

Socialist Worker

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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

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inside

No to war page 6-7

No to Nice page 12

No to racism page 8

Building an alternative
in Europe page 3

Solidarity price €2.00

BUSH WANTS A WAR AT ANY PRICE!

- Inspections offer rejected TWICE
- Worldwide peace appeals ignored



Cashing in on Elan collapse

DIRECTORS OF Elan directors and executives sold shares worth \$43.5 million early last year before shares in the pharmaceutical company plunged by 95 per cent from their peak.

The directors sold when the shares were trading in the \$50 range - they have since fallen to \$2.

These dealing in this way

included former chairman Donal Geaney, who sold 160,000 shares on February 28, 2001 for \$8.6 million, indicating a price of \$53.75.

Described

Director John Groome sold \$12.85 million worth on February 8. Brendan Boushel sold \$8 million worth and Lisabeth Murphy, described as an officer, was paid \$6.24 million for her shares.

Company spokesman and Fianna Fail spin-doctor PJ Mara said: "It was then

seen as just taking a bit of money off the table."

Last month, Elan announced 300 redundancies in Ireland including 250 at Athlone and 50 in Dublin. It also cancelled a proposed \$60 million investment and 300 jobs in Macroom, Co Cork. Geaney, then still chairman of Elan, and Bertie Ahern had announced the investment just four weeks before the general election.

While making enormous profits the company managed to pay a tax rate of just 2 percent!

POLITICIANS in the US like to pose as the great defenders of democracy. But after George Bush's debacle during the presidential election comes Anthony Williams' celebrity nominees. Williams was the Democratic mayor of Washington. He was planning

to stand for re-election this autumn. Among those signing the petition to enter him as a candidate were US secretary of state Donald Rumsfeld and Tony Blair. The actor Dudley Moore was so keen that, despite being dead, he signed twice.

IMF back FF

The International Monetary Fund has issued a warning about the state of Ireland's public finances, cautioning against rapid increases in government spending and urging "prudence" on pay increases due under the benchmarking process.

The latest analysis

also argues for a "cautious approach" in phasing in pay increases agreed under the recent benchmarking agreement.

McCreevy, welcome the IMF's assessment of the economy, saying it would provide "useful input to the development of appropriate policies to ensure the success of our economy in future years".

In other words the IMF and FF agree - workers should pay for the slowdown in the economy.

Fleeing victims

ARTHUR ANDERSEN, the disgraced accountancy firm involved in the Enron and WorldCom crises, strikes again.

Forced

In 1996 a Canadian court forced the Catholic Church to wind up the Christian Brothers of Ireland order.

The sell-off of its assets was to pay compensation to 80 victims of abuse in the order's schools and orphanages. Andersen was called in.

Raised

It raised almost £3 million from the sale of the property but pocketed the money on its own fees and the lawyers it hired.

Two more schools are to be sold off. Andersen says it has to get more fees before the victims see any compensation.

INTO member on Dunboyne school Principal sacking

Fight for secular education

THE SACKING of Tomas O Dulaing from his position as Principal of Dunboyne's interdenominational gaelcoil is outrageous.

Tomas is a committed teacher who, after consultation with parents, came to an agreed solution as to how differences in matters of religious doctrine could be dealt with when the issue of preparation of Catholic children for the sacraments arose.

Minority

Non Catholic children are in a very small minority in the school, and the school community, sensitive to this, endeavoured to provide all preparation for communion and confirmation outside of school hours.

Tomas was going to remain in school after hours to supervise this instruction.

It was intended that this would help avoid a situation where a small minority of children would feel excluded or isolated because of different religious beliefs.

who want to see the rights of other religions respected that An Foras Patrúnachas has the power to abuse our schools in this way.

For too long now the denominational system of education has given churches the right to exercise control over the education of our children.

attempts

Even the attempts to foster an interdenominational form of schooling have now fallen victim to the old way of doing things.

Tomas O Dulaing and the teachers, parents and children of the Dunboyne school are victims of a small embattled minority who are determined to retain hold of what remaining power they wield in Irish society.

They cannot be allowed to get away with it.

In the 1970s a Wexford teacher, Eileen Flynn, lost her job in the local Catholic school because she began a relationship with a separated man.

It is appalling that thirty years later a man can lose



his job for wanting to teach some aspects of Catholic doctrine after school in an interdenominational Gaelscoil.

When the new school year resumes every teacher should raise this issue in their union branch and let the leadership of the INTO

know that we fully support an all out campaign to get Tomas O Dulaing reinstated.

This case also highlights how vulnerable the majority of teachers, who teach in denominational schools, are.

The exclusion of schools

from anti discrimination in the work place legislation means that we can face the sack if any aspect of our behaviour, lifestyle or views are deemed to be contrary to the ethos of our schools.

In the light of the Tomas O Dulaing case we need to renew our campaign to get

this legislation extended to protect teachers.

In the long run we should be demanding secular education where religious belief is a matter of private practice and not enforced through a denominationally run but publicly funded system.

Attacked

Instead of being commended, Tomas - and all the teachers and parents who stood with him - have been attacked in the most vicious way.

These attacks were mounted by an unrepresentative body who have imposed their will on the majority of parents and teachers who devised this policy.

As the patron body of interdenominational schools, An Foras Patrúnachas, made up almost exclusively of Catholics, has exercised its right to remove the principal.

Funded

However all interdenominational schools are funded by the state and those who work in them are paid by the state.

They are therefore our schools, funded by the taxes that we as workers pay. It is an insult to the vast majority of people in this country

GEORGE BUSH promised to root out all "evildoers" in his war on terror. Two US-backed terrorists responsible for the murder and torture of thousands of people got a small part of their comeuppance this month.

Ordered

Carlos Casanova and Jose Guillermo Garcia, two US-trained former generals, were ordered to pay \$54.6 million in compensation for their part in massacres and torture in El Salvador in the 1980s.

They were both trained at the School of the Americas in Georgia.

The school trained a generation of right wing paramilitary groups who carried out human rights abuses throughout Latin

America. Anti-war activists describe it as the "School of the Assassins".

Casanova and Garcia were found guilty of allowing their soldiers to torture Juan Romagoza Arce and Carlos Mauricio and to repeatedly rape Neris Gonzales who was eight months pregnant.

Her child died two months after it was born.

Casanova and Garcia were centrally involved in the mass murders of thousands of men, women and children.

They were welcomed to Florida when they retired from the military, where they joined hundreds of other murderers and terrorists who found safe haven after carrying out the US's bloody bidding around the

world.

John Negroponte, George Bush's ambassador to the United Nations, organised right wing terror-

ists in Latin America when he was the US ambassador to Honduras in the 1980s.

The Guatemalan government is planning to give

\$2,500 each to members of the paramilitary groups who killed around 200,000 people between the 1960s and 1996.

US's 'evildoers' forced to pay up

Lies over Shannon

THE PRESS reported that, "The United States military has not been given permission to land at Irish airports for refuelling during any upcoming conflict with Iraq, the Government has insisted."

"You can't make judgments until you know the circumstances in which the judgment has to be made. We don't know the parameters. That is the problem with foreign policy. You have to know the parameters."

Following September 11th, we supported the decision of the UN Security

Council and Resolution 1368 which classified terrorism as a threat to international peace and stability."

Under the 1952 Air Navigation Foreign Military Aircraft Act, all foreign military aircraft require the per-

mission of the Minister of Foreign Affairs to overfly or land in the State.

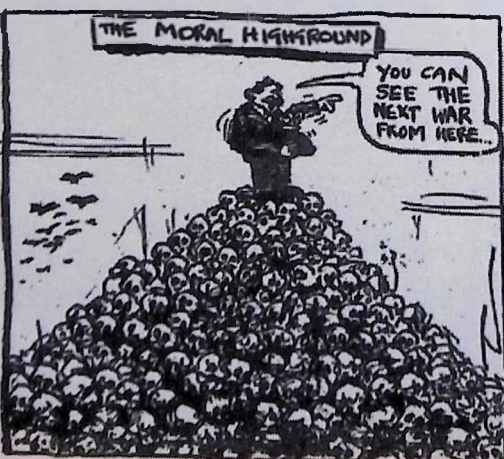
Yet Shannon stopovers for American military planes has gone on since the start of America's war in Afghanistan.

An inside job

GEORGE W Bush appointed Larry D Thompson, US deputy attorney general, as the head of his new corporate crime task force in response to the

collapse of Enron and WorldCom.

He's not the best person for the job - he used to be a director of Provident Financial Corporation. When he was on the board the firm was accused of consumer, shareholder and accounting fraud, as well as insider trading.



Mad logic of US global dominance WHY IS George Bush so hell bent on a war on Iraq?

THE US devastated Iraq in a war 11 years ago. US-backed economic sanctions have already killed 500,000 Iraqi children, according to Unicef. A US war on Iraq risks destabilising the Middle East and sparking wider wars.

It looks mad, but behind Bush's crazy logic stands his desire to have a war to assert US dominance around the globe.

Strategic

He wants a world where US political interests come first and multinationals can race after profits, all backed up by US B-52 bombers and troops.

The Middle East has 75 percent of the world's oil reserves, making it of major

strategic importance to the US, the world's most powerful military and economic machine.

