

Socialist Worker

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on its hands**

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in revolt**

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For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

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INFLATION UP! PROFITS UP!

FIGHT FOR EXTRA PAY WHILE THE CELTIC TIGER LASTS

WORKERS ARE being ripped off. Inflation here is the highest in Europe. Profits are rolling in for the super-rich.

But they want us to live on meagre pay increases.

Now workers are saying they have had enough. Teachers, airline workers, ESB workers are all

putting in for higher pay.

Other trade unionists should join the pay revolt. Don't let the union leaders fob you off by telling you to wait until the December budget.

Tell the bosses that we want extra pay rises now — while the Celtic Tiger lasts.

■ Now turn to page 3

Gardai shoot to kill

THE GARDAI who killed John Carthy at a siege in Abbeylara in Longford will escape prosecution.

Carthy, a building labourer, with a history of depression, was shot in the back four times by officers armed with Uzi machine guns and assault rifles. Carthy's sister, Marie, told the inquest she tried to go to

the aid of her brother as he lay dying on the roadway in Abbeylara but gardai prevented her.

"I tried to go to him but the guards wouldn't let me... I wanted to say goodbye but they wouldn't let me."

This came after the Gardai had refused to let her speak to her brother during the siege.

"At one point they pushed me and shoved me," she said. Tom Walsh. John's

cousin, said when he asked if cigarettes were being brought for Mr. Carthy, the garda replied.

"He's not getting it all his own way".

The gardai were told that Carthy would give himself up if provided with a solicitor. They claim that they could not find Carthy's requested solicitor in the phone book.

They made no attempt to contact his Psychiatrist.

★ MIKE HOGAN who was found guilty of profiting from adverts for brothels describes himself as a friend of the Haughey family.

Claire Murphy, who organised the ads for Hogan, is a former chief administrator for Fianna Fail.

The anti-union boss calls his publishing company KCD (Keep Costs Down). Hogan made at least made £400,000 from the sex ads per year.

INTEL BLUES

AN BORD Pleanala gave the go ahead to Intel's massive expansion plans in Leixlip.

If you were to believe the hype you would think that Intel were in Ireland on a charitable mission to provide jobs.

However Intel are really here because of the massive tax breaks and the un-unionised workforce they have here.

To get a sample of how the multinational treats its un-unionised workforce through-out the world you

should log on to a website called Face Intel available at <http://www.faceintel.com/media.htm>

This web site organised by ex-Intel workers gives accounts of bullying and really bad treatment at the hands of employers in Intel.

"This grass roots labour movement is not about a particular individual's case or agenda.

"It is about all the former and current employees of Intel.

"It is about Intel's Greed and Dictatorship.

"It is about those who lost their lives and those who lost their wealth and health."

Education and Equality ...

O'Donoghue backs bigots

THE MINISTER for Justice, John O'Donoghue is threatening to block an EU directive on employment and equality, complaining that it would threaten the ethos of Church schools.

At the moment the Employment Equality Act of 1988 allows schools to discriminate on the basis of religion when hiring teachers.

If you are teaching and living unmarried with your partner, you can be fired.

Aspect

It also applies if you are gay, or if any aspect of your life is seen to conflict with Church teaching.

This happened in the 1980's when a teacher named Eileen Flynn was fired from her job in New Ross after her school found out she was living with a married man.

The act also applies to hospitals run by religious orders.

O'Donoghue's stance has been attacked by all the teaching unions. Senator Joe O'Toole of the INTO said it was "an assault on the right to privacy of Irish teachers."

"It produces a climate of fear", one teacher told *Socialist Worker*.

"I know a teacher who lives with her partner, but she has to walk around with a wedding ring pretending she's married.

It all at the discretion of the Parish priest who wields enormous power in schools."

"And it's not just teachers. There is huge pressure on parents as well, especially in Primary schools.

For example, in my school, parents are pressured into having their children make their First Communion.

They are told to take their kids to the children's mass on a Sunday. A teacher is sent along to see who is not there.

Come Monday morning the children are then asked why they weren't at Mass.

It puts enormous pressure on parents who do not necessarily want their children brought up religiously."

Class bias in education

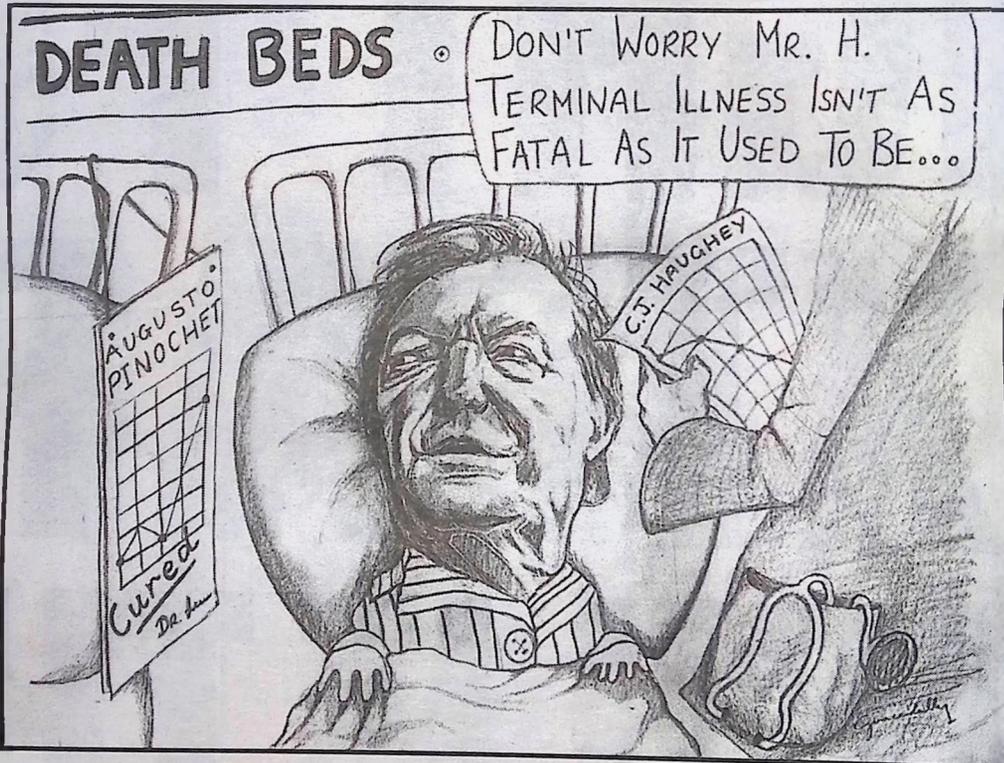
LESS THAN 1 percent of students in UCD and TCD come from unskilled manual working class backgrounds.

This shocking figure was revealed in the latest Higher Education survey.

People from a higher

professional or managerial background have a far greater chance of going to college. Some 82 percent of children from this background receive higher education compared to only 30 percent of the children of manual workers.

Just one more reason why the student grants should be doubled. And the rich should be taxed to pay for it.



Trains crash...

FOUR PEOPLE were killed in a Rail crash in Hatfield in England.

The cause was that the track broke because it was too old and badly in need of replacement.

Yet the track on the Irish rail system is over thirty years older than that which caused the accident in Britain.

Caused

Five hundred and forty miles of the one thousand, one hundred and seventy mile network is composed of old jointed track that rests on timber sleepers.

Much of this rail is fifty years old and was built by the original private companies that were established under the British Empire.

Even the management of CIE admits "a shortfall in investment is now impacting on safety".

Cost cutting that puts profits before safety has resulted in more train crashes in England since rail privatisation.

The already dangerous Irish rail network can only get worse if Mary O'Rourke gets her way and privatises it.

...and fat cats gain

THE COST of new signals for the Irish rail network seems to have been over £25 million more than originally thought.

The increase in costs may have something to do with four senior CIE executives who signed the original contracts.

The head of procurement, the signaling engineer who was the manager in charge, the company solicitor and another engineer have all joined a private company called MTL.

Coincidentally, MTL is the main company involved in the new signaling system.

Nothing to lose but your stress

GLOBALISATION AND free market economic policies are uniting the workers of the world-with stress.

A new report by the International Labour Organisation says that across the world "employees suffer from low morale, burnout, anxiety, stress, lost income and even unemployment".

★In the US one in ten employees suffers from clinical depression brought

on by work.

★In Finland over 50 percent of the workforce experience stress-related symptoms, and 7 percent are "severely burnt out".

★In Germany stress accounts for 7 percent of premature retirements.

★In Britain 30 percent of workers experience mental health problems.

★In Poland rising stress disorders are "related to the country's socio-economic transformation and resulting increases in unemployment, job insecurity and declining living standards".

The ILO report concluded

that "a number of common threads appear to link the high prevalence of stress to changes taking place in the labour market, due partly to the effects of economic globalisation. Workers worldwide, as never before, face an array of new organisational structures and processes which can affect their mental health."

The World Federation of Mental Health reckons that by 2020 stress and mental disorders will overtake road accidents, AIDS and violence as the main cause of lost working time.

Private patients subsidy

PRIVATE PATIENTS are receiving a subsidy of at least £130 million a year according to the ESRI.

The full cost of private treatment is not borne by the insurance companies. Instead a hidden subsidy is being transferred from public to private patients.

The rich also benefit from tax subsidies on higher VHI plans, which give them access to private hospitals like the Blackrock clinic.

Meanwhile waiting lists for medical cardholders grow and grow.

Clamp 'Em

A NEW car park beneath Leinster House, will cost taxpayers £20million.

