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From Tokyo to Shannon a mass movement opposes Bush...

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MASS OPPOSITION to George W Bush's war on Iraq is growing. In the United States huge protests took place on January 18. On the same day thousands protested in cities in many other countries countries.

Two thousand came to Shannon Airport to tell Ahern to get the US military out of Shannon.

Bush and Blair are desperately trying to win public opinion, but enormous numbers oppose the war. We need to mobilise this opposition to the war into mass action, on

the streets. In Scotland train drivers refused to han-dle war materials. We need to build a move-ment to give workers in Shannon and else-

where the confidence to take industrial action against the war. February 15th is International Day of Action Against the War. The demonstration in Dublin on that day is an opportunity to get upprecedented numbers on to the get unprecedented numbers on to the streets. It is backed by the Irish Anti War Movement, the Peace and Neutrality Alliance, SIPTU, the Irish Labour Party, the Green Party, Sinn Fein and many others. Get organised in your locality, bring trade

union banners. Together with the movement internation-ally, this is the sort of action that can stop Bush and Blair in their tracks.

This is the way to fight privatisation

TRANSPORT workers are up in arms over the plans by Seamus Brennan to privatise their industry.

Thousands walked off the job on January 15th and

more protests are likely. Brennan, says he is going to "face down the unions and proceed with de-regulation and privatisation of public transport and CIE".

Bus privatisation

disaster in Britain.

of inflation. Passenger num-bers outside London fell by 27

collapsed so that the average vehicle is now 12 years old.

The British Rail Minister, Alistair Darling, has been

Investment in new vehicles

Privatisation does nothing

Since de-regulation eleven years ago, fares have increased well above the rate

has proved a

percent.

for passengers.

He wants to break up CIE and sell off its lucrative sites to property speculators. These will probably be the same people who make big

donations to Fianna Fail.

Bus routes in Dublin will be handed over to private operators who will only want to service profitable routes.

Franchising

The franchising out is supposed to start from 2004.

Yet bus privatisation has proved a disaster in Britain.

forced to admit that he "does not know when Britain will ever have an efficient rail service again'

The real agenda behind pri-vatisation is to lower costs by attacking the conditions of workers.

In Britain, busworkers wages have fallen from 7 percent below the average manu-al earnings to 14 percent below.

Pension schemes have been destroyed. Tough new sched-ules have increased stress.

Corruption

The privatisation of Eircom has proved a disaster for consumers and workers.

Phone charges are upthousands of workers have lost their jobs.

The sale of this state asset created a web of corruption which involved Transport Minister Lowry and fat cats such as Denis O Brian. tion.

The privatisation of CIE will follow a similar path.

The NRBU and SIPTU should be complimented on their stance against privatisa-

Transport workers are one

of the best organised groups of workers in the country. But they will have to keep up the pressure to defeat this



CIE workers take to the streets in January

Thacherite government.

Garda inquiries reveal lies, cover-ups and false confessions

AFTER THE tribunals into the politicians, come investigations into the Gardai. The Morris Inquiry has been set up to investi-gate Donegal gardai.

Frank McBrearty alleged that his confession to the murder of cattle-dealer Ritchie Barron was fabricated.

The inquiry is also set to consider allegations that some gardaí planted "IRA bomb materials" around Donegal in order to secure promotion and that oth-ers planted evidence on a travellers' site.

But the McBrearty case is only one among many. In 1995 Gardai from Special Response Unit shot dead John Carthy in Abbeylara. John had a history of mental problems but police failed to contact his solicitor or allow family members to talk to bin defuse a cione. to him to help defuse a siege.

Det Garda Liam Donnelly and Det Garda John Fahy were caught fabricating a page of inter-view with Omagh suspect Colm Murphy. They faced a secret inquiry into their "persistent lying under oath", the results of which are not known

Paul Ward's conviction for the murder of Veron-Paul Ward's conviction for the murder of Veron-ica Guerin was squashed after inconsistencies established that a confession was made up by Gardai

Publican Frank Shortt was convicted of allow-ing drugs to be sold on his premises. Then two Garda witnesses were found to have fabricated evi-

Grainne and Ciara Walsh won compensation from the police after they were arrested, assaulted and charged because they were in the way of an unmarked Garda car reversing at speed in a pedestrian area.

Homeless drug addict, Dean Lyons, confessed to the murder of two female psychiatric patients in 1997. When another man, Mark Nash, later admitted to the killings, displaying knowledge of details not in the public domain, all charges against Lyons were dropped.

He later died.

Over the past five years the gardai have had to bay out $\in 6$ million in compensation to 70 people. Nost of these were settled out of court to hush n up

Big Brother comes to Dublin Airport

BIG BROTHER is being introduced to Ireland's Airports by the Irish Government at the behest of the Bush administration and the security freaks in the Pentagon.

Remember all those iris scans in the film "Minority Report". This could become the norm in Dublin Airport for passengers—if the Irish and American governments have their way.

The government has announced a pilot scheme in Dublin Airport which will use biometric data which will allow the author-

ities to scan people's iris and fingerprints. Biometrics is a new technology which allows identification of individuals by measuring different physiological proper-tion

ties. The pilot scheme will see the introduc-tion of a special gate at Dublin Airport to process the new biometric passports.

Volunteer

Passports which include embedded ysiological information (fingerprint, iris) about the owner of the passport. Civil Servants will be asked to volunteer

to use the new gate. The Irish Council of Civil Liberties has The trish Council of Civit Enterties has already come out strongly against scheme. The scheme is being undertaken to pre-pare for a new US law which requires all 28 states (which includes Ireland) in the US

states (which includes Ireland) in the US government's visa waiver programme to provide biometrics data on all newly issued travel documents. The Enhanced Border Security and Visa Reform Act was passed following September 11th. It will prevent people with travel docu-ments issued after October 2004 from entering the US without a new biometric enabled visa or passport.



local mosque.

PAISLEY's DUP party has found а new threat to Ulster-this time from the

tiny Muslim community.

Two dozen Muslim families in Portad-own applied for per-mission to build a

They received out-line planning permis-sion and the building was to be funded entirely by them-selves selves

But Unionist council-lors have blocked their efforts. Woosley Smith,

from the DUP claimed that there would be a "wailing noise" which would intimidate resi-dents would intimidate resi-dents. "I would be worried for the residents of the area as to just what they would be confront-ed with," he said. Another sturdy

defender of Ulster said it would pave the way for an Al Qaida terrorist cell.

The DUP claims that free born Britons are entitled to religious liberty. But the message

from the bigots is - not if you are a Muslim.

Another Fianna Fail head rolls!

Fianna Fail chief fundraiser Des Richardson has just resigned.

Richardson is about to appear at the flood Tribunal where he will be quizzed about evidence given by Frank Dunlop!

There is absolutely no connection between both these events.

CROWD CONTROL

The Police Service of Northern Ireland look set to be given CS spray for crowd control. Even the Police Complaints Authority admits that it is dangerous when

used at close range.. In 1996, a young Londoner, Ibrahima Sey, died after he was sprayed with the gas while he was on his knees and handcuffed. Out of 135 com-plaints investigated by the PCA, eight people needed hospital treatment or suffered from the effects of the spray for hours after the event. And there have been scores of cases where cops have misused the spray. They've used it at too close range, in police cells and even after someone had already been Meanwhile, the Northern Ireland Office is considering a range of other These include variations on the plastic bullet—for example sponge grenades and sock rounds. Most could have equally lethal consequences.

SOCIALIST WORKER PAGE 3

editorial

Bush: The biggest threat GEORGE BUSH is justifying war against Iraq by claim-ing that Saddam Hussein possesses Weapons of Mass to world peace Destruction. In the next days and weeks, evidence will be manufactured to prove this.

One way this can occur is through a 'supergrass scheme' offered to Iraqi scientists.

They and their families are being spirited out of Iraq to

Cyprus for interrogation. If they come up with good sto-ries. they will be offered a life of comparative wealth in the US.

Or Hans Blix and the weapons inspectors' team may claim they have made a big discovery.

But the real truth is that Iraq is a devastated country that barely has the capacity to launch missiles.

The biggest threat to world peace comes from George Bush. The chances of the US resorting

to nuclear weapons are far greater now than at any time in recent decades.

Radiation

According to one estimate, the US is spending 45% more on nuclear weapons activity than it did at the end of the Cold War.

