

Socialist Worker

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'Seven day detention, restricting the right to silence and refusing bail would not have prevented Veronica Guerin's murder but they will certainly lead to injustice and wrongful convictions if adopted.'—Michael Farrell, Irish Council for Civil Liberties

WARNING: THIS GOVERNMENT WANTS TO ATTACK YOUR RIGHTS

THE politicians are using the terrible murder of Veronica Guerin to take away rights that have existed in Ireland for decades.

But according to the chairperson of the Irish Council for Civil Liberties, Michael Farrell:

'Seven day detention, restricting the right to silence and refusing bail would not have prevented Veronica Guerin's murder but they will certainly lead to injus-

tice and wrongful convictions if adopted.'

Liz O'Donnell of the Progressive Democrats gave the game away when she claimed that removing the right to bail 'has worked well in Northern Ireland'.

Remand

Here the RUC are able to lock people away on remand for over a year and use it as a form of unofficial internment to imprison people who they cannot prove any case against.

In the South only 4% of cases are committed by people on bail.

If the politicians get their way it will destroy the very idea that we are innocent until proven guilty. Working people who are not protected by high paid barristers will suffer most.

According to UCD law lecturer Tom Cooney:

'It is likely that over 50% of cases may be wrongly decided and bail denied to accused who would not have offended had they been given bail'.

The Coalition are also proposing to remove people's right to silence when they are arrested by the police.

But again this will do nothing against hardened crime bosses who know the law backwards.

Intimidate

Instead it will give the police powers to intimidate working people into incriminating themselves.

The poorer and less educated you are, the more likely that the police will be able force you to

convict yourself.

As Michael Farrell put it: *'The British Prevention of Terrorism Act was passed in the wake of Birmingham bombings and a lot of innocent Irish people have suffered ever since as a result of that'*.

If the politicians get their way now, there will also be even more Birmingham Six style cases of a miscarriage of justice in the future.

This is why we should stand up against their law and order hysteria now.

Amnesty exposes British hypocrisy

The latest report from Amnesty International exposes the hypocrisy of the British government which claims that it can't sit down and talk with Sinn Fein until the IRA begins decommissioning its weapons.

Yet Britain is one of six countries which, according to Amnesty, is "trading in terror".

It allows the export of torture equipment throughout the world.

Companies

British companies have been allowed by the government to sell thumb screws, handcuffs and in particular electric shock weapons to countries like Nigeria where they have been used to

torture and kill.

The Tory government has also allowed armed patrol vehicles to be sold to the Indonesian regime and military spare parts and rubber bullets to Turkey.

Amnesty's figures show that over 10,000 people were tortured, ill treated, ill treated or raped in detention last year.

At least 5,000 died.

The report also criticised the British government for its conduct of

inquests in Northern Ireland and its issuing of Public Interest Immunity Certificates which meant that, more often than not, all relevant evidence was also always given.

The British govern-

ment does not give a damn about ending war, terror and conflict across the world yet its representatives try to claim the moral high ground in the North.

Turf accountant's big winnings

The Chief Executive of Bord na Mona has claimed over £66,000 in undocumented expenses over the last nine years.

Eddie O'Connor received a salary of £85,000 last year and on top of this he got nearly £70,000 in extra benefits and pocketed £35,000 in "business expenses".

If he was an ordinary

Bord na Mona worker he would have been sacked immediately for not showing receipts.

Former

But O'Connor, a former

Divorce bill too restrictive

THE DIVORCE BILL is expected to become law in the autumn but the first divorces are unlikely to be granted until the end of 1997.

A couple will have to prove they have lived apart for four out of the previous five years.

If they have stayed in the same house for the sake of the children they face humiliating questioning to prove they have not been

sleeping together.

They will also have to go through a process of 'reconciliation' instead of simply choosing to part ways.

This is an insult to adults who want to put a bad relationship behind them with a minimum of trauma

for themselves or their children.

The delays in getting a divorce and the cost — which could run into thousands — will mainly affect working class people.

The referendum was an important victory but working class people who campaigned long and hard for reform deserve more than the restrictive legislation on offer.

Source

A government source was forced to admit that "It's very hard to explain to clerical workers on £160 a week in the company that they can't have an extra fiver because it'll threaten the economy while Eddie was able to claim for some of his suits".

Scandal

Working people have to live on the amounts which O'Connor spent in fancy restaurants.

It's not the winning but the taking part

inside the system

It's not the winning but the taking part

WITH THE Olympic games on this month, it's sober to think of the kick-backs behind what are supposed to be amateur games.

Bill Payne, the real estate lawyer who heads up the Atlanta Games Organising Committee, has been getting an annual salary of \$700,000 for his involvement in the committee.

The International

Olympics Committee chairman is Juan Antonio Samaranch, a mysterious and autocratic Spanish banker who still defends General Franco.

This International Olympic Committee, some-

times numbering a hundred people, jets around the world first class.

Extreme

An IOC meeting in Birmingham in 1991 was described by journalists as lavish in the extreme:

"Their rooms were stuffed with expensive gifts — Venini glass, Gucci bags, personal computers, watercolour paintings, limited edition prints and silk scarves."

Prostitutes are regularly arranged for the predominantly male members of the IOC.

Platitudes

So when they start talking platitudes about the need for the poor nations to compete, it's worth noting the bribes, kickbacks and sex scandals which are an integral part of the IOC.

Who said we had an ageing population?

Politicians of all ilk have been warning workers to tighten their belts, the Irish "pensions time-bomb" is going to explode in the next few years.

Much has been reported about the impact of an ageing population on our pension expectations.

But new figures show just how much a lie it is.

Rapidly

In some European countries, the population in general is ageing rapidly. But it's not the case for Ireland.

The OECD estimate that the extra demands put on the Irish budget amount to a minimal 0.6 percent of Gross Domestic Profit in 2030!

And it will only be 0.3 percent by 2020, compared with a relatively low figure of 2.9 percent for

some other economies.

So when you hear Ruairi Quinn and others talking about this as part of the Maastricht criteria, it should be met with a two-fingered answer.

Unemployed

And just to show how bad politicians are at managing Europe, the OECD estimates there will be 21 million people unemployed in Europe next year — up 400,000 on 1995.

Who says workers would not be able to do better!?!?

Government respects journalism?

The killing of Veronica Guerin was terrible. But to hear the government talk about the importance of investigative journalism was sickening.

Only last year, they made sure journalist Liz Allen was prosecuted because she showed how the Gardaí bungled the Brinks Mat robbery.

And Susan O'Keefe was fined in court for her revelations which lead to the Beef Tribunal.

Revelations

So long as journalists say what the government and state want to hear, Bruton & Co will praise the Fourth Estate.

Probably the most important thing which Veronica Guerin said in recent years was when she was asked last month what she would do if she was in

government...she said: "The elimination of the poverty traps which lead people into drugs and crime."

Fianna Fail Pride

THE STUDENTS UNION USI has fallen under the control of the terrible hacks of Fianna Fail and already there are signs of what their political agenda is.

Fianna Fail students have made no secret of their plans to attack women's and gay rights in the colleges by getting rid of any officers who campaign on these is-

ues. This year the Fianna Fail hacks who run USI even tried to stop the Furnace's management held out against bigotry — just.

ganisers.

However, the desire for any booking to the rather unpopular venue meant that the Furnace's management held out against bigotry — just.

Fearing

In any case any gay fearing student had a

desire to go to the club on the night, posters were put up informing the public that the venue was to be closed.

In fact the opposite was the case as this was the only day of the year when you could get in without a student card.

Criminal sheltered by the Irish rich

THE FORMER Mexican prime minister, Carlos Salinas de Gortari, is sheltering in Ireland even though he is wanted as a criminal in his own country. He was able to arrange an open meeting with a Mexican journalist in a fancy Dublin restaurant.

Salinas has been involved in a string of scandals and fled the country after his brother, Raul, was arrested on charges of massive corruption.

ordering the army to involve full military rule over the Chiapas region.

Friends

Salinas has always had important friends among the Irish rich and is now able to live openly in this country because they are protecting him.

Discredited

A key figure in the Mexican establishment, a multi-millionaire called Romulo O'Farrell is seen as the link between top Irish politicians and the discredited Mexican governing party.

The former Fianna Fail leader, Albert Reynolds, for example, has taken holidays abroad O'Farrell's yacht. With all the talk of organised crime, it is a scandal that the crook Salinas is able to mix openly in elite Irish society.

Election

During the recent Mexican election the presidential candidate of Salinas' own party, the strangely named Party of Institutionalised Revolution, was murdered.

As the finger of blame began to point at the Salinas brothers, Carlos had already left the country.

Torture

While he was president of Mexico, Salinas has been responsible for widescale torture and murder.

He tried to put down the revolt of the left wing Zapatista guerrillas by

what we think

Don't let the politicians use the Guerin murder to attack our rights

"The Gardai have adequate resources. We need to start targeting resources into areas of social deprivation."

So said the late Veronica Guerin. It is a message that will fall on deaf ears when it comes to the TDs in Dail Eireann.

Ever since her terrible murder they have busied themselves pretending there are 'doing something serious' about crime.

But they are just using the killing to push through nasty right wing measures that will threaten the freedoms of working class people.

They have not come up with a single proposal that will help young unemployed people to keep out of the clutches of the gangland bosses.

