

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

**Inside:**

**Charlie Haughey:  
The life and  
times of a crook**

—CENTRE PAGES

**He took  
£1,000 a day  
in bribes**



**ZERO  
TOLERANCE  
FOR HAUGHEY  
JAIL HIM!**

# Arrested for denouncing corruption

# Drop the charges against Peadar O'Grady

The only person to have been arrested over the recent corruption scandals in the South is someone who called for the jail sentence for politicians who took bribes.

Dr Peadar O'Grady, a 32 year old child psychiatrist, stood as the Socialist Workers Party candidate in Dublin South East in the recent election.

He was arrested under the Public Order Act for speaking out about corruption in Irish politics.

During the General Election, Fianna Fail, Fine Gael, Labour and the PDs tacitly agreed among themselves to play down the issue of corruption.

## Expose

Peadar O'Grady and the other SWP candidates were determined to expose the links between big business and the leading politicians.

During the campaign Peadar O'Grady repeatedly called for the jailing of those, like Charles Haughey, found to have taken bribes.

On the first Saturday of the election campaign, Peadar held an election meeting outside Rathmines shopping centre.

But when he began to denounce

the links between Ben Dunne and Charles Haughey, the Gardaí moved in to stop him speaking.

He was arrested under the Public Order Act and taken to a Garda station where he was held for five hours. While he was in custody he was pushed around and physically intimidated.

Finally he was told he was being released but was immediately re-arrested when he tried to make a formal complaint about his treatment at the hands of the police.

He was then faced with a trumped-up charge of assaulting the police in their own station in the middle of the day.

If he is convicted on these charges Dr Peadar O'Grady faces

a possible jail sentence, the loss of his job and the possibility of disciplinary action by the medical authorities.

In other words while the corrupt politicians walk away scot free Peadar faces the loss of his liberty and livelihood because he ran an honest election campaign and stood up for his right to free speech.

A major defence campaign has now been established to resist this terrible attack on civil liberties. Several doctors, trade unionists and academics have signed an important petition denouncing the arrest.

Dr O'Grady is due to appear in court on Tuesday July 22nd. Street meetings and a public petition of protest are planned for the days beforehand



**PROTEST RALLY:  
JAIL THE CORRUPT  
POLITICIANS  
DROP THE CHARGES  
AGAINST DR PEADAR  
O'GRADY  
Saturday  
19th July, 3.00pm,  
GPO O'Connell St,  
Dublin**

Bring yourself and your friends and workmates to the protest rally

## Hundreds sign protest petition

A protest petition about the arrest of Dr O'Grady has been signed by scores of people from different walks of life. The petition reads as follows:

We the undersigned express our grave concern at the use of the Public Order Act to prevent Dr Peadar O'Grady holding a public street meeting as part of his campaign to win a seat in the general election.

While we are not necessarily supporters of the Socialist Workers Party we believe that every party has a right to promote their views without fear of interference from the gardai.

We call for all charges against Dr Peadar O'Grady to be dropped and urge the gardai to maintain strict neutrality during the election campaign.

Here is a selection of those who signed the protest.

- Dr Wendy Savage (Consultant Obstetrician, London)
- Dr Ian Banks G.P.
- Dr Juliet Bresson (Public Health Doctor)
- Dr Dino Bressan (University of Melbourne)
- Dr Jacqueline Walters (University of Melbourne)
- Dr M. H. Hall (Consultant Obstetrician, Aberdeen)
- Dr Philip Tyndall (Child Psychiatrist)
- Fiona Tyndall (Midwife)
- Dr Tom O'Connell (Public Health Doctor)
- Dr Fiona Stevens (Lecturer, UCG)
- Dr Tara Conlon G.P.
- Raymond Byrne BCL, LL.M, Barrister at Law
- Peadar Kirby BA, BD, M. Dip in Ed.
- Paul Mc Namara BA, M. Phil.
- Eddie Holt (Lecturer)
- Brian Trench (Lecturer)
- John Horgan (Lecturer)
- Carolann Duggan (SIPTU)
- Patricia McKenna MEP (Green Party)
- John Gormley (Green Party)
- Michael Farrell (Irish Council for Civil Liberties)
- Deirdre Tobin, Solicitor
- Blainaid Tonra, Teacher
- Dr Patrick Troy G.P.
- Maurice Sheehan (MANDATE)
- Brendan Archbold (MANDATE)
- Brian Higgins (MANDATE)
- Eamonn McCann (journalist & Author)
- Joe Bowers (Northern Ireland I.C.T.U Executive Member)
- Mick O'Reilly ATGWU Trade Union
- Jennifer Todd (Lecturer)
- Eamonn Slater (Lecturer)
- Kevin Honan
- Joe Cleary (Lecturer)
- Luke Gibbons (Lecturer)
- Tadhg Foley (Lecturer)
- Sean Ryder (Lecturer)
- Liam O'Dowd (Professor)
- Dr Sean Horgan (General Practitioner)
- Ms Olive Lennon (Physiotherapist)
- Dr Moayyad Kamali (Psychiatrist)
- Ms Mary Mullan (Social Worker)
- John Sharry (Social Worker)
- Dr Maurice Gervan (Psychiatrist)
- Jannelle Gervan (Medical Lab Technician)
- Dr Ed O'Mahoney (Psychiatrist)
- Dr Colm McDonald (Psychiatrist)
- Dr Jo Rowly (Psychiatrist)
- Dr Melanie Gallagher (Psychiatrist)
- Dr Louise Connolly (Psychiatrist)
- Dr Lena Kelly (Psychiatrist)
- Brendan Fox (Chairperson, Galway Council of Trade Unions)
- Tom Browne (Secretary, IMPACT, Galway)
- Peter Bunting (President, National Bus and Rail Union)
- Pat Fitzpatrick (Green Party candidate, Galway West)
- Pat Cunningham (Communication Workers Union, Galway)
- Dr Judy McDiarmada
- Dr Peter Nolan (Public Health Doctor)
- Dr Julie Mardon (Registrar in Medicine)

## Whose Order?

The Public Order Act has often been used to silence political dissidents and trade unionists.

When TEAM Aer Lingus workers marched around Dublin airport in 1994 during their lock-out, they were threatened with arrests under this act.

Animal rights protesters who picketed a shop in Dublin were arrested under the act.

Now the act has been used to silence free speech during an election campaign. The arrest of Dr O'Grady has nothing to do with preserving order on the streets -- it was all about silencing a critic of the political establishment.

On that same afternoon that Peadar was arrested and prevented from speaking, half of Ennis was cordoned off to allow Bertie Ahern to go walkabout in a "meet the people" photo opportunity for the television.

Gardaí told locals they could not use certain roads while Ahern posed for the media circus.

## Surgeons cash in on property boom

THE GOVERNMENT is planning to drastically cut local hospital services for people in Dublin city. The politicians claim there is not enough money for a decent health service.

But the elite Royal College of Surgeons has plenty of cash to throw around.

Earlier this year the college bought an office in Dublin for £5 million and is now letting this building for £18 per square foot to a US cabling company.

The college is also building a clinical sciences building at Beaumont Hospital at a cost of £7 million. The college is confident that 'the market for medical education will remain very buoyant'.

## Spending

But while this posh college is spending its millions the health service is still being run down. Not far from the Royal College are the Meath and

Adelaide Hospitals which the government plans to close.

Their excuse is that they are building Tallaght Hospital. This was a long overdue project for the working class people of Tallaght who will no longer have to travel to the city for treatment.

But the Meath and Adelaide should also be left open. The Alone organisation recently took out full page newspaper ads arguing that it is wrong to expect patients to travel to Tallaght in the event of sudden illness.

Alone says it would cost one to two million a year to keep the Meath open and provide 100 beds for the elderly. This is only a percentage of the money being spent by the Royal College.

## Children in Dublin were used as guinea pigs

IRISH governments have been playing down the side effects of a three in one vaccine given to thousands of children over the past thirty years.

Even more shocking are the revelations that children from orphanages in Dublin were used as guinea pigs in trials of the vaccine in the 1960s and early 1970s.

The disclosures are yet

another horror story about the abuse of children.

In recent years when details emerged of the horrific conditions in Romanian and Chinese orphanages the reaction

was quite rightly one of outrage.

But little did people know that in places like Goldenbridge and now in these Dublin orphanages children were being mistreated to such an extent.

At least 116 children, some of whom were mentally handicapped, were used as guinea pigs in trials of this drug which at the time was known to have potentially serious side-effects.

## Concern

The Eastern Health Board had monitored the trials on 80 children in the early 1970s, and at that time raised concern about the safety of the vaccine.

A health board report that was sent to the Department of Health said

that the death of a one-year-old child:

"Was an apparent adverse reaction following immunisation".

In 1982 the government acknowledged that the vaccine which had been made by Wellcome had probably caused serious brain damage in at least fourteen children, and tried to buy off their families with £10,000.

The children that were used in these tests were some of the most vulnerable in society.

In a country that promoted and sanctified the family those who were unfortunate enough to be outside it were considered a burden.

This scandal shows the breathtaking hypocrisy of the state with their empty platitudes about children.

## Wellcome can damage your health

IT'S NOT the first time that Wellcome, the company that made the three-in-one vaccine, has been in the news.

Four years ago Kenneth Best was awarded £2.75 million damages when the Supreme Court ruled that he had suf-

fered massive brain damage after he was vaccinated against whooping cough in 1969.

## Negligent

The company was found to have been negligent in the production of the batch of the drug used on Kenneth Best, and that the company had known that it could cause that kind of dam-

age.

It also emerged during the course of the case that the Southern Health Board had kept records from the family which would have proven that the vaccine had been defective.

In 1995 Wellcome was taken over by Glaxo to become the world's largest prescription drugs company. Last year its profits rose by 18 percent to £2.964 billion.

## what we think

# The corruption does not stop with Haughey

**"THE greatest scandal that has hit this state" is how the media have described the revelations over Haughey.**

Yet we have only been given a small glimpse of the corruption that goes on.

