

Socialist Worker

inside:

HOW THE U.N. BACKED UNJUST WARS

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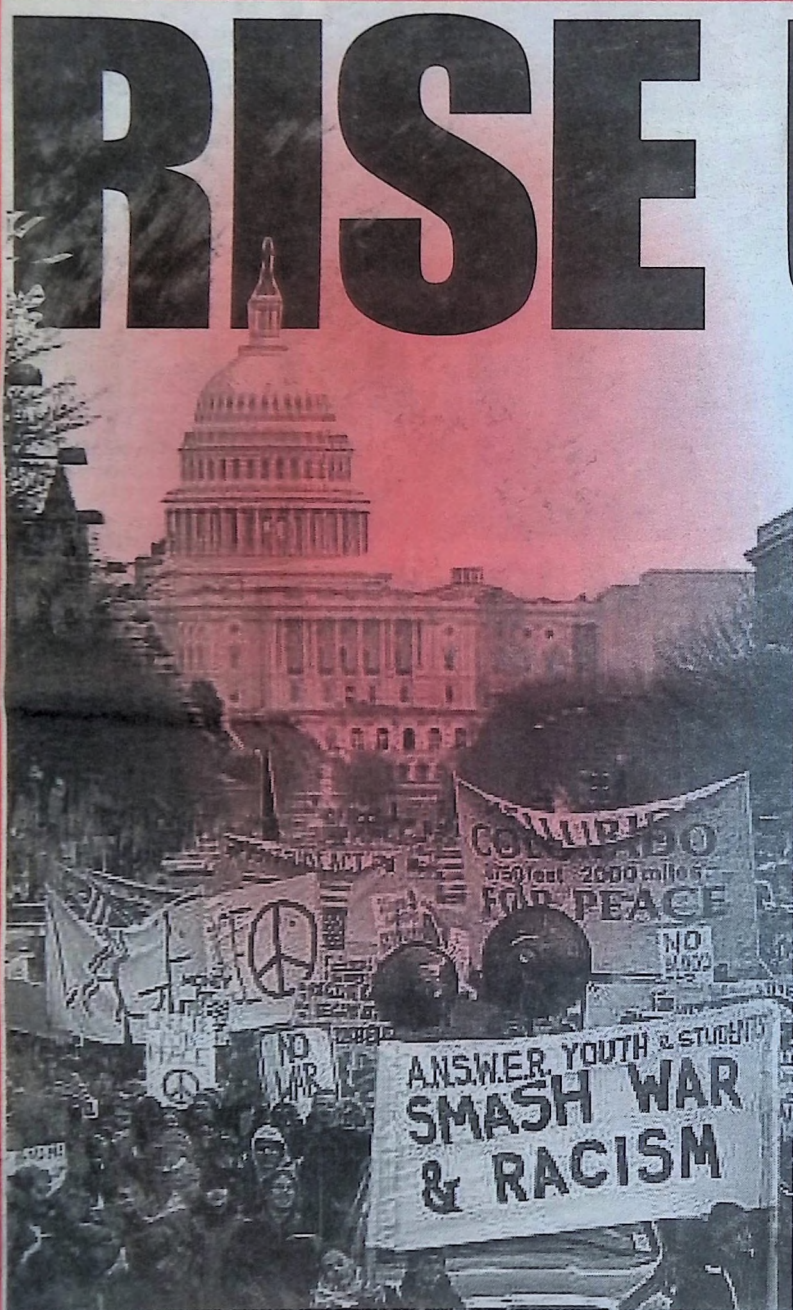
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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism €1.00 / £0.70p

RISE UP TO STOP THIS WAR!



International Day of Action Against the War

February 15th Demonstrate:

Dublin 2.00pm Garden of Remembrance, Parnell Square

Belfast: 2.00pm Art College Gardens, York St



€600 Bin Charges coming

ENVIRONMENT Minister Martin Cullen is preparing for bin charge increases that could take the average cost to nearly €600 a year.

Cullen claims that the real cost of providing a weekly bin services is €11 per week. He is planning a set of moves that will force people to pay this 'real cost'.

Top of his list is denying local councillors the power to vote on bin charge estimates. These councillors have often been subject to huge pressure from local campaigns.

So Cullen's solution is to give city and county managers the power to set the charges.

The new draconian powers will also

be used to force incinerators onto local communities.

Cullen's favourite model for bin collection is the one operating in Sligo. There the bin charge already runs at 520 euro a year and is based on a payment of €10 for every 240 litre bag.

Privatised

The Sligo collection service has also been privatised—something which is close to the hearts of the PDs.

A recent survey by the Sunday Tribune showed that bin charges are consistently higher under a privatised service than a public service.

At present half of all local authorities have a privatised service. But Cullen is determined to raise that further.



LAVISH EXPENSES FOR BIN CHARGE COUNCILLORS

A RECENT report has shown that the fifteen Waterford City Councillors shared €602,401.44 between them in 2002 in allowances and expenses.

This works out at an average of more than €40,000 each for twelve months, much of which is not taxed.

Increasing

In the recent vote on the book of estimates in Waterford, the council voted for increasing both bin charges and parking charges by 100 percent. These increases were justified by the fact that "the city was in financial trouble".

When tackled about the huge figure

given to councillors, Fianna Fail representative, Mary Roche responded by saying, "€40,000.00 isn't a lot of money these days".

Ireland in breach of Kyoto

CULLEN CLAIMS that the bin tax is designed to help the environment by encouraging recycling.

But the hollowness of his concern for the environment is revealed by the

way the Irish government has breached the Kyoto Treaty.

Reduction

Under this treaty, governments are supposed to work for reduction in the

emission of greenhouse gases.

Ireland was supposed to reach a target of emission levels of 12 percent above the 1990 level.

But new research from the Environmental Protection Agency shows that Ireland is already 30 percent above the level and may even reach 60 percent above the 1990 level. Ireland, from a global

warming perspective, is now the dirty man of Europe. As a result, EU fines totalling nearly €4.8 billion may be levied.

Most green house gas emission comes from private industry. But the right wing FF-PD government will not force big business to clean up.

It puts a double tax on PAYE workers—while big business steps up its green house gas pollution..

State subsidy for clerical sex abuse

THE IRISH state could pick up a €2 billion bill for clerical sex abuse. That is money that could have been spent on schools and hospitals.

This bizarre situation arose from a deal done by the former Fianna Minister for Education and Science, Michael Woods with the Conference on Religious in Ireland.

Indemnified

Under the terms of the deal, the Catholic religious orders were indemnified by the state against claims for clerical sex abuse in return for a mere €128 million.

The Catholic Church did not even have to put the money up front. They only had to give over €38 million in

cash. The remainder mainly comes from land they were due to hand over to the state.

The scandal came to light after Mervyn Rundle managed to win a settlement of €345,000 million against Cardinal O Connell.

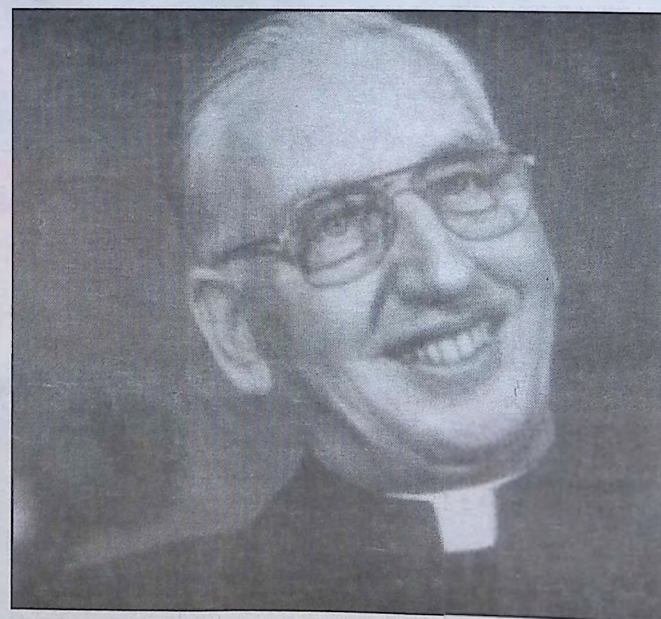
Mervyn had been abused by a Fr Thomas Naughton back in 1985.

But even though his parents reported the matter, nothing was done to hand Naughton over to the state authorities.

Settlement

The scale of the settlement means that many victims of child sex abuse can now expect a high level of compensation. But the deal that Woods made lets the Catholic Church off the hook.

The circumstances of the deal are very suspect. Michael Woods is a long standing lay activist of the Catholic Church and a supporter of groups such



■ Cardinal Connell

as SPUC.

He concluded the deal in the last few days of the last FF-PD administration. Its terms were never agreed by the Dail and it was subject to no public scrutiny.

CORI has presented itself as the social conscience of the social partnership process.

It often issues reports on how the 'socially excluded' are losing out. But it supports the whole idea of workers accepting wage restraint.

Now it stands accused of gross hypocrisy by stitching up a deal where the Catholic Church has saved its vast fortune by getting the state to pay for its child sex abusers.

Oil Barons buy Allies & plan Slaughter

Bush cronies after Iraqi oil

THE WAR on Iraq is about oil-everyone knows it and now the US has admitted it.

