

Socialist Worker

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inside

GARVAGHY ROAD: A COMMUNITY UNDER SEIGE —PAGE 5



Mansions for the rich but...

'WE CAN'T AFFORD A HOME'



£5.9 million for Sorrento house

THE sale of Sorrento House in Dalkey for £5.9 million has set the property market alight. Speculators are delighted with the huge profits that can be made in an instant by selling property.

They can even boast that taxes on their speculations have been cut. The new owners of Sorrento House have saved themselves £86,000 a year because residential property tax was cut.

That money could have been used to take one family off the housing list every year.

The property boom is increasing the misery of the vast majority.

Owning a home has become an impossible dream for many working people.

The huge prices can now mean an average mortgage of over £800 a month. With wages pegged down by Partnership 2000, many cannot afford it.

Spending

The crisis has been exacerbated by the tax cutting policies of successive governments. Cuts in public spending have meant that few local authorities houses are being built.

"There are now 30,000 households on lo-

cal authority waiting lists. That is nearly 100,000 people looking for accommodation.

"Remember that single people do not even get on this list," says Margaret O'Gorman of Focus Ireland.

The housing crisis shows the madness of the market.

There is more wealth in the country and more people are working — but they cannot afford basic needs like accommodation.

This government should be told to stop looking after their rich friends and bring in an emergency housing programme.

If they want to know how they can afford it they should be told to tax the millionaires.

1907: Belfast in the flame of revolt —PAGE 10



Cops cover up for the racists who killed Stephen Lawrence



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STOP THE ARMY TRYING TO BREAK THE AMBULANCE STRIKE —PAGE 10

Monsanto:

The multinational profits behind genetically modified food



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also in **Socialist Worker**



Did Orwell inform to Big Brother?

LOLITA: Selling sex to hide the issues

—PAGE 9

AS BLUE FLU NETS GARDAI 14.5% PAY INCREASE

We all need the same cure

AFTER just two days of the blue flu Gardai have won a pay rise of 14.5%. They argued that without decent wage rises many of them could barely afford their mortgages.

But why should the Gardai be treated any differently to the rest of us.

As inflation rises with the economic boom, earnings are already beginning to fall behind price rises.

And the rise in house prices are not even included in the official fig-

ure for inflation.

"We were forced to take out a mortgage of £700 a month. It sounds daft but what alternative have you in a family situation," one white collar employee told, *Socialist Worker*

"Rents are rising anyway and accommodation is hard to come by.

"It is just getting very hard to make ends meet. It makes my blood boil when I hear McCreevy say that any wage rise will destroy the Celtic Tiger.

"He never said that about the tax scams of his rich friends".

But while the Gardai have set a headline figure for other workers, there is some doubt that the rank and file will accept this as being enough.

Attached

The Garda Representative Association President, John Healy said, that acceptance of the deal "depends on whether there are strings attached."

The more militant Gardai are saying that they will give no extra productivity in return for their wage rise.

During the dispute,

ICTU leaders were called in to get the Gardai to moderate their demands.

In future they want the Gardai to become part of the central partnership deals so that they will not be getting extra pay.

But which side are the ICTU supposed to be on? Workers are getting little from the spectacular growth of the Celtic Tiger.

It is high time that we told our union leaders that we have had enough of restraint.

At the very least we need catch up claims to get what the Gardai got.



■ Garda "flu" nets them pay rise

Ireland of the scams

FINANCE Minister McCreevy has warned workers not to follow the Gardai in seeking higher wage claims lest it destroy the Celtic Tiger.

But the politicians are spending money galore on their own luxuries.

It shows that all their talk of restraint is pure hypocrisy.

Here are some of the scams Irish politicians are up to.

■ KEEP FIT TDs:

RELIEF is at hand for hard pressed TDs, tired with working a three day week.

When they return from their extended summer holiday they are to have a state of the art gym and new fancy offices.

The plush surroundings are costing £25 million.

That's exactly the amount the government admit is the

funding shortfall for the new Tallaght hospital.

■ MAKE UP FOR BERTIE:

BETWEEN March and April Bertie Ahern spent £3,608 on his make up.

His two months of make up is as much as a single unemployed person gets in year.

Ahern is also paying a company called Communicate run by Patrick Sutton for 'voice coaching'.

The company refused to tell *Socialist Worker* the cost of its bill. But we can reveal that Patrick Sutton, the head of the company has just been appointed to the Arts Council!

■ EUROLOLLY:

IRELAND'S MEP's are not suffering from any restraint either.

They are getting a £200 daily allowance on top of their £35,000 salary just for turning up to vote.

That is on top of a £2,800 a month 'general expenses' allowance.

■ CONSULTING MINISTERS:

GOVERNMENT Ministers have spent £63 million in fees to outside consultants between 1994 and 1996.

But according to the Office of the Comptroller and Auditor General it is hard to identify what benefits arose from this huge spending.

The report even noted that government departments did not "know how much they spend or are committed to spending on consultancies".

Yet the same Ministers lecture the rest of us about restraint.

State pension for a liar

ALTHOUGH he has been exposed for lying and taking bribes, Charles Haughey is still getting the highest state pension for former Ministers.

Haughey picks up a pension of more than £800 a week although his lying about money from Ben Dunne cost taxpayers

fortune in tribunals.

Now Haughey is using his money to fund a costly appeal to the Supreme Court to stop away further investigations into his finances.

The judge who heard the case is Justice Liam Hamilton who was appointed as Chief Justice immediately after he produced a white wash report which exonerated politicians and beef barons during the Goodman

scandal.

Ominously, he has 'deferred judgement' on the issue.

Meanwhile as Haughey picks up his £800 cheque per week, thousands of unemployed people who have to live of £70 a week wait in fear as Mary Harney launches her campaign to remove 40,000 people from social welfare.

Cramptons involved in Ansbacher?

RECENTLY the Cramptons building firm took striking workers to the High Court for picketing against the use of sub-contractors.

Justice Peter Kelly handed out an order warning workers that they would be jailed if they did not stop picketing.

But now it appears that a number of directors of Cramptons are under investigation for their connections with the the Ansbacher account.

This account was used to siphon off money into off shore accounts to avoid tax — and also to bribe Charlie Haughey.

These hypocrites wanted to use the law against their own workers — while they up to their eyes in tax fraud.

Although they never knew it at the time, the building workers defied the ridiculous injunction from the High Court and scored a tremendous victory over the firm.

Just as well they never fell for the line about 'respect for the law'.

Goodman under investigation again

LARRY Goodman's Anglo-Irish Beef Processing Plant is under investigation yet again.

On November 17th a carrying Northern Ireland 22 cattle entered the premises in Nenagh after 10 o'clock.

Northern Ireland cattle

are banned because of the fear of BSE.

But for this very reason they can be they can be bought much cheaper.

Goodman companies brought a £50 million EU fine on Irish tax payers a year ago.

No effort was made to recoup the money from

the beef barons and instead money which could have been used to provide hospital beds was paid over.

Yet now once again the EU is investigating the company and the possible collusion Department of Agriculture officials in the illegal importation.

Excommunication for sex outside marriage

A NEW edict from the Pope could lead to the excommunication of Catholics who advocate sex outside marriage.

It is also being claimed that papal teaching on women priests as well as extra-martial sex is now infallible.

According to Cardinal Ratzinger, the head of the Congregation for Doctrine of the Faith, "Every believer is required to give firm and defini-

tive assent to these truth".

Whoever denies them "would no longer be in full communion with the Catholic Church".

The edict follows the growth of a large reform movement inside the Catholic Church in Europe.

The movement known as "We Are the Church" which gathered 2.3 million signatures for a petition which favoured women priests, married priests and more democracy in the church.

what we think

Asian economic crisis shows... THE MADNESS OF THE MARKET

BOOM, boom, boom. This is the message from a series of reports on the Irish economy as it turns in another record rate of growth. But there is usually a warning as well—the boom will continue only if workers tighten their belts.

In reality, the fate of the Celtic Tiger is dependent on the world economy. And the growing chaos that is spreading out from Asia shows why a major recession is imminent. Last month shock waves went through the world's money markets when figures showed that output in Japan was falling by an annual rate of 5.3%.

Slumps

The second most powerful economy in the world has entered the most serious slump since the second world war. Japan's rulers have let their currency, the yen, sink to an eight year low in order to make its goods cheaper.

But this is only putting pressure on China to follow on with a competitive devaluation.

The bosses magazine, *The Economist* mapped out one scenario. "Outright depression in Japan, further rounds of economic and political turmoil in the rest of Asia, and a global slump to follow."

Some 'experts' are not so worried. They claim only a small proportion of US and EU exports go to Asia and so these economies will not be affected.

Yet this ignores how a growth in share prices is disguising the stagnation at the heart of the system.

