

Socialist Worker

(01) 8722682 <http://www.swp.ie> swp@clubi.ie

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism €1.00 / £0.70p

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1.2 BILLION
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Solidarity price €2.00

US military training in Shannon:

STOP AHERN SENDING IRISH TROOPS TO AFGHANISTAN

DISGRACEFULLY, THE US military have been allowed to train in Ireland.

Exercises by the United States military are underway in Ireland for the first time after the Government gave permission for US aircraft to operate out of Shannon for flights over the south coast.

Two US Air Force C-130 planes have been flying from

Shannon in a four-day training exercise which has involved low-level flying over Kenmare Bay and other areas.

The war planes are US Special Forces variants of the Hercules, which have been extensively used in Afghanistan.

Why would the American military want to practice emergency landing techniques in Ireland?

The training is prepared for the planned deployment of the Irish Rangers in Afghanistan.

The secretive Army Ranger

Wing has its origins in training given by the United States Army Rangers who use the aircraft seen at Shannon.

Alert

Since January Irish Rangers have been on and off alert in readiness for going to Afghanistan. Estimates of troops assigned have varied from 50 to 300.

At the end of last month Senior Army officers publicly pushed for

Irish soldiers to go to Afghanistan.

This was just after the return of three army officers who went to Afghanistan on a "fact finding" mission at the request of John O'Donoghue.

They proposed a 30-strong force to join British troops.

Fianna Fail have made clear for a number of months their intention to send troops to Afghanistan. Hundreds of US troops have been transported through Shannon airport as part of the war against Afghanistan.

Within days of the September 11th attack the government opened up Irish airports to the US military.

The Government used Bush and Blair's war against Afghanistan to cosy up to the US military and ignore the fact that people rejected militarism when we threw out the Nice Treaty.

Not satisfied with this they want to join Bush's war against the world properly. We need to get the US military out of Ireland and stop Irish troops going to Afghanistan.

AMERICAN TROOPS OUT OF IRELAND

FF/PD spent €313m on consultants

THE LAST government spent over €313 million on consultancy services during its term in office.

This is equal to almost 50 per cent of the annual civil service wage bill.

Two government departments, Public Enterprise and Justice, spent €131 million and €66 million respectively.

The new Fianna Fail/PD coalition is also understood to be planning to spend €11 million on programme managers or spin doctors.

If every senior and junior

minister gets one programme manager at the current salary for advisers, the bill for the move would hit €2.3 million a year.

Paid

Top of the consultancy poll was Accenture, followed by PricewaterhouseCoopers, Deloitte & Touche and KPMG. Accenture was paid more than €30 million for government consultancy work.

Over €4 million was spent by various departments on public relations advice during the lifetime of the last government.



No laptop, no degree

THE NEW Quinn School of Business in UCD (part funded by Senator Fergal Quinn of Superquinn Supermarkets) has come up with a novel way of saving money on computer facilities.

They are insisting that all students who wish to study commerce in UCD must have a laptop computer, costing from €1,200 upwards.

Students who cannot afford one must apply to the college

hardship fund, or borrow. This makes an absolute mockery of any commitment UCD have to encouraging access to third level education to students from poorer backgrounds.

Mockery

And not a peep from the Fianna Fail run Students Union on the issue. It appears the SU president is more interested in insulting students who are interested in the welfare of others in the press and on radio shows.

Smyth pays €1m to Smyth

DUNLOE Ewart, the publicly-quoted property company chaired by Noel Smyth, last year paid €1 million in legal fees to Dublin law firm Noel Smyth and Partners.

The property company also paid €626,000 to OMS architects, in which Smyth's brother John is a partner. In 2000, Dunloe Ewart had paid €1.6 million for John Smyth's architectural services.

Leasing

Dunloe Ewart also spent €95,230 on leasing its premises from the Santerese Trust Company, in which Noel Smyth has a controlling interest. Smyth, the solicitor of former supermarket tycoon Ben Dunne, also has an interest in Saint Therese of Lisieux, after whom his trust is named. He was involved in bringing the French saint's bones to Ireland last year.

Control Plus strikers arrested for picketing

Scrap the Public Order Act now!

TWENTY FIVE workers were arrested by the police for picketing their company.

They were hauled away from the picket lines by Gardai and taken to a police station. The Gardai used the notorious Public Order Act.

Violently

The strike took place at Control Plus, the company which is responsible for clamping vehicles on behalf of Dublin Corporation.

This is a large American company which is violently opposed to trade unions. The Gardai are now doing their dirty work by trying to break the union.

A year ago, Control Plus,

made some concessions by accepting that its employees were members of SIPTU. But they never negotiated with the shop stewards or the union official properly.

Recently they created seven promotional posts but only filled one of them internally—and this led to the strike.

One man explained the workers' resentment at supervisors being recruited from outside the company. "This is a hard job and nobody slacks. I've been here for a year and I didn't apply for supervisor because I thought I should get a bit more experience before taking that job on. But the company is putting in supervisors who have only done a one day training course!"

The real reason for recruiting untrained new supervisors is to force out union members from the

firm: "When they interviewed people from inside the company for supervisor jobs they asked them if they would be prepared to leave the union if they got the job" he said.

Planning

The workers are now planning to spread the strike to other sections of Control Plus such as the car-parks in Heuston and Connolly Station, and they are looking for support from other members of the SIPTU local authorities branch in the bin depots, fire service and civic offices.

As soon as the strike began, the company brought in strike breakers. The police were then called—and took management's side.

What is the Public Order Act?

IT IS a catch-all act that the Gardai are using to clamp down on public protest. Two anti-war activists were arrested under this act for peacefully protesting at the US Embassy.

Fourteen anti-privatisation protesters were arrested at the Burlington Hotel. Over twenty were arrested on a Reclaim the Streets demonstra-

tion. Section 6 of the Public Order Act makes it an offence 'to use or engage in threatening, abusive or insulting words or behaviour'.

Section 8 of the Public Order Act gives the police unlimited power to move people on who are supposed to be using 'threatening, abusive or insulting words'.

This section is now being used against workers. It shows that if the police get away with attacking anti-capitalist protesters, they will then turn on organised workers.



The Control Plus strikers

Why is this repression happening now?

THE CELTIC Tiger is over. The wealthy and powerful want to intimidate people now so they will not seek their rights.

So they have sent the

message out to the police to crack down on any protest. They want to undermine our civil liberties to make this country safer for profit and big business.

We need to stand together against this repression. Workers, anti-capitalists, anti-war protesters need to stick together so we are not picked off. We need a large public campaign to remove this draconian Public Order Act.

The Dawn of corporate destruction

IRISH FISHERMEN say their livelihoods are being destroyed by the world's largest trawler, the elephantine Atlantic Dawn.

The 144-metre boat, whose nets are twice the size of London's Millennium Dome, is catching a disproportionate share of the country's dwindling fish stocks.

The complaints follow a European Union decision to dramatically cut

quotas across the block. Pressure groups have called on the government to explain why the €64m trawler has been licensed to operate in European waters.

The ship's huge capacity allows it to catch 60% of the annual mackerel and herring quota.

It argues that the government's decision to allow Atlantic Dawn to work off the Irish coast will threaten smaller fishing businesses.

When the ship took to the seas in 2001,

Europe's fleet was already over-sized and each member state had signed up to a legally binding programme to reduce the number of trawlers.

Ireland should have been reducing the size of its fleet at the time, but instead it allowed the construction of the world's largest open-sea trawler.

The Atlantic Dawn, with a crew of 100 and freezing facilities, catches in a day what 10 local fishing boats catch in a

year—on one trip it hauls in €1.5m worth of fish.

Initially, though flying the Irish flag, Atlantic Dawn was not included on the European register of fishing vessels—it was on the Irish mercantile marine register.

Purchased

That gave it a temporary licence to fish in African waters. It operated off Mauritania, on the west coast of Africa, whose fishing rights had been purchased by the EU.

Fortress Europe gets new guards

AN EU Border Guard Corps, proposed by the European Commission to work at all major airports, would further restrict access to the EU for asylum seekers.

European justice and interior ministers, including Ireland's John O'Donoghue, took steps towards creating a common EU border.

At a meeting in Rome last Friday, min-

isters agreed to set up a task force to stop immigration at Europe's busiest air and sea ports.

According to John O'Donoghue the creation of an EU-wide area of "freedom, justice and security" was a priority for Europe and that "in the context of combating transnational organised crime, the work of a border police service is crucial".

