

Socialist Worker

inside:

NATO'S WAR IN EUROPE

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NATO MURDERS 100 REFUGEES



Two of the Albanian victims of NATO's masscre in Korisa

STOP THIS MADNESS

"THEY WENT very well. It was another effective day of operations." This is how Major General Walter Jerz, of the German Luftwaffe, began the NATO press conference

Over 100 refugees had been massacred by cluster bombs in Korisa but NATO only wanted to boast that it had sent out a record number of bombers.

After weeks of making excuses for 'tragic mistakes', NATO bombs had torn into a refugee column of 500 Albanians but Jerz did not want to make much of it.

But worse was still to come. Blair and Clinton think they are running a war like an election campaign and so they concentrate on spin doctoring.

After the bombing the lie machine went into full gear. British Foreign Minister Robin Cook claimed that the Serbs had lured the refugees into a military compound and used them as a 'human shield'.

Yet journalists at the scene could only see an open field.

At the start, we were told that this war would be different from all others. It was supposed to be a war for human rights.

Yet NATO's actions speak louder than words. This war is about dominance and power where Serbs and Kosovans are both seen as expendable targets.

The suffering of the Kosovan refugees is used in the propaganda war but it is only the lives of the Western air pilots who fly at 15,000 feet above ground count, which count in this brutal colonial war.

Only a huge anti-war movement can end this madness.

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

Belmondo Wantete...

Gardai show institutionalised racism

BELMONDO WANTETE, an electrical engineer from the Congo, will face a trial on June 8th on a charge of assaulting a police officer.

He has lived in Ireland with his wife and young children for two and a half years, and has resident status. Since May 1998 he has been subjected to the most appalling harassment and racism by the Gardai.

On May 1st 1998, his home was raided at 3am by a group of Gardai. He and his family were subjected to extreme racist abuse.

He was arrested and held for twelve hours without access to an interpreter or a solicitor. He was then imprisoned in Mountjoy for a week

before being charged with assaulting two Gardai in his house during the raid and released on bail.

Six weeks later, he was arrested again for failing to carry ID. When the case came up in the Court, the arresting Garda admitted he was in no doubt about Belmondo's identity, but insisted he had the right to demand to see his resident's permit. The judge dismissed the charge.

Arested

In September last year Belmondo was again arrested on the foot of an arrest warrant that was not in his name.

Despite the fact that members of Residents Against Racism and his lawyer arrived at the station with his identification papers, the Gardai still refused to release him.



Belmondo and family

He was detained for five hours before being released without charge.

On numerous occasions over the past year Belmondo has been charged with offences such as not having motor tax or insurance just for an excuse to repeatedly drag him through the courts.

He has faced a nightmare of racist harassment.

Just as the Stephen

Lawrence inquiry revealed 'institutionalised racism' in the British police, the Belmondo Wantete case shows there is the same racism in the Irish Gardai.

It is important that socialists and all anti-racists get to the trial on June 8th, Court 24 Circuit Court at 10.30 a.m. to show that the society we want is clearly an anti-racist one.

Millions killed by poverty every year

DISEASES SUCH as tuberculosis, malaria, cholera, and pneumonia are killing millions in the third world due to poverty.

'Possibly 1-2m die because of malaria each year. That is absolutely unnecessary,' according to the the World Health Organisation annual report.

Poorest

People in the poorest nations of the globe are 250 times more likely to die of malaria than those in the richest.

Around 1.8 billion people are infected with tuberculosis, despite the fact that the disease is curable.

These diseases kill

over a quarter of third world children before the age of 1 compared to 1 percent of children in the first world.

The WHO measured the real burden of disease and ill health. In the higher income countries of the West, they found that depression related disease accounted for 23 percent of illness.

According to the report, 'We have seen during the late 1980s and early 1990s a massive increase in the mortality of adult men.'

The report points out that low health spending "perpetuates the cycle of poverty."

"It is essential that governments recognise the economic sense in providing healthcare for their people and focused resources not on for the few but on the many."

GM foods will cause famine

A MAJOR report, by the third world charity Christian Aid, has slammed claims from GM corporations like Monsanto, that their GM crops are the answer to world hunger.

The report claims that the introduction of genetically modified crops to the world's poorest countries would lead to widespread famine by putting people at the mercy of the 5 major GM companies.

It also condemns "suicide seeds" that contain a terminator gene to make the seeds of next generation sterile. At the moment over 80 percent of crops in the developing world are a product of saved seed.

The GM food corporations have recently begun to target markets in the developing world. In Brazil for example Monsanto has spent more than \$1 billion in buying seed companies and plans a \$550 million factory to produce pesticide compatible with its GM soya crops.

In India it has invested over \$20 million. Monsanto has also spent more than \$1 billion for the international seed operations of Cargill, the world's biggest private grain sales company.

By controlling the supply of seed, Monsanto will be able to force third world farmers to pay each year for new seed.

Terminator

The 5 big GM corporations already have patents in more than 90 countries on the terminator technology.

The US Department of Agriculture which has a 5 percent share in one of these terminator genes, predicts that "it will be so widely adopted that farmers will only be able to buy seeds from terminator technology."

Far from wiping out world hunger, the only thing to benefit from GM foods appears to be the profits of GM corporations.

Haughey's hypocrisy

RECENT REVELATIONS about Charlie Haughey's long affair with gossip columnist Terry Keane expose yet again the hypocrisy and opportunism of Fianna Fail.

Haughey's affair started in 1972 two years before the Supreme Court ruled in the McGee case that married couples had the right to use contraceptives.

But in spite of the ruling, successive Fianna Fail governments, including those in which Haughey was Minister for Health, refused to legalise contraception.

Private doctors had no problem finding a legal loophole to provide contraception for their patients, while poor people had no such choice.

So, Keane tells us, they had only

one pregnancy scare in their 27 years together!

In the early 1970s illegal family planning clinics opened across the country and by the end of the 70s, a Contraception Action Programme survey found that 75% of married couples used contraception.

In 1979 Haughey finally introduced what he described as an Irish solution to an Irish problem. He made contraception legal but only on prescription to married couples for 'bona fide family planning purposes'. This piece of hypocrisy meant that even condoms needed a prescription!

Bowing

Two years later, Haughey, now the leader of Fianna Fail, followed Garret FitzGerald's lead in bowing to SPUC and agreed to a referendum to put an anti-abortion amendment into the Constitution.

The referendum was opposed by socialists, trade unionists, women's groups, medical and legal experts. Fine Gael wavered and SPUC threw all its weight behind Haughey in the 1982 general election.

As new Taoiseach, Haughey rewarded them by announcing that the referendum would be held within the year. Ten years into his affair, he was still telling other people how to behave in their own bedrooms.

The hypocrisy continued as he and Fianna Fail opposed divorce right through the 80s. It's good to see it finally exposed.

Dublin and Monaghan bombings

More revelations of state collusion

NEW INTEREST in the Dublin and Monaghan bombings has been sparked off following claims made to the Gardai by former RUC sergeant John Weir.

Weir has made several claims about collusion between British covert forces and loyalist paramilitaries.

Weir, a staunch loyalist, served 14 years of a life sentence for murder.

He was a member of the RUC from 1970 until his conviction in 1980.

Weir claims that British military intelligence officers assisted the UDR and UVF in the 1974 bombing which killed 33 people.

Weir said that some of the bombers were then set up by British

forces for assassination by the IRA.

There have also been further allegations that Garda detectives co-operated with the British intelligence officers who were involved in the bombing.

The Gardai have continued to systematically oppose every attempt by victims and their families to gain access to the investigation files.

Tribunals stalled — again

THE TRIBUNALS into corruption have run into more obstacles just as they began to unearth new information about Mary Harney and Bertie Ahern.

In a blatant attempt at cover up, there will be no hearing until the elections are over on June 11th.

This is despite the fact that the proceedings are not supposed to be subject to political pressure.

Before they were closed down, two important facts came out:

★ That Mary Harney knew all about

envelopes going to Ray Burke before she joined a cabinet with him.

Yet when Burke resigned she said she would never have linked up with Fianna Fail if she knew about the scandal.

★ Ahern's investigation into Burke was a complete fraud, despite the fact that the builders JMSE denied giving Burke money,

He saw nothing 'unusual' about the bribe.

These latest obstacles show that the establishment are fighting tooth and nail to cover the scale of corruption in Irish politics.

what we think

NATO in crisis as atrocities continue

The NATO war has run into a brutal and bloody quagmire as the generals have no strategy beyond an endless bombing Serbia.

Two major problems loom before them.

The first is that they are seriously divided. A month ago, NATO wanted begin a ground war before the end of May in order to achieve victory before the harsh Balkan winter.

But hesitation and doubt have arisen in the US, Germany and France.

The sharpest divisions are in the US where the Clinton regime is still terrified of a repeat of the 'Vietnam syndrome'. A senior US official told, the Observer newspaper that 'Washington is more fragmented and riven than ever with no leadership from the Presidency'.

On the other side, Blair has now become NATO's hawk.

Sounding like a nineteenth century British general in India, he pushes for ground troops in this 'battle over the values of civilisation'.

These divisions in NATO, lead to the second problem: How to achieve a negotiated end to the war and still claim victory?

Support

In order to win support for the war, the West has presented Milosevic as new Hitler who is carrying out a holocaust. But if he is a Hitler, they can hardly deal directly with him.

Up to now the solution for NATO has been to use Russia as an intermediary. Russia is an international pauper, desperate for help from

the International Monetary Fund. It is worried that if it is too closely identified with Serbia it could antagonise the predominantly Muslim population in Central Asia.

Five of these ex-Soviet republics - Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan and Moldova - have already formed a Western aligned alliance a month ago in Washington called GUAM.

