

# Socialist Worker

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*Noam Chomsky speaks  
against the war* —PAGES 6&7

**Eamonn McCann on Northern  
Ireland's declassified secrets**

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**A madman is loose with  
weapons of mass  
destruction set on war:**

**STOP  
BUSH**



**JOIN THE INTERNATIONAL DAY OF PROTEST  
FEBRUARY 15TH — FOR DETAILS TURN TO PAGE 3**

# Cuts for us. Perks for the politicians...

# HEALTH CUTS KILL!

**CHARLIE McCreevy's cuts will mean enormous damage to an already underfunded health service.**

At the same time big business will be bribed with the lowest corporation tax rate in Europe.

Job cuts mean at least 1,650 health service jobs will be axed over the next three years. And Health Boards have been told to cut up to 3,800 "unauthorised" jobs.

Funding cuts mean, for example, that Waterford Regional Hospital will remain without the urgently needed Radiotherapy Unit, requiring ill patients to make long journeys or wait longer for treatment, placing their survival prospects in peril.

Last month the crisis in the North Eastern Health Board area came to a head over the death of a premature baby. Bronagh Livingstone, whose mother was refused admission to Monaghan Hospital and who died during the 30 mile journey to Cavan Hospital.

## Run Down

Until recently Monaghan had Maternity, Obstetrics, Paediatric and Accident and Emergency facilities as well as general surgical and medical departments.

But the North Eastern Health Board systematically ran down the hospital by consistently underfunding.

Peadar McMahon chair of the County Monaghan Community Alliance told *Socialist Worker*, "Monaghan Hospital has been run down over the past few years, starved of investment in staffing and equipment."

A paediatrician was not re-appointed and eventually the maternity department was closed.

As well as this the Accident and Emergency department was shut.

**'There is a crisis in cancer treatment and people are dying because they are not getting treatment early enough.'**

"Ambulance drivers are now under instructions to take emergency patients to other hospitals miles away."

Peadar told *Socialist Worker* of a recent case: A young boy of six years pulled a chip pan of boiling fat onto himself and suffered severe burns to his legs. He was taken by car to Monaghan Hospital. There he received immediate treatment but because of the closure of the Paediatric Department it was not legal to admit to the hospital.

He urgently needed to be admitted to hospital for treatment. But it was a Saturday and no bed could be found for him at Drogheda or any of the Dublin hospitals.

He was given pain killers and sent home. He was without proper care with serious burns and in pain until a bed could be found on the Sunday afternoon.

If the Paediatric Department had been kept open he could have been treated locally and much of the dis-



■ Nurses try to cope in underfunded in the health service

stress this little boy suffered could have been avoided.

In another case a man in his fifties suffered a heart attack in the Monaghan area.

Receiving treatment urgently is crucial to the possibility of surviving a heart attack. An ambulance was called.

*On the way the ambulance passed by Monaghan Hospital and the patient begged the crew to take him there.*

But the ambulance driver was under instruction to take him to Cavan Hospital many miles away.

## Damage

The man suffered another heart attack on the way to Cavan.

The ambulance crew had to call a duty GP to attend and give the man treatment.

Although he survived, the patient will have suffered more damage to his heart and the probability of a shortened life because of the second attack.

Another man in his fifties who suffered a heart attack was taken by car to Monaghan Hospital. On the way he suffered a stroke and brain clot. On arrival at Monaghan hospital the staff treated him.

He fortunately survived and returned to good health but doctors told him another five minutes delay and he would have certainly died. Had he called an ambulance, the lack of an A&E department at Monaghan would have meant the would have been taken to Cavan, and would certainly now be dead.

Peadar commented on the recent budget said, "Budget cuts will certainly mean further reductions in services and longer waiting lists."

Jane Bailey, a nurse who has been fighting for better services for cancer patients told *Socialist Worker*, "One in three people will be diagnosed with cancer. That figure is set to double. But there is nothing like the can-

cer services necessary."

Jane points out that in Ireland just 20 percent of cancer patients have access to radio therapy.

"But international medical opinion state that 60 percent would benefit."

## Day Care

Jane says "There is a serious crisis of cancer treatment in Ireland.

"Waterford Regional Hospital has been designated as a regional centre for cancer treatment. But it has no oncology [cancer] unit.

"The day care unit has facilities for treating eight patients a day but has to deal with 30 to 40.

"We don't have the basic resources to provide the services necessary."

"There is a crisis in cancer treatment and people are dying because they are not getting treatment, screening, radiotherapy and chemotherapy early enough."

# TDs cash in

TDs have seen their combined income from pay and expenses rise by a whopping 162% over the last ten years.

Ministers have enjoyed a 100% pay increase while the Taoiseach benefited from a 125% rise. A massive E8 million was claimed in expenses by our politicians in 2001.

This money could have been put to better use. It would have

- Covered over 2000 first time buyers grants
- Or
- Kept 6500 on CE schemes
- Or
- Trained 235 staff nurses over the last three years

Instead fat cat politicians are creaming off public funds.

Jackie Healy Rae, the Kerry South Independent TD, claimed €71,000 in expenses on top of a €79,000 salary (TD's salaries are over three times the average industrial wage).

Dublin based TD Ben Briscoe got €51,750 in expenses.

On top of this politicians enjoy working conditions that they consistently deny the rest of us. TDs have free parking in Leinster House.

Quite a benefit considering that parking charges in some cities and towns are going to rise by up to 20% in the New Year.

TDs are treated to a three-course meal for just €10 in the Dail restaurant.

Meanwhile VAT increases from the budget will hike up lunch prices for workers.

TDs get €60 every day they show up in the Dail. Wouldn't it be nice if we all got a special bonus just for turning up for work?

While thousands of children attend dilapidated school buildings Minister for Transport Seamus Brennan is spending €160,000 of taxpayers money on refurbishing his offices in Kildare Street.

When the government tells us we can't have pay increases and they cut back on services it's not because there's no money in the country, it's because they are creaming it all off for themselves.

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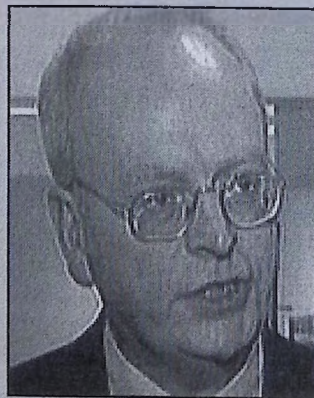
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# McDowell's revenge



Mad Dog McDowell

MAD DOG McDowell, minister for injustice, inequality and legal revenge has taken a series of measures in recent times designed to heighten racial tension and obstruct the work of anti-racist organisations.

65% has been cut from the governments own much-trumpeted NO RACISM programme.

Funds were withdrawn from the Irish Traveller movements Citizen Traveller initiative.

This was after Travellers mounted protests around the country against new laws which gave police extended powers to harass, arrest and imprison travellers.

McDowell, continuing the policy of his predecessor John O Donoghue is

refusing to allow Amnesty International access to Irish prisons.

Amnesty wants to assess the level of racism within the prison system where many immigrants and asylum seekers are incarcerated.

## Poster campaign

The policy puts Ireland in the company of states such as Turkey, China, and Israel.

This follows Amnesty's public taking to task of the coalition governments racism with a hugely successful poster campaign last year.

NGO's who criticise government policy or actively organise campaigns against it will find themselves at the receiving end of the PD jackboot.

# WHIPPING UP RACISM

McDowell has also announced plans for a racist referendum on the issue of citizenship.

McDowell wants to deny the right to Irish citizenship to asylum seekers children born in Ireland.

This is directly in line with the policy of Aine Ni Chonail's tiny far-right organisation the Immigration Control Platform.

Denial of citizenship-is major plank of the policy of Far-right and Nazi organisation across Europe.

McDowell wants to use the referendum to whip up racial tension

and to deflect the anger at job losses and poverty towards those who are least responsible for it, refugees fleeing poverty, famine and war in their own countries.

Should the referendum go ahead socialists will work with anti-racists to build a mass campaign against it.

# USA: The real rogue state

**IRAQ, North Korea and Venezuela—these will be the first flash points for US intervention in 2003.**

The UN arms inspection of

Iraq was only used to give political cover to the US war aims.

Over the next few weeks, Iraqi scientists will be taken out of their country and offered bribes and promises of re-settle-

ment to come up with stories about weapons.

As soon as the slightest pretext is found, Bush will give the order for war. His aim is to take control of the Iraqi oil field and show the US can establish "full spectrum dominance" over the globe.

But just as 2002 was finishing a new front opened up in the new era of permanent global warfare—North Korea.

Suddenly this was hailed as a rogue state that was determined to threaten its neighbours with nuclear weapons.

US Defence Secretary, Donald Rumsfeld even said that the US could go to war at the same time as it was fighting Iraq. "We're capable of winning decisively in one and swiftly defeating in the case of the other."