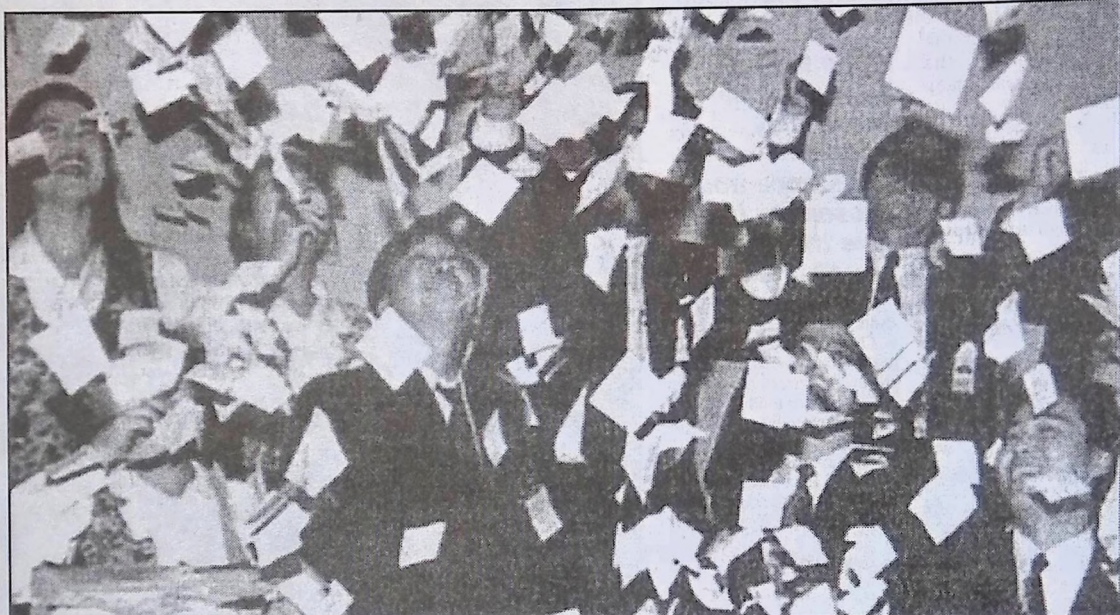
Today the US stock market has its highest level of value for over 125 years.

Yet growth in the real economy is the US between the depth of the last recession in 1991 and 1997 is the lowest in decades.

The system is being driven increasingly by a frenzy of speculation. This is why the chill wind from Asia will have such a devastating effect.

The human cost of this chaos is already immense. Millions have lost their jobs and many more will be driven into squalor in future.

Some argue that Asia's 'crony capitalism', which binds between politicians and business men too closely together,



is to blame.

But if 'crony capitalism' was the problem, then Ireland would be in the very depths of a slump!

The reality is that capitalism is an unplanned system that

is driven by greed. Each individual company expands desperately in order to survive.

But at some stage there is an 'overproduction' of goods because there is no

guarantee that the workers, they constantly urge restraint on, can buy those goods.

Booms and slumps are as central to capitalism as breathing is to the human body. However as capitalism ages, the

booms get shorter and the slump become deeper.

The only rational response for workers is to fight for everything now while preparing for a revolution that will end the madness.

New era: same old politics

NO SOONER had the referendum on the Belfast Agreement been endorsed than Labour and Democratic Left proclaimed that with a "new era post civil-war politics", it was time to contemplate a merger.

The Orange siege of Garvaghy Road shows they may have spoken soon.

Far from establishing structures that could eliminate sectarianism, the Belfast Agreement has only modernised sectarian competition between Catholics and Protestants.

But still a merger between DL and Labour makes perfect sense because there is no difference between them.

Policy

Who could point to an area where DL advances a more left wing policy than Labour today?

Both parties are firmly committed supporters of Irish capitalism. They both advocate a policy of privatisation, social partnership with the employers, and tax breaks for the rich that will leave them with a 12% tax rate on their profits—the

lowest in the EU.

These policies have led to a weakening of their working class base as they continually attack their own supporters.

Remember for example, it was Pronsias de Rossa who launched a campaign against the unemployed, claiming that there was massive welfare fraud. Mary Harney is simply

building on the work done by her predecessor.

As the small working class base of Labour declines, it has drawn even closer to business leaders.

Recent revelations show that Ruairi Quinn worked closely with the O'Reilly-controlled press to help swing the vote for party leadership.

He asked for a favourable opinion poll to be placed in the *Irish Independent* to influence the votes of Labour TDs and Senators.

The *Irish Independent* did this favour—which might explain why Labour has been so quiet during the recent corruption scandals when the spotlight fell on Tony

O'Reilly for the bribing of Ray Burke.

Quinn's close friendship with the deputy chairperson of the Independent Group, John Meagher, is no longer unusual.

In Britain, Tony Blair courted Rupert Murdoch, even travelling to Australia to plead his case.

These links between Labour

Party leaders and the press barons are scandalous. But they also reflect the logic of reformist politics today.

Capitalism is granting few serious reforms to workers today. Labour parties increasingly try to play PR games to win support. What better way to do that than by cultivating the press barons.

Socialist Worker £10,000 appeal

Over the last two weeks the government has made it clear that they intend to privatise the semi-state companies, with drastic consequences for workers.

TEAM workers are facing enormous pressure to give up their entitlements. Bus workers are under threat with the new viability plan and Telecom workers are being blackmailed into a flawed share ownership plan. Socialist Worker has produced and distributed thousands of leaflets explaining the issues and encouraging workers to make a stand. In the North our Charter for workers rights is an antidote to the sectarian electoral politics.

Our appeal is to raise money so we can continue to support workers in struggle and expose the bosses' agenda. This week we reached £6,745.

Please send cheques or postal orders to Socialist Worker PO Box 354, Tomb St. Belfast or PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

£10,000
£9,000
£8,000
£7,000
£6,000
£5,000
£4,000
£3,000
£2,000
£1,000





news of the world

THESE RACIST MURDERERS!

Five murderers have walked free from a public inquiry in Britain. David Norris, Jamie Acourt, Luke Knight, Gary Dobson and Neil Acourt strutted into court abusing and spitting at black people.

But although even the conservative paper, the *Daily Mail*, named them as murderers a year ago, they are still free men.

The public inquiry also exposed the racist attitudes of the British police after they failed to properly investigate the victim of these murderers, Stephen Lawrence.

On 22 April 1993 Stephen Lawrence was attacked and murdered by a white gang at a bus stop in south east London.

The attack took place in an area where the Nazi BNP had its headquarters. The gang that killed Stephen Lawrence was known to police and was linked to a number of racist attacks in the area.

But instead of acting quickly to bring the killers to justice the police treated Stephen's friends and family like criminals.

When the police arrived on the scene they refused assistance from passers by to give the dying boy first aid.

Refused

Stephen's friend Duwayne Brooks witnessed the attack and saw the killers make off.

But when he told police where they had run to the police refused to follow them. Instead they questioned him about whether he had weapons.

A short while later a car full of people who were known to the police to be linked to the previous racist murder of Rolan Adams drove by shouting racist abuse and taunts. The police

When the police arrived on the scene they refused assistance from passers by to give the dying boy first aid.

didn't stop them.

Over the next few days information flooded in from 26 different sources naming the killers. Police took no action.

At the recent public inquiry the senior detective in charge of the investigation admitted he could and should have arrested the gang within 48 hours of the murder.

Destroyed

He claimed he did not know he had the power to arrest them! During the delay the killers destroyed their blood stained clothing.

A month later the killers were arrested but soon charges were dropped.

This is despite the fact that the gang leader Neil Acourt was confronted with surveillance evidence showing him wielding a knife and saying, "I reckon that every nigger should be chopped up and they should be left with nothing but f***ing stumps."

After years of campaigning by the Lawrence family and supporters the Home Office was forced to concede the recent inquiry. It showed up the high level corruption in-



side the police.

One of the murderers, David Norris, was the son of a known drug dealer who consorted with police officers.

Yet despite these revelations no police officer has yet been charged with misconduct in the aborted investigation.

As one black woman shouted as scores of police escorted the racists safely out of the Stephen Lawrence inquiry, "If it wasn't for the police we would've had justice by now."

And the police covered up...

THE BRITISH police have been involved in scores of cases of miscarriages of justice. They have particularly targeted Irish people and black people.

They have also directly been involved in killings. ■ Black asylum seeker Ibrahim Sey died after he was sprayed with CS gas while handcuffed at an east London police

station.

■ Joy Gardiner was suffocated to death after the police gagged her with masking tape while deporting her from Britain.

This happens because a racist culture exists inside the police force.

Studies have found that a high numbers of police officers vote for the fascist National Front

and British National Parties.

But the British police are not alone in holding racist views.

Police forces often recruit the most right wing members of society or at least encourage these attitudes among new recruits.

The Irish police are already showing every sign

of going the same way. At the moment they are involved in framing a Congolese man Belmondo Wantete who they charged with assault—after they broke into his house with a warrant for a different man.

His trial will be heard on July 9th at Court 44 the Bridewell. Join the protest outside at 10 am.

South Korean socialists on trial

SOUTH KOREAN president Kim Dae-jung was feted when he visited the US last month. He received no lectures from Bill Clinton about respecting human rights and civil liberties.

Yet Kim's regime is clamping down on freedom of speech every bit as ruthlessly as the Chinese state which Clinton criticised on his visit there.

25 supporters of the International Socialists of South Korea are on trial on charges that make a mockery of Kim Dae-jung's claims to be a democrat.

He has already said of the imprisoned socialists, "They have given no indication that they are ready or willing to change their beliefs."

"At least in their words and their actions, they must discontinue to denounce the government."

The prosecution case rests on declaring illegal and seditious, activities which are taken for granted in every democratic country.

Park Hyogeun, aged 31, is one

of the accused.

Prosecutors say, "He led off his ISSK branch meeting on 12 February 1998 in Lecture Room 307B at Sejong University, discussing, 'Why we need a revolutionary party'." The charge sheet continues, citing scores of discussions and participation in conferences of trade unionists.

Arrested

Park Hyo-geun is imprisoned and could face a long jail sentence for merely discussing political ideas.

Many of these socialists have been arrested before and have served terms in prison for what the South Korean government considers a "serious crime"—selling a socialist newspaper.

Many of the charges the arrested socialists face concern selling the ISSK's paper on workers' demonstrations and at trade union gatherings.

The regime claims these contain "rebellious articles" which will give succour to the North Korean regime.

But the state also condemns the ISSK's paper for saying, "North Korea is not a socialist but state capitalist society."