The reality is a cross Europe racist police force.

Honeymoon over before the reception ended

THE GOVERNMENT'S honeymoon is over.

In the last issue of *Socialist Worker*, written as the election results came out, we wrote:

"Fianna Fail are determined to push ahead with privatisation of our services..."

The government is determined to slash public spending at our expense.

This sets the stage for huge confrontations."

Fianna Fail and the Progressive Democrats hadn't even formed the new government and the confrontations broke out.

Aer Lingus locked out the pilots to push through the "survival plan."

The Gardai used the Public Order Act to arrest picketing workers at Control Plus.

The battle lines for whether this government can push through the neo-liberal agenda are being drawn.

Sacrifices

As soon as the election was over a gaggle of economic "experts" were arguing there wasn't enough money in the economy.

Even though the bosses made mega bucks in the boom years, they expect workers to shoulder sacrifices.

A number of major companies announced savage job cuts in recent weeks. Bosses will cut back drasti-

cally on production and sack workers rather than take a cut in their profits.

The government is desperate to keep wages down while pushing through privatisation.

But groups of workers are fighting to catch up with the inequalities left by the Celtic Tiger.

Fianna Fail held off publication of the plans for Benchmarking in the public sector until the election was over.

Assured

Tens of thousands of public sector workers have been assured that they will get big pay rises through the benchmarking process—a process that measures public sector jobs against private sector conditions.

Union leaders up till now have tied us to partnership but pressure is bound to mount in the public sector as the benchmarking report proves not to be the cash machine they promised.

The depth of the anger in the trade union movement means that we can force our union leaders to begin to represent our interests.

In every job we should build solidarity for other groups of workers already fighting for better pay.

That way we can build a movement across the unions to defend ourselves against the attacks of Ireland's neo-liberals.

Everywhere he goes ...



Protesting against Bush

MASS protests greeted US president George W Bush on his tour of Europe. For instance over 100,000 people demonstrated in the German capital, Berlin.

Anti-war groups, socialists, Greens, anti-capitalists and many more joined the protests against Bush. Trade union delegations also joined the anti-Bush protests, including some from the IG Metall engineering workers' union, which has recently held successful strikes over pay.

"A Breath Of Genoa?" was how some of the German press labelled the demonstrations, referring to the huge protests in the Italian city last summer. Police tried to ban sales of Linksruck on the demonstrations. It

is *Socialist Worker's* sister paper in Germany and ran a front page saying, "Unwanted: George Bush. The Greatest Terrorist In The World".

Despite the police attempts to stop this message the paper sold over 1,700 copies on the first march. George Bush also faced protests when he travelled on from Germany to France, with around 10,000 marching in Paris.

Overstretched

Reports suggested US generals were advising that the US was too overstretched to launch a full-scale invasion of Iraq in the near future. Whatever the truth of such reports, the US does face problems enforcing its writ around the world.

It still has unfinished business in

Afghanistan.

The resistance of the Palestinians to the war being waged against them by Bush's ally Israel is focusing anger across the Arab world and beyond. That is making it more difficult for Bush to persuade other regimes to back his plans to wage war on Iraq.

And the recent US-backed attempt to overthrow the government of Venezuela in South America completely backfired. It failed when an uprising of Venezuela's poor restored President Chavez.

The difficulties faced by Bush do not mean he and his gang have dropped their plans to wage war on Iraq and elsewhere.

But they should encourage everyone who opposes that war drive to redouble their efforts to build the movement against war.

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**Thank
you**

Socialist Worker would like to thank all our readers for helping us raise a magnificent €24,000 in our appeal. Throughout the election campaign people kept up the fundraising to help us pass our target of €20,000.

The money will be used to help keep *Socialist Worker* at the forefront of the fight against the systems and speed our plans for a weekly paper.

Finally, please send in any remaining money for the appeal:

Donations in Republic of Ireland should be made payable to: *Socialist Worker*, AIB, 37 O'Connell Street, Dublin 1. Account Number: 85173030 Code: 93 11 36

Donations in Northern Ireland should be made payable to *Socialist Worker*, First Trust Bank, High Street, Belfast Account No: 00812073, Sort Code: 93 80 92

Return Slip to: SW Appeal, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

Education

Don't tick the boxes —say no to selection

RESPONSE FORMS have sent to every household in the North by Martin McGuinness's Education Department to find out what people think about proposals for a new education system here.

The fight is on, therefore, to ensure that the 11-plus is not replaced by a new form of selection and that the new system adopted will be comprehensive, not some fudge that allows the grammar schools to maintain their privileged position.

The 11-plus is completely discredited, no one apart from Sammy Wilson and the DUP defends it.

The danger is, though, that the "pupil profiles" proposed in the Burns Report will be used as a new form of selection.

Experience from across the world shows

that any form of selection discriminates against working class children.

This was confirmed by the Department of Education's figures about the 2001-2002 11-plus results, published at the end of May.

These figures showed how children who receive free school meals fared compared to others.

Results

Only children whose parents are in receipt of benefits or Working Family Tax Credit get free school meals. The results are clear.

Schools that had the lowest number of students getting free school meals had two and a half times more Grade A's than those schools that have the highest number of free school meals.

Where 11 percent or fewer receive free school meals, one in four children aren't put in for the 11-plus at all.

But where 51 percent plus receive free school meals, half the children aren't put in for the test.

As the proportion of children entitled to free school meals rises, the proportion put in for the test falls.

The Burns Report dismissed comprehensive education out of hand.

Yet the international evidence shows that comprehensive systems outshine the other systems, including the one suggested by Burns.

For example, in the latest OECD study of how 32 countries perform on literacy, mathematics and science, all the leading countries have comprehensive systems.

Opponents of comprehensives say we cannot have them here because of the power of the grammar schools.

Ensure

Certainly, the power of the grammars has to be broken and huge resources and funding poured into secondary schools in order to ensure they have as much of the IT and science labs, sports facilities and so on as the grammars.



WE DON'T need no selection

In order to ensure this happens, it will be necessary for some years to have random allocations of children to all second level schools.

South Korean cities do this specifically to

ensure equal allocations of resources to, and "parity of esteem" between, all second-level schools.

Last

It works and South Korea's comprehensive system came top of the league of OECD countries.

We've had the current system for more than 50 years. What we put in its place may last as long.

Socialists say: we shouldn't just tick the little boxes in the survey document, but write in on the space provided: **No selection—COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS NOW!**

NIPSA ACTIVIST SACKED

BELFAST CITY Council recently sacked well known NIPSA activist Philip Boomer.

The employers claimed he carried out union business while on sick leave.

The real reason he had been sacked because he was a constant thorn in the side of the bosses—and this was immediately apparent to his colleagues in Belfast City Hall.

Among his fellow workers there is a strong mood for industrial action—they are now to be balloted in June.

NIPSA CONFERENCE

AT THEIR recent annual delegate conference NIPSA members showed their anger at the Israeli government as well as the involvement of the US administration in the oppression of Palestinians.

Motions passed at the conference clearly showed that not only is there a strong feeling of solidarity with oppressed people around the world, but also that trade unions have a responsibility to clearly oppose this oppression and to campaign against it.

Eye-witness

Around 40 people turned up to a Socialist Worker fringe meeting during the conference in order to hear at first hand the eyewitness account of Irish nurse Mary Kelly who recently returned from the West Bank.

Many workers are prepared to stand up against US imperialism and to fight the effects of capitalist globalisation.

Trade unionists should continue to raise these issues in their workplaces and union branches.

They should also campaign for delegations of workers to attend the European Social Forum which is being held in Florence.

Police given the green light to use plastic bullets

THE POLICE Ombudsman, Nuala O'Loan, released a report in late May which virtually gave a blank cheque to the police in Northern Ireland to use plastic bullets.

The report looked at seven incidents last year, in Belfast, Portadown and Lurgan, where police had fired plastic bullets.

O'Loan dismissed complaints against the police and said that in every incident there was a "justified, reasonable and proportionate use of force".

In one case, she claimed that police had acted "with great restraint".

The report completely ignores the largest single use of plastic bullets last year in Ardoyne on 12 July. The RUC fired 48 plastic bullets.