## Tragic

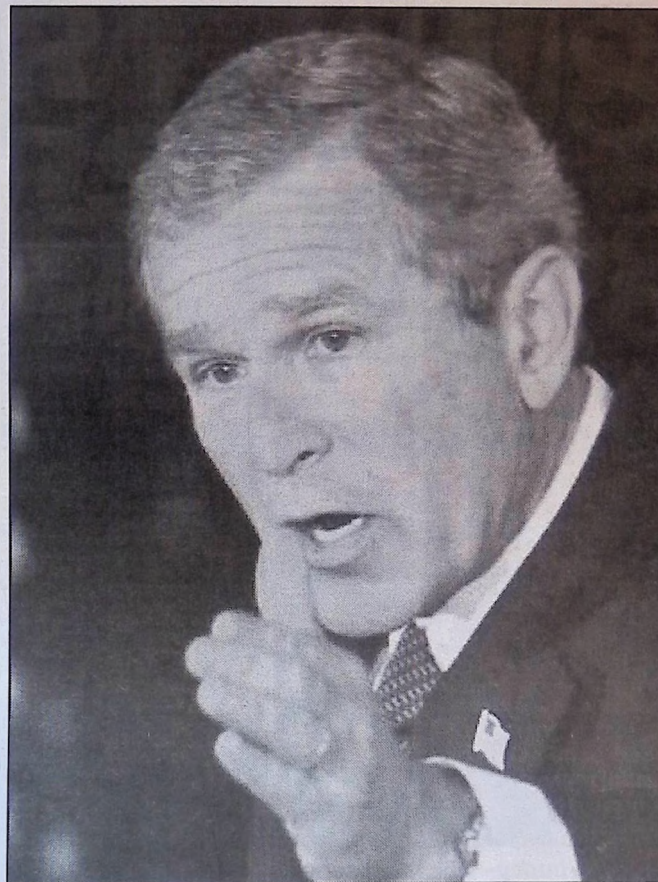
Yet the tragic history of North Korea shows that it has been on the receiving ends of US threats for decades.

In 1950, the US General McArthur sought permission to drop between 30 and 50 atom bombs on North Korea and to lay a belt of radio active cobalt across the Korean peninsula.

A year later a B52 bomber took off on a dummy run for a possible dropping of an atomic bomb on the country. Four years after the Korean War finished the US introduced nuclear missiles into the Demilitarised Zone between North and South Korea. They were not removed until 1991.

The Ministry for Unification in South Korea has stated that the real aim of the North Korea regime is "not to develop a nuclear programme but to seek a breakthrough in relations with the US".

In 1994, the North Korean regime agreed to drop its present nuclear reactor programme in return for interna-



## Bush prepares war

tional support to build a light water reactor and to get full "normalisation" of relations with the US by 2003.

It was precisely because the US has pulled back from this accord that the North Korean regime has engaged in posturing.

## Regime

Bush is using the crisis to further one of his central aims. He wants to make it clear to the US's economic rival, Japan, that they cannot do without the protection of the US military.

He also wants to warn the people of South Korea—who have demonstrated in huge numbers against the US military presence—that they are at the mercy of the US.

Finally, Venezuela. The world's press are claiming that there is a popular general strike taking place against the "dictatorial regime" of Hugo Chávez.

The reality is that Chávez won an election with 53 percent of the vote. Far from a popular strike, there is a lock-out underway by the major oil companies with US backing. This is the second attempt to carry out a Chilean style coup against Chávez in less than a year.

His crime is that he has threatened to use the country's oil reserves for the benefit of his own people.

These flashpoints show the real meaning behind the new Bush doctrine of active intervention. It is a regime of global permanent warfare.

The most dangerous rogue state today with weapons of mass destruction is the US.

## How Rumsfeld armed Saddam

**US Defence Secretary Donald Rumsfeld demands war with Iraq claiming Saddam Hussein has weapons of mass destruction.**

But embarrassing new details of the US's—and particularly Rumsfeld's—role in supplying the Iraqi regime with these weapons has just come to light.

After the revolution that ousted the pro-American regime of the Shah of Iran, the US lost a key client regime and the US encouraged Iraq to take advantage of the confusion to attack Iran.

In 1983 the war was going badly for Iraq. The US government received intelligence reports that Iraq was using chemical weapons on an "almost daily" basis.

Nonetheless President Reagan signed a secret order instructing the administration to ensure Iraq did not lose the war. Reagan sent Rumsfeld as a special Middle East envoy to Saddam Hussein with an offer of US support and restored diplomatic relations.

The *Washington Post* has revealed declassified US government documents which show that while Rumsfeld was hobnobbing with Saddam:

■ US firms supplied Iraq with biological agents, including anthrax and vital ingredients for chemical weapons—with full government approval;

■ A CIA front company in Chile, Cardoen, supplied cluster bombs

■ US intelligence on Iranian troop movements was provided to Saddam's regime despite detailed knowledge of Iraqi use of nerve gas.

If Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, it is because the US supplied them.

## ALL OUT FOR FEBRUARY 15th

**FEBRUARY 15th is the European day of action against war.**

There needs to be huge demonstrations in Dublin and Belfast on that day to show the enormous opposition to war.

Even before this occurs anti-war protestors will be gathering at Shannon on January 18th to highlight the Irish government complicity in Bush's war.

The FF/DPD government have not even bothered to officially inform the Dail that Shannon is being used as a major transit point to move US troops from their home bases to the Middle East.

They have gone along with the

latest US sponsored resolution at the UN to tighten sanctions on Iraq so that much needed food trucks will not be allowed into the country.

To make a big success of these protests we need good organisation—vibrant anti-war groups that are involving scores of people.

In Italy and Britain, the trade union movement has come out clearly against war—and has swelled the ranks anti war demonstrations. The Irish trade union movement needs to be pushed to make a similar commitment.

In the colleges, we need big teach-ins to arm students with the information and arguments to help build the anti-war move-

ment.

Each local area needs functioning anti-war groups that are regularly distributing leaflets, poster-ing and winning support from community organisations.

The central question facing every socialist in 2003 is war, which is an expression of the terrible brutality and insane priorities that spring from capitalism itself.

Just as a great socialists of the past from James Connolly to Rosa Luxemburg were to the fore in fighting war, so too does the same duty fall on socialists today.

We are out for a world that ends war—to get there we start by building the most important mass movement that this country has seen since the sixties.

# DON'T ATTACK IRAQ

## Protest at Shannon

**Saturday January 18th.  
Assemble 2pm Entrance Shannon Airport.**  
(Buses will run from Dublin and other cities.  
Phone 086-3074060 for details)

## National Demonstration (International Day of Protest)

**Saturday February 15th. Assemble at 2pm  
Garden of Remembrance, Parnell Square, Dublin.**

## US MILITARY OUT OF SHANNON

Irish Anti War Movement Tel: 086-3074060 [www.irishantiwar.org](http://www.irishantiwar.org)

**For details of anti war activity in your area contact 087 632 9511 in the South or 07900 353 816 in the North.**

# RELEASED 1972 DOCUMENTS REVEAL:

# CYNICAL, VICIOUS RULERS



■ **Bloody Sunday**— the most sensitive instructions from politicians to army and police chiefs were not committed to paper.

by  
**EAMONN  
McCANN**

ONE important message from the state papers released under the "30-years rule" is that the British government of 1972 had much the same attitude of belligerent contempt towards the Protestants of the North as towards the Catholics.

The notion that Edward Heath and his cabinet were essentially in cahoots with the Unionists in the early 1970s to maintain the Orange State and keep the Catholics down will not survive a reading of the material now put into the public domain.

There's probably more we still don't know. Particular documents will have been held back as too "sensitive" for public eyes even after the statutory period.

Some are kept under a "75-years rule". Others will have been deliberately destroyed.

And we have the word of former Prime Minister Lord Callaghan— explaining why no cabinet shoot-to-kill decision on Bloody Sunday could come to light—that the most sensitive instructions from politicians to army and police chiefs won't have been committed to paper in the first

place.

What we can say is that the slew of material released on New Year's day demonstrates a vicious, cynical, unprincipled approach of the British ruling class which has been the main factor in maintaining the sectarian division and fuelling the violence which lasted at least a quarter of a century thereafter and which still hasn't entirely gone away.

The revelation which attracted most surprise and publicity was the "doomsday" plan, floated by the cabinet secretariat in mid-1972, for a massive transfer of populations and a redrawing of the boundary so as to create a small all-Protestant State around Belfast, with Tyrone, Fermanagh, Derry city and parts of Armagh handed over to the South.

This is such a bizarre idea that it has, rightly, been laughed to scorn.

The idea of herding the sturdy Protestant farmers of Fermanagh against their will into tractors for the trek to their new homes in terrace houses on the lower Falls while simultaneously rounding up the Catholics of west Belfast for transportation to now-under populated acres around Brookborough and Lisnaskea is the stuff of black farce, not practical politics.

What it indicates is that

Northern Ireland hadn't been the subject of serious thought at the cabinet office, the Home Office, the Ministry of Defence, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office etc. since the partition settlement of 1922.

The sectarian slum across the water had been left to seethe and fester.

## Eruption

Now that the late sixties eruption of the civil rights movement and the bigoted and brutal response of the Stormont regime had forced the issue back onto the agenda, the British administrative elite brought 1922 thinking to bear on the subject.

Redraw the frontier—it was an artificial line across the map anyway, like the line the same elements had drawn in the desert in the same year to mark the boundaries of Kuwait, Iraq, Saudi Arabia.

Uproot and shift the native populations around, so that their respective tribal elders could keep them in check without too-abrasive contact with rival neighbouring populations.

Such ideas will have come naturally to the British colonialist mind.

(The fact that the project was unfeasible in relation to Northern Ireland doesn't mean that its designers weren't serious at some level. It was in 1972 that British politicians,

civil servants and military chiefs designed a plan to cleanse the entire population of the "Oil Islands" around Diego Garcia in the Indian Ocean so as to hand the empty acreage over to the US for a military base. Diego Garcia being somewhat more remote than Derry, this plan was implemented, and the people literally dumped on the beaches of Mauritius, where 5,000 live in makeshift huts to this day. Let's not think the pointy-heads of Whitehall incapable of carrying such evil into effect.)

It was in the context of this sort of thinking that Foreign Secretary Alex Douglas-Home could suggest that the Unionist regime at Stormont might simply be abandoned and a united Ireland brought about as speedily as possible, that Heath could tell Faulkner that he'd have to have "Republicans" in his government if he wanted Britain to continue to back him, etc.

What comes across from the various memoranda, position papers, minutes of discussions etc. is that these people had no firm commitment to the Union and no principled objection to a united Ireland.

What they wanted was political stability across Britain and Ireland, and Ireland as a whole, under what-

ever constitutional arrangement, securely within the western sphere of influence.