Veronica Guerin told of one case of an addict who came out of jail determined to get off heroin. He found that there was such a waiting list for the few beds in the de-toxification centres that he wished he was back in Wheatfield.

Yet among the proposals to 'fight crime' there is not a single extra penny for these centres.

The politicians are pretending that

organised crime bosses have emerged in Ireland because of the 'liberal laws'.

Yet the reality is that there are organised crime bosses in every capitalist country in the world, no matter what type of legal system they have.

Bosses

The free market is based on greed and profit.

The dividing line between an Irish beef baron who built their up his empire from cattle smuggling and a thug who gets control of the ecstasy trade will always be a fine one.

The reason why many of the gangland bosses have grown in strength is that they have already made the transition to 'legitimate business'.

They have bought into property,



Scene of the shooting and (inset) Veronica Guerin

garages, horse breeding and some even send their kids to private schools and mix with the rich and famous.

Just like the Mafia in the US, they know that the best sort of robbery is always legalised robbery.

Target

The politicians may target a small number of individuals whose names have already appeared in the press.

But how can they seriously investigate how money is laundered, when every investigation into the bank accounts of the rich is seen as an attacks on the rights of property?

They cannot even get the 'crime bosses' on tax evasion because the Irish rich have made it a national pastime.

The Irish constitution guarantees an absolute right to private property. As long as that it exists the rich who operate by legal or illegal means will be protected.

THIS IS WHAT HAPPENS WHEN THE POLICE GET MORE POWERS

"A conscious and deliberate policy ... to subvert the court of justice". This is how Judge Barr described the behaviour of Gardai in the murder trial of Frederick Flannery.

Flannery walked free after it was shown that the police deliberately suppressed evidence to hide the fact that their main prosecution witness was high on drugs when he claimed to witness a murder.

They tried to lock Frederick Flannery away for life on this false evidence. It is a terrible example of what will happen when the police get more powers.

Just like in Britain, it always leads to grave miscarriage of justice.

What a sharp contrast there is between the Flannery case and the priest at the centre of the Monageer child abuse allegations.

Here a local parish priest was reported for sexually abusing girls in

his confirmation class but figures higher up in the Gardai deliberately stopped the investigation and even took away all records of the initial complaint.

The government has refused to publish a report on the incident and has ordered no investigation into who organised the cover up.

The police thought they could get away with framing Frederick Flannery because he was poor and had no fixed abode. They thought they could cover up for a child abusing priest because he had plenty of wealthy and respectable friends.

It shows that extra police powers will only be used to attack working class people.

Are we experiencing a crime wave?

THE MEDIA and the politicians are pretending that Ireland is experiencing a massive crime wave to justify a crack down on democratic rights. But the facts do not bear this out.

■ Ireland has the lowest crime rate in Europe. The level of crime is only a quarter of what it is in Britain.

■ In the category which concerns people most—crimes against the person—there has been an actual drop, from 2,331 in 1984 to 1,327 in 1994.

■ Recorded offences have shown no significant tendency to rise in the last decade. In 1983, there were 102,387 recorded offences while in 1994 there were 101,036.

The politicians pretend there is a crime wave because they want to divert attention from their own failings and bring in tough 'law and order' measures.

Bishops' legal move against campaign

SOLICITORS ACTING on behalf of Dublin's Catholic Archbishop Desmond O'Connell have gone after the Campaign to Separate the Church and State (CSCS).

They are demanding security for the Church's legal costs in the campaign's Supreme Court appeal.

The CSCS appealed against a High Court ruling that the state should pay the salaries of school chaplains.

High Court Judge Declan Costello, the man at the centre of the X case storm, dismissed an action by the CSCS on 17 January.

The action would have meant preventing the state paying the salaries of chaplains, which currently cost taxpayers £1.2 million annually on the ground that it breached the Constitution.

Ireland's four archbishops had successfully applied to be joined as co-defendants with the state in the case and were awarded costs against the cam-

aign.

However, a stay of execution was allowed in the event of an appeal.

Now, however, the Bishops are attempting to prevent the campaign exercising its right to appeal by demanding 'money up front', estimated to be in the region of £50,000 to date.

Campaign

They know that the campaign has few funds because they have gone to the company records office in Dublin Castle and examined the campaign's audited accounts.

Which, unlike the Church's, are openly available for public inspection.

The action by the Catholic Bishops is in sharp contrast to Des Hanafin's Supreme Court appeal against the divorce refer-

endum result.

In that case no security was demanded in advance in case Hanafin's appeal was lost.

Although Hanafin did lose, the taxpayer is left picking up the tab for his legal fees.

Coincidence

It is surely pure co-incidence that the same firm of solicitors who represented Hanafin is now representing the Bishops.

Breathnach gives Church schools veto

THE Government has dropped plans to give the bishops the right to veto who is employed in our schools on the basis of their religious beliefs.

It had proposed to allow the school board, usually chaired by the parish priest, to refuse to employ teachers who did not fit in with the Catholic ethos.

The Minister for Education Niamh Breathnach's proposal met with heavy opposition from teachers unions and she was forced to back down.

But now the government is proposing that schools and other edu-

cational facilities be exempted from new legislation which will outlaw discrimination at work on the grounds of religion, age, disability, race, colour, sexual orientation, nationality or membership of the Travelling community.

Niamh Breathnach has obviously balked at the thought of taking on the power of the bishops in the schools.

The "liberal agenda" as far as the



■ Niamh Breathnach

Labour party are concerned ended with the divorce referendum.

The question of who controls our schools and hospitals is not one that they want to address.

At present of the 3,200 primary schools in this country only 14 are multi denominational.

All the remainder are in the hands of the churches.

Despite the fact that the state pays the vast bulk of capital and running costs of the schools, the church is still allowed to run our education system.

This new proposal should be met with exactly the same strength of opposition from the teachers unions as the veto.

Don't fine us we, are pig farmers

The Irish Farmers Association is up in arms because some of their members may be fined for pollution.

Over the past few years there have been major fish kills as rivers have been destroyed by pig farmers who have dumped their slurry into local rivers.

Now the government has finally brought in a measure to fine these major polluters.

Pig farmers will have to

get a licence from the Environmental Protection Agency and if they breach regulation they can be fined.

Measure

The maximum fine is set for only £1,000 but even this measure is too much

for the IFA.

One of their representatives, Ned Walsh from the IFA National Pigs Committee, has said that they are afraid that the EPA "will assume even more control of their industry".

The reality is that the IFA are against serious moves to stop pollution.

They need to be faced down.

Behind the headlines

Why the US wants Robinson in UN job

THE US has announced that it will not support the re-appointment of Boutros Boutros-Ghali as Secretary General of the United Nations.

One of the favourites to succeed him is Mary Robinson. The United States certainly wants her in the UN job — Hilary Clinton is the latest person to have added her voice in praise of Mary Robinson.

But the questions have to be asked — why does the US seem so desperate to get rid of Boutros-Ghali and why do they want to replace him with Robinson?

Clinton has been reported to be growing increasingly unhappy with Boutros-Ghali. One of the reasons given is that the White House is said to find the "bureaucratic inefficiency" of the UN unacceptable.

Actions

But in fact it has more to do with Boutros-Ghali speaking out against actions taken in the past by the US and its allies.

Last month he authorised the publication of a report which criticised the shelling of a UN base in southern Lebanon last April. The attack resulted in the killing of over 100 people.

The US did not want its ally in the area, Israel, subjected to any criticism. It is quite happy to give Israel a free hand as long as it continues to police the area in the interests of US imperialism.

But the rift between the US and the present Secretary General of the UN goes back to the American-led "Operation Restore Hope" in Somalia.

In 1993 UN forces went into Somalia to end the famine which was the result of the civil war which had been raging since 1988.

The civil war, according to the Western powers, resulted from the clan system of tribalism in Somalia.

In fact this "tribalism" was something which had been whipped up by the West throughout the twentieth century in pursuit of its own interests in the region.

The US in 1992 began to push for intervention because of a successful intervention in Somalia, it believed, could reinforce the claim of the US to be able to police the world.

The UN's "humanitarian" intervention didn't begin until the worst of the famine was over. And when it did happen the horror of the operation could hardly have been imagined.

Why does the US seem so desperate to get rid of Boutros-Ghali and replace him with Robinson?

As a US senator said, "We went to Somalia to keep people from starving to death. Now we are killing women and children."

After the disastrous Somalia intervention, Boutros Boutros-Ghali blamed the failure on the Americans.

According to him the raids, which wounded and killed hundreds of Somalis, were carried out by the US, and the UN had been forced to go along with it.

Since Somalia, the US has grown increasingly dissatisfied with Boutros-Ghali, leading to their refusal last month to back him for another term in the £190,000 a year job.

Boutros-Ghali is certainly no radical. He spent many years in the Egyptian foreign office working with a repressive right wing regime.

Determined

But the Pentagon is determined to show that anyone who steps on its toes will face the consequence of isolation and sacking.

Mary Robinson is an ideal choice for the UN's top job as far as the US is concerned.

For a start she's European and she's a woman and she is seen as someone who has stood up for human rights all over the world.

Who better to give the UN a credibility it needs than someone who is known as a feminist and a liberal.

According to one State Department official, the US wants to "play gender against geography".