That is about £50,000 for each free parking space for TD's, senators, and top civil servants.

Finance Minister Charlie McCreevy is set to introduce benefit-in-kind taxation on free employee car parking in the capital as part of the Budget but it is unclear if this new tax, will also include the TD's and their speeding Garda drivers.

what we think

Don't wait for the Union leaders...

JOIN THE PAY REVOLT

PRESSURE IS mounting from workers for extra pay because increases due under the Programme for Prosperity and Fairness have fallen below the rate of inflation.

As the euro declines and oil prices rise, officially inflation is set to rise above 7 percent while the wage increases most workers received were only 5.5 percent.

Workers can no longer live on low pay. The civil service currently has 1,800 vacancies because many are finding that the costs of living are too high for a clerical officer who starts on £12,034 a year.

Boom

Up to now workers have been told not to rock the boat in case the Celtic Tiger collapses. But there are already signs that boom is running out.

Figures from the bosses organisation IBEC show that one third of the Irish manufacturing industry is already in 'marginal decline'. This is the sector that is owned by Irish industrialists.

The boom is now being fuelled exclusively by multi-nationals in the high tech sector.

But recent movements on the global stock exchange also show that these companies are in trouble. High tech compa-

nies such as Dell, Intel and Apple lost billions of dollars in stock market valuations after they announced lower than expected profits.

Sales of computers and mobiles phones have begun to drop.

So even if workers once again 'tightened their belts' it would not guarantee that the boom would continue.

Yet this is exactly the strategy the union leaders are pursuing.

After making a big noise about the need for more 'compensation' for workers, they shifted the focus away

from wage increases to looking for tax cuts in the next budget.

The ICTU leader Peter Cassells said that the unions were 'flexible' about what sort of compensation workers should get and said they did not want to do anything that would add to inflation.

But the bosses 'leader' Turlough O'Sullivan was much more straightforward when he proclaimed that 'there is no question whatsoever of any pay rises'.

Instead of standing up to this arrogance the ICTU want to embrace

the bosses as their social partners.

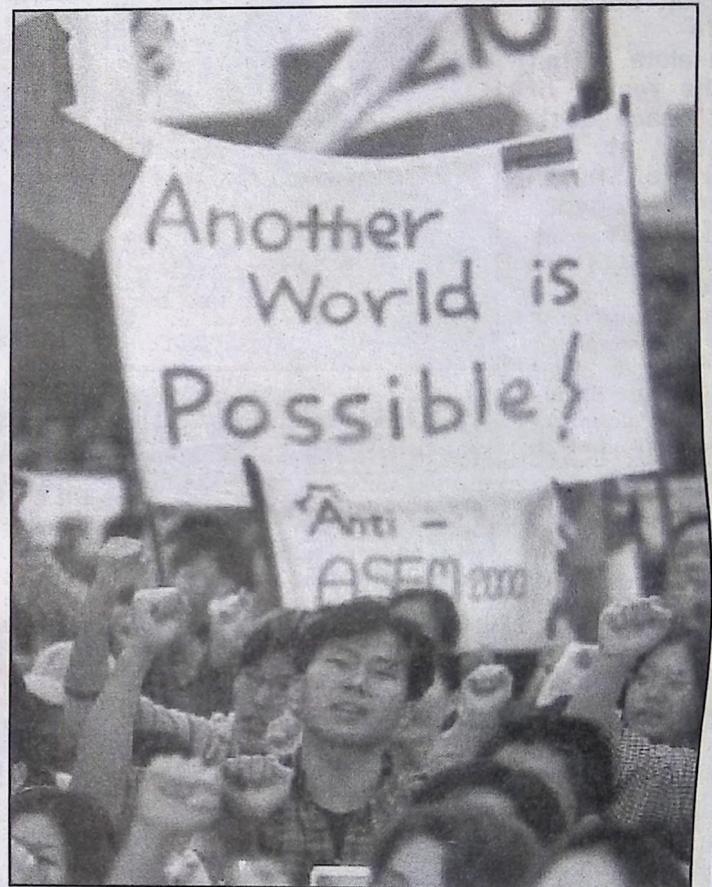
It is now up to the rank and file to pile on the pressure for extra pay.

The teachers in ASTI have given a lead by voting by 90 percent to pursue a 30 percent pay claim.

The cabin crews in Aer Lingus have voted by 99 percent to strike for extra pay.

The rest of the trade union movement should get behind them — and submit their own claims to get our share of the Celtic Tiger while it lasts.

Anti-capitalism comes to Korea



THOUSANDS OF South Koreans chanting "No globalisation" at a demonstration against the Asia-Europe summit meeting, where world leaders were discussing trade.

The protests were organised by over 160 NGO and union organisations.

Wealthy few wrecking lives

CHEVRON AND Texaco, the second and third largest oil companies in the US, announced a \$43 billion merger plan. Bosses of the new company immediately said they would make "cost savings" of \$1.2 billion, slashing thousands of jobs.

This merger is one in a series, which is concentrating huge power, and wealth in the hands of a tiny number of super-rich individuals.

In the oil industry alone Amoco, Arco, Elf, Mobil, Petrofina and YPF have been swallowed up in the last five years to make the five top oil companies-BP, ExxonMobil, Shell, TotalFinaElf, and now Chevron/Texaco.

Such giant corporations wreck lives, murder

the planet and shore up brutal regimes in the interests of profit. The new Chevron/Texaco Corporation will unite with all the other giants to insist upon "modernisation", on flexible working, on longer hours.

It will lobby hard against even tiny initiatives to try to halt global warming at next month's international conference on the issue in Holland.

Climate change

It will do so even as global climate change is producing devastating floods across large swathes of Europe.

It will develop further its lucrative investments in Africa, particularly Angola and Nigeria. One example of the cost was the hanging of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight others almost exactly five years ago by the Nigerian regime because they had dared to campaign against

Shell. The oil mega-corporations will also continue their deadly role in the Middle East. They put profits before the lives of any of the ordinary people in the region. To back up these firms the US government stands ready to unleash war-as it has done repeatedly against Iraq. And it supports Israel as a watchdog defending oil profits.

The oil giants do not care that one consequence of this is the repression of the Palestinians and the use of mass terror by the Israeli army.

But the other side of the power and greed of these huge corporations is that increasing numbers of people realise the brutality and injustice that inevitably flow from capitalist globalisation.

We should celebrate that feeling that exists worldwide and do all we can to strengthen and deepen it.

FROM SEATTLE to Prague a new movement has arisen to challenge global capitalism. Tens of thousands have marched because they want to cancel Third World debt, to protect the environment and to end poverty. They want a society where people come before profit.

Capitalism is a system based on greed and competition. It erodes democracy through the power of money. It produces 'a race to the bottom' where multinational firms blackmail governments so they can reduce their wage bills and cut their taxes.

Now many people realise there can be an alternative. A society where workers democratically control their factories and offices—where we produce for human need and not profit.

But to get that we need to be organised. The rich and powerful always organise to protect their interests. We need a strong socialist party that fights with the same determination for our side.

The Socialist Workers Party is looking for hundreds of new members. If you want to get involved or simply want more information, please fill in the form. We have over 30 branches both North and South. To find out about a branch near you ring (01) 8722682

Join the anti-capitalists

JOIN THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY



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I want to get **Socialist Worker** fortnightly

Crisis in the Middle East

Blood on Israel's hands

ISRAELI TANKS pounding a Palestinian village on the outskirts of Jerusalem. That is the reality of the "peace deal" signed at the Sharm-el-Sheikh summit in Egypt.

Since Israeli security forces first fired on worshippers on the Haram al-Sharif or Temple Mount, after a visit by right wing Israeli thug Sharon scores of Palestinians have been killed — 26 of them children.



Fighting back against oppression and imperialism

Outrage

Yet the Western press has pretended that both sides are equal in their violence. When two Israeli undercover police officers were killed in Ramallah, there was outrage at 'mob rule'.

But why has there not been a similar outrage at the killing of unarmed Palestinians? And where is all the talk of 'humanitarian' intervention to save civilians from troops who use live rounds?

The US has even opposed the establishment of an international commission to investigate Israeli atrocities.

Western leaders and their press treat the crisis as if it was all the Palestinians' fault.

Travesty

This is a travesty of what is happening.

On the one side is the mighty Israeli state, a nuclear power armed to the teeth by the US.

Israeli soldiers, in alliance with settler militias, have used gun ships, rockets, high velocity ammunition, rubber-coated steel bullets and tear-gas indiscriminately against Palestinians.

On the other side are Palestinians, unarmed or carrying stones dug up from the street, who are fighting for justice against the illegal Israeli occupation of their land.

'His head was shattered'

"THE HOSPITAL emergency rooms are still busy trying desperately to save the lives of kids with heads, chests and limbs shattered by live bullets and rockets. Mohammad was shot in his thigh.

"As two of his friends carried him to the ambulance both were shot. Musa went into deep coma as his jaw, tongue and right side of his head shattered away.

"The Israeli army opens fire on every demonstration. Settlers close the roads, and attack civilians in their cars and fields. We do not hate the Jews, but we love our land.

"We will continue to throw stones at the merciless occupying forces, and when stones are over we will throw olive branches, and when they are over we'll throw our dishes and forks, and when they are over we'll throw our bodies."

● THAMEEN DARBY, medical student, Nablus

US is no peacemaker

BILL CLINTON has been praised for his efforts to end the conflict. But the US's real agenda in the Middle East is to secure the flow of oil for the multinationals.

That is why it is not interested in justice for the Palestinians, only in propping up Israel, its watchdog over the oil wealth.

