

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

Inside:

'We have to make SIPTU a fighting union'—Carolann Duggan speaks out

—centre pages

Solidarity price £1

■ AIB profits: £420 million

■ One third of Cork in poverty

CELTIC TIGER

ROARS ONLY

FOR THE RICH

THE Celtic Tiger is roaring for the rich—and they are flaunting it.

Take for example, Michael Smurfit. He boasts that he now buys wine for £440 a bottle.

And when it came to his wife's birthday he was able to splash

out £250,000 on a party in Monte Carlo.

Or look at Allied Irish Banks. Their profits shot up to £420 million a year.

Debt

No wonder they could write off £500,000 of Charles Haughey's debt.

It was a small sign

of gratitude for a Taoiseach who had kept the country safe for business.

It is a different story for those at the bottom of the pile.

The Vincent De Paul reports that there are 650 families in Dublin coming to them each fortnight to get dam-

aged food or food that is close to its sell by date.

One third of people in Cork are suffering from severe economic deprivation.

Greed

But there is still no end to the greed of the employers. Michael Mulcahy of

ISME, the small business organisation, has complained that "competitive businesses cannot compete with social welfare payments."

He wants to lower the dole—rather than pay decent wages to his workers!

The employers have no interests in

sharing out the fruits of the boom that workers created.

Fraud

The agreement they signed with the unions, Partnership 2,000, has been shown to be a fraud.

There can be no partnership with a government that covers up corruption

or employers who know no end to their greed.

It is time that we broke from this miserable deal.

Workers should follow the example of the electricians who have just won a £33 a week pay rise and put in proper claims for their membership.

CLAMPDOWN ON REFUGEES...

Fianna Fáil's hate campaign

THE GOVERNMENT has launched a crackdown on refugees in an attempt to create a racist atmosphere.

Justice Minister John O'Donoghue has intensified Nora Owen's curbs introduced on her last day in office.

Under the Aliens Order, people from non EU countries, who enter from the UK, are deported if their papers are not in order.

For the first time, immigration officials are being placed at ports to look out for "illegal" entrants.

This ends the previous arrangement where travel between the two countries was free from formalities.

O'Donoghue's office brags that patrols on airports and ports have been stepped up over the past few weeks with 44 extra gardai drafted in.

The campaign is being launched to target those from the Balkans and Africa. Those with dark skins are singled out for scrutiny.

The army has been drafted in to help gardai on a new checkpoint on the Belfast to Dublin road at Dromad.

Apply

All buses and coaches crossing from Newry to Dundalk are being diverted to the checkpoint.

Those who cannot produce a passport or visas are turned back.

They are given no opportunity to apply for asylum.

The government says the new measures are aimed at illegal entrants.

But this ignores the fact that those fleeing tyranny, wars and persecution are unlikely to be able to have all their passports and visas in order.

Those seeking asylum are not allowed a lawyer and cannot appeal the decision of the immigration officer.

The reality is that those with white skin can pass the border without trouble while blacks, Asians and East Europeans are harassed.

Bernard Lavanchy, the United Nations High Commission for Refugees representative in Ireland, has protested to the government and demanded the suspension of the curbs.

John O'Donoghue claims a flood of illegal immigrants are entering the country.

In fact the estimated number of asylum seekers is only 2,254—less than one for every 1,500 of the Irish population.



■ Gardai checkpoint in Co Louth

The real scandal: The housing crisis

WHAT the government's scapegoating campaign really points to is the scandal of lack of housing.

There are 30,000 families on local council housing list across the country and 4,862 on the Dublin Corporation list.

Dublin Corporation is buying houses and flats at inflated prices on the private market to ease the shortage brought on by years of building

too few houses.

Contrary to the racist myth, refugees are not offered local council housing.

Homeless

They must compete with the homeless for emergency housing places in private flats, hostels and B&Bs.

They may not go on a housing list until they are finally accepted into Ireland, which typically takes years.

Those who can't go home

WARS, tyranny and oppression have been the lot of the refugees who cannot go home.

Pierre Sane, Secretary General of the United Nations recently

criticised Western governments for refusing asylum to refugees.

Displaced

"At a time of crisis with 15 million refugees and 20 million internally dis-

placed people the world's richer nations are closing their doors."

Most of the world's refugees are women and children and are mainly concentrated in Africa, Iran and the Middle East.

Travellers demand proper sites



■ Travellers forced to camp at the side of the road

TRAVELLERS continue to be the butt of racism as government and local councils refuse to provide adequate resources.

Cabinteely in the Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown council area was the latest flashpoint.

Of some 650 travelling families in the Dublin area only about 90 are in Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown.

But the council has failed to provided the cheapest form of accommodation—halting sites with water and

electricity.

Rather than provide four fully serviced halting sites the council has spent a quarter a million pounds chasing 30 families from pillar to post.

Stopped

Earlier this year the families stopped a short distance away in Sandycroft.

The landowner eventually paid the families to leave his land.

Then they stopped at Cabinteely Park.

The gardai immediately appeared in force, checking

vehicles for tax discs and even tyre tread.

Everything was in order. But there has been a continued heavy garda presence intimidating the families.

Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown County Council is now going through the courts to have the families moved on.

But the Travellers are defiant. Joe told *Socialist Worker*, "We're tired of being moved on."

"Everywhere we go they say 'get out!' We just want to live, that's all."

"We're staying put until the council does something for us."

DIVIDE AND CONQUER

Second class citizens

OF THE ninety Traveller families in Dun Laoghaire 24 are in permanent housing, 26 are on official sites and the rest have no provision and are forced to camp at the side of the road.

Sixty per cent of halting sites in the Dublin area have no running water or electricity.

Infant mortality for Travellers, at 18 per thousand, is nearly three times the rate for settled families.

A man from the travelling community can expect to live half as long as a settled man.

A travelling woman will live on average to only a third the age of a settled woman.