Questions of national liberation, civil liberties, equal citizenship etc. figured only insofar as they impacted on these considerations.

Much has changed in the years since. And just as much has stayed the same.

At the heart of British thinking then was an assumption that the people of Northern Ireland were naturally, historically, inevitably and for all time divided into two irrational tribes which were never going to be able to live congenially together, much less achieve a sense of themselves which wasn't dependent on tribal allegiance.

Since they couldn't live together they'd have to be policed apart.

In 1922, when the Unionists were mobilised, armed to the teeth and aglow with pride in being British, the "natural" option was to allow them to corral the "Taigs" into second-class citizenship and use brute force and discrimination to keep them there.

By the early 1970s, that wasn't an option. So the balance of British policy changed, even tilted tentatively towards the Taigs.

In the mid-1990s, the Brits were looking for a fairer balance between the troublesome tribes.

What is the Belfast Agreement if not another and more sophisticated attempt to police the peoples of Northern apart, allocating every individual to one tribal category or another and putting an elaborate arrangement in place to ensure that a nervous equilibrium is maintained?

## Shock

It is worth noting that some of those who have affected shock and horror at the revelations in the 30-year papers nevertheless appear fully to accept the basic thinking involved.

Sinn Fein leaders' gleeful anticipation of the 2001 census showing the Green tribe on the brink of being as big as the Orange would fit snugly into the mind-set of the mandarins advising Heath and Home in 1972.

The jeering satisfaction of Jeffrey Donaldson and Ian Paisley junior that the figures fell short of the more strident nationalist hopes will also have harmonised with Heath-era British thinking just as well.

What cannot be fitted into this pattern of malign, divisive, anti-working class thought is the fact that 14 percent of the people of the North, one in seven, identified themselves in 2001 as neither Green nor Orange.

It's as we become more numerous and assertive of a different, class identity that the colonial notion of population transfer and redrawing borders will lose practical purpose and meaning.

# NO TO WATER CHARGES

The Northern Irish assembly—and the Westminster politicians who've taken over during its suspension—are trying to impose water charges on people here.

The EU has ruled that some form of water charge must be in place by 2010.

But these charges are likely to be brought in much sooner—possibly by 2005.

They could amount to as much as £250 a year per household.

And that's in addition to a massive increase in rates, which are expected to double or even treble in the next few years.

## Choose

Water charges, like the poll tax, will hit the poorest people in society hardest.

That's what has happened in Scotland, where a range of anti-poverty groups are saying that people now have to choose between paying for water or buying other household essentials.

Even the very poorest households pay AT LEAST £4 a week for their water.

The unelected water authorities have increased their water charges every year since 1996 — by up to 46 percent a year!

There are no rebates for water and sewage charges as there are for rent and council tax. It means that people on low incomes have to pay these charges in full.

In Edinburgh, the average income is over £20,000 a year.

An average family living in a middle price range house will pay £270 on water charges — that is just over 1 percent of their income.

## Unemployed

But an unemployed 21 year old who currently receives just over £40 a week in benefits would still have to pay £3.85 a week in Water Charges.

That's 9 percent of their total income.

Water charges in Scotland have increased by 143 percent since 1997.

Benefit increases during the same period were 11.5 percent or less. Yet the former SDLP finance minister Sean Farren is determined to introduce them in Northern Ireland.

When the government here attempts to impose water charges, we will have to learn our lessons from the mass campaign against the poll tax.

It was beaten by people refusing to pay up, and by demonstrations across the country.

Water charges were defeated in the South by a mass campaign and we can beat the water charges, too.



Photo: Eamonn McCann



# news of the world

VENEZUELA:

## Workers and poor fight bosses' strike

FOR THE fourth time in a year Venezuela's rich: the employers, media interests, and corrupt trade union leaders, have attempted to depose the democratically elected president Hugo Chávez.

At the beginning of December leaders of Fedecamaras, the country's main bosses' association, and corrupt union leader Carlos Ortega head of the Confederation of Venezuelan Workers (CTV), called a "general strike" to try to engineer a right wing coup.

Mostly this involved employers simply locking up their businesses and declaring the workers on strike.

In Caracas buses, the metro and taxis continued to operate as usual. In the poor areas life went on as normal.

With the "strike" crumbling bosses of the state oil company PVDSA shut down the oil industry. Venezuela is the world's fifth biggest oil producer, which accounts for 80 percent of its export earnings and half the nation's budget.

PVDSA managers were caught welding shut the gates of refineries to prevent production workers from entering. Perhaps 40 percent of the oil giant's workers heeded the strike call, largely technicians and administrative personnel.

### Privilege

PVDSA managers enjoy great privilege since the oil industry was nationalised in 1970. They hope for rich pickings from privatisation if Chávez is deposed.

But ordinary workers are far less enthusiastic about the strike. As Orlando Chirino told US socialist paper the *Militant*, "The workers are not behind this. The owners are the big capitalists, and like many bankers they have shut down. We are against them, and they are against us."

"Fedepetrol [the oil workers union], the electrical workers, Sidor that organises employees in steel and aluminium, the metro workers union in Caracas, and many others came out against the strike. The textile and auto plants run full shifts in Valencia, for example."

But PVDSA's managerial elite has the support of many white collar workers and of the captains of the tankers that load oil for export at the country's ports. This enabled them to cripple supplies to other industries, despite the opposition of the manual workers'



■ A supporter of President Hugo Chávez yells towards the arrival of an opposition march at *Fuerte Tiuna* in Caracas, Venezuela, Friday, Jan. 3, 2003. The banner behind reads: *The Bolivarian revolution does not negotiate. Hard hand against coup plotters*

union to the stoppage.

A leader of an opposition party, Teodoro Petkoff, admitted, "This is, in reality, a stoppage of the middle and upper classes."

While the right wing has organised large protests of their middle class supporters in the well-off eastern areas of Caracas, huge numbers of Venezuela's workers and poor people demonstrated against the attempt to overthrow Chávez.

An eye witness explained how workers began taking

action themselves to smash the lockout. "Concentrations of people took place at the El Palito oil refinery in the state of Carabobo. One group of people were trying to enforce the stoppage, the other to end it."

"These succeeded in preventing the closure of the refinery and kept the petrol flowing. Many workers remained, keeping guard on the place for four or five days."

In the city of Guayana thousands of workers in steel

and aluminium plants organised themselves to make a four-hour journey to the town of Anaco to enforce the delivery of gas to keep production going.

### TV Stations

Anger at the torrent of lies from the media led to huge protests outside the private TV stations, with demands for them to come under the control of the masses.

Across the poor areas of

Caracas, neighbourhood assemblies have been preparing to move hundreds of thousands of people onto the streets if the opposition tries to carry out its threat to seize control of the presidential palace.

The slogan is, "If they carry through another 11 April" (the day the last coup occurred), "we will have another 13 April" (the day the workers and the poor smashed the coup).

## Who is Chávez?

HUGO Chávez, who has won two democratic elections on a radical programme, is hugely popular among Venezuela's poor.

He and his supporters speak of a "Bolivarian revolution" (after the 19th century nationalist hero Simon Bolivar).

In April 2002 sections of the army mounted a coup and arrested Chávez. The US government immediately recognised the opposition leader put up by the generals to replace him.

Immediately hundreds of thousands of poor people poured into the centre

of the capital, Caracas, and caused key military commanders to switch sides reinstating Chávez after three days.

In the aftermath Chavez made concessions to placate the opposition, and called for "national accord".

Chávez, puts his faith in the command structure of the army to keep him in power. He sees the mobilisation of the workers and the poor as providing a helping hand, not as a way of people taking the future into their own hands.

Yet all past experience shows that army officers can easily switch sides.

Chávez also continues to preach "constitutional

methods.

But the right wing dominated Supreme Court ruled that the organisers of April's coup could walk free (declaring, incredibly, that "there was not a coup").

It says the government has no right to prevent private owners shutting down industry. It has also declared unconstitutional provisions in Chávez's Law of Land which allows expropriation of large idle estates and distribution of those lands to poor farmers.

Chávez's government has done little to challenge the obscene concentrations of wealth in the hands of the rich.



■ Hugo Chávez

As fisherman Tomás Blanca commented, "The big companies still hold economic power and have their people everywhere in the government. We support Chávez because he took our side, but we need action."

## Brazil: Will Lula live up to hopes of millions?

"MY GOVERNMENT will be for the excluded, the discriminated, the humiliated and the oppressed." Those were the words of Brazil's new president, Luiz Inacio "Lula" da Silva.

No wonder millions of people in Latin America's largest economy were hoping that Lula's presidency heralded change for the better. But Lula's key ministerial appointments, and his insistence on working within International Monetary Fund (IMF) imposed policies, have already set his government on a course likely to dash such hopes.

Lula won the presidential election last October with 61 percent of votes. It marked a huge change in a country where politics has always been dominated by rich bankers and businessmen, or by the military. Lula made his name as leader of a huge strike wave in the late 1970s and early 1980s.

Both Lula and the Workers Party (PT) have moved a long way from their origins. The PT, though, retains a real mass base and a very significant left wing, and is open to pressure from wider social movements with which it has strong links. Lula moved sharply to the right in the run-up to the presidential election.

He dropped previous radical pledges, such as to refuse to pay Brazil's \$211 billion foreign debt. He also insisted he would honour a harsh agreement made by the outgoing government with the IMF.

Lula appointed tycoon Jose Alencar as his vice-presidential running mate. He has appointed Antonio Palocci as his finance minister. As the PT mayor of the city of Ribeirao Preto he pioneered the privatisation of public services.

Lula's other key appointment is Henrique Meirelles as governor of the central bank. Meirelles is the former head of global banking at the US FleetBoston bank. Both IMF managing director Horst Koehler and US president George Bush have stressed that they can work with Lula. There are other pressures on Lula. Brazil is an important economy.

