

United Irishman

Towards a Just Society

January 2000 - Millennium Edition

The Stakes are High, But The Rewards Are Great



The success of the Northern Ireland Executive and its parallel processes is crucial to all our futures, failure cannot easily be contemplated.

reality

Its the difference between turning hopes into reality or destroying those hopes and throwing society back into the time warp of the 1970s.

change

The process of change is always driven by conflict but now there exists, perhaps for the first time, the opportunity to confine conflict within peaceful and democratic parameters.

consideration

We have arrived at a time for careful consideration of our responsibilities, we must be aware of the consequences of our words and actions.

unenviable

The new ministers have the unenviable task of leading us into a new beginning.

refreshing

The no mentality wants them to fail but none of us can afford failure. The refreshingly altered political landscape has brought with it a widespread change in attitudes and recently immovable entrenched positions are now open to new perspectives. Ideas and myths about them and us are being tested and challenged from within.

quality

The knock-on multiplier effect of these changes can open up a range of options, which will in turn bring a better quality of life to the people of this island.

inequality

This does not mean that sectarianism and bigotry are no longer with us, social exclusion and economic inequality are still major issues to be addressed.

cracked

But the old mould of sectarian politics has been cracked, the policies that bring real economic and

solid benefits to our people has the chance to emerge.

fledgling

Our fledgling Government has our good wishes. No one need give up their legitimate aspirations but equally we should be tolerant and understanding of the aspirations of others.

challenges

The political entry of Northern Ireland into 2000 wont be all plain sailing. There are many challenges ahead and difficult decisions which will cause much soul searching will have to be made. There is still a long way to go but it can be done. Who would have thought, even a few short months before December, that we could have come this far so quickly?

rewards

The stakes are high but the rewards are great, especially for our children who, if we get it right, will only experience the Troubles as part of a history lesson. Now lets get on with living our lives.

Martin McKeivitt

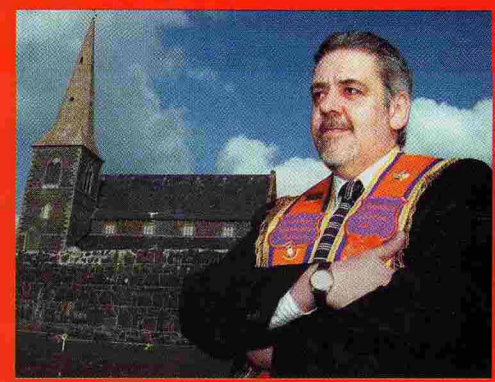
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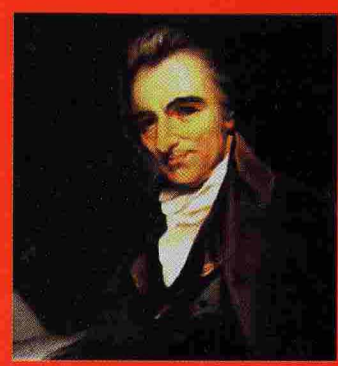


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Man of the Millennium



"We have it in our power to begin the world over again"
- Thomas Paine 1737-1809

THE LEFT AND THE RISE OF SINN FÉIN

by Colm Breathnach

The slow but steady increase of the Sinn Fein vote in the Republic during the 1990s has attracted much comment but little informed analysis. In particular, the election of four Sinn Fein councillors to Dublin Corporation in the June local elections brought forth a rash of sensationalist articles especially in the newspapers of the Independent group.

A brief look at the explanation advanced by the mainstream media is instructive, not least because of the oversimplifications involved. On the one hand those hostile to Sinn Fein see it as a simple equation, the Provos use their muscle and their infiltrationist tactics to take over working class areas under the cover of anti-drugs campaigns. The flip-side of this view is propounded by so-called liberal journalists, that hard working Sinn Fein activists have won the respect, and votes of large numbers of working class people, alienated from the main parties who have abandoned them as a lost cause. This accords closely to Sinn Fein's self image, 'people... choose to put their faith in Sinn Fein at the ballot box because of the work local Republicans are doing in their areas on issues that matter to them'. (M. Piersé, An Phoblacht).

These wholly inadequate explanations echo the two violently opposed views of Sinn Fein held by leftists during the 1980s. One saw the Provisionals as a national liberation movement, a sort of northern hemisphere ANC, while the other saw them as brutal sectarian fascists who constituted the sole impediment to progress in Ireland. Whatever about then, Sinn Fein today defies such simplistic classification. It's ideology, as publicly expressed, combines an old fashioned nationalism with the radical language of the politics of community development. This vague radicalism, almost completely unsupported by any solid socio-economic research, is combined with an outstanding opportunism which allows for alliances with all sorts of right wing elements in pursuit of the core cause-national unification. This

tendency has been amply illustrated in recent years by Sinn Fein's willingness to do deals with Fianna Fail on local authorities and their insatiable desire to become Ministers in a new Northern administration.