The US economy threatens to nosedive into recession under the weight of financial scandals that stretch right to the Republican administration.

Bush's vulnerability on domestic issues could press him to launch all-out war on Iraq to shore up support at home.

Over 6,000 children and their parents in Afghanistan have already been killed in the first wave of Bush's so-called "war on terrorism".

Many people are horrified at his bloodlust over Iraq. We can play a vital role in upsetting his relentless war drive.

Bush and Blair embark on this war weaker than in the 1991 Gulf War.

Then there was a coalition of 21 countries backing the war.

Today's international coalition is the US,

Blair and the right wing leaders Berlusconi in Italy and Aznar in Spain.

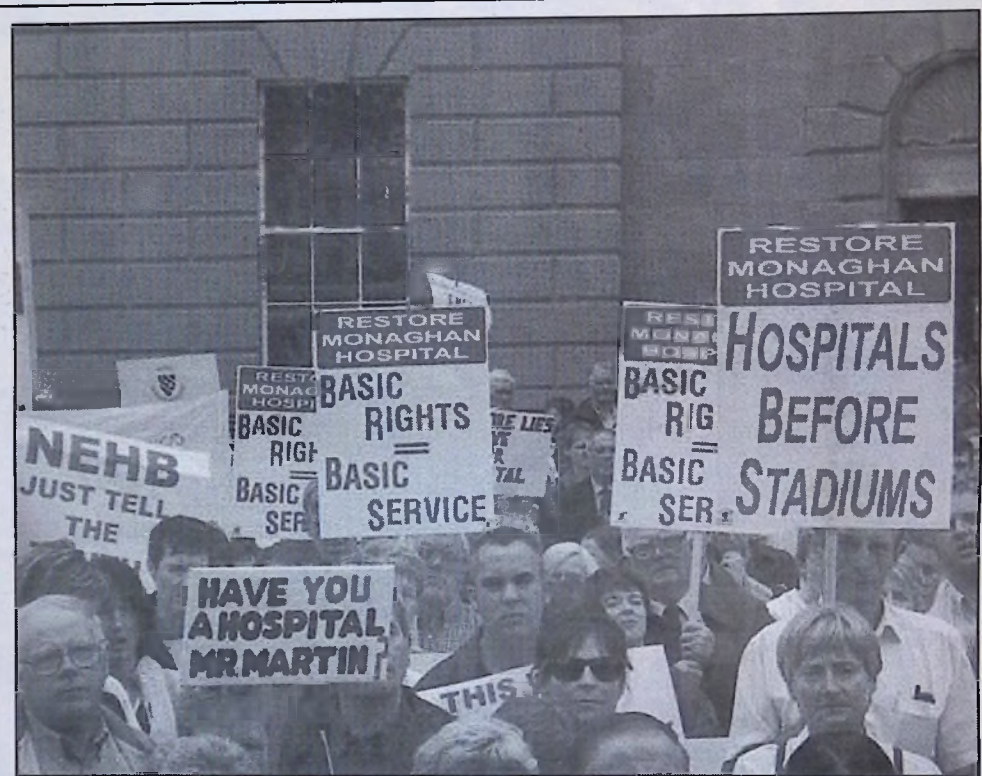
Driving

In Ireland Fianna Fail have handed over free reign for the US military to use Shannon.

They are driving ahead with the Nice Treaty which pushes Ireland into military alliances that could see Irish troops joining Bush's war.

Anti-war activists have to urgently build on the groundswell of opposition to stop the war.

Everyone in workplaces, trade unions and communities needs to start mobilising now.



A SECTION of the 3000 strong march in Dublin in support of Monaghan General Hospital earlier this month.

Join the call for a new society

AS THE government pushes ahead with the rerun of the Nice Treaty there is an alterna-

tive. A mass European-wide movement against privatisation and war is set to be launched in November.

Tens of thousands of trade unionists and activists are preparing to gather at the European Social Forum (ESF) in Florence, Italy, to plan resistance. Many different groups are supporting the event.

Fight

The fight against war, racism and privatisation, are at the centre of the European Social Forum.

Tens of thousands of trade unionists and activists from across Europe will be there to plan resistance and launch an opposition movement. You can now register for this important event on the website www.fse-esf.org. There is a sliding scale payment from E10.

This means you can secure your own place and

encourage others to sign up.

The ESF will be an important rallying point for activists in the anti-capitalist movement. It will also likely to reflect growing divisions over strategy.

These divisions were already evident at the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil, in February.

Those who attended the first World Social Forum in 2001 said that this year's event had a much more radical atmosphere.

But a powerful wing of the movement has been uneasy about this shift. It is particularly associated with sections of the leadership of ATTAC — the French campaign against financial speculation that has now spread to more than 40 countries.

Bernard Cassen, until recently the president of ATTAC France, believes that the alternative to free market policies lies in strengthening the nation-state.

The Genoa protests in Italy last year exposed what is wrong with this strategy. The state — in the shape of Silvio Berlusconi's riot police — proved not to be an

ally of the anti-capitalist movement but its implacable enemy.

The state repression of demonstrations began when Swedish police fired at protestors in Gothenburg in June last year.

Pushes

The anti-capitalist movement in Europe is pulled between two centres of gravity — one that pushes for mass mobilisation from below against neo-liberalism and war, and another that pursues a much more top-down approach aimed at extracting economic reforms from the establishment.

The involvement of mainstream reformist forces in the ESF is to be welcomed. It is a sign of the strength and the growth of the anti-capitalist movement. But they will try to extract a political price for their support.

The wave of electoral defeats suffered by social democratic parties right across Europe in the past

few months will encourage some reformist politicians to steer left and associate themselves with the movement in order to rebuild their credibility.

The reformists must not win control of the movement. Fortunately, the strikes and demonstrations are feeding the process of radicalisation.

But the left will have to be organised to ensure the ESF is a gathering of activists to hammer out strategy and prepare for future mobilisations. And that is yet another reason to get there.

To find out more: www.irisht2.esf.webworld.org Tel: 086 4098186

ESF mobilisation Ireland c/o 61 West Rd. Dublin 3

Make donations to help subsidise travel costs and/or promote the ESF to the Irish European Social Forum a/c 03215079 sort code 93-11-36, AIB 37/38 Upr O'Connell St. Dublin 1

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Venezuela

Right prepares for new coup attempt

by CHRIS HARMAN
in Venezuela

THE ATMOSPHERE in Venezuela today is very much like what it must have been in Chile in the middle of 1973. That was when General Pinochet, backed by the US, organised a coup to crush a democratically elected left-wing government.

In Venezuela, after the failure of an attempted coup in April against elected president Hugo Chavez, almost all of the media are trying to create the atmosphere in which another coup could work. It is as if a mad dog had bitten the whole of the upper class and much of the middle class.

But this dog has no teeth. Chavez has only taken the mildest of measures to help the half of the Venezuelan population who

live on less than \$2 a day. There is nothing like the upsurge of mass workers' struggle which Chile saw from 1969 to 1973. But this does not matter to the Venezuelan rich, whose luxury penthouse apartments and five-star hotels dominate the skyline of Caracas, the country's capital.

Behind them, clinging to the hills that surround the city, are the concrete and corrugated iron shacks where the millions of poor live. Chavez passed a law about nine months ago which gave small bits of the huge, uncultivated holdings of rich landowners to the poorest people. When the right tried to overthrow him, Chavez's supporters tried to stop them, supposedly with gunfire.

Uprising

Previous presidents used massive force when faced with a virtual uprising of the country's poor in 1989 and with coup attempts in the early 1990s. The death toll on those occasions was many times greater than in April. But for the media and the rich this is irrelevant.

To them, the lives of middle class protesters trying to overthrow a govern-

ment on behalf of the rich are worth a hundred times more than the lives of the poor. The big national newspapers and the main commercial-run TV channels treat those who died trying to overthrow the government as martyrs. Papers like El Universal and La Nacion contain page after page calling for the military to intervene to get rid of Chavez.

Witnessing such things brings home how little those who run the media really care about "democracy". You can see how ferociously they would react if a genuinely left wing government came to power anywhere.

Just as hypocritical is the behaviour of the US government. One of its most notorious members, Otto Reich - who was involved in supporting right wing death squads in Nicaragua in the 1980s - gave a nod and a wink to April's attempted coup.

Now the US has set up an office to "help" with the "transition" to a different political system in Venezuela-as if there were something undemocratic about Chavez lasting to the end of his elected term. Chavez clearly won two elections with big margins - something which George W

Bush has not done.

The attitude of parties supposedly committed to improving the lot of the country's workers through parliamentary reform is just as bad. The parties Causa R, Accion Democratica (Labour Party's) and the MAS (founded by ex-guerrillas and with no connection to the Argentinian party of the same name) have all thrown in their lot with the rich and the US.

They must feel they have little choice, since all have participated in governments which made the poor poorer through public spending cuts and IMF programmes. The rich have very little to worry about.

Chavez has gone out of his way to court them since the attempted coup. He has insisted he stands for "enterprise". He took a gaggle of big businessmen with him when he recently met Colombia's new hard right wing president elect.

Hysterical

He has tried to establish friendly relations with those right wing officers in the armed forces who chose to stand on the sidelines in April. And he insists he will do nothing to upset the supply of oil to the US.



