

Socialist Worker

inside:

NATO'S WAR IN EUROPE

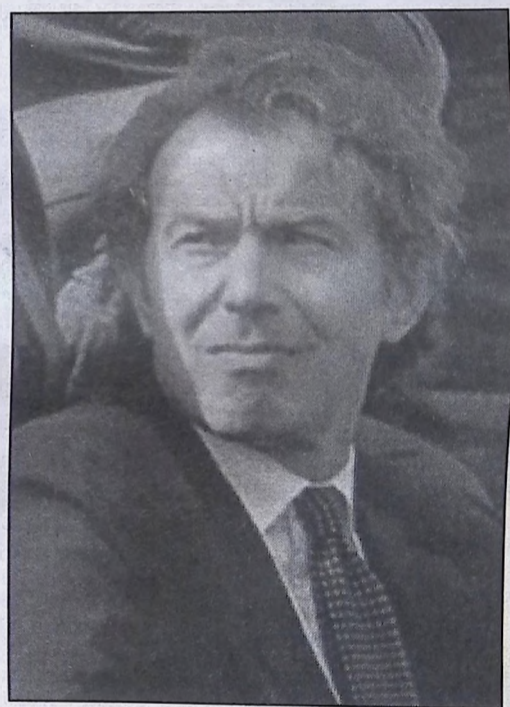
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WANTED



FOR WAR



CRIMES

- ★ MURDERING AT LEAST 1,200 CIVILIANS
- ★ MAKING HOSPITALS 'LEGITIMATE TARGETS'
- ★ USING DEPLETED URANIUM AND CLUSTER BOMBS

Terry's sweetie and sour grapes

TERRY KEANE'S revelations about Charles Haughey has thrown a new light on the scale of corruption in Irish society.

According to Keane's article in the Sunday Times, Haughey agreed to get her husband appointed as a judge. He even said that it would amuse him because it would show how much power he really had. Several politicians have since denied that influence had been used to get Keane appointed. But the fact remains that Keane is a member of the Supreme Court today and has even been tipped to become the Chief Justice after Liam Hamilton retires.

Mask

Coming after the revelations in the Sheedy case, Keane's revelations strip away the mask of neutrality from the judiciary.

The judges are political appointees who work to ensure the Golden Circle stays in power.

Keane has also revealed that Haughey was funding her to the tune of £2,000 a week.

She was brought to the best hotels in Paris and London and allowed to live the life of a lady with a weekly champagne bill that was

greater than an unemployed person got in month.

Keane's revelations came after the money from Haughey dried up. She never had any qualms about Haughey's hypocrisy in championing 'family values' but she was apparently more worried about a lack of funds.

At the time that

Keane and Haughey were living the high life, massive cuts took place in the health service.

Incontinent old people in hospitals were even rationed for the amount of protective clothing they could have.

If there was any justice, Mountjoy jail and not Kinsella would be the address of the old gangster.

Ahern and Charlie's cheque

Bertie Ahern signed a cheque for £25,000 which ended up in the hands of Haughey bagman Des Traynor.

It appears the £25,000 relates to the so-called leader's allowance paid to Haughey by the taxpayer.

The cheque was made out to cash and that the monies involved found their way into accounts at Guinness & Mahon controlled by accountant Des Traynor, the moneybags who handled the personal finances of Charles Haughey.

Ahern claims that he did no wrong, and that it was the practice at the time for authorised cheque signatories to sign batches of cheques on behalf of the party, without having any knowledge of the intended purpose of those cheques.

If a sum of £25,000 was paid out

of a Fianna Fail account at AIB in Baggot Street, then surely there should have been some matching bill or invoice corresponding to this amount?

It was drawn from an account in AIB Baggot Street, Dublin which was in the names of Haughey, Ahern and former Minister for Finance Ray MacSharry.

Ahern was the signatory to a number of FF accounts in the AIB Baggot street including one which held £325,000 in 'donations' - including money from the passport for sale scam.

Ahern has refused to comment about the cash, hiding behind the tribunals.

Yet again the murky world of Fianna Fail and its money is been hidden behind the farce in Dublin Castle.

BNP link to nail bomb suspect

THE MAN the police have charged with the horrific nail bomb has connections with John Tyndall, the leader of Nazi British National Party.

Copeland was charged with the murder of the three victims of the Soho bombing, but the police denied any Nazi connections

David Veness, assistant commissioner of the Metropolitan police went on record saying, "There is no suggestion that the arrest is linked in any way to the extreme right groups that have been reportedly claiming responsibility." The man is not a member of any of group."

Barbaric

But despite this barbaric attack the BBC allowed the BNP to proceed with an election broadcast.

Millions of people were shocked to see the faces of Nazi Tyndall and his sidekick Nick Griffin beamed into their living rooms when they should have been in the police station answering questions about their connections with Copeland.

Yet the BBC had the nerve to tell the 850 people who phoned up to complain that the Bnp had a right to its hate broadcast.

Incredibly there is a very real chance that the friends and relatives of the dead and injured may get a letter from the BNP through their doors as Royal mail bosses try to force postal workers to deliver 15 million BNP Euro election leaflets.

Every time the BNP stand s in elections the number of racist attacks increase. Allowing the Nazi's to distribute their election material will only give confidence to racist thugs to carry out more attacks.



The Anti-Nazi League (ANL) organised a "Paint Out" of racist slogans last week. The graffiti called for Refugees Out. It had been spray painted in Townsend St. Dublin. There is a tiny minority of racists who have painted such slogans in various spots around Dublin but they do not represent the views of the vast majority of Irish people. We need to let these racists know that they are the ones not welcome in Ireland.

To their credit many postal workers have refused to act as BNP propoganda workers. But to their credit.

But the Nazi nail bombs pro-

voled a massive anti-racist response from workers everywhere. Balck and white, gay and straight, protested and marched.



Smurfit's Colombian sub-contractors

WE ARE told we should be proud of our home grown multinational companies who go abroad as "ambassadors" for Ireland.

But there is nothing to be proud of in the record of the Jefferson Smurfit Group in Colombia.

A group of environmentalists and human rights workers have just published an extensive report on the murky activities of Smurfit Carton de Colombias (SCC).

The group, which included Green MEP Patricia McKenna, visited the South American country in November 1998. They also bought nominal shares in Smurfit's to allow them to question the group chairman, Michael Smurfit. Smurfit's own 58,000 hectares of land in Colombia where they have planted pine and eucalyptus.

Like all big companies and farmers SCC benefit from the Certificate of Incentive Forestry (CIF). This gives grant aid to plant trees.

Small farmers, known as Campesinos, are effectively excluded from this incentive scheme by a series of technicalities. Smurfit's have bought up land and displaced the Campesinos. The

forestry companies provide less work than the farms they have replaced.

Smurfit's then employ the local people through subcontractors. This has left forestry workers without social security. When they have accidents they discover they are not insured.

But Smurfit's claim no responsibility for the subcontractors they employ. SCC have also sacked trade unionists in contravention of Colombian labour laws.

They have refused to reinstate trade unionists despite being fined by the Ministry of Labour. They also refuse to recognise elected union representatives.

The Paez Indians have been displaced in Smurfit's rush to buy up land for planting. SCC agreed to meet Paez to resolve their land dispute but have not kept that promise. According to one Campesino quoted in the report, Smurfit's "bought up large farms affecting people attached to these farms; five or six people were displaced from each of these farms."

"They are finishing off the Andean peasant culture and the native forest by planting with pine and eucalyptus."

Does the US know where it bombs?

THE MAP reading error claimed as an excuse for the bombing of China's Belgrade embassy is not the first of its kind.

In 1983, a US task force massed in the Caribbean to invade the small island of Grenada.

Tourist

The commanders discovered that the only available map of the island was a tourist guide measuring eight inches by five, last updated in 1895.

The US marines were hastily issued with photo-

copies of the map and they set about invading the island.

The US intelligence service told the army that they would be up against a combined force of 11,000 Grenadan troops and 784 battle hardened Cuban soldiers.

In fact the entire Grenadan police, security and armed forces amounted to less than 4,000 people and the battle hardened Cubans were construction workers building an airport.

The US landings were a communications disaster. One officer had to use a borrowed credit card and a public phone box to reach his home base of Fort Bragg, North Carolina.



PHAN THI Kim Phuc, (pictured above) who as a nine-year-old girl was photographed running naked and terrified, arms outstretched hopelessly, as napalm

burned away her clothes and skin in after a bombing raid by US planes in Vietnam, has condemned the Nato bombing of Yugoslavia.

Phan Thi said that, "In war, the innocent are affected, especially children. They should be living their own lives and going to school and having happiness.

"When I was wounded my life changed to suffering. It was very painful, very difficult."

Phan Thi's carries her injuries to this day. "The NATO bombing should stop," says Phan Thi. "Any disagreement or misunderstanding must be solved by negotiation, not by force.

"I think I am one who can understand more than anyone what war is and how it is so terrible. I still have the pain and it costs too much. That's why we need peace."

Ethical exports?

This plane is part of the latest shipment sent from Britain to Indonesia for use in East Timor.

