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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

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BUSH'S WORLD OF BOMBS AND DISEASE PAGES 6&7 This is no war for democracy -page 8

Pamkhurst: The Suffragette who fought war —page 10

Even if the UN backs the bombing of Iraq we say...

This is still

a war for oil and US power

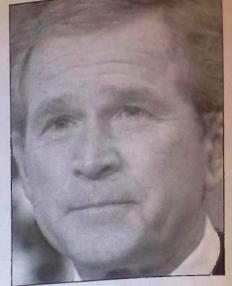


STOPIHE SIAUGIFER

Organise, Protest & Demonstrate



Blackmal



■ Bush: Threats

■ Blair: Bribes

BUSH AND Blair are using threats and bribery to get a UN resolution to back the

The global anti-war movement has put them on the defen-sive and Blair knows he will be kicked out of office if he does

not get cover from the UN.

The warmongers need nine votes out of the 15-strong Security Council and they also have to make sure that none of the five permanent members (US, Britain, China, Russia and France) uses their veto.

The US and Britain are now offering blood money to win the

According to the Guardian wspaper 'Russia and China newspaper 'Russia and China are putting their power of veto

up for sale in the form of debt write offs and promises of a share of the action in post war oil contracts'

Sweeteners

The ten other countries face

a combination of threats and

One US official has said that though there are no direct threats 'that's not to say that countries are not aware that we provide them with assistance'.

Here is how it works:

Mexico: The pay off for a yes vote is the easing of immigra-tion barriers on Mexicans entering the US.

■ Bulgaria: Wants entry to

NATO. It is also set to receive over \$31 million in US military grants and nearly \$100 million from another fund.

■ Chile: Their biggest fear is that a NO vote could halt a trade agreement

■ Angola, Guinea, Cameroon: They have been told that a NO vote will lead to a cut in aid. It is no idle threat. Yemen lost a \$70 million aid programme when it voted against the 1991 Gulf War.

□ Rertie Ahern claims says that Ireland will give open backing to Bush if he gets through a UN resolution.

But a resolution that is bought through bribery will never make a colonial war right.

What about

missiles?

IRAQ HAS been ordered destroyed its AI Samoud missiles they because could possibly fly up to 180 kilome-

This is not even far enough to go from Baghdad in central Iraq to Basra in the south.

But just as Baghdad announced that it had destroyed the first ten weapons, British and US warplanes stepped up attacks on Iraq.

Over the week-end, they hit targets that could be used to defend Iraq in the event of a ground invasion from Kuwait.

Stockpiles

Whatever the Iraqi regime's arse-nal, it pales to nothnal, it pales to nothing in comparison
with the Israeli
stockpiles, especially as Israel definitely does have
nuclear weaponry.
Israel's Jericho I
ballistic missile has

ballistic missile has a range of 500 kilo-

The Jericho II is even more deadly.

Its range of 1,500 kilometres means it can hit targets in Iraq, Syria, Iran and even Russia.

It can carry a payload of 1,000 kilograms, more kilograms, more than enough for a nuclear weapon.

Bush and Blair do not want to "rid the region of weapons of mass destruction".

They just want to make Iraq defence-

NEY VHAT

THE US has tried spectacularly to buy support in Turkey with the offer of \$26 billion grants, loans and loan guarantees.

But it was halted, at least temporarily, by mass protests. On March 1st the Turkish recommend to parlia-ment that 62,000 US troops be allowed to troops be allowed enter their country.

Pressure

But 100.000 demonstrators assembled in Ankara many shouting 'Yankee go Home'.

The march was organised by the Anti-

War Platform and put huge pressure on the ruling Justice and ruling Justice and Development Party. 60 deputies were expected to defy the

party whip and support the entry of US troops but after mass pressure it rose to 100. The government failed to get the required majority to let in the US troops.

The decision is a

huge blow to Bush and Blair. They had hoped to use Turkey to launch a invasion into Northern

a invasion manager in a larger largely Kure provinces in Turkey.

Supermacs are super-exploiters

ARRESTED FOR no reason, "disap-

ARRESTED FOR no reason, "disappeared" off the streets, held without trial and tortured. That is the fate of peace protesters in Egypt, a key ally of the US and Britain in the Middle East.

Eleven Egyptian activists remain in custody. Nearly all have been tortured. This is the country where Tony Blair has twice taken his Christmas holidays-one of them paid for by the Mubarak regime. The arrests began after an anti-war protest in January.

Then last week officers of the State Security Intelligence (SSI) seized Kermal Khalil, one of the leaders of the anti-war movement in Egypt, only days after he underwent a major operation. Amnesty International has formally taken up his case.

Brutality

Wa'el Khalil, a spokesperson for the detainees, says, "We know that many of those kidnapped by the SSI have been tortured with great brutality. We are especially worried about Kemal and fear he may not survive ill-treatment."

The others still in custody are Sabri Al Sammak, thrahim Al Sahari, Tamer Hindawi, Abdel Gawad Ahmed, Mohammed Khalil, Samir Al Foli, Magdi Al Kordi, Mahmoud Hassan, Mohammed Dakhli, and Mohammed Hosni.

Th Egypytian government receives massive aid from the US and Britain.

- For further information, or to register support, e-mail Jonathan Neale of the International Campaign Against US Aggression on Iraq at findjonathan@hotmail.com.
- Send messages of protest to President Hosni Mubarak, president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, by e-mailing webmaster@presidency.gov.eg and to General Habib al-Adeli at the Ministry of the Interior at moi@idsc.gov.eg

FOOD **FAST** are chains for famous exploiting young workers and paythem peaina nuts.

And it's not just the multi-national McDonalds and Burger King chains which are responsible.

Recently Irish owned Supermacs were found guilty of illegally keeping school students working until 4.30 am.

Hours

The law requires that 16 to 18 year old workers must finish six-and-a-half hours earlier by 10pm.

Even the usually proboss authorities were forced to act by Superma-cs' impunity. Judge John commented, Garavan "This company has been the recipient of inspections in the past when they were given a chance, and they did not take it."

The chain was forced to admit that it kept no proper records of starting and finishing times of its young workers.

Rates

Employers required to keep records of hours worked, holiday entitlements and rates of pay for three years.
Supermacs could not



■ Supermacs: A passion for overworking young people

Supermacs had been

produce these important arrears to staff since exploitation, Irish bosses 2001

forced to pay €80,000 in bish food and super-

When it comes to rub-

can stand proudly along-side Burger King and McDonalds.

Fight for a free education

EDUCATION Minister Noel Dempsey is set to announce

the return of fees for colleges from next September.
Students will be asked to pay 2000 euro a year for Arts courses, 3000 a year for science courses and 4,000 for law and medicine.
They will be issued with loans, which they will have to pay after leaving college.

Reduction

The move will lead to a reduction in the number of working class stu-

dents attending colleges.

Entry to subjects like medicine will be determined by ability to pay rather than by who is best suited to practice.

rather than by who is pest suited to practice.
It will make an already elitist situation even worse.
But students are not likely to take this lying down.
A recent election to the Students Union in UCD, saw three people from the Campaign for Free Education take officer posts.
It ended more than a decade of Fianna Fail control of the union.

editorial

We need regime change here

BUSH AND Blair have lost the argument for a war to remove weapons of mass destruction.

So now they claim that they are bombing Iraq to bring democracy and freedom.

They have some nerve talking about democracy.

Millions of people have marched against war on February 15th. Opinion polls, outside of America, are all against war. Yet our rulers are not listening to the will of the people.

Ahern had even the nerve to claim that the 150,000 people who marched in Dublin supported his policies! He must not seen 'US troops out of Shannon' on the posters.

Dictators

We clearly need 'regime change' in Ireland, Britain and the US - rather than just in Iraq.

rather than just in Iraq.
The US has no problem with dictators — as long as they are pro-US.

Take, for example, Islam Karimov, the president of the central Asian state of Uzbekistan.

He won a recent election with nearly 100 percent of the vote just below Saddam's poll rating. He locks up thousands of politi-

He locks up thousands of political prisoners and according to Human Rights Watch use 'systematic torture' on them.

But there is no talk of liberating the people of Uzbekistan because the US has established permanent military bases in the country.

And that gives them access to a vital strategic area next to Russia and China and close to the Caspian Sea where there are huge reserves of oil.

Colonial powers have always justified their rule by claiming to bring civilisation and democracy.

And it is always a lie.

Scores

The people of Iraq will eventually settle their own scores with Saddam Hussein. The overthrow of tyrants by their own people is not unusual.

The people of Romania got rid of Ceaucescu; the people of Indonesia got rid of Suharto; the people of Iran overthrew the Shah. Yet all of these tyrants were as bad as Saddam Hussein.