Socialist Worker Public Meeting

The fight against anti-Traveller racism

Speakers: **GER TUOHY (SWP) and A TRAVELLER** Tues 19th Aug, 8pm Dun Laoghaire Workmen's Club

WORKING CLASS settled people are suffering as well as Travellers as a result of Dun Laoghaire's penny-pinching attitude.

There are 1,500 on the housing list for council accommodation.

Many more live in poor conditions but don't bother to apply when the prospect of council housing is so remote.

Pursue

The council would rather pursue working class people for water charges than discharge their responsibilities. Fianna Fail councillor

Larry Butler tried to whip up tensions between the two communities when he said: "Are we going to say to those on the housing list 'we are not going to house you, but we can find accommodation for these [travelling] people'?"

But even the council's own planners had accepted that 54 bays for caravans were needed but only 16 were provided.

Instead of letting racists like Larry Butler divide us we should demand adequate resources from central and local government to provide accommodation for both settled and travelling people.

ANTI NAZI LEAGUE

Rage Against Racism

Comedy night
MARK STEEL
JEREMY HARDY
Whelans Pub,
Wexford St
Sunday Sept 7th
8.00pm
Admission £6 (£5 Conc.)

MARCH & CARNIVAL
including:
NICK KELLY,
DOCTOR MILLER,
SADRE & lots more
Saturday Sept 13th
Assemble Garden of
Remembrance 2.30pm
Carnival: Civic Offices Park,
Wood Quay (after march)

what we think

The Minister for Contributions

RAY BURKE is trying to stop discussion on why he got £30,000 from a builder.

He has threatened to sue the *Sunday Business Post* because they ran an interview with Joseph Gogarty, the businessman who was present when the money was handed over.

Burke wants to get back to a situation where the press did not inquire into the wealth of politicians like Haughey.

But there is still a lot to investigate about the whole affair.

In 1992, Burke was a member of the government which brought in a tax amnesty.

Yet he has consistently refused to say whether he used that amnesty himself.

Nor has he explained if he paid tax on the donation he got from the JSME construction company.

The allegations about Burke have appeared by accident.

The former company executive Joseph Gogarty fell out with his erstwhile colleagues and decided to spill the beans.

Similarly in the case of Haughey and Lowry, the truth about the huge donations only came out because of a feud within the Dunne family.

It shows that we are looking at the tip of the iceberg.

For every Joseph Gogarty there are several others who stay quiet about the close links between big business and the main political parties.

This shows the reality behind the facade of democracy in Ireland.

Officially every citizen has an equal chance to influence the affairs of the country.

But the reality is very different.

Millionaires like O'Reilly own most of the newspapers and use them to promote their right wing views.

Company directors get regular access to Ministers and top civil servants to press their demands.

Budgets are drawn up with a view to the health of profits.

All of this is considered perfectly normal under capitalism.

Is it any wonder, in this situation, that a wealthy individual or company who is looking for an extra favour tries to directly buy a government Minister?

Peculiar

Corruption does not happen because everyone is naturally greedy or "out for themselves".

Nor is it something peculiar to Fianna Fail or Irish politics.

Belgium has been rocked by a scandal over the purchase of war planes; the Italians have coined a term called *tangentopoli* to describe the system of bribes in their country; in Japan the ruling Liberal Party is built around factions which fight over who gives out patronage.

Wherever you have a system built on greed and profit, there is corruption.

That is why it is never enough to oppose the antics of Burke or Haughey—you have to uproot the system that produced them.

Fianna Fail plays the racist card

IT IS okay to take bribes and evade taxes. But try entering Ireland as a refugee or an immigrant looking for work and you are treated as a criminal.

Justice Minister John O'Donoghue's announcement that he has stopped 300 "illegal immigrants" coming to Ireland is a disgusting attempt to play the racist card and take pressure off Fianna Fail.

There is no talk of zero tolerance when it comes to corruption.

But the 'get tough' policy on immigration is a useful diversion to take attention away from Fianna Fail's troubles..

It is also gross hypocrisy. Irish politicians have lobbied America for extra visas to allow illegal Irish immigrants stay there.

For decades there have been no immigration controls between Ireland and Britain.

No one was 'illegal' because there were no restrictions on movement.

If the Irish could emigrate across the world, why should others not enter Ireland to get work or avoid persecution?

Burden

O'Donoghue says that immigrants are a burden on the taxpayer, costing us £40 million a year.

Yet every immigrant brings skills and an ability to work.

The problem is that under Irish law, a refugee is not allowed to work or even study.

They are forced onto social welfare even though the vast majority want to better themselves.

If O'Donoghue is so concerned with the "burden on the taxpayer", he could ask his old friend Charles Haughey to come clean on the millions he ripped off.



Ray Burke: Doesn't want to talk about the cash

One hundred days of Blair

WHEN Tony Blair was elected on 1 May in a landslide victory there was an overwhelming relief that the years of Tory rule had come to an end.

But from the very start there was a yawning gap between the outlook of the Labour Party leadership and that of the working class electorate.

Blair and his spin doctor Peter Mandelson claimed

that New Labour had won the election because they had moved closer to Tory policies. Both even said that they shared an admiration for Margaret Thatcher.

Yet opinion polls showed that the majority of workers had moved to the left.

Tensions

The 1996 British Social Attitudes Survey found that 52 percent of people agreed that "the government should distribute income from the better off to the less well-off".

Fifty-five percent thought "unemployment benefit is too low and causes hardship."

In a commentary on the poll the right wing commentator in the *Financial Times*, Samuel Brittain wrote that, "The British public remains hopelessly collectivist in their attitudes".

These tensions were covered over during the honeymoon period because Blair took a number of small popular measures, like restoring trade union rights at the spy centre GCHQ.

But after a hundred days there has been an important change.

Blair still enjoys majority support but there is now a growing minority who are disillusioned by Labour. And it is no wonder.

Blair said that "education, education, education" was his top priority. Yet his gov-

ernment is abolishing third level grants and is introducing fees.

His Foreign Secretary Robin Cook promised an "ethical policy" on arms sales.

But he has just sanctioned the sale of 16 Hawk fighters to Indonesia.