This extends American influence in the region surrounding the Caspian sea where there are huge reserves of oil.

Influence

Russia believes that a quick end to the war offers it the best chance of curtailng US influence.

But the issue that still divides the Great Powers is the nature of any settlement.

The US is still demanding that NATO form the 'core' of an international force that enters Kosovo because it wants to turn the area into its 'protectorate'. Russia is opposed to this.

As NATO's strategy falls apart, it has fallen back on intensive bombing by default. Its only concern now is that its 'credibility' is rescued so that it can embark on other colonial ambitions in the future.

The result of this mess is that the number of civilian casualties are set to grow.

A powerful anti-war movement can start to halt them in their tracks.

But to end these senseless and bloody wars, we need a socialist movement that uproots the system which breeds them.

The anti-war protests the media ignore



THIS NATO tank was stoped in its tracks when Greek workers struck to prevent NATO moving its supplies by rail. "Our action is a small blow against the destruction which the US and NATO are imposing," said rail worker Andreas Fannaris

OVER TEN thousand protesters converged on the US embassy in Athens on May Day in response to a call from the main trade union organisation in the city, the Athens Labour Centre.

Christos Polyzogopoulos, the President of the Greek Trade Union Congress told the rally, "The last May day of the century is marred by war. We want the bombings to stop immediately."

Not a word of these protests is being reported in the Irish media. Yet there is now a powerful movement in several countries that is mobilising thousands against the war.

Here are some examples:

PIREAEUS, GREECE: Hundreds have blocked the port to protest at NATO landing supplies. Protesters changed traffic signs and diverted a NATO convoy into a street market where they were pelted with rotten fruit. Across Northern Greece, rail workers have struck against the war.

LONDON: 15,000 people staged a march against the war on May 8th. Opinion polls show that over 30 percent of the British population are opposed to the war.

UNITED STATES: Teach-Ins have been taking place in American universities. 1,000 recently attended a teach-in in New York.

GERMANY: A special Green Party conference in Bielefeld was heavily cordoned off by the police after hundreds protested at the role of Green Foreign Minister Joschka Fisher in the bombing.

In the 1960s, a mass anti-war movement in several countries helped to defeat US imperialism and radicalise a whole generation.

This time the movement has started on a smaller scale because the war was originally promoted by the liberal left sections of the media.

But the movement is growing dramatically in the past few weeks - despite the media black-out.

The death of the Greens

AT A special congress on May 12th the German Green Party voted to back the NATO bombing of Serbia and Kosova.

The decision represents a major turning point. The Green movement presented itself as a radical alternative that offered a new way to bring change. It prided itself on its internationalism and opposition to military alliances.

But now the Greens in Germany, Italy and France are backing war.

Daniel Cohen Bendit, summed up the new mood when he said, "If you want to go into government, you take over the world as it is."

Many of the German Greens claimed that Milosevic is a new Hitler who is carrying out a Holocaust in Kosova.

But in an open letter to the Congress, Noam Chomsky and other prominent

American Jews attacked 'these false and exaggerated analogies which are being used to garner support for a bombing campaign that is intensifying the sufferings of all nationalities in Yugoslavia'

Turkey attacks the Kurdish population in the same way as Milosevic attacks the Kosovars. But Turkey is providing airbases for the NATO war effort.

Despite its radical rhetoric, the Green movement never challenged capitalism itself. It simply wanted a greener and more organic variety. That is why it joins the war machine today with talk of 'human rights' and 'humanitarianism'.

The Irish Greens have taken a strong anti-war stance. But it begs the question: should they be aligned with an international movement that now backs a colonial war?

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Demand an inquiry into solicitor's murders

ON MAY 11TH nearly 700 solicitors from across Northern Ireland added their voices to a chorus of calls seeking independent judicial inquiries into the murders of two prominent solicitors, Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson, at the hands of loyalists.

Brian Nelson, the UDA Intelligence Officer who had targeted Finucane stated that he was working undercover for British Military Intelligence and that he kept them informed of his every move. Despite this there has never been an independent inquiry regarding this claim or the murder itself.

The murder of Rosemary Nelson this year brought with it the same suspicions of security force involvement.

Nelson had complained on many occasions that she had been threatened by the RUC on numerous occasions and that she was fearful for her safety. These claims were being investigated at the time of her death.

Colluded

Nelson had always been vocal about the fact that she thought elements of the security forces had colluded with the Loyalist gang who were involved in the murder of Pat Finucane.

The circumstances surrounding the two deaths have so far led to the publication of several reports including one by the United Nations outlining evidence of collusion.

Members of the Northern Ireland Law Society also voted overwhelmingly for an independent investigation into the two murders.

This was done over the heads of the 30 strong Ruling Council of the Law Society who have continually refused to back such demands and who had earlier faced calls for its mass resignation.

Catherine Dixon, President of the Law Society said "I've never seen so many solicitors in my entire life and they all came out because these were big, important and sensitive issues for them".

However a solicitor from Newry who attended last week's meeting said

"If the police are placed in charge of these investigations then we know what the outcome is already. Whether the investigations into the claims



There are unanswered questions over Rosemary Nelson's murder

are headed by the RUC or by members of the British Force the Solicitor's of Northern Ireland have essentially voted no confidence in what their

findings will be.

"What we called for here this week is for an independent inquiry into both killings and a police inquiry falls very

short of that.

It will be totally unacceptable to not only the Law Society but to the growing mood of the people".

Splits growing in the Orange Order

SIGNIFICANT divisions are emerging in the Orange Order in the run up to Drumcree.

The rhetoric of Portadown Orange leaders like Davy Jones has been to insist that support for the march down Garvaghy Rd is increasing among 'the Protestant community'.

But this is complete nonsense.

Since the horrendous firebombing of the Quinn brothers, ordinary Protestants have continued to move away from the Orange Order and hardline loyalists.

Picket

The newly declared picket of the Catholic church in Harryville, Ballymena has been called off because only 14 bigots turned up.

Most significantly the Tyrone, Down and Belfast Orange Lodges will not be going to Portadown for the 12th July march

Last year Paisley informed the world the Drumcree march could not be stopped.

The 'Grandmaster' of the Orange Order Robert Saulters promised the march would get down the Garvaghy Road before the end of



Orangemen at Drumcree

1998'. Now it looks like the numbers prepared for a showdown in 1999 are dwindling.

The splits within Orangeism has made it possible for David Trimble to sit down with the Garvaghy Road Residents Coalition.

Quite a difference from 1995 when the same David Trimble danced down the Garvaghy Rd hand-in-hand with Ian Paisley after the RUC had smashed a clear path from them.

The splits mean that hardline loyalists are

likely to step up their sectarian thuggery.

The increased bomb attacks of the Orange Volunteers and the attempted murder of a Catholic building worker in Carrickfergus are a sign of the new desperation within their ranks.

Campaign over building site deaths

A new campaign has been launched by the British Government to try and reduce the huge number of deaths and casualties suffered by building workers every year.

The building industry has had an alarming death and injury toll as a result of poor health and safety practices on building sites.

Sean, a building worker from Armagh says "It's not so much that the guidelines on health and safety such as protective clothing, secure scaffolding etc. aren't adhered to.

It's just that the money

involved means that there is tremendous pressure put on workers to get contracts finished quickly so that the contractors can start the next job.

"This leads to people taking risks that they wouldn't take in their personal lives".

Alan Meale the Health and Safety Minister has called for action to half the figure in the next 25 years as he says the high death rate "can not be tolerated".

But unless there is strong union organisation on the sites to make the big building bosses more accountable for the safety of their staff, no amount of regulations or guidelines will significantly reduce the death and injury total.

Eamonn McCann

Another day, another deadline

AFTER 10 hours of talks at Downing Street on May 13th, Tony Blair announced that June 30th was now the absolutely final, last-chance target-date for a settlement of the Executive/decommissioning impasse.

The marathon session had resulted in a document which "formed a basis for resolving the remaining difficulties." Sinn Fein and the SDLP seemed happy with the draft. Trimble took it to his Assembly party the following day and, while they didn't endorse it, they didn't throw it out either.

On the face of it, then, ground for supporters of the Agreement to feel optimistic. Except that we have been here before, Northern Ireland being one of the few places in the world where the politicians have had more deadlines than the journalists.

On March 8th last, for example, Mo Mowlam declared it was "vital" the deadlock be broken by Easter (April 4th) - because the marching season begins on Easter Monday, and it's well-known the Northern tribes go stone mad at the sound of the Protestant drum.

It was this Easter urgency which gave rise to the gathering at Hillsborough Castle in the last week in March which tried to re-run the year-old tape of the Stormont Talks but which this time came up not with a "historic" Agreement but with the abortive (and already largely forgotten) Hillsborough Declaration.

Nothing daunted, Blair called the parties to London for another round. Going into Downing Street this time, Gerry Adams and David Trimble used exactly the same phrase: they were here to "rescue the Agreement". Each, of course, wanted it understood he was rescuing it from the other.

If we go by past experience, we'll go "down to the wire" again. As June 30th approaches, there will be "mounting tension". Paisley will warn that Trimble is set to sell the Protestant people out. Knowledgeable Northern editors will report gathering discontent in "hard-line Republican areas". Every day, a columnist will speculate that a deal on Drumcree might prove the catalyst for a settlement on decommissioning. And this time, who knows?, it might work.

Despite all the talk of "moving the situation forward", Adams and Trimble have simply been circling one another for the past year. Decommissioning isn't a new problem. It's the old problem unresolved. The main protagonists want it resolved. What's stopping them is fear of their own rank and file.

Involved

As the former Republican prisoner, Anthony McIntyre, put it: the most important negotiation Gerry Adams is involved in is with the Republican base.