"How can one speak of socialism when people are starving to death?" Arguing North Korea has nothing to do with socialism is also supposed to be "a rebellious argument".

Many charges concern the books and pamphlets the socialists are accused of reading and selling. These include translations of many titles readily available here.

■ Send letters of protest urgently: fax the Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs 00 82 2 720 2686 and/or the Korean Embassy 0171 227 5503.

■ Please forward copies to the Committee to Defend South Korean Socialists, c/o PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

INDONESIA:

Mass protests defy troops

INDONESIAN troops blockaded the streets of the capital city, Jakarta, recently to stop a planned 10,000 strong trade union march.

The march was called by one of the trade unions which Indonesian president BJ Habibie has felt forced to legalise.

Workers are angry at mass layoffs and falling real wages.

Habibie has tried to limit the pace of democratic change since mass protests forced his predecessor, Suharto, out of office.

But even the slight re-

forms he has allowed are blowing up in his face.

They are insufficient to meet the demands of Indonesians for change. Yet the reforms are also enabling opposition to organise.

Strikes and workers' protests are continuing despite the army presence on the streets.

A strike by 6,000 dockers at Indonesia's second largest port, Tanjung Perak, had cost exporters £25 million.

The workers are now working for only four hours a day while their union representatives negotiate for more pay and shorter hours.

The army then doubled

its presence to 200 at a complex of factories in Indonesia's second city, Surabaya.

Some 4,000 workers there are on strike for higher wages and shorter hours.

Over 10,000 workers at a neighbouring plant, the Kasogi shoe factory, had struck and marched into town three days before.

And over 200 members of the Indonesia Labour Prosperity Trade Union demonstrated last week at the local parliament building.

In East Timor, occupied by Indonesian troops, protestors in the East Timorese capital, Dili, clashed with police.

behind the headlines

Orange Order: A history of bigotry

"IT GRIEVES them to see the Catholics and the Protestants uniting together, for the noblest and the best of purposes."

This is how George Kerr, a Belfast cabinet maker and early trade unionist, described the Orange Order in the 1830's. It is a description that is as true today as it was 160 years ago.

Since its inception the Orange Order has tried to prevent Protestants and Catholics making common cause with one another. It is an institution created by the ruling class to preserve their power.

It is a conservative bulwark against progressive forces in Britain and Ireland. One of its earliest actions was in helping to suppress the United Irishmen rebellion of 1798.

However, the modern Orange Order really has its origins in the 1840's. For much of the 19th century it lay dormant, but then it was revived by the employers.

They saw it as a means of defeating the movement for national independence, and also of countering the influence of trade unions.

The Orange Order had powerful supporters in the British ruling class and military, and was intertwined with the Unionist Party.

Conspiracy

This alliance was at the height of its powers during the "Home Rule" crisis and at the time of partition. It was so important that a Tory politician could boast that the "Orange Card" was their ace.

Yet, Orangeism was not just a ruling class conspiracy. It derived its power from its ability to bind together the Protestant industrialists and the Protestant working class.

The basis of this alliance was patronage. The Orange Order could offer marginal advantages to Protestant workers. In order to get them to identify themselves with the interests of the bosses. Even then this reactionary alliance did not always hold.

During the course of class struggle Protestant workers would make common cause with their Catholic workmates, against Protestant bosses.

The most celebrated example of this is the 1907 dock strike, led by Jim Larkin.

Despite the attacks of the Orange bosses, he was able to organise Catholic and Protestant workers into a union. (See Page 8)

Consolidate

However, with the creation of the new state, the Orange Order was able to consolidate itself. Through control of the institutions of state, and informal networks, the Orange Order was able to operate a system of discrimination and patronage.

Its affiliation with the Unionist Party also gave it a powerful voice in government.

The Orange Order held (and still does) 122 of the 760 seats on the Ulster Unionist Council. Between 1921-69, all but three government ministers were members.

Yet even in its heyday, sections of the Protestant working class have broken from the influence of the Orange Order.

Unemployed Catholics and Protestants united to oppose outdoor relief in the 1930's, and throughout the Stormont regime there was a strong Labour Party presence.

Orangeism has always had a precarious hold over the allegiance of Protestant workers, this is why it has to reaffirm itself every year through parades.

They are designed to heighten sectarian tension, and rally the cross class alliance of Unionism.

The Orange is still a significant force Northern Ireland, but its power has been greatly diminished. The civil rights movement and the abolition of Stormont broke its network of patronage and discrimination. It is no longer able to guarantee jobs and houses to Protestants.

This is why parades like the Drumcree parade have taken on such importance.

They are the only thing the Orange Order has left to rally Protestant workers to its cause.

Socialists fully support those groups like the Garvaghy Road residents, who object to Orange parades. Yet the only way to defeat to Orange bigotry is through secular, class based politics.

A Catholic or nationalist response can never really challenge sectarianism, as it implies that all Protestants are hopelessly reactionary.

Only class politics can win over Protestant workers, and undermine the influence of the Orange Order.

by JONATHAN MORRISON

BEHIND THE ORANGE SIEGE: It's like living in a ghetto

The press is claiming that the Drumcree standoff has been "good-humoured" and "disciplined". But the reality behind this sectarian protest is very different.

The Orangemen have been let set up a full PA system and play *The Sash my Father Wore* at full blast—repeatedly.

Scorn

All around the area they pour scorn on people and promise there will be Orange feet on the Garvaghy Road.

A Catholic resident from the Garvaghy Road told *Socialist Worker*:

"This place is under siege at the moment. We were blocked in by mobs of loy-

alists here last night, barring each entrance to the estate.

"It's like living in a ghetto, there's no other word for it. It's like a fortress, with each

entrance guarded by the police and army and mobs gathering each night.

"We have expectant mothers and terminally ill chil-

dren here at the moment, we have all the problems of any community and then we have this to contend with."

Permanent

According to this resident the siege at Drumcree is only an extension of a permanent situation for Catholics in Portadown.

"This goes on all the time. It's like a toothache, the feeling of living with sectarianism, it's there permanently.

"We're always apprehensive. It's particularly hard when you have young teenagers. If they go out, you

never rest until they are back. "By the early evening, they just can't go near the town centre.

"Many of them get paid by cheque and can't get to the cashpoints, so we find parents having to arrange loans every week.

"It even affects little things like that. The sectarianism is just always there."

"The issue here is not just about a single march," he said.

"It's really about who governs the North. The Orange Order wants to use this to show they are still in charge."

Sick taunts about Robert Hamill

As some Catholics watched the march to Drumcree church on Sunday, they were taunted by loyalist supporters about Robert Hamill, the young Catholic who was killed by a loyalist mob in Portadown in May last year.

Robert's sister, Diane, who is campaigning for Robert's killers to be brought to justice said "This is no different to what my family and myself have had to put up with for the last 14 months. These "brave" boys jumping up and down, re-enacting the murder of my brother."



■ In previous years Orangemen have taunted residents at the site of the betting shop massacre where six Catholics were murdered in a sectarian loyalist bomb attack.

'2,500 marches a year but still they want to go through Lower Ormeau'

PARADES Commissioner, Alistair Graham, said they took the decision to let the Orange Order march down the Ormeau Road because of a "very deep sense of hurt in the loyalist and Protestant community."

But one local resident from nearby Artana Street sees it differently.

"Last time we were locked in our homes for 27 hours. I counted every hour. The Orangemen talk about civil and religious liberty and about the right of free movement but what about our free movement?"

Threat

Gerard Rice from the Lower Ormeau Concerned Community said, "If you force a parade through under the threat of violence, this can only lead to

further conflict."

The march has been the scene of serious sectarian division for years. Protests against the march became more determined after residents were taunted about the five men murdered by the UFF in 1992 at Sean Graham's bookmakers on the Lower Ormeau.

Loyalists taking part in the march chanted "five-nil" and held up five fingered salutes.

Last Sunday night, there was hand to hand sectarian

fighting on the Ormeau bridge between loyalists armed with sticks and Catholic residents.

Areas

John Gormley from the Lower Ormeau Concerned Community said, "By the 12th July, there will have been over 2,500 Orange marches this year.

"But it is clear that all that matters to the Orange Order are the marches that go through nationalist areas."

The violence behind the talk of traditions

CATHOLIC homes have been petrol bombed, a Catholic primary school was attacked in Belfast, Catholic workers were prevented from getting to Desmonds factory in Newbuildings outside Derry.

This follows the burning of 10 Catholic churches in the days leading up to the Drumcree march.

The Orange Order leaders claim that they have nothing to do with such violence. But the Order is built on anti-Catholic bigotry. For all the moderate words from the leadership about "cultural traditions" the real issues are not lost on their followers.

A loyalist woman at Drumcree on Monday shouted across the barricade "Those Catholics are scum, they are bred to lie."

The Orange Order standoff can only end bringing more intimidation and even the murder of Catholics.

In 1996, during the last standoff, Billy Wright's UVF brigade murdered innocent Catholic taxi driver, Michael McGoldrick.

Such actions sickened both Catholic and Protestant people across the North, but they were used as an excuse by the government and the RUC to force the march through.

David Trimble and Ian Paisley danced down the street in a victory celebration when that happened.

If the march goes down the Garvaghy Road or the Lower Ormeau it will be seen as a victory for bigotry. That's why opposing sectarianism means opposing such Orange marches.

Prostitution:

'You either die of the cold, suicide or murder'

PROSTITUTION was pushed to the surface with the horrible murder of the young prostitute Sinéad Kelly who was stabbed 14 times including once to the heart. She was a twenty-one year old woman who was forced to prostitute herself to feed a drug habit.