They want to resist claims that the top job in the UN should go to a Third World country by pretending a concern about the status of women.

But Mary Robinson cannot transform the UN into a positive force. The UN will never be reformed because it is a vehicle for Western, and in particular US imperialism.

'I can do more for my kids by being in the workforce'

Single mothers demand proper childcare

SINGLE MOTHERS who were interviewed for a new study of lone parenting in the Coolock area of North Dublin are furious about the state's measly Lone Parents Allowance and angry over the non-existence of affordable high quality child-care.

But they are not victims. Whether unmarried, widowed or separated these women are adamant about their intentions to work, return to work or start training once their children are older.

As the report says "the provision of more accessible high-quality and affordable child-care facilities must be a priority". It points out that the desire to be both mother and worker "is shared by many mothers in two-parent families as well".

Loneliness was a consistent aspect of the lives of most women interviewed but the majority stresses that the balance to this was an enhanced sense of freedom and control.

Rules

The study highlights just how far Ireland has moved from the rigid moral rules of a generation ago.

Then the parents of a pregnant girl would often participate in the drive to get the baby adopted or fostered or would have disowned the girl.

Today families often provide the network of support—both financial and emotional—which is important in avoiding loneliness and deprivation.

Various

Single mothers from various backgrounds were interviewed for the report and each one cited the lack of publicly funded reliable child-care and access to training or retraining as a barrier to their finding employment.

Single

None saw their situation as single mothers as being primarily responsible for the loneliness and most—especially separated women—described the confidence they drew from the experience of independence and control.

Both separated and unmarried mothers emphasized that they did not see marriage or re-marriage as a way of avoiding loneliness.

Instead many echoed Betty, a separated mother of 4, when she said "there is a whole world out there and I am still young enough to get



With more women in the workforce the demand for decent childcare is increasing

out and enjoy it and I know I can do more for my kids by being in the workforce".

Clear

As the author of the report, Tony McCashin, makes clear, poverty and deprivation are associated with lone motherhood but there is nothing natural or inevitable about the connection: "Clearly, lone parenthood is hardly the cause of poverty ... the source of poverty

among lone mothers resides in the economic vulnerability of women in general - low pay, poorer skills, lower earnings and gender inequality in society".

The underlying social change giving rise in Ireland to a growing number of lone-parent families looks set to continue.

Demise

This means increased female labour participation, the demise in the authority of the Catholic

Church and an increase in the number of women choosing to have children outside of marriage or who leave unsatisfactory marriages.

Crucial

But it is crucial that the arguments of the right are tackled head-on.

The focus needs to be switched from a caricature of moral inadequacy to the real need for decent child-care facilities and educational or employment opportunities.

Tories abolish education boards

The Tories are planning huge cuts in how the education system is organised in the North.

In the biggest shake up since education was taken out of local council control in 1973, the Western Education and Library Board is being done away with altogether and a new Eastern Board will swallow up the former South Eastern and Belfast Boards.

Lost

Hundreds of jobs are likely to be lost. As always it is lower paid ad-

ministration and clerical workers that are likely to be hardest hit.

The trade unions which represent these workers—the Northern Ireland Public Service Alliance (NIPSA) and UNISON—described the proposals as 'anti democratic and dictatorial' and 'mid Summer madness'.

The teachers' union INTO has already opposed the plan, describing it as a crude carve up. Unfortunately, the other main

teachers' union, the NAS/UWT has welcomed the plan on the basis that it will free more money for the classroom.

Experience

But experience elsewhere has shown that money 'freed' by Tory 'reforms' hasn't gone to improving services but has disappeared back into the Treasury's coffers.

System

The education system in the North has been shown time and time

again to fail working class children.

This re-organisation will do nothing to improve class sizes or to end the two tier education system which the eleven plus system has created.

People living west of the Bann—the part of Northern Ireland with the highest levels of unemployment, rotten housing and poverty, as well as a majority Catholic population—are comparing the decision to the siting of the new University of Ulster at Coleraine, instead of Derry.

Decisions about schools in places like Derry and Strabane will now be taken in Paisley's stronghold of Ballymena.

Asking

Many people are asking which one of the Unionist leaders the Tories are paying off with their 'reform'.

This attempt to divide workers should be resisted and a trade union fight mounted to defend education for all of the working class.

international news

TURKEY:

Business as usual as Islamic party takes office

"ISLAMIC PARTY to rule Turkey", said the headlines last week as the Islamist Welfare Party formed a coalition government with Tansu illeris True Path party.

The press claimed the pro-Western policies of the Turkish government were under threat.

But the Welfare Party immediately showed its true colours as Turkey's third Tory party.

Provoked

Necmettin Erbakan, the Welfare Party leader who is to become prime minister, promised to carry on with the Thatcherite policies that have provoked a wave of workers' revolt in response to falling living standards.

He said, "The main target is to create an environment which will provide conditions of a free market economy."

Erbakan also dropped his demand for an inquiry into allegations of corruption against Ciller in return for her party's backing.

He had already said anyone entering a coalition

with him would emerge as "white as a spoon dipped in milk"—immune from corruption investigations.

Erbakan pledged continuity with earlier governments which means continuity with austerity measures, attacks on trade unions and the vicious repression of the Kurds which he used to say he opposed.

He has also allowed Ciller to be foreign minister, guaranteeing a continuation of the recently signed defence agreement with Israel, even though the Welfare Party used to demand a "pro-Islamic" foreign policy.

Problems

The Turkish ruling class faces a deep economic crisis.

The war against the Kurds continues to swallow up 40 percent of the government's budget.

The UN Habitat 2 conference on the problems of cities was recently held in Turkey at a time when over 2,000 Kurdish villages have been destroyed and two million people forced to flee their homes.

Debt

Inflation is running at 83 percent and there is massive government debt.

Import and export figures for the first six months of

1996 have not been published.

At the same time, the ruling class know more austerity measures will produce resistance.

Tansu Ciller's government was brought down at the end of last year by the biggest strike wave in 15 years.

The Welfare Party became the largest single party in the election that followed.

But the two main Conservative parties—Ciller's

True Path party and the Motherland Party—formed a coalition to keep Welfare out.

That coalition government had planned more attacks on workers—privatisation and wage freezes.

Collapsed

In May police murdered three demonstrators on a 100,000 strong May Day march that showed the feeling against the government.

Thousands of workers marched in other cities across Turkey.

The coalition collapsed last month as a result of that pressure, alongside allegations of corruption and internal splits.

Erbakan had used the corruption allegations against Ciller to attack the coalition. Ciller in turn had declared she would never form an alliance with Erbakan!

The Welfare Party talks in radical terms about the

needs of the poor.

But in the local councils it has controlled since 1994 it has privatised services, sacked workers and attacked local unions.

This has helped soften the attitude of business towards them.

One thing can be said of the new government.

It will continue to attack workers but will be no more able to solve the problems of Turkish capitalism than its predecessors were.

Queuing for dole German-style



Part of the queue for dole in an eastern district of Berlin. Unemployment in Germany—once Europe's "miracle economy"—is now at its highest since the devastation of World War II. Over the last couple of months Germany has seen mass strikes by workers against cuts in pensions and social welfare.

Greece: PASOK row erupts over new leader

THE BIGGEST argument for five years has opened up inside Greece's ruling PASOK party—the equivalent of the Labour Party.

It was touched off by the death of former prime minister and PASOK founder Andreas Papandreu last week.

Despite presiding over cuts while in government in the 1980s Papandreu had a radical image due to his previous opposition to the military dictatorship which fell in 1974.

His death brought a huge wave of nostalgia. It spurred on his followers on the traditionalist wing of the party to challenge the "modernisers" who recently captured the leadership.

At last week's PASOK conference prime minister Costas Simitis faced a challenge for the party leadership from the public administration minister, Akis Tsouchatzopoulos.

Tsouchatzopoulos is no left winger. But many left wing rank and file party members have backed him as an alternative to the openly right wing Simitis. The conference was bitterly divided with some of the 5,100 delegates almost coming to blows.

Over half Greece's population watched on TV as Simitis's opening speech was greeted with boos. He managed to hold on to office, securing 53 percent of delegates' votes.

But to do so he had to speak left. He was unable to announce his new austerity plan to cut 1.5 percent off the budget every year for the next three years.

The PASOK government has come under pressure from below over its attempted cutbacks.

Until May the government made concessions to groups of workers section by section. But then it signalled its intention to cut wages and spending across the board.

Businessmen are worried that Tsouchatzopoulos's supporters will slow down the cuts. That is unlikely.

But the serious rift at the top of PASOK makes it easier for union activists to argue to fight the entire package. It also opens up opportunities for forces to the left of

SOUTH AFRICA:

Inkatha loses out in elections

LOCAL ELECTION results from KwaZulu-Natal in South Africa have shown the unpopularity of Chief Buthelezi's conservative Inkatha organisation.

There has been bitter fighting in the area for over ten years as Buthelezi has tried to hold on to influence by butchering supporters of Nelson Mandela's African National Congress.

In 1994's first non-apartheid elections the results were fixed to give Inkatha a majority in the area.

But last week's voting, which was relatively free

Chief Buthelezi, that he enjoys support from "all Zulus".

Inkatha did well only in rural areas where it has a stranglehold on jobs, land and education opportunities.

