

Socialist Worker

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

RYANAIR BOSS MADE £44 MILLION IN ONE DAY!

THE GREEDY FACE OF THE CELTIC TIGER



MEET MICHAEL O Leary, one of the greediest Celtic Tiger bosses. O Leary has just made £44 million from selling shares in his company, Ryanair.

And that is only a fraction of what he is worth.

O Leary waged an enormous fight to prevent baggage handlers joining a union. When other airport workers stopped work in support of their colleagues at Ryanair, they were denounced for 'anarchy'

and 'intimidation'.

But when O Leary grabs a huge sum that could be used to build houses for the homeless he is praised as an 'entrepreneur'.

Talk of social partnership is pure hypocrisy when

bosses like O Leary can make such fortunes.

Workers can never be partners with a class who have the right to hire and fire us and live on fabulous wealth.

Instead of listening to clap trap about the need for

wage restraint, trade union members should follow the lead of the teachers and put in for large pay claims.

That is the only way we will gain our share of the Celtic Tiger — before it goes bust.

KOSOVO: ETHNIC CLEANSING CONTINUES

MURDER, TORTURE and extortion — this is what the UN's Kosovan Protection Corps are up to.

And that is according to a UN confidential report written for Secretary-General Kofi Annan.

The Kosovan Protection Force was set up after the NATO victory over Serbia. At the time NATO said that their mission was to end ethnic cleansing.

But according to the confidential report the KPC is involved in 'killings, ill-treatment/torture, illegal policing, abuse of authority, intimidation, breaches of political neutrality and hate speech'.

Most of the recruits to the 5,000 strong KPC were drawn from the Kosovan Liberation Army who have a policy of driving Serbs out of Kosovo. Its commander is Agim Ceku who has previously launched campaigns to ethnically cleanse Serbs from the Krajina area of Croatia.

The KPC is funded by the Western powers and has a budget of \$30 million.

Union Carbide boss in hiding

WARREN ANDERSON, the boss of Union Carbide when an explosion at its chemical factory in Bhopal in India killed 13,000 people, has gone into hiding.

This follows an attempt by relatives of the Bhopal victims to bring him to a US court for criminal negligence.

According to an 85-page affidavit, Anderson and Union Carbide demonstrated 'reckless and depraved indifference to human life'.

On the night of December 2 1984 toxic chemicals leaked out of the plant and blanketed Bhopal in a deadly white fog for miles around.

A most horrific form of death was visited on the city.

Sajjida Bano, one of the litigants in the case against Anderson, watched her son drowning in his own bodily fluids three years after the disaster.

It was subsequently discovered that Union Carbide used different standards of safety in its Indian and US plants.

Last year the company made \$5.9 billion in profit.

No doubt some of those profits will be used to furnish Andersen with a luxury hiding home.

Minimum wage is not enough

A MINIMUM wage of £4.40 is to be introduced on April 1st but Mary Harney is fighting to ensure it has enough loop holes to satisfy the bosses.

Despite this the legislation gives workers a chance to force their employers to pay up. Bosses will now have to keep

written records of exactly how much each individual worker is paid and workers can get a formal statement about their pay.

Any employer who pays less than £4.40 an hour should now be targeted.

Harney's law, however, gives the bosses important let out clauses.

★ Over 18 years old who get their first job are only entitled to £3.52 in their first year.

★ Those on a training programme will only get £3.30 an hour.

★ Tips and shift premium can also be included in calculating the hourly wage.

United

The trade union movement has united to demand a £5 an hour tax free. But Harney and the bosses are still winging that this would make

them 'less competitive'.

In reality, the employers do not want the slightest cut in their profits.

Instead of simply relying on the law, the unions could win the £5 an hour rate through industrial action.

The ATGWU and SIPTU have already said that they will support any group of workers who wants to fight for a £5 an hour rate. This is a good reason to get organised into the union.

O'Donoghue steps up attacks on refugees

UNDER AGE refugees are being treated in a disgraceful way, according to the Irish Refugee Council. There are now 87 minors seeking asylum status in Ireland but they are not being informed of their legal rights when they come to Ireland.

For instance, five children were dispersed to areas outside Dublin to facilities, which a spokesperson said, were "totally inappropriate".

They include two 17-year-old Nigerian girls who were sent to a hostel in Ennis, which accommodated both sexes.

In all over 800

refugees have been dispersed to areas outside Dublin. Many are now deprived of social welfare and are only given a £15 a week allowance.

O'Donoghue's policy is to punish refugees as a way of discouraging them from coming to Ireland. He aims to put refugees into a virtual quarantine in future.

Floating

The Department of Justice is planning to put refugees onto "floating hotels".

These will cut refugees off from any contact with the local population and will become prisons. Another suggestion is to build a tent city so that refugees are deprived of decent housing.

Behind the scenes



Marching against O'Donoghue

O'Donoghue has also stepped up his efforts to throw refugees out of Ireland as quickly as possible. When refugees arrive in Ireland they are interviewed by former Gardai who make little

attempt to disguise their racist attitudes.

Last year, they only accepted 5 percent of applications. But when these went to appeal, 31 percent of applications were allowed.

O'Donoghue has now tried to tighten up the appeal system so that refugees only get two weeks to lodge an appeal whereas previously they had six months.

Meanwhile, Mary Harney has announced

plans to bring 200,000 extra workers into Ireland over the next six years to tackle labour shortages.

It seems that if labour is white and cheap it is welcome — but if it is black and persecuted it is punished.

BIG JOHN IS WATCHING YOU!

THE DEPARTMENT of Justice is setting up a new system to bug all mobile phones, Internet and fax lines. The 'state of the art' technology will cost the taxpayer £1 million this year alone.

But no complaints about the 'burden on the tax payer' will be made by the Minister for Racism John O'Donoghue. That charge is normally only reserved for his statements about refugees.

Ireland is now participating in the International spying organisation, which was established by the US Federal Bureau of Investigation. The International Law Enforcement Seminar (ILETS) sets technical spying standards so that information can be exchanged between countries.

Next time you use your mobile, remember that not just Big John but the FBI can be listening in.

Nuclear family breaks up

THE GERMAN government delivered yet another blow to discredited British Nuclear Fuels (BNFL) by suspending indefinitely on safety grounds all contracts to buy reprocessed nuclear fuel.

It means the company's new £300m plant at Sellafield will probably never open.

It also puts in doubt the future of the £1.8bn Thorp reprocessing plant which has as its only purpose the production of plutonium for the fuel.

The German government's decision came after Japan also stopped imports from BNFL after a report revealed that BNFL faked safety data.

Protests in both countries are forcing their governments to act.

The Japanese have already canceled their contracts and demanded that Britain takes back unused fuel delivered with false quality control checks.

Inspectors

Which is odd since reports compiled by Central Bank inspectors in 1976 and 1978 said that Guinness & Mahon was involved in tax evasion.

The Central Bank changed the word 'evasion' to 'avoidance' in the published version for no apparent reason.

Tax avoidance is perfectly legal for the fat Cats.

Then again since the Central Bank was happy to turn a blind eye to the big banks stealing millions of pounds in DIRT tax evasion. So it's not a surprise that some of its members joined the Ansbacher gang.

"TAX AVOIDANCE was rife in the 1970s and 1980s," according to Maurice O'Kelly. And he should know, O'Kelly was a Managing Director of Guinness and Mahon bank who ran the Ansbacher scam.

It now turns out that the Central Bank who are supposed to regulate the banks knew about the dodgy accounts and did nothing.

Money

One of the Central Bank's Directors Ken O'Reilly-Hyland even had money in the Ansbacher accounts. O'Reilly-Hyland was appointed to the Central Bank by Charlie Haughey.

In November 1997, Charlie McCreevy, read out in the Dáil a letter

Catch the Central Bank robbers

what we think

Spread the rank and file revolt

DES GERAGHTY of SIPTU, has denounced teachers for showing 'middle class resentment' for daring to claim a 30 percent pay rise.

But teachers and other groups have every right to put in for large wage claims. Instead of denouncing them, Geraghty should be attacking the super-rich who are grabbing as much as they can from the Celtic Tiger.

The real scandal is that ICTU leaders tried to sell us a wage increase that has already fallen below the real rate of inflation.

Even while workers were balloting, petrol prices increased as the price of oil on world markets rose steeply.

Interest rates are also set to rise, causing massive hardship for those who had to take out large mortgages.

Yet despite all this, Peter McLoone, leader of IMPACT Ireland's second largest union claimed that inflation was due to drop to two percent 'over the life time of the agreement.'

Union leaders should decide whose side they are on.

They seem more interested in controlling their members and echoing government propaganda than fighting for our interests.

Most of the top union leaders receive a huge salary.

They do not suffer the same pressure for 'flexibility' and productivity their members face. They spend much of their time on committees with management and government officials where they think they are shaping the national economy. They are out of touch with their rank and file.

For the rank and file it is a different story.

The old excuses about 'the country cannot afford it' don't wash anymore. The growing labour shortage has increased our bargaining power. As a result even if the union leaders ram through this partnership, their troubles have only started.

Significant groups of workers are determined to put in claims for higher increases - whether or not there is a partnership deal.

