

# Socialist Worker

(01) 8722682 <http://www.swp.ie> [swp@clubi.ie](mailto:swp@clubi.ie)

THE ANTI WAR PAPER—EVERY WEEK €1.00 / £0.70p

inside:

THE U.S. —  
OUT TO  
RULE THE  
WORLD

—PAGES 4&5

Eamonn  
McCann on  
*Why Kurds  
will not be  
freed by US  
bombers*

—page 4

## 'Liberated' by Bush and Blair...



# THE BRUTALITY OF IMPERIALISM

**REMEMBER** when Bush and Blair promised they would use 'precision weapons' to fight a 'clean war'?

On March 24th, Blair said, 'We want to minimise the suffering of ordinary Iraqi people. This is a war not of conquest but liberation.'

But these horrific pictures show the reality. This is what lies behind the smooth talk from 'embedded' media correspondents who treat war as a 24-hour news show.

This is not an offensive 'directed solely at Saddam Hussein's regime'. The military targets are

now the civilian population.

These children were blasted by the swooping F-16s of the US Air Force as waves of jets targeted Basra. At least 50 Iraqis were killed and 366 injured as the planes bombed the city with weapons including cluster bombs.

These are the weapons of mass destruction Bush and Blair do not talk about. Those killed included two young children. Four were victims from one family.

The pictures of the dead we show (and some much worse) were freely available to newspapers and television stations.

But they were not used—because the pictures show Blair and Bush are war criminals.

Since the early attacks, the war has gotten worse.

The Anglo-American forces have declared that Basra, a city of 1.5 million people, was "a legitimate military target". It is now a free-fire zone for troops, tanks and aircraft.

### Murdered

On Friday last weekend, 62 civilians were murdered in Baghdad. Not once - but twice - did US bombs hit people whose only crime was to shop in a market.

As Robert Fisk pointed out the injured were taken to hospitals without computers, with only the most primitive of X ray machines because of the previous policy of sanctions.

But the missiles were guided by the most sophisticated computers devised by the Pentagon.

As resistance grows, the US and Britain are replying with even more terrible weapons. They will bring more death and suffering rather than contemplate the thought of defeat for their imperial project.

British Tornado war planes have already been upgraded to use special "bunker-busting"

missiles named Storm Shadow. They cost nearly £1 million each and are designed to penetrate protective concrete. If they hit civilian shelters they will cause a horrendous massacre.

The forerunner of the Storm Shadow killed up to 1,000 people in the Amariya shelter in Baghdad in 1991.

US and British generals want to terrorise the civilian population into fleeing cities. They will then pretend to welcome them with 'humanitarian aid'.

This is the sick reality of a colonial war being fought by the terrorists of the White House and Downing Street.



# EXPOSING WAR LIES AND PROPAGANDA

## The lie machine

**BUSH AND Blair's Lie machine is in over drive.**

But they are being exposed nearly every day. ■ They claimed that the bomb which killed 51 people in a Baghdad market could have been caused by an Iraqi stray missile.

But as Robert Fisk pointed out, the coding on the bomb was in Roman numerals and Latin letters, not Arabic.

The crater it created was also exactly the same as made by other Cruise missiles.

■ The British military said there was an uprising in Basra.

But Al Jazeera said nothing had happened and this was later confirmed by the Supreme Council of the Islamic Revolution – one of the main Shia organisations.

■ Western media claimed a chemical plant had been found in Nazaf.

But the story came from a correspondent of the *Jerusalem Post* which has Richard Perle on its board of directors. It was a straight lie.

■ Blair claimed that two British soldiers, Sapper Like Allsopp and Staff Sergeant Cullingworth, had been executed by Iraqis.

He said 'it was an act of cruelty beyond all human comprehension.'

Two days later Downing Street apologised to the soldiers' families after they revealed that army superiors had denied executions had taken place.

■ The US is now attacking media organisations to stop the flow of information.

They bombed Baghdad's telecommunication system.

They destroyed the Iraq Ministry of Information which provided facilities to many foreign journalists.

Even the website of Al Jazeera was sabotaged.



## Iraq opposition turns against the US

EVEN THE official Iraqi opposition is turning against Bush even though it originally welcomed his war.

“There is a difference between a war of liberation and a war of conquest. Liberation means Iraqis are at the forefront.

“Conquest means the invaders are in charge,” said Hoshiyar Zubari, an official of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, one of five groups recognised by the Bush Administration as allied opposition forces.

“There’s a total lack of Iraqi involvement,” said Zaab Sethna, an aide to Ahmed Chalabi, who heads the Iraqi National Congress, an opposition group based in London.

“We have been surprised over the months the lack of cooperation with the opposi-

tion.”

The Supreme Council for the Islamic Revolution in Iraq, a Shia group based in Iran, said the Bush administration has shared none of its plans with the opposition.

### Neutral

Its leader, Mohammed Bakir Hakim, told Iraqi Shiites to remain neutral in the war.

“We are not in favour of this war because it places the future of Iraq in foreign hands,” he told reporters in Tehran.

Meanwhile Iraq’s most senior Shia religious leader, Ayatollah Sistani, has issued a call to resist US forces. It was ignored in the Western press as they pretended that there was a popular uprising in the Shia stronghold of Basra.

## The profits of war

**A number of companies in Ireland are profiting from the war.**

Barry Morris, Chief Executive of IONA Technologies said recently that war had created business opportunities. “Typically in one quarter

about 10 percent of our business is in defence.

But in our September quarter results this increased to 15 percent representing a significant increase in our defence business.”

IONA’s software is used by Tomahawk Cruise Missiles, over a thousand of which have been fired in the war to date.

Raytheon is a U.S. multinational arms company which produces the Paveway II EP3 missile, one of the most important missiles for aircraft like the British Tornado.

The company claims that its factory does not produce arms in Derry, a claim rejected by the Foyle Ethical Investment Campaign who peacefully occupied the factory and hung banners from the windows until removed by the police.

Other Irish companies engaged in the arms industry include ParthusCeva who produce global positioning chips for the U.K. Ministry of Defence and Timoney Technology, the Navan based company which produces suspension systems and remote control vehicles.

Over 60 percent of Timoney Technology’s sales are military.

# Hypocrisy on prisoners

**DONALD RUMSFELD** said it was a “war crime” when captured US soldiers were shown on Iraqi TV. He even talked about ‘international law’ and the Geneva convention.