In many of these areas the ANC found it hard to campaign without being harassed.

Thirteen election candidates were killed during canvassing, and 140 people in all.

Rallies were forcibly broken up or were dependent on permission from Inkatha-supporting chiefs.

On election day voters at

some polling stations were attacked if they wore badges or other signs that they were voting ANC.

'Authentic'

For over a decade the Western governments like Britain's Tories tried to persuade the world that Inkatha was the "authentic voice" of black people in South Africa as opposed to the "terrorist" ANC.

Buthelezi and Thatcher are close friends and a stream of Conservative MPs visited Inkatha to give it international respectability.

Buthelezi's campaign this time was guided by political lobbyist Ian Greer and Brendan Bruce, a former communications director for Thatcher.

One worrying sign from the polls was a big rise in support for the National Party, the party that ran apartheid until two years ago.

Another is that, instead of promising major reforms, the ANC is stressing that people will have to be patient and there will be alliances with Inkatha in councils where no party has a clear majority.

AS THE MARCHING SEASON GETS UNDER

The Orange Order

ON THE 12th of July the North will close down as the Orange Order takes to the streets. Some have tried to compare it to a carnival atmosphere that is like the Mardi Gras in New Orleans.

But very few people leave New Orleans because they are frightened of what the festival brings.

Every year up to 2,000 parades take place throughout the North in what is known as the marching season.

Lasting from the 1st of April to the end of August it is a period of increased sectarian tension and is often accompanied by violence.

It is not difficult to see why. Many of the parades pass through Catholic areas.

Like the parades going down the Ormeau Road, the parade that goes through the Garvaghy Road in Portadown or the "Tour of the North" parade in June which snakes its way through North Belfast, going past four or five Catholic areas in the process.

These parades are displays of

Protestant triumphalism and bigotry.

Their function was summed up by a leading Orangeman and historian of the Orange Order in the 1960s, Rev. John Brown.

Dominant

"On the 12th July and other occasions the Orangeman marched with his Lodge behind its flags and drums ... to show his strength in the places where he thought it would do most good.

"Where you could 'walk' you were dominant and the other things followed."

The Orange Order is a nakedly sectarian organisation. Its rules forbid any Catholic from joining it.

Any Orangeman who marries a Catholic is automatically expelled.

Orangemen are also forbidden from attending Catholic religious services.

Phelim O'Neill, an ex-unionist MP, was expelled from the order in 1959 for attending a Catholic mass.

One Orange songbook from 1971 contains the lyrics "I was born under the Union Jack / If guns were made for shooting / then skulls were made to crack / You've never seen a better Taig / than with a bullet in his back."

The Orange Order's bigotry doesn't stop at hating Catholics. Gays can be expelled from it for "immorality" and "conduct unbecoming to an Orangeman".

Orange records contain racist and sectarian songs with such titles as "The Pope is a Darkie".

The only thing that is being celebrated on the 12th is bigotry.

This is why thousands of Catholics and liberal Protestants often get out of the North during this period.



Asserting Orange supremacy. Below an Orange march past the books shop sectarian attack

AT THE SERVICE OF THE RICH AND POWERFUL

The Orange Order was formed in 1795 just outside Portadown in County Armagh.

At this time Armagh was the scene of sectarian clashes between Catholics and Protestants as they competed for land in what was then the most populated county in Ireland.

The Catholics organised themselves into gangs called the Defenders and the Protestants into gangs called the Peep O'Day Boys.

It was from this group that the Orange Order emerged. Within months of this formation 7,000 Catholics were forced out of Armagh.

Allied

From the very beginning the Order allied itself with the established powers.

Its declaration of principles stated that the Order would "support our King and Constitution and maintain the Protestant ascendancy for which our ancestors fought and conquered, in short to uphold the present system and establishment in opposition of the wicked schemes of rebels of all descriptions."

At first the landed gentry ignored the Order but as the ideas of the French Revolution began to gain ground in Ireland the landlords began to join the Order in large numbers and within a few short years they were in control of it.

When the United Irishmen rose up in 1798, 20,000 Orangemen were recruited into the Yeomanry to put down the rebellion.

The Orangemen Order has been fighting on the side of the establishment ever since.

The Order fought against the rise of trade unionism in the British working class. In 1821 Orangemen were recruited as "special constables" to attack a workers' demonstration at St Peter's field in Manchester.

Campaign

And in 1880 during the Land Leagues campaign against landlordism it was the Orange Order who provided 50 men to save the harvest of Captain Boycott.

For much of the 19th Century the Orange Order went into decline, having seen off the threat from the United Irishmen.

The Grand Lodge of Ireland even dissolved itself in 1836. And the government banned Lodge parades with the Party Processions Act of 1850.

However the situation changed in the 1880's with the development of the Home Rule crisis.

During the 19th century Belfast had become a major centre of capitalist industry and was one of the biggest producers of textiles, ships and machinery in the world.

Owners of this industry, like James Mackie feared Home rule because they believed it would cut them off from the markets in the rest of the British Empire.

Mackie built the engines for the cotton mills of India. And the Mc Adams Brothers factory in Belfast made the steam boats which navigated the Nile.

Fearing for their profits people like Mackie, McAdams, E. Harland and W. Wolf turned to the Orange Order in the same way that the landlords had in the 1790's and it now

became respectable again to be in the Orange Order.

When Tory politician Lord Randolph Churchill talked of playing the Orange Card in 1886 he meant building a mass movement on the streets through the Orange Order in defence of capitalist interests.

Stoking up division

Throughout this century the Orange Order has been used against workers' struggles.

Whenever Catholic and Protestant workers have come together to fight the bosses the Orange Order has always tried keep

Catholics and Protestants apart. During the great 1907 dockers strike in Belfast which brought Catholic and Protestant workers to-

gether in a militant struggle against the bosses, members of the Order spread rumours that the strike committee was favouring Catholic strikers by paying them more strike pay.

In 1919 as revolution swept Europe after the first World War Orange platforms were used to denounce the trade unions and Bolshevism.

Denounced

One Orange leader denounced "class war, that creed of madmen, Bolshevism."

Deadly seed of that kind cannot be sown without the danger of a terrible harvest."

In 1926 the unionist government took precautionary against the British general strike spreading to Northern Ireland by setting up



ER WAY WE EXAMINE...

er of bigotry

Why Trimble plays the Orange card

TODAY THE elite of the Unionist Party, led by David Trimble, fear that their position is once again under threat—this time from the growing Catholic middle class.

They don't want any settlement to the conflict that will benefit the Catholic middle class and weaken their own position.

These upper class unionists have sought to defend their position with the formation of new groups such as such as "Professionals for the Union".

And the Protestant cleric Rev. Roy Magee who has spent the last decade trying to convince loyalist paramilitaries to lay down their guns, says the loyalist ceasefire is being undermined by "shadowy middle-class unionist elements", unhappy at the present situation.

Clearly these elements see the issue of Orange parades as a way of building tension and campaigning for the preservation of the status quo, just as the landlords and the capitalist class did before them.

Hardline

Hence the massive mobilization of Orangemen at the "siege of Drumcree" in Portadown last year.

A new hardline faction has also emerged with the Orange Order "The Spirit of Drumcree" faction which is critical of Orange Grand Master Rev. Martin Smyth and plans to hold an Orange convention at Portadown, in June without the permission of Smyth.

Today the Orange Order is an organisation in decline.

In 1969 it had a membership of 125,000. Today its membership is estimated to be at 80,000 and many Lodge meetings have problems getting their quorum of 5 people.

In the early part of this century Protestant districts would be completely covered in flags, bunting

and decorations for the 12th of July.

Today, although flags are still flown, the preparations are meagre in comparison.

For fifty years under the old Stormont regime the Order was an immensely powerful institution.

Violent

All the N.I. Prime Ministers were members of the Order. 95 percent of cabinet ministers were members, 95 percent of unionist MPs were members.

Most senior police officers, judges and civil servants were also members.

The part-time police force, the notorious and violent "B Specials", were recruited almost exclusively from the Orange Order.

Despite what senior Orangemen like Trimble and Smyth say, Protestant workers have absolutely nothing to celebrate on the 12th July.

WE THINK:

TODAY, nationalist politicians argue quite rightly that Orange parades should not go through Catholic areas.

But increasingly they accept Orangeism as a legitimate expression of

"Protestant culture" as "part of the broad canvas of national life".

But Orangeism is a poison that needs to be fought—not on the basis of territory—but along class lines, as part of the

fight against oppression and for the unity of the working class.

This was the position of James Connolly who wrote an article in 1911 "Sweatshops behind the Orange Flag".

He stated that "The true blue loyalist leaders who on every platform assert their unquenchable enthusiasm for the cause of Protestant liberty, are the slimiest enemies of the social advancement of the Protestant working class."

United

This remains the view of the Socialist Workers Party today.

Its Protestants and Catholic members are united in arguing that Orangeism is an enemy of all workers.



the bookshop where Catholics were killed in a

ions

the supply and transport committee—a strike breaking and scabbing... The was run by men like Fred Crawford, D.G. W.H. Barbour—all former UVF and leading members of the Orange Order. The Minister for Commerce Barbour, himself a leading Orangeman suggested at an STC meeting might be possible to a split in the ranks of the strikers."

proaching crisis.

