

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Protest at the USS JFK!

Tuesday July 2nd 7.00pm
 Assemble: Peoples Park Dun Laoghaire
 (Near Sandycove DART stn; Buses: 7,8)

Stop this obscene carnival!

No welcome for US warship

THE GOVERNMENT is gearing up for an obscene carnival to celebrate 4th July.

They have invited the aircraft carrier USS JFK to Dun Laoghaire and Galway and are presenting it as a day out for all the family.

The politicians and the media are hiding the fact that this warship was used to launch deadly airstrikes on Iraq during the Gulf War five years ago.

The JFK was part of the operation that resulted in 300 civilians being incinerated in an air raid shelter in Baghdad.

Basra

It also ferried the planes that slaughtered 40,000 retreating conscript soldiers on the Basra road at the end of the war.

The hypocrisy of politicians is breathtaking.

Barely a day goes by without one or other of them making 'fresh calls' on the IRA to resume

the ceasefire.

Yet they are now uniting to celebrate the arrival of a warship that helped to kill ten times as many people in a matter of weeks as the IRA killed during the 25 years of the Troubles.

Protect

We regularly hear TDs calling for censorship of videos to protect children from violent images.

Yet they now encourage us to bring our kids to see the warship and its deadly cargo.

TURN TO PAGE TWO



The American way—a victim of the Gulf slaughter in which the USS JFK played a major role

Don't let Spring sell out on neutrality!

NO WELCOME FOR U.S. WARSHIP...NO WELCOME FOR U.S. W

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A war for democracy?

Labour and Democratic Left have been trying to sound radical recently with Dick Spring condemning China's nuclear tests and Pat Rabbitte calling for a boycott of Shell over their activities in Nigeria.

Sign Up

Yet both parties are full square behind the welcome for the JFK. As Minister for Foreign Affairs, Dick Spring is trying to wean us off the idea of neutrality so he can sign Ireland up as members of NATO.

He has already pushed Ireland to join the military alliance of the Western European Union which the former President of the EU, Jacques DeLors, argued would have to fight "resource wars" in the next century. The WEU in turn has links with the NATO warmachine.

The visit of the JFK is an attempt to sanitise the role of the US military in world affairs. That is why all who oppose the visit should turn up for the demonstration in Dun Laoghaire, starting on July 2nd.

The Gulf War was hailed as a war for democracy. Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi leader, had invaded "plucky little Kuwait" and had to be stopped.

But Kuwait was, and still is, a brutal dictatorship, where migrant workers from neighbouring countries are used as cheap labour and only a wealthy elite enjoy democratic rights.

It served the West because it allowed cheap oil to flow to the multinationals. One US official gave the game away when he said, "If Kuwait grew carrots we wouldn't give a damn".

Opposed

Millions of Arabs across the Middle East hate their rulers but they still opposed the Western intervention in the Gulf.

They had seen the US build up Saddam Hussein's war machine when it suited Western interests.

Today the claim of the US to bring democracy and peace to the area is a joke. The US government supports Saudi Arabia where beheadings take place on a daily basis. It also backs Turkey's rulers who attacked the Kurdish people with as much brutality as Saddam Hussein.

When Israel murdered 100 people in Qana in Southern Lebanon, the US stopped the UN condemning its actions. Although Israel has invaded Lebanon several times and runs a puppet regime in the south of the country, there is no Gulf style military attack on it.

The USS JFK symbolises the brutality meted out to the people of the Middle East by the US and its allies in the region. That is reason enough to demonstrate against its presence in Irish waters.



Does the JFK have nuclear weapons?

ACCORDING TO press reports, the JFK has "full capability" to carry nuclear weapons.

Yet the US Embassy refuses to confirm or deny that these weapons will be on board when it sails into Dublin.

In New Zealand ships like the JFK are banned from their waters because it is a nuclear free zone.

Why doesn't Dick Spring, the Foreign Minister for "neutral" Ireland, follow this example?

Stop this sick show

THE visit of the JFK is being presented as popular entertainment.

The National Lottery is helping to sponsor the visit and RTE is broadcasting the gig on board where the Cranberries and U2—a band which once sang songs against US repression in El Salvador—will entertain celebrities.

This on-board entertainment is the equivalent of dancing on the graves of the Gulf War dead.

per cent.

Only the wealthy gain from war - like the huge oil companies whose interests were served in the Gulf.

Socialists stand with working class people in the US, like Ismael Cotto, a young Puerto Rican killed at the start of the war, whose sister told the New York Post at the time:

"I saw them on Wall Street and they were cheering [the war], like it was a game. Don't they know it means that people will die. Not them. Not their families. Not their kids. People like my brother."

Are we anti-American?

Campaigners against the warship will no doubt be accused of anti-Americanism.

Yet there is a strong anti-war tradition in the US itself. It was one of the main reasons why the US had to pull out of Vietnam in the 1970's and it resurfaced again during the Gulf War.

Thousands marched against the war even before the shooting had started in early 1991. Students set up anti-war committees in the colleges and campus teachers drew hundreds, and in some cases thousands, of students.

dents.

Large numbers of US troops resisted going to war.

Applied

Over 10,000 went absent without leave and over 1,000 applied for status as conscientious objectors.

Some soldiers were forced

onto Gulf bound planes in shackles and leg irons.

When 28 year old Sergeant Derrick Jones said killing Iraqi soldiers was against his Christian beliefs, officials said, "Don't worry, none of them will be Christians".

There were numerous incidents of open resistance with soldiers refusing to train

for a war they did not support.

Budget

US workers lose out in their rulers' build up to war. The US military budget went up by 50 per cent in the 1980s while federal anti-poverty programmes were cut by 54

inside the system

SCANDAL OF CHILD LABOUR

Nearly 15% of the world's children work, according to a survey by the UN labour agency.

Seventy-three million children aged 10-14 are "known" to be unemployed - with many millions more being forced to work outside of this in jobs such as domestic servants and child prostitution.

And a British Labour MP has shown that many of the souvenir Euro 96 footballs are being produced by workers in Asia on poverty wages, some probably by children.

★ Spare a thought for the poor priests around the country who are having to deal with smaller and more bored attendances at mass.

A survey of over 2,500 teenagers in the Drogheda area found there's been a steady decline in those going to mass - with the vast majority saying they found it "extremely boring".

Many of those surveyed commented on their lack of trust in the church following recent scandals.

Deasy's anti-Traveller racism

A FINE Gael TD has blown apart the party's image of being a caring, liberal group.

During a debate on Travellers in the Dail, Waterford TD Austin Deasy said Travellers should be encouraged to use contraceptives to curb the size of their families.

This gomben bigot also said Travellers should have to apply for permits to move around the country "to stop them arriving on the doorstep of the settled community".

Shotguns

Deasy is obviously competing with Waterford FF Cllr Kenneally for the "best way forward". This is the councillor who a few months ago called for the shotguns to be brought out against Travellers.

Politicians in Austria made similar comments over the past decade about gypsies,

leading to the fire-bombing to death last year of four gypsies.

One wonders if Deasy and Co. have read any stuff from the Nazis, past and present, who argue along similar disgraceful lines.

Meanwhile, a report for the Travellers Project on Primary Health Care shows only two in every 100 Travellers live to the age of 65 - and infant mortality is nearly three times the national average.

The life expectancy of Travellers is now only at the stage reached by settled people in the 1940s.

Nine out of ten surveyed said living conditions and sites beside dumps were to blame.

Fergal's fibs

FANCY making a phone call? SW would like to recommend readers ring the plush offices of millionaire Superquinn boss Fergal Quinn.

If you're told the suave Senator is "very busy", you might like to know that it was recently revealed Mr Quinn is not always at top level boardroom meetings.

It seems Fergal likes more than the odd game of golf (at places such as the K-Club and Mount Juliet no doubt) and has told staff to say he's working non-stop!

★ Nearly half of all workers in the country can't afford a holiday.

A recent survey shows only 54% of Irish adults went on holiday last year for four days or more.

Even at that, a third of those who did go on holiday went to stay with relatives to keep costs down.

Free medicine needed

"EXPERTS" in the Southern Health Board want to raise admission fees to accident and emergency wards from £12 to £20.

They argue that only those with a referral note from their GP should be treated free.

The government is known to be "concerned" at the numbers who skip paying a GP and go straight to hospitals where they pay anyway. The Southern Health Board proposal is the type of scheme they are looking at.

Yet the real solution lies elsewhere. According to Dr Ken Egan, former President of the IMO, it would cost only an extra £190 million to provide a free medical service for everyone in this country.

The tax amnesties for the rich have already brought in that type of money. Maybe if they were taxed a little more there could be a service where health and not money dictated who got treated.

Housefire deaths on the rise

TWENTY-FOUR people have died so far this year in house fires in Ireland.

Each year the total reaches an average of over fifty.

Firefighters have recently been expressing concern about the length of time it takes to respond to fires in rural areas.

Funding

In some areas it can take over thirty minutes.

It's hardly surprising that Ireland has one of the highest rates of death in fires in Europe when you look at the levels of spending on the fire service.

While in 1984 £7.5 million was being spent on capital funding, it has fallen to just £4.5 million this year.

Local authorities have now begun to buy in cheap fifteen-year-old fire engines from Britain.

Poverty wages

The rich in Ireland have so much money they don't know what to do with it.