The US has used its military and economic might to control the huge oilfields in the area since the Second World War.

A half of all the U.S. military aid goes

to Israel. Every year for the past twenty years Israel has received a minimum of a billion dollars.

Ever since the discovery of vast oil reserves in the Middle East, the region has been dominated by the Western powers.

Corrupt

Oil companies backed by Britain and America helped redraw the boundaries of the region and propped up corrupt monarchies, which guaranteed them exclusive rights to the oil.

All this oil wealth came under threat after the Second

World War as the Arab people of the region developed strong national movements, one of the key aims of which was the nationalise the oil industry and use the profits to overcome the impoverishment of the region.

In 1951, when Mossadeq nationalised the oil industry of Iran, the Israeli daily Ha'aretz explained what the role of the country would be:

"There is no fear that Israel will undertake any aggressive policy towards the Arab states when this would explicitly contradict the wishes of the U.S. and Britain.

But if for any reasons the western

power should sometimes prefer to close their eyes, Israel could be relied upon to punish one or several neighbouring states whose discourtesy to the west went beyond the bounds of the permissible."

When Gaem Abdel Nasser, the prominent nationalist leader of Egypt took over the Suez Canal in 1956, Israel invaded the Egyptian Sinai and the Gaza strip.

Territory

In 1967 a short war against her neighbours brought Israel new territory and praise from the U.S. State Department:

"Israel has proba-

bly done more for the U.S. in the Middle East in relation to money and effort invested than any of our so-called allies and friends elsewhere around the world."

Israel also served as a conduit for the U.S. arms industry, allowing it to indirectly maintain sales with regimes such as the apartheid government of South Africa and brutal dictatorships in Central and South America.

In 1982, when Israel launched a full-scale invasion of Lebanon and murdered thousands of unarmed Palestinians, the U.S. increased its shipments of arms by fifty percent.

A daily nightmare of poverty and despair

PALESTINIANS HAVE suffered massive poverty and persecution since Israel was created. Around 1.2 million Palestinians expelled from Israel live in refugee camps in the West Bank and Gaza.

Children grow up and die in these squalid camps, knowing no life but poverty and despair.

There is no sanitation in the shacks and tents that are their homes.

They are completely reliant on the "host" country and aid organisations for food and clothes.

Israel controls the movement of every resident in the Occupied Territories who wants to leave or pass through Israel.

It has cut Palestinian cities off from one another and denied Arab workers the right to enter Israel.

Palestinians are dependent upon Israel to provide employment. Israeli companies have exploited them as cheap labour for generations.

Life for Palestinians has deteriorated even since the beginning of the 1993 peace process.

Unemployment has reached 40 percent in some areas, according to a report last year by the charity World Vision.

It said the average income per head in the West Bank and Gaza was £1,050, compared to £1,750 in 1987.

In Israel average income per head is £12,000. Amnesty International's latest report says that torture by the Israeli forces is "officially permitted and systematically used".

How can there be peace in the Middle East?

THE PALESTINIAN problem was supposed to be solved by a 'peace process' the US brokered in 1993, which gave rise to the Oslo Accords.

The accords only came about because of the last major upsurge in struggle, known as the Intifada.

But the deal was stocked against the Palestinians.

It created a bantusan - the name given to supposed independent statelets in apartheid South Africa which were overshadowed politically and economically by their neighbours.

Many Palestinians are sick of the rotten compromises that the

Western powers and Israel demand of Yasser Arafat.

Frustration is also growing at the Arab leaders.

Marchers at a Hebron funeral burned photos of Mubarak, Jordan's King Abdullah II, Morocco's King Mohammed VI and Saudi Arabia's King Fahd.

Aspirations

Those Arab leaders all claim to back Palestinian aspirations but all have tried to stop demonstrations in support of the Palestinians.

Some have turned in frustration to more militant groups like the Islamic group Hamas.

Peace is possible in the Middle East. Jews and Arabs

have lived alongside each other before and they could do so again.

Socialists argue that the first step is to support the Palestinians in their struggle against the mighty Israeli state and the imperialist powers, like the US, in the region.

But also it means, we argue for a democratic secular state in Palestine for Jews and Arabs where each has equal rights.

Ultimately we believe that lasting peace and equality for people in the Middle East could only be achieved by a revolution to overthrow all the corrupt regimes, to end the luxury for a minority while millions are reduced to poverty.

Eamonn McCann

Frustration fuels feud

THE KILLING of Joe O'Connor by the Provisional IRA has sparked fears of a Republican feud. But it has also highlighted the crisis of Republicanism as the Provos try to integrate themselves into constitutional politics.

O'Connor, 26, from Ballymurphy, was a member of the Real IRA. It is widely accepted the Provos killed him to assert their "authority" and to stymie the growth of a group they feared might develop into a serious rival.

The appeal of the Real IRA to a minority of Nationalists is not hard to understand. In places like Ballymurphy, nothing much has changed as a result of the Agreement. Meanwhile, people see Sinn Fein leaders at ease around Stormont, and wonder what the point was of all the years of struggle.

Even the horror of Omagh can slip out of consideration as the bombing is used for propaganda purposes by elements who were either themselves involved in comparable atrocity in recent memory, or who have no problem with massacre when it is State forces doing the killing.

If the attraction of the Real IRA at street-level lies in its readiness to fight on, its appeal in terms of political ideas lies in the plausibility of the claim that it's they who are now the authentic Republicans.

For the best part of a century, Republicans have presented themselves not as aiming for an all-Ireland Republic but as defending an already-existing Republic, proclaimed in 1916. So, anyone who stops short of that goal is guilty not merely of strategic error but of abandoning Republicanism itself.

Within the limits of their own logic, the Real IRA's case against the Provos is compelling — one of the reasons Provos find the challenge infuriating.

Strategy

To sing dumb about the killing of Joe O'Connor because he stood for a strategy which socialists have no time for would be implicitly to concede the Provos' "right" to impose their will on "their" communities. They have no such right. The killing was vicious, arrogant and anti-democratic.

The organised intimidation of members of the Republican Writers' Group rammed the message home — you challenge the hegemony of the Provos at your peril. Ex-prisoners Anthony McIntyre and Tommy Gorman denounced the killing in the *Irish News* as a "political assassination" carried out "to kill off any semblance of alternative Republicanism". In retaliation, their homes were picketed by sizable crowds of Sinn Fein members and supporters — in the circumstances an open and ominous threat. They are by no means paranoid in fearing for their lives. One of the men and his partner have fled their home.

Supporters of Sinn Fein should ask how it's come to this — their movement driving people from their homes for exercising the right to speak freely. How short some memories must be!

But socialists must also delve deeper into the politics which made it happen. The Provos didn't abandon armed struggle for the constitutional mainstream because this or that leader proved morally reprehensible or half-hearted about "the cause". The new direction flowed naturally from the underlying politics of Republicanism — politics which the Real IRA haven't at all abandoned.

Basing themselves not on the specific interests of the working class but of the all-class entity "the nation", the Provos' alternative to armed struggle was to turn to the most powerful forces willing to align themselves, even opportunistically, with the "national" cause.

They forged links with the SDLP, the Southern ruling class, corporate Irish-America. But the price of keeping these allies on-side was to ditch anti-imperialism and take the road to "realism".

There is nothing in the Republican politics of the Real IRA to prevent this happening again in the future — just as it happened repeatedly in the past.

The crisis in Republicanism arises not from the personal shortcomings of a particular leadership but from the political shortcomings of Republicanism itself. This should be the starting point of discussion of where we go from here.

Labour betrays pensioners

600 old people to die from cold

THE NORTHERN Ireland Housing Executive estimates that 600 pensioners will die this winter from cold and cold-related illnesses. This figure is over and above the normal death rate for elderly people.

And pensioner poverty is only set to get worse in coming years with the Blair government refusing to increase the pension in line with earnings.

Survey

But there is growing opposition to Blair's stance. A new survey from the University of Ulster found that over three quarters of people in Northern Ireland believe the state pension should be universal.

It also found that 89 percent believe that the current £66.75 a week for a single pensioner "isn't much for those who have paid tax and national insurance all their lives."

A massive 90 per cent said that the government could find the money for decent pensions "if they wanted to".

The Blair government itself admits that it could increase pensions now. During a heated debate at last month's Labour conference, Social Security Minister Alistair Darling said that although restoring the earnings link was affordable at present, it would not be in the future.

But the whole point is that pensions rise along with the average rise in earnings. Each rise in average earnings produces more tax for the government. So if it is

affordable in one year then it remains affordable.

Alistair Darling also claimed the government is helping the "poorest pensioners" by providing a Minimum Income Guarantee, rising from £78.45 to £90. But the Minimum Income Guarantee is simply a degrading means test.

The government's own figures show that up to one million pensioners don't apply for the extra money, because they don't know it is available, are confused by the procedure or feel it is degrading — "saving" the government £600 million a year.

Labour Party delegates and trade unions humiliated the government by voting 3 to 2 in favour of restoring the link with earnings.

If the earnings linking had been maintained pensions would now be £97.45 a week. Instead, with pensions linked to inflation, there was only a miserly 75 pence a week rise this year.

Falling

GMB trade union leader Edmunds said, "The value of the basic



Pensioners will suffer from a budget that leaves them in the cold

state pension has been falling steadily for 20 years.

The 'foundation stone' is sinking beneath our feet. As its value falls, more and more pensioners have to face the means test, a painful punishment for most."

But the Blair government simply ignored the

decision of its own party conference.