The best thing we can do to help get rid of Saddam Hussein is to end sanctions and stop this war.

That way the people would at least be able to organise for their freedom rather than starve or be murdered.



■ Part of the peaceful Irish Anti War Movement protest in Shannon on March 1st

IN THE EVENT OF WAR: A SOLIDARITY STOPPAGE

WAR IS only weeks away, whether or not the UN give it backing. We therefore have no time to loose.

In the event of war, we need to organise the most effective form of direct action to bring to an end as soon as possible..

The Irish Anti-War Move-

ment is calling on everyone to stop what they are doing at 12 o clock on the day war breaks out.

Walk-outs

This means walk-outs from workplaces, colleges and schools. This type of peaceful, mass direct action is the only way to make Ahern and Blair listen.

But building for action on this scale requires huge organisation. It means that activists

must prepare the ground now. February 15th was enormous because the idea of a global protest caught the mood of masses.

The solidarity stoppage is also being organised on an international basis. It too can catch the imagination of hundreds of thousands and shake the establishment.

But we need to re-double our efforts to get the word out now.

Do you think this war is about oil and US power?

Do you think people should come before profit?

Had enough of Bush, Blair and Ahern's contempt for democracy?

Do you want to fight racism, and the scapegoating of refugees?

YESP Then you belong in the Socialist Workers Party

To join or for more information: Fill in the form and **Send to** SWP PO Box PO Box 1648, Dublin 8 **Phone** (01) 872 2682 **Email** swp@clubi.ie Web www.swp.ie

I want to join the Socialist Workers Party

Address

Phone....

Union/College....(If applicable)

Uprising rocks Boliv

ONE OF George Bush's staunchest allies in Latin America had to flee his presidential palace in the Bolivian capital, La Paz. Gonzalo Sanchez de Lozada, the multimillionaire businessman president, escaped hidden in the back of an ambulance as government buildings in the capital burned.

Outside the palace people and police were fighting on the same side against troops sent to quell a mass rebellion against poverty.

There were mass demonstrations and riots in La Paz and other key cities.

A 48-hour general strike was called by the

Bolivian Labour Federation. Even the police went on strike.

Battles

"The crisis has reached such a point that the guard dogs of the state have turned against it", said Puca Wara, a socialist in the Bolivian city of Santa Cruz.

In La Paz striking police and ordinary peo-ple fought running battles against troops, who shot at least 32 people dead. Sanchez de Lozada has, now, survived in

office.
But he has had to withdraw the tax rises and cuts that sparked the protests, promise wage rises to many groups, and sack his entire cabinet.

The tax rises had been demanded by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and its backers in the US White House.

'The guard dogs of the state have turned against it.'

They wanted ordinary Bolivians to pay so inter-national bankers would continue to get interest on Bolivia's crushing debt burden. The

rebellion Bolivia is a severe blow to the US. The US Washington Post paper reports, "The country has become Washington's virtual stan-dard bearer" in Latin America.

"Prior to last week's events, the Bolivian government had been the true believer of Washington's free market gospel."



■ Demonstrators in the Bolivian capital La Paz

THE SPARK for rebellion was a government plan to freeze workers' salaries and impose a 12.5 increase in income

The Associated Press agency reported how in the capital, "Word of the new tax spread quickly. Labourers and peasants expressed outrage. Shop owners simmered with

anger.

"Soon, students in school uniform and taxi drivers took to the streets. Furious policemen then walked off their jobs to join demonstrators."

Targeted

People targeted, and set fire to, government buildings.
The rebellion quickly spread to

other key cities such as Santa Cruz and Cochabamba. An eyewitness in Cochabamba described how "The city is shut

down.

"The decision to take to the streets is the only choice that many have left."

The government measures threatened to plunge even more Bolivians into poverty. Years of IMF-backed neo-liberal policies have left over 60 percent of

Bolivia's eight million people living on less than \$2 a day. And, despite slavishly following IMF plans, the debt burden is crushing Bolivia's poor.

Sanchez de Lozada was economy minister in the 1980s when Bolivia's crucial tin industry was all but wiped out.

That and the devastation of other industries has pushed more and more people to try and scratch a living in the countryside.

A war on the Poor

MANY HAVE turned t growing coca plants. Coc leaves are a traditional milstimulant chewed by man people in the high altitude of Bolivia. Some coca pro duction has been used as th raw material for production

of the drug cocaine.

But the governmen
backed by the US, has bee
waging war on all coca produc
tion, threatening to reduce ever more people to destitution.

This has fuelled mas

This has fuelled mas protests by coca growers. One of the growers' leaders, Ew Morales, has become a key opposition figure and was a the centre of last week' protests. Morales only narrowelly lost the presidential election last year. last year.
The US has poured military

aid into Bolivia under the cover of a "war on drugs" George Bush hopes to establish three major new military bases in Bolivia to project US power in a strategically vital region

The region is home to vital oil and gas supplies, above all in Venezuela and Colombia. Bolivia itself has some of the world's biggest reserves of nat-

world striggest reserves of natural gas.

President Sanchez de
Lozada has made deals to
exploit these reserves with
companies including the now discredited Enron corporation, as well as BP, Shell, British Gas, France's TotalFinaElf and

Gas, France's TotalFinaElf and Spain's Repsol.

The rebellion in Bolivia has left Sanchez de Lozada hugely weakened, has terrified global corporations and badly rattled George Bush.

It shows how popular anger can explode and challenge the priorities of those at the top of society.

the Eamonn McCann column

SDLP and SF: Can you spot the difference?

FOLLOWING 700 garment industry job losses in the north west since the begin-ning of the year, the SDLP and Sinn Fein have set out their detailed policies for regenera-

detailed policies for regeneration of the region.

The Derry Journal, on February 28th, carried lengthy articles by Mark Durkan and Mitchel McLaughlin on "New Economic Visions" for the area. The similarities were so striking that cynics have speculated a double-jobbing ghost-writer may have written both pieces.

It was time, declared the SDLP leader, "for an end to the second-class economic treatment of Derry." Alongside, the Sinn Fein national chairman complained that "decision-makers" saw Derry as "populated by second-class citizens."

Durkan wanted the Derry area designated a "special action zone." McLaughlin preferred "a

cross-border enterprise zone."
Durkan proposed "substantial academic investment", McLaughlin urged "the expansion of Higher/Further education."
Durkan demanded funding for "the development of the northwest as a hub region between the National Spatial Strategy in the South and the Regional Development Strategy in the North through the Derry-Letterkenny corridor." The Sinn Fein man advocated "a coordinated approach to the Irish government's National Spatial Strategy" to create "a north west corridor" and make Derry " the regional hub of the north west."
And so on. There were differences of detall. The SDLP leader wanted the proposed all-reland police training college located in Derry. McLaughlin didn't mention the issue. No doubt there will be alignment on this matter too once Sinn Fein Joins the policing boards.

As to how the plans might be realised, Durkan declared: "I am calling today for all parties and all politicians to set aside party political considerations and work together in a cohesive and systematic way with our social partners to rescue this city and the North West from the ravages of economic decline."

North West from the ravages of economic decline."

McLaughlin called on "all of the political parties, business, civic and community leaders (to) unite behind a formal Regional Economic Development Strategy to effectively reverse the effects of years of apathy, bias and neglect."

One other difference was that Durkan mentioned, in passing, the role of trade unions. But in the course of a 2,000-word dissertation, McLaughlin didn't acknowledge trades unions' existence,

acknowledge ...
tence,
Neither suggested any role for
working class people themselves.
All their proposals involved lob-

bying governments, civil servants and economic planners. The notion of workers resisting jobs losses by sit-ins or preventing the removal of machinery, for example, didn't occur to either man. In the context of conventional Irish politics, there is nothing unusual or distinctive here. Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, the PDs, the two major Unionist parties in the North, could all comfortably go along with the basic approach. Calls for all parties and interests in a particular region to come together to fight that region's corner, and for the working class to sing dumb about its own interests in order to sustain "unity", are par for the course in Ireland, North and South. There is an implicit promise of a quiescent working class if the economic overlords choose this region over others.

others.

Meanwhile, the same parties in other localities will be making exactly the same pitch.

It scarcely needs saying that there isn't a glimmer of socialist thought in any of this. Sinn Fein rank-and-filers might wonder what's become of the policy proposed by the Derry delegation and formally passed at last year's ard fheis committing the party to "actively oppose" State aid for companies which fail to recognise trade unions or agree to compensation for workers and the local community in the event

compensation for workers and the local community in the event of closure or which refuse to pledge no involvement in the arms trade.

This policy was reflected in not one word of McLaughlin's article. And yet we can confidently predict that there will be no clash within the party as a result. Sinn Fein leaders regard the rank-and-file's leftism as a laugh, and the rank-and-file is required to accept the insult in silence.