16 year old Ciara Crossan was struck in the forehead. According to the Defence Scientific Advisory Council report into the new plastic bullet, the missile could become embedded in the skull if fired head on as in this case.

distance

The Ombudsman report attempts to distance the current type of the plastic bullet from the previous versions which were used to kill fourteen people. It says, "Injuries and deaths resulted from the use of the precursor of the



NEW POLICE? PSNI firing Plastic bullets on the Garvaghy Road last month.

baton round, the plastic bullet".

Paul O'Connor, a campaigner against plastic bullets from Derry, points out, "This is not a new or different weapon, it is a more lethal modification of the plastic bullet."

The report also ignores the firing of plastic bullets by the British Army, on the instructions of the police.

There is growing evidence that the police are using the Army to fire plastic bullets, since they cannot be investigated.

Residents in the Short Strand area

of Belfast in recent weeks reported that during one evening the police fired 3 plastic bullets while the Army fired at least 10.

Clara Reilly, from the United Campaign Against Plastic Bullets, said that it was incredible that not a single complaint against the police had been upheld.

"There is a real danger that this report may be used, or be interpreted by some to justify the ongoing use of plastic bullets," she said.

ANTI-CAPITALISM IN EUROPE

Next stop Seville!

POTENTIALLY THE biggest anti-capitalist demonstration ever in Europe is set to take place outside the European Union (EU) summit in Seville, Spain, in June.

Top of the summit's agenda will be discussing how to restrict the rights of refugees even further.

EU leaders are arrogantly going to discuss the next EU treaty, even though Nice has been rejected by the Irish electorate!

Recent newspaper reports say that the German Foreign Minister has

a plan to implement Nice without Irish ratification by "tricking" the Irish voters.

There is a growing mood of protest across Spain. A one-day general strike is set to take place across the whole of Spain on Thursday 20 June, on the eve of the EU summit.

Protesting

The strike is called by the main trade union federation in Spain.

Workers are protesting against attacks on the unemployed by the right wing government of Jose Aznar.

Aznar wants to push through "reforms" which mean the unemployed

will lose their benefits if they refuse jobs, however low paid or inappropriate.

Welfare benefits for sacked workers will also be scrapped.

Anti-capitalist groups are supporting the strike, and there will be a European trade union demo in Seville on 20 June.

The Spanish example is being echoed across Europe. There have been dozens of huge protests in the last year.

Against the EU in Gothenburg, Brussels and Barcelona, the G8 in Genoa and for workers' rights in Rome as well as hundreds of smaller actions against various aspects of the system.

Bush's recent visit to Europe was followed by protests in Germany and

France.

A series of anti-capitalist events against the neo-liberal, pro-war, anti-refugee agenda of the EU leaders is planned between 20 and 22 June in Seville.

Marched

These protests will culminate in what promises to be a massive anti-capitalist protest outside the Summit on Saturday 22 June.

Half a million marched in Barcelona already and there is confidence that that figure can be matched, if not beaten.

Anyone interested in going should contact Joe Carolan on 087-9890330.



Protestors at the EU summit in Brussels last December

An open Europe not a racist Europe

THE SEVILLE Summit will be used to try to push through new anti-immigrant policies in Europe.

British Prime Minister Tony Blair and Spain's Jose Maria Aznar are leading the campaign against asylum seekers.

The ruling classes internationally insist on the right of multinational companies and banks to move trillions around the world without regulation.

They are free to move production to avoid paying tax or decent wages, yet the same freedom of movement isn't extended to workers seeking a better life or protection from persecution.

Children who seek asylum are also to be dispersed, making it harder for their families to locate them in the future.

The Irish government is up to its neck in these policies, with Nigeria on its "white list" of "safe countries" — countries from which it claims there is no legitimate reason to flee — despite the fact that thousands of people have fled from death squads and religious wars there.

One of the main tasks of the Seville protests and the European Social Forum will be to call for a Europe of Open Borders and prevent governments from passing anti-immigration laws that only pass into the hands of the far-right.

**DEBATE; PROTEST;
ORGANISE;
All roads lead to
Florence**

THE EUROPEAN Social Forum will be a massive gathering of activists from many different movements. It will be held in the Italian city of Florence from the 7th to the 10th of November this year.

Across Europe right wing politicians have responded to the rise of the fascists by embracing right wing ideas on immigration and crime.

The European Social Forum provides the chance to build an alternative to neo-liberalism, racism and war.

focus

In the mornings there will be huge conferences. They will focus on issues like fascism, war and refugees.

In the afternoons a broad range of organisations and networks will have their own forums and events.

Every evening will be filled with cultural events, music and film. There will also be demonstrations

through Florence.

One demonstration in support of immigrants has been organised for the day before the forum begins, on the 6th of November.

There are plans to hold another demonstration against neo-liberalism and war.

The forum will be an opportunity to plan European-wide actions against war and in solidarity with Palestine.

Luciano Muhlbauer from the Italian Social Forum

explained why the event would be so important:

"Politicians say the rise of the far right racist parties means the death of left wing politics.

Suffer

"The leaders of the centre-left parties are giving in to the right.

"But millions of Europeans suffer every day from the results of the neo-liberal policies.

"The crisis of the traditional left has meant that new possibilities have opened up, and new social movements are rising."

In Ireland *Globalise Resistance* is hosting a meeting at 1pm on Saturday June 29th in the Teachers Club, 36 Parnell Sq. in Dublin, for representatives of all Irish organisations interested in mobilising for the European Social Forum.

Socialist Worker will be represented at that meeting—for more info contact our office 01 8722682.

COLOMBIA: Death squad candidate wins election

THE CANDIDATE of the death squads — and the US government — will be the next president of Colombia.

Alvaro Uribe has the backing of the United Self-Defence Forces of Colombia (AUC)—the country's largest paramilitary group—and its cohorts in the Colombian military.

That's terrible news for trade unionists, left-wing activists and working people throughout the country who have suffered in Colombia's 38-year civil war.

Uribe has an appalling record as a right-winger.

In the 1980s, he served as the mayor of the city of Medellin and later as governor of Antioquia—the centre of

Colombia's cocaine trade.

During his time as governor, Uribe helped create a total of 69 "civilian defence groups"—providing them with radios and motorcycles and allowing them to carry weapons.

At least two of these groups were found to have provided intelligence to death squads—and at least one may have carried out assassinations.

But the US government didn't even pause over this record. Even before Uribe was declared the winner, U.S. Ambassador Anne Patterson went to his hotel to congratulate him.

That's because Uribe's promise to widen the war against the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) fits nicely with the Bush gang's aims in Colombia.

"After Mexico and Venezuela, Colombia is the most important oil country in the region," Patterson told the Bogotá daily newspaper *El Tiempo*.

"After what happened on September 11, the traditional oil sources for the United States are less secure...Colombia has great potential for exporting more oil to the United States, and now more than ever, it is important for us to diversify our oil sources."

Uribe's appeal was his claim to be able to overcome Colombia's economic and social crisis.

With paramilitary groups on the rampage and unemployment running at 20 percent, the vote for Uribe was a vote of desperation and economic frustration. Even so, less than half of the country's

registered voters cast ballots.

What's more, Uribe's warmongering was legitimised by his predecessor, Andrés Pastrana.

While Pastrana was known for granting an autonomous zone to the FARC, he used negotiations to gain time for a military buildup, funded by \$1.3 billion in U.S. aid for the "war on drugs."

In February, Pastrana renewed military attacks on the FARC.

But Uribe's plans for war go much further.

He wants to double the size of the Colombian Army and National Police Force—and create a force of up to a million "civil informants".

Where will the estimated \$4 billion cost of this program come from? A good

bet would be the US government.

Congress is currently considering a Pentagon spending authorisation bill that would remove the limit on how many US military personnel can be deployed in Colombia.

Another piece of legislation would justify US intervention in Colombia as part of the "war on terror"—freeing up even more US aid to be sent to Colombia's new president.

US intervention in Colombia will only cause more bloodshed and misery—and the Bush administration knows it.

But Washington is perfectly willing to back dictators and butchers around the world as long as it suits their interests.

India and Pakistan on the brink of war

1.2bn people face Nuclear

THOUSANDS OF civilians are fleeing their homes in Kashmir. The death toll is mounting as shelling by Indian and Pakistani troops escalates.

India and Pakistan were teetering on the brink of all-out war as Socialist Worker goes to press. Both states have nuclear weapons. Even a war using conventional arms will inflict slaughter in Kashmir and along the India-Pakistan border.

The conflict could deepen instability throughout the region.

