

www.swp.ie

Text JOIN to 086-3074060

Socialist Worker

Hospital Closures, ESB Up 12%, Welfare Cuts, Special Needs Cuts, Household Tax, Unemployment, Emigration, Mortgage Interest Rates...

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH!

Protest at the Dáil 14 September

General Strike to Stop EU-IMF Austerity

ON 16 July over 1,000 protestors joined the 'Enough' Campaign protest against the government's cowardly EU-IMF cutbacks.

Protestors were absolutely outraged at the increasing intensity of the attacks.

Children with special needs are being particularly badly treated by Gilmore and Kenny.

One in ten special needs assistants and resource teachers are to be cut if they get their way.

Reports on paedophile priests have recommended a lot more social workers, but these are being taken from the long-term ill, elderly and disabled people who desperately need them (see report on page 2).

All this 'austerity' and for what? Cutting incomes and services for working people has just caused further economic decline, unemployment and emigration.

Bailing out the bankers is everywhere taking precedence over the human beings who provide all the goods and services that actually exist.

Real choices have to be made about using resources for hospitals, schools and housing rather than funding gamblers or



bombing raids in Afghanistan or Libya (see report on page 3).

We can't trust Labour and Fine Gael to make these choices, and there is no going back to Fianna Fáil who started them or Sinn Féin who are imposing 'austerity'

in the North.

It is people power which is now desperately required.

We need to build a movement of people power that does not allow big business and politicians to continue to exploit and

corrupt our daily lives.

This means getting organised.

Every community now has their survival at stake.

Let's lay siege to the Dáil on Wednesday 14 September and get things started.

United Left Alliance and People Before Profit TD, Richard Boyd Barrett explains why building the protest for 14 September is so important:

SW: What is the protest on Wednesday 14 September about?

RBB: It is vitally important, on the day the Dáil comes back to send a message to the government that they will face serious resistance if they continue to impose the EU-IMF's brutal austerity programme.

We must let the Government know that we can not and will not accept more cuts and attacks in order to protect banks and speculators. We are now in the run-up to the new government's first budget, where we are likely to see even more vicious cuts imposed on workers, the unemployed and on our public services.

The 'Enough' campaign along with other groups has called protests outside the Dáil on 14

Sept to oppose the austerity programme and to demand that providing jobs and protecting the less well-off should take priority



over bailing out banks.

We need to have lots of people on that protest.

SW: What can people do to build the protest?

RBB: The 'Enough' campaign has produced tens of thousands of leaflets and posters for 14 September.

We need people to contact us, to take leaflets and posters and distribute them among their friends, neighbours, workplaces and classmates.

We need people to spread the word by email, text, Facebook, twitter or any other way they can think of.

The key thing is for people to win the argument that protests can work if they are big enough and if they are sustained – just like

in Egypt or Greece or like the pensioners here in 2008.

SW: What do you hope the outcome of this protest will be?

RBB: 14 September is only the beginning.

We want this to be the opening shot of a sustained mobilisation and campaign of protest against unjust cuts and austerity – building up to further protests when the EU-IMF delegation return at the start of October and on towards the budget in early December.

Over the coming months we need to bring every group who is under attack onto the streets in mass protests – building towards a general strike to halt this austerity programme and ditch the EU-IMF deal.

Inside:



Death by 1,000 cuts – the ruling class strategy over the last three years
Page 4



Violence and the Capitalist System
Page 6

Ryanair boss threatens to leave Ireland over tax



By BRIAN O' BOYLE

RYANAIR BOSS Michael O'Leary has threatened to re-locate funds aboard if income tax is increased.

Often trotted out as the one member of the super rich who pays his tax in Ireland, O'Leary is now clearly attempting to blackmail the government.

Last year, Ryanair made €401million from the exploitation of its workforce.

Despite this, and the fact that Ireland has one of the lowest rates of income tax in the EU, O' Leary is insistent that the rich should not have to pay a single cent more to fund the country's vital services.

O' Leary couldn't even run his empire where it not for infrastructure paid for out of general taxation.

Irish workers are expected to pay for the economic crisis, but as soon as there is any mention of capitalists paying, they threaten to leave.

So much for us all 'being in this together'. It is clear that the rich have no interest in the lives of the rest of us.

Capitalists only care about enriching themselves, and if we want to build a better society, we will need to make sure that the likes of O'Leary are prevented from withdrawing their funds through harsh fines and/or capital control measures.

Save our health service!

By CLLR MELISA HALPIN

WITH SUPPORT from the government, the HSE are set to close ten local 24hr Accident & Emergency departments across the country.

They include Roscommon Hospital, which has recently seen its services closed despite a massive fight back from its patients and staff.

And Blanchardstown Hospital, which has become the latest A&E earmarked for the axe.

Cuts to an already under-resourced health service are set to have a massive impact on the health and safety of people relying on a public system.

Another of the hospitals set to have its A&E closed by this government is St. Columcilles hospital in Loughlinstown.

A campaign to stop the



closure is underway and a protest march of up to 250 people demanding that A&E services remains open 24 hours a day was held

recently.

Another protest is planned outside St. Vincent's hospital by locals concerned over the decision to divert

Loughlinstown's patients to Vincents—a hospital which is already struggling to cope, with many patients left on trolleys and in desperate

need of a bed.

If patient safety is to come first then there is no reason why these closures should happen. Local hospitals should be provided with the adequate resources to maintain a high level of expertise in its A&E departments.

Closing our local hospitals and diverting patients is not the solution and is putting the lives of patients at risk.

Only the logic of a government that blindly takes orders from the IMF would suggest that shutting our local A&E services is putting patients first.

Over the coming weeks and months we need to build huge demonstrations of people power to reverse these proposed cuts.