A socialist who remains within Sinn Fein isn't serious.

This is no war for democracy

THE WAR on Iraq was originally justified by "weapons of mass destruction". But none have so far have been discovered.

It was then claimed to be part of the war on "terrorism" because of alleged links between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaida.

But Bush's gang have been unable to come up with any serious evidence to support that claim.

Now Bush and Blair have found a new closs to justify their way for all and

Now Bush and Blair have tound a new gloss to justify their war for oil and power. Saddam Hussein is a brutal dictator so the US needs to bomb and invade lraq to depose him. After that they promise to bring freedom and democracy to Iraq.

But the real intentions of Bush's gang

are in stark contrast to this humanitarian

are in stark contrast to this numarical rhetoric.

US plans will mean US General Tommy Franks being appointed military governor of Iraq, perhaps for years.

Key US officials, including Colin Powellrand the CIA, are afraid that any democratic arrangement in the country would fail to safeguard crucial US oil and strategic interests.

would fail to safeguard crucial US oil and strategic interests.

Prominent Iraqi oppositionists, in whose name the war is to be fought, have condemned Bush's plans. Kanan Makiya, of the Iraqi National Congress dubbed the plans an "unmitigated disaster".

Iraq's opposition parties met recently in Kurdish-controlled northern Iraq where President George Bush's special envoy to Iraq, Zalmay Khalilzad, told them how America would rule the country after the war.

Iraqi author and academic Kanan

Iraqi author and academic Kanan Makiya claimed that for all the talk of bringing "Western-style democracy" to Iraq, the US Administration was looking at ways to leave Iraq under the control of President Saddam Hussein's Ba'ath Party.

Clamp Down

The US administration reckons that The US administration reckons that Saddam's brutally repressive Ba'ath party, purged of Saddam and his circle would be able to clamp down on any genuine democratic movement and keep the area safe for US interests. The infrastructure of Saddam's Ba'ath party would remain largely intact, with the top two officials in each Iraqi ministry replaced by US military officers.

officials in each Iraqi ministry replaced by US military officers. "The plan is bizarre. It is Ba'athism with an American face," said Makiya The chairman of the Iraqi National Congress, Ahmad Chalabi, who expected to be made president of Iraq by the Amer-icans, condemned plans to have, "US military officers three deep in every min-istry."

Most of the country's 23 million inhabitants are Shi'ites, but have been ruled for decades by the Ba'ath party dominated by the minority Sunnis. Chalabi denounced the plan which would leave the Shi'ites still dominated by the

Iraq's neighbours, Saudi Arabia and Turkey, are also vehemently opposed to



WILL BRING REFUGEE GRISIS

Iraq faces an enormous refugee crisis when war begins. According to expert Gil Loescher, 60 percent of the population depends totally on food rations from the UN oil for food programme for basic nutrition. While the programme is administered by the UN in northern Iraq, in the centre and south it is in the hands of the Iraqi government. When the war begins even this perilous life-line will be cut.

Following Iraq's August 1990 invasion of Kuwait, some two million foreign nationals fled Kuwait and Iraq, flooding into nearby countries like Jordan and Yemen.

Turkey initially accepted some Kurdish refugees but quickly closed its border to them. The UN Security Council approved a resolution permitting a US-led military intervention to prevent the refugees fleeing to Turkey..

A crisis of even worse proportions now looms. But the US has prevented serious preparations to deal with the issue. The United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) is the body in charge of dealing with the crisis.

But under US pressure, Secretary-General Kofi Annan prohibited discussion of any UN-wide plans to prepare for a refugee crisis while

the Security Council was debating Resolution 1441.

any federal arrangement that gives autonomy to Iraq's Kurds or Shi'ites.

In their efforts to secure use of military bases in Turkey, the US has given the green light to the Turkish army to pour thousands of troops into northern Iraq.

Turkey, with its own disaffected Kurdish population, wants its military to occupy northern Iraq to prevent Kurdish groups from seizing the oil-rich northern city of Kirkuk and proclaiming an autonomous Kurdish homeland.

Two Kurdish parties have controlled a mountainous enclave of northern Iraq since 1991 and are demanding a regional government of their own. America and

government of their own. America and Turkey have made it plain that this will not be allowed to happen.

FIANNA spokespersons are regularly denouncing the tyrant Saddam and his brutal regime in Iraq.

Ahern and his fellow cabinet Ministers have been quick to back the US/UK push for war, arguing that the Iraqi people have suffered so much under Sad-dam that "regime change" would provide liberation for the Iraqi people.

But in the past Fianna Fail and their big business backers have had a long and profitable relationship with Saddam.

1978 In the months to Saddam's grab for power Fianna Fail in opposition were building links with tradi business Iraqi business. FF leade

FF leader Charlie Haughey visited Iraq and Charlie befriended some of the

Iraqi leadership.
Saddam's rise to
power did not call a halt to this burgeoning friendship and Ireland began to import oil, in increasing volumes, from Iraq under Saddam.

1982 The Irish Govern-Govern-me en t establishes an official trade commission with Iraq and Fianna Fail ministers and their chums in big business travel to a trade fair in Baghdad in May 1982.

Meanwhile Saddam begins his crushing of internal opposition and builds his power base.

1983 PARK, a subsidiary of Aer Lingus opens the most prestigious hospital in Bagh-

The hospital is staffed by large numbers of Irish nurses and specifically caters for the leadership

of the Iraqi regime as well as the top brass in the Republican Guard. Sad-dam himself visits the hospital on a number of occasions to avail of Irish hospitality. hospitality.

1984 While it is confirmed that Iraq have used banned chemical weapons during their war with Iran, the Fianna wai with frain, the Flanna Fail government establishes a Government Export Credit Insurance Scheme which allows Saddam to buy now and pay later.

Saddam takes advantage of this and begins to

Saddam takes advantage of this and begins to purchase Irish Beef, thus beginning the links between the Iraqi leadership and the Goodman Beef Industry.

The beef is used by Saddam to feed his elite

Republican Guard.

1986 opens an embassy in Baghdad, as trade rela-

lraq deepen.
Saddam continues to use weapons of mass destruction against the Iranians.

1987 S a d d a m uses chemical weapons on the Kurdish oppo-

sition in the North of Iraq.
But the Fianna Fail
government re-issue the
credit insurance scheme.

1988 Fianna Fail doubles the export credit fund, as America openly backs Iraq in the conflict with Iran.

1991 Gulf War, Saddam is no longer a US ally, and thus Fianna Fail ends its close eco-nomic ties with the Iraq regime. FF

regime.

FF policy regarding Iraq has always closely followed that of the US, and only 'ended' when the US turned against Saddam in 1991.

Remember the 'liberation of Kuwait?

family and their hangerson were abroad during the Iraqi occupation 12 years ago, they promised that a free and democratic society would be put in place when the US led forces drove out the Iraqi troops.

But with the defeat of Saddam

Hussein's forces in 1991 the old emir and his circle simply resumed their rule. Democracy is still completely off the agenda.

Laila al-Othman, who is a Kuwaiti writer whose books have been banned by the regime and who was convicted of seditious writing three years ago, commented, "We realise now it was just rhetoric...Nothing has changed in this country."

Kosovo and Bosnia, both subjected to Western "humanitarian" interven-tion, are as far away from democracy as ever.

Both are ruled by colonial-style UN governers.

NORTHERN IRAQ:

No example of liberation

est and most dishonest arguments of supporters of Bush's war is that it is about liberating the people of Iraq, especially oppressed groups like the Shi'a Muslims and the Kurds.

Commentators say that the Kurdish area of northern Iraq, which has been free of Iraqi government control since 1991, shows the kind of democracy and human rights the US

will bring to Iraq.
Northem Iraq is far
from peaceful. The
Turkish army has
repeatedly invaded the
area over the last

decade.

And it will be worse if there is a war. It has bombed and shelled villages in an effort to destroy supporters of the PKK-a guerrilla group fighting for the rights of Turkey's Kurdish minority.

The US did a deal with Turkey two weeks ago to allow Turkish troops to occupy the Kurdish area of northern Iraq during war against Saddam Hussein.

not want any move to set up an independent state in northern Iraq. This would encour-age similar demands among Kurds in Turkey. Turkish capital-ists have their own interests in Northern Iran

The UN gave permission for the Turkish Petroleum Company to drill two dozen wells near the city of Kirkuk two and a half years ago. Turkish foreign minister Yasar Yakis repeated the Turkish state's longstanding claim for control of Kirkuk and the city of Mosul.

Mosul.

They are in one of

They are in one of the biggest oil-producing areas in Iraq.

Northern Iraq is currently controlled by two rival Kurdish factionsthe KDP and the PUK.

They have pursued a bitter struggle that has resulted in repeated bouts of civil war.