His hypocrisy is amazing. The US has held prisoners of war (PoWs) captured in Afghanistan for more than a year with no rights whatever.

They have been held in cages, and subject to torture, at Camp X-Ray-the US base on Cuba.

Pictures of 300 PoWs airlifted out of Afghanistan, with bags on their heads and chains covering their bodies, were broadcast jubilantly on US television.

These sickening pictures were even posted on the Pentagon’s website.

‘ARE YOU looking, George Bush? Are you looking? This was not your son or daughter. I am against this war.’  
**MICHAEL WATERS BEY, father of Kendall Waters Bey, the US marine killed in the war on Iraq**

‘THIS WAR is all about oil and money. Bush ought to send his daughters over

there to fight. War could have been prevented. Bush is not out of a brother. We are.’  
**NAKIA WATERS BEY, Kendall’s sister**

‘PEOPLE SAY to me you (the Iraqis) are not the Vietnamese. You have no jungles and swamps to hide in. I reply, let our cities be our swamps and

our buildings our jungles’  
**TARIQ AZIZ, Iraq’s Foreign Minister**

‘The reality is that after nine days we have only managed to control one small port town in a country whose military is supposedly run into the ground’  
**BARRY MCCAFFERTY, Retired US General**

Eighteen months on these PoWs are still held as hostages in Camp X-Ray with no rights whatever.

The US also assisted in the murder of prisoners. Associated Press

correspondent Ellen Nickmeyer reported that after pro-US forces took Kunduz from the Taliban, 100 prisoners were killed and others were “taken away with their arms

“tied” to an unknown fate.

The Red Cross also reported that up to 600 bodies were found in the streets of Mazar-e-Sharif after the “liberation” of that Afghan city.

A film by journalist Jamie Doran quotes a Northern Alliance soldier who guarded Taliban prisoners at the prison in Sheberghan:

“I was a witness when an American soldier broke one prisoner’s neck. The Americans did whatever they wanted.”

Many of the survivors were loaded onto containers with the corpses and driven to a desert place called Dasht-I-Leili.

There, the living and dead were dumped into ditches under the supervision of US special forces.

So much for the Geneva convention!

## What about these weapons of mass destruction?

**THE U.S. claims it went to war to stop Iraq using ‘weapons of mass destruction’. But they are already using weapons of mass destruction.**

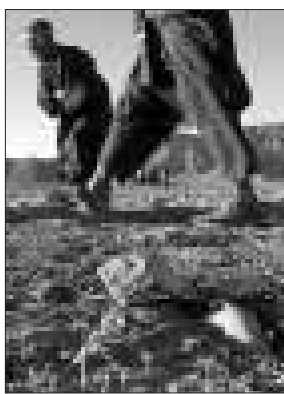
One such weapon is cluster bombs.

Cluster bombs break up into hundreds of small bomblets, causing devastation over a wide area. Many then lie around and act as landmines.

In previous wars, such as in Kosovo and Afghanistan, US forces used cluster bombs.

They continued to maim and kill children long after the fighting was ended.

The US also has the



■ US cluster bombs lying around in Afghanistan

MOAB (massive ordnance air blast) bomb, which was specifically developed by the US for use in the war on Iraq.

It is capable of killing everyone within a 600-metre radius.

If this was dropped on Baghdad or Basra it would kill around 10,000 people instantly.

### Permission

In February Rumsfeld announced that he had sought permission from Bush to use ‘non-lethal weapons’ in Iraq.

These are known as ‘calmatives’ in military circles and were used by Russian Special forces against Chechens during a hostage crisis in Moscow.

They are illegal under the 1992 Chemicals Weapons Convention.

## PRESS GANGED BY POVERTY

**SOME OF the US soldiers who were captured by Iraq give a clear picture of how poor Americans suffer economic conscription.**

■ Shoshana Johnson, a black female, joined up to get a skill as a cook.

■ Private Patrick Miller enlisted last summer to help pay a student loan

■ Private Piestewa is a Native American from the Navajo reservation.

Loretta Schwartz-Nobel, author of a recent book on hunger in America says the lower ranks of the US are basically work-

## Israel gets billions in aid

**THE US has agreed to give £6.4 billion to Israel to shore up its sinking economy and increase its military power.**

The day before the US started bombing Iraq Condoleezza Rice, US national security adviser, assured Israeli leaders that they would get the money.

The Israeli government includes the far right National Religious Party which advocates the “transfer”-ethnic cleansing-of the Palestinian people from their homes in the Occupied Territories.



■ Condoleezza Rice

ing poor. The US Defence Department admitted in

1999 that 40 percent of the lower ranks face ‘substantial financial difficulties’

## MONSTERS

**THE PENTAGON is funding research into ‘brain zaps’ which will create super soldiers who can fight for days on end.**

The work is directed by the Defence Advanced Research Projects Agency.

The ‘war fighter enhancement’ programme will involve injecting soldiers with drugs and microchips to deaden some normal human tendencies such as the need for sleep and fear of death.

The US Special Operations Command envisages the creation of ‘iron-bodied and iron willed personnel’ who rely on ‘erogenic substances’ to ‘manage the mentally induced stress of the battlefield’.



# IT'S RIGHT TO RESIST THE U.S. EMPIRE

Thousands of Iraqis are streaming back into their country and volunteering to fight, according to *Sunday Tribune* reporter Harry McGee in Amman, Jordan.

Most of them had fled the poverty and terror of Saddam's regime. But

they see the Anglo-American invasion as a catastrophe.

McGee reports how one man summed up the feeling "I do not like Saddam but if I am asked, I will become a 'fedayeen'. I am from Nasiriyah. I have watched what the Americans have done to my city. They say they come to liberate us but they want to kill us."

It is this spirit of resistance that has unnerved the US empire. Their overwhelming military superiority convinced them that they were invincible.

US arrogance was most sharply expressed Donald Rumsfeld's concept of a 'revolution in military affairs'.

This argued for a swift movement of 'lighter' US troops who would be backed up by a psycoops operation to convince their enemies that defeat was inevitable.

## Calculate

But Rumsfeld did not calculate on an anti-imperialist mood that has led thousands of civilians to join in attacks on US invaders.

