

Socialist Worker

inside:

**VIETNAM
THE WAR
THE US
LOST**



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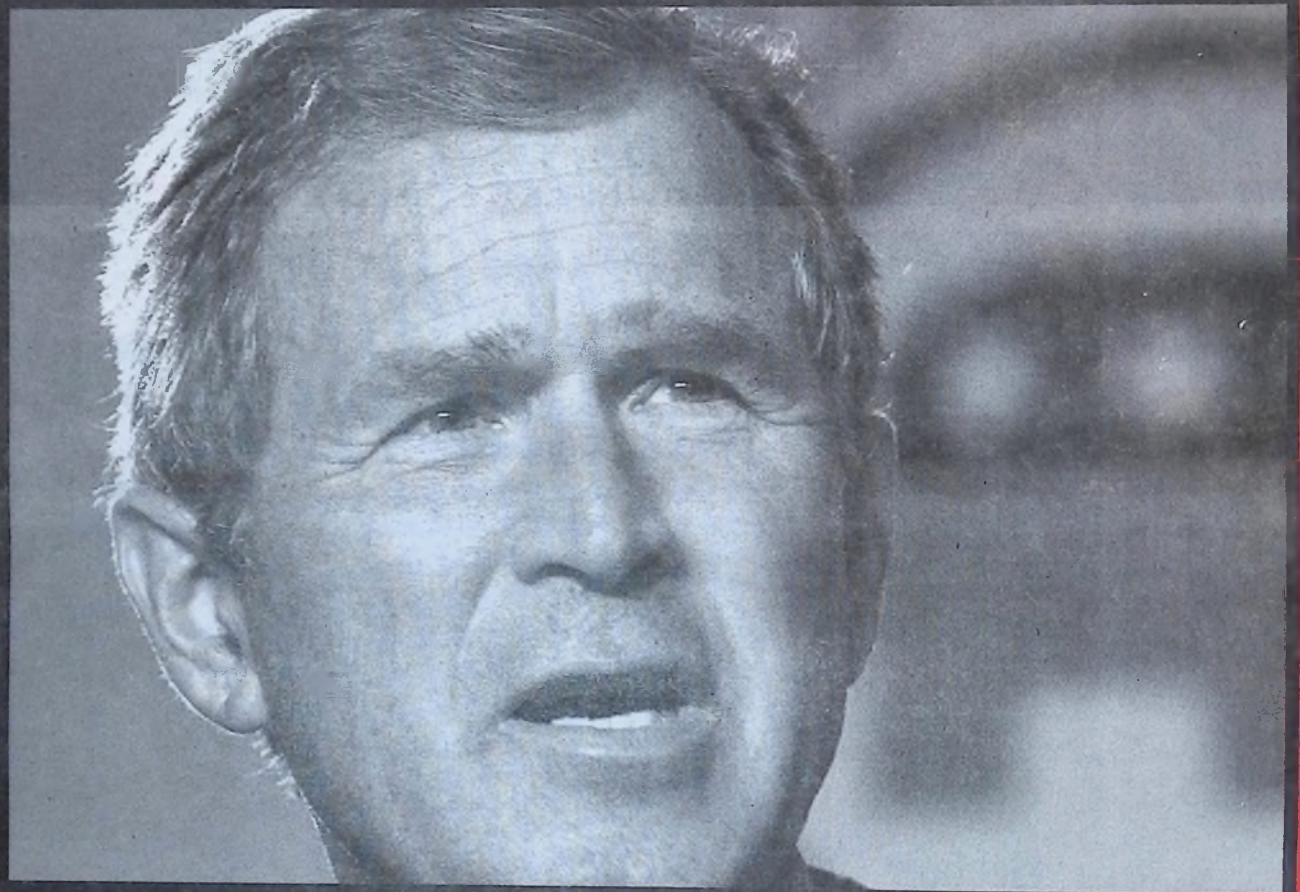
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STOP
the lies;
STOP
the
torture;
STOP
the
murder!

**ALL OUT
JUNE 25**



STOP BUSH

U.S. TROOPS OUT OF SHANNON

TURN TO PAGES 2,3,5

PSNI trained Gardai as well

NOT only did the Gardai take "a loan" from the PSNI of the two water canon trucks that they used on May Day the men in blue also got "extensive training" from the RUC heirs. In a series of replies to written Dail questions.

Minister for Justice Michael McDowell disclosed that 19 gardai had received training in the "tactical command and use of water cannons" from the Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI).

He confirmed that the two water cannons were used for the first time in the history of the State on May Day.

Ahem attacks travellers

SPEAKING at the launch of the FF local election manifesto last week Ahern gave a list of "problems" people may have which a FF representative could help out with.

One of these "problems" was housing for the travelling community.

"If somebody opens up a cul-de-sac, or somebody switches the traffic, or somebody new wants to build, or God forbid, somebody wants to put in a halting site nearby, they are the first onto the council.

"If you want people there to represent you and to do something then go out and vote."

AIB- shameful record

THE latest revelations regarding overcharging on foreign exchange charges to the tune of over €20m are just the latest in a long line of scandals that AIB has been involved in.

AIB was the biggest player in the DIRT scandal when the bank had to eventually agree to a settlement of €114m with the revenue commissioner.

The bank had recruited people to set up bogus non-residential accounts with AIB of which €100 million in DIRT tax was never paid.

Two years ago John Rusnak was found to have embezzled over \$60m from AIB in the

United States, in what turned out to be the largest fraud in banking history.

FF-Lies on the record

AS Fianna Fail launch their new election campaign with a new manifesto it might be just reflecting on some of the things they said in their last election campaign.

Before the Election:

"I can confirm that there are no significant overruns projected and no cutbacks whatsoever are being planned secretly or otherwise"

(From letter from Charlie McCreavey to Michael Noonan TD, Leader of Fine Gael, 13th May 2002)

After the Election:

"Did you really expect that each party was going to come out and say things are going to be absolutely desperate - don't vote for us. I mean, for God's sake."

(McCreavey in an interview with *The Irish Examiner* on 11th February 2003)

Before the Election:

2002 Fianna Fail manifesto -

"We will carry out a fundamental review of training and employment supports to ensure that they focus on the needs of the most marginalised and disadvantaged groups".

After the Election:

CES and Fas scheme mercilessly slashed. Community employment cut by 5,000 by the end of 2003. FAS employment programme funding cut by 10 percent.

FAS training and integration supports cut by 38 percent.

Corporate Ireland's €4.5 billion arms trade

IRISH firms exported €4.5 billion "dual use" goods - products that have a military or civilian use - during 2002, a shocking new Amnesty International report states.

The report calls for the introduction of controls on private military, security services and mercenaries, which often operate outside the normal criminal justice system.

"Ireland's high-tech economy is playing an increasingly important role in the so-called -defence sector," said Colm O Cuanachain, Secretary General of Amnesty's Irish Section at the launch of the report last week.

The report called *Undermining Global Security: the European Union's arms exports* outlines a series of Irish companies and individuals that have links to the arms

trade, these include Leonid Minin.

In 1996, the arms broker and dealer Leonid Minin was listed as one of the shareholders of an Irish registered company, Limid Invest Ltd.

Smuggling

It is not known what role the Irish registered company played in Leonid Minin's business activities but other companies controlled by him have been involved in a range of arms-brokering activities.

In 2002, the involvement of another Irish registered company with an international arms smuggling operation was reported.

The company Balcombe Investments Limited reportedly owned the aircraft used by Renan Airways.

In December 2000, a United Nations report mentioned suspicious dealings involving Renan Airways.

A subsequent report on neighbouring UN-embargoed Liberia, con-

firmed those suspicions, identifying Renan Airways as having flown unauthorised cargos of arms from Moldova to Liberia by Minin have reportedly been involved in a range of arms brokering activities.

The U.S. Data Device Corporation (DDC) which has production facilities in Cork, Ireland (DDC Ireland Ltd) states on its website that its MIL-STD-1553 Data Bus products are used in the AH-64 Apache Attack Helicopters.23

Military

The company information describes the important role that their product plays in enabling military aircraft and helicopters to function.

They state that "a MIL-STD-1553 Data Bus allows complex electronic subsystems to interact with each other and the on-board flight computer.

This Data Bus is the life line of the aircraft".

These systems can include a lethal array of armament, including a mix of up to 16 Hellfire missiles or 76 70mm aerial rockets and 1,200 rounds of 30mm ammunition for its M230 Chain Gun automatic canon.

The report looks into the wider role played by the European Union in the militarisation of the world. Agreements leading to the growth of this arms trade are taking place during the Irish Presidency.

"EU arms, security equipment and services are contributing to grave human rights abuses and the scale of potential abuse is now enormous," reads the report.

"The major EU arms exporting countries - France, Germany, Italy, Sweden and the United Kingdom - account for one third of the world's arms deals.

"With ten new member states, the EU now has over 400 small arms companies in 23 countries - almost as many as the USA."

Cost of Iraq occupation grows



■ The human cost rises but so does the expense

GEORGE BUSH has demanded another \$25 billion to fund the occupations of Iraq and Afghanistan.

The White House promised that the \$87.5 billion approved last November would last for at least a year. So far, the "war on terror" has cost the US \$160 billion. The UN Human Development Report for 2003 says that all its minimum goals could be met if \$100 billion was spent on aid to poorer countries.

Its goals are the alleviation of hunger, basic education, the eradication of deaths from preventable diseases and safe water and sanitation for everyone.

Governments in the richest countries on earth are making the poor pay for the "war on terror". Christian Aid reports that programmes

aimed at alleviating poverty have been scrapped as donor countries adopt a "with us or against us" mentality which sees aid as a political

weapon.

Aid is given not according to need but according to how useful a country is prepared to be in the war on ter-

ror.

Aid budgets are being diverted towards military training and intelligence gathering.

Basra on the brink

"NEW BASRA, New Life, New Iraq". That is what the sign says outside the Iraqi city that Blair boasts British troops "liberated".

But people's lives are not better a year since the end of the war. The majority of the town's 1.2 million inhabitants still suffer from sewage running onto the streets.

Clean water is a rarity that is sometimes only available for a few hours late at night.

Basra residents are forced to queue up in the searing heat to get through checkpoints.

Around 70 percent of the food in the south of Iraq is still imported.

"Nothing has changed since the war ended," says Kabeela Tabela, who lives in a shack.

"It smells and we are all always ill. When will they clean all this up?"

NATO's role in Macedonian murder

MACEDONIA IS one of the countries NATO poured its troops into in a "humanitarian" intervention that was hailed as bringing peace and stability.