The US and Britain have already done that with the war on Afghanistan. And they have armed both India and Pakistan.

The drive to war reached new depths in recent days as the Pakistani regime led by military dictator General Pervez Musharraf test fired three missiles. The Ghaznavi missile is capable of delivering nuclear warheads against most Indian cities. India has similar missiles.

India and Pakistan have one million troops between them in Kashmir. Indian prime minister Atal Behari Vajpayee has called on his soldiers "to be ready for your sacrifice. Your goal should be victory. It is time to fight a decisive battle." General Musharraf

responded by saying, "I am a military man. While I do not want war, I am not scared of war."

The combined population of India and Pakistan, over 1.2 billion people, face the nightmare of war under the shadow of the nuclear bomb. Skirmishes have spiralled out of control after an attack on an Indian army base in Kashmir, killing 34 people.

The Islamist separatist group Lashkar-e tolba claimed responsibility for the attack.

It is one of many groups funded and backed by the ISI, Pakistan's secret service. Before the US war in Afghanistan, the ISI used these groups to carry out a proxy war in Kashmir with the knowledge of the US. Musharraf did a U-turn over support for the groups in order to be part of Bush's war on Afghanistan.

But India's government, headed by the Hindu chauvinist BJP party, is using the US war on terror to justify war with Pakistan. Vajpayee asked earlier this year, "When the world is fighting terrorism and American forces are in Afghanistan fighting the forces of terrorism, then how and for how long can India tolerate terrorism?"

The US and Britain are throwing up their hands in horror at the prospect of a war between India and Pakistan. But Bush and Blair

have made it more likely by claiming that war is justified "to defeat terrorism". And the way the US has flipped between favouring Pakistan and favouring India as its main ally in the region has further fuelled the tension.

In the wake of the Afghanistan war the governments of India and Pakistan are both out to demonstrate that they are the main regional power, deserving of US support.

On the one side stands the military dictator of Pakistan, who is desperate to hold on to the power he seized in 1999 with the support of army hardliners. On the other stands the government of the BJP, a party whose members orchestrated the recent massacre of Muslims in the Indian state of Gujarat. The West has been happy to profit from selling arms to both regimes.

For example, Britain granted 700 arms export licences valued at £64 million to India and £6 million to Pakistan in 2000.

The people who rained death on Afghanistan and who plan war on Iraq cannot bring peace to India and Pakistan. Those who can are the hundreds of millions of people who live there, mostly in dire poverty. They have every reason to oppose the rival gangs on both sides of the border.

Desperate nationalists

THE CYNICAL territorial ambitions of the rulers of India and Pakistan lie behind the threat of war between them.

Their conflicting claims over Kashmir and its 12 million people have sparked hostilities since the end of British rule in 1947.

Both sets of rulers understand the strategic importance of Kashmir and both crave control over it to bolster their own states.

The territory borders not only India and Pakistan, but also extends to the border of China, Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

The majority of the population of Kashmir are Muslims.

The Indian government wants to keep the part of Kashmir it occupies in order to shore up its claims to be a secular state with citizens of different faiths.

The Pakistan military regime says it is a Muslim state and should control Kashmir because the majority of the population there practise the same religion.

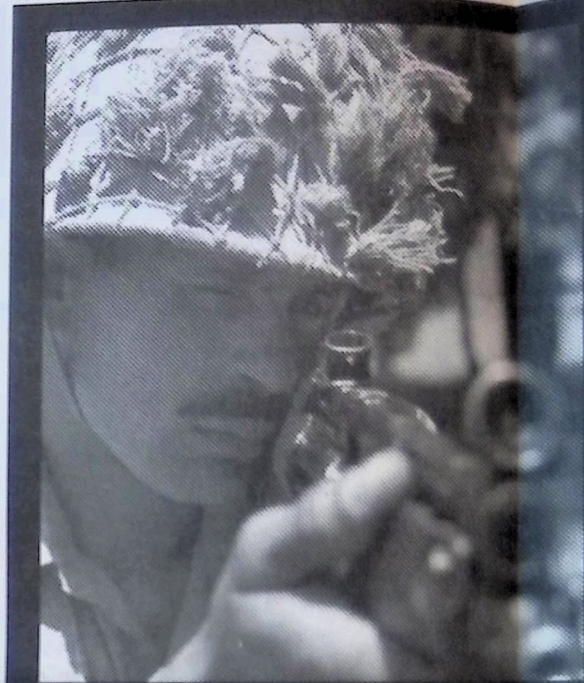
Rulers of both India and Pakistan try to use the issue of Kashmir to stir opposition against each other and to prop up domestic support. The mountainous area of Kashmir is, like the rest of India and Pakistan, a former British colony.

It was run by a British-backed ruler until Britain was forced to leave the Indian subcontinent in 1947.

The divisions between the Muslim minority and Hindu majority fostered by the British Empire resulted in the bloody partition of the subcontinent into the states of Pakistan and India when British rule ended. Kashmir was torn between the two states, and was pressed to become part of India.

India and Pakistan went to war over Kashmir in October 1947. Kashmir itself became partitioned.

Despite the existence of a United Nations resolution since 1948 call-



KASHMIRI civilians are the victims caught

Interview with Tariq Ali: 'US fundamentalism has created massive despair'



TARIQ ALI is a socialist, anti-imperialist and anti-war campaigner. He has recently written a new book, *The Clash of Fundamentalisms*. Tariq spoke to Socialist Worker.

THE MAIN explanation in the media for 11th September is that it was a product of irrational fundamentalism. How would you answer this?

THE PEOPLE who struck back at the United States were people it had trained. Al Qaida was a group which had fought for them and with them in Afghanistan, and not just in Afghanistan.

We now have information released by the Dutch government that Al Qaida was fighting shoulder to shoulder with the United States in Bosnia. Al Qaida were people the United States had systematically used in waging some of its wars and some of its "jihads".

When these people were finally dumped by the United

States they turned on it. Al Qaida then utilised the very deep discontent in Saudi Arabia and Egypt against those regimes to win support. The bulk of their cadres come from Saudi Arabia and Egypt, not Afghanistan. Many serious American commentators had warned the United States of this. Chalmers Johnson had warned one year before 11 September that, given what the US was doing in the world, someone was going to hit back.

Yet his book was attacked and denounced in the American press. He was within the heart of the American intelligence and academic establishment. This is not something that only the left is saying. The US was attacked by people it had worked with against the left, against Communism, against secular nationalism, against any radical solution in the Islamic world.

To say this isn't to justify what

happened, but to try and understand it. All the evidence we have shows the US is making all the same mistakes again. They've gone and killed 4,000 innocent people in Afghanistan and the problem is still not solved for them.

They've destabilised Pakistan by giving the fundamentalists inside the army a stronghold with which to destabilise Musharraf once the American arms and money stop flowing, which it will. While fundamentalism is very weak in Pakistani society as a whole, it is very strong inside the state apparatus because it was created by that state apparatus.

This is something which is going to explode over the next few years. The US has destabilised the whole subcontinent. The Indian regime is hardcore Hindu fundamentalist, which is not appreciated in the West. That regime says, if the US can go and kill people and bomb countries to stop terrorism, then we can as well.

That is the logic imperialism creates. It is followed by little or big regional powers.

Now the US are going to make the biggest mistake, one for which they will pay a heavy price sooner or later—that's the invasion of Iraq. What they are planning to do is to take the Kurdish areas of Iraq, create a protectorate, seal off the oil wells from Saddam Hussein and let

him starve. They will steal the oil in Iraq and Balkanise Iraq. They don't care what happens. They are not going to allow the Iraqi people ever to choose their own government.

They aren't even bothering to say that this has anything to do with humanitarianism or democracy.

YOU HAVE used the phrase "US imperialism is the mother of all fundamentalisms". What do you mean?

WHEN I said that I meant it politically, militarily and economically. The economic thing we should never, never underestimate. The neo-liberal universe the American Empire has created and the Anglo-Saxon model which has been thrust down the throats of large parts of the world has created despair on a massive scale.

People will react in different ways. Some people will turn to religion. Other people, feeling the

ing for a "free and impartial plebiscite" to be carried out in Kashmir to determine its future. India has not allowed one to take place. Kashmir remains divided in two.

Nine million people are in Indian-controlled Kashmir known as Jammu and Kashmir.

Three million Kashmiri live in Azad Kashmir, or free Kashmir, which is under Pakistani control. Even when war has not been raging 76,000 people have been killed in Kashmir since 1990.