"This is not the enemy we war-gamed against" said General William Wallace the US most senior ground commander in Iraq. He certainly had not figured on Iraqi farmers shooting down US Apache helicopters or massive civilian resistance.

The US now has to call in an extra 100,000 troops to crush the Iraqis. And according to Russian intelligence reports

## Close Shannon to US troops!

ONE THIRD of the US reinforcements to defeat Iraq will come through Shannon. Up to 1,500 US troops will use the airport every day on their way to wrack murder and slaughter on innocent people.

The Irish government is now involved in a major back up operation for the US military.

Last week Donald Rumsfeld declared that Syria was engaged in a 'hostile act' against the US because it let 'night goggles' go through its country to Iraq.

But it is a much more 'hostile act' against the Iraq people to allow trained killers re-fuel at Shannon and then deploy the Irish army to protect them from the embarrassment of any protests.

Bertie Ahern's position is no longer tenable.

Originally he claimed that a UN resolution as 'an imperative' if US troops were to continue to use Shannon.

## Failed

When that failed, he fell back on an argument about economic interests, claiming that Irish jobs would be lost if the US were displeased.

It is pure nonsense. There has been no flight of US capital from Germany or France even after they came out against US aggression.

And why would US companies who make the highest rate of profit in Ireland of all the EU countries withdraw because their government does not like Ireland's foreign policy?

which rely on electronic eavesdropping, the US will now switch from so called precision bombs to 'scorched earth tactics and carpet bombing campaign' to win the war.

The escalation in the numbers of troops and the shift to carpet bombing was exactly what occurred during the long drawn conflict in Vietnam.

The anti-war movement should welcome the resistance of the Iraqi people. The more it grows and spreads throughout the Arab world, the world difficult it will be for Bush to invade other countries.

## Threatened

If Bush had gotten away with a short war, then every country that dared to cancel its debt or nationalised a US multi-national could be threatened.

This is why to back the call 'our troops' now that the war has begun, which was made by a speaker at the ICTU rally in Belfast recently was wrong.

And so too is the media talk about getting 'the job over as soon as possible' — as if dropping cluster bombs and hitting conscript soldiers with depleted uranium could be compared to 'a job' to be finished.

The more the resistance against Bush spreads from Baghdad to Arab cities and to the Western anti-war movement the better is the future for all of us.

If they operated on that basis, half the world would be closed to their greed for profit.

The only thing that will change Ahern's mind is people power.

The Irish Anti-War Movement has called for a major demonstration on Shannon airport on April 12th.

We need an all out effort to build this demonstration and that means booking buses now from every area where the anti-war movement is organised.

## HYPOCRISY ON HUMANITARIAN AID

THE Anglo-American forces are using humanitarian aid as a PR exercise in their battle to win 'hearts and minds'.

It is sickening hypocrisy.

Their decade long campaign of sanctions led to the deaths of a quarter of a million children from malnutrition. There was no talk then of humanitarian relief.

Now they are trying to beam pictures of food supplies arriving from the British ship Sir Galahad around the world.

But its 500 tons of food would not feed the people of Basra for a day. It is a fraction of the amount used to supply 150,000 US troops who are devastating Iraq.

Just before the Sir Galahad arrived, British forces bombed a food depot containing 75,000 tons of children's milk, tea and sugar, according to Iraqi sources.

Basra's 1.5 million population also

## HUGE ANTI-RALLY IN DUBLIN



LAST SATURDAY saw around 30,000 people take to the streets of Dublin against the war. The atmosphere was serious but exhilarating as the people of Ireland spoke out against an unjust war.

One of the most heartfelt speeches came from Fahad Ansari from Dublin's Muslim community "This is not a war. This is an invasion! This is not about human rights, how on earth can this be about human rights when the civilian death count is 500 people with 4000 injured."

SIPTU president Des Geraghty told the crowd, "I think they're running scared. If you look at the statements from Bush and Blair, they're constantly trying to cover up the blunders that have been exposed, and I think the Anti-War Movement has put them on edge. This is the most unpopular war ever, and they know it."

Anti-war feeling is sweeping through schools and colleges across the land. Two students from Wesley who attended were Roisin and Emma "I'm really against the war. It's stupid, it's just for oil, and it's killing innocent people."

Cartoonist Aidan Cooney said "I have not met anybody who's pro-war. They have to start listening to the people and stop killing people. Please."

Fergal Leddy, has been associated with Reclaim The Streets and other protests in the past. Now he is an ardent anti-war campaigner. "I think the entire cabinet should resign, and the attorney general should put them up on war crimes charges because of their disgraceful role in this genocidal obscenity that's happening in the Middle East at the moment."

From school children to the elderly, Irish people who have never before engaged in politics are coming out in droves to say "Not in our name."

risk dysentery because of British bombing of their water supplies.

## Insult

Pretending to bring humanitarian relief now is literally adding insult to injury.

In Afghanistan, the US forces also dropped food parcels—alongside bombs. 'Humanitarian aid' has clearly become a new tactic to cloak imperialist aims.

Cynical generals want pictures beamed back to Western audiences of a grateful people welcoming their inter-

vention.

It is part of the battle to win the 'hearts and minds' on the home front as well.

Genuine humanitarian relief, however, will always be linked to opposition to war.

## Break the links with US!

THE *Irish Independent* reported that the US Ambassador was present as an observer at the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis.

If this is true, it is scandalous. Sixty-eight civilians

had been murdered the night before Sinn Fein's conference began.

## Allowed

If the PLO or the ANC in South Africa had allowed the British Ambassador to attend

their conference after Bloody Sunday, Irish republicans would have been furious.

Recently despite a call for a boycott of the St Patrick's Day parade, Gerry Adams turned up to the White House to meet Bush.

But now that the war has begun, it is time to break the links with US terrorism.

Any self-respecting anti-war party would quickly show any official US observer the exit door.



# The Eamonn McCann column

## Kurds will not be freed by U.S. bombers

THE BRITISH Labour MP Ann Clywd has been one of the most effective campaigners for the war on Iraq.

She made a striking contribution to the key debate in the Commons on March 18th.

The 139-strong Labour revolt might have reached the 150 mark had it not been for her passionate plea for Saddam Hussein to be ousted by any means necessary.

Clywd's strength lies in the fact that she has a reputation as a Left-winger, and in the past has herself defied the whips on issues on which she opposed New Labour's drift to the Right.

