

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 50p Solidarity price £1

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HOW CAN WE END THE DRUGS CRISIS PAGES 6-7



Ray Burke took £400,000 in bribes

FIANNA FAIL: THE BROWN ENVELOPE PARTY

THE FORMER Fianna Fail Minister Ray Burke built up a secret account of over £400,000.

This has been uncovered by the Flood Tribunal's investigating team.

Burke was the chairman of Dublin County Council in the mid-eighties when developers made a fortune from the re-zoning of land.

According to James Gogarty, who claims he handed him money in a brown envelope, Burke was in a position to influence planning decisions on Dublin County Council.

Burke was also given money by Rennicks which is owned by Tony O'Reilly who had a major

interest in the deflector television system in rural areas.

Coincidentally, Burke was the Minister in charge of giving out licenses and O'Reilly's company got 20 out of the 27 licenses

Members

Burke was a member of the Fianna Fail/Progressive Democrat government until two years ago.

Today Bertie Ahern pretends there is a new Fianna Fail which has left behind the Haughey era.

But he appointed Burke as a Minister even though he knew about some of his activities.

The reality is that Fianna Fail has been built on the acceptance



What did Ahern know?

of brown envelopes. It is the main party of big business in Ireland and works hard to ensure that its class are looked after.

Everyone knows it engages in corruption.

But then again buying and selling politicians is just what capitalism is all about.

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JAIL THE CORRUPT POLITICIANS

Stop Turkey executing Ocalan

AS SOCIALIST Worker went to press protests took place across Europe over the decision by a Turkish court to sentence Abdullah Ocalan, the leader of the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), to death.

Demonstrations have been reported in Cyprus, Russia, Germany, Italy, Belgium, France and the UK.

The trial of the Kurdish leader was a mockery of justice. There was no jury and his lawyers have

been beaten up and their families threatened.

The government and army whipped up a lynch mob atmosphere against Ocalan.

After the verdict the soldiers in the court stood and sang the national anthem.

If anyone should be in the dock it should be the western backed Turkish state. It has fought a vicious war against the Kurds.

The army has killed over

25,000 Kurds. Troops have destroyed over 4,000 villages and driven three million from their homes.

At each stage the Western powers have backed Turkey which is a member of NATO. In February of this year the US helped Turkey kidnap Ocalan from Kenya.

Protests around the world can stop Ocalan from being the next victim of the brutal Turkish regime.

Amnesty slams Ireland

BERTIE AHERN says Ireland should join Partnership for Peace to help promote human rights around the world.

But now Amnesty International has slammed the Irish state itself for human rights abuses.

The latest annual report devotes a whole page to Ireland.

Amnesty attacked the government's treatment of asylum seekers saying that people were being deported without a full and fair hearing of their applications.

The report also said that the emergency laws passed after the Omagh bombing contravened international standards.

The Offences Against the State (Amendment) Act 1998 under-

mines the right to silence and extends the Garda's right to detain people without charge.

The report also called for independent investigations into state killings like that of Ronan Mac Lochlainn.

He was shot after an attempted armed robbery but gardai later retracted claims that he was killed in a "shoot-out".

Not answering questions for £40,000

FORMER SUPREME Court Judge Hugh O'Flaherty is walking away with a £40,000 a year pension even though he refused to answer questions about the Sheedy affair.

As the Dail takes a long summer holiday the affair is being quietly buried.

A special Oireachtas committee which was set up to investigate the Sheedy case has concluded that it cannot find out any more.

One of the main reasons is that O'Flaherty "had found himself unable to co-operate with the committee".

Yet the former speech writer for Charles J. Haughey is still being rewarded with a pension that is more than most workers earn before they retire.

Lowry's lolly

MOST OF us are lucky to have one bank account—former Fine Gael minister Michael Lowry had nineteen.

No wonder he could never keep track of all those mysterious payments he received.

For instance, in 1991 Lowry obtained a sterling draft from AIB in O'Connell Street, Dublin and lodged it in a Channel Islands bank account. It seems Lowry was allowed to open an offshore account without being given the necessary exchange control clearance.

This happened to be against the law. But then again the AIB and Lowry belong to the better class of people and so expect no punishment.

ROYSTON'S RICHES

NEW FIANNA Fail councillor and Bertie Ahern protégée, Royston Brady is keeping the party traditions alive when it comes to fund raising.

Royston, the manager of the Dun Laoghaire Royal Marine hotel, had a plethora of full colour posters attached to every lamp-post in the North Inner City.

He took ads out in bus stops at a cost of £400 per week per poster.

By holding a number of fund-raising dinners for 'friends in business', Royston was able to raise over £20,000 for his campaign.

This amount does not include private donations which don't have to be declared until next year. But even this fraction of his actual costs works out at over £16 per vote.

Privatisation

Telecom shares are a scam

THE FIANNA Fail/ PD government are using the Telecom floatation to win popular support for a Thatcher style sell off of the public sector.

But it is a massive scam that will cause major headaches in the future.

A million people have registered an interest in Telecom shares.

Many have taken out loans in the hope that a quick profit can help pay off the enormous mortgages they now undertake.

Yet one Dublin banker has already told the *Sunday Business Post* that "in the end most people will be making pennies rather than pounds out of this."

Sharks

The real winners will be the sharks who are already making a fortune.

Telecom Chief Executive, Alfie Kane for example has seen his 'salary' rise from over £100,000 to a staggering £700,000 as a result of the privatisation.

Most small time buyers will sell on their shares to the bigger institutions who will then rip off the telecommunications network.

Eighty percent of applicants who took out loans in one Dublin bank to buy shares say they hope to sell them a week later.

The government is also using the share mania to allow its rich friends get hold of other key state assets.

Among the upcoming targets for privatisation are:

COILLTE: This forest company is due to be sold off for around £400 million which is its present market value.

But Coillte owns 6 percent of the land mass of Ireland and that land and the trees on it are worth at least £1,000 million.

Instead of these resources being used properly in the future to secure the environment, logging companies will take over the company.

STATE BANKS: McCreevy is planning to sell off the Industrial Credit Corporation, the ACC and TSB banks.

Again a fortune will be made by a tiny few.

LUAS: This was supposed to answer Dublin's traffic problems.

But the FF Minister O'Rourke has already said that big business will be allowed to cherry pick the profitable city centre section.

No restraint on profits but there's...

A tax bonanza for the bosses

IRISH COMPANIES are enjoying a tax bonanza as they pay only a tiny fraction of their profits in tax.

Top of the list is the hugely profitable Elan Corporation in Athlone.

Last year it paid out a mere 2.6% on its £150.3 million profits in tax.

They year before they paid less than 1 per cent.

Elan uses a particularly elaborate scam to avoid tax, claiming that it has to fund a considerable amount of research for new drugs.

But they are not the only



Telecom boss Alfie Kane

This will mean higher fares and a run down service in outlying areas.

Fianna Fail are hoping to silence opposition to privatisation by giving workers

share options.

But if the unions were fighting for decent pay rises many workers would not be looking for shares as a way around wage restraint.

THE BRADY BUNCH

NOT ALL is well in the Fianna Fail camp in Donaghmede, in Dublin.

While Martin Brady TD and Senator Liam Fitzgerald both managed to get elected during the local elections, their supporters seemed to spend most of the campaign attacking each other.

This reached a crescendo when one of Fitzgerald's canvassers was caught by Brady's team ripping down Brady's posters.

The man involved, who is a close relation of a senior FF official in Dublin North East, and claimed to be acting on instructions.

Scuffles broke out, the gardai were called and various charges and counter charges of assault look likely to end up in the courts.

Staggering

Only the two main banks had to pay a tax rate of more than 28%.

But they are making a staggering £2 million a day in profit.

The union leaders claim

what we think

Hard right put pressure on Belfast Agreement

THE HARD right wing of Unionism is increasingly setting the North's political agenda.

Although Northern Ireland voted to accept the Belfast agreement, rejectionist Unionists who talked about the 'will of the majority' in the past have done everything to scupper it.

Drumcree has become their focal point for organising. Even after the murders of the Quinn family last year, and Elizabeth O'Neill this year, they still insist on their 'right' to humiliate

local Catholics. Behind all the talk about 'Protestant civil rights' there has been a serious terror campaign which has involved over 150 pipe bomb attacks on Catholic families.

Yet all the focus about de-commissioning has been placed on the IRA.

It did not take much to get Trimble to cave in to this pressure. He has taken anti-agreement unionist Jeffrey Donaldson back on his negotiating team and has told the British and Irish governments that unless Sinn Fein gives more than

was promised in the Agreement he is willing to see it collapse.

The latest crisis in Northern Ireland shows that genuine peace will never be forged from a deal done by politicians who rely on a sectarian base for support.

The Belfast Agreement itself institutionalised sectarianism. Its aim was to replace an armed conflict with a competition between the two communities for scarce resources.

Catholics and Protestants were encouraged to wage an economic war against each other to see who would get jobs or grants. This is why sectarian feeling has actually intensified in the year since the Belfast Agreement was concluded.

Real unity between Catholic and Protestants can only be forged in a class struggle against all shades of capitalism. It will take socialist politics to bring that type of class unity to the fore.

Out proud and fighting



On the 30th anniversary of the Stonewall riots, over a thousand people attended the biggest Gay Pride march for a number of years.

Victims of a sick society

SUICIDE IS the biggest killer of young men between 18 and 25. Last year 504 people took their own life.

It was a dramatic indictment of the Celtic Tiger society.