The response of the Unionist government was to use the 12th of July orange parades to drum up sectarianism.

Sir Basil Brook spoke on the Orange platform and said, "Roman Catholics are endeavouring to get in everywhere and were out with all their force to destroy the power and constitution of Ulster....I appeal to Loyalists to employ Protestant lads and lasses."

Illegal

During the Second World War the North had the highest strike record in the UK with 370 illegal strikes.

Again the Orange bigots got to work trying to divide the workers.

This time with the German air force bombing Belfast, the bigots began saying that Catholics were guiding the German bombers by going up on the roofs with torchlights.

'I have nothing left'

Last year one Orangeman, William McLaverty from the Taughmonagh Estates in Belfast, was supposed to take his place with his Lodge for the parade.

When he didn't turn up at the arranged time, a member of his family went to look for him. He was found hanging by a rope in his home, having committed suicide.

At his inquest it was discovered that he had been made redundant by Harland and Wolfe.

The Halifax Building Society was threatening him with court action over £1,500 debt and the DHSS had recently turned him down for a compassionate grant to bury his father.

He had recently told his family "I have nothing left".

Trimble and Paisley will take this kind of despair and try to direct it against Catholics. But William was driven to suicide by the blood-suckers who tried to make profit from him all his life.

125 YEARS SINCE THE PARIS COMMUNE

When workers first ran society

by KEVIN KENNY

In the spring of 1871, 125 years ago, the working class of Paris seized state power and the Paris Commune became the first workers state in history.

Karl Marx regarded it as a historic experience of enormous importance. In his famous pamphlet *The Civil War in France* written in London during the last days of the Commune, he called it "the glorious harbinger of a new society". He praised the heroism of the Communards, who he said were "martyrs storming the gates of Heaven".

In July 1870, Louis Napoleon Emperor of France started the Franco-Prussian War but in September the French army was completely routed in a decisive battle in north eastern France. Napoleon and 80,000 troops were taken prisoners.

After the defeat a republic was proclaimed in Paris, but what type of republic would it be?

Should it continue to govern in the interests of large scale capital, as the Empire had done, or should there be a government which represented workers and small shopkeepers?

The Prussian army invaded France itself and Paris suffered terribly under a Prussian siege until the French capitulated in January.

A new conservative national government under Adolphe Thiers now faced the problem of France's huge war debts, and paying for the upkeep of several hundred thousand Prussians on France soil.

This could only be done by reasserting French capitalism and shifting the burden onto the backs of the producing classes.

But the National Guard, a key Parisian institution with 300,000 members, mostly workers, remained armed. Armed Paris, a Frankenstein they had created during the Siege, was an obstacle which it was imperative to remove.

On the night of 17 March Government troops attempted secretly to remove the cannons of the National Guard, which had been paid for out of workers' subscriptions, from Montmartre. The operation was a disaster and two Bonapartist generals were killed.

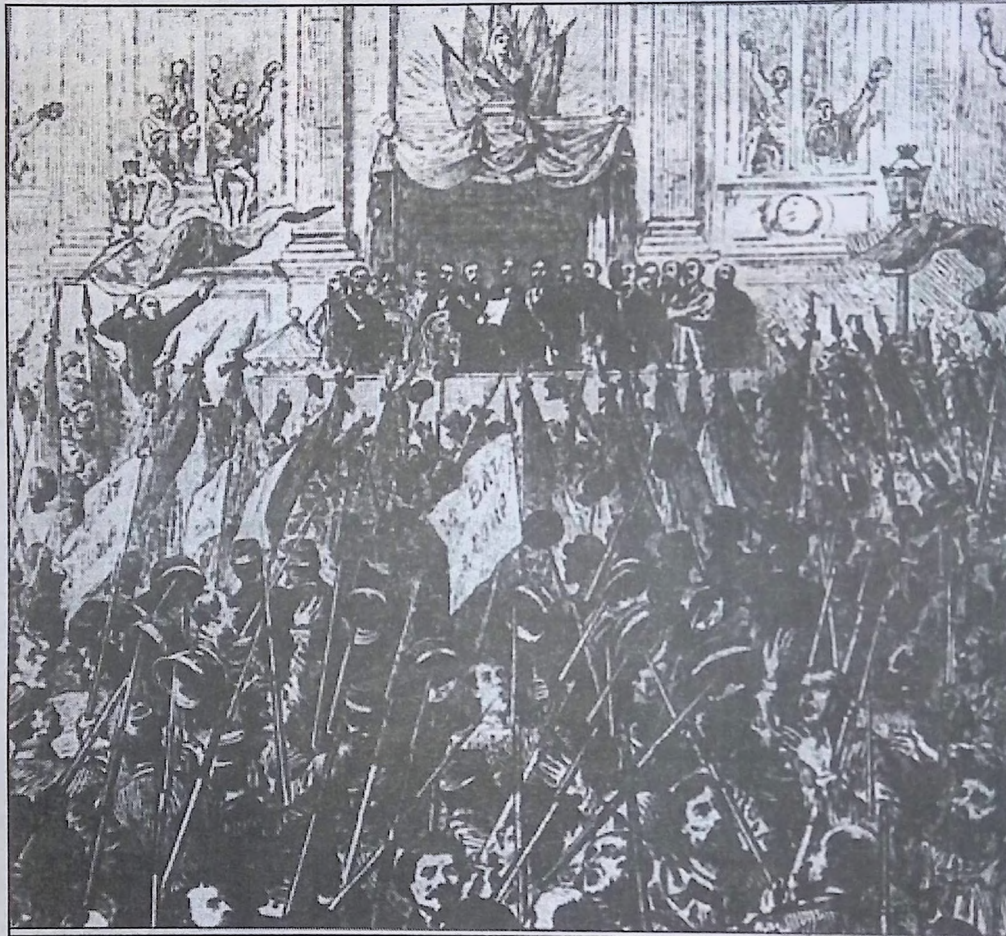
The government then withdrew to Versailles, an upper class area outside Paris. The National Guard seized the Hotel de Ville (the Town Hall) and announced that elections to a working class government of Paris would take place the following week. On the 26th elections took place and on the 28th the Commune was proclaimed.

The Commune was elected by universal male suffrage from the various districts of the city.

Each representative was electable for short terms and recallable if he failed to meet the wishes of his electorate. Each worked at workman's wages.

All public positions: police, judiciary, and all other public functionaries, were similarly elective, revocable, accountable, and paid only workman's wages.

In this way, by ensuring no special privileges or job security at the top, the people of Paris smashed all bureaucracy and state hierarchies and ensured that the state apparatus, now genuinely



Workers cheering the declaration of the Paris Commune in 1871

democratic, would be its servant rather than master.

The Vendôme Column, a huge triumphal column in the centre of Paris celebrating the military victories of the first Napoleon, was toppled and demolished by decree of the Commune in May amid great public celebration.

The Commune had denounced it as a monument of barbarism, an affirmation of militarism, and an incitement to national hatred. A Guillotine was brought out on April 6 and publicly burnt amid public rejoicing.

The first act of the Commune was the abolition of the regular army and its replacement with a peoples militia. The Commune abolished rent payments and ordered a three year delay in debt repayments. Gambling was banned, pawnshops were closed and pawned tools returned to workers.

On April 2 the Commune declared the separation of the church from the state, and the nationalisation of all church property. (Churches were then used as clubs and storehouses.) Religious symbols, pictures, dogmas, prayers - "all that belongs to the sphere of the individual's conscience", were

excluded from schools. Priests and nuns were kicked out of schools and it was declared that education would no longer serve to stultify girls' and boys' minds, and was provided free and equally to all.

Under the Second Empire Parisian workers were concentrated in the most appalling slums and suffered long hours in disgraceful employment conditions. There was no security of employment, no sickness benefits, no pensions.

But with the departure of the old Parisian judges and cops, robberies, assaults and other crimes became a rare occurrence. People called each other 'citizen' and the streets were kept remarkably clean.

Around this time the words of the workers' anthem, the Internationale, were written by a Parisian transport worker. Theatres, museums and galleries were reopened.

The Tuileries Palace was thrown open to curious crowds who goggled at the magnificence of its interior.

Public concerts were held in the Tuileries Gardens culminating in the most extravagant one on 21 May in which 1,500 musicians took part.

The boulevards and parks of central Paris on this day were packed with people from the poorest parts of the city, all wearing holiday clothes and

expressing themselves. To the poor and oppressed of Paris these days must have possessed an unimaginable magic.

The Commune made a fatal mistake in not taking advantage of their temporary superiority in arms to march on Thier's government at Versailles in the first few days.

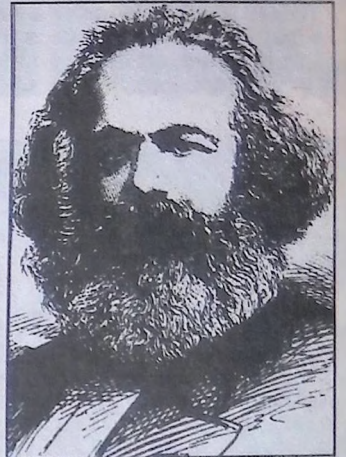
Paris came under siege again when Thiers had eventually established a significant fighting force.

There had been sympathetic uprisings and Communes were declared in important centres as far apart as St.-Etienne and Marseilles, Le Creusot, Lyons, and Toulouse, but these revolts were quickly suppressed by Thiers government.