British Aerospace has supplied the Indonesian military with 40 Hawk jets over the last three years.



what we think

Indict Clinton and Blair for War Crimes

THE SERB leader Slobodan Milosevic has been indicted by the Hague War Crimes tribunal after he was accused of ordering the murder of 340 named Kosovan Albanians.

Milosevic is indeed a brutal nationalist thug who has blood on his hands. But if Milosevic can be indicted then this applies a hundred fold to the perpetrators of this war, Blair and Clinton.

Since the war began they have murdered over 1,200 civilians as they have switched to a tactic of 'area bombardment'.

NATO bombers have blasted television stations, factories, schools, and foreign embassies.

Atrocities

One of their worst recent atrocities was when bombs blasted the Dragisa Milosovic hospital in Belgrade for the fourth time, killing four patients and reducing much of the building to rubble.

The hospital's neurological department was completely destroyed and bombs also hit the maternity and gynaecological departments, terrifying women giving birth.

Surgeon Radisav Scepanovic said "It was a terrible scene. In one operating theatre they were performing a caesarean section on a mother. This is not collateral damage. These are real human beings."

The next day NATO slaughtered 19 people when it rained bombs on the Dubrava prison in Istok, killing mainly ethnic Albanians. They have continued to rain down cluster bombs on the city of Nis even after

they slaughtered 15 civilians in the market place.

No one should accept NATO's claims that their killings are not deliberate. When you order over 700 bombing sorties to attack cities each day, the murder of civilians is inevitable.

Disaster

Blair and Clinton's war is creating an environmental and human disaster that will haunt south east Europe for decades to come with their use of depleted uranium munitions..

Depleted uranium is a waste product of the nuclear industry which was first used by the US in the 1991 Gulf War and again in its 1995 bombing of Bosnia.

After its use in Iraq rates of leukemia and birth defects soared.

The United Kingdom Atomic Energy Authority drew up a secret report which warned that the 40 tons of debris from DU shells

which were left in Iraq would cause over 500,000 deaths. (In fact, a staggering 300 tons of DU waste are lying around Iraq).

In 1996 a sub-commission of the UN Commission on Human Rights voted to ban depleted uranium weapons. Yet despite all these reports Blair and Clinton have decided to use DU weapons again.

Only war criminals could engage in such acts of barbarity.

Greek workers show how to stop war



Greek workers marching against NATO

THE LATEST opinion polls in Greece show that over 60 percent of people want Bill Clinton tried for war crimes and that 99 percent of the population are against the war.

Mass opposition in Greece to the war against Serbia has brought deep instability to the country NATO would like to use as a staging post for ground troops.

Rail workers in Salonika struck three weeks into the war to stop NATO supplies. Protesters have

attacked convoys.

The loss of the port is a major blow to NATO because the roads and rail links across northern Greece are the easiest route for reinforcing NATO's presence in Macedonia for any land operation in Kosovo.

Greece has also refused Turkish planes permission to use its air space to bomb Serbia.

Albanian construction workers in Athens received enormous cheers when they marched on May Day under a banner calling for an end to bombing.

Anti-NATO graffiti and posters are everywhere. Right wing forces have tried to cash in on protests.

They want the main focus of opposition to be Turkey, which is locked into an arms race with Greece for control of the eastern Mediterranean.

But Greek nationalism has not been the dominant mood on the protests. Over 1,000 people attended a conference against the war organised by SEK, the Socialist Workers Party.

Speakers included an Albanian worker who is opposed to NATO and a Serbian woman living in Greece.

She asked, "Is there any difference between NATO's strategy and the identical strategy of terror milosevic used on the Albanian citizens?"

Britain and the US destroy peace hopes

THE REAL reason for the indictment of Milosevic is to allow the US and Britain to press ahead with a ground war and prevent any peace deals brokered by the Russians.

According to the *Observer*, material for Milosevic's indictment

came from various factions within the US establishment including the CIA, the State Department, the Pentagon and various other think tanks.

Immunity

These groups want to push for a ground war and are rallying around current republican leader John

McCain and Madeline Albright who announced recently that there would be no immunity for Milosevic and added that "we are not negotiating".

One White House official admitted to the *Observer* that the indictment was designed to 'cripple' the diplomatic solution brokered by Russia.

Russia had got Milosevic to agree to the principles set down by the G8 nations and

to accept the presence of an international force in Kosovo.

Even Germany and France wanted a special meeting of the G8 to discuss the proposals but they were brushed aside by Britain and the US.

With the Russian deal out of the way, Clinton and Blair are free to pursue their ground war and invade the area, bringing even further horror and devastation to the people of the region.

RAGE AGAINST WAR & RACISM

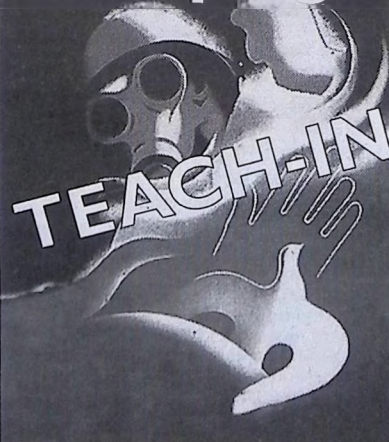
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FEATURING DAMIEN DEMPSEY, MARK DIGNAM, DR MILLAR + MANY MORE

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No to War Campaign



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The Left's Response to the War; Is Kosovo a new Holocaust?

Media & War; US Foreign Policy;

Racism & Refugees

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news of the world

Kashmir

All out war threat end by nationalism

INDIA AND Pakistan have moved close to war following an escalation of India's bombing of the Pakistan backed guerrillas in Kashmir and the shooting down of two Indian fighters and helicopters.

The two rivals have fought three wars since 1947, two of them over Kashmir, which is partitioned between them.

While the kidnapping of Western tourists has occasionally hit the headlines, a conflict which has cost the lives of over 30,000 people in the last eight years went largely unreported.

Over 150,000 Indian and Pakistani soldiers face each other along the 450 mile long border. Both India and Pakistan tested nuclear devices in May 1998 and then in April 1999 test fired missiles in efforts to perfect delivery systems for their nuclear weapons.

Both governments are equal in their use of nationalism. Both declared a national holiday to mark the first anniversary of their nuclear tests with country-wide events. Both have used Kashmir as an excuse to increase repression.

Crisis

Both countries are in economic and political crisis. Since independence, Pakistan and India were played of against each other by the superpowers. Now the outside support has gone, but the military competition remains. Since the early nineties both have escalated the arms race.

Pakistan's economy is virtually bankrupt. Pakistan has a foreign debt of \$36 billion, and two thirds of its budget is devoted to debt servicing and defence expenditure.

To appease the military and right wing fundamentalists, the government has increased armed support for the Kashmiri

militia and the Taliban in Afghanistan.

In India, Prime Minister Atal Behari Vajpayee's nationalist Bharatiya Janata Party government, as well as scapegoating India's Muslim minority, has pushed forward the arms spending.

Not counting the secret nuclear program, India spends over \$10 billion annually on defence, twice as much as it spends on health, education and social services put together.

In both countries there is opposition.

In Pakistan emergency rule means details about the opposition are scarce, in India there was little participation in the 'celebrations' for the anniversary of the nuclear tests. And there have been demonstrations in a number of cities against the bomb.

The suffering of the Kashmiri people continues as a pawn of two rival nationalists.

And there is real danger of all out war being caused by rulers looking for a desperate way to stave off the crisis.



DIVIDED AND EXPLOITED BY OTHERS

THE ORIGINS of the dispute lie in the British fostered partition of India after independence in 1947. The 8 million Kashmir population is 65 percent Muslim, but Hindus and Buddhists are an integral part of the culture.

Kashmir was ceded to India by Britain. A war broke out over the region. The big powers intervened in 1948 and drew the "Line of Control" — the contested border where the fighting takes place.

India has ruled over Kashmir with an iron fist. Throughout the last two decades India has imprisoned various leaders in Kashmir and Amnesty International has documented the Indian forces involvement in wanton killings of hundreds of Kashmiris.

The problem is that the independence movement is under the control of Pakistan. Pakistan wants to incorporate the Indian part of Kashmir and has been fighting a proxy war through Islamic militias.

Since 1990 over half a million Kashmiri Hindus abandoned their homes and are now living as refugees in other parts of India. In last four months over 150 Hindu civilians have been killed by the Pakistan backed militias.

Turkey

NATO's human rights abuser

WARPLANES are taking off from Turkish air bases to fly in two directions to drop their bombs. For the last two weeks Turkish bombers have joined the NATO pounding of civilian targets in Serbia and Kosovo.

Over the same period the same air force has continued its merciless bombing of Kurdish civilians in the south east of Turkey and northern Iraq.

Nothing captures the hypocrisy of Clinton and Blair's war against Serbia so much as the part played by fellow NATO member Turkey.

The Turkish state claims it is resisting ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, but it is the perpetrator of even greater war crimes against civilians in its 15 year war against the 13 million Kurds who live in the south east of the country.

In that time:

★ Over 26,000 Kurds have been killed, according to Amnesty International

★ About 4,000 villages have been destroyed.