Patricia Casey, a psychiatrist with close connections to SPUC, claims that the rise in suicide is caused by a decline in religious belief and a confusion about men's roles.

But the figures show that some of the highest rates of suicide occur in rural areas where religious beliefs and traditional roles are stronger than in cities.

There is more suicide in country areas of Cork and Galway than there are in the cities. Similarly counties like Kerry and Donegal which voted heavily against

abortion and divorce also show high rates of suicide.

In rural areas thousands of young men are being uprooted from their traditional status as owners of viable family farms and are being offered little by way of compensation.

In the cities the message is that you have never had it so good under the Celtic Tiger - yet for many life is sheer misery.

The culture of the Celtic Tiger is shallow and offers little meaning to many. But the solution is not to go back to the Church run Ireland that helped produced some of the highest rates of admission to mental hospitals in Europe.

It is to challenge the alienation that is caused by a system which denies the majority a control over their own lives.

Covering up NATO's guilt

NATO and the newspapers which backed the war are using the Kosovan tragedy for their own ends.

They throw out widely varying figures on mass graves and torture with little regard to the truth.

During the war they claimed that 100,000 Albanian men were missing or murdered. Just after NATO went in David Gowan, a British government spokesperson on war crimes, claimed that "It's very difficult to give an overall number but what's clear is that the picture is far worse than we thought."

But instead of a genuine attempt to chart suffering and pre-

vent its repetition there has been a ghoulish attempt to justify NATO's own war crimes.

Undoubtedly, thousands of people - Kosovan, Serbian and Gypsy - have died. The Serbian government were responsible for perhaps thousands of those killings. But they were not the only ones. NATO not only butchered people with cluster bombs but it also helped to create the climate that accelerated the terror against Kosova's Albanians.

Brutal

The scale of the killing soared after 24 March, the day NATO began bombing. The more brutal NATO became the more Serbian extremists could pretend their violence was justified.

Since the war ended, the KLA have also engaged in an orgy of killing. According to Human Rights Watch, the KLA has carried out a series of abductions against ethnic Serbians and tortured and murdered them.

KLA commanders have also embarked on a murderous campaign to purge their own ranks.

NATO is now using this orgy of violence to present itself as a neutral peacekeeper. Just as colonial powers in the nineteenth century used to claim that they had to carry a 'white man's burden', NATO is claiming that it must bring humanitarian values to the Balkans.

It will use the violence to disarm the KLA and establish itself as the sole military ruler of the area.

NATO's war was never motivated by a concern for human

rights. The terror tactics of the Milosevic regime are also to be found in countries that belong to NATO.

The British Independent journalist Robert Fisk responded to the stories about torture chambers in Kosovo by writing,

"I have visited another identical police station with a torture basement. That police force was engaged in the burning of villages and the murder of their ethnic inhabitants.

"But readers who fear another NATO bombing campaign can relax. This police station was in Diyakir and the country whose police force is engaged in torture and murder is called Turkey.

"And Turkey is a member of NATO, supporting our righteous war against the Serbs."

RANK AND FILE CONFERENCE

THE ALTERNATIVE TO SOCIAL PARTNERSHIP

"P2000 has been a disaster for workers. Super profits for the rich while workers are constantly asked for extra productivity.

Yet despite this the union leaders want to take us into another partnership deal. We are in a stronger position than ever before to break from wage restraint, but we need to get organised.

I encourage every trade unionist to come to the conference."

—CAROLANN DUGGAN

**Saturday September 11th,
Teachers Club, Parnell Square, Dublin**

Organised by the Rank & File Solidarity Network

To get full details of the conference return this form to
105 O'Hogan Road, Dublin 10.

Name

Union

Position (shop steward etc.)

Address

Tel. No.

Housing crisis...Housing crisis...Housing crisis...Housing

St Ultans shows the way to win

TENANTS at St Ultan's Flats in Dublin are on the point of scoring a spectacular victory.

Not only have they defied a court order to evict them but they forced Dublin Corporation to take the flats into public ownership.

The fifty flats could soon be used to house the homeless rather than providing more office space for speculators.

The key has been a 24 hour picket that began as a fight to resist the eviction of Karl Byrne. It became a rallying point for people all over Dublin who wanted to put an end to the housing crisis.

From the start the Housing Action Campaign demanded that the flats had to be taken into public ownership to protect the tenant's rights.

Responded

Hundreds of people responded to the call for solidarity with the tenants in St. Ultans by joining the 24 hour picket line, donating money and food, taking up petitions and even just honking their horns as they drove by the protest.

After just two weeks Dublin Corporation agreed to buy the flats for £3.6 million.

Essie, the 76 year old tenant most adamant about staying, talked to *Socialist Worker* about the "incredible" response they had received. "It's unbelievable how all the young people have come here to fight our cause" she said.

A seasoned fighter herself, having conducted an 8 year rent strike in the 70s to win a life-time lease, she believes it's "the best campaign I've ever seen - it's brought everyone together. All the people passing, even foreigners, are supporting us."

Notice

Praising the leading role of the local Socialist Workers Party branches, she said "you've brought the notice of the world to what's going on. Other people won't be afraid now to do the same thing".

Bridget, who is another of the tenants who fought to keep her home, was delighted about standing up to the bullying developers. "The landlord was fuming and that made me feel good. He couldn't even get into his own building".



Local residents standing up to the developers in St. Ultans

She feels that the huge support for the campaign has been due to the fact that other people would like to do the same thing with their own landlords. "It has hit home with a lot of people that 'I could be next'."

Local people who have thrown great energy into

maintaining the campaign have remarked on the effect that the campaign is having on the whole community.

Liz, who lives in the neighbouring Corporation flats, told *Socialist Worker* about the impact it has had on her personally as a gay woman in the area. "It's the

first time I've felt I had common ground with my neighbours" she said, "I always felt isolated but sitting on the picket line we've talked about abortion and women's rights and I was so delighted to find that lots of people agree with me on these issues".

Liz explained that she could now see the "great potential" that exists for the community to come together to fight.

She was enthusiastic about keeping the fight going even after victory in St Ultans has been won. "People here feel that they

have a voice now," she said.

Long hours on the picket line have done little to dampen people's enthusiasm for the fight.

Many are now confident that the same tactic of direct action can be employed in other areas to fight for decent housing.

Pickets

One local woman, Ann, spoke for many others when she told *Socialist Worker*, "If there are pickets in other areas we will definitely be along.

Grace Lally of the Housing Action Campaign stressed that the campaign would not end with victory in St Ultans.

Action groups are being set up in other areas to continue the fight.

"The days when the property speculators had it all their own way are over" said Grace Lally.

Stop evictions in Drimmagh

THE HOUSING Action Campaign is now fighting to stop evictions at the Landsdowne Valley Apartments in Drimmagh.

The three blocks of flats have been gradually run down by millionaire owner Tommy Quinn, and tenants have been taken to court and given notice to quit.

The ten flats still being occupied include two flats with women and children.

One woman, who has lived there nine years, has nowhere else to go and has been living with the stress of having a notice to quit served on her by the courts in January.

But these remaining tenants are now organising to prevent anyone else from having to leave and to demand the Corporation buy the flats and restore the buildings.

Bernice Sweeny who began the campaign, spoke to *Socialist Worker*: "The way we are being treated is absolutely disgraceful. I was determined not to be evicted.

"I have nowhere else to go in any case and I got great encouragement from seeing the campaign around St. Ultans. So I thought why not make a stand."

A petition has been launched by the Housing Action Campaign to demand the Corporation buy the flats and it is gaining widespread local

support.

The campaign is making the point that victory would not just mean security for the tenants, but sends a signal to landlords wanting to push up rents. It is the next step in winning affordable housing for all.

A member of the committee of the nearby local residents association expressed her support, pointing out that ever since Quinn bought the apartments the quality of service and attention to them has declined to the detriment of the whole area.

A public meeting has been organised locally, with speakers from the St. Ultans campaign coming to share their experience, with lobbies and pickets to follow.

what we think

SOCIALISTS PLAYED a central role in the struggle at St Ultans.

They showed that direct action rather than waiting around for elections is the key to winning.

The recent local elections were dominated by the issue of housing.

Rising house prices and rents, alongside a massive shortage and low standards of accommodation, are the most urgent concerns of many workers in the Celtic Tiger today.

Problem

But while politicians bluster about the sheer magnitude of the problem little has been done except to set up committees to assess the situation.

Socialists have direct and simple solutions to the crisis. The government should tax the rich to fund a massive building programme of local authority houses.

In the same way that the state forces people to sell their land for railway lines, developers should be forced to sell land in the city to the local authorities at use value prices.

There is a huge opportunity to provide secure jobs for people seeking work by employing direct labour teams to carry out the building programme.

The private rented sector should be strictly regulated. Nobody is allowed to put a car on the road unless it passes strict safety standards.

Equally, landlords should have to meet certified minimum standards before they can rent out their properties and prices should be regulated by a rent control authority.

The campaign at St. Ultans has shown that when people get organised to fight for these demands the politicians can be forced to find the money and the will to grant them.

Eamonn McCann

Dudley's muddle

RUTH DUDLEY Edwards has made what she believes is a major discovery about the Orange Order—that when you meet some Orangemen close-up and in friendly circumstances, they aren't such a bad bunch.

In *The Faithful Tribe*, Ms. Dudley Edwards examines the history of the Order since its foundation in 1795 and unearths evidence that, along the way, there have always been decent sorts involved. From this she concludes that the Order has been demonised by Nationalist commentators who have managed in turn to demonise Orangeism to the world.