Indian forces have killed at least 60,000 Kashmiri people in the areas

under their control. India's special task force carries out bloody "counterinsurgency" operations, including rape, torture and violence in effort to suppress Kashmir's movement for independence.

Mutilated

Amnesty International for "The brutality of torture in Jammu and Kashmir defies belief. It has people mutilated and disabled for life. The severity of torture is out by the Indian security forces. Jammu and Kashmir is the

parties of the centre left are incapable of dealing with it, will turn to the right as we've seen in France.

One shouldn't totally see the turn in France as related to hostility to Arabs and immigrants. A part of it is, but that too is caused largely by the economic crisis. People will punish their regimes in different ways. The sooner the trade unions and social democratic organisations wake up to this, the better. But far from waking up to it, we have people pandering to it.

SOME PEOPLE say that Muslims are very conservative and don't want to integrate into Western society.

SUCH PEOPLE never talk about Christian fundamentalism or conservatism. In the US a born-again Christian is president. The American Attorney General, Ashcroft, has prayer meetings every morning, and he composes hymns himself which he sometimes sings to bemused employees of the

Department of Justice! Tony Blair is a hardcore Christian. He is proposing single faith schools in British society.

One of the things that comes across in your book is an understanding of why people look to Islamism. Do you think different social forces can be expressed through religious ideas?

YES. THIS has happened historically over the last 2,000 years. In the English Revolution the texts and scriptures were the way social forces expressed themselves. When there are social forces and movements and alienation then people will go where they can find expression.

When you have countries where all politics is banned where the left has been wiped out, and where no social thought is permitted, and where the only doors open are the doors of the mosque, then it is not surprising the mullahs turn

We face Nuclear nightmare

Desperate nationalists on the brink of destruction

THE CYNICAL territorial ambitions of the rulers of India and Pakistan lie behind the threat of war between them.

Their conflicting claims over Kashmir and its 12 million people have sparked hostilities since the end of British rule in 1947.

Both sets of rulers understand the strategic importance of Kashmir and both crave control over it to bolster their own states.

The territory borders not only Indian and Pakistan, but also extends to the border of China, Afghanistan and Tajikistan.

The majority of the population of Kashmir are Muslims.

The Indian government wants to keep the part of Kashmir it occupies in order to shore up its claims to be a secular state with citizens of different faiths.

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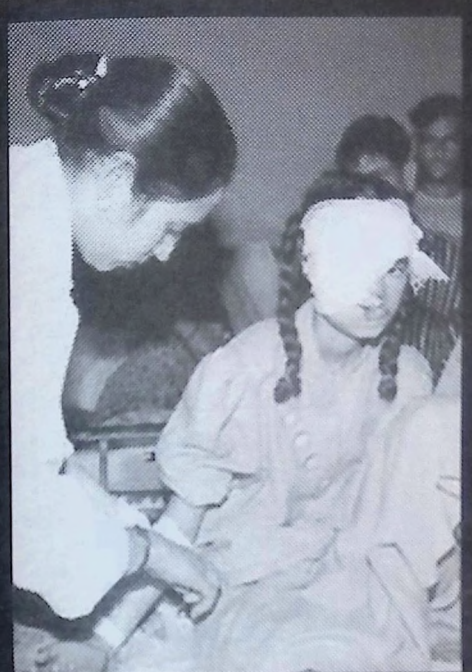
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Amnesty International found: "The brutality of torture in Jammu and Kashmir defies belief. It has left people mutilated and disabled for life. The severity of torture meted out by the Indian security forces in Jammu and Kashmir is the main

reason for the appalling numbers of deaths in custody."

Rigged state elections in Jammu and Kashmir in 1987 added to the alienation of already disenchanted Kashmiri citizens.

By January 1990 the Indian government imposed direct rule upon the areas of Kashmir under its control. In the Pakistani controlled area of Kashmir political appointments are also dominated by the central state.

Pakistan's rulers have exploited the brutal repression suffered by the Kashmiri people at the hands of the Indian state.

They have funded, armed and trained Islamic groups like Lashkar-e-Tayyeba to distort and influence Kashmiris' genuine demands for independence. The armed conflict that has raged in the region has delivered no steps towards liberation for the people of Kashmir.

The aim of the Pakistani elite is to build a movement that can fight to attain Kashmir's incorporation into Pakistan. The military regime of Pakistan under General Musharraf has not delivered the stability he promised.

Nor is there any real hope that the military will give up power and

return the country to democracy.

The Hindu chauvinist BJP government of Atal Behari Vajpayee has presided over and colluded with the brutal massacres of Muslims in the state of Gujarat.

The BJP, like the military regime of Musharraf, promotes communal division and military adventures while failing to deliver for hundreds of millions of people trapped in dire poverty.

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When you have countries where all politics is banned, where the left has been wiped out, and where no secular thought is permitted, and where the only doors open are the doors of the mosque, then it is not surprising the mullahs tend to

dominate the discourse.

How do you think the left should relate to this?

THE ONLY way the left can relate is to be seen to be ultra-staunch anti-imperialists. You cannot make any headway—you cannot even open a dialogue on anything else—unless young Muslims realise you are anti-imperialists. I've found this personally. Speaking all over world, young people come to my meetings—they talk to me—they argue with me.

They are interested to talk because they know I'm hostile to imperialism and what it represents.

The idea that the only future for the world lies with the West and the only emancipatory project is the United States has absolutely no purchase on these young people, and for good reason. They can see through it.

The United States has sustained the most reactionary regimes in the Arab world for many years.

Saudi Arabia has been sustained by them since the 40s-for

60 years they've kept one family in power in Saudi Arabia. One has to be very upfront, very sharp on imperialism—then we open a debate with people.

To these young Muslims who come on the anti-war demonstrations we must be straight, and say that we do not agree with you at all on religion.

No religion offers resolution to the crisis created by the global capitalist steamroller. In fact religion represents a retreat from the world as it exists.

But we are happy to march with you against the wars being waged by the American Empire. The left has to position itself and win people over to its ideas. You can't do it from the sidelines.

We have to say to them that we are totally opposed to what the West intends to do to that region and we will fight against it.

That then enables the building of a bridge, and people have to travel across that bridge, and discuss and debate.

You have to educate young Muslims to think in a broad way. For example, the whole of Latin America is oppressed.

The most recent thing the United States did was to try to

overthrow the Chavez regime in Venezuela, because it was not a pro-US regime although it was democratically elected.

Most importantly, one has to try and convince young Muslims that you can only defeat the American Empire ideologically if the ideas you are putting forward are superior to those which exist in the United States.

That can't be supplied by any religious fundamentalism—either Islamic, Jewish or Christian.

The real tragedy is that many young and old Islamic fundamentalists have no idea of the history of their own religion.

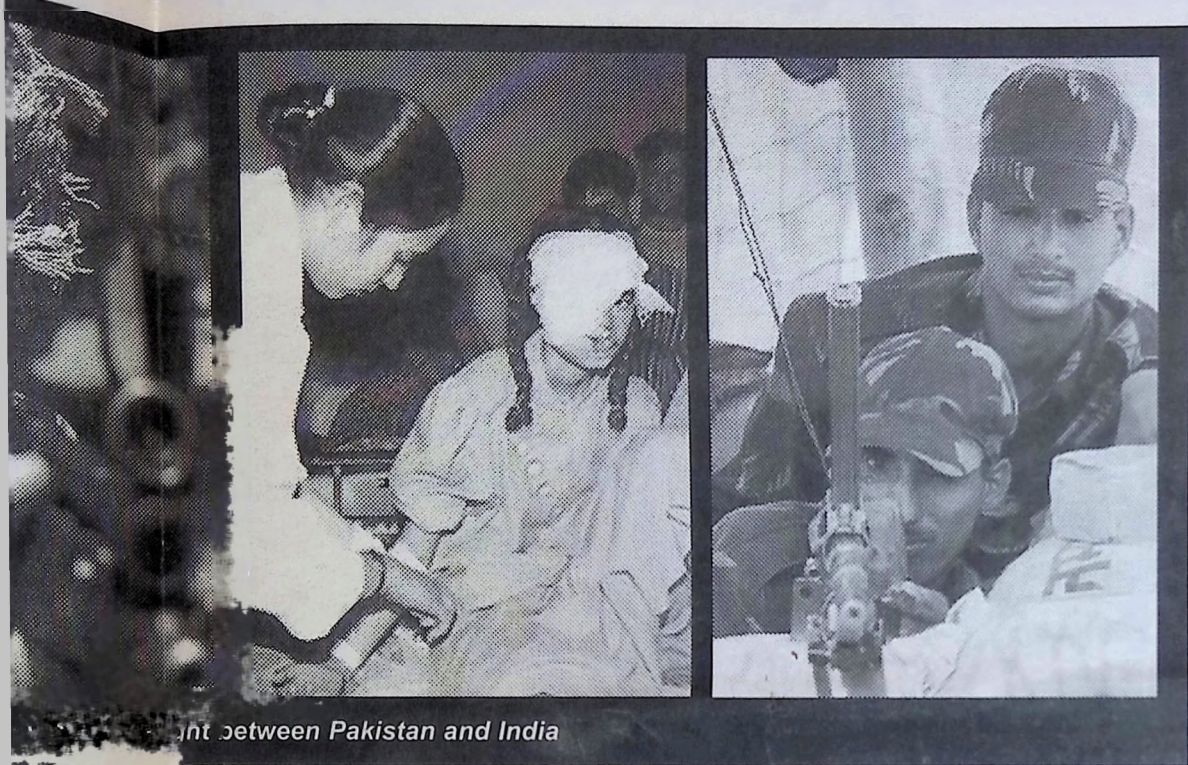
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I remember my closest ten friends I grew up with in Pakistan, and none of them were religious and they were from every social class.

