis. They don't take a deep breath and say, "Let's go back to when the war started to find out how we got to where we are today."

David Halberstam, one of the better reporters from the US in Vietnam, who began backing the American cause, wrote to me many years later.

I asked Halberstam what went wrong with the way the war was covered. He wrote to me: "The problem was trying to cover something every day as news when in fact the real key was that it was all derivative of the French-Indochina War-which is history.

So you should really have a third paragraph in each story which would have said, 'All of this is shit and none of it means anything because we are in the same footsteps as the French and we are prisoners of their experience.'

"But given the rules of newspaper reporting you can't really do that. Events have to be judged by themselves as if the past did not really exist. To an incredible degree in Vietnam we were haunted and indeed imprisoned by our past." That applies absolutely equally to the current war. It's time some quality newspaper ran a whole page saying this is how we got to where we are.

I'd like to know what is happening in this war and so would a lot of other people.



## in my view

# Old firm, Gold firm

YOU CAN put your shirt on Celtic and Rangers having Scottish football sewn up. Celtic's victory over Motherwell on April 16th, followed by Dundee's success in holding out for a draw against Rangers the following day, reduced the gap at the top to four points with five matches to go.

What looked like a procession last month now seems certain to go down to the wire. Meanwhile, for the first time in a decade, the two big Glasgow clubs are through to the final of the Scottish Cup. The last season of the century, just like the first, ends with the Old Firm towering above everybody else.

## Corporate

This is good news for television company NTL—better-known in Ireland as CableTel. It's just announced a three-year £12 million shirt sponsorship deal with the two clubs. Starting next season, both Celtic and Rangers will take the field with the same corporate logo emblazoned on their breasts.

The deal took months of negotiation, with officials of the clubs working closely together. Weekly meetings, alternately at Parkhead and Ibrox, reviewed progress towards the final package. The grounds are well suited to negotiations of this sort, corporate boxes and hospitality suites being a feature of the gleaming new stadia.

However, while the club bosses were huggemugger in the plush ambience of the directors' rooms, outside the fans were encouraged by PR hype and appeals to club patriotism to go for one another's throats. The turnstiles whirred faster and faster.

Once this season is over, replicas of the new shirts will go on sale, at around £50. In the North, going on past experience, they will be the second and third-biggest sellers—after Manchester United. But fans won't be able to wear them everywhere.

In most workplaces and in many pubs and shopping centres, Celtic and Rangers shirts are banned, for fear of sparking disorder, so closely are the colours associated with sectarian hostility. Where clashes occur, the "uniforms" of both sides will now feature advertisements for the same multinational company.

The attraction of Celtic-Rangers to a company like NTL is obvious. The pair's duopoly in Scotland virtually guarantees the sponsor a weekly slot on Sky through the season—plus a presence in both European competitions.

This in turn will provide NTL with extra leverage in dealings with rival media and entertainment conglomerates. There's nothing new in any of it. All that's happened is that the cynical commercialism which has always been the hallmark of Celtic and Rangers has been brought into a new era.

## Reasons

For most of the 20th century, Celtic-Rangers matches brought the possibility of riot. But in fact, the circumstances of the first major "Old Firm" riot show that it was never as simple as fans hating one another for ancient, irrational reasons.

After a drawn cup final replay in 1909, Hampden was simultaneously invaded from both ends. Supporters clashed in the centre of the field and fighting spread all over the pitch. Interestingly, though, while both goals were torn down and terracing ripped up, the only serious injuries inflicted were to policemen trying to "restore order".

The pitch invasion had begun when it dawned on the fans that there was to be no extra time. Supporters of both sides wanted the match played to a finish, where-as the managements were intent on making them pay out for a third encounter.

They were angry, and they were rivals. But the anger hadn't initially been directed against one another. In 1896, the "Scottish Referee" had observed that the role of Celtic and Rangers as "representatives" of particular communities "seems exceptionally remunerative". The phrase "the Old Firm" was coined around the same time, meant as sarcasm, hinting at a commercial conspiracy against other clubs and at the expense of their own fans. They say football has changed dramatically in recent years. But some things never change.