She writes with the zeal of the convert (she's a Dublin-born cradle-Catholic) and with a view to influencing thinking on current Northern crises, particularly the rows over disputed Orange marches.

Her discovery that all Orangemen aren't devils all the time isn't the blinding revelation she seems to imagine. She writes in tones of wonderment of the days when Orange and Hibernian bands loaned one another drums, or when Catholic farmers and neighbours in the Orange Order helped one another out at harvest, and suggests that knowledge of this dimension of members of the Order has, in effect, been suppressed by Nationalist propagandists.

If truths like this were known, she argues, nobody could present an Orange march along Garvaghy Road as inherently hostile to the Catholic people of the area.

Syrupy writings

But folksy tales of this sort have been part of the currency of political and literary discourse for many years. Although often exaggerated in the more syrupy writings of Northern nostalgics, they are not entirely inaccurate. But neither are they the point.

The fact that individual members of the Orange Order are the sorts who would have the kettle on before a friendly visitor had finished knocking the door tells us nothing about the role of the Orange Order in history or of the significance of its implacable refusal now even to break breath with Catholics through whose districts they propose to parade.

In much the same way, the fact that there are decent men in the Catholic priesthood doesn't make us shift our opinion of the Catholic Church as a thoroughly reactionary institution which continues to play an evil role in Irish society.

Orangeism presents itself—and is accepted in this light throughout Ms. Dudley Edwards—as the authentic and defining expression of the "culture" of the Protestant people. The implication is that it's natural and inevitable for Protestants of all classes to bind themselves together, and to define their interests as separate from and contradictory to the interests of Catholics.

There is no space in this perspective for the many thousands of Protestant socialists and trade unionists who have struggled over the years to make common cause with Catholic workers against the common class enemy.

Nor, indeed, for poets like Louis McNeice, playwrights like Sam Thompson, or musicians like Van Morrison, all of whom are identifiable products of the Protestant backgrounds they came from, but expressing a culture which, far from being contained within the narrow ground of Orangeism, opens out to and draws sustenance from the wider world. Her cultural commentary is phillantine.

The idea that any community should express itself in politics solely by reference to its religion is the very essence of sectarianism.

This was the ideological fountainhead of Unionism throughout the Stormont years, structured into the ruling party through the affiliation at the highest level of the Orange Order.

The Order thus provided the organising principle behind Unionism's construction of a political slum in which working class people were kept powerless and pitched against one another while land-owners, employers and elements of the professional classes held a monopoly of political power, enforced by repressive law and their own private police force.

Cherry-picking history in order to rehabilitate the Orange Order, Ms. Dudley Edwards invites us to believe that this past wasn't such a bad place after all. There's no future in that sort of thinking.

Stop New Labour's attacks on single parents

NEW LABOUR wants to put mothers under 18 years old who are not living with their families into hostels.

They will be denied any right to get on the waiting list for Housing Executive flats and houses.

Labour's approach to young mothers is to punish them by attacking their benefits and rights to housing. But their own research, just published by the Social Inclusion Unit (SIU), shows that the young women most likely to have a baby are those with the fewest prospects for a decent future.

Frank and open sex education, easy access to safe and effective contraception and emergency birth control like the morning after pill can help teenagers come to terms with their emerging

sexuality.

The SIU's own report shows forcing them into modern versions of the Magdalen Laundries is not the solution.

Appealing to Tory family values and moralising at teenagers will not reduce pregnancies.

Highest

The UK has one of the highest rates of teenage pregnancy in Europe and the North has the highest rates of teenage births in the UK. Yet over the last 20 years the number of births to teenagers in the North has fallen by a quarter from 2,100 in 1976 to 1,500 in 1996.

In Britain at present one in three of teenage pregnancies ends in abortion.

There are no figures



available about the abortion rate among teenagers in Northern Ireland since the government refuses to make it legal here.

Labour's new panic is all about promoting 'family values'.

The overall number of teenage births has dropped, but whereas in 1976 over three quarters of the

teenagers were married, in 1996 only a tiny fraction, less than five percent, were married.

So, the problem for New Labour isn't teenage births, it is unmarried teenagers giving birth.

Home Secretary Jack Straw has said that single mothers should give their babies up for adoption. This

is reminiscent of how unmarried mothers were treated in Ireland right up to the 1970's.

These attitudes led to the Magdalen Laundries, Good Shepherd homes and Goldenbridges in the Republic of Ireland.

We should oppose their re-appearance in Northern Ireland.

Pat Finucane

RUC collusion and cover up

New developments in the investigation of Pat Finucane's murder have highlighted the cooperation between the RUC and loyalist murder gangs and exposed the cover-up of the murder.

Pat Finucane was murdered by the loyalist Ulster Defence Association (UDA) at his home in North Belfast in February 1989.

He was a prominent lawyer who defended many high-profile republicans.

His family have consistently demanded an independent inquiry into his death, claiming that the RUC and British Army were involved

Murder

Two days after a special BBC Panorama programme last week on the murder of Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson, the RUC charged a loyalist Billy Stobie with the murder. But Stobie revealed that he was an informer for the RUC's Special Branch at the time of Finucane's murder. He claims that he told the RUC five days before that a murder of a 'prominent republican' was to take place.



Pat Finucane was murdered at his home in 1989

Stobie supplied the guns used in the murder and phoned his RUC handlers on the evening of the killing to tell them who had the guns.

The killers, Stobie says, were all well-known to the police and could have easily been stopped. Instead, the police did nothing.

A year later Stobie was arrested on arms charges.

When the charges went to court, Stobie threatened to reveal what he had told the police about the Finucane murder and the charges were dropped.

His evidence shows that the RUC had information about the guns and the killers responsible since at least 1990 and have never acted on it.

The UDA gang who murdered Pat Finucane also included

the most senior British agent at the time, Brian Nelson.

Nelson worked for MI5 and regularly received files on republican targets from the RUC and British Army.

He was also involved in major shipments of guns to loyalist paramilitaries. Nelson supplied the information on Finucane to the UDA killers.

Collusion

In recent months, Chief Constable, Ronnie Flanagan claimed that he was unaware of allegations of collusion in the Finucane inquiry. Yet a 1993 report by a New York-based Human Rights group, which was given to the RUC, highlighted

claims by loyalists that RUC men had urged them to go after Finucane.

The BBC Panorama program claimed that UDA men held for questioning by the RUC were "told to forget about indiscriminate sectarian killing and concentrate on three solicitors [Pat Finucane, PJ McGrory and Oliver Kelly] as the 'brains behind the IRA'".

Straight after the Finucane murder, there were claims of involvement by British intelligence and the RUC. Only days before the murder, a British Tory minister, Douglas Hogg, had made a speech in parliament complaining "lawyers who give comfort to terrorists."

The same thinking dominated the RUC.

Flanagan was confronted by Panorama with remarks he had made about lawyers "with paramilitary connections", a clear reference to Pat Finucane and Rosemary Nelson. Flanagan, who is trying to present his leadership as a fresh start for the RUC, has consistently denied any cover-up or collusion.

The RUC wanted the arrest of Stobie to stem further public criticism. Instead it has exposed the poison of collusion and cover-up in the RUC and rekindled demands for a full independent inquiry.

HOW DO WE DEAL WITH DRUGS CRISIS?

Abortion:

We don't need another referendum

WHEN a newly born baby was found dead in a bog in Donegal recently, it brought home the terrible hypocrisy that still surrounds sex in Ireland.

by SINEAD KENNEDY

Contraception can never offer a full guarantee against pregnancy and so abortion should be available so that women can choose if and when they want children.

If politicians had not been so cowardly and legislated for abortion this horrific situation could have been avoided.

In 1992 the Supreme Court judgement in the X-case accepted that women who are suicidal had a right to abortion.

In a three part referendum later that year, a majority voted in favour of the right of women to travel for abortion, in favour of information on abortion being available and against a move to reverse the Supreme Court judgement.

At the time the government promised that if people voted not to restrict abortion, they would legislate in accordance with the Supreme Court judgement. Yet they did nothing. The result was that five years later at the end of 1997 another child who had been raped was dragged through the courts before being she could receive an abortion.

Waiting

In response to the C case, the government set up an Inter-departmental Working Group on abortion which was given six months to produce a Green Paper with a proposed wording for the new legislation. Over a year later we are still waiting.

Now it appears that Fianna Fail wants to capitulate to the pressure from the Youth Defence lobby and call a new referendum in the next few years.

But we don't need yet another referendum - we need legislation to allow women to have abortions in Ireland.

Today women have grown up expecting a life outside the home. No matter how much the Bishops try to turn back the clock, the overwhelming majority want to be more than wives and mothers. More women than ever before are working in Ireland.

The most dramatic increase happened in the 1990s. Between 1991 and 1996 women's employment grew by 102,000. This almost equalled the growth in women's employment over the previous twenty years.

But women can only exercise their right to work if they have control over their own bodies.

Yet the right to have an abortion in their own country is still denied to Irish women. Every year over 5,000 Irish women are forced to travel to Britain for an abortion. Despite all the hypocrisy from the 'pro-life' movement, the same proportion of Irish women in the 18 to 25 years old age group are having abortions as British women. Well-off women have always been able to get abortions in private clinics while working class women risked death with backstreet or self induced abortions.

Attack

It was only when working class women began to gain access to abortion that the right began to attack abortion.