This is part of a number of EU/IMF cuts that must be fought against so that the health and welfare of all the people in this country are protected.

No bailout for 1,000 MBNA workers



By MICHAEL WALLACE

THE CREDIT card company, MBNA, is closing its centre in Leitrim with the loss of almost 1000 jobs.

The company's most recent accounts showed that in 2009 MBNA Ireland made a profit of €3.5 million.

And this is the thanks the workforce gets from the bosses for making those profits.

"The first thing we knew was an email sent to all of our computer screens," said one of the staff.

"They wouldn't even tell us to our faces."

The decision was made by Bank of America, owners of MBNA.

While throwing hundreds of Irish workers on to the dole, the bank's chairman, Brian Moynihan, awarded himself a \$1.9 million salary in 2010.

This is despite the fact that Bank of America amassed losses of \$79 billion due to its involvement in the US subprime mortgage scandal.

They are also throwing 10,000 out of work worldwide - a sacrifice to the greed and corruption of the capitalist system.

Bank of America didn't even bother to inform Minister Bruton about the news, showing complete contempt for the Government.

And why should they?

While FG/Labour pours billions into the banks, there's no bailout for the workers and no reason for capitalists to get concerned.

This will only change through real people power.

Join the protest against this government outside the Dail on 14 September to demand that the rights of workers be put before the gambling debts of the bankers.

Resist the cuts in education

By MICHEAL WALLACE

AS the new school and college year begins, government ministers are finalising further devastating cuts for December's budget.

Increasing class size at primary and secondary level, abolishing transition year, raising the school starting age to five and college fees are among the proposals being threatened.

During the boom Ireland had the fourth lowest level of spending on education in the whole of the OECD, along with some of the biggest class sizes.

It was one of the few countries that reduced its spending on higher education when student numbers were rising dramatically.

And investment in education is the last thing on Minister Ruairi



Quinn's agenda today.

The cuts announced in the last twelve months by both FF/Greens and FG/ LAB will take affect for the first time on 1 September.

Among these cuts are

fewer SNAs, 10% less resource teaching hours in every school, reduced numbers of English as an Additional Language (EAL) teachers and the total abolition of the Traveller Resource

and Visiting Teachers scheme.

Schools will struggle to provide a proper education for all the children in their care.

Quinn is raising the college student

registration fee by €500 to €2000, while PLC students for the first time will be faced with a €200 charge.

Labour has a shameful list of savage cuts to their name in this government.

Their pre-election promises to improve literacy and numeracy standards in Irish schools, and access to education are empty and cynical rhetoric.

A product of the private school system, the Minister has left the €100 million subsidy to private schooling untouched.

Ruairi Quinn, the EU/IMF and the ECB cannot be allowed to bring our education system to its knees.

When the Dail returns on 14 September, students, teachers and parents must ensure that resistance to attacks on education is massive.

Kildare Council privatisation

By IAN MC DONNELL

KILDARE COUNTY council is to sell-off its waste disposal service to AES for €3.5 million.

The move was supposedly opposed by a number of Labour councillors.

However these representatives ultimately supported the TDs responsible for passing the

privatisation order on to the county manager.

AES have claimed that the waiver scheme for people on low incomes will be preserved for two years, but could be dismantled afterwards.

This is yet another example of the rich making the poor pay and according to local ULA spokesperson, Martin Grehan, "privatisation almost

inevitably leads to higher prices."

There's no reason we should be forced to sell off our assets in order to repay the debts run up through irresponsible speculation.

Waste disposal is a human right and privatisation should be strongly opposed as it was during the bin tax campaigns of the 1990's.



WHAT THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY STANDS FOR

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

REVOLUTION
The present system cannot be patched up or reformed. The courts, the army and police exist to defend the interests of the wealthy.

To destroy capitalism, we need to remove the present state structures and create a workers' state based on much

greater political and economic democracy.

AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND WAR
War is a constant feature of capitalism today as the imperialist powers try to dominate the earth.

The "War on Terrorism" is a crude device to attack any country which threatens US military, strategic or economic dominance.

END RACISM AND OPPRESSION
We oppose all forms of oppression and racism. This divides and weakens the

working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women. We oppose immigration controls which are always racist.

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH
We stand for workers unity against the Assembly politicians and Cameron government.

Like great socialist James Connolly, we believe that partition has brought about a 'carnival of reaction' We want to see an Irish workers republic where all

workers gain. Our flag is neither green nor orange but red!

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY
To win socialism we need to organise in a revolutionary party.

This party needs to argue against right-wing ideas and for overthrowing the system.

We call for co-operation between left-wing parties and the formation of a strong socialist bloc.

We stand for fighting trade unions and for independent rank and file action.

Join the Socialists

Fill in the form and send to
SWP PO Box 1648 Dublin 8

Name.....

Address.....

Email.....

Phone.....



Never miss an issue of Socialist Worker

Six month subscription €15/£10stg

Name.....

Address.....

Tel.....

Email.....

I would like to receive _____ copies of Socialist Worker each issue
Return to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, with a cheque/postal order or a bank lodgement receipt. Bank Details: Socialist Workers Movement, AIB, 37/38 Upper O'Connell St, Dublin 1. Account No: 85173469. Sort code: 93-11-36

Libya: Victorious rebels need to stop NATO hijack



By PEADAR O'GRADY

THE DEFEAT of Gaddafi's forces is a victory for the Libyan revolution but the situation is clouded by the danger of ongoing interference by western forces.

NATO, the US-European military alliance, has declared victory for its bombing campaign and the use of ground troops 'directing' the rebels.

This is an ominous sign and the situation on the ground is even more contra-

dictory, given the reception of the rebels in cities like Misrata.