Top of the US agenda is safeguarding Iraq's oilfields. They will send in US and British marines to seize control of the oilfields around Basra in southern Iraq.

Hosted

The US State Department and vice-president Dick Cheney have hosted two sets of top level meetings with representatives of ExxonMobile, ChevronTexaco, ConocoPhillips and Halliburton—the company Cheney ran before he stood for election.

Crafted

A senior state official said that the US had "crafted strategies that will allow us to secure and protect those fields as rapidly as possible".

According to a report by Deutsche Bank experts, "Exxon-Mobil's status as the largest US oil company gives it major weight with the US government. "The company may find itself in pole position in a regime-changed Iraq."

Bribing war partners

THE US is trying to bribe Turkey with \$4 billion if it backs the US war on Iraq.

The US wants to use Turkish military bases but the new Turkish government is worried about the political fallout.

"If Turkey helps us in the war, we want to help Turkey with the economic consequences of its role in that war," a senior US official told a newspaper.

Awesome power to slaughter

SOME 800 cruise missiles costing £1 million each are likely to rain down on Iraq in the first 48 hours of an attack codenamed 'Shock and Awe' by the Pentagon.

"There will not be a safe place in Baghdad," said one Pentagon official.

A mass movement to get warplanes out of Shannon

THE IRISH government are backing George Bush even though a recent opinion poll showed that 77 percent of the population oppose war.

Now they are calling up the Irish army to guard Shannon airport and to resist protest activities. It is a sick travesty of claims made in the Nice referendum about neutrality.

For the past few weeks, government ministers have been claiming that the onus is on Saddam Hussein to prove he has not got weapons of mass destruction.

But they never explain why US allies such as India or Pakistan are allowed to have these weapons.

Or why the US will not allow inspectors into the sites of its biological and chemical weapons. During the Afghanistan conflict, the US used 'battlefield' nuclear weapons.

Decimated

The reality is that Bush and not Hussein is the biggest threat to world peace. Iraq is a decimated country that does not have the capacity to launch missile attacks on the western powers.

The only country in that region which has such a capacity is Israel. But Bush supports its right to terrorise the Palestinian people.

The other argument Irish government ministers use to claim that US investment will be lost if they deny US warplanes access to Shannon.

It is just another example of the blackmail, which is employed on every issue from raising taxes of profits to better environmental controls.

The reality however is that US multinationals declare a 25 percent rate of return on their investment in Ireland.

Greed

That is double the return from Portugal, three times that of Spain and a full five times that of Britain.

Their greed for profit will keep them here—even if Shannon was closed off to US warplanes.

Ahern and Cowen want to align themselves with Anglo-American imperialism.

This is why they are preparing the ground to give full backing to the war.

The huge global demonstrations on February 15th will give thousands of activists the confidence to deepen the roots of the Irish Anti-War Movement and turn it into a mass movement.

It is going to take people power to stop this bloody war and to close off Shannon to US warplanes.



Recent protest demo in Shannon

Don't trust the UN

ACCORDING to the pro-war Observer newspaper, Bush and Blair are set to launch a 'constant campaign' of persuasion to weaken the global anti-war movement.

Step number one will be the supposed revelation of 'evidence' from CIA sources about Iraqi weapons.

Step two is US diplomatic offensive to win UN Security Council backing for war.

One British source has already predicted that US pressure will yield a 13-2 vote on the UN Security Council to sanction war.

The bribery and bullying designed to win that vote is already underway.

Bush has promised Russia that its oil con-

tracts in Iraq will be honoured.

Three Chechen rebel groups have also been added to his terrorist blacklist.

Ratify

China has been told that its long-

term interests in trade with the US will be in danger if they vote against war.

Bulgaria is waiting on the US to ratify its NATO membership and will not vote against its patron.

Angola and Guinea have just received

new aid packages of \$4.1 million and \$2.1 million respectively.

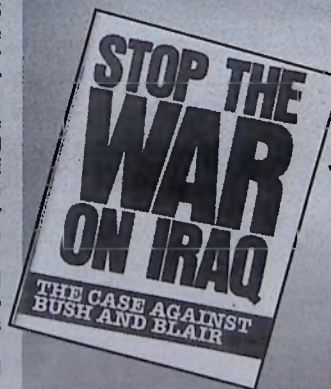
One US official explained the strategy. "We don't remind countries who receive US aid of that assistance when discussing Iraq. That would be inappropriate. Those countries that receive aid from the US themselves recognise the importance of donor dollars and don't need to be reminded."

Ahern and Cowen have calculated a UN resolution will let them give full backing for Bush.

This is why it is vital that in the coming weeks, anti-war activists explain the role of the UN in giving cover to colonial ambitions.

The only consistent position now is to oppose this war — with or without the backing of the UN.

OUT NOW!



Out now the new Socialist Worker pamphlet *Stop the War on Iraq*, €2.50 (£1.50) post free from SW Books, PO Box 1648 Dublin 8

DON'T ATTACK IRAQ

National Demonstration

International Day of Action Against the War

February 15th Demonstrate:

Dublin 2.00pm Garden of Remembrance,

Parnell Square

Belfast: 2.00pm Art College Gardens,

York St

U.S. MILITARY OUT OF SHANNON

JUSTICE FOR PALESTINE

Irish Anti War Movement Tel: 086-3074060 www.irishantiwar.org

Make it a war on two fronts for Blair

SUPPORT THE FIREFIGHTERS

THE BLAIR government is trying to break the fire-fighters. Deputy Prime Minister John Prescott let it be known that it was preparing legal action against the union and its leader Andy Gilchrist under the updated version of the "master and servants" act.

This makes strikes illegal if they involve workers "maliciously" putting lives at risk. Incredibly there were suggestions that firefighters had fallen foul of the law by NOT picketing and therefore not being available in case of a major fire.

But John Prescott, has got it wrong if he thinks that firefighters are about to roll over and walk away from their fight.

Reacted

They reacted immediately to his threats with impromptu demonstrations in Merseyside and elsewhere. On the 1st February around 100 firefighters and their supporters gathered at Central Fire Station in Belfast for a rally.

As well as halting talks, the government has now said the pay offer will get worse every time the firefighters go on strike. Such

Thatcherite bullying cannot be allowed to succeed.

Since Prescott announced his plans to enforce a pay "settlement" a wave of anger has swept through fire stations.

Support

A Tory government would only ever dream of imposing new pay and conditions on a major trade union in the public sector. But this government is out to break the FBU and is outdoing the Tories.

There is massive support for firefighters and this has been proved time and time again when they have been forced to strike.

As FBU leaders spoke at Saturday's rally in Belfast they were constantly drowned out by sound

of car horns!

This public support is much needed, it gives firefighters confidence and dispels the myths in the media about support "haemorrhaging". But he support needs to be mobilised.

The Executive Committee of the FBU should defy New Labour and continue with their strikes.

They should also call on the TUC and ICTU to give them full solidarity. If the government gets away with imposing the Bain report on firefighters, other public sector workers will face similar attacks.

It is time to stand firm against this union busting government.

Preparing for Battle

EVERY DAY of the pay campaign has increased FBU members' anger against the government.

FBU members now need to come together to develop a strategy for the major battles ahead.

It would be quite wrong, as some of the union leadership are suggesting, to postpone the union's conference this year.

There needs to be the chance

for every member to have an input into discussing the fight for pay and to defend the service.

There also needs to be debate about how the union uses its political fund and about its relationship with New Labour.

Many are already asking why should the FBU be funding a union busting government. It is time to look to genuine socialist forces outside the Labour Party.

HOW NEW LABOUR CAN BE DEFEATED

RANK AND file trade unionists should start organising now to win solidarity for the fire-fighters.

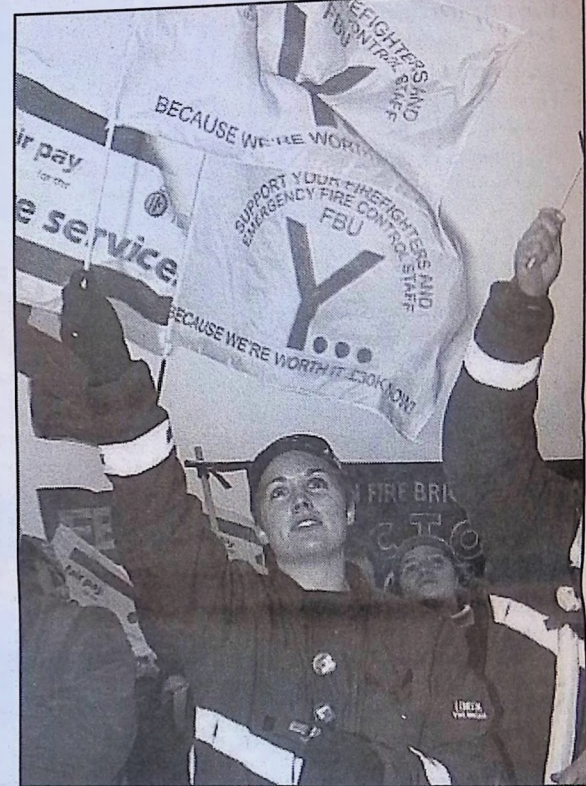
In one of the FBU's earlier strikes, London Tube workers refused to work in unsafe conditions.