There are millions and millions of secular people in the Islamic world who don't speak out, but who privately agree with most of the things we say.

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What socialists say

Time for a Socialist block

ELECTIONS ARE like barometers of the mood of the working class.

For the past four years revulsion grew against the inequality of Irish society. But that revulsion was also tinged with a cynicism that "nothing can be done" and "they will just get away with it".

Fianna Fail played on this cynicism, go along with the idea that all political parties were the same, with everyone just out for themselves. They got back in power, but without any enthusiasm behind them.

They hadn't even formed a government before the pilots in the Aor Lingus were out on a picket line. The publication of the Benchmarking report will more than likely create a real crisis over the future of the public sector.

Undermines

Further, the 25 per cent of people who voted against the establishment parties undermines any idea that people are content or that cynicism is stable.

Cynicism is turning to anger and many want to hit back at the establishment.

There is now a real opening for the left to build resistance against the attacks the government are set to launch.

So strangely, there was a moment after the election where the Greens and Sinn Fein were severely put out not to be included in the coalition talks with Fianna Fail—a sort of unholy shouting of "me too" from the new deputies.

Then Labour's former Democratic Left TD Eamon Gilmore, appar-

ently representing the party's left, came forward to argue that the "social democratic" element of Fine Gael should be courted for a united opposition.

The Greens and Sinn Fein therefore, having increased their number of TDs significantly by being seen as a radical alternative immediately expressed the presumably sincere desire to be in a coalition with FF.

Forgiven

And Labour not having been forgiven for having saved the right twice in the last ten years draws the lesson that it should save Fine Gael from destruction.

The alternatives that thousands of disillusioned people voted for as a break with establishment politics turn around and show their willingness to prop up the establishment.

Everyone who begins by opposing the horrors produced by capitalism at some stage faces a choice.

One route is to see the solution to those horrors as lying in the power ordinary people have to mobilise to confront the system, and ultimately wrest control of society from below to build a different world.

The other is to seek to work within that system, accommodate to it, even administer it, and look to making deals with those in power. The hope is to tame capitalism.

Wary

Green Party members face that dilemma as do the left independents.

Unfortunately even left-wing independents Seamus Healy in Tipperary and Finian McGrath have been wary of arguing for

openly socialist politics.

But serious socialist politics in the communities, trade unions and elsewhere is needed now more than ever. And there is no doubt that many people would respond if the Left demonstrated in deeds that it was more interested in fighting the bosses than fighting each other.

We in the SWP believe the Left has to grow up and cooperate.

We think that a block of Socialist parties presenting a distinctively socialist opposition would be a big step forward to proving to thousands of working class people that the left had finally grown up.

Socialists need to fight together to carve out a new space in the growing radicalisation.

This means joint campaigning at local level—as has begun in the bin tax campaign in Dublin—to show that socialist methods of mass mobilisation are superior to rhetoric from the Dail chamber.

Superior

The Nice treaty is one clear point where this is needed.

The main opposition to Nice can either be made on a nationalist basis—or there can be clear socialist arguments about militarism, opposition to the "war on terrorism" and the neo-liberal agenda that lies at the heart of the EU.

That can only happen if the far left pools its resources and mounts a credible national campaign.

As a first step the SWP and the Socialist Party should get together to discuss co-operation on these questions with a view to establishing a socialist block.

by SIMON BASKETTER

Israel: The hijack state

by John Rose

Available from SW Books, PO Box, 1648, Dublin 8. or online from www.bookmarks.uk.com

Out Now!

PUBLIC SECTOR WORKERS SPEAK OUT:

Standing up to privatisation

WITH THE return of FF and the PDs to government, the onslaught on the semi-state sector will continue with increased venom.

The government decision to halt the sell off of part of Aer Lingus until the election was out of the way was an indication that they know that there is huge potential opposition to privatisation and the issue must be handled with care.

The Progressive Democrats have been clear about their privatisation agenda.

Mary Harney at her party's conference in February publicised her intention to sell off a whole host of semi-states and gave a commitment to "release" Aer Lingus from state control.

Fianna Fail shares the same agenda. Mary O'Rourke, the former Minister for Public Enterprise who lost her seat, and Charlie McCreavy have been vocal advocates of such a programme but Fianna Fail in general has adopted a more subtle approach.

Prepare

Instead of announcing a huge sell off, the well thought out strategy of Irish neo liberals has been to slowly and carefully prepare this sector for sale by introducing restructuring and reorganisation programmes.

The purpose of these is to pare down these enterprises and turn them into "leaner, fitter, commercially viable" operations ready for sell off to any willing multinational.

A look at the semi-state sector reveals that this process is taking place across the board and right under our noses, with little or no opposition from our trade union leaders.

Responsibility for most of our public services from electricity supply and transport, to broadcasting and postal services is gradually being prepared for hand over from the state to private profit making companies.

Socialist Worker spoke to workers in three key areas that face privatisation moves: An Post, Aer Lingus and RTE.

THE PILOTS' dispute in Aer Lingus has turned the focus back onto the future of the national airline.

The decision by management to lock out the pilots has shown how serious management is in resisting any opposition to its programme. Following September 11, a cost cutting survival plan was opportunisticly foisted on airport workers.

Clare Daly, SIPTU catering shop steward and member of the Dublin Airport Workers' Network, explains what it means for workers.

"Basically over 2,000 workers have exited the company on a rotten redundancy deal.

"For the rest it means a pay freeze well into the future."

"The last phase of the PPF has been given up, overtime and holiday rates have been cut, there is a greater burden of work and changes in work practices."

According to another airport worker, "Many of us are just waiting till the day we are outsourced or sold off.

"Non-union staff are creeping into the airport. There are currently three non-union third party handling crowds in here—City Jet, ICS inflight cleaning and Q&A cleaning services.

"The way things are

going every unionised worker could be out supporting a picket and you'd have as many non-union working away inside."

However all is not bleak. Workers in these firms, who generally have worse rates of pay and conditions, have shown a willingness to join unions.

Over one hundred City Jet staff recently joined SIPTU.

The company refuses to recognise the union so the ball is now firmly in SIPTU's court to put its back into organising and winning a serious fight for union recognition.

Clare Daly agrees that the Survival Plan is all about paving the way for privatisation.

Crushing

The first step that management are engaging on is to pare down the company and sell off non core activities.

Crushing the pilots is also an important part of this agenda.

In the long term privatisation will mean—as it has meant everywhere else—"an erosion of jobs and working conditions that were hard fought for.

"As we constantly point out, in its entire history Aer Lingus got just £240 million in state investment, which is just five years worth of PAYE taxation.

"Aer Lingus is doing quite well, it has been a very profitable company with very significant spin offs but now they want to lay it bare for the private vultures to get their hands on it."

As the government renews its search for private investors to buy off a large share of the company, now is the time when the battle against privatisation must be fought and won.

What we think

MAJOR BATTLES are starting in Ireland's public sector.

The pressure from the bosses is to build up to privatisation and the attack on the semi state sector is the cutting edge of the agenda.