Home Secretary, Jack Straw condemned the Tories' prison policy when in opposition.

But now he has authorised the building of child jails.

No wonder one union leader, Lew Adams of the rail union ASLEF, said, "This government appears to be listening to the Liberals and the CBI (bosses organisation). Why don't they listen to the trade unions?"

Blair is doing exactly what the Irish Labour Party did when they were in government: they attack their own supporters rather than big business.

In the past when capitalism was booming Labour governments in Britain could deliver serious reforms.

But today as economies stumble from recession to anaemic recovery, there are few reforms available.

This is why parties who try to manage capitalism carry out terrible betrayals.

The challenge in Britain today is to pull the minority who are disillusioned with Blair to the left.

That can only be done by a party committed to revolutionary socialism.

Defend the right to free speech!

■ Jail the corrupt politicians!

■ Drop the charges against Peadar O'Grady

National Demonstration

Saturday 27th September

3pm

Parnell Square Dublin

Bring Union Banners
Phone (01) 872 2682 for details

Dr Peadar O'Grady has been charged under the Public Order Act for speaking out about corruption while holding an election meeting outside the Rathmines Centre.

Dr O'Grady was a candidate for the Socialist Workers Party in Dublin South East.

If the police get away with using the Public Order Act to stop an election meeting, it will represent a grave attack on civil liberties.

Trade unionists and everyone concerned about free speech should build for this demonstration.

International news

UNITED STATES:

Teamsters fight it out with UPS

by KEVIN OVENDEN

AN ALL out indefinite strike by 185,000 workers at the United Parcel Service is turning into the biggest labour showdown in the US for over a decade.

The world's financial papers have responded with fears that it may herald a revival of the US labour movement and an increase in workers' militancy as bitterness at two decades of vicious bosses' attacks boils over.

Some 185,000 members of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters union are taking on one of the largest and most politically well connected corporations in the US.

UPS handles 12 million packages a day, moving about 6 percent of the total output of the US economy.

The strike over part time work and pension arrangements began on Monday of last week.

Talks between management and the union broke down at the weekend, prompting Teamsters president Ron Carey to tell reporters as he left the negotiations, "It's time for us to start digging in."

This is a fight about America's future", said Carey as he announced a series of rallies to be held across the US.

"It's a fight about working people in this country".

The conditions that have forced UPS workers to strike are shared by millions of Americans and are familiar to Irish workers.

The company has been in the forefront of a 25 year employers' offensive that has driven down wages by more



Striking drivers battle with police in Watertown, Massachusetts

than 20 percent and destroyed millions of jobs.

It has made over \$4 billion over the past four years and has pioneered the bosses' strategy of replacing secure full time jobs with poorly paid, insecure part time contracts.

About 115,000 of UPS' 190,000 employees work part time.

Growth

Over 23 million US workers, about 18 percent of the total, are employed part time. That is almost double the proportion of 30 years ago.

Pro-capitalist commentators have talked of the US economy entering a 'golden

age' over the past few years. They point to six years of economic growth, low inflation and falling unemployment.

Tony Blair has modelled much of his drive for 'flexible labour markets' on policies adopted by US president Bill Clinton.

But falling wages, worsening conditions and the destruction of full time jobs have continued apace.

US workers now spend two months a year more on the job than their European counterparts.

Meanwhile profits and bosses' pay have reached astronomical levels.

The New York Times summed up the reality facing

most US workers: "Many problems that workers faced only in bad times have become fixtures at all times. Some wages are still falling, people must be ready to work 12 hour shifts and a six day week, and no job is for keeps."

Frozen

Starting pay for part timers at UPS has been frozen at \$8 or \$9 an hour since 1981. They typically make \$15,000 a year or less.

UPS offered its workers just a \$1 an hour pay rise for full time workers and \$2 an hour for part timers with over five years service.

It refused to increase the

starting pay for part timers.

The company also wants to get its hands on the pension fund. That would enable it to make a flat rate payment and pocket the rest.

Many US workers are up against hard nosed bosses like UPS. That is why there has been enormous support for the strikers.

Support

Socialist Worker's sister paper in the US reports, "For the first time in a generation, a national strike has won support and sympathy from people all over the US."

"Suddenly, newspaper stories about the 'miracle economy' have given way to front page articles about the

plight of low wage, part time workers.

"The issues of 'worker anxiety' and anger at corporate greed have returned to everyday discussion about politics.

John Sweeney, the president of the US equivalent of the ICTU, the AFL-CIO, told a rally of UPS strikers in Chicago,

"The driving issues behind this strike reach directly into the living rooms and pocket-books of every working family."

"Working families all across the country are being squeezed because companies are replacing good paying, full benefit, full time jobs with low paying, no benefit, no security part time jobs."

The tactics needed to win

THE UPS strikers have enormous potential power. But winning the dispute will require a break from their leaders' tactics.

As in Ireland, union leaders in the US have made huge concessions over the last few years and refused to mount the fight necessary to win when they have been forced to call a strike.

That has led to a series of bitter and unnecessary defeats.

The UPS strike is solid and so far management has not organised a mass scabbing operation.

That has led union leaders to limit picketing to token levels.

Nevertheless, police have attacked picket lines across the US, with UPS bosses promising to cover police wage bills.

Managers are still driving UPS trucks and are bound to try to hire scabs if the strike remains solid and continues for any length of time.

Rank and file workers at some UPS depots have shown the kind of militant tactics that could cripple the company.

In New York 1,000 members of the Communications Workers of America union employed by the Nynex phone company broke through police barricades to join the 40 UPS pickets on Thursday of last week.

The police, who had been aggressively defending the scab trucks, retreated.

"They'd better pull back," one Nynex worker said. "There's enough of us here to

kick their arse into the Hudson River, and they know it."

UPS pilots, members of the International Pilots Association, promised a strikers' rally in Boston that they would not cross picket lines.

In Chicago flying Teamsters pickets followed scab trucks to three major companies last week.

They threw up picket lines at the customers' buildings and forced management there to cancel deals with UPS.