This erupted in 1994 in the so called international safe haven in northern Iraq.

At stake was control of smuggling through

At stake was control
of smuggling through
the border with Turkey
which provided the
groups' two leaders,
Jalal Talabani and
Masoud Barzani, and
their supporters with their supporters, with enormous revenues.

Divided

The US brokered a peace deal in 1998. But the territory remains divided into PUK and KDP controlled areas.

Each group is vying for favour with Bush.
Last October the CIA set up two field offices in northern Iraqone in each of the two areas.

Each group's mili-tias have arrested human rights activists, newspaper editors and other dissidents.

The mass of people live in appalling poverty, while a handful around the Talabani

Who are the Kurds?

and France carved up the whole die East at the end of the First

broke their promise to give the

Kurds are divided into territo-

q, Turkey, Iran and Syria.

ace national oppression in everyless states. Both the Kurdish facthe north of Iraq have been happy to
support of each of the oppressive

and Barzani clans have enriched themselves. Turkey has enlisted the support of the KDP and support of the KDP and PUK in its war against the Turkish Kurds.

Both oppress an minority call groups ethnic minority called the Turkomans, and have tried to crush Islamic groups and other oppo-sitionists.

One of the most absurd pro-war arguments is that the presence of the radical Islamist group Ansar al Islam in northern Iraq shows the Iraqi regime is linked to Osama Bin Is linked to Osama Bin Laden. Ansar al Islam is a tiny group that operates in the areas controlled by the PUK and KDP.

Ansar came out of a group which was allied to the KDP in the 1990s.

Offering Turkey a slice of Iraq is not the first time Western powers have used the Kurds for their own

ends.

The US and its client regime in Iran encouraged the Kurds of Iraq to launch military operations against the Iraqi government in the early 1970s.

Then Iran and Iraq came to an agreement

came to an agreement over disputed territory and Iraq began moving closer to the US and away from Russia.

The Shah of Iran and the US government stood back while Iraqi forces butchered the Kurdish opposition.

Supporters of the war point to Saddam Hussein's use of poison gas against the Kurdish villagers of Halabja in 1988.

Halabja in 1988.
Yet Western governments supplied the gas and the Iraqi regime continued to enjoy US support as it was at war with Iran.

The Kurds have ended up being victims of every outside intervention in the Middle East over the last 80 years, whether directly at the hands of great powers or local

Another round of bloodletting by the US and Britain will bring them further suffering.

The USA is blocking a deal to give cheap AIDS drugs. CHARLIE KIMI

GEORGE BUSH and his business backers are sentencing millions of people to death by withholding drugs required to combat HIV infection and AIDS.

Bush has worked alongside the world's biggest pharmaceutical firms to defend the patents that keep up the prices of anti-HIV and anti-AIDS medicines.

Last month Bush's US trade negotiating team smashed up an agreement that could have made the drugs available to millions of people in the Third World.

in the Third World.

They blocked changes to an agreement known as TRIPS (Trade-Related aspects of Intellectual Property Rights) that would have allowed countries to buy or make cheaper drugs when demanded by a health emergency.

Bush's decision means millions of orphans, economies wrecked, families destroyed, and a mound of corpses. Last year

a mound of corpses. Last year 6,000 people died every day in Africa from AIDS. Bush's policy has guaranteed it will be even

worse next year.

This is what US power means.
It is the global force to squeeze debt repayments from devastated countries, to enforce economic policies that clear the way for the multinationals, to deal out certain death because people are too poor to afford care.

Protests

Campaigning against the war in Iraq is about opposing US power. Many protestors are demanding that US government control is broken and that people should come before the multinationals' profits.

World leaders are comfortably presiding over a system where

presiding over a system where 3.1 million people died last year from HIV/AIDS, 40 million will die soon, and thousands of mil-lions are at risk.

lions are at risk.

Yet they have only pledged \$2
billion to the major world initiative to combat this devastation.

Richard Feachem, head of the
United Nations Global Fund to
Fight AIDS, says, "The HIV/
AIDS pandemic is not going to
peak until 2050 or 2060. We're
VERY CAIV, in separation that is very early in something that is very devastating.
"A few billion dollars to take

A few billion dollars to take action against that threat are paltry. But also what about a war with Iraq?

"That would cost somewhere between \$100 billion and \$200 billion, so if you make that comparison this is small change."

■ Family members visit a patient at the main hospital in Kinshasa

Major companies have patented the most appropriate combinations of drugs for AIDS in 37 out of 53 African countries and almost all of Asia and Latin America.

This means the prices stay high. A true comparison would be asking someone in Ireland to pay 6450 a day to get crucial treatment.

The US government has forced a rule through the World Trade Organisation that makes it impossible for poor countries to

import cheaper ("generic") versions of these drugs even if companies do relax patents. Trade ministers promised to remove this lethal clause last year, after intense procurse for companies to remove the characteristic forms of the companies to procure for the characteristic forms of the companies to procure for the characteristic forms of the characteristic forms

intense pressure from people all around the world.

The US government last month blocked a deal to make drugs, including anti-retrovirals,

cheaper.
Anti-retroviral drugs inhibit
HIV, the virus that causes AIDS,
and boost the immune system's
ability to fight infections.

They have led to a dramatic reduction in HIV-related illness and death in countries where they

have become widely available. But the vast majority of people with HIV/AIDS live in poo

countries and are too poor to ge the treatment. The US keeps a list of countries called Special 301. If these countries step out of line ove

IN 2001 the four giant pharmaceutical firms grabbed over \$27 billion in profits.

The 2002 figure will certainly be over \$30 billion.

These companies do not make huge profits from AIDS drugs in the Third World.

Very few people can afford them.

They protect the



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give Third World countries access to MBER says this is a war on the poor

ORLD OF DISEASE



GlaxoSmitfikline sells

It sells the same drug

the drug Combivir in

Africa at \$620.50 a year.

in Britain at \$6,638 a

year, making massive

necome widely available, it the vast majority of peo-tith HIV/AIDS live in poor ith HIV/AIDS live in poor ith HIV/AIDS into in poor ries and are too poor to get

protect

issues such as drug patents they will face trade sanctions.

Develop

The poorest countries, which will never develop their own drugs industries, are left off the

system

patents in order to keep

prices high in Europe

and the US, and to

where they control the

cost of medicines that

could benefit everyone.

defend the

list. Countries that might export generic medicines are kept on.
The terror of falling foul of the
US's diplomatic, economic and
military power is enough to bring
most into line.

A recent report from the charity Oxfam says, "Special 301 is a

big stick widely feared by developing countries-not just because of the threat of sanctions but because of the associated political pressures."

cal pressures."
The power to bully and inflict carnage-that is what Bush wants carnage-that is what Bush wants to reinforce through war on Iraq.

Poverty death

HIV-POSITIVE people need a combination of drugs to keep the HIV levels low in their blood.

The simplest combina-tion is zidovudine (AZT), lamivudine (3TC), and either efavirenz or nevirap-

The multinational drugs company GlaxoSmithKline sells Combivir (AZT plus 3TC) for \$620.50 a year to the poorest African coun-

Boehringer Ingelheim sells nevirapine for \$438 a

year.
The total price of treatment is \$1,058 a year. Indian generic drugs company Cipla sells a pill called Triomune, which combines all three drugs,

for \$304 a year.
This is less than a third the multinationals'

Abolishing patents and the drug companies' stran-glehold would be a step forward. But it would not be nearly enough to save everyone. Around 15 percent of people in Malawi in Africa are HIV positive, 1.7 million people. The entire health budget is \$52 mil-

Even if the whole budeven if the whole budget was spent on anti-AIDS drugs it would cover only 49,149 people if bought at the multinationals' price, or 171,052 at the cheaper rate. Nobody gets the drugs unless they pay for treatment themselves. Most people live on around 50 cents a day or

The humane policy would be to make treatment free, to cancel the debt which pumps money away from health and education services in poor countries, and to pour money into research to combat AIDS, tuberculosis

WHAT SOCIALISTS SAY

What kind of **Direct Action?**

PROTEST at Shannon on March 1st opened up a huge debate about the direct nature of action.

One relatively small organisation, Grassroots Network, posted a mes-sage on Indymedia proclaiming their intention to tear down the fence at the airport.

They also offered the divide the people who took part in this action into different colour codes ranging from white for those who would physically tear down the fence to pink for those

who were observers.

Not surprisingly, not a single strand of fencing was torn down as the police had been forewarned and had moved riot squads into the

In the end the 'direct action' consisted of stand-ing in a line in front of the

same police.

Not very different in fact from the Irish Anti-War Movement protest that took place on the same day at the airport—except it was much smaller.