The poor protesting against the military this month

Venezuela is the biggest source of US-imported oil. He recently welcomed ex US president Carter to the country to help arrange a "dialogue" with some of the opposition forces that backed the coup. Not surprisingly, ruling class voices internationally feel that the Venezuelan rich are getting hysterical for no reason.

A prominent article in El Universal has denounced the "cowardice" of the Financial Times and some US State Department officials for say-

ing that Chavez has already been forced into a position where he will do what he is told. In the shanty towns the conditions of the poor grow worse by the day. This is the backwash from the crisis that began in Asia in 1998, has swamped Argentina and is now spreading right across South America.

The country is in deep recession, yet the government has cut its spending by about 40 percent this year. It was the poor descending from the hills around Caracas to take over the city cen-

tre that finally ended the April coup.

A million of them demonstrated a month ago to show that they were not going to let the rich pick and choose the government of the country. Observers noted that the people who took part in the demonstration had previously had the attitude that Chavez would pass down reforms for them. Now, for the first time, some were beginning to see that they needed to organise themselves. With that lies the only hope in Venezuela.

Uruguay

Strikers demand food and money

WORKERS ACROSS Uruguay halted the Latin American country in a general strike in protest at the economic meltdown. There is a run on the country's currency, and the much-vaunted financial sector is crippled.

Many hundreds of Uruguay's 3.3 million people are desperate for food in a country that had one of the region's lowest rates of poverty.

"The strike was unanimously approved by the 42 unions we represent," said Juan Castillo, leader of Uruguay's largest labour movement umbrella group, the PIT-CNT.

People in Uruguay have suffered three years of recession, which has left one in four unable to afford basic food or pay household bills. Uruguay was among the first Latin American countries to develop a welfare state. But increasing numbers of people are now unable to afford healthcare insurance. The economic turmoil is linked to the debt

crisis in neighbouring Argentina and Brazil, and is spreading throughout Latin America.

A surge of opposition to neo-liberalism and privatisation has swept across the region. People in Peru, Colombia and Bolivia have taken to the streets in protest. These demonstrations come as the rulers are currently trying to negotiate new loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Uruguay owes billions of dollars to the IMF and World Bank.

There are also fears among the IMF leaders and the US government that Brazil may default on its \$250 billion debt if the

leader of Brazil's Workers Party wins presidential elections taking place in October. Uruguay's economy shrank by 10 percent in the first three months of this year.

The US government is so worried by the crisis and it spreading through the region that it stepped in with a short-term loan of \$1.5 billion. The IMF, Inter-American Development Bank and World Bank backed the US loan and pledged a further \$800 million.

It is the IMF's policies that have ripped Uruguay apart. The government attacked workers last month by driving through massive tax increases to shore up the country's financial system. Right wing Uruguayan president Jorge Batlle is also considering imposing further spending cuts.

He is forcing through a long-term block on people's access to the money in their bank accounts. He will stop Uruguayans from withdrawing from any fixed term dollar savings accounts in the two state banks for three years.

But Batlle is under pressure. Economy minister Alberto Bension was forced to resign after workers protested against the government imposing an austerity programme.

Turkey

THE FAR right in Turkey held a demonstration against the government's proposals to lift the death penalty and ease restrictions on Kurdish speakers. It is a sign of the deepening crisis inside the country.

The prime minister, Bulent Ecevit, is putting forward the changes as part of Turkey's bid to join the European Union (EU).

The crisis in Turkey, a key NATO ally, comes as the US is building up for a war on Iraq in the region. Turkey's economy is in a mess. Since last December the representatives of big business have issued warnings to the government about the danger of a "social explosion".

The media endlessly discuss the possibility of Turkey becoming "the next Argentina". Turkey's rulers need a strong government to implement International Monetary Fund (IMF) policies which are hugely unpopular.

Yet the general election in November will not produce this. The opinion polls are so changeable, and often manipulated, that it is almost pointless to try and predict the election results. It is even impossible to tell which parties will be in parliament. They need

to get 10 percent of the vote nationally to enter parliament, and many of them may not overcome this threshold.

There has been no majority government in Turkey since 1989. It has been run by two-party or three-party coalitions, with all the instability and weakness that brings. This election will be no different.

There is huge anger and resentment in the country against the IMF policies the government has implemented for the past three years.

The financial collapse of February 2001 made everyone 50 percent poorer overnight. Everyone knows that the IMF is the problem, not the solution.

Yet all the parties promise more of the same policies. The US-led attack on Afghanistan was extremely unpopular here, yet all the parties will happily take part in Bush's next barbarity in Iraq.

Outside parliament the country is like a powder keg. Poverty and unemployment continue to rise.

Some 870 workers occupied the small Pasabahce glass factory when the bosses decided to close it down. It is in a working class neighbourhood in Istanbul on

the shores of the Bosphorus.

The whole neighbourhood is taking part in the occupation, which has turned into a district-wide carnival of the oppressed. Demonstrations of 10,000 or more take place daily. Workers have said on national TV, "We know they want to close the factory and sell off the land so they can build luxury villas for the rich."

Another protestor said, "This is what IMF policies mean. We had 3,400 people working here. They have whittled us down to 870 and frozen our wages, and none of that was enough to satisfy them."

Among the thousands of supporters visiting the occupation were the Istanbul Social Forum Initiative which is building for the European Social Forum in Florence, and the Stop the War Platform.

The media are explicitly worrying that this struggle "might be the spark which sets the country alight". It may or may not be.

But the fact that the workers themselves and everyone else are talking about sparks and fires shows how real the possibility of an explosion is.



Fighting poverty and the IMF

Protests against Sectarianism

Unions should lead the fight

OVER FIVE thousand people attended a rally in Belfast against the downward spiral of sectarian violence. Spurred on by pressure from the ICTU the city council called the rally after the latest spout of sectarian violence that led to the murder of Gerard Lawlor.

Gerard Lawlor was one of the most recent victims to sectarian violence in Belfast, he was gunned down

while walking home from the bar.

He was shot because the colour of his football top indicated that he was a Catholic.

Paul, a painter and decorator from Bangor came down to the rally with his workmates.

Argued

He told Socialist Worker, "It's great to see so many people here today. I came down to show my opposition to what's happening in north and east Belfast.

"There was one guy at my work who said he wouldn't go because it

was an anti-Protestant rally, that argument didn't wash with anyone.

Everyone in fact argued why he should come down and he's down today."

One postal worker who spoke to Socialist Worker said, "To me rallies like this provide a ray of hope.

I live in north Belfast and I just see flags, murals every morning when I go to work and when I come home I sometimes see burnt out cars and scorch marks on the sides of houses where you know there has been another attack.

"It's really depressing. But rallies like this prove

that the vast majority of people don't want to live like that."

In Derry around 150 people took part in a rally called by the Trades Council.

Only a few days after the rally bullets were sent to Catholic health workers at the Mater Hospital in north Belfast. Other workers also received threats.

In response Catholic and Protestant health workers staged a walkout at the Mater hospital. Workers from both the Ulster and Royal Victoria hospitals joined in solidarity by staging a half hour stoppage.



RVH workers walkout

What we think

THE DEMONSTRATIONS against sectarianism in Belfast and Derry, were welcome chances for a united stand against sectarianism.

The brutal murder of Gerard Lawlor, a young Catholic, by the UDA in North Belfast was followed by the killing of a Protestant construction worker, David Caldwell in Derry. This killing, apparently by dissident republicans, is no despicable.

Targeting

The handfuls in the republican splinter groups who persist with a failed strategy of targeting people associated with the security forces, in the context of loyalist paramilitaries itching to attack Catholics, is brutal lunacy.

It can only result in further escalation of the sectarian killings and attacks. It is the same with groups like the INLA, who claim to be "defending" Catholic areas by shooting Protestants in North Belfast.

The family of David Caldwell, speaking at the vigil called by Derry Trades Council, showed just how misconceived such sectarian attacks are, when they very forcefully said that the UDA had no right to retaliate on their father's behalf and they had no right to speak for their family.

That revulsion at sectarian killings and death threats, needs to be demonstrated at every opportunity, as the Derry postal workers and the hospital workers in Belfast and Lisburn have done.

And it is up to the trade unions to take the lead. Leaving it to politicians to lead the call only blunts the message. The fact that the DUP refused to endorse the Belfast City Council rally against sectarianism, because it was called by Belfast Lord Mayor Alex Maskey of Sinn Fein, is a testimony to their own bigotry. But

putting the politicians in the driving seat was always a recipe for this type of petty posturing. It is what they do all the time in the Assembly.

The DUP have no solution to the problems faced by ordinary people, Protestant or Catholic. That is why they rely on fanning the flames of sectarian division. Just last week, Sammy Wilson, in an article in the Belfast Telegraph, defended the 11 plus by saying that there were two types of people, university graduates and plumbers! It is an echo of this same thinking that leads UDA boss Johnny Adair to say he is thinking of standing for the Assembly and that "the Protestant working class people need a voice and maybe I can be that voice."

That some of the left in the unions in Northern Ireland were initially opposed to the Belfast protest was a disgrace. Instead of pushing people's anger to the left they put themselves alongside the sectarians.