Sinéad's mother had to mortgage her house to pay £4,500 for the treatment for her addiction at a private clinic in the Rutland Centre.

The Irish state is still not providing enough resources to provide drug centres which addicts could freely use to kick their habit.

The night before Sinéad's murder, another prostitute was brutally attacked with a crow bar, leaving her with two broken arms. Yet the Gardai alerted none of the other prostitutes in the area about it.

The number of attacks on prostitutes has increased in the past year.

A study entitled *Women Working in Prostitution* showed that 60% of prostitutes felt that violence against them had increased. But the Gardai continue to harass prostitutes, rather than trying to protect them in what is an extremely perilous activity.

"You either die of the cold, suicide or murder," one prostitute said. You'd be forgiven for thinking that she was talking about the Middle Ages. But instead it's the nineties in Ireland, the economy is booming and it's never supposed to have been better.

Nobody likes being a prostitute. Nobody enters a profession where rape and attacks are every day hazards of the job.

Only upper class commentators like Kevin Myers could talk of the "contented relationship" that exists between prostitutes and clients in brothels.

Poverty

Poverty forces people down into an underworld where they have absolutely no rights, no voice and, as far as the rest of the world is concerned, they hardly exist.

Yet as long as marriage is surrounded by hypocrisy there will always be prostitution. The rules that encourage virginity before marriage and having only one partner were established to ensure that private property is only passed on to 'legitimate' offspring.

In the 1980's prostitutes took and won a case to the High Court, which allowed them to loiter on the streets like any other citizen.

This small victory meant that they could get rid of their pimps as it allowed them to hang around street corners in groups, and protect themselves.

That all changed, however, in 1993 when prostitution became a crime in Ireland.

The Sexual Offences Act in

Prostitution is one of the most acute examples of oppression in a capitalist society. Women are exploited by their clients, their pimps, and scomed by the institutions of the state for the commodity which they are forced to sell, sex.

1993, decriminalised homosexuality. But the liberals who praised Justice Minister Maire Geoghan Quinn forgot that it also criminalised prostitution. Prostitutes or clients can be arrested for soliciting or looking for sex.

The law also means that these women are constantly harassed by the Gardai, and that they are scared to report any attacks or rapes to them.

Yet laws against prostitution have never helped to remove it. In Victorian England laws were passed to allow the state to intern prostitutes from garrison towns in 'lock houses'.

There they were administered with mercury which was supposed to cure venereal disease. Medical science can now tell us that the cure was literally far worse than the disease. But despite these horrific legal measures, prostitution was prevalent throughout Victorian society.

Prostitution is one of the most acute examples of oppression in a capitalist society.

Women are exploited by their clients, their pimps, and scomed by the institutions of the state for the commodity which they are forced to sell, sex.

The laws which criminalise prostitution exist to keep up appearances that something is being done about it.

But these laws will never tackle the poverty of capitalism where there will always be a ruling class creaming off the profits and exploiting its workers, sex workers included.

In the meantime however socialists advocate the immediate decriminalising of prostitution.

These women should be legally able to practice and the Gardai should not be given the right to harass them.

by ÚNA Ó LAOGHAIRE

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BIG BUSINESS BEHIND GENETICALLY MODIFIED FOODS

Monsanto from agri-

by DAVE McDONAGH

WHAT DID you have for breakfast? A fry up? Toast spread with margarine? Cereal? If you had any of these it probably contained genetically modified food.

Under capitalism, we are told, "the consumer is king". We choose what to buy and companies respond to our demands.

Yet what is happening to our food today shows how the reality is exactly the opposite. A handful of the world's biggest companies are forcing millions of people to eat genetically modified foods without even knowing it.

They claim their application of genetic engineering to plants will lead to better and more abundant food. But at the same time these massive corporations are part of a system that produces enough food to feed the world twice over yet condemns millions to starve.

Dominate

Six giant agri-chemical corporations are now poised to dominate world food production with genetically engineered food. The result could be millions of farmers unemployed, poor countries losing whole export markets and concentration of farming in fewer hands.

The six sisters are headed by Monsanto, a US based chemical and biotechnology corporation. Its five smaller siblings—and rivals—in the drive to dominate world food production in the 21st century are Novartis, Agro-Evo, Dupont, Zeneca and Dow. Monsanto is worth £96 billion, making it one of the world's seven biggest corporations.

The company likes to project an environmentally friendly image, claiming its aim is to help feed the world by applying science in the cause of "sustainable development".

Yet before branching out into genetically modified crops Monsanto was and still is a chemicals producer which produced what was known as "Agent Orange". Agent Orange was the chemical defoliant sprayed by the US in the Vietnam War.

It killed and maimed thousands of ordinary Vietnamese people, and to this day Vietnamese children are being born with horrific deformities. Monsanto's story gives an insight into the way science is (mis)used under capitalism.

The company is the world's biggest herbicide-weedkiller-producer. It has made a fortune out of one of the weedkillers it developed years ago, glyphosphate, sold under the brand name Roundup.

Monsanto has a patent on the chemical, so no one else can make it, but that patent runs out in the year 2000.

That would then allow competitors to start making glyphosphate, and so undercut Monsanto.

For the last ten years Monsanto bosses have been moving to ensure their profits are protected. Monsanto's scientists discovered that they could manipulate the genes in soya beans to make the plants resistant to the



A typical shopping basket will contain genetically modified foods.

Roundup herbicide.

The company sells the seeds for the genetically modified soya, for which it has a patent.

The sale is made with the legal condition that the crops are treated only with Roundup, which kills all plants except the genetically modified soya. This, the company claims, gives farmers higher yields.

It certainly guarantees higher profits to Monsanto. Some 15 percent of soya in the US, the world's biggest producer, is now har-

vested from genetically modified crops. Soya protein is used in most processed foods.

In an average supermarket around 60 percent of products will contain soya protein, from margarine and bread to toothpaste and chocolate.

The speed and scale of the drive by companies like Monsanto into developing such genetically modified crops are awesome.

In the last two years alone Monsanto has spent £2.5 billion on biotechnology research. The number of biotechnology patents taken

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GENETICALLY MODIFIED FOOD

harvests business

Can science help feed the planet?

THERE IS no reason in principle why genetic modification of plants could not bring enormous benefits for human beings.

Conservatives such as Prince Charles have recently denounced all such work as interference in "realms that belong to God and God alone".

Yet throughout human history we have always "genetically manipulated" plants and animals.

All the produce the world depends on for food today is the result of farmers cross-breeding both plants and livestock to improve them, selecting those characteristics deemed useful to humans.

This is simply a slower and less predictable form of genetic manipulation than that done by modern scientific methods.

Starvation

To oppose interference with "nature" would mean going back to a pre-agricultural society. The result would be to condemn 99 percent of the world's population to starvation.

In a decent society careful scientific research, coupled with public debate, could lead to genetic modification of plants bringing real benefits.

The problem is that under capitalism the science is used by massive corporations solely for profit.

The result is that what should be a step forward for humanity can become a nightmare instead.

So there are huge dangers with the way big business is developing genetically modified crops.

Making a plant resistant to weed-killer, as with Monsanto's soya, can have terrible effects.

The company claims it is environmentally friendly. But Roundup is, according to the University of California School of Public Health, the third most common cause of illness among US farm workers.

The weedkiller also destroys all other plants, and with them the insects and animals that depend on them.

This can have all sorts of effects by disturbing what scientists call the "ecosystem", the complex relation between all the plants and animals in a particular area.

One example of this effect came out of the Scottish Crop Research Institute

in Dundee last year.

Potatoes are attacked by aphids (greenfly and blackfly). Usually ladybirds control the aphids by eating them. At Dundee scientists planted potatoes that were genetically modified to repel aphids.

The new plant cut aphid attack, but only by 50 percent, so the ladybirds were still important. But ladybirds which ate aphids which had fed on the new plants laid fewer eggs and lived half as long as normal.

The result was that the overall effect of the new plant was no better or worse than before.

Other problems are even more worrying. Insect pests could develop resistance over years to the new chemicals in genetically modified plants, triggering a spiral of ever more powerful chemicals used in agriculture.

Genes from new varieties could also spread to other plants by cross-fertilisation in the wild, producing pesticide resistant weeds.

None of this is an argument for not using genetic science in agriculture. It is rather an argument that we cannot trust big business and capitalism to use such science.

The sick way big business operates is sharply underlined by the way companies have developed a "terminator" gene to put in their new plants.

The gene has one effect only, to make the seeds produced by any plant sterile. So instead of farmers saving seed from the first crop for the following year's planting, they are forced to buy from big business every year.

Such absurdity, and the real dangers of genetically modified crops, will only be stopped when science and food production are taken out of the hands of people who care only for profit.

The issue at stake is more than whether our food tastes better. It is about how we can feed the whole world's population.

That means fighting for a socialist society in which the mass of ordinary people collectively and democratically plan and carefully use science for the sole purpose of helping human beings, and preserving the environment we live in.

THE FUTURE SOCIALIST SOCIETY

Freedom and repression in a workers' state

WORKERS' power means vastly increased freedom for working people.

Nevertheless, some use of direct force, will be necessary not only to overthrow the capitalist state but also after the revolution to maintain workers' power.

The class struggle does not come to an end with the victory of the revolution, especially if it is a victory in one country.

The old ruling class and sections of the middle class will regard the workers' regime as a temporary aberration and will undoubtedly attempt to sabotage the building of the new society.

They must not be given the chance. Capitalist resistance must be broken firmly and relentlessly.

But to go beyond this general statement and speculate on exactly how much repression will be required seems to me pointless—it will all depend on the balance of class forces. The weaker the position of the working class and the greater the bourgeois resistance, the more direct revolutionary force will be needed.