To go with the big cars and massive houses, many of them are now turning to the latest status symbol - servants, housekeepers and house cleaners.

With shades of the "Upstairs Downstairs" scenario, the wages of those who are forced through circumstances to work in the Big Houses remain at poverty level.

Some full-time live-in childminders gets as little as £80 a week; au pairs a paltry £40 a week; and house cleaners from £2.50 an hour.

"Their pay is often terribly low and they lose out on sickness pay and social welfare entitlements and are often isolated," says SIPTU spokesperson Michael Fitzgerald.

what we think

AFTER THE MANCHESTER BOMB...

Where are the Republicans going?

THE IRA bomb in Manchester should be condemned by every socialist. Placing a bomb in a large shopping centre frequented by working class people on a Saturday morning was the height of stupidity.

Over the last two years the IRA have not planted a single bomb in Northern Ireland.

If they have learnt that bombing the city centre of Belfast and Derry achieves nothing, then what is so different about a Manchester or Birmingham?

British workers share a common hatred for a Tory government with most Irish workers. Catholic and Protestant.

They know that the Tories are attacking every right they won in the past.

Instead of seeing them as part of the enemy camp, anyone who is fighting oppression in Ireland should be putting out the hand of friendship and solidarity.

Stupidity

None of this means that we should line up with politicians in Ireland and Britain who are using the stupidity of the bomb to press for more concessions from Sinn Fein.

The plain truth is that they have helped to create the conditions whereby a return to violence is more likely.

They talked to the IRA while the armed struggle was in full swing three years ago - but they refused to negotiate when they stopped their campaign.

They have been told by Gerry Adams time and again that republicans were giving

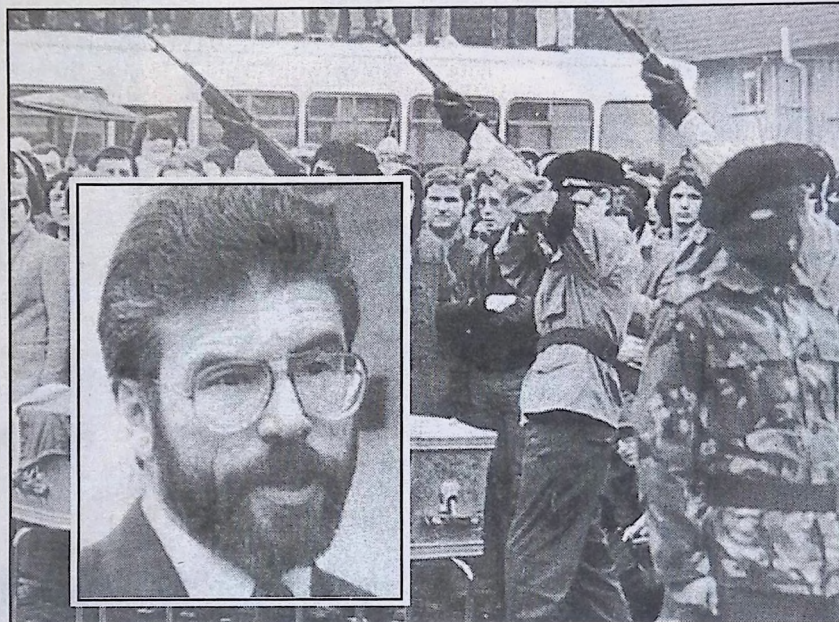
up on a united Ireland for the foreseeable future and only wanted 'parity of esteem' for nationalists within the North.

Squandered

A settlement although one not particularly beneficial to working people was on the cards, but John Major squandered

the opportunity because he was more interested in winning Unionist Party votes than reaching an agreement.

That is why we should not listen to their hypocrisy but recognise that the Manchester bomb is the bitter fruit of their misrule.



TWO SIDES OF THE WRONG COIN

THE bomb attack in Manchester and the killing of a Special Branch officer in Adare show that there are major tensions inside the republican movement.

One side is deeply frustrated by the peace process and wants a return to armed struggle.

They think that this can put extra pressure on the British to move forward.

But their strategy is based on a series of myths. They believe, for example, that the huge Bishopsgate bomb in

the City of London was the key factor which moved the British into talks.

Yet the recent book by Eamonn Mallie has revealed that the moves to negotiations began long before this bomb.

Conflict

In the twenty five years of the armed conflict every tactic, from a bombing campaign in Britain to assassination of individual right wing politicians has been tried.

While the British ruling class have never defeated the IRA, neither have they been able to move them on fundamentals.

The British ruling class wants a settlement which modernises sectarianism by giving the Catholic middle class and the Southern government get a say in running the North.

But beyond that, the armed struggle does not move them further.

The alternative approach by Adams is to try to use the US and Southern governments to pressurise Britain to move forward.

Again this too is riddled with contradictions. So Gerry Adams seeks to win the friendship of right wing politicians like the US congressman Pette King to help end discrimination against Catholics.

But King is a sponsor of a measure in America that would stop ethnic groups being taught in their own language.

How someone who sup-

ports discrimination in his own country could help to end oppression in Ireland is never explained.

The reality is that both wings of republicanism offer nothing.

Dead End

Their strategy has come simply come to a dead end. Both hang together because they fear the terrible history of splits in the military tradition of

the IRA.

The result is an extraordinary paralysis which is sometimes masked by short term success like the recent vote in the Northern elections.

But in the end the movement which won the loyalty of tens of thousands has reached a dead end because it never understood that the only way to bring change is through the power of the self activity of the working class.

The alternative

THE republican movement was born out of a fight against discrimination and oppression. But the present tensions within it shown that they have run out of any strategy for taking the struggles forward.

The deadlock could only be broken if the anger that has grown in the Catholic working class against the injustices is linked up with the disillusionment among many Protestants about what loyalism has brought.

That link can start to be forged in the course of a common class fight against the rotten conditions all workers face. But it will also require a set of clear politics to break through the sectarian structures which dominate every aspect of the North.

Building that militant socialist minority in both sections of the working class is the key task of today.

And it will require argument.

Unity

Socialists have to argue with Catholic workers that US imperialism or right wing politicians like Albert Reynolds are not their friends.

They have to argue with Protestants for a break from all of forms of localism because it ultimately rests on the idea that one group of workers is superior to the other.

Above all socialists have to convince a new audience that has opened with last period of relative peace that a united working class fight could destroy both sectarian states on this island and create conditions where all would gain.

New repression planned

THE REACTION of the Southern state to the attack in Adare shows the type of repression that is planned for the future.

Jermiah Sheehy was beaten so badly that prison officers refused him entry to Portlaoise lest they be accused of inflicting the injuries.

Another suspect, John Quinn, was evidently tortured because he had to be brought to hospital five times during his interrogation.

One legal representative who saw him described him as semi-conscious when he was brought from the police station to the Special Criminal Court.

During the Birmingham Six case, the Southern media rightly complained about the miscarriage of justice when these type of beatings

brought. But now they have gone silent.

Police Powers

Sections of the establishment in Britain and Ireland will use the Manchester bomb to give the police more powers.

Already Bruton has started to back Trimble's argument that ceasefire by the IRA is no longer enough - but evidence of decommissioning has to be produced.

Socialists should oppose this type of repression. It was tried from more than two decades and was only used to harass wide numbers of working class people.

Behind the headlines

Why we don't need US- style 'justice'

LAST WEEK Dublin hosted an international conference on crime.

Newspapers like the *Irish Times* and *Irish Independent* used the occasion to claim that the US authorities have found a way to solve the problem.

But they have hidden the reality behind the greatest law and order crackdown in recent times.

Today the US has a prison population that numbers over a million. Big companies have been encouraged to go into the prison business and have built so many jails in Texas that they approach other cities for contracts for inmates to fill their jails.

The law and order hysteria has led to a massive escalation of miscarriages of justice.

Take, for example, Brian Roberson, a 31 year old black man who has been condemned to die next month on July 10th in Texas. He is facing the electric chair because he is poor and black and for a crime he did not commit.

Nearly ten years ago after clubbing with a friend he stopped off at a public lavatory on his way home near to where an elderly middle class white man was murdered. Roberson's friend was arrested and died in custody. Later Brian Roberson was arrested and charged with murder.



■ Brian Roberson

Brian's mother sold her home to pay for a lawyer for his defence but she could still only afford a second rate lawyer. The trial was a catalogue of mistakes and incompetence. For example, Roberson's finger prints were never found on the murder gun.

The police and prosecution presented a picture of an excitable black man with a grudge against whites after his father was murdered by a white man.

Brian's difficulties at school as a youngster were fetched up to prove his instability.

It took just a week of trial for him to be found guilty and condemned.

Brian's mother Betty Roberson said: "It is difficult for me to understand why the white man who murdered my husband only got 13 years and was released after only three years. While my son who is black got the death penalty... I believe that Brian's conviction was racially motivated."

Today, there are over three thousand people on death row in the US with black people making up a large number of them. 46 percent of the prisoners executed in 1995 came from ethnic minorities.

Richest

It only reflects a more general pattern. In the world's richest country there are more blacks in jail than in university.

Betty Roberson pointed out: "When it is a black on black crime you only get four or five years, if it's a black on white crime you'll automatically get the death penalty, but if it's a white on white crime (especially here in Texas) they'll smooth it over, say you have a mental problem or something like that—it's disgusting."