While nobody in the working-class areas which have borne the brunt of the struggle wants a return to war, few regard the new arrangements as a cause for celebration. Republican leaders can repeat day and daily that the proposed institutions are not a permanent settlement but a "transitional arrangement". But they cannot sit on an Executive while simultaneously working to undermine it. Once they are sitting around the "cabinet" table debating departmental budgets, they are locked in.

Sinn Fein knows that in practical terms, despite the text of the Agreement, this means decommissioning. The Ulster Unionists know that, although this isn't specified in the Agreement either, sitting in government means sitting alongside Sinn Fein.

Sitting together, each will proclaim to its supporters that it's actually standing firm. Suspicious elements on each side will examine every development to check that this is so. Each leadership will plead with its own rank and file to stick together and ensure a solid front towards "the other side".

The communal basis of politics will be preserved. There will be no element in the set-up pushing a distinctive working-class agenda. Sporadic sectarian violence will be part of the pattern of life.

This is the best we can hope for if Blair's best hopes are realised and the "remaining difficulties" resolved.

The task of building a working-class alternative remains, too.

Vote Socialist in the local elections for...

A workers' voice in the Celtic Tiger

ON JUNE 11th, voters will elect new local councils for the first time in eight years. The establishment politicians kept postponing the elections because they were worried about growing unpopularity.

Many former councillors will not be running because they have taken advantage of a 'scrappage scheme' which awards them up to £20,000 not to stand for election.

The elections are the first time that workers get to express their anger at what is happening in the Celtic Tiger.

The Socialist Workers Party will be standing eight candidates in Dublin and Waterford.

Already some of the candidates have received a good response on the doorsteps.

Ritchie Brown is leading the cam-

paign in the heart of Charlie Haughey's old constituency.

One of his canvassing team summed up the mood. "Haughey used to come to this area like a lord of the manor and graciously pay for the shopping baskets just before the election days.

"Now many know that he was paying out of the money he had robbed from us. There are a lot of people looking for an alternative".

Strong

All the party's candidates are taking a strong stance against NATO's war and racism.

Joe Carolan explained, "In the Stonebatter area there is a tiny group of racists who are putting up filthy graffiti and harassing black people.

"They want to use refugees as scapegoats for the housing crisis. We need to give clear socialist answers

rather than allow these racists divide us"

Grace Lally explained the party's stance on the war.

"This is a local election — but you cannot just talk about local issues when our world is being shaped by war.

"The right wing parties are trying to drag us into NATO by joining Partnership for Peace and Labour don't know where they stand. Every vote for the SWP is a vote against war and against NATO".

End the housing crisis

Joe Carolan is running in Dublin's North Inner City and Grace Lally is running in Rathmines. Both are founder members of Housing Action Campaign and have organised several protests.



Last year rents rose by 30% in Dublin and over 50,000 people are now waiting to be housed by local authorities.

Grace says, "Rent controls should be introduced immediately to stop landlords exploiting the housing crisis. These controls exist in most major cities like New York and Berlin. So what's so special about the Irish rich that they can charge what they like when our wages are pegged down?"

Joe has seen the effects of the housing crisis at first hand in Dublin's inner city.

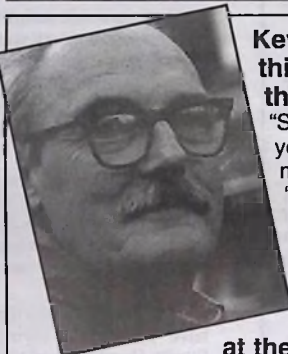
"People are moving back to live with their parents. They are stuck in rotten damp bedsits.

"We need an emergency local authority house building programme. The rich should be taxed to pay for it. They have made enough under the Celtic Tiger."



Tax the rich to fund decent services

Kevin Wingfield has been living in Ballymun Flats for thirteen years and is now the local election candidate in the area.



"Sabrina Walsh is a Ballymun resident who has been jailed for seven years for stealing a handbag while Haughey wanders around as a free man.

"We need a strong socialist party that tackles the rich head on. If elected I will push for higher taxes on the rich, increased rates so that we force them to provide services that are badly needed."

Ritchie Brown is a shop steward at the FLS plant in Dublin Airport and is standing as an SWP candidate in the Coolock/Darndale area.



"The public services have been run down here. There is no children's ward in Beaumont Hospital. The bus service is a disgrace.

"This is the real cost that working people are paying for the low tax regime on profits. When it comes to a choice of looking after the greed of the bankers or the lives of working people, I know which side I am on"

Vote left - and organise to fight

SOCIALIST WORKER candidates are pledged to a common manifesto which calls for jailing of corrupt politicians, opposition to war and a policy of taxing the rich to provide decent services.

We also urge a vote for other left candidates who advocate similar policies.

A large vote for socialist candidates will be a signal that workers want to fight for their rights.

But voting alone will not bring real change. The parliament and the councils are stacked against socialists.

The real business is conducted behind closed doors where brown envelopes and business blackmail count for more than votes.

As well as voting left, workers need to organise themselves to bring change. The power to take on the Golden Circle comes from working class struggle from below.

Jail the corrupt politicians

Dave O'Sullivan is standing in Ballybrack and Shay Ryan is the candidate in Dublin's South East Inner City.

Dave is a leading activist in the building workers union BATU. He was the spokesperson for the two building workers who were jailed last year for going on strike for the right to pay tax. "The AIB ran a tax scam and got off scott free. But the law was used against trade unionists who took strike action. It shows how corrupt this country is."



Shay Ryan has marched against companies like Zoe Developments which has taken over the Bord Gais site in Ringsend for office blocks and apartments.

"Working class people in this area want affordable accommodation for their kids. We don't want to be ghettoised or driven out of our own areas by these sharks. What I want to know is how many brown envelopes changed hands."

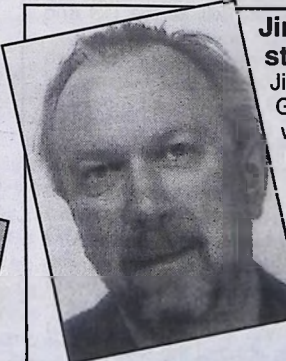
Dave and Shay will use the council chambers to get corrupt politicians jailed. They are pledged to stand up to big business and fight for the

rights of workers



Organise for full union rights

Jimmy Kelly and Carolan Duggan are standing in Waterford.



Jimmy is the chief shop steward in Waterford Glass and Carolann is also a trade union activist who has campaigned actively against Partnership 2000.

Both are determined to press for union rights. Jimmy Kelly says, "The councils should be paying a £5 an hour minimum wage. They should not award any contracts to employers who pay less than this. Trade unionists should be able to monitor every

corporation sub-committee to ensure there is no graft or corruption".

Carolann Duggan says, "Workers are getting a raw deal under the Celtic Tiger. Our wages are being held in check while big business has been given a free hand. Real change will come when workers organise themselves for a fight - but I am determined to give voice to the growing anger at the class inequalities".



Get involved! Call the SWP election desk at 8722682 for leaflets and details of local canvassing

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

Why this is an imperialist war

SUPPORTERS of NATO argue that it is engaged in a 'humanitarian war' because there is no oil in Balkans like there was in the Gulf.

But oil is not the only reason imperialist wars are conducted.

For more than a century the major powers have carved the world up into rival empires and "spheres of influence". In doing so they have consigned vast areas of the globe to war and poverty. Yet on most occasions there were no oil reserves in the regions they conquered.

Machine

NATO is a military machine, expressly set up at the start of the cold war in 1949 to counter the Soviet Union and its satellite states. Its aim is to extend the rule of the US, and to a lesser extent its European allies, over Eastern Europe.

Today NATO wants its rivals to see that its power and influence in the region is paramount. This was made very clear right on the second day of the war when the US Secretary of State Madeline Albright declared, "This is a test of the NATO of the 21st century".

After the end of the Cold War the world was supposed to be entering into a post imperialist era. In 1989, George Bush famously declared the "New World Order". War would become obsolete and conflicts would be settled peacefully under the auspices of the United Nations.

But Somalia, Iraq and Rwanda show that imperialism, far from being part of history, is alive and kicking.

The Marxist understanding of imperialism sees it as intimately linked with the capitalist system we live under.

Capitalism begins as a system where individual firms compete with one another over prices until one or two firms come to dominate particular markets. In its early stage, the role of the state, was according to Adam Smith, solely to function as a 'nightwatchman' that organised security but did not interfere in the economy.

But as capitalism develops it becomes more and more centralised. Competition becomes competition between huge blocs of capital and their states. Capitalists look to "their" state, and its political and military might, to further their interests and defend and extend those interests against rivals. US drug and computer companies, for

example, rely on the power of the American state to keep rivals away from using their 'intellectual property rights' without paying.

The Great Powers have always sought to extend and secure their markets and trade routes, but they have also sought to establish political conditions and regimes best suited to their interest

War therefore is not always directly and immediately connected to economic interests. Each of the main powers has its economic interests, or those of the firms which look to it, connected with a vision of how to maintain or extend its influence against rivals.

It needs to assert itself militarily not only against direct threats but as a demonstration of power against economic competitors. This means it tries to act with a wider strategic vision when using its military might rather than responding always from purely economic concerns

Gaining access to the huge oil reserves in the Caspian sea is a factor in the Balkans war. But it takes its place alongside wider strategic considerations.

With the collapse of the USSR, the US has an opportunity to extend its dominance in the region. It also wants to show that through NATO, it alone can be the world's policeman, imposing its will through military strength on any "rogue states"

Power

All of this allows the US to send a message to the major European powers. They have their own economic and political interests, some of them not in common with the US. The recent clashes over GM foods and the "Banana Wars" expressed this recently.