This is a glimpse of the potential solidarity action that can force Prescott into retreat.

The same action is required now. If leaders of the ICTU and the TUC gave a lead, workers in large public sector building could walk out because of lack of fire. New Labour would then be in deep trouble..

Blair's attack on the firefighters is linked to the coming war against Iraq. He believes that the British army will be overstretched if it has to both fight a war on Iraq and attempt to break the fire-fighters' strike.

He says he has no money to pay the fire-fighters. But he has increased the defence budget to



£2 billion a year—and has an open cheque book for the war against Iraq.

One way to challenge this

ethos is for firefighters to demonstrate in big numbers against the war on 15th February on Belfast.

the Eamonn McCann column

Derry or Londonderry? What's in a name?

SINN FEIN and SDLP supporters who lost their jobs with the closures at Desmonds in Derry can take solace from the fact that they'll soon be signing the dole in Derry and not Londonderry.

Desmonds announced on January 29th that they were backing 315 Derry and Dungiven workers. The plants had been producing trousers and jeans. The firm explained that cheaper production costs abroad had made the local operation uncompetitive.

The day before the jobs blow, the two nationalist parties had succeeded in passing a motion at Derry City Council beginning moves to make "Derry" the city's official name. Immediately, the DUP's Gregory Campbell denounced the development as anti-Protestant.

David Trimble then accused Sinn Fein of "belligerent sectarianism" and the SDLP of "moral feebleness".

Meanwhile, the two nationalist parties were disputing which could claim most credit. Sinn Fein pointed out that it was they who'd brought the issue up last autumn. The SDLP countered that it was their well-worded motion which, in the event, had passed through the council.

Media cynics and common-sense citizens kept in mind that an Assembly election will likely be under way in three months. The proposed name-change, it is anticipated, will be a major issue, with two matching shades of orange now on offer to Protestants, two of green presented to Catholics.

Actually, in casual conversation almost everyone in Derry calls the city just that. The Unionist insistence on the affectation of "London" came to symbolise the deliberately-wrought sectarian imbalance evi-

denced in the gerrymandered council which held sway until the early 1970s.

On the other hand, more than 10,000 Protestants have left the west bank of the Foyle over the past quarter century. The only working-class Protestants remaining are within the tiny Fountain area just outside the city walls. The name-change—despite the fact that most say "Derry" most of the time—symbolises to them how their presence in the city has diminished over the years.

The name-change can be justified on straightforward democratic grounds. It's what most citizens would opt for if asked. But it doesn't follow that the question had to be asked, or asked now. The fact that the name rankled with Catholics doesn't mean that it was experienced as a heavily oppressive aspect of sectarianism or as a grievance which it was particularly urgent to remedy.

It didn't feature as an issue in

any election in recent years. The fact that it will feature in this year's has been contrived.

We might compare and contrast the clarity of the SDLP and Sinn Fein on the name-change with their hesitant, vague response to the Desmonds closure.

Sinn Fein MLA Mitchel McLaughlin expressed "sympathy with these breadwinners and their families...a terrible personal blow," and demanded that NIO Employment Minister Ian Pearson "explain what measures he can put in place...There needs to be the same emphasis on job losses here as in east Belfast down through the years."

SDLP leader Mark Durkan said that the "awful news for the workers and their families... reinforces the need for a coherent strategy to develop and defend a competitive hard core to our textile industry."

Neither party voiced even mild criticism of Desmonds for the closure decision. Both tacitly accepted

that work which can be done more cheaply in Asia or eastern Europe will automatically gravitate there.

Neither party mentioned, even in passing, that in recent years Desmonds has set up garment factories in Bangladesh, Turkey and Sri Lanka. (Neither, for that matter, did Alan Elliot of the GMB who told the workers that things might have been even worse had Desmonds not been a "local" firm.)

The capitalist logic behind the "race to the bottom" has clearly been accepted by the two nationalist groups. A strategy of resistance, involving occupation of the plants if necessary, wouldn't remotely occur to them.

To Sinn Fein and the SDLP, community is everything, class nothing. Working class people should look elsewhere.

Anti war movement takes off!

ACTIVISTS across Ireland in schools, colleges, communities and workplaces have been getting a tremendous hearing as they build up for the big demonstration on February 15th.

Christy Moore is a mature student in Sallynoggin College in Dun Laoghaire. He spoke to *Socialist Worker* about recent shift in public attitude.

"I have been putting up the posters and leaflets for a few months but the response since Christmas has just amazed me.

"We have now had two meetings in a fortnight with 15-20 at each and

there is a real buzz around the college with lots of the students coming up to me looking for information or leaflets for the fifteenth.

"The teachers have also got involved which is great for credibility. We are going to have our own contingent on the 15th and are going to make our own banners.

"Everyone is really looking forward to having their say on the big demonstration".

In Belfast it is the same story. Davy Carlin of West Belfast Against The War reported that

"We have been overwhelmed by the amount of people getting involved in Belfast.

"In one night last week we had a hundred and twenty people at meetings across the city.

"Fifty people came to a school students against the war meeting, from protestant and catholic schools. They are now going to organise debates in their schools and have their own contingent on the march.

Biggest

"Another fifty attended an anti-war activist meeting in West Belfast where we discussed the possibility of organising feeder marches from the Falls and the Shankill.

"While in South Belfast twenty people attended an SWP forum on Islam including a Palestinian activist who said he would bring 2,000 people to the 15th.

"Just about every political party on the left, trade union and community organisation has now backed the march which we reckon will be the biggest of its kind ever to take place in the north".

Nearly 80 people attended an anti-war meeting in Waterford to discuss building the movement in the city and organising for the February 15th protest.

Speakers on the platform urging people to join the Irish Anti-War Movement were: Aoife Ni Fheargail of the IAWM, Seamus Healey TD, Roy Hassey of the SWP, David Cullinane of Sinn Fein, and Brendan McCann from the Green Party.

The meeting was chaired by Brian Sweeney, Vice President of the students union in the WIT, who will be organising a bus for the 15th

The meeting agreed on organising a follow up organising meeting, supporting a weekly anti-war protest in Waterford and actively building for the 15th.

Chair of the local anti-war group Roy Hassey said afterwards: "This is an excellent start to the campaign to get people on the streets on the 15th. Everybody agreed to build for the protest and took leaflets away with them to give to work-mates and neighbours.

"We already have the support of the Waterford Council of trade Unions, the students union in the college, and the local ATGWU branch. We believe we will get several buses up for the 15th February".



Building in the workplaces

The anti-war message is also being taken into workplaces.

Forty people attended a meeting organised by Health Workers Against The War from hospitals across Dublin.

Mary Smith, told *Socialist Worker* how it went.

"It was a great meeting. Dr David Hickey a

consultant surgeon from Beaumont Hospital spoke alongside Dr Peadar O Grady, a child psychiatrist.

"An Iraqi doctor who was present and told everyone about the terrible effects that depleted uranium from the last Gulf War was having on Iraqi children. It has led to big increases in leukemia and other cancers.

"The meeting was supposed to be held in

James St hospital but at the last moment the management board withdrew permission.

"We had to re-schedule for a nearby pub but it did not dim the enthusiasm.

"Nearly everyone signed up to the anti-war movement and we are hoping to get groups going in all the hospitals."

Community workers from workplaces in Dublin and Cork came

together to form community workers against the war.

They are to make a banner for February 15th and to march as a contingent.

They are also drawing up an anti war letter to other community workers.

At the first meeting nearly 20 community workers turned up and they agreed to take bundles of leaflets to the areas where they work.

TEACH-INS A BIG SUCCESS

DURING THE Vietnam war, student activists organised teach-ins to educate themselves on the wider political issues involved in opposing the war.

Now teach-ins are happening again as colleges gear up for anti-war activity.

150 people attended an anti war teach in UCD where there was a lively discussion on the link between capitalism and war.

One of the organisers, Kieran Allen, said

"There was a mixture of students and academic staff speaking.

"What was striking was the range of views - there are different approaches to the UN, to the tactic of direct action to what causes war.

"But it was an open space where anyone could raise what he or she wanted.

"And it helped to get enthusiasm going for February 15th".

At an anti war day of action against the war in Trinity College over a hundred people joined the Irish anti war movement.

Meanwhile 55 teachers and students met to organise against the war in Colaiste Dhulaigh, Dublin.

School students in Scarif Community college in County Clare collected hundreds of signatures from teachers and students for an anti war petition and they are sending a contingent to the fifteenth.

One of the students told *Socialist Worker* "everyone has been very supportive and around three quarters of the students and staff who have been approached agree with our petition.

"We also left a petition on a counter in a local pub and that is filling up too."

HUNDREDS ATTEND PUBLIC MEETINGS

RICHARD Boyd-Barrett, Chairperson of the Irish Anti War Movement reports that hundreds of people have been attending local meetings around the country.

"We are getting requests for speakers from every area of Ireland and the willingness to work to-

gether among activists from a wide variety of backgrounds is impressive.

Broadest

"This has to be one of the broadest grass-roots coalitions ever put together in Ireland.

"Members of the SWP, Socialist Party, Labour, Sinn Fein and the Green Party,

PANA, the NGO Peace alliance and others have been addressing anti war meetings across Ireland.