The more overwhelming the strength of the working class the more mere legal sanctions will be enough.

For this reason the only real experience of workers' power we have to go on—the early years of the Russian Revolution—cannot be regarded as a model for future practice.

The position of the working class as a small minority in an economically backward country devastated by war and faced with foreign intervention on a massive scale was exceptionally difficult.

The Bolsheviks had no choice but to introduce a highly authoritarian regime.

It is virtually certain that in any major country today—including all the more developed Third World countries—the position of the working class will be far more favourable.

In these circumstances, breaking the resistance of a small minority by the huge majority will require much less force, than is required to maintain the rule of the exploiters in capitalist society.

Moreover, provided the revolution is spread to other countries, the need for repression will rapidly disappear.

PRESS FREEDOM

As far as freedom of speech, of the press and of political organisations are concerned it is possible to say a good deal.

The bourgeoisie makes much of its commitment to these liberties but in practice the economic structure of capitalism continually restricts the ability of most ordinary people to take advantage of them.

In contrast workers' power will mean an enormous in-

crease in real freedom in all these areas for every section of the population, apart those who wish to incite counter-revolution.

The worker's state will take over the facilities of the press and make them available for mass participation in public debate to become a reality.

Above all the workplaces where under capitalism, freedom of speech is severely limited by the ever present power of the employers, will become centres of democratic discussion.

What is more people will want to participate in the discussion because what is said, instead of being wasted breath and useless protest, will have a direct effect in determining how their daily lives are organised.

Under capitalism freedom of the press is a myth because newspaper publishing is controlled by big businesses.

Under workers' power the printing presses and paper stocks will be nationalised but their use will be made available to groups and organisations within the working population according to the degree of support they have.

This will lead to a far greater diversity of views and far more vigorous debate than is the case today.

The television, radio and other mass media will also be opened up to public use.

These institutions represent an enormous potential, almost completely untapped under capitalism, for mass participation.

Instead of channels of one-way communication, from them to us, the broadcasting media will become means through which different sections of the working class will communicate to each other their problems, opinions and proposals.

MULTI PARTY DEMOCRACY

The workers' state will not be a one party state.

The working class itself will most likely provide the basis for a number of competing parties representing different shades of interest and opinion and there should also be room for non-working class parties provided, once again, that they are not actively opposing the revolution.

Trade union organisation will flourish and will have a major role to play in the running of the economy and the state.

But the trade unions will also retain the right to strike, since even under a workers' state sections of the working class may need to defend their interests against abuse and should keep this ultimate weapon.

In short, workers' power will mean a real explosion of freedom for the exploited, the oppressed and the downtrodden.

by JOHN MOLYNEUX

THE 1907 STRIKE

Belfast in the flame of class struggle

IN 1886 riot commissioners produced the first tribal map of Belfast after pogroms and house burnings had driven Catholics and Protestants apart.

The city had already developed its sectarian reputation.

Home Rule was in the air and the employers were using the Orange Order to promote loyalty to Queen and empire. "Colonial expansion goes hand in hand with shipping prosperity" the *Belfast News Letter* informed its readers in Harland and Wolff.

Yet at the height of this sectarian tension workers united in a magnificent struggle in 1907. It showed that class politics was the only way to undercut sectarianism.

Protestant discontent with the Tory leadership of the Orange Order had begun to make itself felt at the turn of the century. In 1903, an Independent Orange Order was founded at a mass meeting of 8,000 people.

Its *Magheramore Manifesto* in 1904 stated that it wanted to fight for democracy and justice and "bridge the gulf that has so long divided Ireland into hostile camps".

But change really began when James Larkin arrived in Belfast on January 20th 1907 to organise the dockers and carters of into a union. They had been divided along sectarian lines, with huge variations in working hours and pay.

By April almost 3,000 dockers had joined the National Union of Dock Labourers and the Belfast branch organised both the Protestant cross channel and the Catholic deep sea sections.

The strike wave began when men at Kelly's coal quay were sacked for trying to join the union. On the 6 May 144 dockers went on strike against non union labour been used at the Belfast Steamship Company. When the workers attempted to return to work, the employers Shipping Federation replaced them with scabs.

Larkin spread the dispute to the women workers of the Gallacher's Tobacco plant. When seven women were sacked for attending a street meeting at the factory gate, a thousand workers walked out.

Larkin's contempt for this employer was clear. "although St Patrick was credited with banishing snakes, there was one he forgot and that was Gallacher."

Unlike union officials before or since, Larkin did not try to contain the unrest.

By the end of June thousand of dockers and carters had been called out on strike. The militancy of workers was intense. Shipyard workers



Larkin spread the dispute to the women workers of the Gallacher's Tobacco plant.

burnt scab vans and attacked the police with stone. Two days later Catholic workers responded when vans trying to get through to Hughes Bakery on the Falls were attacked.

The employers responded by deliberately trying to stoke up sectarianism. They locked out coal yard workers on the eve of the 12th July hoping that sectarian tensions would help break the movement.

But Walter Savage the NUDL delegate replied to these manoeuvres by saying that the bosses "have been trying all though this dispute to stir up the old spirit of bigotry and hatred that has kept the labouring classes of this great city so long under the heel of their masters and made them white slaves."

"What has Orangeism or Protestantism got to do with men fighting for just rights when the issue lies not in religion but is a question of bread and butter."

Another Protestant leader, Lindsey Crawford reminded workers that during the campaign of the Land League, "The Orange Institution was the

dumping ground for the harassed landlords" who turned the "lodges into rent agencies and pressed the rank and file" into scabbing.

Between 5,000 to 10,000 people attended daily strike meetings. To show up the Orange Order Larkin offered to hand over the leadership of the strike to a Protestant, Alex Boyd.

Boyd proclaimed that sectarian tricks "would not be successful because men of all creeds are determined to stand together in fighting the common enemy who denied the right of workers to a fair wage."

All the time the confidence of the strikers grew. They stormed the ship SS Caloric that was holding the scabs.

Even the Royal Irish Constabulary were caught up in the unrest when a Constable William Barret refused to sit beside a blackleg driver on a motor wagon.

Hundreds of police officers mutinied when Barret was suspended and over half of the force attended a protest rally.

To stem the mutiny over 200 police had to be transferred out of the city and 6,000 troops were brought into the city.

The troops were sent to West Belfast to provoke rioting and stoke up sectarianism workers. On the 11 August they killed two workers in Divis Street and wounded countless more.

Fred Crawford, the future Larnie gun runner and a key figure the Unionist Party said, "What a blessing all the rioting took place in the Catholic quarter of the city. This branded the whole thing a Nationalist movement".

But the strike committee put up posters all over the city saying "Men of Belfast—don't be misled. The employers of Belfast and the authorities are trying to make the present disturbances a party matter, for they know that if they can get Protestants and Catholics to fight they can beat the workers."

In the end the strike was not beaten by sectarianism but by the cowardice of the union and labour leaders.

Union officials led by Sexton of the national headquarters of the dockers union tried to marginalise Larkin and ended the coal merchants lockout with

the men going back without securing the closed shop.

Philip Snowden, the future labour Chancellor of the Exchequer condemned those who rioted against the troops as coming from "that portion of the Belfast population that is almost as accustomed to rioting as a savage tribe is to constant warfare".

As the solidarity action failed to materialise the employers attempted to sponsor an exclusive Protestant union The Belfast Coal Porters and Carters' Benevolent Society.

The attempt was crushed by another wave of strikes in Derry, Newry, Warrenpoint and Dundalk.

But when the Union leaders demanded the dockers return to work, they found their jobs had been filled.

Despite the defeat Larkin's tactics showed that class struggle created the conditions to undermine sectarianism. But there was a weakness in his approach.

While he responded to the bosses attempts to divide the workers by advocating militant trade unionism, he did not link this clearly enough to the building of a socialist organisation.

This is despite the fact that the employer's leader Gallacher said that "The origin of the whole business is I think due to the uprising of socialism".

Larkinism connected with the immediate struggles of workers, and as long as working class confidence grew, Larkin could hold the movement together. But with the first shift towards defeat, he failed to instill ideas in the workers movement to stand up to reactionary pressures.

The employers knew that it was necessary to defeat the workers in 1907 to lay the seeds of the unionist counter revolt of 1911-12.

The whipping up of Orange reaction to Home rule led to half a million people signing Carson's Covenant and the setting up of the Ulster Volunteer Force. The effect of the workers movement was disastrous.

The growth of the Orange reaction kept the dockers out the ITGWU and weakened the shop floor organisation. In 1912 3,000 workers were forced out of the Shipyards, including 600 Protestants victimised for their left wing sympathies.

The 1907 strike showed that class unity could be forged by workers activity. But to make that unity last through the ups and downs of industrial struggle, revolutionary politics were needed to stand up against the Orange reaction.

Despite what our union leaders tell us the tactics of 1907 are still valid. Workers solidarity, immediate stoppages and absolute opposition to the bosses are as necessary today as 1907.

But we also need socialist politics to pull the best militants together into a fight against bigotry and sectarianism.

by SIMON BASKETTER

Was Orwell an informer for Big Brother?

THE collected works of George Orwell were published for the first time last month. But the event was overshadowed by revelations that Orwell had acted as an informer for British Intelligence.

The right wing media in Britain has been gloating over it.

The facts are that Orwell touted to the Information Research Department, an anti-Communist propaganda section of the Foreign Office.

He offered to write anti-Communist tracts for them but was too ill and so he gave them a list of names instead.

His reason was apparently that if communists "could get inside the Labour Party as an organised body," he warned, "they might be able to do enormous mischief." He wanted to stop them "worming their way into important propaganda jobs where they were probably able to do us a lot of harm."