The law and order hype in the media and among politicians trying to get a sound bite on the television is not about solving the problem of crime. The US, for example, still has one of the highest murder rates in the world.

Even the right wing *Economist* magazine pointed out that the drop in crime levels in cities like New York has little to do with the new "get tough" policy.

Demographic changes associated with the decline in the number of young men in the city has been a major cause.

So too has the fact that the gang wars over distribution of the drug crack have been "solved" as bigger groups have now taken control.

Crime has its roots in the poverty and oppression of capitalism. That is why crime, including violence and murder, is more prevalent in poor areas than in middle class neighbourhoods.

The victims of these crimes are most often the poor themselves.

The law and order hysteria creates an atmosphere in which the underlying poverty is ignored and the poor themselves are victimised.

The reason why the Irish media hold up the US as the example on how to deal with crime is that they want the same thing to happen here.

—KEVIN WINGFIELD

AS TENSIONS RISE AFTER ELECTION...

RUC join in on sectarian attack

RESIDENTS of the Limestone Road in North Belfast spent a terrifying night just before the famous "all-party talks" opened.

From 6pm on Saturday evening to 7am on Sunday morning, local people found themselves under attack from a loyalist mob and the RUC.

Susan spoke to *Socialist Worker* about what happened. "This area is no stranger to trouble. I usually get my windows broken about eight times a year.

"Normally it starts with kids throwing stones, then the older ones get involved.

"There was about 40 loyalists down the streets, smashing windows, mainly middle aged men.

"They kept shouting that the next time it would be petrol bombs and they were reclaiming the streets.

"I've lived in this street all my life. It's a mixed street, we've never had problems among ourselves."

Arrest

When the trouble started the residents called the police and five landrovers full of the RUC arrived.

Sean McMullen takes up the story. "When the police arrived they kept their backs to the loyalists and did not arrest them.

"They ended up beating us up. One of the cops shouted 'Get off the streets,

you fenian bastards'.

"The next thing was that the cops and the attackers were sharing cigarettes and joking and laughing with each other. I ended up getting my arms twisted up my back by the cops and being charged with 'riotous behaviour'."

Geraldine was appalled by what she saw: "My husband was being kicked by a policeman and I went over to help him.

"The next thing the policeman had me by the throat and another hit me on the side of the head with a baton. I was eventually taken to the hospital for stitches in my head."

Sectarian tension has been building up since the recent elections.

In the run-up to July 12th some residents have started to leave children at their grandparents during the weekends.

North Belfast is one of the most divided parts of Northern Ireland. It is also one of the poorest areas with massive unemployment in both Catholic areas like New Lodge and Protestant areas like Tiger Bay.



The RUC attacking protestors in Derry last year—now their members have joined in an attack on Catholics in Belfast

Shortage

There is also a huge housing shortage with thousands on the waiting list.

Recently articles have appeared in the *Orange Standard* which talk about the "movement of the Catholic population into traditional Protestant streets in North Belfast".

These arguments and the sectarian ravings of Paisley

and Trimble during the elections are now producing results like these sectarian attacks.

What is needed in the areas is a joint fight of Catholic and Protestant workers for more and better houses for everyone.

Vicious assault in East Belfast

An 18 year old youth was almost killed in a particularly vicious sectarian attack in East Belfast.

Peter Kavanagh, from the Catholic enclave of Short Strand, was walking home from a night on the town when he was set upon by about eight men.

In what was clearly an organised attack, they used Stanley knives and hammers to beat him and cut off his nose and ears.

Only the intervention of several other youths saved his life. Ironically, Peter had himself intervened to stop Catholic youths beating up a Protestant

boy some weeks earlier.

One of his neighbours told the *Irish News*:

"These attacks are getting more and more regular.

"It is only a matter of time before someone gets killed, if it had not have been Peter this time, it would just be someone else."

Supreme Court decision is a victory but...

Divorce still out of reach for workers

ALMOST seven months after the November poll, the divorce referendum has finally been formally endorsed in the High Court.

Des Hanafin failed in his attempt to have the result overturned and the government is now free to bring in the legislation which will legalise divorce in Ireland.

But just because divorce will be allowed by law does not mean that it will be accessible to everyone.

Apart from the four year waiting period that has been imposed on people who want to get a divorce, the cost will mean that many working class people will be unable to afford divorce.

At present the cost of getting a legal separation in the Circuit Court is put

at between £2,000 and £3,000. This is extremely high compared to Britain where a divorce can be obtained for just £80.

Contested

If the divorce is contested the cost will at least double. Some lawyers have estimated that in some cases it may cost anything up to £18,000.

Even if people can afford to pay the high cost of divorce there's no telling when they will actually be able to get one.

Each year there are over 3,000 applications for judicial separations. But peo-

ple have to wait on average 12 months in Cork, over a year in Dublin and Kerry, and 18 months in Limerick to have their applications heard.

While an important victory was won in the divorce referendum, the inadequacy of these provisions is now becoming increasingly obvious.

What THEY said:

"We will haunt you with this issue for decades to come,"—Gerard Casey, leader of the Anti-Divorce Campaign after Supreme Court judgement.

What WE said

"Hello divorce, Bye-bye bigots"—*Socialist Worker* poster after YES vote last year

Domestic violence on the increase

THE NUMBER of domestic violence cases coming before the courts has doubled since the Domestic Violence Act came into effect last March.

Under the act cohabitants, instead of just spouses as had previously been the case, can apply for barring and protection orders.

The act also broadened the reasons which allowed the granting of an order to include not only physical violence but also threats

and intimidation.

In 1995 there were 3,878 applications for barring and protection orders, an average of 74 each week.

Since March this has increased to an average of 122 applications a week.

Despite recent hysteria following the murders of several women, these figures show that for the vast majority of women the most dangerous place to be is in the home

international news

German workers take to the streets

HASSAN MAHAMDALLIE's
eyewitness report

HUNDREDS OF thousands of German workers took to the streets last Saturday in a huge show of strength. They were protesting against their Tory government's £30 billion public spending cuts package.

Trade unionists poured into the biggest park in Bonn, Germany's capital city. It was the biggest workers' demonstration for half a century.

Many had travelled overnight on the 5,400 coaches and 70 special trains laid on for the "March On Bonn".

Engineering workers in the powerful IG Metall union marched in huge delegations from the car plants alongside workers from every sector imaginable—including the police union.

Many workers carried home made placards calling for a general strike and for Kohl's resignation.

Limits

In a magnificent spectacle, feeder marches from every direction descended on the park and continued to pour in all day long.

Everyone was determined to defeat Tory chancellor Helmut Kohl's plan to get welfare and public spending down to the limits set for joining a single European currency in 1999.

Demonstrators were enraged that they were being told to "tighten their belts" in the same week that big companies announced record profits and booming share handouts.

They were also angry that Kohl was attacking welfare at the same time as he proposed tax cuts for the rich.

Many commentators characterise German workers as "pampered" and protecting "middle class lifestyles".

But what was clear from Saturday is that there are millions of ordinary workers who are already on the brink of real hardship and realise that Kohl's cuts package will wreck their lives.

Frank Rettke, a worker in a fork lift truck factory told of the insecurity that German workers feel faced with unemployment running at around ten percent, mass redundancies, and now this huge attack on welfare:

"We feel that we are caught in a capitalist trap. We never know from one day to the next whether we will have a job or we'll be on the streets.

"I take home about £800 a month. If I get made redundant and Kohl gets his way I'll get very little unemployment benefit.

"How would I pay the rent that is always going up?" Kohl condemned the demonstration. But he had already been forced to make a partial retreat in the build up to the action.

Kohl wanted the public sector union, OTV, to be the first to accept huge cuts in sick pay.

But he retreated, not wanting to provoke anger and possible strikes in the week before the protest.

Bosses were outraged. The German equivalent of the Financial Times, the Handelsblatt,

complained, "The price paid to the unions has been much too high.

"The government has gone into reverse and thrown it away. It has now made it much more difficult for other employers to take on their unions".

The cuts package has already provoked strike action. Although it is illegal to have "political strikes", 7,000 Volkswagen workers struck in Hanover last Tuesday against Kohl.

Action

Bank workers and postal workers have also had "warning strikes" in recent weeks. Action is still possible in sectors like the railways and building trades.

But it is also clear that the trade union leaders want to damp down the militancy in case they lose control of it.

At the rally itself there were few political speeches.

Instead the trade union leaders tried to create a non political atmosphere.

The leader of the German TUC, Dieter Schulte, did make a speech—and it was left wing. "If the bosses want a fight they can have it.

The bosses will have to bear the responsibility for social conflict".