And the Macedonian state has shown it is willing to kill innocent people to keep on board with its US ally.

Its security forces murdered seven migrants in March 2002 in what the government claimed was a coup against global terrorism.

Macedonia's government finally charged former interior minister Ijube Boskovski and six security officers last week in connection with the attack.

The victims, six Pakistanis and one Indian, were passing through Macedonia looking for work in Europe, when they were ambushed by the security forces.

The security forces kidnapped them and took them out to the Rastanski Lozja area, north east of the capital, Skopje.

There they

encircled the men and shot them.

Their bodies were filmed with handguns stuck in their waistbands.

"The crime is even more shocking because these murders were premeditated and were committed to spruce up

Macedonia's image as an ally in the war against

terrorism," said a spokesperson for Pakistan's foreign ministry.

Ghulam Fatima, mother of murdered Ejaz Ahmed, said, "I think of him 24 hours a day.

"He was very keen to go abroad and earn some money to help the family."

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ALL OUT JUNE 25TH/26TH

ORGANISE TO STOP BUSH!

Lies, torture and murder. This is what George Bush and Tony Blair's war and occupation of Iraq really means.

Recent revelations about the systematic torture and murder of Iraqis in US and British custody have exploded the pretence that the occupation has anything to do with human rights.

More than 700 civilians killed in ranajah in April and more than 100,000 injured during the war and subsequent occupation.

Announcements by the White House and Pentagon that over 100,000 US troops will remain in Iraq indefinitely in permanent military bases regardless of the wishes of any future Iraqi government, destroy the claim that US/UK troops are bringing "democracy" to that country.

Nobody now talks about "weapons of mass destruction" that Saddam Hussein was supposed to have which was the claimed justification for the invasion.

Like all the other excuses it was simply a lie.

The real reason is US imperi-

alism's bid to control the Middle East and its vast reserves of oil.

Bertie Ahern and the FF/DPD government are daily collaborating with this murderous occupation as US troops overfly Irish airspace and use Shannon and Baldonnell airports.

Millions of people are sickened by the war.

These must be mobilised in a way that will force the agenda of colonial Bush and his agenda of colonialism in particular we must get tens of thousands on the streets to oppose Bush on June 25/26 when he visits Ireland.

Socialist Worker appeals to every reader to build the protests.

Set up a Stop Bush network among your neighbours, work-mates or fellow college or school students.

Distribute leaflets and posters and organise local meetings and activities.

Let's organise the the biggest protests against Bush, Blair and Ahern and their obscene war.

Contact the Irish Anti War Movement at irishantiwar.org or ring 087-7955013; 087-2839964; 087-1274315



Poverty in the slums of Mumbai

India's poor cut through sectarianism

INDIA's ruling Bharatiya Janata Party-led (BJP) suffered a massive electoral defeat at the hands of what has already been termed a "silent revolution" of India's millions of poor peasants and urban workers.

Over the past five years the BJP party led by Mr Atal Behari Vajpayee, has carried on a policy of right wing Hindu Nationalism coupled with a neo-liberal economic agenda which has seen a huge profit boom for India's rich.

In Gujarat state, the BJP whipped up anti Muslim feeling and was implicated in the biggest massacre of Muslims since the partition of India over 50 years ago.

The rampant Hindu chauvinism of the BJP prompted anti-capitalist writer Arundhati Roy to compare them to fascists.

The BJP's election campaign slogan was "India shining" and focused on championing the new consumerism experienced by India's tiny rich elite.

It also celebrated the right wing economic agenda and the booming stock market in India.

However the vision of "India shining" contrasted with the high levels of poverty that is faced on a daily basis by the majority of India's millions of inhabitants.

The out-going government was heavily defeated in rural areas where India's peasants have not seen much of that profit.

The Congress Party and some left wing groups, standing for a secular government and making some noises about improving the lot of the poor, made gains and will now form a coalition.

Until the BJP government was elected last time, Congress had dominated Indian politics. Despite

its moderate "secularism" it hardly represents a real challenge to poverty and communalism. It is likely to continue "the economic neo-liberal programme" that the BJP spearheaded and has proved so disastrous for the poor of India.

Suresh Wartha, a poor farmer in western India said "The BJP ruled this country for five years and they say India has made great progress and is becoming a great power in the world,

"But why, why, why didn't they do something... anything for poor farmers like us?"

The rejection of the BJP at the polls shows that while politicians can play on communalism, it cannot deliver for the mass of people.

So even the half hearted "secularism" of the Congress Party and its leftist allies was able to deliver a shock blow to sectarianism in

India. Northern Ireland politics too have been dominated by religious sectarianism. But it too fails to deliver for the mass of working class Catholics or Protestants.

The possibility of breaking the impasse in the North has moved forward with the emergence of the Socialist Environmental Alliance that seeks to relate to the thousands of working class Catholics, Protestants and others who can be persuaded that they are all the losers from sectarian divide and rule politics of the mainstream parties.

In the European elections in Northern Ireland Eamonn McCann is running for the SEA. Every vote he gets will be a brick in building a progressive alternative that can offer real change for all working class people.



Capitalism is wrecking the lives of millions and endangering the planet. A new society can only be constructed when the workers take control of the wealth and plan its production and distribution for human need and not profit.

REVOLUTION

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy. To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based on much greater political and economic democracy.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR

War is a constant feature of capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth. Bush's "War on Terrorism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or economic dominance.

END RACISM AND OPPRESSION

We work for a free working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH

We stand for workers unity against the Assembly politicians and Blair government. Like great socialist James Connolly, we believe that partition has brought about a 'carnival of reaction'. We want to see an Irish workers republic where all workers gain. Our flag is neither green nor orange but red!

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. We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc. We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

Irish Anti War Movement

NO WELCOME FOR BUSH



No More War No More Lies

DEMONSTRATION

Friday June 25 at 7.00pm,

Pamell Square, Dublin

Followed by buses to protest at location of Summit Meeting between Bush and Bertie Ahern

Book your Bus places now or book a bus from your own area.

Info & Bus Bookings contact:

Tel: 087-7955013 / 087-2839964 / 087-1274315

Email: info@irishantiwar.org, Web: www.irishantiwar.org, 20th flr, PO Box 9260, Dublin 1.

US MILITARY OUT OF SHANNON

Join the Socialists!

To join the Socialist Workers Party or for more information:

Fill in the form and Send to:

ROI: SWP PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682

NI: SWP PO Box 143, Mallusk Road, Mallusk, Phone 0774 2531617

Email membership@swp.ie Web: www.swp.ie

Name.....

Address.....

Phone.....

Email.....

Union/College (if applicable).....



comment

Eamonn McCann

Rights and wrongs over 'anti social' teenagers

The British Government and Republican paramilitaries may disagree sharply on a range of issues. But when it comes to dealing with troublesome teenagers, they basically take the same approach.

Last week, the Real IRA ordered two teenagers out of Derry under threat of being shot. The RIRA statement accused them of "anti-social activities."

This came in the week when NIO minister John Spellar announced the extension to the North of Anti Social Behaviour Orders. Under ASBOs, the courts will ape the paramilitaries by exiling young people, under threat of imprisonment.

The two schemes are also similar in that the accused are not entitled to due process. Gossip ("hearsay evidence") is admissible. And the "charge" doesn't have to be proven beyond reasonable doubt.

The Real IRA's stated reason for existence is to ities, and on the same section of Irish people. The practical difference lies in the nature of the punishment—shooting or jail—not the underlying principle.

Impose

The Real IRA is following other paramilitary organisations. The Provisionals, the INLA and the alphabet soup of Loyalist armies all try to impose their will by force on disruptive teenagers in working class communities.

In some estates, there is an element of competition as to which paramilitary group will get to shoot or batter local "anti-social" teenagers.

In the near future, there'll be young people hit with an ASBO and then with a baseball bat or bullet—or the other way round—since the late-night and light-of-day punishment squads don't recognise one another's remit.

The futility of the paramilitary/ASBO approach is evident in the fact that one of the teenagers ordered out of Derry last week was reportedly shot by the Real IRA just weeks earlier.

Socialists oppose punishment attacks of both the ASBO and paramilitary varieties.

In searching for a solution, we should look first at where these activities are concentrated. It's in the poorest areas, with the worst services, where young people have the least hope for the future.

We should be looking to have a level of educational, health and youth service resources to provide a positive alternative to youngsters who feel they have no stake in the society around them.

Expansion

We need a massive expansion in youth service training and provision, and in existing schemes for education outside the formal schooling system.

We need an end to low pay, an increase in benefits and huge new investment in poorly-off areas. The money required would be massive. But it's available, as shown by the billions being spent on the Iraq war.

Every youth worker can tell tales of teenagers regarded as totally hopeless who have blossomed and shone when shown they are valued.

What on earth is achieved by ordering a 16-year-old out of his home and away from his family and threatening to maim him with a bullet if he dares show his face in the district again?

It may (or may not) get that one teenager out of the way. But it will also contribute to the atmosphere of violence and sense of abandonment which makes the behaviour which is being punished inevitable.

It's not enough to oppose paramilitary punishments while endorsing ASBOs, or the other way round. We need a radical alternative to the punishment approach.

The problem for mainstream opinion is that any viable alternative involves the sort of shift in government policies and spending priorities which the political mainstream can't contemplate.

Keep Ireland GM free

THE GM-free status of the island of Ireland is now in danger since, just before Easter, the Northern Ireland Office gave the go-ahead for genetically modified crops to be grown in the North.

The Socialist Environmental Alliance European candidate, Eamonn McCann has been campaigning against GM crops and says "The decision by the biotech giant Bayer to abandon plans to plant GM maize in Britain leaves New Labour's GM policy in bits".

Bayer pulled out, objecting on cost grounds to the type of weed-killer the Government was insisting it use.

Former UK Environment Minister Michael Meacher commented that this was, "richly ironic, when the government is leaving no stone unturned to get GM crops approved and grown."

Even after the Bayer decision, it seems that New Labour is determined to press ahead. This shouldn't be tolerated. It may be that New Labour felt free so casually to cancel the North's GM-free status because they reckoned there'd be no determined opposition from the main parties.

Eamonn McCann says "As far as I can gather, there wasn't one Northern Ireland MP in the House of Commons on March 12th when Minister Smith gave GM the go-ahead.

"The announcement has sparked no major debate since. I have tried to get the issue raised in the mainstream press, but without success. *Socialist Worker* is the only newspaper to respond to any of the three press statements I have issued about this scandal."

Smith undertook to hold discussions with Dublin on "the cross-border implications of GM crop cultivation, co-existence and voluntary



■ No one knows enough about the long-term effects of GM on human health.