It is willing to use a new range of battlefield nuclear weapons such as 'a robust nuclear earth protector' or 'enhanced radiation' weapons.

These were tested in I hese were tested in Afghanistan and and given innocu-ous names like a 'daisy cutter'—but they obliterate everything in sight. Bush's new security doctrine claims the right 'to act pre-emptive-by' argingt any strate that barbours

ly' against any state that harbours

According to one estimate, the US is spending 45% more on nuclear weapons activity than it did at the end of the Cold War.

'terrorists'.

This is a cover to attack any country that does not bow to the the US

If Maggie Thatcher had applied this doctrine, she could have bombed Dublin under the pretext of dealing with the IRA.

Treaty

Bush's withdrawal from the antiballistic missile treaty and his threat to scrap the test ban treaty are set-

ting off a new nuclear arms race. Faced with what the US is doing, countries like India, Pakistan and North Korea are less likely to sur-

murdering socialists and attacking Iran

Hussein is, the biggest threat comes from Bush and his allies Blair and Sharon.

THE REPORT ar shall not be declared and I ute shall not participate in we with the assent of Dail I

> Two thousand demonstrators arrived at Shannon on January 18th to protest at the use of the airport by the US military in the build up to war on Iraq. The demo was called by the Irish Anti War Movement and numbers were double those expected. The IAWM is calling for huge numbers to protest in Dublin on February 15th in a national demonstration to stop the war.

riah Constitution - Article 28, a. f

1 4 1



AS THE anti-war movement grows, Blair Bush and

started to have look for its weak points.



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

Many Labour politicians Party throughout Europe are saying that the war could only be justified if the UN sanctioned it.

But this is a trap for the anti-war movement.

Last year, the US was able to bully and bribe all UN Security Council members to do its bidding.

Message

Bush will get the message to Hans Blix, the head of the inspectors' team, that he expects him to come up with something.

The US may still go back to the UN Secu-rity Council to get 'official sanction' for war.

Russia and France occasionally ma noises against war. make But their real aim

is to bargain for some of the oil concessions after Saddam Hussein has been overthrown. Both have already

prepared ships to go to the Gulf.

Relief

Poorer countries such as Angola, Bul-garia or Cameroon will be told that debt relief and trade deals are dependent on supporting war.

And no one should rely on the Irish For-eign Minister, Brian Cowan, to vote against war.

He comments on Shannon shows that he is already bought and paid for as a US puppet!

The message of the Irish Anti-War Movement is no war—with or without the backing of the UN.



SUS H

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National Demonstration **International Day of Protest Saturday February 15th Dublin: Assemble 2.00pm Garden** of Remembrance Parnell Square

Belfast: See posters for details

U.S. MILITARY OUT OF SHANNON JUSTICE FOR PALESTINE Irish Anti War Movement Tel: 086-3074060 www.irishantiwar.org

render their weapons. Saddam Hussein is a monster. He was backed by the US when he was But no matter how vile Saddam

Blair declares war on the Firefighters...

The case for the FBU

Blair's spin machine is targeting the fire-fighters. Here are some of the lies.

LIE ONE: The FBU has rejected a negotiated settlement.

N0. It is the government which will not negotiate. Deputy Prime Minister

LIE TWO: The firefighters should accept the independent Bain inquiry.

THE BAIN inquiry was not inde-pendent. Bain is chancellor of Queen's

LIE THREE: The fire-fighters are being greedy.

FIREFIGHTERS ARE paid \$21.533 a year. They work a 42-hour week. MPs get £55.118 a year. Cabinet ministers are on £124,979 a year. The government and the press try to use

LIE FOUR: The firefighters are being led by political dogma into an unnecessary fight with the government.

IT IS New Labour that has picked a fight with the firefighters. The govern-ment has decided to take a hard line with the trade unions while loving up to big business. It says "modernisa-

John Prescott told FBU leaders last week that his demands for cuts to the fire service (outlined in the inquiry chaired by Sir George Bain) were "non-negotiable". The employers said at the start of this week that there could be no negotiation over 4.500 job losses and other cuts.

university where he has pushed through a policy of sacking lecturers and 'managing by stress'.Bain accept-ed government spending limits when it came up with proposals for job losses, worse pensions, reduced fire cover and forcing the public to pay extra, through insurance premiums, for fire cover.

low pay in other areas as an excuse for poor pay in the fire service.New Labour has just increased spending on the military by £2 billion every year (with an open cheque book to cover any additional costs from attacking Iraq). Putting the top rate of income tax back where it was under Margaret Thatcher would bring in £19 billion.

tion" means opening up public services to profit-grabbing companies. The gov-ernment's assault on the FBU is so extreme that the TUC's John Monks and Brendan Barber, normally loyal to the Labour leadership, are reportedly not on speaking terms with John Prescott. More is needed. The TUC and the ICTU should stop worrying about how to come up with a rotten compro-mise and instead start organising action to back the firefighters.



Out with graffiti, murals and in with Starbucks?

West Belfast's lucrative trade in "revolutionary tourism" may be brought to an abrupt halt if the Andytown News gets its

way. The community paper so closely identified with main-stream republicanism ran a full page article in its January 18th issue calling on graffiti artists to "grow up" and stop painting political slogans on the walls of the Royal Victoria Hospital.

In an area renowned the world over for Sinn Fein murals and graf-fiti, the paper singled out support-ers of the SWP, quoting one "resi-

dent" alleged to have complained that "the days of having to resort to writing [graffiti] were over in the 1970s".

As an example of the offensive material, the story carried a photo of a wall, allegedly sprayed by SWP supporters, which reads

Unbothered

"Bush-Blair-Sharon: Axis of Evil'

"Bush-Blair-Sharon: Axis of Evil" and another with the slogan "Fund Public Services Not War Crimes: Pay the Firefighters". Curiously editors seemed unbothered, though, by "dissident republican" grafiti within a five minute walk that read-until recent-ly-"All Prods Are Targets".

Pearson's **PFI Scams**

A FURTHER £700 million worth of public services is to be farmed out to the private sector in Northern Ireland.

The direct rule finance minister Ian Pearson has decided more pri-vate investment will be allowed in schools, hospitals, libraries and even the fire service from 2004

onwards. That's £725m worth of the public sector which will be leased back to the government by private businesses ... at a

whopping big profit. Yet this month, a government watch-dog reported that schools built under PFI contracts are often "significantly worse". Many have inadequate class rooms, are badly laid out or have insuf-ficient ventilation.

The Eamonn McCann column Is Progressive Unionism possible?

THE DECISION of the Progressive Unionist Party to pull back from the peace process has dismayed many commentators and

In straiged many com-mentators and activists in the North. The PUP has been seen by some, including some on the Left, as repre-senting new, non-sectarian thinking, a party which, uniquely among Loyalists, has proven able to build bridges to groups in Catholic areas. The PUP has taken a pro-gressive stance on a range of policy areas--the 11-Plus, gay rights, defence of the public sector--and has sup-ported power-sharing and broad range of other forces. It cannot glibly be dia-missed as a phoney con-struct. It represents some-ting real. But it was never really going to be able to keep to a consistently progressive

path. The PUP is the junior part-ner of the UVF. The paramili-tary outfit announced that it was ending communication with the decommissioning body on January 16th. The PUP pull-back from talks was revealed the following day. The key decision had been taken not by political leaders but by paramilitary comman-ders. (The fact that some indi-viduals might fit into both cat-egories doesn't detract from the point.)

egories doesn't detract from the point.) This reflects a political truth which Marxists have been drawing attention to for decades---that when an armed organisation and a political party are linked logether, it's the armed wing which has precedence. The party cannot discuss, much less dictate, the strategy of the armed group. Security considerations alone make this imperative. By the same token, the "army" cannot allow the party to adopt policy positions or

take initiatives which might compromise its interests. This applies, too, to the various Republican armed groups and their political adjuncts. It is one fundamen-tal reason Marxists resolutely oppose the notion of armed "winos".

oppose the notion of armed "wings". The UVF has had, throughout, a semi-detached relationship with the peace process. Its ceasefire has been contingent on there being no threat to the Union. In Belfast, it is in competi-tion with the UDA for domina-tion of particular areas, and carried out four killings during the feud in 2000. It was linked to the deaths of the three Quinn children in Ballymoney in 1998 and the sectarian assassination of building worker Ciaran Cum-mins in Antrim in 2001. The Shanklill Butchers were a UVF unit.