But Schulte had no intention

'We need more strikes like France'

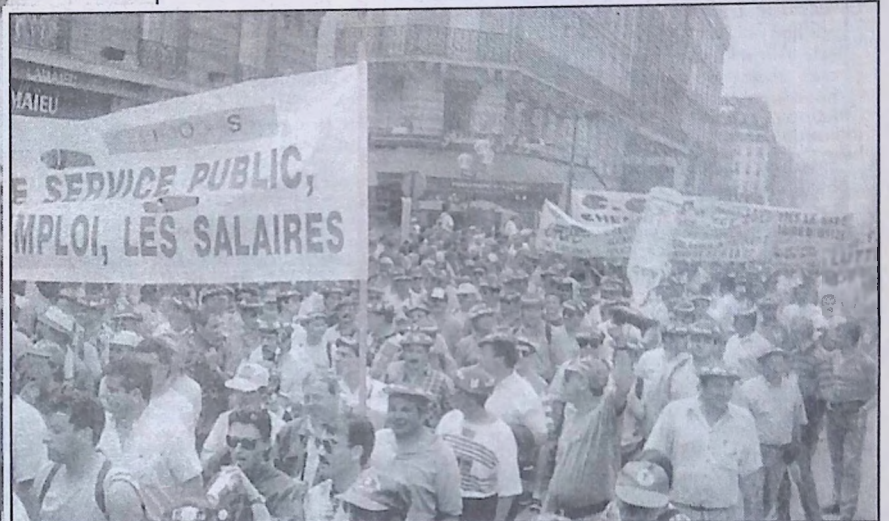
TWO FRANKFURT engineering workers facing redundancy, Werner Grubmeyer and Rainer Hett, talked to Socialist Worker at the march:

"If we get made redundant what are we to do? We would have to retrain. But Kohl wants to cut the retraining budget.

"Kohl shouldn't be attacking pensioners and low earners. We don't believe him when he says there's no money.

"Share dividends go up while wages go down. He should tax the rich.

"We believe there should be some more warning strikes and then a general strike like last year in France".



WORKERS on the move: Mass strikes and demos against cuts took place first in France then in Germany this month.

of calling more action on Saturday. Instead he told people that a "breathing space" was needed and for them to support the SPD, the German Labour party.

But the vast majority of the federal administrations that make

up Germany are controlled by the SPD. They are pushing through huge cuts packages.

Split

Indeed they want to add on

another £7 billion to the Kohl cuts.

The SPD leadership is split between those that support the cuts and European monetary union and those who feel under pressure to fight Kohl.

Nobody can be sure what will happen in the next weeks and months in Germany.

What is clear is the huge potential for a fightback—not just in Germany but across the whole of Europe.

Russia: Yeltsin and Zyuganov neck and neck

VOTERS STAY AT HOME AS CYNICISM GROWS

THE TWO main contenders in Russia's presidential elections face each other in a run off early next month.

The first round of voting last weekend saw Boris Yeltsin on 35 percent and his Communist Party opponent Gennady Zyuganov close behind on 32 percent.

Both are now wooing the smaller candidates for their backing in the final vote.

The level of disillusion with the elections was reflected in the low turnout in the poll. Instead of the predicted 80 percent turnout, only one in six voted.

Both Yeltsin and Zyuganov rushed to approach Alexander Lebed for support. He came third in the poll with 15 per-

cent, also underlines the lack of choice Russian voters have.

Former army commander Lebed is a veteran of the war in Afghanistan. He hero is Chile's ex-dictator General Pinochet—who crushed democracy after a bloody coup in 1973.

Fanatical

Lebed won votes on a strong authoritarian platform. He wants criminals to be rounded up and shot. He is also a fanatical opponent of peace in Chechnia.

Much of his support comes from people who have in the past supported the fascist leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy.

Yeltsin may well offer Lebed the post of defence minister in

return for his allegiance.

"Left winger" Zyuganov produced an even bigger bribe—he said Lebed could be prime minister.

Yeltsin made much of Zyuganov's Communist Party credentials and played much on the spectre of a return to Stalinism.

But Yeltsin is no democrat. He was prepared to disband the Russian parliament in 1993 because it disagreed with him, and launched war and repression in Chechnia.

Yeltsin backed the scare tactics by making extravagant spending promises—which every serious commentator is sure he will never be able to fulfil.

But neither was Zyuganov in any sense a workers' candidate.

He ruled out renationalisation or an attack on business if he won.

The first round of voting shows that there is no great enthusiasm for either of the candidates. People voted against rival candidates rather than with enthusiasm for their choice.

Western leaders promised that with the fall of the old order and the entry of the free market, life would get better for ordinary Russians.

Instead the free market has ripped through people's lives, plunging them into poverty and despair.

Whatever the final outcome of the presidential elections the eventual winner will do nothing to change that situation for the better.

PHILIP MORRIS:

Coughing up the profits

LAST MONTH the US based Philip Morris company placed full page advertisements in every major newspaper and magazine in nine European countries, including Ireland.

Philip Morris is the world's largest producer of cigarettes and the ads claimed that passive smoking posed no greater health risk than eating a biscuit or drinking a glass of water every day.

The real aim of the ads had nothing to do with scientific evidence but was concerned with boosting flagging sales of cigarettes.

The tobacco industry have long covered up its own research, which as far back as the 1960s showed that nicotine was addictive and that tobacco smoke could cause cancer.

The Oxford based Imperial Cancer Fund, which has been surveying the worldwide effects of smoking since the 1950s, now estimate that six people die every minute from smoking related illnesses.

As a result of this type of research, direct cigarette advertising is banned on TV and radio.

To compensate, tobacco companies have sponsored prestigious sporting events to attract young people to cigarettes.

The number of people smoking has dropped throughout the west. In Ireland smoking has declined from 43% of the population in 1973 to 30% today.

Consumption in the US continues to fall every year by 2.5%.

Expanded

Faced with this threat to their massive profits, tobacco companies have reacted in two ways.

Firstly they have expanded their sales in the Far East.

Philip Morris for example has invested hundreds of millions of dollars in setting up in the former Eastern Bloc countries and Asia.

Slick advertising campaigns have targeted young Asian women, portraying smoking as glamorous and sophisticated.

Their second response is shown by the Philip Morris ads—aggressive campaigns to counter anti smoking drives. While they can no longer deny that smoking kills, they are trying to refute the evidence about passive smoking.

Yet one hundred and fifty international scientific and medical organisations have declared that

passive smoking is harmful. In 1981, a survey in Japan showed that women married to regular smokers were more likely to die of cancer than those married to non-smokers.

In 1995 the American Environmental Protection Agency (EPA) stated that 3,000 people would die in the USA each year from passive smoking.

Philip Morris Co. responded by suing the EPA. In 1993 they sued the city of San Francisco for introducing a city-wide ban on smoking in public places.

In 1995 they sued the American Broadcasting Company when they broadcast a news item which showed that Philip Morris added extra nicotine to its cigarettes to keep smokers addicted.

Marlboro is their most famous brand of cigarettes. For decades their ads featured a rugged handsome cowboy, the "Marlboro Man".

Fighting

Wayne McLaren, the actor behind the image smoked thirty Marlboro a day for twenty five years. He died a horrific death in 1993 from lung cancer after spending the last two years of his life fighting the tobacco industry.

Philip Morris itself had profits of £4.7 billion last year, with total revenues of £65.1 billion.

Despite the reduction in the number of people smoking, the profits of Irish tobacco companies have also soared in the last year. PJ Carroll made £19 million in 1995, while Gallagher made £22 million.

Good news for their directors and shareholders. However, smoking will kill six times as many people in Ireland each year as road accidents, drugs, murder, suicide, and AIDS combined.

The suffering and death of millions is the price paid for these massive profits.

Companies like Phillip Morris show how obscene capitalism really is. They know that what they produce kills—but they are greedy for more profits and will pretend to use science to spread their lies.

The same media that run stories every day about the drug scare had no problem taking the £10,000 plus for the full Philip Morris ads. Yet the biggest and most dangerous drug pushers in the world are the tobacco industry.

Philip Morris and Co have the same concern for smokers as any drug baron has for his addicts.

Pumping out profit, new and

Why we are longer ar

A GENERATION ago workers were told new technology would lead to an ever declining working week.

Politicians, pundits and economists talked about a "leisured society" and speculated about what people would do with their extra free time.

Now they talk only of the need to cut costs and improve productivity. Workers face longer hours, more intense work, and constant pressure from bullying managers.

KEVIN OVENDEN looks at the shift, and the reasons for it.

THE BOSSES tell us we must make sacrifices, improve productivity and work longer hours to survive against international competition.

For example, Packard Electric workers were told they must work longer hours and have fewer holidays to secure the future of the plant.

The workers accepted the worse conditions and the plant closed anyway.

Surveys find that workers frequently have compulsory overtime written into their contracts.

Breaks while at work are also getting shorter. In 1994 the average lunch break was just 31 minutes. Half of workers got half an hour or less for lunch.

But the trend towards longer working hours is not just the case in Ireland, it is worldwide.

In Germany government and bosses want to raise the working week rather than move towards the 35 hour week agreed with unions a decade ago.

For most of this century industrialised countries saw a decline in the amount of time people were forced to work.

But that has gone into reverse. In the US working hours stopped declining as early as 1933. They began rising dramatically in the early 1970s.

In Britain, for example, the working week grew shorter until 1983—since then it has been rising.

Our lives

FOR THE bosses the extra hours workers spend at work have simply an economic effect.

They appear as merely an extra figure in the profit and loss ledger.

For workers longer working hours have far wider consequences. They shape our whole lives.

A recent survey found half of those at work said excessive working hours affected their social and family relationships.

Two thirds said they suffered from stress.

The last 15 years have also seen a staggering increase in industrial deaths and injury.



Workers finish their shift at

Two k

COMPETITION UNDER capitalism forces all bosses constantly to try and increase their profits, by pumping more surplus value out of their workers

One way to do this is obvious. If, for example, the boss can make worker work nine hours a day instead of eight hours for the same pay, the value of goods produced in the extra hour simply goes into the bosses' pockets.