The decision for any woman to have an abortion is a difficult one but these difficulties are compounded for working class women.

Getting £500 or £600 together at short notice is no easy task and is impossible for many.

Thousands of working class women are forced to continue a pregnancy because they couldn't afford an abortion.

Irish women who have abortions are also on average several weeks more advanced in their pregnancies than women in Britain.

The right wing groups who attack women who have abortions are not simply groups of ordinary citizens concerned with 'protecting the life of the unborn'.

They have also led campaigns against the sex education and the Stay-Safe programme in schools which aims to protect children from abuse.

No one should be taken in by their claim that they now have a mandate to get another referendum.

Dana may have received a high vote in Connaught-Ulster but the anti-abortion candidate in Dublin, Gerard Casey got only 1 percent of the vote.

Nor are the anti-abortionists too concerned about democracy.

One of their leading figures is Rory O'Hanlon, the former High Court judge who claimed that the 'law of God' had to take priority over any democratic votes. Only Rory it seemed, had special access to God when passing his judgements.

TWENTY YEARS into the drugs crisis and there are now some 14,000 heroin users in Dublin - the highest number ever.

Yet there are only 42 treatment facilities in Dublin where 3,746 people get some sort of help.

That means that over 10,000 heroin users in Dublin have no access to any treatment at all.

The response of the government has been completely inadequate. While Justice Minister John O'Donoghue talks about "getting tough on drugs" and giving the Garda more powers, there are few resources put into dealing with drugs as a health problem.

Socialist Worker spoke to two people who work in the midst of the drugs crisis. JOHN is a doctor at a methadone clinic and CAMILLA is a drugs worker in Ballymun.

"At the very least we have to make sure that every addict who wants help can get it," says Camilla. "We need more hospital beds for addicts. We need needle exchanges so that addicts use clean needles and avoid HIV and Hepatitis C."

"We need a harm reduction strategy to make sure that those

who use drugs cause the minimal harm to themselves."

"There is no proper resources for people after methadone" says John. "We need more treatment policies that allow stabilisation and that means that people can take advantage of counselling and other rehabilitation services if they exist".

One of the problems drug users face is that even when they want to get out of their addiction, they find it very difficult to get a job.

Potential

"If you change peoples circumstances," says Camilla. "You give them the potential to get out of addiction. But if you keep their circumstances the same, you breed addicts."

"Yet the government is doing too little to help."

"It is still difficult for an addict to get on a FAS course. Until recently it was almost impossible."

The weakness of the treatment facilities has led many working class communities to turn in on themselves. This has been encouraged by a number of political parties who see vigilantes as a solution.

"The failure of the government to respond to the crisis

means that people look for the quick fix - blaming the pushers," says John.

"But it is not a solution because all it does is move people along. It also makes it harder to deal with the issue as a health problem."

"We now have situation where there is money for treatment centres that has not been spent because of local opposition."

"The treatment centres are understaffed and under funded but when people target addicts and object to the opening up of clinics, this causes real problems."

"The tragedy is that a minority are using genuine fears and are preventing what limited help is available getting into areas where it most needed."

The solution has to come from tackling the causes of the problem rather than the symptom.

"If you look at detoxification beds, it is a farce," says John. "There are around thirty de-tox beds in Dublin with nowhere near enough special needs beds for pregnant women or teenagers. We need more de-tox beds but you also have to tackle the poverty that addicts face."

"De-toxing people and sending them out to the same situation where they were using in

Using the crisis to increase police powers

POLICE ACTIVITY in relation to drugs is more about repression than solving the problem. Despite the media claims, the bulk of police drugs activity is directed against the use of the popular and harmless drug cannabis.

The recent arrest of 150 people on the streets of Dublin in one day was a stage managed exercise that was designed to get publicity for the police. In reality it was aimed at impoverished drug users.

John O'Donoghue has used the drug crisis to extend the time people can be held without trial. People can now be detained for seven days if the police suspect that they are using drugs.

He has also used the drugs crisis to keep the Special Criminal Court in existence.

This was supposed to be an emergency non-jury court that was used when there was an armed conflict in Northern Ireland.

But O'Donoghue has now extended the juryless special criminal court to cover drugs offences.

The Gardai now stop and search young working class people on housing estates regularly. Today the prisons are overcrowded with drug users.

Yet even though hundreds of prisoners who have gone through Mountjoy have been infected with HIV, the government is refusing to provide a needle exchange in the prison.



An addict in Dublin with the first place is like Russian roulette.

Camilla agrees. "We have to acknowledge that 9 out of every ten people that come out of detox go back on heroin."

"All the government reports admit the link between poverty and drug use. Yet absolutely nothing has been done to deal with those underlying issues."

"£3 million has been allocated to Ballymun to solve the drugs crisis."

"But instead of applying sticking plasters the government should be spending millions fixing up houses, building playgrounds, providing jobs for people."

"The wider picture is vital. We need to move away from the individual addict as the problem and look for wider solutions," says John.

"We have to tackle socio-economic deprivation and the massive inequalities of wealth in society."

"Until you do that heroin use will continue to grow."

can't get treatment...

by SIMON BASKETTER

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Time for decriminalisation

THE HEAD of Interpol, Raymond Kendall, said last year that all penalties for drug use should be ended. "Making drug abuse a crime is useless and even dangerous," he said.

different drugs would be more widely known. Hundreds of people might not die every year if they knew exactly what was in the drugs they took.

De-criminalisation would mean that resources could be put into fighting poverty instead of being wasted on the 'War against drugs'

Being in favour of decriminalisation does not mean TV adverts for

heroin. Socialists are against giving a free hand to profiteers whether they are in the pharmaceutical industry, the drinks and tobacco industry, or the drugs industries.

When drug addicts are treated as criminals it leads to a brutal treatment of addicts.

Users are subject to violence from both organised crime and the police.

TOBACCO is legal — yet tobacco kills. It is estimated that between 1990-1999, 21 million people will have been killed by tobacco across the world.

Despite this terrible death rate 1.100 million users are still addicted to tobacco. In comparison only a small number are addicted to heroin.

10 times more is spent on tobacco advertising than on education about its ill effects.

Like tobacco, alcohol is a legal killer responsible for one in four hospital admissions. About 20 percent of strokes in young people are preceded by bouts of heavy drinking. There are over 100,000 people dependent on alcohol in Ireland.

Today Garda Crime Stoppers are running an advertising campaign that links drug addicts to theft.

But it should be remembered that alcohol is associated with 60-70 percent of homicides, 75 percent of stabbings and 40 percent of domestic assaults.

It shows that drug taking of all sorts is a huge problem under capitalism.

What is the solution?

DECriminalisation would improve the situation but it is not the whole answer.

Spending money on proper treatment facilitates would also help the lives of thousands who are addicted to alcohol, cigarettes and other drugs.

If every penny that big business avoids in tax was used to improve the conditions of the inner cities we could make a start on tackling the heroin crisis.

But to fully eradicate the drugs problem we need a society that does not condemn people to drudgery and despair.

The fight against the system that produces so much pain is the ultimate fight for a solution to the drugs problem.

Madness

Fianna Fail argue that decriminalising drugs is madness. But in Holland cannabis is a legal drug and in 1985 the Dutch Minister of Justice told the police not to use their remaining powers against hard drugs as they would 'turn a health problem into a crime problem'.

This policy did not result in a massive increase in the consumption of hard drugs.

Instead heroin addiction in Holland has actually fallen since the new measures were brought in - by over 30 percent. Heroin addicts get free needles and the proportion of injectors with AIDS is much lower than in Ireland.

What ever happened to the economic crisis?

by GRACE LALLY

AT THE end of last year, panic hit our rulers and millions was wiped off the world's stock exchanges. The currency speculator, George Soros, even predicted that capitalism was 'coming apart at the seams'.

Yet today confidence has returned to the stock markets and the stockbrokers are claiming that the crisis is over.

But reality is very different. The Asian Tiger economies, whose collapse precipitated the current crisis, are still showing no signs of recovery.

The figures for the end of last year even show that the slump in Japan is deepening with output falling by 3 percent overall.

China, which was hailed as an island of stability in the region, is under increasing strain. Exports rose by only 0.5 percent last year compared to 20.9 percent in 1997. The strength of the Chinese currency is making it difficult to compete for export markets with the other Asian countries whose weaker currencies mean that they can sell goods cheaper.

China is under pressure to devalue its currency but that could start a wave of competitive devaluations in the region and spark another global financial panic.

While Russia has suffered an economic meltdown, countries on the other side of the world are also suffering from the Asian Flu.

The International Monetary Fund poured \$41.5 billion dollars into the Brazilian economy to stave off a recession in Latin America but this did not prevent the collapse of the Brazilian currency, the real, in January.

The Brazilian economy is expected to shrink by 6 percent this year and neighbouring countries are being dragged down with it.

Unaffected

Despite 40 percent of the world economy being in recession Western Europe, and America in particular, seem to have remained largely unaffected.

In reality however the global nature of capitalism means that this situation cannot continue indefinitely.

The four largest economies in Europe - Germany, Britain, Italy and France - are all experiencing a slowdown in manufacturing

and rising levels of unemployment.

Growth rates in these countries are expected to slow to between 0 and 2 percent in the next six months.

The Euro, which was launched with such ceremony in January, has not been a great success.

It reaches new lows almost every week and instead of strengthening the European economies as a whole, it is acting as a dead weight on governments' ability to intervene directly in their economies.