Linked to and dominated by an organisation of that sort, the PUP was never going to be able to break free

from the sort of politics which its founders acknowledged had led Protestant workers

had led Protestant workers nowhere. The PUP doesn't claim to have broken with Loyalist ide-ology. "The whole of Union-ism is saying enough is enough," declared David Ervine, announcing the PUP shift.

Thus, the party sees itself as an integral element of a Unionism which also embraces the UUP, the DUP

At the same time, it differ-entiates itself from establish-ment Unionist groups in claiming to represent a spe-cific and distinctive working-

cific and distinctive working-class interest. But this can only make sense on the basis of an assumption that Protestant workers have interests which are separate from and, in contradiction to, the interests of Catholic workers; that there are solutions to problems of poverty on the Shankill which can best be pursued sepa-

rately, which would not also be solutions to poverty on the Falls

Falls. This is self-evident non-sense and a recipe for politi-cal incoherence. There has never been a time in our his-tory when the identity of interest of the working class has been more obvious, not just across the sectarian divide in the North but across international bound-aries.

aries. The PUP is tugged The PUP is tugged towards peace and class politics by the interests of the deprived section of the population it seeks to represent, but all the time is pulled back into sectar-ianism and reaction by its associations and its ideology. It is and will remain politically incapable of b uilding solidly for the future.

The working class interest requires a clean break from communal politics and a deci-sive shift towards socialist sive shift organisation

news of the w . Anti-Capitalism spreads to India

THE ASIAN Social Forum (ASF) held in Hyderabad in India in January ended with a closing rally of over 10,000 people. It was followed by a

demonstration that drew thousands more. in Trucks and coaches from across the Indian state of Andhra Pradesh arrived with people who had made the trip to demonstrate their opposition to imperialism and war.

A large contingent from the All-India Student Feder-ation chanted "We want rev-olution!" and "Long live socialism! Capitalism-down, down!" Their chants echoed among women's groups, environmental cam-

INDIA IS a county

increased the dis-

rich and poor to an incredible level.

ing without a proper roof over their heads. India's

looking for new ways to

Enormous

The latest fads include taking cruises to Singapore for extended shopping trips, or buying enormous four wheel drive cars which help clog up the congested roads of India's cities.

A minority of delegates wanted the ASF to be part of

wanted the ASP to be part of an anti-capitalist movement that challenges the system both at home and abroad. They see the rich in India working hand in hand with the rich in the West to priva-tice state owned enterprises

the rich in the West to priva-tise state-owned enterprises and cut social spending. The Indian company Infosystems is the second largest software manufac-turer in the world. During the week of the ASF the chief executive of Infosystems demanded a total end to state subsidies of higher education in order

total end to state substates of higher education in order to cut corporation taxes. As Indian corporate greed matches its Western counterpart more people in India want to know about

While millions are liv-

rich are constantly

whose

parities

spend money.

growth

new

economic

between

has

New Left in India

paigners and trade unionists. Many had improvised their own placards and bantheir own placards and ban-ners which carried anti-war messages. An enormous puppet snake, which was there to represent the threat of anti-Muslim communal violence, threaded its way through the demonstration. Along the route there was street theatre and sideshows.

Lynched

A large raised platform was turned into a gallows on which an indebted poor peasant farmer was lynched by a World Bank execution-er. A loudspeaker broadcast the message, "Now we understand the link between war globalisation and comwar, globalisation and com-munal violence." The demonstration fol-

the anti-capitalist movement

from its origin in the Seattle protests in 1999. Many delegates wanted to discuss whether radical

change is possible in India, and if it is what forces could

about the size and diversity of the ASF. Many left wing political organisations in India talk about the need to organise among the working class, but then see elections as the best way of implementing their ideas.

Distribute

Others look to the peas-antry to form armed bands which can take land from the big landlords and dis-tribute it to the poor. But there are people who are looking for something else. They talked for hours about whether revolution was possible, what social classes would make a revo-lution, and how any future

lution, and how any future society would have democ-

racy at its core. At the moment their numbers are small, but the audience for their ideas is growing by the day.

lowed a week of intensive discussion and debate held in hundreds of venues across the city. Vast meet-ings held in enormous tents attracted audiences of over 1,000, while smaller work-shops covered every con-ceivable subject. The ASF represents comething new in Ledies

The ASF represents something new in Indian politics-a growing feeling of common interest between campaigners on many dif-ferent issues. It has created a space for those who want to change society. Anti-nuclear activists

Anti-nuclear activists invited tribal peoples to address their meetings and tell them how uranium min-ing is destroying their health ing is destroying their health and environment. Those who are fighting India's caste system came to meet-ings about water privatisa-tion. Like any newly-born movement, different forces are shaping it. Within the ASF there are those who see the movement as a challenge to the domi-

as a challenge to the domi-nant capitalist powers world-wide but who mute their crit-icism of their rulers at home. There are others who see the ASF as an umbrella group for non-governmental organisations (NGOs).



Anti war action spread around the world—a demonstration in Damascus

VENEZUELA: COUP ATTEMPT WEAKENS

in Venezuela to topple the elected President Hugo Chávez appears to be weakening. Oil industry bosses and right

wing and corrupt union leaders have been organising a "general strike" since the beginning of December.

Shutdown

Outside of the state oil company, the PDVSA, the shutdown has been very patchy and more and businesses are now re-opening.

The Washington Post gave an impression of how the "strike" has operated, "More and more businesses have opened in recent weeks, including Italian restaurant Limoncello.

Limoncello. "José Ornelas, the managing partner, kept the restaurant closed from December 2 until the day after Christmas while continuing to pay employee salaries. He said he lost \$100,000,"

Joel Pantoja reported in a US socialist paper on the shortage of soft drinks, beer and flour, "This is because Grupo Men-

doza, which owns Empresas Polar,

the second largest capitalist family in the country, is solid for the strike

They have shut down Pepsi Cola plants, Polar beer breweries, and cooking oil factories, which they own." In the state oil company -- the

In the state oil company -- the PDVSA - three quarters of the 30,000 production workers remained at their jobs. But the majority of the 10,000 managers, administrative personnel, skilled technicians came out on strike crip-pling oil production. They sabotaged vital control equipment and computers before they left.

Privileged

These people enjoy a very priv-ileged standard of living compared with the mass of working class peo-ple in the country with over a half the population living in dire pover-ty ty.

One Venezuelan worker report-One Venezuelan worker report-ed that 70 percent of tanker crews joined the strike, "Skilled crew members on tankers used to make \$3,000 per month and officers dou-ble that—huge salaries for Venezuela." The US government, which recognised a two-day coup in



Pro-Chávez demonstrator

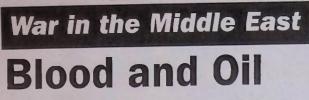
April, and in December backed the opposition's call for Chavez's replacement, is feeling the pinch

since oil production slumped. In the past Venezuela supplied the US with 15 percent of its oil imports. Bush's government doesn't want uncertainty over oil imports to the US while it fights a war in the Middle East. It has switched to diplomatic pressure to force Chávez to grant

the opposition concessions. Unfortunately, despite defiant speeches, Chávez has agreed to talks with the UN and US and other governments in the "Friends of Venezuela".

As oil production begins to revive, Châvez can only demoralise and weaken his supporters by mak-ing more concessions to those seek-ing to smash any challenge to their privileges.

bring it about. In a seminar on the future of socialism the future of socialism the Egyptian activist and acade-mic Samir Amin argued that THE RIGHT wing revolt any transition from capital-ism would "take two or three centuries". three centuries". Others felt that the col-lapse of the "Soviet experi-ment" had been a setback. But everyone was excited about the size and diversity



IN THE 1950s, the big powers of Europe grant-ed political independence to their former colonies in Africa and Asia after they faced defeat at the hands of guerrilla armies

But they also left because they were no longer so depen-dent of their natural resources

Industrialisation meant more syn-thetic products and greater use of more limited primary resources. But there

was one excep-tion—oil. The history of oil has always been entwined with blood entwine, and war, 1954,

example, the CIA organised a coup in Iran after the elected leader Mossadeq dared to take the industry into public ownership.

After the coup, control of the oil fields passed from British-Persian Oil Company to the US Company Standard

After the Gulf War in 1991, the US insisted that the borders of Kuwait be expanded to cover the huge Rumalia oil field in Southern

Iraq. The big winner was again Standard

Today, the US ruling class is even more determined to grab hold of the world's oil fields.