One reason for the growth of Sinn Fein is glaringly obvious, the skewed and distorted economy that is called the Celtic Tiger. So many people are left out of the loop, onlookers as the consumer boom flaunts its vulgar wealth in their faces. The brazen corruption and cronyism of the elite that continues to dominate both state and economy despite recent scandals is breathtaking. There can be no doubt that when the hollowness at the centre of parliamentary democracy is revealed by such gross inequality, people will turn to those positioned in clearest opposition to the system, namely the Provos.

This is most strongly manifested in the issue of crime. The oppression of criminality has benefited Sinn Fein in three clear ways.

1. More than almost any other issue, it impacts on the quality of peoples lives in an immediate and tangible way.
2. The fact that working class people are the primary victims of crime and the failure of the state to adequately tackle both the causes and consequences of drug related crime, once again illustrates the two tier nature of society.
3. Sinn Fein's answer to crime, setting itself up as an alternative form of authority, is superficially far more effective than the cumbersome established legal system.

Unfortunately, coercing petty criminals into a compliance of sorts works to the extent that it satisfies the desire for a real and immediate response to the constant disruption of community life caused by the same criminals. However, leaving aside the obvious immorality and arbitrary/subjective nature of this process, in the long term it fails because it rarely impacts on the so called crime lords and it ignores the

socio-economic causes of crime. Ironically Sinn Fein's response to crime is remarkably similar to that of the right-wing hang'em and flog'em brigade, only the Provos impose their own crude punishments rather than demanding that the state carry it out.

It may be unpleasant to admit it but Sinn Fein has mobilised some working class communities but it is very much controlled mobilisation. This is not to accede to the insulting parody of working dupes led by Provo Svengalis. The issues being raised are real, the front organisations are genuinely popular, but they are just that-fronts. They are firmly controlled by Sinn Fein and are closely tied to the party's organisational and electoral strategy. The intention is to mobilise communities only insofar as it benefits the party and within the parameters laid down by the party, not to empower these communities.

The radical left must respond vigorously to the challenge of Sinn Fein's growth or face a drift into complete irrelevance. Put simply where a radical left has strong support, such as the Socialist Party in Fingal, the Workers Party in Waterford city or the Workers and Unemployed Action Group in Clonmel, Sinn Fein is weak, as amply proven in the June local elections. Conversely the absence of any left, including the Labour Party, has undoubtedly assisted the growth of Sinn Fein in certain rural areas especially in border counties such as Monaghan and Leitrim. The contention that Sinn Fein is competing for the same political space as the radical left is further strengthened by a comparison of the geographical distribution of Sinn Fein's current support in urban areas and with that of the Workers Party at its height. A glance at the statistics for Finglas reveals the obvious correlation.

Finglas	Local Elections 91	Local Elections 99
Workers Party	11.2%	2.4%
Sinn Fein	7.6%	21.2%

This trend has been repeated in many urban working class areas though not as dramatically. Where, however, Labour inher-

ited a strong Workers Party organisation through the fleeting existence of Democratic Left, Sinn Fein's growth seems to have been restricted. This is clearly shown in areas such as Bray.

Bray	Local Elections 91	Local Elections 99
Workers Party	18.9%	18.9% [Former WP]
Sinn Fein	3.6%	3.5%

On the other hand the existence of a strong 'non-DL' Labour vote seems to be no deterrent to Sinn Fein's rise in urban areas as witnessed in the Cabra area of Dublin City where both parties saw a significant increase in their support [SF+9.7%, Lab+5.5%] and the election of new councillors.

What strategies might the radical left adopt to contest this ground with Sinn Fein?

A start would be made by linking those groupings and individuals who could match the enthusiastic activism of Sinn Fein activists at a local level. Of course, at the risk of sounding overly pessimistic, one has to concede that the creation of such a grass roots left-alliance is highly unlikely at this mo-

also warn us not to repeat the fundamental mistake of the Workers Party of the 1980s-principled opposition to the Provos must never degenerate into irrational obsession. We must never lose sight of

the fact that the vast majority of Irish people of all classes, north and south of the border, repeatedly vote for conservative parties. The guardians of capitalism still hold sway and it is they who maintain the gross inequalities of power and wealth that radical socialists wish to eradicate. Sinn Fein received 7.8% in Dublin City in the 1999 Local Elections but the Fianna Fail vote stood at 33.9%. Clearly our primary political struggle is against the forces of the right.

Sinn Fein's politics cannot be countered by denunciations alone. Demonising the communities that, in desperation, have turned in that direction for answers to their day to day problems, has no



ment, given that there aren't really many potential allies around and that some of those that do exist are stuck in the groove of unreconstructed Leninism-the type of allies who can seriously

part in this struggle. There is no alternative to the hard slog of challenging Sinn Fein within the communities where they now dominate. This difficult task can only be engaged in on the basis of building alternative radical democratic models of mobilisation and empowerment. How we are to do so, without resorting to the manipulative authoritarianism of our opponents, is one of the major challenges facing Irish socialists today.

undermine the credibility, not to mention sanity, of serious socialists.