She couldn't be dismissed as a Blairite automaton.

More importantly, she based her case on the interests of the Kurdish people in northern Iraq who have suffered horrendous oppression under the Baghdad regime and who believe that their safety cannot be secured while Hussein remains in power.

She has been a frequent visitor to Iraqi Kurdistan and at Westminster and in media interviews has been able to quote directly from Kurdish friends and politicians urging the US and Britain to bring the regime down.

This has been much more persuasive than the buff from Blair and Bush about Iraq threatening the world with weapons of mass destruction.

But it's a line of argument which remains persuasive only as long as we stay on that line alone, and don't look where it is leading.

Clywd argues

that in the situation in which the Kurds find themselves, the most powerful enemies of Saddam are their best friends: supporters of Kurdish liberation must therefore embrace the Anglo-US alliance.

Clywd might agree that in all or most other matters, Bush, if not Blair, is a deep-dyed reactionary and an enemy of ordinary people.

But what's overwhelmingly important to her when it comes to Iraq is the plight of the Kurds. Other issues can be put aside for the moment.

But the other issues include the most fundamental issue of all—what interest in the world does the Anglo-US alliance represent?

### Dealing

In the perspective of *Socialist Worker*, it's self-evident that the fundamental thrust of the alliance is to expand and consolidate the control of western big business and the free market over the world—dealing in this instance with the oil-rich Middle-Eastern region of the world.

So as opponents of western capitalism and the free market, we take a stand against Bush and Blair.

We observe, too, that the moment the interests of the Kurds present an obstacle to Anglo-US strategy, the Kurds will be ditched.

Already, neither Bush nor Blair will give even verbal backing to self-determination for the Iraqi Kurds—which Clywd strongly supports—because this might prompt Kurds in

Turkey to demand self-determination, too. Which would destabilise Turkey, a key member of Nato.

The only way for the rulers of Iraqi Kurdistan to maintain the goodwill of the Anglo-US alliance is to keep their ambitions within limits set by Bush and Blair and to hold back and if necessary repress any Kurds unwilling to settle for what western business and the free market allows them.

Beginning from a strong personal commitment to an oppressed people, Clywd ends up in the arms of the most oppressive global interest of all.

If you begin from the interests of one community or nation only and see the vindication of that interest as of overwhelming importance, then you're easy meat to be manipulated into playing off one oppression against another. Or even one oppression against oppression in general.

If, on the other hand, you begin from the common interests of oppressed people everywhere, you look to extricate the source of oppression everywhere.

The trajectory of Clywd's politics describes the same arc as travelled by those in Ireland who began from a strong personal commitment to their own oppressed community and ended up supping with George W. Bush in the White House.

The key point is that it's international socialism, not nationalism, which alone can provide the basis for consistent anti-imperialist politics.

**A** FANATICAL group of men in and around the White House use the 11 September attacks to launch a war they have wanted for over a decade. Conquering Iraq is merely one step in their plan for ongoing military operations against other states, leaving the world in awe of US power.

The aim? Global domination. France, Germany, Russia, China and other major states are all to come under the thumb of the US state and the interests of its multinationals.

All that is an absurd conspiracy theory cooked up by the anti-war movement, some might claim.

The problem, however, is that a small clique around Bush have outlined precisely that imperialist scheme in speeches and conferences over the last 20 years.

The main channel is the Project for the New American Century, founded in 1997 by William Kristol, the editor of a hard right establishment magazine.

Most of the Project's members were part of Ronald Reagan's regime in the US in the early 1980s.

Now they are part of George Bush's government and set the course of the US state.

They include vice-president Dick Cheney, defence secretary Donald Rumsfeld and his deputy Paul Wolfowitz. Zalmay Khalilzad also signed up to the Project.

He currently plays governor general to the US-imposed colonial administration in Afghanistan and is lined up for a similar post in northern Iraq.

The people now directing the US state cut their teeth in the early 1980s, revelling in the huge increase in arms spending under Ronald Reagan.

Chillingly, they believe people such as Henry Kissinger, the architect of saturation bombing in Vietnam, were far too soft.

Some, such as John Negroponte and Elliot Abrams, organised the right wing death squads that murdered tens of thousands of people in Central America throughout the 1980s.

They all entered the 1990s fretting that US economic power was declining relative to Europe and Japan.

They had won the "Second Cold War" against Russia, but now feared a loss of US global power.

So they organised through the Project and other outfits to rally support within the establishment for a crusade to establish total US power.

Their argument was direct—the US should use its unrivalled military machine to shape the world to benefit US economic interests.

As the Project's founding statement put it in 1997, "We are living off the capital-both military investments and the foreign policy achievements—built up by past administrations.

"It is increasingly difficult to sustain American influence around the world." They agitated for a hike in arms spending.

They demanded war against Iraq as a prelude to attacking other "rogue states" to demonstrate the military power of the US state.

The Project's Rebuilding America's Defenses document in September 2000 warned:

"The United States is the world's only superpower, combining pre-eminent military power, global technological leadership, and the world's largest economy..."

"At present the United States faces no global rival. America's grand strategy should aim to preserve and extend this advantageous position as far into the future as possible.

"There are, however, potentially powerful states dissatisfied with the current situation and eager to change it..."

"Up to now, they have been deterred from doing so by the capability and global presence of American military power. But, as that power declines, relatively and absolutely, the happy conditions that follow from it will be inevitably undermined."

Top of the list of potential competitors is China. But the Project's zealots target others too.

In 1997 William Kristol explained why the US should expand NATO into Eastern Europe: "An American-led NATO prevented Moscow from accomplishing its goal.



■ US Marines: Taking on the world

# Out to rule the world

The group behind the Project for a New American Century have wanted to attack Iraq for years—and their sights are set on dominating the whole globe

"By placing Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic under NATO's security umbrella today, NATO can deter any rising power from aspiring to that goal in the



■ Colonial dream: US soldiers raised the flag over Umm Qasr

future. "The alternative is to leave the states of Central and Eastern Europe in a geopolitical no man's land, forcing them to plan and manoeuvre around the inevitably powerful pull of a unified Germany and a potentially resurgent Russia."

The Bush gang today are using their "little Warsaw Pact" in Eastern Europe against both Germany and Russia. And they have welcomed the chance to clash with France over war on Iraq.