The job of socialists is to fan the flames of this revolt. The Celtic Tiger has seen a major re-distribution of resources in favour of the wealthy and wage rises are the only way to reverse the trend.

Despite what the bosses and union leaders argue, wage rises are not the cause of inflation. Inflation has already risen in Ireland even though wage increases for most union members have been pegged down to 2 percent until October 2000.

The key to winning lies in restoring the value of solidarity and respect for pickets lines. Socialist arguments are central to reviving those traditions.

Campaign Against a New Partnership Deal
Lobby ICTU Conference
Thursday 23rd March
10 am
Liberty Hall, Dublin

MUMIA MUST LIVE!



OVER 600 people marched in defence of the Death Row prisoner Mumia Abu Jamal and against the imprisonment of the protesters at the Glen O Downs



New stock market crash will cut deep

'Those whom the gods destroy, they first make mad'. An Irish software company, Riverdeep, was floated on the New York Stock exchange and one man Pat McDonagh made \$924 million dollars.

It has few employees and has not made a profit but it has ridden on a hype about new technology.

A British internet company, Lastminute.com did even better, being valued at \$1 billion.

The rich are chasing a speculative bubble that has all the signs of collective madness. This is not unusual in the history of capitalism.

In the 1630s, the price of an individual tulip bulb rose to \$150,000 at today's prices as investors were convinced that tulips held the key to great wealth.

Before the Wall St crash of 1929, there was the 'roaring twenties' when the rich joined an orgy of speculation.

The warnings about a stock market crash are already growing. The HSBC banking group has predicted a 25 percent fall in the US stock market in the first half of this year. They predict that the 'correction' will be 'brutal'.

But it will be mainly 'brutal' for workers who are tossed out of jobs to pay for the craziness of the casino economy.

The Celtic Tiger relies more on US

investment than any other country in the world - and the US is at the centre of the stock market speculation.

Instead of listening to the comforting words from conventional economists and the compliant union leaders, workers should start preparing to defend their livelihoods.

And the best way to do that is to start for workers getting militant while the boom lasts.

Join the socialists

I want to join the SWP I want more info

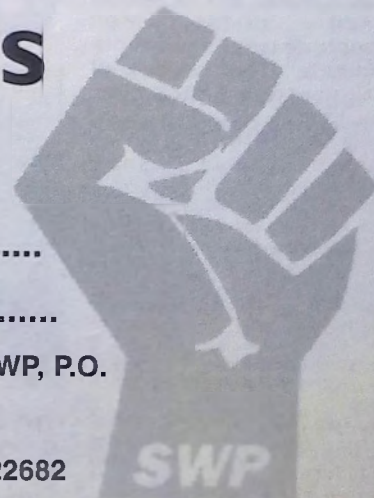
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Election for London Mayor

Crisis tearing at

New Labour

The Socialist Alternative

THE BRITISH LABOUR Party is in turmoil over the election for London mayor. The issue has become the lightning rod for all the anger over New Labour's betrayals, and about what sort of party Labour has become. Labour Party branches report that members are leaving in droves.

Ken Livingstone's decision to stand as an independent for London mayor is a turning point in British politics.

His candidacy provides a rallying point for all those who want to fight privatisation, council house sell-offs, attacks on the NHS and the pro-business policies of Labour.

The election of Labour in 1997 was an expression of deep-seated revulsion against the Tories' embrace of the market in every area of life. Today's surge of support for Livingstone is an expression of a similar revulsion against New Labour's continuation of such policies.

Polls show that large sections of the British public are to the left of Tony Blair. One poll showed that 73 percent

want the re-nationalisation of the railways and 87 percent want more control over the government's selling of arms.

The stitch-up of Labour's nomination for mayor created huge anger across Britain.

Popular

Ken Livingstone won the popular vote in every area of the party's affiliates that held a ballot. But a rigged electoral college gave the nomination to his rival Frank Dobson.

Since Blair came to office he has repeatedly manoeuvred to defeat the left. In Wales, Scotland, and now in London, popular candidates have been excluded from the ballot

paper with disastrous consequences for Labour.

But this has only led to the biggest crisis in British labour politics since the 1930s when left-wingers split off to form a new party.

Ken Livingstone's motives for running against the Labour machine are no doubt mixed. He has moved a good deal to the right in recent years.

He claims he can work with Blair. He boasts of support from sections of business.

But Blair and Mandelson, still hate him because he is identified with greater spending on public transport, with defence of the NHS and with a commitment to fighting racism.

NO PRIVATISATION

PRIVATISATION IS at the heart of the anger against New Labour. It shows how a popular groundswell could also be built against Mary O'Rourke's plans to start privatisation in Ireland.

Chunks of London Underground are due to be handed over to the profit-driven construction and rail companies which produced disasters like the Paddington rail crash.

The privatisation of everything from passports and information technology systems to air traffic control in Britain has been chaos. Every independent report finds that Labour's plan for the tube will be a disaster.

The London School of Economics Greater London Group found that it was "flawed in principle and impracticable", threatening huge financial burdens and "continually rising fares".

Livingstone's opposition to privatisation is central to his popularity. On the other side Blairite stooge Frank Dobson's two years as health secretary left the NHS in crisis - underfunded, short of staff and stretched beyond breaking point.



Ken Livingstone with members of the Firefighters union

Tough on Crime?

NEW LABOUR are using the election to launch a vicious law and order scare campaign.

The first place Frank Dobson visited after becoming Labour's candidate for mayor was the headquarters of the Metropolitan Police. He congratulated them.

This came less than a year after the Macpherson report into the botched investigation of the Stephen Lawrence murder by white racists.

The report uncovered deep 'institutionalised racism' in the police.

Even a Gallup poll for the right wing Daily Telegraph found that 59 percent of people agreed the police were institutionally racist.

Racism

But Dobson attacks Ken Livingstone and anti-racists for "going on and on" about racism in the police. Dobson defends armed action by the

police. This is only five months after an innocent man Harry Stanley who was carrying a piece of wood was gunned down by the police in cold blood in Hackney, east London.

Corruption in the Metropolitan Police is at epidemic levels. Over 70 officers are under investigation.

Even the Met's anti-corruption body is under investigation itself for "using discredited methods".

VOTERS IN London will also have the opportunity to vote for a serious socialist alternative in the May elections.

The London Socialist Alliance (LSA) brings together all the significant socialist organisations outside the Labour Party together with independent socialists, ex-Labour-Party members, trade unionists and community activists.

It has received the endorsement of many high profile people on the left such as John Pilger, Tariq Ali, Ken Loach, Michael Rosen and Jeremy Hardy. There is an enormous contrast between the candidates standing for the LSA and New Labour candidates. The latter include millionaires, a lord, candidates who have pushed through cuts and closures, and presided over the victimisation of trade union activists. Some of the LSA candidates include:

■ Paul Foot who was recently nominated as 'the journalist of the decade'.

■ Candy Udwin, a hospital secretary, trade unionist and fighter for the NHS for 25 years. She is standing against her own boss.

■ Greg Tucker, a rail worker and RMT union branch secretary. He is currently fighting to reinstate a rep who was sacked because she "went to the toilet without permission".

■ Sarbani Mazumdar, a council worker in Wandsworth and branch secretary of UNISON who is resisting the Tory council's attacks on its workers.

■ Weyman Bennett, national organiser for the Coalition Against the Criminal Justice Bill and currently an organiser for the Mumia Must Live! campaign.

■ Christine Blower, former president of the teachers' NUT union.

■ Jim Stanley, brother of Harry Stanley who was murdered by the police.

What was wrong with the GLC?

"THE GREATER London Council under Ken Livingstone was an unpopular failure." That is one of the biggest New Labour lies.

The GLC introduced the Fares Fair campaign in 1981. It cut bus and tube fares by 25 percent. The policy was a great success.

Passenger numbers increased 11 percent on the buses and 7 percent on the tube. There were more buses on the road, more trains on the track, less car use and less congestion.

The Inner London Education Authority was able to redistribute resources from rich areas to poor areas. It provided a unified education policy across London and pioneered anti-racist teaching.

The Tory press ridiculed GLC initiatives to combat racism, sexism and homophobia. One of the reasons Livingstone is so popular is that people remember the GLC standing up for ordinary people.

- America -

US election run by big business



THE US primaries are effectively over and Bush and Gore will contest the US Presidential election later this year.

Bush used the primaries to cosy up to the religious right. He spoke at Bob Jones University - a far-right school which honoured Ian Paisley and bans interracial dating.

As governor of Texas he has signed 122 death warrants since he came to office in 1995. Last month he sent a 62 year old grandmother, Betty Lou Beets, to her death, even though she suffered years of domestic violence.

His opponent in the Republican Primaries John McCain stood on issues identical to Bush's.

McCain refused to fire a South Carolina campaign adviser who was a supporter of Ku Klux Klan activist,

David Duke. He also kept using the word "gook" to describe Vietnamese people.

Compared to the Republicans Democrats Al Gore and Bill Bradley sounded good.

Bradley and Gore took stands against the "racial profiling" police use to target Blacks and Latinos for harassment. But the Democrats have long pro-business records.