EAMONN McCANN

## TV

# How the State funded abuse

"THE ONE good thing about Christmas Day was that there was no sexual abuse on Christmas Day," said a former inmate of an Industrial school.

Girls were dragged out of the bath for flogging by leather, naked to the waist. Boys were reduced to gibbering fools by constant beatings.

Barney O'Connell said the Christian Brother in charge of the Artane Boys Band ordered him to strip naked before "grossly molesting" him - in front of a classroom of pre-teen boys.

## Victims

These are the stories of the victims of the Industrial schools shown in the new RTE series *States of Fear*.

There were 52 industrial "schools", with almost 7,000 inmates in any year.

Until this programme, the Catholic Church has never admitted to the horror of what went on.

Archbishop Connell recently claimed that "The church - utterly dependent on the support of a largely impoverished Catholic community - cared



Archbishop Connell

## by SIMON BASKETTER

for the poor. And that task was accepted by generations of religious."

The program shows a different reality. Hungry children were reduced to eating pigswill and grass because the religious orders were making a profit from the abuse inflicted on them.

The religious orders received a state grant for each

child. For example, Artane with its 800 boys received an annual grant equal to around a million pounds in today's money. The state also paid the salaries of the religious who worked as teachers in these schools.

## Slave

The inmates were an endless source of slave labour. Young boys were hired out to farmers in Letterfrack with money flowing back to the reli-

gious order.

In the 1940s, one Department of Education official described the orders as "touting" for children.

To avail of state grants, the system required that children be committed by the courts - usually for "having a guardian who did not exercise proper guardianship".

Mary recalled on the programme how her Co. Kerry parish priest decided her widowed mother was "unfit" because she was seeing another man.

Mary remembers that her mother was breastfeeding the baby when a garda took her to the courthouse.

## Judges

Judges committed about 1,000 children a year, some as young as seven. All of them were poor.

The church and a state, which honoured the family in De Valera's constitution, broke up the families of the poor.

One official report, on Daingean Industrial School, run by the Oblates, contrasted the "excellent" conditions for the cows to those endured by the boys.

Another report spoke of the practice of publicly shaving the heads of those boys and girls who were recaptured after escaping.

## State

In 1962, Archbishop John Charles McQuaid received an indictment on Artane in Dublin from its chaplain, Father Moore.

He did nothing. Neither did the state.

There are 40,000 people alive who went through Industrial schools.

They are victims of the biggest crime in the history of this state. The church and state which made them suffer should now be forced to pay up.

*States of Fear* is on RTE 1 on Tuesdays at 9.30pm

## play

# Laying bare Bloody Sunday

**FREEDOM OF the City at the Abbey is part of the a major retrospective showcase of Brian Friel's work being staged in Dublin over the next three months to celebrate his 70th birthday.**

It is Friel's most political play. When first performed it represented an important shift for Irish theatre. Plays written about the Northern situation were few and far between at the time

## Revenge.

*Freedom of the City* is about Bloody Sunday and its aftermath. As Eamonn McCann wrote, "After Bloody Sunday the most powerful feeling in the area was the desire for revenge". For Friel, it was more the palpable injustice of the 1972 Widgery Report that exercised him.

The play begins with three bodies on stage, moves forward to the tribunal of enquiry, and then backwards to introduce Lily, Michael and Skinner as they find refuge in the Guildhall.

It portrays Widgery as a pompous prat willing to listen to any excuse by the security forces.

But the really interesting characters are the three supporters of the Civil Rights Association who find themselves accidentally occupying the Guildhall, the seat of Unionist discrimination and privilege.

Friel is brilliant at bringing out the class tensions that underlay the movement. Skinner who was branded as one of Derry 'hooligans' wants justice for his class as well as civil rights for Catholics, while Michael believes that if the movement keeps its dignity and moderation they will convince Westminster.

