

Socialist Worker

inside

Bush is the real threat to the world pages 6&7

Why we should reject the Nice treaty pages 2&3

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

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

€1.00 / £0.70p

Solidarity price €2.00

NO TO WAR IN IRAQ

● US MILITARY
OUT OF SHANNON

● FOR A EUROPE FOR
PEOPLE NOT PROFIT

VOTE NO TO NICE

GEORGE BUSH is pushing ahead with his invasion of Iraq.

Bush has gathered together all the weapons of modern war to attack a country ravaged by sanctions and the effects of his father's war on the country.

In the last Gulf war the US-led coalition killed over 100,000 people

America is fighting to establish global dominance for its empire. That is why George W Bush is rushing into war in Iraq.

Ahern and the rest of the government have gone along with this. They have opened up Shannon airport to the US war drive.

Now they want us to vote again on the Nice treaty.

The EU leaders don't want to be left out in the cold.

They want the economic advantage and global influence that comes from military might.

So under Nice the EU itself becomes a military alliance with the European Rapid Reaction Force.

This 60,000 strong body of soldiers can be placed in a battle zone up to 4,000 kilometres beyond Europe's borders for up to a year.

Nice will give the EU new structures to develop and expand its military-industrial complex.

Bush's war and the Nice treaty are both part of a system out of control. It is a system that is prepared to roll roughshod over ordinary people in the pursuit of profit.

But what we do can make a difference.

There is mass opposition to the war. There is deep anger against the government's contempt for democracy and the cuts that come from the neo-liberal agenda Nice is part of.

If we get organised we can stop Bush's war and Ireland's part in it, and we can defeat the Nice treaty again.

Save Carrickmines Castle

by an Archaeologist

CAMPAIGNERS HAVE occupied Carrickmines Castle as part of a campaign to save the vast medieval site complex.

Archaeologists were forced off the site at the end of August 2002 leaving 35% of the site unexplored.

This is the largest excavation since Wood Quay. Over 90,000 artefacts have been recovered across a site of over 11 acres. Seamas Brennan announced that 40% of the site would be destroyed.

The National Roads Authority are planning to build a major roundabout over this site as part of the M50.

In 1983, the Deputy Dublin Planning officer requested a survey to discover the Castle's extent with a view to moving the road and avoiding the archaeology. This survey identified a site that was "quite exceptional and worthy of preservation".

The 1993 Development plan showed the motorway placed well away from the Castle site. Subsequently, Jackson Way Properties bought 84 acres in the vicinity of the then proposed motorway site on behalf of an anonymous buyer who is now under investigation by the Flood Tribunal.

The land was then "rezoned" increasing the value and leading to a compensation claim for 118million Euro.

Campaigners say that some of the unique external house sites outside of the castle walls have never been excavated before in Ireland. If this road plan goes ahead we will lose this valuable information.

Campaigners say "If Carrickmines is to be destroyed without a struggle, our heritage will always play second fiddle to the private interests of a greedy few"

More information is available at www.carrickminescastle.org or at 087-9963098.

Secret Fianna Fail documents shows €900million cuts

They want to slash our services

Before the election while Charlie McCreevey was making all sorts of promises, the government drew up a secret document.

This memo to the cabinet outlines €900million worth of cuts.

The cuts outlined include slashing spending on:

- Education by €150 million
- Health by €50million
- Environment by €180 million
- Social welfare by €180 million

● One department is sure of no cut-backs.

The Department of Justice is going to survive the financial chop that will gut the health, education and social welfare budgets.

Garda numbers are being increased from already record levels. More prison places have been promised.

The government is going to continue to pour tens of millions into the Garda air wing, which has only one semi-operational helicopter out of the three aircraft they purchased recently.



Fined €800 for being beaten up by Gardai

IN DUBLIN District Court there was another disgraceful example of what the Public Order Act means.

Thomas Kador is a member of Globalise Resistance. Last October Thomas took part in protest at the Burlington Hotel outside a conference that was designed to promote the privatisation of public services.

Gardai baton charged this protest and then used snatch squads to arrest people. Thomas Kador was smashed over the head and was hospitalised with profuse bleeding. But to cover their

tracks, the Gardai accused him of stealing one of their radios. The result is that he was fined €800 for the privileged of having his head cut open by a brute in blue!

Since September 11 there has been an increase in the use of the Public Order Act against protestors. It has been used against anti war protests; Reclaim the Streets, striking SIPTU workers and others.

The State is using the Public Order Act to eliminate the democratic right of people to assemble in public spaces to express their views. This is taking place in the context of international repression of the anti-war and anti-

OVER A thousand people took part in the Reclaim the Streets assembling on St Stephens Green and walked to Baggot Street.

Derek from RTS put it "The day has been good. It's been a good turnout and the cops have been well behaved. RTS is a self."

The last party in Dublin hit the headlines for all the wrong reasons when the Gardai brutally attacked partygoers on Dame Street in broad daylight.

According to Nora Geraghty of Globalise Resistance, "After the last RTS, images of battered heads were everywhere. It is important that this party is bigger than the last one, to show the Gardai we are not intimidated. Streets belong to the people."

The Public Order Act's first death?

BRIAN ROSSITER, a four-year-old from Clonmel, was arrested under the Public Order Act on the evening of September 11.

Gardai say Brian was drunk and held him overnight in the cells

The next morning he was taken to hospital, and put on a life support machine. By 5:30pm that evening he was dead.

According to the post mortem results he died as a result of head injuries.

Gardai claim the injuries were due to a fight two days before his arrest. In that fight Brian had been assaulted.

But this leaves unanswered some simple questions:

Why was 14-year-old boy held over night for being "drunk"?

What happened to him in the cell that night?

If he was so badly injured after a fight two days earlier how come the Gardai did not provide medical assistance until 11 hours after they had arrested him?

21 YEARS OF COUNCIL NEGLECT FOR DUBLIN TENANTS

CITY COUNCIL tenants in Kerlogue Road, Irish-town, Dublin have had enough of Corpo neglect.

They are demanding that Dublin City Council should immediately repair roofs, paint their houses inside and outside, replace damaged gutters and faulty electrics and replace windows.

Laura Kinsella, one of the residents spearheading the campaign, told *Socialist Worker* that the City

Council haven't bothered keeping their homes up to standard. She said "we're good tenants, we keep the place tidy, we've installed our own central heating and we've done a lot of different things to improve these houses like putting up gates and railings, and kept rent payments up to date. It's about time they put some money back into our homes".

"Paint is peeling off the window sills, and some windows are cracked and broken and very dangerous".

The windows will only be replaced if tenants pay



for them through rental payments.

A number of empty houses were painted in the area. The tenants are

demanding that repairs should happen immediately and are keeping their options open, "We may have to go on a rent

strike", said Laura, "They've gotten enough money out of us over the years, we've had enough."

No to Nice...

People

NO TO MILITARISATION

WE HAVE entered a frightening new era of war. George Bush wants to launch a new war against Iraq. After that is finished he wants to attack other countries that he says belong to an 'axis of evil.'

The political elite of the EU are worried that they will loose out on the creation of economic empires.

This is why they want to both align themselves with Bush - but also create their own special EU army.

This is called the European Rapid Reaction Force.

The aim is to place a 60,000 strong force into a battle zone for up to a year.

It is supposed to be capable of operating 4,000 kilometres away from the continent - in Africa and the Middle East.

There have also been moves to speed up the creation of a European arms industry, despite disagreements between the large manufacturers.

In July 2000, Britain, France, Germany, Italy and Spain launched a Framework Agreement where they committed themselves to 'harmonise military requirements' and develop 'common user requirements'.

Structures

The Nice Treaty will give the EU new structures to expand its military-industrial complex.

The treaty calls for: 'the progressive framing of a common defence policy, which might lead to common defence'

'co-operation between (EU states) in the field of armaments.' EU firms are already major arms dealers - now they

will sell even more weapons which will stoke up wars in less developed countries. a legal basis for European Rapid Reaction Force by establishing a 'Political and Security Committee (which) shall monitor the international situation in areas covered by the common foreign and security policy'.

The new Political and Security Committee will have power to send troops to areas of key strategic importance. They will use language like 'peace making' to disguise their war aims.

But as the former Fine Gael leader John Bruton said in the Dail in October 1999, 'Peacemaking means imposing, by the use of force, peaceful conditions under terms laid down by the peacemaker.'

"It is very difficult to distinguish that from war making..."

The Nice Treaty states that the Political and Security Committee should 'exercise, under the direction of the Council, political control and strategic direction of crisis management operations.'

The new EU defence policy will be closely linked to NATO. According to the NATO Secretary General, the 'indivisibility of the transatlantic (US-European) link.. will be carved in stone. By 2005 NATO and the EU will enjoy a close and confident relationship at all levels'.

One of the annexes to the Nice Treaty specifies that the NATO Secretary General should attend EU Ministerial meetings and there should be regular meetings between EU and NATO military committee and staffs.

The Nice Treaty does not allow the EU parliament to exercise control over military policy.

Instead a small group of top politicians, generals and bureaucrats will have considerable freedom to undertake military action to support the EU's multi-nationals.

Neutrality declaration is worthless

ALL OF this means that Irish neutrality is finished. Irish neutrality was often inconsistent and used as a cover to hide how Irish foreign policy was aligned with the US.

Yet the Nice Treaty goes much further and dispenses with any obstacle to Irish soldiers joining a Euro army to protect the colonial ambitions of the multi-nations.

The government says that neutrality is protected by a special declaration it is adding to the Treaty.

But this declaration is not a legal document and is highly contradictory.

It says there will be no EU army - but Ireland is already sending 850 troops or one tenth of its army to join the Rapid Reaction Force.

It promises a referendum if there are further moves to a common defence force - but it promised a referendum on entering the ill named Partnership for Peace - a NATO front organisation - and then broke its promise.

The declaration is not worth the paper it is written on.

Moreover the issue is not just Irish neutrality but whether the EU should become military machine.

This is why we should Vote No.