Denounced

He named 130 people on his list, including Sean O'Casey, John Steinbeck, and Charlie Chaplin, none of whom he had ever met. Stephen Spender the poet, and supposedly Orwell's friend, was described as "very unreliable" and "easily influenced." George Bernard Shaw was denounced as "reliably pro-Russian on all major issues."

The response of many Orwell fans has been to recoil in horror and jump to his defence. But as Orwell himself once said, "a fact may be true even if it appears in the *Daily Telegraph*."

The reality was that Orwell did not tell British intelligence much that they did not know already. The claim that Shaw supported Stalin has hardly a shock, since the playwright had been writing articles saying just this for about 15 years.

The story of how Orwell became an informer, has been portrayed as sappy melodrama but in fact it is political tragedy.

Orwell whose original name was Eric Blair broke from his middle class background and abandoned his career in the Imperial Police force in Burma to become a champion of the "common man". His clear indictments of the system inspired generations of socialists.

But he deliberately held out against "smelly orthodoxies" and saw himself as an outsider who investigated the conditions of the poor. He wanted to sympathise with them but still retain his cool detachment.

This meant that for most of his life he had no confidence in the power and potential of working class. But for one brief moment for Orwell this changed. In his magnificent book *Homage to Catalonia* Orwell described Barcelona as he fought in the Spanish Civil war.

He wrote that "it was the first time I had ever been in a town where the working class are in the saddle. Practically every building of any size was seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with the red and black flags of anarchists. Waiters and shop walkers looked you in the eye and treated you as an equal."

Orwell enlisted in the militia of the left wing organisation, the POUM. But the Spanish revolution was betrayed by Stalin who organised the murder of anarchists and Trotskyists.

Tyrants

Orwell's world was being shaped by two monstrous tyrants, Hitler and Stalin. Without an alternative, he sank into pessimism, cynicism and despair. While his commitment to socialism still remained, he retreated to British nationalism.

Orwell who once wrote a stinging assault on imperialism, spent most of the second world war doing propaganda broadcasts to India, trying to keep it attached to Britain's war aims.

Orwell's deep pessimism about the working class is reflected in his later books. In 1984, the future may still "belong to the proles" but they hardly appear at all. In *Animal Farm* the working class while brave and right to rebel are simply too stupid to hold on to power.

The *Daily Telegraph* claimed that Orwell's lasting achievement was that he, "captured so fondly the habits and traditions of the British people. He will tell the future what a perfect cup of tea tasted like or what it meant to sit and drink a pint at the pub."

Orwell was far better than a postcard writer for an idyllic Britain.

The tragedy is that in his final capitulation to the system he was yet another victim of the rise of Stalin.

Simon Basketter

film

Selling sex to hide the issues

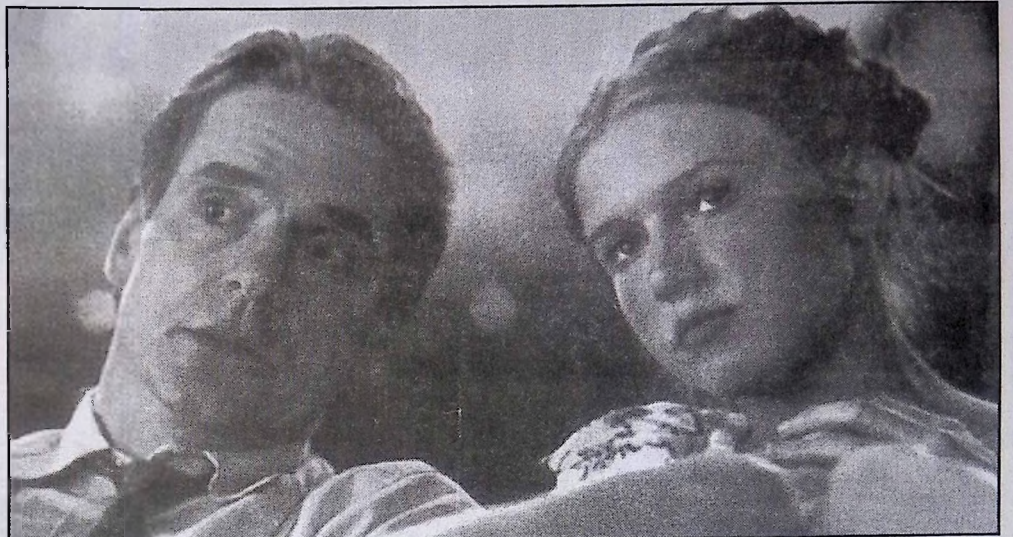
by SINEAD KENNEDY

NABAKOV'S *Lolita* has long been a controversial book. It was published in 1955, by Olympia Press, Paris, a publishing house renowned for its pornographic publications.

It was later hounded out of France by the De Gaulle government. When it appeared in Britain the cabinet even debated the novel's merit, and one MP, Nigel Nicolson lost his Bourne-mouth seat because he publicly supported its publication.

Sexual roles

Lolita erupted into a world where sexual roles were rigidly defined for both men and women. It tells the story of Humbert Humbert, a middle-aged, witty, attractive academic.



▲ *Lolita*: Marketed as a "forbidden love affair".

He has spent his entire life attempting to recapture the sense and meaning of his first love affair, with a twelve year old French girl Annabel. In *Lolita*, Humbert recognises the ghost of his own past.

He marries her mother

in order to gain access to Lolita. After her mother's death Humbert becomes Lolita's sole guardian and takes her on a journey across America where they begin a sexual relationship.

In 1962, director Stanley Kubrick made a film of *Lolita* which rekindled the whole debate.

Shock

The film was criticised because Kubrick employed an older teenager to play Lolita as well as a farcical James Mason as Humbert who diminished much of the shock element of the novel.

However, compared with Adrian Lynne's new version of the novel it is far closer to the real spirit of Nabakov's classic work.

Best known for films like *9 1/2 Weeks*, *Fatal Attraction* and *Indecent Proposal*, Lynne's career does little to recommend him to direct Nabakov's compelling and complex novel.

He had the opportunity to make an interesting and compelling film. Issues like child sexuality and paedophilia have long been something that society has refused to face up to.

It is true that any film that dares to enter that murky territory is bound to be contentious.

But instead of rising to the challenge and attempting to confront these issues, Lynne shies away.

He blurs the issue of consent, by making Lolita appear eager for sex and by blurring the

identities of seducer and seduced. *Lolita* is made complicit in her own seduction.

The film is marketed as a "forbidden love affair" and Lynne shoots the sex scenes in soft focus showing mutual pleasure.

Lolita is not going to turn someone into a paedophile. The problem with *Lolita* is not the film's subject matter but Lynne's treatment of it.

Sex sells and Lynne knows it. In the novel Humbert buys Lolita wool shirts, in Lynne's film Lolita appears to have raided the Spice Girls wardrobe.

To understand *Lolita* in all its ambiguity and complexity, avoid Lynne's film and return to the original Nabakov novel.

play

Nothing to do with religion

TRY TO catch *As the Beast Sleeps*, a new play that is running at the Peacock Theatre in Dublin. It is set in a working class estate in North Belfast.

Kyle and Freddie are best friends, and members of a loyalist paramilitary group. As Ulster's footsoldiers, they robbed and murdered together, for the cause. But now during the peace process they have no further use.

It was simple during the Troubles, the Taigs hated them and they hated them.

But now the period of transition demands a change of direction. Despite their deeply felt sectarian anger they are now told the enemy no longer exists.

Freddie, who is like a bomb ready to explode, would like to return to the old days of fighting. As does Sandra, Kyle's wife. But Kyle is still waiting for orders from the head of the paramilitary team, Larry.

Yet Larry is confused, torn between loyalty to his boys and a certain hope in the political future.

The only person in the play who is sure of himself is the politician, Alec. He is not going to waste

time robbing or sitting around a bonfire drinking beer. He's got important people to meet in five star hotels in America.

The play switches between two main locations, a loyalist club and Kyle and Sandra's sitting room. In one scene the two friends are doing up the sitting room, putting up wallpaper. It is a metaphor to show that you can cover up something cosmetically but the cracks still show.

Campaign

Throughout the whole play the politician never comes into contact with the Ulster footsoldiers, but he is happy to take their drinking money which funds his campaign in America.

The play, written by Gary Mitchell, gets down to the nub of politics in Northern Ireland and current peace process. It shows that sectarianism was intentionally stirred up amongst the Protestant working class to keep them under control, and separate from their fellow Catholic workers.

Sectarianism and deprivation go hand in hand. It's nothing to do with religion, and everything to do with class.

—UNA Ó LAOGHAIRE

Books for Summer Reading

WHETHER you are staying at home or heading off to warmer parts, now is the chance to catch up with all those books that you were meaning to read.

Here *Socialist Worker* suggests a few that you should add to your bag.

With Drumcree in the air, *Further Afield* by Marilyn Hyndman is essential reading. Northern Protestants are stereotypically presented as fundamentalist bigots. This book with interviews of forty Protestants that have broken with their past is a welcome antidote to this view and an inspiring read.

Seamus Deane's novel *Reading in the Dark* is the story of a boy growing up in the city of Derry. But it is not just a personal story, there is always the political background of a divided society. One of the best novels in years.

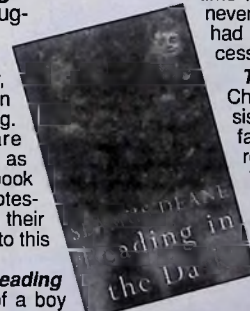
A surprising recent bestseller, now out in paperback, was Dava Sobel's *Longitude*. For centuries sailors and scientists had tried to devise a method for measuring a ship's longitude at sea. In the 18th century it was an unknown clockmaker, John Harrison, who invented a reliable device, a clock that

would work at sea.