In 2001, the US Vice President Dick Cheney, drew up a new energy plan with the assistance of the disgraced company Enron.

Cheney was a former chief executive of the oil compa-ny Halliburton.

The plan pointed the progressive cline of US to decline domestic oil produc-

tion since its peak in 1970. It also showed that US oil con-sumption was rising

dramatically. An obvious solution was to cut down on the numbers of cars by improving

public transport. But this was not even dreamt of. Instead Chenev's document claimed United

that the States could only satisfy its demand for oil by more imports.

At present the US imports ten million barrels of oil per day, or just over half

day, or just over half its consumption. By 2020, Cheney argued, it would need 17 million bar-rels and so "will import nearly two of every three barrels— a condition of increased dependency on foreign powers that do not always have America's inter-ests at heart."

All of this meant that the US had to expand its sources of oil. In particular, it could no longer rely so much on Saudi Arabia.

Unpopular

The Saudi Arabian

regime is deeply un-popular and could find itself on the brink of revolution in the next decade.

Cheney insisted that the US could not simply rely on market forces to gain extra supplies. There had to be a "significant effort" by "significant effort" by the US government

to overcome foreign resistance to the "out-ward reach" of US energy companies. The "war on ter-rorism" has providing the ideal cover for this "outward reach". Right across the globe, US mili-tary deployment is

linked to oil sup-

Supplies of oil from Latin America to the US has quadrupled in the

plies

last fifteen years. US military and diplomatic pressure is now focussed on two big suppliers, Colombia and Venezuela.

Bush has allocated \$100 million dollar to a counter-insurgency cam-paign in Colombia.

Today one in four soldiers in the Colombian army are assigned to looking after the interests of Occidental Petroleum.

The US interests is also directly behind the attempt to overthrow Hugo Chavez, President of Venezuela

In Central Asia, S strategy is cussed on the υs focussed on the Caspian Sea where about 16 percent of the total oil reserves of the world are located.

US bases have been established in many former states

of the old USSR. In Afghanistan, a former UNOCAL executive, Karazai has been installed as President.

US interests have effectively taken control of the new pipeline. The coming war against Iraq is part of that pattern. Iraq has the second largest oil reserves in the world. Traditionally it has made deals with Russian interests and cut out the US.

Bush's aim is to change all that. Iraq is to be turned into a direct US oil colony with a US general such as Tommy Franks assigned to

such as Tommy Franks assigned to

manage the country for an "interim period".

predicted that 10 mil-

lion people could per-

ish from the war and subsequent disloca-tion of food supplies.

rations, which rule the world, human life is a small price to

pay for profit

But for the corpo-

Even the UN has

demonstration in Dublin. Political parties supporting the demonstration include the Labour Party, the Green Party, Sinn Fein and the Socialist Workers Party. SIPTU, the biggest union in the country, representing a quarter of a million workers is also curporting the period.

quarter of a million workers is also supporting the protest. The Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions is supporting the demo in Belfast. The demonstration is being jointly organised by the Peace and Neutrality Alliance and the Irish Anti War Movement

Neutrality Alliance and the firsh Anti War Movement. Richard Boyd-Barrett chairper-son of the IAWM told Socialist Worker that "Feb15th will be one of *Worker* that "reb15th will be one of the largest political protests ever held in Ireland. We are expecting upwards of ten thousand people to take part and we are organising a major concert for the evening of the

with people up and down the coun-try about organising transport for the protest and there are buses from all major towns and cities as well as

all major towns and cities as well as people coming from as far away as Dingle and Letterkenny. "February 15th will be a chance for Irish people to take part in the largest ever day of international protest and we can make a differ-ence. The demonstration will be calling for US military out of Shannon and if we can force the Irish government to retreat on this, it will have a major impact in the

who are opposed to the warmonger-ing of the American and British governments and the use of Shannon as

FEBRUARY 15TH DAY OF ACTION

February 15th is a red letter day for anti-war activists around the activists world.

On that day tens of millions will demonstrate in capital cities around the globe to show their opposition to the planned war on

Up to a million are expected to by to a minton are expected to take part in London alone. Up to 20,000 are expected in Dublin. It promises to be the largest ever co-ordinated day of global protest in bittor:

history. February the 15th was the day named in a call for action issued by the European Social Forum in Florence when it met in November last year. This was a gathering of 60,000 anti-capitalist activists from across Europe. Its proclamation sees February 15th as just the first step in moving towards strike action against

In December an anti-war conference in Cairo attended by 400 dele-gates from across the Middle East took up the call.

Activists from major cities in the US, in Australia, and in the Philippines are planning protests on the same day. And at the end of January the World Social Forum meeting in Porto Allegre are expected to endorse February 15th and bring Latin America onto the streets against Bush and Blair.

Unprecedented

In Ireland an unprecedented broad coalition has come together to support the February 15th national demonstration in Dublin. Political

demonstration. "The IAWM has been in contact

will have a major impact in the United States."

The message is clear-all of us a warport have got to get to Dublin on February 15th to show that we are the majority"

Anti war activi

"IT IS one thing to

oppose war in Irag on

principle but another

to do something about

Each and every one of us

has the ability to make a dif-

ference even if it is just rais-ing awareness by talking to

friends family and col-

leagues.....I succeeded in

ing a few of them to get actively involved.

Camilla Monroe

Dun Laoghaire

Against The War

mobilising my workplace by getting everyone to sign the anti-war petition and persuad-

actively involved. Now we are going to make a banner for the demonstration on February 15th . Participating in demonstrations also provides a real opportunity to express mass opposition, and show the world powers that the growing anti-war sentiment is a voice that cannot be ignored"

it. This is why I joined

the anti-war move-

ment.

IN NCAD our students union has taken a position of strong opposition to the war and we are organising for a big pro-peace movement in the college.

Artists have a part to play in communicating the horror

in communicating the horror of war to the wider public. On the demonstrations we will be making a strong visual statement. We are organising a bus to go to Shannon and we are holding a teach in on the 4th of February with invited speakers from the anti-war movement

Roisin Ni Fhaolain Vice president

NCAD students union

THE ANTI-WA ment in Wate gaining real n with support across the pr political spec

The Waterford Trade Unions has the lish Anti War and that should he loads of buses for

and intervention in loads of buses for Last Saturday m Greens, Sinn Fein, Workers Party and protest in Red Squa some street theatre information stall. We had queues up to sign Our anti An anarchist schoo-hoping to Organise walkout of school s the war. Jurge all t across the Country their unions to get February 15th. It is the slight of ple in their tens of that will force the 1 ment to end their s American War mace

Dick Roche

President Wa Trades Coun

Socialist Worker	Name
Recent Taliya Ja Shannen a mass marement opposes Bash	Address
We <u>can</u> stop this war!	Рпопе
ALL OUT FERRILARY 151	E-mail

STH - A GLOBAL ON AGAINST WAR

ild for the

THE ANTI-WAR movement in Waterford is gaining real momentum with support from across the progressive political spectrum.

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across the progressive political spectrum. The Waterford Council of Trade Unions has affiliated to the Irish Anti War Movement and that should help us fill loads of buses for Feb 15th. Last Saturday members of the Greens. Sim Fein, the Socialist Workers Party and others held a Workers Party and others held a Workers Party and others held a workers the Red Square and we had protest in Red Square and we had some street theatre and a lively some street theatre and a lively some street deater and a lively we had queues of people lining up to sign or anti war petition. Up to sign or anti war petition. The head queues of the street is hoping to of thood students against the war. I use all trade unionists across the county to work inside their union of thousands on ple in their tens of thousands on ple in their tens of thousands on the street in opposition to this war that will force the lish govern-ment to end their support for the merican war machine.

Dick Roche President Waterford Trades Council

HEALTH WORKERS against the war was set up at the beginning of December and so far we have held three video screenings in James St hospital with a good attendance at each.

Support for our group ranges across the medical spectrum from doctors to lab technicians, from nurses to

ancillary workers. Obviously medical workers have an intimate knowledge of the effects of the kinds of weapons that Bush is planning to rain down on innocents in

to rain down on innocents in Iraq. We are holding a public meeting at the end of this month with anti-war speakers from the medical professions and from that we hope to establish a national network of Health Workers Against The War. We are asking all health workers to voice their concern and outrage by joining the national demonstration on February 15th

Jo Tully, INO rep St James Hospital, Convenor of Health Workers Against the War. WE SET up school stu-dents against war as a network for radical young people to do something about their opposition to Bush and Blair's war drive.