The NATO-backed provisional government, the Transitional National Council (TNC) is losing support from rebel forces, as it is increasingly dominated by defectors from Gaddafi's regime.

Indeed, TNC leader Mustafa Abdel Jalil was Gaddafi's minister for finance from 2007 until 2011.

These are the sort of

people the West 'can deal with'.

Lebanese socialist, Bassem Chit, explains:

"The West is not interested in winning revolutions.

"It is pursuing specific economic and strategic interests.

"In Libya it's too early to judge if all the people will welcome NATO with open arms.

"At the start of revolutions people unite in wide coalitions, but once the dictator's

fall, contradictions will come to the surface...

"The decisive factor is the process in Egypt.

"It is the most powerful movement in the region and what happens there shapes all the struggles across the region."

Egyptian socialist, Sameh Naguib, agrees:

"People in Egypt are suspicious about what is happening in Libya.

"Everyone wants rid of Colonel Gaddafi.

"But there are worries

North West says "NO" to Fracking

By JAMIE MURPHY

HYDRAULIC FRACTURING (fracking) is the technique used by Natural Gas companies to extract natural gas from beneath shale rock formations.

It involves pumping water at very high pressure with a mixture of toxic and carcinogenic chemicals deep beneath the surface in tandem with a controlled explosion to allow the gas to escape.

Anyone who has seen the Oscar nominated documentary *Gasland* will be aware of the potential damage that Fracking can do to both the environment and people's health.

There is the possibility of the water supply being polluted by the chemical fracking fluid.

Where Fracking has taken place previously there have been incidents of ill health for both animals and people.

In some instances people

have been able to light their tap water on fire due to high methane levels.

Another concern is the high volume of traffic and access roads that are needed to sustain the 'hundreds' of gas wells that Tamboran (gas company) plan to establish in the coming years, not to mention the visual impact on the countryside.

Tamboran and their chief executive Richard Moorman (who previously worked for South Western Energy in the United States who are subject to lawsuits due to damage caused by fracking) plan to explore the Lough Allen Basin (Leitrim, Fermanagh, Cavan, Sligo, Clare) and intend to use hydraulic fracturing.

In response to their plans local communities across the region have mobilised very quickly in opposition.

In Manorhamilton for example there can be anything from 40-60 people at weekly

planning meetings.

It is a similar case in Drumshanbo and Kinlough to name but two examples.

Thousands of signatures have been gathered in petitions, letters in newspaper and information stalls at local events.

It is a vibrant campaign that has mobilised the community.

However this will be a long-term struggle and national and international support is vital.

Please get informed and involved.

This is a struggle for our health, environment and natural resources.

There is a plethora of evidence, academic and international reports that question the safety of fracking.

France and parts of Germany and South Africa have suspended fracking.

Let's make sure our government does the same.

The next public meet-

ing has been planned for Thursday 1 September at 8pm in the Bush Hotel in Carrick-on-Shannon.

■ For more info call 085 1053319

<http://frackingfreeireland.org/>

■ <http://www.facebook.com/WhatTheFrack>

■ <http://www.gopetition.com/petitions/ban-hydraulic-fracturing-for-natural-gas-in-ireland/sign.html>



Gannet Alpha oil spill

By JAMES O'TOOLE

THE MASSIVE oil spill last week near the Gannet Alpha platform in the North Sea is another indicator of the irresponsible nature of the oil industry.

The oil giant's first reaction was to claim that the incident was "not a significant spill."

Although when

questioned later one of the technical directors of the oil company described the accident as "a significant spill in the context of annual amounts of oil spilt in the North Sea."

The current spill from an underwater pipeline in the North Sea has so far leaked over 200 tonnes of oil.

This is said to be the

SOCIAL WORK CUTS: Robbing Peter to pay Paul



Cllr Brid Smith at anti cuts protest

By CLLR BRID SMITH

IN AN utterly disgraceful move the HSE has cut five of the ten social workers in the Primary Care Generic Social Work Team in the Dublin West.

The HSE say they have to assign staff to child protection duties.

The staff at the unit were informed of this with only eight working days notice in the middle of summer holidays when managers hoped it would go unnoticed by the media.

There will be serious consequences for some of our most vulnerable in the community - those with mental health issues, disabilities, senior citizens and youth.

The team of ten social workers were dealing with over 700 active cases most of whom are in the mid to high-risk category.

They also receive over 90 new referrals each week.

As the number of staff is reduced to five, they will quite simply not be able to cope with the level of demand for their

services.

There are as many as 100 people in the area of Ballyfermot alone that will lose access to these vital services.

This service also covers, Bluebell, Inchicore, Clondalkin (all RAPID Areas with severe disadvantage), as well as Lucan, Rathcoole and Saggart.

The importance of child protection services cannot be overestimated.

After the Ryan Report on child abuse was published the Government committed to employing an extra 900 social workers.

Councillor Brid Smith said: "Stealing from one service to deliver another service is not a sane way to go about protecting the vulnerable.

"The Fine Gael/ Labour government are dancing to the tune of the IMF and are putting the needs of the banks before the needs of the people."

The Health services Executive and the Minister for Health must take responsibility to ensure that these vital services are retained.



Do we need a separate party for Protestant workers?



By SEÁN MITCHELL

“WHO WILL speak for the voiceless Protestant working class in Northern Ireland?”

This was the question posed by an article in the Labour magazine Tribune last month.

It was also the theme in a series of articles in the Belfast Telegraph, concluding with Lindy McDowell's assertion that Protestant workers have no political voice.

These pieces all come in the aftermath of the sectarian commotion in East Belfast last June, disturbing as it did the notion that Northern Ireland was moving gradually towards a more peaceful society, and baffling those in the state and media who promoted such views.