New Labour's real agenda, like the Tories before them, is to let the state pension wither and force everybody to take out some form of second private pension.

The UK already has the highest rate of private pensions, with over £600

billion invested in private pension funds. This is more than in the whole of the rest of Europe put together.

Pensioners groups are now taking to the streets. A massive demonstration to parliament demanding the restoration of the link to earnings has been called for 7 November.

NI budget increases Housing Executive rent

THE FIRST Stormont budget for almost 30 years was a Tory budget that offered nothing to working people except a higher cost of living.

Housing Executive rents are due to rise by 5 or 6 percent, which is way above the rise in inflation or wages. The domestic regional rate will increase by eight percent.

By contrast, the

regional rate for businesses will increase by just 6 percent, although £140 million has been allocated for handouts to industry.

A further £41 million has been set-aside for the politicians' friends in the "small business sector".

The press headlines were about the 7% increases for health and education

Education

But most of the increase in education will go to repair schools and replace portakabins. It will do little to lower class sizes, provide schools with up-to-date equipment or improve teachers' pay and conditions.

Health service bosses say their budget increase will go mainly to cover increases in prices and pay.

Little will remain to

bring down waiting lists or tackle the crisis in children's services.

And the key thing is that these increases are being paid for by rent and rate increases.

Why have we not heard Sinn Fein Ministers demanding that their Departments should have the money formerly given to the "securocrats", instead of screwing the poorest in society?

Mark Durkan stressed over and over that the Budget was "collectively agreed" by the Executive.

The first power-sharing budget shows there is little difference between the main parties on their economic policies.

The social workers have shown that industrial action is the only way to make sure public services receive better funding. We all need to follow their example.

Fighting Farren's fees

EDUCATION MINISTER Sean Farren became the latest focus of anger for those who feel the Assembly is failing to deliver when over thirty students staged a two-hour sit down protest in the lobby of his building last Wednesday.

The students, both from Queens University and the University of Ulster were demanding that Minister Farren give them an assurance that the promise his party made last year to abolish tuition fees will be carried out.

The protest came in the wake of indications that Farren is going to opt for a graduate tax that will see graduates paying for their educa-

tion for the rest of their working lives.

Chris Flack from Jordanstown Student's Union said a graduate tax should not be accepted. "A fully funded education is not some sort of privilege, it is our right".

Privilege

He also criticised the NUS for failing to represent the anger of students and build a mass opposition that could substantially challenge the politicians.

The next protest will take place on November 15th when students from all round Britain will be involved in similar actions.

Serbia

Which way for the revolution?

DURING THE war in the Balkans, Western politicians and the media denounced Milosevic as a fascist. In the last few weeks, he suddenly became a communist.

In reality, he was neither. Milosevic, a banker turned politician, was elected president of Serbia in 1987. But he came to real power in 1989. His rise was one terribly twisted product of the revolts that swept Eastern Europe that year.

Yugoslavia's workers were in mass revolt against the austerity policies, which were demanded by the IMF and implemented by their local leaders.

Milosevic feared that he would go the same way as Romania's Ceausescu, who was toppled by revolution in 1989.

In order to fracture the opposition, Milosevic pumped out virulent nationalism.

People

Twice during the 1990s people in Serbia rose up in mass movements which threatened to oust Milosevic.

Milosevic presided over the same kind of privatisations, factory closures, fall in living standards and unpaid wages that occurred in much of the rest of Eastern Europe.

Milosevic was happy to plunder state assets and hand them over to his cronies or members of his family. He privatised the valuable Trepa mines in Kosovo, selling them to a Greek multinational.

He also gave monopoly franchises to favoured supporters to run sanctions-busting schemes. They became millionaires overnight, profiting from the shortages and the suffering of the Serbian people.

As the *Guardian's* Balkans expert Johnathan Steele wrote, "For the party elite Milosevic provided rewards, protection and privileges plus the chance for a few to get unusually rich. Indonesia's crony capitalism under Suharto is a more accurate parallel."

The toppling of Milosevic has opened up the possibility of confronting that crony capitalism. Serbia's new president, Vojislav Kostunica, warned, "On the surface there is a peaceful, democratic transition. But below the surface is a kind of volcano."

The potential volcano comes from strike committees who have been driving out hated corrupt bosses appointed by Milosevic in state-owned enterprises across Serbia.

For instance, the miners at the Kolubara mine, who sparked the mass protests against Milosevic, ousted their boss last week.

Strikers at the RTB mining and smelting complex in Bor in eastern Serbia got rid of the general director and the entire management

by **SIMON BASKETTER**

board. Workers ousted their boss from the agency, which runs Serbia's waterways after they found him in an office, holding a gun and wiring money abroad. One engineer said, "If people like him are allowed to stay in their jobs, I will be completely disappointed."

"For whose sake did I cry from teargas? For whose sake did I march for democracy?"

The new regime want to replace these managers with old managers kicked out by Milosevic or by temporary appointments of local opposition leaders.

The strike committees and workers have not taken control and are not directing production themselves.

Some students and workers, however, want the revolution to bring far more fundamental change to their lives than that envisaged by Serbia's new leaders.

As Katerina Radovic from the Otpor student movement, which was at the centre of the revolution, put it, "Our job was not just to change Milosevic, it was to change the whole system and that job is not finished."

The situation in Serbia is similar to Portugal in 1974. In Portugal there was an explosion of demands for change by workers, peasants and rural labourers when the fascist regime was overthrown by a coup.

They fought for basic freedoms of democracy, free speech and the right to organise, and also land, better housing and decent living standards.

They demanded the "saneamento" (cleansing) of the hated PIDE secret police, local government officials and bureaucrats. But soon the demand spread to oust managers and landlords too.

Those at the top conceded some demands for change, but also sought to establish a stable regime, which guaranteed their privileges and power. Workers had the potential to drive the revolution forward and to take control of society.

Unfortunately, the main parties workers looked to, the Communist Party and the Socialist (Labour) Party, wanted to limit the revolt. However, for a year and a half there were big eruptions of struggle.

Eventually a settlement was reached which brought some reforms but kept the bosses' wealth and power intact.

Today in Serbia similar processes are unravelling. Whether workers can push ahead with their own demands depends on the political debates and organisations that develop in the coming weeks and months.

The story of the Celtic Tiger

FLYING HIGH ON LOW WAGES

ALMOST 1,500 cabin crew shut down Aer Lingus for 24 hours recently after management refused to address their appalling low wages. It was a sharp image of how the Celtic Tiger really works. The highflying economy has been built on poverty wages.

Working as a cabin crew member was seen as a glamorous job in the past.

Many wore the uniform of Aer Lingus with a real pride. But now the cabin crew in Aer Lingus start on 'yellow pack' contracts guaranteeing only 20 hours work a week.

Contract

For this they earn just £5.49 an hour. Only after two years are they put on a proper contract when they earn £10,000 a year.

It takes 24 years to reach the top rate of just £19,400

Socialist Worker spoke to some of the workers on pickets

THE LOW WAGE TIGER

THE CELTIC Tiger comes second only to the US for having the highest proportion of its workforce on low pay.

- ★ 23 percent of workers earn less than two thirds of average earnings.
- ★ 30 percent of Irish workers would have benefited if the minimum wage had been set at £5 an hour back in 1998.
- ★ One in eight workers are officially classified as part time.
- ★ Between 1988 and 1997, contract employment rose by 164 percent.
- ★ The earnings of the top ten percent are five times the earnings of the bottom ten percent, compared to 3.5 percent in 1987.

at Dublin Airport recently.

"Even if you work your two years part-time contract, there is no certainty you'll be made permanent. Aer Lingus are not bothered to employ someone permanent when they can employ people on temporary contracts for half the pay.

"That's why there is such a high percentage of part-time workers in Aer Lingus. Over 15 per cent of staff are on temporary contracts" said one shop steward.

"Our contract guarantees us

20 hours work but we have to be on call for 40 hours on top of that" said another worker who is on a temporary contract. "We can't even take on a second job so our only guaranteed pay is a maximum of £10,000.

"It's not even the case of not being able to afford a house or pay the mortgage. The mortgage companies won't accept us when they look at our pay scale.

"The cost of living in Dublin is so enormous that



Aer Lingus cabin crew on the picket

some of us can't afford it to stay in the job. There have been over 70 resignations in the past two months. It doesn't even make sense because Aer Lingus have to pay to retrain people."

"We have w weekend. If yo you might get eight off. We Bank holidays sidered a regula day off, but no time like most. "Over Chri millennium w extra hours. So worked their c flights would s no extra pay- our days off. Ne a thank you".

The Union leaders who won't fight

"WE TOOK up a responsible position and now we are paying for it." This is how Tony Walsh, a SIPTU official at Dublin Airport explained how 1,400 cabin crew workers walked out of his union to join IMPACT.

The whole of the section committee of SIPTU - except for the worker director - defected.

Walsh says SIPTU was being 'responsible'. Workers say it was too cosy with management.

The former key SIPTU official at the airport Paul O'Sullivan left to become a PR consultant.

During the Ryanair dis-

pute, SIPTU officials pressed for the ending of solidarity from other airport workers. Today the union is still not recognised at Ryanair.

Yet instead of looking at how its own strategy failed, SIPTU leaders have attacked IMPACT for 'poaching'.

Deal

They have pushed the ICTU into brokering a deal whereby new cabin crew employees would have to stay with SIPTU for two years.

But the real issue at the airport is not inter-union



Aer Lingus workers marching but without much of a lead

rivalry.