15 Februa

Young people and school students have always played a large part in radical move-ments. We have held stalls in Dublin city centre and got a great response from people

We are encouraging school students to address their class and find ways of countering the pro-paganda which we are being force-fed in the mainstream media

On demonstrations and protests we carry our own plac-ards and banners and try to be very lively. I got involved because I believe we can stop Bush and Blair's war drive if

Bush and Blair's war drive if enough people get on the streets to show their opposition. The other day I addressed my class and got a very good response. People were snapping up the fact sheets prepared by the anti-war movement and some of my friends are going to Shannon to protest. We hope to have a very large contingent on February 15th

Eoin Gillen **School Students** against the War.

HOW YOU **CAN BUILD**

Get an Irish Anti-War Group going in your area, workplace or college. Order posters and leaflets and set up street stalls.

Go to your union meeting and put down a resolution calling for support. To Contact the Irish Anti-War **Movement Ring 087** 6329511 or website

www.irishantiwar.org

Capitalism: An Empire without contradictions? TONI NEGRI and

WHAT SOCIALISTS SAY

Michael Hardt's published recently Empire. has had influence much among anti-capital-ists. Both writers belong to the 'autonomist' direct action wing of the movement.

However a recent article by Hardt in the London Guardian (Dec 18th) on the coming war on Iraq shows, betrays an extraordinary confu-sion about the links between war and capitalism.

Emerging

Correctly Hardt notes, "Not even the US leaders have the illusion that his war will bring peace. They see it rather as a long-lasting and perhaps inter-minable war driven by con-

inually emerging threats." But he also argues that war with Iraq is contrary to the interests of big busi-

He writes 'Some of the worst tragedies of human history occur when elites are incapable of acting in their own interest.." He continues, "US mili-tary actions will, in fact, most likely only feed the antagonisms created by the inequalities of wealth and power around the world, increasing exponen-tially the insecurities of global elites."

Therefore US imperialism is behaving irrationally. Instead, Hardt argues that the real interests of big that the real interests of big business lay in promoting "empire". By this he means a global power that is organised in a decen-tralised form, a multination-al alliance of leading nation states, organisations like the UN and the IMF, NGOs the media, etc. the media, etc.

"This decentred network power of empire corre-sponds to the interests of global elites because it both facilitates the potential profits of capitalist globali-sation and displaces or sation and displaces or defuses potential security threats."

Support

This leads Hardt to believe, "We can be confi-dent that in the long run their real interests will lead global elites to support

global elites to support empire and refuse any pro-ject of US imperialism." .On this view the drive to war is a ghastly accident, or mistake of policy. Even Negri and Hardt's write claim to write from a "post industrial age", these ideas are far from new. Karl Kautsky—a promi-

Karl Kautsky—a promi-nent leader of the Socialist International at the time— argued just before the slaughter of the First World War that growth in world

trade made conflicts between capitalists less intense Capitalism, he claimed,

Capitalism, he claimed, had entered a phase of 'ultra-imperialism' which made war irrational in terms of profit. After millions died in that terrible war, Kautsky's ideas were discredited. However if we are to take Hardt's new version of Kautsky's argument seri-ously, the implied strategy for anti-war activists would be to pressurise more "far-seeing" capitalists to change the policy of their governments. It's hard to imagine a more dangerous policy

more dangerous policy because it fails to see how leaders like Chirac in France or Ahern in Ireland have a direct interest in

have a direct interest in supporting war. Against Kautsky, Lenin argued in Imperialism, the Highest Stage of Capitalism, that the growth of giant monopoly compa-nies and links between big companies and their states leads to military rivalries between imperialist states. This made wars inevitable. Lenin claimed this was not a matter of pol-

this was not a matter of pol-icy (and therefore not a matter of choice) but was forced on the major states by the logic of their system.

Provoked

But these huge confla-grations also provoked major upheavals from below. This is why Lenin dubbed our epoch that of wars and revolutions.

wars and revolutions. Much has changed in the world since Lenin's time. Nonetheless, the drive to war is forced on the US by the rise of potential rivals in China and Japan. At the end of the World War Two, the US accounted for half of all world production. It could therefore dominate much of the planet by the mere force of economic fact. fact.

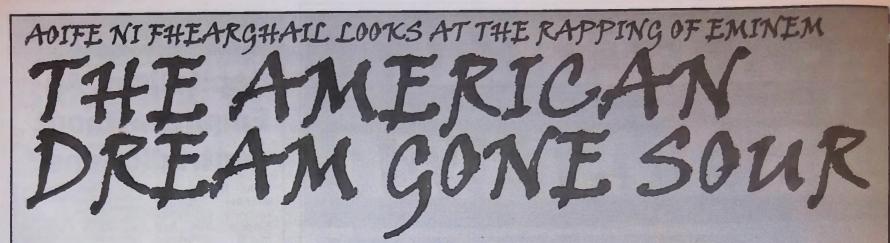
Today US share of world production has shrunk to half that of 1948. It needs its military clout to strength-en its control of major oil producing regions, and to dominate the Middle East. If fears the rise of major rivals in China and Japan which could undercut its papiting position

It is therefore forced to throw its military weight around. This is why Bush's cabinet talks of "full spec-trum dominance"—military, political and economic-across the world.

To depend on some fragment of the ruling class to oppose this develop-ment is to expect tigers to become vegans.

Countries like France may occasionally make anti-American noises, but their interest lies in wran-gling for oil concessions in a post Saddam Iraq.

Only a movement from below can really oppose war



Mile is Eminem's semi-autobiographical first film, portrays a week in the life of Jimmy 'Rabbit' Smith—a white 'trailer-trash' factory worker who dreams of escaping his impoverishment by making it as a rapper.

rapper. Ostensibly 8 Mile tells the Eminem raps-to-riches story-absent father, alcoholic mother, troubled childhood, shit jobs, raw talent, record deal-but really this film is about poverty, about life on the edge in downtown Detroit, about the American Dream gone sour. The 8 Mile of the title refers

The 8 Mile of the title refers to the line separating the deprivation of inner-city black Detroit and its affluent white suburbs.

Throughout, images of industrial wasteland, abandoned buildings, broken-down trailerparks. domestic violence and gang war outline the poverty in which the dark underbelly of the America lives—where the American Dream has long turned into a dav-to-dav nightmare.

a day-to-day nightmare. This stark imagery goes a long way to explain, not just the sheer rage behind Eminem's lyrics, but the mass appeal of his music to the young people of an America which doesn't give a shit about them—where 31 million live in poverty while billions are spent on war.

Like 8 Mile's 'Rabbit', Eminem, born Marshall Bruce Mathers, grew up in a deprived predominately black neighbourhood in Detroit. Bullied at school, he found solace in rap music and spent his time between shifts in burger bars writing down rhymes which he tested at local rap contests.

e was eventually discovered at one such battle by Dr Dre of gangsta rappers Niggaz With Attitude, whose seminal song Fuck Da Police earned the band a 1990 FBI National Security Threat label.

Dre's initial reaction was that watching Eminem was like "watching a black guy doing country n' western" but he recognised his verbal dexterity and rhyming skills and the rest is history.

Often compared to Elviswhite boy from the wrong side of the tracks who stole black music and street style translating it into mainstream popunlike Elvis, Eminem writes his own songs, which spring from a massive anger and bitterness at the poverty and injustice of the society in which he grew up.

While he may be seen as a somewhat caricatured voice of poor urban white America, Eminem's controversial lyrics have generated a storm of protest, earning him a place as the bête noire of both the liberal Left and the reactionary Right and provoking George Bush to label him the "most dangerous threat to American children since polio".

Eminem's lyrics contain all the more thuggish elements of gangsta rap—misogynism, homophobia and a glorification of violence.

In songs such as *Marshall Mathers* 'faggots' get knocked off and 'bitches' get slapped. While in *Kim* he kills his ex-wife saying 'Bleed bitch bleed', but underneath the violence an insecure voice is imploring her to tell him why she no longer loves him and thinks he's ugly.

owever, since his first album, he seems to be reacting to his critics and qualifies his lyrics. For instance, in *Criminal* he says

says "A lot of people think that what I say on record Or what I talk about on a record That I actually do in real life, or

that I believe in it Or if I say that I wanna kill somebody, that

I'm actually gonna do it, or that I believe in it Well shit, if you believe that

Well shit, if you believe that, then I'll kill you". While in Stan-a dialogue

between Eminem and a disturbed fan—the fan snaps under the increasing pressure of his life killing both himself and his pregnant girlfriend.

pregnant girlfriend. Writing back to Stan, Eminem pleads with him to get counselling and to look after his girlfriend in what sounds like an appeal to his real fans and critics not to take his more extreme lyrics so seriously.