In April the French government requested the return of it troops held in German captivity for the "pacification" of Paris.

Bismarck who worried about the impact of the Commune readily agreed to expand the French army to 170,000 men. Troops poured into camps in order to prepare them mentally for the slaughter that would be expected of them.

One of the other errors of the Com-



Karl Marx

munne was its failure to nationalise the Bank of France. The Bank could have provided it with a powerful weapon and hostage. Lissagaray, a participant of the Commune wrote "Through it they held the genital organs of Versailles... Without expending a man, the Commune only had to say to it (bourgeois France): 'Come to terms or die'". Instead a deal was done with its officials who agreed to finance the Commune. All the while they smuggled vast funds to Versailles to finance the expansion of Thiers forces.

Women were excluded from voting (and would only get the right to vote in France after it had been liberated from the Nazis). This was a serious weakness, potentially pushing women into passivity or even into the clutches of Catholic counter-revolution.

The working women of Paris played a magnificent role under the Commune. Women's battalions were amongst its best and most ferocious defenders.

The right wing portrayed the Commune as supported by frenzied hordes of female petrol-bombers, feminists, lesbians, prostitutes in quest of blood and pleasure.

The Commune provided creches for working mothers and ensured that not only the wives but also informal partners of workers killed in the fighting received welfare.

A working women's organisation, the Union des Femmes pour La Defence de Paris, was formed and insisted that any genuine revolution must have sexual emancipation on its agenda.

Some Commune leaders argued for women's emancipation and against senseless exclusion. But the matter had not been resolved when the Commune fell.

On 21 May government troops broke into Paris and the final resistance of the Commune was smashed on the 28th.

During this week called Bloody Week, 3,000 supporters of the Commune were killed. In the following days over 20,000 were murdered and tens of thousands of others were deported to forced labour camps in New Caledonia and Algeria, or arrested.

The right wing army shot anyone who had blackened hands because they took this as a sign that they were a worker.

Despite the defeat the Commune showed that workers could destroy the old state machine, with its unelected officials and privileges, and replace it with one compatible with a society run in the interest of the majority.

Indeed this was absolutely essential for their liberation. It is a lesson that revolutionary socialists have remembered ever since.

Take the Highway

"THE INTERNET is today's version of the industrial revolution", says the start of a current TV advert in a tone that suggests supreme wisdom.

Similarly a magazine article I read recently stated, "The super-information highway will have the same effect on the 21st century that railways had on the 19th century".

Well, really. Virtually every modern town in the world was built around the local railway. No town is ever going to be built because it's possible to contact a student in Copenhagen who has a list of every character who's ever been in Star Trek.

Star Trek

This article is being written on a wordprocessor so I hope it doesn't sound as if am anti-technology. But surely for most domestic use a basic machine is perfectly adequate.

Yet, otherwise intelligent people scream that I'm hopelessly out of touch because I haven't got one of those screens with coloured fish going backwards and forwards. "They're marvellous," someone told me shivering with excitement. "You can even do pie charts on them".

What possible purpose does a pie chart serve in an average household? Did this person go running up the street shouting, "Guess what, 12 percent of the surface area of my flat is in the kitchen"?

"I can contact people in Bristol," somebody told me, enthusing about the Internet but clearly never having heard of the telephone.

Rational thinking is abandoned by fans of the web, as they marvel at the prospect that it's possible to do shopping on e-mail.

Greengrocer

Will Hutton points out, "This is no different to the 1960s, when we could ring the local greengrocer with an order which he would deliver that day."

Of course the Internet is an advance.

But claims that it is revolutionising our lives are connected to the notion that we live in new times, making the old idea that society is divided into classes out of date.

So we're told we will soon be able to work from home.

But while the Web may allow that for a handful of sales people and graphic artists, how will anyone construct build-

Rational thinking is abandoned by fans of the web, as they marvel at the prospect that it's possible to do shopping on e-mail.

ings or grow food on the Internet?

In fact, how will the workers who make the computers for the Internet make them on the Internet?

How will road sweepers work from home? Will they have a large dustpan and brush on a long piece of elastic? The truth is that up to now computer technology has not changed our lives, as much as the innovations at the beginning of the century such as electricity, cars and aircraft.

Our domestic lives have altered less as a result of "Windows" than they did with the arrival of fridges, televisions and vacuum cleaners.

Survey

If someone died 50 years ago and came back to life, they would surely be amazed by the way these objects have transformed the way we live.

Would they be the slightest bit interested though in the "super-information highway?" I very much doubt it, as for most people it amounts to no more than a hobby.

It is a hobby as harmless but as unimportant as bird watching or matchbox collecting. It is a way to spend the evening playing with pages of UFO sightings. It really ought to be renamed the "worthless information highway".

Radio Hams

It is a modern equivalent to the radio hams, who at least didn't pretend that they were the 1950s version of the industrial revolution.

Incidentally, to save me travelling around the country my current tour can be seen online on: e/marste//sw*&@//funnyhaha.

— MARK STEEL

Book:

The agony and the ecstasy

ECSTASY (Three Tales of Chemical Romance) is the new book by Irvine Welsh. Welsh is the cult author of the Thatcher's children generation.

Big business has not been slow to profit from books which capture the cynicism and destruction that capitalist crisis breeds.

Welsh's distrust of authority and contempt for the rich has been turned into a multi-million pound industry.

You can see why. At best Welsh is contradictory, at worst he is a total reactionary.

His books are full of emotional tragedy in a world that distorts people's lives.

Sometimes this is unpleasant—the violence, the brutal sexism, the homophobia and the racism.

Despair

In Maraboustork Nightmares he verges on woman-hating in a book centred on alienated sex and gratuitous violence.

But sometimes he can be funny—his characters articulate their hopelessness and despair with great wit and banter.

But more often than not they are cruel caricatures.

Take Dave Thornton, the Millwall thug in Ecstasy.

His personal progression from an unfeeling brute to a brute with compassion on a mission for love is almost laughable.

His gross sexism is glossed over by the women characters with witty retorts.



Welsh's previous book, *Trainspotters*, dealt with heroin addiction

This post-feminist notion of women runs through all his books.

It is a thin disguise for what almost amounts to pornography.

Ultimately Welsh lets the system off the hook—the only survivors are those strong enough to beat this corrupt world.

This is done by achieving emotional stability—like Lorraine from Livingstone in Ecstasy.

She is desperately trying to discover her sexuality.

On the way we encounter Freddy the necrophiliac, Rebecca the romantic novelist and her sleazeball husband Perky.

Strange happenings and a bizarre ending.

But everything is achievable—if you take an E and chill out! It is not that Welsh is offensive.

Explicit

He is not the first author to use explicit language or to portray distorted relationships.

His books are hard to stomach because they can be interpreted as a justification for the cult of the underclass and for the reactionary stereotyping which accompanies it.

His books are unpleasant because they are anti working class.

There can be no collective response to suffering—apart from drug taking, raving, hoodliganism and gang banging.

The sex is so alienating—not that it is unbelievable, but what purpose does it serve? The violence is also real, but again, why so much of it? Sometimes there is a glimpse of an alternative—a brief attack on New Labour and a briefer mention of Militant Labour in Ecstasy.

This only serves to give the impression that he is on the side of the working class, when in fact it is nothing more than a left gloss.

Ecstasy by Irvine Welsh. Published by Jonathan Cape at £9.99.

Book

The green diamond

by NIGEL COOKE

THE person who wrote this is sick.

Sorry that should have read "the person who wrote this was sick".

For Fianna Fail's own wee diamond, Maire Gheoghan Quinn was laid up for a stretch some months back and decided to pen a novel a la Edwina (would you like Salmonella with your egg) Currie across the water.

The news sent uncontrolled shivers of fear and expectation around Leinster House as saliva dripping TDs rushed to get their mitts on advance copies to examine the entrails of spilled beans, alas there is nowt.

The soggy story centres around four females in the late 1960s who house share across a Dublin diamond shaped green form the lads and the interplay (I said interplay!) between them.

There are occasional forays into politics as Derva, a politician's daughter (now, I wonder who she could be modelled on?) sparks off her housemates Aileen, Cait and Lorna and they in turn react with neighbours Gavin, Blake, Roger and (wait for it) Father Durkan. Ah, what would an Irish novel be without an out priest thrown in? (Answers on a muss card to the editor.)

Dictates

The literary law of averages dictates that the script has its moments now and then, provided you don't find yourself rereading the same paragraph several times in a matter of pages. But perhaps this is some new publishers' ploy to keep the reader awake. If so in my case, it failed. However, if its deep social analysis or political discourse you seek for the summer of 96, perhaps you would be better investing your pennies in the Beano, where you can at least observe the effects of classroom overcrowding and youth alienation down in Bash street.

Nevertheless, perhaps we may glean some insight into the catchall mindset of a Fianna Fail frontbencher in the revelation from Gheoghan-Quinn that she wanted to write a "popular" book.

Not, mind a good one, not a profound or challenging piece of work. No, merely a popular tract. Accordingly, readers will detect the previously sampled Rose Doyle, Patricia Scanlan/Maeve Binchy ingredients, occasionally seasoned with political spice, but the overall effect on the intellectual palette is akin to candyfloss—sweet but insubstantial. Certainly not food for thought.