The alarm bells of history should

Xtremes

This person deserves £480 an hour for their work...



This person deserves 12p an hour for their work...



... and anyone who says otherwise is a dangerous, naïve, woolly minded, bleeding heart trouble maker!

WOMEN AND POVERTY IN IRELAND ~ BY ORLA O'CONNOR**HOW WOMEN EXPERIENCE POVERTY**

Poverty can be defined in absolute or relative terms. In absolutist terms it refers to having the basic essentials to survive e.g. food, water, clothing, shelter. A relative definition, which is accepted as a more appropriate mechanism for measuring poverty, refers to the ability of people to participate in society and have access to resources and opportunities. It acknowledges that people have physical, emotional social and cultural needs. It also recognises that poverty not only involves lack of physical and income resources but also involves exclusion from participating in society, lack of power and unequal distribution of resources (Daly 1989).

The gender dimension to poverty is not solely concerned with numbers of women in poverty in comparison to men but it is also concerned with how men and women experience poverty and the risk of poverty differently. This risk refers to entering poverty more frequently than men, staying in poverty situations longer, and encountering additional obstacles in exiting from poverty situations e.g. economic dependency, barriers to accessing the labour market, low paid employment. 'if gender relations structure the experience of women and men in different ways then consequently the risk and duration of poverty for women and men may differ, the incidence of poverty may vary between the sexes, the trigger events which spark of a spell of poverty may be substan-

tially different' (Conroy 1997: 36).

In order to explain the way in which women experience poverty different to men the obstacles for women to participate in all areas of society must be explored. These include barriers which relate to difficulties accessing education and training, family and child rearing responsibilities, parenting alone with few supports and domestic violence against women. All these barriers compound the material deprivation and create a complex range of obstacles to an individual woman attempting to escape from poverty.

Understanding women's poverty therefore involves a deeper analysis and description of women's lives. It must involve analysing

the experience of the relationship of women within the home, the workplace, in the social welfare system, family and intimate relationships so as to consider their effects on the capacity of women to participate in society.

In identifying policies which could alleviate poverty it is essential to recognise that women are not one homogenous group. Women have a diverse range of needs and life circumstances, women and disabilities, Traveller women, women who are lone parents, lesbians, women living in rural and urban areas, women refugees and asylum seekers, all can experience poverty in very different ways. Diversity can also lead to a high degree of discrimination and exclusion from participating in society and can increase the risk of poverty for certain groups in society e.g. Travellers. This exclusion creates additional obstacles from poverty. Policies to combat poverty therefore need to be developed and pursued taking into account the diversity of women's lives and particularly those women who face multiple social and economic exclusion.

WHAT ARE THE IMPLICATIONS FOR POLICY DEVELOPMENT?

The impact of social welfare payments on women's poverty is fundamental to the increase of poverty for women. As average incomes have increased in the 1990s social welfare rates have lagged behind. This has led to increased inequality for people on social welfare and has further alienated people from participating in society. This problem clearly points to

the need to index increases in social welfare payments to increases in average incomes and to establish clear benchmarks to ensure that those reliant on social welfare receive an adequate income.

The treatment of women on social welfare is fundamental to an analysis of women and poverty. The organisation of the social welfare system on the basis of a male breadwinner model, where women are reliant on a male breadwinner model, where women are reliant on the economic status of their husbands and derive their rights and income accordingly, is inherently discriminatory. The construction of the system in this gender biased manner is essential to the way in which women experience poverty. A clear policy of individualisation with regard to the social welfare system is necessary so as to address women's poverty and to remove a fundamental barrier to gender equality in Irish society. This policy would advance the independence of women working within and outside of the home. The key statistics relating to women in poverty show that the economic status of women is crucial in determining their vulnerability to poverty. The issue of low pay and access to the labour force are crucial in order for women to have a full economic independence. Removing the barriers of lack of childcare provision, providing access to education and training and establishing a minimum wage are fundamental policy measures which must be implemented so that women can move out of poverty.



COUNTERACT - facing up to Sectarianism



counteract
anti-intimidation unit sponsored by ICTU

Counteract is an anti-intimidation group, formed in 1990 with the sponsorship and support of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. Our aims are to develop actions, policies and strategies to alleviate the incidence of sectarianism and intimidation in the workplace and the community.

Depending on who you ask, 'the Troubles' started in either 1969, the mid-twelfth century, or any number of dates in between. What is without doubt is that the current situation arises from a complex and muddled historical background. This historical aspect of our division and its interpretation is as divided as our housing estates, and only rarely brings agreement.

Looking into the past to strengthen the present is a favorite pastime here. We like to discover our heroic ancestors: the myths, old literature, and folk customs

provide the authenticity that we need to justify ourselves; it is what makes us right and them wrong. Those who can provide themselves with a history can provide themselves with a modern reality. So we point fingers and shout dates at each other, we claim the past as our own, and disagree on the present.