"120 attended at Liberty Hall, Dublin. 40 in Dun Laoghaire, 40 in Bray, 40 in Letterkenny, 80 in Maynooth, 35 in Dundrum, 40 in Sligo."

Many more meetings were planned in the week that *Socialist Worker* went to press.

WHAT YOU CAN DO

Everyone can become an activist to build for the February 15th demonstration.

Contact the Irish Anti-War Movement and get posters and leaflets for your area. Phone 087 6329511.

Book a room and get speakers to hear the anti-war case.

Move a resolution in your trade union, residents association or student union to support the global day of action against war.

KOREA, CONGO, IRAQ

When the United Nations backed unjust wars

BUSH AND Blair would like to have United Nations (UN) backing for a war on Iraq. The scale of the anti-war movement has shocked them and Blair, in particular, is very nervous about the hostility to the war in Britain.

According to the *Guardian* newspaper, they agreed at their summit meeting at the end of January to give Iraq another six weeks and use that period to persuade a sceptical France and the Arab countries to come on board for military action against Iraq.

That probably means another attempt to win UN sanction.

The Irish government would also like the cover of the United Nations. Aheron has stated that if the war gets UN backing, there will be no problem letting US troops use Shannon.

But nobody should believe that UN support means that a war will be more just. Nor can the UN be relied on to block war.

The UN is not a democratic body but reflects huge global inequalities.

The UN Security Council is composed of five permanent members US, Britain, France, Russia and China and ten other temporary members.

The permanent five all run their own empires and use the security council to haggle over how their interests might be co-ordinated.

Poor countries who get on the Security Council are bullied and bribed to vote for US policy decisions.

Take for example Guinea, which has just joined the UN security council. It is run by a dictator, Lansana Conte, who has been in power for

two decades and is as brutal as Saddam Hussein. Yet Conte is a favourite of the Western powers who give \$200 million a year in donations. The chances of Guinea voting against its patron, the US, and risking aid money is remote.

The UN has repeatedly been used as camouflage for wars fought purely in the interests of the most powerful states, principally the US.

KOREA

AT THE end of the Second World War Korea was divided between the North, under Russian influence, and the South, under the influence of the US.

The "Cold War" between the two superpowers became a hot war. In June 1950 fighting began. Northern forces pushed back the Southern army.

US president Truman ordered the US army into combat and began bombing the North.

In order to make it seem that the war was not simply a US concern, an emergency meeting of the UN was called.

Despite the fact that the Communists had come to power in China a year before, China's UN Security Council seat was held by the previous government operating from Taiwan.

Russia was boycotting the Security Council in protest.

The UN motion went through easily. UN forces were dispatched to Korea under the command of the US. The war lasted for three years.

"I want to spread of radioactive cobalt from the Sea of the Yellow Sea."

• US GENERAL MACARTHUR on the Korean War

In the name of the UN, General MacArthur ordered the US airforce to turn North Korea into a wasteland by destroying "every installation, factory, city and village".

He congratulated the airforce when it used napalm to burn the city of Hoeryong. MacArthur joyfully declared that "a large part of enemy lines is now a wilderness of scorched earth".

During the war President Truman declared that using atomic bombs was "under active consideration" and MacArthur outlined a list of targets. MacArthur later said he had wanted to "spread a belt of radioactive cobalt from the Sea of Japan to the Yellow Sea".

Atomic weapons were not used. But every other barbaric method of war was. The war killed at least two million Korean civilians. The UN had backed it all.



1953, the No

Splits among Big Powers: Thieves fall out over oil

OVER THE past few weeks, as Bush and Blair prepared for war, splits appeared to open up with some of the other big powers.

French president Jacques Chirac has demanded that the UN inspectors be given much more time and any attack must be backed by a UN resolution.

The French government has suggested it would use its veto to block any US resolution authorising military action.

Chancellor Gerhard Schröder of Germany, which does not have a veto on the Security Council, said his government "not approve a UN resolution legitimising war" and would "throw stones in the way" of the US road to war.

Promise

Schröder won an election last year on the promise that Germany would take no part in the coming war.

As long as France holds out, he can maintain his position. But in the long run the German government is keen to heal the rift with the US.

Both Russia and China have similarly expressed severe reservations about war on Iraq at this time. Russia Defence Minister Sergei Ivanov said "If military actions begin against Iraq without the approval of the UN, we will consider them illegitimate and unjustified."

In a fit of pique US

Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld dubbed France and Germany "old Europe" and declared that the two countries were "problems" in relation to the Iraq crisis.

But despite this apparent falling out, it would be a mistake to place any reliance on these governments stopping the war.

The main reason for the friction is the main reason for the war, oil. According to Jeremy Rifkin in *Hydrogen Economy*, at current production rates the US oil fields will be exhausted in ten years time.

Those of Saudi Arabia will last 55 years.

But Iraq has an estimated 526 years of untapped reserves which amounts to a quarter of the world's oil supplies.

Of the 70 known oil fields in Iraq, just 12 have been developed.

As one industry analyst notes, "These fields hold more than anything in Saudi Arabia or Iran."

The splits are in reality about jockeying for position to get control of the oil and the contracts for developing these fields in post war Iraq.

France, Russia and China are bargaining over the price of their support for a US-led war in terms of concessions from the US in the carve up.

They fear that US companies will grab the lion's share of these opportunities under the protection of the US military.

Chirac wants to ensure juicy rewards for the French based TotalFinaElf and that Exxon-Mobile and ChevronTexaco don't get given all the goodies.

Similarly Russia

and China both have in-principle agreements to develop fields in Iraq with the current government of Saddam Hussein.

The US has said that all such contracts will be null and void when General Tommy Franks, the US military commander establishes a military colonial government in the country and takes control of the oil industry "in trust for the people of Iraq" as they ironically put it.

'Legality'

The leaders of France, Russia and China understand that the US and Britain would prefer the fig leaf of UN Security Council backing to give the appearance of "legality" to the grab. So they are trying to use their veto position on the UN Security Council to get the best price.

But they can only raise the stakes so far. They know that while the US government would prefer to keep the UN on board, it has the military muscle to go it alone (with Blair playing second fiddle).

If the other powers fail to strike a deal and back Bush now, the US will ensure they are cut out of the spoils of war.

The tensions between these imperialist powers is intensified by the degree of hostility from the growing anti war movement and a generally hostile public opinion.

But we should not rely on the big powers on the UN Security Council to halt this war.

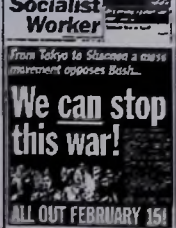
They are weaker than the US but share its imperialist ambitions.

Only a global mass movement can stop this brutal war.

by KEVIN WINGFIELD

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IRAQ:

By Charlie Kimber



■1953, the North Korean capital Pyongyang is devastated by relentless US bombing backed by UN

ant to spread a belt
radioactive cobalt
the Sea of Japan to
Yellow Sea."

GENERAL MACARTHUR
on the Korean War

ne of the UN. General
dered the US airforce to
area into a wasteland by
every installation, facto-
illage".

ratulated the airforce
t napalm to burn the city
g. MacArthur joyfully
it "a large part of enemy
a wilderness of scorched

the war President Truman
at using atomic bombs
active consideration" and
outlined a list of targets.
later said he had wanted
a belt of radioactive cobalt
ea of Japan to the Yellow

weapons were not used.
other barbaric method of
the war killed at least two
ean civilians. The UN had
all.

CONGO

**THE COLONIAL power
Belgium was forced out of
central Africa's Congo in
1960. The people elected a radical,
Patrice Lumumba, as prime
minister.**

He horrified the Belgian authorities and the multinational companies when his early speeches suggested he would refuse to be a Western puppet. Belgium immediately began to plot to remove Lumumba.

Belgian officers fled to Congo's mineral-rich Katanga province and "encouraged" it to declare independence from the central government. Lumumba responded by appealing to the UN for military aid. UN troops soon arrived.

But they acted throughout as protectors of the illegal breakaway regime and as a buffer that prevented Lumumba's forces defeating the Katangan government. The UN was well aware of where its role was leading. In an internal memorandum UN secretary general Dag Hammarskjöld wrote, "The UN effort could not continue with Lumumba in office. One or the other would have to go." UN forces allowed a Belgian aircraft into Katanga with nine tonnes of weapons for the opposition.

The US, Belgian and British governments now worked to have Lumumba declared an "illegitimate leader" and to murder him with UN support. The plan worked. The UN general assembly, under pressure from the US, voted by 53 votes to 24 not to recognise Lumumba's government.

As UN troops looked on, Lumumba was imprisoned and murdered. The key figure in the new government was Joseph Mobutu who would be Congo's dictator for the next three decades. The UN had backed the murder of a popular, democratically elected leader.

IRAQ

**GEORGE BUSH Sr's war for
Goil against Iraq was
fought with UN backing.
James Baker, the US Secretary
of State, met the foreign ministers
of each of the other 14
member countries of the UN
Security Council. He offered a
combination of bribes and**

**threats in order to make them
back a resolution allowing an
attack on Iraq.**

In 1990 Egypt was the most indebted country in Africa. Baker bribed President Mubarak with \$14 billion in "debt forgiveness". Syria's president, Assad, was given the green light to wipe out all opposition to Syria's rule in Lebanon. Some \$1 billion of arms was made available.