★ Over three million Kurds have been driven from their homes. It is illegal to broadcast or teach the Kurdish language in Turkey. Kurds face systematic discrimination in all areas of life. The US and Britain have intervened as allies of and accomplices in the crimes of the Turkish state.

Turkey is the most important US ally in the Middle East after Israel. The US funds the Turkish military and engages in joint exercises.

Britain is one of the biggest suppliers of arms to Turkey.

Med-TV is the Kurdish language television station which until recently broadcast from Britain and Europe. The "Independent" Television Commission, chaired by British Aerospace boss Sir Robin Biggam, has shut it down.

British Aerospace sells arms to Turkey and is about to start production of its assault rifle there under licence.

In February the US helped Turkey kid-



Ocalan on trial in Turkey

nap Kurdish rebel leader Abdullah Ocalan from Kenya.

Ocalan was due to go on trial for his life on Monday of next week. International human rights agencies have already described the trial as a grotesque farce.

Turkish police have beaten up Ocalan's lawyers and incited mob attacks on them, their offices and their families. Ocalan's lawyers are allowed to see him for only a few hours each week and then only in the presence of security police.

The trial will be heard by a military court. There will be no jury, but one military and two civilian judges.

Prosecutors are already demanding the death penalty.

Semdin Sakik, the former second in command of Ocalan's PKK movement, and his brother Arif were sentenced to death last week.

The Turkish parliament has to confirm any death sentence before it is carried out. There is every likelihood of the parliament doing just that if Ocalan is sentenced to death.

Elections last month saw the fascist National Action Party ride a wave of chauvinism and double its vote to 19 percent.

The fascists are now the second largest party in parliament and are set to join a coalition government headed by nationalist social democrat Bulent Ecevit.

The presence of fascists in the government will not disqualify Turkey from membership of the NATO club of "democracies".

Not one Western leader has criticised the nationalist scapegoating of the Turkish government or called for Ocalan's release.

Israel: Will Labour's coalition bring change?

The result of the general election in Israel, which saw Ehud Barak defeat Benjamin Netanyahu, has been hailed as a fresh start and a chance for peace.

Any decent person will be glad that Netanyahu has lost. He is a vicious right winger elected three years ago on a promise to smash Palestinian resistance and making no compromises. Under his leadership the peace process with the Palestinians vir-

tually ended. Instead Netanyahu urged on more settlement of Arab land and more repression of anyone who protested.

But Barak will not carry out a fundamentally different approach.

A key issue is whether the Palestine, driven from Israel in 1948, should be given back their land and whether they should have their own state. Netanyahu's iron refusal to make concessions meant that he offered only 10 percent of historic Palestine for an eventually autonomous Palestine

area on the West Bank. Barak's alternative is to offer just 13 percent of the land.

Just like Netanyahu, Barak is not willing to discuss the question of Arab rights in Jerusalem and intends to keep most of the settlements which have grabbed land from the Palestinians.

Barak did not even stand as a candidate of the Labour Party which he leads. Instead he constructed a One Israel coalition which made major concessions to more right wing forces.

His election campaign made much play of the fact that he is Israel's most decorated soldier and a former army chief of staff.

The lack of progress under the peace process is fuelling bitter hatred among the Palestinians. Barak has played upon the disillusion with Netanyahu among Israelis and managed to capture the vote of 12 percent of the Israeli population who are Arabs.

But he offers no way forward.

Eamonn McCann

Nato's friends refuse to play the game

AT THE time of writing, pressure is mounting for the cancellation of the European qualifier against Yugoslavia scheduled for Lansdowne Road on June 5th.

Sports Minister Jim McDaid is demanding that the European football authorities expel Yugoslavia from the competition, while editorial writers call on the government not to allow the Yugoslav players into the country.

Sports columnists like Tom Humphries of the Irish Times and Paul Kimmage of the Sunday Independent parade their conscientious objections to the fixture. What a bunch of hypocrites. It's only six months since Republicans in Belfast were being fayed by exactly the same people for demanding that Donegal Celtic pull out from the Steele and Sons Cup rather than play a match against the RUC.

Then, respectable opinion, North and South, was unanimous. Politics shouldn't be brought into sport. Even if there was real grievance underlying the Donegal Celtic affair, playing football with a team from a particular institution didn't mean endorsing what the institution stands for.

Opposite

Now it's all the exact opposite. President McAleese won't attend the game if it goes ahead. TDs and newspaper columnists are calling on fans to stay away. The FAI has refused Yugoslav television facilities to transmit the game.

Thus, players like Sasa Curcic of Crystal Palace or the former Villa striker Savo Milosevic are being projected as embodiments of the Belgrade regime in its persecution of the Kosovar people. Which they are not, any more than Mick McCarthy chooses players for the fervour of their support for Bertie Ahern's government.

The precedent most frequently cited by campaigners against the match was the sports boycott of South Africa. But South Africa's all-white teams were the literal embodiment of the apartheid regime. To play against them was, indeed, to play ball with apartheid. There is no parallel with Yugoslavia.

To say it is morally repulsive to play football against Yugoslavia is to say that Yugoslav people are morally repulsive. In denying the beleaguered people of Yugoslavia the chance to watch the game if it went ahead, the FAI was specifically punishing them for the crimes of the Milosevic regime.

Justify

Things like this always happen in war-time. In order to justify indiscriminate violence, you have to demonise the target population. At this level, the campaign against the Yugoslav footballers has helped underpin support for the NATO bombing campaign.

George Orwell wrote that even in the best of times sport at international level was 'mimic warfare'. But now sport is being used as an element in actual warfare, to whip up hatred of the people against whom the war-planes fly their deadly sorties. Humphries, Kimmage, Matt Cooper of the Tribune and the rest are war-propagandists, doing their bit for the NATO bombers.

The propagandists plummet to new depths of cynicism when they use the plight of the Kosovar people as moral cover for their campaign. In what way does stoking up hatred of the Serbian people ease the suffering of the Kosovars? All it does is to entrench more deeply the communal bitterness and sense of grievance which has generated strife in the region for generations.

That's to say, it has the same effect as the bombing campaign itself. Which is logical enough, given that it's no more than an ancillary factor and adjunct to the bombing campaign.

Where were all these people anyway in the years before the NATO war when the Kosovars were being persecuted first by the Tito regime and then by Milosevic? It was left to papers like Socialist Worker then to highlight their suffering. The Times, the Indo and the Tribune began to show concern for the Kosovars only when NATO went into action. And their 'concern' has solely taken the form of support for the NATO bombers.

Will any of them join with us in demanding open borders and a welcome here for every Kosovar who wants to come? Of course not. Because it isn't concern for the Kosovars but support for NATO aggression which is uppermost in their minds.

Splits in Unionism

THE SPLITS in the Ulster Unionist Party are cracking wide open. Two weeks ago Ulster Unionist MP's threatened to oust Trimble if he made any concessions towards decommissioning.

The opposition wing is headed by MP Jeffrey Donaldson who argues that Sinn Fein should be excluded from any deal if no guns are handed over.

Donaldson is quite prepared to raise the sectarian stakes if it strengthens his hand.

Violence

This is why he is speaking at rallies defending the stand-off at Drumcree even though it results in an escalation of violence and attacks on Catholics.

Since the agreement was signed there has been 160 attacks on Catholics.

The split is widest over the European elections. John Taylor, the deputy leader of the Unionist Party has declared that the chances of the agreement working are 1 percent.

Endorse

At the same time he has refused to endorse the UUP candidate in the Euro elections - Jim Nicholson.

Taylor said that Nicholson is not suitable because of his "extramarital affair", but the reality is that Taylor's stance reflects the strain within the party.

Taylor even indicated that Unionists should vote for DUP Paisley, despite Paisley using the election as a referendum on the agreement.

The split reflects the conflicting attitudes of Protestants towards the Belfast agreement.

On the one hand there are those who have no problem with Sinn Fein sharing power.

They see that certain progress was made in South Africa and Palestine without the

handing in of weapons being used as a bargaining chip.

This group consists of working class Protestants who see sectarianism as a barrier to their own progress as well as more wealthy Protestants who want stability to develop commercial interests.

On the other hand, there are those who prefer the tried and tested 'croppies lie down' approach.

This is the section that have seen middle class

Catholics take up managerial jobs in the public sector.

Segregated

They are joined by some of the most down-trodden Protestants from dilapidated housing estates, many unemployed or who work in segregated workplaces.

They have little opportunity to express any class interests.

One of the reason for this is that Republic-

anism has nothing to offer Protestant workers.

Their election slogan "Sinn Fein or Ulster Unionist Party - its your choice" plays along with sectarian division.

What is needed is politics that which will stand up to sectarianism and offers a real alternative to Protestant workers.

That what we need a return to class politics.

Organise to defeat the thugs in Drumcree

PORTADOWN IS once again set to become a hot bed of sectarianism this Summer as Orangemen try to defy the ban on the march through the Garvaghy road. But this time they will not be joined by tens of thousands of Orangemen from across Northern Ireland.

The Orange order is facing a crisis as members disillusioned by the violence are increasingly turning their backs on the Portadown Lodges.