Outside the debating chamber, however, aside from the violence we are strangely quiet. One of the great paradoxes of the present conflict is that when we meet in everyday context, we often say nothing. Our silence when in one another's company, our politeness is well practiced, but scratch the surface.....

There is an aversion here to talking about anything to do with politics or religion in mixed company. In order to maintain good relationships many people adopt a rule of politeness. The adoption of this rule has allowed our society to function in ways that often look normal. It has been so successful that there are some people who refuse to believe that there are any problems at all. We have established a comfort zone between the two major communities. Of course, the value of polite relationships is that they make day-to-day relationships manageable. To this extent, politeness is necessary. The difficulty and danger is when politeness is the only relationship that we have because when we

avoid the difficult issues, we actually reinforce division. It has prevented us all from tackling the root causes of our violent division and the ways to resolve it.

We believe that to ignore the reality of our violent division is dangerous. If you live in Northern Ireland, ask yourself the following questions: Where do you work? Where do you live? Where do your children go to school? What sports do you play and which clubs do you support? Do you have any friends whose religion you do not know? Where do you shop? Where do you socialize and with whom? Who do you vote for, Nationalist or Unionist, United Ireland or United Kingdom? Answering these questions will state the painfully obvious fact that we do live in a divided society. So divided, in fact, that we kill each other.

We believe that to ignore the reality is to perpetuate the violent division that exists.

We cannot move towards a plural and peaceful society until our institutions reflect diversity and accept equality.

The Good Friday Agreement has provided an agreed framework and a space for debate and action to create such a society. It has given permission to individuals, communities, organizations and institutions to begin addressing these difficult

issues in a more open and challenging way.

We all suffer badly from moral relativism. When an incident is heard in the media we listen out for who and where. If one of ours is killed, then we feel a righteous anger and hatred. It reconfirms that they are, in fact, all bastards. If one of theirs is killed, then oh well? 'No smoke without fire.....; apparently he was involved.'

Alternatively, we like to consider ourselves as victims. If we are all victims, then we escape the feelings of guilt, responsibility, and shame; if we are always pointing the finger at someone else, then there will always be one pointing back. Perhaps we should start by pointing the finger at ourselves.

For our society to find other ways to resolve differences, we must stop blaming everybody else. We must stop waiting for somebody else to come up with a solution. We are all complicit in the violence, to a greater and lesser degree, and we must all be part of finding a solution.

Despite agreements at a political level, institutional change and grass roots initiatives are the true adhesive of the peace. All of us must be involved in building that peace.

Recently a number of Community Restorative Justice schemes have sprung up in communities throughout Belfast. United Irishman gives two such schemes, which span the sectarian divide, the opportunity to explain what they are trying to achieve...

GREATER SHANKILL ALTERNATIVES

By Debbie Waters

CRIME HURTS- JUSTICE HEALS

UPPER SPRINGFIELD COMMUNITY RESTORATIVE JUSTICE

Restorative Justice is an approach to dealing with the harms created by crime which views such problems as a breakdown in community relationships and seeks to repair those relationships. It views crime not simply as the violation of rules or rights, but rather a serious form of interpersonal conflict which involves concrete harms to real people. Any system based upon the principles of Community Restorative Justice must therefore include mechanisms which involve the victim of the crime, the offender and the community in which they live.

Many people working within their community raise some very relevant points and appear to have a sound overall view of the problem facing all of us regarding Anti-Social Behaviour, neighbourhood disputes and petty crime and an effective response to it. The problem remains however that lots of people have lots of ideas on how to deal with community concerns and issues and air them only through the columns in the letter pages of various newspapers, within their own homes or within their respective committees / community.

Community involvement and support is seen as one of the primary constituents which lend legitimacy to any system of justice and is, in any case, an absolute prerequisite for any serious level of effectiveness. One of the points of this model is to end the use of

violence against anti-social elements, which can be brutalising for the punished and punisher alike and use mediation and facilitation in a way that give both the alleged offender and victim the opportunity to come to a joint agreeable resolution, we have been involved in over 60 cases working along with around 200 people providing mediation.

We live in a divided and sectarian society. It is one of the most militarized states in the world. As community activists we view one of our main responsibilities as seeking to democratise as many of the institutions, services and relationships relevant to this community, to the greatest degree possible. For us that means attempting to democratise how economic, environmental, health or other decisions are taken by those in authority. It is a constant negotiation for greater levels of openness and accountability. The aim of maintaining such democratic pressure is to consistently maximise collective involvement and participation in the key affairs of these areas.

The process is absolutely premised upon such principles. Through its democratic integrity restorative justice reaches right to the heart of relationships in local communities, and instead of leaving the arbitration of a grievance or hurt to external agencies, such as the RUC or the formal court system, it reinvests responsibility within the community to resolve its own disputes, on its own terms.

It emphasises the collective good over the individual and prizes the social benefits of community over the punitive cycle of the states approach to criminal justice.