The US gave Iran a promise to drop its opposition to a series of World Bank loans. The bank approved the first loan of \$250 million on the day before the ground attack on Iraq.

Russia was desperate for economic assistance. President Bush sent the Saudi Arabian foreign minister to Moscow to offer \$1 billion. After Russian leader Gorbachev agreed to the war resolution, another \$3 billion came from other Gulf states.

The chair of the Security Council at the time was Zaire (formerly Congo). Its rulers were offered debt forgiveness and military equipment in return for making sure the Security Council met when, and only when, the US wanted. When it came to the vote, 12 states voted for the attack resolution. Yemen and Cuba voted against and China abstained.

Minutes after the resolution was passed, US ambassador Pickering told the Yemeni ambassador, "That was the most expensive no vote you ever cast." Within three days the US halted a \$70 million aid programme to one of the world's poorest countries.

Some 800,000 Yemeni workers were expelled from Saudi Arabia. Such pressures won UN backing for the assault on Iraq in 1991-and they will be used in 2003.

WHAT SOCIALISTS SAY

Congratulations Mary Kelly!



MARY KELLY was a hero when she turned up in the international media, during the Israeli occupation of Bethlehem to stand up for the Palestinian people. But the media have turned on her after she attacked a US warplane with a hatchet, causing over €500,000 damage.

One of her supporters from the Shannon Peace Camp was brought on the Marianne Finucane talk show and subjected to a torrent of abuse.

Finucane is renowned as a 'soft' interviewer who gives politicians an easy time. But RTE is stepping up its pro-war propaganda and so Finucane did her hatchet job.

"Mary Kelly has cost the Irish tax payers money" was one of the charges.

Yet it is the Irish government, who decided to grovel to the US by picking up the bill.

There would have been no costs if that government had done what the majority of the population wanted - put Shannon off-limits to the US war effort.

Politicians who complain over "costs to the taxpayer" forget that each year the Irish government pays out €1.5 million in air traffic control charges for foreign military planes who pass through Shannon.

Mary Kelly's use of a hatchet to attack the warplane has also been presented as violent.

After the media barrage against her, even some in the Shannon Peace Camp distanced themselves by claiming she had breached the norm of non-violence.

But her aim was to disable a violent tool of war that would soon wreak murder on innocent Iraqis.

It is like saying a firefighter who breaks down a door to save lives is violent.

On the current estimates of Medact, the international physicians organisation, the war will cost the lives of 300,000 civilians.

Mary Kelly has done an honourable and decent thing by doing everything in her power as an individual to halt the killing machine.

But to stop war we have to go beyond individual acts of bravery or even small groups able to mount forms of direct action.

Throughout the anti-war movement a debate has sometimes raged over the relative importance of

direct action.

Some have even asked "What is the point in marching around Dublin when we can all go to Shannon to engage in direct action?"

But this is to pose the matter wrongly.

Real change in history comes from mass movements, from the collective action of tens of thousands of ordinary people who are moved to take matters into their own hands.

This means breaking with habits of deference, or leaving politics to 'experts' so that people come to see they have the power to bring change.

Confidence

Huge marches like February 15th help to accelerate that process.

They give confidence to the participants to start organising for their ideas.

The strength of numbers helps to turn many into activists for the anti-war movement. It also helps to deepen divisions within our rulers as they come up with different strategies to cope with popular resistance.

Huge demonstrations also make possible much wider forms of direct action which involve masses of people.

Mary Kelly's actions were brave and commendable - but not everyone can join a peace camp at Shannon or scale fences at 5 am.

What is crucial therefore is forms of direct action which flow out of the needs of the movement and can involve large numbers of people.

Occupations of colleges, street sit downs, and most importantly forms of industrial action are key.

In Motherwell, outside Glasgow two train drivers recently walked off their job when they found their trains were carrying munitions.

They were able to do that because hundreds of thousands have taken part in Stop the War Coalition demonstration - and because their union, ASLEF, officially backs that campaign.

In Ireland the most effective blow to US troops in Shannon would be industrial action by workers at the airport.

If they refused to re-fuel the planes or guide them through air traffic control, access could be denied to the US war machine.

But to get that type of action requires a powerful mass movement that starts to re-shape society in its image.

This is why the global protests on February 15 are so vital.

— by KIERAN ALLEN

When the US loved Saddam



■ All pals: Donald Rumsfeld shakes hands with Saddam in 1983

by **CONOR KOSTICK**

'SADDAM has weapons of mass destruction and has tortured his citizens in gruesome ways. If that's not evil I don't know what is.'

This statement from George Bush in his State of the Union address is extraordinary. It suggests that the US administration has only just become aware of the horrors of the Iraq dictatorship.

But any suggestion that the U.S. is concerned about Saddam's human rights record should be treated with total contempt, for the U.S. has in the past aided the dictator.

There are three periods in the history of Iraq, where US support for Saddam was crucial: 1963, 1981-89 and 1991.

The Ba'ath Party of Iraq, the instrument through which Saddam maintains his dictatorship, first came to power in a bloody coup 8 February 1963.

Over the previous five years a radical nationalist government, inspired by Nasser's success in Egypt, had replaced the pro-Western monarchy.

This government, led by Brigadier 'Adb al-Karim Qasim, had worried the C.I.A. because a clash with the giant Iraqi Petroleum Company had led to its partial nationalisation.

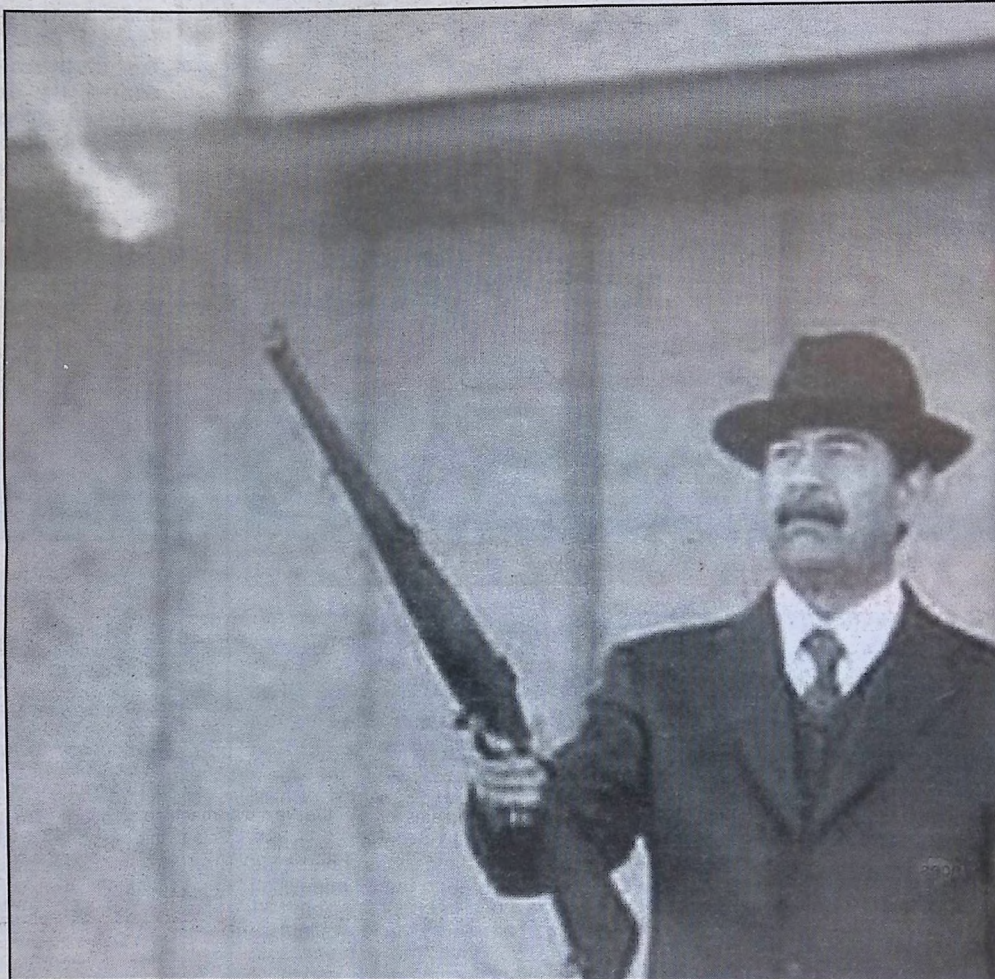
Furthermore the Iraqi Communist Party were growing fast in the more open atmosphere created by the fall of the monarchy.

So the C.I.A. gave their encouragement to the Ba'ath Party to stage an uprising. At the time the Party had only 850 members and some 15,000 supporters. The fact that they succeeded was later attributed to U.S. support.

"We came to power on a C.I.A. train" admitted Ali Saleh Sa'adi, the Ba'ath Party Secretary. James Critchfield was the head of Middle Eastern operations for the C.I.A. at the time, he recently spoke of the 1963 coup as being one of their best successes. "We really had the f's crossed on what was happening. We regarded it as a great victory."

Even at the time the connection was put on public record, by a overly candid comment from King Husain of Jordan that "numerous meetings were held between the Ba'ath Party and American Intelligence... A secret radio beamed to Iraq was supplying the men who pulled the coup with the names and addresses of Communists there so that they could be arrested or executed."