The cabin crews have begun a revolt against low pay in the Celtic Tiger and will not tolerate do-nothing union leaders.

They still need to build a strong shop steward organisation to make sure that IMPACT leaders do not behave like SIPTU.

But changes at the airport show why the days of

social partnership may be numbered. In the past, union leaders were able to force though a 'business union approach' where they had a cosy relationship with managements because their own confidence was low.

But with growing staff shortages and a return to militancy, the rank and file are once again flexing their muscles.

Colla

In 1994, Aer a state of t Workers agreed programme ins then chairman. The Cahill P es accept a pay sation for mar 1000 redundanc But as soon a orted to make government dec ne it.

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HIGH WAGES

by SINEAD
KENNEDY



Cabin crew on the picket line

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"We have work nearly every weekend. If you are very lucky you might get one weekend in eight off. We have to work Bank holidays. They're considered a regular day - you get day off, but no double or triple time like most other workers."
"Over Christmas and the millennium we all worked extra hours. Some people even worked their days off so the flights would get off. We got no extra pay- all we got was our days off. Nothing, not even a thank you".

Collapse

In 1994, Aer Lingus was in a state of near collapse. Workers agreed to a recovery programme instigated by the then chairman, Bernie Cahill.

The Cahill plan saw workers accept a pay freeze, casualisation for many grades and 1,000 redundancies.

But as soon as the company started to make a profit, the government decided to privatise it.

There was to be no pay back to the workers - only bonanza pickings for the fat cats.

"This was not what I imagined the job would be like. I wanted to do this since I was a child."

"I didn't think that cabin crew were paid a minimum

wage and I certainly never in my wildest dreams thought I'd be standing on a picket line in the freezing cold with the rain

pouring down. None of us did. "But they've left us with no choice. If we don't do it now it will be worse when they priva-

tise us. Aer Lingus made £60 million last year. We made them that money. Now its time they pay us"

A RACE TO THE BOTTOM

AIRLINES are merging and forming alliances while at the same time cutting costs and attacking the working conditions of staff.

Aer Lingus has joined the Oneworld group, which includes American Airlines, British Airways, Qantas and Canadian Airlines.

Here managements swap information on how to exploit a global pool of labour and bring down wages and working conditions.

One consequence of increasing globalisation is that catering and cleaning services are now sub-contracted by many airlines to large-scale (often anti union) operators such as Gate Gourmet and Skycheffs.

The same is happen-

ing with baggage handling with LAGS (Lufthansa), AMR (American Airlines), Ogdens and Servisair buying their way into airports with low wages.

A report on the global aviation industry describes a "race to the bottom" on employment conditions that is jeopardising safety standards and service quality.

Report

Produced by the Cardiff University's Business School and the International Transport Workers Federation, the report is based on a survey of more than 500,000 aviation workers in 29 countries.

The report reveals that 78 percent of workers face increased workloads, while 54 percent

said hours of work had lengthened.

More than half had suffered a cut in wages and 69 percent said job satisfaction and morale had fallen.

Working hours, especially for cabin crews, had increased dramatically with more than a third of the unions reporting longer shift durations and 40 percent citing an increase in total working hours.

Some 75 percent of airlines had contracted out work and many were engaged in global outsourcing.

For example, Swiss Air shifted its aircraft maintenance to Shannon, Ireland.

Low-cost operations have become the benchmark that all airlines in every country must match.

what do socialists say?

War, peace and anti-capitalism

"THE HIDDEN hand of the market will never work without the hidden fist. McDonald's cannot flourish without McDonnell Douglas. The hidden fist that keeps the world safe for Silicon Valley's technologies to flourish is called the US army, air force, navy and Marine Corps."

So explained Thomas Friedman, a journalist close to the US State Department, in the run-up to the last war in the Middle East in 1991.

His words are absolutely relevant today, as US-supplied aircraft, helicopter gunships and tanks again bombard civilians and a new one-sided war seems inevitable.

So are the words of the then US president, George Bush, around the same time.

The US, he said, was achieving three great goals. It was re-establishing its industrial dominance internationally, opening the world up to free trade in American goods, and building up its military might so that no other country could challenge it.

Both statements spell out something quite simple, but which it is important that people on the left and in the anti-capitalist movement grasp.

Dominated

There are not two sets of US-dominated international institutions with completely different aims. The idea that bodies like the IMF and World Bank are evil, but that NATO or the US military itself can be a force for good, is false. US presidents may talk about "human rights", "preserving peace" or "stopping genocidal violence" when they intervene in countries thousands of miles away.

But the motives behind such intervention are the same as when the International Monetary Fund squeezes Third World peoples over debt. For the US, economic and military interests are intimately linked. So the US still maintains economic sanctions against three countries-Cuba, Iran and Iraq.

The sanctions against Cuba exist because 40 years ago the Cubans had the effrontery to nationalise property belonging to US multinationals.

There are sanctions against Iran because 20 years ago it took over some US firms and threw a huge US spy station out of the country.

There are sanctions against Iraq because Saddam Hussein dared to touch the oil wealth of the ruling al Sabah family in Kuwait in 1990. Previously the US had backed him in

his long and bloody war against Iran. More generally, the US's string of military bases and forces around the world are there to keep the world safe for the US multinationals. Whenever the US intervenes militarily, or arms local regimes, anywhere it is for the same reason.

Providing massive aid and weaponry to the Israeli military fits into this general US approach.

The settlers from Europe who spearheaded the establishment of the Israeli state 52 years ago did so by grabbing land from the existing Arab population.

Such acts of naked colonialism necessarily caused immense bitterness throughout the Arab world. The settlers could only protect themselves from this anger if they found a powerful protector.

The US plays this role. It gives Israel more military assistance than to any other state in the world, provided Israel backs it in opposing any Arab state which threatens US interests, particularly oil interests.

In effect it became a watchdog for the US and its oil firms in the Middle East - a very heavily armed watchdog which showed it could do serious damage to any Arab regime that challenged it. Over time this had the effect of driving most of the Arab rulers into the US's hands.

So the Egyptian regime, which tried to stand up to Israel and the US at one time, has become completely dependent on the US in the last 20 years, and has a peace treat with Israel.

Its rulers know that without US support they could easily be overthrown by their own people. This is even more true of the oil-producing states of the Arabian peninsula.

When US government officials and British New Labour ministers say they want "peace" in the Middle East, what they really mean is they want to institutionalise a situation in which they can bend everyone in the area to their demands.

This applies over oil, but also over opening up countries to the multinationals and imposing neo-liberal policies.

Now their plans are in tatters because the mass of ordinary Palestinians would not put up with being denied their rights. US weapons are being used to kill young people and children.

Meanwhile President Clinton and Secretary of State Madeleine Albright line up with the Israeli killers.

All those who are part of the anti-capitalist movement that has developed across the world should back the Palestinian youth.

They are victims of the military aspect of imperialism, just like those dying in Africa from debt policies are victims of its economic aspect. But they are victims who have decided to fight back. And because of that they doubly deserve our solidarity.

by CHRIS HARMAN

THE IMF, GLOBALISATION AND RESISTANCE

A Socialist Worker pamphlet by Chris Harman
Price £1 from Socialist Worker sellers or Po Box 1648, Dublin 8.



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Taking on the parties of big business

YOU DON'T have to be living in the US to see the wall-to-wall coverage of the most trivial details of the Bush and Gore election campaigns.

Yet the international media have virtually ignored anything that the left wing candidate Ralph Nader does or says.

Despite all the talk about free speech, the corporate media does not cover people who oppose their domination.

However Nader's shoe-string word of mouth campaign has drawn enthusiastic audiences across the US. Organisers of Nader's Portland rally in September said they would have been ecstatic if they got 3,000.

Instead over 10,000 people of all ages turned out. Two weeks ago, 16,000 packed into a rally in New York.

Nader is the only candidate who is addressing the real issues that concern millions of ordinary people - universal health care, turning the minimum wage into a liveable wage and cutting the enormous military budget.

His campaign represents the first real chance for decades for working class people to challenge the corporate domination of American politics.

It has the potential to break the two-party consensus that dominates US politics.

The bigger the Nader vote, the bigger the challenge to the two-party "duopoly" as Nader calls it. But as his campaign has gained momentum, he has come under increasing attack by liberals.

Since American politics is all about winning, the argument goes, Nader supporters should come to their senses and cast their votes to Gore.

Otherwise a strong Nader vote - particularly concentrated in a few key states - could throw the election to George Bush.

This argument supposes that there is a real difference between Bush and Gore. But as Nader himself puts it, "The only distinction between Bush and Gore is the velocity with which their knees hit the floor when big corporations knock on the door".

This debate has been fuelled by

Gore's new image as a born again populist who attacks Bush for introducing tax cuts that will benefit the richest 1 percent of the American population.

But nobody should be fooled by Gore's new rhetoric or think that he will govern any differently to the Clinton-Gore administration.

Gore's campaign is just as awash in corporate cash as Bush's and their policies hardly differ.

Nader has argued that corporate interests have congealed into giant economic interests with such political clout that the "two parties have merged into one corporate party with two heads in different make-up".

Some claim that the Democratic Party has to be supported against the Republican Party, because it is the party that most trade unionists and black people

support. The fact that workers support a party does not make it into a workers' party.

For example, in Britain, in the second half of the 19th century workers supported either the Liberal or the Tory parties.

Both were run by industrialists and big landowners, without being workers parties. The historic development of the two major parties in the US has followed a similar pattern.

The Democrats have courted trade union support since the 1930s and black support since the early 1960s.