No to Nice...No to Nice...No to Nice...No to Nice

before profit and war Vote No to Nice

ON OCTOBER 19th, we will be once again voting in a Referendum on the Nice Treaty. Last year the same proposals were defeated but the Irish and EU governments, as well as the big business interests, won't take No for an answer.

The full power of the government, politicians and the churches are being mobilised to secure a Yes vote.

Disgracefully, without consulting its members, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions and other union leaders are spending members' money to encourage a Yes vote.

The SWP is campaigning for a No vote on a socialist basis.

What does a NO vote mean?

IRELAND IS the only country that is holding a referendum on Europe. We will be voting not just for ourselves but for all the citizens of the continent.

A No vote does not mean the end of the EU. It does not mean economic ruin. It simply means that people will have spoken out against a hidden agenda that is pushing for militarisation and privatisation.

It is a vote for more democracy — for an inclusive, open Europe that puts people before profit.

Right across Europe work-

ers are facing right wing governments who want tax cuts for the rich and more 'flexible labour markets'. This is code word for increased pressure and stress on workers.

Today capitalism is leading to war, racism and more poverty. Only socialist policies can tackle the crisis it is creating.

The banks and big business should be taken into public ownership. Instead of 'management by stress' we need workers, control of production.

Against the chaos that is being inflicted on the environment we need democratic planning and control of our economy.

YOUR UNION DUES SHOULD NOT PROMOTE A YES VOTE

THE IRISH Congress of Trade Unions and many of the union leaders are using your dues to promote a Yes vote.

They have not consulted their members and have become so close to the employers that they ignore how the Nice Treaty promotes more privatisation.

The ICTU says it supports the Nice Treaty because it contains a Charter of Fundamental Rights.

But these rights are couched in a vague language that is virtually meaningless.

What is much more significant is the omissions. The Charter does not include key rights such as:

the right to work; the right to decent housing; the right to a properly funded state pension; the right to a minimum income that keeps pace with inflation; protection against sacking for union activity; the right to strike.

Oppose Fortress Europe

There are some who campaign against Nice on a right wing basis. Anti-abortion groups are against a 'godless' Europe.

Another anti-Nice campaigners has criticised the Treaty because it will let too many migrants in here.

Socialists have no truck with these arguments. It is part of the hypocrisy of the EU elite

that they want to use Eastern Europe as a source of cheap labour - while Ministers like Michael McDowell deport 'illegal' migrants who come from these areas.

That hypocrisy should not be repeated on the NO side. The Irish people emigrated all over the world in search of work and freedom. Other people have exactly the same rights.

Migrants are forced to take

low wages by bosses who use the work permit system or the fact that they are illegal to super-exploit them.

The answer is not to build a fortress Europe but to welcome these migrants by giving them full rights to work.

Instead of exploiting Eastern Europe and keeping its people out, we need to create militant workers organisations all over Europe to take on the boss class.

ENLARGEMENT - WITH LESS DEMOCRACY

SUPPORTERS OF the Nice Treaty claim that it is necessary to prepare for a larger and more peaceful Europe.

But it is not true. EU Commission President, Romano Prodi has said that 'legally ratification is not necessary for enlargement. It's without any problem up to 20 members, and those beyond 20 have only to put in an accession agreement, some notes of change, some clause'.

Under the Amsterdam Treaty, the EU could expand from 15 to 20 member states. Yet despite all the rhetoric about a larger Europe, no date has yet been set for admitting any Applicant State. As the Czech Prime Minister put it, 'EU enlargement is always five years in the future'.

The real aim is to use the issue of enlargement to centralise power in the EU around a small number of large states.

Under the Nice Treaty, the big four states — Germany, France, Italy and the UK — triple their votes to 30 each, while Spain gets 28.

After that Holland gets 12, Greece, Belgium and Portugal 11, Sweden and Austria 9, Denmark, Finland and Ireland 7 and Luxemburg 4.

Votes for the applicant countries have also been allocated ranging from 28 for Poland to 4 for Slovenia. The result is that the big six will be able to outvote the other 21 EU states.

This, however, is only part of the picture.

The changes in voting allocation go alongside a change to 'qualified majority' voting.

Under these changes a vote on the Council of Ministers would have to represent 62% of the EU population before it was valid.

This means that the big countries get considerable clout even beyond their voting allocations.

Any three of them, for example, can block a proposal from the rest of the 27.

The weight of the big countries is also increased by a change in the way the EU Commission is established. After 2007, the size of the Commission will be capped at 20 and not all countries will have a commissioner.

Smaller countries like Ireland certainly will not but the Irish government accepted this once it was assured that its policy of cutting taxes on multinationals to a mere 12.5% was safe.

Even the Portuguese Prime Min-

ister described the shift to greater centralisation as 'an institutional coup d'etat'.

EU multi-nationals want to use Eastern Europe as a source of cheap labour. Foreign direct investment in the region has already risen to 9 billion annually.

There is no strategy to promote a balanced integration of the different economies. No special fund has been established to help the countries in Eastern Europe make the transition. There is no attempt to cut the working week to reduce unemployment.

Instead they will have to take on board 25,000 EU laws amounting to 80,000 pages of legal text, without changing one iota.

While the EU rulers talk about a common European homeland, they are implementing a 'fortress Europe' policy to keep out migrants from Eastern Europe.

The German government is already seeking delays to the free movement of labour rules within the EU to keep out Polish workers in future.

The Euro elite do not care about the people of Eastern Europe — they only want new opportunities for profit.

VOTE NO TO A BOSSES EUROPE

THE EU promotes the privatisation of public services. Aer Lingus and ESB are facing privatisation because of EU pressure.

Typically, the EU gives local politicians an excuse to privatise by letting them claim their hands were forced.

The Nice Treaty continues and expands the privatisation agenda. The key driving force behind these neo-liberal policies are business organisations such as the European Services Forum and the European Round Table of Industrialists.

This is a lobby group which represents 47 European based multinationals which include Nestle, Unilever, BP Amoco, Renault, Marconi, ICI, Olivetti, BT and Fiat. They have ensured that the Nice Treaty creates even more opportunities to put profit before people.

Article 133 of the Nice Treaty calls for 'the achievement of uniformity in measures of liberalisation'.

In simple language this means even more pressure to privatise and break up what remains of a welfare state.

The Swedish gov-

ernment, for example, has been criticised by the EU for having 'far too generous and unconditional unemployment benefit'.

The Nice Treaty also allows the unelected EU Commission to open negotiations with bodies like the World Trade Organisation.

This organisation is currently pushing through a General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) which aims to further de-regulate all public services.

GATS is a global set of negotiations to open up virtually all services sectors to competition from multi-nationals.

If it goes through, the postal service, hospitals, education, waste and water supplies will be opened up to multinational 'service providers'.

The Nice Treaty allows the European Commission to 'fast track' negotiations on

GATS. It states quite explicitly that the Commission can open negotiations 'in the fields of services and commercial aspects of intellectual property rights'.

These negotiations are completely secret and even the EU parliament does not control how they are being conducted. But leaked documents show that the EU is demanding that other countries, including some of the poorest Third World countries, open up their water, waste and education services for privatisation.

The chief EU negotiator on GATS, Robert Madelin, has said that the education and health sectors are 'ripe for liberalisation'.

He conducts secret meetings with the European Services Forum and has said that 'we are going to rely on it just as heavily as on member states'.

In other words, he will follow a pro-business agenda.

Voting for the Nice Treaty is therefore a vote for more de-regulation, privatisation and a free hand for the multi-nationals.

The Alternative to Nice

The European Social Forum (ESF) will be the biggest ever gathering of European anti capitalists and anti war activists.

It stands for the opposite of the Nice Treaty.

It was born of grass

roots social movements.

The ESF will take place in Florence, Italy, from 7 to 10 November 2002.

More Info contact: www.irish2esf.webworld.org
ESFM Ireland, c/o 61 West Rd. Dublin 3

NI Assembly

Unionists create another crisis

DAVID TRIMBLE has agreed a plan with Unionist hardliner Jeffrey Donaldson to drag the Assembly into another period of crisis and instability.

The decision is a cynical attempt to head off pressure from Ian Paisley's DUP, in the run up to the Assembly elections, due early next year.

But it represents a further lurch towards the hardliners within Unionism, who have based their appeal on blaming every problem affecting Protestants on the "drift" towards republicanism within the Agreement.

The shift towards the ardliners will only give ven more legitimacy to the loyalist paramilitary gangs, which even the NI police acknowledge have been responsible for the overwhelming majority of violence in recent years.

Proposal

To head off a vote on a motion put by Donaldson to a special meeting of the 860-strong Ulster Unionist Council last Saturday, Trimble effectively backed Donaldson's proposal.

Their joint proposal means the Ulster Unionists immediately withdrawing from North-South Ministerial bodies which include Sinn Féin and a new threat to resign from the NI Executive in three month's time

Leisure centre to be bulldozed for profit

Maysfield Leisure Centre, one of the few resources still shared in the interface area of East Belfast is to be bulldozed and the land sold off to developers.

The Leisure Centre is a famously neutral spot that has served the working class residents and kids of the Short Strand and the Newtownards Road for twenty-five years.

However, the land on which the centre stands was recently valued at £8 million, enough to



Donaldson and Trimble—another round of horse-trading

unless Sinn Féin prove that "the Good Friday Agreement was being implemented in full with republican violence at an end." The Ulster Unionist Council will meet again in January.

The only evidence produced by Donaldson against the Sinn Féin, were references to the speculation about IRA involvement in Colombia and the allegation that the IRA were behind the break-in at the Castlereagh RUC headquarters in March.

In a letter to Unionist Party members in the run-up to the meeting, Trimble set out his agenda throughout the numerous crises engineered by the Unionist Party during the four and a half years of the Agreement.

Trimble explained how

he had already succeeded in forcing republicans to accept partition. "Can there be any doubt that the Provisionals are selling out on the republican ideals by helping to administer British rule?" he asked.