But it was to be many years before his invention was accepted as it seemed impossible that a "simple mechanic" would succeed when the great brains of the time had failed. Harrison was never to get any of the prize that had been offered to the successful inventor.

The Fire Last Time by Chris Harman, editor of our sister paper in Britain, is by far the best book on the revolutionary upheavals of 1968. In France ten million workers struck in the biggest general strike ever. The world may not have been turned upside down by the events of '68 but the shock waves broke the fetters on the minds of millions of people, showing that society could be changed.

The anniversary of the 1798 rebellion has resulted in a huge number of publications. If you have not read it yet, SWP member, Mark Hewitt's pamphlet *1798: The Year of Revolution* is essential reading. One of the best commercial publications is *Fellowship of Freedom* by Kevin Whelan, the companion volume to the bicentenary exhibitions organised by the National Library and the National Museum.



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.

National strike threatened

Stop army breaking ambulance strike

NINETEEN ambulance workers in Wicklow have been on official dispute with the Eastern Health Board over staffing and rostering arrangements for the Wicklow and Arklow bases.

The strike erupted when management informed the crews, who were arriving for work as normal on 8th of June, that they would not get paid unless they accepted an outrageous new rostering scheme.

This strike has been brewing for three years when the new base in Arklow was first proposed.

Snubbed

The ambulance crews wrote to management seeking a meeting to discuss the changes but the ambulance service management snubbed them.

The building of the new base was completed in early 1997. It was only then that management approached the workers with the proposals which would completely change working arrangements in Wicklow and would also mean the forced redeployment of four crew members to Arklow. That is a 34 mile journey with no travel allowance!

The workers have always agreed that Arklow needs a 24hr ambulance base. But the proposals put forward by management on how to run it are completely unrealistic.

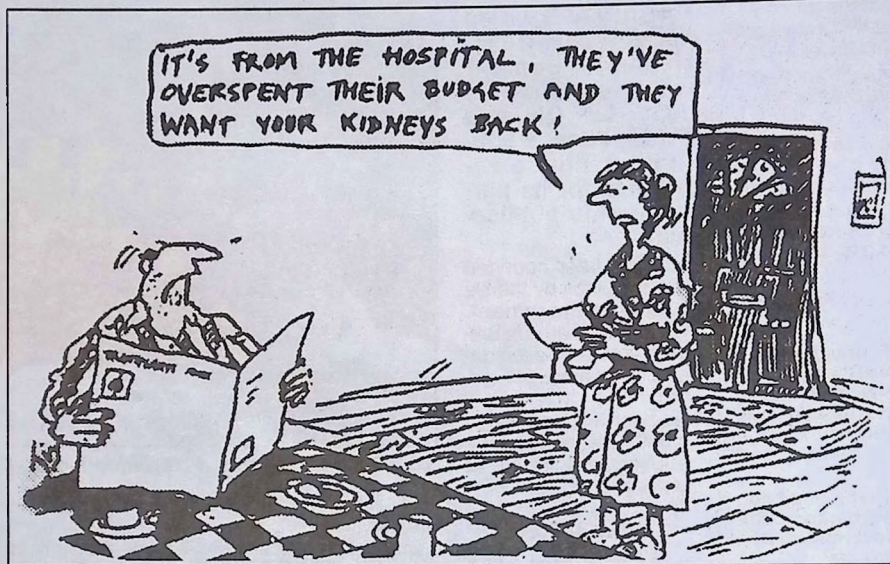
As one striker told *Socialist Worker*, "the changes in staffing levels and rostering would in reality decrease the ambulance cover in North and East Wicklow by 50% between 4 pm and 12 midnight."

Robbing

Another striker said, "They are just moving resources from one area of the county to another. It is all about robbing Peter to pay Paul"

The new arrangements for the Arklow area would only see a minimal increase on the present cover.

It is no co-incidence that a new Ambulance Service Management has been recently put in



Army has no role in the strike

Two years ago, the local management wrote to the union looking for arrangements on emergency cover during possible national strike.

This time there was no communication and the army was brought in at 7.45 on the first day of the strike.

The workers have shown they are more than willing to deal with emergencies. During a recent traffic accident, strikers rushed from their picket line to help victims.

Worried

"The army are out of their depth here and the ordinary soldiers do not want to be strike breaking. When have you ever seen the army deliver babies in an ambulance or deal with road accidents. No one should believe the army commandant who said that his men were experienced for this type of work", one striker said.

The management did not call in the army immediately because they were worried about emergencies. It was a deliberate move to try to break this strike.

The members of the soldiers union PDFORA should be approached in order to protest against the use of the army as a strike breaker.

Meanwhile trade unionists should recognise that this government is throwing down a gauntlet to all public sector workers.

SIPTU should bring forward the national stoppage in support for the Wicklow ambulance drivers and not let the bureaucrats at the top of the Eastern Health Board grind them down.

place. Plans for taking on the workers appear to have been drawn up at the very top of the Eastern Health Board.

The result is the first ambulance strike in 29 years.

The manager has refused to negotiate on any alternatives which the workers have come up with.

One idea that the crews put

forward would provide a real increase in the levels of ambulance cover for the area and would require only minimal extra staffing and minimal ongoing expense.

Over the past 25 years the population of Co. Wicklow has increased by 30% with no corresponding increase in ambulance cover.

Last week the strikers attended conciliation talks with ambulance service management in the Health Service Employers Agency.

But the talks to adjourn the talks after 2 days following after management refused to budge on anything.

It looks like a summer of discontent in the Garden of Ireland.

'We're not going back to work till we get what we deserve'

SIPTU have balloted ambulance workers across the country for a stoppage on this issue.

The strikers in Wicklow are anticipating at least 80% support for two 1 day national stoppages over the next two weeks.

By mid to late July an all out nation-wide strike is expected.

As one driver told *Socialist Worker*, "Other ambulance workers across the country know that this is

just the tip of the iceberg.

They're out to break us here in Wicklow but they won't. We're not going back to work till we get what we deserve. That's it."

Support

Posters are appearing around Wicklow town boldly stating "Support the Ambulance Crews", which is an indication that other local workers are totally behind these strikers.

Another ambulance worker

told *Socialist Worker* that the Eastern Health Board "aren't making any effort to sort out this dispute. We'll be here as long as it takes."

The strikers have also sent circulars around looking for support *Socialist Worker* urges its supporters to raise funds for this important strike.

Donations to Ambulance Strike Fund, Account Number 35170851 B of I, Main Street Wicklow Sort Code 90-67-34.

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

ATHLONE
Meets every fortnight. Contact (01) 872 2682 for details

BELFAST CENTRAL
Meets every Thurs 8pm, Garrick Bar, Chichester Street.

BELFAST SOUTH
Meets every Weds at 8pm, Queens University Students Union

CORK
Meets every Thursday at 8pm in Donnelly's Pub, Cornmarket St.

DERRY
Meets every Tues in Badgers Bar at 8pm

DUN LAOGHAIRE
Meets every Tues at 8pm in Christian Institute.

ENNISKILLEN
Meets every fortnight. Contact (01) 872 2682 for details

GALWAY
Meets every Thursday at 8.30pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square

LIMERICK
Meets every fortnight. Contact (01) 872 2682 for details

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

DUBLIN NORTH-WEST
Meets every Tuesday at 8:30pm in The Snug, Dorsot St.

DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLOCK
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm Artane/Beamont Recreation Centre opp Artane Castle

DUBLIN DRIMNAGH
Meets every Tuesday at 8.30pm in the Black Forge (formerly the Bentley), Drimnagh Rd

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

DUBLIN RATHMINES
Meets every Weds at 8pm in O'Connell's Pub, Richmond St.

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

DUBLIN TALLAGHT/CLONDALKIN
Meets Tuesday at 8pm in the Steering Wheel, Clondalkin

There are *Socialist Worker* members in:

BRAY; CLARE; DONEGAL; DUNDALK; DROGHEDA; KILKENNY; LURGAN; OMAGH; ROSCOMMON; SLIGO; TRALEE

Contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

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TRAIN DRIVERS

'Now it's time for action'

IRISH Rail services were set to be severely hit on Sunday July 12 as Iarnrod Eireann's 350 locomotive drivers refuse to report for work.

Sunday services are normally operated by drivers working their rest day. Drivers gave notice to the company that they would not work their rest day on July 12.

This follows a long running dispute over drivers' demands for conditions and pay. Locomotive drivers work as many as 40 Sundays a year.

Demanding

They are demanding better working arrangements and payment that reflects their skill and responsibility.

The action is coordinated by the National Locomotive Drivers Committee — a rank and file body representing most of the drivers in both SIPTU and NBRU.

The NLDC organised a successful one-day stoppage last year.

One driver told *Socialist Worker*: "We don't think that management have taken our demands seriously. This will show we are not bluffing and we mean business."

"We've been demanding movement on these issues for three years."

"Now it's time for action. This is the start of what could become a series of stoppages that will escalate until our demands are met."

Another driver said, "As

well as pay there are conditions which we are dissatisfied with. We have been calling for a 5-day week, a better pension scheme and improvement in the sick pay for years.

"There has been no real response from the company. I think 98 percent of drivers will support this refusal to work the rest day."

The company is bringing forward proposals on its Viability Plan which are aimed at cutting costs.

Unions plan to hold meetings for drivers and

guards in August on the company's latest proposals.

Already representatives of the Permanent Way staff—workers who maintain the track and lineside equipment—have rejected company attacks.