Defend

In working class communities, in the absence of clear socialist politics, there is a pull to communalism. But conditions also create a pull to working class solidarity.

Over the 11 plus, as over low wages, job losses and privatisation, working class people need a united struggle to defend their living standards, against the interests of the bosses. The unity forged in such struggles can defeat sectarianism.

The trade union movement, and the activists within it, are the key to uniting the struggle against sectarianism and offering a way out of the despair of working class areas. For this we need a clear socialist alternative.

We need socialist politics and organisation that can take the lead in promoting class solidarity and challenging sectarianism.

Half of NI children in poverty

NEW RESEARCH shows that child poverty has increased in Northern Ireland. In 1995, Save the Children created shockwaves when it revealed that 1 in every 3 children in the North lived in poverty. Their latest figures reveal that HALF of all children are living in, or at risk of, poverty.

The research is based on the government's own statistics about children living in households that rely totally on benefits or on Working Family Tax Credit (WFTC).

Most alarming is the fact that half of all children living below the poverty line were living in families where at least one adult was in employment.

Surprising

This is not at all surprising given the way Northern Ireland is sold to big business as a low pay economy. What it means is that, despite parents working hard to make a decent living for their families, child poverty continues to grow - in spite of New Labour promises to end it.

A survey of child poverty across OECD countries confirms that it is the 'market wage' - real wage levels before any government help to families - that is the best indicator of whether or not a



country is likely to have high levels of child poverty.

Similarly, the growing disparity between rich and poor in the North, as in the South, will contribute to the growth of child poverty. A UNICEF study of child poverty across the world found that the larger the gap between the richest and poorest in the country, the higher the level of child poverty likely to be in that country.

The effect of poverty on children is catastrophic. Poorer children are likely to be smaller and die at a higher rate than children from better off families. They are 15 times more likely to die as a result of a house fire, five times more likely to die in an accident and four times more likely to die before the age of 20.

Many children are literally going

hungry - this has been acknowledged in Britain where there are now schemes to provide breakfast before school.

Families living in poverty say they do not have enough money to buy sufficient clothing or books for children. Young people from poor families are less likely to stay on at school after 16 and are three times less likely to attend further or higher education.

The worst poverty is faced by children from Traveller families.

They are ten times more likely to die before the age of 10 than a child from the settled community.

The effect of poverty in the North is increased by the fact that necessities such as fuel, light and food costs everywhere more, although benefit levels are the same and wages much lower than in the rest of the UK.

Palestine

Jenin faces a new struggle for the truth

REPORTS OF war crimes began circulating within days of Israeli tanks rolling into the Palestinian refugee camp of Jenin in April this year. There were dozens of eyewitness accounts of people buried alive as their homes were bulldozed, and of women and children shot dead in the streets.

The friends and families of the victims had to wait for four months until the UN produced a report on events in Jenin. The report has serious weaknesses.

It became known as the "Google Report", after the internet search engine. The Israeli government blocked the UN team from carrying out their own investigations, so they had to rely on reports available on the internet.

Offence

The UN report was also carefully written so as not to cause offence to the Israeli government or its allies in the White House. Israeli officials have seized on the fact that the report does not say Palestinians were massacred in Jenin.

UN officials admit they deliberately did not use the word "massacre" in the report, claiming it is "too emotionally charged".

It was a political decision. UN officials were happy to describe as a massacre the killing of 45 Albanians by Serb forces in the village of Racak in February 1999.

Seized

The US and NATO seized on that in their build-up to war against Serbia. But despite this manipulation the UN team has revealed evidence of atrocities committed by the Israeli army against Palestinian civilians. It found that during the Israeli incursions into Palestinian territories between 1 March and 7 May this year:

Some 497 Palestinians were killed and 1,477 were injured, much higher than previous official estimates.

Around 17,000 Palestinians were left homeless when their houses were blown up or bull-

dozed by Israeli forces.

As many as 630,000 Palestinians faced food shortages as food was cut off.

Up to \$361 million worth of damage was done to Palestinian infrastructure.

Some 50 schools were damaged or destroyed during the Israeli incursions, including 15 turned into detention centres to hold the thousands arrested, and 11 that were vandalised.

Curfews were imposed on around one million Palestinians, including 220,000 for longer than a week. The army systematically used Palestinian civilians as human shields. In relation to the Jenin camp, the UN team noted that out of a population of 14,000 some 47 percent were either children or elderly.

The report highlights how, during the Israeli occupation from 3 to 18 April, the Israeli army prevented medical teams from reaching the injured, "endangering many lives". It refers to the case of Fadwana Jamma.

She was a nurse in full uniform who was shot dead as she tended a wounded man. The findings give only a very limited picture of the atrocities committed by the



Israeli forces. The UN first promised to investigate reports of Israeli war crimes thoroughly. But when the Israeli government refused to allow the UN investigators to "go in" they meekly accepted the decision.

Prevented

Not only were the team prevented from making their own investigations in Jenin, they also refused to speak to other groups that did. The independent Human Rights Watch organisation visited the camp just after the army pulled out. They found evidence of Israeli war crimes. But the UN team did not talk to them.

Instead they relied on Israeli government state-

ments as much as they relied on what human rights activists and journalists witnessed. So the report repeats the Israeli government's claims that the army "clearly took all measures not to hurt civilian life". Then it notes that some eyewitnesses "assert that soldiers did not take all possible measures to avoid hurting civilians".

The report holds the Israeli army, with its huge firepower, and Palestinian militants who resisted them equally responsible for the deaths of civilians. This attempt to maintain a neutral position flies in face of the facts. So the report does not mention cases carefully documented at the time.

These include the case of 14 year old Faris Zeben, who was shot dead

when he went shopping during a lifting of the curfew. Nor does it mention the case of Afaf Desuqi, who was blown apart by Israeli soldiers as she hurried to open her door to them.

Shot

And it does not refer to Kemal Zughayer, shot dead as he tried to escape from Israeli soldiers in his wheelchair.

The UN was trying not to anger the Israeli government by telling the whole truth about Jenin.

But as the British paper the Guardian commented, "The destruction wrought in Jenin looked and smelled like a crime. On the basis of the UN's findings, it still does."

'A strangle hold on a society'

ANDREW KING, a trade unionist from Belfast who travelled to Palestine with the International Solidarity Movement spoke to Socialist Worker.

"Most of the work we did in Palestine was to make sure the Palestinians didn't come under that much grief from Israeli troops, which was not an easy task.

Travelled

"We arrived in Rammalah with forty other internationals, people travelled from places like France, America, Germany, Britain and even as far away as Japan. We stayed with the international solidarity movement there.

"At that base we were split into groups and we were spread out across Palestine doing different jobs, some people helped rebuild roads, others helped teach kids. We were there to protect people trying to live normal lives.

"Before the others left we all went for a walk around the city to see what was happening, this tour ended up becoming a curfew-breaking demo.

"People saw us walking into the main square and they decided to

join us. It was an amazing site. About thirty minutes later we saw Israeli troops coming down the hill.

An armoured personnel carrier came down a side road and another came down another, jeeps with about 30-40 troops came down a third other roads.

Then the Israelis started throwing stun grenades at the crowds, not at us but at the Palestinian crowds.

"People with the ISM, who were there before, organised it so that we could prevent people getting hurt. I joined four people in stopping the IDF with jeeps coming into the square and another six stopped the APC by lying in front of it. The army arrested four people on that demonstration.

Hassle

"We decided to hassle the APC that were holding the four arrested until they released them or told us where they were taking them. We held hands around the APC until they told us where that they were releasing the four a mile up the road, we walked up to greet them.

"Like I said, we were there really to stop the troops hassling Palestinians. We were outside Yasser Arafat's compound in Rammalah, which is now rubble, and we saw a man standing there

about 15 yards away from an IDF jeep. It was obvious that they were holding him.

We were told in training that it usually takes 15 minutes to process someone, this man had been standing there in the baking sun for three hours.

We went up to the troops and asked if we could give the man some water, they refused at first but saw we weren't going to give in so they took him some of out water.

Snatched

They gave him barely a sip and snatched the bottle of water away from the man. Because we were there, pretending to make phone calls, take photos and harassing the IDF to let him go he was allowed to sit under a tree instead of stand in the sun.

"What they are doing there at the moment is dehumanising. The curfew stretches for days at a time only being dropped for three or four hours at a time.

Mothers trying to take their children to hospital have been shot on their doorsteps. It means that people can't harvest their crops or trade with other towns because if they try they will be shot. It is literally a strangulation on a whole society."

BUSH PREPARES TO

Stop before

BUSH HAS ratcheted up his war plans against Iraq several gears. The press debate whether 50,000 or 250,000 US troops will go in and how soon, not if, a war will take place.

Bush is ignoring questions raised about the war that have come from unexpected sources - his own generals and strategists, rulers who are long-standing allies and the right wing media.

He is gathering round him a small band of the bloodthirsty to press for war. That includes his Secretary of State, Colin Powell, who has been presented as a restraining influence on Bush. But Powell was wheeled out recently to dismiss Iraq's offer to talk to the United Nations' chief weapons inspector.

Razing

The warmongers claim that razing Iraq to the ground is acceptable because Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein is supposedly building up weapons of mass destruction. There is no evidence for this, says Scott Ritter, former chief inspector of UNSCOM, the UN weapons inspection unit.