'The announcement has sparked no major debate since. I have tried to get the issue raised in the mainstream press, but without success.'

GM-free zones." But, says Eamonn McCann, "unless she has come up with a means of making the border impenetrable to cross-pollination, this is meaningless.

Smith's announcement came in the wake of a statement by current UK Environment Minister Margaret Beckett that "the Government and the Devolved Administrations" had decided on this course following a "national debate" launched in 2002.

In fact, the devolved NI administration was in a permanent state of crisis during the period. The "debate"

scarcely registered at Stormont. The vast majority of people here will be surprised to discover that they were involved in any debate on the matter at all.

What's more, when we look at the published results of the debate, it's plain that New Labour ignored the views expressed.

The official report published on range from caution and concern, through suspicion and scepticism, to hostility and rejection."

These attitudes, it admits, "far outweighed any degree of support or enthusiasm for GM."

Engage

The report continues that, "The more people engage in GM issues, the harder their attitudes and more intense their concerns...In particular, the more they choose to discover about GM the more convinced they are that no one knows enough about the long-term effects of GM on human health."

The report also finds "widespread mistrust of government and multi-national companies," and refers to "the suspicion that the government has already taken a decision about GM: the debate was only a camouflage and its results would be ignored."

It continues: "The debate also highlighted unease over the perceived multi-national companies which promote GM technology. People believe that these companies are motivated overwhelmingly by profit rather than meeting society's needs, and that they have the power to make their interests prevail over the wider public interest, both at home and throughout global society."

The fear now is—shared by some on the Labour back benches—that a way will be found of meeting Bayer's cost concerns, or that other major companies will make a bid for the niche which Bayer has vacated. For as long as the current policy stands, the prospect of GM planting on the island of Ireland will remain real.

Mobile masts election issue

Mobile phone masts and local people's opposition to them being placed near their homes, play-parks, schools or shops has been an issue coming up a lot on the doorsteps in the European election campaign.

There is growing evidence that these masts are a health threat.

Mobile phones work through radio frequency transmissions and generate the same form of electromagnetic radiation as microwave ovens.

The phone networks say that the masts conform to current safety regulations but these safety stan-

dards only take into account the thermal effects of the radiation—how much it heats you up, biological effects are not even considered.

The government's own report into the health impact of this technology, the Stewart Report, came to the conclusion that there is now some preliminary scientific evidence that exposure to radio frequency radiation may cause subtle effects on biological functions, including those of the brain.

The report also found that it wasn't possible to say that exposure to radio



■ Eamonn McCann of Socialist Environmental Alliance

frequency radiation, even at levels below national guidelines, is totally with-

out potentially damaging health effects.

Eamonn McCann, the

Socialist Environmental Alliance candidate in the Euro elections says "the root of the problem is the multi-national telecommunications companies.

They are giant companies who are competing against each other so we have duplication of networks and many more masts than are needed.

"If the service was socially owned and controlled there would be fewer masts and we would have a service that listened to local people and to independent scientific research."

TESCO STAFF SICK PAY CUT BACK

Tescos (UK) will not pay staff in over 20 new stores for the first three days they are off sick.

The scheme is already in operation in stores in the South, where the company says absenteeism rates are lower.

Tescos is convinced that most people who are off work for less than four days are "throwing sickies".

So, be prepared to have your groceries full of cold, flu and gastroenteritis germs in future as workers struggle in

to work rather than lose a days pay.

A second trial scheme being introduced in the UK offers staff more holiday allowance, but reduces it when they take a day off sick.

A third offers rewards for good attendance.

According to the company, all three will be tested for several months before their effect is evaluated. Socialist Worker is willing to bet right now that the cutting of sick pay will be judged the most 'efficient'.

Unfortunately, Usdaw, the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (Ushaw) is supporting the trials.

A spokesperson for USDW said "Everyone who is taking part in the scheme is doing so on a voluntary basis. No one is compelled to do it."

This is corporate-speak for "if you don't like the scheme, you don't have to work here" and it is a disgrace that any union is backing it.

There is no law entitling you to sick pay. Entitlement depends on having a union

that enforces it.

Of course, it is only workers in low paid jobs like shop work that have this kind of ridiculous rule imposed on

them.

Higher paid jobs almost expect people to take their full quota of sick days annually.

Events
 Stop Bush Campaign - Public Meeting
 4pm Sat. 22nd May
 Belfast Unemployed Resource Centre
 Anti Racism Network - Public Meeting
 Thursday 27th May
 Transport House, Belfast
 Speakers include: Residents Against Racism
 (Dublin)
 United Against Fascism (Britain)

Just a few rotten apples ... or the predictable fruits of colonialism?

By Aoife Breslin

AFTER tolerating the existence of torture chambers at Abu Ghraib prison for many months, widespread revulsion at images of the physical and sexual abuse of Iraqi inmates has prompted the Bush administration to punish the perpetrators.

Private Lynndie England and others will face court martial over their role in the torture. But is that the end of it?

The photographs and reports from released Iraqi inmates are horrifying.

Naked men forced to stand on platforms with wires attached to their limbs and genitals, told that if they fall they will be electrocuted.

Soldiers urinating on hooded prisoners and pouring phosphoric liquid on detainees.

Men sodomised with chemical lights and broom handles.

There are even reports of men tortured to death.

The *New Yorker* reported a man was killed during a CIA interrogation. The body was subsequently packed in ice and removed on a hospital trolley complete with a fake IV tube to hide the killing.

Meanwhile, men in Afghanistan are coming forward to speak of their own abuse. Sayed Nabi Siddiqui, a former Afghan police colonel, gave a graphic account in a *New York Times* interview of beating, kicking, sleep deprivation, taunts and sexual abuse while in US custody in Afghanistan.



■ Lynndie England, said she was following orders from "persons in my higher chain of command"

The orders came from the top

WHAT is missing from mainstream press reports however, is that this is not the result of a breakdown in command.

Nothing can excuse the actions of Lynndie England, but she was following orders from "persons in my higher chain of command".

For instance, in none of the photographs is there any sign of furtiveness on the part of the torturers.

In the background we see others going about their business implying that the torture is so routine it passes unnoticed.

In its recent report, the *International Committee of the Red Cross* stated "physical and psychological coercion were



■ Douglas Feith

used by military intelligence in a systematic way".

According to Pierre Krae-

henbuehl, ICRC Director, "We were dealing here with a broad pattern, not individual acts".

The ultimate responsibility for the torture lies with the Whitehouse.

Each of the current national security officials interviewed for a recent *Washington Post* article defended the use of violence against captives as just and necessary.

Monitor

Douglas Feith, neo-conservative and Bush's Undersecretary of Defense for Policy referred to Protocol One (on torture) of the Geneva Conventions of 1977 as "law in the service of terrorism".

It was Feith who ordered that representatives of the

Judge Advocate General's office should no longer monitor interrogations to ensure that they adhered to the Geneva Conventions.

Deputy National Security Advisor and head of the CIA Counter-terrorist Centre, Cofer Black, told the US Congress that "Interrogations are a highly classified area, but after 9/11 the gloves came off".

One national security official consulted by the *Post* told it straight.

He said, "If you don't violate someone's human rights some of the time, you probably aren't doing your job."

"I don't think we want to be promoting a view of zero tolerance on this".

Abu Ghraib: Not the exception

THE IMAGES from Abu Ghraib are not exceptional in the least. Investigations into the 1968 My Lai massacre, subsequently covered up by Colin Powell, found that hundreds of Vietnamese civilians were murdered while GIs shouted "Chalk one up for me".

In 1971, John Kerry, then a young Vietnam veteran, testified to a Senate hearing that fellow soldiers had "raped, cut off ears, cut off heads, taped wires from portable telephones to human genitals and turned up the power... razed villages ... poisoned food stocks and generally ravaged the countryside of South Vietnam".

Following the Falklands War, a corporal in the Parachute Regiment revealed how his colleagues had bayoneted unarmed prisoners and cut off their ears as trophies. In every war, the enemy is demonised to such an extent that they become sub-human in the eyes of the soldiers sent to fight the war.

Both America and "Old Europe" were built on slavery and genocide. For generations their soldiers have been accustomed to bringing home the body parts of indigenous peoples as trophies from wars which were allegedly fought for democracy, civilisation and freedom.

The Bush gang has spent the past three years redefining terrorism, demonising Islam and beating the drums of war for a battle of "good versus evil".

Far from being hailed with garlands, US soldiers find themselves involved in a deeply unpopular programme of colonial expansion.

The majority of Iraqis, who want the US out, come to be viewed as a threat by the ordinary soldier and therefore a target of American "justice". In such circumstances, it is almost inevitable that fatigued soldiers will blur the lines between those who are "with us" and "against us".

Long before the young soldiers were psyched up on the battlefield, an anti-Arab atmosphere was created. Americans have been fed a steady drip of Hollywood blockbusters which invariably cast the Arab as the uncivilised, depraved, intrinsically evil villain. After September 11 that demonisation entered a whole new level.

'Kill their leaders'

On September 13 2001, a *National Review* columnist argued "We should invade their countries, kill their leaders, and convert them to Christianity". Bush himself spoke of a Crusade, a clash of civilisations and a war of terror against the "axis of evil".

He removed the concept of civilian in the eyes of the military by referring to anyone "harbouring" terrorists as enemies of the US and targets of US justice. In his 2003 State of the Union address, Bush commented that while some al-Qaeda members had been arrested, others had "met a different fate".

Bush continued, "Let's put it this way. They are no longer a problem to the United States".

Soon after September 11 2001, Bush signed a secret intelligence order permitting the CIA to expand covert actions, which permitted lethal operations that were unthinkable pre-September 11.

Rumsfeld and Cheney have repeatedly insisted that detainees at Guantanamo "do not have any rights" under the Geneva Conventions and "do not deserve the protections of the American Constitution".

While US leaders send young men to war to "smoke out" the enemy, "hunt him down" and capture him "dead or alive", is it any wonder that the conditions for torture are nurtured?

Organise to Stop Bush!

RUMSFELD's recent visit to Abu Ghraib and Bush's mocking apology to the Arab people are desperate actions taken out of fear that their "good work" overthrowing Saddam Hussein has been spoiled by the torture revelations.

Of course, Bush never went to war for anything so honourable as freedom and democracy.

He sent hundreds of American soldiers to die to shoulder up the profits of Bechtel and Halliburton and to create 14 permanent military bases in Iraq from which he can continue his Middle Eastern Crusade.