The original story about the payments to Haughey only leaked out because the Dunnes family fell out among themselves.

### Funding

Other businessmen have also been funding Haughey over the years. After all his lavish lifestyle did not start and end between 1988 and 1991 when Dunne made his payments.

If this government were

serious about investigating corruption, they would use the Criminal Assets Bureau to seize the accounts of the £40 million slush fund from which Haughey was paid.

The names of the crooks who used this fund to avoid tax should be revealed and their assets should be seized.

But this would be expecting an awful lot from a government led by Bertie Ahern, who was Haughey's political apprentice for many years.

Ahern knows that Haughey is not the only Fianna Fail politicians who has been on the take from businessmen.

It has also been revealed that a prominent Fianna Fail cabinet Minister re-



**Bertie Ahern**

ceived a payment of £30,000 from a building firm during the 1989 election.

But Fianna Fail 'sources'

are claiming that it was not a bribe because it was used for his election campaign rather than as a personal gift!

## SEND THE CORRUPT POLITICIANS TO JAIL

**THE PRESENT situation could be changed immediately if thousands took to the streets to demand jail sentences for any politician found guilty of taking bribe.**

In Italy, over 200 businessmen and politicians were sent to prison for the type of activity that Haughey has been involved in.

The real issue is why has no focus been given for the huge anger that has swept the country in the wake of the revelations.

The main reason is that there has been a silence about the whole affair from ICTU headquarters in Raglan Road and the SIPTU Headquarters in Liberty Hall.

With the exception of a small statement from the IMPACT, the union leaders have said nothing or done nothing about 'the greatest scandal in the history of the state'.

The tragedy is that many

of the union leaders have been friendly with Haughey in the past. (see pages 6 and 7)

They are also tied into the partnership deals which Haughey began in 1987.

We are now seeing the terrible price that workers are being forced to pay for these deals which guarantee industrial peace to their union leaders.

### Miserable

Not only have we to put up with low pay rise and a miserable 1% tax cut' (Bertie Ahern's words), our unions are being silenced in the interests of social peace.

When the corruption scandals broke in Italy, the unions called strikes and mass demonstrations. It was this public pressure which pushed a few corrupt crooks behind bars.

Rank and file workers should draw this lesson and starting putting the pressure on for similar action in Ireland.

## Are Fianna Fail better on the North?

**WHILE Fianna Fail are on the racks over corruption, there are still some who will defend them because of their Northern policy.**

This seems to be the logic behind Sinn Fein's decision to support Bertie Ahern, for Taoiseach.

Here it is claimed that Fianna Fail are better than Fine Gael in promoting the interests of the nationalist minority in the North and deserve support for this reason alone.

Even if this were true, it represents a highly sectional and ghettoised approach. It means turning a blind eye to Fianna Fail's role

in attacking Southern workers just because of their Northern rhetoric.

But of course the rhetoric is entirely hollow — and the events over the past few weeks show why it is not.

As soon as the Orange march was forced down the Garvaghy Road, Ray Burke issued a statement calling on people 'not to be hyper-critical of Mo Mowlan'. The most that Ahern could muster was an expression of 'disappointment'. Even symbolic gestures like calling in the British Ambassador were avoided.

And this is how Fianna Fail have always acted. While Haughey was at the height of his green rhetoric,

for example, Jack Harman, the head of the RUC, could still say that co-operation between the RUC and the Gardai was never better.

When it came to putting down republicans in the South, there was none harder than de Valera for internment, torturing and even hanging them.

Fianna Fail has never cared for the working class people who resist the RUC and the Orange Order. Indeed it fears the example of their militancy.

It raises the green flag strictly to cover over the class divisions in the South.

## Mexico's 'bloodsucker' still at large in Ireland

**THE RECENT elections in Mexico were a major defeat for the Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) which had ruled the country since 1929.**

The supporters of Mexico City's new left wing mayor Cardenas danced in the streets to celebrate what they hope is the end of decades of corruption and brutality.

But one of the most hated PRI figures of recent years, Carlos Salinas, is still in exile in Ireland. Salinas has friends in high places in Ireland, among them Albert Reynolds and airline boss Tony Ryan.

But to Mexican workers and the poor the ex-president is known as the 'bloodsucker'.

Amnesty International reported that in 1994, Salinas' last year in office, "Scores of prisoners of conscience, mostly indigent peasants were

detained.

"Hundreds of people were tortured and ill-treated by the army and other security forces. Some detainees died as a result."

### Protested

Torture, disappearances and security forces 'executions' were the order of the day under Salinas. The president also sent in police and soldiers against oil workers and miners who protested against him.

Raul Salinas, the ex-president's brother, is in jail awaiting trial on charges of conspiracy to murder a former PRI general secretary and of fraud. Carlos Salinas is accused of tolerating his brother's activities.

But this bloodsucker is being sheltered by the



**Albert Reynolds with Salinas**

Irish rich. The hypocrites in the Dail are whipping up racism to keep out refugees fleeing tyranny around the globe.

But they are staying silent on Fianna Fail's favourite 'refugee', Carlos Salinas, a man responsible for tyranny.

## The Fianna Fail connection

**FIANNA FAIL and Mexico's Institutional Revolutionary Party (PRI) are well met.**

Both emerged from periods of revolutionary struggle. The PRI was founded after the Mexican Revolution in the earlier part of this century. Fianna Fail emerged from the Republican forces in the Civil War.

Both parties have ruled for long periods of time as representatives of the rich, while trying to cultivate a radical image. And both parties have been involved in corruption.

Fianna Fail may not have descended to the type of brutality meted out by the PRI, but they have been close allies of Mexi-

co's corrupt rulers in recent years.

As Taoiseach, Albert Reynolds went on a trade mission to Mexico in 1994 and was wined and dined by Carlos Salinas. Tony Ryan had a lucrative contract to lease aircraft to Mexico and is now the Mexican honorary consul in Dublin.

### Controversial

The most controversial link with Mexico involves the Irish Dairy Board (IDB). In the 1980s the IDB sold skim milk powder to Conasupo, the agency which distrib-

utes milk to Mexico's poor.

Almost 40,000 tonnes of skim milk sold in 1987 contained a high level of radioactivity following the Chernobyl disaster. Conasupo lowered the level of contamination permitted to one seventh of the EU maximum.

The PRI shut down an inquiry into the contamination but the new opposition majority have announced they will re-open the case.

Raul Salinas, the ex-president's brother, is suspected of using his influence in Conasupo to launder millions of dollars for Mexican drug barons.

# As increased racism leads to mosque attack...

## Politicians spread message of hate

**We Think Immigration controls are racist**

Racists in Ireland are whipping up an atmosphere which has led to violent attacks on refugees and evictions from areas.

And Fianna Fail politicians are to the fore in spreading the message of hate.

At a recent public meeting in Rialto, the Fianna Fail TD Ben Briscoe argued that he won the election because he attacked the numbers of refugees coming to Ireland.

### Against

The meeting, which was organised by the relatively unknown Rialto Action Group, heard speakers boast about how they had pressurised a landlord to evict refugees from the area.

Meanwhile an anonymous racist group calling itself Stoneybatter Community against Refugees has been leafleting houses.

Just as Paisley's message of hate against Northern Catholics leads directly to violent attacks, so too has the racist propaganda in the South.

Recently a Zairian man moving into his hostel dormitory was approached by a gang bearing knives. They shouted 'nigger' at him and looked set to attack him when he managed to escape out of a first



floor window.

On June 30th members of the Islamic community based at the Mosque on the South Circular Road spotted a fire in the building. They managed to contain it before it spread beyond two metres.

The Gardai later confirmed that the fire was attempted arson. "It could have burnt us to the ground," said one of the staff.

Yet opposition to the racists

is growing. Nearly 200 people turned up to a Socialist Workers Party public meeting on racism and another 100 attended a meeting on Refugees called by Comhlámh, the organisation of returned development agency workers.

Socialist Workers Party branches have also been win-

ning a lot of support when they have gone door to door in areas where the racists are trying to organise.

In Rathmines, for example, the Socialist Workers Party branches have petitioned the area and found strong support for the Islamic Community.

**THE REAL target of immigration controls has always been to scapegoat poor black people. If you are rich you are welcome everywhere.**

If, like Mobutu of Zaire, you want to stash millions in European banks, the colour of your skin is no obstacle.

Or if you are an Arab millionaire willing to invest in Albert Reynolds's Cat and Dog food company you can get an Irish passport - let alone the right of asylum.

The practice of immigration controls has a very definite purpose. To make scapegoats out of refugees for the increasing poverty and welfare cuts throughout Europe.

And the result of these policies is that racists become more confident.

It is sometimes argued that what we need is fair, non-racist, immigration controls, which will keep numbers arriving in check. Even Joe Higgins' Socialist Party have said that the numbers of immigrants should be limited only to "numbers that

we can accommodate."

But this makes a huge concession to racists. It is a myth that there are potentially huge numbers wanting to come to Ireland, the total number of asylum seekers in the last two and a half years was just 3,000.

Any demand for controls concedes that immigrants are a burden. But the opposite is the case. Immigrants arriving here are almost all young and willing to work and pay taxes. The cost of their education was borne by their own countries and when they move to Ireland it is effectively a transfer of wealth from these countries.

There can never be 'acceptable' immigration controls as they are always implemented in a racist manner.

The Socialist Workers Party wants to see a world without borders. We see every human being as a person with the potential to contribute to the society in which they live. Political refugees and people escaping poverty have as much right to choose where to live as a millionaire.

## State denies basic rights

**The right of immigrants to seek asylum in Ireland has been dramatically curtailed in the last month.**

On June 25th, the day the Rainbow Coalition government left office, Nora Owen introduced a sudden change in the procedure for asylum seekers arriving through British ports.

Up to this point refugees were allowed an interview to have their case examined to see if they could obtain entry.