Gore is funded by pharmaceutical companies and intervened on their behalf to try to stop South Africa selling a cheaper branded drug to tackle AIDs.

Alongside Clinton, he has targeted people on welfare while he presided over huge tax breaks for corporate America.

The main difference between the winners of the primaries and the losers was that Gore and Bush could raise more money. Bush is reported to have spent a staggering \$200 million just to win the primaries.

There is a real contest taking place in America that is of more importance than the choice between the Republicans and the Democrats. In Seattle 20,000 workers at the giant plane manufacturer Boeing are on strike.

As one striker told *Socialist Worker* "This is a battle between labour and capital. That was what the WTO protest was all about and that is what our battle is all about."

**Eamonn
McCann**

From prisoner to exploited labourer

"WHEN I came out from jail in 1986 having spent more than twelve years there I found work on a building site on the Falls Road. Some of the people I thought I was fighting for were now seeking to exploit me. I recalled my father telling me stories about earlier campaigns when republicans such as Billy McKee came out from jail and being employed by Eastwoods for peanuts. And there I was decades later digging holes for the same peanuts".

Thus, "Bap" Hughes, former commander of the Belfast Brigade of the IRA and OC of Republican prisoners in Long Kesh during the "blanket" protest. Arrested in 1974, he served 12 years.

His status within the IRA as well as the sharpness of his criticism, in an interview in a new magazine, "Fourthwrite", gave his remarks an impact in Republican circles.

As Hughes himself recognised, he was saying nothing new. And he wasn't referring to anything particularly Irish, either. The phenomenon he was referring to--the betrayal of anti-imperialist fighters by their own leaders as they come close to power--is rooted not in the character of a particular group of political leaders but in the nature of nationalism.

The same lesson is there for the learning in Zimbabwe, where the regime of President Robert Mugabe - widely referred to as a "Marxist" during his leadership of the struggle against the racist regime of Ian Smith in the 1960s and '70s - is in deep crisis.

Former members of his ZANU/PF movement are occupying vast white-owned farms which they'd been promised would be confiscated and the land distributed when the war was won.

Unable to fob off the fighters who brought him to power, but unwilling to confront the white ranchers with their intimate connections to big business, Mugabe is cornered, and lashing out in all directions.

Across the border in Mozambique, the receding flood waters leave the same political landscape exposed.

Millions all over the world choked with emotion at the pictures of Sophie Mundine being winched to safety from a treetop above the flood waters just moments after giving birth to a baby girl, Rositha. Fewer may have noticed her husband, Benet, through the foliage, clutching Celia, five, and Benet Junior, three. Or saw that he was waving a crutch.

He is a former member of Frelimo, the guerrilla army which finally defeated Portuguese imperialism in 1974 and then fought a civil war against the CIA and South Africa-backed Renamo movement, which tried to reverse the result of the liberation struggle. Benet lost a leg to one of the millions of landmines scattered by Renamo across the countryside.

Invalided out of Frelimo, he had returned to his home district about 150 miles from the capital Maputo, and married Sophia, a neighbour's daughter. According to one report, before the flood the family owned six cattle and a number of goats and four acres of land. They were dirt poor. Now they have nothing.

Of course, the context and the degree of deprivation is different. But Bap Hughes might recognise the scenario.

Frelimo, ZANU/PF and the Provos had this in common: that they fought against imperialism using socialist rhetoric- but, being "realistic", built alliances with "the national bourgeoisie" and sought allies in international big business in order to maximise their political clout.

The closer they came to government the more crucial it was to keep their establishment partners onside, and the sharper the contradiction between the interests of the mass of the people in whose name they were fighting and the interests of their more recent ruling-class allies.

In the end, in each case, the working-class fighters were betrayed.

The choice is not between a steadfast leadership and a leadership which "sells out". The question is, from the outset, on which class interest is the struggle to be based?

Workers who fight other than in their own class interest are inevitably betrayed.

Belfast evictions show need for housing fight

A SERIES of clashes over access to affordable housing in Belfast in recent weeks reveal that, if estate agents and the banks have their way, the so-called "peace dividend" will be pocketed by the rich at the expense of ordinary people.

Speculators pounced on Northern Ireland's cheap housing market just as the ink dried on the Belfast Agreement, pouring in money and driving prices out of reach, just as New Labour cut the funds available for construction of social housing.

The result has been disaster. Lured by windfall profits, giant estate agencies like the Halifax have moved into the local market, aided by generous government handouts. And rather than demand that New Labour properly fund new building to help some of the 12,000 people on its waiting list find a proper home, the N. I. Housing Executive has instead begun a campaign to drive out "undeserving" tenants.

Squeezed

Excluded from the private sector and squeezed out of social housing, tens of thousands of families across the north are becoming increasingly desperate.

Just how far the profiteers are willing to take their greed is clear from their action over the past several weeks.

In mid-February, Halifax paid a bailiff to evict Maria Quigley, along with her two daughters and her grandson, out of the North Belfast home they had lived in for the past ten years.

Methods

The RUC, no doubt trained in the latest "community policing" methods, tossed Quigley's possessions into the middle of the street.

The Northern Ireland Housing Executive seems determined to follow the

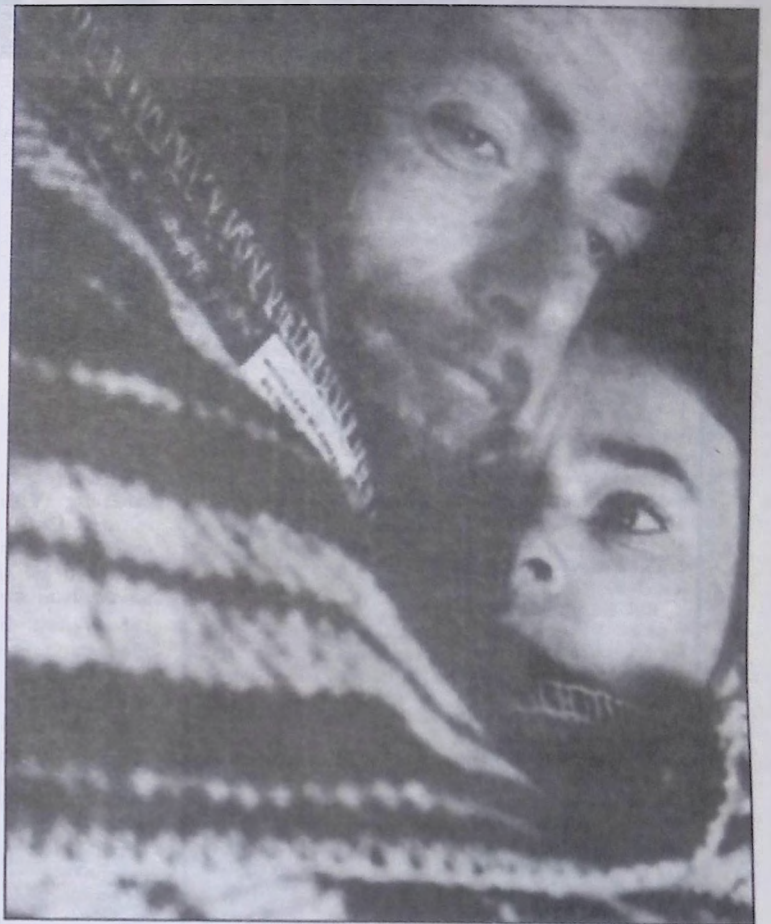
by **BRIAN
KELLY**

example set by private industry. Just a week later, the Lisburn Executive mailed eviction notices to 25 tenants in the Poleglass and Twinbrook estates who had fallen into arrears. And this in a district with the third highest homelessness rate in Northern Ireland, and in estates with unemployment levels that haven't been touched by the new "prosperity."

Situation

The need for an active campaign for access to affordable housing is obvious right across the north: without action, the situation will only get worse. But politicians seem anxious to divert the anger into sectarian squabbling.

Instead of building a fight that would bring together all tenants paying rent to the Lisburn Executive, the local SDLP councillor has framed the issue in sectarian terms, implying that evictions are acceptable so long as they are enforced against both Catholics



IS increased homelessness the future for Belfast?

and Protestants.

In North Belfast, an area of massive deprivation in which some 44 percent of the population are dependent on social housing, loyalist bigots seem deter-

mined to force through a sectarian march but can't seem to summon the courage to take on the speculators and the New Labour hacks running the Housing Executive.

What is needed, and needed urgently in the north, is a campaign that will bring together working people to put housing before profits.

Blair's latest attack on the unemployed

NEW LABOUR'S latest attack on the poor comes under the guise of 'tackling the informal economy and ending fraud'.

The Treasury's briefing notes on the informal economy gives ten examples of 'the hidden economy'.

Top of their list is an "unemployed man with family, claiming Jobseekers Allowance, did a few decorating jobs, cash-in-hand, for neighbours to earn some extra money before Christmas. Failed to declare earnings".

But ask any unemployed person WHY the man would not have declared the couple of extra quid and they'll tell you. Every penny he earned would be deducted from his benefit. There would have been no extra money for his family's Christmas.

So, how are New Labour going to help him? They are bringing in a 'two

strikes and you're out' rule which means if he's caught trying

to give his kids a decent Xmas again, he'll never be able to claim benefit again.