Neither Lula nor much of Brazil's ruling class are happy about subordinating themselves to the US. Lula is likely to resist US pressures to go along with Bush's Free Trade Agreement of the Americas plan, a neo-liberal scheme to benefit US business interests.

Lula backed a decision by outgoing president Cardoso to send a huge shipment of petrol to Venezuela in recent weeks. The most important factor that could upset the bankers' plans for Brazil is the pressure from millions of Lula's supporters.

## Kenya votes for change

DECADES OF one-party rule in Kenya in East Africa ended last month and people came out onto the streets to celebrate. Election results showed that opposition candidate Mwai Kibaki had easily defeated Uhuru Kenyatta. Kenyatta was the candidate of the outgoing leader, Daniel arap Moi. Moi became Kenya's ruler in 1978.

For the first 14 years of Moi's rule there were no elections, opposition was banned, and torture and arbitrary arrest were commonplace. There were rigged elections in 1992 and 1997. None of this prevented Western leaders supporting Moi. He was close to Tory leader Margaret Thatcher.

Kenya has been a "model pupil" of the IMF and World Bank, implementing privatisation and welfare cutbacks. The result has been riches for a few (the top 10 percent of the population have around half of all income) but disaster for most.

Infant mortality rose from 75 per 1,000 in 1992 to 105 per 1,000 in 1998. Last week's vote is a sign of mounting resentment. Kibaki does not offer any fundamentally different way forward. He was finance minister from 1969 to 1982 and vice-president of the ruling KANU party from 1978 to 1988.

He opposed the introduction of multi-party elections in the early 1990s. His coalition includes several of Moi's ministers who jumped ship at the last minute. But there is now new pressure for change.

Comment

# Something fishy going on

DESPITE stark warnings from scientists that many fish stocks in the North Sea are close to collapse, EU politicians did as they have always done over fish stocks—fudged the issue so both the fish and the fishermen will lose out eventually.

EU ministers congratulated themselves on reaching agreements at the EU fisheries meeting. But the compromises will produce the worst solution for fish and fishermen alike.

They allow for the continued plunder of the seas in the EU and abroad rather than the required tough choices to safeguard stocks.

The Irish government is holding up its hands trying to appease fishermen while saying it the EU will resolve the issue.

The only ones who win are the big fishing fleets who will sail away when the North Sea is fished out leaving fishing communities stranded.

For many years the EU's own scientists have underlined the fact that there are too many fishing boats chasing too few fish.

Cod used to grow to fifteen feet—the largest they get now is 8ft, and most are caught before that.

The spawning grounds are in crisis due to over-fishing.

The Irish fleet didn't even bring in year 2000's quota of cod because there weren't enough cod to catch.

In the 1990s a similar crisis in Canada meant the cod population simply died out.

The world's marine catch has increased more than four times in

the past 40 years — from 18.5 million tons in 1950 to 82.5 million tons by 1992.

This staggering growth has resulted in over-fishing and wasteful, destructive fishing practices worldwide which now threaten the lives of hundreds of millions of people who are vitally dependent on fishing for food and livelihoods.

Seven out of 10 of the oceans' commercially targeted marine fish stocks are fished beyond ecologically safe limits.

They are either fully or heavily exploited, over-exploited, depleted, or very slowly recovering from collapse after previous over-fishing.

One-quarter of all the fish pulled from the sea never make it to market.

On average, 27 million tons of unwanted fish catch are thrown back each year. Most don't survive.

Another 30 million tons is reduced to fishmeal which is fed to livestock such as pigs and poultry, and bizarrely, farmed trout, salmon and shrimp.

Trapped

The whole debate is trapped in arguments over nationalism.

While the idea that any part of the sea belongs to a nation or its capitalists is plain daft, nationalism provides a cover to hide the real problem.

It is claimed that one country's small fishermen are being ruined by the supertrawlers of another.

The reality is that big business is destroying the oceans for profit.

The world's largest and most destructive trawler isn't Spanish—it is Irish, the elephantine Atlantic Dawn.

The 144-metre boat, whose nets are big enough to hold over a dozen Boeing 747s, is

catching a disproportionate share of the dwindling fish stocks.

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

When the ship took to the seas in 2001, Europe's fleet was already over-sized and each member state had signed up to a legally binding programme to reduce the number of trawlers.

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

The Atlantic Dawn catches in a day what 10 local fishing boats catch in a year—on one trip it hauls in €1.5m worth of fish.

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

That gave it a temporary licence to fish in African waters. It operated off Mauritania, on the west coast of Africa, a country which has sold off its fishing rights to finance its debt burden.

Then the EU allowed the Irish fleet to increase its quota by 14,000 tonnes—the exact size of the Atlantic Dawn's capacity and granted it permission to fish in European waters.

Fishing needs to be controlled but not in the interests of profit.

The EU, the Irish government and the big business interests behind them are putting profit before planet. They are unlikely to improve the situation.

In fact, the fish crisis can only get worse while food production is organised on a capitalist basis.

—SIMON BASKETTER

# 'War on Iraq is about US strategic power, control of oil and profit'



Noam Chomsky, one of the leading opponents of US foreign policy, has been speaking to huge audiences in many countries opposing the war. Here are extracts from a recent speech in London.

SINCE WORLD War Two the US has been the dominant world power. In some ways that power has declined substantially, like in its share of wealth and production.

In other measures it has increased military force. America's preponderance in world control understood very well what was happening as World War Two drew to a close.

There was a mini-war going on between the US and Britain over the Middle East, particularly over oil. Britain recognised that the "economic imperialism of US business interests is proactive under a cloak of nebulous and avuncular nationalism that is trying to elbow us out".

British leaders chose to join the US enterprise, including their own experience acquired through centuries.

That includes the method of enforcement, elegantly formulated by Lloyd George 70 years ago in his succinct phrase, "We must reserve the right to bomb niggers."

The "niggers" he had in mind were Iraqis, Kurds and Afghans, just to show you how much things have changed. Others would qualify if necessary.

Lloyd George was complimenting the government for undermining the disarmament treaty which would have banned the aerial bombardment of civilians.

This was Britain's primary technique for controlling the "uncivilised tribes", as Churchill called them. He personally preferred poison gas. He said it caused "lively terror amongst the recalcitrant Arabs".

US-British power now is globally dominant on the surface.

Many people across the world agree with Nelson Mandela that there's a major threat to world peace and it comes from the dangerous policies of trying to bully others that come from Washington. Even the US national press recognises this.

A story in the national press a couple of weeks ago pointed out that "the world is now more concerned about the unbridled use of American power than about the threat posed by Saddam Hussein".

New mechanisms of domination

A RECENT lead story in the New York Times said, "Whatever the diplomatic niceties the US regards the UN resolution as all the authority it needs to act against Iraq."

The "diplomatic niceties" are a leaf for diplomats and commentators to convince themselves that they are getting the US to pay attention to world opinion.

The operative doctrine couldn't be put more clearly, from the president on downwards, than by the administration official who said, "The UN is relevant when it grants Washington's authority to do what it wants to."

Otherwise it's irrelevant. There's nothing entirely new about that but the brazenness is unusual.

There's no need for surprise in this. The people who are running the show now are recycled Reaganites from the Reagan and the first Bush administration.

Now they have a lot more power. They have new mechanisms for domination through international economic arrangements. What's going on in Brazil is a very dramatic example of that.

US-BRASIL resists home

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# CHOMSKY SPEAKS OUT AGAINST BUSH'S WAR

Chomsky, one of the leading opponents of US foreign policy, has been speaking to large audiences in many countries opposing the war. He extracts from a speech in London...

**THE WORLD** War Two US has been the dominant world power. In ways that power has substantially, like in of wealth and measures it has made. America's predominant understanding very well that as World War Two saw as a mini-war going on US and Britain over the particularly over all. The "economic" of US business interests is a cloak of neoliberalism that is trying to leaders chose to join the US including their own expense through centuries. The method of enforcement formulated by Lloyd George in his secret must reserve the right to "ers" he had in mind were and Afghans, just to show that things have changed. quality if necessary. George was complimenting it for undermining the stability which would have led to a bombardment of civil Britain's primary task: controlling the "uncivilised" which called them. He predicted poison gas. He said it terror amongst the real power now is globally on the surface. He across the world agree Mandela that there is a world peace and it comes from Washington. national press recognises the national press couple pointed out that "the world is concerned about the unilateral power than about by Saddam Hussein".

**ANIMISMS OF**

had story in the New said. "Whatever the ties the US regards the as all the authority it inst Iraq." are a significant niceties" and commentators to lives that they are getting attention to world doctrine couldn't be from the president on by the administration. "The UN is relevant Washington's authority to so." irrelevant. There's new about that but the ed for surprise in this. Reaganites from the first Bush administration. we a lot more power mechanisms for domination that's going on in Brazil example of that.



US-BACKED horror in 1980s El Salvador (top). Today resistance to US imperialism is growing, including at home (bottom)

**'The international programmes of the Reagan years are being reinstated. They left a trail of destruction in Central America, the Middle East, Southern Africa... Today the scale of opposition to the US is unprecedented, a severe challenge to imperialism'**

There was a populist president in Brazil 40 years ago, but the US didn't like him. So they organised a military coup that installed the first neo-Nazi security state in Latin America which put an end to that problem.

This was begun by the Kennedy administration.

Brazil is such an important country it had a domino effect and spread throughout the region, creating a huge plague of repression.

Now there is a new populist president in Brazil elected in a very democratic election.

But there is no military coup. For one reason they probably couldn't carry it off. Society and cultures have changed—it wouldn't be supported in the US and couldn't be in Brazil. It is a good sign.

But also they don't need to. As soon as the international investors recognised that Lula was going to be elected they then started turning the screws on the Brazilian economy in ways which are now possible, which weren't possible then—one of the effects of neo-liberalism.