However their conventions are not gatherings of trade unionists or black activists - rather they are dominated by politicians who seek votes by offering favours to different interest groups.

The European social democratic and labour parties have very different historical roots to the Democrats.

They grew out of the workers movement even though those at the top usually favoured collaboration with capitalism.

This meant they were subject to contradictory internal pressure, which could produce splits during periods of heightened class conflict.

On one hand they were tied to capitalism by their leaders, but on the other they were organised in such a way that workers and their representatives had a

voice.

The Democratic Party is very different. Any concessions they have made to the unions, they have just as readily taken back.

It is not a party that gives in under pressure to American big business and imperialism. It is the party of big business and imperialism.

And just to prove the point Gore chose one of Corporate America's chief water carriers Joseph Lieberman as his vice-president.

On August 22, Lieberman told the Wall Street Journal not to worry about the campaign's rhetoric:

"There is no rational reason why the markets should be in any way be adversely affected by the positions and policies and programmes of the Gore-Lieberman ticket.

Political rallies tend not to be places for extremely thoughtful argument. You have some rhetorical flourishes."

If Gore wins, it can be guaranteed that he will continue the policies of the Clinton administration which has seen the top 1 percent of the population taking 70 percent of all increases in family incomes in the 1990s.

The economy that Gore and Clinton presided over has seen chief executive officers of companies earning 209 times the average wage. In 1979 they earned 35 times the wage of the average workers.

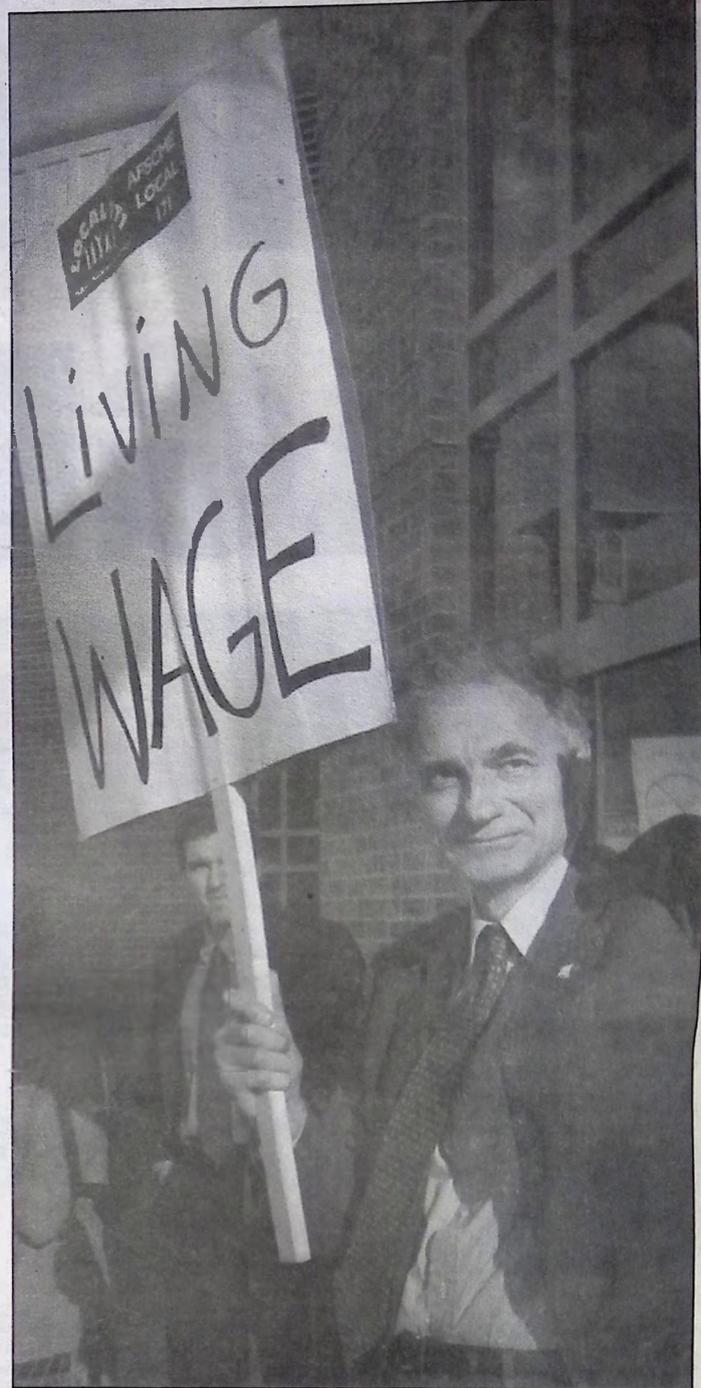
While there has been a huge growth in jobs - over 30 million in the service sector alone - most of these are low wage, insecure, "flexible" jobs.

"Downsizing" and company restructuring has accompanied the growth of these jobs. The outcome of this has been that one in seven US workers lost their jobs in the 1990s and one third of all workers earned less than \$15,000 a year in 1997.

Wage rates are falling as working hours are increasing.

The typical family now puts in 15 weeks more work a year than 20 years ago.

A staggering 90 percent of workers are now concerned about their job security. The temporary jobs agency Manpower is the largest private sector employer in country and one in ten workers are now on temporary con-



Ralph Nader on the campaign trail

tracts.

As a result of these attacks, there has been a massive increase in debt among ordinary people.

Since 1998, the overall private savings rate has turned "negative" - people are spending more than they earned - for the first time since the Great Depression of the 1930s.

The media are describing this as 'binging' by the middle classes.

This is true to an extent - the middle classes are borrowing on the basis that the boom is here to stay -

but working class America is borrowing to stay alive, to survive job destruction, low pay and a shattered welfare system.

Over 46 million American are without health insurance, including millions of children.

This is 10 million more than was the case when Clinton-Gore took office.

All of this shows why Nader's campaign is enormously important for the left in the US.

He has embraced the spirit of Seattle and his campaign is opening up an important discussion among American workers as to whether their organisations should continue to subordinate themselves to one ruling class party in its fight with another.

This is true in spite of the limitations of Nader's own politics. He has made little attempt to give any organisational shape to the anti-capitalist mood that exists in the US.

The big Nader meetings that have packed cities across the US are raising his profile but there has been little effort to build committees to take this forward.

This could not only help bring thousands more into organised political activity but could also lay the basis for an oppositional movement after the election.

During Jesse Jackson's presidential bid in 1988 active Rainbow Coalition committees built Jackson's campaign across the US.

But Jackson - fearing they might become the focus of activity for a political alternative outside the Democratic Party - moved to shut them down.

Nader still believes that the system can be reformed of its worst elements. His opposition to big business is accompanied by his support for small business.

As he often says, he is not an opponent of capitalism but a reformer who has been shut out.

None of this is to detract from the significance of Nader's campaign. The questions it raises can only really be solved by broad struggles of the sort that won union rights in the 1930s and civil rights in the 1960s.

But if socialists use the Nader campaign to build strong organisation, they will take a big step forward.

in my view

Mickey Mouse wages

DISNEY IS the ultimate branded corporation. Back in the days when Nike were just selling shoes and Starbucks sold coffee, Disney had branched out beyond the Big Screen.

They built theme parks, sold t-shirts, mugs, cereals and thousands of other soulless products. If you could fit Mickey Mouse's face on it, you could buy it.

Its merchandise sells in practically every country in the world. Through corporate mergers and secretive trusts, it produces and distributes a massive proportion of what we watch on TV and in the cinema every year.

But all is not well in the magic kingdom. Like Nike and Starbucks, Disney is beset by scandal because its merchandise has been traced to sweatshop labour in the third world.

On the small island of Haiti, a few hundred miles off the American coast, there are fourteen factories making clothing for the Disney brand, largely t-shirts and children's pyjamas. The 20,000 workers in this industrial complex earn as little as \$1.35 per day.

In China, workers contracted to produce Disney merchandise often work 16 hours a day, seven days a week. The overtime rate for 5 hours work is just 6p. Like most multinationals, Disney claims it knows nothing of such abuses and points to its Code of Conduct for sub-contracted labour.

Chan Ka Wai of the Hong Kong Christian Industrial Committee has little faith in that:

"The Code of Conduct of Disney is just a piece of paper. Most of [their] suppliers are brutally violating workers rights and Chinese labour law. China is not known for its tolerance of militants within its working class, but it does officially cap the working week at 40 hours. The workers in Disney's sweatshops were doing 112 hours."

In Indonesia children aged as young as 12 make toys based on the films 101 Dalmatians, the Lion King and Pooh. The television network NBC labelled it 'children making toys for children'.

Intimidation

Keeping workers down is nothing new to Disney. Nor is it confined to the Third World. In 1941, under good old Uncle Walt, the man hailed as the keeper of American family values, workers had to go on strike for several months for the right to join a union.

Walt Disney used every trick in the book to break the strike, including intimidation, sacking militants and stopping the circulation of the employee's newsletter. He even reported some of his staff to Joseph McCarthy's House Committee on Un-American Activities, a body set up to witch-hunt anyone on the left in the US.

The good news is, Disney's workers are fighting back. Yannick Etienne, an organiser with Batay Ouvriye (Workers Struggle) in Haiti visited the UK in 1997 to highlight the plight of these workers.

As well as shocking the people who came to hear her speak with tales of harassment, intimidation and even disappearances of militants in Haiti, Etienne had much to say on what sort of strategies can be used to combat multinationals like Disney.

She spoke at local meetings of the GMB, the union that represents textile workers in Britain. The union then picketed Disney's store in Liverpool coming up to Christmas 1997, causing embarrassment and loss of sales.