The message from this war will be that the US alone has the leadership and military might to provide the stability needed to impose the will of the US and European powers.

However, despite its own pretensions, the US is not all powerful. It is not just a case of the US shouting "Jump" and all the other powers following. During the Gulf war in 1991 only Britain was fully prepared to support the US. There are already huge splits within NATO over the bombing in the Balkans. Throughout the world hundreds of thousands of people have been involved in protests against the war.

Socialists need to understand imperialism and how it operates so that we can build a fight to oppose the brutality it brings.

THE PROFIT NATO WAR

SHARES IN the US leading arms manufacturer, Boeing, have reached a 52 year high since the NATO bombing campaign began. Although over one thousand civilian have been murdered, Wall Street investors are snapping up Boeing stock at \$44 dollars a share.

British Aerospace is also doing well. Its shares have jumped forward by 43% mainly as a result of its arms sales.

German construction companies are also having a good year. Their shares have also jumped because of an expected building boom after the war.

It shows that sickness of a system that puts profit and greed before human life.

Arms manufactures are cashing in on the war in Kosovo. They have taken the opportunity to place advertisements in a number of defence magazines pointing out the virtue of their products.

For instance Northrop Grumman have placed ads saying that its B-2 Stealth Bomber, used to bomb Kosovan refugees, "not only comes with options, it creates them."

Missile

Raytheon, who make Cruise missiles, have launched a campaign round the slogan "Aviators Deserve An Unfair Advantage. Make Sure You Get It." The missile programs cost \$20 billion.

In promotions, Lockheed/Boeing/Pratt are selling the new F22 fighter with the slogan "The Anti-War Plan," adding, "The first thing it will kill is an enemy's appetite for war."

Lockheed matches the swagger of its F-22 ads with one for its Army Tactical Missile System which, the company notes, will "strike fear in the hearts of our enemies."

Clinton and the US government give enthusiastic backing to these merchants of death.

America's military budget of \$281 billion a year is the largest in the world. It is equal to the amount spent by the next five largest military spenders put together. Yugoslavia doesn't even get on the list of the top fifty military budgets.

America is also the biggest arms dealer in the world. It sells weapons to over 140 countries, 80% of them in the third world. The Clinton administration

says that "the United States continues to view transfers of conventional arms as a legitimate instrument of U.S. foreign policy—deserving U.S. government support when they enable us to help friends and allies deter aggression."

The second biggest arms dealer is Britain. £1,798 million worth of mili-

tary equipment left the UK for over 40 countries in 1994, while new orders totalling around £5,000 million were signed in that year.

Despite talking about an ethical foreign policy, New Labour underwrites military exports to the tune of £1 billion a year.

'Imagine your city destroyed'

IT IS like a lousy war movie—dust, chemicals, flames all over the place. Imagine seeing buildings you grew up next to turned to dust. Seeing your city destroyed is so sad. We barely had the means for serious surgery before the aggression and now we have no means for serious surgery at all.

A few days ago NATO used special carbon dust and fibre bombs and shorted the electricity grid so that 80 percent of Serbia was without electricity the entire night and part of the next day. Can you imagine in Belgrade, a city of two million citizens, how many babies

could not be taken care of during the night?

When the death tolls become public I am certain that generations to come will hold their heads in shame. If all this does not induce drastic political changes I am through with surgery. I am asking myself, why so much violence, hatred, destruction? It is so hard to be normal? If we were a species of animals I am sure animal protection groups would stand up against what is happening to us.

★ PROFESSOR MIROSLAV MILICEVIC, Chief of Surgery at Belgrade University Hospital

Far worse than nail bombs...

NATO says it is fighting a humanitarian war.

But the weapons it is using are designed to murder and maim tens of thousands. Modern technology is being used to create horror on a scale that has never been known.

Here are NATO's new instruments of death:

CLUSTER BOMBS: These are some of the most savage weapons of modern warfare. The American CBU-87/B is the main type of cluster bomb. It explodes in the air and a couple of hundred clusters shoot out in all directions. The clusters disperse and each one breaks into 300 pieces of jagged steel shrapnel.

The RAF is dropping the smaller BL753 500lb bomb, which breaks up into 47 clusters. Some of the clusters are designed not to go off immediately but will kill people who later visit the bomb site.

DEPLETED URANIUM: Many of the missiles NATO are using have depleted uranium tips. They will contaminate the soil in Kosovo and lead to an increase in leukaemia in children. Rosalie Bertel, a Canadian doctor explains how these bombs work, "It

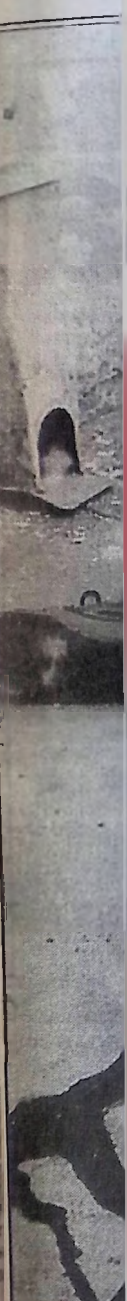
penetrates the lung tissue and enters the blood stream, storing in the liver, kidney and bone and irradiating all the delicate tissue. It can initiate or promote cancer."

IRON BOMBS: Much of the unguided bombing has been from 'iron bombs' which are 1000lb and 2000lb bombs, which explode before hitting the ground, and hurl out shards of shrapnel.

PSYCHOLOGICAL WEAPONS: NATO used special carbon dust and fibre bombs to short circuit the electricity grid. On one particular night 80 percent of Serbia was without electricity. According to the US Navy, the purpose of these bombs is to "psychologically disrupt civilian life".

CRUISE MISSILES: These missiles cost a million dollars each and are known as 'smart bombs'. But during the Gulf War they only hit one out of every three of their targets.

WARTHOG TANK BUSTER PLANES: NATO has boasted about the arrival of the Warthog planes to the Balkans. These planes dropped a bomb on the Al Amina Air raid shelter during the Gulf war burning up to 400 people alive.



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

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



WAR CRIMES

NATO's hypocrisy over the refugees

The United Nations refugee relief agency is running out of money to help Kosovan refugees.

This announcement shows up the shocking hypocrisy of Western governments who use the refugees for war propaganda but do little to alleviate their plight.

The British government, for example, has given only £490,000 for refugee relief in Kosovo - but it has spent £40 million already on the war.

So far less than 25,000 refugees have been taken in by EU countries.

The British government's enthusiasm for bombing has not been matched by an enthusiasm to shelter the people they claim to be fighting for. Britain have only accepted 330 refugees.

The reluctance of EU countries to accept refugees is not new.

Over the last decade a fortress Europe has been created to keep out immigrants and asylum seekers who want to enter Europe.

In the decades following the Second World War Europe needed cheap migrant labour to rebuild its industries. This was achieved by a 'gasterbeiter' or 'guest worker' system in which non-Europeans were allowed to work on short contracts without being granted the rights of citizens.

Industry

But as the needs of Europe changed and manufacturing industry declined the EU made efforts to stop the flow of immigrants.

During the 80's as internal borders in Europe were abolished the external borders were strengthened. This resulted in a staggering rise in the number of asylum seekers turned away from Europe.

In 1980 65 percent of asylum seekers were accepted into Europe. By 1990 only 10 percent were allowed to stay.

The recent Immigration Bill being introduced by John O'Donoghue is an example of the type of laws that are designed to create a fortress Europe.

It forces doctors and teachers to report on illegal immigrants. It allows the deportation of anyone charged by the police - even if they have not been found guilty.

In Britain, an Asylum Bill is being pushed through parliament. If it is passed asylum seekers will be forced to stay in reception centres,

forced to live on a system of vouchers with an allowance of only £1 a day.

Anyone who is refused refugee status will be locked up immediately until they can be deported.

At the moment 800 asylum seekers are locked up at any one time

This is the model that is being operated all over Europe.

In Germany new arrivals are put up in barrack like 'application centres' and only given basic food and clothes. Germany receives more asylum applications than any other European countries but on average 90 percent are deported within 6 months.

In France asylum seekers receive no food or assistance of any kind from the government.

They are allowed to work while their application is being processed but staying on is impossible because of regular identity card checks and police harassment.

Injured

More and more refugees have been murdered or injured while facing deportation.

On the 1st of May Marcus O, a Nigerian refugee, died at the hands of Austrian police during a forced deportation. Joy Gardiner was also murdered by British police after they taped her mouth while deporting her.

Agreements between the EU and countries on the edge of Europe like Hungary and Poland have turned these countries into a type of buffer zone for keeping out refugees. Hundreds of thousands of people suspected of trying to travel on to EU states illegally are locked up in detention centres in these countries every year.

European governments welcome multinationals and people with money, but people fleeing oppression, torture or poverty are treated like dirt.

People are forced to flee their countries because of wars and poverty. But it is EU governments who provide the weapons for many of these wars.

In Rwanda, the army grew from 3,000 to 15,000 in the two years before the civil war, mainly as a result of French intervention and arms dealing.

But this did not stop the French government keeping many refugees from the conflict out.

The West's sickening record on refugees shows how little they really care for the Kosovars.

NATO'S WAR CRIMES

★ April 5: A NATO raid on the mining town of Aleksinac leaves 17 dead.

★ April 9: NATO hits homes near a telephone exchange in the Kosovo capital of Pristina.

★ April 12: Missiles aimed at a bridge hit a passing train at Grdelicka Klisura in southern Serbia, killing 55 people.

★ April 14: NATO bombs refugee convoys in the Djacovica region of south-east Kosovo, leaving 75 dead.

★ April 23: Ten people murdered as Serbia's television station is deemed a 'legitimate target'.