But now the hearing has been abolished. Instead a port official need only phone a civil servant for an immediate judgement.

### Arbitrary

This is a completely arbitrary procedure as the civil servant does not even have to bother finding out the name of the country the refugee is fleeing.

Because of these new procedures John O'Donoghue, the new Fianna Fail Minister for Justice, has boasted that 109 people have been refused entry to the state in just ten days.

Noeleen Blackwell, spokesperson for Amnesty International said "This decision, taken by a senior civil servant, has huge implications. Five years of discussion and democratic debate had been torn apart.

"It is a fundamental breach of Ireland's obligations in International Law. A refugee could now end up being sent back to face persecution.

"I have never seen the government so blatantly disregard its own laws and international obligations."

## Refugees speak out

**AXINA recently arrived in Ireland, after escaping political persecution and torture by the Turkish state.**

Her only crime was to be a Kurd, a people who live in the mountainous south-east of Turkey. They have no legal rights and are forbidden to learn or speak their own language or indeed to celebrate their own culture.

"State violence against our people is systematic - children are regularly kidnapped and tortured by the police, while old women are hanged from trees, to provoke fear," said Axina.

### Defiance

In defiance, the Kurds organise national celebrations, every year in March. Axina, who was a student attended this years celebration in Diyarbakir.

The police, aided by the army attacked it, killing many civilians. Axina fled from the scene, and when her house was raided, she left for Istanbul with two friends.

After a short time, she decided to flee Turkey and escaped by hiding in the hold of a cargo ship.

As soon as she arrived in Ireland, she reported to the Gardai who promptly gave her details to the Turkish Embassy here - the very people she had to flee from! Axina is now waiting for Irish citizenship, but this may take five years to obtain. Meanwhile, she is not allowed complete her studies, or get a job. She therefore has to stay on Social

**DRAZEN NOZINIC is another refugee who came to Ireland from Yugoslavia in 1992.**

He worked as a curator in a museum, but was forced to flee following a warning from the Serbian authorities 'not to be there'.

Drazen had refused to take sides in the war which killed over half a million people.

For four months he was in hiding in Belgrade, before finally getting money from a sympathetic Irish couple to come to Ireland. He left his country hungry, and with no possessions.

However, on arriving in Dublin, he was immediately deported, in direct contravention to both the Irish laws and his human rights. Eventually, with the help of the Irish Refugee Council, he returned to Ireland.

The Department of Justice claimed he was a mere 'eco-

Welfare, and lives in a guest house which has a strict curfew and set meal times.

Axina feels particularly angry about the racist immigration laws here and throughout Europe. 'I did not want to leave my country but it is the big Western imperialist countries who create the refugee crisis. They supply the arms to countries like Turkey.'

'nomic' refugee, and tried to fob him off with humanitarian status.

Effectively, this would have meant that Drazen could have been deported at any time. Fortunately, he fought this, and after three legal hearings he now has Irish citizenship.

Drazen is angered by suggestions by politicians and the media, that refugees come to Ireland simply to sponge off the state.

"I don't blame working class people for this racism. It is the well educated, middle class who are whipping it up.

"We are forced to live on social welfare and are seen to be in competition with the poor in Ireland."

# Ban plastic bullets

**A 14 year old boy is still in hospital after being hit by a plastic bullet fired by the RUC.**

In the three days after Sunday 6th July, when the Orange Order march was forced down the Garvaghy Road, the RUC admitted to firing 2,400 plastic bullets at mainly nationalist rioters.

A plastic bullet is a lethal weapon. Its official name of 'baton round' is a good description because it was first developed in Hong Kong in the 1960s as a cross between a truncheon and a bullet.

To date, 17 people have been killed in the North by plastic bullets. One of those killed, Stephen Geddis, was just 10 years old, five were under thirteen and more than half were under eighteen. Emma Groves, now 77, was blinded by a rubber bullet when she was standing in her sitting room.

The Committee on the Administration of Justice (CAJ) details how the RUC have used plastic bullets in a clearly sectarian way.

The report, *The Misrule of*

Law shows that 662 plastic bullets were fired last year between the 7th and 11th of July. This was the period during which "extensive damage was done to property by unionist protesters and Michael McGoldrick was killed by loyalist paramilitaries".

By contrast, 5,340 plastic bullets were fired at nationalist protesters between 11th and 14th July.

## Power

Shortly after taking power this year the new Labour government revealed that the bullets fired last year were extra-dangerous because they were defective. But this year they again allowed the RUC to attack nationalist youth with these lethal weapons.

The European Parliament voted in May 1982 to ban the use of the bullets throughout the EU. Even the United Nations Committee Against Torture has expressed concern



**Brendan Morris shot with a plastic bullet in Belfast**

about the use of plastic bullets.

Most importantly, a 1987 NEC Policy Statement from the British Labour Party said

it would ban the weapon when in government. But once again Blair seems to be determined to break the hopes of change.

# Protestants speak out against Orange bigotry

**When the Orange Order cancelled its 12th July parades in Belfast and Derry earlier this month, it effectively admitted that support for its sectarian marches now centres around a shrinking number of hardline loyalists.**

The Orange lodges and the unionist parties know that they are being deserted by many Protestants who despise the blood and thunder image portrayed by the parades.

The day after Ballynafeigh District cancelled its parade, RTE's Paddy O'Gorman went to talk to Protestants in the area.

## Workforce

Every single interviewee was delighted that the march had been called off. One woman said she was in a mixed workforce where the marching issue had poisoned the atmosphere up to now.

Following last year's Drumcree standoff, hundreds of Protestants rang radio stations and wrote letters to the papers to voice their disgust at the standoff, the roadblocks and the RUC's brutality.

This anger survived into 1997. In early summer, in-

dividual Orange Order lodges, clearly under pressure from grassroots members, considered parade settlements with residents. In early July Grand Master Robert Saulters called for the Drumcree parade to be re-routed.

Two potential flashpoints, the nationalist village of Bellaghy and the Lower Ormeau, stayed quiet in June when Orangemen walked up to RUC lines and handed in letters of protest. They did not push for a standoff because they would have faced an embarrassing lack of support from their own supporters.

Instead, thousands of Protestants preferred to escape for the week. In one mixed workplace in Derry, a worker from a Protestant background who was about to take two weeks' leave said: "I dread July. I really don't want to be seen to be with these bigots."

Others vented their anger

publicly. One man wrote a letter to the *Belfast Newsletter*, a pro-unionist paper. "Tell me, what are you walking for?", he asked the Orange leaders.

"The July 12 parades and all the other Orange/Black parades are occasions where certain members of the Protestant community choose to exercise the might, not their right, in terms of numbers over the minority in this country."

## Staunchly

He signed off with the remark that an Orangeman had once called him "not Protestant enough".

Meanwhile in Ballymena, renowned as a staunchly unionist area, an opinion poll showed that more than half of the respondents would "consider foregoing the marching season to allow old wounds to heal." A massive 95% opposed the ongoing loyalist picket of Catholic massgoers in nearby Harryville.

In Belfast's Shorts shipyards, still a majority Protestant workplace, one shop steward said that "after the 1996 Drumcree experience most workers felt no enthusiasm for another parade along the Garvaghy Road this year".

Back in Derry, two young Protestants who signed a *Socialist Worker* petition against the parade said, "We ignored the Northern Ireland elections because we did not want to vote union-

ist. We wanted a cross-community party but we didn't think the Alliance Party or the Women's Coalition were a real alternative".

But while many Protestants are looking for an alternative to Orangeism, they do not find that republican politics offers much.

Republicans strategy today is built around establishing a pan-nationalist front that forges an alliance between Sinn Fein, Fianna Fail and right wing Irish-Americans.

This is despite the fact that a Catholic worker has far more in common with their Protestant counterpart than they have with the Green Tories in Fianna Fail.

## The Big Issue to much for Loyalists

**The magazine *Big Issue* was driven off the streets of Belfast on the week of the Twelfth.**

Loyalist thugs intimidated sellers because of the picture of Gerry Adams on the cover.

Under the headline, *Just Do It*, the magazine was actually advocating a ceasefire. But that type of subtlety was too much for the thugs who talk about "the freedom of the Queen's highway".

# Orange 'moderation' — don't say thanks

**THE ORANGE ORDER is suddenly basking in praise from the media. Apparently it has shown a 'new spirit of compromise' following its decision to reroute or cancel the July 12 parades in Derry, Armagh, Newry and the Lower Ormeau Road.**

The reality is that the Order did not choose to compromise. It was forced to abandon its parades because it faced mass resistance in the streets.

However much the Order tries to claim the moral highground, it remains a viciously anti-Catholic and anti working-class, organisation with attitudes long abandoned by many Protestants.

Orange members have locked playgrounds in a bid to 'defend' the Sabbath. Until 1990, the Order excluded women from its parades.

For the past 200 years, the Order has existed to maintain the divide between ordinary Protestants and Catholics for the benefit of the Northern ruling class.

This is why it demonises Catholics and nationalists with parades, propaganda, and brute violence.

The July 12 parades still aims to "bring the flag to enemy territory" and scare out the inhabitants.

Orange hardliners in Portadown said after this year's parade that the Garvaghy Road was "not Catholic, only temporarily occupied."

There is a long history to these attitudes. In 1813, the first identifiable Catholic area emerged in Belfast's Hercules Street, now Royal Avenue. The Order, a mere 16 years old, wasted no time in marching through it the same year, leaving four dead.

## Bigotry

Now a new report, *For God and Ulster* by Derry's Pat Finucane Centre gives the low down on the Order's terrible history of bigotry.

It shows that even the British government temporarily banned marches, Orange oaths and the Order itself.

Drumcree was a flashpoint as early as 1835. That year an inquiry found: "For some time past the peaceable inhabitants of the parish of Drumcree have been insulted and outraged by large bodies of Orangemen parading the highways ...

"A body of Orangemen marched through the town and proceeded to Drumcree church, passing by the Catholic chapel though it was a considerable distance out of their way."