Restorative justice gives a cutting edge to the aspiration of empowering communities. It can make community development relevant by acting as a safety net for those in our community who offend against the rest of us. Restorative justice recognises the fact that punishment, violent or otherwise, often does little for the victims of crime and further alienates the perpetrator. This approach accepts that anti-social behaviour is best understood as a breakdown in community relationships. Long term solutions require that those relationships be rebuilt. The causes of crime need to be addressed. Perpetrators need to be reintegrated into the community, not further alienated from it.

An effective system cannot rest on voluntary effort alone. Sufficient resources must be made available to allow for proper training and administration and, where appropriate, for the costs of programmes directly run by the system and full time staff.

We believe that this process is a positive way forward which will involve local residents young and old in developing an open and transparent form of justice for our communities.

Tommy Holland



Theft, vandalism, joy riding, break-ins, noisy neighbours, young people on street corners. What is the way forward?

Conflict within society is normal. We live with conflict on a daily basis. Paramilitary beatings and shootings have also been a reality mostly for young people living in this area. We live in a society where people are victimised on a daily basis.

Greater Shankill Alternatives is a community based justice programme that has adopted the principles of Restorative Justice. The concept of Restorative Justice is relatively new to Northern Ireland, but has been operating effectively for many years in countries like America, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa.

Restorative Justice sees socially harmful activities not as a breaking of the rules, but rather as a damaging of relationships with community. The focus is on repairing the damaged relationship and making right the wrongs rather than on punishment. The three key elements involved in Restorative Justice are the victim, the community and the offender.

VICTIMS

Victims have a complex set of needs that may or may not include the punishment of offenders. These needs often include an acknowledgement that what happened to them was wrong; an opportunity to express their anger, tell their story, be listened to, restitution and a need to regain control of their lives.

COMMUNITIES

Communities need to be involved in the process of justice giving them a sense of ownership and responsibility in tackling anti-social behaviour. Greater Shankill Alternatives is run by local people who are committed to working at restoring broken relationships at all levels

OFFENDERS

This process seeks to hold offenders accountable for the real human consequences of their actions; acknowledge the hurt they have caused and repair the damage.

The focus is on offering a way back into community life by helping them address the root causes of their behaviour.

1, Punishment attacks - Alternatives is committed to non-violent ways of working with young people. When a young person is under threat from the paramilitaries, Alternatives will mediate between the person under threat and the paramilitaries to have the threat lifted.

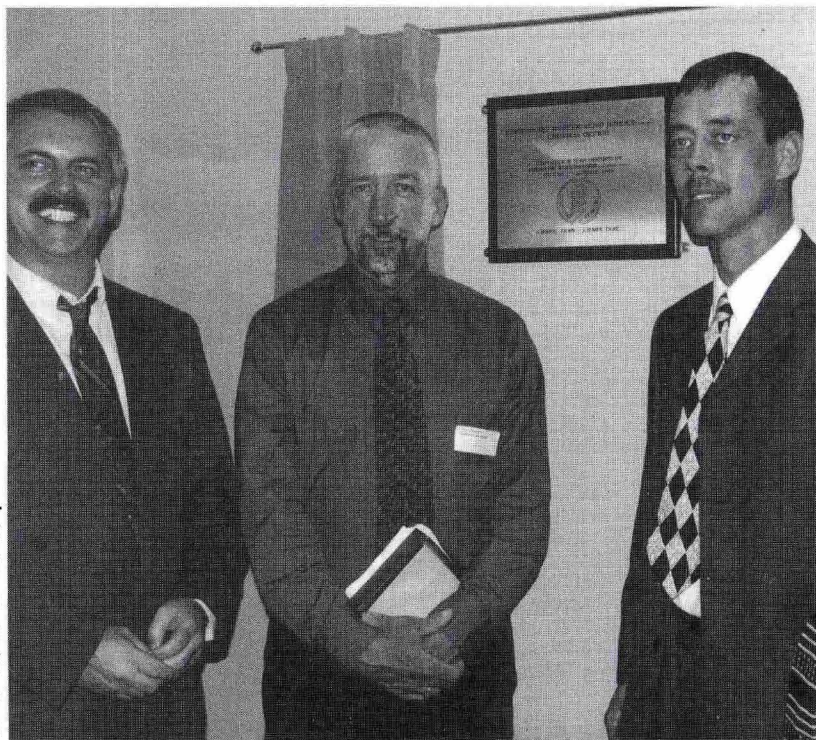
2, Socially harmful activities, Alternatives recognised that socially harmful activities are destructive to victims, the community and to the young person themselves.

3, The breakdown in relationships between community and the statutory sector- many of the local statutory organisations are perceived as failing to understand local community issues. This scepticism is deeply felt and Alternatives hopes to act as a bridge between the.

4, Empowerment of local community. Alternatives believes that local people experience the effects of conflict most deeply and therefore need to be involved in looking at solutions.