★ April 28: NATO bombs a residential area in the village of Surdulica leaving at least 20 civilians dead.

★ May 1: NATO bombs a bridge at Luzane near Pristina, killing 47 people aboard a bus which was travelling along it.

★ May 2nd: The Josef Atila primary school in Kupusina was hit by two NATO bombs. Kupusina is inhabited solely by ethnic Hungarians and there are no military facilities in the vicinity.

★ May 7: NATO bombs Nis in southeast Serbia, leaving at least 15 dead and 70 injured.

★ May 7: NATO bombed a Greek relief aid convoy to Kosovo.

★ May 8: NATO attacks the Chinese embassy in Belgrade, killing three Chinese journalists. On the same night, NATO missiles hit the Hotel Jugoslavia, killing a guest. The destruction of the hotel made 500 people jobless.

★ May 14th: NATO fires cluster bombs on refugees in Korisa murdering over 100.



A victim of the cluster bomb dropped on Nis market

The thug who leads the KLA

The new commander of the KLA, Agim Ceku, is a notorious brute who has organised ethnic cleansing.

Ceku was a brigadier general in the Croatian army in the nineties when it was secretly armed by the US and Germany.

He organised the Operation Storm which drove 200,000 Serbs out of the Krajina area of Croatia.

But his terror tactics does not matter to his NATO backers who say they are concerned with the plight of refugees.

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TANK BUSTERS... has boasted about... arthog planes to... nes dropped a bom... r raid shelter during... ng up to 400 people...

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

125 years of Balkan Conflict

“A BOMINABLE AND bestial lusts”. “Scenes at which Hell itself might almost blush”... Even a “cannibal” would boil over with “indignation.”

“The only reparation we can make to the memory of those heaps of dead women and children” is to “clear out those responsible from the province.”

Such condemnations of war crimes in the Balkans might seem familiar.

However, they are not the synthetic outpourings of British defence secretary George Robertson.

They are the words of the 19th century British politician William Gladstone. And the massacres he was condemning in 1876 were not perpetrated by Serbs against Albanians. They were known as the “Bulgarian Atrocities”.

Turkish troops butchered 12,000 civilians that year in what are now the republics of Bulgaria, Serbia and Macedonia.

Over the last 120 years there have been periodic wars in the Balkans accompanied by atrocities and the forced movement of whole peoples.

Pretext

The most powerful states in the world have regularly intervened, usually using the suffering of one of the Balkan peoples as a pretext.

At best they have managed to freeze a conflict, temporarily only for it to re-emerge with a vengeance a few years later.

At worst, and most often, they have contributed to the “heaps of dead” themselves and poisoned relations between people in the region.

There is a tremendous mix of peoples in the south eastern corner of Europe. There are Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Bosniaks, Hungarians, Montenegrins, Albanians, Macedonians, Greeks, Bulgarians, Turks, Pomaks, Vlachs, Italians, Roma Gypsies, Jews and others.

For most of that time different ethnic groups have lived peacefully alongside one another, speaking common dialects and sometimes intermarrying.

Communal violence is not their natural way of life. It is a product of the way capitalism has developed.

The Balkans have been the poorest part of Europe for centuries.

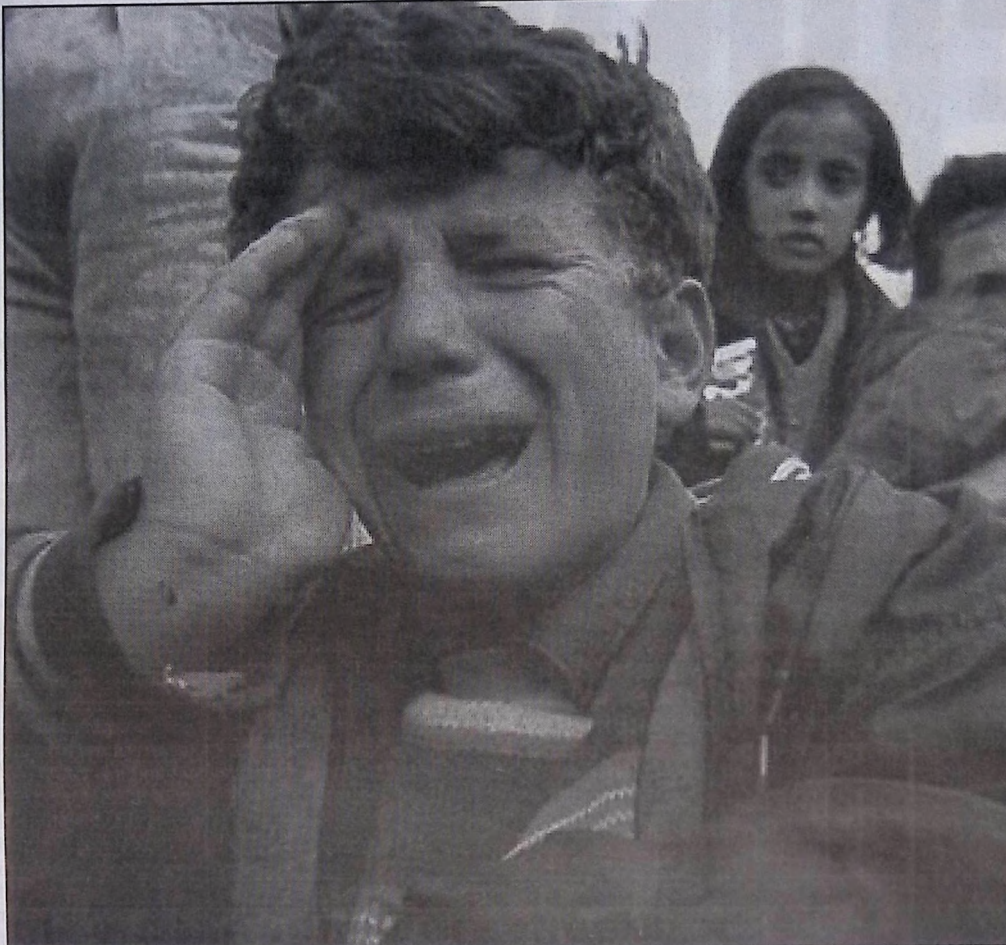
It was the meeting point of three great empires—Russia, Austria and Turkey—in the 19th century. Towards the end of that century the modern industrial powers—Britain, France and Germany—also turned their attention to the region.

The peoples of the Balkans were ground between them.

When movements arose in the Balkans at the end of the last century which wanted to create states capable of being independent industrial powers, they faced two problems.

First, the great powers wanted to carve the Balkans up in their own interests. Second, it was possible to build a national state in an area which was such a patchwork of different peoples only through war with other ethnic groups.

As the revolutionary Leon Trotsky wrote in 1913, these factors meant that national movements in the Balkans were pulled towards lining up with one or other of the imperialist powers, so that “in the backward Balkan peninsula there is room for a national policy only in so far as this coincides with an impe-



A Kosovan refugee at the Albanian border

People who have suffered so much

rialist policy.”

The Balkans were torn apart by the struggles of half a dozen weak national movements and their links with the imperial powers.

So the demand by people living in Bosnia for their own state in 1875 led to clashes with the Turkish empire which dominated most of the region.

That touched off a wider crisis as the rulers of Bulgaria sought to use the rising to win further territory from the Turks.

Posing

Tsarist Russia, posing as the defender of the Slavic peoples of the Balkans, grabbed the opportunity and declared war on Turkey in 1877.

The other European powers imposed the Treaty of Berlin in 1878 which created a new carve up between different Balkan states and imperial powers which suited them more.

By 1885 the two states which had suffered most at the hands of Turkish troops, Bulgaria and Serbia, were at war with one another.

Just like today, there were reports of “women and children dead from famine, rape of women as young as 11, terrible suffering of those who have been removed with bayonets from their homes, groaning of the wounded and mountains of the dead”.

War erupted again in 1912. Greece, Bulgaria and Serbia rose up in an effort to drive the ailing Turkish empire from the region.

By 1913 the three states were at war with one another for territory. Once again foreign powers intervened, turning the different national movements into their proxies.

They imposed the Treaty of London and the Protocol of Florence on the warring parties in 1913. Britain and Germany backed the creation of an Albanian state as a counterbalance to Russian influence in Bulgaria and Serbia.

The rivalry between the big powers

exploded into all out war between them in 1914. Britain, the supposed defender of the fledgling Albanian state, signed a secret deal with the Italians to hand it over to them in return for Italy joining the war against Germany.

During the war itself the people of the Balkans suffered terribly. As Serb civilians and soldiers were driven hundreds of miles from their homes, the Austrian military bombed the columns of refugees.

An eye witness wrote, “There was no wood for fuel and no fodder for animals, only a dead white landscape devoid of variety or form, through the centre of which thousands of people and animals crept, every one of us suffering, the majority hopeless.”

The refugees cursed those who had abandoned them: “I heard it continually, ‘Why did not Russia come? Where are the French? Has England forgotten us?’”

A series of authoritarian Balkan regimes were created in the 1920s and 1930s. Each oppressed national minorities and, above all, crushed dissent among workers and peasants of the

national groups it claimed to represent. The Second World War again allowed the Great Powers to exploit the rivalries between Balkan petty rulers.

Italian and German forces invaded the Balkans in 1941. They played on Croatian national grievances to establish the pro-Nazi Ustashe state.

Croatian and Albanian chauvinists took revenge on the Serbs who had been the dominant force in the pre-war Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

The Ustashe state murdered 600,000 Serbs and Jews. Its activities even shocked the German SS.

An SS report from 1942 said, “The Ustashe units have carried out their atrocities not only against males of military age but in particular in the most bestial fashion against unarmed old men, women and children.”