Decisions about interest rates and taxation levels to control the economy have been taken out of the hands of local governments and are decided centrally in Brussels.

The Italians were recently warned by the future EU President Prodi that it will have to leave the Euro zone if it doesn't get its economy on track.

The four largest economies in Europe - Germany, Britain, Italy and France - are all experiencing a slowdown in manufacturing and rising levels of unemployment.

The success of the American 'goldilocks' economy is equally superficial. The rising values of the stock market are more a sign of weaknesses in the economy than a sign of strength.

Investors who have been scared off from investing in real companies and productive ventures are pouring money into the stock market. This means that the value of companies is hugely over-inflated.

Companies are using the strength of their stock market value to borrow heavily and private debt in America is \$2.5 trillion higher than in 1994.

Borrowed and imaginary wealth can only stave off a crisis for a limited time.

In the real economy manufacturing companies are laying off workers in greater numbers and are suffering from falling profits.

There are measures that governments may be able to take to postpone a global crisis but the problems of the system are not caused and nor can they be solved by government policy decisions.

Capitalism is an unplanned chaotic system of competition and overproduction that makes crisis the rule rather than the exception.

Any government intervention to lessen the effects of a crisis will always be an attempt to lessen the effects on the capitalists rather than the workers.

As the economic crisis creeps closer to home we should be prepared to fight to make the bosses take a cut in profits rather than take a cut in our wages to bail out their crazy system.

Read this new book on the Nazis

HORROR WITH NO PARALLEL

THE HOLOCAUST was the greatest barbarism of the 20th century.

There have been other horrors this century-terrible wars, mass killing and the forced movement of peoples on all continents.

But the systematic murder of six million Jews as part of the Nazis' attempt to destroy the entire Jewish population of Europe through industrialised slaughter is an event without parallel.

Donny Gluckstein's book *The Nazis, Capitalism and the Working Class* explains both how Hitler came to power in Germany and the drive towards the Holocaust.

He shows why it is wrong for politicians and commentators to brand as "fascist" any government which relies on police repression and right wing ideas.

Hitler's government was far more than that.

THE NAZIS emerged in Germany, a modern capitalist country, in the years after the First World War.

Mutinies and workers' uprisings smashed the German war effort in November 1919 and overthrew the German monarch, the Kaiser.

Hitler was one of tens of thousands of embittered German nationalists whose world had fallen apart.

Germany was defeated, workers were on the streets and the economy was gripped by crisis.

Hitler seized the leadership of one of the right wing fringe groups which hankered for a return to "German greatness" and founded the Nazi Party.

He aimed to build a movement which would smash the Social Democratic and Communist parties, which he held responsible for Germany's defeat in the First World War.

Beating

But for the next eight years the Nazis remained on the margins of German politics. They were insignificant even after the bosses succeeded in beating back the workers' movement in 1923.

The Nazis could win only 2.6 percent of the vote as late as the 1928 general election.

The next two years saw them make a shocking breakthrough.

In the 1930 general election they won over 18 percent of the vote.

They were able to grow out of the world economic slump ushered in by the Wall Street Crash of October 1929.

The slump brought mass unemployment and factory closures. It shattered millions of people's lives. The Nazis presented themselves as the people who could save Germany from the abyss.

They appealed above all to the middle class layers in German society. These people-professionals, shopkeepers, small businessmen, students, higher up state officials, the police, small farmers and others-were squeezed by the crisis as much as skilled workers. Their savings vanished overnight.

Their businesses and law practices closed. Millions were left destitute.

Unlike workers they had no collective organisations, no trade unions, to turn to to offer them any kind of defence.

The Nazis won support from all layers of German society, but the middle classes were vastly over represented in their ranks.

The Nazis' appeal was confused. Hitler lashed out at the organised working class, and at Marxism, which he claimed was destroying Germany.

But he also denounced big business for being unpatriotic in shutting factories and moving money abroad.

The ideology was clearly contradictory. How could both big business and organised workers be conspiring together to destroy Germany?

Virulent anti-Semitism was central to the Nazis' efforts to square the circle.

They did not attack the bosses as a whole. They targeted what they called the "un-German, Jewish" sections of big business.

Absurdly, they also claimed that socialism was a Jewish plot.

Hitler claimed, "How wonderfully the stock exchange Jew and the leader of the workers ... cooperate. Moses Kohn on the one side encourages his association to refuse the workers' demands, while his brother Isaac in the factory incites the masses."

It was the most irrational bilge. But it was at the heart of the Nazis' world view, even though directly scapegoating the Jews, who made up less than 1 percent of the German population, only won the Nazis a minority of their support.

HITLER WANTED to win votes, but the Nazis' main focus was intimidating opposition on the streets.

By 1932 they had 1.4 million members. About 400,000 of them were organised in gangs of Stormtroopers, the Brownshirts, who broke up socialist and trade union meetings, murdered opponents and terrorised Jews.

Hitler promised them a "national racial" revolution in which the "little man" would rule Germany.

But he was clear that the Nazis would come to power with the support of the bosses and state machine in Germany, not through any kind of challenge to them.

In July 1932 the Nazis won 37.4 percent of the vote. The closer Hitler got to power, the more he sought the backing of the establishment.

He met a string of industrialists and financiers, most notably at the Dusseldorf chamber of commerce in 1932, to try to win their support.

Most of them were suspicious. They worried that despite Hitler's promises the Brownshirts might spiral out of control and start attacking big business, not just trade unions and socialists.

But as the economic crisis deepened the bosses' fear of mass strikes and workers' revolution outweighed their qualms about the Nazis.

There was a string of chancellors in 1932-Heinrich Brüning, Franz von Papen and General Kurt von Schleicher. Each was undemocratic and tried to use the police and army to repress the left.



Jewish victims of the Holocaust

But each failed and lasted a shorter time in office than their predecessors.

So in January 1933 the dominant section of the German establishment offered Hitler the chancellorship, even though his support was waning and he had never won a majority.

He could offer the bosses a private army of 400,000 thugs who could smash workers' resistance and restore their profits.

He set about the task with breakneck speed, banning first the Communist Party, then the Social Democrats and the trade unions.

Gangs of Nazi thugs seized and murdered thousands of socialists. The day after May Day the Nazis trashed every union office in the country.

They even closed down the constitutional pro-capitalist parties. By July 1933 Germany was officially a one party state.

But it was not just political organisations that were attacked. Every aspect of society came under Nazi control.

DONNY GLUCKSTEIN refers to the town of Northeim, where even the chess and bowling clubs were taken over and a Nazi put in charge.

A quarter of the library's books were burned for being "un-German". The same pattern was repeated across Germany.

Even the boy scout movement was wiped out and the Hitler Youth intro-

duced.

The aim was to crush any collective organisation of whatever form that was not controlled by the Nazis.

The Nazis built concentration camps. The first was at Dachau, where socialists and other oppositionists were interned, beaten and frequently murdered.

The German capitalist class signed a devil's pact with the Nazis. They had a coincidence of interests. Both wanted to crush the working class, restore capitalism and expand German power. But the Nazis had even more depraved goals. They never abandoned their perverted dream of a racially pure Germany.

Despite all the Nazis' fake anticapitalist rhetoric they ruled in the interests of German capitalism.

That further increased the frustration among the core of the Nazi Party who had believed Hitler when he said the middle classes would rule, not big business or workers.

The Nazis' anti-Semitism became more intense.

They expelled Jews from the professions, passed anti-Semitic laws and orchestrated a pogrom in November 1938.

On the eve of the Second World War Hitler predicted that another war in Europe would "lead to the destruction of the Jews". When the Nazis invaded Russia in 1941 they talked of an "ideological war of extermination".

They were not content with merely driving Jews out of the conquered territories of eastern Europe.

They took a decision in late summer 1941 to systematically murder every Jew they could lay their hands on.

First they used special bands of killers, the Einsatzgruppen, to shoot hundreds of thousands of Jews.

Then the Nazis built the death camps at Auschwitz, Chelmo, Belzec, Majdanek, Treblinka and Sobibor.

These were not just internment camps where people were brutalised and killed by ill treatment.

They were places where Jews were transported to from all over Europe to be gassed and their bodies incinerated.

German big business made money out of slave labour and supplying the camps, but the Holocaust actually used up more economic resources than it generated.

The Nazis were driven to subordinate all other concerns in their drive to exterminate the Jews.

That is the almost unbelievable horror of what the Nazis represented.

There have been many regimes since Hitler which have ruled by authoritarian methods, butchered many thousands and persecuted national minorities.

But to describe them in the same language used for the Nazis is, whatever the intention, to belittle what Hitler and the Holocaust were.

The Nazis, Capitalism and the Working Class by Donny Gluckstein £9.95 + £1:50 p+p from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

in my view

Media muck raking

"STEPHEN SLUMPS back on a sofa and utters three simple words that will change his life for ever: 'I am gay.'" So begins another *Sun* world exclusive: the outing of Boyzone singer Stephen Gately.

From the paper that describes itself as "The Paper That Loves Poofs" it is what we've come to expect.

However, the reaction to the story showed how deeply Ireland has changed. While politicians on *Questions and Answers* worried about what Gately's parents would think, many people were supportive and even more didn't care.

Gone are the days when exposure as being gay would end a career. George Michael, for example, was able to turn a media frenzy over his own sexuality to his advantage when he alluded to being busted in a Los Angeles public toilet in a music video - and went to the top of the charts.