This makes it possible to strangle the country if it goes the wrong way—if it carries out improper policies like those that put the population before foreign investors.

For instance attacking the currency, capital flight. That's the main contribution of neo-liberalism to democracy.

**The Reaganites ride again**

THOSE AT the helm in Washington are not conservatives. They are radical

**statist reactionaries.**

Domestically they are ready to create a huge federal deficit through a tax cut for the rich and the biggest surge in federal spending in 20 years.

With the deficit they explain the need for "fiscal responsibility". That means cutting services for the general population.

It is very similar to the Reagan years—slow growth and stagnation amongst the majority of the population and a greater concentration of wealth.

The international programmes of the Reagan years are also being reinstated. The first thing the Reagan administration did was declare a "war on terror".

This war on terrorism constructed an impressive trail of destruction in Central America, the Middle East, southern Africa and elsewhere.

In 1983 they started to terrify people that an airbase was being built on Grenada and the Russians were going to use it to bomb the US. Grenada was invaded.

Shortly after that they found that the Sandinistas in Nicaragua were two days marching distance from Texas, so they fought a major terrorist war against them.

"They come straight from *Mein Kampf*," the Secretary of State explained—the Colin Powell of the day, the official "moderate".

They saw Nicaragua as "a dagger pointed at the heart of Texas".

There was a national emergency called because of the threat to the security and existence of the US by the government of Nicaragua.

It was an attempt to frighten the population so they accept the general assault against them.

You can see this happening right now. It's working very well.

At the recent mid-term congressional elections the Republicans retained votes.

On social and economic issues people preferred the Democrats, but this was eclipsed by security concerns, particularly the threat of Iraq.

As the campaign for the election began in the summer that's when Iraq became not just a rotten place but an imminent threat to our survival.

A perfectly mainstream political analyst writes, "The administration can only sustain power through international adventurism, radical pre-emptive military strategies and a hunger for a politically convenient and perfectly timed confrontation with Iraq."

**Echoes of Cuban crisis**

**THERE'S MORE to US policy. There are longstanding and important interests, such as regaining control of the second largest oil reserves in the world. September 11 provided a pretext, as it did for repressive governments all over the world, such as Russia in Chechnya.**

When the presidential campaign opens next year campaign managers are presumably planning to have an easy victory chalked up regardless of the destruction in Iraq and Afghanistan. The narrow escape from world destruction during the Cuban missile crisis of 1962 is highly

relevant today.

So much so that it ought to be the prime topic of discussion everywhere. The reasons for it are still headlines today—regime change and international terrorism.

The missile crisis was the consequence of a massive campaign of international terrorism against Cuba launched by the Kennedy administration and the Eisenhower administration.

Kennedy writes, "The very existence of the Castro regime constitutes a successful defiance of the US, a negation of our whole hemispheric policy of almost a century and a half." The Russians were barely mentioned.

The US was concerned that the success of Cuba might inspire others with similar problems to follow what was called the Castro ideal.

This led to a major terrorist campaign, escalated in 1962 with the missile crisis.

Cuba is an official centre of "international terrorism", but the actual terror is from the US.

Notions like regime change and international terrorism are not new, and those who are now running the show in Washington did break some records in international terrorism the last time.

**Response to growing divide**

**THE US National Governance Council, which is a collection of intelligence agencies, published an important document called "Global Trans**

2015".

In it they make a number of predictions for the coming 15 years. Their main one is that what is called globalisation will continue on course:

"Its evolution will be rocky, with increasing financial volatility and widening economic divide."

Globalisation is supposed to lead to convergence in a single model. They're saying the opposite.

There is going to be less globalisation in the technical sense, but more globalisation in the doctrinal sense.

They go on to say that as globalisation proceeds "deepening economic stagnation will foster political, ethnic, ideological, religious extremism along with violence, very much of it directed against the US".

So globalisation will spawn terror directed against those who are responsible for the daily oppression of the masses of people. The same assumptions are made by military planners.

Five years ago a document called "Visions for 2020" was published.

They predicted that with the "growing gap between the haves and the have-nots" the have-nots will become disruptive and need to be controlled.

That's part of the motive behind the vast expansion of US military power to keep the rest of the world in line which is needed to protect US investments against the threats caused by the growing economic divide.

The national intelligence council has predicted that "the Persian Gulf region will see a large increase in oil production capacity and will rise in importance in world energy markets".

Therefore the US must control it. The issue is not access—it is control. In 1958, a major year in world affairs and the Middle East, the Eisenhower administration identified three major crises—in the Middle East, in North Africa and in Egypt. All oil producers, all secular then.

Eisenhower reiterated that "the Persian Gulf area is the most strategically important area in the world.

To lose control of this strategic position and resources in the Middle East would be worse than the loss of China."

In this context the war on Iraq can be expected to place the US in a commanding position on the world energy markets, controlling the flow and profits—and probably provide the US with an important military base in the centre of this source of strategic power.

There are very strong challenges to this whole system.

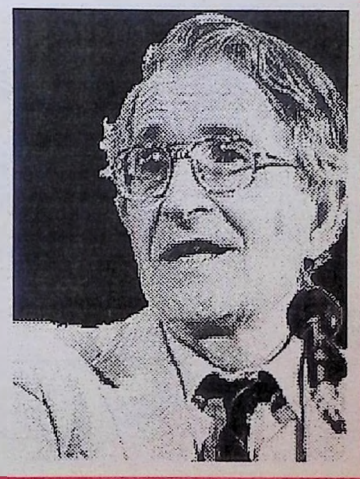
The scale and character of opposition to the Iraq war are completely without precedent in Europe and the US, and far beyond any comparative stage in the Vietnam War.

The emerging global justice movement has placed a severe challenge to economic imperialism.

We have the means to determine whether policy is shifted dramatically to a different and more constructive work.

**■ This speech was filmed and will be put on the Internet. To download it go to [www.redpepper.org.uk](http://www.redpepper.org.uk)**

**It is also available on cassette or CD. To order a copy send a cheque for £6 made out to "Red Pepper" to Red Pepper Recordings, 1b Waterloo Road, London N19 5NJ.**



# Imperialism and bombing...

# TERROR FROM THE SKIES

The warplanes, which pass through Shannon airport on their way to the Middle East, carry a cargo of unimaginable horror. They are capable of delivering Fuel Air Explosives (FAEs) and Cluster bombs.

FAEs contain flammable gas which ejects 500 yards above ground and spreads out to cover half a square kilometre. A charge then detonates the gas. The effect is akin to switching on the light in the kitchen after the oven has been left on for the night.

Cluster bombs cover a similar area and contain hundreds of smaller grenade type bombs packed full of nails, pieces of glass and metal designed to kill and maim in huge numbers.

Here DAVE LORDAN looks at the role bombing has played in imperial wars

**T**ERROR bombing of civilians in the Middle East and elsewhere is nothing new.

It has been part of the strategic arsenal of imperialism since the early days of the airplane.

After an RAF squadron of 15 planes put down a rebellion in Somaliland in 1919 in a matter of days, bombing came to be seen as a cheap way to subjugate colonial populations. The railways, roads, bases and supplies needed for an army of occupation were unnecessary if wide swathes of territory could be controlled from the air.

The RAF built its reputation in the 1920s putting down rebellion after rebellion in Iraq. In June 1925 the French air force bombed Damascus killing 1,000 civilians. Spain, Italy, the USA and Japan all bombed civilians in poorer countries in the 1920s and 30s.

The arms race in the 1930s between the imperialist powers brought rapid improvements in the technology of mass murder. The monoplane, aircraft carriers, long-haul bombers and new and more deadly explosives like napalm.

In 1934 Hitler set 350 scientists to work on rocket technology in the Peenemunde laboratories in Germany. In 1942 the American government began the Manhattan Nuclear weapons project.

**H**itler's Blitzkrieg brought the horror of the colonial bombings home to Europe.

From the opening sorties of World War 2 civilians and not industrial production or military sites were the main targets and victims of bombs.

Churchill ordered the area bombing of German cities to begin in June 1940. The beginning of the Blitz over Britain was retaliation for this. Night after night thousands of bombers flew both ways across the channel raising civilian areas to the ground and killing on a scale never before imagined.

After the German air force was broken, the RAF began a policy of firebombing German cities. Firebombing involves two waves of air attack. The first drops tonnes of conventional explosives. The second drops flammable materials such as phosphorous



Despite all the firepower and ready intelligence available to them the Allies never bombed the Nazi death camps or the railways leading to them during World War Two

in order to set off a firestorm.

In the more horrific fire bombings which killed 50,000 in Hamburg and 100,000 in Dresden firestorms created huge vacuums at their centre which smothered thousands. Those who hid in underground air raid shelters were baked to death. Those who jumped in lakes and rivers were boiled as temperatures soared into the thousands.

Despite all the firepower and ready intelligence available to them the Allies never bombed the Nazi death camps or the railways leading to them.

In the Pacific the USA fire-bombed every Japanese city with a population of 50,000 and over, slaughtering hundreds of thousands including 100,000 in Tokyo.

The only two cities which the Americans spared were Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Their fate was to be even worse.

The Japanese emperor had offered unconditional surrender to the American high command repeatedly from June 1945

onwards. The Americans tried to cover this up after the war saying that the atom bomb was dropped to save American lives that would have been lost in an invasion.

No invasion was necessary and upper estimates say the US might have lost 20,000 men. Many times that number still suffer the effects of the atom bombings of August 1945.

The real reason the bomb was dropped was to warn the USSR of the consequences of challenging US power.

But the Soviet Empire responded to the challenge by starting its own nuclear weapons programme and exploded the first hydrogen bomb in 1954. These were 1,200 times more powerful than the bomb dropped in Hiroshima.