New Labour say this man should go out and get a proper job. But in Derry

or Strabane there are over 30 unemployed people chasing each job advertised in the Job Centres.

New Labour's fat cat friends are

not on the fraudster's list.

Former Paymaster General Geoffrey Robinson has been exposed as a major tax dodger and defrauder of millions from industrial development agencies.

No 'two strikes and you're out' rule for him or he'd already be homeless and hungry.

March against poverty

SOME 60 PEOPLE joined 'Time to Fight Poverty - Time for Workers' Rights' march in Derry on March 11th. They demanded a £5 an hour minimum wage, restoration of full trade union rights, improved benefits and pensions, abolition of the 11 plus and of tuition fees and the restoration of student grants.

At the rally, Inez McCormack, UNISON regional secretary and president of the ICTU spoke as did Paul Laughlin of Derry Trades Council and Eamonn McCann of the SWP.

There was a good mood on the march and people left the rally determined to continue the fight.

Iraq sanctions

"I'VE SEEN THE DESTRUCTION"

I WAS expecting the situation in Iraq to be bad. But I did not expect to find a level of destruction that went so deep and extended into every corner of society.

The US policy has been, "We will bomb you now and you will also die later." As we showed in the programme, many life-saving drugs, clean water, fresh food, soap, pencils, light bulbs and books are no longer available or are in fantastically short supply.

When you fall ill you must sell all your furniture to buy medicine. Iraq was a developed country. The hospitals look like St Thomas's in London, places where you would expect a high level of medical care.

But they were dependent on Western imports for drugs and equipment.

The sanctions mean crucial drugs arrive only sporadically. Children with meningitis need 4 mgs of an antibiotic to live. The hospital gets enough to give them only 1 mg. So children die. The United Nations Children's Fund says there are nearly 5,000 more child deaths a month than there were in the 1980s. The main reasons for those deaths are sanctions, the effects of the 1990-1 Gulf War and the subsequent bombing.

System

The water supply is in collapse. Baghdad's water system used to be as good as in Britain.

Now sewage is being pumped direct into the Tigris river. Iraq's oil wealth meant that there was a high level of welfare in the 1980s, despite the vicious political system. There was 95 percent literacy. Now the schools are falling apart.

The destruction of the infrastructure was a deliberate policy by the US and its allies.

Supporters of sanctions say Iraq could use the "oil for food" programme to supply basics for everyone. But Iraq cannot even pump the amount of oil it is allowed to sell under the programme because of a lack of spare parts.

Iraq has been forced to give £10 billion to the oil companies for damage during the war.

There is an epidemic of cancers in southern Iraq. In the main Basra hospitals not only the patients but also the staff have been decimated.

According to cancer specialist Dr Jwad Al-AI, about 40 percent of the population in southern Iraq will at some point suffer from cancer. Iraqi experts point to the horrific amount of depleted radioactive uranium weaponry used in

by JOHN PILGER

southern Iraq by the US-led coalition during the war in 1991.

A radiological survey in Kuwait showed that if 8 percent of the population had breathed contaminated dust there was a "theoretical potential" of 500,000 deaths. Kuwait has been "cleaned up". Iraq hasn't.

In the television programme *Paying the Price: Killing the Children of Iraq*, which was shown this week, we spoke to Professor Doug Rokke.

He was a US army physicist and headed the team which went into Kuwait to do the clean-up in 1991. Now the team are all sick and some have died.

Rokke has 5,000 times the normal level of radiation in his body.

All the senior United Nations representatives that I spoke to are against sanctions and the bombing.

Hans von Sponeck, the UN's chief humanitarian official in Iraq, resigned recently in protest at the sanctions policy.

He calculated that the sanctions meant Iraqis had \$180 every six months, a dollar a day, to pay for everything — infrastructure, food, electricity, health, education and so on.

Denis Halliday, who travelled to Iraq with me to make the programme, was the UN assistant secretary general before he resigned in protest over sanctions in 1998.

The sanctions mean there is even less political freedom than ever because the state runs the rationing, and controls all the imports and exports.

So it can extend its political control.

The bombing has not stopped. Between May 1998 and January this year the US flew 36,000 air missions in southern Iraq alone.

Two thirds of these, 24,000, are defined as "combat missions". Across the whole of Iraq you could probably double these figures.

The British government alone has spent £60 million bombing Iraq.

Compare that to the amount of aid they provide for, say, Mozambique.

The Iraqi experience will be replicated. It is how the US would like to police parts of the world, particularly the oil protectorate area which extends from Turkey to the Middle East to the Caucasus.

Hundreds dead in floods in

LIVES DESTROYED BY THE SYSTEM

MILLIONS OF people in Southern Africa who are suffering from a terrible flood have been abandoned to their fate by Western governments. Until the very last moment they have refused to give aid which could have saved thousands of lives.

Many are now dead and others have been left homeless in Mozambique and Madagascar.

Yet in the first week of the floods just five South African military helicopters were available to help to save people from the deluge.

Tens of thousands survived the first floods and climbed up trees or onto roofs. But many were swept away after days of waiting for rescue.

Desperation

One helicopter pilot described his desperation at being able to save just a few people: "We can't get to them all in time. We see people stuck and when we fly back they've gone," he said.

There are thousands of military helicopters across the world that should have been rushed to Mozambique as soon as the emergency was recognised.

During the Gulf War, and the war in Serbia and Kosovo last year, the sky was black with NATO heli-

copters ferrying troops and military supplies. Why aren't those helicopters saving people in southern Africa?

■ The British military has 90 helicopters.

They include 33 Puma helicopters which, according to the RAF, are "designed to be capable of being airlifted in a variety of transport aircraft with the minimum of work".

But nothing was done until the Blair government was embarrassed by public outrage.

■ The US has around 1,000 helicopters that could have been loaded in pairs into a C-17 Globemaster III transport plane with only minimal dismantling.

According to the US Department of the Air Force, the C-17 is designed to meet "potential armed contingencies, peacekeeping or humanitarian missions worldwide."

It was designed and built with the New World Order in mind.

But if only half of the C-17s had been mobilised, there would have been 80 rescue helicopters in Mozambique within hours.

■ Scandalously the Diego Garcia, the US military base in the Indian Ocean that is just three hours flying time from Mozambique.

Yet nothing was done to mobilise any of its 36 helicopters until the first floods receded.



Cancel t

THE WESTERN governments are refusing the most basic reform that would help shattered Mozambique - cancelling its debts.

Mozambique pays out over £1 million in debt repayments every week while hundreds of thousands of people are crying out for basic care.

As Ann Pettifor of the anti-debt

Centuries of plunder

PORTUGUESE SLAVE traders and merchants came to what is now Mozambique in the 16th century.

They did not try to conquer the local Gaza Nguni people at first. But Portuguese rulers chose Mozambique as prime territory for seizure when the European powers later carved up Africa.

Portuguese troops with machine guns and artillery massacred thousands of Mozambique's armed only with spears at two key battles in 1895.

The Gaza Nguni king was

put in chains and taken back to Lisbon, the Portuguese capital, where he was dragged through the streets.

The brutality continued up right up to the twentieth century.

The Portuguese authorities attacked a peaceful pro-independence demonstration in Meuda in 1960. Over 500 people were slaughtered.

Afterwards the various independence groups now formed an armed group, FRELIMO.

Their resistance against Portuguese colonialism in Africa was a major factor in the outbreak of revolution in Portugal itself in 1974.

Colonial rule in Mozambique collapsed.

As the Portuguese left they plundered the country.

The wrecked the mines, factories and power plants. There was not a single qualified teacher or trained engineer left in the country because the Mozambicans had never been given the chance of education.

Suffering

But that was not the end of Mozambique's suffering.

The war between the right wing RENAMO force and the Mozambican government claimed over one million lives.

RENAMO troops would often hack off a leg or an arm

or someone's nose and ears, because this would prove more terrifying and expensive to the population than simply killing.

Around one million people in Mozambique are disabled through war injuries. RENAMO sowed hundreds of thousands of mines.

Many have been dislodged by the floods, adding to the dangers.

All of this terror was a right wing response to a government that had brought some changes in the interests of ordinary people.

When FRELIMO came to power in 1974 it used left wing rhetoric and talked about socialism.

It made some reforms and

tried to improve health and education. Infant mortality rates fell sharply because of successful vaccination programmes.

These policies enraged the US and apartheid South Africa.

South Africa gave fun and military supplies to RENAMO.

The US government was not confident enough to see open aid but allowed right wingers in the country to do so.

CIA spy chiefs helped RENAMO even when in the public the US was calling for an end to the war.

The death toll was a dreadful 1.5 million Mozambicans.

STROYED SYSTEM

Southern Africa

by SINEAD KENNEDY



cancel the debt

Mozambique pays out over £1 billion in debt repayments every week while hundreds of thousands of people are crying out for basic care.
As Ann Pettifor of the anti-debt

coalition Jubilee 2000 says, "For how much longer do creditors want to spin out the pain in Mozambique? They need to urgently stop this poor country transferring funds to the west in the form of debt repayments. Taking money from Mozambique

before the disaster was economically irresponsible. Taking it now is utterly indefensible."