Marx called this way of pumping more profit out of workers increasing "absolute surplus value"—an absolute increase in the hours of unpaid labour.

This was a central way of increasing profits in early capitalist society.

Capitalists took over the small scale handicraft production of the 18th century and concentrated large numbers of workers in early factories.

At first the old ways of working remained relatively unchanged.

The easiest way to get more out of workers was to simply lengthen the working day.

By the mid-19th century workers

Grabbing surplus

THE DRIVE to longer working hours is about squeezing more profit out of workers.

Workers do not get paid the full value of what we produce.

Workers get a wage, not based on what they produce, but on what is needed to allow them to exist and be fit for work—to eat, be clothed, rest, get a basic level of health and education and bring up a new generation of workers.

Of course wages vary depending on what workers can force bosses to cough up and what bosses can get away with in driving wages down.

But wages are generally set by the amount needed to keep workers just in a fit enough condition to work, not by the value of what they actually produce

when at work. This difference is the secret of exploitation under capitalism, and the source of the bosses' profits.

Given the typical level of productivity today average wages are equivalent in value to something like what an average worker produces in four hours at work.

But if we work for say eight hours a day then what happens to the value of the goods we produce in the remaining four hours?

It goes straight to the bosses. It is the source of their profit.

The gap between the work producing goods equivalent to our wages and the total value of the goods produced in the working day is what Marx called "surplus value".

and old style, behind...

We're working and harder



Workers finish their shift at Packard Electric (above), German workers (left) are fighting back

Two keys to more profit

COMPETITION UNDER capitalism forces all bosses to try and increase their profit by pumping more surplus out of their workers. It is obvious. If, for any reason, the boss can make workers produce more in a day instead of eight hours for the same pay, the value of the extra hour produced goes into the boss's pockets. This is the way of pumping surplus called this way of increasing the value of workers' labour—an absolute fit out of workers' pockets. In the hours of unpaid labour, the surplus value is increased as a central way of increasing the value of workers' labour. In the early days of the 19th century, the small scale capitalists took over the large scale production of large numbers of workers in concentrated factories. In the early days of working hours, the old ways of working were relatively unchanged. The easiest way to get more out of workers was to simply lengthen the day. In the mid-19th century workers

spent three quarters of their waking hours at work.

But there are limits to this. There are only 24 hours in a day.

At bare minimum it is necessary to allow workers to sleep and eat if they are to be fit to work the following day.

There were also widespread demands from workers to reduce the working day.

But there is another way for bosses to seek to increase profits.

This is to improve the productivity of labour—to get workers to produce more goods in a given space of time.

This can be done by introducing more efficient machinery. Every boss is constantly under pressure to do this because of competition.

Increasing productivity in this way has a crucial effect.

In any individual workplace it raises how much workers can produce in a given time.

But, if the increase in productivity is general across society, it also lowers the amount of time needed to produce the goods workers need to live on.

For example, in 1971 it took on average 35 minutes work to earn enough to buy a pound of bacon. In 1995 it took only 21 minutes.

There were similar reductions for other commodities.

The result of this process is that the gap between the time at work producing goods equivalent to our wages and the total value of goods we produce gets bigger.

Crazy

Profits can thus be increased in this way, by increasing what Marx called "relative surplus value"—raising the relative amount of the total value produced by workers which goes to profits.

Workers' living standards can even rise at the same time. But the share of total wealth produced going to wages goes down because profits are rising even faster.

At every stage of capitalism bosses have looked to all means to increase the exploitation of workers.

While the system expanded in the years after the Second World War the main way of doing this was through increasing "relative surplus value".

New machinery, rising productivity and no serious slumps meant bosses' profits could grow while workers' living standards also grew and the hours worked even fell.

Today, with the system in crisis and three recessions in the last 20 years, bosses have switched.

They still try to boost productivity and increase "relative surplus value".

But more and more they, and the governments which back them, are also pushing to boost profits by increasing working hours, cutting breaks and holidays.

This drive to jack up "absolute surplus value" is what lies behind the push for longer hours, with less breaks and holidays.

Despite enormous advances in technology which should make our lives easier, capitalism in the 1990s is returning to the barbaric methods of its youth to shore up its crazy drive for profit.

What do socialists say?

What is Leninism?

LENINISM IS the name given to the theory and practice of the Russian Revolution of October 1917 or, more precisely, of the Bolshevik Party that led that revolution.

For revolutionary socialists, therefore, Leninism has a special significance.

It stands as the only set of ideas which has so far succeeded in guiding an actual working class to revolutionary victory and the establishment of workers' power.

Leninism was the development of Marxism.

It based itself on all Marx's fundamental ideas about capitalism and the role of the working class in building socialism.

But it had three key distinguishing features.

1. Uncompromising internationalism and opposition to imperialism which meant total opposition to World War One—in contrast to the majority of European socialist parties which supported the war.

2. An insistence on the necessity of a revolutionary—rather than a parliamentary—road to socialism and that the existing capitalist state machine would have to be smashed.

In practice this meant commitment to the rule of workers' councils or "soviets" as they were known in Russia.

3. An insistence on the necessity of building a disciplined revolutionary workers' party, independent of all forms of reformism, to lead the revolution.

That meant the building of parties like the Russian Bolshevik Party elsewhere in the world.

There was, of course, much more to Leninism than this but these were its most essential features.

However, to say that Leninism has not received a good press of late is an understatement.

From the far right to even quite far left, there is a consensus that Leninism should be condemned and rejected.

There are two main arguments and both of them are widespread.

method but the isolation of the revolution in Russia.

The desperate conditions included the effective destruction of the revolutionary working class in the terrible civil war of 1918-21 that was imposed by foreign capitalist intervention.

This led to the rise of an antisocialist bureaucracy which systematically eroded workers' control of industry and workers' power in the state.

It was this bureaucracy that backed Stalin's rise to power and made him dictator.

Stalinism was not the continuation of Leninism but its counter-revolutionary opposite.

The argument that Leninism is out of date as a strategy for socialism boils down either to rejection of socialism altogether or to the idea that socialism should be pursued through parliamentary and cultural reform.

These are not new ideas. They were around long before Leninism and have been tried innumerable times since 1917.

They have always failed.

There are two basic reasons why capitalism cannot be reformed into socialism.

First, the logic of capitalism is that profit comes first.

So all strategies that try to reform capitalism from within become prisoners of that logic.

Second, the state machine is a tool of capitalism and the capitalist class. It obstructs and, if necessary, crushes any attempt to tamper with the foundations of the system.

These basic features of capitalism have not changed one iota since 1917.

The great merit of Leninism is that it takes them seriously.

Its emphasis on the building of an independent revolutionary party to lead the mass of the working class in the fight for workers' power is the only strategy to offer a realistic way of defeating capitalist power.

This is why socialists who are serious about overthrowing capitalism continue to regard Leninism as an absolutely vital element in our tradition and in our theory and practice today.

The real causes of Stalinism were not Leninist doctrine or

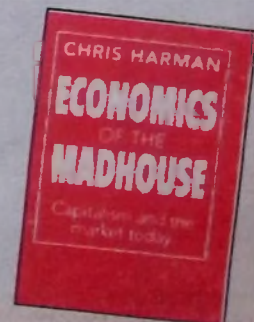
Countless other Leninists were framed and murdered in the Moscow trials of the 1930s.

The real causes of Stalinism were not Leninist doctrine or

— JOHN MOLYNEUX

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A new film on the Stonewall riots shows:

The birth of Gay Liberation

A new film, *Stonewall* about the events which led to the Gay Liberation Movement has just been released. Here Roisin Cronin looks at the background.

Stonewall is the first film to have been made about the Stonewall riot of June 1969 which gave birth to the modern gay liberation movement.

Historically, gay men and lesbians have faced appalling discrimination and persecution.

At the trial of Oscar Wilde back in 1895 he spoke of "the love that dare not speak its name". Wilde insisted that "there is nothing unnatural about it".

But still today, over one hundred years later, homosexuality is seen by many as something wrong and unnatural. Gays and lesbians still face discrimination in all aspects of their lives.

In the first half of the twentieth century scientists sought to show that homosexuality was an illness or a perversion. It was a means of legitimising the persecution of gay men and lesbians.

In the 1950s gays, along with communists, trade unionists and anyone else the establishment chose to see as a threat, were witchhunted by McCarthyism.

The Republican senator Guy George Gabrielson talked of "sexual perverts who have influenced our Government in recent years... perhaps as dangerous as the actual communists".

A sub-committee was set up to investigate police reports that 3,500 gays had federal jobs.

J. Edgar Hoover, head of the FBI, said that the FBI had identified 406 "sexual deviates in government service". Ironically enough, we now know that Hoover himself was one of these!

Gay responses to this oppression were largely aimed at trying to gain respectability. Organisations such as the Homosexual Law Reform Society and the Council on Religion and the Homosexual were concerned with winning acceptance for gays and lesbians by reassuring people that they were respectable.

Of course, this meant that gay people were pushed onto the defensive. Instead of demanding their rights



Gay Pride demo

they put the onus on themselves to prove that they were worthy of acceptance.

The Stonewall riots in 1969 changed all this.

The Stonewall Inn, on New York's Christopher Street, was a bar popular with gay men and lesbians. It was the only bar in New York where dancing was allowed.

The bar was run by the New York mafia. The owners had an agreement with the local police that, in return for regular pay-offs, they would let them know in advance when the bar was going to be raided.