One of the worst marching

seasons in history left nine people dead in 1935. The Order's members intimidated 514 Catholic families, comprising 2,241 people, out of Protestant areas.

Nor is this the first time that the Orange Order have temporarily abandoned marches through Catholic areas.

In Derry, after the Apprentice Boys' December parade sparked off the Battle of the Bogside in 1969, the Order skipped its 1970 and 1971 marches and abandoned attempts to cross the bridge from the Protestant Waterside in 1972.

## Sectarian

Yet during precisely those years, in 1971, Orangeman William McGrath set up the UDA, one of the most feared sectarian groups of paramilitaries.

The Orange Order has always cracked down on Protestants who dared to challenge the Order's sectarian, pro-business stance. It denounced Protestant supporters of the Land League in the 1880s and of the 1932 Outdoor Relief riots as followers of "Popery, anarchy and communism".

In the 1830s "Orangemen were to play a role in cities like Manchester as allies of the authorities in their attempts to combat trade unionism in the lead-up to the Peterloo massacre."

Many ordinary Protestants are also afraid to be seen to oppose the parades because of the threat of violence from loyalist paramilitaries. UVF banners are a now common sight on Orange parades.

The threats of violence have always been an important part of the Orange tradition but they are growing stronger as some hardliners try to paper over the cracks within Unionism.

When Trimble appeared alongside the LVF leader, Billy Wright, last year in Drumcree an important statement was made.

For all the official Unionist condemnations of violence, Trimble was letting it be known that thugery had its role to play.

And this was not just directed at Catholics but against those 'dissenting Protestants' who despise Orangesim.

Even the supposedly moderate Grand Master Robert, Saulters still sees Tony Blair as a traitor to the faith for marrying a Catholic.

New members must swear on oath that they had Protestant parents, were educated in the Protestant faith, and, if married, that their wives are Protestants, too.

The leopard hasn't changed its spots.

## Army occupies Estoril Park

**Estoril Park in North Belfast was placed under military occupation as hundreds of RUC and British troops blocked it off.**

Scuffles broke out as they blocked off the top and bottom of the street after claiming that they had been attacked.

One resident told *Socialist Worker*, "They went absolutely wild. It was a raw sectarian hatred against the residents."

# As Charlie Haughey confesses to the McCracken tr

# The life and times

**After years of lying, the truth has come out: Charles J Haughey has been taking bribes for years.**

Between 1988 and 1991, Haughey had an expense account of £25,000 a month.

That is nearly a thousand pounds a day. And that is only what he got from one businessman, Ben Dunne.

But if Dunne was paying out these sums, others must have been paying out as well.

After all, Haughey's lavish life style did not start and end in those years.

In return for these donations Haughey made sure that favours were done for his rich friends.

There is already strong evidence to show that Dunnes Stores gained much from the bribes they paid Haughey and Lowry.

### Low Taxes:

Officially Dunnes is organised as a "trust" which means it has paid £100 million less in taxes than it would otherwise have done. It has already been revealed that Haughey set up meetings between Ben Dunne and the Revenue Commissioners.

### Planning Permission:

Dunnes never had much difficulty in opening shops on prime sites. Now we know why. A Fine Gael TD, Paul McGrath, has revealed that he was leaned on by Michael Lowry when he tried to object to planning permission for a new Dunnes shop.

### Freedom of pricing policy:

In the late eighties Dunnes Stores operated a policy of below cost selling to drive its competitors out of business. The Fianna Fail Minister for Industry and Commerce, Ray Burke, turned a blind eye to these practices.

But Dunnes Stores are not the only company which was favoured by the state. There are other businessmen with whom Haughey was more closely associated. They include Larry Goodman, Dermot Desmond and Michael Smurfit.

All three of them have already benefited considerably from the Irish state.

Haughey was connected to most of the top business people in Ireland.

He ran the country in their interest and made sure there was enough for himself.

That is why the attacks on Haughey still strike fear into the wealthy and powerful. The more that pressure builds up to jail him for his crimes, the more the rest of the Golden Circle will start to panic.



# The architect of social partnership

**THROUGHOUT his life Haughey made sure to keep some of the top union leaders on his side.**

When he was first elected leader of Fianna Fail in 1980, he was led into the Fianna Fail Ard Fheis by the Irish Transport and General Workers Union band playing 'A Nation Once Again'.

It was an important symbol of the close relationship he had forged with the leaders of Ireland's major trade union, the forerunner of today's SIPTU.

Haughey's alliance with the union leaders was ce-

mented when he set up the first social partnership deal, the Programme for National Recovery in 1987.

Haughey described the deal he forged with the union leaders then as 'a pearl of great national value'.

### Sacrifice

And it was no wonder. While he himself lived a life of luxury, he was able to preach sacrifice for workers—and got the union leaders to back him up on this.

The PNR introduced a cuts package of £450 million and led to over 20,000 voluntary redundancies in the public sector.

Haughey's arch enemies in Fine Gael were so impressed with these Thatcherite policies, that they adopted the 'Tallaght Strategy' and gave him full backing for his economic programme.

One political correspondent, Stephen Collins, wrote that,

"Any other government would have found it difficult, if not impossible, to proceed with two apparently contradictory policies.

"One that involved huge cuts in public spending and the other that involved doing a deal with the trade unions designed to effectively tie them into the process of

government. "Haughey managed to do both simultaneously"

### Soften

The millionaire Taoiseach knew that if he wanted to attack workers the best way was to soften up the union leaders beforehand. And these leaders always fell for it.

They talked about how Haughey was more 'progressive' than the New Right while Haughey was laughing all the way to the bank as the bribes from Ben Dunne flowed in.

Haughey's hypocrisy shows what the social part-

No t  
plea  
we'

"Taxes are for the little people" is what the New millionaire Leona Sley once said.

The Golden Circle that land could not agree more.

The McCracken Tribunal given a small glimpse of Irish rich believe that tax is PAYE suckers.

As in other recent scam Cayman Islands have agtured prominently. These havens where the rich can send their money to avoid paying the Revenue Commission

### Secretly

Up to now most people that the rich had to secretly their money to the actual is benefit from tax fraud. But revelations have shown they it down to a fine art.

Haughey's bribes came secret slush fund of £40 which was kept at the Mahon Bank in Dublin. This which was set up to avoid tax then connected to the Cayman Islands by means of subsidia panies.

nership deals are r all about. They had ing to do with treat workers as equal sharing out the ben of economic growth.

All of this was added afterwards by union leaders like Peler Cas and Des Garaghty pretended that they were adopting a more 'n ern, realistic approach sell the deal.

Haughey knew that social partnership was his con that he had made of wealthy friends.

And even while he discredited himself, his lower class have learnt same lesson.

tribunal Kieran Allen looks at

# of a crook

## taxes

### What we think

**THE HAUGHEY scandal has given an insight into how capitalism really works. Officially, everyone has an equal chance to influence the affairs of the country by using the ballot box.**

The reality is real power is wielded behind closed doors through the power of money.

Politicians like Haughey are bought and sold by big business. And it is not just those who traditionally had a shady image.

John Bruton has also admitted that he called around, like a messenger boy to pick up his cheque from Ben Dunne.

interests of capitalism.

Yet while the power of money operates quietly behind closed doors, efforts by workers to advance their interests through strikes and demonstrations are denounced in the millionaire press as 'holding the country to ransom'.

All of this shows that real change or socialism can never be achieved by working through the existing institutions of the state.

Even if a socialist party won the majority of seats in the Dail and formed a government, it could not use these existing institutions to uproot the power of capital.

The only way we can remove the power of Haughey, Dunne and the rest of the sharks who dominate this country is to meet them with a greater and more powerful force.

That has to come from the organised power of workers who have the strength to bring the whole of industry to a standstill.

In brief, what is needed is a revolutionary strategy which refuses to play the rules of the parliamentary game.

### Power

Of course, the power of money can also operate in more subtle ways as well.

The merest sign that a firm is going to close or that vast sums of money are to be moved out of the country can be enough to bend any elected government to the wishes of the rich.

Most of the time, direct pressure does not even have to be applied.

The elite who compose the top of the judiciary, the courts and the security establishment have developed a sharp instinct for running the country in the

The rich did not even have to travel — they could walk in and out of a Dublin bank and still avoid paying taxes.

A central role in these tax avoidance schemes has been played by the prominent accountancy firms in Ireland. Directors of Oliver Freaney and Co and Deloitte and Touche all helped Haughey to cover up for his tax avoidance.

During the Goodman scandal, it was also revealed that their accountancy firm of Stokes Kennedy and Crowley knew that Goodman was keeping double books to avoid tax.

These measures and the use of tax amnesties are admittedly crude ways of shifting the tax burden onto workers. Now Ahern and the former government led by Bruton are offering a new road: they want to openly and blatantly cut the taxes on the rich so that the old ways are no longer needed.

In the next decade, it is planned to cut tax on manufacturing profits back to 10 percent. Meanwhile workers will be offered only tiny reductions in taxes in return for wage restraint.

# The old team are back in charge

**Ahern and Fianna Fail will do everything to cover for Haughey because they know that if he goes down, they might go with them.**

Ahern has a long record of close association with Haughey. He was one of the chief organisers of the Haughey faction during the inner party conflict in Fianna Fail in the 1980s.

Haughey called him 'the most devious and cunning politician of them all'. The two were so close that Ahern was designated as Haughey's firm favourite to take over the leadership of Fianna Fail.

Ahern's present cabinet in-

cludes many who colluded in Haughey's corrupt practices in the past.

Mary O'Rourke, for example, was Minister for Education in 1990 when UCD was instructed to buy land in Crysfort College which belonged to a friend of Haughey, Pino Harris. The deal gave Harris a profit of £1.5 million in just six months.

### Involved

The present Minister for Justice, Ray Burke, is a former auctioneer, who has been involved in many land deals on the north side of Dublin.