This "great victory" for the C.I.A. saw 10,000 people killed in one week and nine months of persecution, directed overwhelmingly



■ Saddam turned one-party rule into a one-man rule

against socialists.

But for social base of the the Ba'ath Party was very narrow. They tried to hold power through a very tight internal Party organisation.

BUT SPLITS eventually opened up between their leaders, Nasserite officers ousted them after a nine month period of rule.

Only following a second coup in 1968 did the Ba'ath Party obtain a firm grip over Iraq, and this time with a stricter power structure headed by Saddam and Ahmed Hassan al-Bakr.

In 1979 Saddam ousted Hassan as president to turn the one-party rule into a one-man rule.

American Intelligence was well aware that the Iraqi regime was engaged in widespread torture and execution of its opponents. They also knew of its devastating war against the Kurds.

Nevertheless, following the Iran-

ian revolution of 1979, the U.S. government decided that Saddam's Iraq was a safer bet than the dangers of Islamic revolution spreading through the region.

So when Iraq invaded Iran in 1980 a new alliance was forged between the U.S. and Saddam.

From 1981 to 1985 Iraq was the world's largest arms importer, spending \$24 billion over that period. An examination of who supplied these arms yields no surprises, but is worth listing given the song and dance that is being made about Saddam's weaponry today.

The country with the strongest link to Iraq's military was the U.K. who supplied manuals and training for Iraqi forces.

A parliamentary question in 1987 revealed that the U. K. was allowing Iraqi air force officers and cadets to attend courses in the U.K. and that Britain was supplying reconnaissance equipment and training.

In 1981 the U.K. approved the export of 10,000 chemical protective suits and breathing apparatuses, suitable for use by chemical weapons workers.

IN 1986 an Iraqi delegation came to the highly secretive British Army Equipment Exhibition in which 300 firms, including all the main arms dealers, were displaying their wares.

Arrangements to ship arms arising from his exhibition were not recorded, being treated as private matters.

France became a major supplier of aircraft to Saddam, including a loan of the five most advanced aircraft in Europe from 1983-1985.

They also supplied the helicopters that have been an important core of Saddam's ability to survive uprisings, along with hundreds of Exocet missiles.

Other suppliers of military equipment to Iraq were Russia - with the infamous scud missiles - and South Africa.

From 1980 the U.S. allowed its arms companies to deal with Iraq, with General Electric and Lockheed

opening negotiations that year.

In 1984 the U.S. reopened its embassy in Baghdad and in that year the C.I.A. began to supply Saddam with satellite images and other intelligence.

They operated a mission in Baghdad until 1989.

Saddam would have been much weaker if there has been real solidarity offered to opposition groups. But the U.S. helped prevent the emergence of opposition to Saddam between 1988 and 1991 by adopting a rule that there was to be no contact with the Iraqi opposition.

By 1991, Saddam Hussein had run up huge debts through its war with Iran. He launched an invasion of Kuwait and gambled that the US would accept it as an accomplished fact.

This calculation was drastically wrong and the Iraqi people paid for it with their lives during the first Gulf War. But in one respect Saddam did understand the thinking of the U.S. administration—that they would prefer his rule to the appearance of a democracy in the Middle East.

The defeat of Iraq was taken as signal for popular uprisings in the Shia south and Kurdish north. The U.S. decided not to lend substantial support to the rebels.

A pre-war Pentagon memo had noted that "Iraqi disintegration will improve prospects for Iranian domination of the Gulf and remove a restraint on Syria." The post-war administration adopted the same outlook.

Bush Snr stated that, "it was never our goal to break up Iraq. Indeed we did not want this to happen."

At a White House meeting 26 March 1991 it was agreed not to support the rebels and the government spokesperson announced, "we don't intend to involve ourselves in the internal conflict in Iraq."

On the ground the U.S. intervention was worse than simply standing aside.

They confiscated supplies of arms and ammunition that would have ended in rebel hands, weapons that ironically were sent to the Taliban in Afghanistan.

One leader of the Shia rebels was told by Saudi Intelligence, "we can't do anything to help you, the Americans don't want to remove Saddam."

"They say, 'Saddam is under control. This is better than somebody we don't know about. We are worried about Iran.'"

So when George Bush talks about gruesome torture and weapons of mass destruction, it is apparent that these are spurious, decent sounding phrases, designed to lull U.S. public opinion.

This war is about the same issue that has dominated U.S. foreign policy in the Middle East for decades. It is all about utilising the post-September 11th climate and the military success in Afghanistan to increase US authority.

That will also ensure it has virtually full control of the region's oil supplies.

comment

Who are the Irish?

The Supreme Court has issued a devastating judgement that allows Justice Minister McDowell to deport over 10,000 immigrants.

Under its ruling, parents of children who are born in Ireland and who are thus deemed to be Irish citizens no longer have an automatic right to stay here. The Irish Constitution is supposed to cherish the family – but not if you are an Irish born citizen whose parents' name is Lobe or Osayande.

These two families took the case to stay in Ireland to look after their children. But they received devastating news from Supreme Court judges who includes Adrian Hardiman, a former Progressive Democrat politician who now cloaks himself in the robes of justice.

The ruling brings out all the absurdity and contradictions inherent in legal notions of nationality.

Until the time of the French Revolution, the concept of citizen was barely known. At first the term was applied to those who supported the revolution – so the English radical Tom Paine was deemed to be a French citizen and sat in the French Parliament.

Later as the revolution moved from its radical phase, citizenship was identified with nationality. It was that version which slowly spread around the world. Today the worst fate that can befall you is to be on the planet without a passport.

But how is nationality supposed to be reckoned.

In a recent article, Fintan O'Toole has outlined the extraordinary contradiction that lies at the heart of the new concept of nationality after the Supreme Court judgement.

Traditionally there were six ways of becoming Irish. You could be born here and qualify as Irish. You could marry an Irish person. Or you could become 'naturalised' as an Irish citizen if you lived here long enough.

But on top of these three ways, the Irish state had to legally recognise the reality of immigration. So you could become Irish if you were born in London or Moscow of Irish parents.

Or you could be Irish if your grandparents were born in Ireland. So much of the Gorbals in Glasgow or Camden town in London could claim an Irish passport. And what is more, they did not have to give up their British passport to claim an Irish one. Irish nationality was not monogamous!

Apartheid

Even more amazingly, in some circumstances you could claim to be Irish if your great grandparent was Irish. So rather mysteriously many South African whites claimed Irish ancestry after the fall of the apartheid regime.

And of course you could become Irish if you were a wealthy sheikh and were willing to pay for an Irish passport and bribe the Fianna Fail Minister.

After the Supreme Court ruling, however, there is now an extraordinary situation. You can be born in Argentina, say, and by claiming a distant Irish great grandfather arrive here with all the rights of a citizen.

But if you were born in the Coombe in Dublin to Nigerian parents you are denied a fundamental right of citizenship – having your parents look after you from the tender age of one month!

These absurdities have occurred because there was one central assumption behind all the liberal flexibility-being Irish meant being white and English speaking.

The transformation of Irishness to being a code for being lily white was forged among the Irish Diaspora in America.

Originally, the Irish were identified in early English colonial literature as a nomadic uncivilised lot who understood neither property nor culture – the nearest thing to the Native Americans or the Aborigines.

But in the America, they were incorporated into a power block that ran the police departments, the wards of the Democratic Party – and, above all, on the pecking order above the blacks and Hispanics.

More visas for illegal Irish immigrants were code for less Hispanics getting into New York or Chicago.

The same racist concept of Irishness is being officially incorporated into Irish law. McDowell has given the signal that the establishment do not want too many Phil Lynotts or Paul McGraths.

The Supreme Court has done his bidding. They want to close down a multi-cultural society before it starts. Hence the racist ruling.

by KIERAN ALLEN

film

Heroism and beauty amid Nazi barbarism



■ Struggling just to survive in the Warsaw Ghetto

by KEVIN WINGFIELD

WLADYSLAW Szpilman was a young Jewish concert pianist in Poland.

He played on Warsaw radio. But all that abruptly stopped when the Nazi invaded in 1939.

Jews were stripped

of all civil rights, were forced to wear the Star of David on their sleeves and had their property confiscated.

In 1940 hundreds of thousands were crowded into a small area of Warsaw called the ghetto.

There they struggled to survive through fear, cold and hunger.

Corrupt

The barbarism of the Nazi regime also had an effect on the inmates of the ghetto. A corrupt and brutal Jewish police was

recruited to maintain order.

Then the Nazis began the mass deportations of Jews from the ghetto to the death camps of Treblinka.

There is a myth that the Jews meekly accepted their fate at the hands of the Nazis.

But this was not true. Many rose up in a heroic armed assault on the Nazis, holding out until eventually crushed by the over whelming power of the Nazi war machine.

But this was not the end. Their heroic actions

inspired the resistance movement among the rest of the inhabitants of Warsaw to rise in 1944.

Stalin's armies were advancing as the harried Germans began their retreat. But Stalin did not want to deal with a risen city and halted the Russian advance long enough for the German army to crush the uprising.

Escape

The Pianist is not an overtly political film. These events are a backdrop to Wladyslaw

Szpilman's struggle for survival in the ghetto.