International Monetary Fund figures show Mozambique's debt repayments were eight times the amount spent on education and 16 times the amount spent on health in 1998. Mozambique owes over £5 billion in debt.

These debts are not the result of corruption" or lavish spending but reflect the costs of a 16 year civil war that caused £11 billion of damage - twice as much as the debt according to the United Nations Agency.

The war was fought from 1976 to 1992 between the government and the vicious right wing movement RENAMO. RENAMO was kept going by support from the apartheid South Africa and right wing forces in the US.

It was a war for the Western powers - and now the flood victims and the starving must continue to pay the costs back to the west.

Mozambique is so poor that it was granted special debt relief at the Cologne summit of the world's richest countries last year. But not a penny of that relief as yet been released

what we think

Global warming

THE FLOODS in Mozambique are not a product of a natural disaster.

Increasingly violent and erratic weather patterns are a symptom of global warming. More people are dying from so called natural disasters than ever before.

Just in the past months, there has been terrible flooding in Venezuela, then it was France's turn and now Mozambique. Both eastern India and Central America are still struggling to rebuild their shattered economies.

Scientists have warned that carbon emissions must be cut by at least 80 percent by 2050 if we are to

begin to address the damage done to the earth.

But western governments have even refused to implement the more modest targets agreed by the international Kyoto summit in 1997.

The US, under pressure from big business, refused to even ratify the treaty fully. The US is responsible for one quarter of all carbon emissions even though it only has 4 percent of the world population.

The main offenders are the coal, oil and gas industries who have contributed \$53 million dollars to US political parties since 1991.

The floods in Mozambique show just why we have to get rid of capitalism before it destroys the planet.

what do socialists say?

Why are politicians corrupt?

EVER SINCE the Flood and Moriarty tribunals opened, Irish politics is supposed to be cleaning itself up. Bertie Ahern and Fianna Fail claim that corruption arose out of a 'business culture' of the 1980s that is dead and gone.

But Denis Foley, an Ansbacher account holder was still able to sit on the Public Accounts Committee that investigated tax dodging. And the same ministers who were involved in the financial scandals of the 80's are still in government.

The reality is that corruption is not a feature of a particular time in Irish politics. It is central to the way governments everywhere run their countries in the interests of capital.

In Germany, the CDU is tearing itself apart after it was revealed that Helmut Kohl, who led the country for eighteen years, ran a massive funding racket throughout his time in office.

Kohl admitted to having received over DM 2 million (about £80,000) in illegal donations between 1993 and '98. He is not alone.

of laundering large donations and performing illegal transactions. It is estimated that Elf had paid out £400 million in fraudulent payments and bribes.

British people who elected New Labour wanted a change from 18 years of Tory sleaze. But Blair employed multi-millionaire Geoffrey Robinson as Paymaster General, only to discover that both Gordon Brown and Peter Mandelson had benefited from his "low cost loans". Mandelson borrowed £400,000 to buy a house in London.

According to the media, corruption occurs when there is a lapse from traditional Western values. So "crony capitalism" is supposed to exist in Asia but in Western Europe there is normally an "even playing field" where capitalists compete on the basis of price alone.

The reality is completely different. The big-players in every country cannot simply rely on the market but need to develop a close relationship with their own state.

As the Russian Marxist, Bukharin put it, there is a growing together of the state and capital. Big business needs access to state contracts; it needs the state to intervene on its behalf to win foreign markets; it has to work with state officials to keep the unions in line.

All of this is facilitated by the fact that parliament is only the front stage in the state apparatus. Most activity occurs behind the scenes in unelected parts of the state.

The heads of the Revenue Commissioners, the Central Banks or government departments are not elected or accountable to the population at large. As a result secretive relationships between the captains of industry and state officials blossom.

On top of all that conventional parties needs large sums of money to motivate their supporters.

They have to pay canvassers and distribute glossy literature precisely because they can offer very little to the majority of the population.

So business sponsors become necessary.

Officially, it is claimed that donations simply give business greater access to decision-makers. But as one Californian industrialist put it sarcastically, "With a little money they hear you better".

Far from being the exception, brown envelopes and corruption are normal activities in capitalism.

by PAUL MCCARTHY

plunder

health and mortality because of a...
surrendered to the West.
It shed all its Marxist rhetoric and made a deal with South Africa.
It pledged to do whatever the US wanted.
But even then RENAMO still got support, and the cost of US aid was a fearsome structural adjustment programme which enforced privatisation, an end to many food subsidies, and cuts in social spending.
Health spending per person fell by 75 percent after the economic policies of the IMF and the World Bank were implemented.

OUT NOW
Ideas to change the world
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From your Socialist Worker seller or from P.O. Box 1648, Dublin 8

A 'bad mood rising' against the system

NO LOGO is a new book aimed at the millions across the world who are not satisfied with the trashy future offered by the multinationals and the governments that support them.

Its author is Naomi Klein, a young radical journalist from Canada. She celebrates the feeling that there is a "bad mood rising" against the giant companies and their brand names.

She hopes that "as more people discover the brand name secrets of the global logo web, their outrage will fuel the next big political involvement, a vast wave of opposition squarely targeting transnational corporations. "Anti-corporatism is the brand of politics capturing the next generation of troublemakers and shit stirrers."

Promises

No Logo explodes the empty promises of globalisation, the idea that letting the market rip leads to wider prosperity and broader choice.

"This is a global village where some multinationals, far from levelling the global playing field with jobs and technology for all, are in the process of mining the planet's poorest for unimaginable profits. This is the village where Bill Gates lives, amassing a fortune of \$55 billion."

The giant multinationals are trying to restrict what we can read or listen to. Wal-Mart, the biggest retailer in the US, routinely removes magazines from its stores which do not fit the company's "family values" philosophy. Even major titles like Cosmopolitan and Vibe show the company advance copies to check they are acceptable.

Record companies often change CDs to fit in with the retailers' views. Blockbuster Video, which controls a quarter of the US home video market, has forced film makers to change scripts and cut scenes.

BRANDED AT SCHOOL

KLEIN TEARS into the giant corporations who "proudly inform you that Brand X is not a product but a way of life, an attitude, a set of values".

She shows just how much the corporations try to dominate every aspect of life, and how governments have let them do it.

Pizza Hut controls the catering in 4,000 US schools. Children who get the equivalent of free school meals are not allowed to eat at the Pizza Hut section.

Instead they are restricted to the facilities for "poor kids"-and even these canteens are not allowed to

provide anything which might be regarded as competition with the school catering's main sponsor.

Coca Cola's schools programme reaches everywhere. In 1998 Greenbriar High School in Georgia organised an official "Coke Day" in an effort to win the corporation's \$500 marketing competition.

The centrepiece of the day involved all 500 students wearing Coke T-shirts. Heroic school student Mike Cameron was not prepared to conform and, in an act of gross rebellion, wore a Pepsi T-shirt. He was suspended from school.

A new book which rips into the giant firms that want to control our lives is reviewed by CHARLIE KIMBER

EXPLOITATION ZONE

KLEIN ALSO shows the brutal sweatshop exploitation condoned by clothing companies and shoe manufacturers who trade on their "stylish" image.

In the Cavite export processing zone in the Philippines 50,000 workers produce items such as Nike running shoes, Gap pyjamas and IBM computer screens. The zone is a (tax free) miniature military state, one of 52 in the country which employ almost 500,000 people.

Almost all firms in these zones have rules against talking at work.

Some do not permit smiling. In Cavite the regular shift is from 7am to 10pm. The minimum wage is \$6 a day. But firms can, and do, apply to pay less because their work is essential to "boosting export trade". In Sri Lanka sweatshop workers sleep in dormitories painted with white lines like car parks.

If you want really cheap labour, go to China. Here, according to a 1998 survey, workers producing goods for Adidas, Nike, Wal-Mart, Ralph Lauren and others commonly work 84 hours a week in fume-filled factories. They earn around 13p an hour.

Abroad

One of the effects when work is subcontracted abroad is to destroy jobs in countries like the US. Millions of people are offered nothing but low paid, burger-flipping "McJobs".

A young worker in the Starbucks coffee empire told Klein, "People our age are finally realising that we

get out of university, we're a zillion dollars in debt, and we're working in Starbucks. This isn't how we want to spend the rest of our lives. I was hoping that Starbucks would be a stepping stone to bigger and better things. But unfortunately it's a stepping stone to a big stink-hole."

REVOLT AGAINST CORPORATIONS

NO LOGO is much more than a catalogue of corporate crime.

It charts the rise of revolt against the corporations, stretching from attempts to unionise in Indonesia and the Philippines to the anti-sweatshops movement which is now so strong on campuses in the US.

Klein rightly points out that anti-capitalist feeling is growing in Europe, as well as the Third World: "Today it's hard to find a contented company town where citizens do not feel they have been betrayed by the local corporate sector." Klein shows that campaigns can hurt the multinationals. In 1997 black and Latino kids from the Bronx, mostly aged 11 to 13, protested outside Nike's headquarters.

These kids had previously competed to get the latest in Nike footwear. But they had learned that shoes which sold for between \$100 and \$180 cost Nike \$5 to make.