Excesses

What the *Sun* 'exclusive' did bring out was the cant and hypocrisy from broadsheet newspapers editors about the excesses of the press.

Yet the broadsheets operate in the same way as the tabloids. The transparent techniques of spending the first couple of sentences of any piece predicting public outrage at some tabloid revelation and then reporting every comma, dot and detail of the same story are second nature to the *Irish Times* and the *Independent*.

Sometimes it goes even further. The *Irish Times* published picture of the girl at the heart of the C-case, which combined with reports of the position of the caravan gave Youth Defence enough to go on to be able to locate her. The *Independent* is full of little tattle about celebs.

Nor should we take the stressful lives of the rich and famous too seriously. While bleating incessantly about "privacy", the famous regularly queue up to boast about their marriages in Hello! and OK! The Celtic Tiger yuppies have even got the new magazine - VIP - to extol their virtues.

It is difficult to find any sympathy for the privacy of Haughey and his tell-tale mistress, because right up to the minute they were rumbled they seemed as happy as pigs in the proverbial.

Moreover, when the *Sun* printed topless pictures of latest royal, Sophie Rhys Jones, it was important to recognise that this was part of the daily sexism of the press.

The real victims of press intrusion aren't the rich and famous but ordinary people. As an example, a number of years ago *The Sun* ran a story: "The naughtiest brat in Britain", about a hyperactive boy.

The mother of the boy had contacted the paper because she couldn't get adequate help from social services. Instead of helping her, *The Sun* portrayed her son as a violent and aggressive thug.

When the mother complained *The Sun* gave her a right to reply which had the headline "The mother of the Naughtiest Boy in Britain tells all" and repeated the lies.

Privacy

The calls from the politicians for privacy laws would do nothing to stop that. Privacy laws would work in the same way as the libel laws.

As the new Professor of Journalism in Dublin City University, John Horgan, pointed out Ireland's libel laws are an important weapon that are used by the rich to protect their privilege. The rich and powerful can keep things out of the papers because they can go to court. Ordinary people can't.

There is little likelihood of refugees being able to sue the press for the racist lies, or strikers who are called scroungers winning an out of court settlement for defamation.

If privacy laws were introduced they would work in the same way. We would simply know a little less about the back-handers for politicians and the slanders on ordinary people would carry on regardless.

Fortunately, there is one Irish newspaper that tries to uncover what the rich and powerful are up to. It is not for titillation, but to help organise getting rid of them. But then you knew that already.

by SIMON BASKETTER

film

Earth: 23rd century We're doomed!

by DAVE
LORDEN

POSTERS ADVERTISING
Hollywood's latest futuristic thriller *The Matrix* stated that it contained "a series of unprecedented special effects to make the eyes bleed".

However the high blown attempts at 'spectacular action sequences' seem to have been designed to detract the viewers attention from the fact that the film lacked depth, originality and above all, drama.

The Matrix takes us forward to the end of the twenty third century.

Ravages

The earth is now a post-apocalyptic wasteland devoid of sunlight due to the ravages of a war between humans and their destructive progeny- Artificial intelligence computers.

What remains of the 'free' human race dwells in the inner core of the earth in a city called Zion.

Meanwhile the terribly scary looking computers literally 'farm' the mass of enslaved humans in order to replace the energy of the sun and go on doing whatever it is that they do.

The 'Matrix' is a computer program which simulates the conditions of life of late twentieth century earth for the computer's human slaves.

All-american kid saves the million headed anonymous plebs

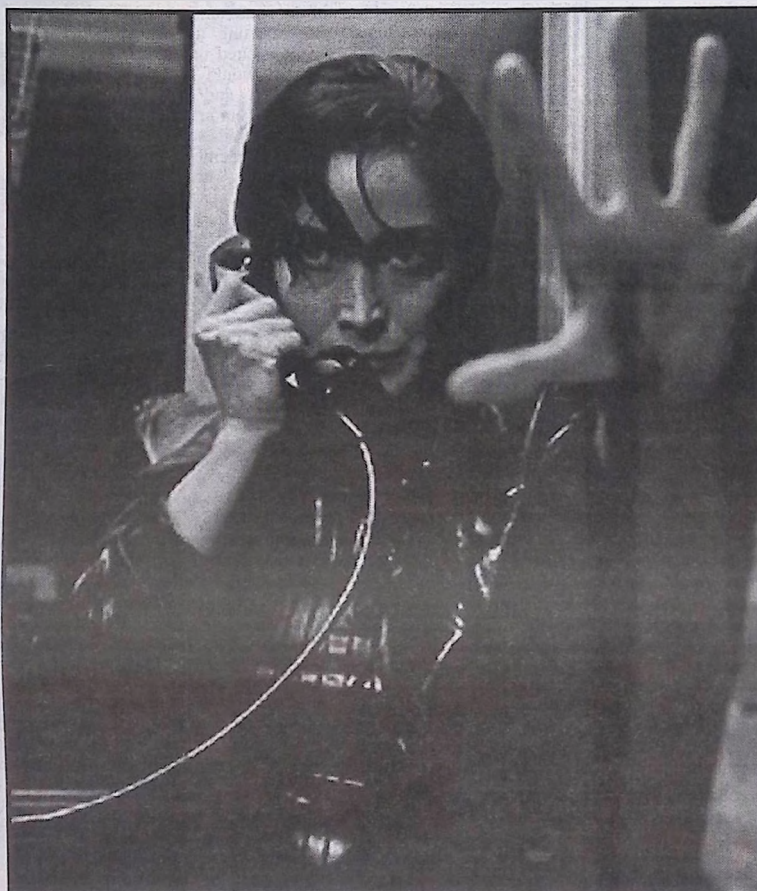
The film's hero, 'Neo', is saved from this illusion by a crew of freedom fighters who are convinced he is the messiah come to save them and return dominion over the earth to the human race.

Of course 'Neo' beats the bad guys and comes up trumps in love winning the heart of another steely-eyed and leather clad web-warrior.

The film uses a mixture of images and symbolism drawn from conspiracy theorists, eastern mysticism, 1960s psychedelic culture and biblical mythology.

The political subtext is just as inane - All-American kid saves the million headed anonymous plebs from futile and ignorant lives in the service of a mechanical and ruthless master race.

What a waste of time and money.



film

Neo-nazis in the suburbs

THE NEW film *Apt Pupil* is based on the novella by horror writer Stephen King and is set in a quiet American suburb in 1984.

16 year old Todd Bowen (Brad Renfro) blackmails Nazi war criminal Arthur Denker (Ian McKellen) into feeding him the details of the atrocities committed in the concentration camps in exchange for not revealing his identity.

The film is long, drawn out and as the two characters play with each other's minds you can't help but become bored.

Instead of the ending leaving you in shock it comes as a release.

It is a pessimistic study on the individual's capacity for evil. Todd

Bowen is a golden child to everybody except Denker.

He is a brilliant high school student who makes Straight A's and is a basketball star. He has lots of friends and comes from an annoyingly perfect family.

Motives

Yet, the question remains why is he obsessed with Nazi atrocities? Instead of trying to explain his motives the film wants to leave us with the feeling that human beings are inherently evil and that there is no hope for us.

A film of this sort had the potential to display the true horror of the Nazi death camps.

But it shies away from the real

causes of the Holocaust and blames human nature instead of explaining the conditions which led to the rise of fascism.

In Germany Hitler gained support after the 1929 Wall Street Crash when the middle classes suddenly found their world falling apart.

Today the images of the concentration camps leads people to believe that fascism is a form of madness. However fascism has a perverse logic of its own that grew out of a capitalist crisis.

The Nazis could also have been stopped in Germany if the left had united to mobilise against them. But none of this is even discussed in this trivial and boring film.

by ANNA HUDSON

where we stand

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.

SWP Branch meetings

ATHLONE:

Contact 01- 872 2682 for details

BRAY:

Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at the Mayfare Hotel at 8pm

BELFAST CENTRAL:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Garrick Bar, Chichester St.

BELFAST EAST:

Contact 01- 8722682 for details

BELFAST SOUTH:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in Queens Students Union

CORK:

Meets every Thursday at 8.00pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket

DERRY:

Meets every Thursday at 8.15pm in Badgers Bar upstairs, Orchard St.

DUNDALK:

Contact 01- 872 2682 for details

DUN LAOGHAIRE:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.00pm in the Christian Institute

DUBLIN ARTANE / COOLOCK:

Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in Artane / Beaumont Recreational Centre opp. Artane Castle

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in Conways, Parnell St.

DUBLIN NORTH WEST:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.30pm in the Vietnamese Centre, Hardwicke St (off Parnell Square).

DUBLIN RANELAGH:

Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Tom Kelly Flats, Charlemont St. Community Centre

DUBLIN RIALTO:

Meets every Tuesday at 8pm St. Andrews Community Centre, SCR, Rialto.

DUBLIN RATHMINES:

Meets every Wednesday at 8.00pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL:

Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St.

DUBLIN TALLAGHT:

Meets every Monday at 8.30pm in Jobstown Community Centre

ENNISKILLEN:

Meets fortnightly on Saturdays at 4pm. Phone 01- 872 2682 for details of venue

GALWAY:

Meets every Thursday in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square 7.30pm

LIMERICK:

Meets fortnightly on Thursdays at 8pm. Phone 01- 872 2682 for details of venue.

TRALEE

Meets every fortnight on Mondays at 5.50pm Harty's Bar, Tralee

WATERFORD:

Meets every Thursday in at 8.00pm ATGWU Hall, Keizer St.