In Portadown itself that organisers of local rallies have

had to bus in Loyalists from Omagh

Ordinary Protestants in Portadown have also lost interest in the "Gervaghy Crusade" after one of the largest supermarkets in the town closed down with the loss of over 200 jobs.

Boycotts

This has also alienated the support of one of the mainstays of Orangeism - small business men who have suffered due to the town's bad image and in surrounding areas through boycotts by nationalists

Residents of the Gervaghy Road have been subjected to a year round police presence, the same police force which stood by while Robert Hamill was kicked to death yards from a

police landrover, and this looks set to increase

One local resident told Socialist Worker she was prevented from going to work and fears the same could happen again this Summer.

"The police and army block the few entrances there are into Gervaghy road and it has become a ghetto.

When there is trouble buses and taxi find it difficult to get into the area and we are basically stranded.

"The town centre has become a no go area for anyone identifiable as Catholic, with Union jacks flying from every lamppost and loyalist mobs roaming the streets by night.

Even Saturday shopping is made difficult by almost weekly Orange marches."

The increasing violence is not so much a sign of Protestant superiority in Portadown but the frustration of loyalists unable to exercise hegemony over what they perceive to be their own community.

Breach

The breach between working class Protestants and the orange order should be welcomed as a chance for us to build unity through class politics but the opportunity will be lost on the communal politicians in Northern Ireland.

The solutions to Drumcree lies with the workers and trade unions in Portadown organising together to defeat the bigots in their midst.



Splits in the New World disorder

NOT LONG after NATO launched its war on Serbia, Chinese president Jiang Zemin said it could mark the beginning of the third world war. The bombing of his country's embassy in Belgrade led many to fear he may be right.

But in the literal sense he is in all probability wrong. The Balkan war will almost certainly remain confined to the European continent.

Nevertheless the crisis has exposed the fault lines in world politics.

Conflicts

The official line we get from Washington and other western capitals is that we live in a world without major or significant conflicts among Great Powers.

Anthony Giddens, the sociologist who has become a court philosopher to Tony Blair's government, has proclaimed liberal democracy to be "a state without enemies".

This churlish nonsense may convince Blairite policy hacks yet anyone with a serious understanding of the international system knows it is riven with profound conflicts.

Even if we ignore the divisions between the United States and its major European allies in NATO, there remains Russia and China. Officially Washington proclaims these states to be its "strategic partners".

In reality they are regarded as long term threats to its interests. Russia is being more obviously squeezed.

To Moscow's fury Nato's expansion in east and central Europe has brought it to the borders of the old Soviet Union.

The US is extremely active economically, diplomatically, and even militarily in what used to be Soviet central Asia, around the shores of the oil rich Caspian Sea.

Eduard Shevardnadze, President of Georgia, recently admitted he had discussed Georgia's joining NATO with its secretary-general Javier Solana.

As for China, even before the embassy bombing the regime was extremely concerned about NATO's "humanitarian" intervention in the Balkans.

After all, Beijing's appalling human rights record would offer Washington plenty of pretexts if it wanted to act against China.

The ripple effects of the Balkan war go even further. Atal Behari Vajpayee, prime minister in the recently ousted Hindu chauvinist BJP government in India, said recently that the embassy bombing proved how right India had been to develop its own nuclear weapons.

Now India and Pakistan have moved closer to an all-out war since India bombing of the Pakistan backed guerrillas in Kashmir.

Russia and China probably aren't much of an immediate threat to the US. The Republican right in the US Congress has been campaigning for months around the issue of alleged Chinese thefts of US military secrets.

It hardly seems a coincidence that the week after the embassy bombing a story was leaked to the *New York Times* about China having obtained a new secret advanced radar technology under joint development by the US and Britain.

But according to the *Financial Times*, "China is said to have no more than 20 crude intercontinental ballistic missiles with single warheads capable of reaching the US, compared to the thousands fielded by the US and Russia."

As for Russia, the 1999 budget allocates \$3.85 billion to the military. This is a tiny fraction of the \$300 billion the Pentagon is getting every year.

The US has overwhelming military superiority over all other powers. The political chaos in Moscow hardly helps Russia's efforts to reassert itself.

Paralyse

I half think the CIA slipped a few million dollars into some Swiss bank account so Boris Yeltsin would sack his prime minister Yevgeny Primakov and thus paralyse Russian foreign policy when NATO was on the diplomatic back foot.

But the affair is really a continuation of the power struggle that has been raging in Moscow ever since the collapse of the old Communist Party regime.

Yeltsin may seem like a drunken buffoon but he is shrewd and ruthless when it comes to holding onto power. But we cannot assume that Russia will be permanently paralysed by manoeuvres like these at the top.

With the world's second biggest nuclear arsenal, vast natural resources and a highly educated population, Russia is unlikely to remain at the margins forever. In seeking to sideline Moscow and Beijing, Washington is playing a very dangerous game.

AS NATO BRINGS MORE DEATH INN

WHY DOES WANT CLOSER LINKS WITH NATO?

WHAT IS PARTNERSHIP FOR PEACE?

Partnership for Peace is a U.S. initiative that was launched in 1994 to encourage 'strong links' between a number of Eastern European countries and NATO.

Its aim was to draw countries into the US dominated military alliance. This occurs in two main ways.

First, there is pressure to increase arms spending and to buy weapons that are compatible with NATO.

After Poland joined the PFP, it undertook to spend £1.08 billion over 15 years to meet the terms of NATO membership.

This often means looking to US arms dealers. In 1997, after a number of countries joined PFP, Norman Augustine, the boss of Lockheed Martin the leading US arms manufacturer, toured Eastern Europe 'drumming up business and supporting the largest possible expansion of NATO'.

Second, each country has to agree an 'individual partnership programme' with NATO. This includes an agreement to establish 'interoperability' which means undertaking joint exercises and sending generals to the NATO headquarters in Brussels.

SO WHY DOES BERTIE AHERN CLAIM THAT PFP HAS "NOTHING TO DO WITH NATO" AND THAT IRISH NEUTRALITY IS NOT AFFECTED?

Because he is lying though his teeth - which is not an unusual practice for Aherne.

The evidence that PFP is being used as an entry point for NATO is overwhelming.

At its launch in 1994, NATO claimed that the PFP would play "an important role in the enlargement of NATO".

Later Clinton argued that PFP was 'a path to full membership for some and a strong lasting link to the Alliance for all'.

William Perry and Aston Carter who were top defence officials in the Clinton regime when PFP was being devised have recently written a book, *Preventive Defence*, where they spell out what PFP is about.

Objective

They state that 'The objective of a renewed PFP should be to make experience of partnership as close as possible to the experience of NATO'.

Countries who join PFP should move from peacekeeping missions to 'true combat operations'.

One of the aims of PFP is to 'engage' the 'professional core' of armies so that they take on board the culture of NATO.

This has already begun to happen in Ireland where generals are now intervening in the press to call for support for an expanded military.

OKAY, SO THERE IS A LINK WITH NATO. BUT WHAT IS SO WRONG WITH IRELAND BEING ASSOCIATED WITH NATO?

NATO was originally set up during the Cold War as a right wing

alliance to 'prevent the of communism'.

This meant much more than opposing Soviet Union, the rival superpower dominated much of the globe.

Democracy

Instead of promoting democracy the real aim of NATO was to stop wing movement developing any

When the Allende government was in Chile in 1970, the Pentagon intervened in a policy of destabilisation encouraged the Chilean officers to coup.

After that coup, there was an effort to break all left wing movements in Latin America.

Throughout the continent generals were trained in the US organised 'appearance' of left wingers.

Brazil was used as a centre for techniques of torture.

Alongside all of this there was an open up the markets and privatisation in sight.

Since the end of the Cold War, sought to re-define its role.

The US government has promoted a new doctrine of opposition to 'rogue states'.

It now brushes aside all pretences through the UN and asserts that NATO has a right to operate anywhere.

Rogue

Libya, Sudan, and Serbia, have been labeled 'rogue states' and subject to international sanctions.

In the future, China may fall into the category.

INNOCENT CIVILIANS...

DOES AHERN

He built on, and took to the extreme, the ideology of racism that had been fostered by the Great Powers drive to create empires.

None of this applies to Third World dictators today.

No matter how nasty they are, they are not the instigators of a mass fascist movement that threatens the organisation of working people around the world.

The other thing we should remember is that WW2 was not simply a fight against fascism. It was primarily a war to preserve empires.

Britain had a policy of appeasing Hitler until the moment when he appeared to threaten its empires.

It concentrated its military resources in areas like North Africa to maintain its empire.

Refused

The Allies refused to bomb the rail lines to Auschwitz or allow Jewish refugees to enter their countries in large numbers because the war was never solely about opposition to fascism.

The proclamation of Irish neutrality was a reflection of an anti-colonial instinct.

Quite rightly, many Irish people asked how could the British empire be fighting a war for democracy when it still kept India enslaved and it still wanted to station British troops in Ireland even though they committed appalling outrages just twenty years previously.

The problem with Irish neutrality was not its reluctance to join with empires – but rather the nationalist ideology which wanted to create a little Ireland where Jews and non-Catholics were kept out.