He claimed that previous crises in the peace process had forced the IRA to decommission. "But in each of these cases", Trimble said, "we first made sure that republicans would carry the blame internationally for the problem." Trimble welcomed the government announcement of a new monitor to keep track of violence as "a useful tool in the blame game".

Trimble warned that "Irresponsibly unleashing a crisis that leads to the destruction of Stormont would play into Sinn Féin/IRA's hands. It would enable republicans to poison opinion outside Northern Ireland against us."

But faced with a vote that may have challenged his leadership, Trimble held a brief meeting with Donaldson where they agreed to slightly modify Donaldson's proposal, and proceed with moves to force the IRA to "fully disarm".

The British and Irish governments are unlikely to agree to any plan to expel Sinn Féin from the executive. Their strategy during the peace process has been to incorporate Sinn Féin within the new government structures.

But it now appears that the new sanctions will open up a further round of horse-trading in concessions, with Northern Ireland Secretary John Reid echoing Trimble

and Donaldson's remarks, saying: "All involved in this process must be able to have

confidence that the Belfast Agreement will be implemented in full."

Privatisation going full steam ahead

THE NORTHERN Ireland Assembly has just produced a report advocating the accelerated use of Private Finance Initiatives (PFIs) and Public Private Partnerships (PPPs) to cover a predicted £6 billion public budget deficit over the next decade.

To date £190 million worth of public sector contracts have been handed over to private developers and contractors.

A further £500 million worth are at tender stage.

The funding shortfall comes despite figures showing that Britain's public sector budget had a surplus of £20 billion in 2001.

Instead of the Assembly members making commitments to demand extra public funding, a recent debate at Stormont saw

ministers lining up to complain that the implementation of PPPs/PFIs has been too slow.

Despite

This is despite numerous reports showing that private companies cannot be trusted to run public services.

The British Medical Association, for example, has shown that the health trusts running

the first 14 PFI hospitals in Britain will lose a total of 3,700 beds, and that, bed numbers will decline by on average 31 percent.

A study carried out by a consultancy company that works for the NHS trusts and the Department of Health found that every £200 million spent on privately financed hospitals would result in the loss of 1,000 doctors and nurses.

None of these statis-

So what do Sinn Féin think about PPP/PFI?

THE WHOLE of the media in the North failed to pick up on a contribution to the PPP/PFI debate in Stormont by Sinn Féin's John Kelly that has serious implications for the party leadership.

Speaking on the use of the schemes, Kelly said, "Private finance holds out

the politically attractive prospect of 'free money' with which to provide popular projects now.

"That is an illusion, because the profit motive and the bargaining expertise of business, not to mention the possibility of corruption, mean that society will pay greater costs in the future for the 'free money' that politicians seek today. PFI is an unnecessary illusion".

Even Alban Maginness of

Loyalists turn on each other

A FURTHER outbreak of Loyalist infighting in Northern Ireland has hit the headlines this month, leaving one leading Loyalist dead and others injured.

Whatever the particular motives for the violence, there is a battle raging at the heart of Loyalism.

Loyalist paramilitaries are totally opposed to the peace process. They want to return to the days when Loyalist death squads inflicted a reign of terror on Catholics.

Loyalist paramilitaries have not only been killing each other.

There have also been continued attacks on Catholic and mixed families in areas like Larne and Antrim. The violence is

being fuelled by the so-called agreement Unionist Parties who are continuing to blame the Interface violence on Republicans.

It is also being fuelled by Unionist claims that Catholics have been the main beneficiaries of the peace process.

The reality is of course that the lion's share of the "peace dividend" has gone to neither Catholic or Protestant working class people, but to the developers, speculators and business classes on both sides.

Although the infighting is connected to a turf war over drugs and racketeering, it is also tied to the complete isolation of the paramilitaries.

Failing to secure support from the vast majority of Protestant people for a return to war, they are turning in on themselves.

tics seem to unduly worry First Minister David Trimble who claims:

"They have the potential to improve efficiency, provide value for money and service delivery".

Nor have they worried the Departments of Education, Health or Regional Development in the North that have so far handed over the bulk of existing contracts to the Private Sector.

the SDLP who advocates the use of PPPs/PFIs certainly picked up on it saying, "Listening to Mr Kelly's speech, I became confused as to whether he was a member of Sinn Féin or a member of some other party".

He continued "The reality is that the Sinn Féin Ministers are the most dedicated to PPP and PFI.

"They are the people who have most relied on PPPs."

Build the movement to stop Bush's war

GEORGE BUSH is still driving towards war, despite Iraq saying it would bow to demands to allow weapons inspectors into the country.

His undersecretary of state for arms control says the US wants "a regime change in Baghdad, and that policy will not be altered whether inspectors go in or not".

The relentless war drive shows that all the talk of "international law", "United Nations resolutions" and "weapons of mass destruction" is a fig leaf.

The gang around Bush are determined to remove Saddam Hussein simply because his regime has not crawled sufficiently to the US.

They are ready to murder tens of thousands of innocent Iraqis to show that the US can impose its will across the globe.

Raids

US and British warplanes are already stepping up their raids on Iraq. They have launched air strikes on communications bases and airfields at Tallil, south of Baghdad.

US defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld boasted after the Tallil bombing, "I directed it." The editor of the authoritative military journal *Jane's World Armies*, Major Charles Heyman, said after the attacks, "There is no doubt in my mind that the first stage of war with Iraq has quietly begun."

Bush is set on war at any price.

The goalposts have already been shifted. We were told a few weeks ago that Iraq is a nuclear-armed state on the brink of invading its neighbours. But a study last week found that Saddam Hussein does not have nuclear weapons. None of the six states that border Iraq fear

invasion.

So now we are told Saddam Hussein is a bad man who could possibly get nuclear weapons in the future if someone gave him the technology possessed by only a handful of states.

It is a sign of the scale of opposition to Bush's war that Bush is attempting to shroud his warmongering in the flag of the United Nations Security Council by offering France, Russia and China some crumbs from his table.

Millions of people see through the lies. More people oppose war this time than before the last Gulf War, the Balkans War or the war on Afghanistan. There are deep divisions among the world's rulers.

It is a scandal that the Irish government is not opposing the war and, as *Socialist Worker* goes to press, looks set to back any US resolution against Iraq at the UN.

Three things are now clear.

■ First, the unprecedented opposition to the war is the basis for a mass movement beginning with the September 28 demonstration.

■ Second, we have to redouble our efforts to put the anti-war arguments in every workplace, college, school and community.

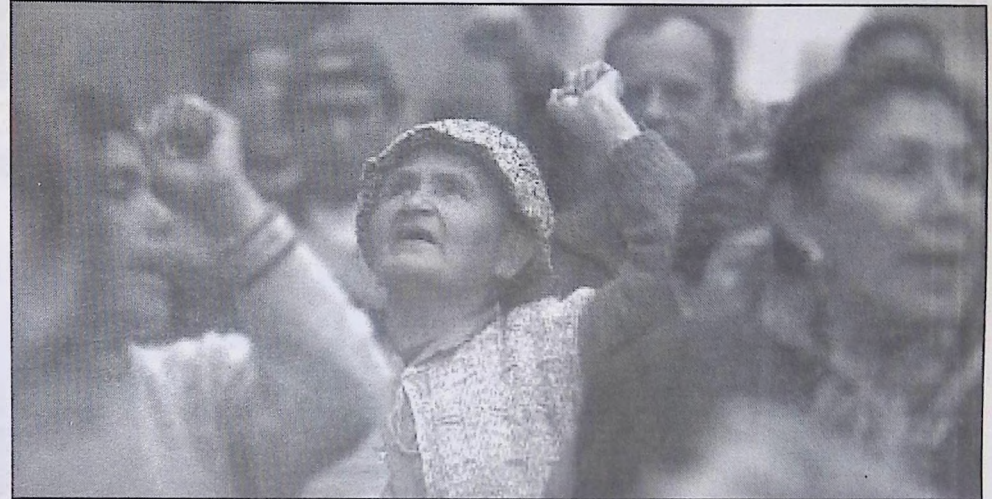
We have something the warmongers do not—thousands of people who can convince their friends and workmates to stand up against war.

■ Third, the government faces growing opposition over public sector cuts. Resistance over this can lead even more people to question the priorities of the system.

The Irish government is complicit in the build-up to war. Including opposition to the war and the use of Shannon by the US as part of building the opposition to the government can put them on the back foot.

□ Turn to pages 6-7

Protests against cuts hit South America



In Peru (top) and Colombia (bottom) thousands of people have taken to the streets to protest against public sector cuts and job losses.

MARXISM 2002

22 -24 November, central Dublin

Building Resistance to Capital and War

Speakers include:

Eyewitness from Palestine, Mike Davis (author of *City of Quartz, The Ecology of fear*), **Eamonn McCann** (author, journalist & leader of Irish civil rights movement), **Francois Duval** (Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire, France), speaker from **Refundazione Comunista**, Italy, **Chris Bambery** (SWP Britain), **Prof Terry Eagleton**, **Kieran Allen**, **Richard Boyd Barrett** (Chair of the Irish Anti War Movement), **Joe Carolan** (Global Resistance), **Mick O'Reilly**, **Pat Cahill** (ASTI), **Dr Juliet Bressan** (Doctors for Choice), **Luke Choto** (socialist from Zimbabwe)

Courses :

War & Imperialism	The Marxist tradition
Anti-capitalism	The modern world
Ireland	The Unions
Racism and Fascism	
Women's Liberation	and many more

Tickets €20 waged €10 unwaged (€25 waged, €15 unwaged on the door)

Ticket Hotline 087 683 8746

or write to: Marxism 2002, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8. Web: www.swp.ie

Bush and Blair are the

GEORGE BUSH is still driving towards war, despite Iraq saying it would bow to demands to allow weapons inspectors into the country.

His undersecretary of state for arms control says the US wants "a regime change in Baghdad, and that policy will not be altered whether inspectors go in or not".

And Bush's loyal ally Tony Blair is with him every step of the way. Their relentless war drive shows that all the talk of "international law", "United Nations resolutions" and "weapons of mass destruction" is just a fig leaf.