The crisis of political representation in Protestant working class areas and the alienation from the political process felt by many is a very real problem.

Unemployment is steadily rising and the combined impact of recession and cuts is creating a groundswell of disillusionment.

As the article in the Tribune pointed out, only 30% of working class Protestants vote, and the political parties that purport to represent them - namely the DUP - are extremely unpopular in working class districts.

The DUP rose to the top of Unionism on the backs of Protestant working class people.

They played on sectarian fears and exploited the feeling that Protestants were getting nothing from the peace process.

But the property developers and speculators at the top of the party had altogether other interests.

At the height of the property boom there was a feeling amongst the business class that there was money to be made if only political stability could be created through power sharing.

Under these pressures the DUP changed its stance and entered coalition with Sinn Fein, pleasing its more affluent supporters but delivering nothing for its working class base.

The abandonment of the Protestant working class by the DUP has raised the question of the need for an alternative to mainstream

Unionism.

It was thought at one time that the PUP would play this role.

The PUP has, however, failed miserably to represent working class interests.

Its links with the UVF and devotion to Loyalism led it for the most part into a sectarian quagmire.

In 2006, its only MLA, David Ervine, joined the UUP Assembly group, with the sole purpose of getting another Protestant onto the executive.

Clearly this was a move designed to shore up unionism and any promotion of working class politics was conspicuous by its absence.

The PUP was not the first attempt to create a working class Unionism.

As far back as the 1860's, William Johnston stood in Belfast against the Conservative party as a candidate for the Protestant Working Men's Association.

Johnston won the election only to abandon his class politics to become the official Conservative party candidate by the next election.

There were others too, such as the Independent Orange Order or Harry Midgley's Commonwealth Labour Party, but none of these formations lasted very long.

They were either pulled behind the Protestant elites or dragged into sectarian confrontations against Catholics.

The problem is that Protestant working class interests cannot be separated from working class interests more generally.

Unemployment is rising in Protestant areas, but so too is it rising in Catholic areas.

Cuts to services are affecting Protestants, but so too are they affecting Catholics.

Only a united fight back that includes both Protestants and Catholics can effectively raise the issues that are so deeply affecting these communities.

It's not true that Protestant workers have no voice; it's just that when we are busy shouting at each other this voice gets drowned out in the process.

If we were to combine the screams of anger from both Protestant and Catholic workers, a voice would emerge that would be a very difficult to ignore.

DEATH BY 1

The Irish ruling class struggles over the economic crisis and the

Socialist activist, Ian McDonnell, looks at the situation in Ireland over the last three years of

Economic crisis

The global economy is in deep distress, as a series of interlocking crises drive it ever deeper into recession.

This is being mirrored in Ireland as over 470,284 people are currently unemployed and emigration continues to spiral.

The established political parties also plan to force the state to repay €100 billion of private banker's debts.

This is apparently the only way to exit the recession, and to this end, a host of punitive taxes, cuts & privatisations are underway.

The coalition have already cut special needs supports, reduced telephone allowances by €3.15, and cut electricity allowances from 2400 to 1800 units.

They have also reduced gas allowance from €489 to €393, while at the same time allowing prices to increase by 40%.

Meanwhile, the pension age has been increased by three years for those under the age of 55.

On top of all of this there has been a 'universal social charge' designed to bring low paid workers into the tax net and a proposal to make people pay for water and the privilege of living in their own homes.

On the other side, there has been no mention of increasing income tax on the rich or increasing corporation tax.

Indeed the 12 ½ % corporate tax rate is a 'sacred cow' that the Irish elites cherish absolutely.

As the poor get poorer, the rich get off 'scot free', and in this context it is important to outline the plan that the ruling class has for escaping the economic crisis.

Ruling class solutions

Essentially they want an 'export led recovery' built on cheap labour and smaller government.

To this end they are engaging in what is known in economics as fiscal contraction.

Instead of working determinedly to get the population back to work, the government is happy to let high levels of unemployment bring down labour costs.

Despite their rhetoric, policy makers do not actually plan to tackle the employment crisis.

On the contrary, they are resigned to the idea that more unemployment is necessary to 'restore the confidence' of investors.

The coalitions proposed 'job creation program' is thus, in reality, little more than a cynical ploy to fiddle figures on the live register and push down costs.

Job creation

Over the last few months, employment policy has revolved around the idea of a 'Jobsbridge', which will force 5,000 people currently on welfare into full time jobs.

Instead of receiving €180, these people will receive €230 a week, or €90 less than the minimum wage.

Not only is this Victorian style exploitation, but the illusory employment that it gener-



ates is more than offset by the fact that the coalition are currently cutting 25,000 skilled jobs.

Understanding this, the government has engaged in Thatcherite rhetoric, blaming the victims of their economic policies for being 'feckless' and 'lazy'.

Labour has shamefully gone a step further, making it clear that those who refuse to take up these 'internships' will have their



dole cut.

Joan Burton recently complained that "Fianna Fail brought this legislation in, but they never, in fact, adopted it."

Charges & privatisation

As well as these right-wing labour market policies, the government is introducing a raft of extra charges.

From 2012 there will be a €100 household charge alongside an -as of yet undisclosed - charge on using water.

The government has attempted to deflect public anger by arguing that the household charge is less than €2 per week.

However, as John Fitzgerald (ESRI) pointed out, this would only raise €160 million of the €1 billion target.

In order to meet their target the government would need to impose an average of €700 to €800 per house.

This understood, it becomes apparent that the €100 charge is an introductory measure, to be increased at the government's discretion.

The sale of public assets is also underway.

The McCarthy Report into state assets listed over €5 billion worth of potential sales, and one example of this process is the recent sale of the Co. Kildare bin service for €3.5 million.