There's also a strange naiveté in the fact that he produces 'clean' versions of his songs for his daughter to listen to.

ndoubtedly, his lyrics do contain homophobia and misogynistic elements but more recently they do seem to have moved on politically. In his last album, he exposes

the double morality of the moral majority of white America who censor music they claim incites violence whilst letting their children watch Arnold Schwarznegger music and happily waving their 18-year old sons off to war.

He's begun to take aim at some real targets, calling on young people in *Square Dance* to stand and fight against the Bush administration before they get drafted into the military.

Eminem is the voice of an increasingly alienated and impoverished white working class in an America where wage inequality is at an unprecedented level—where a young person working in WalMart would take 1,000 years to earn what the WalMart CEO earns in 1 year.

This is an America where the top 1% have more net wealth than the bottom 94% of all Americans—where no penalty is paid by the likes of General Motors which devastated the entire town of Flint, Michigan while a teenager who sprays graffiti on a wall gets sent to a juvenile detention centre.

minem exposes the often unarticulated dark underbelly of the American Dream-of angry teenagers "workin at burger king, spittin on your onion rings".

He doesn't yet see this mass anger as being aimed in any particular direction, yet claims to be:

"The ring leader of the circus of worthless pawns

sent to lead the march right up to the steps of Congress

and piss on the lawns of the Whitehouse".

As the angry young people of America start to take to their streets in their tens of thousands to protest against their warmongering President, we can only hope that Eminem will be marching with them.

Warts and all, that's reason enough to look forward to his next album.



Side by side with the bloodletting are the hopes and expectations of the young people in

Drama

It is the balancing of these two sides of the city that drives the film

I remember another Brazilian film made in the 1980s set in the favela of Santa Marta.

It has none of the drama, pace and impact of City of God.

It does show, though, the vast range of popu-lar movements that held

the slum.

along.

Division and revolt in **New York**

film

MARTIN SCORSESE's new film Gangs of New York has opened with huge publicity. Its background is one of the biggest riots in U.S. history which began in New York on 13 July 1863.

The politics of the mass uprising were deeply con-tradictory, containing both working class anger against the rich and a thoroughly racist opposition to the emancipation of slaves

New York in the 1860's was the most impoverished city in the Western world. A hundred thousand immigrants arrived in the U.S. each year, the greatest part of them from Ireland. These crowds of poor refugees filled the tenements and lived in the utmost squalor.

The economic effects of the American Civil War were driving down living standards for workers while making fortunes for big business.

The previous September President Lincoln had issued his famous proclamation abolishing slavery. It was by no means a popular measure at the time, but a necessary one if the North was to win the Civil War.

The Democrats, who were a pro-slavery party, skillfully played on working class fears and to some extent managed to channel them in a racist direction.

The editor of New York's leading Catholic newspaper told a mass meeting "when the President called upon them to go and carry a war for the nigger, we would be damned if he believed they would go".

On a platform that declared emancipation to be bloody, barbarous and revolutionary' the Democrat Horatio Seymour won the Governorship of New York in November 1862.

The racist arguments in the New York working class movement were strengthened when black stevedores, marshalled in by the police, undermined a Longshoreman's strike in June 1863.

Election

Explaining the election result Marx observed, "The Irishman sees the Negro as a dangerous competitor.

Matters came to a head with the blatant class bias in the introduction of the draft. For 300 dollars, a year's unskilled wages, you could buy your way out of the army if your name came up in the lottery.

"Did you ever know aristocratic legislation to so directly point out the poor man as inferior to the rich", cried one newspaper. With shouts of "down with the rich" a mob assembled on the first day of the draft. It quickly grew, smashing draft centres and raiding the mansions of the well to do.

Some two thirds of the rioters were Irish. The racist currents in the movement surfaced very quickly. No black person was safe during the riots and several were lynched.

The riots were brutally suppressed. The Federal Government had to establish their authority and the draft; the rich were hysterical for their property. Feder-al Troops shot down over a hundred of the poorest peosis of New York.

This is the background to Gangs of New York, the politics of which are as dubious as the events them-seives. The atmosphere of poverty and raw criminality is vivid in the film—with a great deal of brutal violence.

The character of Bill 'the butcher' is brilliantly acted by Daniel Day Lewis and his role is fasoinating insofar as it is an exploration of how those who rule by violence exist on a knife edge.

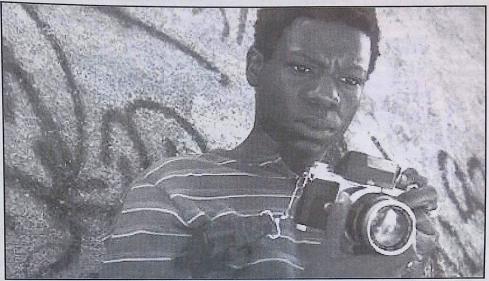
His "natives"—established New York slum dwellers—are racist and anti-Catholic. His main rivals, the Irish gangs are portrayed as being less racist although the historical facts would not justify this.

A deeper problem is that overall the viewer is expected to sympathise with these brawling gangs, racist warts and all. The final message of the film, as the skyline of New York is built up to a renewed Twin the skyline of New York is built up (to a renewed Twin Towers) against a shot of the graves of the gang lead-ers, is that the city is built on these characters and its functiones will thread toughness will triumph.

But these rioters were not the best that New York had to offer back in 1863. Missing from this film is any portrayal of the great number of socialists and radicals who combined fighting class issues with building an anti-sectarian, emancipationist working class organisa-tions that brought about massive strikes for the eight-hour day only nine years later.

by CONOR KOSTICK

film **CITY OF VIOLENCE AND DESPAIR** brother and his gang forced him to be the lookout instead of joining the raid. The murders are his revenge for that. Following this the child grows to become the principal gang leader in the city.



Alexandre Rodrigues in Fernando Meirelless City of God.

by **ROGER COX**

CITY OF God is a powerful film that every reader of Socialist Worker should make an effort to see.

It is a Brazilian film with subtities, but don't let that put you off. The "City of God" is the name of a run-

down slum, called a

favela, on the edges of the giant Brazilian city of Rio de Janeiro.

The film explores the lives of people who had to live there through the 1960s, through the 19 1970s and 1980s.

Portrayed

The film techniques echo those of Hollywood movies from Goodfellas to Pulp Fiction and it draws on documentary traditions too.

Many of the film's cast are not profession-al actors but people who live in the condi-tions portrayed.

The film has a sharp tempo and keeps you focused as the stories bring together the hopes and despair of the people in the favela.

Trapped in desper-ate poverty, their only ways forward are to find a job to escape the slum or, as most young men do, join a drugs

gang. The main story is centred on two young

photographer. The other becomes the violent gang leader.

almost endless vio-lence that marks life in the city.

In one instance, a child shoots all the peo-ple in a brothel dead, following a raid to relieve the clients of relieve the their money.

Murders

One wants to be a

The raid on the brothel was the child's idea, but his older

life together in the slums, from work par-ties and different reli-gions, to samba groups. It shows a collective response to the prob-lems people faced. The film records the

This side of life is not shown in *City of God*. People's hopes in Brazil today are high with the election of the Workers Party's Lula as presi-dent

dent. I hope that the pic-ture *City of God* so pow-erfully reflects is only a partial truth, and that there are movements in the favelas ready to fight for another world.

But don't miss this wonderful film.

When the Left split from the 1930s sion and the rapid rise of the Blueshirts in Ireland the IRA number of Protestant social-

by DAVID LYNCH

BRIAN Hanley's new study of the IRA from 1926 until 1936 is a detailed account of this fascinating period. This was the decade

when major sections of the IRA took up a left-wing political agenda.

political agenda. Hanley's book investigates aspects of the internal life of the IRA during the period. He provides interesting detail on the class background of the IRA membership. The different class of the IPA

The officer class of the IRA in 1933 was much more likely to come from the labouring class than the period from 1919-23

1919-23. The IRA itself said that it was "almost solely composed of workers and peasants'. The IRA in the 1930's attracted workers who had

become disillusioned with the new Irish state and who were attracted by the socialistic rhetoric used by the IRA in the pages of An Phoblacht.