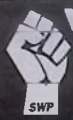
**Today Sinn Fein dominate the Bloody Sunday commemorations in Derry and present themselves as the natural heirs of the Civil Right Movement.**

But Friel's play shows that the republicans did not come to dominate Derry's working class naturally.

In one wonderful scene he has a republican balladeer turning the soon-to-be victims of Bloody Sunday into the brave heroes of Ireland while the three main characters discuss their day to day concerns in the background.

*Freedom of the City* is a brilliant play and well worth seeing.

by KIERAN ALLEN



**where  
we  
stand**

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

**FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM**

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

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

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

**FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:**

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships.

These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class.

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

**FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION**

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

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

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

**FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:**

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army.

Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

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

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

**FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:**

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:**

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

**HOUSING CRISIS ... HOUSING CRISIS ... HOUSING**

# Growing anger at FF apathy over housing

**The Housing Action Campaign which was set up in recent months is continuing its fight for more local authority houses and rent controls.**

Campaign supporters are due to stage a protest outside the Mansion House on Monday 10th May at 5:30pm where Dublin City Councilors are meeting.

*Socialist Worker* spoke to members of the campaign from the Rathmines area about why

they are determined to win their demands.

Dave and Margaret are married with one daughter and have lived in their apartment for 14 years.

**Expired**

In February they were given a 6 month lease and told that they would have to leave when it expired.

Margaret explained "Our daughter has grown up there and goes to the local school.

"We always considered it

our home but it doesn't seem to matter if you're a model tenant - you still have no protection against this happening".

She feels angry that landlords have a right to do this and commented that "some people say they have nice landlords but personalities shouldn't come into it - we should have some protection under the law".

Jack, who lives with his wife and son in the basement flat of the same house, is also facing eviction.

He has been living there for 7 years and like Dave and

Margaret he is very worried about the prospects for finding other accommodation in the area.

He joined the Campaign to stand up to landlords like his own "because", he said, "they can do anything they want, and

that's what pisses me off".

Since joining the Campaign he explained "you just become aware that things are just as bad for everyone and unless somebody does something about it, it's just going to get worse".

## What we think

**With 80 applications for local authority houses being submitted every week to Dublin Corporation and more than 50,000 people on the national waiting list, urgent measures are needed to tackle the housing crisis.**

The government's response has been a bad joke.

The Bacon Report was supposed to bring rising house prices under control but because it was based on tax incentives and refused to interfere with the free market it has had no effect.

The government has cut funding for local authorities which has forced them to stop building houses and start selling off state land banks.

In the past between 20 percent and 25 percent of housing

in Ireland was built by local authorities. But today less than 10 percent of new houses are provided by the state.

Socialist politics are the only solution to the housing crisis.

The government should take building land into public ownership and start an emergency building programme of local authority houses.

There is enough money in the Celtic Tiger economy to fund these measures.

This was recommended in the Kenny Report of 1974 but has still not been implemented.

Rent control and security of tenure should be introduced to stop landlords from exploiting the housing shortage to make more profits.

The government is quick to bail out big businesses like AIB when the free market threatens profits.

They should be forced to intervene when the free market causes rent rises of 30 percent.

## Molloy has no solution

**THE PD Minister for Housing Bobby Molloy has announced plans to provide 66,000 houses in the next 4 years.**

But the reality of the proposal is not as impressive as it sounds.

It is not a definite plan but only a proposal to bring this number of houses on line.

Only one third of these houses will be local authority houses.

And even that is a promise that might not be kept.

The bulk of the new houses will be built by private developers and come from 'social housing' schemes.

But the idea of developers being forced by law to build social housing is suspect.

In the Dublin Docklands Authority where this scheme has already been introduced, Zoe Developments simply reneged on their obligation and built no cheap houses.

And even if private developers build the houses, no figure is being given for what an affordable house costs so it could still cost over £100,000.

Molloy's plan is also to 'fast-track' planning permission process so that land can be zoned for housing within two months.

This will allow developers to bulldoze over the rights of local residents who object.