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

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

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Letters to the editor



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"I had no option but to say NO"

TWO WEEKS ago the residents of St. Ultans flats were facing an uncertain future. As one of the four strong-willed people involved I can say now with confidence our lives would have been ruined had the quiet spoken Mr Durkan got his hands on what we call home.

I was facing the possibility of a ticket to the Eastern Health Board building in Charles street. I had no option but to say no to the eviction in Charlemont St.

The neighbours who have supported this battle also said no and growing concern for Essie, George (the dog) and Bernard woke up something in the hearts of the "community".

Old people are vulnerable and don't need displacement at this stage of their lives. They should be rewarded for their hard work not treated like portable objects.

Bridget Cooney and myself would have survived the outcome of the eviction but it was out of horror that Mrs Keeling and Mr Skillen were going to lose their homes that made us determined not to go.

The Housing Action Campaign had been aware

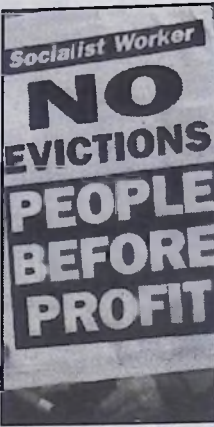
of the situation since their first meeting and Grace Lally assured us that full support would be given. Bridget and myself explained our predicament and the details were noted by fellow members of the campaign. The support promised to us has been given on a massive scale and it's escalating.

I can hear the honking from the cars from my flat on this the twelfth day. Apologies to the young couples with young babies who had to put up with the din. If the Corpo snap up this opportunity to purchase St Ultans then proper progress can be achieved in alleviating the housing problem.

Should negotiations result in victory for the community and the Housing Action Campaign our future in the inner city can only grow not deteriorate.

There will hopefully be smiles all round at the end of the day. We have hope now - we're now not going to let ourselves down. Everybody who supported us cannot be thanked enough. We have slept better than we have done in the last 18 months.

KARL BYRNE, Charlemont St., D2



(Full story on the fight at St Ultans see page 4)

Angry protest over debt

I ATTENDED a 20,000 strong protest outside the G7 summit in Cologne last month which got little media attention.

The summit agreed to a £70 billion relief program for the Heavily Indebted Poorer Countries. But this is a tiny reduction.

To put it in context, Russia alone was looking for a £108 billion reduction on its debts.

The small relief that was given will also come with conditions which will leave many of the poorer countries under IMF control.

The demonstration was met with a 12,000 strong police presence. They were armed to the teeth and turned the city into a fortress.

The demonstration gave a real insight into

what is happening in Germany where there is now a crisis in the SPD.

Huge protests have put pressure on the new reformist government. But the only real change that has occurred has been the largest cuts in public spending in the state's history.

The crisis is leading to a huge drop in SPD support.

At the general election 20 million people voted SPD but in the last Euro election only 13 million voted for the party.

One hopeful sign is the growth of Linksruck, the revolutionary left organisation.

In the few weeks before the summit, they more than doubled their membership in Cologne.

NIAL SMYTH, Dublin

Why are they blaming refugees?

THE LOCAL press in Cork are running several stories about the number of refugees who are coming into Cork, Mill St and Dunmanway after NATO's bloody war in Serbia and Kosovo.

Many of the stories present the issue as if it was a major problem.

Closure

Refugees are even being blamed for the loss of jobs at the Cork Airport Hotel which is being renovated for their accommodation and also the closure of a private hostel for the elderly.

But the real problem is not people who have to flee from ethnic hatred and murder but

the businessmen who are using this tragedy to profit from their plight.

Only a minimal number of the refugees have come to Ireland.

Our concern to stop human suffering should not be limited to borders.

The pro-war camp may forget the plight of the refugees now they have achieved their victory.

It is up to socialists to point out that if the government used some of the £23 million it spent on buying Farmleigh House, this could help alleviate the plight of the refugees and all the homeless in Ireland.

ROB JENNINGS, Cork

Troops in

THROUGH YOUR paper I hereby nominate, as the first troops to go into Yugoslavia, the following special S.A.S. unit — Commander Clinton? Bombardier Blair? General Ashdown? Corporal Cook? Subaltern Short? Fusilier Foot (M)? Hodcarriers Hague and Howard? I do hope that none of them treads on a landmine or cluster bombs.

JIM BROWN WW2 Veteran Lisbellaw N.I.

MINIMUM WAGE

Bosses look for loopholes

THE MINIMUM wage is due to be introduced in April 2000 but anger is already growing about the way Mary Harney is dealing with the issue.

Most of the major unions have expressed their outrage at the fact that the figure is being set at £4.40 an hour. This figure was announced in December 1997 but the equivalent figure for April 2,000 should be £4.80 an hour.

The difference is important. If the minimum wage was set at £5 an hour, one in five workers would gain.

But if Harney gets her way and keeps the figure low only one in eight workers will benefit.

Giant multi-nationals like McDonalds are still advertising for workers at £4 an hour. They are relying on the dole offices to conscript young workers into working for this miserable wage.

"If you go into the dole office today you will find that

the biggest queue is at the appeals section. Social Welfare have been told to crack down on everyone and force them to work for cheap labour" one recent job conscript explained.

The low figure for the minimum wage is only one of the many problems that have arisen. The employers are putting heavy pressure on the government to dilute the benefits a minimum wage could give.

Some of their proposals have now been accepted by the Minimum Wage Commission who have issued their final report.

Here are some of the tricks the employers are using to avoid paying the full minimum wage. **HOURS:** The minimum wage is expressed as an hourly rate.

Therefore employers will try to claim that lunch breaks are not being paid for, so they give the appearance of a higher hourly wage rate. Workers should demand a statement of their hours now before they try to pull this trick.

PREMIUM PAYMENTS: The report is allowing the employers to count shift pay premiums, unsocial hours bonus, Saturday and Sunday bonuses for calculating the hourly rate.

This will artificially push the pay rate up and deprive many workers of an increase.

ACCOMMODATION: Thousands of low paid hotel workers will be cheated.

Employers will be allowed to count board and lodging as part of their wages.

TIPS: Restaurant staff often receive a service charge which is divided out between the staff.

This is now going to count as part of their overall wage - and so thousands will be unable to claim they are below the £4.40 minimum wage.

TRAINING: Workers who are in training can be paid 80 percent of the minimum wage in the first year and 90 percent in the second.

If they began training before 18 this reduced rate can be

extended for an extra year. Employers will now claim that many workers are in training so that they can avoid paying the minimum rate.

SELF EMPLOYED CONTRACTS: Many workers such as drivers are forced on to self employed contracts.

These will now be outside the scope of the minimum wage legislation.

Today Ireland is the only country in the EU that does not have a minimum wage law.

The government was only forced to move because of huge pressure from thousands of workers.

When the law comes into force it should certainly be used to extract the maximum amount from employers. But we cannot rely on the law to automatically grant increases because employers are fighting hard to get plenty of loopholes.

We are going to need strong rank and file organisation to force though a £5 an hour minimum rate.

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Tara Mines

Nationalise to save jobs

"THE BOSSES are our partners". This is the motto of the leaders of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions.

But the crisis at Tara Mines shows what a fraud social partnership really is.

The company is threatening workers with closure unless they work 10 hour shifts.

Tara Mines already has a dangerous record of accidents.

15 workers have already lost their lives there. If 10 hour shifts are pushed through, this could lead to even more risks for workers who are stressed out and tired.

Claim

Management claim that the changes are needed because the price of zinc has fallen to £1,000 a ton on world markets.

But why should workers have to bear all the sacrifices for a crazy economic system that is causing recession in other parts of the globe?

When the mines were making big profits, there was no real share out of the gains. The employers should be told to take some sacrifices themselves rather than load it onto workers.

Workers at Tara Mines have already offered big concessions to the company. A previous 'partnership deal' led to a worsening of conditions.

This time around SIPTU leaders have drawn up a plan to offer the company 90 percent of what they were looking for

According to the SIPTU Branch Secretary, Christy McQuillan, the union is proposing that workers give an extra 6,000 working hours for free.

But even this is not enough for the arrogant company. They want to by-pass the union altogether and get workers to rubber stamp their demands.

Workers should demand that Tara Mines is taken into public ownership so that jobs can be saved.

Johnny Fox's

WORKERS AT Johnny Fox's Pub have been on strike since Wednesday 16th June after 80 percent of the workforce voted for strike action.

They are fighting for union recognition and for improvements in their conditions.

One of the strikers told *Socialist Worker*, "We have received no pay rises for 5 years and did not get any increments under the PCW or P2000 agreements."

"Full time workers are expected to do 12 to 14 hour shifts with no breaks. This amounts to over 70 hours in a week which breaches the Working Time Act."

Expected

Many workers are under age, as young as 14 years old, and are expected to do the same work as adults.

Management stopped £50 out of some workers wages for "tax purposes" and are also breaking Health and Safety legislation.

Most of the delivery drivers are refusing to cross the picket and more workers have joined the strike.

A victory in Johnny Fox's will give confidence of thousands of bar staff around the country to organise and fight for their rights.

N.I. Civil Service

No to New Labour's PFI

MANAGERS at Castlecourt Social Security Office in Belfast informed staff this week that the Information Technology contracts for three of the departments would be tendered out to the private sector under New Labour's Private Finance Initiative scheme (PFI).

Management were quick to re-assure staff that this would not make a difference to their working conditions and that there would be no job losses as a result of the scheme.