YET SOMETHING HAS TO BE DONE ABOUT TYRANTS WHO ARE TERRORISING THEIR OWN PEOPLE. IN TODAY'S WORLD YOU CANNOT SIMPLY SAY THAT SOVEREIGNTY MEANS THEY CANNOT BE TOUCHED.

The socialist case has never been about absolute respect for sovereignty. We are internationalists who want to spread revolution across the globe and that means assisting movements in other countries.

But in world dominated by imperialism, talk of an 'ethical foreign policy' or wars fought for 'humanitarian reasons' are utterly hypocritical.

Tyrants

The only tyrants that NATO fights are those who are not its tyrants.

So attacks Milosevic for ethnic cleansing, while it uses Turkish bases to launch war and does not mention the plight of the 1.5 million Kurds who have been driven from their homes.

Of course something should be done about tyrants. But the best remedy is a revolt from below.

Everywhere from Indonesia to Romania millions have revolted to topple dictators.

It shows that we should never accept the argument that any group of people are so totally brainwashed that they need to helping hand of B52 bombers to get freedom.

The hard line Republican right in the US are already building up pressure for this and the bombing of its embassy in Belgrade may even fit in with this approach.

It is for all these reasons that the journalist, John Pilger, denounced NATO as a 'colonisers club'.

BUT IRELAND CANNOT STAND ASIDE FROM TERRIBLE ATROCITIES LIKE IT DID DURING WORLD WAR II. ISN'T JOINING PFP A SIGN OF MATURETY, THAT WE ARE NOT STILL HIDING BEHIND DE VALERA'S VISION?

IN HINDSIGHT the reasons for almost every war that was fought in the 20th century have been discredited. Who now believes that the Vietnam war was fought for democracy or that World War 1 was justified?

Popular

The one exception is WW2 which still has a certain popular appeal.

This is why our rulers always try to compare their present wars to WW2.

So Milosevic, Gadaffi, and Hussein have all been labeled as 'new Hitler's' and we are told that NATO is fighting only for democracy and tolerance.

These comparisons are nonsense. Hitler ran one of the most powerful industrial countries. He was the rallying point for every aspiring fascist on the globe (including the Blueshirts who helped found Fine Gael!).

How to build the anti-war movement

In Italy, fishermen went on strike because NATO are dropping unused bombs in the Adriatic Sea. In Greece, a majority believe that Bill Clinton should be tried as a war criminal.

Protestors have blocked NATO tanks landing at Salonika and Prime Minister Simitis has warned that he faces a popular revolt if Greece is used as a base for launching a ground war.

As NATO becomes more divided the potential to build a mass anti-war movement in every country has grown. But how is this to be done?

Colony

First, there has to be agreement that the central issue is opposition to an imperialist war. NATO is attempting to set up an effective colony in Kosovo to help establish its control over Eastern Europe.

Attempts to obscure this central feature of the conflict will hold back the movement.

This is what has happened in France where the Communist Party and the Greens are part of a government which is fighting the war.

Tragically many left wingers accepted the argument of Daniel Cohen Bendit, the former leader of May '68, that Milosevic was a new Hitler and that the left had to back the imperialist powers.

But the far left have also failed to build a strong movement because they argued that the central feature of the war is the right of Kosovo to independence.

This has led some to argue for 'arming the Kosovan Liberation Army'. In practice the KLA is being armed by NATO and is being used as an advance party for a NATO invasion.

Supporting the KLA will also lead to the ethnic cleansing of Serbs from Kosovo if NATO is successful.

Attacking the imperialist powers does not mean staying quiet about Milosevic or making any concessions to Serb nationalism.

Indeed the first question any anti-war campaigner will be asked is their attitude to Milosevic.

When the Irish Coalition against War was established, Socialist Workers Party members argued that the campaign had to take a public stance against Milosevic. Those attending the first public meeting voted overwhelmingly to endorse this stance.

Subsequently, this was undemocratically reversed by an inner group of political representatives. This discrepancy between the views of the wider movement and the manoeuvres of some representatives of left wing parties also raise a wider issue.

Clarity

Genuine mass anti-war movements are not built by haggling between various parties. Movements are built by a combination of ideological clarity and an enthusiasm to build from below.

In practice this means a structure of action groups which organise meetings and activities on a regular basis.

Sometimes they can meet locally – others times workplace groups are appropriate.

We need scores of groups like Media Workers against the War and Nurses against the War to win the labour movement into opposing the carnage.

This is precisely the approach adopted by the No to War campaign which has been organising opposition to the war from the very start.

The other reason for this approach is that many left parties are hooked on electoralism. When election take place everything else is dropped and only token effort is put into building an anti-war movement.

Worse, sometimes there is even an effort to tone down the demands of the anti-war movement to suit the chase after votes.

These two approaches to the anti-war movement were shown at their clearest in the protest on May 29th.

Socialist Workers Party members argued that the march had to focus on outright opposition to the bombing and a call for Ireland to stay out of NATO.

Yet a range of political parties from the Socialist Party to Sinn Fein argued that the only central slogan of the march should be opposition to Partnership for Peace.

There was no mention of the war in some of the posters that were produced. With 47 percent of the Irish population opposed to the war, the potential for a major movement exists.

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10 years on...

WHEN NATO bombed the Chinese Embassy in Belgrade hundreds of thousands of people took to the streets in cities across China in the biggest protests since the Tiananmen Square revolt ten years ago.

China's rulers tolerated the protests at first but soon curbed them, as they feared a repeat of the Tiananmen Square.

China's economy, the seventh largest in the world, has been hit hard by the Asian economic crisis that swept through the region last year. Unemployment has risen to its highest level since 1949 and some figures estimate that 100 million are out of work.

Haunted by the memories of Tiananmen Square, China's rulers fear they are sitting on a volcano. Anger at the economic crisis and the demands for political change could lead to an explosion.

Reform

The revolt in Tiananmen Square began in May 1989 when 150,000 people demonstrated at the funeral of the sacked pro-reform politician Hu Yaobang.

Beijing workers and students defied the threats of their rulers in protests that grew ever more militant, culminating in the 'nights of the barricades' when millions took over the city and faced down the troops sent in to crush them.

The massive growth in China's economy in the 1980s had produced chaotic effects. Society was transformed but it had also resulted in insecurity and poverty for millions.

The explosion on the streets had its roots in a political and economic turmoil that was gripping China and was simply waiting for a spark to ignite it.

That spark came in the death of reforming politician Hu Yaobang on 15 April. He had been responsible for many of the political reforms of the early 1980s and his sacking, after the previous mass student protests of 1986, had added to his image as a liberal.

Students began to gather in Tiananmen Square, growing over the next couple of days to hundreds of thousands, including increasing numbers of workers. The speakers began by eulogising Hu, but quickly shifted to placing political demands on the government; democratic elections, freedom of press, freedom of assembly and an end to corruption.

The mood, right from the beginning, was more angry and militant than anything Beijing had seen in years.

One group of Tianjin students sent a letter which said "Seventy years after the May 4th movement, our country is still poverty-stricken and ruled by wolves."

By the end of the first week there were reports of sympathy marches and protests in at least 11 cities across the country.

Risk

One student told the *Guardian*, "The police don't dare do anything. If there's trouble, the workers will join in and it will be like 1976, and the party doesn't dare risk that."

In 1976 mass protests beginning in Tiananmen Square allowed Deng Xiaoping to succeed Mao.

Now 13 years later a movement like that which had brought him to power had turned decisively against him. But this time the movement was organised by independent students and not the lower levels of bureaucracy.

More and more people began coming out in open defiance of state bans and with contempt for the whole ruling



Tiananmen Square: A revolt that still haunts China's rulers

class. "These men aren't communists, they're just old feudal guys who are afraid of the people and despise us" as one lorry driver told the *Observer*. The protesters began singing the Internationale over and over again.

The Tiananmen Square revolt is often seen as a student protest. But although students started the movement it quickly drew in millions of workers.

Journalist John Gittings, who was in Beijing at the time, described the atmosphere.

"In the streets there was a sense of comradeship mixed with the excitement that so many people - workers, ordinary citizens - had found their voices. The [government] seemed paralysed and the streets belonged to the masses."

As the protests continued the state desperately needed to reassert its authority. Martial law was declared and the government ordered the troops to clear the streets.

But this only raised the struggle to even higher levels. Workers throughout the country began striking in support of the students. Workers in the underground system cut off power to the

troops.

Workers also played a crucial role in building barricades around the city. These were designed not to stop the soldiers but to slow them down, so that they could be argued with to join the revolt.

Within days millions were on the streets. Yet tragically there was no revolutionary leadership to take the movement forward. The student leaders who had initiated the events argued against workers who were calling for a general strike.

They also argued against the workers taking arms from the soldiers and even returned some of the arms seized. Many of them believed that the People Liberation Army could never turn on the Chinese people.

Crackdown

This failure to carry the revolt forward gave China's ruler, Deng Xiaoping, the space to order the final crackdown.

On 3 June the massacre began as tanks smashed through the barricades. As the news that the army had come out to crush the revolt spread around Beijing, it pulled even greater numbers onto the streets.