Similarly, environmental campaigners Helen Steel and Dave Morris took on and humiliated McDonald's in a British libel trial in 1994. They showed that the company exploited children as targets

for advertising, paid low wages and had autocratic management. No Logo is a powerful read and full of hope. But it leaves you thirsting for a deeper understanding of capitalism.

It is certainly true that some clothing companies have abandoned all manufacturing and subcontract everything to companies abroad.

But that is not the dominant industrial trend. For the past 30 years US durable manufacturing output has grown steadily by around 3 percent a year.

The city of Seattle, where the revolt against the WTO took place, is itself dominated by the Boeing plant where around 80,000 people work. And, as Klein partially recognises, it is easy to overestimate the power of the brands and the multinationals to fool us.

DISSECTING CAPITALISM

MARXISM PROVIDES an analysis of the dynamics of the capitalist system. In the 19th century Karl Marx felt outrage at capitalism, and the injustice and inequality around him.

Marx's work, and the work of later socialists, confronts head-on the issues which Klein raises.

It is the relentless search for profit which explains why firms scour the earth for the cheapest raw materials and the best value labour. It is the aggressive competition at

the heart of the system which leads to firms getting larger and larger as they smash their rivals.

But Marxism also analyses the emptiness at the heart of modern life which the brands falsely claim to solve. Capitalism separates workers from any control over the means of producing wealth. They are forced to labour for the elite which owns and controls the means of production.

The vast majority experience work as something alien and unpleasant.

Separated

In addition, they have no say over what happens to the products of their labour. This condition of alienation is dehumanising, with workers separated from their real human nature, and from each other.

When the market dominates everything, processes which are the result of human decisions appear to be unalterable laws.

It is "the market" which appears to decide who has a job and how much people are paid, who starves and who feasts.

Marxism lifts the veil on this system and puts humans back in charge. It shows that the system which produces drudgery and (for the most part) compliance also produces crisis, revolt and a working class which can be the basis for a revolutionary transformation.

No Logo makes you angry about the stifled existence which the multinationals offer humanity. But it also leaves you hopeful that there is a massive mood for change.

The mood of anti-capitalist revolt needs to develop into an effective socialist organisation to build a new world.



in my view

Profiting from pain

IN January this year, the Irish Medicines Board banned the over-the-counter sale of the herbal remedy St. John Wort, which has traditionally been used to treat mild depression.

Irish doctors have had very little experience of this drug, and usually treat depressive illness with either Tricyclics, which are sometimes quite toxic, or the more modern SSRI's, which may have fewer side effects.

German physicians have used St. John's Wort more frequently, where proper research trials has found it to be safe and effective in mild depression. Top UK scientists have expressed the opinion that St. John's Wort is probably less likely to cause adverse reactions, side effects, or drug to drug interactions than chemical anti-depressants.

The ban is an over-reaction, and a more sensible approach would be to put useful warnings on the box, or to encourage patients to discuss depression with their GP rather than self-medicate without any support.

30,000 people signed a petition to keep St John's Wort on the shelves, but the Irish Medicines Board ignored this, and unilaterally banned the drug.

Herbal remedies are useful in providing an alternative for patients who feel mildly unwell and do not think that their symptoms warrant a visit to the doctor.

Self-medication for serious depression however, is very common, particularly among the poor, unemployed, and young alienated inner-city population, who tend to use either illegal and dangerous drugs like heroin, cocaine, glue or other substances, and often large quantities of alcohol.

Antidepressants - tablets such as prothiaden, surmontil, and anxiolytic benzodiazepines - are often prescribed by doctors as part of a safe and supervised treatment plan, but many end up on the street being sold to people, often children, who either take inappropriate doses in order to get to sleep, or use the tablets to score.

The Department of Health is not interested in restricting the prescribing or attempting to address the problem of over-use of psychoactive medication among young people, but is quite happy to ban herbal remedies so that the pharmaceutical industry make bigger profits.

However it would be a mistake to believe that Herbal remedies are made by good elves sitting under toad-stools, as the herbalist companies are often no different in ethos from the giant pharmaceutical companies.

In the US alone the trade in medicinal plant extracts is worth more than \$4 billion a year.

Petition

However, the 30,000 people who signed the petition to prevent the regularisation of herbal remedies are voicing their anger at a system which allows massive profit to be made out of the misery of working class people, and takes away control of our right to treat our own minor ailments, so that the business of the medical oligarchy can be protected.

Health care could be much more patient friendly if doctors have time and patience to spend counselling rather than prescribing tablets.

Fewer people would suffer depression if they had decent and pleasant housing, enough money to avoid stress and proper social support in times of relationship and family crises, instead of taking tablets and heroin to get by.

Depression has a stigma in our society, which makes it difficult to take sick leave, and this is probably why patients are so much more likely to choose self-medication rather than the doctor's surgery.

Banning over-the-counter herbs doesn't address the problem of depression in society, but it does make it more likely to leave it untreated. Suicide is a much more serious result of depression than the risk of misuse of St John's Wort.

It is difficult to believe that this government is seriously concerned about sick people failing to get better because they're taking herbal remedies, when they keep closing hospitals, and ignoring the dangerous street-market for depression treatment.

A socialist society would take the profits out of medicine, and make sure that people suffering from any form of illness don't have to queue, or join a waiting list for emergency treatment, while trying to rely on herbs, or even heroin.

JULIET BRESSAN

film

No smoke without fire

BY PETER MORGAN

IN 1998 the US tobacco industry settled lawsuits filed against it by the state of Mississippi along with 49 other states.

In total seven major tobacco companies agreed to pay out \$246 billion because they were forced to admit that cigarettes were addictive and were responsible for the ill health of millions of people. It was a landmark decision.

Concede

The tobacco giants were forced to concede because of the information supplied by one man, Jeffrey Wigand, a former head of research and development at one of the tobacco companies who turned against his former employer.

It is this extraordinary expose that forms the backdrop to Michael Mann's excellent new film, *The Insider*.

Jeffrey Wigand (Russell Crowe) is the central witness in the



The Insider

lawsuit brought by the state of Mississippi. After deciding to turn against his former employer he faces a campaign of smears, is sued, suffers death threats, and his marriage and family life fall apart. At times he doubts whether it is all worth it.

Yet this is where Lowell Bergman

(superbly played by Al Pacino) comes in. An investigative reporter and producer Bergman is determined to get this scoop on the air. He arranges a legal team to support Wigand, provides private detectives for him and his family when they are under threat, and is there as a friend when

Wigand is feeling down and doubts nearly get the better of him.

Bergman is inspired by the big vision. He wants to nail the multi-nationals. He wants to do what is right for the millions of people who have suffered ill health from an addiction that they cannot beat, but he is an investigative

journalist and is inspired by the desire to get the big news story.

Mann shows us the lengths that large and powerful companies will go to try and protect their interests and crush the spirit of ordinary people. In part he succeeds.

The owners of the CBS corporation are on the verge of being bought out, and so are reluctant for CBS News to show something that could result in a multi-billion dollar lawsuit.

Editorial content and news worthiness are suddenly under the domain of the lawyers, and financial concerns dictate what should and should not be seen.

And so the same interests that were trying to prevent Wigand from exposing the practices of the tobacco companies, profit, greed and secrecy, are at work trying to get Bergman's scoop suppressed.

Mann deals with this superbly, never sacrificing the ideal of what is right or what interests are at play.

He has made a film that has a lot to say about what is rotten with big business and what is right about those who choose to fight them.

film

Mechanical Violence

by SIMON BASKETTER

In 1972 a 16 year old boy called James Palmer beat to death a tramp in Oxfordshire. The *Daily Mirror* screamed "The boy viciously battered to death a harmless old tramp as he acted out in real life a scene straight from the movie *A Clockwork Orange*." James Palmer had never seen *A Clockwork Orange*.

On original release, the film was carried away on a storm of hysteria. Fed up with the constant rows the director Stanley Kubrick decided to ban the movie in Britain completely. In Ireland it was banned, not by Kubrick but by the board of Censors.

Now the movie is being re-released, this time uncensored - though old habits die hard and the board of censors have banned the film's poster.

The film itself is a dazzling and disturbing exploration of violence. But it did not cause violence.

As Anthony Burgess, the author of *A Clockwork Orange*, pointed out the fact that many a serial killer reads the Bible doesn't mean banning the Bible.

Views

Despite its cult status it is one of Kubrick's more annoying films. Ironically, the message of the film fits more with the reactionary views of those who wanted it banned.

If the story of its hoodlum narrator Alex, who terrorises his city with his gang until the government catches him and uses psychological conditioning to "cure" him of his violent behaviour.

Alex and his gang live in world of sexist images and violent rape - which the movie has a tendency to wallow in.

The argument is that Alex is truly evil but that the state's response is too extreme.

Burgess own politics went something along the lines of "Alex discovers traditional family values and lives happily ever after." Kubrick's view means that Alex remains inhuman and mechanical, a clockwork orange performing only evil.

The film is an attack on totalitarianism but it claims we are all naturally hooligans.

The one left wing character is portrayed as a madman. 'The common people must be led, driven, pushed!' he pants into the telephone. 'They will sell their liberty for an easier life!' he screeches.