But union leaders have discouraged such successful initiatives.

They were so desperate to avoid a strike that they put forward extremely tame demands in negotiations.

US employers are not so hesitant. They are demanding that Bill Clinton invokes national anti-union laws and forces the union to call off the action and enter binding arbitration.

Clinton has not outlawed the strike so far for fear of causing a massive backlash among millions of workers. But government officials have refused to say they will not intervene.

There is a big danger that union leaders will either call off the strike for a shoddy deal or allow management to seize the initiative.

Millions of US workers are desperate for that not to happen.

A defeat for UPS workers would encourage every boss to go on the offensive.

A victory would mark a turning point for the US working class.

Around the world

VENEZUELA:

MILLIONS OF workers joined a one day general strike in Venezuela last week.

The strike was called by the South American country's main trade union federation against a recent petrol price rise and to demand wage rises for private sector workers.

Even the government said it backed the call for private sector firms to raise wages.

A series of market reforms and International Monetary Fund backed austerity plans have seen Venezuelan workers wages fall by 67 percent in real terms

since 1979.

KENYA:

AT LEAST four people were killed in clashes during a one day general strike in Kenya last week.

The strike was called to demand democratic reform from the repressive government of President Moi, which has been facing a growing wave of protest in recent months.

Strikers killed two police sent to infiltrate and spy on protests in at least two cities during last week's strike.

The strike would have been bigger if the leaders of the main opposition group

had not withdrawn their support after the government offered minimal reforms.

Last month saw students and the unemployed protest over poverty and demand democratic change.

And even the International Monetary Fund has cancelled a loan until the regime reduces corruption among government officials.

ROMANIA

TENS OF thousands of workers protested in cities across Romania last Friday after the government announced a series of factory closures.

The pro-market regime says 17 state owned factories must be shut, throwing 30,000 people out of work, because they are not profitable enough.

The biggest protest came in Ploesti where thousands of angry oil refinery workers attacked police and smashed up the town hall.

PHILIPPINES

A PUBLIC transport strike in the Philippines paralysed major cities across the country last Friday.

The protest was over the latest in a series of government imposed oil and petrol price rises.

ARTHUR GRIFFITH: From rebel to conservative

SEVENTY FIVE years after Arthur Griffith died, Fine Gael are trying to turn him into a hero of Irish democracy. But the real story is very different.

Arthur Griffith began his political activity almost a century ago when he became editor of *The United Irishman*.

From the very start he held deeply right wing views.

In 1904, for example, Griffith gave full backing to a pogrom against Jewish people in Limerick.

He wanted Ireland to break economically from Britain, so it could industrialise and become a power in its own right. For Griffith that meant doing everything to build up Irish capitalism.

This is the main reason why he supported a policy of protectionism:

"If a manufacturer cannot produce as cheaply as an English or other foreigner then it is the first duty of the Irish nation to accord protection to that Irish manufacturer."

Griffith hoped that one day Ireland would have its own empire.

In 1905, Griffith founded Sinn Fein.

At the time the overwhelming majority of the Irish business class ignored Griffith and backed Redmond, the leader of the Irish Party.

They hoped that cautious parliamentary manoeuvres would bring them Home Rule.

Powers

Quite rightly Griffith knew that the British would not give economic powers to Ireland without a struggle, but he did not believe in the old physical force tradition. He led Sinn Fein to participate in broad nationalist campaigns, such as for an independent culture and language.

His preferred tactic was modelled on the Hungarian campaign within the Austrian Empire.

This involved standing in elections but refusing to take seats until a constitution had been won which allowed independent economic growth.

As Sinn Fein exposed the cowardice of the Irish Parliamentary Party they were seen for a while as a radical party.

A small number of radical trade unionists in Dublin joined them after one representative claimed that:

"Sinn Fein is wide enough and all-embracing enough to take in all the best of socialism".

By 1908, the party had won a number of seats on Dublin Corporation and looked as if it was poised for a breakthrough.

But as workers began to organise, the conservative message of Griffith came to the fore.

He hated socialism and consistently attacked Jim Larkin who he blamed for "workless fathers, mourning mothers, hungry children and broken homes".

He opposed the workers during the 1913 lock-out and sided firmly with William Martin Murphy.

He hounded Synge's *Playboy of the Western World*, claiming it insulted the Irish people.

Griffith really came into his own from 1917 onwards when Irish politics was changed by a huge revolutionary upheaval.

Discontent with the Great War, repression against the leaders of the Easter Rising, and a major campaign against conscription suddenly shifted the political climate.

In the general election of 1918 Sinn Fein smashed the old Irish Party and illegally set up Dail Eireann. Griffith's tactics were bearing fruit.

The Irish elite looked for an opportunity to regroup and began to join Sinn Fein. To his left, the now conservative leaders of the labour movement allowed the republicans to take all the political credit for the struggle against Britain.

Indiscriminate repression and arrests by the British authorities kept a growing tension within Sinn Fein in check.

But once the British had been forced to negotiate, by the scale of mass popular struggle, Griffith had to decide whether to compromise or to support demands for a complete break with Britain.

For him, the fact that Ireland would be allowed to control tariffs outweighed all other considerations, even partition, and he signed the Treaty.

Elite

By defending the Treaty, Griffith became the focus for an Irish elite desperate for stability. Businesses, landlords and the church rallied to the new Free State while the more radical workers, the rural poor and the majority of urban intellectuals wanted to fight on.

The myth of a united nation was destroyed by a civil war which reflected the realities of different class interests. In his enthusiasm to develop Irish capitalism, Griffith—like Collins—led the attack on his former comrades.

By the time of his death in 1922 he had become one of the first examples of how quickly a nationalist rebel can become part of a conservative establishment.

—CONOR KOSTICK

music

'Sinful music' that shocked the townsfolk

by KIERAN ALLEN

TWENTY years after his death Elvis Presley is still being presented as a symbol of the American dream.

The story is told that as a poor working class boy he went to the independent studio of Sam Phillips in Memphis to record a song for his mother's birthday.