No wonder that Fianna Fail sources are already briefing political correspondents that they will not agree to further investi-

gations into the other businessmen who were funding Haughey.

Ahern knows that he is facing an Italian style 'tangentopoli' scandal which could unravel a whole web of corruption that connects most of Ireland's top businessmen to the main political parties.

Yet the tragedy is that Ahern is being kept in office by forces that claim to stand by working people.

The union leaders are still desperate to continue the policy of social partnership with this corrupt government.

And parties like Sinn Fein which claim to be anti-establishment have also supported Ahern for Taoiseach.

## What do socialists say?

### Does trickle down economics work?

**GET RID of regulations on big business and give tax breaks to the rich. This is the way to keep the economy growing and to create jobs.**

This kind of talk about how the benefits of deregulation and tax giveaways to the rich would "trickle down" to produce prosperity for everyone in society was repeated to the point of nausea during the Republican presidential campaigns of Ronald Reagan and George Bush.

But the same rhetoric was used earlier this month when President Bill Clinton met with British Prime Minister Tony Blair of the Labour Party.

According to Britain's Guardian newspaper, the two are planning on calling "an ambitious employment summit of industrialized nations to launch a two year plan to create jobs by increasing labour market flexibility and reducing burdens on business."

This argument, pushed by conservatives during the 1980s, is no less false coming out of the mouths of Democrats and Labour Party leaders.

There has been a long-term trend involving reduction in regulations and state intervention in industry across the world for nearly 20 years.

But the gap between ordinary workers and the rich has grown massively at the same time.

In most of the industrialized world outside the U.S., unemployment is running at record levels.

And while the official jobless rate has dropped in the U.S., workers' job insecurity

is at high levels.

It is no surprise that deregulation and giveaways to the ruling class have not produced prosperity in the 1990s.

The slogan of capitalism from the 1830s to the 1930s was "laissez faire," meaning complete freedom for business from state interference.

But this did not in any way prevent recessions and unemployment.

### Slumps

Indeed, the slumps had become so serious by the early 1930s that a whole generation of economists, politicians and even industrialists decided there must be something seriously wrong with "laissez-faire" capitalism.

John Maynard Keynes, until then an ardent free-market economist, led the way in pointing out something Karl Marx had recognised 75 years earlier that there was no mechanism within capitalism to ensure that all the goods that companies produced would be sold.

That would only happen if all the Profits companies made from selling their goods were spent on new investment or on luxuries for the rich.

That, combined with workers spending their wages, could lead to enough "effective demand" to buy goods produced elsewhere.

But if the rich chose, as they repeatedly do, to put their profits in the banks, to move them abroad or to pour them into various forms of speculation, then a gap would open up between how much was being produced and how little was being bought.

"Overproduction" would result once this happened in one industry, it would spread

to others.

For example, if there was not enough investment to use up all the steel produced, then steelworkers would be laid off.

These steelworkers would not be able to afford new clothes so textile mills would shut down, and textile workers would be laid off.

Keynes himself did not have any clear answer as to how to cope with such slumps.

But he could see that simply cutting workers' wages or making their conditions harsher was useless.

The increased profits might give employers an incentive to invest in new means to produce goods, but the proportion of those goods which workers could afford to buy would fall.

### Afford

This would magnify the slump which began the moment any group of capitalists decided to switch their funds away from investment.

The closest Keynes came to providing a remedy to this problem was to talk in terms of "Socialization of investment" with the state taking control from private capitalists.

But he was too committed to capitalism to draw the conclusion that Marx had drawn that crisis would reoccur with clockwork regularity until a revolution did away with the whole system of the many producing for the sake of the profits of the few.

Nevertheless, Keynes did see something that Clinton and Blair have chosen to ignore—that you cannot deal with the crises of the present system simply by "lifting the burdens" off big business.

Such policies won't produce prosperity for any but a rich few—on the contrary, they can only increase the suffering created by the system.

by CHRIS HARMAN

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# Does Russia mean that planning can't work?

## The socialist reply to capitalist chaos

by PAUL McGARR

**"WE HAVE to accept the market. Planning and nationalisation were tried in the old USSR and Eastern Europe and didn't work."**

**This argument was put time and again by those in the Labour leadership in Britain and Ireland to ditch any commitment to public ownership. Is it true?**

IN FACT Russia was not socialist. It was a state capitalist economy—which is why it collapsed.

Russia had stopped being in any way socialist by the late 1920s.

The workers' revolution of 1917 had been slowly strangled. The revolution failed to spread to other countries. Russia was also crippled by the intervention of foreign armies.

As a result democratic workers' councils ceased to exist, production plummeted and millions were plunged into starvation.

Amid the scarcity a bureau-

cracy of officials and managers, with Stalin at their head, began to grow.

These new rulers claimed to stand in the tradition of 1917, while the society they ran was the exact opposite of everything the revolution had been about.

They talked of planning, but it was never a planned economy. It never attempted to match what was produced to what people needed.

It was, rather, a bureaucratic command economy in which the new ruling class used its control of the state to subordinate everything in society to its needs.

The bureaucrats lived, like the rich and rulers in the West, in luxury, while the majority struggled to survive.

### Machine

The rulers were determined to maintain their power. They feared that unless they could build up a powerful military machine they would be crushed by foreign rivals.

This had to be done whatever the cost or chaos elsewhere in the economy or the misery inflicted on ordinary people.

Nothing could be left to chance, so the process had to be run centrally and bureaucratically.

Stalin argued, "We are 50 or 100 years behind the advanced countries. We must make good this lag in ten years. Either we do it or they crush us."

It was the same logic that drives

every boss, capitalist corporation and government in the West—compete or die.

That is why the USSR and its copies in Eastern Europe are best described as state capitalist.

But this strategy succeeded, in the rulers' terms, for a long period.

People make jokes about Russian cars or consumer goods but you don't hear many jokes about Kalashnikov rifles or MIG 21 warplanes.

The bureaucracy pushed through, in the space of just 30 years, an industrialisation that had taken 300 years in one of the first countries to industrialise, Britain.

This could only be done if the mass of population were intensely exploited. It was this that lay behind the especially brutal nature of the regime.

It caused millions to starve to death in the countryside, drove down workers' living standards, denied all freedom, persecuted national minorities and terrorised, locked up or shot anyone who resisted.

The collapse that eventually overtook the USSR in the mid-1980s was not a result of a failure of planning, but a failure of this repressive system to work in the way it had done in the past.

For the rulers of the USSR were trying to militarily match the US, an economy twice as large.

The resulting strain and dislocation to the economy were enormous and built up over the years. It is this that lay behind the collapse.



IN RUSSIA (top) Stalin drove the working class to compete with the West. Today democratic planning could feed everyone—but the market won't

## Fighting Stalinism and the market

THE OLD regimes in the USSR and Eastern Europe failed, and no genuine socialist mourned their passing or wants them back.

*Socialist Worker* was founded by those who fought against Stalinism. We always insisted the USSR and Eastern Europe were not socialist and supported every workers' struggle against the rulers of those states.

That is why we have always used the slogan, "Neither Washington nor Moscow"

**But we reject the idea that the market is the only other way of running society.**

For a start those who tell us the market is the only alternative never point to how the market devastates people's lives, from Latin America to Africa.

Nor do they point out that in the USSR and Eastern Europe the turn to the market, far from improving things, has made things worse still.

It has brought soaring prices,

food shortages, unemployment and wage cuts.

It has brought crime, chaos and, in many areas of the old USSR, civil war. It has brought the growth of fascist organisations and brutal wars like Chechnya.

The market offers no solution at all to the problems facing the mass of people.

### Organise

A simple example is that more than enough food is produced in Russia to feed everyone. The problem is the distribution, storage and transport of it.

*That could easily be solved, but not by the market.*

It would need workers to organise the collection of food and for them to build storage facilities and improve transport links.

That of course would require a plan—in which ordinary people put their needs, not those of the rulers, at the centre of economic activity.

Some people argue that society is simply too complex to be

planned like this.

But there is a vast amount of planning already in Western capitalism.

A company like Ford gets raw materials from around the globe and coordinates the labour of tens of thousands of workers in different countries to produce a car. Ford has detailed plans stretching years in advance.

**The problem is that under capitalism such plans are not aimed at satisfying people's needs, but about rival firms competing for profits.**

This anarchic competition leads to enormous waste and chaos, with periodic slumps, mass unemployment, poverty and misery.

We need to build on the elements of planning in capitalism, but suppress the competition for profit so that workers can plan to meet their needs.

This is not the same as old style nationalisation.

Those industries had little democratic control—workers didn't decide what was needed.

State appointed bureaucrats

behaved just like the managers of private firms. Profit, competition and exploiting workers remained the central aims.

Socialist planning is about workers collectively deciding what they should produce and how—and discussing with other workers how to coordinate resources to satisfy social needs.

This kind of democratic planning could not come into existence overnight or without a whole series of battles, arguments and setbacks.

The starting point would have to be

for workers to seize control of

the factories, the mines, farms and offices and to break the power of our bosses and rulers.

### Palaces

Some things could then be done quickly. Under-used office blocks and the mansions of the super-rich could be turned into flats—solving homelessness at a stroke.

All the wasted resources that go to arms spending and advertising could be quickly switched to producing things people needed.

To fully coordinate production across a whole country or interna-

tionally will not be done overnight.

But over time more and more aspects of the market could be subordinated to conscious democratic planning.

There would be a host of unforeseen difficulties.

But the process would be one in which millions of workers could use their enormous energies and abilities to solve the problems and begin planning to fully satisfy human needs.

This is the socialist answer to both the bureaucratic command economy of the old USSR and the market we are so often told is the only alternative.



# A 200 year old reactionary's modern allies

At a recent symposium in Trinity College Dublin a large number of academics from the Unionist supporter Conor Cruise O'Brien to the Derry novelist and poet, Seamus Deane paid tribute to Edmund Burke.