It is a brilliantly made and disturbing film but to be honest it really wasn't worth the wait.

where we stand

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

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

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

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

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

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

SWP Branch meetings

ATHLONE:

Contact 01-872 2682 for detail

BELFAST CENTRAL:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Whites Bar.

March 21st: Is Cuba socialist?

March 28th Anarchism and Marxism

BELFAST QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY:

Meets every Wednesday at 1pm

Queens Students Union, (mature students room)

BELFAST SOUTH:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm

in Queens Students Union

March 22nd: Malcolm X & the fight against racism.

March 29th: The united front - a guide to fighting capitalism

BRAY:

Meets every Wednesday at the

Mayfair Hotel at 8.30pm

March 22nd: Socialists and Trade Unions.

March 29th: How do we get rid of sexism?

CORK:

DERRY:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in

Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.

DUNDALK:

Contact 01-872 2682 for details

DUN LAOGHAIRE:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in

the Christian Institute

DUN LAOIGHIRE IADT:

Stall every Tuesday 12.30pm till 2pm

DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in

Artane / Beaumont Recreational

Centre opp. Artane Castle

March 21st: Showdown in Seattle video.

March 28th: Northern Ireland: Is decommissioning the answer or just a smokescreen?

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in

Conways, Parnell St

DUBLIN NORTH WEST:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm

in O'Mahoney's Pub, Phibsboro

(near Crossgungns bridge)

DUBLIN RIALTO:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm St.

Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto

March 21st: The fight for women's liberation today.

March 28th: The revolutionary paper.

DUBLIN RATHMINES:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm

in O'Connell's Pub, Sth. Richmond St.

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in

Trinity Inn, Pearse St

March 16th: Can Red Ken topple New Labour.

March 23rd: What do we mean by revolution?

DUBLIN TALLAGHT:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm

in Jobstown Community Centre

March 22nd: The revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx.

March 29th: Will Ireland's boom turn to bust?

ENNISKILLEN:

Phone 01-872 2682 for details

GALWAY:

Meets every Wednesday in Currans

Hotel, Eyre Square (beside Cuba)

8.30pm

LIMERICK:

Phone 01-872 2682 for details

MAYNOOTH:

Meets every Thursday at 1pm, NUI

Maynooth

SLIGO

Meets fortnightly on Saturdays,

phone 01-8722682 for details

TRALEE

Phone 01 8722682

WATERFORD:

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in the

ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

WEXFORD

Meets every fortnight, phone 01-

8722682

Big business to blame for waste crisis

IRELAND HAS a terrible track record when it comes to waste management.

Only Russia, which dumps 97 per cent of its waste in landfills, has a worse record.

In Ireland 92.2 per cent of waste is dumped, compared to a European average of 60 per cent.

According to a recent government plan, half of all waste will be diverted from landfill by 2003, while 65 per cent of organic waste will be composted rather than dumped.

Commercial

More than a third of household and commercial waste will be recycled.

All this sounds good but there is no extra cash for recycling or creating compost.

Instead, the plan is for profit hungry businesses to make cash out of rubbish through public-private partnership ventures. Six waste incinerators are also to be built at a cost of £200 million each.

But incinerators are unsafe.

Despite whatever filters are placed on the plants, toxic chemicals will get into the atmosphere.

The dioxins that

by **SIMON BASKETTER**

incinerators emit are poisonous.

The Belgian food scare last year occurred because dioxins got into the food supply.

According to the American Environmental Protection Agency, "Exposure to dioxin, even at minute levels, poses cancer risks, and health concerns, including possible damage to the immune and reproductive system".

People living within five miles of a waste incinerator in Texas were found to be twice as likely to have respiratory diseases as those living away from an incinerator are.

In an area around one waste incinerator in South Wales, infant mortality rates rose to 12 per 1000 births.

That's the same as Belarus in the aftermath of the nuclear accident at Chernobyl.

A British study found a "marked concentration of larynx cancer cases among adults within 2 kilometres of a waste incinerator."

As well as producing air pollution, incinerators don't get rid of waste.

They produce harmful toxic ash - roughly 40,000 tonnes a year - that has to be dumped.



OPPOSITION GROWS TO INCINERATORS

★ Residents of Kildare, in Co. Kildare have scored a huge victory over business interests when Bord Planala refused to grant permission for an incinerator in the area. The decision followed a series of major protests.

The head of Kildare's Fire Service had denounced incinerators arguing that they would leave a "cocktail of hazardous waste in all forms" on

Kildare's road and rail system, close to densely populated towns on its way to the incinerator. This would "cause major problems for the emergency services in the county"

★ Residents in Ringsend are campaigning to stop the plan for an incinerator. "We are already overrun with pointless developments, we don't need toxic waste dumped on us as well," one campaigner told Socialist Worker. "We defeated the last attempt to build an incinerator here and we will do it again."

★ Councillors in Wexford have voted to reject plans for an incinerator after protests.

★ An attempt by a private developer to build a commercial incinerator at Drumfad, Co Sligo, was withdrawn in the face of strong local opposition.

★ In Galway a number of protests against the Corporation and County Council has forced a postponement of a decision on an incinerator.

what we think

A wasteful system

"WE ARE dirty people who treat our common property as a litter bin", according to Irish Times' writer Frank McDonald. But the reality is that it isn't individuals who are to blame for waste.

42 million tonnes of waste is produced in Ireland each year. But only 1.85 million tonnes comes from household waste. 31 million tonnes comes from agriculture and over 8 million comes from industry.

But the bosses are not being asked to foot the bill for waste. Instead a double tax is being imposed on workers in the form of service charges.

The latest scam is to make people pay more for plastic bags. But the supermarket owners who make huge profits and pay sweatshop wages get off scott free.

The government admits that 85 per cent of building materials could be recycled immediately. But because Fianna Fail is in the hands of the developers, nothing is done.

Capitalism is based on waste. Because production is carried out for profit, things are over produced, over packaged and over priced.

Companies compete and produce the same product over and over again with different labels. The bosses cut corners on safety, produce in the most environmentally harmful ways and don't care how much waste they churn out.

Waste management has to be taken out of the hands of the privateers and big business must be forced to pay for their rubbish.

We also need a society that is producing for need not profit. And that means getting rid of the rich wasters at the top.

RECYCLING: Make the bosses pay

THE NATIONAL Waste Management Plan says every household should have the opportunity of recycling.

But the reality is recycling is not available because it is left in the hands of private contractors.

The privately run recycling service Kerbside has just closed down. The company admitted that 40 per cent of waste sent to Kerbside had ended up dumped in landfills.

The other main recycling company is Repak, set up by IBEC three years ago to cover up the failure to big business to recycle packaging waste.

In 1992, just 12 per cent of German packaging was recycled but by 1997, that figure had risen to 86 per cent. The reason was simple business was forced to pay for the recycling of their products.

Health Service

Student nurses

Strike to follow militant demo

OVER 500 student nurses marched on the Dail at the beginning of the month. It was another militant demonstration in a campaign that began earlier this year in Galway to demand free fees for students studying for a nursing degree.

Student nurses are the only undergraduate students excluded from the 'free fees' scheme. In order to get a degree they have to pay over £2000.

The Galway students have refused to pay the

second instalment of this fee and are demanding full reimbursement of the money they have already paid.

Student nurses from all over the country sent delegations on the march and agreed to take strike action on Wednesday March 22nd if their demands were not met. However extra tuition fees are only one aspect of the appalling pressure student nurses are coming under.

Huge levels of understaffing means that student nurses who are supposed to be 'supernumery' (i.e. observers only) are regularly putting in a full 39-hour work-week on the wards in addition to doing their college work.

The grant for student

nurses is only marginally higher than the normal student grant which means many are forced to work weekends as well to make ends meet.

One nurse told Socialist Worker "I won't be in nursing in two years time the way things are going. It's not worth it. I was so fed up I'd given up trying to do anything about it - but when I saw this march was on I just got really angry again"

At the rally at the Dail the loudest cheer went up for the student nurse from Galway who denounced the government for spending £200 million on a new stadium when all they wanted was a "pittance" in comparison.

Service Charges

Don't owe won't pay

"WE FOUGHT and beat the water charges and we will stop these new ridiculous charges too." This was the response of one anti-service charges activist as Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown Council issued its first bills for refuse charges.

People are being forced to pay £75 for the first instalment of the £150 service charge.

Even before the issuing of the bills, a number of protest meetings have taken place with 150 coming to one in Churchtown and 80 in Sandymount. At these meetings a mass non-payment campaign against the charges was launched.

A number of Labour and Green councillors have come

out behind the campaign.

Donal McCarry, a spokesperson for the Campaign Against Service Charges told Socialist Worker, "There is outrage at the introduction of the charges. People coming to the meetings have been furious. We are already taxed to the hilt yet they are trying to bring in another charge."

The council has said that it intends to move quickly to replace the flat fee with a weight-related charge, which could make each household pay per bag of rubbish.

They are following the lead of the Cork County Council who have gone so far as to fit microchips to the bins so they can work out the charge per household for rubbish. The Council wants to replace the hated refuse charges with monthly bills for rubbish.