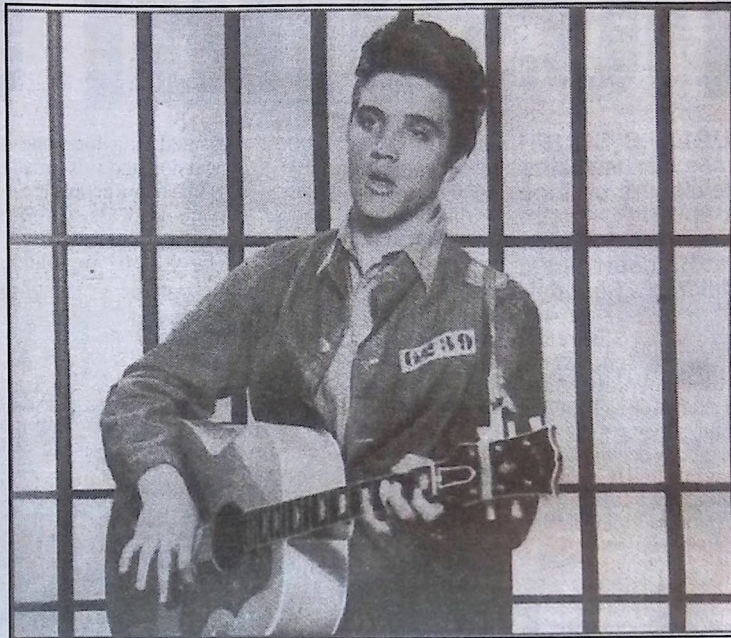
Phillips was so impressed with Presley's voice that he got him to sing 'That's all right mama' and almost immediately a star was born.

The legend is apparently true but there is a lot more to the rise of Elvis and rock and roll.

Rock and roll developed in the mid-fifties out of the boredom which many adolescents felt with the Perry Como type music produced by the major record companies. The big companies wanted simple melodic sentimental songs that 'everyone could sing along to'.

Black music at the time was viewed with particular distaste.

In Nashville, for example, drums were banned up to 1956 and black singers were forced to record on special 'race labels'.



Elvis Presley in *Jailhouse Rock*

However a growing number of white youth began to pick up on this music through the late night radio stations.

Original

In response, a number of white singers ripped off the songs of black musicians and toned them down for their audiences.

The classic example was Pat Boone, the born again evangelist, who robbed Little Richard's song 'Tutti

Frutti'.

The original song was full of sexual innuendo and was sung with great gusto and passion but in the hands of Boone it became another song about 'a girl called Sue'.

Elvis Presley's talent was that he at least had a feel for black music.

He told one interviewer that although he had been brought up on religious music he also "dug the low down Mississippi singers", like Big Bill Broonzy and

Big Boy Crudup.

"Sinful music, the townsfolk in Memphis said it was.

Which never bothered me. I guess".

Breathless

Elvis developed a personal version of this style with a great sense of rhythm and a breathless, impatient tone to his voice. Although he was told by the Grand Ole Opry—the custodians of country mu-

sic—that he should give up singing and return to work as a truck driver, Elvis quickly reached a new audience of American youth.

For the racists this was all part of a plot to undermine the moral fibre of the country.

Church groups tried to have the new rock and roll music suppressed and even Bill Haley, the other great rock and roll singer of the time, conceded that:

"We steer completely clear of anything suggestive. We take a lot of care with lyrics because we don't want to offend anybody".

Meanwhile the black musicians who had originally produced the music were sidelined.

Big Boy Crudup never received a penny from Presley's covers while the New York songwriter Otis Blackwell got only \$25 for his song "Don't be cruel", made famous by Presley.

Presley was eventually bought up by the big record company RCA and turned into a huge success, making over 30 films, each one worse than the last.

He became the big icon of pop, a bland safe sort of music that suited the big record labels.

Like many forms of youth music which came later, rock and roll began as a form of rebellion but was later taken over by the greed merchants.

book

Defending the revolution

by SIMON BASKETTER

THIS YEAR is the eightieth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, the first time workers took state power.

Revolution in Danger, a newly published collection of articles from Victor Serge, adds to the debate about how the revolution took place and the methods that were used in its defence.

Serge was an international revolutionary who took part in a failed insurrection in Barcelona in 1917.

His political affiliations were with anarchism but as soon as he went to Russia he joined the Communist Party and became an ardent defender of Bolshevism.

After the October Revolution Russia was invaded by 14 armies including Britain, America and Japan.

Winston Churchill explained their motives when he said that, "civilisation is being completely extin-



Fighting for the revolution: A group of Red Army soldiers on the South Eastern Front reading a news bulletin in 1919. Victor Serge brings the struggle to life

guished over gigantic areas while Bolsheviks hop and caper like troops of ferocious baboons amid the ruins of cities."

The White armies engaged in the utmost brutality to put down the Russian Revolution. In Finland, for example, 23,000 workers and socialists were massacred in three months after the Whites took power.

In one gruesome incident the bodies of dead socialists was sent by train to the starving town of Petrograd with a huge meat label stuck on the carriage

Response

Serge's book describes the response of the workers government to this attempt at counter revolution.

Two of his essays 'During the Civil War' and 'The revolution in danger' concern the defence of Petrograd. Serge explains why sometimes brutal measures were forced on the Bolsheviks to defend the revolution.

On 10 June 1919, for example, Yudenich the White General was forty miles from Petrograd. Serge de-

scribes the atmosphere among the revolutionaries:

"Men no longer go off to the front drunk, singing patriotic songs, with panic in their hearts and madness in their brains. That was all right for the other war, the insane war.

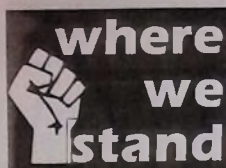
"This one, where they understand why they are fighting, is a dirty job, which they accept without weakness — but with sadness, because it's not a question of being soldiers but simply of being men"

There could not be a better description of the feelings of those who took up the gun to defend the revolution.