"The IRA was made up largely of those who did not believe they had benefited from the revolution from 1917-21 and who sensed that the revolution was unfinished." as Hanley writes.

Friction

But as the IRA began to win more left wing elements into its ranks, the friction between the 'militarist' and the left wing

the 'militarist' and the left wing began to grow. The Chief of Staff of the IRA during this period, Moss Twomey, was not a socialist but for a time he did not mind the activities of left-wing mem-bers such as Peader O'Don-nell and George Gilmore. Twomey understood that because of the radicalisation caused by the Great Depres-

would have to get a more rad-

ical image. But while these two wings of the organisation existed together for a number of

years, tensions were growing. O Donnell and Gilmore Donnell and Gilmore eventually became convinced that an organisation based around a secret army, was never going to achieve what they wanted, a 'Workers' Depublic!

they wanted, a workers Republic'. They split from the IRA in 1934 and about 200 of their supporters met in Athlone to launch the Republican Congres

The Republican Congress gathered together socialists, trade unionists and the left in the IRA. It was a campaigning organisation that attracted

huge support. Clashes with the conserva-tive wing of the IRA grew. At the 1934 Bodenstown commemorations "The Congress contingent, including a ists from Belfast, were attacked on the orders of the IRA leadership and their ban-ners destroyed."

Tragedy

The Republican Congress was right to believe that the Workers' Republic could only be won through an open and democratic socialist party, rather than in conspiratorial private armies.

The tragedy was they split around the issue of how far to push socialist politics if it meant a break from the grassroots of Fianna Fail.

Hanley's book is a valuable contribution to the history of the IRA and the interaction between socialist and republican politics in Ireland.

■The IRA 1926-36, by Brian Hanley, Four Courts Press €24.95.

men. book

meetings/forums/events (01) 872 2682 e-mail swp@clubi.ie web: www.swp.ie

Redfern,

Allen

Fairview:

Marxist Forums Big ideas discussed

in informal settings

Ballyfermot:

Venezuela to Iraq: The Politics of Oil, Tuesday February 4th, 8.00pm, Ruby Finnegans, Lwr Ballyfermot

Ballymun:

Imperialism, Globalisation and War. Tuesday February 4th, 7.30pm, Ballymun Community Arts Factory, 304 Balcurris Road.

Belfast Central: Details to be announced

Belfast South:

Details to be announced

Details to be announced Blanchardstown: Not in My Name (video showing and discussion) Wednesday January 29th, 8.00pm Castleknock Community Centre, Laurel Lodge SC Bray: Terror from the skies: The History of Bombing, Tues-day February 4th, 8.00pm Lenihans Bar. Speaker:

Dave Lordan Cork: Women's Liberation; Why

has it not been won?

College Teach-Ins on the War

NCAD:

TCD:

UCD:

Arts Block

Theatre M

Coláiste Dhulaigh, Coolock:

Tuesday January 28th, 4pm Student Union Room: "Media, Propaganda and War" and video showing of Noam Chomsky's "Manufacturing Consent"

DCU:

Wednesday February 5th, Details to be announced



Capitalism is wrecking the lives of millions and endangering the planet. A new society can only be con-structed when the workers take control of the wealth and plan its production and distribution for human need and not profit.

REVOLUTION

The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy. To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based on much greater political and economic democracy.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR War is a constant feature of capital-ism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth. Bush's "War on Terrorism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or

economic dominance END RACISM AND OPPRESSION END RACISM AND OPPRESSION We oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weak-ens the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH

We stand for workers unity against the Assembly politicians and Blair government. Like the great social-ist James Connolly, we believe that partition has brought about a 'car-nival of reaction' We want to see an Irish workers republic where all workers gain. Our flag is neither green nor orange but red!

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party. This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrow-ing the system. We call for cooperation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc. We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

PO Box 1648 Dublin 8	Join	the	Socialists
Name		Email	
Address			
I 1			
TU/college/school			

drum Family Recreation Galway: Centre. Speaker: Denis

Dun Laoghaire: The grand strategy of the American Empire, Tuesday January 28th, 8.00pm Far-rell's Pub. Speaker: Kieran

Rathmines:

Trinity College Dublin:

The Grand Strategy of the American Empire Thursday January 23rd, Arts Block Wednesday Wednesday 29th, 8.00pm, O'Connells

Rialto: The politics of oil. Wednesday Jan 29th 8.00pm, St Andrews Resource Cen-

Donal Mac Fhearraigh

Israel - America's Watchdog in the Middle East-Thursday Feb 6th 8pm in the Old Rogue, Michael Street

The grand strategy of the

American Empire, Wednes-day February 5th, 8.00pm,

Jobstown Community Cen-tre. Speaker: Brid Smith

3081

Tallaght:

Waterford:

Public Meeti

Artane:

Wednesday February 5th, 8.00pm St Anthony's Hall Contarf

Ballyfermot:

Tuesday January 28th, 8.00pm Ballyfermot Civic Centre, Speakers: Labour Party speaker; Aoingus O Snodaigh (SF); Brid Smith (SWP);

Ballymun:

Thursday January 30th, 7.30pm Axis Centre, Speakers: Proinsias De Rossa (Lab); Dessie Ellis (SF); Kevin Wingfield (SWP); Fr Peter McVerry

Bray:

Wednesday January 29th, 8.00pm Parish Centre, Speakers: Labour Party speaker; Deirdre de Burca (Green Party); Catherine Kennedy (SWP);

Dublin South City:

Tuesday January 28th, 8.00pm Liberty Hall (Social Hall)

Dundrum:

Wednesday January 29th, 8.00pm Dundrum Family Recreation Centre, Speakers: Michael McLoughlin (Lab); Eamon Ryan (Green Party); Deirdre Cronin (SWP); Sinn Fein speaker

Health Workers Against the War:

Thursday January 30th, 6.00pm William Stoke Medical Centre, Trinty School, St James Hospital Dublin

Maynooth:

Thursday January 30th, 8.00pm Glen Roual, Speakers: MaryLou McDonald (Sinn Fein), Emmet Stagg (Labour Party), Colin Coulter (Dept. Sociology, Maynooth), Gladstone Ogbonna (Socialsit Workers Party)

Phibsboro:

Wednesday February 5th, Speakers from Labour, SF and SWP Details to be confirmed **Rathmines:**

Tuesday January 28th, 8..0pm Lower Deck Portobello, Speakers to be announced **Rialto:**

Monday February 3rd, 8.00pm Parish Centre, Speakers: Aengus O Snodaigh (Sinn Fein); Kristina McElroy (Green Party); Brid Smith (SWP)

Tallaght:

Thursday January 30th, 8.00pm Abberley Court, Speakers: Sean Crowe (SF); Jessie Jones (SWP); Labour Party speaker

To contact the Irish Anti War Movement in your area phone 086-6329511

Venezuela to Iraq, The Politics of Oil Wednesday Jan 29th, 8.00pm, Richardsons

tre, SCR. Speaker: Donal Mac Fhearraigh Pub (Upstairs) Eyre Square

The politics of oil.

War and Imperialism, Tues-day January 28th, 8.00pm Smyth's Pub Fairview Pub, Portobello. Speaker:

Wednesday January 29th, **Belfast West:** 8.00pm, An Spailpin Fanach, Speaker Goretti Horgan **Dublin Central:** Marx, the first anti capitalist, Wednesday January 29th, 8.00pm Vietnames Centre, Hardwicke St Dublin South City: Is the US planning a coup

in Venezuela? Thursday January 30th, 8.00pm, Beanery Cafe, Burgh Quay **Dundrum:** 1918: When revolution

ended WWI. Monday February 3rd, 8.00pm, Dun-

Tuesday February 4th, 6pm-9pm,

Large Lecture Hall (above Library)

Thursday January 30th, 5pm-8pm

Thursday 30th January, 5pm-8pm,

Speakers: Colin Coulter, Richard

Boyd Barrett, Deirdre De Burca.

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

T PHONE REPORTS ABOUT STRIKES/LOCAL CAMPAIGNS/PROTESTS

HP RR NGS PAY C

roposed new social partnership deal is a major victory for the bosses organisation IBEC.

They went into negotiations looking for a pay freeze and a system of compulsory arbitration to remove workers rights to take industrial action. They won on both counts.