As moves are now being made to chip away at our hospital services, schools and public housing through public private partnerships, the necessity of mounting a resistance is clear.

There are signs of attempts to fight it but real leadership is needed to give the confidence to workers to take a firm stand.

Users of public services and companies, and workers in them, are powerful. Together we can take on this rightwing agenda and make the slogan of the anti capitalist movement—"Our world is not for sale"—a rallying call to stop privatisation in its tracks.

For more industrial reports turn to pages 10-11



Striking Aer Lingus pilots leading the fight against privatisation

COVERAGE OF the election results was threatened when members of RTE's outside broadcasting units voted for strike action to resist the sell off of the unit.

The action was averted and talks are currently taking place in an internal conciliation tribunal.

The fact that a 300 strong protest by workers greeted Bertie Ahern at the gates of RTE when he arrived to participate in the leaders debate on the Tuesday before the election is a sign of the discontent that exists amongst the workforce in general.

Socialist Worker spoke to one employee and it became clear that outside

broadcasting is just the tip of the iceberg.

"Fianna Fail know they can't be seen to be closing RTE so they are doing it by stealth. The most recent example is the plan to sell off the OB units which would affect about 100 workers.

Training

"But a number of smaller areas, like photographic stills and the training centre, have already been shut down while the transmission network is in the process of being sold off. Meanwhile a whole host of penny pinching measures have been introduced.

"Dozens of jobs have been lost among front line staff—the people who meet the public in the main RTE buildings—while a number of canteens have been closed.

"In fact in the main canteen, staff, some of whom had twenty years service, were given their redundancy notices in front of customers. As and from today, May 31, floor managers will be gone from the newsroom. There have been 500 job losses in the last three years.

"In many areas where jobs are being lost management subsequently hire freelancers who charge three or four times more than the cost of RTE's own service.

"Meanwhile the in-house skilled workers are

hanging round the Staff Development Centre waiting for some kind of worthwhile work to come their way, if they haven't already decided to take the redundancy package on offer."

RTE workers accepted a Transformation Agreement two years ago which involved massive changes in rosters, scheduling and cutbacks in overtime rates. Many workers now feel very let down and the true agenda of the government is becoming clearer.

Another worker told us that in reality "a butcher's knife has been taken to RTE. We are being slimmed down in preparation for sell off which is directly in tandem with what's happening across the public sector."

PREPARATION FOR privatisation is also evident in the postal sector.

90 percent of workers voted to back any action taken by their colleagues in the clerical area who have not received pay increases for changes in work practices and productivity.

The only increases offered have been allowances that won't be reckonable for pensions, holiday or sick pay.

The dispute goes back to the "Transformation Through Partnership" process that was accepted

by a few hundred votes three years ago.

This agreement was a regrading and restructuring deal that according to one union activist was designed to separate off different areas and grades from each other. "The changes have involved extra work, alongside things like accepting changes in machinery in the Dublin Mail Centre and doing away with sorting in the district offices"

Large scale job losses are also on the agenda. An Post went to the newspapers a couple of months ago and talked of losses in the region of 1,500. Anyone employed since 1984 does not have civil service status and the company is very keen to entice as many as possible out with redundancy packages.

They are offering to take many back into the company as part timers. "An Post is being set up for the privatisation of certain profitable areas. First they want to push the transformation package through and then areas like SDS, which already operates like a company within a company will be eyed up for privatisation.

"The 90% vote for action, even though the union leadership has been clear that they don't want it to mean all-out pickets, is a positive sign. Workers know that their area could be the next one that management tries to isolate"

Eamonn**McCann**

book

Tinsletown and the show trials

by **ANDREW STONE**

THE MAJESTIC is about a Hollywood screenwriter who is blacklisted as part of an anti-Communist witch-hunt. It is set during the period of **McCarthyism** which gripped the US at the start of the Cold War.

Film-makers and artists were among those targeted for "subversiveness".

If they didn't identify alleged Communists and denounce them, they were banned from working and even imprisoned.

The Majestic is good at poking fun at the movie studio system and the injustice of the show trials of the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Celebrates

Like the films of Frank Capra, which it is modelled on, it celebrates the "little man" standing up to the establishment.

But, also like Capra, it takes comfort in idealising smalltown life.

The film stars Jim Carrey, but don't let his record put you off.

Here Carrey plays a screenwriter who loses his memory.

The remote town of Lawson mistakes him for a missing war hero.

The whole town chips in to help him and his



Are you or have you ever been annoying?

"dad" rebuild the Majestic cinema.

This is a sentimental film where the black usher never experiences racism and a young woman training to be a lawyer faces no obstacles.

The town of Lawson is what the film-makers would like the US to be, not what it was, or is.

But if you can get past the lack of realism this is an enjoyable film with an important message.

How McCarthyism hit workplaces

THE WITCH-HUNT against the left in the US in the 1940s and 50s under McCarthyism was not just aimed at those in the movie industry, writers and academics.

Thousands of trade unionists lost their

jobs.

All union officials had to declare they were not Communists or be kicked out of the union under the 1947 Taft-Hartley Act.

Workers employed by the government, like teachers and college lecturers, were sacked if they refused to sign these "loyalty oaths".

The anti-Communist hysteria spearheaded by Senator Joe McCarthy led to Ethel and Julius Rosenberg, two Communist Party members, being executed after they were accused of spying.

The Cold War provided the background to the attacks on the left.

But it was fuelled by a determination by the US ruling class to take on the workers' movement.

Grown

The influence of the left had grown inside workplaces, with the unionisation drive and strikes that broke out in the 1930s Great Depression and mass strikes after the Second World War.

Republican and Democrat politicians and the bosses in the US seized the opportunity to undermine that resistance.

It destroyed the growing confidence of left wing activists.

It also allowed the US trade union leaders to become entrenched as highly conservative and bureaucratic.

Senator McCarthy's zeal eventually became an embarrassment for the US establishment, who sidelined him in the mid-1950s.

John B. Keane

Defending the past to criticise the present

THE PLAYWRIGHT John B Keane died last month after a battle with cancer.

His best remembered play was *The Field*, which was later made into a major film with Sean Penn and Richard Harris.

The Field was about a small farmer fighting to keep his land from being sold to a wealthy American.

The success of the film meant that Keane came to be seen as a mainstream figure in Irish literature, but this was not always the case.

His later work lacked the controversy and insight of his work from the 1950s, as he became more interested in lamenting the past than in examining the present.

But Keane, along with Brian



John B. Keane

Friel and John McGahern among others, was one of the writers who shocked conservative Ireland out of the stupor produced by decades of emigration, poverty, censorship and authoritarian Catholicism.

One of his best plays, *Sive*, was rejected by the Abbey Theatre, which had become almost a guardian of public morality.

Keane set about producing his own work on the amateur dramatic circuit—one of the

few forms of cultural expression that was available to many Irish people in the 1950s and 60s.

Thousands turned out to view his plays in church halls and community centres.

Many were shocked at the sight of Celtic women celebrating their sexuality and the general disrespect for authority that pervaded his early work, which directly contradicted official Ireland's version of history and morality.

The work that John B Keane and his contemporaries produced is a legacy that has enabled generations of writers to develop their own critiques of modern Ireland, despite the State's attempts to turn Irish writing into nothing more than a nationalist tourist attraction.

by **PAUL McCARTHY**

British spooks family fallout

It's been *deja vu* all over again as the **Bloody Sunday Inquiry** hears about Unionist reaction to the appointment of an Englishman as police chief in the North.

On the day that Hugh Orde was made chief constable of the PSNI, the Saville Tribunal was pondering Unionist response to the arrival of Sir Arthur Young as RUC chief constable in 1969.

Orde will have to deal with the reorganisation of policing recommended in the Patten Report. Young had been brought in to supervise the reforms set out in the Hunt Report on police handling of the early civil rights marches and riots.

Demoralise

Sammy Wilson of the DUP described Orde's appointment as "designed to further London's agenda at the expense of efficient policing." He predicted that Orde would "demoralise rank and file police officers even further."

The previous day, Saville heard from Robert Ramsey, Principal Private Secretary to Unionist Prime Minister Brian Faulkner 30 years ago, that Young had proven "a very distinguished English police officer and a buffoon...During his six to eight months the force became not only further demoralised but also disorganised."