Burke, who died two hundred years ago, is probably best known for his book "Reflections on the Revolution in France" in which he denounces the French Revolution.

Throughout his life Burke was a lifelong opponent of democracy and a staunch believer in Empire. He bitterly opposed any attempt at extending the franchise in Britain beyond a tiny minority of landed aristocrats.

He began his career as a lawyer, becoming a liberal MP for Bristol. But like many other liberals such as the poet William Wordsworth he was terrified by the revolution in France. His book gave an intellectual credence to every reactionary who hated the first sightings of democracy in Europe.

No wonder Margaret Thatcher was fond of claiming him the founder of modern conservatism.

So why is Edmund Burke in vogue with such a wide range of Irish intellectuals?

One reason has to do with the current peace process and new enthusiasm for constitutional Irish nationalism among Irish intellectuals.

## Enthusiasm

Burke wrote extensively about the need for Catholic emancipation and his reasons for doing so are interesting.

At the end of the 18th century Ireland was changing rapidly with a new commercial and industrial class, of Catholic and Protestants, fast emerging. Yet the Penal Laws still excluded Catholics (and Presbyterians) from most areas of public life.

The Dublin parliament, famously corrupt, was dominated by a landowning Protestant ascendancy while the London parliament made no effort to end oppression.

Inspired by the French revolution, the United Irishmen arose to challenge this state of affairs.

Many of its leaders were Protestants who believed that the power of the aristocracy could not be removed by mere reform.

When they saw that France, the great Catholic power of Europe, was to the fore in the fight for democracy they overcame their own prejudices and took up the fight for equal rights for Catholics.

Although both Burke's

mother and wife were Catholics, and he was often suspected of putting up priests who fled the French revolution, his ultimate concern was not Catholic emancipation but preserving the empire.

Burke saw the Pope as a bastion against the ideas of the French revolution. Other members of the British establishment had similar views.

This is why, for example, they set up Maynooth college in the 1790s to help spread ideas which were a bulwark against the French Revolution.

## Excluded

Burke also believed that if Catholics continued to be excluded from parliament, it might lead loyal Catholics to revolt against the empire.

He therefore argued that the granting of Catholic emancipation would strengthen the empire by bringing the reactionary leaders of this community on to its side.

In a similar way, constitutional nationalist of today claim that incorporating middle class Catholics into the state in Northern Ireland will increase stability.

Seamus Deane, for example, claims that "we are rehearsing, particularly in the North of Ireland, many of the political issues that Burke identified two hundred years ago: the union, or the possibility of the union with Britain; sectarian rule by a Protestant ascendancy group; the relation of Britain to that group; the need to win the affection of Irish Catholics for the British system by the exercise of justice rather than coercion".

Yet while socialists welcome peace in the North, any change that comes from all-party talks will only be about modernising sectarianism. It could only set up co-operation between two groups of right wing politicians who maintain communal competition in order to tie their supporters even more to the rule of multi-national capital.

Burke's chief contribution was to hinder progress in Europe -- he believed that democracy would spell the end of civilisation.

It's sad to see those who want a better future lowering their horizons and limiting the possibilities to that of a two hundred year old reactionary.

# A burning sense of injustice

"TWENTY THOUSAND families are wriggling together like worms in a putrid mass in horror filled one roomed tenements", wrote Sean O Casey about Dublin in 1913.

This burning sense of class injustice never left the playwright. When he wrote *Juno and the Peacock* in 1924, the Irish Free State was born but little had changed for the slum dwellers. Throughout the play O Casey rages at the hypocrisy and petty class snobbery that dominates the new state.

## Heroism

There is little to rival *Juno and the Peacock* for its sense of working life. The heroism of working class women, the wasters who live for the next drink, the great humour that pervades working class life are all there.

So too is some sharp political comment. As the play was written, a major split was developing in the unions with Jim Larkin setting up the Workers Union of Ireland to combat the rising bureaucracy.

In *Juno and the Peacock*, the new bureaucrats appear as Christy Devine, who thinks only about how his salary of £350 a year can set him up for a respectable mar-

riage. While he still gives lectures on the 'progressive role of Labour', he wants nothing to do with Mary Boyle when he discovers she is pregnant.

There is also a bitterness and a cynicism in the play that is sometimes passed off as a tragi-comic farce. In fact, it results directly from O Casey's politics and the circumstances in which the play was written.

O Casey never came to grips with the need for the working class movement to take a lead in fighting the empire. Instead he saw this fight as a diversion from class issues.

He denounced Connolly, for example, for joining the 1916 rebellion, claiming that he had 'stepped from the narrow bye-way of socialism on to the broad highway of Irish nationalism'.

In *Juno and the Peacock*, there is a marvellous scene where the republicans drag an informer away from the tenements while the furniture removals men recover their goods which has not been paid for.

## Image

It is a great image of the irrelevance of republicanism to the social concerns of the working class during the Civil War.

But the play also presents the republicans as being responsible for 'turning hearts



## Journal

# Ideas to shake the system

AS THE SOCIETY we live in stumbles from crisis to crisis, there has never been a greater need for clear socialist ideas. That need is filled by two publications from the sister organisations of the SWP in America and in Britain.

The first issue of the International Socialist Review from the American ISOC covers a whole number of important issues for the left.

The lead article by Ahmed Shawkil looks at the history of the Chinese Communist party and shows how far removed it is from the revolutionary tradition of Marxism.

## Traditon

The real Marxist tradition is defended first by an interview with Tony Cliff on the 50th anniversary of the development of the theory of State capitalism.

Cliff recalls how the principle of socialism from below and workers having power from themselves were the guiding light as he wrote State Capitalism in Russia, at a time when the rest of the left looked to Russia as some sort of socialist state.

Also the review uncovers the history of "The Communist Party and Black liberation in

the 1930s"

The article shows how the CP was the first organisation to take up a principled stand in the fight against racism and how successfully it fought for black rights in often difficult circumstances.

The latest issue of the International Socialism from the SWP in Britain looks at the situation in Britain after the Labour landslide.

John Rees argues that there is a prospect for a major struggle as the mood for change that brought Labour to power faces the reality of a right wing Blair government.

An article by Alex Callinicos "Europe the mounting crisis" shows that the transition to a united Europe offers little benefit for workers; but is likely to lead to battles as the bosses use the build up to EMU to attack workers.

The journal also includes articles on the politics of the poet Shelley; Mexico and the Zapatista rebellion, and a look at the life and work of the revolutionary psychologist Voloshinov.

Both journals provide a wide range of information and argument that help understand an ever changing system; and both should be required reading for everyone interested in changing that system.

Both journals are available from SW Books POBox 1648, Dublin 8.

## Letters

Send letters to PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

# We don't look after our own needy

I would like to put forward my opinion on your article entitled "Fight Racism." in your Socialist Worker newsletter.

Yes, it certainly does look like there is an amount of racism in Ireland, especially in Dublin. I myself see it every day, and I fully support any anti-racism group wholeheartedly

However, after saying that I would not like people to get the wrong feeling and become judgemental on the people of Ireland.

After all, the people in this country "Won't look after their own needy". You can see examples of this any-time you see children sleeping rough on the streets; to beg for survival; unmarried mothers with young children having to belittle themselves, men, women and children having to belittle themselves just for a night of accommodation.

Surely as citizens of

this country they are entitled to be looked after, surely that is there right.

Yes, I am against racism at any level. But in my opinion, what is being referred to as racism is mainly, anger on the people's part. This anger is having to see our own country people suffering humiliation and indignation

just to see the bare essentials in life-

So in order to help these refugees from abroad we must first learn how to look after our own needy and in doing so we can then help the refugees without any fear of any negative repercussions which could be interpreted as racism.

—Dominic Forte, Dublin

# A tribute to Noel Browne

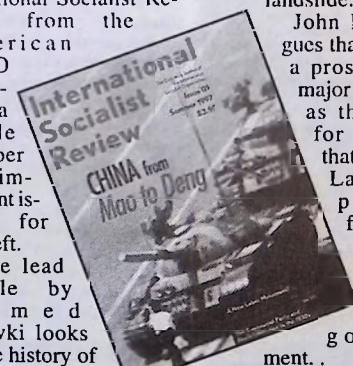
Dear Editor

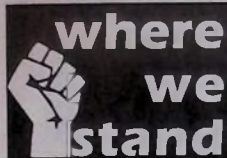
Thank you for publishing the tribute to that great socialist Noel Browne who died in May. Some obituaries of Browne suggested that his views had mellowed with old age and that what he stood for had been achieved.

The truth is he recognised the need to fight all his life. Only last year on a trip to Galway Noel Browne came up to the Saturday paper sale of Socialist Worker.

He was delighted to meet us and congratulated the SWP on the stand in the Divorce campaign. He bought a copy of the paper and told us to "keep up the good work". Although he escaped from poverty himself Noel Browne never forgot the class nature of Irish society.

—Kevin Mannerings, Galway.





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

**FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM**  
The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

The courts army and police are there to defend the interests of the capitalist class not to run society in a neutral fashion.

To destroy capitalism, workers need to smash the state and create a workers' state based on workers' councils.

**FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:**  
The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships.

These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class.

We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

**FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION**

We oppose all forms of oppression which divide and weaken the working class. We are for full social, economic and political equality for women.

We stand for: free contraception and free, legalised abortion and the right to divorce; the complete separation of church and state, an end to church control over schools and hospitals; an end to discrimination against gays and lesbians; an end to racism and anti-traveller bigotry.

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

**FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:**

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state.

The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states.

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

**FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:**

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism—not to end it.

We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

**FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:**

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

# SIPTU Vice presidential election

# Vote for a fighting union

**CAROLANN DUGGAN is standing for the Vice presidency of SIPTU, to help take the union back for its members.**

When Carolann stood in the election for the Presidency of SIPTU, she got 38,000 votes. (over 42 per cent of the vote) and caused a major shock in SIPTU.