But Bush doesn't want any weapons inspection to go ahead, as it may delay his war plans. The UN chief weapons inspector, Hans Blix, gave a point blank no to an

invitation to visit Baghdad for an official meeting at the beginning of August. Bush's under-secretary for arms control, John Bolton, admitted the US was not interested in the weapons inspection.

He confirmed that the US wants to force "a regime change in Baghdad and that policy will not be altered, whether inspectors go in or not." Bush can also rely, as ever, on Tony Blair for support.

Packed

The British navy's aircraft carrier Ark Royal is to set sail for the Mediterranean next month packed out with Harrier jets, Merlin helicopters and 1,300 crew on board.

A destroyer is sailing alongside the warship which is set to carry out exercises with the US military.

Preparations include the fleet of US military trucks being ordered in for rapid servicing, a freight train loaded with trucks painted for desert service being moved through Chicago last week, and enquiries about making tankers available to transport fuel that would be required in any war.

The US has also dug out its fighting vehicles in Kuwait that were mothballed at the end of the Gulf War 11 years ago.

Bush is isolated in his drive for war, but he is determined to push ahead. He can build on the growing opposition to make it harder for Blair to be Bush's docile ally.

That makes it all the more urgent to build up opposition to the war through protests, meetings, and mobilising.

The US hawks who sucked up to Saddam

THE US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld is a key figure leading the charge for war against Iraq. He says Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein is a monster who has to be stopped by US military might.

Yet this is the same man who had talks with Saddam Hussein in December 1983 when he was the Middle East envoy for then US president Ronald Reagan.

"It struck us as useful to have a relationship, given that we were interested in solving the Middle East problems," Rumsfeld told the New York Times.

Rumsfeld was the highest rank-

ing US official to visit Iraq in six years. After his meeting the Washington Post reported that there had been a "shift in US policy". The government was backing Iraq against Iran in a brutal war. Rumsfeld visited Iraq again in March 1984 for talks with then Iraqi foreign minister Tariq Aziz.

Concluded

On the day of his visit a team of UN experts issued a report which concluded that Iraq had used mustard gas laced with a nerve agent on Iranian soldiers.

Rumsfeld said nothing about the damning UN report. Instead the New York Times reported, "American diplomats pronounce themselves satisfied with relations between Iraq and the United States."

PREPARES TO ATTACK IRAQ

Bush's new war

Before it starts

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Millions wasted on war

AFTER THE massive bombardment the US would invade Iraq with up to 50,000 troops. A previously leaked plan suggested that the US would send 250,000 ground troops to invade Iraq, using Jordan and Saudi Arabia as bases.

But the US is terrified this would provoke wide-scale revolt and instability across the whole Middle East. The US hopes that by bombing Iraq it can launch a full-scale attack sooner and minimise opposition.

But there are growing fears among the military top brass on both sides of the Atlantic.

Content

The US-based paper the International Herald Tribune reported: "Many senior US military officers contend that President Saddam Hussein poses no immediate threat, and that the United States should continue its policy of containment rather than invade Iraq."

In Britain General Sir Michael Rose, former head of the SAS and UN forces in Bosnia, warned of "huge political and military risks associated with launching large scale ground forces into Iraq".

But Bush's war preparations are already steaming ahead. Boeing and other US companies are reported to be working around the clock to produce the missiles that would rain devastation on Iraq.

Stockpiling

The New York Times recently reported, "Thousands of marines have stepped up their mock assault drills."

The US air force, according to the paper, "is stockpiling weapons, ammunition and spare parts, like aeroplane engines, at depots in the United States and the Middle East."

The US wants to oust Saddam Hussein and install a pro-US administration in Iraq. One of the prime candidates to head a new administration is General Nizar al-Khazraji. He was the army chief when Iraq invaded Kuwait in 1990. Now living in exile in Denmark, al-Khazraji is under investigation by the Danish justice ministry.

He is accused of being heavily involved in the persecution of the Kurds in 1988, when the US and Britain still backed and armed Saddam Hussein's regime to the hilt.

The invasion of Iraq is central to Bush's strategy of securing US global dominance. We need to build a massive anti war movement to stop this murderous war.

Millions left to starve

WHILE THE US and Britain prepare to use vast resources for war, 14 million people in southern Africa have been left to starve. People in Malawi, Zambia and Zimbabwe are particularly affected. Politicians claim that the suffering is because of drought or "African corruption".

In truth people are dying because they are the subjects of a crazed mass social experiment: take a poor society, let the market rip, and see what happens.

Far from showering prosperity on Africa, the market prescriptions of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank have produced bigger mounds of corpses.

Today in Malawi two million people need food aid. Yet earlier this year the IMF told the Malawian government to sell off

two thirds of its grain reserves, kept for such emergencies.

They said the government should sell the grain then buy food when necessary - but prices rose fourfold. More recently the IMF and the European Union (EU) told Malawi to sell another 28,000 tonnes of maize to repay debts.

Subsidised

Malawi had a system of state marketing boards which could provide subsidised food. The boards prevented a famine during the last great food shortage in Malawi ten years ago.

But under instructions from the IMF and World Bank, state marketing boards have been privatised.

Today there is some food available but half of Malawi's population are too poor to buy it. In Malawi between 1998 and 2000 2.8 million farmers received "starter packs" of free seeds and fertilisers. This led to a bumper crop of 2.4 million tonnes of maize.

But the IMF, World Bank and EU governments worried this was



"distorting the market", so the government restricted the number of farmers receiving these packs.

The result was a fall in grain production of one million tonnes, slightly more than Malawi now

needs to avoid famine.

South Africa needs four million tonnes of food over the next three months. The country has about 850,000 tonnes of maize for export. Other countries, such as

Mozambique, Tanzania, Kenya and Uganda, have exportable surpluses of around 220,000 tonnes between them.

Western governments will only give food aid to a handful of organisations in Zimbabwe because of the campaign against Robert Mugabe. This means ordinary Zimbabweans will die.

Wrecked

The famine is about political priorities and the way capitalism works.

Establishment "experts" suggest that a few technical adjustments over the distribution of aid are all that is necessary.

They completely ignore the way that the market policies have

wrecked African societies.

Western governments and the drug multinationals have allowed AIDS to rampage through the continent.

And, for all the promises of debt relief, Western governments and banks still suck vital resources from Africa.

Malawi is still spending as much on debt repayment as it is on the health service.

In Zambia, where one million people are HIV positive, debt takes a third more than is spent on health.

One hundredth of the resources going into war in Iraq would secure all of the 14 million African lives in danger.

But Bush and Blair would rather let them die than confront the priorities of capitalism

Open letter to the Left ... Fight together to defeat the Nice Treaty

ONE OF the key issues facing the left in the next few months is the Nice treaty. The future direction of Irish politics is being shaped now and the left needs to respond.

Socialists oppose the Nice Treaty because the interests of working class people throughout Europe stand to suffer. We argue that Nice will permit the capitalists of Europe greater freedom to introduce neo-liberal policies and bring more militarisation across Europe.

Moving

Other forces are moving to create a climate the whole political atmosphere can shift to the right.

The Fianna Fail/ PD government were no sooner in office than they used racism against refugees and Travellers. Operation Hyphen has used dawn raids to create panic amongst immigrants. They are now talking about a referendum to abolish the right of citizenship for people born in Ireland.

As the Celtic Tiger crumbles and social partnership collapses the government is clearly set on a vicious strategy to divert attention away from spending cuts by fostering racism.

There are other forces trying to push the agenda to the right. One part of the No To Nice Campaign is Anthony Coughlan's nationalist National Platform which stands for protecting, "Irish Neutrality and Culture". He has allied with the bigot Justin Barrett of the anti abortion Mother and Child Campaign and the far-right thugs of Youth Defence.

Anthony Coughlan issued a statement last month in which he denounced the offer by the Irish government to allow workers in countries that join the EU to come to Ireland without work permits.

Raised

This right already exists for other EU nationals. Coughlan raised the spectre of three-quarters of a million East Europeans arriving here as an argument against the Nice Treaty.

He went on to claim that Poland's four million farmers represented a threat to Irish benefits from CAP. Coughlan's ally Justin Barrett expressed the same ideas even more bluntly:

Barrett claimed he would

organise up to 1,500 volunteers to get the word out and make immigration an issue in the referendum, "If it is not to the fore in people's mind now, it will be by the end," he boasted.

He claimed a "flood" of East European workers were set to descend on Ireland from East Europe. Statements like this help stoke up the racist atmosphere that leads to racist attacks on the streets.

The No to Nice Campaign spokespeople even try to put a populist spin on this racist poison. Barratt says immigration will be used by Irish employers as a "battering ram" to cut the pay of Irish workers.

Coughlan claimed Eastern European workers coming to Ireland will "drastically undercut" Irish workers' wages from "day one" of EU accession.

Now all this is nonsense. Migration stimulates more jobs and creates the possibility of workers uniting to demand better wages and conditions.

REQUIRING IMMIGRANT workers to have work permits give the boss huge power over them. Not only do they risk their job if they fight for decent pay and conditions, they risk their right to stay in the country.