Still, the fact that The Green Diamond shot straight to the Number 1 slot in the bestsellers chart demonstrates that this lady is not for spurning.

Maire Gheoghan Quinn will have to be carefully watched.

If she can produce treacle like this when unwell, what damage might she do, able bodied to a serious work of fiction—such as the next Fianna Fail manifesto! ■The Green Diamond, Maire Gheoghan Quinn

International Socialism Journal

Why the economists get it wrong

by CHARLIE KIMBER

THE PROFESSORS of economics who support capitalism used to believe they understood how their system worked and how it could be corrected if something went wrong.

Today few of them claim to know what is really going on and all their competing remedies have failed.

The main article in this

quarter's *International Socialism Journal* is Chris Harman's "The crisis of bourgeois economics."

In it he provides both an

accessible history of economic thought since the Second World War and also analyses the impact of a period when "thirty five years of economic boom have given way to 25 years of repeated crises."

He proves that no section of the economics profession "can explain the central issue that has destroyed the old certainties—the intractability of the crises which afflict the advanced industrial heart of the capitalist world".

Destroys

Chris Harman opens up the work of economists like John Maynard Keynes and the more recent monetarists to rigorous criticism.

He is dealing with ideas that are sometimes complex but he explains them in clear language. The article destroys the sort of economics taught in schools and universities.

It also equips activists to argue that capitalism fails because of the very structure of the system, and that therefore no amount of tinkering can abolish unemployment, poverty and attacks on the working class.

Economics is often presented as impossible to understand. As in his *Economics of the Madhouse*, Chris

Harman has produced an article which will enable you to recognise the roots of the ideas which the economics "experts" argue and enable you to tear them apart.

Hassan Mahamdallie's article on the 19th century revolutionary William Morris will be welcomed by everyone interested in the British socialist tradition.

It is 100 years since Morris died and there have been competing views of his legacy. Hassan Mahamdallie shows that Morris developed from a criticism of the ugliness of capitalism to a whole hearted commitment to revolution and practical socialist organisation.

The Journal also has a fascinating look at Darwin, materialism and evolution by Alex Callinicos, Paul Foot on William Blake, Gill Hubbard's book review of a history of feminism, Chris Nineham on Raymond Williams and a commentary on books about the fight against racism in the United States by Lee Sustar.

The Journal is wonderful value and will be enjoyed by every reader of this paper.

International Socialism Journal is out next week. It is available for £3 from your Socialist Worker seller or, plus 68p postage from SW Books, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

Film:

Brothers in crime

Reviewed by ROISIN CRONIN

Small Faces is a film which looks at the lives of three brothers living in Glasgow in the late 1960s and realistically portrays a world of gang warfare.

The three brothers are very different from each other. Bobby, the eldest, is already involved in the local gang, The Glen. Alan, the middle brother, wants to be an artist and wants to go on to better things.

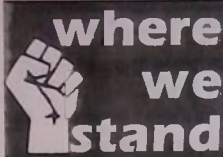
Lex is thirteen and the central character in the film. He has two options—he can be like Bobby and join The Glen, or he can follow Alan and pursue his interest in art.

But Bobby and Lex get drawn into conflict between the gangs when Lex is involved in the shooting of the leader of the rival gang in Glasgow, The Tongs.

The film doesn't try to portray the gang members simply as people who are inherently evil. In fact it is quite sympathetic towards them, while at the same time showing the brutality involved.

Bobby is shown as someone who can barely read, but when he is with The Glen, he is second-in-command. When Lex ventures into the home area of The Tongs we see the huge tower blocks surrounded by wasteland, which the police don't venture into.

But while it's worth seeing the weakness of *Small Faces* is that it fails to delve very deeply into the reasons why young people joining the gangs in the first place.



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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

The present system cannot be reformed out of existence. Parliament cannot be used to end the system.

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class.

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

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class. Workers' unity can only be won and maintained in a fight to smash both the Northern and Southern states. We stand for the immediate withdrawal of British troops. Violence will only end when workers unite in the fight for a workers' republic.

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

Trade unions exist to defend workers' interests. But the union leaders' role is to negotiate with capitalism - not to end it. We support the leaders when they fight but oppose them when they betray workers. We stand for independent rank and file action.

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

news & reports—politics; the unions—

Royal Mail

Postal workers strike against team working

Post offices throughout Post Offices Northern Ireland closed down last month as part of a national strike. *Socialist Worker* spoke to some of the pickets in Belfast.

"We are out on strike because the Royal Mail wants to introduce new ways of working — the Employee Agenda and Team working.

We would be broken down into teams and if anyone went sick or took annual leave the rest of the team would have to cover for them or do their work.

Extra

They might have to take out twice as much mail and get no extra pay or overtime.

Management offered a pay rise of £27 a week to accept the new arrangements.

But with all the strings that they have attached, with all the losses of allowances it only works out as a £2.50 pay rise and a lot of postal workers would be worse off".

Action

The Royal Mail claimed that 174 delivery centres throughout Britain remained open during the first day of action — but it was complete fiction.

Support for the strike among the rank and file is really enthusiastic. In almost all areas, administrative staff struck solidly.

In many offices temporary staff put their jobs on the line and did not go in.

Bosses were so frightened of



provoking more walkout that they allowed 100,000 postal workers throughout Britain to do weekend overtime to clear the backlog after the first strike.

Masters

But their Tory masters then told them to adopt a tougher line. Michael Heseltine has also tried the crudest of blackmail. He wrote to the industry secretary Ian Lang: *I hope you are preparing to suspend the Post Office monopoly on delivering mail in the event of this action going on*".

Heseltine was hoping to frightened CWU negotiators into doing a deal that will be seen as a victory over a strongly organised group of workers. But the postal workers can defeat the Tories if they overcome the hesitancy of their union leaders and escalate the action.

Strikes build unions

UNIONS ARE supposed to be unpopular and in decline. But the Royal mail strike proves the very opposite.

In the weeks running up to the strike an extra 6000 workers joined the postal union, the CWU. They included 500 who joined in the week just before the strike.

Action

It showed that action makes for stronger unions. The same thing happened in the South when 3,000 joined the nurses union the INO after they threatened to take action.

The shop workers union also expanded massively after it took on the retail giant Dunnes.

The leaders who do not want to fight

After the last one day strike, the CWU leader Alan Johnson said that he had 'no plans for future action'. He even said that workers needed a period of 'calm reflection' before anything else happened.

Johnson is desperately looking for a way out to satisfy the Labour leader Tony Blair. He has dragged his feet on every step of the way. 'The BIZ' the journal of the Northern Ireland CWU Number 1 branch, noted that 'It was only when an unofficial meeting of the branches was called in London on March 1st that our negotiators finally realised the depth of feeling towards the agenda. Over forty branches attended the meeting. Not one delegate had a good word to say about the agenda.'

The reluctance of the union leaders was also evident even in the one day action in Belfast.

Leaders

A picket at the Tomb St sorting office said:

The union leaders bent to pressure from management to allow shifts to finish even though they passed the strike time of 12.00 pm. So you had a picket outside the main office while a shift was still working inside. They should have just called everybody out at the same time'. It is vital that major pressure is

exerted to overturn this moderate approach. The one day action was a headache for the bosses it was not enough in itself.

Three percent of Royal Mail customers, the big firms, generate over 75% of business. These are the people who would be screaming if a strike hit hard.

The Executive of the CWU should be faxed to argue for more action. East London branches have already demanded man escalation to a week long strikes.

The unofficial conference which started off the action should be re-called to pressurise the executive of the union to stop preparing a sell-out.

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

BELFAST
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm Central Hall Rosemary Street.

CORK
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St.

DERRY
Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Bar at 8pm

BRAY
Meets Wednesdays at 8pm Mayview Hotel Florence Terrace.

DUBLIN NORTH-WEST
Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm in The Old Brogue, Dorset St.

DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK
Meets every Thursday at 8:30pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd.

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH
Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm in the Bentley Pub, Drimnagh Road

DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL
Meets every Wednesday at 8:30pm in Conways, Parnell St.

DUBLIN RATHMINES
Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in O'Connells Pub, Richmond Street.

DUBLIN SOUTH CENTRAL
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Trinity Inn, Pearse St.

DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN
Meets Tuesday Tallaght Welfare Society, Tallaght Village.

DUN LAOGHAIRE
Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub.

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

MAYNOOTH
Contact 8722682 for details

WATERFORD
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St.

SWP organises warship protests



The visit of the JFK warship in July was met by a wave of protests. Labour and Democratic Left Ministers in government stayed silent about the visit. The Minister for the Marine who gave permission for the ship to enter Irish waters is Eamonn Gilmore of Democratic. Against all odds the Socialist Workers Party stood up against the media barrage that was orchestrated by the US Embassy. Hundreds came to meetings and protests in Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Galway.

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

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

Name

Address

Phone

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

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

Government plans new attack on busworkers

The government and CIE management are preparing a major attack on the pay and conditions of CIE workers. CIE announced total losses of £31 million last year and the Minister for Transport Lowry wants to use this to scapegoat workers.

Already workers in Bus Eireann are facing drastic attacks from a management which claims they must save £6 million next year.

It wants workers to accept reductions in pay through eliminating bonus payment and wiping out overtime.