Today a single Polaris nuclear submarine has the firepower to destroy the 400 largest cities in Europe.

France, Britain, Russia, China, India, Pakistan, Israel and the USA have 2 million times the destructive power of Hiroshima in

their collective arsenal, enough to destroy the world many times over.

**T**housands of nuclear weapons are based in former Russian republics like Kazakhstan and the Ukraine, some of the most politically volatile areas in the world.

The Bush regime has recently announced their intention to use nuclear weapons in pre-emptive strikes against whoever they deem to be terror states.

Since 1945 the US has bombed civilians in 21 countries in the developing world. Those who suffered the most were the Koreans and the Vietnamese.

In both cases, the US were trying to put down popular left wing national liberation movements. At least 1 million Korean civilians died between 1950-1953, the bulk of them as deliberate targets of

terror bombing.

In Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam millions more were slaughtered during the Vietnam war. A third of Vietnam was left infertile or uninhabitable by bombing. Millions of tonnes of chemical weapons such as napalm and Agent Orange were used.

Despite this the bravery of the Vietnamese resistance combined with a huge international anti-war movement ensured the US was defeated.

The fall of the Berlin wall heralded the beginning of the era of 'humanitarian' bombing. The West backed Saddam Hussein in the Iran-Iraq war. This encouraged his invasion of Kuwait in August 1990. Bush's father saw an opportunity to flex American muscle in the New World Order.

A hundred thousand Iraqis, most of them civilians or retreating soldiers were bombed to death as a result. Depleted Uranium and other chemical weapons were used.

Thousands of western soldiers have died of Gulf War Syndrome

in the aftermath. In Iraq itself the incidence of cancers has increased by a factor of sixty, particularly affecting children and the very old.

**I**n Serbia civilians were again the main target of bombs and depleted uranium was again used. Up to 8,000 civilians have been killed in Afghanistan.

Fifty die every week from unexploded ordnance left behind by cluster bombs. These unexploded bombs are the same colour as food packages dropped by the American Air Force!

A single thread connects the hand grenades dropped from RAF bi-planes in Iraq in the 1920s and the FAE's that will incinerate the same neighbourhoods in the coming weeks. That thread is imperialism.

Imperialism and war are natural outgrowths of the capitalist system. Capitalism is a system of competition and accumulation. Monopolies emerge in key sectors of national economies over time as the more dynamic companies accumulate large enough profits to invest in the technology that undercuts their rivals. Smaller companies are swallowed up by larger ones.

Over time the interests of monopolies become intertwined with the interests of the states in which they are based. These states compete with each other for access to markets, resources and cheap labour. Eventually economic competition spills over into military competition - into war.

Today the Bush administration, which is packed full of oil men and women, has become the military wing of corporate America. US oil companies want guaranteed access to the huge oil resources of the Middle East and the US armed forces are prepared to murder tens of thousands of innocents to achieve it.

But war in the Middle East could escalate as the US quarrels with Russia, China and others over how to share out the spoils. We know these countries have the power to destroy our world. The logic of the system means sooner or later they will. We must do everything in our power to stop them.



film

## Rosary rebel

UPON ITS 1956 release Graham Greene's original novel, *The Quiet American*, was attacked for its anti-American sentiments. A new film version, directed by Philip Noyce, is having the same problem. Its distributors Miramax, delayed its release for a year.

*The Quiet American* is a condemnation of the beginnings of US involvement in Vietnam, seen through the eyes of a cynical journalist. It is set in Saigon in 1952, amid the Communist-led fight for Vietnamese independence from French colonialism.



■ Graham Greene

Fowler (Michael Caine) is an embittered reporter for the *Times*. He meets Pyle (Brendan Fraser), a younger man who idealistically extols the virtues of American liberal democracy. He is there under the pretence of being an economic aid worker and seems eager to learn about the local political situation. Pyle's true identity as an agent in the CIA soon becomes apparent.

Pyle is overseeing US backing for an emerging nationalist force. This 'third force', aligned neither with the French nor the Communist Party, has embarked on a campaign of terror. It is designed to frame the Communist Party, to strengthen ideological opposition and, most importantly, to guarantee increased financial support from the US.

A human story showing the US participating in acts of terrorism to promote its own ideology is timely, and doesn't sit comfortably with the "war on terrorism" propaganda. And not sitting comfortably is what Graham Greene was good at.

George Orwell once remarked that Greene, "appears to share the idea... that there is something rather distinguished in being damned. Hell is a sort of high-class nightclub, entry to which is reserved for Catholics only."

Greene's Catholicism was very far removed from that sanctioned by the Church.

His novel on the church in Mexico the *Power and the Glory* was denounced by the Vatican.

He was more interested in the sinner than the saint. What orthodox Catholic belief condemned as "evil", he believed could reveal something profoundly important about what it meant to be human. This is the theme of *Brighton Rock* and *The End of the Affair*.

Greene became a novelist at the beginning of the 1930s when economic crisis was destroying lives. Radical alternatives to the system, in the form of both communism and fascism, competed for people's loyalties.

One novel of the 1930s, *The Confidential Agent*, is a tightly plotted thriller, which features a Spanish Republican on a failed diplomatic mission to London. Although his sympathies were to the left, Greene's Catholicism stopped him from committing himself to the communism.

### Outsider

Greene never quite belonged to anything. His background and education made him part of the upper class. But as a Catholic he was outside the mainstream of British establishment life.

His later novels, including *A Quiet American*, reflected the fate of those crushed by imperialism. *Our Man in Havana* sends up the work of the British secret services in pre-revolutionary Cuba.

*The Comedians* is a comic novel about a deeply serious subject — corruption and terror in "Papa Doc" Duvalier's Haiti. In these novels Greene is on the side of the resistance. This is particularly true of *The Honorary Consul*, which features a guerrilla group, led by an ex-priest.

Greene kept a mixed bag of political company. The extent of his involvement in the British Secret Service has become a matter of occasional intense, if dull, speculation. Sensibly enough, he despised Ronald Reagan, but his approach to Central American politics was confused.

On one hand he was friends with Fidel Castro and but on the other he also associated with the corrupt tyrant Manuel Noriega. His friendship with Panamanian dictator General Omar Torrijos led him to write *Getting to Know the General*.

Whatever his friendships, or personality, Greene's books transcend his own prejudices. His characters are failures. They betray others and themselves but their failures and betrayals are all too human. The real evil is the horrible imperialist world they find themselves struggling to survive in, and one Greene never stopped accusing.

— SIMON BASKETTER

book

# Striking against Jim Crow

BRIAN KELLY'S fine new book, *Race, Class, and Power in the Alabama Coalfields 1908-1921* tells the remarkable story of the struggle of black and white miners against their brutal bosses and racism.

Brian argues that "nowhere in the early twentieth-century South were the traditions of racial protocol challenged more forcefully than in the Alabama coalfields."

Between 1880-1920 there was a record numbers of lynchings, systematic disfranchisement, and the emergence of the notorious Jim Crow laws to segregate blacks and whites in the Southern states of America.

The book provides rich detail on how the employers tried to create a labour force that was efficient, docile and divided.

Black mine workers were considered inferior in intelligence and racial discrimination was used to keep their wage rates low.

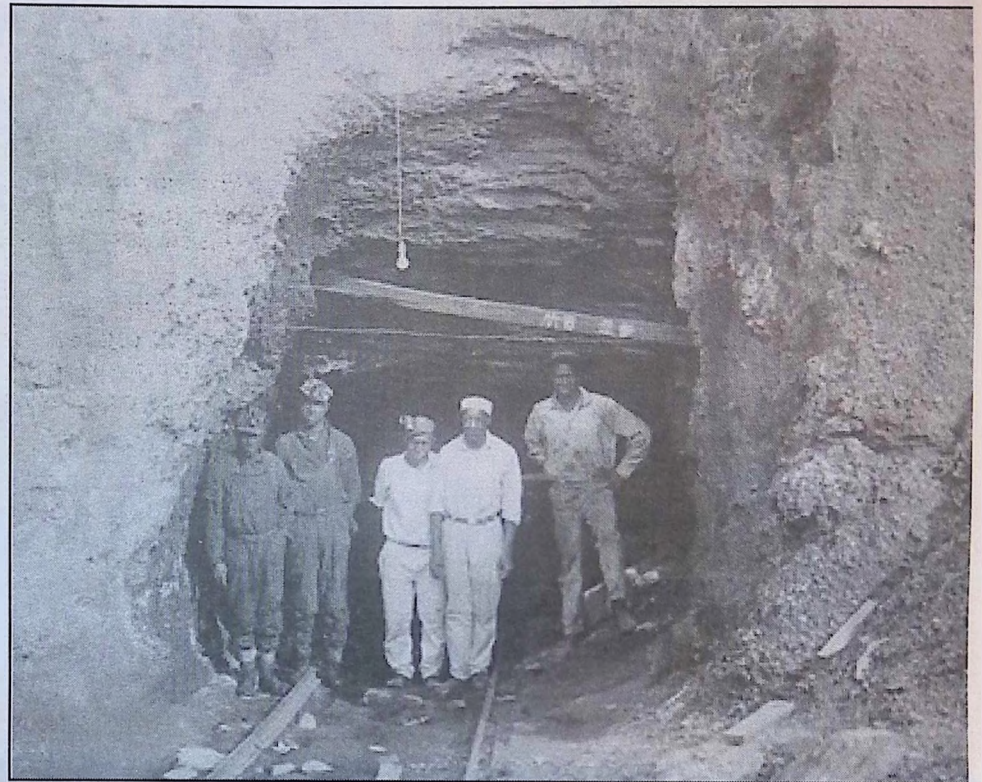
But the book powerfully challenges the idea that white workers were the main source of resistance to racial equality in the South.

In 1908, despite heavy company repression, a strike lasted a remarkable two years and involved approximately 4,000 workers, both blacks and whites.