As with all military occupations, the true motives become

increasingly evident with the passage of time.

Today, Bush is polling at the lowest rate of his presidency.

As US soldiers continue to arrive home in body bags, the spectre of Vietnam will increasingly haunt the presidentials.

History has shown us that the only war to stop war and overthrow the warmongers is through mass resistance and people power.

For anti-war activists in Ireland, the next step in that process is building a massive demonstration against the visit of the world's chief torturer on June 25 and 26.

Irish Anti War Movement

NO WELCOME FOR BUSH

No More War No More Lies

DEMONSTRATION
Friday June 25 at 7.00pm,
Parnell Square, Dublin

Followed by buses to protest at location of Summit Meeting between Bush and Bertie Ahern

Booked for 10.00pm on 25 June at Dublin City Hall

US MILITARY OUT OF SHANNON

Outsourcing of war

WHATEVER qualms the ordinary soldier might have about inflicting torture on civilians, these will almost certainly not be shared by ex-SAS killers.

Of the \$87bn earmarked to date for the Iraq war, over one third (\$30bn) will be spent on contracts to private companies.

There are about 15,000 mercenaries now in Iraq, making them the second-largest contributor to the "coalition". Ex-SAS veterans in Iraq can charge up to \$1,000 a day.

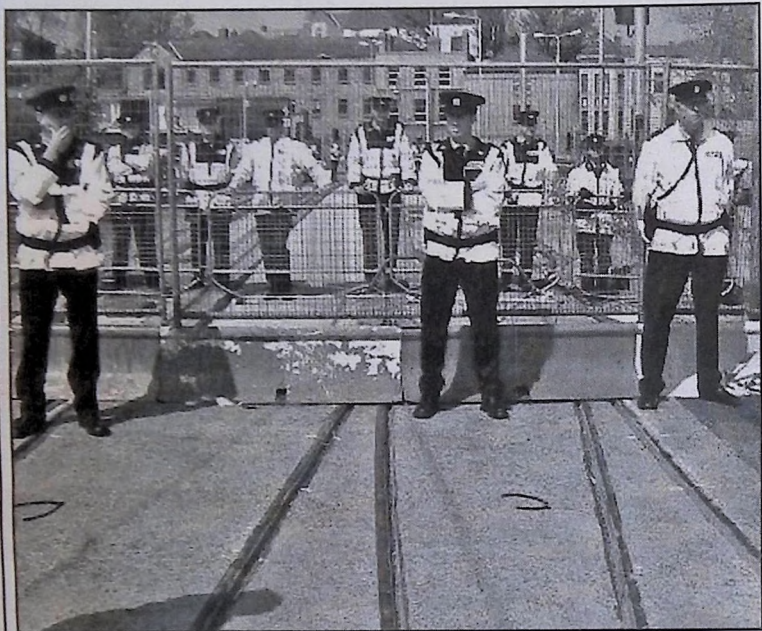
The proportion of mercenaries to military is 10 times greater than the last Gulf War. A *CorpWatch* report reveals that the US military is 60% of its size a decade ago as the Pentagon has downsized its personnel levels to increase spending on high-tech weapons of mass destruction.

The private sector is even more deeply involved in the war's aftermath. US companies have lucrative contracts to train the new Iraqi army and police force, while nearly half of the dozen or so private firms in Iraq comes from the UK.

The use of mercenaries is outlawed by the Geneva conventions, but that doesn't matter to Bush.

comment

Why are coppers bastards?



by **DAVE LORDAN**

CLEARLY the cops ate too much Weetabix over the Mayday weekend.

How let down they must have felt when the much hyped May Day riot involving fifteen thousand hardcore euro-anarchists turned out to be only free showers for a few dancing marchers who probably needed to cool down anyway after the interminable march from the GPO.

(Heh anarkids I thought it was only the Maoists who went in for the long marches!)

After all the rumours the Navan road knockout show was little rougher than two grannies fighting over a handbag.

This disappointment was clearly evident when fifteen demented guards invaded a working class pub in Dun Laoghaire a few minutes after closing time on the Sunday night following the Saturday May Day marches and ejected the crowd who were just about to launch into the sixteenth rendition of 'Take me up to Monto'.

I guess that particular squad of wobble-catchers had had enough of lying in wait for the elusive creatures of Wimbledon common to waggle in full furs off the Stena Sealink and decided to go for a more traditional and altogether less mythical target instead.

But though the May Day security operation failed in its medium term

objective-criminalizing protest and protest organisations in advance of the Bush visit-it is a clear sign of a longer term attempt by the ruling class to transform the rather shabby ranks of the Guardai into a fighting fit politicised police force.

We are unlikely to have a repeat of the scenes last year when anti-war activists ripped down the fence at Shannon and the blue-boys charged with guarding the torturers tea break before they set off on stage two of the long haul to Iraq got chased by their own dogs and tripped over the folds of their sagging bellies. Crazy Cardinal McDowell has decided its time for the farce to get lean and tool up.

Harassing

In the last few years the police have gotten used to harassing anti-war and anti capitalists activists and to a lesser extent workers like Taxi drivers and builders who have had the courage to take to the streets in defiance of corrupt labour bureaucracies.

This is done under cover of 1992's infamous public order act which essentially allows the police to arrest whoever they want, whenever they want, for whatever they want.

Under the provisions of this act dozens of activists, including many supporters of this newspaper, have been hauled before the courts- though most have had charges thrown out since one thing

the Harp-hats clearly have yet to master is the art of team lying.

The lies Cop witness number one nearly always contradict the lies of cop witness number two.

It is now banal to contrast the treatment of stony broke activists with the celebrity debt match going on in the tribunals. It is part of the good sense of working class people that the police ignore the robbery of the rich while pursuing those who stand up for social justice.

But this isn't because the cops are too fat-arsed to climb the twenty foot high walls of the Vico road.

The guards are one wing of the what Marx called the 'armed bodies of men' the capitalist state employs to protect the exploiting minority from the exploited majority of workers.

In periods of social peace the police force bides its time by rounding up the many unfortunates in our class who have gone down the torturous road of addiction and petty crime.

But when the masses begin to get organised and rise up the true nature of the police reveals itself.

We are facing into a summer of protest and a longer period of social unrest. The guards will be doing their best to halt our movement at the gates of the future. Our side will have to be just as organised and disciplined as them if we are to break through and create a new world.

HOW THE US LOST THE WAR IN VIETNAM

The uprising in Iraq has terrified the US ruling class, the spectre of humiliating defeat as in Vietnam. The January 1968 was the moment when US defeat first became a possibility.

AS 1968 began, the top US military leader General Westmoreland declared, "We have reached an important point where the end begins to come into view" and talked of "light at the end of the tunnel".

Within a few weeks all that had changed, and the world knew that the US was facing a bloody and unwinnable war in Vietnam.

When, at the beginning of the Vietnamese month of Tet, residents in US hotels heard explosions in the distance they first assumed it was the normal New Year celebratory fireworks.

The war was something that took place in the countryside of Vietnam, not the cities. And the war seemed to most people to be one that the US would inevitably win.

It seemed no different to many others the US, and the regimes it backed, were involved in around the world.

"Vietnam? We have 30 Vietnams!" Robert Kennedy, US attorney general and brother of former US president John F Kennedy told journalists.

But the explosions in January 1968 were the start of the greatest battle of the war so far.

Vietnamese forces rose up against the US and its South Vietnamese puppet regime in 36 towns.

Incredibly, the National Liberation Front forces took over parts of the South Vietnamese capital, Saigon, for days, and briefly took control of the US embassy compound.

They also captured the country's third biggest city and ancient capital, Hue. It took US troops weeks to crush the Tet Offensive, and then only by

shelling and bombing the very South Vietnamese cities they claimed to be defending. As one US major famously put it after the demolition of the town of Dentre in South Vietnam's Mekong River Delta: "It was necessary to destroy the town in order to save it."

In purely military terms the US did succeed in defeating the Tet Offensive, using half a million troops and enormous firepower. US forces killed some 37,000 National Liberation Front fighters, for a loss of 2,500 US troops. But in political terms the Tet Offensive was a disaster for the US and its South Vietnamese puppet regime.

It shattered all the US claims that the war would soon be over, that the National Liberation Front, or "Vietcong" as the US dubbed them, were all but crushed. It demonstrated sharply that the South Vietnamese regime had no popu-

lar support, and could not survive without massive US military backing.

One account of the Vietnam Offensive summed up the impact of the Tet Offensive: "In the past the Vietcong the North Vietnamese army had fought in distant jungle or paddocks striking swiftly and slipping away at night, their toughness rarely a home to the American people."

Failure to collapse

"Now for the first time they fought cities, which meant that day after day American newspapers and, more important, television cameras could see their ability, above all their failure to collapse according to American beliefs."

By March 1968 US president Johnson's key advisers were telling



Casualties mounted as the war dragged on

They said, 'We will bomb them back to

THE US did not finally leave Vietnam for seven years after the Tet Offensive.

In those seven years Johnson and his successor Richard Nixon, with Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, turned Vietnam into hell on earth.

In October 1972 Nixon ordered a series of air raids on the North Vietnamese cities of Hanoi and Haiphong.

It was the most intense bombing attack in world history.

The bombs dropped on the two cities had a destructive power five times greater than the atomic bomb the US dropped on Hiroshima in 1945.

The US dropped over one

million tons of bombs on North Vietnam.

And in South Vietnam it dropped over four million tons, double the amount the US had dropped during the whole of the Second World War.

Around 1.5 million Vietnamese were killed.

The Vietnamese were treated as subhuman.

Top US General Westmoreland said, "The Oriental doesn't value life in the same way as a Westerner."

One Vietnam veteran said, "The only thing they told us about the Vietcong was that they were gooks."

"They were to be killed. Kill,

kill, kill. That's what we got. Kill, kill, kill."

The most famous result of this attitude was the massacre at My Lai village in March 1968.

A company of US soldiers murdered 400 unarmed women and children.

A cover-up was organised by Colin Powell, now George W. Bush's Secretary of State.

US-trained death squads assassinated an estimated 40,000 Vietnamese suspected of being sympathisers of the National Liberation Front.

The US launched massive chemical warfare too. It dropped napalm that burned people alive. And the US dropped over 100

U.S. WAR

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the awful truth: that the US could not win the war against a determined enemy which had mass popular support. As one historian summed it up, "As much as the US military command might deny it, the widespread local support for the forces of the National Liberation Front was the central disadvantage faced by the American soliders."

The heroic resistance in Vietnam linked up with the rising tide of opposition and protest against the war back in the US, and disquiet among US corporations and bankers at the spiralling costs of the war.