The gang around Bush are determined to remove Saddam Hussein simply because his regime has not crawled sufficiently to the US. They are ready to murder tens of thousands of innocent Iraqis to show that the US can impose its will across the globe.

THE UNITED States has 10,600 nuclear warheads in its stockpile.

That includes 550 intercontinental ballistic missiles with 1,700 warheads.

There are also 18 Trident nuclear powered submarines which carry a total of 3,120 warheads. 320 Tomahawk sea-launched cruise missiles, 94 B-52 bombers and 21 B-2 bombers.

The B-2s carry the US's new "earth penetrating" nuclear bomb.

The US's chief ally is Britain, which has around 200 warheads with four nuclear submarines which can carry 64 nuclear missiles.

Both these countries are willing to use nuclear weapons. The *Los Angeles Times* reported earlier this year that US defence policy now authorises the use of nuclear

weapons against non-nuclear states.

The paper said that US policy is now that nuclear weapons could be used when there is an unexpected development in a conventional war.

In Britain New Labour's 1998 *Strategic Defence Review* allows "the limited use of nuclear

weapons".

The US is still the only state to have actually used nuclear weapons in war.

The US exploded an untested uranium bomb above the Japanese city of Hiroshima in August 1945.

It killed 140,000 out of a popu-

Other nuclear powers

FIVE nuclear powers dominate the UN's security council, which authorises military action against other countries.

As well as the US and Britain these are Russia, China and France.

Russia has a declining stock of nuclear weapons, but is still the world's second largest nuclear power. It has 8,400 nuclear warheads. That includes 706 intercontinental ballistic missiles, 14 operational nuclear submarines

and 78 bombers.

France has 288 warheads including 60 bombers capable of carrying nuclear missiles, and three nuclear submarines.

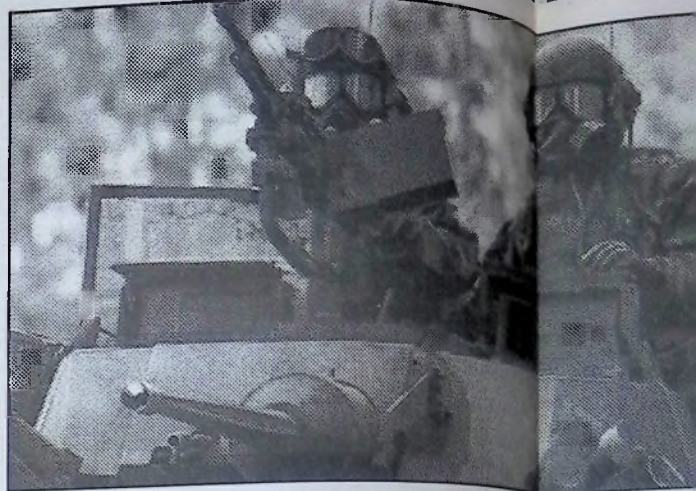
China does not issue detailed figures on nuclear capability, but it is estimated that it has 130 aircraft which can carry nuclear missiles, as well as 125 land-based missiles and 12 nuclear submarines.

There is one state in the Middle East that has been secret-

★ FACT: Bush and Blair say Iraq should be punished because it has broken resolutions passed by the UN Security Council.

But there is no such ultimatum issued to Israel. Israel has broken even more resolutions than Iraq, including Resolution 242 that calls for it to withdraw from the occupied Palestinian territories.

But there are no B-52 bombers homing in on Tel Aviv. Instead the US and Britain are supplying weapons to Israel.



Spreading the thre

THE MAJOR powers' access to nuclear weapons fuels the arms race around the world.

India and Pakistan threatened to start a nuclear war in June in their longstanding dispute over Kashmir.

India has an estimated 30-35 nuclear weapons while Pakistan is believed to possess 48.

Embargo

The US now sells weapons to both sides, having abandoned an arms embargo on both countries in September last year.

Russia also sells arms to India,

and China sells to Pakistan. France sells Mirage jets to both air forces.

The US accuses Iraq of equipping with biological weapons.

But the US is the world's biggest investor in "bio-defence". It refuses to allow any inspections of its research.

The campaign group GeneWatch UK last month condemned the US secret.

"Investment in bio-defence may look like a screen for the development of weapons that are intended for offensive use," it said.

"Because the US have been unwilling to declare programmes in the past, their motives inevitably come under scrutiny."

During former US president

Clinton's adm

secretly built a

an anthrax bo

The US a

facility in New

could have be

in biological

to a New Yo

September las

Hy

Bush's adm

up hysteria i

September o

nnated with an

people in the

The anthr

suspected to

US's own res

Would a UN-backed war be fa

BUSH HAS demanded the UN back his war on Iraq or become irrelevant. Some see the UN as a neutral broker standing for international law. But the UN has never been a block on the US or any other big power unleashing its military against weaker states.

The UN is not some democratic body where all states have an equal voice.

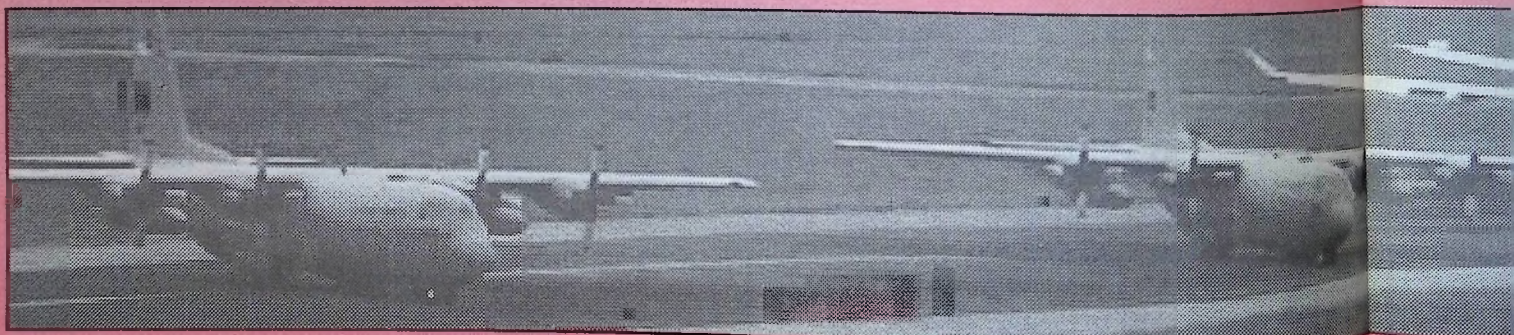
Five big powers dominate the Security Council, the UN body that can authorise military action.

They are the Permanent Members: US, Britain, France, Russia and China. Any one of them can veto any decision of the Security Council

Sanctions

The UN Security Council authorised the 1991 Gulf War, which left over 100,000 Iraqi people dead. The UN agreed to sanctions, which killed 500,000 Iraqi children between 1990 and 1998.

Each of the five big powers has shown individually that they are prepared to use brutal methods to get what they want. When they act together they are



US military plans on the runway at Shannon airport

no less brutal.

The US is using bullying and dirty deals to try and ensure that the United Nations does not oppose war.

That underlines why opponents of the war must be clear and say no war, with or without United Nations backing.

Britain has a long and barbaric imperial history. Now Tony Blair, is rushing to back Bush.

He claims Britain's "special relationship" with the US means it will have "to pay a blood price" and support Bush's military adventures.

He has allied himself with the most right wing leaders in Europe—Spain's Jose Maria Aznar and Italy's Silvio Berlusconi—to push rampant

neo-liberalism and support for US interventions.

France participated in the last Gulf War in 1990-1 and the Balkans War, and supported the US attack on Afghanistan.

France has reined in its criticisms of the US. Its president, Jacques Chirac, is nervous of being sidelined by the US in any post-war carve-up if he does not back war. So Chirac wants to bolster France's position by ensuring that any war is UN-backed.

The French state has traditionally supported some of the most murderous forces in Africa, such as Joseph Mobutu, the former leader of Zaire. It also aided the Hutu militias which were responsible for the genocide in

Rwanda in 1994.

Russia bombed Chechnya, and destroyed its capital, Grozny.

Tens of thousands of people were killed in the war against Chechnya. Russia used fuel-air explosives, which create a firestorm, sucking the air out of civilians sheltering in basements.

Over the last year President Putin has tightened the savage repression against the Chechens.

Threatening

There has barely been a murmur from the US state. It turned a blind eye to Russian atrocities in return for Putin's support for

Bush's "war on terror".

Putin has been threatening Georgia, a state on its southern borders and a former part of the Soviet Empire.

Privately US government officials have agreed to give Putin the green light to wage war against Georgia if Russia goes along with Bush's war.

China is one of the few states to execute more of its own population than the US does. The Chinese state has pursued its own "war against terror" over the last year, targeting minorities in the west of the country who want independence.

It has stepped up repression against Tibet, which it has occupied for over four decades. It has unleashed state terror against

the Uighurs and o

peoples.

This month the

ment placed the

Islamic Movement,

persecution of

its "Foreign

Organisation List".

The *Asia Times*

has "opened the

Chinese persecution

Uighur people"

All five permane

of the Security have

of oil companies

The threat to the world



the threat

Clinton's administration the US secretly built and tested a model of an anthrax bomb.

The US also constructed a facility in Nevada where bacteria could have been produced for use in biological weapons, according to a New York Times report in September last year.

Bush's administration whipped up hysteria in the wake of 11 September over letters contaminated with anthrax that killed five people in the US.

The anthrax spores are now suspected to have come from the US's own research facilities.

Hysteria

be fair?