She also spoke to Kurdish immigrants in London who work in clothing. They had suffered harassment from their employer when trying to unionise, but successfully set up a branch of the TGWU. They campaigned and raised funds for the workers in Haiti's sweatshops.

The company have already threatened to pull out of Haiti and relocate in the military regimes of Korea and China.

But opposition to Disney is also growing in the US itself. This year the National Labour Centre picketed the shareholders meeting and many anti-capitalist organisations are highlighting its poor labour practices.

Through strategies like this, socialists, trade unionists and workers can take on the power of the multinationals. Even when the employer is Mickey Mouse.

by PAUL McCARTHY

book

Playing those songs of hope

A CHANGE Is Gonna Come is a book about the fight against racism in US society and the role that music has played in that struggle.

Its starting point is that music matters because it says things about our lives that we would have difficulty expressing otherwise. The civil rights movement grew out of the churches in the Southern states of the US.

Segregation

Biblical parables acted as a "mask" for politics at a time when open attacks on the system of racial segregation could lead to a violent backlash. The knowledge that god was on your side was all the more necessary when the state was inseparable from cross-burning racist thugs.

The blues had a different function. They offered the chance to express the pain in your life in ways, which made common cause with those around you.

It was the combination of gospel and blues with other traditions, like country and western, which gave rise to soul. The victories of the civil rights movement created the space for a music, which had mass appeal among blacks and whites.

In order to ensure airplay and avoid alienating potential buyers, the messages the music carried were often hidden. The Motown record label is a great example of this.

Many of the songs it released in the early and mid-1960s are still regarded as nothing more than great love songs. But they can

also be seen as expressions of anger, loss and betrayal experienced by those fighting to change society.

Songs like "Standing in the Shadows of Love", "It Takes Two", "You Keep Me Hanging On" and "Ain't Too Proud To Beg" and many more besides all had double meanings.

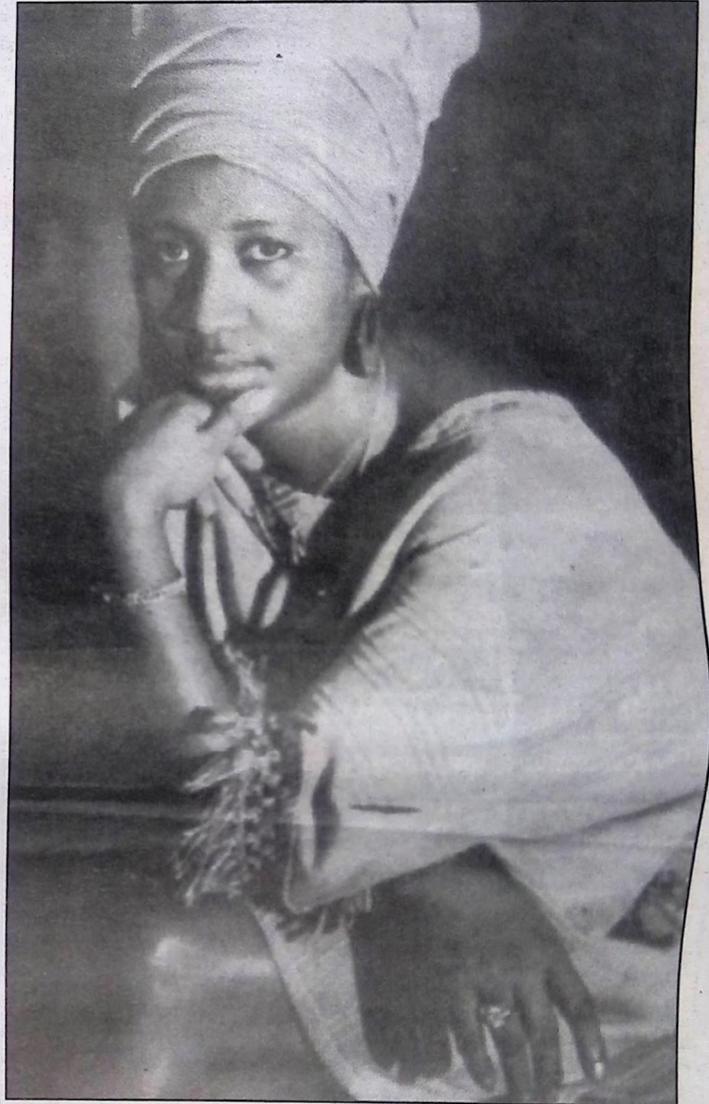
It wasn't until the late 1960s that singers could feel confident enough to allow the mask to slip. Opposition to the war in Vietnam, and the fight against oppression in the US were creating a radicalisation that shook the foundations of the American state.

The anger and confusion that followed the assassination of Martin Luther King gave us some of the best music of the 20th century. Black artists like Marvin Gaye, Curtis Mayfield and Jimi Hendrix gave expression to the pain and disillusionment.

They, amongst many others, started to "mix it" with white bands who were also being radicalised. This was the continuation of a trend, which was there at the birth of soul.

If you're the kind of person who cringes every time you hear a soul classic being mis-used in an advertisement, this book is for you. It will remind you of why the music was really made.

■ **A Change is Gonna Come** by Craig Werner (Payback Press £12.99 str.).



Aretha Franklin made the transition from gospel to soul

television

Eircom phones a friend to make a million

OVER A million people tuned into the first showing of the Irish version of Who Wants To Be A Millionaire?

Nobody has won a fortune yet, or at least none of the contestants have. But over 100,000 people rang in at premium rate prices to take part in the show. And that brings a lot of cash to someone.

Who Wants To Be A Millionaire is an example of the globalisation of entertainment and culture. Whether you're viewing it in Colombia, Malaysia, Australia, India, Israel, Japan, Norway, France, Switzerland or Slovenia, in fact any of the 76 countries it has been licensed to, you will see



Globalised entertainment

the same production values — and identical social values.

The drama of the show relies on you projecting yourself into the role of the contestant, thinking not just "how would I answer that question?" and "how stupid would I feel if I got it wrong?", but, more significantly, fantasising: "what would I do with the

million?"

The sponsors are Eircom. Yes, the same company that paid some hefty bonuses to company directors while its share prices were dropping.

It receives an undisclosed part of the cost of the premium rate phone calls made by viewers to register. Coincidentally it raised the price of those

very calls to 85p a minute the week before the programme aired.

Cloning

Other companies behind the quiz are also rolling in cash. **Who Wants to Be a Millionaire** has brought production cloning down to a fine art.

A CD-ROM, produced and marketed under licence to Disney Interactive, sells over one million copies a month.

PC, PlayStation and Dreamcast versions of the game are all on the way. There is even to be an album based on the music used in the show!

The programme makes a profit even if

somebody wins a million every night.

The French version is currently embroiled in a scandal over allegations that the programme makers gave the answers to the audience members to help someone win to keep the ratings up.

The origin of the game show was to sell products on programmes rather than using adverts.

Now the programme itself is the product and we foot the bill with phone charges.

And if that wasn't enough, they have brought Gay Byrne back onto the television. Final answer — don't watch it.

—SIMON BASKETTER

Teachers

90% for strike action: The fight is on for 30 percent

TEACHERS HAVE voted overwhelmingly to take strike action from November 14th. In a 70 percent turnout, ASTI members voted by a 90 percent majority to take industrial action.

Teachers have seen their pay levels fall significantly behind some of their ex-students.

According to the OECD, secondary teachers are earning £9,000 less than other people who leave college.

"I have seen some of my former pupils go into the computer industry and then earn more than me after few years. I have been teaching for over twenty years and I do not begrudge these young people what they are earning. But teachers contributed to the Celtic Tiger and we should be paid accordingly" one teacher told *Socialist Worker*.

Mortgage

In the past, teachers had no difficulty taking out mortgage after a few years. But the average house prices in Dublin are well beyond a teacher's reach today.

"You would have to double job just to be able to get what our counterparts got a few years ago" another teacher said.

Anger inside the ASTI has been building up for well over a year.

The union left the Irish Congress of Trade Union because they were tired of the way it tied them up in social partnership arrangements.

The union was never party to the Programme for Prosperity and Fairness and should be free to negotiate like any other group in society.

But the rest of the union leaderships have turned against ASTI because of its stance. ICTU's Assistant General Secretary, Tom Wall recently used a recent

SIPTU conference to attack the union.

He claimed that its pay claim would lead to higher inflation.

The ICTU has never been so direct when the banks and the multi-nationals have seen their profits rise by huge levels.

So why is it now attacking the teachers?

Trade unionists should give full support to the ASTI. They are fighting to win back a share of the Celtic Tiger for the workers who created it.

On November 14th ASTI members will congregate

for a massive demonstration in support of their claim.

At school level they will also decide on days when they will abstain from supervisory duty on school yards.

This will have an immediate effect of closing these schools.

SUPPORT GROWS FOR ASTI STANCE

THERE ARE two other teachers' union besides ASTI — but their leaders are desperate to hold the line and support social partnership.

They claim that teachers can gain increases by taking part in a 'benchmarking process'. This is supposed to evaluate public sector jobs and establish new comparisons between them. But no one knows what criteria will be used.

The whole benchmarking scheme was established to undermine relativities in the public sector — and so reduce the wage bill. It is designed to cause divisions among workers rather than offer an avenue for general advancement.

In any event the benchmarking process cannot make any awards until 2003. But rank and

file members of TUI and INTO are pressing for solidarity with ASTI.

At a recent TUI conference there was outcry against the leadership.