One account tells how in March 1968 a "senior advisers' group" quietly told Johnson, "that the establishment, Wall Street, had turned against the war. "It was hurting the economy, dividing the country."

Later that month Johnson announced on national television that he intended to seek a negotiated peace in Vietnam.

It was the beginning of the end for the war in Vietnam, but not in the way US General Westmoreland had boasted.

The US had fought the war to ensure its strategic control over the two thirds of the world that did not come under Communist influence.

US rulers feared that if their puppet rulers were ejected in places such as Vietnam then it would act as encouragement to people rebelling in other countries.

But instead of bolstering the US's dominance, it hurled it back. It took another seven years of fighting after Tet, but the war was to end with humiliated US officials fleeing the embassy in Saigon. This glorious sight boosted people fighting imperialism everywhere.



Despite brutal repression by US forces (above), the Vietnamese fought back and won

FURTHER READING

Long road leading to humiliating defeat

1954

Vietnamese forces defeat French colonial troops at the battle of Dien Bien Phu. Vietnam divided between independent North, under Ho Chi Minh, and repressive pro-Western puppet regime in South.

defeats the rising militarily, but it shatters US claims to be winning the war.

MARCH 1968

US troops massacre over 400 civilians at village of My Lai.

NOVEMBER 1968

Richard Nixon wins US presidential election. US troop numbers in Vietnam peak at 580,000.

1969

Nixon orders secret bombing of Vietnam's neutral neighbour Cambodia. October sees massive anti-war demonstrations in Washington.

1970

Nixon announces invasion of Cambodia. In May huge anti-war student protests see US National Guard kill four students at Ohio's Kent State University.

JUNE 1972

Illegal Watergate building break-in as Nixon tries to dig up dirt to smear critics of his war and other policies.



More forces pushed in

1954

US begins financial and military aid to South Vietnam.

1959

US sends first 800 "advisers" to back up South Vietnamese regime.

1960

In November John F Kennedy elected US president. He increases US forces in Vietnam to 3,500 in 1961, 11,300 in 1962 and 15,000 in 1963.

1963

Kennedy assassinated. Lyndon B Johnson becomes US president.

1964

In August the US stages fake "Gulf of Tonkin incident" to act as justification for stepping up war on and bombing of Vietnam.

1965

In July Johnson orders huge increase in US troops in Vietnam, which rise to over 180,000.

1967

Increase in anti-war protests in US as US troops in Vietnam rise to 485,000.

JANUARY 1968

Vietnamese National Liberation Front forces launch Tet Offensive, seizing control of key cities. US



Troops traumatised

NOVEMBER 1972

Nixon re-elected president.

1973

Ceasefire agreement with Vietnam signed.

1974

Nixon forced to resign when evidence of his involvement in Watergate cover-up emerges.

1975

National Liberation Front takes Vietnamese capital Saigon, renaming it Ho Chi Minh City. Last US troops flee in helicopter from roof of US embassy.

Back to the Stone Age' Determined resistance split rulers of the US

FURTHER READING

The American War: Vietnam 1960-1975 by Jonathan Neale, £10.

Girl in the Picture: The Story of Vietnam's Most Famous Casualty by Denise Chong, £7.99.

Vietnam: Anatomy of a War and Vietnam: Anatomy of a Peace by Gabriel Kolko, £14.99.

Splitting Image: Myth, Memory and the Legacy of Vietnam by Jerry Lembcke, £13.50.

All titles are available from Bookmarks, the socialist bookshop, 1 Bloomsbury Street, London, WC1B 3QE. Phone 020 7637 1848 or go to www.bookmarks.uk.com

million pounds of defoliant chemicals such as Agent Orange.

A Red Cross report last year said 650,000 Vietnamese are still suffering from the effects of Agent Orange and similar chemicals.

The horror was not confined to Vietnam. Nixon and Kissinger secretly ordered huge bombing raids on neighbouring Cambodia.

A US air force commander, Curtis Le May, said, "We're going to bomb them back to the Stone Age."

But despite the horror the Vietnamese refused to break, and kept up their determined and heroic resistance.

ALONGSIDE the Vietnamese resistance the anti-war movement played a vital role in breaking the US rulers' willingness to continue the war.

In the early stages, 80 percent of people in the US backed the war. In 1964 only 600 people marched in New York against the war.

The first focus of the anti-war movement was college teach-ins, which grew very quickly.

These were debates involving supporters and opponents of the war. A staggering 30,000 took part in a 36-hour teach-in at the University of California in Berkeley.

By April 1967 the number of people demonstrating in New York hit 400,000. In Britain the Vietnam Solidarity

Campaign organised a demonstration of 20,000 in October 1967. By October 1968 there was a militant 100,000-strong march.

In the US, the protests and the impact of the Tet Offensive in Vietnam meant opinion polls in 1968 for the first time showed a majority opposed the war.

The ruling Democratic Party's 1968 convention saw running battles between anti-war protesters and the police.

Richard Nixon's new Republican administration claimed to have a plan to end the war. But bombing intensified.

In 1970, four students were shot dead on an anti-war protest at Kent State University.

The murders sparked massive protests. There was talk of rebellion against the

war becoming a "revolution at home".

Cities across the US were rocked by a series of rebellions by black people.

The uprisings drew support from young whites conscripted to fight in Vietnam.

The US invasion of another of Vietnam's neighbours, Laos, in early 1971 sparked huge demonstrations-500,000 in Washington and 300,000 in San Francisco.

The US army was falling apart. The US ruling class was split.

Wall Street was screaming for an end to the financial burden of war. Nixon was forced to reach a settlement.

The world's greatest war machine had been beaten by one of the poorest countries on earth.

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Ten reasons why FF/PPD are a bunch of wasters

THE Fianna Fail and Progressive Democrats are heading into this election in a anxious and worried state of mind.

Worried that the electorate will punish them at the polls for the lies they have propagated since 2002, the cut-backs and the tax revenue that they have wasted away.

Anxious that the anger workers feel towards this FF/PPD government is growing.

Having instigated cut-backs in health and education the governing parties fear a backlash in the upcoming local and European elections.

Michael McDowell has attempted to deflect anger from the government by calling his racist referendum.

However FF/PPD can not run away from their record. **DAVID LYNCH** looks back on the last two years and compiles a far from comprehensive list of the money that the governing parties have frittered away while launching sweeping cuts in Health, Education, and other areas.



1 PUNCESTOWN: In March the Public Accounts Committee (PAC) severely criticised Charlie McCreevy's donation of €15.3million to an equestrian events centre at Puncestown Racecourse in Co Kildare.

The PAC found the centre "was hardly used" in its first year, and that only a third of events held there last year were of an equestrian or agricultural nature. Minister for Finance, Mr McCreevy is the main man behind the centre which is in his constituency.

He personally approved the funding, including a doubling in its cost to €13.8 million in the space of six months in 2000, and a further €1.5 million top-up in January 2002.

Could have been spent on: The Health Service. In the first year of this government despite their promise to get rid of waiting lists completely almost 300 hospital beds had been closed in the Eastern Regional Health Authority.

In many other hospitals, temporary



■ From top clockwise: Protests at Tribunals, Farmleigh House, the Bertie Bowl and Puncestown

bed closures have been announced. Of the 709 additional hospital beds which were to be delivered by the end of 2002, just 270 were provided.

This has been eroded by the closure of almost 300 beds since then.

2 TRIBUNALS: Tribunals and inquiries have cost the taxpayer €101 million since 1997, according to the Dept of Finance's official figures.

The vast bulk of the figure is accounted for by payments to lawyers acting for the state, and for witnesses called to the tribunals.

At the Moriarty Tribunal, three barristers - John Coughlan, Jerry Healy and Jacqueline O'Brien - have been paid an amazing combined total of over €10 million since 1997.

This is despite the fact that no corrupt politician has spent any substantial time behind bars.

Could have been spent on: Saving all the CES and FAS schemes that have been scrapped over the past two years.

The slashing of Community Employment places by 5,000 in 2003 corresponds to a resource allocation of approximately €59.5m and is in addition to the cuts of 5,800 places made in 2002.

The money wasted away on lawyers in the tribunals could have funded the retention of these CES schemes.

3 THE SPIRE: It is ugly, seven times the height of the GPO, weighs 120 tonnes and cost a whopping €4.8 million.

The Millennium Spire was overseen and built by FF/PPD.

Could have been spent on: Over forty state of the art public playgrounds with skateboarding facilities.

At present Ireland has more golf courses than public playgrounds, and large populous counties like Kildare only have one serving well over 100,000 residents.

4 E-VOTING: Last month the Commission on Electronic Voting found that the security of the voting system could not be guaranteed in time for the elections to be held.

So Minister Martin Cullen had to scrap his e-voting plans. That is despite spending €52 million on advertising and thousands of voting machines.

Experts warned the government of the problems with the system but FF/PPD ignored them.

Speaking in February this year Minister McCreevy said that suggestions, that Fianna Fáil could not be trusted on the issue of electronic voting were "an insidious, unworthy, diabolical and appalling attempt to create doubt where there is no doubt".

Could have been spent on: According to figures from St. Vincent De Paul €52 million could have provided for the provision of 300 new / refurbished units of Traveller specific accommodation in 2004. And there still would have been €12m left over.

5 MAY DAY: Over €5 million was spent on the Garda and army "security" operation on May Day.

The Real Picture. One respondent in the study spoke about the dire conditions in reception hostels.

"There were 12 in a room. When I arrived I was having a problem so I couldn't sleep if there was a noise."

Sister Breege Keenan of the Vincentian Refugee Centre said that 60 per cent of those who came to the centre needed help with accommodation.



In one of the largest security operations ever seen in the State, more than 5,000 Gardaí and 2,500 troops were deployed.

A 36-hour shutdown of Phoenix Park was in effect closing down the park to the people of Dublin and preventing families and friends of the sick and elderly visiting the hospital within the walls.

Could have been spent on: Almost 10 state of the art modern public libraries with internet connection and public meeting areas.

6 EU PRESIDENCY: According to the most recent Government Budget Estimates, which detail projected spending in the coming year, the presidency will cost almost €50 million this year.

Most of this will be spent on wine and dining the heads of the EU countries.

A ridiculous €1.5 million has been allocated for the construction and management of the official presidency website.

Could have been spent on: Accommodation for foreign nationals in this country as they encounter "huge problems" finding a decent place to live according to a new study entitled *Housing and Refugees*.

7 BERTIE BOWL: The Taoiseach's vanity project will now more than likely never be built in Abbotstown, but that has not stopped the government spending millions.