Her votes were a protest against the social partnership deals which have delivered nothing for ordinary workers during the Celtic Tiger boom.

Carolann Duggan's new campaign is already touching a chord within SIPTU. Over two hundred workers turned up to a union meeting in Waterford to ensure she got on the ballot paper. The attendance was far bigger than any other meeting which nominated rival

candidates.

The main establishment candidate is Des Geraghty who has given full backing to Partnership 2000.

## Establishment

Geraghty's supporters claim that he wants change in the union. But he has not spoken out against undemocratic practices that have given the union bureaucrats so much power.

Their most recent manoeuvre is to propose a change in the union's rules so that five branch's nominations rather than one will be required for anyone who wants to



run for the posts of union leaders.

Many already see it as a move to stop candidates like Carolann Duggan ever standing again.

Other candidates in the Vice Presidential race are Noirin Greene, George Hunter and Norman Croke. All of these hold full time positions within SIPTU. Carolann is the only rank and file candidate and wants SIPTU to be a fighting trade Union.

# What Carolann is fighting for

**CAROLANN DUGGAN is campaigning for major changes in SIPTU. Among the issues she is raising are:**

■ **Opposition to social partnership:**

"The electricians are about to win a £33 a week increase. SIPTU should also be submitting local claims to catch up with the growth in the economy. If automatic union recognition is not granted by the end of this year, we should pull out of Partnership 2000."

■ **A Minimum wage of £5 an hour:**

"SIPTU should insist on a £5 per hour minimum wage and mobilise our members to force this demand on the government. We should guarantee all non-union workers that if they join SIPTU, they will get full backing when they fight for this figure. This should be the major prong of our recruitment strategy."

■ **Repeal the Industrial Relations Act**

"SIPTU should be organising a major campaign to get this anti-Union law repealed. We should publicly support groups like the electricians and busworkers who have defied it."

■ **For more union democracy and better representation**

"Our Union representatives are out of touch with factory floor workers. I work in a factory where I earn around £13,000 a year, but there are union leaders who get more than £70,000. How can these people know what it is really like to put up with the conditions we experience?"

"They must listen to workers on the shop floor and take their lead from that. If I am elected I will take the average industrial wage and pay the rest back to the strike fund."

Unlike the other candidates, Carolann is being straight and up front about her politics in her election literature.

"Like the founder of this Union, James Connolly, I am proud to be a socialist and have been a member of the Socialist Workers Party for many years."

"I want to give a voice to the thousands of members who think that the Union has become too close to the employers and the government."

# What SIPTU members think

**SOCIALIST WORKER** spoke to a number of activists in SIPTU to find why they were supporting Carolann.

Noreen, a worker in a Dublin Hospital agrees that SIPTU needs to change.

"We had a problem with rostering before Christmas, and our official said he'd sort it out, that was the last we heard of it. They don't want to listen to us. Our point of view should be of the upmost importance, we have to work there. There is a lot of anger in my job about SIPTU it is like a bomb waiting to go off."

Brian is a shop steward in a Dublin Fire Station and is critical of the leadership of SIPTU.

"It's about time someone took on the bureaucracy, they've forgotten who pays their wages and act like employers. They sold us Partnership deals which gave us pathetic pay rises and slammed us when we tried to reject them. This isn't what the Unions are there for!"

He is also furious about the

Haughey/Ben Dunne affair.

"It's disgusting. In this economic boom the rich are getting richer and they don't care about the poor. The unions should lead a fight about this, the groundswell will come from the people on the ground. At least here's one of the working class standing up against the SIPTU bureaucracy."

## Fight

John, a Shop Steward in Waterford gave the response from his workplace.

"I have known Carolann for years and she is a committed trade unionist who has worked as a rank and file member for years."

The last time she stood, union members had a clear choice between Jimmy Somers, more of the same, and Carolann

Duggan. Not one person in my job voted for Somers."

He is also damning of the leadership's role in selling the Partnership 2000 deal to SIPTU members.

"In this era of Social Partnership nothing has changed, the bosses are continuing to attack our conditions. Des Geraghty used to have a lot of support from members, but he was 100% behind the Partnership as well."

John is organising a meeting of sympathetic shop stewards in his area and says that the reaction has been very positive;

"There has been a tremendous response to Carolann's campaign from ordinary workers, Democracy within SIPTU has been lacking for a long time, we cannot leave it to the likes of Des Geraghty to change it."

If you agree with Carolann's views, join with your fellow workers and join the campaign. Contact Carolann at (051) 70426 or ring 8722682.

# News from the SWP:

**The crisis over the Orange marches may be temporarily defused but it showed where socialists stood on the issue.**

Immediately after, the Orange march was forced through the

Garvaghy Road, the Socialist Workers Party organised a picket of the British Embassy in Dublin.

50 people turned up to voice their anger at short notice.

Meanwhile SWP members have been on the streets throughout Ireland calling for the jailing of corrupt politicians.

Some months ago many considered this demand 'a bit extreme'.

But now the mood has changed decisively.

While Haughey is still at large, Peadar O Grady an SWP member is appearing in court to answer charges arising out of an election meeting

about corruption in Rathmines. Protests against the attempted frame up have been planned for the week before the trial.

SWP's anti-racist work is also well underway.

A new pamphlet **Refugees are welcome here** is being produced and will be distributed in the coming weeks.

Badges and factsheets on the issue are also available.

# SWP branch meetings

- BELFAST**  
Meets every Wed at 8pm  
Morning Star Pub
- CORK**  
Meets every Weds at 8pm in  
Dannehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.
- DERRY**  
Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar  
at 8pm
- DUN LAOGHAIRE**  
Meets every Tues at 8pm in  
Christian Institute
- DUNDALK**  
Meets every Weds at 1pm in  
Dundalk RTC
- ENNISKILLEN**  
Meets every fortnight Contact  
national address for details
- GALWAY**  
Meets every Thursday at 7.30pm  
in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square
- LIMERICK**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in  
Costello's Tavern, Dominick St
- MAYNOOTH**  
Contact 8722682 for details
- WATERFORD**  
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in  
ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.
- DUBLIN NORTH-WEST**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm  
in The Snug, Dorset St.
- DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLCK**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm  
Contact 8722682 for details
- DUBLIN DRIMNAGH**  
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm  
in the Black Forge (formerly the  
Bentley), Drimnagh Rd
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL**  
Meets every Wed at 8pm in  
Conways, Farnell St.
- DUBLIN RATHMINES**  
Meets every Wed at 8pm in  
O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.
- DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL**  
Meets every Thur at 8pm in the  
Trinity Inn, Pearse St.
- DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN**  
Meets Monday at 8pm in the  
Steering Wheel, Clondalkin

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

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

Name .....

Address.....

Phone.....

I want copies of the SWP factsheet ( 20 copies for a £1)

I want Refugees are welcome here badges ( 50p each)

I want the model resolution for the unions on racism

Name .....

Address .....

Phone .....

Return to SWP, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel (01) 872 2682

# news & reports— politics; the unions

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

## Electricians should reject deal

**STRIKE ACTION** has been suspended while the electricians, members of the TEEU, begin balloting on a new pay agreement recommended by their executive and negotiating team.

But a mass meeting called by the Dublin-based shop stewards committee unanimously reject the new offer.

One of them explained:

"It is nowhere near our demand for £33.02 from January. Instead it stretches out the payments, tying our hands until September 1998.

### Paying

"We also know from past experience that the employers will try to avoid paying out as promised. They will hope that many building contracts are finished and workers are let go.

"There is a carrot in the offer, that of incorporating 5 hours travelling time into the weekly rate.

"But this carrot is poisoned, it comes with a proposal to abolish the first hours travel time.

"This is an attempt to divide us. The union has taken years to establish an hour's travel time in Dublin.

"To give it up would be a major set back for everyone.

"Those on 'country jobs', such as the new building site at Intel, might not see the loss immediately. But work for Intel is on a contract basis.

### Predict

"Who can predict where they will be working in five years time? To accept the offer would be to sell the future.

"And why should we be expected to give anything up? The employers are currently making millions out of the boom.

"It is their greed which results in this attempt to divide us and avoid meeting full payment. We have the power to win our demand in full."

Activists in the union are now planning a major campaign to pull out a No vote.

In the longer term the disgraceful behaviour of the union leaders in stifling the fight for the full £33 a week rise, has convinced many that there needs to be major changes in the union.

■ **A special leaflet calling for a No vote has been produced by Socialist Worker supporters. The leaflet is available by writing to P.O. Box 1648 Dublin 8.**

## Civil Service restructuring:

# Flexibility and low pay

**LOW PAY** has been a major issue in the civil service for a number of years with people who start as Clerical Assistants coming out with as little as £130 a week.

After major pressure from the CPSU, discussion on a grade re-structuring deal got underway.

But the last time a proposed deal emerged it was rejected by a majority of the members.

That time there was a major campaign against the deal by an unofficial group who produced a document called, 'The Poisoned Chalice'.

Now the new arbitration findings on the re-structuring deal have been released. Unfortunately, they show little improvement on the last proposals which were rejected.

### Problems

Small pay increases are given and an extra 225 Clerical Officers will become Higher Clerical Officer. But beyond that there are a number of major problems:

#### ■ Flexibility:

Many rejected the last proposals because of the open-ended clauses on flexibility. As one activist said,

"Theoretically, they can get us to do anything they want —

we just don't know what is involved."

The arbitration findings mention the possibility of "real and significant savings from changes envisaged in flexibility".

Some believe that this could be code for getting rid of civil service jobs, leading to the denial subsequent opportunities for promotion.

#### ■ Atypical employment:

The deal opens the door to the widescale use of temporary and part time positions.

"It looks like the civil service of the future will be even worse than today if this deal goes through" said one CPSU member.

#### ■ Low Pay:

Despite all the talk of addressing low pay, the new deal only offers small increases above those rejected last time.

In the past, the union leaders complained that the wages of many civil servants were so low that they could get Family Income Supplement from the same government that was employing them.