Pickings

This in turn will create more "illegals" whose desperate predicament makes them easy pickings for every grubby exploiter. Even leaving aside the appalling suffering this would inflict on the most vulnerable, nothing could be more calculated to undermine workers' rights generally.

Worse is the fact that with or without EU enlargement - which by the way is independent of the Nice Treaty - the racist "Fortress Europe" policy continues.

Socialist Worker argues that immigration controls are always racist - they discriminate directly on grounds of race, ethnicity or nationality. The world is for all humanity to share. That means freedom to migrate, not just for the white skinned of the advanced economies, but for all the people of the earth.

There are now big dangers in Ireland. The terms of the Nice debate is being set by a right wing neo-liberal racist government on one side and right-wing bigots trying to re-launch themselves as racists on the other.



ANTI LE Pen demonstration in France earlier this year

It is vital that socialists now co-operate and work together to oppose them and prevent racist ideas gaining a foothold.

If we do not act we could soon see the emergence of a serious far-right presence in Ireland exploiting the bitterness caused by a dying Celtic Tiger and seeking to turn it against immigrants.

So what is the response of the left to this?

There is a real growth of anti-establishment feeling. There is genuine anger against the way workers were left behind by the Celtic Tiger and are now expected to foot the bill for the economic downturn. Anti-capitalist ideas are spreading through Ireland as they are across Europe.

So there are clear opportunities to build resistance. But if socialists are to be a real factor in shaping the direction of the new radicalisation occurring in Irish society we must be able to pose a viable alternative at national level and become a pole of attraction for all those who genuinely want to see radical change.

There is a need and a desire among many for unity among the left across Europe, which stems from three reasons:

First, Bush's 'War against Terrorism' means we have entered a period of global permanent warfare. The US ruling class are on all-out offensive to use their military resources to lever upwards their position within the global system.

This drive to war is being strengthened by the growing instability of the world economy. We now know that the

"new paradigm for growth", which was trumpeted in the 1990s was based on fraudulent accounting and high levels of debt. Bush will seek to use his military muscle to reverse the economic decline. Specifically, preparations for an attack on Iraq are now gathering speed.

Second, there has been a sharp swing to the right in the EU. An alliance of Blair, Aznar and Berlusconi are pushing for more "flexible labour markets". They will now be joined by other right wing governments in France, Holland and possibly Germany.

This has led to huge general strikes in Italy and Spain. We can expect a further polarisation as the right wing in the EU prepare for new attack on workers.

Third, the anti-capitalist movement has continued to grow after September 11th. The huge demonstrations in Seville bear testimony to this. But as it grows the movement will also embrace more reformist elements.

THE POLITICS of ATTAC in France, the leadership of the World Social Forum, and support from union bureaucracies for some themes of the anti-capitalist movement area reflection of this. Growth, therefore, is linked to greater ideological polarisation.

All this has led to some moves on the Left to getting it's act together - most notably in Italy where the sizable Refondazione

Comunista has thrown itself into the anti-capitalist movement and in Scotland with the development of the Scottish Socialist Party.

These developments don't necessarily provide a blueprint for co-operation among the Irish Left, but they do demonstrate a willingness by socialists to relate to a different situation. This has not always been the case across Europe.

Provided

In France the disillusionment of huge numbers of workers with the French Socialist Party after its years in governments provided a big opportunity for the genuine Left as well as Le Pen's Nazis. In the first round of the presidential election the two major far left parties-Lutte Ouvriere (LO) and the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire-together received over 10 percent of the vote.

Lutte Ouvriere which combines an electoral appeal with a sectarian and rigid version of Trotskyism.

Their refusal to co-operate with the other main organisation LCR helped severely limit the advances made at the election and has seriously weakened the fight against Le Pen's Nazis in France. We should not make the same mistake here.

Socialist Worker has made a number of appeals for levels of cooperation on the Irish Left. Specifically we have called for a united socialist campaign for a No vote on the Nice treaty. The degeneration of the arguments about Nice to who can play the race card the most successfully show the urgency of that united cam-

TRAGICALLY, IT looks as though that call has is going to be unsuccessful. There is even the farcical prospect that there will be FOUR socialist campaigns on Nice instead of one.

The stupidity of this sectarianism would be laughable if it were not for the dangers we all face. We again appeal for the left to unite against Nice.

The main obstacle to co-operation among socialists is the long history of division and political sectarianism on the Irish left. Such division and petty squabbling must now be overcome.

Opportunities

There are major opportunities and dangers ahead. To continue the rotten legacy of sectarianism will mean the new opportunities are missed and the dangers increase.

So far the weakness of the Irish left means that the main beneficiaries of this anti-establishment feeling have not been Socialists but the Greens, Sinn Fein and Independents. But it is now possible that the vacuum left by disillusionment with the establishment could be filled by racist ideas.

We need to get our act together to prevent that happening. The consequences of not do so are potentially disastrous.

— Simon Basketter - editor Socialist Worker

Mourn in the USA

UP UNTIL now the events of 11 September 2001 have produced little in the world of popular music other than jingoistic flag-waving by certain second and third rate US musicians.

The current number one in the US album charts, for example, is a piece of gung-ho filth called *Unleashed* performed by a redneck country singer called Toby Keith. Keith has a range of songs variously celebrating bombing Afghanistan, kicking ass, and glorying in the Red, White and Blue. There was therefore much anticipation awaiting the new Bruce Springsteen album, *The Rising*.

Much of the eager anticipation, certainly as far as his fans were concerned, came from the fact that this was the first studio set Springsteen has recorded with the E Street Band since the *Born in the USA* album. Secondly, and for the audience beyond Springsteen's existing fans even more importantly, the album was said to be Springsteen's response to 11 September. Springsteen, unusually for a rock star, has grown more political and more left-wing as he has grown older.

The easy solutions of motorbikes, fast cars, the open road, rock & roll and the girl you love in his early songs gave way to deeper questioning and more overtly political lyrics. He went on to condemn the Republicans and the Democrats as "two parties for the rich". He then wrote and performed the fantastic "American Skin (41 Shots)". The song was about the killing of an unarmed, and completely innocent, young black man by New York cops, whose representatives were outraged at Springsteen's response.

Hawkery

Therefore many will no doubt have been hoping for this album to express horror at the war hawkery of Bush, Rumsfeld et al. If so, then Springsteen disappoints. He makes little or no overt generalised political comment on the events. Instead he attempts to look at the human tragedy. He tries to sing through the voice of the loved ones left behind - their pain, their loss and their incomprehension.

He sings of their desire for "an eye for an eye" on the track "Empty Sky". But these are not songs of revenge or jingoistic glory - rather they are sad songs pleading for a different world. So the track "Let's Be Friends (Skin to Skin)" is both a plea to an ex-lover and a cry for a different response to the hawks:

*I know we're different you and me,
Got a different way of walkin',
The time has come to let the past be history,
Yeah, if we could just start talkin'.*

This is spelt out even more clearly in the song "World Apart", about a love affair between an American and a Muslim from the Middle East. "May the living let us in before the dead tear us apart", cries one lover to the other. The song is performed to a distinctly Arab musical sound, with additional backing and vocals by Asif Ali Khan and Arab musicians. Clearly Springsteen is making a point here.

Nevertheless, such points are subtle and understated, and it will disappoint many that he is not more overt. He raged against the misuse of "Born in the USA" by the US right, and there is certainly no anthem here for them to steal, but neither will there be much to stoke their anger. This is a fine album, subtle and tender of tone, that most Springsteen fans will enjoy, but an anti-war anthem it is not.

by PAT STACK

September 11th - the movie?

by PAUL McCARTHY

JUST IN time for the anniversary: September 11th, The Movie.

Paramount had just finished making *The Sum of All Fears* when Al Qaeda attacked New York and Washington. Paramount studio executives showed their courage and instantly dumped the project, but after several plot changes, the film, based on a Tom Clancy novel, is ready for release.

Attack

Starring Morgan Freeman (who should know better) and Ben Affleck (who clearly doesn't), *The Sum of All Fears* starts with a gang of terrorists - originally Middle Eastern, hastily switched to neo-Nazis - who managed to procure a nuclear device and plan to blow up part of



They should of known better really

Baltimore and blame the attack on - wait for it - the Russians!

This, it was hoped, would provoke a nuclear response from the US and mutually assured destruction, which in turn will allow

for the rise of fascism once again. The plot is weak, the dialogue predictable, the special effects brilliant.

In other words it's everything you've come to expect from a Hollywood that takes

its cue from the Pentagon, but if you are looking for a reason to go and see *The Sum of All Fears*, it has one redeeming feature - Bush is upset about the portrayal of the president being pulled

out of the wreckage of an airplane and is worried about the prospect of the public confusing the film with reality. Don't worry George, not all Americans are as dumb as you!

book

Inspiring tales of African resistance

THE NEWS of famine across much of southern Africa has underlined the suffering of that continent - a suffering which is the result of slavery, colonialism and capitalism. But there is another side of African experi-

ence - in the fight-back against capitalism and imperialism.

A new book, *Class Struggle and Resistance in Africa*, excitingly sets out the resistance which has already occurred, and the further potential for left-wing struggle. It gives an insight into

the arguments inside the left about how to take those battles further.