In 2002 the Department of Finance approved a contract for new laboratories for the Department of Agriculture and the State Laboratory at Backweston Farm, near Celbridge, Co Kildare, at an estimated cost of €179 million.

These labs were moved to make room for the Bertie Bowl in Abbotstown. Designs and reports into the Bertie Bowl have also come to €18 million so far.

The government's contract with Maga-ly and Company for the provision of executive services is costing €127,000 a month.

Could have been spent on: Allowing from planning to construction health projects such as St James's Hospital - A & E Extension; James Connolly Memorial Hospital - Refurbishment of accommodation for older people; Our Lady's Hospital for Sick Children - Radiology, Haematology/Oncology accommodation. MRI; St John's Hospital, Enniscorthy - Unit for Older Persons.

8 LUAS: In six years the cost of Luas has risen from €288 million to €675 million, but its value as a transport system has fallen.

Even as its cost estimate has soared from €288 million in 1997 to €675 million last year, its value as a transport system has fallen.

Because all it will deliver is two free-standing light-rail lines with no physical connection between them.

Luas is turning out to be the most expensive infrastructure project in the history of the State.

And that is for just two lines - one linking Sandyford with St Stephen's Green and the other linking Tallaght with Connolly Station.

Luas is being built while there has been a chronic underinvestment in public transport.

Could have been spent on: Social and affordable housing.

According to the last Housing Statistics Bulletin from the Department of Environment and Local Government, in March 2003, there was a total of 48,413 households on local-authority housing waiting lists.

This figure represents a growth rate of 76.5% since 1996, and indicates that about 130,000 people and almost 50,000 households are in need of accommodation.

Of these households 25% have been waiting for more than three years, 14% are on the list for between 2-3 years while 22% are waiting for between 1-2 years.

According to figures from St. Vincent De Paul in their 2004 Budget Submission €675million could have paid for the building of over 3,000 new social housing units.

9 LIES: €1 million plus was spent on launching Michael Martin's much heralded health strategy before the last election.

It all turned out to be money wasted on lies. Fianna Fail made an extraordinary commitment in their 2002 election manifesto.

They pledged to... "permanently end waiting lists in our hospitals within two years through a combination of bed capacity, primary care, secondary care, and targeted reform of initiatives" (*Fianna Fail manifesto 2002*).

That two year deadline came to an end last month and waiting lists are far from ended. Currently there are more than 27,000 people waiting for treatment and some 9,000 have been waiting for more than a year.

Could have been spent on: Preventing the planned closure of the TB ward at Peamount Hospital.



10 FARMLEIGH: The government spent €23 million on purchasing Farmleigh House in the Phoenix Park.

Many more millions were spent on doing up the building to welcome "dignitaries" such as Tony Blair and the Chinese Foreign Minister.

Could have been spent on: Towards finally opening the new €105 million building at James Connolly Memorial Hospital at Blanchardstown which remains closed because "of concerns" over additional cleaning, lighting and heating costs associated with the new building.

book

Ireland versus Multinationals

By RORY HEARNE

No Global: The People of Ireland Versus the Multinationals by Robert Allen is a fascinating insight and analysis into a series of struggles by local communities against toxic capital and the hazardous industry in Ireland, particularly those multinationals at the forefront of globalisation.

It is a critique of the industrial policy pursued by successive governments since 1958 when Whitaker and Lemass introduced the programme for Economic Expansion. The state enticed foreign investment through grants and tax concessions.

Allen documents the environmental, health and safety impacts of the corporations that the IDA and Local Authorities invited.

Ireland became, and still is, a pollution haven, hosting the five giants of the US Chemical Industry (Penn Chemicals later Smithkline Beecham, Pfizer, Merck, Schering Plough and Syntex).

They came to escape the escalation of occupational and environmental regulation in their home country and get access to that increasingly rare resource- unpolluted ground water.

In 1970 US Chemical investment in Ireland was \$22 million, by 1981 \$1 billion and in 2002 was \$12 billion.

Though not a Marxist analysis, this text echoes Marx's view that the history of class society is a history of class struggle and opposition to the ruling classes.

Allen begins by stating "Despite the IDA's rosy image of Ireland and its people, some of these people were not prepared to accept jobs at any price."

"Throughout the history of foreign capital investment in Ireland, there has been opposition to it".

He describes a series of communities battles. The residents in Killaloe, in County Tipperary forced Schering in another example a community in ~~Warrington~~ planning and legal process to stop Beecham setting up a pharmaceutical factory (which led the state to changing the planning laws to avoid such opposition).

Toxic Emissions

Then in July 1988 a South Tipperary farmer took Merck Sharp and Dome to the courts in Dublin where judges ruled that toxic emissions from an incinerator on the Merck site had led to the deaths of hundreds of animals on his farm.

From Cork to Derry the war between the corporates and their state backers and the communities is brilliantly described.

He also offers a critique of the different 'populist' movements.

He correctly criticises many campaigns for their lack of confrontation and mass mobilisation of the power that can beat the corporates and the state rather than relying on legal and soft opposition.

The Green movement is criticised for not taking into account the broader social and economic issues that could connect with the communities and deepen the opposition.

He sees, however, the battles as being lost because in many ways the battle was between the unpolluted non-industrial Ireland and the modern globalised Ireland.

This would also explain the hostility to the trade unions reflected in the book.

His critique of the Green movement could be applied to himself. It is an autonomist analysis with Marxist underpinnings and his views express the views of many within the environmental movement and therefore it needs careful analysis.

It is a must read book for anyone involved in any campaigning in Ireland so as to learn the lessons of the past and debate a strategy for the way forward within the movements.

■ **No Global: The People of Ireland Versus the Multinationals** by Robert Allen

OUT NOW

Citizenship and Racism: The case against McDowell's Referendum

by Kieran Allen



€4 from SW Books, PO Box 1648 Dublin 8

film

History will absolve me

By DAVID LYNCH

HOW do you deal with the fact that your actions have directly led to the death of at least half a million people?

85 year old Robert McNamara has attempted to do that in one of the most feted and sadly dishonest documentaries in recent years.

The former high ranking official in the Ministry of Defence during the fire-bombing of Japan in 1945 and Secretary of Defence during JFK's and Johnson's presidencies is the central focus of Errol Morris's 'Fog of War'.

But rather than the huge "degree of insight and revelation" the Oscar winning film promises, we get a final defence at the dock.

Of course there is some equivocation, how could there not be?

But if a documentary maker had stuck a hand held camera in the face of Idi Amin or General Pinochet and asked them to talk of their lives there might have just been some slight admittance of wrong there as well.

War Crimes

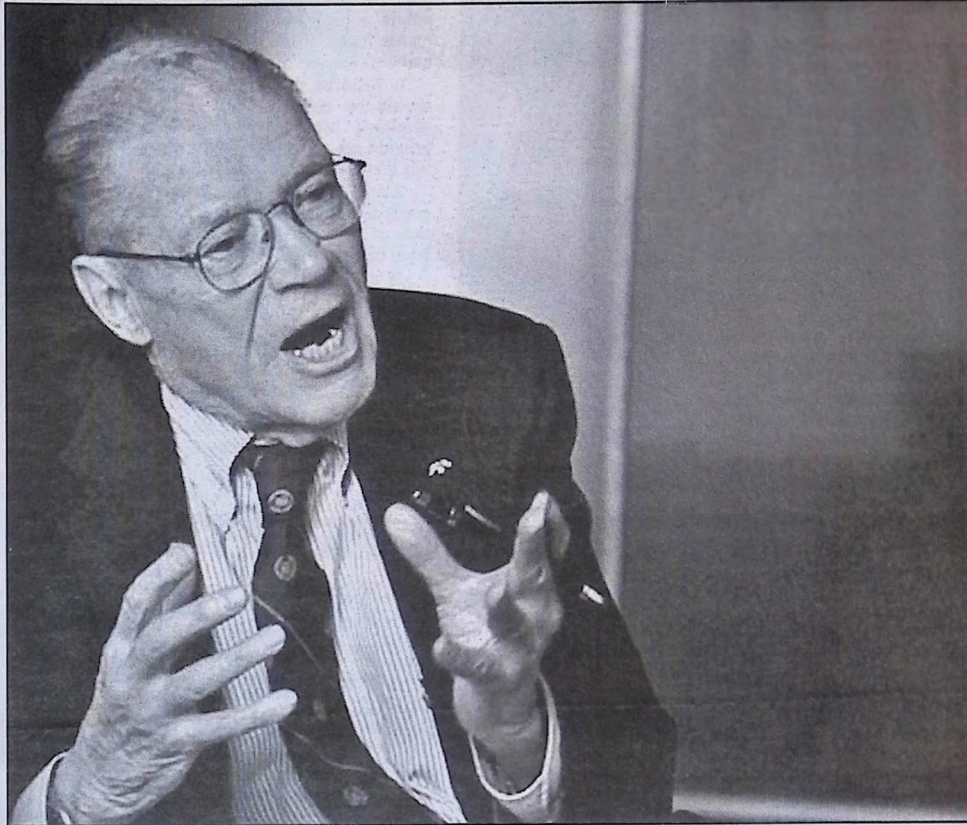
So McNamara says that if the US had lost the Second World War he would have been tried for war crimes.

He keeps on repeating "Was 100,000 Japanese's deaths in one never ~~arises the issue of~~ those that think it is a rhetorical yes, give this man much more credit than he deserves.

But what he does do is pass the vast majority of the blame for the blanket fire bombing of Japan in the Second World War onto General Curtis LeMay. And in terms of Vietnam well he blames Lynden Johnson for all that.

In the film McNamara point blankly refuses to answer tough questions. Some may argue that this tells its own story and that Morris would not have secured McNamara's consent for interviews if he had pushed him.

However it is a remarkable compromise and it shows how much this film, despite its surface appearance



Errol Morris's 'The Fog of War' is a documentary about McNamara's terms.

He has been involved in so much killing in his career that he even puts Donald Rumsfeld in the shade, although the present Secretary of Defence is trying his best to catch up.

McNamara cries like a baby when he recalls in Technicolor detail where he was and how he reacted to the news that the assassin's bullet had taken down his beloved president in 1963.

Yet McNamara cannot remember when, or even if, he ordered the use of Agent Orange in Vietnam that killed thousands and caused cancer in generations after. When speaking of the, literally, hundreds of thousands he helped kill in the bombing

eyes do not well up once.

Camelot

This man is so far through the looking glass of evil that he has absolutely no moral compass. In an attempt to give some meaning or justification for his actions he focuses on the death of the pretty boy prince of the corrupted court of Camelot.