Lessons

Over 1,000 people joined that protest whereas 200 went with the Grassroots Gathering. In hindsight the whole incident may appear relatively trivial. But it did does contain important political lessons for the movement. Firstly, it showed the

Firstly, it showed the weakness of the response of the parliamentary left, Labour, the Greens and Sinn Fein.

As soon Indymedia Indymedia message appeared, the *Irish Independent* picked it up and ran the story on the front page.

A virulent press cam-

paign followed which sought to scare people from going to Shannon.

Sadly, the Greens, Labour and Sinn Fein buckled under the pressure.
Labour Party spokesperson, Michael D Higgins, held a press conference to advise their members not to attend.

The Green Party expressed fears about vio-

Bizarrely, Sinn Fein, instructed their members to pull out of the Shannon protest for similar rea-

They called on their members to turn up to an alternative protest in Dublin, at the Department of

atternative protest in Dublin, at the Department of Foreign Affairs.

But despite widescale media publicity, only 150 people turned up.

Contrary to what the media think, the whole incident does not represent a 'split' in the anti-war movement. ment.
All organisations, for

example, are calling for the same programme of mobili-sation if war does break out. But the incident reveals

the tensions that reformist parties have in relating to a dynamic social movement.

The central strategy of these parties is winning

They therefore subordinate everything else to elec-toral considerations. But winning votes also means courting the media to some extent.

extent.

As the media is owned by the likes of Tony O'Reilly parties like the Greens, Labour and Sinn Fein are regularly pressurised to regularly pressurised to show respect for the institu-tions of the state and the system of corporate domi-

To be deemed fit to enter government, they are repeatedly asked to demonstrate 'responsibil-ity'. Hence their withdrawal from Shannon in a manner which temporarily damaged the movement.

Second, the incident also showed that there are differences about the nature of direct action.
The Socialist Workers

Party is for direct action, particularly as Ahern has refused to listen to the vast protests.

But direct action is only

effective when it involves masses of people rather than when it is conducted by small groups who are engaged in 'propaganda by the deed'.

Poll Tax

The poll tax protests in Britain are one form of this action. So too were the wave of protests that swept Ireland in the wake of the X

This involved thousands taking to the streets, defying school authorities that tried to block gates.

Everyone knew that if the 14 year old X case had not be allowed to go to Britain for an abortion it would have escalated into

even more militant action.
In none of these cases, did any small group issue patronising suggestions for 'colour codes' based on dif-

ferent degrees of bravery .

Direct action was not simply a matter of individual conscience but rather flowed out of the needs of a mass movement.

There was no elitist notion that more 'politicised people' need to take specific actions to demonstrate lessons to the less politicised po

All of this is quite impor-tant for the anti-war move-ment today. The movement needs to move on to forms of mass civil disobedience.

But this means activists building genuine grassroots anti-war groups in their areas and workplaces to win the argument now for the solidarity stoppage and occupations.

by KIERAN ALLEN



nternational Women's Day, on March 8th, has always been an occasion to oppose war. The Russian Revolution of 1917 began with a women workers' march on that

day.
Today as war again looms it is worth celebrating the life of Sylvia Pankhurst, a feminist and socialist whose efforts made an enormous contribution to the achievement of the right to vote for women in Britain and Ireland.

Britain and Ireland.

Sylvia was born into a well-to-do
Manchester family who were extremely active in politics.

In 1903 her mother Emmeline and sister Christabel set up the Women's Social and Political Union, an organisation that grew to lead the struggle for women's suffrage.

The movement rapidly gathered support and in 1906, when it moved to base its headquarters in London, Sylvia began to get deeply involved. By 1910 she was working full time at promoting the WPSU.

But with the growth of the suffrage movement two questions had to be faced, questions which have always surfaced in the women's movement.

To what extent should the women's movement align itself with the labour movement? And what tactics should it utilise?

All women's movements contain two wings, conservative and radical, an inevitable feature of the fact that

an inevitable feature of the fact that they organise across classes. In the case of the WSPU this division found reflection in the Pankhurst family itself, for Sylvia's response was very different to that of her mother, Emmeline, and her sister, Christabel. Sylvia recognised that for all the sexist features of the labour movement, there was enormous potential in approaching trade unions to support the goal of votes for women.

The years from 1910 to the outbreak of the Great War were years of revolt by unskilled workers.

break of the Great War were years of revolt by unskilled workers.

In Ireland this 'great unrest' saw the explosive growth of the revolutionary Irish Transport and General Workers Union, led by Larkin and Connolly.

Working women played their part in the great strikes of the day, and the whole labour movement began, albeit slowly, to move towards acceptance of the demands of the women's movement.

ment.
By 1913 the British Labour Party had been won over to accepting the argument for women's enfranchisement. In July 1915 an equal pay campaign for the women being brought into wartime production was supported by the Independent Labour Party and several major trade unions.
But the WPSU was not in favour of pursuing this alliance, for fear of alienating support from potential conservative supporters.

In 1907 Christabel had issued a

In 1907 Christabel had issued a press statement which asserted that her organisation made no distinction between the Conservative, Liberal and Labour parties.

Christabel had insisted from the outset that the WSPU must be "independent—non-party, non-class".



Vol. VI.-No. 6

mmeline Pankhurst, responding to the idea that the WSPU should concentrate on organising working class women, had said that, "such women were the weakest and thus of no value to a movement which had, perforce, to be based on the strongest

and most intelligent."

Despite their shared background, Sylvia fundamentally disagreed with this patronising attitude. In 1913 she founded the East London Federation of the suffrage movement, with specific orientation towards women workers

entation towards women workers.

To help organise her movement she launched a newspaper, The Women's Dreadnought, which rapidly grew into a major success, mainly in London but with a growing distribution all over Britain.

In the first issue of the paper Sylvia responded to her mother's conservative outlook and wrote, "some people say that the lives of working women are too hard and their education too small for them to become a powerful voice in winning the vote. Such people have forgotten their history."

The question of tactics had also divided the Pankhursts. Although having a conservative approach to class politics, the WSPU advocated militant tactics such as property damage,

tactics such as property damage, courting arrest and hunger strike once

But this militancy did not contradict having an elitist view with regard to organising a mass movement, as it left the initiative for action in the hands of a small number of women activists.

■ Sylvia Pankhurst speaking in London's East End and an issue of the Workers Dreadnought she produced.

THE WORKERS'

For International Socialism

SATURDAY, MAY 3d, 1919

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION



ylvia loyally played her part to the full, as her harrowing memoir of force-feeding testifies:

I felt a steel instrument press-I felt a steel instrument pressing round my gums, feeling for gaps in my teeth... Then something gradually forced my jaws apart as a screw was turned; the pain was like having teeth drawn. They were trying to get the tube down my throat. They got it down, I suppose, though I was unconscious of anything save a mad revolt of struggling, for they said at last: 'That's all!' and I vomited as the tube came up

But all the time she had her doubts about some of the suffragette tactics. "Secretly planned militancy was a method of desperation adopted in the hope of shortening the longer strug-

"I must confess that these particular tactics never appealed to me... I did not then and I do not now express one word of censure upon the brave women who were secret militants."

The problem with the tactic of property damage, in her view, was that it discouraged those wider numbers who for the first time were beginning to show a willingness to protest on behalf of the suffragettes.

In 1913 a monster meeting of some 10,000 people was held in the Albert Hall in support of the workers of Dublin who were engaged in the epic 'lockout' battle with William Martin Murphy.

espite instructions to contrary, Sylvia spoke on the platform alongside her friend James Connolly.

This brought to a head a conflict that had been developing within the WPSU and Sylvia soon found herself expelled from the WPSU and the social circles of her mothers and sixter.

er and sister.
Left to implement her own strategy Left to implement her own strategy of appealing to women workers and encouraging the building of a mass movement by supporting working class struggles, Sylvia was extraordinarily successful. The East London Federation won a huge working class following, of both men and women, while always maintaining a focus on women's rights.

The organisation ran two co-op restaurants, a toy factory, a day nurs-

restaurants, a toy factory, a day nursery and a mother and baby clinic. The Women's Dreadnought grew in circulation to reach 10,000 copies an issue.

A campaign demanding that the Prime Minister meet with a delegation

Prime Minister meet with a delegation of six East End working women embarrassed Asquith into attending the meeting, and soon after he bowed to the strength of support for women's suffrage by announcing that there would be legislation introduced to give women the vote.

It was the Great War that exposed that heavy door the division in the

It was the Great War that exposed just how deepathe division in the women's movement was. For the women's movement was. For the WPSU now moved quickly to an extreme nationalist position by trying to chase upper classes that were hysterical with war fever.

Emmeline and Christabel mounted a white feather campaign trying to put

a white feather campaign, trying to put moral pressure on men to go to war. They renamed their organisation the Women's Union and their paper from The Suffragette to Britannia. They called for compulsory national service for women

for women.