Amanda Vickers’s authoritative history of Kosovo says, “The 21st SS Skanderbeg Division, formed out of Albanian volunteers in the spring of 1944, indiscriminately killed Serbs and Montenegrins in Kosovo.”

Other nationalists tried to settle old scores elsewhere across the region. Outside powers sharpened the antagonisms between peoples.

But the movement against Nazi occupation showed how much workers and peasants of different ethnic groups wanted to live in harmony, despite manipulation by foreign powers and local tyrants.

The partisan movement in what became Yugoslavia comprised mainly Serbs, but included Croats, Albanians, Jews and others.

Yugoslav partisan leader Josip Broz Tito was himself half Croat. After the war he founded the federal republic of Yugoslavia which contained, Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Macedonians, Kosovans, Bosnians, Montenegrins and some Hungarians.

It was not a socialist society. But Tito was able to develop the economy and balanced between Russia and the US during the Cold War.

National grievances, and in some cases oppression, did not disappear. But economic growth allowed the central state to weigh different nationalities against one another.

Crisis

This brittle setup fell apart as economic crisis ripped through Yugoslavia in the 1970s and 1980s.

Politicians—principally Slobodan Milosevic in Serbia and Franjo Tudjman in Croatia—whipped up nationalism to head off revolution and build a career for themselves.

Each trotted out their own selective history of past injustices.

The result was the wars which have plagued former Yugoslavia this decade. There were more terrible massacres, by Serbian forces certainly but also by others.

Last week two Croat military leaders went on trial at The Hague for war crimes.

Dario Kordic and Mario Cerkez are accused of murdering men, women and children and torching, shelling and dynamiting houses and mosques in the Lasva River valley in central Bosnia.

Yet the Croats were backed by NATO members at key moments in the Yugoslavian wars.

The US imposed the Dayton Agreement in 1995 on the war weary sides in the Bosnian conflict. It led to a lull in the fighting, but only through the partition of Bosnia.

Now NATO is intervening again. A system which led the big powers into two world wars cannot bring stability to the Balkans or anywhere else.

in my view

Be afraid... Be very afraid

WHILE NOBODY was looking, the horror movie snuck silently in through an open window and hid in the closet, waiting to leap out and hack their way up the movie charts. A genre that appeared to have breathed its last after, ooh, the fortieth *Nightmare On Elm Street* outing, is back.

And it's come for your children, led by *The Faculty*, *Scream* and *I know what you did last Summer*.

The new popularity of the horror movie has been put down to postmodernism. But in reality makers of horror movies had always been achingly self-aware, with in-jokes littering the films of the 1950s before anyone heard of post-modernism.

The revival of the horror film has something to do with making cheap niche movies and more to do with a crisis in the politics of wider society.

Heyday

Horror movies have always been tied up with broader themes. The first heyday came in the thirties when a ready audience wanted its fears exploited.

And film makers were happy to include a strong dose of anti-semitism with the admission price - especially in the early *Dracula* movies. The real horrors of the Second World War put the genre on hold.

The post-war world brought new prosperity and with it new fears. The boom meant the arrival of youth culture and the creation of the teenager. The American drive-in provided an audience and the confusion over sex roles provided the plots. Errant teenagers who experimented too much with dark forces - sex - would be punished.

Flying saucer movies made sense in the McCarthy years when a real search was on for spies from the evil empire. Cold war paranoia was played up to the hilt with the threat of outside forces.

The horror movie also reflected the concerns and fears of the nuclear age. The Atomic bomb meant mistrust of science and most of the monsters of the 1950s - *Godzilla*, *The Thing*, *Giant Ants* etc. - were created by nuclear accidents.

The Cold War paranoia wasn't all one sided. On the surface, the *Invasion of the Body Snatchers* is the classic cold war movie, with aliens taking over a small town because of lack of vigilance from the townsfolk.

However, the movie is also about the loss of liberty as the town becomes assimilated into a single right wing culture.

Threat

As the post war boom started to end, the danger and threat came not from outside, but from within.

In horror films the family stopped being the haven it had been in the fifties, and became more the cause of the problem. In *The Exorcist* and *The Omen* the child is the monster, in *The Shining* it is the father.

The return of the cold war in the Reagan era gave the movies a boost. In the wake of John Carpenter's *Halloween*, the Eighties saw a deluge of low-budget shockers about indiscriminate serial killers dispatching co-eds with kitchen knives.

These mechanical movies provided cheap but relentless thrills and repeated the paranoias of the 50's cold war. The horror movie wallowed in endless squeals and more and more mindless gore fests for video.

The return of family values also meant that horror movies seemed to be carrying out a war against women. While the horror film always had the woman as victim, the gory deaths of single young women was part of the backlash against feminism.

Now the smart new horror movies play on the same fears and paranoias as before.

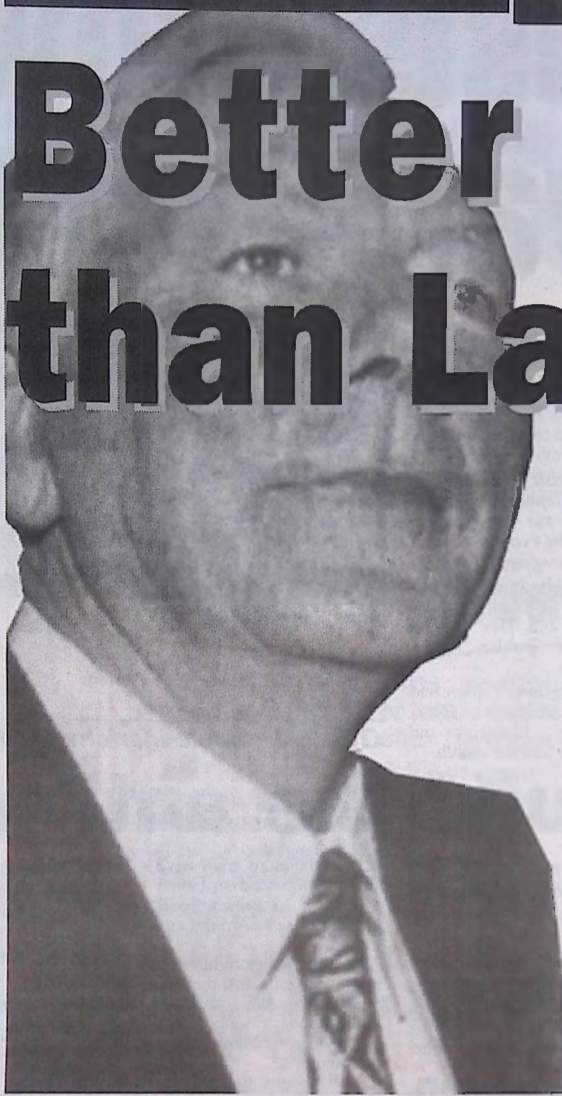
The characters may know the clichés but the popularity comes not from the irony but the same doubts in the audience as the 1930s and 50s.

When school kids celebrate Hitler's birthday by shooting their schoolmates, and American planes blow up refugees in order to save, them there is bound to be an audience for horror on the screen.

SIMON BASKETTER

TV

Better gone than Late Late



STAYING IN to watch the *Late, Late Show* is not something you readily admit to if you are under thirty today. But it was not always the case.

When a young Trinity College student, Brian Travaskas, called Michael Browne, Bishop of Galway a 'moron' on the *Late, Late* twenty years ago the word went out that a communist had appeared on Irish airwaves.

City councils met to demand an apology which was duly extracted in the following week's show. Shows like this have produced the myth that television changed the face of Ireland.

The *Irish Times* columnist, Kevin Myers, has argued for example that Gay Byrne is a more important figure in Irish history than Eamonn de Valera.

The *Late, Late Show* certainly had its share of former left wingers who, after the end of the 68 rebellion decided that a 'long march through the institutions' was their best option.

But the reality is that they reflected the change rather than created it. In the sixties when the *Late, Late* was supposedly at the height of its 'subversive' influence, there were already thousands marching for change.

Record

At its core was a rising labour movement which in one year topped the strike record in Europe.

Civil rights movements sprung up in the Gaeltacht areas as well as in Northern Ireland. Everywhere there was a questioning of old structures.

Only a few score took the contraceptive train from Belfast and taunted customs officials with condoms - but tens of thousands were already cheering them on before Gay Byrne spotted the possibility for an exciting controversial show.

When those movements declined, the *Late, Late* settled back into its smug, sickly sweet format.

Byrne's agenda of promoting the Irish entrepreneur came much more into its own.

Under the guise of 'presents for everyone in the audience', free advertising was given to any Irish capitalist who asked.

Wretched little businessmen like Patrick Cambell (can't get any dole spongers to work) or Harrie Crosbie (they eat their young in East Wall) were treated with awe.

Agenda

And even the liberal agenda passed Gay Bryne by.

When Annie Murphy appeared, she was treated as a fallen women who had dishonoured our good Bishop Eamonn.

Far from changing Irish society, the *Late Late Show* was a living testimony to how reality outruns television shows.

The thirty somethings were right to get out on Friday nights. Sitting at home watching Gaybo was like taking ovaltine and a Marietta biscuit.

It belonged to bygone age when mention of nightie's and bishops were mildly subversive.

film

Three's a crowd when there's a bishop in the bed

A LOVE Divided chronicles the true story of a bitter sectarian conflict, the 1957 Fethard-on-Sea boycott. The film is set in a Wexford seaside village among the Clooney family, Sean, Sheila and their two daughters.

The film tells the story of how the Clooney's were driven apart when the parish priest arrived at their house one afternoon and issued an ultimatum. The priest told Sheila "Eileen [the eldest daughter, then six] is going to Catholic school and there's nothing you can do about it."