Such privatisations will likely lead to higher prices & the dismantlement of waivers for those unable to afford their bills.

When this vast array of additional charges & taxes are considered alongside cuts in pay and conditions it is obvious that the Irish elites are looking to foreigners to buy their goods and services.

The problem here is that the global economy is continuing to stagnate and as

1,000 CUTS

Strategy for managing the socialist alternative

*the government's assault on working families
the current economic crisis*



demand is sucked out of the Irish economy it makes it ever more unlikely that we will see a recovery.

Working class solutions

To challenge this strategy, those on the left should be demanding an immediate cancellation of the debt followed by a stimulus programme.

To counteract these plans, those on the right argue that we simply cannot afford this as the country is broke.

This is a myth.

It is not the country that is broke, but rather the workers and the government.

Indeed, the private savings of the Irish rich increased by €24.5 billion in 2010 alone (Dept of Finance figures).

Ireland currently has an economy worth around €150 billion, of which only €34 billion is collected through taxation.

The resources to fund public amenities therefore exist in abundance and a 5% wealth levy on the top 1% would bring in around €6 billion a year.

Indeed if we were really serious we could close the famous €18 billion deficit with a miserly 1% levy on the €1,800 billion of financial assets in the IFSC.

There is also an estimated €450 billion in oil and gas off the west coast.

The state could easily borrow against the

value of those resources.

Factories in danger of closing could be taken under public control & price/rent controls enforced so as to prevent landlords profiteering.

Ultimately however, the wealth generating assets of the society should be brought under public ownership and operated on a collective basis.



Cancel the debt

All of this must be done in the context of cancelling the EU/IMF deal.

But the coalition government refuses to accept that default is an option, much less an inevitability.

It is claimed that default would result in Ireland being shut out of the markets.

However all evidence suggests that increased borrowing costs are a result of the austerity tied to the EU/IMF deal.

The fact is that markets are less likely to lend to states that are lumbered with massive debts.

The notion that default will cause financial meltdown is therefore untrue.

Indeed the experience of states which have defaulted actually suggests the opposite.

Following the 2001 global economic crash, Argentina experienced the largest sovereign default in history.

Argentina proceeded to sell bonds to Venezuela, and as a consequence of not deflating its economy saw an average annual growth rate of 8.5% from 2003-2008.

Likewise, poverty fell from 35.9% in 2001 to 15.3% in 2008.

While this example doesn't fit the overall socialist paradigm, it does illustrate how default need not necessarily result in financial Armageddon.

Revolution

The proposals outlined above would require serious mobilisation by the working class.

The irrational frenzy of capitalist commerce needs to be replaced with a sustainable socialist economy.

But in order to achieve this, people will need to get onto the streets.

Protestors recently took over plazas in the main cities of Greece Spain and Portugal.

Greece in particular has proven successful, and as the Dáil re-opens on 14 September it is now time to mobilise in our workplaces and communities to force a more progressive solution on the ruling class.

Ireland's living exports



By GORETTI HORGAN

EMIGRATE OR spend the best years of your life on the dole – that is the 'choice' facing many workers in Ireland today.

Every time the media reports on emigration, they talk about the 1980s.

Then a recession, not half as bad as the one we face today, saw unemployment rocketing, a lack of hope and mass emigration.

Today it feels like those days have returned, as emigration from Ireland exceeds immigration for the first time in 15 years.

Last year, 65,100 people left the South of Ireland alone, outpacing arrivals by nearly 8,000.

Almost half of those who left were recent immigrants from Eastern Europe, the other half were native Irish looking for work.

Emigration and unemployment have always been closely linked.

At the start of 2011, the Economic and Social Research Institute predicted that: "The rate of unemployment is expected to average 13 ½ percent in 2011 and 13 percent in 2012."

Net outward migration is forecast to be 100,000 over the two year period April 2010 to April 2012.

The highest rate of net outflow in the 1980s occurred in 1989 when the rate reached 44,000."

Australia is one of the most popular places for Irish workers to go and make a living.

Five years ago, the Australian department of immigration says there were 12,500 Irish on a two-year working holiday; by 2009, there were 23,000.

Migrants with certain types of skills – carpenters, electricians, nurses and other medical workers – can get permanent visas.

The numbers of Irish people going to Australia with these skills almost doubled between 2005/2006 and 2009/10.

The 'brain drain' that the North of Ireland has been complaining about for years, is affecting the South now too.

In June, recruitment firm Hays Ireland carried out a

survey of professionals, three out of four of which said they would leave if economic conditions don't improve within the next three years.

There is no sign of the economy picking up or of the government doing anything to help improve things.

What could be done to keep our young from having to leave to find work? North and South, a programme of public works would not cost much more than the cost of providing benefits – while the social housing, childcare centres, public transport, new schools and hospitals that could be provided would greatly enrich the island.

Again, politicians both North and South keep talking about a "Green New Deal", but it never comes.

Yet, if they were to invest in green jobs, producing and installing sustainable wind, wave, solar and thermal technology, real high quality jobs could be created while the cost of heating and lighting homes would be greatly reduced.

None of this can happen, of course, as long as the coalition government goes ahead with paying back the debts that the banksters have built up.

Instead of investing in a sustainable future for Irish people, the rich are pinning their hopes on an export led recovery.

This essentially involves driving down wages and conditions until goods and services produced on the island become cheaper.

Unemployment is important in this process as it keeps workers competing for jobs.

And emigration is an effective 'safety valve' as it forces those who are most unhappy to exit the country, rather than staying to demand employment.

Allowing emigration will remain unofficial government policy as long as profits are the key to decision making.

And the big difference between the 1980s, and today, is that back then, development was possible.