Serge explains that the Whites offered nothing but the old repression of Tsarism, while the Bolsheviks won support because they represented the class which held out the prospect of a free and democratic future.

He points out that the only way we can achieve socialism is in the reality of class war and not from some ivory tower

■ *The Revolution in Danger* by Victor Serge, Redwords £5.99 Available from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8



Workers create all the wealth in capitalist society. A new society can only be constructed when they collectively seize control of that wealth and plan its production and distribution.

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion. To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry.

We argue for working class unity in the fight against oppression.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class. Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it. We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

To win socialism socialists need to organise in a revolutionary party. This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system. The SWP aims to build such a party in Ireland.

Fight to stop the hospital closures

DUBLIN'S SOUTH inner city is facing the closure of three hospitals — the Meath, the Adelaide and Harcourt Street Children's hospital.

Already, Patrick Dunn's, Steeven's, Mercier's and Baggot Street hospitals have been shut down, leaving health services in the area absolutely decimated. All services will now be transferred to the new hospital in Tallaght, due to open next year.

Elderly

Alone, the organisation for the elderly, recently ran hard-hitting advertisements in the national press highlighting the effect the closures will have on many old people on the southside.

Already, the elderly face waits of up to twelve hours for accident and emergency services, while St James', now the nearest hospital, is seriously overburdened. As Alone rightly points out, a trek out to Tallaght is not possible for most old people.

The implications are disastrous, not just for the elderly but for anyone living in the south inner city who may need medical treatment.

This is the culmination of over a decade of cut-backs in health care, which have decimated services right across the country.

The price of a much-needed hospital in Tallaght, to serve the

needs of the 50,000 strong population there, is the loss of the service for thousands of others elsewhere in the city.

The closures have been

presented as a foregone conclusion and it is only now that many people are becoming aware of the consequences, which will extend beyond

health needs and into the area of employment. Ancillary workers in the hospitals, employed on contracts, will not be re-deployed so hundreds of

local people will face job losses. A fight to save the hospitals is vital and can be won if local people and hospital workers stick together. They

should demand that some of the riches of the Celtic tiger are directed into providing decent health services for both Tallaght and the south inner city.

Walkout in St Brendans

NURSES in St Brendan's Hospital, Grangegorman, gave an example to others in the Health Services who are frustrated at poor working conditions.

They walked off Unit 10B, a geriatrics ward in protest at dilapidated conditions and poor staffing levels there. Management had agreed with

the unions that conditions in 10B were poor and said they had been concerned about it for some time.

Decided

But they also claimed that their "superiors" had decided that the cost of refurbishment was "prohibitive".

The demands of the SIPTU and

of the Psychiatric Nurses Association (PNA) were not outlandish. They included the refurbishment of the kitchen and toilet area, the replacement of furniture, and an increase in daytime staffing.

But instead the ward has been closed. St Brendan's management and the Eastern Health Board are clearly more concerned with cutting costs than

patients' welfare.

The nurses' action should be supported. Conditions in the hospital must be improved, both for the welfare of the patients and for the working conditions of employees of the Eastern Health Board. The unions have also demanded improvement in a number of other areas in the hospital, and will take action if management do not deliver.

Letters to the editor

Send letters to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

Bosses parties back port tunnel

RECENTLY, Dublin Corporation voted by 31 votes to 12 in favour of construction of the Port Tunnel under Marino. This decision illustrates a complete lack of democracy for Marino residents.

The main political parties were behind it all the way, despite appearances. For example, Fianna Fail's two local councillors Ivor Callely and Sean Haughey voted against the tunnel, but nearly every other FF

councillor voted for it. It is claimed that no damage will be done to houses, some of which are nearly 80 years old.

Explosions

But explosions will be used to break up the rock underneath, and no guarantees whatsoever have been given that any damage caused will be fixed.

It is clear that politicians do not represent the people that elect them. They serve the interests of big business

and the wider ruling class.

It would cost £60 million to divert the tunnel away from Marino — too expensive they say.

They had no problem forking out £70 million of taxpayers' money when the country was fined by the EU for 'irregularities' in the Beef industry as a result of Larry Goodman's activities.

This is a man who managed to pay more in political contributions to FF than what he paid in taxes during the 1980s. —D Aherne, Dublin.

Who are the terrorists?

AFTER the suicide bombing in Jerusalem which killed 14 people. Israel has launched a reign of terror against the Palestinians.

The army backed up by the extremist paramilitary police have sealed off the West bank and Gaza strip. Thousands of Palestinians are being held under siege. Even those with work permits are being held hostage in their homes. Hundreds of Palestinians have been rounded up and a 67 year old man was shot.

Prime minister Netanyahu has been threatening to invade Palestinian territory. Israel's attempts to wreck the peace process have been backed all

the way by Bill Clinton. In particular the launching of a huge building programme in Palestinian territory, which was designed to surround the Palestinian settlements. The only country not to condemn the action was the US.

The blame for the slaughter in the middle east lies squarely with Netanyahu and his backers in the west.

—Simon Basketter Dublin

News from the SWP:

THE CEASEFIRE and the growing worries about the Blair government has opened a new audience for socialists in the North.

Hundreds have come to the SWP stalls in Belfast and Derry to sign petitions against the introduction of fees for universities and 12 people joined the party over two weekends in Belfast.

Meanwhile, SWP was the only socialist organisation to take part in the annual anti-internment march in Belfast. 75 papers were sold.

In the South, the sales of Socialist Worker outside workplaces are increasing. 13 papers were sold outside a small corporation depot in Dublin and 10 papers outside Irish Glass Bottle plant in Ringsend.

Socialist Worker's new pamphlet on 'Refugees are Welcome here'; is now available. Copies of the pamphlet can be obtained for £2 plus post.

Socialist Worker Public meetings

Is there a Socialist alternative to Blair?

Peter Morgan (SWP Britain)
Derry: 8pm Wednesday 3rd September, Tracey's Bar Waterloo St.
Belfast: 8pm Thursday 4th September, Holiday Inn, Brunswick St.