5, Areas of weakness within the formal criminal justice system- It is widely accepted that the formal system does not deter young people from being involved in anti-social behaviour. It is also widely accepted that the Police have failed to address anti-social behaviour in an area like the Greater Shankill. A culture has arisen where many of the local community do not even think of contacting the Police but increasingly turn to local paramilitaries. Alternatives is committed to an inclusive approach and is open to building relationships with the Police and the formal system to help build structures which address the real needs of communities. We accept that there are no quick fixes and no easy solutions to addressing conflict within communities. The work of resolving conflict and developing different community infrastructures is going to take a lot of work and energy. However, we believe the philosophy of restorative Justice has a lot to offer in building safer communities.

ALTERNATIVES CAN BE CONTACTED ON TELEPHONE 311420, OR AT 64 WOODVALE ROAD



Tommy Holland and Marty Morris with US justice expert Tom Hayden (centre) at Upper Springfield Community Restorative Launch

• EDITORIAL

Last year we launched this periodical as our contribution to the huge upsurge in interest that accompanied the 200th commemoration of the 1798 rebellion. As we approach the new millennium one question, more than any other, dominates the agenda for all those who draw inspiration from the ideals of the United Irishmen. That question is "where do we go from here?"

It is agreed across the political spectrum that some form of political realignment is one likely outcome of the current peace negotiations. Party allegiances could begin to change as the idea of voting to keep the "other side" out would lessen. Given vision and courage, loose alliances of left parties and groups with electoral pacts and negotiated programs could evolve across the sectarian divide. This would also apply to those on the right, which would be no bad thing. The debate should begin on setting the ground work for such a coming together.

Trade Unionists, community groups, socialists, environmentalists, all those who strive for an inclusive society should now be engaging in debate towards this rational position. Sectarianism must be attacked at every level and an environment created where old tribal allegiances fade and the natural allegiances of class flourish. We at the UI will play our part, no matter how small, in helping to facilitate this debate. We state that we have abandoned political sectarianism in the interest of genuine debate and progress. We hope the paper will become a platform for radical rethink on local and international matters, helping to shape future political attitudes in line with the international socialist humanitarian and democratic community. This might sound grandiose, but now more than ever, every voice previously confined to the TV armchair, must be raised to challenge the so

called "new world order". The logical conclusion of this endeavour would be a new party/alliance of the left but let us start with the first step.

We must sow the seeds of hope. We cannot let left politics, nationally and internationally, be discarded as the outdated debris of this century.

In these days of "the victory of the west" we see populations bombed mercilessly into humiliation or starved of the basic necessities of existence until they accept "new world order".

Democracies who do not tow that line are undermined politically and economically. The wounded Russian Bear not to be outdone mauls its neighbours in a confused frenzy, while its citizens sink further into despair. These are the moral standards of a new society where greed is regarded as a virtue and the poor and oppressed of the world are dismissed as "losers". It is the duty of all right thinking people to challenge this ethos.

If this re-evaluation appears daunting, we need look only to the United Irishmen for inspiration. The brilliance of what the United Irishmen sought and how they set about trying to obtain it still shines out like a beacon from the past. Their egalitarian insights have the power to illuminate the present and guide our way forward into the future.

To deny the necessity of a re-assessment would be a denial of hope. Equally it would be a surrender to a darker side of humanity that asserts the primacy of individual greed over the common good.

By its nature this "new order" can never possess the will or capability to tackle the major economic, political, cultural and environmental problems that plague the industrial nations. It is content to plunder the third world economies, leaving in its wake hunger and despair to be faced by the human flotsam

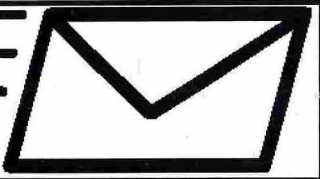
and jetsam, victims of this uncontrolled greed. It is knowingly and cynically creating a disempowered and underclass within the so called first world, to bolster its economic domination. The Earth's eco-system is endangered by its constant abuse. Can we in the so called western democracies enter the new millennium leaving this doctrine unchallenged, blinded by advancements in science and technology, content to ignore the imminent collapse of humanitarian values, coddled by our creature comforts and fed a view of the world through the media they control. Cynicism is widespread because most people think there is no alternative to capitalism. We dare not begin this new era without the basis for a well thought out and discussed international moral code, which though debate belongs to all the citizens of the world not only the "victors of the west".

We ourselves must admit that many of the old certainties of the left, like the inevitability of socialism, are gone with the simplistic clichés and slogans. In many areas of the world groups who were once progressive and internationalists in outlook have retreated into religion and nationalism. None of us are the keepers of a holy grail or magic formula that will eventually free humanity. Never again can there be conspiracies by small groups of zealots to liberate the oppressed never, "party before people" again.

If we refuse, dodge or shirk the responsibility of a process of analysis, then we condemn ourselves to the margins of political and intellectual life. We must begin the process of a new fraternal, humanitarian, moral and financial system that will create a better society for all our children.