Today on the other hand, the political elite are forcing us to export our young people, whilst they export goods and services to make themselves richer.

Violence and the capitalist system

In the wake of the English riots, Art Historian, John Molyneux, exposes the ruling class as the real source of violence in capitalist society.



Ask any establishment politician about violence and they will condemn it 'absolutely'.

The same is true of the editors and lead writers of all our main newspapers.

Not only do they condemn violence, they condemn the perpetrators of violence, and in even more 'unequivocal' terms.

They are 'animals', 'thugs', 'criminals', 'monsters' and 'pure evil'.

The perpetrators of violence thus condemned can be a wide variety of people - rioters, looters, 'terrorists', demonstrators, striking workers or student protesters.

They all have one thing in common however.

They are the people taking action in some way or other **against** the existing authorities, the existing power structure, and the existing system.

What the politicians and editors **never** condemn is violence **by** the authorities, the power structure, and the system.

Indeed, they never even acknowledge its existence because it is always called something else: 'maintaining law and order', 'peace keeping', 'humanitarian intervention', 'robust policing', even

'liberation' or 'defence'.

Thus the rioters in London were obviously extremely violent, whilst the police who killed Mark Duggan may, just possibly, have been over zealous. Gaddafi was violent, whilst the bombing of Libya by NATO was 'humanitarian'.

Hamas should 'renounce violence' but Israel must 'retain the right of self-defence'.

Muslims have a tendency to 'terrorism' but Americans have 'the right to bear arms'.

However, the moment we move beyond these loaded stereotypes and ask who is responsible for the bulk of violence in the world the answer is clear - it is the world's governments and states, beginning with the government of the United States.

'War on Terror'

The 11 September 2001 (9/11) attacks killed less than 3000 people.

The US government responded with its 'War on Terror' which has so far claimed over 250,000 lives, including 6000 US troops, 100-150,000 Iraqi civilians, 26,000 Iraqi insurgents, about 60,000 Afghan

insurgents, and 20,000 in North West Pakistan.

The Irish government has been complicit by allowing two million US troops to use Shannon.

If we broaden the time frame the disparity becomes even more striking: the death toll in the Vietnam War came to 58,000 US troops, and 1.2 million Vietnamese; add deaths in Laos and Cambodia and the total reaches between 2-4 million; the Korean War killed about 2.5 million.

Of course many other countries have conducted and are conducting deadly wars - Russia in Afghanistan, Georgia and Chechnya, France in Algeria, the Chinese in Tibet, the Civil War in the Congo and so on.

However the US stands out in the post Second World War period, both in terms of the range of wars it is engaged in (its troops have seen action in 29 different countries since 1990 alone), and in terms of military expenditure.

Annual US military spending in 2010 was \$696 billion out of global spending of \$1600 billion.

Expenditure on the 'War on Terror' has so far been at least \$1.24 trillion (Brown University estimates \$4 trillion).

Millions Sacrificed to Imperialism and Profit

However, all this pales in comparison with the 'great wars' of the 20th century fought between the major imperial powers for the control of the world.

The First World War claimed between 10 and 16 million lives, the Second over 60 million which included the 11 million murdered in the Holocaust; the 20 million or more killed on the Russian front; the bombing, by the Allies of Dresden (at least 25,000 dead), Hamburg (42,000), and Tokyo (100,000) and the nuclear bombing of Hiroshima (90 - 160,000) and Nagasaki (60-80,000).

On a much smaller scale, statistics point to a reality never highlighted by politicians or the media.

For example, in the UK since 1998, 67

people have died in terrorist attacks (56 in the bombs of 7/7/ 2005); in the same period 333 have died in police custody without the conviction of a single police officer.

In the US there have been only twenty terrorist incidents since 9/11, six of which were perpetrated by Islamists (killing 27).

The US police killed 406 people in 2009 alone.

The Rio de Janeiro police kill about 1,000 a year, mostly in street executions.

Then there is the violence of the lives lost in industrial accidents, such as the 11,000 (3000 immediately, 8000 later) who died at Bhopal, or the thousands at Chernobyl, or the innumerable deaths on construction sites and mining accidents where safety is so often sacrificed to profit.

And there is the violence of putting people in prison.

As the great socialist, Rosa Luxemburg, said

"If one 'free citizen' is taken by another against his will and confined in close and uncomfortable quarters for a while, everyone realises immediately that an act of violence has been committed."

However, as soon as the process takes place in accordance with the penal code, the whole affair immediately becomes peaceable and legal."

Again it is the US which takes the lead in this 'peaceable and legal' violence.

According to the Bureau of Justice 2,292,133 were in US prisons at year-end 2009 - about 1% of adults in the US population.

Next came China with approximately 1.5 million from a much larger population.

Capitalism Generates Violence

By far the worst damage to people's lives is done not by direct violence but by the poverty, starvation, exploitation and economic deprivation on which capitalism rests.

According to the United Nations, one billion people suffer from acute poverty and malnutrition.

That means they die young from preventable diseases and their children die in infancy and childhood in massive numbers.

In the famine in Somalia 11 million people are in need of urgent food assistance and over 600,000 children under five are facing imminent death.

And this is only one famine out of an

estimated 57 famines in the world since 1900, including the Russian famine of 1921 (5 million dead), the Bengal famine of 1943 (4 million dead) and the Ethiopian famine of 1984-5 (1 million dead).

Extreme suffering is occurring in a world where there is more than enough food to go round. This is caused by the huge inequality on which capitalism rests; inequality that both generates direct violence and can only be maintained by violence or the threat of it.

Working Class Action ends Violent System

But wouldn't the overthrow of capitalism by revolution just involve further violence?