As well as a way of making ordinary people pay twice for their refuse collection, it is

a way to cut back on services. In Bray the introduction of service charges was followed by an attempt to privatise refuse collection.

But huge protests and a strike by the council workers forced the council to back down.

In Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown the council not reached any agreement with

the workers about not collecting refuse from those who don't pay the charge.

That means that people who don't pay the service charge will still get their refuse collected.

And if the non-payment movement gathers pace, the bureaucrats who devised this scheme will have to cover their faces in shame.

Transit workers

Action wins 40%

A ONE day strike by cash transit workers, mainly employed by Securicor, has led to the company making an offer of a pay rise of £2.60 an hour - equivalent to a 40% increase.

Despite the high size of the concession the 300 workers, members of SIPTU, have mixed feelings about the offer. The present rate for the industry is £5.50 an hour, which as one worker pointed out is barely more than a McDonald's worker but for a job that is far more stressful and dangerous.

Moving cash, especially in Dublin, is such a hectic job in the Celtic Tiger, that the transit workers have tremendous power - a point proven by the effectiveness of the one day strike. Many of the workers believe that the offer should be rejected as not going far enough. Extended strike action by cash-in-transit workers would quickly lead to the emptying of ATM machines.

Furthermore the company has also tried to attach productivity changes to the pay offer - including the loss of break time. The workers are balloting as Socialist Worker goes to press but whatever the outcome they have already gained the kind of percentage increases that all workers should be looking for.

Students

THIS MONTH saw an important victory for SWSS groups.

Rory Hearne was elected President of next year's Students' Union in Trinity College.

Rory stood on a platform of "concerted action and unity to achieve real change." He clearly distanced himself from the other candidates by proposing to take a tough line with college authorities and the government if elected.

Throughout his four years in college, Rory was an active campaigner with the One

World Society, and more recently with SWSS on issues like racism, PPI and the sweatshop labour used by multinationals like Nike in the Third World. His socialist campaign found popularity with the students as he took 1,300 first preference votes, winning a total of 34% - very high with 5 other candidates.

As one student activist said, "It just showed me that students are not as apathetic as people make out. Nearly everyone we talked to responded well and agreed that this was the right strategy."

IMPACT

All out on March 22nd

THE IMPACT trade union has served strike notice on behalf of 16,000 part time and temporary staff in the health service who are demanding pay rises.

The workers are mainly concentrated in the administrative, clerical and other grades.

The staff concerned cannot move beyond the fifth point on an incremental scale and this means they can never

earn more than £12,091 a year. The top of the scale is £17,988.

The strike is due to start on March 22nd the same day as the student nurses will place pickets. A further one-day strike is planned for May 29th, with further two and three-day strikes the following week.

Meanwhile the Psychiatric Nurses Association is also balloting its members for strike because the government has breached commitments given in the settlement of the nurses' strike.



OVER 600 MARCHED in Dublin against low pay and for a £5 per hour minimum wage.

Partnership

Anger against deal stirs union grass roots

UNION LEADERS have been taken aback by the scale of the revolt against the new Partnership for Prosperity and Fairness deal. Despite their claims that the deal would mean a 25 percent increase in earnings over three years, workers are rejecting it in large numbers.

One of the major centres of opposition has been the teachers' unions. Like other public sector workers

teachers have smelt a rat as the final 4 percent phase of the pay deal has been linked to the achievement of specific performance indicators.

Joe O Toole, the deputy President of the ICTU, was humiliated when he spoke at the Dublin North central branch of his union, the INTO. The union

leaders were first lambasted for not allowing a speaker from the Teachers Campaign against Partnership to put a rival view from the platform and then he had to watch while the deal was voted down overwhelmingly.

Up to now O Toole has been involved in a close alliance with SIPTU President Des Geraghty to isolate the more militant secondary teachers union, the ASTI.

But the ASTI position of putting in a 30 percent pay claim and pulling out of the ICTU is winning respect from the grass-roots.

With only a week to go before balloting was completed, O Toole was forced to concede that a majority of his own union had voted against the deal.

In a desperate bid to reach the 'silent majority' he claimed that the voting was distorted because it took place at union meetings.

But the truth is that when members heard the full arguments rather than being fed only propaganda from union head offices, the deal was rejected.

So great has been the rank and

rile revolt that the INTO executive have said that they will hold an immediate strike ballot if the deal is rejected.

This appears to be an attempt to frighten the membership as the union leadership also disgracefully echoed Education Minister

Michael Woods threat that 1,500 new teaching jobs would be lost if the deal was voted down.

Even the Fine Gael leader John Bruton denounced this threat as an attempt to use children as blackmail against the teachers.

However, the INTO announcement of a strike ballot may have the opposite effect than was intended as members grasp the opportunity to press for their share of the Celtic Tiger.

Meanwhile an important precedent has been set. If Joe O

Toole's union can conduct a strike ballot regardless of how the ICTU votes overall, then other unions who reject the deal can do likewise.

Whatever happens the stage is being set for a long hot summer on the pay front.

SIPTU: The revolt spreads

ALTHOUGH LARGELY unreported in the mainstream media, the revolt against partnership has spread to SIPTU.

Early indications are that a large number of public sector workers have cast their vote against the deal.

The Wexford branch of the union has called for a NO vote and has been joined by one of the Galway branches.

Members in the local authorities branch in Dublin has also passed a vote of No confidence in the National Executive of the union.

The main reason is that the new partnership proposals contain a clause that commits the union to a 'voluntary' code of conduct to restrict strike action in essential services. At SIPTU's annual conference there was huge opposition to such restrictions. But this did not prevent the

Geraghty clique who dominate the union from agreeing to these measures.

The revolt in SIPTU has opened up the race for a key union election for Vice President Up to now it was assumed that the favorite of the union headquarters, Jack O Connor, would take the position. But O Connor has advocated support for this deal and this has begun to loose him support.

This has created new opening for the only gen-

uine rank and file candidate, Carolann Duggan, who has a consistent record of opposing the partnership deals.

Duggan has denounced the leadership for promoting a wage increase that will fall below the rate of inflation and for failing to resist attacks on public sector workers. Balloting for the position of Vice President starts as soon as voting on the partnership deal is finished.

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STOP THE JOB SLAUGHTER

SAVE THE SHIPYARD

HARLAND AND WOLFF'S decision to threaten the jobs of 1,785 workers with protective notice is a disgrace.

The New Labour government has abandoned the workers, leaving them at the mercy of private bosses.

Now the lives of thousands of families could be decimated by this job slaughter.

Reg Empey, Ulster Unionist Trade and Investment Minister, said "At the end of the day it is a commercial transaction between Cunard Shipping and Harland and Wolff and there are limits to what we can do to deal with the commercial aspects."

Nonsense

But this is nonsense. The closure of Harland and Wolff is unnecessary.

Many of the ferries operating in Britain are run down.

If the government imposed minimum safety requirements it would create work for years to come.

Even the boss of Cunard, Larry Pimental, said that 'Only six months ago, Harland and Wolff wasn't thought of as a cruise-ship builder but their bid

has opened the door for the yard and the UK to become a ship-building country again'.

Now there is a boom in the world ship building market and in the next few years 30 cruise ships are expected to be ordered.

There are fewer than ten yards in the world that are capable of building these ships.

The fact that Harland and Wolff came second in its bid for

Cunard, shows that it is bound to win these orders in the future.

The yard is at a disadvantage because sterling has risen against the dollar and so its contract price is artificially high. But that will not last forever.

If the livelihood of the workers was put before profit then the solution is clear: they should be kept in their jobs until the order books fill up again.

TELL BLAIR TO SAVE JOBS

THE NEW Labour government has never been shy when it comes to handing out money to private investors.

This month Blair is set to make a decision about buying a £900 million missile system from US arms multinational, Raytheon.

Last year, Raytheon were handed £40 million

in grants to set up a factory in Derry and award £70 million in government contracts for a new radar system.

Merchants

New Labour has millions to give away to the merchants of death, but nothing when it comes to saving the jobs of ordinary people.

Workers should tell Blair that if the private

owners are not willing to keep the yards, they should be taken back into public ownership.

When the shipyards were privatised in 1989, the government handed over £500 million of taxpayers money to the new owners.

But the money was squandered on fat cat salaries while jobs were cut.

Shipbuilding requires huge outlays of capital and a long-term strategy

to reap rewards.

Private companies want short term profits and that is why they threaten closure at the first sight of lower order books.

Secure

Taking the yards back into public ownership is the only way to guarantee a secure future and end the nightmare workers regularly face.

ACTION CAN STOP CLOSURE

ONLY A huge campaign of public protest and militant action of workers can save the yard.

In 1971, workers at the UCD shipyard in Glasgow occupied their yard to prevent closure.

The occupation galvanised the labour movement into action as 80,000 people marched and an estimated 200,000 people went on a token solidarity strike. That militancy forced the Tory government to intervene and save the jobs.

The Harland and Wolff shipyard was taken into public hands not long after, in 1975.

If the Tories could be turned by militant action by workers, then so can New Labour. Harland and Wolff has plenty of expensive machinery. Its name is a powerful symbol of Belfast.

An occupation to save jobs would win huge support throughout Ireland and Britain. And it could force Blair to save the yard.