Bullied

Sheila, a determined and strong willed woman, was not prepared to be bullied by the local priest.

But the pressure soon became unbearable and she took the two children and fled from Fethard-on-Sea.

Outraged the parish priest accused the local vicar of joining in with the "kidnapping" and demanded that a boycott be put on all Protestants. But as Sean tells his wife "It's not over you, it's always been there under the surface, waiting for an excuse".

A Divided Love is a powerful and compelling film, showing how a community can be torn apart by sectarian divisions. The film is a little too concerned with the personal tragedy of

the events, focusing on the strain it imposed on the relationship between Sean and Sheila.

It fails to examine the effect of the boycott on the rest of Ireland. A fund was raised in the North to support the Protestant population affected by the boycott, and a Northern MP was sent to deliver it.

Bigot

The Fethard boycott featured in all the Orange Order speeches that year. It was a case of one sectarian bigot feeding off the other.

The film also underplays Sean Clooney's own firm and unambiguous opposition to the boycott.

Years later it was the same Sean Clooney who was among the first to object to a Father Fortune taking over the local community centre.

Fortune later turned out to be a child abusing fraudster who hid behind his Roman collar.

However the film is brilliant at betraying the power and control the church had and how it sought to crush any dissent from its authority.

Both Sheila and Sean were the victims of a horrible sectarian conflict, that almost destroyed their lives.

But Sheila and Sean were reconciled and managed to rebuild their lives in a bitter blow to the Catholic Church they continued to refuse to educate their children in the catholic school and instead both their children were educated at home.

—SINEAD KENNEDY

Protests grow against the war

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 right 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.

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 detail

BELFAST SOUTH:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm

CORK:

Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarke

ONE HUNDRED supporters of the No to War Campaign protested against Hilary Clinton's visit to Galway recently.

Clinton gave a speech on 'The Quest for Peace' but she managed to bring in a defence of NATO bombing missions in Serbia and Kosovo.

Dropped

At the time she was delivering her speech, the former Irish President May Robinson had to take shelter from the bombs that were being dropped on a city she was visiting.

Clinton was met with all the pomp of the university establishment who donned all their robes to welcome this war mongerer.

Yet when the Irish army band tried to strike up, they were drowned out with cries of "Stop the War" and "How many kids did you kill

Bombers at Shannon

THE NO TO War Campaign has received information that NATO planes loaded with military equipment are using Shannon airport.

On May 10th a US Cargo plane from Maguire Air Force Base was observed on the tarmac.

The plane, a C141 had a tail number AMC 60133

The aircraft was heavily secured surrounded by police cars, black Audis and a yellow van. Civilian cargo planes are never treated in this way.

Confidential information reaching the No To War Campaign suggests the cargo included US air force missiles for use in the NATO attacks on Serbia.

The No to War Campaign calls on the Shannon Airport authorities and the Irish government to give a full explanation of these events.

today?"

600 people took part in a No to War march to the American Embassy on May 8th. It was the biggest anti-war march to date but it only got tiny coverage on RTE.

The Irish Times and the Irish Independent, which are pro-war newspapers ignored the event.

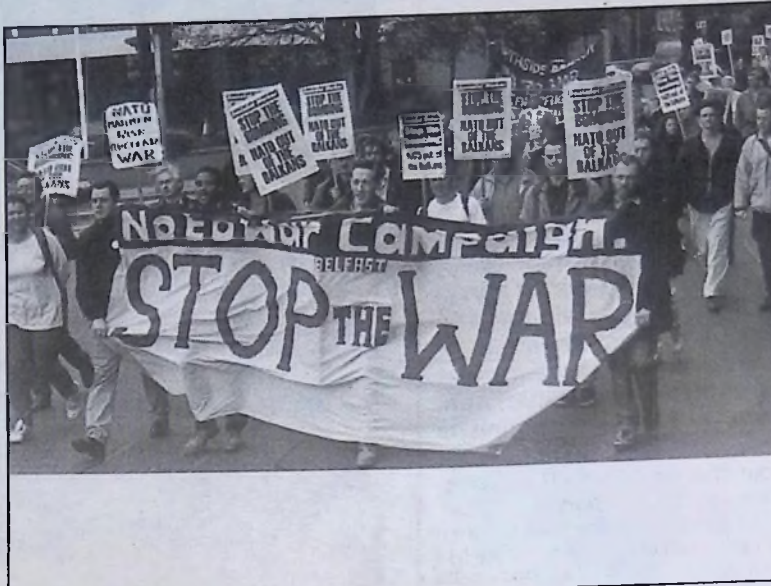
The march was addressed by Ivana Bacik, a Professor of Law at Trinity College and Des Bonass from the Dublin Trades Councils.

Delegations travelled from Belfast, Cork, Waterford, Limerick and Dublin to join the march.

Build the anti war movement

47 percent of the Irish population are opposed to the NATO bombing campaign against Serbia and Kosovo.

This is one of the highest levels of opposition to the war in the whole of Europe.



Over 600 people marched to the US Embassy in Dublin

It is all the more impressive since it follows a sustained campaign to present Bill Clinton as a 'friend of Ireland.'

All the major right wing parties have backed the war and Labour has taken an ambiguous stance of demanding a 72 hour halt to the bombing.

Yet despite the pro-war propaganda huge numbers are opposed to NATO's campaign

It is now vital to re-double efforts to build the anti-war movement. Action groups have been formed in several areas to build opposition. They are involved in poster and leafletting. There are Action Groups are organised in the following areas:

- DUBLIN**
Northside: Phone 088 2555250
Southside: Phone 6689122
Rialto: Phone 4911529
Dun Laoghaire: Phone 2844217
Rathmines/Rialto: Dublin City University: email miriamduggan

- @hotmail.com
University College
Dublin: phone 2844217
Maynooth University: phone 088 261 2634
NATIONAL
Galway: Phone 091 3798132
Derry: Phone 01504 308662
Belfast: Phone 799204
Limerick: Phone 061 340156
Waterford: 051 8622209
Tralee: 066 27739
Enniskillen: 0801365 327919



Protesting against Hilary Clinton

UNITY DEMO CALLED

A UNITY demonstration against the War and Partnership for Peace has been called for May 29th.

The demonstration is being jointly organised by the No to War Campaign and the

Coalition Against War

One of the main demands of the demonstration will be opposition to Partnership for Peace.

Fianna Fail have gone back on their original promise to provide a referendum on joining this alliance

Just as the war in the Balkans began, Bertie Ahern announced that Ireland would join the Partnership for Peace in the Autumn.

The government has already issued a £40 million tender for armoured personnel carriers in anticipation of joining Pf

All pretence of neutrality has been dropped as the Irish government gave backing to NATO's bombing campaign.

Fianna Fail have tried

to cover their tracks by claiming that joining Partnership for Peace does not bring Ireland closer to NATO.

Yet the war has shown how closely Partnership for Peace is linked to NATO.

Hungary, for example, was originally a member of the Partnership.

It began to standardise its weapons system so that they were compatible with NATO's.

Soon it joined the full military alliance itself and then it was pressurised into giving NATO use of its airbases to conduct its war in the Balkans.

A large turn-out on May 29th will be a signal that many are willing to resist being dragged into NATO.

SWP Branch meetings - all welcome

DERRY:

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

May 24th: Rwanda: What causes ethnic conflict

DUNDALK:
Contact 01 - 872 2682 for details

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

May 25th: The Gulf War June 1st: What is Imperialism?

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

May 25th: Kosovo: Is it a repeat of the Holocaust?

Speaker: Kevin Wingfield

June 1st: Why WW2 was about profit not democracy.

Speaker: Paula Geraghty

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:
Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways,

Parnell St.

May 26th: Kosovo: Are we seeing a repeat of the Holocaust?

Speaker: Gina Hay

June 2nd: What is imperialism?

Speaker: Joe Tully

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

May 26th: Why WW2 was about profit not democracy?

Speaker: Kevin Wingfield

June 2nd: Kosovo: Are we seeing a repeat of the Holocaust?

Speaker: Anna Hudson

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

May 26th: Was WW2 about profit not democracy?

Speaker: Paula Geraghty

June 2nd: The Gulf War

Speaker: Derek Delaney

DUBLIN RIALTO:

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto.

May 25th: Who profits from War?

June 1st: Why WW2 was about profit not democracy

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

May 27th: Kosovo: Are we seeing a repeat of the Holocaust?

June 3rd: What causes ethnic conflict

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 7.30p

LIMERICK:

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

TRALEE

Meets every fortnight on Mondays at 6.45pm Harty's Bar, Tralee

May 31st: Pacifism, War and Socialism

WATERFORD:

Meets every Thursday in at 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

**STOP THE WAR
NO TO PARTNERSHIP
FOR PEACE**
Unity Demonstration called by No to War Campaign and Coalition Against War
**Saturday 29th May
Assemble 2pm Parnell Sq.
March to Department of
Foreign Affairs**

Scaffolders

Important victory now organise the labourers

SCAFFOLDERS have scored an important victory over the building bosses that could have knock on effects for thousands of labourers.

After a hard fought strike that lasted six weeks, they forced their employers to raise their basic pay by £2 an hour.

Originally the basic rate for a scaffolder was the same as labourers at £6.69 an hour.

But now scaffolders are to be paid at £8.69 an hour and have also been promised an overall review of pay rates in the building industry.

The scaffolders overcame enormous odds to win this victory.

The employers launched a major publicity campaign against them by putting ads in the papers. They also used the tactic of lay-offs to try to turn other workers against them.

The workers own union, SIPTU refused to make the strike official because they were terrified of breaking the miserable Partnership pay increases.