These would have meant annualised hours, loss of Sunday premium pay and allowing the company to move a worker from one depot to another at a moment's notice.

One guard told *Socialist Worker*: "The Permanent Way deal fell through

but I'm convinced they'll try and make us accept similar flexibility.

"The effect on earnings would be very bad.

Whim

"There's no way we could accept having no home depot and being moved around at the whim of the company."

Another issue concerning the Iarnrod Eireann workers is the lack of government investment. "The only lines up to scratch are the Cork and Belfast

lines—and that was EU money that got them upgraded. If it was left to the government we wouldn't have a railway.

"There are old wooden sleepers, and rails up to ninety years old in parts of Wexford and the West of Ireland.

"This results in delays. The Athenry-Limerick line has a speed limit of 30mph because the track is so old.

"The derailment last year in Roscommon showed the dangers in this run-down of the railway."

CORK HOSPITALS

Work to rule vote by nurses

NURSES in Cork University Hospital have voted overwhelmingly to initiate work to rule because of the beds crisis at the hospital.

The difficulty of coping with increased admissions has led to massive levels of stress for staff and patients alike.

The hospital has an "official approved complement" of 550 beds since it opened in the late 1970s—but admissions have increased significantly since then.

Corridors

Now many patients have to spend nights on trolleys in the corridors or storage rooms.

The level of anger in the hospital is very high. Of the 650 nurses, only two voted against the work to rule.

"This situation just can't continue" one nurse told *Socialist Worker*.

"We are supposed to be

caring for the patients but they don't even have enough beds.

"We should have done this years ago."

Cork University Hospital was regarded as state of the art when it was opened but it has been starved of funding by right wing governments.

It is also symptomatic of the wider problems of underfunding in the Health Services.

Since 1980 the number of hospital beds per 1,000 patients has been cut by 40 percent.

This is the largest reduction in 16 listed OECD countries—ten times the reduction carried out in Germany.

There are also problems related to limited durations of stay in hospitals.

The average stay in an Irish state hospital is down by nearly a third since 1980.

So some 98 percent of hospital admissions are regarded as emergencies, and routine admissions are increasingly deferred.

A hospital worker said, "We need to broaden this struggle as much as possible. There is very intense disaffection in the Health Services."

"From the general workers to the student nurses, from the nurses at Waterford Regional Hospital to the ambulance drivers—workers are sick of the low pay and bad conditions that the work involves."

"We need to push now—the government is receiving millions in taxes. This needs to be pumped into the hospitals now."

Nurses will be voting again on management proposals on July 13—but they should get the message across with some militant action now.

TEAM

Carrot and stick pushes workers to yes vote

THE PRESS have praised the decision of TEAM workers to accept privatisation by a 72% majority vote. In reality the Yes vote came from a combination of a carrot and a stick.

On top of the £54 million buy-out plan, TEAM workers managed to extract important concessions from the new owners, FLS.

They can retain their Aer Lingus pension arrangements which offer important security.

The 5% pay rise under Partnership 2000 has been backdated.

FLS have also agreed to pay full increments from 1999.

This contrasts to a situation where TEAM workers have been denied pay rises in recent years.

Despite these concession the shops stewards committee still campaigned against the deal and nearly 500 craft workers voted against.

Private

They objected to trading in their semi state status to work in a private firm.

But the shop stewards organisation has been weakened by the years of defeat. Faced with overwhelming blackmail from the company, the government and the union leaders, the majority of workers voted to accept.

"It is not a huge defeat" one of the shop stewards told *Socialist Worker*. "We should look on it as a new start. For the last few years we have been bogged down in legal issues but that is over now."

"There can be no illusions that the courts will save us. We need to build up the shop steward organisation so that every section is properly represented. And that has to start from day one at FLS."

Dun Laoghaire marina

OVER EIGHTY people attended an angry meeting in Dun Laoghaire to protest at proposals to build a new marina.

The local council have given the go-ahead to a 680 berth marina for wealthy

yacht owners who are now buying houses at fabulous prices in the area.

The new plans mean that local rowing clubs will be denied access to the harbour.

"They are trying to end 70 years of maritime history" said Paul Nash of St Michael's rowing club.

Lelia O'Reilly from a local summer project was equally adamant about her objections.

"We don't exclude the children of chief executives from the summer projects, but they're trying to exclude our children from the harbour"

The meeting agreed to organise a number of protests against the proposals. The first protest starts at the council meeting on Monday 13th July at 6pm.

MINIMUM WAGE

THE DUBLIN Trades Council have organised a protest to call for the immediate implementation of the minimum wage, with no strings attached.

The Council said that "the national minimum wage is not targeted for implementation until April 2,000, keeping the very low paid waiting for two years amid the wealth of the

Celtic Tiger."

They argue that by April inflation will have reduced its real value to £4.14 in today's terms.

The council is also opposed to the "sub-minimum" rate for under 18s and for job entrants without experience.

A "festive parade" was organised though Dublin to highlight the council's demands.

IMPACT

Industrial action hits the courts

Clerical workers in the Supreme Court and High Courts have taken industrial action over a new system

The workers are refusing to cover for vacant posts or use information technology.

The action started after management decided to tear up previous arrangements where promotions went on seniority.

The new system means that only a handful of staff from the superior courts division can apply for the promotions.

The changes were made without any consultation or agreement with the union.

If management do not back down on these issues the action is expected to escalate.

ZOE CONSTRUCTION

Bricklayers win concessions

BRICKLAYERS at Zoe have ended their strike after winning important concessions.

The company was forced to pay the £12 an hour fall back rate which exists in other firms.

They also had to pay over a lump sum which had been agreed previously.

The strike was a long

and bitter one. During one incident a scab lorry attempted to run over a picket.

But despite intimidation workers held on to force one of the worst building bosses to retreat.

ROWLEY

BRICKLAYERS staged a three day strike at the William Rowley company recently.

They insisted that management could not lay off workers without

discussing the issue with the union.

The workers also stopped management docking pay and forced them to pay the full agreed wage.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism

50p

Inside:

GARVAGHY ROAD: A COMMUNITY UNDER SEIGE

1907 Belfast in the flame of revolt—
Page 10

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Solidarity price £1

DON'T LET TRIMBLE PLAY THE ORANGE CARD!



THE GARVAGHY Road is under siege because the RUC has let thousands of Orangemen congregate despite the fact that the Parades Commission ruled they had to disperse.

And despite having tiny numbers, loyalists groups have been let block roads all over Northern Ireland. Children as young as 12 and 13 have blocked off roundabouts while the RUC has looked on.

If nationalists had acted like this they would have been met by baton charges and petrol bombs.

We are witnessing the revolt of a bigoted minority who voted against the Belfast agreement because they do not want the slightest accommodation with their Catholic neighbours.

No one should fall for the lie that their concern

is about "civil or religious liberty" or celebrating traditional Protestant culture.

Where is the respect for civil liberties when a statue is being erected in Portadown for Billy

Wright while the family of Robert Hamill cannot leave a wreath on the spot where he was kicked to death?

Today the Orange Order represents a minority

of Protestants. It can no longer guarantee its members jobs or a house—all it can offer its members is the bowler hat.

This explains why its recommendation to vote

No to the Belfast agreement was discarded by the majority of Protestants.

In the urban areas of the North nearly 60% of the Protestants voted for the Belfast agreement while a staggering 94% of the Portadown Orange Lodges voted against.

Minority

The Orange Order is still a significant minority but it wants to drag the majority of Protestants to its side by provoking confrontation on the parades issue every year.

The weapon the Orange Order has always used is the threat of violence. No one should be fooled by the sanctimonious pleas of Paisley and the Orange grandees "to respect the law".

They turn on the rhetoric about the destruction of the "Protestant people" and then wash their hands while the thugs petrol bomb Catholic families out of their homes.

A TORY WHO NEEDS SECTARIANISM TO SURVIVE

DAVID TRIMBLE is playing the Orange card.

Despite his denials, he threatened to resign in order to force the Parades Commission to change their mind on allowing the Orange March go through the Ormeau Road.

Even at this late stage, he refused to talk with the elected representatives of the residents of Garvaghy Road.

No wonder even the *Belfast Telegraph* had to remind him that "his role is not that of a Protestant leader for a Protestant people".

Trimble is a Tory who backed the Belfast agreement because he saw it as the best way to keep the union and make

Northern Ireland safe for big business.

But he has no interest in eradicating sectarianism—he only wants to modernise its workings.

The former hero of Drumreece needs the Orange Order to help cement his electoral grip over Protestant workers.

Violence

This is why he will use his position as First Minister to extract concession after concession in response to their violence.

Instead of looking for a partnership with Trimble, socialists advocate class politics that are built on outright opposition to him.

But the condition for developing class politics is for all socialists, both Catholic and Protestant to stand up to the intimidation of the Orange Order.

There's no balance: Only encouragement for bigots

Alistair Graham of the Parades Commission thinks that he has "balanced matters" by allowing the Orangemen march through areas like Downpatrick and the Ormeau.

But by giving into the Orangemen there, he has only encouraged them to sit out their siege of the Garvaghy Road.

The result can only be that more Catholic residents will be locked into their houses while the bigots will march triumphantly by.

In previous years, the Orange Order was forced to back down because thousands mobilised to stop them going through the Ormeau Road.

Mass mobilisation in large, peaceful protests is once again needed to exposing these bigots.

But communal mobilisations alone will not undercut the Orange Order which feeds off heightened tension.

We need socialist politics which can address the thousands of Protestants who despise Paisley and the antics of the Orangemen.

Only those politics can show that the Orange Order is all about dividing the working class to make it an easier prey to politicians who want to defend the privileges of the rich.