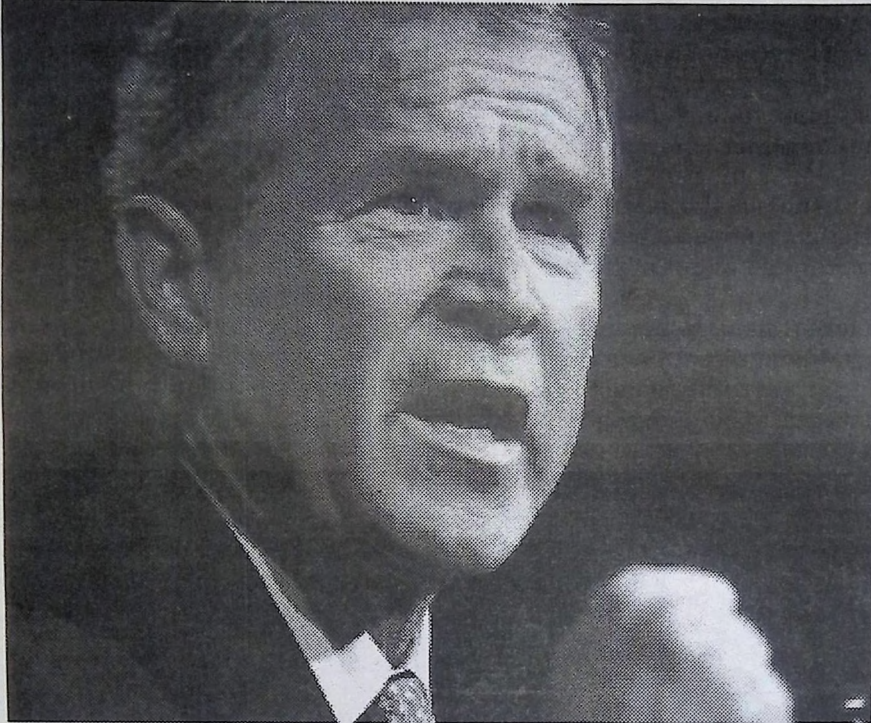
the Uighurs and other Muslim peoples.

This month the US government placed the East Turkestan Islamic Movement, a pro-independence Uighur organisation, on its "Foreign Terrorist Organisation List".

The Asia Times reports this has "opened the floodgates of Chinese persecution against the Uighur people".

All five permanent members of the Security Council have international oil companies with major stakes in a change of leadership in Baghdad.

These interests are jockeying for a stake in the country's huge reserves of 112 billion barrels of crude oil, the largest in the world outside Saudi Arabia.



The record on chemical weapons

DURING THE Vietnam War the US dropped 17 million gallons of defoliant. The Agent Orange defoliant contained one of the most toxic substances known to humanity, dioxin.

It caused massive deformities in children long after the US left Vietnam. The US also dropped napalm on Vietnamese villages.

The US experimented with napalm to ensure it clung to human flesh and couldn't be washed off.

The US World Trade Journal reported in 1966, "Today when the American troops enter the villages of South Vietnam they make it a habit to throw gas grenades into the shelters.

"Obviously there are some innocent victims."

Britain used mustard gas and white phosphorus incendiaries in the First World War, along with Germany and France.

Israel used phosphorus bombs during its invasion of the Lebanon

in 1982 in which 12,000 Lebanese civilians were killed. "Dr Shamaa found that two five day old twins had already died but they were still on fire," reported journalist Robert Fisk.

"I had to take the babies and put them in buckets of water to put out the flames," she said.

"When I took them out half an hour later they were still burning."

Poison

Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein felt he could easily get away with using poison gas against Iranian troops and Kurdish civilians during his eight-year war with Iran that started in 1980.

There was no outcry from Western governments. US military observers on the ground at the time knew exactly what was happening, and approved of it.

There's no war on famine

A UN World Food Programme report said this week that 14.5 million people across southern Africa face starvation and famine.

The famine doesn't just affect Zimbabwe, which the British media concentrated on as part of its support for rich white farmers against Mugabe's government. It also hits Zambia, Malawi and Mozambique.

All of these countries are pro-Western states. "It's a crisis of incredible proportions," says food programme director James Morris.

The food programme says it has not received more than a third of the \$500 million it has asked for from Western governments to begin dealing with the growing crisis.

Those same governments will instantly pour billions into war

War plan from two years ago

A SECRET blueprint for US global domination reveals that Bush and his key advisers were planning war on Iraq to secure "regime change" even before he took office in January 2001.

It talks of a war against Iraq as the "immediate justification"

for wider US aims to dominate the Middle East.

The war plan was produced in September 2000 by the right wing US think-tank Project for the New American Century.

Its authors were Dick Cheney (now US vice-president), Donald Rumsfeld (now defence secretary), Paul Wolfowitz (now

Oil, blood and the West's imperialism

The US war threat is the latest in a long line of interventions in the region. In the 19th century the world's then dominant powers, Britain and France, used military power to take over parts of the Middle East, and to install compliant regimes in other areas.

Britain was then mainly interested in the area as a staging post on routes to its empire further east. That is one reason why it seized Egypt in 1882. Until the First World War, however, the rest of the Middle East remained outside direct control by the Western powers.

The areas that now make up Iraq, most of Saudi Arabia, Syria, Jordan and Palestine remained under the control of the Ottoman Empire, centred in Turkey.

With the end of the First World War that empire disintegrated, and Britain and France carved the region up between them.

By the 1920s the sheer extent of the oil reserves across the Middle East was clearer—and oil was becoming the key commodity for global capitalism. Britain's foreign secretary, Lord Curzon, said that "the allies floated to victory on a wave of oil" in the First World War.

Today the region is the source of half the world's proven oil reserves outside the former USSR.

Saudi Arabia alone possesses a quarter of the world's reserves. The control of oil drives all the Western powers' interventions in the Middle East.

The 1991 Gulf War, we were told, was about "poor little Kuwait". A top US general let the truth out when he admitted at the time, "If Kuwait grew carrots we wouldn't give a damn."

This was an admission of something that has long been the reality. In the 1950s Britain's foreign secretary, Selwyn Lloyd, put the argument with brutal simplicity: "At all costs these oilfields must be kept in Western hands. We need, when things go wrong, to ruthlessly intervene."

The US replaced Britain and France as the dominant power in the Middle East after the Second World War. It has pursued a twin-track strategy to secure control of the Middle East and its oil.

It has propped up brutal dictatorships from Saudi Arabia to Egypt and for many years

Saddam Hussein in Iraq too, without a care about human rights or democracy.

But the US always fears that popular resentment in the Arab countries could erupt and push Arab rulers to challenge its interests, or that revolution could topple pro-Western rulers.

Such fears have been underlined when, for a time in the 1950s and 1960s, Egypt's president Nasser challenged the West, and when revolution toppled a key US ally, the Shah of Iran, in 1979.

So the US has had another strand to its strategy. This is backing Israel, a reliable ally which would act as a "watch-dog" in the region.

Israel was crucial to breaking the challenge posed to Western interests by Egypt's Nasser, and remains vital to US interests today.

Dependent

This is why Israel is by far the biggest recipient of US aid, economically and militarily, in the world.

Today the US is becoming more, not less, dependent on Middle East oil, with US domestic oil reserves set to decline sharply in the years ahead.

US rulers want to secure control of other areas of the world where there are significant oil reserves.

But the Middle East will remain the linchpin of the oil supplies that US capitalism depends on for the foreseeable future.

US rulers are increasingly nervous about the stability and reliability of Saudi Arabia, the key oil supplier in the region, and also want secure control of Iraq's massive oil supplies.

The US ruling class, especially the gang around George Bush, have additional motives for war.

They fear that unless they back up their talk of "regime change" and removing Saddam Hussein with action, it will undermine US power globally.

It is not "anti-American" to oppose Bush's war plans, as the many ordinary people in the US who oppose the war drive would testify.

The war is about the US ruling class securing its economic, political and military power in the Middle East and globally. It is about US imperialism.

Rumsfeld's deputy), Jeb Bush (George Bush's younger brother) and Lewis Libby (Cheney's chief of staff).

It says, "The United States has for decades sought to play a more permanent role in the Gulf."

"While the unresolved conflict with Iraq provides the

immediate justification, the need for a substantial American force presence in the Gulf transcends the issue of the regime of Saddam Hussein."

The report continues "Even should Saddam pass from the scene" following a US war, "Iran may well prove as large a threat to US interests as Iraq."



news of the world

Israel steps up war on the Palestinians

ISRAEL used the excuse of the build up to Bush's war in Iraq to destroy the Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat's compound.

In the largely demolished compound, Israeli threatened several times over loudspeakers to blow up the building where Arafat is holed up—the only one left standing—unless wanted men inside surrendered.

In one more insult as bulldozers destroyed buildings, an Israeli flag was planted on Arafat's office building.

The Israelis declared a curfew, but thousands defied to take to the streets.

In Ramallah, just a few miles from Arafat's compound, troops fired tear gas and live bullets. At least two protesters were killed by army fire.

Two more people were killed in the towns of Tulkarim and Nablus. In the town of Rafah in the Gaza Strip, about 5,000 people joined the protests.

This shows up all the talk of Iraq "flouting" of UN resolutions. Israel, is the US's key ally in the oil-rich

Middle East.

Israel has ridden roughshod over UN resolutions since its creation in 1948.

The UN passed a partition plan for Palestine in 1947. It gave 55 percent of Palestine to Israeli settlers, who were only 30 percent of the population.

This was not enough for the Israelis. Armed militias ethnically cleansed 750,000 Palestinians from their homes in 1948. Israel grabbed 77 percent of Palestine.

The UN general assembly passed Resolution 194 in response. It calls for the Palestinians to be allowed to return to their homes.

This resolution has been reaffirmed at least 28 times since 1948. Israel has ignored it every time.

■ Israel invaded and took over the West Bank and Gaza Strip in 1967.

The UN Security Council unanimously passed Resolution 242 in response. This called for "withdrawal of Israeli armed forces from territories occupied in the recent conflict".

Israeli troops are still occupying the West Bank and Gaza Strip 35 years

later.

The UN Security Council passed Resolution 338 in 1973 calling for the implementation of Resolution 242.

After the outbreak of the second Palestinian intifada, or uprising, in September 2000 the UN Security Council again reaffirmed both Resolutions 242 and 338.