By contrast Sylvia opposed the war in the name of international solidarity between working people. In this regard her principles lifted her head and shoulders above most of the political activists of her day.

Sylvia very skilfully exploited the need of the Government for women workers by launching a campaign for equal pay, and their unwillingness to concede the demand begin to undermine propaganda about 'national unity'. She thus carried her organisation with her in an anti-war direction.

The Russian Revolution came as

The Russian Revolution came as an enormous inspiration to Sylvia Pankhurst, and she fully gave herself over to the cause of international socialism, seeing it as the answer for women's liberation.

She renamed her paper *The Worker's Dreadnought* and joined in the formation of a Communist Party in Britain in 1920.

The life of Sylvia Pankhurst should nevertheless be celebrated for her courage, principles, and the mass movement she built, which played a huge part in the achievement of votes for women.

Truth is the first casualty

AT THE height of the First World War, British Prime Minister David Lloyd George told Manchester Guardian editor, CP Scott "If people really knew the truth about this war, it would be stopped tomorrow. But of course they don't and can't

know".

It epitomised the attitude of our rulers in time of war.
In the nineteenth century, the Prussian monarch
could, with some truth, proclaim that the average peasant barely knew their country was at war.

Wars were fought
between small bodies of
men who occasionally
wreaked horror on cities
they conquered



they conquered.
But with modern capitalism, the civilian population became a definite target.
Bombing was aimed at breaking 'morale' and

Bombing was aimed at breaking 'morale' and undermining enemy armies from the rear.

This meant that control of the civilian population was more vital.

If people were to know the real reasons behind war, they would never accept it. So spurious justifications had to be devised.

WY1 was supposed to be about defending "brave, little Belgium from the brutality of the German Kaiser".

The fact that Belgium was one of the most brutal and murderous imperialist powers in Africa was barely mentioned. Instead the Germans were presented as 'Huns'—an evil nation which was a threat to world peace.

Huns'—an evil nation which was a threat to world peace.

Similarly the facts behind the Second World War, regarded as possibly the only just war in history, have to be hidden from view even to this day.

How many British and French soldiers knew that Hitter had been appointed to power by the German ruling class in 1933 to crush socialists and that he had the backing of giant US companies such as IBM and Ford?

The Allied powers claimed they were outraged at Hitler's treatment of the Jews.

But Churchill and Roosevelt knew of the "final solution" as early as 1943 and yet refused to bomb the train lines to the concentration camps as they would be needed in the occupation after the end of the war.

They also refused (as did the Irish government) to allow more than a handful of Jewish refugees into their countries, thereby condemning many more to death.

During the cold war (when Stalin was no longer "Uncle Joe" as he was portrayed in WW2) every progressive, national liberation movement was characterised as "communist" and therefore a threat to all people with "decent, western values".

This allowed the US to act with virtual impunity in Korea, Vietnam and indirectly in dozens of countries such as Angola, Nicaragua, Iran, Iraq, and Guatemala.

The initial justification for an American military presence in Vietnam was the "Gulf of Tonkin Incident".

President Johnson went before Congress and told them that the North Vietnamese had attacked an American vessel.

Self-Defence

Senators promptly voted to give the White House a free hand in Vietnam with the result that 3 million died over the next decade.

The truth, as later revealed, was that the American battleship had opened fire on the Vietnamese and they had responded in self-defence.

For four years Nixon and Kissinger organised the "secret" bombing of Cambodia, where the deaths of 500,000 civilians went unreported in the Western media.

During the debate in the American Congress on sending troops to the Middle East for the first Gulf War, following the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, a young Kuwait girl made a speech in front of senators telling how Iraqi soldiers had thrown babies out of incubators and left them to die.

and left them to die.

What the senators didn't know was that the girl was the daughter of the Kuwaiti ambassador, and had been coached to tell the, completely untrue, story by a PR company, Knowton Hill.

The senate vote to send troops to the Gulf was won by just five votes. Many senators later admitted they had been influenced by the piece of propaganda.

The corporate media always support the government at a time of crisis for the simple reason that those who own and run the media are the same as those who own and run the country.

This is why we can expect truth to be the first casualty as Bush's war gets nearer.

by ROY HASSEY

Venezuela: The coup that was televised

by DAVID LYNCH

IT IS rare that an hour-long pro-gramme, with little in the way of prepublicity, screened late on a Monday night causes anything more than a ripple among the general public.

However the "The Revolution will not Be Televised" a feature leelvised" a feature length documentary on Hugo Chavez, President of Venezuela screened as part of RTE's 'True Lives' series had an amazing impact since it was screened three

was screened three weeks ago.
Caller after caller to Joe Duffy's Liveline programme raved about the documentary with many pointing out the role of the US administration in the coup against Chavez exposed in the film.
Over the course of seven months, from January to July 2002, the Irish filmmakers Kim Bartley and Donnacha O'Briain secured unprecedent-

ley and Donnacha O'Briain secured unprecedented access to film Chavez in his daily life

During this time, there was a coup (backed by the US) and the filmmakers were the only crew inside the presidential palace at the time.

Combining both brav-



■ Chavez: Deposed and re-instated in the two-day coup

ery and a nose for jour-nalism, the Irish filmmakers created an amazing record of this coup.

Top Brass

On the 11th April 2002, the world awoke to the news that President Hugo Chavez had been removed from office and had been replaced by a new self-appointed "interim" coversment full of mil. im" government full of mil-itary top brass and oil

barons. News barons.

News report after news report carried stories of the mayhem in Caracas, where 11 people had been killed in what were alleged to have been bloody street battles between Chavez supporters and an opposition march.

Viewers all over the world were led to believe that Chavez had ordered

that Chavez had ordered the killings, and had therefore been forced to resign. What had in fact took place was the first coup of the twenty first century, and the world's first media coup.

People Power

Colin Powell and the American regime backed the coup supporters, and the undemocratic overthrow of Chavez.

The film shows how people power brought Chavez back to office

within 48 hours and the plotters were chased from the Presidential

SULIALIO VV. MILLIA TA --

"The Revolution Will Not Be Televised" is a thrilling insight into Presi-dent Chavez and the power of media while also exposing the role of American foreign policy in Latin America. The film is sure to be repeated and it is a must see for anyone who failed to catch it first time around.

obituary

Understanding the history of these islands

by PAUL DWYER

CHRISTOPHER Hill, who died last month aged 91, was one of the most famous

Marxist historians
of his generation.
He was a professor at
Balliol College Oxford
from 1965 to 1978 and
wrote many books on
17th century England.
Many students and
socialists will have been
very aware of his voluminous output, particularly
regarding the English
Revolution.
Hill became politically
active in the 1930s
when, like many socialists in Britain of the period, he joined the Communist Party.
At the time the CP
seemed to present the
best alternative to fascism and mass unem-

ployment. In 1935 Hill spent a year in the Soviet Union, believing it to be a socialist society. In 1940, he wrote his

In 1940, he wrote his first major essay on the English civil war. He showed how the 'civil war' was really an attempt by the rising capitalist class to wrest power from a feudal aristocracy.

Crushed

Hill was part of a brilliant Communist Party Historians Group which included other writers such as Eric Hobsbawn.

He eventually broke from the Communist Party after the Hungarian Revolution in 1956 was crushed by Soviet tanks. This exposed Stalinism as having nothing to do with the tradition of genuine socialism epitomised by the revolution in October 1917.

Hill continued with his studles of the English Revolution of the 17th

Century in the years after he left the CP.

after he left the CP.

He looked in great detail at the more progressive elements of that revolution such as the Levellers and the Diggers who wanted to hold land as 'a common treasury for all':

His book The World Turned Upside Down which was written in 1972 is a brilliant account of how many of the radical groups used the words of the Bible to convey a revolutionary message.

convey a revolutionary message.

He showed how a Marxist method was not just about 'reducing' everything to economics but could take religious ideas seriously and show how they were linked to class struggle.

His account of Cromwell is vital reading

His account of Cromwell is vital reading for Irish socialists who have been brought up to see him through nationalist eyes.

Hill shows how Cromwell was a radical bour-



Christopher Hill

geois revolutionary who tried to buy the Levellers with the conquest of Ire-

Some of his most famous works included God's Englishman

(1970), the textbook *The Century Of Revolution* (1961) and the hugely successful Penguin economic history, *Reformation To Industrial Revolution* (1967).

Build the anti war mov

IF A war on Iraq begins we must move quickly to build large protests everywhere.

Protests are already planned across the country and across the world in the

event of war.

What to Do if War

On the evening of an attack on Iraq. Protest in your City/Town/ Village centre at 6pm.