Last but by no means least we must ensure that "socialism" is not demeaned as an unrealistic utopian aspiration, but is embraced as an achievable goal

Letters



Congratulations

Dear Editor,
Congratulations on the re-launch of the 'United Irishman' and the quality and content of your first edition. I was interested to see such a wide variety of contributors with differing backgrounds and perspectives writing about 1798. I hope you intend to open out to as many progressive and radical people as possible. I think there is a real need for genuine debate in progressive circles and the UI could have a real contribution to make in the changing times we are living in. I look forward to your next edition and wish you every success in the future.

Yours sincerely,
Karl McDonagh
Ballymun, Dublin 11

And again

Comrades Congratulations!
Great edition of the United Irishman in this commemorative year. I was very happy to see some old friends such as Mick Ryan and Seamus O'Toole making contributions. Please give them my regards. Keep up the good work and please ensure copies of forthcoming editions are sent to us. Good Luck,
Chris Mallans
Poet & Patriot Pub
320-E Cedar St.
Santa Cruz
California USA.

US Socialist

Dear Sir,
I am writing on behalf of the Socialist Party USA that would like to exchange information with your organisation. Enclosed is a copy of the latest number of our magazine The Socialist. We would appreciate receiving the United Irishman so that we may follow your discussions. Please send any correspondence to:
2335 West Altgeld Street
Chicago, Illinois 60647-2001 USA
Wishing you the best in your important work, I am...
Comradely yours,
Dr. William A. Pelz

Goulding

Dear Sir,
It is with great sadness I learned of the passing of Cathal Goulding on St. Stephens day. Cathal Goulding, to me epitomised the essence of Socialist Republicanism. He was a person of great foresight who saw the futility of armed struggle in the North twenty years before the current Sinn Fein leadership came to the same realisation. In my opinion, his greatest contribution was his understanding that unification could only be achieved by the unity of the people, Protestant and Catholic. He was instrumental in the 1970's when the North was on the brink of civil war, in convincing a sizeable proportion of the Republican Movement to turn their back on sectarian warfare and in doing so was

responsible for saving many lives. He also argued for Left Unity and successfully, although briefly, engineered a broad alliance of progressive organisations to campaign against social injustices, something the present Left appears to be unable or unwilling to try.

His passionate love of Ireland and everything Irish, his great humanism and his revulsion of injustice particularly the inequality embedded in capitalist Ireland encouraged a generation of young people, including myself, to reject capitalism and work towards the goal of a Democratic Socialist Republic. When a true history of 20th century Ireland is written he will emerge as an important figure in Irish history éa great man' Goulding was precisely that.
Yours sincerely,
John O'Neill
Dublin.

A New Debate

Some weeks ago I wrote an article for the Andersonstown News in which I expressed my serious reservations on the current political direction of the Sinn Fein leadership. The reaction to the article could only be described as interesting. Many people who had no problem in relating to that which I had expressed approached me openly on the streets and in the pubs. I received a mixed response in the letter's page of the A/Town News. Some of the letters were more intent in attacking me and

not the opinions I had articulated. They ignored the issues or/and misquoted and misrepresented what I had actually said. I was disappointed but not surprised by this attitude coming, as it did, from the 'usual suspects'.

The attitude which intrigued me most and caused me most concern was that where individuals appeared unwilling, even nervous to be seen talking to me or heard voicing similar concerns to those of which I had written. I am referring here in the most part, to Republican activists. In the recent past they have been involved in a protracted war and have been to prison for their activities. When they made the decision to 'take up arms' thoughts of being killed, injured or at best landing in prison for being in possession of weapons of war would not have been a major factor in reaching the decision. But now, to all intents and purposes, that period of our struggle is over. Those of us who survived it can look forward with greater confidence to the future and the Republic that we could only dream of all those years ago. However, many of the people who fearlessly risked all now appear to be almost afraid to be caught in possession of a political idea that is at variance with the 'leaderships' stated aims. This is indeed a sorry state of affairs and if it is widespread in the Republican Movement it augurs bad for the future development of this or any other peace process.