They will also try to get away without providing any parks or amenities on housing estates.

## SWP Branch meetings - all welcome

**ATHLONE:**  
Contact 01- 872 2682 for details

**BRAY:**  
Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at the Mayfare Hotel at 8pm

**BELFAST CENTRAL:**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St.

**BELFAST EAST:**  
Contact 01- 8722682 for details

**BELFAST SOUTH:**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in Queen's University Student Centre, Mature Students Room.

**CORK:**  
Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket

**DERRY:**  
Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Badgers Bar, Orchard St.

**DUNDALK:**  
Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details

**DUN LAOGHAIRE:**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Christian Institute

**DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre opp. Artane Castle

May 11th: Trotsky and the Balkans  
Speaker: Sinead Kennedy

**DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:**  
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St.

May 12th: After the London Nail Bombs - Fascism & How to fight it  
Speaker: Joe Carolan

May 19th: Trotsky and the Balkans  
Speaker: Kieran Allen

**DUBLIN NORTH WEST:**  
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in the Vietnamese Centre, Hardwicke St (off Parnell Square).

May 12th: What is imperialism?  
Speaker: Sinead Kennedy

May 19th: World War I: From imperialism to revolution  
Speaker: Simon Basketter

**DUBLIN RANELAGH:**  
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Tom Kelly Flats, Charlemont St. Community Centre

**DUBLIN RIALTO:**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto.

May 11th: What causes Nationalist Conflict/  
Speaker: Paul McCarthy

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.

May 11th: What is imperialism?  
Speaker: Aidan Daly

May 19th: The origins of ethnic divisions?  
Speaker: Conor Kostick

**DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:**  
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St.

May 13th: What is imperialism?  
Speaker: Melisa Halpin

May 20th: The Limerick Soviet  
Speaker: Shay Ryan

**DUBLIN TALLAGHT:**  
Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Jobstown Community Centre

**ENNISKILLEN:**  
Meets fortnightly on Saturdays at 4pm. Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue

**GALWAY:**  
Meets every Thursday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square St

7.30pm  
May 13th: War and Revolution: How the World War I ended?  
May 20th: US Foreign Policy from Vietnam to the Balkans

**LIMERICK:**  
Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at 8pm. Phone 01 - 872 2682 for details of venue.

**MAYNOOTH:**  
Meets every Wednesday in Classhall D, Arts Block, Maynooth College

**UCD:**  
Meets every Thursday at 1pm (See posters for room no.)

**TRALEE**  
Meets every Thursday at 8.00 pm Harty's Bar, Tralee

**TRINITY COLLEGE:**  
Meets every Thursday at 7.00pm (See posters for room no.)

**WATERFORD:**  
Meets every Thursday in at 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Keizer St

**HOUSING ACTION GROUP  
Demand  
Local Authority  
Housing  
and Rent Control**

**Protest at Dublin Corporation  
6:30pm, 10th May  
at the Mansion House**

news/reports/politics/industry/unions (01)8722682; fax (01) 8723838;  
email: swp@clubi.ie web: www.clubi.ie/swp

## Scaffolders

# Force SIPTU to make the strike official

**SCAFFOLDERS ARE at the front line of the bosses attempt to resist gains for workers on the building sites.**

They have been on strike since the 12th of April for substantial pay rises and proper recognition of their skill.

At the moment scaffolders wages are set at £6.25 an hour which is the equivalent wage to building labourers.

"It means we cannot ever dream of ever being able to get one of the houses we build" one scaffolder told *Socialist Worker*.

Instead of dealing properly with their claims, the Construction

Industry Federation have played games.

When the scaffolders lifted their pickets, they used it as an opportunity to bring in more materials.

### Rumours

Rumours were also floated that the employers made a substantial offer.

In fact they only offered a 50p an hour increase and a small bribe of £300.

The offer was not made through the union committee but through individual bosses contacting individual strikers.

When the scaffolders tried to hold a picket on a major concert where scabs were working, they

were met with a brutal attack from the Gardai.