The European states' combined economy rivals the US's, but they are not fully integrated and lack a unified military. They don't mind a European free trade area, complete with neo-liberal policies. But they don't want Europe as a counter power to the US.

Rumsfeld's adviser Richard Perle attacked in February of this year the "desire on the part of France to build the European Union as a counterweight to the United States.

Counterweight is the term most frequently employed by the French, by Chris Patten in Brussels and by others. For a long time the United States and France

have been allies. But a relationship that can be described by the term counterweight is not a relationship of alliance."

The Bush gang now seem to see France rather than Germany as the main architect of a potential French-German-Russian axis.

A meeting of the American Enterprise Institute last week, two days into the war, heard Richard Perle and others call for a policy of "containment" of France and Germany.

The US slaughter in Iraq was, said

**'They want to impose the worst possible settlement on the Palestinians and see Israeli might as part of their strategy'**

William Kristol, about redressing "a lack of awe for the US".

He went on to describe replacing every Arab regime in the Middle East with ones that are pro-US as Israel. Michael Ledeen, a co-thinker, called Iraq "just one battle in a broader war. Iran is the mother of modern terrorism."

William Kristol told a US congressional committee last year that Saudi Arabia, for example, "is more part of the problem than part of the solution.

Although it is still the strongest influence on oil prices, other sources—in Russia, the Caspian Basin and Mexico—can be developed and brought to market at reasonable cost.

In particular, removing the regime of Saddam Hussein would be a tremendous step to reducing Saudi leverage. Bringing Iraqi oil into world markets would improve energy economics."

Central to the Bush gang's plan for the Middle East is not merely siding with Israel, but strengthening it as it continues to expand settlements in the West Bank.

They don't simply see Israel as an ally. They identify completely with the most

aggressive forces in Israeli society, Ariel Sharon and even those to the right of him.

They want to impose the worst possible settlement on the Palestinians and see Israeli military might as part of their strategy for "regime change" across the Middle East.

Rumsfeld, Perle, Wolfowitz and the rest really do believe in "The New American Century".

Seeing off any strategic rivals while enforcing free market policies abroad means giving US multinationals a great advantage in the global chase for profit.

It strengthens the hands of US negotiators as they sit down to discuss trade deals and International Monetary Fund loans to the other countries.

That is the prize the Bush gang has in its sights with every advance towards Baghdad.

These people now run the most powerful state on earth.

They have a policy to preserve and extend US capitalism. The rest of the US establishment, despite tactical and ideological disagreements, is happy to go along with that strategy if it delivers.

### MEN BEHIND THE PROJECT

## Their grisly record of organising torture

DONALD RUMSFELD  
US defence secretary

He was a favourite of US president Richard Nixon in the Vietnam War.

He then became chief of staff and defence secretary in the 1970s to Nixon's successor, Gerald Ford. In the 1980s Rumsfeld was US president Ronald Reagan's special envoy to the Middle East. In 1983 he met Saddam Hussein to conclude a deal to supply US weapons to help Iraq in its war with Iran.

The US State Department admitted at the time "available evidence indicates that Iraq has used lethal chemical weapons" in that war with Iran. The Los Angeles Times in 1991 reported that US-supplied helicopters "were among those dropping the deadly bombs" in Saddam Hussein's 1988 poison gas attack on Kurds in the town of Halabja.

More recently Rumsfeld led the US Congress committee pushing the "Star Wars" National Missile Defence system.

JOHN NEGROPONTE  
US ambassador to the UN

From 1964 Negroponte was a key aide in the US embassy in Vietnam.

He was then a key adviser for 1971 to 1973 to Henry Kissinger, and was in charge of Vietnam policy on the US National Security Council. In the 1980s he was charged with "carrying out the covert strategy of the Reagan administration to crush the Sandinista government in Nicaragua", according to the New York Times.

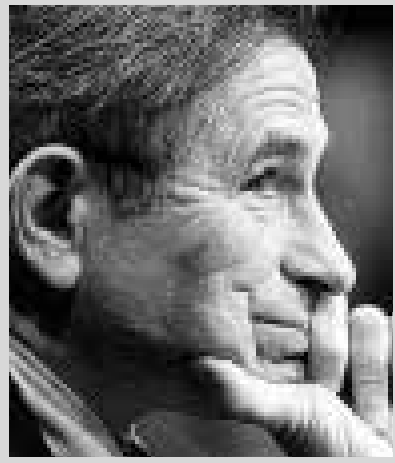
As US ambassador to neighbouring Honduras he oversaw an expansion of US military aid to the right wing government from \$4 million to \$77 million. Negroponte helped organise and train Honduras's infamous Battalion 3-16. The US Baltimore Sun paper exposed how "The CIA and US embassy knew of numerous crimes, including murder and torture committed by Battalion 3-16, yet continued to collaborate closely with its leaders."

PAUL WOLFOWITZ

Deputy defence secretary  
He was also an undersecretary for defence under George Bush Senior.

In the 1980s Wolfowitz was US ambassador to Indonesia. He described the Indonesian dictator General Suharto as "a model of moderation". Wolfowitz ensured US military help for Suharto's regime while it was occupying East Timor in defiance of UN resolutions. Some 300,000 were killed in that occupation.

In the wake of 11 September 2001 Wolfowitz openly called for the US to use military might to "end states" which threatened its interests. Wolfowitz argues the US must be ready to confront, with force if needed, its "major strategic competitor and potential threat"—China. Wolfowitz is also on the board of several US corporations



■ Wolfowitz: Helped Suharto kill 300,000



■ Rumsfeld: Plotted to attack Iraq

including Hasbro, a major investor in sweatshop factories across Asia.

RICHARD PERLE

former Chair of Bush's Defence Policy Board

Perle opposes any nuclear arms control agreements and enthusiastically supports the US being prepared to wage nuclear war.

Perle is a director of the shadowy venture capital firm Trirème Partners. It invests in companies dealing in "homeland security" technology and services. It has lucrative deals in Saudi Arabia and elsewhere.

Perle ominously declared the US "must develop a strategy to contain France" because of its refusal to back war on Iraq.

Last week, Perle was forced to resign because of a scandal over how he used his position to the Defence Policy Board to gain contracts for businesses he was involved with.