But under the new deal a Clerical Officer who is the sole earner and has two children will still find themselves entitled to FIS after five years working for the civil service.

A major campaign is now needed among rank and file civil servants to get the new proposals rejected.

## CPSU

### Ballot for action

**THE decision to re-assign secretaries of former TDs in Dail Eir-eann to civil service positions has caused outrage among CPSU members.**

"I have been working for over ten years and still earn around £12,000 a year. Yet these secretaries are going to be paid over £18,000"

"The rest of us had to apply for our jobs through official channels and sit a civil service exam. I don't see why these people should be treated any differently," one union activist told *Socialist Worker*.

Now a ballot for action up to and including industrial action is taking place among the union members.

## United Technologies is closed - company tries to sneak away

**UNITED TECHNOLOGIES** Automotive plant in Derry closed on Friday 11th July. The date of the closure was not a coincidence. The company used the expected confrontations of the Twelfth weekend to sneak out of the city without any hassle.

The workers were all sent home safely on Thursday 10th and told to report for work on Friday at nine (the shift usually starts at eight).

At that time, no one in Derry was talking about anything other than the Orange march which was planned to go through the city on the Saturday.

The 550 jobs went without a fight. The AEEU union had refused to call a single general meeting of the workers to discuss what should be done about the proposed closure.

Instead, the union machine operated within the plant to maintain discipline among the workers and to scotch any talk of resistance.

### Resistance

While socialists, trade unionists and local community groups all argued for resistance, AEEU official, Uel Adair, travelled with John Hume to America to meet the company president.

Speaking on local radio on the day of the closure he admitted that after meeting the top brass he had "agreed with the company about the need for a speedy closedown".

Hume also admitted that the American trip had not saved a single job. But, he said, the

fact that the President and Vice-President of one of the largest companies in the world sat round the table with us was "a breakthrough in itself".

Hume and Adair are putting all their hopes in the Task Force set up by the company. This includes the city council and IDB as well as UTA's chief shop steward.

At present, this looks like another smokescreen to help the company get the machinery out of the plant without any trouble.

Sadly, the AEEU's line of going along with the closure plans was accepted by the workers.

Leaflets distributed by the local SWP branch advocating an occupation which would use the machinery as a bargaining chip with the company were well received.

Some of the workers said occupation was clearly the only way.

But the demoralisation caused by the AEEU's refusal to even call a general meeting meant that an occupation was never seriously considered.

This was in spite of the fact that workers who occupied the Mollins plant in the city in the 80s managed to save hundreds of jobs.

## Building site safety: Blame the bosses not the workers

**THE NATIONAL** Irish Safety Association has launched an initiative aimed at reducing accidents in construction sites.

Information packs and competitions will be distributed to workplaces and workers will be encouraged to mark on a picture dangerous items on a building site.

This will do little to solve the safety problems in the construction industry.

This campaign suggests that the blame for safety deficiency lies

with workers who are unaware about safety and not with the building bosses who cut corners when it comes to safety.

### Shortcomings

SIPTU Union representative, talking about safety initiatives pointed out a number of shortcomings.

"The state spending

on safety in the construction sites in Ireland is one third of what it is in Britain, it's chronic.

"Even when a builder is found to be in breach of the Health and Safety requirements the courts are far too lenient.

There have been cases in the last year of firms being fined as little as £500 for the death of a worker. The union rep also pointed out that:

"Every impediment is put in the way of the prosecution of an em-

ployer.

"In a building site a scaffold could be collapsing, but there is no one to complain to. Workers must be allowed to elect their own Health and Safety committee and take action to ensure safety on the sites."

It will only be in this way that construction workers make sure that the boom in the building industry doesn't cost any more lives.

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

Protestants  
against the  
Orange Order

—Page five

# Resistance stopped Orange marches

**THE THREAT** of mass resistance to the 12 July parades forced the Orange Order to cancel the Lower Ormeau and Derry marches and re-route parades in Newry and Armagh.

The thousands who took to the streets to confront the RUC and British Army after Drumcree and the huge protest marches showed it would be impossible to force Orange marches through on the 12th.

## Force

Around 10,000 marched in Portadown on Wednesday. Thousands were ex-

pected to join protests in the Lower Ormeau Road in Belfast on Friday night. Hundreds of people at a meeting in Derry last Tuesday night cheered proposals to block the bridge with a mass protest.

RUC Chief Constable, Ronnie Flanagan, claimed that the crucial factor in changing the Orange Order's plans was the threat of republican gun attacks on the Ormeau Road.

A week previously, he used the threat of Loyalist violence as the excuse to force the Drumcree march down the Garvaghy Road.

The reason the Garvaghy Road march was forced through was that Mowlam and Flanagan knew that they couldn't rely on the RUC to stop it.

Last year there was a virtual police mutiny during the Drumcree stand-off.

The RUC stood by as Orangemen gathered at Drumcree.

Then they went on the rampage in Catholic areas, firing thousands of plastic

bullets.

Mowlam's and Flanagan's idea that the RUC are simply caught in the middle completely ignores their blatant sectarianism. Protestors on the Garvaghy Road told of how the RUC moved in at 3.30am to baton them off the road calling them "fenian bastards".

## Opposition

The RUC calculated that they would be able to contain opposition in Nationalist areas, having had years of experience.

The RUC were created to be in the front line of defending the sectarian state in Northern Ireland.

The leaked government discussion documents which emerged after the Garvaghy Road parade went through show that similar views run right to the top of the state structures in Northern Ireland.

The documents revealed that Mowlam, Flanagan, the head of British army in the North and senior officials in the Northern Ireland office assumed that the Orange parade would be forced down.

To get rid of sectarianism here, the RUC and the state it protects would have to be dismantled. Drumcree this year showed that no British government can be expected to challenge or reform that state.

## Reforming

Instead governments work within its structures, taking advice from the same people who have spent their lives attempting to crush all opposition to the state.

It is this which caused the outrage over Drumcree this year. The hopes that a new Labour government might finally face down the Loyalists were completely shattered. The people who protested were quick to draw the connections. As British troops moved into streets on the

edges of the Bogside in Derry on the night after Drumcree, people standing in the street shouted about their role in

Bloody Sunday, when they opened fire on Civil Rights marchers killing 14. "You're still the same. You still back

up those RUC bastards over there. Why don't you get the fuck out of here and leave us alone."

## Two traditions?

**VIRTUALLY EVERY** newspaper and TV report labelled the planned protests as simply a "nationalist numbers game".

This plays into the hands of the Orange bigots who have always tried to demonise opposition to sectarianism as part of a republican or pan-nationalist conspiracy.

Even Loyalists are now claiming that they want "parity of esteem" for their "cultural traditions". On 11th July bonfires this year in parts of Belfast, banners were hung saying "Kill all taigs". Orange "culture" is about sectarianism.

## Opposition

Yet the opposition this year shows signs of challenging the idea of two cultures.

At the Bogside Residents Group meeting on the Tuesday following Garvaghy Road, speakers from the floor were warmly applauded when they told of Protestants they knew who were disgusted by Drumcree. The issue was sectarianism and many speakers argued that any protest should contain a direct appeal to Protestants to join the marches.

Gerard Rice, from the Lower Ormeau Residents Coalition, told the meeting that he is often stopped in the street by Protestants who tell him they are ashamed to be constantly told that the Orange Order represents them.

Increasing numbers of Protestants are fed up with being led by sectarian bigots. Last year's Drumcree standoff exposed the true sectarian face of the Northern state.

These Protestant workers are the key to isolating the Orange Order by depriving it of grassroots support. Many are active in their unions and know that sectarianism simply divides workers for the benefit of the bosses.

To build on this, we need a bigger socialist movement, which identifies the real division in the North as class not religion and looks to uniting

Protestants and Catholics in opposition to sectarianism. In every strike for wages or jobs, in every struggle to defend our hospitals and schools, working class people see their common interests.

Encouraging such struggles at the same time as challenging the sectarianism of the Orange Order is the only way to undermine bigotry.

## Labour backs the bigots

The Portadown Orangemen remained intransigent to the end.

And no wonder. Mowlam's negotiations with them were all on the basis of what concessions she could give them.

She even offered to include GAA matches under the definition of 'tradi-

tional' activities over which the Parades Commission would have the final say.

## Argued

She argued that marching on the Garvaghy Road "would be playing into Sinn Fein's hands," repeat-

ing a standard unionist argument.

This was in line with Blair's speech in Belfast where he promised that the union was "safe in his hands".

This can only encourage the Orange Order and the Loyalist paramilitaries.

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## Nationalist unity is not the answer

The calls for Nationalist unity lead in a different direction.

Gerry Adams, writing in the *Irish News*, said that the way forward now lay in looking to "our allies" in the Southern government.

SDLP and Sinn Fein speakers at many rallies called for "nationalist unity".

Such demands make more difficult the task of winning Protestants to the fight against sectarianism. They can only encourage the mindless attacks on Protestant areas carried out by republican gunmen. What they reveal is that the republican movement has no credible strategy for con-

fronting the Northern Ireland state. Despite calls for a return to the armed struggle during the riots, the republican movement knows that the armed struggle has reached a dead-end. There is no way that shooting a few policemen will achieve a united Ireland.

## Accommodation

The only alternative they present is an accommodation with the same bigots who have been exploiting sectarian divisions for the last 30 years. They consider Protestants as "pro-unionist people" and therefore Paisley and Trimble are their legitimate representatives.

This is what the talks

process is based on. Rather than challenging sectarianism or looking to build a movement North and South which could take up the fight against the Northern state, their nationalist politics mean that they look to nationalist allies in the middle-class SDLP or Fianna Fail in the South.

Fianna Fail has no interest in a fight against imperialism. It is more concerned with running capitalism in the South. There is no sign of a letup in the harassment of republicans by the Garda. Organisers of protests outside the British embassy in protest at Drumcree were also harassed by Gardaí.