Repression

One of the most important questions is how socialists can participate in struggles against repression or World

Bank and IMF dictates without subordinating working class interests to those of the middle class and business.

The book devotes space to African socialists to lay out their experiences, their ideas and their record of struggle.

There are interviews with activists from Zimbabwe, Zambia, Egypt,

Zambia, Nigeria and South Africa.

Read this for inspiration, for the sense that we are part of a world movement, and for the introduction it gives to the arguments on the left.

Class Struggle and Resistance in Africa, edited by Leo Zeilig.

book

A flavour of Genoa days

THE HUGE protests against the G8 in Genoa last July were a major step forward for the anti-capitalist movement.

Jonathan Neale's new book, *You Are G8, We Are 6 Billion*, captures the joy and the fear that the 300,000 people involved in the protests in Genoa felt.

It is a personal account by Jonathan, who was one of the

organisers of the protests in the Genoa Social Forum.

It records his experiences over the weeks leading up to the G8 meeting, and then the events of Genoa itself.

It also has chapters dealing with all the different issues that made people want to protest against the leaders of the rich countries.

For those who were in Genoa Jonathan's book brings back the exuberance of marching united with hundreds of thousands of people against capital-

ism.

It also makes you recall the anger and the terror people felt at the police brutality, including the killing of Carlo Giuliani, and the vicious beating and arrest of protesters.

Those who weren't in Genoa can get the true story and flavour of the protests from *You Are G8, We Are 6 Billion*.

If you want to read about the hope that the growing anti-capitalist movement can stop our leaders in their tracks and change the world, then get this book.

video

A great escape

OVER 1,000 protesters converged on the Woomera detention centre for refugees in the South Australian desert last Easter. This video is an inspiring account of what happened.

Woomera is one of six privately run camps used by the Australian government to detain all "illegal entrants".

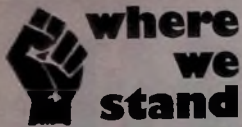
Confronted by the horror of the conditions, the desperation of the refugees and the shambolic security arrangements, the

demonstrators succeeded in breaking down the perimeter fences and releasing 35 people.

Returned

Disgracefully, two of the boys who were freed were recently returned to Woomera after Jack Straw refused to let them claim asylum at the British consulate in Melbourne.

Copies of the video are available for showing from Globalise Resistance e-mail globalise_resistance@yahoo.com.



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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class.

We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the 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 here.

Health Service

Doctors fight for a decent health service

NON CONSULTANT Hospital doctors are fighting for decent working conditions. They have already taken industrial action in Waterford. IMO representative, Fintan Hourihan, told Socialist Worker: "These roster changes are incredibly unsafe.

Illegal

It is taking doctors out of the hospital when it is at its busiest. The new rosters are also illegal as they are in contravention of long-standing practices and recommendations from the Labour Court and Labour relations Commission".

"This is nothing more than an attempt by the government to introduce cutbacks and save money. We must defeat this in Waterford before there is an attempt to implement it nationally.

"We are almost certain that following the national ballot, all 3,000 of our members will come out on industrial action and will stay out until we beat the government on this one".

Protests

Here Dr Peadar O'Grady, who has been involved in trade union issues in the medical profession for years, explains the background to the protests by junior doctors and highlights what it reveals about the state of our health service at the moment:

"Junior doctors are the working class's doctors. Unless you are able to access private care NCHDs are the people who treat you in hospital. Doctors for

working class people are thus the tired overworked shift workers who, depending on their speciality, can be at work for up to 70 or 80 hours per week.

We quite rightly insist on proper limits on working hours for pilots, but do not insist on the same standards when it comes to medicine.

The Irish hospital system is completely dependent for its operation on overworked trainees. There are 3,200 in the system at the moment, many of whom are immigrants, with just 1,600 specialists.

Only one third of all hospital doctors are permanent. The number of NCHDs has rocketed over the last 20 years. In 1988 there were 1,400. In 1988 it had risen to 1,800, by 1992 the numbers stood at 2,200 and today there are over 3,000. The number of consultants in that time rose from 1,200 to just 1,600.

Delivered

The Irish hospital service is being delivered on the cheap. The average pay for a junior doctor is €40,000 to €45,000 while consultants generally earn €135,000 from their work in the public sector, matching it with the same amount from their private practice making a total of €270,000.

Consultants have 33 hour week contracts. It is NCHDs who keep our hospitals running.

They are being used and are doing it on the cheap with dreadful and dangerous conditions. We need our doctors to be fresh and awake.

Junior doctors do not want core hours cut because this is when most formalised training takes place.

Contrary to what the health employers are saying, NCHDs do want their working hours cut. They have offered their night time hours for chopping (the hours when overtime is paid) but the authorities



don't want this because they need night cover.

They won't employ more doctors however because it will cost too much. Instead they want to keep the trainees doing the night hours because they can be paid at cheaper rates.

Most NCHDs have to wait for 15 years before appointment as a specialist. Consultants have played a role in keeping down the numbers entering their ranks.

They traditionally have not wanted more doctors joining their "club", because the less there are the more lucrative the position is.

Won

The last time there was a national strike of junior doctors was in 1987, when they won the right to a 65 hour week but it was never implemented.

In 1993 strike action was threatened over the issue of insurance cover but it was won before NCHDs had to take to the picket line. This time around junior doctors have had to take action again."

While the action in Waterford was suspended but it looks very likely that NCHDs will have to stand

together to fight for a system that will put safety and good practice first.

The protests of the junior doctors highlight the complete inadequacy and dangers of a health system that has not been adequately funded for years.

As we face into the winter months which are always the busiest for hospitals, hospitals all over the country are already reporting that they have overrun their budgets for this year.

Hospital budgets are ludicrously linked to the general inflation rate instead of the medical inflation rates which are about 7 percent higher.

As a result hospitals face the possibility, indeed probability, of having to close wards and cancel surgery.

This government lied when they promised that health would be priority. With increases in hospital charges for accident and emergency, cutbacks in the drugs refund system and the exorbitant increases in VHI the government is putting all our lives in danger, but particularly those of the most vulnerable.

This winter more old people will die on hospital trolleys, more children will join the long waiting lists for surgery and low income

families who have chronically ill members dependent on regular medication for their survival will have less disposable income to spend on food.

Over a year ago our biggest trade union, SIPTU, threatened to organise huge protests over the health issue if things did not improve.

They have got worse.

We need to join the junior doctors and demand on the streets of every town and city in this country a decent health service.

We need a health service that has the basic capability to treat us when we are sick and to pay those who work in it, doctors, nurses and all other staff, decent wages so they are in a position to give the best care possible."

Roads protests

CARRICKMINES CASTLE

Protestors converged on Carrickmines Castle on August 2nd to demonstrate against the decision of Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown Council to allow the National Roads Authority to build the final stage of the M50 through the castle grounds.

The site, which was recently excavated, contained significant historical artifacts and archaeologists fear that there could be further finds which would be permanently lost if the motorway is built in this location.

The council actually

owns sufficient land to re-route the road at minimal cost.

DONEGAL
An Bord Pleanála's decision to grant permission for the controversial Bundoran/Ballyshannon N15 bypass in Co Donegal has been greeted with anger by local residents.

The coalition of objecting Ballyshannon residents groups say that the independent integrity of the planning board had been found wanting and that the fight to prevent the road running through two local housing estates would be taken to the courts.

CIE

BRENNAN PUTS THE BOOT IN!

by A DUBLIN
BUS WORKER
THE GOVERN-
MENT is gearing up
to bring in deregulation and privatisation in Dublin Bus.

Transport minister Seamus Brennan is trying to blackmail CIE workers into accepting the contracting out of our work and the "reform" of Dublin Bus routes. Unless we do, he says that he will not agree to a fares increase of 20 percent!

At the same time his department is refusing to sanction simple improvements in the bus service in Dublin.

Dublin Bus is being refused permission to extend or increase the number of buses on routes like the 39 and 37 and elsewhere. We are told that all these "new" services must be tendered out so private hackers can have the opportunity to run them.

Brennan is also demanding the break up of CIE into three different companies that can compete with each other.

At the same time sections of the media are screaming about the losses at CIE and the level of subsidies being given. Much is made of the €250 million "handout" and the fact that this is €41 million up on the 2000 subsidy. Yet none of these papers saw fit to compare this level of funding to other European cities or to compare it with spending on

the roads or Luas.

Dublin Bus workers should understand clearly what is happening here. This is the first step on the road to eventual privatisation and deregulation of our jobs and services. All of these moves have nothing to do with improving public transport. There are about opening up our state and public services to private businesses to make profits out of them.

Our unions need to start publicly campaigning against these attacks NOW. We should start by opposing managements demand for a 20 percent fare increase, such increases are not in workers' interests, any shortfall in funding must be made up through levels of state subsidy which match the European average, not simply once off purchases of new buses.

We should state clearly that we oppose attempts to break up CIE. The reason the government wants to break up CIE is to rid itself of a unionised group of workers organised across the country. It has been the solidarity of CIE workers in the past that has forced many governments to hold back attacks on our jobs. In the past strikes in Dublin Bus were supported by workers in Bus Eireann, the DART, and Irish Rail. This Government thinks that by splitting us up and forcing workers to compete for the same work it can destroy that solidarity.