We are led to believe that if Kennedy had ducked in Dallas in 1963, well then the Vietnam War would not have happened. But McNamara does not give one shred of evidence to back up this claim, indeed his evidence points to the

he died. McNamara says that there is "much to be said for counterfactual history. Historians do not like it because they have to deal with what really happened, but I was there, can look at what could have been."

Well of course he wants to deal with counterfactual fantasy because in the real history McNamara has to deal with the horrific deeds that he has done.

This is an apologia wrapped in a desperate defence inside a near deathbed self justification. Avoid this sham.

■ **The Fog of War (Errol Morris)** IFI, UGC.

music

Don't you dare miss this gig!



Politics and Music are coming together in Ireland in a big way for the first time since the 1970's gigs against nuclear power at Carnsore point in the Irish Anti War Movement

When Bush comes we Shove gig at the Point Depot in Dublin on Saturday the 19th of June. Leading the charge again is the incomparable Christy Moore. We love you Christy. Christy will be backed by

a wide range of bands and performers including stalwarts Mary Black and Kila and up and comers Damien Rice and The Revs.

As **Socialist Worker** went to press it heard that crazy Leninist techno

rockers Alabama 3 had added their name to the bill. That'll bring the cool crowd in alright.

Tickets can be ordered through ticketmaster and other outlets and the Irish Anti War movement will have numbers to sell the

ridiculously low price of approx €30.

Funds raised will be for the costs of the Bush protests and enable the IAWM to open a full time office.

See you there.

Young? Pissed Off? Hate your Job? NO money left after you pay the rent? Socialist Worker recommends the new single from Brit-punks The Others. Entitled 'This ones for the poor'. It's refreshing, ripping, uplifting anthem for the new dispossessed of the western city reminiscent of the early days of punk. These guys have been gaining a great following in Britain and support the excellent Libertines a lot. We hope they come to Ireland soon.

DUN LAOGHAIRE:

Save Our Seafront

OVER sixty people turned up to a demonstration organised by Save our Seafront (SOS) outside Dun Laoghaire Town Hall on May 10th.

Bob Wadell from the Sandycove and Glasthule Residents Association was among the protestors.

He told *Socialist Worker* "We are highlighting the lack of communication with the people of Dun Laoghaire by Dun Laoghaire Rathdown County Council and by the Harbour company."

The Harbour Company completely ignored the wishes and needs of the public when it chose a development for the pier that involves over two hundred exclusive apartments.

The plan will effectively privatise a substantial section of the harbour and set a precedent for more exclusive high rise developments



Richard Boyd Barrett

along the seafront and across Dun Laoghaire.

SOS is calling on the

council to refuse planning permission for the Heneghan peng plan for the pier and institute a proper public consultation process on the future of the pier and harbour.

It believes that the pier should be developed as a Maritime Museum and to provide other public amenities that are accessible to all.

According to Bob "There needs to be more protests as they increase public knowledge of what is going on."

"Our protests against the building of a skyscraper development the site of Dun Laoghaire Baths helped raise awareness and forced the council to back off on their plans."

To get involved in SOS contact Richard Boyd Barrett 087 6329511

Boyd Barrett slams cuts

Richard Boyd Barrett, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Dun Laoghaire in the local elections has condemned the government and Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown Co. Council for engaging in a deliberate campaign to get rent allowance cut-off from hundreds of people on the housing list.

According to Richard "People on the housing list who live in the Dun Laoghaire and Ballybrack areas and have expressed a preference to be housed in their own area are being offered council flats in Dunderum and Ballinteer."

"If they refuse the offer of accommodation their rent allowance payments are being cut-off."

"People are refusing the offers in Dunderum because they are families or single parents with young kids established in schools in their own area. Many of the places being offered are also in flat complexes which are very run-down and are due to be demolished soon."

"The council and government are doing this quite deliberately in order to make miserly cuts against the least well-off. They know people

will refuse the offers because they are just not practical."

"This is not the only cut-back by Mary Coughlan against the victims of the housing crisis."

"She also cut rent allowance to people on low incomes if they are in full-time employment."

"People on minimum wage with families renting private accommodation simply cannot afford to pay the huge rents being asked at the moment. This kind of policy is going to dramatically increase the number of homeless."

"The government and council's attitude towards those on low incomes who need social and affordable housing contrasts sharply with their enthusiastic commitment to helping developers make fortunes from building exclusive private apartment complexes all over the country."

"They are looking after big business and the wealthy and leaving the needy to rot."

"What we need is a huge programme of decent social and affordable housing and the amenities to go with it"

"Let's hope the politicians who make this kind of attack on the less well off and young families will get the punishment they deserve in the forthcoming local elections."

'Vote for working class activists'

Dave Lordan, the SWP candidate for Ballybrack, told *Socialist Worker*:



Dave Lordan

"I am canvassing in Ballybrack at the moment. Many people in this area, like the rest of the country, are suffering the effects of years of neglect by successive governments."

"While countless millions are being wasted by governments, thousands of people live in badly maintained, overcrowded local authority houses and flats."

"In this area, people with disabilities and illnesses as well as many elderly people are being disgracefully pressurised by the council into paying bin tax arrears."

"All this is done while councillors divert thousands

into junkets for themselves. In Dun Laoghaire Rathdown, four of the present batch of councillors spent thousands of council money to go to China for a conference on earthquakes."

"The council, like the government it supports, is rotten to the core. We have to kick these people out on June 11th and replace them with genuine working class activists."

SOUTH EAST SOCIAL FORUM Anti Capitalism in Waterford

Hundreds of socialists, environmentalists, community workers and trade unionists assembled in Waterford for the South East Social Forum Alternative Environmental Summit and protest.

Representatives of over twenty different organisations participated in the alternative summit discussing such issues as: incineration, neutrality, GM foods, privatisation of public services, zero waste, the militarisation of Europe, waste strategies, worker and social rights and the occupation of Iraq.

Hundreds also took part on a protest march through Waterford City under the banner of 'People and Planet Before Profit: Another Europe is Possible' on the same day as the ministers meeting. Members of the SWP joined activists in the South East Social Forum to protest at the WIT where the summit was taking place and at the gala dinner. As Martin Cullen was greeting his guests with glasses of champagne on the steps of the Tower Hotel for the dinner, the 25 ministers could hear chants of: "Martin Cullen hear us say, incineration no way".

Principle among the discussions at the alternative summit was Cullen's attempt to force incineration on to local communities, including in Waterford City, and Fianna Fail's abysmal record on waste management.

Roy Hassey of the South East Social Forum and SWP candidate in Waterford No 3 Ward, said after the weekend: "This is the first time an event like this has been held in the south-east bringing together such a broad and diverse range of organisations and individuals. As well as the political parties, the SWP, Greens and Sinn Fein, there were also dozens of environmental groups, community organisations and trade unions taking part in the summit and protest."

All these groups were brought together by the need to present an alternative to the corporate driven agenda of the EU and Fianna Fail. An agenda which forces incineration, privatisation, war on us because of the profits these things can accrue for multinational corporations."

"Alternatives such as zero waste, real Irish neutrality, organic production, Publicly owned services, non-militarisation and a social Europe where worker and social rights are protected and respected rather than constantly attacked in the drive for profits."

Everyone left the summit with the belief that Another Europe is Possible and that by putting aside our differences and acting collectively we can create that other Europe."

"Another rallying cry from the weekend was the call for the social forum movement in Ireland to now turn its attention and efforts into organising against the Bush visit and building the biggest possible protests against the world's number one terrorist when he comes to Ireland."

"Also raised was the need to organise for the next European Social Forum in London in October and make real connections with this international movement for change to make sure the anti-capitalist movement really takes off in Ireland."

Bray Bins privatisation disaster

CATHERINE Kennedy, the SWP candidate in West Bray, reports that the privatisation of the bin service is a huge issue on the doorstep. "People in the town are furious."

"The reality of privatisation is now clear. We pay €5.35 per bag. Some families need to put out up to six bags a week. They just can't afford to pay."

"There was a huge outcry over paying more easily."

"We had to fight hard to get Greenstar, the private company who runs the bin service here, to acknowledge it."

"We've been told it was a faulty batch and the price has been reduced to €4.48."

Warning

Privatisation has been a disaster and those who allowed it through should be made to pay. It's a warning to Bray gives people on low



incomes just 10 free bags a year. And even this miserly waiver looks set to be abolished.

"As for recycling, if you have a car you can take it to a bring centre. If not, all we have in the town is a pilot scheme that provides clear plastic bags to fill at the cost of €2 per bag."

"The week the recyclables are collected, there's no household bin service. That means we are reduced to three collections a month."

"It's a total disaster. This system rips off the average man and woman on the street and does nothing to help the environment."

"I'm asking people to elect myself and Joyce Power in the North Bray ward to the council so that we can have a voice in there for ordinary people."

"We need to vote out those who supported privatisation in the face of all the opposition in the town because they'll come after our water service next".

It's time to fight the housing crisis

Ringsend area with her parents, her partner, her brother and her child. Despite the gross overcrowding, Mary and her family are not a priority case.

This situation is repeated right across the city. There are currently thousands of families on the Dublin city housing waiting list. Private developments are springing up all over the city but the councils building programme is virtually non-existent.

Shay Ryan, originally from Ringsend and standing for election in the ward, says "we are coming across lots of cases like this on the canvas. The housing allocation system is completely crazy. Its never going to work of course because there are far too few units to meet the needs that are out there."

"We need to get people together to fight on this. There is a huge onslaught on the idea of local authority provided housing. Everywhere we see evidence of City council trying to back off their obligations through the gradual privatisation of its housing stock



Shay Ryan

and land. Councillors and central government have allowed this to happen. We need people in city council who will oppose and expose this scandal and large campaigns on the streets to stop it."

Contact Shay Ryan if you want to campaign on this issue in the south city ph. 087 9143703

Hospital services threatened

JOYCE Power is a member of the Save Our Services (SOS) committee in Bray.

She told *Socialist Worker* "It looks like, in the aftermath of the Hanley report, that the A&E facilities at Loughlinstown hospital will close."

"Wexford general hospital is also under threat so the people of Bray and North Wicklow may have no hospital access except to Vincents hospital to the north and Waterford to the south."

"Both these hospitals have a huge existing catchment area."

Loughlinstown deals with between 30,000 and 40,000 patients a year."

"The population of North Wicklow is expected to grow by 25% over the next ten years. What we need is more hospitals not



Joyce Power

less.

"This is a very important issue for the people of this area."