But as tens of thousands of workers

poured onto the streets in disbelief, rage and terror, the tanks simply fired into their midst. In Tiananmen Square itself, students pleaded with the army to negotiate and refused to run.

That evening the remaining 2,000 students held a meeting and agreed to withdraw. But as they left, the army opened fire on them. One wounded student wrote in his own blood on the pavement, "Li Peng, you will never live in peace".

Heroism

All that night terror was unleashed on the city. Beijing workers fought back with a heroism that almost defied belief. Buses were set on fire as barricades. The few guns that the workers managed to acquire were turned on the army.

That night thousands were murdered. But it would be another three days before the army would finally crush the revolt.

The June massacres were no random acts of savagery, nor were they the work of individual soldiers running amok. They were a calculated and deliberate declaration of civil war by a ruling class which had no other means of restoring its authority.

China's rulers managed to regain control through repression and the fact that the years of economic growth had insulated many in the countryside from its worse effects.

But now the country is once again in economic turmoil. "The economy has entered a slowdown that could last for years", says one leading Chinese economist. "Everyone is worried about jobs, jobs, jobs."

Recently, there are signs of renewed popular unrest.

Report

A report by the official Chinese Academy of Social Sciences confirms that strikes and demonstrations have been growing steadily since 1994.

According to the Ministry of Labour and the Ministry of Public Security's official statistics on public disturbances there were 216,750 strikes and demonstrations last year alone.

In the southern Guangdong province, which is seen as an economic powerhouse, there were 740,000 recorded strikes days last year. And in 459 violent confrontations with armed police, more than 2,230 people were injured.

In Hunan province hundreds of workers from various state run firms such as the pharmaceutical factory, electrical machinery plant and elevator factory marched through the province's capital Changsha, with banners saying, "We want to eat", and, "We want to live."

Joined

They blocked the road for almost two hours and were joined by laid off factory workers who had not received any redundancy pay for three months.

Discontent is not only manifesting itself in the workplaces. Some 10,000 people staged a sit-in last month on the Communist Party leaders' doorstep.

Even though the Tiananmen Square revolt was crushed, things would never be the same again in China. No one can predict when Chinese class bitterness will erupt again in revolt as it did ten years ago. But that it will do so, is the nightmare of China's rulers.

in my view

Diary of defiance

THE 70TH anniversary of the birth of Anne Frank has created a renewed interest in this most famous of all Hitler's victims. *The Diary of Anne Frank* has become the most popular non-fiction book after the Bible.

It has been translated into 55 languages and over 20 million copies have been sold worldwide.

The diary is often presented as a harmless and heart-warming insight into the life of a young girl growing up in difficult times.

"It's really a wonder that I haven't lost my ideals....yet I keep them because in spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart," is the most famous quote from the diary.

The book is presented as a story of an innocent child in a horrible world and that this is the reason for its universal appeal.

"It's really a wonder that I haven't lost my ideals.... yet I keep them because in spite of everything I still believe that people are really good at heart"

In fact, the popularity of the book has always been linked to the horror of the Holocaust. Anne herself was well aware of the greater significance of her writings.

She began to rewrite her diary shortly before her capture with the intention of publishing it after the war.

Through her diary she wanted to make millions of people understand what really happened during World War II.

For Holocaust revisionists like David Irving, Anne's diary is such a compelling indictment of the horror of the Nazi regime that they have even tried to claim the book is a fraud.

With the rise of far right groups in many countries like France and Turkey it is important to reassert the real political message of Anne's diary.

The legacy of Anne's diary is that it shows the strength and bravery of ordinary people in resisting the brutal regime of the Nazis.

This is still an important message today when all too many books about World War II portray the mass of people as passive powerless pawns in Hitler's 'evil' reign of terror.

The impression is sometimes given that the Nazi regime was so evil that ordinary people were paralysed by fear and did nothing to oppose it - freedom only being possible through liberation by the Allied armies. At worst, books like Hitler's *Willing Executioners* have presented ordinary Germans as outright Nazi supporters.

Anne's diary is one book that smashes these myths at least as far as the people of Amsterdam are concerned.

The very survival of Anne and her family throughout the period she was writing depended on the help of friends who were Christians, two of whom were sent to a labour camp for the part they had played.

The people who sheltered the Franks have become famous but they were just a few of the 20,000 Dutch citizens who sheltered Jews and other Nazi victims during the war.

From the first introduction of anti-Jewish laws in Holland there was widespread opposition from Jews and non-Jews alike.

Strike

When the Nazis arrested 450 Jews in Amsterdam in retaliation for the killing of a fascist, the Communist Party responded by calling a general strike.

The city of Amsterdam was brought to a standstill by Dutch workers for two days and the strike was spreading rapidly to other Dutch cities before the Germans were able to brutally suppress it.

The February strike was one of the high points of working class opposition to the Nazi's during the war and showed how even under the most repressive regime workers could show courage in defending their rights and the rights of a persecuted minority.

While NATO justifies its barbarous war in the Balkans by labelling Milosevic the new Hitler and using words like genocide and Holocaust, Anne Frank's book is a timely reminder of what the victims of the real Holocaust suffered.

The diary of a German Jewish girl who was sheltered by Dutch Christians is also a strong reminder of the power of ordinary people to fight together to oppose the rule of tyrants.

GRACE LALLY

Book

FROM THE JUNKYARD

THE JUNK Yard: Voices from an Irish prison, is new book by Marrsha Hunt, that gives a rare voice to stories of prisoners in Mountjoy.

There was always a danger that this book would be a voyeuristic collection of stories about the entrails of the Celtic Tiger.

Any book dealing with heroin addiction and miserable lives is going to be fairly gutwrenching.

But *The Junk Yard*, is elevated by the sheer quality and honesty of the writing.

The book grew out of a class Marsha Hunt gave in Mountjoy prison, and features contributions from seventeen prisoners.

Scarily

Broken into sections - Childhood, Family Life, The Score, Criminal Life, and Prison Life - the stories are scarily similar.

But as Hunt points out, "Instead of complaining that the themes are the same, ask why so many have a similar tale to tell."

Forget the colourful heroin-chic of *Trainspotting*, this is the distinctly monochrome reality of addiction.

The mundane routine, the constant worrying about where the next fix is coming from, the numbing body and mind.

As one contributor, Penner, puts it, "heroin stripped me of my emotions, my personality, my sex drive - even my love of music."

Pain

These are tales of poverty, self-loathing, and incredible pain. Tales of broken homes, shattered lives and official indifference.

As another contributor, Terry writes, "ninety per cent of junkies are from the lower-class areas... You won't be remembered and what will they say? That was only a junkie who O.D.-ed today."

With only 10 places on the drug detox programme in Mountjoy, it's

hard to argue with that.

Every year 3,000 drug addicts pass through the Mountjoy yet only 70 of these can get any treatment.

The Mountjoy Visiting Committee consistently stresses how inadequate this is and in their latest report they write, "Surely this situation needs urgent attention.

The only way it can be properly addressed is by having extra financial resources channelled into the programme."

Until this is done, we're bound to be hearing plenty more voices from the junk yard.

— BAIRBRE FLOOD

A NUMBER of books are available which give a background to the crisis in Yugoslavia. THE DEATH OF YUGOSLAVIA by Laura Silber and Allan Little (Penguin, £9.99) is the book that accompanies the BBC documentary.

It covers the period from the beginning of the break up of Yugoslavia in the late 1980s to the end of 1995.

Nationalism

The book argues that Serbian nationalism, whipped up by Slobodan Milosevic, was the main drive towards the disintegration of Yugoslavia and war.

But by honestly reporting the war, the book shows how Milosevic was only one of many nationalists in the region, all of who reinforced each other. The picture that emerges is of a society ripped apart by economic crisis with rival rulers scrambling to seize as much power as possible.

THE FALL OF YUGOSLAVIA by Misha Glenny (Penguin, £7.99) is an excellent account of the same period.

Glenny stood up against the orthodoxy that said Serbia alone was to blame for the war in 1991. He shows how nationalism was fanned by Milosevic in Serbia and by Franjo Tudjman in Croatia. Further, Glenny powerfully shows how Western leaders only added to the disaster, but he does rather reluctantly call for a "rational" form of western interven-

BOOKS TO EXPLAIN THE BALKAN WAR

BOSNIA: FAKING DEMOCRACY AFTER DAYTON by David Chandler (Pluto £14.99).

The US imposed the Dayton agreement on the sides of the Bosnian war in 1995. The West said that the agreements would bring peace and reverse ethnic cleansing.

In fact, the agreement sanctioned the effective partition of Bosnia into two entities— one Serb and the other

Croat/Muslim. Very few refugees were allowed back to their homes.

Despite the academic tone the books shows how the carve up of Bosnia brought no progress towards democracy for the region.

Finally, **BURN THIS HOUSE** (Duke £11.50) gives a voice to those opposed to nationalism in the Balkans that have been drowned out by the Nato bombs.

The writers argue that the violence and war in the region have not been the result of centuries of ethnic hatreds but of outside intervention by the big powers.

Conclusions

You might not agree with the authors conclusions but it tells the story of little known protests and opposition movements in the region.