The new deal means pay cuts for thousands of workers. Ire-land's inflation rate for 2003 is hovering around 6 percent, according to official figures.

But even this under-estimates the real scale of price rises because it does not fully take account of house prices or rent increases.

Any pay deal that does not match this rate of inflation is a

Yet this is exactly what the pro-posed partnership deal does. In the public sector, the bosses got their full demand for a six month's pay freeze.

Throughout the whole of 2003, there will now be no pay rise for workers.

In the private sector, workers get a number of *phased* increas-es. But on an annualised basis, these amount to 3.5% for 2003.

This again is way below the rate of inflation. But two other fac-

tors make it even worse.

First, the employers 'inability to pay' clause has been strength-ened. They now have a get out from even the miserly increases if they can show loss of competitiveness'

This is a huge loop hole because pay rise in other EU countries are lower -precisely because the rate of inflation is lower. So virtually any firm could claim it is loosing 'competitiveness

Second, there is no floor payment for the lower paid. Percentage pay rise discriminate against the low paid – so, in the past, there has been a flat rate pay rise given as a floor. This has now been removed.

COMPULSORY ARBITRATION

Social partnership agreements already limit workers ability to take industrial action.

But the proposed new deal takes this pattern a good deal further.

From now on, the Labour Court will be given new mandatory powers to decide on inability to pay claims, breaches of the new deal and disputes over implementation of change and flexibility

If an employer claim they can-not pay the deal because they

are loosing 'competitiveness' workers can do absolutely noth-ing - they must let the Labour Court decide.

Similarly nurses will be banned from organising work to rules over hospital overcrowding because the Labour Court will adjudicate on 'flexibility.' All of this amounts to a new

system of compulsory arbitration and increasingly state controlled unions.

THE BENCHMARKING CON

Pay awards granted under benchmarking are to be used to sweeten this bitter pill.

These rises were granted under the last agreement - and were supposed to be voted on before a new partnership deal. But in deliberate piece of

manipulation, union leaders are trying to push the votes both benchmarking and a new part-nership deal together.

Benchmarking is a system which removes traditional relativity payments. These were often used by public sector workers to win increases beyond the mini-mal partnership deals.

The new benchmarking awards represent a different system because they have to be paid by tough productivity improve-ments.

employers are on the war path and are demanding major changes under the guise of 'modernisation'.

They want sanctions for 'under-performance', longer opening hours in local govern-ment, and greater 'flexibility.'

But even then the benchmarking awards are being delayed. Instead of full payment by the end of 2003 which is what the ICTU demanded – they will not finally be granted until 2005.

THE COVER

The ICTU leaders want to sell this rotten deal because they are so dug into a cosy consensus with the employers.

To do this they try to focus attention off pay and onto other 'social gains' in the deal.

They never explain why trade union members who pay their union dues have to be penalised in order to bring mild reforms to society at large.

But the most of the gains they trumpet are illusionary. Housing: ICTU leader David Begg has claimed that the great-est benefit is the promise of 10,000 more social houses. But he failed to soc that the

But he failed to see that the government is already falling back on its own commitments to social housing under the national Development Plan.

The 'new' promises are mainly a re-hash of the old one

Union Recognition: The union leaders claim they have won on union recognition. But the main change is that individual cases can be referred to the Labour Court more quickly. There is no right granted to bargain.

Redundancy Payments. There are some improvements on the legal minimum payments here.

But 60 percent of these pay-ments come from the taxpayers anyway.

Employers will use the change to try to stick all redundancy pay-ments to the legal minimum rather than granting the five or six weeks payments that were once customary.



Plans are afoot to build a powerful campaign among rank and file trade unionists to win a NO vote.

■ You can help in this campaign by phoning the SWP Industrial Desk on 01 8722682 and asking for leaflets and posters from the campaign outlining the NO case.

At your union meeting insist that there is a speaker from both the NO camp alongside officials who will advocate a YES vote.

GREENS

WRONG

CHARGES

The Green Party have supported

the increases in the bin tax

'polluter pays".

forced to pay the real costs of their

polluting habits Much household waste is caused by

unnecessary packaging that

Recycling

underdeveloped.

control over

consumers have no

facilities are severely

This is not true.

The main polluters are big business but they have not been

because they claim it is a green tax that ensures the

ARE

ON

Anger at big hikes in bin charges

ANTI BIN tax campaigners have been outraged by mas-sive hikes in bin charges.

Councils across the country have raised rates by large amounts.

In county Waterford weekly bin charges will rise from e6 a week to ϵ 7.50 while in Galway city they have jumped to ϵ 320 a year, an increase of ϵ 70.

Managers

In Dublin City Council after protracted discussions and the threat of abolition, councillors voted an increase in the domestic bin charge.

Householders will now be asked to pay $\in 154$ for a large wheelie bin and $\in 90$ for a small one.

The manager of Dun Laoghaire Rathdown county council has proposed a 65%increase on charges in the county which would raise the tax to €330 per year.



DON'T PANIC bullied by the Corpo T PAY ! 11.11 CONTRANIC DONTPAY ! 2837 89 087 210 7989 BIN AERS RTY HARGES IST BIN AR 01

Protestors demonstrate outside Dublin City Council meeting in January

Bin tax protesters picketed Dun Laoghaire Rathdown's first estimates meeting where a proposal for a 65 percent hike in the bin tax was discussed.

One protester said "I never paid the bin tax and I never will. Its unjust and unfair to expect people like one to fork out more and

more money for things that should be covered by all the money I've paid in tax." The councillors deferred a decision on the increase.

A large protest greeted took place outside a meeting of the Dublin city council which finally agreed to increase charges.

Dermot Lacey broke the Labour Party whip and voted for them and was subsequently expelled from the Labour group on the council.

Sixty per cent of house-holders in the area are refusing to pay the tax and this decision has strength-ened the resolve to maining. tain the cam aign of mass

According to Brid Smith, "The campaign is strong and well organised and we will resist any threats by the council to intimidate people into pay-ing "

non payment.

The Waterford Trades Council has convened a meeting of sho a stew-

ards and residents associations to discuss a joint campaign against the charges.

Dick Roche, the Presi-dent of the WCTU said, "We are encouraging householders to refuse to put tags on their bins and we are asking council work-ers to collect the bins"

Ordinary people are denied the chance to recycle significant elements of their waste.



FOUR AND a half thousand job losses. Over 150 fire stations to close. Less fire cover at the times people are most likely to be killed by fires. Intolerable working hours and a broken trade union.

That is what the government is demanding firefighters accept after their union has bent over backwards to seek compromise over their pay claim.

The responsibility for renewed strikes by 52,000 firefighters and control room staff lies squarely with New Labour.

Tony Blair has declared war on the

Despite the FBU leadership's readiness to compromise and seek

negotiation over confrontation, against the wishes of many union activists, Blair is determined to make an exam-ple out of the firefighters.

The firefighters are once again planning fur-ther 48 hour strikes at the end of the month.

The stakes are now higher than ever.

According to Brian Stanfield, FBU Regional Committee member, "This is not only a fight for decent pay - this is a fight for a fire service".

The firefighters are supposed to accept hor-rific condition contained in the Bain Report.

lives at risk. I Blair says he has no money to pay the fire-fighters and other claims from public sector work-ers. But he is pumping millions into a deeply unpopular war to murder and main the people of Irac But their only reward for accepting these con-ditions will be a 4 per-cent pay increase this year.

There would be a fur-ther 7 percent in Novem-ber, but only for some firefighters deemed to have skills. acquired extra

According to FBU

N.Ireland Regional Sec-retary, Tony Maguire, the employer's paper is "wholly unacceptable".

He told Socialist Worker that if the FBU accepted the plans "It would be nothing short of turkeys voting for Christmas".

Accused

Iraq. The time for compro-

mise with this govern-ment is over. Blair has taken previous indeci-

fire-cover. They should also link their pay claim to oppo-Blair has accused the FBU of putting public safety at risk by striking. sition to war.

sector workers.

Blair should be told that he will not get away with introducing Emer-gency laws to ban the But this is pure hyporrisy. It is the gov-ernment's "modernisa-tion" agenda that will undoubtedly put more lives at risk. I strikes.

ness

Instead the FBU should be to the fore in joining the February 15th demonstration in Belfast against the war.

The stage is set for massive conflict throughout Northern Ire-land and Britain.

This is why Socialist Worker appeals to all its readers to go all out to raise support for the firefighters and oppose Bush and Blair's war.