ELLIOT ABRAMS

He is the member of Bush's National Security Council responsible for the Middle East, as director of the office of "democracy, human rights and international operations".

Abrams was found guilty of lying to Congress to cover up US organising and financing of the right wing terrorist Contra organisation in Nicaragua in the 1980s.

The Contras murdered, raped and terrorised civilians, killing up to 40,000 people, in their war against the Sandinista government. Abrams was only saved from jail by a pardon issued by George Bush Senior in his last days of office.

Abrams was also involved in US intervention in El Salvador in the 1980s which he called a "fabulous achievement". Between 1980 and 1989 death squads organised by the US-backed government murdered 41,048 civilians, according to an official investigation.

Abrams gave the go-ahead to an attempted coup in April last year against Venezuela's elected president, Chavez.

WILLIAM KRISTOL

He is a junior member of Ronald Reagan's administration and chief of staff to Bush Senior's vice-president Dan Quayle.

Kristol was also paid at least \$100,000 to act as an adviser to the Enron energy corporation which collapsed amid a huge corruption scandal two years ago.

Kristol said the US government deliberately "allowed Saddam to suppress the rebellion" of Iraqi Shi'as and Kurds after the 1991 Gulf War.

He admitted that the US and the Saudi Arabian regime did not "want to establish the principle that a regime should be removed by popular uprisings". Kristol unashamedly calls himself an "American imperialist".



# Colonialism's bloody record in Iraq



■ Lloyd George, Orlando, Clemenceau and Wilson: The leaders of the Great Powers plan out the carve up of the world following the First World War. Below: Abdul Karim Qassim

The U.S. and the U.K. have been surprised by the level of resistance they have met in Iraq. Instead of being greeted as liberators, they are being fought against as invaders.

The explanation offered the spin doctors in the White House and Westminster is that the population are held back by terror, that the Ba'ath Party is holding the population in check.

But Saddam's regime would be incapable of preventing mass uprisings, especially in the South, if the population were seriously intent on moving against him.

The reality is that the majority of the population have a greater anger at the imperialist powers than they have at Saddam's dictatorship. This anti-colonial feeling exists right across the Arab world. It has the potential to bring catastrophe to the plans of Bush and Blair.

Hostility to the imperial powers extends back to the early Twentieth Century. Colonel Nasser, the Egyptian national revolutionary of the 1950's gave an illustration of the broad hostility to Britain at the time of his youth, when he wrote, "I remember a cry I used to repeat when I was a little child every time I saw an aeroplane flying overhead. I used to shout *O God Almighty, I wish a calamity to overtake the English.*"

The roots of anti-imperialist feeling lie in the robbery of oil.

On May 26<sup>th</sup> 1908 oil was struck in Persia, jutting fifty feet out of the barren ground. It was the first unleashing of enormous oil wealth that lay beneath the desert.

By contrast with U.S. oil, which has to be pumped out, at the average rate of 11 gallons a day per oil well, the Middle Eastern oil pumped itself out at an astonishing average of 4,000 gallons a day per oil well.

The discovery of these oil fields coincided with the run up to the Great War and the need of the major powers to acquire oil in order to fight each other. As the French President, Clemenceau put it at the time, 'oil is as necessary as blood.'

The British government shared his view. 'The allies floated to victory on a wave of oil' said Lord Curzon after the war.

During WW1 the British secured control of Iraq after they met little opposition from Arab armies who were supposed to fight for the hated Ottoman empire.

Sir Stanley Maude led British troops into Baghdad in March 1917. His successful invasion, after earlier defeats, was designed to secure the oil-rich and strategically important area.

Maude was dubbed "the liberator" - by the British, that is. Nobody asked the Iraqis what they thought.

Many Iraqis wanted to see the back of the Ottoman Empire but they were wary of the British, especially when they discovered details of a secret plan to carve up Iraq and Syria between Britain and France. The Iraqis were right to be suspicious. Talk of "liberation" soon turned to the harsh realities of a conquest.

Britain extracted a mandate to run Iraq from the League of Nations, forerunner of the United Nations. One historian called this "a legalistic cloak of respectability for its partition of the Middle East".

The British created a colonial-style administration in Iraq. It was run by Sir Percy Cox and his assistant Gertrude Bell.

These two upper class colonialists prided themselves on their deep understanding of the Arab people. Gertrude Bell wrote, "On two points they are all agreed. They want us to control their affairs and they want Sir Percy as high commissioner." She was wrong on both counts.

Bell declared the Iraqis "uncivilised tribes" but she was confident they would learn to love her. "There is no doubt they are turning to us," she gushed in a letter in June 1920.

Just one month later the Iraqi people united in revolt against Sir Percy, Gertrude Bell and the rest of

the British.

Iraqis stormed garrisons, killed some British soldiers and captured some towns. The British unleashed terror against the rebels and punitive raids against the local population.

A British colonel, Gerald Leachman, declared, "The only way to deal with the tribes is wholesale slaughter." T E Lawrence, Lawrence of Arabia, wrote, "We have killed ten thousand Arabs in this rising this summer. We cannot hope to maintain such an average-it is a poor, sparsely populated country."

But repression simply deepened the revolt. It took five months and 8,000 Iraqi lives for the British to crush the rebellion. Minister for the colonies Winston Churchill moaned that subduing the locals was "eating up troops and money".

He discovered a cheaper method - dropping poison gas from aeroplanes. The British launched one of the first ever full-scale aerial gas bombardments on thousands of men, women and children. Churchill brushed aside those who questioned the morality of poison gas.

"We shouldn't be stopped by the prejudices of those who don't think clearly," he said. "I am strongly in favour of using poisoned gas against uncivilised tribes." He declared that the gas had "an excellent moral effect" on the locals. The British found it easy to kill Iraqis, but it was harder to kill the dream of Arab freedom.

The British imposed a king on Iraq. Only a few Iraqis had ever heard of Prince Faisal - and those

*Maude was dubbed 'The Liberator'—by the British, that is. Nobody asked the Iraqis what they thought.*



who had didn't want him as their king.

The British installed him with great pomp and circumstance.

They organised a vote in which 96 percent backed King Faisal, a result that would make many modern dictators blush.

The first thing King Faisal did was sign a treaty with the British giving them military and economic control over Iraq. But mass opposition to the British regime continued to run deep.