A number of steps now need to be taken to win this strike.

First, SIPTU should be told to make it official.

It is a disgrace that the union President Jimmy Somers can say that he has some sympathy with the workers but he is against their unofficial action.

The only reason why the action is unofficial in the first place is that SIPTU are terrified of breaking Partnership 2000.

As a result they have forced their own members to stay on a picket line for a month without receiving any strike pay.

Second, there should be a national stoppage

throughout the building industry to force the employers to tackle a variety of issues that concern workers.

Last month carpenters in Limerick made this call after 1,000 of them

marched through the city behind the red flag.

Third, the campaign for pay increases should be linked to a push to gain direct labour.

Employers use subcontracting to weaken

union organisation and divide workers.

This strike could be a turning point in the building industry. This is why it is vital that it is well organised and has a strategy for victory.

## P2000

# Is Partnership 2000 the last of its kind?

**AS UNION leaders prepare to negotiate a successor to Partnership 2000, they are under increasing pressure from their members to push the boundaries of partnership:**

■ Teachers have rejected performance related pay and want their leaders to pursue decent claims;

■ Civil Servants have called for action on house prices, including "weighting allowances" for workers in high-price urban areas.

■ Computer programmers have negotiated higher salaries — along with loyalty bonuses for Year 2000 project — as firms try to retain their skills.

### Modern

Pdraig Yeates, the *Irish Times* industrial correspondent, has suggested that "the current type of national agreement is too inflexible, too old-fashioned, to meet the demands of a modern and booming economy".

Peter Cassells, the ICTU General Secretary, paints a rosy picture of the achievements of partnership, claiming that living standards have dramatically increased.

A recent ICTU consultative document even asked the question, "What can we do for the worker 'who has everything'...?"

But very few workers have seen their pay keep pace with inflation, especially with the huge increase in house prices. Meanwhile productivity has risen by 19 percent as workers are forced to work harder and accept flexible shift patterns.

But while they exaggerate the achievements, union leaders are forced to admit many of the failures of partnership. So they accept that wage restraint has held

private sector workers back while their bosses make huge profits. And the union leaders also agree that something must be done about issues like low pay, childcare and housing.

But instead of questioning partnership as a strategy, ICTU claim that the approach simply needs "a few tweaks" to make it work better. However, there are hidden dangers in the ideas being put forward to revamp partnership:

■ Taxation: The PAYE sector were supposed to benefit from tax cuts which would compensate for low pay increases. Now union leaders say it may be time to halt these tax cuts to avoid destroying public services. But they have stayed silent while big business enjoys a phased reduction in Corporation Tax to as low as 12.5 percent.

■ Profit Sharing: This sounds like a plan to win back some of the profits workers have created. But we would be constantly told to work harder to increase the value of our "stake" in the company, as Telecom workers are told to do under the ESOP deal.

### Forced

■ Union Recognition: ICTU look set to accept measures which fall far short of automatic recognition. Employers would have to abide by binding Labour Court decisions but would not be forced to recognise unions in the workplace.

There is no real attempt in any of these suggestions to take the wealth back from the tiny minority of rich people who have benefited from the boom. Only by breaking from partnership can we hope to rebuild unions that fight for their members.

## CPSU

**Debate over pay & housing**

**THE CIVIL and Public Service Union conference takes place in Waterford this month.**

Two of the main issues are post-Partnership 2000 talks and the housing crisis. The conference follows a ballot at the end of last year where CPSU members voted to stay in Partnership 2000 but a large minority voted to pull out of the deal.

The strains on partnership are reflected in a number of motions that put conditions on future pay deals.

A motion from Dublin Taxes South Central opposes negotiations on any new partnership deal unless there is a guarantee of certain conditions, including:

■ Implementation of the minimum wage "prior to negotiations".

■ Trade Union recognition.

■ Inexpensive childcare

"for those working in an outside the home".

A motion from Telecom No 1 Branch criticises the phased reduction of Corporation Tax on businesses to 12.5 percent, saying this "is likely to result in continued underfunding of essential public services".