They also want complete workers "flexibility" and the right to hire contractors and part time staff.

Dublin Bus are also trying to tell the remaining bus conductors that they must get out of the workforce because they are no longer 'economic'.

Competition

One bus worker told *Socialist Worker* that the company is using the threat of private competition to get its way.

Since a management shake up last year, it is almost as if each garage in Dublin is run on its own like a private business.

There was even one case when management in Conyngham Road tried to introduce a mini-bus service on a route operating out of Phibsboro garage.

Each route must make

■ **Two thousand drivers in Belfast are balloting on industrial action. They have been offered a pay rise of 2.7% but are demanding more. The workers are employed by Ulster Bus and City Bus and are members of the GMB and ITGWU. The balloting is taking place over the next fortnight.**

money on its own or face cuts.

It's like we no longer have any interest in providing a service, but only making money'.

Invested

The government will justify the attacks by claiming that new EU regulations mean state companies will face competition from private bus

operators.

Workers should not fall for this as money invested in public transport in Ireland is minuscule in comparison with countries like France and Germany.

The state only contributes 2p per passenger while in other European countries it pays 90% of the cost.

It is working class people who rely most on public transport and who suf-



Bus Eireann workers on strike in Cork last year

fer from both an inadequate and expensive service.

The government is con-

stantly trying to reduce its subvention and worsen the service further.

The real purpose of deregulation can be seen in Britain where Thatcher used it to smash bus workers pay and conditions.

The outcome was a worse transport service which is privately owned by a few millionaires

should demand proper funding for public transport and reject the scapegoating of busworkers.

But already there are signs that some union leaders are falling for the bogus arguments about competition and the need for cutbacks.

We should be following the example of French and German busworkers who have taken strike action against their governments which wanted to bring in changes under the guise of EU regulation.

Demand.

Lowry's policies could eventually lead to the same result here.

This is why the unions

Nurses: Union leaders squander anger

NURSES have voted by 3 to 1 to allow their union leaders to take their claims to an adjudication process.

Many members have grown tired of failure to carry through on previous votes and organise a strike.

Only 80 nurses turned up to two Dublin mass meetings compared to thousands some months ago.

'We are sick of the stalling tactics that the officials are engaged in. Members voted to let them discuss the issue further but there is little enthusiasm.'

Sections of the press are already heaving a sign of relief because they think that the nurses can be worn down.

Padraig Yeates who is the industrial correspondent of the *Irish Times* has argued the nurses vote will make it easier to sell a new version of the PCW to the unions.

But the fight is far from over.

Concessions

All the signs are the union leaders have already started to make major concessions to management.

■ They are only discussing the removal of the £1,000 pay cuts for existing student nurses.

Those who start next year, will still face a major reduction in their salary next year.

■ There will be no real improvements in the pay level of staff nurses.

The last offer lengthened the salary scale to 17 years.

A document from the Psychiatric Nurses Association has already stated that management are 'absolutely resistive' to further improvements in this area.

■ Although there are some permanent jobs being created, they will not make a major dent in a situation where many hospitals are relying on temporary staff. In some hospitals up to 50% of the staff are temporary.

The real fight will take place in August when the nurses union leaders try to sell this compromise deal.

RINGSEND STRIKE GETS RESULTS

BUSWORKERS at the Ringsend garage took unofficial strike action at the start of July. The management had introduced a new schedule for the No 15 route which had been agreed with the officials but not the drivers concerned.

It would have reduced the number of buses on the route

and drivers would have had to work some duties with longer hours.

The picket was called off when management agreed to bring in a new schedule for the following Thursday.

Management were frightened because not a single worker passed the picket.

CPSU: NATIONAL ACTION NEEDED

This week the C.P.S.U. have begun balloting members on the pay restructuring deal with a recommendation for acceptance.

The Government and the union agreed the deal three days before the union's annual conference. Union leaders called off national industrial action without consulting the members.

Now they are asking their members to vote "yes" to a deal that will give them tiny concessions in return for major changes and flexibility.

Low paid civil servants were told they would get increases of £50.00 per week. This is a lie. Only one third of these workers would get increases amounting to between £3.26 and £6.48 per week and only those reaching the top of the scale after 18 years service are set to make any real gains.

The starting point of the staff officer scale will be reduced by £2,000 and overtime will become a thing of the past. For the majority of workers this means that they will remain caught in the poverty trap created by low pay in the service.

The restructuring deal means that the workers must give complete flexibility in their jobs in return for these miserable increases. And

management will be able to bring in part-time "yellow pack" workers.

The Government have said they have lifted the embargo on recruitment in the civil service and in the same breath are looking to shed 570 jobs in this year alone.

Contempt

This deal should be dealt with the contempt it deserves. Some union reps have been circulating bulletins urging a "no" vote and giving information to members which the union officials have failed to do. C.P.S.U. General Secretary John O'Dowd has sent an irate circular to all branches in response to a demand for a special delegate conference which will not take place.

But now shop stewards must argue for rejection and for a return to national industrial action. Only national action that is escalated and carried through will make the Government concede.

Union leaders like O'Dowd are anxious to enter another "social partnership" deal with the government and are prepared to sell out thousands of low paid workers in the Civil Service for their own agenda. A deal on pay restructuring has been a key demand of CPSU members since 1989 but this deal is a joke.

AEEU right wing shift provokes exodus

MEMBERS of the craft union the AEEU in major workplaces in Dublin are leaving the union over a right wing move to cut back on democracy.

Originally the union had a very democratic constitution which placed considerable powers in the hands of local executive or district committees.

These usually involved shop stewards and convenors from local factories.

In the 1980s the union was taken over by a right wing grouping who deposed a former Broad Left leader.

They eventually pushed through a merger with the electricians' union in the Britain, the EEPTU which had been expelled from the British TUC.

The merger was used as an occasion to completely change the constitution and give more powers to the full time officials.

When Southern Irish union leader Eamonn Devoy tried to convey his concern to the British leadership he

was told he simply had to toe the line.

Devoy is no radical and during the Guinness and Airmotive strike argued very much against escalating the action.

But he could see that many of the rank and file representatives in Ireland were deeply unhappy with the changes.

Today the AEEU has already faced mass resignation in TEAM, ESB and the docks.

Prevent

According to one shop stewards, "The resignations are unanimous."

"We are moving over temporarily to another union where we feel we can keep our democratic rights".

The members who have resigned are joining the Irish based TEEU where Eamon Devoy and the other official in Ireland, Pat Guilfoyle have already been appointed as officials.

The AUEW leadership in Britain are trying to prevent the move by making a charge of poaching against the

TEEU under the Irish Congress of Trade Unions rules.

But this is not a simple case of a few members leaving to join another union—their whole Southern Irish membership is resigning.

The change in unions also reflects a deeper sense of frustration among craft workers over their experience in the past few years.

In a number of key industries they have taken major defeats from an aggressive management.

One of the key reasons for the defeats was the failure to persuade general workers not to pass their pickets.

The practice of a two tier picket where craft and general workers pass each other pickets have played right into the bosses hands.

The members who are transferring to the TEEU should press for greater democracy and militancy in that union.

They should insist that all official remain elected, that lay copmittees are given more powers and that the union starts to argue against the terrible tradition of the two tier picket.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

Inside:

The Orange Order of bigotry
—CENTRE PAGES

When workers first ran society
—PAGE 8

Stop these sectarian Orange marches



DAVID Trimble is trying to use the 'marching season' to stir up more sectarian hatred.

In a recent radio interview Trimble was asked three times whether he would advise Orangemen from all around the North against coming to Drumcree this year.

But each time he refused to advise against a large and provocative march.

Identity

Orange marches have nothing to do with civil liberty or a cultural identity.

Their main purpose is to lord a sectarian dominance over Catholics.

A recent survey in

the Lr Ormeau Rd showed that a staggering 93% of the residents opposed the march going through their area.

Rights

The only way an Orange march can go through the Lr Ormeau or Garvagh Rd is by depriving the local residents of their rights.

Residents in both these areas have been imprisoned in their own houses in an RUC imposed curfew.

The heightened sectarianism that is growing with the

marching season has already claimed a number of victims.

□ Niall Donovan a 28 year of Catholic has been murdered in Dungannon in an attack that bears all the hallmarks of a loyalist killing.

□ Graham Parker, a young rising tennis star, was beaten to death after arguing with a number of loyalists after an Orange parade in North Belfast.

Stand

This is why workers from both Catholic and Protestant backgrounds should stand together against sectarian marches.

Department of Education report shows: Eleven Plus biased against working class

The Department of Education in Northern Ireland has admitted that the 11 Plus exam system discriminates against working class children.

Two statistical bulletins published by the Department of Education (NI) at the end of June confirm what socialists have long argued.

They show that pupils in schools in working class areas, particularly areas of high unemployment, have been getting few

fewer As in the 11 plus than those who do not get free school meals.

Access to free school meals these days is good measure of who is poor and who is not.

Parents and teachers alike know why this happens.

Better off families can afford papers and private tuition for their nine and ten year olds so their children are at a distinct advantage.

At first it was

thought that the statistics would show that Catholic children weren't doing as well as their Protestant counterparts.

But when the statistics compared schools with similar socio-economic backgrounds, Catholic students did slightly better.

Once again it is confirmed that class, not religion, is the main divide in Ireland.