But at 3am on the morning of June 28th 1969, the police raid on Stonewall did not go according to plan.

The police arrived at the bar and followed the usual procedure which was to arrest the employees and anyone who was wearing clothes of the other sex.

All other customers were spoken to and released from the premises, one by one.

That night the patrons of the Stonewall Inn decided that they'd had enough of police harassment and were not willing to take it any longer. Instead of leaving the bar and dispersing, people congregated on the street outside.

When the police emerged having arrested the barman, three drag queens and a lesbian in the crowd decided to fight back.

They started to throw bottles, beer cans and coins at the police. The police were forced to retreat into the Stonewall Inn where they remained

under siege until reinforcements arrived.

The riots were over for that night but the next night people returned to the Stonewall Inn.

Slogans such as 'They invaded our rights' and 'Legalise gay bars now' and 'Gay Power' were scrawled on the walls of the bar.

But the rebellion was not just confined to the pub on Christopher St. Over the next two days and two nights an estimated 2,000 people fought 400 policemen on streets of New York.

The Tactical Police Force were called in to try to quell the rioting. Not entirely unexpectedly, they used extreme force against the rioters.

Many were injured when the police baton charged repeatedly.

The Stonewall riots were the turning point for the gay movement throughout the world and one writer described the events as 'a shot heard around the homosexual world'.

The poet Alan Ginsberg was on his way home when he happened upon the riots on the first night. He later wrote, 'The guys were so beautiful -- they've lost that wounded look that fags all had ten years ago.'

The Stonewall riots gave birth to the modern gay and lesbian movement. When the customers in the Stonewall Inn stood up to the police, they were fighting back against the years of oppression that they had suffered not only at the hands of the police but in society in general.

The new movement styled itself as a revolutionary movement. The Gay Liberation Front was founded in the

US in the wake of Stonewall in July 1969 and in Britain in autumn 1970.

It took its inspiration from the black and women's liberation movement. Its very name echoed the Vietcong National Liberation Front which was fighting US imperialism in Vietnam.

The GLF declared itself to be in solidarity with all movements of the oppressed.

It supported the Black Panthers in America and in response Huey Newton sent a message of support from his prison cell where he criticised homophobia in the black movement.

But while the GLF identified itself with other oppressed groups, it did not see the working class as a whole as the force that could bring change. It had made the fantastic leap to see capitalism as the source of oppression of gay people — but it was never really sure about how it would be overthrown.

In the heyday of militancy in the 1960s this lack of clarity did not seem to matter.

But already the movement was also picking up some of the worst aspects of the politics of that decade.

This was the idea of dropping out and establishing an alternative lifestyle. Sometimes this was couched in very radical language but in the end it meant backing off from a fight against capitalism.

During the defeats of the 1980s, this mood sharpened into a more de-

finer set of ideas, usually known as identity politics.

This is the notion that simply by asserting your distinct and unique identity, you overcome oppression. *It is not a message that all gays and lesbians*

nores the class differences between lesbians and gays.

For those who can afford it, it is possible to assert your identity on the gay scene.

You can go to all the night clubs and wear the right clothes. But these 'liberating' activities are inaccessible for the vast majority of gays and lesbians.

Identify politics also feeds into the idea of enlarging the pink economy, making money for gay business people rather than challenging the oppression of gays in the wider society.

One of the most significant consequences of identity politics is that it moves away from collective struggle and claims that everything you do as an individual is political.

But there is an alternative to this approach.

When right wingers in UCD physically attacked students coming from a gay disco, socialist were able to organise a big meeting where gays and straight united to fight.

Last year, when one pub, The Turk's Head, threw out a gay couple for kissing, they faced a picket of over 60 people.

Stonewall showed that those who fight will bring change.

It is a message that is still relevant to the gay movement today.

Casino chases the rich

There's a scene in the film *Casino* which shows Robert de Niro and his management cohorts in Las Vegas patrolling the floor of their casino. They're making sure the system of how much money is paid out is working properly, and they're creaming in the lolly.

Some people would call it rigging, while the management and rich call it good business sense. Every casino around the world operates on a similar basis, with huge amounts of profit being made because of the odds. In fact, capitalism has developed gambling in many different forms to line the pockets of the rich.

Horse and dog races are constantly being "fixed". And there's more likelihood of getting killed by a fridge than there is of winning big on the National Lottery in Britain.

Meanwhile its organisers Camelot declare multi-million pound profits while funding "worthwhile" projects such as the school gym at Prince Harry's Eton.

Impossible

At least in Tory Britain you know where the funds go. It's virtually impossible to find out how Lottery money is allocated in Ireland. No one minister is answerable. Huge sums have been given out to fancy golf clubs and no money is set aside for working class people who enjoy owning horses. But beyond that we know little.

Now comes news that the rich want to build a massive casino in Dublin's Phoenix Park.

It's comforting to learn from the developers of the proposed casino that working class people - "the poor, or social welfare types" as the developers put it - will not be allowed to darken the doors.

Staff on the doors are going to be able to "detect people who can and cannot afford to gamble". How will they do this? By means of a dress code of course.

Look

The great thing about working class people is that we all look alike. Anyone wearing cloth caps, shiny tracksuits, white socks, headscarf over curlers, and sucking on the butt of a fag (or any combination of these!) will be "gently" refused entry.

And they say there will be none of those horrid slot-machines.

Most people who poured money into the slots,

The rich want Dublin to be a Monte Carlo city of leisure and pleasure, with the leisure industry chasing money and chasing the rich.

before they were banned two years ago, couldn't afford to lose it.

The gambling business everywhere makes it profits from despair and fantasy. With the economic "boom" not benefitting thousands across the country, it's understandable why some people gamble. For most, that impossible win is their only way out of poverty.

This particular casino is being billed as a playground for the rich.

Complex

It will be part of a massive complex which will rob ordinary people of much needed green space currently used for recreation in the Phoenix Park. And the government has no problem with it.

Socialists do not call for a prohibition on gambling - we have no right to tell people how to spend their money. And some of us will put the odd bet on the Grand National or whatever.

Yet the proposed casino in the Phoenix Park tells you a lot about where Irish society is going today.

The rich have so much money in Ireland they don't know what to do with it. Building a casino is their way of giving the two-fingers to the rest of us: "we're rich...we know we're rich...and we've no problem spitting champagne in your face".

The rich want Dublin to be a Monte Carlo city of leisure and pleasure, with the leisure industry chasing money and chasing the rich. To hell with inner-city communities, they blurt.

What these sleazeballs are doing is promoting a society of exploitation, fantasy and despair. Hope and justice are not in the vocabulary of capitalists.

— Damien McLoughlin

How the devils music rocked the right

by Kieran Allen

Dancing in the Streets is a new series on Channel Four about the history of rock music. If the other programmes are like the first one it promises to be brilliant.

Rock grew out of a black music tradition known as rhythm and blues. In the Southern states of America, singers like Little Richard were originally played on late night radio programmes for blacks. But the power and energy of the music began to attract a white audience.

Migrated

This trend increased when the music was taken up by the blacks who migrated to the big cities in the north like Chicago. Here a key figure was Bo Diddley.

Diddley originally studied violin but then switched to guitar where he became a great innovator. He broke the taboo on women playing in the bands. He used more electric guitar which produced a new echo on the

music. His style of playing was unique. "I play guitar like I play drums," he said. So great was his talent that he even began to appear on television as a 'novelty item'.

As the popularity of the music spread, two things happened.

There was a huge backlash from many right wing politicians who claimed 'this music was designed to lower the white man to the level of the nigger'.

Many stations in the South simply banned the 'devil's music'.

Attempt

But there was also an attempt to tone down the music and produce songs which were not so obviously from the black tradition. One of the most disgusting figures in American music, Pat



Bruce Springsteen: Rock and Roll is still political

Boone, had already made a career out of ripping off the music of great artists like Muddy Waters.

Now black musicians like Chuck Berry began, for commercial reasons, to ask why Boone should be able to get all the money for making it more palatable to whites.

Racism

Chuck Berry often appeared with his hair straightened because of the racism of the times.

His song, Sweet Sixteen, set out to address the con-

cerns of white teenagers who were looking for an outlet from the sexual repression of the 1950s.

But the key figure who took rock music to a massive white audience was Elvis Presley.

The manager of Sun Records where he first recorded, Sam Phillips, was absolutely callous about what was needed.

He knew rock was growing in popularity and he needed a white Southern boy to sing the music to make a real breakthrough.

Elvis came from a poor white background and spent

most of his youth in black bars.

Originally his own music drew on the best the hillbilly and blues traditions. But when Phillips sold his copyright to the multi-national RCA, the music began to change.

Tame

His later music changed when he was managed by Col Tom Parker and became far more tame and respectable.

Dancing in the Streets pulled no punches when it came to the real history of rock.

TV

Secrets and Lies

Secrets & Lies is an insightful and provocative film. Written and directed by Mike Leigh, the film investigates the way in which past secrets impinge on the lives and minds of each of the characters in the film.

Racked by internal divisions, the characters, in many ways, live their lives in subterfuge. Suppressing their individual secrets places these people on the road to self-sabotage.

Unable to reach out to share the burden of their pains, they are left to grieve alone, locked in isolation in their own personalised cupboards. The film raises certain crucial questions - questions such as the following: Do they or we hold the keys to unlock these cupboards? And if so, how are the ghosts to be let loose?