The motion then insists that any new Partnership deal must include a freeze in reductions in Corporation Tax and increased taxes on "the profits of financial institutions and the building industry".

The CPSU has joined with SIPTU in campaigning for affordable housing. Several motions go beyond the demands made by the leaders of the two unions, including:

■ A call for rent controls from both the Arts and Heritage branch and the An Post branch;

■ A demand for a "weighting allowance" for CPSU members in large urban areas, contained in a Taxes South Central motion;

More importantly, the Dublin Customs branch are calling for "a series of public demonstrations, to include marches with other unions, in relation to the housing crisis". The branch calls for this to be co-ordinated by the ICTU.

## Spencer Dock Development

# Off with Harry Crosbie's head

**On the Late, Late Show on Friday April 16th, Harry Crosbie the owner of Dublin's Point Depot was promoting the proposed Spencer Dock Development.**

When he was asked about objections from local working class people, he said, "Sure they eat their young down there".

### Inflamed

It was a remark that inflamed the whole East Wall, North Wall and Sherrif Street area. Immediately resident associations began organising.

Crosbie got his answer when a magnificent 150 strong demonstration took to the streets. Further protests are now being planned as residents organise against his hideous development.

The Spencer Dock Development is scheduled to be bigger than the first phase of London's Canary Wharf.

The tallest building in Canary Wharf will be dwarfed by the Spencer Docks Scheme. Several of these enormous buildings will turn the 51 acre site into a battery style landscape.

"It will block out light and mean ghettoisation for the East Wall" says Kevin Ryan a local resident.

Already the area is hemmed in by the Irish Financial Services Centre which symbolises the wealth and opulence of the Celtic Tiger while the surrounding areas go without proper amenities.

The new development will also add enormously to traffic problems. Traffic is already a contributory factor to asthma in the area.

If the Spencer Dock Development goes ahead, there will be a 7,300 car parking spaces on the site.

Crosbie's arrogance to local people is no exception. In the Mayor Street area residents have received regular visits from development company representatives pushing them into selling their houses for £5,000 and then £10,000 above market

prices. The developers have insisted on dealing with them as individuals rather than as a group and many have found the visits mildly intimidating.

Nevertheless there is a new spirit of resistance in the area. As the leaflet of the East Wall Residents Association says,

"Remember Marie Antoinette and how she ended her days.

"The recent political and court scandals have proven that nobody is too big or too clever not to end up with their heads on the chopping block".

## Teachers

# Union officials in clash with members

**The head office staff of the teachers union ASTI have gone into revolt against their elected representatives.**

At the end of April the newly elected Standing Committee of the union met.

The balance on the committee had changed. Those who wanted more democracy and an end to partnership agreements are now in the majority.

The elected members voted to abolish an intricate sub-committee system and insist that all matters be fully discussed and voted on at the full Standing Committee.

After lunch however the union officials landed a bombshell.

They issued a letter stating that this democratic measure "will have a direct impact on the working hours of the officials".

They were going to raise the issue with their own union and in the meantime stated that "the relevant officials will not be available for" the following Standing Committee meeting session.

### Unofficial

In effect, the bureaucrats were taking unofficial action against their own members! These developments reflect a major change that has occurred in the teachers union.

Discontent has grown as traditional aspirations

by teachers have been cast aside. Today few young teachers can expect to purchase their own house. Because the union leaders settled their special claims early, teachers have fallen behind groups like nurses and gardai.

The bureaucrats in the union head office have responded to the shift in the mood of the rank and file by policy of obstruction. On many occasions they have resorted to legal advice to try to stymie the changes that were going on.

Now in a mockery of trade unionism, they are claiming that their working conditions are being affected.

Teachers should end this farce by disciplining and, if necessary, removing officials who are not willing to obey their members wishes.