The fear of the Unionists, then and now, was that the British might blunt the sectarian edge of Northern policing to win the backing of "moderate" Nationalists. This is reflected today in the dispute over whether the **Special Branch (SB)** should keep control of intelligence operations or be made to concede "primacy" to MI5.

Backing the Unionists, the London Times (May 31st) editorialised that,

"The expectation that (Orde) will facilitate the transfer of anti-terrorist operations out of the hands of Special Branch and over to MI5 would lead to a permanent and irrevocable downgrading of criminal prosecution as a priority in combating terrorism."

Orde's appointment is particularly relevant to the issue, given that he has been leading the probe into the 1989 murder of solicitor Pat Finucane. Among the allegations is that MI5 was complicit in the killing through its association with British Army agent and UFF killer Brian Nelson—and that the SB was even more directly involved through the late William Stobie.

Discrediting

They were both at it—"it" being the murder of individuals the security agencies wanted rid of. There is a basis for discrediting either and both of them.

Meanwhile, Saville has been hearing about security rivalries 30 years ago.

Ramsey told that the Unionist leadership had "always resented" the existence of the UK Representative Office at Laneside, Cultra, in the early '70s. The Laneside office was widely known as a MI5 facility. At the time of Bloody Sunday, it was headed by Howard Smith, who was to be appointed Director of MI5 four years later. In an observation dripping with sarcasm, Ramsey declared that the "special collective attribute" of Smith and other Laneside operatives "was that they had all served in a country which had solved its inter-community problems, namely the Lebanon."

The role of MI5 then and now was brought sharply into focus when Saville and his Tribunal colleagues met in secret in London on May 23rd with MI5 bosses to hear their concerns about the dangers of identifying the MI5 agent code-named "Inflation"—the man who says he heard Martin McGuinness admitting to having fired the first shot on Bloody Sunday.

At Derry Guildhall three days later, Saville ruled that Inflation will not be made to give evidence—but evidence from other, anonymous MI5 agents as to what Inflation said will be entertained.

The Unionist parties, the SDLP and Sinn Fein, not to mention commentators of all hues in the mainstream media, follow the disputes between the SB and MI5 avidly for signs of whether British policy is tilting towards this side or that.

The rest of us should take note that these disputes are akin to rivalries between Mafia families, and that sensible people, certainly socialist people, should steer a barge-pole's length away from association with any of the interests involved.



where we stand

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST

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

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

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH

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

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

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

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it. We support the leader when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

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

Benchmarking report ... Is this the end of partnership?



THE TWO souls of trade unionism: Liberty Hall and SIPTU members on the march

THE LAST sting in the tale of Partnership is due at the end of this month.

Publication of the Public Service Benchmarking Body (PSBB) report is due to be a disappointment for many and a spur to action for many trade unionists.

Nurses and teachers have both put price tags of 30 per cent on the acceptability of any pay awards from the PSBB, but the Government has only accounted for increases averaging no more than 14 per cent.

The PSBB was set up to avert the collapse of talks on a new national agree-

ment over public sector pay in 2000.

The benchmarking drive was intended to hold off pay rises for a few years.

The report will be the chickens coming home to roost.

Benchmarking is not just a question of letting the search for profit loose on our services but also taking the private sector—notoriously precarious and hostile to union rights—as the model for all our jobs.

● The Benchmarking Body has a built-in majority of people who want to limit public service pay.

● Past productivity: The Labour Court has already ruled out this as grounds for a pay rise.

● Benchmarking means aligning con-

ditions with those in the private sector.

● Benchmarking involves performance related pay.

Benchmarking is all part of the plan to "restructure the State's portfolio of commercial assets"—privatisation.

Across Europe, benchmarking is the preferred method for pushing the neo-liberal agenda into working conditions.

Tragically, the ICTU rushed its, total and uncritically embraced benchmarking. Joe O'Toole claimed benchmarking would be an ATM machine for low-paid public sector workers.

The problem is the machine looks like it is going to be out of cash.

Recall Conference rejected by IMPACT

LAST MONTH'S IMPACT conference in Cork showed how the Benchmarking process was designed to take decisions out of the hands of the membership.

IMPACT organises a wide variety of grades in the public

service but the Benchmarking report must be accepted in whole by each union. IMPACT produced a document for conference with the following bizarre statement: "There is no obvious process or mechanism to deal with a rejection of the PSBB's [the Benchmarking body's] report by our

some, or all IMPACT grades..."

The union leadership has proposed that when the PSBB reports in late June the union will organise consultation but that a recall conference would be impossible.

They stated that union rules mean a conference would take over a month to organise, one year in ten of the

union's membership are not covered by Benchmarking and such a meeting would weaken negotiations on implementation dates. Of course a date could have been set at the Biennial Conference and altered if necessary.

But on the basis of these false arguments a majority of delegates were persuaded to reject a call from Cork

Branch for a recall conference to decide the union's attitude to the Benchmarking report.

IMPACT's leaders were able to get on with this because union activists and left within the union are not well organised. Union activists must organise now to ensure that the Report's findings are not rma-

through in the summer.

WITH THE benchmarking report due less than a month from now Paddy Healy, the incoming vice-president of the Teachers Union of Ireland (TUI), has taken an important initiative.

He has called for direct talks on pay between the government and all three teacher unions.

Paddy, who was elected on an anti-benchmarking ticket, has called on all branches to pass the following motion, which can then be forwarded to the executive committee for consideration.

"This branch calls on the executive committee to reject any award that is substantially less than the 34 percent claim of the TUI.

The executive committee should

carry out negotiations on the award with our employers, inviting the two other teacher unions to join us. Specifically the Public Services Committee of ICTU must not be allowed to carry out negotiations on the award on behalf of teachers.

The executive must demand a minimum increase in the magnitude of the award as a priority. Immediate payment of full award should also be sought."

This move is designed to prevent ICTU Public Services Committee to over negotiations on the deal. The fact the ICTU would accept a package that well below what teachers want should be entitled to, as it did with early settlers claim.

The move by Paddy Healy is a timely reminder that we need to be prepared for the hard sell on the benchmarking deal, and in all unions we need to get members to have their say.

Socialist Worker

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Sectarian attacks on the rise ...

Unite to beat the Bigots



IN THE last few weeks the rise of sectarianism has once again hit the headlines. For over a year now blast bombs and petrol bombs have been a regular feature of life in north Belfast, but now it's spreading to other areas.

The people behind most of the violence are Johnny Adair and his fellow cohorts inside the bigoted UFF. They led the sickening protest against Catholic school girls walking to school and they have led numerous attacks on nationalist areas in north Belfast as

part of a wider loyalist power struggle.

The UFF are now shifting their attentions to elsewhere in the North. Blast bombs attacks have spread to east Belfast.

Rioting

As Socialist Worker goes to press the residents of east Belfast are bracing themselves for yet another night of blast bomb attacks and rioting in the lower Newtonards Road—Short Strand area.

Danny, from the Short Strand, told Socialist Worker, "About three months ago I was walking home after hanging

out with friends at the city hall, then I got jumped by a gang who were on a rampage on an estate near to where I live. They basically went mad calling everyone 'fenian bastards'."

Socialist Worker spoke to a health worker from north Belfast, "Every night there is a blast bomb or a petrol bomb, it's sickening. We were all told following the Good Friday agreement that there would be peace and that we could move on. Tell that to the people who are being bombed out of their houses and watch them laugh at you."

The UFF, through their alias the Red Hand Defenders, have threatened and killed scores of people, both Catholic and Protestant since the signing of the Good Friday agreement. Those killed by the 'RHD' include the

prominent journalist Martin O'Hagan and postal worker Daniel McColgan.

The revulsion felt by postal workers after their colleague was murdered propelled them to lead industrial action against sectarianism.

Scared

The UFF ran scared of the united action of workers and trade unionists, they had to withdraw death threats against workers all across the North because of the action.

But the postal workers are also fighting on other issues, privatisation and deregulation is about to be forced through by the Blair government. Harassment by management is a daily

occurrence. Postal workers in London are balloting this week for strike action and a national strike is on the cards.

Through previous actions the postal workers have not only shown the way to fight sectarianism but also against the neo-liberal policies put forward by the Stormont executive.

Health workers should join with the postal workers in fighting sectarianism and attacks on them from thugs and ministers alike. Bus workers are attacked nightly during rioting and are then pressed back into service while suffering the effects of assault.

What is needed now is for more action by the trade unions against sectarianism and the attacks from above.