We should make it clear that we will not let this happen by organising a united march of all CIE workers to Brennan's office to protest at his moves.

(This article appears

in the August issue of the *Busworker* the paper of the usworkers action

group. Email bag@ocean-free.net)

SIPTU

Des Derwin: 'For a fighting Union'

SW: Why are you standing for SIPTU General Secretary?

To provide a voice to those who want a fighting and democratic Union. For renewal and change in our Union. For a turn to independence, fighting-form and control from below by the general membership.

The end of the boom and the consequences of that for workers - redundancies, cut-backs and increased charges in health and education - takes more veils away from partnership. The Ansbacher Report, persistent hospital waiting lists and prices, particularly house prices, already condemned partnership as a lie. Between 1987 and 1998 the profits share of the national income rose from 25% to 38%. Yet the two other candidates fully support social partnership and talks for another deal! They are both senior officials. I am a factory worker - but also a lay activist with almost thirty years experience in the Union. I'm President of the Electronics and Engineering Branch.

SW: What are the main issues for SIPTU members at the moment?

The Unions should not be in partnership with the rich and powerful. It's time for an end to wage restraint. Members need to be able to lodge substantial claims on

their own employers. Our public sector members should be able to reject the Benchmarking Report and seek better deals. Benchmarking has produced inadequate and unequal increases tied to phasing and productivity. The Union must oppose privatisations with action as well as words. Its time the National Minimum Wage was upped to €8 an hour.

The members' vote for the National Executive Council, taken away last October, should be restored. The members are denied a say on important matters such as the inflation review of the PPF, SIPTU's position on Nice, and staffing levels.

The 1990 Industrial Relations Act needs a major overhaul. The new legislation on 'recognition' is less than useless. Union recognition should be a legal right. A real recruitment drive is needed. Shop stewards can be given more release and resources to represent their members. SIPTU Officers should be paid workers' wages not executives' salaries.

We need an active campaign by SIPTU and the ICTU for greatly improved health and social services and housing, and against health cuts and double-taxation service charges. All members resisting job losses should be fully supported and there must be an immediate increase in statutory redundancy payments to

Belfast Airport

THE FIGHT for the reinstatement of 24 workers at Belfast International Airport continues. The workers were

sacked in May for taking industrial action against poverty wages.

Since then Bill Morris promised the sacked airport workers "the full resources of the ATGWU". But the union's campaign for their reinstatement has not exactly put the frights on ICTS.

Attempts

Despite attempts by the union leaders to take control of the campaign the workers are determined that the main goal is reinstatement.

And they are clear that this can only be achieved by building solidarity with other workers.

Socialist Worker spoke to Chris, one of the sacked

shop stewards: "The union wants us to concentrate on the court case against unfair dismissal and discrimination".

The sacked workers are ready for a fight though: "We still want reinstated, we will build bigger rallies and fight ICTS both inside and outside the airport. All the workers we speak to are willing to support us," said Chris.

The airport workers have support because many trade unionists see their struggle as part of their own fight against the bosses, whether in defence of pay and conditions or against privatisation.

It is essential that the airport workers continue to forge links with these workers. The ATGWU leaders should not be allowed to dictate either the methods or the pace of the campaign for their reinstatement.

Dun Laoghaire Bin Charges

D U N
Laoghaire/Rathdown Co. Council are trying to bully householders into paying the unjust bin tax. They have issued letters threatening householders with the courts if they don't pay.

Letter have also gone out from Dublin County Council

Issued

The council letters are not summonses to court. They are just reminders sent by the council to scare people into paying. The council have issued similar letters before but not a single person has yet been taken to court.

The council are resorting to these tactics because the majority of people are still refusing to pay the unjust bin tax. The latest council figures show two thirds of households are not paying. The numbers refusing to pay this year have increased on the previous year.

With over forty thousand people not paying it would be impossible for the council to take them all to court. It would take decades and cost them millions.

The Campaign against Service charges has printed thousand of leaflets and mobilised to build the campaign to help people stand up against intimidation by the council.

In Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown For more information or to join the campaign contact Richard Boyd Barrett 087-6329511 or Lisa Maher 4934696. In Dublin contact 6237585

Old head of Kinsale

THE EIGHTH mass trespass of the Old Head Golf Links in Kinsale on Sunday July 28, ended in victory again as protestors gained access to the exclusive golf club to restore the land to its former use as a public amenity.

The Old Head of Kinsale was open to the public for centuries until it was sold to millionaire businessman, John O'Connor in the 1990's who proceeded to construct the most exclusive golf course in the country and deny access to anyone unable to afford the exorbitant green fees.

Enjoy

Original planning permission for the course was only granted by Cork County Council on the proviso that the land remain open to local people to enjoy. This access was suspended during construction on the basis of public safety, but once the golf course had been completed this condition was ignored with the entire head

fenced off with razor sharp barbed wire and patrolled by private security guards 24 hours a day, 365 days a year.

The Old Head Golf Links with its green fees of €250.00 and a membership fee of €50,000, became a playground for the rich. It even boasts its own helicopter pad to facilitate the multi-millionaire businessmen who wished to use the golf course but did not wish to stay in the town of Kinsale due to its lack of a five star hotel.

The protests are reclaiming the Old Head from big business for ordinary people. For the first time, the Old Head Golf Links was subjected to a sea-borne invasion. Four demonstrators reached the head from the sea, transported by a local fishing boat. As the main body of protestors meandered down towards the tip of the head and the lighthouse, they met up with the intrepid sailors.

At the lighthouse, the protestors, as is now traditional, had a picnic and a meeting to discuss future tactics for the campaign.

Watched by security personnel and special branch, who continued to take photos of the scene, the dates for the next two trespasses were decided as Sunday August 25 at 2.00 p.m. and Sunday

September 29 at 2.00 p.m. It was also agreed that the next picnic would take place in front of the club house rather than at the lighthouse.

A leading member of the campaign and prominent trade unionist, Joe Moore, told the Socialist Worker: "The Supreme Court will make a decision on access to the Old Head in December, if O'Connor wins, it will be up to An Taisce whether or not they decide to take it to the European Court.

"In the meantime it is crucial that we keep up the pressure and continue with the mass trespasses. Every trespass re-asserts our legal and moral right to walk the Old Head.

"The complexion of the campaign, with so many diverse groups shows how ordinary people can come together to challenge corporate interests.

"We intend to keep fighting until we win and everybody can enjoy the Old Head as they have for centuries, and not just an elite few".

For more information please contact 086-3274015.

NIPSA

Crisis in NIPSA

RECENT EVENTS surrounding sectarianism in the North should have provided an opportunity for trade unions to once again flex their muscles against the thugs and bigots who wish to divide us.

One union in a position to unite Protestant and Catholic workers is NIPSA, which as the largest union in Northern Ireland represents 39,000 civil servants, council workers and health workers.

The General Council of NIPSA is now controlled by the Broad Left "Time for Change" group, which stood for election on six main issues: To fight for better pay, stop privatisation, combat sectarianism, end inequality between male and female workers, defend terms and conditions and to promote a democratic fighting union.

Thousands of workers voted for Broad Left candidates because they want to fight back after being weakened by sectarianism and let

down by years of conservative leadership

The main focus of the Broad Left in NIPSA has been fighting in elections.

This has not been done by canvassing among the mass of workers, but almost exclusively by gaining the support of 'left' leaning branch secretaries, regardless of whether or not these secretaries have given their members an opportunity to decide who to support. Trouble is now brewing in the "Time for Change" camp.

Delight among many activists following the General Council results has turned to disillusionment and anger at the lack of progress or even clear strategy towards reaching its stated goals.

The group has released not one statement since the elections despite ongoing sectarianism, attacks on NIPSA workers' jobs and continuing pay disputes. Due to an embarrassing lack of organisation any meetings that have been held attract very few activists and often result in little progress.

We should however not be surprised by this development. The record of Broad Lefts within unions is not one of glorious victories against the bosses. One example of this is the CWU Broad Left in Britain, which allowed BT to shed over 100,000 jobs when in complete control of a National Executive that did not issue one strike ballot.

It is already clear within the NIPSA Broad Left that the winning of elections has become counter posed to fighting on the shop floor and that holding on to positions is its main concern.

Admitted

One newly elected Broad Left candidate recently admitted to me "In five years time you will have to get rid of us too".

This was not an admission that he was prepared to forget about his members and revel in his new-found importance but a realisation of the nature of the job of an official and the limitations of an election strategy.

A few activists have

already concluded that "Time for Change" will never involve the active participation of most workers.

When workers are being attacked, whether by bosses or bigots, we must be organised to defend ourselves. Broad Left groups who are only after votes and union positions have no base amongst the rank and file. They in turn have no confidence to act upon these threats for fear of losing their 'positions of influence'.

What we need is a rank and file organisation in each workplace and office, explaining the issues and pushing for action.

Such organisation can be an effective pressure on the union leadership to take the fight forward. And the rank and file can fight independently of the union leadership if necessary when it fails. Only rank and file organisation can really deliver on the promises made by groups.

Socialist Worker

inside

No to War page 6-7

No to Nice page 8

Fighting sectarianism page 8

Building an alternative
in Europe page 3

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