STOP THE WAR is a Socialist Worker pamphlet which is a must for anybody trying to understand the NATO bombing in the Balkans. It argues that the Western intervention has brought more misery to the people of the region. The pamphlet carries a wealth of arguments about the history of the region and the possibility for change.



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.

LOCAL ELECTIONS

WE NEED A LEFT ALTERNATIVE

by **DAVE MCDONAGH**

THE SOCIALIST Workers Party is standing eight candidates in the local elections which take place on 11 June.

They stand on a common platform which includes demands to jail corrupt politicians and an end to NATO's war.

Socialist Worker caught up with the candidates as they entered the final fortnight of the campaign.

SHAY RYAN, the SWP candidate in Dublin South East Inner City, said many voters thought jail was "too good" for corrupt politicians.

This anger at the political establishment was reflected in concern over local issues.

In the Pearse Street area, Shay is backing the opposition to the sale of Bord Gais land to private developers. This would see posh apartments and hotels being built while 800 local families are still on the housing waiting list.

Beyond local issues, Shay has received a good response on the issue of the war in the Balkans. Many voters agreed that the

NATO bombing was making things worse in Kosovo and it had to stop.

Voters were anxious to find out more about socialist politics and good sales of *Socialist Worker* were recorded. On one evening, canvassers sold 19 papers in an hour in Marcevicz House flats.

DAVID O'SULLIVAN is a bricklayer who has been prominent in the building workers' disputes over the past 18 months. Dave is running for the SWP in Ballybrack.

Housing is a huge issue here. Dave reported two cases of overcrowding, 11 people in one three bedroom council house and 9 people in another.

"This is going on while 1,500 houses are being built in Cherrywood at £250,000 each. The council have a 50 percent stake in the development but they are all private houses."

Dave's campaign team have reported widespread bitterness against Fianna Fail, with most people recognising that Ahern is no better than Haughey.

About 30 people signed up for Dave's campaign at a social he organised in Dun Laoghaire.

Dave is determined to get a good vote but he is not content



There is strong opposition to NATO's war

with just using the council as a talking shop:

"If I get a decent mandate I'll call on people who voted for me to support any demonstrations or campaigns I organise to root out corruption in the council chamber."

JOE CAROLAN is running for the SWP in Dublin North Inner City.

This takes in areas like East Wall and Smithfield where local people are being left behind by a wave of property development.

In East Wall Harry Crosbie is building a complex includes apartments, hotels and a conference centre. The buildings are so high that local houses will be left without sunlight.

The development will also increase traffic in the area, adding to the high rate of asthma among local children.

Crosbie's remarks on the *Late Late Show* that people in the area "eat their young" led to demonstrations against him.

The presence of the Irish Financial Services Centre has

pushed up local house prices to over £100,000, which means that many younger residents can no longer afford to buy in the area.

The area around Smithfield and The Markets is being changed to attract rich people. Smithfield is being turned into the Temple Bar of the Northside while local people are left without proper amenities for their children.

Joe's campaign was boosted by a fundraiser attended by 150 people. Twenty people joined his campaign and several have gone on to join the SWP itself.

RITCHIE BROWNE is standing for the SWP in the Coolock/Darndale area:

"This used to be Charlie Haughey country, and his son is running here also. But older people especially feel betrayed by Fianna Fail."

Ritchie reports one woman saying to him on the doorstep, "Only for you said you were not Fianna Fail, I'd have slammed the door in your face".

Voters in Ritchie's constituency realise the huge gap between

rich and poor. Given the main parties' links to big business, most people are glad to see that Ritchie, an airport worker, is standing up for working class people.

A common response is, "you're one of us—it's about time we had one of our own to speak out for us".

KEVIN WINGFIELD is standing for the SWP in Ballymun, one of the poorest areas of Dublin.

He reports huge alienation from "official politics", but has received a good response when pointing out that the SWP stands for struggle from below rather than jumping on the gravy train.

GRACE LALLY, the candidate in Rathmines, is also the Secretary of the Housing Action Campaign. Rathmines is dominated by private rented accommodation so the demand for rent controls has gone down well.

But Grace also reports strong opposition to NATO's war in the Balkans.

There are two SWP candidates in Waterford.

CAROLANN DUGGAN is the only rank and file member of SIPTU to have stood three times for a national position in the union.

She recently won the vice presidency of Waterford SIPTU branch with a massive 71 percent of the vote.

JIMMY KELLY is a well respected local trade unionist who has long been the convenor at Waterford Crystal.

Jimmy and Carolann have come across plenty of local outrage over waiting lists. There are 1,300 on the Waterford Corporation housing list and 750 people are waiting for hospital beds.

VOTE LEFT IN EURO ELECTIONS

SWP candidates all report a huge bitterness against the establishment political parties, especially Fianna Fail. But people also feel betrayed by the Labour Party which has abandoned its past radicalism to become a carbon copy of Tony Blair's Labour Party in Britain.

The SWP is standing several candidates in the local elections to provide a socialist alternative in the Celtic Tiger.

In the European Elections, also on 11 June, Socialist Worker is calling for a vote for left wing candidates in particular.

Joe Higgins of the Socialist Party is attempting to build on his success at the last general election where he ousted a Labour TD in Dublin West. Joe is clearly arguing for policies to the left of Labour.

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

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

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

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.

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

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

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 7.30pm

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 8.00pm 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.

Join the socialists

If you want to join the Socialist Workers Party, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

Name

Address.....

Phone.....

Union:.....

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

Building industry

Showdown on the sites

BRICKLAYERS WHO are involved in a major dispute at McNamara sites are facing a wave of intimidation. The dispute has been going on for six weeks and pickets have been placed on sites in Beaumont and City West.

The dispute was caused by McNamara's use of sub-contractors. The main sub-contractor used by McNamara is Martin Young and he is now one of the last major remaining large sub-contractors in the city.

Contractor

The bricklayers are demanding direct employment by the major contractor.

"Sub-contracting was common in London in the eighties. It was part of the Thatcherite strategy of breaking up unions and pitting worker against worker. Bricklayers in Ireland have embarked on a campaign



to eliminate this practice here. We want workers to be paid proper holidays, wet time and pensions," said one union member.

Since the strike began a campaign of organised intimidation has been underway.

One dissident member of the union has been organising a scabbing operation. On one occasion 30 strike breakers marched with a banner to a local police station seeking Garda support.

Since then scores of Gardai have been put on the site.

The aim has been to engineer a provocation. On one occasion, an Evening Herald photographer were present -- most probably in the hope of seeing some scuffles on the picket line.

Since then the level of intimidation has been stepped up. Attempts have been made to get video cameras through the picket lines in order to monitor the activities of strikers.

A number of leading union activists have also received threatening phone calls. On one occasion this has included the issuing of death threats.

Intimidation

Despite this intimidation the bricklayers have put up tremendous resistance. One picket told *Socialist Worker*,

"We are here for as long as it takes.

The strike breakers are a

demoralised group who are organised by someone with a personal bitterness.

On one occasion the pickets sat down in front of the cars and the strike breakers started to melt away. There is now only a handful who are

keeping this site open."

Pickets at the site are being organised by the unofficial group, Building Workers Against Intimidation. They deserve the support of every trade unionist in their battle to establish workers rights.

Building round up

M McNAMARA IS only one of several sites where building workers are taking action. Throughout Dublin, there have been several small disputes to win compensation for those laid off during the scaffolding dispute.

"The way I look on it is that if we don't get compensation, we are only helping to subsidise the employers in their battle against another section of workers" on union activist explained.

Here are some of the disputes that were in progress as we went to press.

JOHN PAUL: 22 carpen-

ter have walked off a John Paul site in Dublin docklands.

They are demanding an end to sub-contracting. They are also looking for a substantial pay rises so they can afford accommodation in a city that is being transformed by the greed of speculators.

CLERY DOYLE: This is one company that tried not to pay compensation for laying off workers during the scaffolding strike. Pickets look like they are about to achieve a settlement.

MCCABE'S: This company has been employing sub-contractors on an Eastern Health Board contract. Action is being taken to make them accept proper trade union conditions

AUT

Lecturers on strike

Tony Blair's promise that the new Labour Government would focus on "Education, Education, Education" was challenged this week when the Association of University Teachers held a one day strike in order to "tell university employers and government that the years of erosion and exploitation can not continue".

The government admits that while productivity in British universities has risen dramatically in recent years, this is not reflected in the salaries of lecturers.

Erosion

Instead lecturers have seen a 30% erosion in their pay in comparison with other professional groups

Picket lines were organised at all three universities in the North,

with lecturers holding placards and handing out leaflets to highlight their case.

One lecturer who was part of the picket line at Queen's University Belfast said "Although the action is primarily about pay, it's also a backlash against the erosion of University services and the introduction of tuition fees. We intend to take further action in June and at the start of the new academic year. This is only the beginning".

ATGWU

OVER 20 trade union activists have taken part in a recruitment and organisation drive by the ATGWU in Enniskillen, Lisnaskea and Irvinestown in Fermanagh.

The campaign was for a minimum wage of £5 an hour. Activists met with a huge response. Local ATGWU officer, Jim Quinn, said, "We plan to shop employers who don't pay the minimum wage".