Pickets

Yet by sticking together and organising mass pickets, the scaffolders brought the building bosses to their knees.

"We could have won earlier if we had resorted to mass pickets sooner. But we learnt quickly" one strike told *Socialist Worker*

Originally the

Construction Industry Federation only offered a 65p increase plus an attendance bonus. Some of the employers even tried to withdraw bonuses but others began to break ranks

"We won because we split the ranks of the bosses organisation, the National Association of Scaffolders and Access Trades.

"It was a case of workers splitting their opponents rather than the other way around. By the

end of the strike we were running circles around them".

Four companies however refused to pay up the

full award and the strike was set to continue on their sites until they paid up.

Organise the labourers

THE VICTORY of the scaffolders should be a signal for labourers to get their share of the Celtic Tiger boom.

SIPTU have sat back for years and collected dues from a check off system — but they have put no real effort into building strong organisation.

Many builders labourers now work for agencies and this is used to divide and conquer the workers.

SIPTU should launch a concerted campaign to win the extra £2 increase for labourers and offer official backing to any group of workers who goes for this claim.

Johnston & Johnston



130 SIPTU members at Johnson & Johnson in Tallaght are on strike over a refusal by management to compensate for changes in work practices.

Thirty-three warehouse workers who moved to Johnsons when Proctor and Gamble transferred their contract after the closure of the Allegro plant are being forced into shift work without compensation.

May 10 was the day the new roster was set to start but the workers placed pickets on the plant.

The rest of the staff who already work shift work are fully backing the demands of their colleagues and voted overwhelmingly for strike action. The action was also voted

for unanimously by the transport section and the clerical and administrative workers are backing the strike.

The workers have rejected a Labour Court ruling. The Labour Court while saying that the company should pay for the changes recommended a shift premium of 18 percent - less than the norm of 25 percent - and that only 10 of the staff would be allowed to stay on with their previous work conditions.

Johnson and Johnson have demanded 'give-backs' from workers in the past. Now they are putting the squeeze on for more profits.

Proctor and Gamble have over £350 million in sales in Ireland, while a full compensation package would only cost about £250,000.

Housing



The Housing Action Campaign after organising a successful lobby of the Dublin City Councillors at the Mansion House (pictured above) are now building for a protest at the Dail on June 3rd.

The campaign has gone from strength to strength

fighting for the demands of Rent Control, Affordable accommodation for all and an Emergency building program of local authority houses.

BATU

BRICKLAYERS have launched a major offensive against Martin Young, the last of the main sub-contractors left on the building sites.

Young's company Kilburn Developments often carries out work for McNamara contractors. He also attempted to move into Crampton's while the bricklayers were on strike there.

Pickets have been placed on the Telecom Headquarters and Beaumont Hospital. Bricklayers on a McNamara site in Dromoland Castle have also withdrawn labour.

In response attempts have been made to sue officers of the Bricklayers Union, BATU. However this has not deterred brickies who are supporters of the Building Workers Against the Black Economy carrying out picket duty.

The fight against sub-contracting has been hugely successful. Employers have been forced to take on workers directly and establish proper conditions where they give holiday pay and wet time money

Sub-contracting was initially devised on the sites in Britain when Thatcher was in power. It was designed to break the strength of the building unions and put worker against worker. Irish employers tried to import this strategy into Ireland but they have been firmly beaten back.

Every socialist should give full support to the brickies in their last major battle to rid the sites of the scourge of sub-contracting.

CPSU

Calls for rent control and taxing the rich

The Civil and Public Service Union (CPSU) has called for rent controls on landlords to tackle the housing crisis.

The call was made in a motion that was passed at the union's annual conference in Waterford. Bridgeen Kelly from the Arts/Heritage Branch, argued that landlords were using the housing crisis to push up rents. She also pointed out that landlords in Germany were tied to rent controls which put a limit on rent increases and forced landlords to justify each rise.

Regulations

CPSU General Secretary Blair Horan backed the call for rent controls, saying he had initially welcomed the Bacon Report on housing. But he said Bacon's proposals had not worked and tougher regulations were now needed.

The conference also passed motions calling for certain guarantees to be met before future wage agreements or partnership deals could be accepted.

A motion from the Waterford General Branch instructed the incoming Executive "to never again agree to the suppression of posts as part of any future

negotiations".

This follows a recent grade restructuring deal which conceded job reductions in return for pay increases.

Telecom No 1 Branch had a motion passed which called for a freeze in the reduction of Corporation Tax. If the phased reduction goes ahead, big business will end up paying only 12.5 percent tax on profits.

John Curran of Telecom No 1, proposing the motion, said that the low tax rates in Dublin's IFSC were encouraging the laundering of "funny money".

Dave McDonagh, of the same branch, argued that low taxes on the rich made it harder to fund public services. He also referred to reports that union leaders now believed there was a limit to tax cuts for PAYE workers.

"There seems to be no limit to tax cuts on the wealthy in society. Its about time they started to pay their fair share."

The motion also called for higher taxes on the banks and building industry.

The Conference also passed a motion from the Executive Committee backing the scaffolders' strike.

IMPACT

THE IMPACT trade union's annual conference in Bundoran will discuss a grade restructuring claim for thousands of low paid clerical workers in Health Boards and Local Authorities.

Clerical Officers are paid as low as £9,000 a year and IMPACT members are demanding that the grading system be "flattened" to bring up the lower grades.

The conference will also discuss the demand for a "weighting allowance" for workers in large urban areas who face spiralling house prices.

Similar demands have also been made at the PSEU and CPSU conferences.

These pay demands reflect the growing anger of workers who are being left behind by the Celtic Tiger.

IMPACT General Secretary Peter McLoone is a strong supporter of partnership, but like other union leaders he is under increasing pressure from his members to deliver more than what partnership has to offer.

Probation Officers

Strike action forces Government to talks

THE GOVERNMENT agreed to 39 new probation and welfare officers, and said it will fill about 20 existing vacancies after IMPACT threatened action.

Up to now the government claimed it was waiting for the publication of the second report of the Expert Group on the Probation and Welfare Service, and refused to talk to IMPACT. It soon changed its mind when an all-out strike loomed.

The probation officers cut their case loads and refused to do court reports, promising a full withdrawal of labour if the government continued to ignore them.

While the Department of Justice spends millions on building more prisons, it spends little on the probation service. This is despite the fact that it costs £2,000 a year to keep someone on supervised probation, and £43,000 to keep

them in jail for the same length of time.

Last November, the first report on the Probation and Welfare Service stated that "there are not adequate numbers of staff to allow the Service fulfil its existing tasks." As a result, welfare officers in Irish prisons can not cope with the number of prisoners they are expected to deal with.

Waiting

"Rehabilitation is not a priority," says one probation officer who works in Wheatfield prison, "We might only get to see 6 people each morning, and there's a list of at least 30 people waiting to see us."

Apart from Arbour Hill (which has only ten places a year), there's no sex offender programme in Irish prisons. Even when there are courses in place, they are focused on healthcare

or re-entry into the workplace. Drug addicts can expect little help either. The detox programme in Mountjoy has only nine places, and a hundred on its waiting list.

"If we had more staff and money we could do so much more with the prisoners," said one welfare officer in St. Patrick's, "But at the moment there's only two of us for 200 prisoners." But just as the government is unwilling to do anything about tackling poverty, so too are they reluctant to take responsibility for prisoners. The main aim of prison is still seen as 'containment', not rehabilitation. And so the Probation and Welfare Service is treated as the least important part of the criminal justice system. "This is not a final settlement," says Bernard Harbor of IMPACT, "We're pleased with the result, but we're set to negotiate until April next year. If the recommendations of the expert report aren't carried out, then we'll see what happens."

Socialist Worker

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

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Vote Socialist on June 11th

MAKE THE FAT CATS PAY AND ORGANISE TO FIGHT

IN THE elections on June 11th workers can voice their anger at being ripped off in the Celtic Tiger.

For the past two years, scandal has followed scandal as Fianna Fail have looked after their rich friends.

When the upper class architect Phillip Sheedy was jailed for drunken driving, Bertie Ahern rushed to 'make representations' on his behalf. But he has nothing to say about Sabrina Walshe who is languishing in prison for six years for stealing a handbag.

Almost every leading businessman has been implicated in bribery. And they have gained massively from their 'investments'

The Allied Irish Banks, for example, managed to save themselves £86 million by organising a tax scam in collusion with politicians.

Even though money could have been used to fund the hospitals or schools, the crooks are let get away with it because they belong to the Golden circle that run this country.

A strong socialist vote in the local elections and the Euro-elections will be a signal that workers have had enough.

DAVID WENT, director of Irish Life was paid £390,000. This is typical of the super-salaries being paid to the Celtic Tiger cubs.

Over a year ago the same company locked out its staff for eighteen weeks because it claimed that they were not 'flexible' enough.

The wealthy elite have dropped all pretence at being part of the same community as the rest of us. If can they get away with it, they will trample on workers to boost their own greed.

Voting socialist is a way to voice

our anger. But in itself it won't change the system.

This is why Socialist Workers Party candidates will be using the elections to encourage workers to fight for themselves.

The bricklayers and scaffolders who have taken on the building boss-

es have shown the way forward.

Here the rank and file organised themselves and defied laws like the Industrial Relations Act to win what was rightfully theirs.

The more that example spreads, the more the bosses will fear a rising workers movement.

A vote against war

Tony Blair and Bill Clinton have denounced anyone in Ireland who talked about 'legitimate targets'. They visited Omagh and presented themselves as 'men of peace'

But their savage bombing campaign has murdered over 1,000 innocent civilians.

They claim that train passengers or television studio employees are now 'legitimate targets'.

Every vote for socialist candidates is a vote against this sickening madness.