(In Dublin at the US

Embassy, Ballsbridge.)
Midday on the day following an attack. 10 Minute Solidarity Stoppage - Bring the country to a standstill. (Stop work, walk out of class, college, protest where you are, wear a

white ribbon or arm-band.)
On the Saturday following the outbreak of war. Mass protests in Major Cites and Regional Centres. war movement in your

area Anti war groups in your

NATIONAL: Athlone: 087-6329511; Carlow Anti War Movement 085-7210108; Movement 085-7210108;
Castlebar/Westport: 09842868: Charteville: 0876329511; Clonakilty: 0863080459; Clonmel: 0876329511; Cork Anti War
Campaign: 087-1258325,
corkantiwar@hotmail.com
: Dingle for Peace: 0669155863; Dundalk: 0879213200; Drogheda: 0879213200; Galway: 091521373; Donegal Alliance
Against War: 086
3773913; Letterkenny:

086-3773913, dlgreen@eircom.net; Maynooth College: 087-6329511; Maynooth Anti War Movement: 086-War Move 3849882

war Movement: 088-3849882 davidmartinlynch@hotmail .com; Midwest Alliance against Militarism & War: 086-8228032 also contact 086 8403782 in Limerick or 087-6261679 in Shannon; Mullingar: 087-7970139, pickarsgill@eircom.net; Sligo: 087-6329511; Thurles: 087-6329511; Tralee Anti War Movement: 086-3176921

traleeantiwar@yahoo.com ; Tullamore Anti War Movement: 087-7624327, Movement: 08/-762432/, oawm@eircom.net; Waterford: 086-3274015; Westmeath: 087-7970139 or 086-1963134; Wexford: 087-2419852; Writers Against War: 01 4911529, kostickc@tcd.ie

DUBLIN:Ballyfermot: 087-9090166;
Ballymun/Finglas: 086-3616159 or 086-3074060; Blanchardstown: 087-6273581; Bray/Wicklow: 2867980; City Centre: 087-9032281; City Centre

South: 085-7158567; Dundrum: 087 6650442; Dun Laoghaire: 2304621; Dun Laoghaire IT; 087-6406431; Fairview Against War: 087 6811687; Lucan: 086 3849882; NUI Maynooth: 086 1640538 Rathmines Against War: 087-7955013; Rialto: 086-1523542; Tallaght: 086-1523542; Iallagnt: 086-8107508; North County Dublin: 087-2400331; Trinity: 087-7455475; UCD: 087-2839964; DCU: 087-

6329511.

OTHER AREAS INCLUDE:

INCLUDE:
Community Workers against the war; Health workers against the war; School students against the war; Performers against the war; Surgeons against the war, Transport workers against the war and more ... contact 087-6329511 for information

NOT ON THE LIST? Contact 087-6329511 or 087-7955013 for advice on setting up a local group.



Marxist Forums

Big ideas discussed in informal settings

Ballyfermot:

Video Screening: Venezuela: Car Chavez survive? Thurs 13 March 8pm Ruby Finnigans Pub, Ballyfermot, Speaker: Péadar O'Grady

Ballymun:

Truth: The 1st casualty. War and the Media. Thurs 13 March 7:30pm Axis

Centre, Ballymun

Belfast Central:

Details to be announced **Belfast**

South:

Details to be announced

Belfast West:

Details to be announced.

Blanchardstown:

Details to be announced

Cork: The grand strategy of the US Empire, 3pm Saturday 8 March, The

Bray:

Details to be

announced

Roundy House Derry:

Women, Globalisation and War 4pm Sat. 8 March, upstairs @ Sandino's, Water St. Speaker: Goretti Horgan

Dublin Central:

Women and Globalisation 8pm Tues 11 March Kings Inn Bolton St 087:9032281 for info

Dublin South City:

Womens Liberation; Has it been achieved? 7pm Wed 12 March. Beanery Cafe **Burgh Quay**

Dundrum:

Details to be announced

Dun Laoghaire:

Advertising and the body: Can we end sexism? Tues 11 March 8pm Farrels Pub, Marine Rd, Dun Laoghaire, Speaker: Vivien Tomet

Fairview:

Womens liberation:has it been acheived? Tues 11 March 8pm Smyths Pub Fairview

Galway:

Womens Liberation; Has it been achieved? 8pm Wed 12 March, Java's Cafe, Abbeygate Street

Rathmines:

Advertising and the body: Can we end sexism? Wed 12 March 8pm The Kylemore Café, Swan Shopping Centre. Rathmines

Rialto:

Advertising and the body: Can we end sexism? Wed 12 March 8pm St Andrews Resource Centre, SCR Speaker: Mary Smith

Tallaght:

Advertising and the body: Why sexism sells, Wed 12 March 8pm Jobstown Community Centre

Tallaght I.T.:

Advertising and the body: Can we end sexism? Thurs 13 March 1pm Room 144

Waterford:

The Bloody History of the United Nations, Thurs 6 March 8.00pm Olde Rogue, Michael Street, Speaker: Kieran Allen.

Capitalism is wrecking the lives of millions and endangering the planet. A new society can only be constructed when the workers take control of the wealth and plan its production and distribution for human need and

REVOLUTION

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR

o attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or econom-

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH

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

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



war on Terrorism	is a crude device	file action.	STATE OF	وعلاه
Join	the S			
Name				
ru/college/school				
mail:				

to

Vote No

Pay rises less than inflation—

No pay increases in the public sector in 2003

your wages are being cut

No union recognition

Compulsory binding

Restrictions on the right to

Benchmarking (and the 7% in the pay deal) dependent on major

changes in work practices. Money may not be paid in full until 2005

arbitration

Opposition grows to Partnership deal

AS TRADE unionists around the country begin to ballot on the new partnership deal, "Sustaining Progress", oppo-sition is building in many unions and the community platform now looks set to reject it when they meet at the end of March.

The deal delivers for no-one except the government and if the ICTU had any respect for its membership this deal would not even go to ballot.

Chorus

The government, with Peter McLoone and Joe O'Toole joining the chorus, say there is no alternative because there is no money available.

Yet the banks are still making record profits.

Last year's budget surplus was over €5.4 billion. choosing to spend it on long term capital projects like road building instead of on health, education, housing services, and decent wage increases.

The trade union cam-

ship deal is encouraging workers all over the country to campaign for a no vote.

■ Leaflets are available. Contact Owen at 087 2858388 or Des at

087 6229686

SIPTU, the largest union in the country has held a consultative conference on the new partnership

It was the first time this had occurred—and it showed deep divisions among the

deep divisions among the core union activists.

Traditionally, SIPTU has seemed like a monolith with the leadership carrying its way on most subjects.

But suddenly the union finds itself in ferment as traditional supporters of partnership came out strongly against the deal.

PHILIP MYLER from Waterford reported on a shop steward forum where representatives from the public sector expressed outrage at the pay pause.

pause.
CON HACKETT from the

Chemical Branch warned that if the union accepted compulsory arbitration it could become a permanent feature of industrial relations.

Shackle

PADDY BEHAN from the Security branch said 'Workers are facing double taxation with the service charges which are due to rise. The right to withdraw our labour is fundamental. Yet this deal will shackle SIPTU with binding arbitration'.

LIAM QUINN, from local authorities, echoed a feeling of many delegates when he said that 'the deal is being rushed to a vote.

a vote.
'Members have barely received the full document yet they are being asked to vote on it the following Monday. And we

do not yet know the figure for the parallel benchmarking awards.

PAUL HANSARD from the

PAUL HANSARD from the Building branch said he got a copy of the deal just two days before the conference.

He was sceptical of the promises on affordable housing. 'The union should be pressing for housing for the poorest of workers' he said.

JACK KELLY from the Health Services Branch also criticised the speed with which the deal was being put to a vote.

Ruled Out

His members were con-cerned about an analogue pay-ment and if even the possibility of industrial action was ruled out, their negotiating power would be weakened.

Education Branch attacked the idea that it was the best deal that was on offer. 'There is a pay pause for six months, which is a third of the period of

which is a third of the period of the whole deal.

"How could workers do worse if they looked for alternatives to this deal?"

No vote was allowed but one activist calculated that 17 speakers spoke for the deal and 15 spoke against.

Most of the speakers were branch presidents or prominent figures in their branches and would normally have been close to the leadership line.

Yet despite the huge opposi-

■ Voting in SIPTU takes place in the first three weeks of March.

Yet despite the huge opposi-tion, the National Executive Committee recommended the

No investment in public services or in alleviating social exclusion.