Unfortunately it is unlikely that the ultra-rich will give up without a fight.

But the stronger the mass of working people are in the revolution the less actual violence will be needed.

As witnessed in Egypt earlier this year, no police force can contain a genuinely risen people. Also the army rank and file in any society is from the working class and can be won over to the side of the people.

History proves that mass revolutions involve relatively little violence compared to that perpetrated by counter-revolutions.

The uprising of 18 March that established the Paris Commune, the first workers' revolution, killed two people (both generals).

The suppression of the Commune killed 25,000 on the streets of Paris in one week.

The Russian Revolution of February 1917 that overthrew the Tsar suffered losses of about 1,700.

The October Revolution in Petrograd was almost bloodless.

The Civil War which followed, launched by Tsarist generals, claimed about 3 million.

The mass murders by Hitler, Stalin and Franco were all, in different forms, counter revolutionary violence to suppress the working class.

All of this shows that the denunciations of violence by our rulers and the defenders of capitalism are deeply hypocritical. 'Moral panic' accompanies the (relatively) low level destruction of property at the same time as the destruction of millions of human lives goes barely unnoticed.

Only working class action to abolish capitalism internationally can really free us from the cycle of poverty, war and violence endlessly generated by a system that always sacrifices people for profit.



BOOK REVIEW

The socialist answer to capitalism in crisis



Brian O'Boyle, *Capitalism in Crisis: The Socialist Solution to Market Madness*, (Socialist Worker Books), €3.00.

Reviewed by
Donal Mac Fhearraigh

THIS PAMPHLET offers much needed socialist analysis and solutions to the current economic crisis.

After three years of persistent stagnation, the global economy is facing its deepest crisis since the 1930's.

Governments across the world have unsustainable levels of debt, unemployment is rife and investment in the real economy is virtually non-existent.

This short book challenges the

mainstream idea that the crisis is simply a debt or fiscal crisis - rather O'Boyle argues that the roots of this crisis go right to the heart of the capitalist system and its reliance on an acceptable rate of profit.

O'Boyle locates the seeds of the current crisis in the neoliberal restructuring of the late 1970's.

For thirty years the ruling class has been on the offensive, attacking the living conditions of the working class and rolling back the state's ability to collect taxation.

The results have been a massive redistribution of the world's wealth towards those with capital.

Most commentators talk about global imbalances between states, O'Boyle points out that the greatest imbalance is between workers and capitalists.

Today's debt crisis is a direct result of this neoliberal restructuring and the result is an economy that simply cannot function.

Having outlined the main parameters of the global crisis, O'Boyle goes on to usefully situate the depth of the Irish recession within the global crisis of neoliberalism.

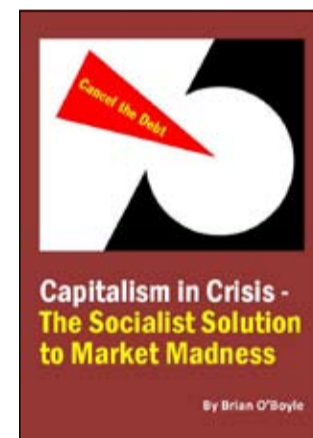
Ireland is in such a bad condition precisely because it accepted free market economics and the primary reason for Ireland's current difficulty is the imposition of the banker's losses.

This has already cost Irish taxpayers over €100 billion and only a cancelling of the EU-IMF deal can get the economy moving again.

Any real solution to the economic crisis will inevitably challenge the 'logic of the market'

and the rallying call for workers across the world should now be to 'Cancel the Debt' and 'Take Back the Wealth'.

This pamphlet will arm every socialist with the facts needed to win those arguments.



BOOK REVIEW

The Provo's long march from war to respectability

Tommy McKearney, *The Provisional IRA - From Insurrection to Parliament* (Pluto Press, 2011), € 12.50

Reviewed by
Eamonn McCann

TOMMY MCKEARNEY is from a family with a long Republican tradition.

Three brothers were killed in the Troubles.

A senior member of the Provisional IRA in Tyrone when sentenced to life for killing an off-duty UDR man, McKearney was on the point of death when the first Long Kesh hunger-strike was called off in 1980.

He is now organiser of the Independent Workers' Union.

His credentials for critiquing the Provisional IRA are unimpeachable - the reason Sinn Féin leaders regard him with angry hostility and readers of this paper should seek out his book.

McKearney believes that the democratic impulse within Republicanism at its inception can be reinvigorated in the wake



of the Provos' abandonment of the goal of a united Ireland for which they'd fought a 25-year war.

He shares Socialist Worker's analysis of the Belfast Agreement as institutionalising sectarianism, and argues instead for working-class action to win cross-community support for a socialist

Republic.

He defends the armed struggle as having forced the dismantling of the Orange State and shifted the dynamic of Northern politics.

He is right that the IRA reemerged in an organic way from defence of working-class Catholic areas in 1969, and in the context of British refusal to

insist on or impose fundamental democratic reform.

But he moves a little too lightly over the role of Republican ideology in subsequently ensuring the triumph of right-wing ideas.

He sharply criticises the path Republicans took, but largely lets Republicanism itself off the hook.

However, his argument

Revolutionary Classics

Paul O'Brien reviews John Reid's *Ten Days that Shook the World* (Penguin Classics)



DESPITE THE live television coverage of the revolutionary events in Egypt and Libya, almost nothing compares to John Reid's classic book *Ten Days That Shook The World*.

The Historian AJP Taylor maintains that not only is it the best account of the Russian Revolution in 1917, but 'it comes near to being the best account of any revolution'.

Exactly what makes John Reid's book so compelling is difficult to pin down.

One factor, which puts him head and shoulders above any of his contemporaries, was his passionate commitment to the struggles of the oppressed.