IMPACT

Conference calls Dublin allowance

IMPACT MEMBERS from around the country met recently in Bundoran for IMPACT's annual delegate conference. The union is the biggest public sector union in the country, with 35,000 members from the civil service, local authorities and health boards.

Its general secretary, Peter McLoone, is head of the ICTU Public Services Committee which has recently begun exploratory talks on future public sector pay deals.

The leadership is tied by a motion passed at last year's conference to hold a special delegate conference later this year to discuss pay strategies for the new millennium.

Several delegates spoke against a

new version of Partnership 2000, arguing that public sector workers had failed to achieve any significant gains from national agreements in their previous incarnations.

Concerns were also raised about the problems of low pay faced by many public sector workers and the failure of many workers to benefit from the Celtic Tiger.

Pursuit

Delegates voted in favour of the pursuit of a living in Dublin allowance, along the lines of that agreed recently by the PSEU. Motions on housing called for the setting up of a housing action group within IMPACT to formulate radical proposals to tackle the problem.

A motion calling for action against those found guilty of corruption following from the Flood and Moriarty tribunals was passed unanimously.

Tara mines

Workers attacked — again

WORKERS AT Tara Mines in Navan have been threatened with the closure of the mine, unless they accept severe cuts by management.

A year ago workers voted by a narrow majority to accept a package of cuts in their terms and conditions of employment. They were told then that productivity had to be increased with less costs. And they achieved the production target of 2 million tons per year but management say that has to be pushed up to 2.5 million tons.

One worker told *Socialist Worker* says "We were promised gain-sharing for giving all the extra productivity but we have seen none of it. They want to cut our breaks again, more productivity, to penalise us for absenteeism, and longer hours. But worse of all they want cuts in bonuses that could see a miner loose between £7,000 and £11,000 per year".

A long court battle between Tara and Bula mines ended with the Courts awarded against Bula. Now that Bula is in liquidation, Tara mines are keen to buy up the shafts which are wealthy in ore and run parallel with Tara's shafts. But the Government has put Bula into open tender and Tara will not necessarily gain the contract.

"We suspect that workers in Tara are being used in a cynical manoeuvre by management. They are threatening closure of the mines just as the tender for Bula is due on June 4th. It's their way of telling the Government that if they don't get Bula they will force the closure of Tara."

In the last few years up to 500 jobs have been lost at Tara Mines. It's time the unions in Tara Mines stood up to this intimidation and faced down the bullying tactics of this company.

Tara workers need the unity and resistance that will put a stop to management's attacks on their pay and conditions.

No to war protests

TRALEE: The No To War Campaign held a successful meeting with Councillor Conor Fitzgerald (Green Party), Bill Lean (Independent Councillor) and Kieran Allen (Socialist Workers Party) speaking. Billy Lean called for the 'disbandment of NATO'. The local action group agreed to hold a regular stall and meetings.

BELFAST: The No to War Campaign has planned a series of local meetings around the city. The first of these kicks off in West Belfast on June 3rd with speakers from Sinn Fein, Green Party and SWP. Other meetings are also planned for South Belfast and

East Belfast. Belfast also hosts its first anti-war demonstration on June 19th.

WATERFORD: Anti-war activists have organised a picket on a local Fianna Fail junior Minister, Martin Cullen, in protest at the party's refusal to hold a referendum on Partnership for Peace and in opposition to their pro-war stance.

ENNISKILLEN: Held its second anti-war public meeting on June 3rd with Independent councillor Davy Kettles and Colm Bryce from the Socialist Workers Party speaking.

CORK: The No to War campaign in Cork kicks off with a public meeting on

June 8th in Moores Hotel with Dan Boyle (Green Party), Professor John Maguire and Brid Smith (SWP) speaking.

DUBLIN: 400 people took part in a joint demonstration organised by the Coalition against War and the No to War campaign against NATO's bombing and against Partnership for Peace. Action groups have now been established around the city and preparations are underway for holding a major Teach-In against the War on June 12th and Rage against War and Racism demo on Saturday 26th.

Socialist Worker

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

Special issue on: NATO'S WAR IN EUROPE

see pages: 2,3,6&7

North and South ...

SUPPORT THE FIREFIGHTERS

THE FIREBRIGADES Union has passed an emergency resolution calling for a national strike ballot if the employers try to 'unilaterally alter national conditions'.

Jim Barbour, from the executive council of the union told *Socialist Worker*, "This dispute is not about pay, additional holidays or enhanced conditions of service.

"It is about protecting the Fire Service as a vital public service. The agenda on the part of the employers and government is to break the FBU in order to prepare for massive cutbacks in the Fire Service across the UK".

Emergency

Julie Hunt from the Northern Ireland Regional Committee said, "I represent control room staff and to us the strategy of the employers is clear: to amalgamate the operators of all the emergency services.

"This means we would be doing three times the amount of work, and even giving first aid over the phone. Of course jobs would go".

There is a clear link between chronic underfunding and greatly increased death rates from fire.

"Up to recently between 8 and 10 people died annually each year from fire in Northern Ireland. But in 1999 this jumped up to 24! Yet the Treasury wants projected cut-backs of 2% annually for the foreseeable future.

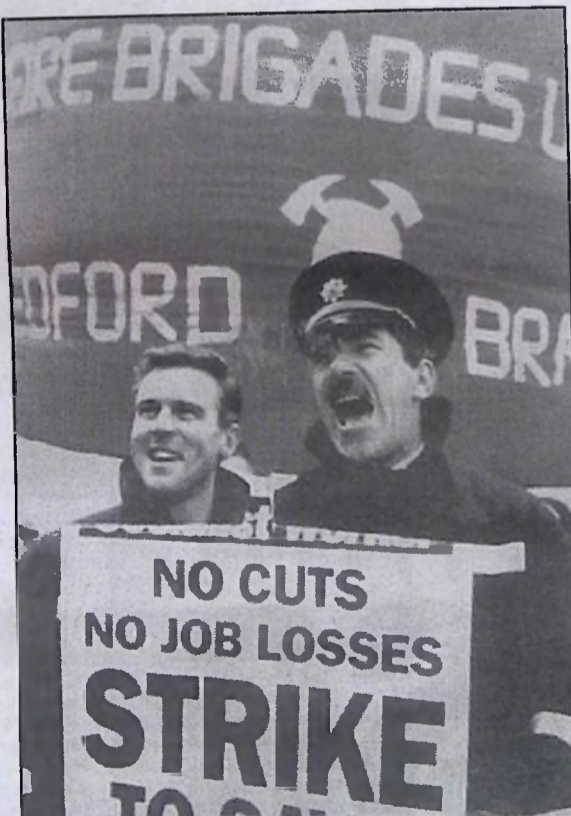
"In the last 4 years the UK has lost an amazing 417 front line appliances. At the same time the increase in calls has risen by 86% -- yet there has been a staffing reduction of 3%. These cuts are costing lives," according to Jim.

The mood for action has grown. "Nobody wants to strike but if push comes to shove people will do anything to protect what we've fought for and won before," says Julie.

Jim Barbour agrees. "Across Northern Ireland the full-time firefighters are strong. During the strike in Essex the mood was there for 100% solidarity. The same attitude exists now."

The FBU is the first national union to come out against the war.

Jim explains, "We view Tony Blair's position on cut-backs in the Fire Service with total incredulity when compared with his willingness to



indulge in the mass slaughter in the Balkans. This conflict is costing millions and lives and money are being thrown away."

In defending the war Blair said "We need backbone not

back down".

Firefighters in Northern Ireland can assure him when it comes to defending the Fire Service he'll be seeing plenty of backbone.

OVER 95% of fire fighters in the South have voted overwhelmingly to take strike action. The firefighters are demanding parity in pay with the Gardai who won pay increases after the "blue flu" dispute last year.

Fire fighters have traditionally enjoyed pay parity with the Gardai but management are demanding productivity increases before they grant the firefighters' claim.

Management demands include reductions in manning on fire engines, replacing firefighters with civilians in areas such as central control, an increase in the working week, new shift patterns and flexibility in manning levels.

Secure

The firefighters point out that they have already submitted 13 items of productivity and should not have to give up any more to secure a pay claim they are entitled to.

A fire fighter told *Socialist Worker* "We want parity with the Guards but not at any price.

There seems to be a lot of clouds around the issue of who

will be responsible for the safety and well being of firefighters. But it is us who are responsible for the lives and safety of people when we are called up to respond to a fire in the middle of the night.

As *Socialist Worker* goes to press the firefighters are due to begin their action.

The ICTU have stepped in and called on unions and the management to meet at the Labour Court just before the strike deadline.

Backdown

However, the indications are that rank and file firefighters want to press ahead with action unless management back down.

In a promising development PDFORA, the organisation representing rank and file soldiers, have said their members may not be able to provide cover if the firefighter's strike goes ahead.

Soldiers have recently had their own dispute with the government and the statements from PDFORA may indicate a growing awareness of the need for solidarity with other workers among soldiers.

Every worker should support the firefighter in this dispute. It is another sign of what's wrong in the Celtic Tiger that workers in vital services like the firebrigade are being squeezed instead of rewarded for their hard work.