SWP branch meetings

- BELFAST**
Meets every Thurs contact 8722682 for details
- CORK**
Meets every Weds at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.
- DERRY**
Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm
- DUN LAOGHAIRE**
Meets every Tues at 8pm in Christian Institute.
- ENNISKILLEN**
Meets every fortnight Contact national address for details
- GALWAY**
Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square
- MAYNOOTH**
Meets every Wednesday Arts Block Maynooth college
- WATERFORD**
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.
- DUBLIN NORTH-WEST**
Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm in The Old Brogue, Dorset St.
- DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK**
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm Contact 8722682 for details
- DUBLIN DRIMNAGH**
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Black Forge (formerly the Bentley), Drimnagh Rd
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL**
Meets every Wed at 8:30pm in Conways, Parnell St.
- DUBLIN RATHMINES**
Meets every Wed at 8pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.
- DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL**
Meets every Thur at 8pm in the Trinity Inn, Pearse St.
- DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN**
Meets Monday at 8pm in the Steering Wheel, Clondalkin

There are Socialist Worker members in:
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DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA.
If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

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CPSU

Ballot accepts the pay deal

A NEW PAY and restructuring deal has been accepted by members of the Civil and Public Service Union (CPSU) by a majority of almost three to one.

Its terms fall far short of the aims of the union's low pay campaign and there are major dangers in proposals for flexibility and 'atypical recruitment'.

Socialist Worker supporters organised with other activists to campaign against the deal. But the 'Broad Left' grouping on the CPSU Executive Committee failed to organise openly for a No vote.

Rejected

This grouping campaigned successfully to have the previous deal rejected. But despite claiming a majority on the Executive, the Broad Left agreed to issue this deal without a recommendation.

Some Executive members campaigned in their own branches for a No vote, but those who were asked to sign a statement from the No campaign refused to do so.

The weakness of the Broad

Left is that they concentrated on capturing the Executive but failed to sink serious roots among the rank and file.

In the end they gave in to the fatalistic argument that CPSU members are 'conservative' and unwilling to fight for a better deal.

But civil servants in the CPSU have voted by five to one to take action if political appointees are redeployed into clerical grades.

And much of the distrust of strike action comes from the experience of last year's dispute being called off without the members being consulted.

The deal may give rise to new disputes about the exact implementation of flexibility.

Those who campaigned against the deal should stick together and build a rank and file network that can keep up the fight.

Peace fund money for consultants only

MANY PEOPLE were delighted when the special Eurofund for Peace and Reconciliation was established after the ceasefire in 1994. Some £247 million was to be given to community and voluntary associations. But where did it all go?

The Erne Advocacy Group is a self help group of Men-

tal Health Service Users. It applied for a grant of £3,000 to print three pamphlets to set up an Irish Advocacy Network. The aim was to promote good education on mental health throughout Ireland.

Represented

As it represented the socially excluded, the Erne Advocacy Group should on the surface have been a prime benefactor. But nothing of the sort trans-

Students

Fees put up by £100

STUDENTS are to be forced to pay an extra £100 when they return to college in September.

The Fianna Fail Minister for Education Michael Martin announced that students will have to pay £250 in registration and exam fees.

The increase was announced just days after the Union of Students in Ireland (USI) published the results of a survey which revealed that grant aid for third level students covers less than one-third of the actual cost of going to college.

The real value of the mainte-

nance grant fell by nearly fifty per cent between 1982 and 1995.

The fee increase of £100 will create even more difficulty for students, who are supposed to be benefitting from the last government's abolition of fees.

The day before the increase was announced USI said in a statement that they were "delighted that the progressive approach that was the hallmark of Michael Martin in opposition is still in evidence in Government".

The USI leadership includes many who have been active members of Fianna Fail. The party's student groups have been instructed in recent years to take over local student unions by claiming they are 'non-political'. This has meant that many have hidden their Fianna Fail membership when standing for election.

But when the college term resumes there will be pressure on USI to fight the party that many of its leaders have secretly supported.

TEAM

Workers set to take action

Craft workers at TEAM Aer Lingus were set to take action to demand pay rises due but held up by the management.

The workers voted nine to one for an official ban on overtime and a series of 24 hour stoppages.

These were due to begin in July but were suspended at the insistence of AEEU and SIPTU officials after the company threatened legal action.

Shop stewards offered to rebalot the workers on the action as a concession, in order to

have all the unions acting together.

The AEEU and SIPTU officials want to put the claim on ice in the Labour Court and Labour Relations Commission.

One shop steward told *Socialist Worker*:

"The workers are chomping at the bit to take action for the rises they are due.

"They are disgusted at the stalling tactics of the officials. We want to see united action across the unions to force the company to pay us our due."

Government uses schemes to save cash

THE GOVERNMENT is boasting that they now have a large number of schemes to get the long term unemployed back to work.

They include Community Employment, Jobs Initiative, Job Start and even a special scheme run by the Conference of Religious in Ireland.

Some are aimed at those over 35 while others provide places for the disabled who are registered with the National Rehabilitation Board or for lone parents.

In short, the economically stigmatised by capitalism. They are being offered an olive branch for being victimised in the first place and are expected to be grateful in return.

Schemes

The participants on these schemes offer a real service to the community but they are then discarded after one to three years. For them the Celtic Tiger has turned out to be an EU pussycat.

But it is also the case that many schemes are organised under the auspices of Partnership 2000 and so do not serve specific needs. They can be an exercise in cosmetic surgery to hide the disfigurement caused by capitalist exploitation.

The other problem with the schemes is that they are administered by people with a middle class mindset and full of bureaucratic jargon.

Most people apply for these schemes from a genuine desire to work. They want to recover their self esteem and also gain some short term financial benefits.

But the tragedy is that some situations

turn out to be punitive and leave the participant with no option but to become a live register statistic.

BILLY took a part time contract cleaning job and availed of the back to work allowance. For the first year he kept 75 percent of his Unemployment Assistance and was considerably better off. By the third year he was getting 25 percent of his Unemployment Assistance and applied for Family Income

Supplement. He has one child who is eighteen.