NIPSA ELECTIONS:

Left needs change of strategy

"WE DIDN'T get more votes because we did-n't deserve them". That is how one 'Time for Change' activist reacted to the news that five seats had been lost by 'Time for Change' (TfC) in the NIPSA General Council elections.
NIPSA is the main union

for paid local public sector workers in Northern Ire-

There is huge anger over pay and over attempts to cut pension provisions. But the left did not do well

But the left did not do well in the recent elections.
Last year TfC activists took 13 of the 25 seats on the ruling body of the largest union in the north. The change in fortune has resulted in the need for a serious rethink of strategy.
Some activists have blamed the result on the efforts of a group of loyal supporters of the union leadership to undermine and discredit TfC.

There may be an element of truth in this but there is a much more important point to

Only around 3000 of over 40,000 NIPSA members returned a ballot in the elec-

On that basis even if the results had been more favourable it would still not leave TfC members on the General Council in a position to take on serious struggles on pay and against privatisation with any confidence.

Issues

The low return is the legacy of years of conservative union leadership and a top down approach to fighting on the issues most important to mem-

bers.
It is this history which gives us the key to how we can really make NIPSA a fighting union which is controlled by, and acts in the interest of the workers whose collective strength has been rarely

expressed in recent years.

One of those involved in TfC, Branch 8 Secretary Peter

McGarrigle, told Socialist Worker. "TfC needs to be organised at grassroots level. In every Branch we must be organised and be actively involved in fighting on all the issues if we want to change this union for the better".

There is no question that it is necessary for TfC to fight elections, but it is essential that we have no illusions as to how real struggles are won.

Time and again we have

Time and again we have seen trade union members form broad left groups within their union. They have then campaigned in elections, won control of the union and failed to really observed the conditions. to really change the conditions of their members or challenge job cuts."

The reason for this lies in the failure to organise at a rank and file level in the workplace.

With no real active base and organisation the new "leftwing" union leadership have no confidence that if they can call on workers to take industrial action they can win.

Time for Change now need to tap into the thousands of NIPSA members who are angry at their low pay and poor conditions but have no confidence in NIPSA to effect real change. We must be winning arguments on every major arguments on every major issue, from war to wages.



ANTI BIN TAX MEETINGS

A SERIES of anti bin tax public meetings have taken place across Dublin city.
In Raheny, where a number of local residents have received court summonses.

received court summonses, over 50 people attended the

meeting.

To date anyone represented by the campaign in court has had their case put back pending the outcome of a high court case on the issue.

The campaign is now considering how to oppose the proposal for a change in the law which would give councils the right not to collect refuse from households who have not paid their bills.

■ Contact the Dublin Campaign Against the Bin Tax on 087-9090166

GOOD LUCK, CARRICKMINDERS!

THE LONG running campaign to defend the archaeological heritage of the Carrickmines Castle site appeared to be close to victory after the Supreme Court issued an injunction preventing any more destruction of the site before a full court hearing in three

weeks time.

weeks time.

This comes after an occupation of the site by activists between August 2002 and January of this year. One of the Carrickminders who took part in the occupation and campaign, Hugh, spoke to Socialist Worker.

"The burden of proof is now on the council to show that the site is not a national

monument.

"They will find that very difficult because any substantial find over four hundred years old is legally a national monument and the Carrickmines site is of huge archaeological imporhuge archaeological impor-

"Hundreds of artefacts have been recovered as well as remains of the castle structure and lesser struc-

tures such as wells.

"Human remains have also been found on the site. Our campaign involved about a hundred people all together and we had huge support in the area.

"We stood our ground because this road will be irrelevant in a few decades time but what is under the ground will be relevant for all time."

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Sylvia Pamkhurst: The Suffragette who fought war

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IN THE wake of the huge march of Febru-ary 15th the IAWM has called on anti war activists to deepen the opposition to the war by organis-ing anti war groups in their neighbor-hoods, workplaces, schools and col-

leges.
Richard Boyd Barrett said "February 15th proved that the vast majority of Irish people are against this war and the huge show of opposition has put the prowar politicians and media on the back foot.

"But the troops are still

on the back foot.

"But the troops are still moving through Shannon and the government is still supporting the Bush-Blair axis. On the day of the massive protest, 19 US planes arrived at Shannon carrying troops and munitions for the Gulf.

"Instead of listening to

"Instead of listening to the people, Ahern pretends that we were all marching in

that we were all marching in support of him.

"We have to build on the success of the 15th by deepening the anti-war movement and continuing our protest until we are listened to. The key to this will be building local anti-war groups in the coming weeks."

Activists are establishing local and workplace groups to organise opposition to the

In the West Cork town of Clonakilty a showing of an anti sanctions video attracted an audience of twenty and a local anti-war group was established.

Inspired

Chris, one of the organ-isers of the meeting, said: "A few of us attended the Dublin demonstration and were inspired, so when we got back home we contacted the local press and put posters up for a meet-

ing.
"We were very happy with the turnout. People were shocked by the effect of the strong and saw that war sanctions and saw that war could only worsen the situa-tion of the Iraqi people. "We had a good discus-sion afterwards and decided

to support anti-war activi-ties happening around the

In County Donegal the movement against the war has mushroomed.

Frank Gallagher, a local

Green Party activist, told Socialist Worker, "The vast majority of people in Donegal are against this war. A survey the other day on the popular Highland Radio had 84% of locals against the war.

"We have won support from across the board— from political parties, trade unions and women's organisations

"There are three groups around the county—Mount Errigal, Letterkenny and

South Donegal. In the small village of Falcarragh we held a vigil that got fifty people along. There are plans for vigils, protests and other activities across the county."

Strength

Groups in Dublin also continue to grow in strength. "In Fairview-Artane we have a very active group with about twenty people involved. We have had a big presence on all the protests and locally we have run a lot of anti war information stalls.

"We have gained a lot of publicity locally and have got onto local radio three

times'

Dun Laoghaire against the war has groups set up in three local colleges as well

as a local group.

Dave Lordan said
"There are also school students in a couple of local schools who are trying to

set up groups.

"New people are joining our information stalls every week and have collected thousands of signatures

against the war.

"We are going to organise a local protest on March the 8th and we are going to

the 8th and we are going to picket the clinic of government TD Mary Hanafin."

The anti-war movement had a huge success in Belfast on February 15th when it pulled together 15,000 people to protest against war. The protest started with feeder marches from West Belfast and from Derry.

Now activists are working to deepen the roots of the movement in local

Ryan McKinney is a NIPSA shop steward who is active in the South Belfast anti-war group.

"We have really only got started organising in local areas after February 15th.

"We now have nearly twenty people coming to our local group. Next Fri-day, we will be calling our own protest in Shaftsbury

Square.

"We want to get local people involved in giving voice to their anger against war."

Contact the Irish Anti War Movement for information and names of anti war activists in your area.

Organise a public meeting with a speaker from the IAWM and trade unions, political parties, community groups opposed to the war.

Get on local radio, in the local press, put up posters to advertise the meeting.

At the meeting encourage everyone to join in the discussion.

Encourage people to set up a local anti war group. This should meet regularly and everyone involved should contribute to activities and making decisions.

Affiliate to the Islah Anti Mee

Affiliate to the Irish Anti War movement to get connected to national and international

AND IN THE **WORK PLACES**

IF YOU are in a workplace try to organise a lunchtime meeting or an after-work meeting in a nearby pub or

Busworkers recently got together in Dublin to establish Transport Workers Against The

War.

Taxi drivers, bus and train workers were represented at the meeting which was addressed by Chairman of the Irish Locomotive Drivers Association, Brendan Ogle and CIE worker director, Bill McCamley.

The meeting agreed to draw up an open letter to be sent to rank and file transport workers around the country seeking support for the anti-war stoppage.

page.
Brendan Ogle refuted allega-tions of Anti-Americanism say-ing "The only American I am against is George Bush".

MOBILISING FOR INTERNATIONAL WOMENS DAY

MANY of the local groups are organising protests for International Women's Day, March 8th.
Here are some of the main ones:

DUBLIN: Protest at the US Embassy, Assemble 2.00pm Saturday March 8th at the US Embassy, Ballsbridge

GALWAY: Peace Vigil: 5,000 Candles for Peace. Assemble: Pedestrian area, Galway city centre, 7.00pm

DUNDALK: Protest, March and Rally: Assemble: 2.00pm Louth Hospital, Dublin Road followed by Rally at the Square: Speaches and Music.

CORK: No to War in Iraq, US Military Out of Shannon: March, Rally and Music: Assemble 1.00pm Daunt Square

WATERFORD: Assemble 2.30pm, The Glen marhoing to Rally at Red Square. Supported by the SWP, Sinn Fein, The Green Party, Waterford Council of Trade Unions, ATGWU Waterford Crystal branch, WIT Students Union, Globalise Resistance, Waterford Against Racism, local arts community

ALSO: Belfast, Derry, Dingle, Mullingar, Tralee, Tullamore and Westport. Phone 087-6329511 for details.