We see him gradually losing his artistic naivety and wising up in the Ghetto, joining with socialists in smuggling in arms for the uprising.

Later he escapes after watching his whole family packed onto trains for Treblinka never to return.

Non-Jewish fellow musicians and resistance people hide him until they too are arrested or dispersed.

The destruction of the city after the rising is recreated by remarkable special effects as Szpilman hides out among the rubble, all the time looking for food.

Deported

The irony of great and poignant music played amid the most terrible devastation is a lasting memory of this movie.

As a small boy director Roman Polanski too was in the Ghetto, escaped on food foraging expeditions and eventually saw his family deported to the extermination camps.

He has produced an intensely moving true story filmed with great sensitivity.

Polanski is one of the world's greatest filmmakers whose earlier films include the sixties thriller *Repulsion* and the classic Philip Marlow drama *Chinatown*.

The winner of a Cannes award, this film deserves to be widely seen.

theatre

Giving a voice to the abandoned rural poor

by DAVE LORDAN

"POLITICIANS distract good people from being decent people"

So wrote John B Keane whose death in May of 2002 prompted a legion of hypocrites to nearly fall into his grave in a rush to a to associate themselves with the dead man.

His play *The Field* has got a major re-run in Dublin and there is a new interest in his work.

But post-mortem praise from the likes of Bertie Ahern and Mary McAleese does not

fit well with a body of work, partly dedicated to satirising and undermining the cosy self regard of the Irish establishment.

But Keane did have at least one leg in the establishment camp by the time he died.

Elite

For over three decades he had been a member of Aosdana, the self-nominating clique which supposedly honours the elite of Irish artists.

Since the film version of *The Field* went global he had received hundreds of honorary awards and presumably, millions of euro in royalties.

But he had not always been such a darling.

His most accomplished work was written during a period

when he was most definitely a literary outsider, both by virtue of the marginal rural Ireland he wrote about and by the savage honesty though which it was portrayed.

Unlike the majority of rural born writers Keane chose to stay in his home town rather than emigrate to Dublin, the epicentre of Irish literary life, where works produced were decided by an unofficial system of patronage informed by the stifling moral climate of the time.

Brutalised

His first play *Sive* in 1959 featured the orphan of the title being brutalised into an unwanted marriage.

It won the national amateur drama contest but, because its frankness contradicted the idealised version of rural Ireland it

was more than a decade before it was professionally produced.

In *Sharon's Grave* 1963 Keane showed the epidemic of madness among the men who were left behind when women fled the Irish countryside leaving the genders hugely imbalanced.

Keane often contrasted the freedom and life-affirming wholeness offered by sexual love with the unnatural constraints imposed upon rural dwellers by the fanaticism for land ownership.

This is the central theme of Keane's best known work *The Field* (1965) where a post-revolutionary 1930's Ireland is shown to be devoid of the hope of liberation generated by the rising a few years earlier.

Keane's most important contribution was to make the crazy real lives of Ireland's abandoned poor an accepted subject for dramatisation.

THE WORLD SOCIAL FORUM IN BRAZIL

Against a world of war and poverty

TWO THINGS formed the background to the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil. One was the threat of a devastating war against Iraq within weeks.

The other was the swing to the left in Latin America, expressed in the victory of left wing candidates in presidential elections in Brazil and Ecuador, and in the failure of the coup attempt against Hugo Chavez's government in Venezuela.

Both themes were present in the big demonstration of 140,000 that marked the opening of the forum, and many of the discussions over the next four days.

A 40,000-strong rally greeted new Brazilian president, Lula, when he visited Porto Alegre on Friday, and rapturous applause greeted Chavez on Sunday.

People understood that Lula had won the election because he seemed to promise hope to the mass of people.

They also understood that Venezuela's rich had tried to overthrow Chavez with a lockout, disguised as a strike, because he had promised a few reforms for workers, peasants and the

SPECIAL REPORT

poor.

Along with the applause for Lula, however, went some questioning of his policies.

He is immensely popular as the first person from a working class party to win an election in Latin America since the overthrow of the Allende government in Chile in



■ Anti war demonstration at WSF in Brazil

1973.

But decisions he has made are worrying many of his admirers. He has accepted a deal with the International Monetary Fund (IMF) made by his neo-liberal predecessor Cardoso.

He has appointed a former executive of a US bank as his economics

minister. He has said he is willing to negotiate over the formation of an American free trade zone with the US.

Many people think this means continuing US economic domination of Latin America.

Such worries were intensified when Lula went from the World

Social Forum to attend a meeting of the organisation it was set up to oppose—the World Economic Forum of industrialists, bankers and government ministers in the Swiss skiing resort of Davos.

The culmination of the forum came when 18,000 people crowded into the

Gigantinho Stadium to listen to Noam Chomsky and Arundhati Roy speak about "resistance to empire".

Chomsky talked about how those who liked to think of themselves as "the masters of the universe" were damaging people's lives: "We have been talking about life after capitalism. It would be better to say life, because there is not going to be any unless we do something about capitalism."

Denounced

Arundhati Roy roused the whole stadium to applause as she denounced the way the world's rulers were destroying people's lives, their cultures and their environment in the search for profits.

She said, "Resistance to empire-or, to call it by its proper name, imperialism-is growing."

The whole audience rose to their feet as she ended, "We are many. They are few. They need us much more than we need them."

The dynamic heart of the World Social Forum was the youth camp where 20,000 people camped out.

They were mainly Latin Americans—Brazilians, Uruguayans, Argentinians—with little money to spend in the city restaurants or even on bus fares to the main forum site.

One 15-strong group had travelled by bus the 1,500-mile, 36-hour journey from Santiago in Chile.

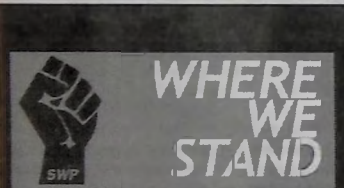
You would see them sitting in groups, with campfires in the background, engaged in earnest discussions.

It was like an open-air rock festival—except it was the most dynamic part of a new world movement challenging an old world system.

Activists from the US, Brazil, Palestine, India, Portugal and almost every other corner of the world committed themselves to organising anti-war activity on 15 February.

Speakers from the US all agreed that their movement was already bigger than the anti Vietnam War campaign in the late 1960s.

One said, "This is the most important and powerful social movement in the US for decades—and it is growing in strength daily."



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 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 oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weakens the 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.

Ballyfermot:

Islam and America: A clash of civilisations? Speaker: Deirdre Cronin Tuesday February 11th, 8.00pm, Ruby Finnegans

Ballymun:

The Politics of Oil, Thursday February 6th, 7.30pm, Axis Centre

Belfast Central:

Israel-Palestine: Can there ever be peace? Thursday February 13th 7.30pm, BIFHE College Brunswick St

Belfast South:

The Bloody History of the UN Wednesday February 12th 7.30pm Peter Froggat Centre, Queen's University

Belfast West:

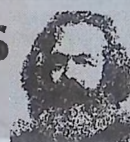
Is Islam the Enemy? Saturday February 8th at 3.30, An Culturann

Bray:

The Bloody History of the United Nations, Speaker: Donal Mac Fhearraigh, Saturday February 22nd

Marxist Forums

Big ideas d'scussed in informal settings



4pm Lenihans Pub, Main St, Bray

Cork:

Details to be announced

Derry:

The Bloody History of UN Saturday February 8th 3.30pm Sandinos Pub

Dublin Central:

Stupid White Men: The truth behind the Bush Gang, Wednesday February 12th, 8.00pm Vietnamese Centre, Hardwicke St

Dublin South City:

World War II and the myth of a just war Wednesday February 12th, 7.00pm, Beanery Cafe Burgh Quay

Dundrum:

The real history of the Middle East, Speaker: Kieran Allen, Monday February 17th, 8pm Dundrum Family Recreation Centre

Dun Laoghaire:

The Bloody History of the United Nations, Speaker: Kieran Allen, Tuesday February 11th, 8pm Farrells Pub, Marine Rd, Dun Laoghaire

Fairview:

US & Islam: Clash of Civilisations?, Tuesday February 11th, 8.00pm Smyth's Pub Fairview

Galway:

Details to be announced

Rathmines:

The Grand Strategy of the

8pm St Andrews Resource Centre, SCR.

Tallaght:

Advertising and the body: Why sexism sells, Speaker: Vivien Thomet, Wednesday February 12, 8pm Jobstown Community Centre

Waterford:

Israel: America's Watchdog in the Middle East, Thursday February 6th 8.00pm Olde Rogue, Michael Street

IRISH ANTI WAR MOVEMENT
PUBLIC MEETING
TUESDAY
11TH FEBRUARY 8.00PM
MYOS, CASTLEKNOCK
 SPEAKERS FROM:
 LABOUR PARTY, SINN FEIN, SOCIALIST PARTY & SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

Fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1643 Dublin 8

Join the Socialists

Name _____ Email _____

Address _____

TU/college/school _____

Building workers in revolt

BUILDING WORKERS are in revolt. Thousands are due to march in Dublin in early February to highlight their anger over safety on the sites. Last year, 22 workers lost their lives on the sites.

In Limerick, hundreds of bricklayers went on a week long stoppage over conditions on the sites.

Arrested

And in Dublin last month, 17 building workers were arrested during a long running dispute to clean up the industry.