Next year, Billy, who likes doing a decent job, will receive no social welfare. He will not qualify for FIS and will be working twenty nine hours a week for an extra £11 that he would receive on Unemployment Assistance.

Receive

His short term incentive to work will turn out to be a long term disincentive.

MARY is a deserted wife on benefit payments. In order to avail of the Com-

munity Employment scheme, she transferred to a One Parent Family allowance. She has two children and loses £7.20 on her basic payment.

She eventually gained a place on a Community Employment scheme and is approximately £53 a week better off.

However although Mary is over 35 she is not automatically guaranteed an extension on Community Employment and will almost definitely be finished after three years.

In the meantime she has transferred from a benefit to a means tested payment. After January 1997 she is not allowed to

transfer back and so she will permanently lose £7.20 a week.

If she is lucky and gets a permanent job she will lose her One Parent Family payment after a year — but if she had stayed on Deserted Wives Benefit she could have kept a reduced rate for much longer.

MICHAEL and **CATHY** are a married couple with two children. Michael works on a Community Employment scheme and Cathy has lost her full time job after three years working.

Michael is happy to be working after being unemployed for a long time and although Cathy is entitled to Unemployment Benefit she would prefer to get part time work.

If they could get Family Income Supplement it would help to keep their head above water.

But they cannot. Michael does not qualify because it is not available to CE workers.

Cathy will not get it if she works for less than the 17 hours that are required by law.

She is left with no option but to draw her Unemployment Benefit.

Yet that it will only last fifteen months and by then Michael may be out of his CE place. After that they are both dependent on means tested benefit.

Once again short term incentive to work has turned out to be a long term disincentive.

Instead of really helping the long term unemployed, recent government are simply trying to pare down the Social Welfare budget.

Tensions in INOU

THREE members of the Executive of the Irish National Organisation of the Unemployed have resigned after a major controversy about the direction the organisation is going.

The resignations arose out of a disagreement over the way the INOU organised for a recent Amsterdam march against unemployment.

Twelve of the eighteen Irish marchers issued a statement criticising the lack of organisation and limited resources that were put into the march.

"It showed us that the organisation has little experience in organising protests. Some key figures want to operate more as a research department for the government rather than a militant organisation of the unemployed", one marcher said.

Statement

After a close vote, two executive members who signed the statement were disciplined for their criticisms and a third resigned in protest.

The problem stems from the way the INOU has adopted a

strong pro-Partnership response. At its last conference, over a third of the organisation voted against Partnership 2000 but the leadership managed to ram it through.

"You sometimes get the impression that the leaders of the INOU treat government Department Secretaries as their friends and those who want militant action as their enemies.

"The organisation needs to be taken back by the members," one executive member told *Socialist Worker*.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p

AS LABOUR COPIES THE TORIES...

Fight Blair's attacks on welfare and students



THE Labour government has sent shock waves across Northern Ireland by its decision to introduce a £1,000 fee to enter university.

It also plans to abolish student grants.

The Dearing Report has admitted: "average earnings in Northern Ireland are lower than Great Britain and higher education attracts more students from poorer families."

Many working class people have gone to college as a way of escaping poverty or discrimination. Access is of course far

easier for the wealthier groups.

But the Labour government have got it wrong when they try to give the impression that all students come from a middle class background.

Overtime

Pamela Surplis from Antrim, who has two children in secondary school, is one of the many mature students who have gone to college.

She is not at all impressed by Blair's claim that working class students are looked after because of the £16,000 threshold on

parental incomes.

"My husband works in a low paid government job and has to work overtime so we can have a reasonable standard of living.

"If they means test his basic pay we should be exempt, but if his overtime is included we may be above the threshold."

The Dearing Report claims that because basic wages are so low in Northern Ireland this will mean there is a "smaller disincentive on participation in higher education."

This is utter nonsense. Most graduates in Northern Ireland find jobs in the

National Health Service where wages are notoriously low.

If they have to borrow £2,400 each year to get through college, how could they pay back the loans on low wages?

Profits

One of the main authors of the Dearing Report was George Quigley, the chairman of the Ulster Bank.

This wealthy businessman has not the slightest concern for working class students.

Last year the Ulster Bank made £136 million in profits and paid only a limited amount of tax.

Labour should have increased the taxes on bankers like George Quigley and his rich friends if they wanted to deal with the crisis of funding in education.

But that would have meant taking on the privileged sections that New Labour has decided to court.

Jobs and benefits threat

THE BLAIR government is going ahead with Tory plans to privatise huge parts of the civil service.

Thousands of jobs in Northern Ireland will go, and services to claimants will be even further down the list of priorities.

The entire Social Security Agency (SSA) here, and the Benefits Agency in Britain, will be sold off.

Already, Labour has confirmed that 260 jobs in the paid order section of the SSA in Derry are to go.

In a number of sections, shadowing by private companies has already started.

In the Child Support Agency, increasing casualisation is threatening pay and working

conditions.

Labour chose the day parliament broke up to announce its plans.

It is carrying through Tory Peter Lilley's "Change Programme" which planned to slash social security running costs by a quarter, cut or sell off 20,000 civil service jobs and force even more people off benefits.

Real Estate

Labour is to sell off over 700 dole offices to the private sector.

Civil service unions reckon many local offices will close and be sold off as prime, city centre real estate.

Strabane dole office is already under threat of closure.

Claimants will be expected to travel to Derry to sort out prob-

lems with benefits.

NIPSA is the union for civil servants in the North.

NIPSA members are angry at Labour's continuation of Tory plans. Many want to take industrial action to protect both their jobs and services for claimants.

Earlier this year SSA staff, voted 4 to 1 for an overtime ban and non-cooperation with management on the privatisation.

But the NIPSA leadership has refused to even call a ballot on further, more militant, action.

Labour's vicious Tory-style attacks on jobs and benefits can be stopped if civil servants, other workers and claimants unite to fight them.

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