"It was just war" one TUI activist says. "The leadership were denounced and rubbish. They were told to organise an immediate special conference to discuss putting in a special 30 percent claim with the ASTI. If they don't call that conference we will easily get the support of the 21 branches needed to all such a conference."

In the INTO, one candidate for General Secretary, Crea Ryder has been pressing here for solidarity with the ASTI and has been receiving good support at union meetings.

Planning an explosive issue in Clare

PLANS TO build an explosives plant in the Shannon estuary are being strongly opposed by local residents.

At a protest meeting against the granting of planning permission a number of speakers alleged that the former chairman of Clare County Council, PJ Kelly, had

business links with one of the explosive plants developer's Paddy Whelan.

Great concern was expressed that ready made explosives were to be transported on poor narrow unsuitable roads, increasing the chances of a major accident.

Residents are concerned that

the Environmental Impact Study that accompanied the application was incomplete and did not conform to the appropriate regulations.

Protest

At the protest meeting speakers referred to the town of Semtin in the Czech Republic. This is where the highly

unstable Semtex is manufactured.

As a consequence of this, the town is now almost a complete no-go area.

Earlier this year tens of people died in an accident in an explosives factory in the Netherlands. That is a tragedy the people of Kildysart are determined not to see repeated.

Alcatel

Workers beat lay-offs

STRIKERS AT the Alcatel Cable & Wire picket line in Athlone have voted to accept proposals from the Labour Relations Commission.

As *Socialist Worker* went to press, the workers are lifting the picket line that has been outside the factory around the clock since October 6th.

The proposals to end the dispute include a two-week lay off for all workers except loaders and admin staff.

The lay off starts immediately and on 6th November all the workforce are to return with compensation to be paid for the lay off period.

But the key issue for the workers is that management must commit themselves to applying the LIFO principle of Last In First Out in relation to any lay-offs.

It was this issue, which sparked the strike, and it now appears that management have conceded on.

But there are real problems with the settlement. According to one shop stew-



"We got what we came out for"

ard. "It looks like we got what we came out for and we have to trust them that they will stick by their guarantee."

"Even still there are many other issues which have to be thrashed out."

Local management at Alcatel proved to be a major obstacle during the strike. According to one worker "Management were impossible to deal with and in the end they sent over a French manager who is supposed to have given his word to stick by the deal and admitted that O'Shea, our manager was wrong".

During the strike, John O'Shea called in a local scab

haulage company — Tony Quinn — to try to break the picket and get supplies out of the factory.

But the workers on picket duty physically prevented him. "We were absolutely determined to keep him out. He's an absolute scab and no way was he getting through. This was a turning point in our fight", one of the strikers told *Socialist Worker*.

The strike committee was brilliantly organised and morale was kept high.

The strikers wish to thank their colleagues who stuck with them and the local community and shops who kept them in fuel and food on the picket line.

Refuse charges

Abolish the charges now!

THE CAMPAIGN against refuse charges in Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown is stepping up its campaign demanding the abolition of the recently introduced £150 annual charge.

The campaign has called a major demonstration for November 21st at the annual estimates meeting of the council.

This meeting will decide whether or not refuse charges are included again in this year's council budget.

Pressure

The campaign has decided to increase the pressure on the council following the unanimous decision by South Dublin County Councillors to reject the introduction of similar charges in their council area.

In voting down the proposed charge in South Dublin, councillors echoed many of the arguments made by those resisting the charges in Dun Laoghaire.

They argued that such a charge represented a 'double tax' on ordinary people and that central government should provide the funds to pay for refuse collection.

Interestingly, parties such as Fianna Fail, Fine Gael and the PDs who supported the introduction of charges elsewhere in the country voted against them in South Dublin.

Anti service charge campaigners see this as clear evidence that the political establishment is feeling the

pressure of the huge organised opposition to charges from working class people.

Richard Boyd Barrett, chairperson of the campaign in Dun Laoghaire and local representative of the Socialist Workers Party said:

"Councillors are running scared because of the massive opposition to the charges. In Dun Laoghaire the vast majority of people have heeded our call and refused to pay the £150 charge."

The councillors in South Dublin knew they would meet with a similar response if they tried to introduce the charge there."

The Dun Laoghaire campaign believes it can now use the precedent set in South Dublin to force the abolition of charges in Dun Laoghaire.

"If refuse charges are double taxation in South Dublin they are double tax-

ation everywhere else.

Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown councillors have no excuse not to get rid of this unjust charge. If they need to extra money they should tax industry and big business not working class people who pay all the tax already."

The campaign has called for a massive show of opposition to the charges at the council meeting in November.

PROTEST: Abolish Refuse Charges Now! Tues Nov 21st, 7pm. Dun Laoghaire/Rathdown Co. Council, Marine Road, Dun Laoghaire.

Dublin Corporation

DUBLIN Corporation is trying to introduce refuse charges by stealth. Councillors in Dublin Corporation are well aware of the huge anger they will face if they try to bring in refuse charges in Dublin city.

Instead of bringing them in directly, they are trying to sneak them in the back door. They are currently phasing in the new wheelie bin system for refuse collection and sending out glossy brochures, which indicate that people will have to pay for the new bin.

However, at a meeting held recently in Ballyfermot to discuss the new bins it was revealed that the corpo-

ration has already agreed the principle of refuse charges and will try and introduce them in 2001.

Socialists and those opposed to refuse charges and double taxation must begin to organise active resistance to the corporation's plans now.

As soon as any attempt is made to bill people for the new bins public meetings should be held and local action groups against the charges established.

If the council get away with charging people for the bins they will feel more confident to bring in annual charges. The key is to organise a campaign of mass non-payment to any bin charge whatsoever.

Derry social workers

SOCIAL WORKERS in Derry held a half day strike on 18 October as part of a campaign for extra staff for family and childcare services.

Over 140 NIPSA union members picketed the outside the Western Health and Social Services Board headquarters.

Workers from Derry, Strabane and Limavady then marched to Gransha hospital and mounted a

roadside picket.

A striker said, "The child care services have been in crisis all summer."

"Some people have 200 hours overtime that they can't take because of the understaffing."

"The government brought in the Children's Order, which we all want to implement, but they have provided no extra staff or resources. It means that we can't help kids who need care."

"We're having to refuse to take kids into residential

care because of the lack of facilities and we have no resources to give them or their families the support they need."

"Kids with learning disabilities are put at the bottom of the queue. And the same problems affect fostering and services for the elderly."

"The situation is getting very dangerous. We know that a child could get seriously harmed and that's why we're determined that we get listened to."

"The action today has

really brought people together," she said. "Social workers care about kids and many people were worried about taking action."

"But the strike has given them confidence that we can fight for more funding and the support from the public has been massive."

"At Gransha the workers from engineering factories gave us great support as they passed."

The workers plan another half-day strike on Friday 27 October.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

50p

Over 100 Palestinians dead

STOP ISRAELI KILLINGS



An Israeli soldier shoots at a Palestinian child

THE ISRAELI army is inflicting bloody terror on armed civilians. Yet instead of the outcry that was heard when Milosevic was attacking the Kosovans, Israel is being protected by the US.

The killings have included the cold-blooded murder of children. Here is an account by the *Guardian* journalist, John Sweeney, who visited the West bank, "On Friday on the West Bank they slotted a 13-year old boy with two bullets

The Israeli Defence Force is one of the best armies in the world. The optics of their weapons is the very best American technology. When the 13-year-old was shot dead, the soldier knew exactly who he was shooting. The target's young face would have loomed large in the gun-sight."

The Israeli government says it will

not co-operate with an investigation announced by the UN Human Rights commissioner Mary Robinson.

Instead of issuing a declaration of 'unilateral separation' from its Palestinian neighbours. Key politicians in Israel have called for an 'iron wall' to be built around Palestinian enclave to separate them off from Israelis.

The ultimate cause of the violence is an apartheid style regime, which Israel has constructed. All Palestinians or Arabs are seen as third class citizens.

They are to be bullied and battered into submission by a racist state. But the Palestinians will not take this any longer.

The Israeli army should be immediately forced to leave the occupied territories it seized in 1967. The illegal settlements they built there should be dismantled. These settlements are organised by extreme right-wingers who have called openly for the ethnic cleansing of Palestinians from the occupied territories.

Theft on a grand scale

THE ROOTS of the violence lie in the creation of the Israeli state in 1948. Until the Nazi Holocaust only a tiny minority of Jewish people, called Zionists, settled in Palestine and supported the idea of a "Jewish state".

This meant a country set up along ethnic lines excluding everyone except Jews.

But after the Holocaust the idea of a Jewish state gained support among Jews and non-Jews alike.

It was seen as "a land without people" for "a people without

land". But Palestine was not "a land without people".

Palestinians had lived and worked on the land for centuries. Israel could only be created by driving Palestinians out and stealing their land.

Settlers

The UN's plan for Israel in 1947 gave Jews 55 percent of Palestine.

Yet they only made up 30 percent of the population and owned just 6 percent of the land.

Even this was not enough for the Zionist settlers.

They hounded Palestinians from their homes in a barbaric

round of what would today be called "ethnic cleansing".

In the village of Deir Yassin in 1948 the Zionist terror squad, the Irgun, massacred 200-300 Palestinian men, women and children

Israeli forces went on to destroy 416 Palestinian villages, seizing all the Palestinians' land and assets.

Jews from anywhere in the world can "return" to live in Israel even though they have never set eyes on the place.

Yet Palestinians whose families had lived there for generations, often in desperate conditions in refugee camps, are effectively denied the right to return to their homeland.