The workers, mostly bricklayers and carpenters and their union, BATU, have been conducting a long campaign to end sub-contracting.

Tax Fiddles

Sub-contracting is where the workers are not directly employed by the main contractor but "self employed". To qualify in law a sub-contractor would have to supply their own materials, but this seldom happens. Sub-contracting is usually just a cover for tax fiddles and the black economy.

A brick layer explained the issues to Socialist Worker: "Sub-contracting can occasionally be genuine—for example there are in plumbing, electrical and mechanical trades genuine sub-



Builders marched onto a Collen site in East Wall and took this photo. Note the lack of safety rail and inadequate scaffolding. This is potentially lethal.

contractors who are registered and bona fide. But among bricklayer subbies, it is just a fraud.

"Often they don't have C2 certification, pay no PRSI and are simply involved in tax evasion.

"Sub-contracting leads to a fall in safety standards because nobody takes responsibility.

"Working on a site you're out in all weathers and you need proper facilities—Subbies provide

none of these, for example canteen, toilet or drying room.

"That is why BATU has a policy of fighting the use of sub-contractors in our trades. There have been pickets and stoppages on sites over the past couple of years to get rid of sub-contracting and the employers have responded by getting court injunctions against union members. That is the background to the dispute."

Building workers fight jailings and intimidation

IN THEIR fight for against the unsafe sub-contracting system, building workers have faced verbal and physical intimidation from cowboy subbies and contractors as well as injunctions from the courts.

Last month's arrests followed a dispute with contractors Collen. Collen's have several sites across Dublin and employ a small number of bricklayers directly. But they have more employed via sub-contracting.

Seventeen rank and file union activists picketing the Collen's site at Park Motors in the North Circular Road were arrested, accused of breaking injunctions. They were each fined €250. Fellow workers collected money to pay the fines.

Marched

Billy, a bricklayer and BATU activist takes up the story: "The next day bricklayers and carpenters across the city downed tools and marched from the site to the spire in O'Connell Street. From there we marched to another Collen's site in the East Wall area."

Many of the marchers then forced their way into the site to

protest at Collen's policy. Billy, a bricklayer for 30 years and a fully accredited former Safety Rep. Describes the scene: "When we got onto the site, conditions there appalled us.

"There was scaffolding erected in a dangerous manner. Simple, obvious things that are absolutely essential to safety were wrong. For example, there was no handrail. This is potentially lethal. It would be condemned out of hand in any Health and Safety inspection.

"There was a half constructed building—up to the first floor—

there were guys working, stacking blocks, but no scaffolding and no safety rail. That job should have been stopped.

"We held a meeting outside the site and marched to the offices of Collen's but they refused to seriously negotiate with us.

"The following day building workers downed tools marched to the employers association the CIF. There have been meetings between the CIF and our union reps but they broke down a few days later.

"We will need to keep up the fight!"

Rank and file organise

BILLY EXPLAINED how rank and file union activists have organised this fight.

"The leadership of our union has disowned the unofficial action we have been taking. Some of the best officials have been intimidated with court injunctions and threats against the union in the courts.

"It has been up to an informal network of ordinary members to organise action and to keep the fight up against sub-contracting."

"There were 22 deaths on sites last year. These can be avoided but sub-contracting is part of the problem.

Vilified

"We're being vilified in the courts and by the CIF. The judges ought to get off their benches and come down to a building site to see what's going on.

"But I think our fight is having an effect. The Health and Safety Authority is quicker to close sites now. And a judge recently jailed a builder for repeatedly ignoring safety."

Socialist Worker Briefing

BENCHMARKING: NEW ATTACKS ON CONDITIONS

The final details of the benchmarking deal have been released. They fail to meet the demands of public sector workers on pay and conditions.

But they are being lumped in with the new partnership deal to help sweeten the pill.

Nurses only got an 8% rise, clerical officers 8.5%, firefighters 5% and teachers 13%.

The "modernisation" conditions that are attached to payment of these miserly awards are shocking. If accepted they will constitute the most vicious assault on conditions in the public service that we have ever seen.

Precluded

In the health sector nurses will be precluded from taking any industrial action. They will have to work under protest while the issue goes through "due process".

This will mean, for example, that next time an A&E unit is dangerously understaffed nurses won't be able to take any action to protect their patients.

Complete bans on industrial action in local authority essential services (i.e fire service and possibly refuse collection) are demanded. The same goes for state exams while all disagreements on any issue covered by the new agreement will go to compulsory arbitration.

Open recruitment is sought for all grades in the civil service and local authorities. The secretary generals in Civil Service departments will be given the power to dismiss staff. Staff will also face a wider range of disciplinary sanctions and a fuller range of sanctions will be available in "cases of underperformance".

Demanded

Longer working hours are demanded of teachers through the provision of staff and parent teacher meeting outside of school hours. Health and public servants will be asked to work evenings and possibly Saturdays in order to extend opening hours to the public.

Atypical forms of employment (i.e part-time, temporary and contract workers) will be widely introduced in local authorities. In the health service existing boundaries between grades will be undermined requiring workers to take on more work and expanded roles.

Performance management systems, which will act as a precursor to a more individualised system of performance related pay, will be implemented across the board.

The "modernisation" programme is an assault on union organisation and hard won working conditions.

Workers will not be able to just take the benchmarking money as a once off payment. The new arrangements will radically alter the system of negotiations for the long term future.



Summary Report on Progress to date under the PPF



PPF Secretariat
Department of the Taoiseach

September 2002

Section 24 of the Agreed Text on Public Service Pay states

"this [benchmarking] process is an appropriate way of determining public service pay rates in the future...the parties agree that [cross sectoral] relativities no longer apply".

This new agreement therefore has huge implications for all future pay claims. It outlaws them!

Under the modernisation agenda, we agree to cooperate with change thereby giving up the chance to put in claims of the basis of new work practices etc.

If relativities are abolished there will be no linkage with any other grade or sector so no claim can be made on this basis either.

The title of the modernisation chapter in the new agreement is "Delivering Quality Public Services". But no point does it mention investing in them.

Yet Ireland has one of the lowest rates of spending of public services in the western world

On average, OECD countries spend 5.8% of GDP on education, in Ireland the government spends just 4.6%. In 1995 this figure was 5.3% so the richer the country got the less was spent.

There are 2.2 practising doctors per 1000 people, one of the lowest levels in Western Europe. In 1980 we had 9.7 hospital beds per 1000 people, today we have 3.7.

The government has implemented savage cutbacks in all public services since the election.

So it is outrageous that Peter McLoone of IMPACT, one of the main architects of the deal, can claim this deal is good for both public sector workers and those who use public services. It is dangerous for both.

We need to reject this deal and demand more state funding for our public services.

Socialist Worker

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IT'S A PAY CUT!

THROW OUT PAY DEAL!

THE NEW pay deal between the union leaders and the bosses agreement should be thrown out.

The civil servants and shop workers union, CPSU and MANDATE, have already indicated that this deal is unacceptable.

Over 90 percent of speakers at a recent INTO national consultative conference were appalled at the deal.

A 7 percent increase over the next 18 months amounts to a pay cut in real terms.

Public sector workers will have a six month pay pause—this means no increase under the pay deal in

2003.

The pay rises won't even keep pace with inflation as the price of basic items and services continues to rise rapidly.

The employers organisation IBEC has calculated that the pay deal amounts to only a 3.5 percent a year.

That is way below the rate of inflation which is now officially running at 6 percent.

Floor

It does nothing for low paid workers, offering no floor on percentage increases.

In the past low paid workers got a flat rate rises because the percentage rises were so low.

There is only a tiny

increase on the minimum wage.

The employers are also delighted that there is "ground breaking provisions for

compliance" according to the IBEC Newsletter.

From now on the unions will be forced to refer matters to the

Labour Court and be bound by its decisions.

The Labour Court has made rotten recommendations for groups like teachers

and nurses.

But according to this new deal workers will just have to accept its ruling.

Workers are also supposed to accept "normal and ongoing change".

If they disagree with how their bosses are pushing changes through, they still have to work under the new condition until the Labour Court issues a binding arbitration.

This deal represents a major shift towards state controlled unions.

The unions will be turned into dues collecting organisation who are permanently stuck in a cosy consensus with the employers and the government.

What is the alternative?

WE NEED to start to fight for decent pay rises. Every union should lodge a claim for a wage increase that matches the real cost of living.

Employers should be made aware that this demand will be backed up by action if necessary.

Because of the widespread opposition that exists to this deal, the scope for alliances across the unions is very real.

The union leaders should be told to coordinate pay claims so that strong and weaker groups of workers march together.

Since 1987 professional negotiators at the top of the ICTU have run the unions. Now its time for ordinary workers on the ground to lead the fight.

It is time to restore the values of solidarity and resistance – rather than the pessimistic message that nothing can be done.

Vote no to the new deal and fight for real wage increases.

THE PRICE HIKES

The new pay deal will not pay for these price hikes:

- ★ ESB prices to increase by 13.25%
- ★ Local authority service charges up by 7 and 10%
- ★ TV licences up by 40%
- ★ VAT increase of 1%
- ★ Motor tax rates up by 12%
- ★ New house prices rose by 11.5%
- ★ VHI premlums increased by 18%
- ★ CIE fares by 20%