He made no secret of his support for the revolution.

Reid brings to life the drama of the revolution, and above all, the class interests lurking beneath the surface.

He lets the participants speak for themselves.

Here he describes an encounter between an illiterate soldier and an angry university student that shows how ordinary people grow in confidence and grasp the essence of the situation during these earth-shattering events; the soldier explains: 'Now brother, you don't

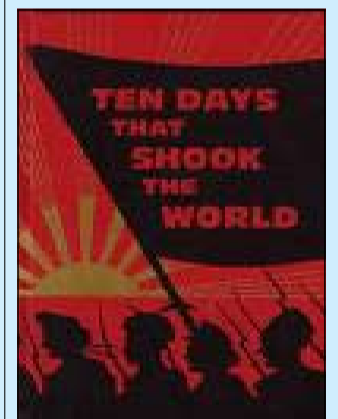
understand, it seems like there are two classes, and whoever isn't on one side is on the other'.

In each and every one of its splendid pages Reid lives, eats, and breathes the revolution from the side of the working class.

This is a description of a revolution from the inside and how it turned the world upside down.

He quotes Trotsky welcoming the peasants to Moscow: 'You come here not as guests, but as masters of this house, which holds the heart of the Russian Revolution'.

What distinguishes Reid's account is how he captures the ebb and flow of the revolutionary masses, in a way that is very similar to the events in the Middle East today.



LETTER TO EDITOR

Unfair to Eagleton

I MUST take issue with the review of Terry Eagleton's book *Why Marx was Right* (SW, 332).

Terry Eagleton has consistently defended the philosophical basis of Marxism, and in his new book he sets out to refute the most substantial political objections to Marxism.

While this may not be his best book - he deserves a better consideration than that offered by your reviewer.

This was not a review of the book that Eagleton wrote, but one your reviewer may have preferred him to write.

In future lets deal fairly, but by all means critically, with the work of a friend and supporter of our movement.

Paul O'Brien
Dublin



Socialist Worker

Record Unemployment in Northern Ireland: We Need

COORDINATED STRIKE ACTION NOW



Campaign Launch



**DEFEND
OUR
HEALTH SERVICE**

Speakers from **City Hospital, Mater Hospital, Sandy Row Community Forum, Patients**
Conor McCarthy (UNISON) Mary Creaney (Suicide Awareness)

Europa Hotel
7.30pm Tue 13th Sept
More info: 075 9611 4612

Fund public work schemes not 'Steps to Work'

Join the protest movement on 13 September

NORTHERN IRELAND is currently facing chronic levels of unemployment.

Since 2007 unemployment has increased by a staggering 157% - almost twice the British rate - and the highest level in the North since 1997.

Most economists accept that this is set to increase, with some predicting levels beyond the 100,000 mark in the coming months.

Incredibly, politicians and right wing commentators pin the blame for this rise on a work shy populace and a generation of lazy young people.

This intellectual skullduggery is aimed at averting our gaze from the actions of politicians, encouraging us to see unemployment as a consequence of 'individual mindset' rather than government policy or corporate greed.

In Belfast for instance, an average of 25 people apply for every available vacancy.

Clearly people want to work and no amount of guff about laziness can hide the fact that there is so much unemployment because there are so few jobs.

Assembly Job Cuts

Politicians in the North are complicit in aggravating the unemployment problem.

Last April Sammy Wilson stated that people in Northern Ireland are "over-concerned about losing their jobs"; at the same time as he presided over a finance ministry that was slashing public sector employment by the thousand.

Before the election, politicians from all the mainstream parties claimed that



they would protect jobs and 'front line' services.

But it has not taken long for these pre-election promises to be exposed by post-election actions.

First we had Lagan Valley accident and emergency (A+E) opening hours slashed in half.

Then there was the announcement by health minister Edwin Poots of the closure of A+E in City Hospital by October - all without a whimper from the parties in Stormont.

Indeed, the McKinsey report, commissioned by the department of health, predicts that 10,000 jobs will go in the health service in the coming years.

And it's not just health that's on the cutting board.

Sinn Fein's minister for education John O'Dowd recently admitted that 252 teachers and 185 classroom assistants have been made redundant in 2011/12, before the school year has even begun.

Furthermore, the Assembly is making

a bad situation worse with their policy of forcing the unemployed to work for free through their 'Steps to Work' programme. This only props up the profits of super-rich corporations as cheap labour replaces the low paid in many of the most menial workplaces.

Joblessness remains as profits continue to soar.

Fight for every Job

If the Assembly were serious about

tackling unemployment they would replace 'Steps to Work' with a public works scheme that could deal with problems of infrastructure and housing whilst getting people back to work.

However proposals like this will never be on the cards unless thousands of people take action to demand it.

The Assembly will go on cutting services and jobs until they are met by campaigns of resistance.

In June, all the major trade unions in NI - UNISON, UNITE, NIPSA, INTO, NAHT, GMB, SIPTU, PCS, UCU and FBU signed a statement pledging their support for coordinated industrial action across the public sector in the autumn.

This was a big step forward but it needs to be implemented.

Both NIPSA and Unison have moved to ballot their members and other unions should follow suit - we need to name the date.

The Assemblies two month holiday comes to an end on 9 September and after this they recommence their campaign of cuts and redundancies.

We need to set our own date for a series of coordinated strike actions which has the potential to stop the politicians in their tracks. But we can't just sit and wait for days of action.

We need to be organising in our workplaces and communities, and resisting cuts wherever they raise their ugly head.

The SWP will be helping to galvanise this campaign and an important first step is the meeting against health sector cuts in the Europa hotel on 13 September.

Inside: Do we need a separate party for protestant workers? P 4.