These resolutions are both fully binding, and can be enforced by sanctions and military action.

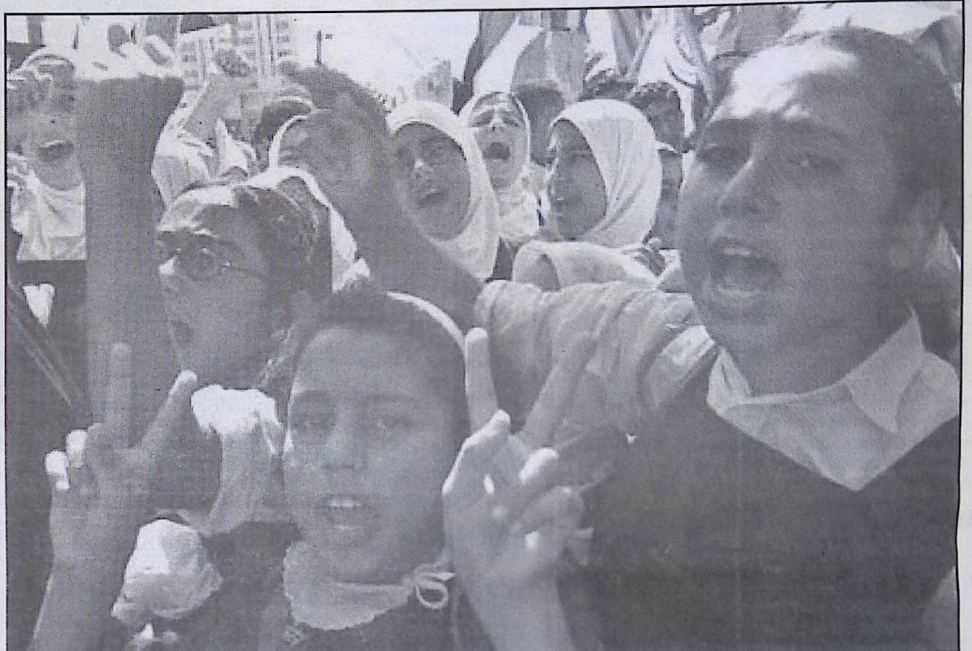
■ Between 1955 and 1992 there were, in all, 65 UN Security Council resolutions passed against Israel.

All of them were ignored.

This pattern continues today. ■ Israel this year invaded the Palestinian refugee camp of Jenin and Palestinian cities that were supposed to be Palestinian-controlled under the peace process.

The UN Security Council passed resolutions calling for an immediate withdrawal of Israeli troops. Israel did not withdraw.

The UN Security Council passed a resolution in April to send a UN fact-finding mission into Jenin to discover whether the



Thousands of Palestinians defy curfew to oppose Israeli attacks

Israelis had massacred people there.

Israel refused to allow a UN group into the camp. Despite its flouting of

UN decisions and international law there has been no military or economic action threatened against Israel.

This has allowed Israel's

leaders, including the current headline prime minister Ariel Sharon, to tighten the noose around the neck of the Palestinians.

The US's war on terror and its backing for Sharon are threatening another catastrophe for the Palestinian people.

Germany

Anti-war message boosts Schroeder

BY OPPOSING George Bush's war drive in the run-up to Germany's general election, German Social Democrat leader Gerhard Schroeder looked set to win the election as Socialist Worker went to press.

His SPD party had been behind the Christian Democrats throughout this year, by up to 9 percent.

But over the last month Schroeder has come out

sharply against the war, putting it at the centre of the election campaign.

He has repeatedly said Germany will not back US action against Iraq, even if Bush can cajole other states such as Russia, China and France into going along with it.

That anti-war stance has increased support for the SPD. Up to 80 percent of people in Germany are opposed to a war on Iraq,

according to the polls.

SPD activists report that Schroeder's words against war have won back voters who elected him four years ago, but who are bitterly disillusioned at his pro-business policies.

Four million people in Germany are unemployed.

The late surge in support for the SPD has thrown the right wing candidate Stoiber into panic.

He is the most right wing candidate for chancellor for over two decades.

At the beginning of the election campaign two months ago Stoiber worked hard to play down his right wing image.

Both he and Schroeder

tried to occupy the centre ground with bland slogans and a near consensus over working with big business.

But later the campaign become sharper. Schroeder has inched to the left.

For example, he scrapped tax cuts to pay victims of

recent floods.

Stoiber has swung sharply to the right in the last few days of the campaign.

When he spoke in the German parliament and at a rally in Cologne before the election he laid into immigrants.

In words that were a chill-

ing echo of the 1930s he linked immigration and unemployment: "Another four years of Schroeder would mean more immigration—more immigration to Germany that is irresponsible in a country with four million unemployed."

Discontent is growing

WHOEVER wins the election will face a deepening left wing mood in Germany.

That mood was shown by a 30,000-strong demonstration in Cologne. People marched over a range of issues—from opposition to the war to unemployment.

They were united by the call for "another politics" to the left of the mainstream parties.

Many said they would reluctantly vote for the SPD or the Greens purely to keep Stoiber out.

Peter Stahl, a teacher from Cologne, told *Socialist Worker*, "I have voted

SPD all my life, but this time it's difficult.

"The government has taken us into two wars, has allowed unemployment to go back up over four million, and has abandoned what the left stands for.

"Now Schroeder says he is against the war.

"That is the only reason I can think of to vote for him.

"But he had better keep his promise or there will be hell to pay."

Promise

Members of IG Metall and Verdi, the two biggest unions in Germany, told

Socialist Worker how they had no enthusiasm for Schroeder.

Walter Ruemlin, an apprentice from Dortmund said, "This is not like 1998.

"If Schroeder wins this time then there will be a big sigh of relief, not celebrations.

"Then people will want an answer to unemployment and privatisation.

"And they will want us firmly kept out of whatever that madman Bush does."

Schroeder, however, remains committed to policies that have created bitterness over the last four years.

ACROSS Europe Social Democratic parties have been suffering the consequences of accepting the neo-liberal agenda.

All the candidates for the Labour leadership, Brendan Howlin, Eamonn Gilmore, Pat Rabbitte and Roisin Shortall, have all been members of coalition governments with either Fine Gael or Fianna Fail.

None of them in any way wants to challenge the Blairite-style pro neo-liberal social democracy that has been the theme of Ruairi Quinn's leadership.

Despite the lack of an alternative vision, the very fact that they performed so poorly at the last election, at a time when the electorate

was moving leftward, forced Labour to do some soul-searching.

Some of the candidates openly admit that they lost out to Sinn Féin and the Greens, as those parties were seen as standing for radical change.

This hasn't led to the conclusion that Labour should develop a set of radical politics of its own, but, rather that they just need to find a new way of getting their message across.

The official line is that "Labour is a party of government, not a party of protest" and that means towing the line on most of the elements of the neo-liberal programme.

Not so much changing the system as putting a human face on it.

Pat Rabbitte and Eamonn Gilmore, having seen the

writing on the wall, have pledged not to enter coalition government with Fianna Fail.

But this only means that Labour would now be the most likely way of rescuing Fine Gael.

Union

Does it matter what direction Labour goes in? Labour has developed in tandem with the trade union movement. For example, both Pat Rabbitte and Eamonn Gilmore are former union officials.

This is not just a coincidental relationship. The union bureaucracy almost automatically calls for a vote for Labour at election time and this in turn gives Labour some small degree of influence over the trade union movement and the working

class. However, the Irish Labour Party in the last ten years has gone into coalition with the very Fianna Fail party it accused of monumental corruption.

It also propped up the Fine Gael government that presided over the Blood Transfusion Board scandal and introduced a tax amnesty that allowed the Irish rich to get away with fraud.

This means, there needs to be an alternative built to Labour. The members of the Labour Party are getting the chance to vote for who will take them into the next coalition government.

It seems more likely that any remaining socialists in then party will vote with their feet and leave Labour. The need for a fighting alternative to Labour has never been more urgent.

Amis: 'Stalin was a tyrant', shock!

There's nothing the corporate press like better than two writers having a grudge match in public. But the war of words between Martin Amis and Christopher Hitchens surrounding the release of Amis' *Koba the Dread* is more than just a storm in a teacup.

The subject of the book is Stalin, socialism and the possibility of social change. Amis argues that the reality of Stalin's crimes has been largely ignored, especially by the left. His book is based almost entirely on the work of Richard Pipes and Robert Conquest, two rabid anti-Communists who worked for Reagan and Thatcher respectively.

Amis wants to close the door on the entire project to fundamentally change the world by revolutionary means. He denounces the revolts of 1968 and after for being "revolution as play".

That is hardly a fitting description for the biggest general strike in history in France, for the movement that swept the US black ghettos, for the demonstrations and resistance that helped to end the Vietnam War, and for the toppling of dictatorships in Portugal and Greece.

Now the memory of the horrors of the gulag do need to be kept alive but Amis is cavalier with facts and dates in his book.

The tradition that *Socialist Worker* stands in always strongly rejected the idea that Stalin's Russia was any sort of socialist society. For us Stalin was the gravedigger of the revolution. He was the leader of a bureaucracy which climbed to power after the defeat that followed the revolution's failure to spread beyond Russia.

Under Stalin, Russia was a state capitalist society where the bureaucracy acted in accordance with the same dynamic of accumulation as the private owners of Western capital.

Collapse

The collapse of the USSR enabled historians to examine secret police files for the first time. Historians found plenty of evidence of murder on a terrifying scale. Perhaps the toll was as much as two million deaths over a 25-year period. The famine that was the result of collectivisation in the Ukraine and Kazakhstan led to as many as five million further deaths. But the cumulative death total, however shocking, is a long way short of the 20 million that Amis quotes.

More importantly, there is an immense difference between the scale of repression during the years immediately after the revolution in 1917 and the period of Stalin's rule.