Exposes

The film exposes the corrosive consequences of secrecy; a secrecy which explodes when a daughter sets out on the search for her birth mother a daughter who is willing to suffer the trauma attached to such a heart-rending search.

Hortence, the daughter of Cynthia, reveals to us the bravery required for such a quest. This bravery is also portrayed by other characters in the film, who are shown to be on their own searches as they attempt to cut across divisions which lie between them and their loved ones. Hortence is essentially the representation of the past.

She shows us that the past, until you confront it, until you live through it, keeps coming back in other forms; that the shapes redesign themselves in other constellations, until you get a chance to play it all over

again. Playing it all over again in this particular case entails claiming the past and facing it critically and consciously. This identification is not an easy process. This film does not pretend that it is easy.

Grim

But neither is the process portrayed as totally gruesome and grim. Life is also shown in its comic element. Both comedy and tragedy are seen to be inextricably linked. The recourse to humour is displayed as a necessary salvation from pain.

In some ways, it is even a part of it. Leigh captures this link both subtly and positively. Breaking down the barriers which divide them, the characters recognise, and exult in, each other's humanity. They indicate how problems can be solved much more easily when silences are broken, and problems are dealt with collectively; when the ghosts are confronted, and the locks are decidedly thrown away. "We are all in pain", one of the characters, Maurice, exclaims in one of the poignant moments of the film. But should this pain be isolated and accentuated by this very isolation?

Overcome

Do the members of this particular family manage to overcome what appear to be rigid divisions? How rigid are the divisions anyway? Are there residual secrets and lies? Hmm. Now that would be telling.

Telefis: minority rights is the issue

A few months ago, when Prionsias de Rossa stood up in the Dail to explain why Democratic Left had done nothing wrong in advertising government jobs in a DL newsletter, he wazed lyrical as Gaeilge.

Some of the deputies shifted uncomfortably in their plush seats. None of them dared put on the headphones to listen to the translation.

To do so would question the idea that proper Irish people understand the Irish language.

This paradox goes to the nub of what socialists should say about Telefis na Gaeilge.

Camps

Two different cultural camps are at large on the issue.

On one hand, you have the cringers who say everything Irish is a source of embarrassment - from the Saw Doctors to Riverdance and Sean O'Faolain.

On the other side are the die-hards, who want everybody speaking Irish, playing Gaelic Football and wallowing in Padraig Pearse.

Both these groups deny some basic facts. ONE: Irish is not and never will be a majority language on this island. TWO: The vast ma-

majority of workers communicate in English...they have and will continue to do so. THREE: The establishment of Telefis na Gaeilge has nothing to do with national identity, or the soul of romantic Ireland.

A lot of commentators don't realise the crux of the issue is something they don't often care to shout about but is infinitely more important - the right of minorities.

The Irish speaking minority is small but significant. About five percent of the population use Irish as their first or main language.

Issue

Arguments about the cost obscure this point. Those that say the £17 million needed to set up the station could be spent on the nurses are those that will not defend the nurses.

Respecting minorities, whether they be linguistic or social, is one of the basic tenets of democracy. And socialists, as Marx said, are true democrats.

Language

And a further 10 percent use the language with a degree of regularity, though this figure is somewhat exaggerated by the prominence of Irish in the school curriculum.

Because the prevailing ideas in society are those pushed on us by the ruling

class, many people feel it necessary to tell little white lies.

Take for example the recent census. Nearly a third of the population will have put down that they are Irish speakers.

Yet detailed social research shows only about one in eight of us actually believe ourselves competent in Irish.

Of course there should be an Irish TV channel. It's a right of those who do and want to speak and listen to Irish.

Arguments about the cost obscure this point.

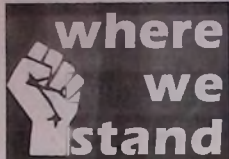
Those that say the £17 million needed to set up the station could be spent on the nurses are those that will not defend the nurses.

Nurses

Nurses and other groups of workers should have their full pay claims met - and more - and the money should come from taxing the rich, not by further depriving minorities.

Respecting minorities, whether they be linguistic or social, is one of the basic tenets of democracy. And socialists, as Marx said, are true democrats.

—Kieran Allen



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.

news & reports—politics; the unions—

NURSES' LEADERS PREPARE SELL-OUT

LEADERS OF the nurses' unions are yet again putting off a ballot for strike action. This is despite the fact that the delegate conference of the largest nursing union, the Irish Nurses Organisation, set July 1st as the date from when action would start.

Instead of preparing for struggle, the union leaders rushed into discussions with the ICTU and the government to devise tactics to quell the growing anger in the public sector.

"They knew that a fight by the nurses would be hugely popular and would encourage others to seek increases. Trade unionists are sick and tired of hearing about Ireland's booming economy while being stuck to miserable pay rises" one nurse told *Socialist Worker*.

Feared

The union leaders also feared that a fight by the nurses would have torn apart the whole structure of centralised pay agreements which have given them a cosy life for the last nine years.

The ICTU are proposing to nurses that they enter an arbitration procedure to see if improvements can be made on the last offer. The Irish Nurses Organisation is conducting a ballot to see if this is acceptable -- but another union, the Psychiatric Nurses Association is not even giving their members an opportunity to vote.

"It's nonsense", one general nurse told *Socialist Worker*. "We are voting on whether to allow them to have another delaying tactic. That is all. A lot of us are really angry about what is happening."



Militancy and organisation

After more than 80% of nurses voted to reject the last offer, the union leaders had to admit they were "out of touch with their own members".

A wave of militancy had swept the traditionally moderate nurses' unions and caught them by surprise.

The experience of working class struggles is often that the revival of the movement comes from new groups who don't have the same traditions as older groups of militant workers.

After defeats suffered by Waterford Glass, TEAM and other craft workers, the nurses' vote was a shot in the arm to workers everywhere.

But there is also a key weakness among the nurses which the bureaucrats who run their unions and the

ICTU are now determined to exploit: there is very weak organisation at rank and file level.

Fighting

Many shop stewards were elected at a time when the union showed no interest in fighting.

There are few committees in the hospitals that can bring nurses together for meetings at workplace level.

This means that those at the top who do want to sell out have far more room to manoeuvre.

Socialist Worker has produced

thousands of leaflet arguing for a NO vote on this latest proposal.

But the key task of all socialists now is to build up the union at grass roots levels and to make links between hospitals at a rank and file level.

That is the only way we can reclaim our union from those who want to sellout.

What is on offer:

THE UNION leaders are trying to claim that real improvements are on the cards in the new arbitration system. But already there are signs of them backtracking.

□ **Pay cuts:** The last deal brought in pay cuts of over £1,000 for young nurses at the start of the scale. The new talks will only discuss removing these cuts for 'existing students'. A nurse who starts training next year will still face a pay cut compared to existing staff.

□ **No movement on the pay scale:** According to a P.N.A. document 'management are absolutely resistive' to further claims in relation to the pay scale. The last offer gave some pay increases but they also lengthened the pay scale from eight to 17 years. This meant that it mainly benefitted those who are in the jobs longer. But unless there are increases at the lower end of the existing pay scale, the majority of nurses will see few gains.

□ **Early retirement:** General nurses are demanding the right to retire at 55. But the new proposals only claim that this issue will be 'examined'.

Socialist Worker Hospital Workers Meeting
Speaker: Brid Smith
4.00pm Saturday 29th June
Room 2, Teachers Club, 36 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 All Welcome

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

BELFAST

Meets every Wednesday at 8pm Central Hall Rosemary Street. 26th Stonewall: the fight for Gay liberation. July 3rd What is exploitation.

CORK

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St. 25th Stonewall: the fight for Gay liberation. July 2nd The IRA where do they come from where are they going?

DERRY

Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Bar at June 25th The Paris Commune. July 2nd Why socialists are against partition.

BRAY

Meets Wednesdays at 8pm Mayview Hotel Florence Terrace. June 26th Us and the new imperialism. July 2nd No meeting anti JFK demo.

DUBLIN NORTH-WEST

Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm in The Old Brogue, Dorset St. 25th June: Will Capitalism last forever 2nd July: No meeting. Anti JFK demo.

DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK

Meets every Thursday at 8:30pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family

Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd. June 27th Stonewall: the fight for Gay liberation. July 4th The Ira where do they come from where are they going?

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH

Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm in the Bentley Pub, Drimnagh Road. June 25th What is exploitation? July 2nd no meeting JFK demo.

DUBLIN NTH CENTRAL

Meets every Wednesday at 8:30pm in Conways, Parnell St. Feb June 26th See public meetings. July 3rd Stonewall: The fight for Gay liberation.

DUBLIN RATHMINES

Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond Street. June 26 US and the new Imperialism. July 3rd Stonewall: the fight for Gay liberation.

DUBLIN STH CENTRAL

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St. June 26th see public meeting. July 4th The IRA: Where they come from and where are they going?

DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN

Meets every Tuesday Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village. June 25th: The IRA: Where they come from where are they going? July 2nd No meeting anti JFK demo.

DUN LAOGHAIRE

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub. See public meetings. No meeting anti JFK demo.

GALWAY

Meets every Thursday at 6pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

MAYNOOTH

Contact 8722682

WATERFORD

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St. 27th Stonewall: the fight for Gay liberation. July 4th The IRA where do they come from where are they going?