The book documents the attempts of the United Mineworkers to build an interracial union in the midst of the Jim Crow South.

Brian does not ignore racism within the unions, but he does place it in the context of a battle in which employers, journalists, and politicians who had far greater power.

"The elusiveness of equal treatment for blacks had less to do with white miners' racism than the



■ Both free and convict miners working in the Birmingham coal fields.

union's inability to match the [mine] operators' awesome power."

The black and white rank-and-file knew that "pragmatic interracialism" was their greatest strength.

He also shows that between black and white workers lies a common interest in unity:

"In the day-to-day struggles of working class

Southerners lay the possibilities for a fundamental challenge to racism... in large part because neither black nor white miners had a material stake in perpetuating the arrangement."

### Divisions

In 1920 black and white miners struck again. The bosses' appeals to workers'

racism did not succeed. What finally broke the strike of 1920 was the imposition of martial law.

When weak and defeated, both black and white unionists tended to accept the divisions that existed in the rest of society.

When workers began to struggle in their own interests, they faced a stark

choice—join across racial lines or suffer the consequences of division.

Brian Kelly has produced an example of Marxist history at its best.

— SIMON BASKETTER

■ *Race, Class, and Power in the Alabama Coalfields, 1908-1921*, by Brian Kelly, (University of Illinois Press).

Joe Strummer

## Punk rebel with a cause

"I don't want to hear about what the rich are doing" Garageland— from *The Clash*.

SOCIALISTS around the world were saddened by the sudden death of Clash frontrunner Joe Strummer just before Christmas.

The Clash combined punk, reggae, hard rock, blues and jazz in an energising fusion which was a perfect soundtrack for the mass, militant, multi-coloured anti-racist movement in Britain in the late 1970's.

At the time the National Front were gaining a following of street thugs who terrorised and murdered blacks and Asians across Britain.

The music scene was split. Famous musicians like Eric Clapton and David Bowie were using racist imagery and regalia in their songs and shows.



■ Joe Strummer

A large part of the ska and punk movement was associated with the far right. Rock

against Racism, a satellite organisation of the Anti Nazi League, was set up to try and

turn the tide against the racists.

The Clash headlined a historic gig in Finsbury Park in July 1978, which saw 100000 pogoing against racism.

Racism has been confined to the outer fringes of the music scene in Britain ever since.

The Clash continued to support left wing causes, and after they split up in the mid 80s, Strummer became a regular figure at benefit gigs for a whole range of causes.

His last two gigs were benefits for the fire-fighters strike and for a local community group.

All that aside, The Clash are among the few real contenders for the Greatest Band Of All Time.

If you like music, dancing and generally getting down go out and buy their albums before the corporates start to cash in on Strummer's death.

Their music is guaranteed to make you want to tear down the system and have a damn good time while you are doing it.

— DAVE LORDAN



**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 Fein 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 properly-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.

news & reports/politics/industry/the unions (01) 8722682 /fax (01) 872 3838 e-mail swp@clubi.ie

PHONE REPORTS ABOUT STRIKES/LOCAL CAMPAIGNS/PROTESTS

# WHERE NOW FOR THE FIREFIGHTERS?

**WITH A government more determined than ever firefighters and control-room operators enter the New Year with the stakes in their pay dispute higher than ever.**

The government has shown its willingness to impose the sweeping attacks on conditions, jobs and fire cover contained in the Bain review.

The Fire Brigades Union (FBU) is committed to talks with the employers, beginning as we go to press, and to two 48-hour strikes from 28 January and 1 February should those talks fail.

The Bain reports "Modernisation" agenda flies in the face of the governments Fire Cover Review which they were forced to release on the Friday before Christmas after the document was leaked to Channel 4 News.

The review, which New Labour sat on for over a year, calls for nearly doubling the number of firefighters and £1 billion more in investment.

The Bain report on the other hand is aimed at drastically reducing the numbers of firefighters and control room operators.

The government and mainstream media have accused the FBU of putting lives at risk by striking.

Yet as one Belfast firefighter told *Socialist Worker*, "cutting the numbers of firefighters and reducing night time cover, (when most fatal fires occur), will lead to a poorer service and ultimately more deaths".

This is what the government's version of "modernisation" means.

The level of cuts that Bain is talking about would be the equivalent to closing all fire stations in the greater London area or closing the fire service in Scotland.

That is why firefighters and every other group of workers are absolutely right to reject calls for "modernisation".

They are nothing more than a smokescreen for old-fashioned exploitation. Its real meaning is the same as it has always been "you have to work longer for less".

The decision by the FBU to proceed with two strikes late last year put the government on the back foot.

However although the support for the firefighters remains as high as it did at the beginning of the first strike, especially among trade unionists, the government has interpreted the breathing space created by the suspension of the past two strikes as a sign of weakness.

Along with the chief officers

## Falls and Shankill support the firefighters



■ On the 14th December a demonstration took place in West Belfast, some 150 people took part in a march in solidarity with the firefighters. People from the Shankill Rd marched up Lannark way to meet people from the Falls. The march was led by a banner which stretched across the road stating "Falls and Shankill in support of our fire service." Behind the banner the N. Ireland Fire Brigades Union (FBU) banner was carried with up to twenty-five local firefighters.

and managements in some brigades they have now gone on the offensive with the sacking of two leading FBU activists in Berkshire and the West Midlands.

The government will use any further indecision to launch a full scale assault on the FBU and to implement the recommendations contained in the Bain report.

This is why it is essential that firefighters regain the initiative. But can this be done by relying on the union's leadership to stand up to the government? In one word no.

Andy Gilchrist is considered as a member of the "awkward squad" (the group of newly elected left-wing union leaders) by sections of the media.

Many firefighters have asked

then "why has he called off strikes just as the momentum was growing?"

The firefighters strike has demonstrated that electing a leader who upsets the Daily Mail and the clique around Blair is not enough to guarantee victory in struggle.

**Immune**

This is not a matter of anybody's personal failings. But left wingers are not immune to the pressures afflicting all union leaders.

Even the best ones fear to break openly from leaders of other unions, and to criticise the TUC or other officials within their own union.

The experience of the 1920s led revolutionary socialist Leon Trotsky to write that the left wing union leaders were "an expression of a shift but

also its brake". The key is to organise at rank and file level. Networks of rank and file workers can pressure union leaders and organise support from other workers.

The firefighters will win only if there is enough rank and file pressure which says that leaders must be loyal to their members, not to Labour ministers.

There is an important difference between left wing and right wing union leaders. Left wingers are much more likely to encourage struggle and defend their members in strikes. That is why we support union leaders when they are leading the workers in struggle.

So for the firefighters to win their full claim requires a militant outgoing strike which would have to draw on solidarity action from

other workers. It would have to terrify a government which has staked so much of its reputation on the outcome. Such all-out battles scare the bureaucrats.

Strikes at the end of this month and in February would most likely take place as Tony Blair was trying to deploy British forces for an attack on Iraq, or even after the war has started.

It would leave him fighting on two fronts and vulnerable on both to massive popular opposition.

This means that we must build the support groups, build networks and win rank and file firefighters to opposing the war.

There must be more pressure on the union leadership from below than from the government and the trade union bureaucracy.

**SOCIALIST FORUMS IN YOUR AREA (Political Discussion hosted by Socialist Worker — all welcome)**

<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>DUBLIN CENTRAL</b> Wednesday January 15th Upstairs Kings Inn, Bolton Street 7:30pm <b>When revolutions stopped war</b></p>	<p>Arts Factory, 304 Balcouris Road, 7.30pm <b>Vietnam the war the US lost</b></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>DUN LAOGHAIRE</b> Tuesday 14th Farrals pub, (beside DL shopping centre 8.00pm <b>The revolutionary ideas of Karl Marx</b></p>	<p>Wednesday 15th St Andrews resource centre, SCR 8:30 pm <b>To Be Announced</b></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>DUBLIN SOUTH CITY:</b> Bowes pub Fleet St Wednesday 15th 9pm <b>To be announced</b></p>	<p><b>Advertising the body — Why sexism sells</b></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>TALLAGHT:</b> <b>To be announced</b></p>
<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>BALLYMUN</b> Tuesday January 14th Ballymun Community</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>A RTANE</b> Tuesday January 14th Smyths Pub Fairview 8pm <b>Marx and anti</b></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>RIALTO</b></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>BALLYFERMOT</b> Tuesday 14th Ruby Finnegans Lower Ballyfermot, 8.00pm <b>Vietnam the war the US lost</b></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>RATHMINES</b> Wednesday 15th O'Connells Pub Sth Richmond street 8.00pm</p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>DUNDRUM:</b> Monday 13th Dundrum Family recreation centre 8pm <b>Colateral damage: A history of bombing</b></p>	<p><input type="checkbox"/> <b>WATERFORD:</b> Thursday 16th: Olde Rogue, Michael Street, 8.00pm <b>How do we stop this War?</b></p>

**SWP MEMBERS ORGANISED AROUND THE COUNTRY:**

ATHONE: Contact 01 872 2682 for  
CARLOW: Contact 087 644 5347 for  
DUBLIN: Contact 01 872 2682 for details

# Partnership is dead: Build a fight back!

**AS Socialist Worker went to press the partnership negotiations were in crisis.**

While there has been a lot of hard talking from the trade union leaders it is highly possible that any kind of movement from the employers side will be enough to do a deal.

## Sights

Whatever the outcome of these efforts it is clear that the trade union leadership's sights are not set very high.

When talks broke down, IBEC was seeking a six month pay pause and demanding that serious restrictions be placed on the

right to take industrial action.

## Sights

Union recognition was also proving a

stumbling block although the ICTU had moved from its earlier stance of seeking legislation on a par with Britain.

It is interesting though that the unions were seeking a mere 5% pay rise for 2003 or 7.5 per cent over eighteen months.