In 1921 the total number of executions was 3 percent of the number in 1937. There were 100 times as many people in the camps in 1936 as before 1928-9, the year when Stalin consolidated his rule. The level of repression immediately after the revolution was much lower than in the US today. This was during a time when the revolution was fighting for its life against internal opponents backed by armies from 14 different countries.

During Lenin and Trotsky's time there was democracy in the Bolshevik Party and the workers' councils (soviets) and women won the right to divorce and abortion. The ultimate aim of everything was international revolution. But under Stalin all democracy was smashed, women's rights disappeared, Great Russian nationalism rode triumphant over the minorities, workers were stripped of all power and the ultimate aim of everything was "socialism in one country"—building up the Russian state.

Amis sees continuity between these two eras. In truth there was a total gulf. Amis talks about a "collapse in the value of human life" after the Russian Revolution. He should look at the history of imperialism, of what the European powers did to Africans and Asians.

Reality

Amis also leaves out the reality that it was the left who first unmasked the real nature of Stalinism. Marxists such as Trotsky, Boris Souvarine, Victor Serge, C L R James and Tony Cliff denounced Stalin when he was tolerated or feted by much of conventional opinion.

Amis equates Stalin with Hitler. Certainly both were murderous opponents of genuine socialism. But there were still important differences between them. Stalin's barbarism was a result of his determination to industrialise Russia through the bloody methods used to carry the industrial revolution through in countries like Britain.

Stalin's barbarism against the minorities was not genocide in the Nazi sense of the killing of a whole people because of their alleged ethnic characteristics. Hitler did not merely build labour camps like Stalin's in which large numbers died. Hitler built death factories.

Amis might have made a better job of Koba if he had known what sort of book he was trying to write. For all his pleas on behalf of the memory of the "Twenty Million", it is Amis who has made them a sideshow by mixing their history into a book that seems to have more to do with his relationship with his dead father, Kingsley and with his friend, Christopher Hitchens.

Against Amis we argue that revolution, far from inevitably leading to tyranny, is a process that can bring about the end of suffering and the liberation of humanity.

by PAUL McCARTHY

Bacardi leaves a bad taste

Bacardi is one of the most instantly recognisable brands in the world, but behind the sleek image lies a sinister side to this multinational.

Hernando Calvo Ospina, a Colombian investigative journalist, demonstrates in his new book *Bacardi: The Hidden War* that Bacardi has prosecuted a clandestine war against Cuba in an effort to destabilise the Castro government.

In 1959 Fidel Castro's 26 July Movement seized power in Cuba as the dictatorship of Batista crumbled.

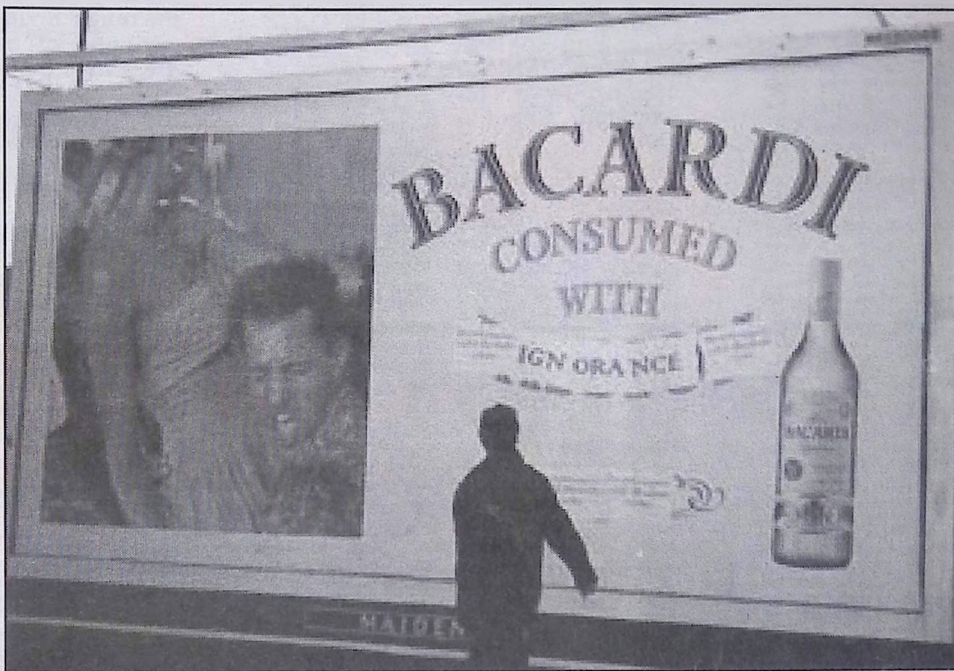
This was a movement for national liberation based on overthrowing the dominance of foreign capital, principally that of the US.

Favour

Bacardi initially supported the Cuban Revolution on the basis that Castro would favour it over foreign competitors and bring stability.

It even draped a huge banner from the Bacardi building thanking the revolutionaries.

It quickly moved into opposition following



BACARDI — there's latin blood in every one

the nationalisation of the company and fled Cuba, taking the brand name.

The company has close ties with far right emigre groupings based in the US.

Jose Pepin Bosch, the former director of Bacardi, is directly implicated in plans to carry out terrorist attacks inside Cuba, including an attempt to blow up the country's oil refineries.

The Cuban American National Foundation (CANF) was founded in 1981.

A number of Bacardi's directors and leading shareholders have played, and continue to play, a significant role in this organisation.

CANF, among other covert activities, was heavily involved in Reagan and the Contras' dirty war against the Sandinistas in

Nicaragua in the 1980s.

The end of the Cold War gave added impetus to Cuban emigre groups to redouble their efforts.

Transition

Ernesto Betancourt, ex-director of Radio Marti (set up by CANF to broadcast opposition to Castro), describes how CANF has already drawn up

plans following "the transition" to sell off 60 percent of the land and other assets.

Bacardi has been the driving force behind the Helms-Burton agreement, named after two right wing Republican politicians.

This legislation maintains the US embargo of Cuba despite the fact that significant sections of US capital are clamouring to normalise relations.

"Whether Mr Castro leaves in a vertical or a horizontal position doesn't matter to me, but he will leave Cuba," says Jesse Helms.

At the same time Bacardi has invoked "special interest" legislation against its European competitor Pernod-Ricard, which promotes Cuban-based Havana Club Rum.

Unfortunately Ospina paints the Cuba of Castro in a rose-tinted light, ignoring the contradictions in a society that calls itself socialist and yet has massive inequalities.

Nevertheless this book successfully exposes the machinations of one of the world's major multinational companies.

Bacardi: The Hidden War by Hernando Calvo Ospina can be ordered from **SW Books, PO Box 1648 Dublin 8**

play

Taking theatre to the streets

Spacecraft Theatre Company are staging a production of Dario Fo's *Accidental Death of an Anarchist* as part of the Dublin Fringe Festival.

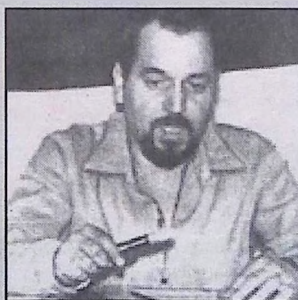
The play was written about the death of an activist in Italy who was falsely arrested for a bombing and "jumped" from a police station window.

In recent years the play was re-staged as a satire on similar deaths of activists in custody in apartheid South Africa. *Socialist Worker* spoke to Anne Marie of Spacecraft about their production of Fo's play.

Was there a particular reason you decided to stage this play now?

Absolutely, what with the arrests and beatings of activists at the Burlington, and at Reclaim the Streets, then you have the McBready affair and the Frank Short case in Donegal, we thought it was the perfect time to have a satirical pop at the Gardai.

Is the play also a comment on the media's portrayal of protesters?



Guiseppe Pinelli, whose death in police custody inspired the play

for anyone who runs into the law as a result of trying to change things.

One of the things we wanted to satirise in our production was the corruption scandals.

The treatment of those guys compared to the treatment of protesters tells you everything about justice.

What role can theatre play in the anti-capitalist movement?

That's a tricky one. I wouldn't like it to just become seen as agit-prop theatre, but definitely we're in favour of taking theatre to the streets and making it accessible to all.

There's always been a good tradition of people using the safety of the stage to satirise and to make points they can't always make elsewhere.

When you say "theatre" to lots of people they automatically think of middle class elitists paying €40 or €50 to see a play. Our show is only €6 int

Accidental Death of an Anarchist runs at The International Bar, Wicklow St. until Monday 30th September.

What does this play have to say about justice?

That there is none!

That justice is there for those who can afford to buy it, but not



**where
we
stand**

The present system has led to huge inequalities of wealth. The greed for profit 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

That cannot be done on a gradual piecemeal basis. Socialists can use parliament to expose this system but fundamental social change will not come through parliament.

The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy. They all ensure there is one law for the rich and another for the rest.

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. We oppose this war and see imperialism as the greatest enemy of peace.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression. This divides and weakens 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.

FOR AN END TO RACISM

We fight to end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry. We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.

Asylum seekers and refugees should have full rights of citizenship, including the right to work. We oppose deportations.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH

The Good Friday Agreement brought an end to armed struggle but it also institutionalised sectarianism by setting Catholic and Protestant communities in competition with each other for under-resourced services.

The communal politicians from Sinn Féin to the DUP push policies of privatisation—while building a political base from the competition between 'both communities'.

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!

OUR WORLD IS NOT FOR SALE

We oppose the sell-offs of public services to private interests. We fight for direct labour. We want property-funded, publicly run services democratically controlled from below. We participate in the wider anti-capitalist movement.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. We oppose Social Partnership agreements which restrict wages while letting profits thrive. We fight for 100 percent trade unionism, free collective bargaining and fighting trade unions controlled by the rank and file.

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party. This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system. The SWP aims to build such a party here. We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc.

Sinn Féin calling for clamp down on dissidents

NOT ONLY are Sinn Féin moving ever closer to joining the Northern Ireland Policing Board, but they have recently been leading the charge in calling for the renamed PSNI to clamp down on dissident Republicans.