The British established an Iraqi army, led by British officers, to make sure the local people were kept in their place.

In 1930 the British foisted a new treaty on Iraq which meant they could continue to keep troops in the region to protect their growing interest in Iraqi oil.

This was the price the regime in London exacted from Baghdad before Britain ended its mandate over the area in 1932.

Opposition to the British controlled monarch never abated. In 1941, army officers staged a coup but were put down eventually with British guns. British control of Iraq

weakened after the Suez crisis and US influence grew.

Pressure for greater Iraqi control over oil revenue continued to grow and fuelled nationalists sentiment.

This led to an uprising in 1948 that first forced the government to repudiate a new 20-year agreement with Britain.

US influence began to grow in the region after World War 2 and eventually began to replace the British.

Despite having one of the largest communist parties in the Middle East, Iraq was forced to join an anti-communist alliance known as the Baghdad pact in 1957.

In 1958, however, nationalist tensions exploded when the Iraqi army, which Britain had created, launched a coup.

They killed the pro-British king and prime minister, invaded the British Embassy and tore down the statue of Sir Stanley Maude "the liberator".

The RAF bases were closed and Iraq withdrew from the sterling bloc in which its currency had been tied to the pound.

The new regime was led by Abdul-Kassem Quassim who took an independent nationalist stance.

This was regarded as a threat by Britain and the US and they encouraged opposition to his rule. In 1959 Quassim was wounded in an assassination attempt and one of his assassins was Saddam Hussein.

Finally 1963 Kassem was finally overthrown in a CIA sponsored coup. Just like the Iran Prime Minister Mossadeq who wanted to nationalise the oil industry he was a threat to Western interests.

As US and British forces again invade Iraq under the guise of bringing 'liberation' there can be few Iraqis who are unaware of their own history of colonial oppression. This is one reason why resistance to Anglo-American imperialism is growing.

# reviews

## WAR AND THE MEDIA: *A military snuff movie*

**THE 24 hour wall-to-wall news coverage of the invasion of Iraq is like a military snuff movie.**

The American networks and SKY News bring breathless 'reports' from embedded journalists giving first hand observations of the US/UK 'liberation' of Iraq.

The reporters who are now in bed with the American Military Machine jump on any scrap of misinformation, which the US Generals decide to "let slip".

Thus sketchy reports of a 'popular uprising' in Basra in seconds become "a mass popular uprising against the rule of Saddam in Basra" as Sky News flashed it across its screen.

Within 24 hours, even British Generals were privately saying that there was no basis for the story and it had originated with, you guessed it, an "overex-

cited embedded reporter 30 miles outside Basra".

The desecration of the English language is also continuing apace as the newsreaders make the horrific and obscene seem almost palatable and clinical.

### Parroted

We had become used to the term collateral damage (civilians killed) from the first Gulf War. But the glossary of terms used by the US military and faithfully parroted by the media is growing by the day.

'Mopping up resistance' means house-to-house raids in small Iraqi villages to find and kill those providing resistance to the invasion.

'Surgical Strike' is an aerial attack on the centre of an Iraqi city.

'Irregular forces' are Iraqi fighters who do not fight "fair" by coming out in the open to be massacred.

"War of Liberation" means an illegal invasion and bombing of an ancient and proud country by the US.

Media corporations are owned by a handful of international media barons. FOX and SKY are controlled by Rupert Murdoch who also owns the most pro-war British papers.

In the US, Fox television employs Oliver North as a correspondent. North was sacked from a previous US administration for running guns to Contra terrorists in Nicaragua, which were purchased from drugs money.

Yet despite the fact that the capitalist owned media continually produces lies, many people can see through it.

The millions protesting across the globe show that people are not empty vessels to be ignorantly filled with the pro-war propaganda produced by SKY and others.

## An Eccentric Nightingale



■ Tennessee Williams in 1954

THE Eccentricities of a Nightingale, by Tennessee Williams is being given its Irish premiere at the Gate, with a stunning performance by Lia Williams as Alma Wine-miller.

Tennessee Williams is one of the major American playwrights of the 20th century.

He is perhaps best known today for 'Streetcar Named Desire', made into a film 1951 with Marlon Brando.

'Cat on a Hot Tin Roof' was also made into a film 1958 with Elizabeth Taylor and Paul Newman.

For all three actors just mentioned, the Williams' roles are probably the best they ever gave.

At the time his

plays shocked audiences.

They display violence, sex, alcoholism, homosexuality and fetishism.

But the main theme in his work is the agonising loneliness of human beings.

He was not popular with the establishment.

### Exhort

Cardinal Spellman said of the film 'Baby Doll' 'I exhort Catholic people from patronising this film under pain of sin.'

Like many artists at the time, he was against the Vietnam War.

He took part in demonstrations against it.

There is no anti war theme in the work running in Dublin.

Nonetheless it is as funny and sharp and painful as any of his more famous plays.

## Marxist Forums

Big ideas discussed in informal settings



### Ballymun:

Martin Luther King and the Politics of Civil Disobedience 7.30pm Thursday April 10th Axis Centre

### Belfast South:

Truth. The first casualty of war? Thursday

3rd April 7.30pm Peter Froggett Centre. Contact 07900353816 for more details on SWP activities in the South Belfast area.

### Belfast Ormeau Rd:

Can we stop the New American Empire? Thursday 3rd April 7.30pm Hatfield

House. Contact 07719632264 for more details on SWP activities in the Ormeau area.

### Blanchardstown:

War and Imperialism: How do we get Regime Change At Home? Wednesday April 2nd 2n

### Cork:

Palestine: Crisis in the Middle East - Palestine and the road map to nowhere Saturday 5th April 3pm An Spailpin Fanach

### Drogheda:

Martin Luther King and the Politics of Civil Disobedience hursday 10th April at

8.30 in McHugh's Bar, Chord Road

### Galway:

Truth: The First Casualty of War April 10th Java's Cafe, Abbeygate St

### Rialto:

Truth: The First Casualty of War Wednesday April 9th st Andrews Community Centre 8.30

### Tallaght:

Truth: The First Casualty of War April 10th Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village 8pm

### Tralee:

Can War lead to Revolution April 10th 8pm in An Cumann Iosaf Community Centre

### Waterford:

How do we get regime change at home? Thursday April 10th: Old Rogue 8pm

■ For details of other Marxist Forums contact (01) 872 2682

## whats on



### 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

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.