With inflation expected at the very least to be over 4 per cent, and in the light of the budget changes and the

range of price and service increases introduced last year, this claim is nonsensically low.

- ESB prices will increase by 13.25%
- Local authority service charges are set to increase by between 7 and 10%
- TV licences increase by 40%
- VAT is increasing by 1%
- Motor tax rates up by 12%
- New house prices rose by 11.5% last year and are set to rise further this year
- VHI premiums increased by 18%
- CIE fares by 20%

★ **WHILE WORKERS** hand back up to 30 percent of their wage packets in tax to the government, the rich have been able to avoid and evade their taxes at will.

A recent study by the Revenue Commissioners of the 1999-2000 tax period found that 63 per cent of the 117 top earners in Ireland pay less than 10 per cent tax while 25 percent pay effectively nothing.

## What's the alternative?

**PARTNERSHIP** hasn't delivered for public or private sector workers.

Pay claims that reflect the real costs that workers face should be lodged and backed up with the threat of immediate industrial action.

Rather than a small number

of well paid union bureaucrats running the show under the "partnership" process, ordinary trade unionists on the ground in every workplace need to organise to fight for their wage demands to be met.

Partnership not only failed on the pay issue but also on social

issues like delivering decent health care and education.

## Launched

With the vicious cutbacks that have been launched the trade union movement needs to respond.

As has happened across Europe, a general strike to defend public services and workers' pay and conditions would be a powerful response to McCreevy, McDowell and the rest who want to push through a vicious attack on worker's standard of living.

## LIFT ENGINEERS FACE ARMY STRIKEBREAKERS

**LIFT Engineers at Pickerings Lifts in Dunbooyne County Meath, continued their strike in the face of army strike-breaking.**

The 28 engineers, members of the TEEU, have been on strike since November over a the dismissal of a colleague.

The company refused to abide by the agreed procedures and simply sacked the man.

The Lifts Agreement, was agreed between the industry employers and the TEEU provides for proper procedures.

When the company breached the agreement the engineers took action.

## Flats

Pickerings have a contract to service the lifts in the Ballymun flat complex.

The army was called into strike-break in Ballymun at the instigation of Dublin City Council.

One of the strikers told *Socialist Worker*, "We think there are three army personnel are sent each morning to repair lifts.

"I doubt if they can do much, given the state of the lifts and their lack of training.

"Nevertheless we are angry that they are strike-

breaking."

The engineers were providing a free emergency service to the people of Ballymun until the army were sent in, when they withdrew it in disgust.

The head of the English parent company was set to meet union officials as

*Socialist Worker* went to press.

## Escalate

"If there isn't any progress from those talks we will have to escalate the dispute," one of the lift strikers said.

"If we put a picket on

Ballymun the Housing Maintenance engineers and electricians who are members of TEEU will come out in support.

"We have to stand up to this company trying to break procedures and the Corporation trying to bring the army in to strike break."

■ **Army strike breaking at Ballymun flats**



## Refusing

He says "I am being blacklisted because I have been active in refusing to work for the black economy in this area.

"In 1996 I took Clonmel Enterprises, who had been employed by the council to on a road-widening scheme to the Labour Court because they would only pay me and other workers in cash and the sub contractor I was working for didn't have a C2 tax clearance.

"They sacked me when raised the issue.

"I was awarded 2000. I reported Clonmel Enterprises to the then Cathairleach of the council Tony Fox but nothing was done about it and Clonmel Enterprises were awarded the Thomastown Road contract after that.

"I suspect the council has passed on the names of union activists to building bosses while letting them continue to operate a black economy and work through sub-contractors so they can avoid paying PAYE.

"Other BATU activists are also being treated in the same way"

With the recession putting thousands out of work we can expect an employers offensive across industry to try and break the unions before a fightback can get to off the ground.

Victimising leading activists will be part and parcel of this. Union activists have to organise against it.

## CARRICKMINES CASTLE

**THE BLOCKADE** to save the Carrickmines Castle's site in S. Co. Dublin continues.

Over the the new year there were attempts to bring a JCB digger on to the site approximately 20 protestors who had stayed the night were joined by local residents and the media prevented this happening.

Carrickminders, along with historians, archaeologists, and local residents are protesting construction, which has already begun at the Castle site.

Campaigners are demanding an immediate re-assessment of all plans for the M50 motorway and adjoining lands, such as Jackson Way Properties, in the Carrickmines Valley.

The Flood Tribunal has recently called this entire process into question, by showing these were completely ignored. Frank Dunlop made allegations of corruption against Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown County Council members concerning rezoning of residential and industrial land.

The recent proposal by the Department Of Health to replace



■ Carrickminders negotiate for JCB withdrawal

Environmental Impact Statements (EIAs) with Environmental Health Assessments (EIHAs) also suggests that current plans, which remain to be implemented, are fatally flawed and outdated

For information: www.carrickmindings.org

## MARLEY PARK

**OUTDOOR council staff in Marley Park won an important victory when they took protest action against council management just before Christmas.**

Management had attempted to change work practices and staff assignments without consultation with the union. After a meeting was called staff walked out and picketed Dun Laoghaire Rathdown council for two days.

They won the backing of a number of IMPACT members who refused to pass the picket line. Broad support was expressed by white collar staff in the council.

SIPTU shop steward Derek Delaney said "Staff in Marley Park won backing of staff elsewhere in the council and this was crucial to our victory.

"We all think that work-

ers have got to stick together whether they are white colour or outdoor staff, IMPACT, SIPTU or whatever. I hope this victory will sow the seeds of cross union solidarity in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown"

## Withdraw

The protest action forced management to withdraw the charges in work practices.

This protest follows a strike a number of months ago where council workers came out for a week over 70 unresolved grievances with the council.

A number of these grievances remain unresolved.

This is a deliberate policy of testing the strength of the unions. In the longer run the council hope to privatise council services.

The action by the Marley Park workers and solidarity across different sections and grades is the key to resisting these attacks.

## BLACKLIST AGAINST UNION ACTIVISTS IN DUN LAOGHAIRE

BATU activists in Dun Laoghaire Rathdown are being blacklisted and refused work on sites operated by companies with major council contracts in what some workers are suggesting is collusion between the County Council and the Construction Industry Federation.

William Neville's which runs the huge Cherrywood development is refusing to employ local bricklayers who have been involved in the long running campaign to secure direct employment for building workers.

Neville's is employing bricklayers from the North of Ireland and advertising for bricklayers in the local press while telling union activists there is no work available.

Billy, a local bricklayer and BATU activist is one of those on the blacklist.

# Socialist Worker

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

inside:

Noam Chomsky speaks against the war —PAGES 6&7

Eamonn McCann on Northern Ireland declassified secrets

—page 4

## Council in crisis as thousands say:

**DON'T PAY THE BIN TAX!**

# STUFF THIS DOUBLE TAX

**PRESSURE from the Dublin Campaign against the Bin Tax has forced Labour and Fine Gael councillors to abandon support for the tax on Dublin City Council.**

A major political crisis may result as the Environment Department is threatening to dissolve the council in order to ram through the charges.

Sixty percent of householders in the Dublin City Council area are still refusing to pay the unjust tax.

The Campaign against

**Don't Pay the Bin Tax!**

the Bin Tax organised large and lively protests outside council meetings leading up to the esti-

mates.

At the estimates meeting on the 22nd of December proposals were put to raise the bin tax from €120 to €160, an increase of 30 percent.

### Whip

The estimates were defeated by 29 votes to 22. However, the Labour Lord Mayor, Dermot Lacey, broke his party's whip and voted in favour of the charges.

Lacey is playing games with the tax to try and hang on to the gold chain around his neck. He is now pressuring other Labour councillors to fall in line.

In the meantime councillors have asked for an extension on the time limit for the estimates.

Thousands of householders in the Dublin City Council area received letters threatening to bring non-payers to court.

The letters stated that householders had seven days to pay or else would face legal action.

The campaign distrib-

uted thousands of leaflets in response to the council threats.

The council is also claiming that the courts have awarded them costs against the campaign.

### Awarded

This is a lie. Spokesperson for the Dublin campaign, Brid Smith said, "The only costs awarded to the council were for a woman in Fingal who failed to appear in court.

"Unfortunately she was not in contact with the campaign. Cases are unlikely to be brought court for some time as there are cases before the high court.

"The outcome of these cases may be in the campaign's favour.

"The campaign has a defence fund and a legal team that will defend anyone who is brought to court. We urge people to continue the policy of non-payment as this is the way we will break the council'.

## DEFIANCE ACROSS THE COUNTRY

**HOUSEHOLDERS** in Dun Laoghaire-Rathdown received threatening letters in the run-up to the end of last year.

Large public meetings were held in Ballinteer and Dun Laoghaire in response.

Some 20,000 householders continue to defy the tax in the area. The campaign will be distributing thousands of copies of a new newsletter.

Chairperson Richard Boyd Barrett said, "These council threats of court action are a disgrace. Politicians and businessmen walk scot free while working class people opposing an unjust tax are threatened with the courts."

Dick Roche the president of Waterford Council of Trade Unions has condemned plans by the city council to increase bin charges.

Dick Roche is calling on people not to pay the increased charge and intends to put the WCTU at the forefront of a cam-

campaign to scrap the bin charges in Waterford.

"The Waterford Council of Trade Unions completely opposes this unjustified hike in bin charges.

### Privatise

"All service charges are a double taxation on workers who have already paid for such services through PAYE and PRSI contributions.

"Bin charges were introduced to make waste management profitable in order to privatise it down the line.

"We've seen what privatisation has done before in terms of quality of service and workers rights".

"We are calling on people to follow the example of householders in Cork, Athlone and Fingal who refused to pay bin charges and succeeded in seeing the charges abandoned through a combination of a campaign of non-payment and legal action."