Split

"The PSNI is giving dissident Republicans a free hand in order to split the Republican movement" according to Sinn Féin assembly member Mick Murphy. "There is a lot of dissident activity, but the PSNI has done nothing about it"

Sinn Féin councillor Francis McDowell went one step further and complained, "The PSNI could wipe them [the Real IRA] out overnight if they wanted to. They know who they all are but continue to work to their own agenda."

The last time the police and the Northern Ireland state decided to "wipe out" Republicans, they launched a ruthless campaign that included collusion in the killing and maiming of innocent men, women and kids, the murder of solicitors, imprisonment without trial, wrongful convictions and the deaths of ten hunger strikers to name but a few tactics.

I oppose the dissident republicans but just what sort of campaign are Sinn Féin representatives calling for?

Finian - Belfast

Ahern more right wing than Berlusconi

ONE OF the more outrageous Fianna Fail moves of recent years was to sign a deportation treaty with Nigeria, claiming it is a safe place to kick people back to.

They decided this even though a harsh type of Islamic Law, called Sharia Law was introduced. It is brutal, seeing women who commit adultery sentenced to death by stoning.

A Nigerian woman who was sentenced to death in this manner has

BUSH AND Blair must have been apoplectic with rage when they read – assuming of course that Dubya actually can read – the report on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction (WMD's) issued by the International Institute of Strategic Studies.

After all, this was the document on which the gruesome twosome seemed to be pinning their hopes for 'proof' that Saddam Hussein has been squirreling away atomic bombs over the past 4 years. Alas, the proof was not forthcoming.

The IISS was founded in

1958 and is widely believed to be a CIA front group, headquartered in Arundel House.

Shortly after HQ was acquired, the new owners carried out an eight million pounds 'refurbishment' - expensive wallpaper, that – on their new stately home.

Donation

The huge cost was mitigated somewhat by a one million pound donation from the Hollinger Group, the media conglomerate owned by Canadian billionaire Conrad Black, and responsible for the *Daily Telegraph*.

The decorating bills were also alleviated by gifts totalling in excess of half a million quid from the governments of Japan and Taiwan and the British Foreign office.

recently been given full Italian citizenship.

The Department of Justice aren't that generous, continuing to deport people back to possible execution.

The first action of the new minister was to order a sweep of thousands of suspected so-called illegal

immigrants.

They deported four people as a result of operation hyphen.

They are to the right of an Italian government containing the fascist AN and racist Liga de Norda. That takes some doing.

Mary, Dublin

Obituary Duncan Hallas, 1925 - 2002

SOCIALIST WORKERS Party members and supporters were saddened by news of the death of Duncan Hallas this month.

Duncan Hallas was a lifelong socialist and one of the founders of the International Socialist Tendency – the international grouping of socialist organisations, which include the SWP-Ireland.

As a young engineering apprentice in Manchester, Duncan joined the Young Communist League. Soon he became aware of the Trotskyist opposition to Stalinism and joined up with others in the movement.

He was conscripted into the British army in the Second World War and by the end of the war was in the Middle East. Despite the defeat of the Axis Powers, the British government was maintaining large numbers of conscripts overseas in the

hope of maintaining as much of the British Empire as possible. Duncan was involved in a mutiny, one of several not widely reported at the time, to demand demobilisation.

Back in Britain he supported Tony Cliff who was developing the theory of state capitalism. This held that Russia and the newly formed empire of satellite states were not workers' states or any way socialist but state capitalist. It was necessary for workers to overthrow capitalism East and West.

Duncan was a member of the leadership of the International Socialists and later the Socialist Workers Party in Britain from the late 1960s to the mid 1990s. He edited *International Socialism* during the 1970s, and was the author of numerous articles and pamphlets, and of two books, *Trotsky's Marxism* (1979) and *The Comintern* (1985).

Duncan was a frequent visitor to Ireland during the seventies, eighties and early nineties. He spoke at public meetings and attended many of our annual conferences.

Throughout his life Duncan read voraciously yet despite his erudition he was personally modest. He had the ability to explain complicated questions on for example Marxist economics or historical materialism in a straightforward way which excited a thirst for knowledge.

He particularly enjoyed discussing with comrades informally. In this way many of today's socialists learnt a great deal of our political history, theory and practise through him.

Declining health towards the end of his life forced him from active politics, but he always welcomed the visits of comrades and was keen to discuss current events and hear the latest news of the movement.

Duncan Hallas will be sadly missed but his legacy is in the movement he contributed to building. Those of us who lucky enough to have known him are very much richer for it.

Kevin Wingfield

NON-REPORT ON IRAQ

All this from an organisation which claims in to have no Government backing.

As for the report itself, well it certainly is damning, but, unfortunately for the doyens of American Imperialism and its British satellite, not in a way which they would have expected.

Far from pointing to a huge store of atom bombs and warheads, the report states clearly that Iraq does not possess nuclear weapons and that "the realistic chances of acquiring,

let alone delivering, a nuclear weapon without 'substantial' outside help, is years away."

This non-report on Iraq actually adds fuel to the arguments of those of us who oppose these well planned, mass murderous attacks on an innocent people, a people already devastated by the ravages of US sanctions and bombing over the past ten years.

Charlie, Belfast

Diary Upcoming events

Anti-War Public Meeting

Stop Bush and Blair's Drive to War
Thursday 26th September @ 7pm
Peter Froggatt Centre, Queens University
Speakers from Anti-War Movement, Trade Union Movement, and local activists.

For details of public meeting or other anti-war activities Phone 07974632385 or 07900353816 for details

Ireland-Palestine Solidarity Group

Meets every 2nd Wednesday in an Chulturlann, Falls Road
Phone 07974632385 for details

ANTI-WAR PICKET

The US ambassador to Ireland, Richard Egan, speaking in UCC on Thursday 26 September.

Alliance Against Nice

public meeting. 8pm Thurs 26 Sept, The Granville Hotel, Waterford. Speakers from SWP, WP, Greens.

Shelley lives

A reading of the revolutionary poetry and prose of Percy Shelley.

Wednesday October 2nd, Grafton Street Dublin

West Belfast

Socialist Forum
Thurs 3 October 2002 @ 7.30pm in an Chulturlann, Falls Road
"Columbia - The Brutal Reality of US Imperialism"
Phone 07719632264

Film screening

"Eyewitness Bethlehem" 8pm Sun 29 Sept. IFC, Temple Bar, Dublin.

"Reclaim the old head"

mass trespass and picnic on the Old Head of Kinsale. contact 086 3274015.

Friday 4th October:

Day of action in support of Irish Glass Bottle and Peerless Rugs.

"Shut down Shannon war-port"

demonstration Sat 12 Oct. Buses from Dublin, Cork.

European Social Forum, 7 - 10 Nov

Marxism 2002, Ireland biggest socialist conference 22-23-24 Nov. Contact 01-8722682

Socialist Worker

inside

Stop Bush's war in Iraq page 6-7

VOTE NO TO NICE page 3

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

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

€1.00 / £0.70p

Solidarity price €2.00

ALL OUT ON OCTOBER 4TH

'I welcome the Day of Action called by SIPTU for October 4 to demand greatly improved statutory redundancy payments. I have been campaigning for a minimum rate of three and a half weeks per year of service.

'No longer can redundant workers, like those at Irish Glass Bottle and Peerless Rugs be dumped with as little as a half week's pay per year of service.'

■ DES DERWIN,
SIPTU

'This is a great initiative. We really need it and we will be participating in the marches and demonstrations on the day.

'If the trade unions do it right this could be a very important event but we need people to be properly organised to come out.

'We've had a long fight but if employees don't stand up there will be nothing left for workers in this country'

■ ESTHER,
PEERLESS RUGS
STRIKE COMMITTEE

TIME TO PUT SOME MANNERS ON THE BOSSES

'The treatment of IGB workers is one of the reasons why people should come out on the 4th to protest. 'With the economy getting worse, large numbers of workers will be in the same position as us.'

■ DAVE,
IRISH GLASS
BOTTLES WORKER.

'October 4 is not just about the IGB and Peerless Rugs, it's about the broader issue of the redundancy act.

'Everything is made easy for the bosses in this country.

'They are paying lower tax rates than fast food workers and it is the easiest country to leave.

'In Waterford, the trades council is urging workers to attend the protest.

'This means clocking out and leaving the job. If the bosses try to harass anyone, well... let them try it and we'll come after them on every other issue.'

■ DICK ROCHE,
PRESIDENT
WATERFORD TRADES
COUNCIL

THE OCTOBER 4th action on redundancies is chance to stop the government in its tracks.

Workers have delivered huge profits for low levels of pay. Now trade unionists are increasingly unwilling to allow companies who have benefited massively from tax scams and a ridiculously low corporation tax rate to just up and leave without adequately compensating their workforce.

IBEC who say their members can't spend any more money on

redundancies are quite able to spend over €500,000 on campaigning for a Yes vote for the Nice treaty.

Slashed

The government has already pushed through over €300 million worth of cuts. And a secret plan of cuts written by Fianna Fail before the election means €900 million will be slashed from the public service.

But there is one section of the population not affected by the

cuts. The same business leaders who talk of tightening our belts won't feel cuts in health and education. They got what they paid for when they funded Fianna Fail's lying election campaign.

They have their own health system, their private schools.

They don't need public transport.

One simple way of avoiding the cuts is to stop the planned reduction of tax on profits to 12.5 percent. Another is to take the £400 million in the Ans-

bacher accounts.

We've been hit by price rises, ESB and VHI increases, third-level college registration fees, hospital charges and drug costs.

Threat

Across the country workers are under the threat of redundancy.

The government's "solution" is to allow firms to escape even miserly redundancy payments and instead look for more tax breaks to attract new multina-

tionals.

October 4 is our opportunity to start a serious fight back against the government.

We should turn it in a massive stoppage that can really put it up to the government.

The unions should call a 24-hour general strike against the cuts.

We need this type of action to get better redundancy deals

But we also need the unions to go on from this and launch a massive fightback to resist the jobs losses and stop the cuts.