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 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 much greater political and economic democracy.

### AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR

War is a constant feature of capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth. Bush's "War on Terrorism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or economic dominance.

## Irish Anti-War Movement Close shannon to U.S. troops!

National Demonstration on Shannon airport  
Saturday April 12th  
Assemble 2.00pm Shannon Town Centre  
Book your buses now.  
For details contact:  
IAWM: 087-6329511

SWP ACTIVISTS ARE ORGANISED IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS

## Network Socialist Worker

Fill in this form and send it to: Circulation Dept, PO Box 1648 Dublin 8

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_ Email \_\_\_\_\_

I want to take \_\_\_\_\_ copies of Socialist Worker each week to sell on.



# Give us proper cancer services!

**UP TO 500 people took to the streets last weekend to demand properly funded cancer services.**

In a loud and lively demonstration through Dublin's city centre, protesters called for proper breast screening facilities and regional radiotherapy centres.

Protesters came from Monaghan, Mayo, Cork, Galway, Waterford and Dublin.

There was strong trade union representation with banners from SIPTU and the Waterford Trades Council while David Begg from the ICTU addressed the crowd.

Mary from Castlebar explained why she had travelled for the march "We have good doctors in our local hospital but no chemotherapy services.

If cancer is caught in time it can be very curable but people down the country, in particular, are facing long delays in accessing treatment.

Old People and people who are often far too sick to travel are forced to make a weekly journey to Dublin for treatment that may take only five minutes to administer."

"Many people end up having to stay overnight—machines for radiotherapy often break down, or they may just feel too ill to travel—but if you don't have relations in Dublin you end up spending your savings on B&B."

### Priorities

"I feel very strongly that the services in Dublin should be for Dublin people. There's plenty of money in the country—it's just a question of priorities. I say health before government jets!"

Meanwhile the Waterford Trades Council have called a two hour stoppage over the lack of cancer services in the South East Region.

The stoppage takes place on Wednesday April 2nd and

there will be a march through the city.

Nurses in Waterford will be also taking a half day's strike action this week to demand a radiotherapy unit for the South East.

They have the full backing of local people. As one protester from Waterford said "We have the worst cancer services in Europe. Its time we all did what we can to change that".

The obscenity of spending vast quantities of money on war at a time when basic healthcare is not provided in either the West or the developing world was not lost on many of the participants.

Carrying a "Health care not Warfare" placard one man said "It sums up how obscene the priorities of this world are at the moment. I hope Bertie Ahern is listening. He should pay a bit more attention to serving the people who elected him and less time sucking up to George Bush"



■ Last Saturday's protest in Dublin

PHOTO: PAULA GERAGHTY

## Demonstrate against maternity service cutbacks Saturday 5th April - Dublin City Centre

**PARENTS and healthcare workers are taking to the streets of Dublin on Saturday 5th April, to protest against cuts in hospital maternity services, in a march organised by the National Birth Alliance.**

The organisers are protesting against plans to close up to 12 of the country's maternity units, and to cut maternity beds by more than a third in the next two years.

The National Birth Alliance says the cutbacks will put thousands of women's lives at risk as well as jeopardising the lives of newly born babies and further industrialising birth.

Under the plans, the three main Dublin hospitals are to be "re-located" to acute hospital sites outside the city cen-

tre.

For many women without private transport, it will mean undue hardship.

Other maternity units which have been identified as being at risk include Mullingar, Ballinasloe, Tralee, Kilkenny, Clonmel and Wexford.

Units not yet named may also close. Shutting units such as Portlaoise and Mullingar will put increased pressure on maternity beds in the big Dublin hospitals, already bursting at the seams.

According to the Economic and Social Research Institute Report for the Department of Health and Children that has just been published, Ireland's perinatal mortality rates (stillbirths plus first week of life deaths) are now the worst in the European Union.

■ Contact Marie O'Connor, National Birth Alliance at 01- 8388168

## WATER RATES WILL BE RESISTED

**ATTEMPTS by the government to introduce charges for household water in Northern Ireland will be met with resistance.**

This is the message from Communities Against the Water Tax, a group recently set up following a meeting held by the Cliftonville community.

Opposition to the charges has brought together community groups, trade unions, local politicians and others such as the Northern Ireland Anti Poverty Network (NIAPN).

A statement released by Communities Against the Water Tax said, "Local families will face water charges of at least £250 a year. Households here

already pay for water services in their local rates. We reject this double taxation."

Recognising the likely impact of charges Frances Dowds of the Northern Ireland Anti-Poverty Network told *Socialist Worker* "The Network calls for resistance to the potential introduction of metering which could impact seriously on larger households or those with caring duties (children or older people) who would have greater call on such essential services".

Trade unions are also opposed to the introduction of water rates and are actively involved in building the opposition.

*Socialist Worker* spoke to Pat Torley a TGWU Union Rep in the Water

Service who said "We have been liaising with various organisations in England and Wales in order to use their knowledge on the effects of the introduction of water rates.

### Examples

"We have heard many examples of how people were forced to stop flushing their toilet simply because they could not afford to pay their water bills."

It is the NI Anti-Poverty Network's opinion that "water and sewerage are basic human needs and they should be provided free from the state."

The privatisation of water is part of global strategy by big business to open up even the basic

necessities of life to the whims and dictates of the free market.

It has also met with huge opposition. In Bolivia, for example, water privatisation led to strikes and riots until it was withdrawn.

Similar meetings to the one held in Cliftonville are at a planning stage.

Here in Northern Ireland, opposition is growing.

■ If you are interested call the NIAPN office for further information or Communities Against the Water Tax, c/o Cliftonville Community Forum, 54 Manor Street, Belfast BT14 6EA Tel: 028 90 749147 Fax: 028 90298653 e-mail: manus@cliftonvilleforum.freeserve.co.uk

# 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?

**YES?** Then you belong in the Socialist Workers Party

To join or for more information: Fill in the form and Send to:  
ROI: SWP PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682  
NI: SWP PO Box 143, Mallusk Road, Mallusk, Phone 0774 2531617  
Email swp@clubi.ie Web: www.swp.ie

### I want to join the Socialist Workers Party

Name.....

Address.....

Phone.....

Email.....

Union/College.....