"We have already collected 4000 signatures on a petition and we are ready to launch a huge campaign to stop any attack on our hospital services".

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DIRECT CLEANING SERVICES

Cleaners picket against work permit abuses

THIRTY workers from Direct Cleaning Services picketed the company's head office in Dolphins Barn in Dublin on Tuesday 11th May.

Their protest was organised to highlight the gross abuses of their pay and conditions by this contract cleaning company.

All of the workers are employed on the "work permit" system introduced by Mary Harney's department which allows employers to engage workers from outside the EU countries.

The employer pays 500 euro per year for the permit for each worker. But Direct Cleaning Services have passed this cost on to the workers themselves for the last three years.

The 30 workers, all from Pakistan, recently joined SIPTU to organise to get their full rights and pay entitlements.

According to their representative, "Direct Cleaning has not paid us for overtime, for Sunday work or holidays. They have forced us to pay for



Flashback: At the bottom of the pile cleaners face low pay and exploitation. (Left) UCD cleaners fight back in 1985 and (right) Brid Smith

our work permits. When it was shown on a recent TV documentary on Primetime that we are not obliged to pay for our own permits we got together and approached the union for help".

"We were not being paid even the minimum wage. They were paying us 7 euro per hour instead of 7.70. They have told SIPTU they didn't know what the minimum wage was."

Just two years ago Belgrove Cleaning Services went into liquidation and put over 70 women, mostly from Crumlin and Ballyfermot, onto the

dole queue. Most of these women were employed to clean St. Mary's and the Meath hospital.

Solidarity

The women picketed the company's head office in Dolphins Barn and the HQ of the Eastern Health Board for months to demand their rights to back pay and redundancy.

Socialist Workers Party members worked in solidarity with the sacked cleaners and raised money and support for their struggle. The same bosses are now engaged in the super



exploitation of foreign workers.

Belgrove Cleaning bosses then formed Direct Cleaning Services and maintained many of their previous contracts.

The workers from Pakistan clean the offices and shops of Dunnes Stores in Blanchardstown, the Ilac Centre, Ashleaf and Henry Street.

They also work in IBM, the Sunday World newspaper and government offices in Hawkins House.

Brid Smith, who is standing in the Ballyfermot ward for the SWP, says "After all the celebrating of the enlarged EU has died down we can see how the employers will exploit the poorer workers of the world and use this the enlargement to their advantage.

Instead of paying for the permit for workers from Pakistan or elsewhere outside the EU, employers can now engage workers from Latvia, Lithuania or Poland on the same low pay and conditions.

This means they will let go hundreds of workers from outside the EU to engage workers from the new enlarged Europe.

The government allows this exploitation go unchecked. There are only a handful of department inspectors and many employers who break the law remain completely unchecked."

SIPTU and the workers at the Direct Cleaning Services are planning more protests and pickets if their basic rights and entitlements are not given.

We say: Fund our schools!

Parents and teachers in Gaelscoil Cholmille are taking to the streets to demand that the Department of Education and Science purchase a permanent site for their school. Founded in 1996, the school now has 210 pupils in attendance.

However since its foundation it has been located in temporary accommodation in St. Kevin's Boys Football club.

This is totally unsuitable for an expanding school. The rooms are too small, toilet facilities inadequate and there are serious fire and safety concerns.

A permanent site has been designated for the school at Brenfer in Santry Park. The land is currently owned by Dublin City Council. However parents are extremely worried by the delay in purchasing the site.

Brendan Dalton, a member of the school's site committee, told Socialist Worker "We established this committee six years ago. We lost two



commercial sites because of delays on the part of the Department. Two years ago the OPW was due to conclude negotiations on the acquisition of this publicly-owned site when Minister Dempsey reneged on the promise to purchase at the last minute. "We are now sick and tired of waiting. There is

no excuse. The government found over E500 million in extra taxes last month. There's plenty of money around.

"The parents in this school, to a man and a woman have worked tirelessly on this. We have effectively acted as unpaid civil servants trying to sort out this situation for the department.

"We've even gone so far as to employ our own architects and surveyors to design a building for the site so that construction can begin immediately.

"As things stand I believe our children are having their basic human rights contravened"

According to Pat, whose grandchildren attend the school "It shouldn't be like this. Children shouldn't have to wait for decent school facilities. We need to get out on the streets and march because we won't get anything if we just sit back. I'm sick of this government."

Ritchie Browne, the SWP candidate for the area said, "It seems incredible to me that a school that has done everything by the book, and that has been promised the sun, moon and stars from every politician, can be left in this situation.

"There was no shortage of money for the Port tunnel even though it went well beyond its initial contract price.

"It's a sign that if you have friends in high places and if you're well connected everything comes your way.

"If you don't have those connections you're left to fight tooth and nail for even the most basic rights"

BALDONNELL ANTI WAR PROTEST

Gino Kenny handed in a statement on behalf of Clondalkin and Ballyfermot Anti-War Groups to Baldonnell Aerodrome on May 9th opposing the US and British military use of the airport.

A delegation from the IAWM then unfurled anti war banners from the pedestrian bridge on the nearby Naas dual carriageway.

The support from cars travelling on the road was fantastic



Gino Kenny

Ballymun building cowboys exposed

CONTRACTORS working for Dublin City Council's Ballymun Regeneration are exposing locals to serious health risks, SWP candidate Kevin Wingfield, revealed.

"Construction workers have told me of abuses and corners cut that could have serious health implications, Wingfield told Socialist Worker.

"In one example Azure Technology, which is working on new housing in the area, installed central heating to new houses but did not fit expansion tanks.

"This means that stagnant water from the heating system can find its way into the domestic supply.

"In another case Gama contractors have connected the water supply to the toilets for the workers on their site in such a way that water contaminated with human



Kevin Wingfield

boys and it's time it was stopped."

Kevin Wingfield's campaign team has been getting a very positive response on the doorstep. "People are very alienated from establishment politics and feel let down by Labour.

The fact that the Socialist Workers Party in this area is known for its campaigning on issues like the Bin Tax and helping to organise Ballymun Against War has meant the SWP has connected to a lot of people.

"Getting the maximum vote on June 11 is obviously very important, but win or lose in the election our message is that people must get organised to fight for their rights," says Kevin Wingfield's campaign manager and Ballymun activist Mary Wall.

"Our housing is being skimped and gerry-built to feed the profits of these cow-

VOICES AGAINST THE REFERENDUM

The rationales proffered by the Minister to explain the perceived urgency of this reform - 'citizen tourism', pressure on maternity wards, etc - do not justify a hurried response.

What is, in fact, urgently needed is a transparent and informed debate on the current state and future direction of our immigration system.

Publication of the Immigration and Residency Bill would be a far better start to that process

Seán Love, Amnesty International (Ireland)

What the government is actually proposing will mean, that in future there will be two classes of Irish children: those who are nationals because they are born in Ireland and therefore part of the Irish nation, and those who are nationals and citizens because of who their parents are.

This completely contradicts the Republic's Proclamation that it would "cherish all children equally", and the Constitutional guarantee of equality.

Aisling Reidy, Director of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties:

It is true that Ireland has become a more attractive country over recent years for many from poorer countries. Who can blame mothers if they want to do the best for their child? Yet the data available suggests that the numbers of non-national women coming to Ireland in late pregnancy to claim Irish citizenship for their child are very few. It seems that they are being scapegoated for the failure of successive governments to reverse the cutbacks in maternity beds in the 1980s.

Community workers Co-operative

The government is currently planning to close more maternity hospitals.

Mc Dowell's scapegoating of foreign women and babies is a grotesque attempt to distract attention from the crisis of underfunding in the health service.

The vast majority of doctors and nurses are disgusted with this racist referendum. We want better resources for all women in the maternity hospitals. The Department of Health should be funding appropriate resources for the care of multi-ethnic patients, not arguing for their deportation.

Dr Juliet Bressan, General Practitioner and columnist in "Medical Weekly"

Our health, education and social services are in tatters. This government has squandered the wealth of the Celtic tiger and now wants to "suggest" that the problems ordinary people experience in accessing services are caused by floods of immigrants and asylum seekers coming into the country.

It's dangerous lies and this referendum is designed to cause all kinds of divisions among people who are all suffering as a result of government policies. We need to stick together, black and white, Irish and East European and fight them at every turn. I am calling on people to say no to this referendum on June 11th and to vote out all those politicians who have ignored and betrayed the needs of working class people."

Terry Connolly, SWP candidate, Rathmines ward



Terry Connolly

★ Meanwhile, the campaign for a new school at St. Brigid's in the Coombe is continuing. Last year's brilliant campaigning by parents and teachers prevented the sell off of the site designated for their new school building to private developers.

In this year's budget, money was provided to purchase the site and now parents and teachers are demanding that money for the construction of the new school be provided in the 2005 allocation.

Brendan Donohoe, standing for the SWP in the South West Inner City ward, commented, "The campaign in the Coombe shows that people power can make a difference. This is the politics I want to spearhead in my campaign."



Brendan Donohoe

Socialist Worker

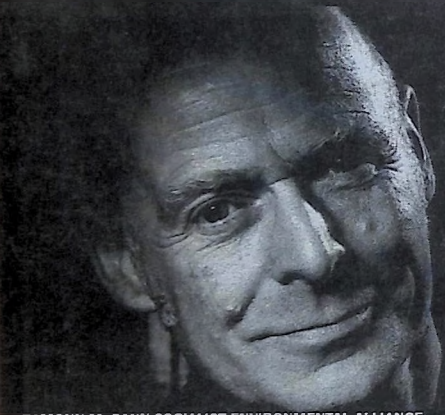
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In the South the FF/PD government is rightly hated by thousands of people.

From corruption, service charges, hospital overcrowding and collaboration with the US brutal war on Iraq, Ahern, Harney and Co are attacking the lives of working class people.

In the North, the mainstream parties offer nothing but the sectarian politics of communalism.

It's time to break the mould.

Socialists with a record of fighting bin charges and other local campaigns, helping to organise the anti war movement and standing up against racism are standing in local and Euro elections.

They are standing to offer a socialist alternative to paid-for big business politicians.

They stand on the basis that organising ordinary people to stand up for their rights whether in the community, trade unions, schools and colleges is the real power that can change society.

The more votes socialists get in these elections, the more the possibility of real change can take shape in the imaginations of thousands of people.

We call on all our readers to come out and vote, and to help out in the campaigns if they can.

Join with us to create a fighting socialist alternative.

Contact the local campaigns directly or phone the Socialist Workers Party on (01) 872 2682.



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