★ There are *Socialist Worker* members in:

- ENNISKILLEN;
- COLERAINE;
- LURGAN; CAVAN;
- DONEGAL; NAAS;
- LIMERICK;
- KILKENNY;
- DUNDALK;
- ATHLONE;
- DROGHEDA.

If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

No welcome for the US Warship

JOIN THE PROTESTS

July 2nd, Assemble 7pm
People's Park
Dun Laoghaire.

June 30th Assemble
1:30 Salthill
Hotel Carpark,
Galway

PUBLIC MEETINGS:

DUBLIN

Wed 3rd July 8pm

ATGWU Hall Middle Abbey street.

DUN LAOGHAIRE

Tues 25th June Port View Hotel, 8pm

BRAY

Mayfair Hotel, Wed 26th June 8pm.

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

If you want to join *Socialist Worker*, fill in this form and send it to: PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682

Name

Address

Phone

send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838

Dunnes stores strike

one year on

Liverpool Dockers fight on

IT'S THE first anniversary of the Dunnes Stores strike which saw a thousands of workers, many of them women down tools for three weeks last summer.

In past year that strike has been important source of inspiration for other groups of workers because it showed that workers even part time and young ones, can fight back.

The extent of support they got showed that people will stand by workers when they fight for decent pay and conditions.

Accepted

Twelve months on Dunnes workers are may be taking up picket duty again in the not too distant future.

Many feel that management was left off the hook last year when they accepted Labour court proposals and returned to work.

The majority of these agreements were never actually implemented.

The major concession was won on the issue of zero hour contracts which essentially required workers to be available for work at any time but did not guarantee them any hours at all.

These contracts were abolished and management now gives advance notice of rostering arrangements.

However there are many

other issues on which Dunnes have failed to live up to their promises the latest set of proposals put by the company were rejected by 87 per cent of workers.

Offered

As one worker explained "People are very unhappy in here.

"Management offered to backdate our 3 per cent pay increase to January 96 and not till July 95 as the Labour Court had recommended.

The pension scheme they want to introduce is a joke. It would apply only to full time staff with five or more years service.

With the turnover of staff in here getting somebody who actually qualifies would be like looking for a needle in a haystack."

the issue of permanent jobs is also a source of anger. Last July Dunnes promised 500 full time jobs, now they are promising only 150 by the end of the year.

According to a Dunnes worker in Dublin "Last year interviews were held in our store for full time positions, but no one is fooled.

In fact the people who applied last year are livid" Management are extremely arrogant and high



Flashback: last year's strike but management have wriggled out of their commitments

handed. Changes in opening hours are introduced without consulting the workers.

"The first we knew of earlier opening hours on Sundays was when we saw a big

sign outside the shop and heard it announced that day over the tannoy.

"We were told at the same time as the public!" "Margaret Heffernan

needs another good kick up the arse, she has her head in the clouds.

"I'd be quite happy to come out on strike again this summer"

The MPGWU, the smallest union in Dunnes, is currently balloting for strike action. Mandate is engaging in a media blitz to highlight the ongoing problems.

Ulster Hospital workers

IN TWO weeks porters and ancillary staff at Ulster Hospital will be balloted for strike action over Compulsory Competitive Tendering.

This is intended to bring outside contractors in to do hospital services.

Staff know that job losses, wage cuts and heavier work loads are going to be the result as happened in Belfast City Council services and leisure centres.

Response

Victor Scott, Branch Secretary of Unison in the hospital told *Socialist Worker*.

"Our members want 24-hour indefinite strike action.

"This is the only thing that management will listen to."

Management have refused to co-operate as they had done in strike action earlier this year and in response there will be no emergency cover from staff.

Basic services will be

maintained such as patients being delivered to surgery, etc.

Although the local branch has a large strike fund and have the moral

support of staff throughout the NHS, it is important that workers argue for support in all work places.

Socialists should ar-

gue for action throughout the NHS in support.

Action

If Compulsory Com-

petitive Tendering is pushed through in Dundonald then all hospitals will be at risk.

Victor Scott told of the feeling among nurses

who also want action:

"The nurses voted in favour of action and are demanding to know when they'll be brought out".

Unfortunately the convenors of the strike have not openly challenged their union leaders.

The only way to win the strike is to campaign among rank and file workers across Merseyside to defy the anti-union laws and call solidarity action.

The alternative could be a ballot to accept the latest insulting offer.

ROYAL MAIL:

Turn the strike vote into action

ROYAL MAIL workers across Britain voted by 68 per cent to strike against their bosses' plans for teamworking.

The plans would mean workers policing one another and covering for each other's absences. Mail deliveries would be reduced to one a day threatening jobs and services.

The vote for action came despite a major propaganda campaign by Royal Mail bosses and the *Tory Sun* newspaper. But while bosses claimed workers would get a 15

per cent pay increase they also admitted at least a third of staff would be worse off.

Deadline

Despite the magnificent ballot result, postal workers will still have to put pressure on the leaders of the Communication Workers Union who have refused to name a date for action.

Alan Johnson, the CWU joint general secretary has instead opted for more talks. But talks could drag on past the 28 day deadline by which ac-

tion has to be called.

Johnson's reaction to the magnificent ballot result was pathetic.

He asked delegates to the CWU conference to

make sure that "there is no punching the air, no great cheering. Remember the great British public is watching".

But a powerful strike by

postal workers would strike a chord among workers throughout Britain and Northern Ireland. It will be a tragedy if the ballot result is not acted

on speedily.

Activists in the Royal Mail should start electing strike committees and insist that their reps fax union HQ demanding action.

South Korean socialist released

SOUTH KOREAN socialist Choi Il-Bung was released from jail last month.

Choi and 23 other socialists were arrested in 1993 and charged with such "crimes" as "organising labour solidarity".

Choi, a book publisher, was convicted and imprisoned for 18 months for translating socialist books and for attending a meeting to celebrate May Day.

Another socialist, Kim Dong-Cheol, is due to remain in jail until

October.

Socialists and human rights activists around the world joined an international campaign to win freedom for the socialists. But in spite of the evidence, the US continues to insist that President Kim Young

Sam's regime is "on the road to democracy".

That lie was exposed yet again last month when South Korean newspapers reported that police had arrested 13 people in a "crack-down on left wing movements".

Socialist Worker

inside:

After the Manchester bomb where are the Republicans going?—page 3

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

RESTORE THE IRA CEASEFIRE!

Don't let the bigots wreck the peace!

"An embarrassment, sectarian and out of touch".

That is the way that leaders of the Methodist Church described the antics of the Unionist leaders at the peace talks.

Even before the IRA bomb went off in Manchester, the prospects for peace in Northern Ireland were looking bleak.

The first few days of the multi-party talks showed up the Unionist parties in their true colours.

Claimed

Paisley, and Trimble tried to outbid each other in the sectarian stakes.

Paisley claimed that George Mitchell was unacceptable as a chair for the simple reason that he was a Catholic.

His sidekick Peter

Robinson said, "What degree of impartiality can Unionists expect from Catholic Irish American".

His son Ian Jnr called him "crony of the IRA".

And Trimble wanted more concessions before he sat down with him.

Yet Mitchell is a pillar of the US establishment. He is a former judge and director of big US companies including Disney, Xerox and Federal Express.

He clearly has little interest in helping working class people in the North but Paisley's at-

tacks on him showed what an utterly bigoted sectarian he is.

The repercussions of this vicious rhetoric can be seen in North and West Belfast. Catholics in the Duncairn Gardens and the Limestone Road have had their homes attacked by loyalist gangs.

Thugs

Peter Cavanagh from the Short Strand is still on a life support system after eight loyalist thugs attacked him with Stanley knives and baseball bats.

The vast majority of people want a peace settlement from the talks.

But the farcical games that the Tories have played over the last two years have encouraged

the bigots.

Despite increasing their vote by 50% in an election they opposed, Sinn Fein was excluded from the talks in an absurd pre-condition.

The movement for peace will not get anywhere if it links up with the Paisley and Trimble to demand even more concessions from Sinn Fein after the stupid bomb in Manchester.

Instead of waiting for these bigots to come up with a solution that institutionalises sectarianism, we need to start to build a class unity between Catholics and Protestants from below.

That unity will only become lasting when we start to challenge the sectarianism of the Northern state.

Why an IRA ceasefire is needed

The IRA bomb in Manchester was one sign of the massive frustration that a section of Catholics feel with the failure of the peace process.

But it was a callous and stupid action that only adds to the already existing divisions.

It plays straight into the hands of Paisley who senses that Unionism is splintering and wants to hold his support together by claiming that Protestants are under threat.

The Tories have certainly no right to morally condemn the IRA and to demand a ceasefire as a pre-condition for talks.

If anyone is looking for pre-conditions they could urge that innocent prisoners who were framed by the use of

false forensic evidence be released from jail before Patrick Mayhew was allowed into talks!

Socialists argue for an IRA ceasefire for different reason: it is in the direct interest of working class people, Catholic and Protestant, Irish and British.

It would throw the focus onto the bigoted behaviour of the leaders of Unionism. It would create room for a new strategy based on people taking to streets in mass action to protest at the injustices they face.

It would create an atmosphere where working class people could start to unite and take on the Tories and the dinosaurs of the North.

Such a ceasefire would not be a sign of defeat but part of a strategy that can win.