This is despite the fact that an identical scheme has led to chaos in the Passport Office, where it was disclosed that the initiative was designed to save money and cut three hundred jobs.

Installed

Instead the computer system installed by Siemens has not worked.

This has led to a nightmare for staff who have been forced to cancel annual leave and work late into the evenings in a desperate bid to deal with the resulting six week backlog.

It has also led to staff being inundated with abusive calls from irate people who can't understand the delays.

Ann, one of the workers to be affected by this scheme said "the reason a lot of people wanted New Labour in government was in order to get rid of Tory plans to privatise the public sector."

We are absolutely furious that New Labour has sneaked it in the back door.

The unions should act swift and hard and tell Blair where to stick his PFI schemes".

Waterford mutiny

AN 18 strong seamen crew walked off the Russian registered vessel FIRYUZA recently, in an effective mutiny when the vessel docked at Waterford port.

The seamen have not received wages in over three months. The owners of the ship now owe \$20,000 in back wages.

The seamen have been demanding payment for the last number of weeks.

But the management say that they are unable to pay them, blaming the collapse of the Russian economy.

The seamen are forced to work in horrendous conditions.

There is a severe shortage of food and water and the ship is in serious disrepair, creating a highly dangerous working environment.

The seamen are members of the International Transport Federation (ITF) which is an international body representing different seamen's unions around the world.

ITF works with unions across the world so that sea-

men can have union representation regardless of which country their ship is docked in. The seamen from the FIRYUZA are being represented by SIPTU officials in their negotiations with management.

The vessel's management have refused to guarantee payment to workers in the foreseeable future but the seamen are adamant that the ship will remain in Waterford port until they are paid.

Conditions

The conditions that these workers face are little different from the conditions faced by workers across the world and they are appealing for solidarity from Irish workers.

Members of the Waterford branch of the SWP recently organised petitions of support for the seamen and collected £40.

They are also organising visits to local factories to gather more support and conduct further collection for the seamen who desperately need money.

TEEU

Opposition to partnership grows

THE MAJORITY of delegates at a special TEEU meeting expressed huge opposition to partnership deals.

"It was like listening to a socialist meeting. Most of the people who spoke argued that it has caused workers to loose out in the Celtic Tiger" one delegate said.

But the union leaders prevented the meeting making any real decisions such as calling on the ICTU not to enter discussions on a new deal.

Instead they told the del-

egates that all they could discuss was the 'priorities' they wanted included in a new deal.

Key union officials also hinted that TEEU might drop their traditional opposition to these deals.

"They argued that as opposition to partnership grows, SIPTU would need the support of smaller unions like TEEU to get a deal through and that we could get greater concessions. But what is the point in having more of a say in a deal that is all about robbing workers in the first place?" one delegate at the meeting told *Socialist Worker*.

Securicor

AN UNOFFICIAL walkout by Securicor SIPTU members in Dublin on Wednesday 23rd June had spread to Limerick, Waterford, Galway and Cork by the end of the day.

The action was called after a mass meeting attended by about 250 Securicor

staff in Liberty Hall. In all around 500 workers around the country went on unofficial strike.

The action was in response to management using delaying tactics to prevent negotiations for an increase on the £5.20 an hour currently received by staff.

Determined

Management had constantly deferred settling the workers claim in an effort to break the resolve of the union.

However, determined not to be outdone, staff at the meeting in Liberty Hall called for a 46 percent increase in pay which would bring them into line with similar workers in England and Europe.

The meeting also voted to call on SIPTU to ballot the workers for official strike action to force the pay claim through.

The action of the Securicor staff clearly demonstrate the possibilities that workers have to make gains under the Celtic Tiger.

Irish ferries

SHIP OFFICERS at Irish Ferries have taken strike action to prevent a major attack on their conditions.

The action has prevented the new £29 million *Jonathan Swift* ferry setting sail. The company which bought the state owned ferry service very cheaply has a long record of trying to attack workers conditions.

It wanted the ship officers to work an extra 28 days on the new ferry service

The Labour Court backed up the company claiming that these moves were necessary on 'competitive cost' grounds.

But the SIPTU members were having none of this. The Labour Court has gained a reputation for coming down on the side of the employers and workers were right to reject its recommendation

If Irish Ferries had got away with the new conditions on the *Jonathan Swift* it would have tried to extend this to all its other ships.

Management are risking an escalation of the issue by threatening its whole staff with lay-offs if they show solidarity with the *Jonathan Swift*.

But at the height of the summer season workers have a considerable advantage. They should use it to the full to defend their conditions.

Ringsend

STOP privatisation — STOP the developers

DUBLIN CORPORATION are attempting to privatise Ringsend Park, one of the last remaining public amenities in the area.

Negotiations have been going on for a number of months behind the backs of Ringsend residents to sell the park off to a number of private sporting clubs and associations including Clan Na Gael.

If the privatisation goes ahead it will mean that

locals will be charged for the use of the park by the various associations.

One local resident told *Socialist Worker* that "selling off Ringsend Park would mean that local children would have nowhere left to play except the street."

"This move is an insult to local people who will now be expected to pay for the park that they have used for many years."

"We should follow the example of the St. Ultan's protesters and organise to resist the Corporation's latest manoeuvre."

PROPERTY magnates are again attempting to ride roughshod over the wishes of inner city communities with a proposal to build a 13 storey luxury

development in Ringsend.

The Scottish building giant, Morrisons are taking the issue to an oral hearing of Bord Pleanala to try to overturn a previous corporation decision.

RESIDENTS in O Rahillys' buildings Ringsend were shocked to receive a letter recently from the estate management section of the Corporation advising them in bold print that their children "were no longer allowed to play football in the recreation area of the buildings". Locals reacted angrily and a petition was sent around immediately opposing this insult.

According to one local resident, the development would "destroy one of the last remaining green areas in Ringsend" while a planned car-park would "double the amount of traffic passing through the area during rush-hour".

Gay Wiefer, a leading community activist condemned the process of "economic cleansing" through which inner city communities had been cleared out to make way for luxury developments over the last number of years.

IMPACT

IMPACT members in Dublin Corporation are on a work to rule to demand more promotions.

The Corpo has promised to hold a competition for Principal Officer for the past two years but have not delivered. Staff in grades 6 and 7 would be eligible to compete for PO and the knock-on effect would allow low paid Clerical Officers to have new promotional outlets.

IMPACT members are refusing to deal with City Council correspondence or with Councillors until the dispute is resolved. Clerical Officers are refusing to touch the work of Grade 6 or 7 staff during the dispute.

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DRUMCREE:

DON'T LET THE BIGGOTS DIVIDE US

THE HARD-RIGHT of Unionism want to make Drumcree the focus for another summer of violence.

They have organised a Long March, from Derry to Portadown timed to coincide with the march down the Garvaghy Road on the 4th July.

Support for Drumcree crumbled after the Quinn children were murdered in Ballymoney last July. It sank further when Elizabeth O'Neill was murdered last month for the crime of being married to a Catholic.

Represent

The Long March organisers claim to represent 'Protestant civil rights' but they don't even represent the majority of Protestants. An opinion poll in last week's Belfast Telegraph showed that 80 percent of Protestants wanted the Orange Order to talk to the Garvaghy Road residents

Most people in the North, Catholic and Protestant, have been sickened by the sectarianism of Drumcree and want nothing to do with it.

These bigots should be exposed as the minority that they are.

But, First Minister David Trimble announced last week that he 'understood' the concerns of the Long March organisers. Jonathon Bell and Peter Weir, two of the Long March organisers, are Ulster Unionists who support

the hardline stance on IRA decommissioning taken by Deputy Leader John Taylor.

One of the stewards of the Long March is David Tweed, a local councillor for Paisley's DUP, who organised

the sectarian pickets of Harryville Catholic Church.

When he tried to restart them this year only a handful of bigots showed up before it was called off.

The Long Marchers claim they are following the example of Martin Luther King's long march on Washington in 1963.

King's 'I Have A Dream' speech talked about "the day when all God's children, black and white, Jews and Gentiles, Catholics and Protestants - will be able to join hands."

What these Long Marchers want is the exact opposite. They want to go back to the 'good old days', the way Northern Ireland was in 1963, a one-party state, where the landlords and factory owners of the Ulster Unionist Party held power through gerrymandering and their own private police force.

They discriminated against Catholics and did everything in their power to keep ordinary people divided. The hard-right of Unionism are disgusted with the idea of sharing power with Catholics. That is why they are want to stir up sectarian division.

Protestant culture?

DIVISION IS what the Orange Order has always been about. The banner at Drumcree last summer read 'Croppies lie down'.

The original croppies were the United Irishmen, Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter, who united against the landlords and British rule. The Orange Order was set up by the Protestant landlords to crush that movement, to smash that unity with sectarian hatred. Sectarianism still lies at its heart today.

In the North today, the former heartlands of Unionism like East Belfast are wracked with unemployment and bad housing. The Orange Order offers working class Protestants nothing but a bowler hat and a sash.

John Taylor, deputy leader of the Ulster Unionists, who last week demanded a hard-line on IRA decommissioning in the peace talks is one of the richest men in the North. He owns a string of local newspapers, as well as office blocks and land in Belfast and Armagh and houses in Central London and Cyprus.

Common

The Orange Order preaches that all Protestants have a common interest.

It is rubbish. But the only way that they can maintain the illusion is by directing people's hatred towards Catholics. Taylor's not-an-inch message helps to create a climate where loyalist murder gangs flourish.