# Socialist Worker

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inside:

## NATO'S WAR IN EUROPE

pages: 3,5,6,7&8

### Sheedy scandal shows class bias

# GIVE AHERN THE BOOT



**Philip Sheedy, the architect who killed Ann Ryan, while on a drunken driving spree was looked after by his friends in high places.**

Top of the list is Bertie Ahern. Sheedy had a direct business relationship with Bertie Ahern's chief ally on Dublin Corporation, Joe Burke.

#### Hide

He had designed Burke's fancy house and Burke visited him in prison. Before that Ahern wrote a letter about Sheedy and tried to hide that fact from the Dail.

Judge Hugh O'Flaherty, who lobbied for Sheedy, and Judge Cyril Kelly, who released him, were both appointed by Fianna Fail.

Both are prominent Fianna

Fail supporters. For instance, O'Flaherty used to write speeches for Charlie Haughey.

Also involved is former Fianna Fail Chief Whip Jim Tunney who asked FF TD Brian Lenihan to provide a character reference for Sheedy - which the TD duly supplied.

The report into the affair, prepared by Liam Hamilton, was first given to Fianna Fail TD Eoin Ryan, who chairs the select Committee on Justice.

Coincidentally Judge O'Flaherty's wife is a prominent Fianna Failer in Dublin South East, Ryan's constituency, and does part time work in his office.

Unfortunately Sabrina Walsh, the woman Judge O'Flaherty jailed for six years for stealing a handbag, didn't have any Fianna Fail connections. If she did she would not still be in jail.

Sabrina Walsh should be free and Bertie Ahern should be given the boot from his post as Taoiseach.

**Ahern — son of Charlie**

**BERTIE AHERN** was Charles Haughey's chief lieutenant and it shows. He works behind the scenes to do favours for his business friends.

Haughey's tax bill was cut after Ahern managed to put his own brother in law on the Revenue Appeal Tribunal.

Ken Rohan, a millionaire who donated to Fianna Fail was saved a £1.5 million tax bill after Ahern brought a special provision in a Finance Act that was retrospective.

Guy Snowden put £100,000 in Celtic Helicopters. He then got the multi-million contract to install lotto machines for An Post from Ahern.

Ahern picked up £30,000 from a US businessman, Gerry Lidzon, for Fianna Fail coffers. Soon afterwards Lidzon got an Irish passport.

Ahern signed a special statutory order on the last night of the 1994 FF-Labour government which cut the taxes on Owen O'Callaghan's Golden Island site in Athlone. O'Callaghan has already admitted bribing other FF councillors. No wonder Haughey called Ahern the 'the most cunning and devious of them all'.

**THE JUDGES WHO LOOK AFTER THEIR OWN**

**THE SHEEDY case shows that the courts are biased towards the upper class. All 32 High Court and Supreme Court judges have attended exclusive private schools like Clongowes Wood and Blackrock College.**

#### Socialise

They socialise in top sports and social clubs where they only mix with their own kind.

Being cut off in this way is supposed to contribute to the "inde-

pendence" of the judiciary.

But they are far from independent - their background and lifestyle ensure that they will always judge in favour of the rich and against the poor.

Liam Hamilton was the sole member of the Beef Tribunal in the early 1990s which exonerated the Beef Baron, Larry Goodman, and Fianna Fail Taoiseach, Albert Reynolds, despite a mountain of evidence against them. Hamilton was appointed Chief Justice afterwards.

Judge Kevin Lynch presided over the 1984-85 Kerry Babies Tribunal on Joanne Hayes' conviction for murdering a baby which was not actually hers in the first place.

Lynch's report put the gardai above suspicion in their handling of

the case, despite evidence of false confessions. Lynch is now a likely candidate for the Supreme Court.

Judge Peter Kelly denounced Zoe Construction as "recidivist criminals" after lack of safety on their sites had caused the death of three building workers.

But he did not jail any of the Zoe bosses.

#### Apologise

The same Judge Kelly later tried to force two jailed building workers to apologise for picketing to demand better conditions on their site.

He only backed down when the men's colleagues threatened to invade his courtroom.

**FREE SABRINA WALSH**