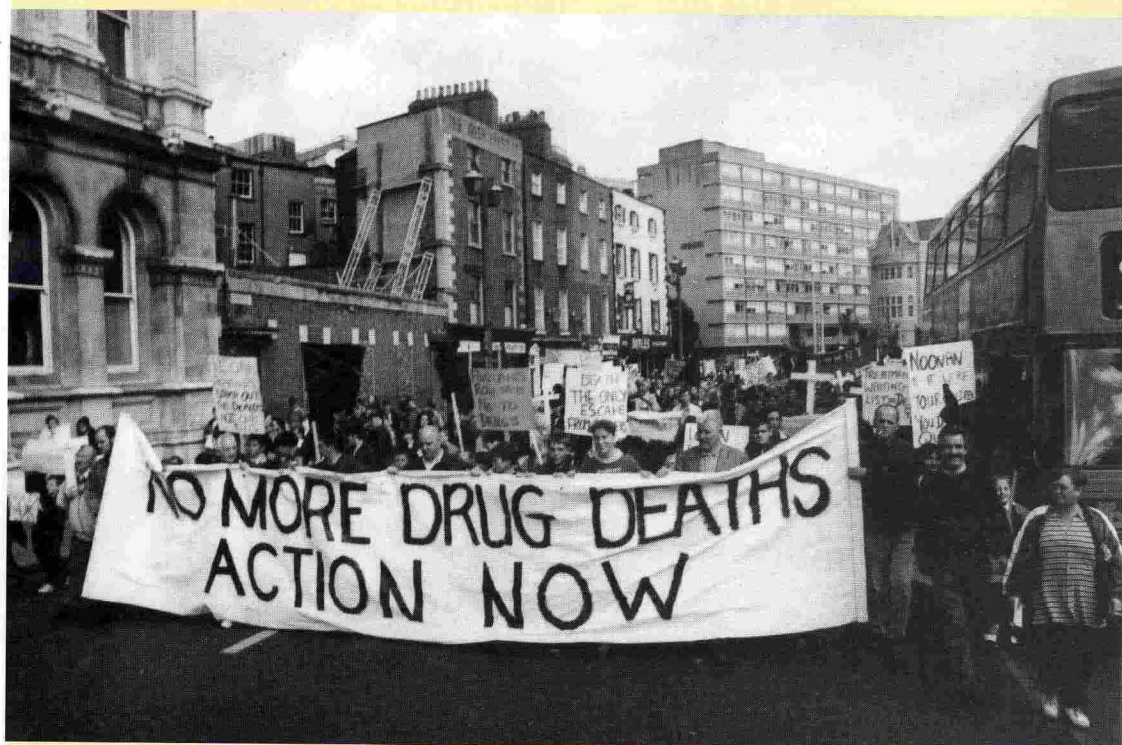
Critical self-analysis is the key to the well being and efficiency of any grouping that hopes to effect change. Without a comprehensive, continuous and honest process of self-evaluation a Movement

will drift inevitably into political lethargy and stagnation. My own experience within the Republican Movement and the paranoid fear of new ideas leads me to the sad conclusion that it (the Republican Leadership) is already in deep recession. Whether or not it can be saved from within is a moot point. Ironically enough that precise argument was often raised in the past in relation to redeeming the 'Sticks' from the ruinous road they had chosen to take. Suffice to say that we all require dialogue and debate and some amount of discomfort on the way. Too many people are content to go to comfortable little meetings where the only point of disagreement to surface is the time and place of the subsequent get together.

We have to engage in honest dialogue with those people who disagree with or are diametrically opposed to our particular political analyses and aspirations. It is only through such debate and discussion that we can reach some level of understanding of our respective hopes for the future.
Is mise,
Tommy Gorman

The United Irishman's editorial staff has in the past asserted that the paper will be a forum for all progressive points of view without favour. This is indeed a brave boast and I look forward to them living up to it. At this very important juncture in our peoples history there is nothing required more than honest, open and thorough ongoing debate on the way forward for all of our people.

DRUGS-THE CRISIS CONTINUES



Communities in the North of Ireland are facing many changes as a result of the ongoing peace process, most of them very positive, but one of the potential risks is the escalation of the drug problem. Citywide was happy to be invited to Belfast by a number of community organisations to talk about the experiences in Dublin and look forward to developing further contacts with groups in the North.

scourge
The scourge of drugs is one that does not discriminate between people of different traditions - heroin in particular will find a ready home in any community that is experiencing disadvantage and marginalisation. For that reason it is very encouraging to see community groups coming together from across the traditional divide in the North to address the drugs issue, experience in Dublin has shown that this coming together and networking between communities is an extremely effective and powerful response to the problem of drugs and local communities.

heroin
Citywide is an organization that has emerged from the frustration, anger, pain and suffering of local communities right across Dublin. By 1995 many of these communities were straining under the weight of the heroin problem and the devastation it was causing to individuals, families and communities. Local surveys were showing flat complexes where almost one third of families were living with a heroin problem. A huge amount of the anger and frustration in local communities was because of the lack of response by the state to the heroin crisis and this led to many communities coming out onto the streets to express this anger and frustration.

pressure
However, it was clear to community leaders that if this anger and frustration was to be used effectively, then pressure must be directed towards the state and

the state agencies who should have responded a long time ago to the heroin crisis. The efforts of local communities now needed to go into changing state policies, changing how state resources were being spent.

Citywide
This led to the setting up of Citywide in 1995 to bring together groups from right across Dublin - the role of Citywide was to provide communities from across the city with a forum where they could support each other, share experiences and bring pressure to bear on the state and state agencies. From the very start, Citywide has clearly stated the link between the heroin problem in Dublin and socio-economic disadvantage. It is no accident that the heroin problem is concentrated in the same areas that have experienced the highest levels of unemployment, early school leaving, delinquency etc. This is why we can state clearly that there are no simple solutions to the drug problem - its cause and effects are deeply rooted in the current structure of our society and its economic systems. We firmly believe that any effective response to the drugs problem must address this reality and recognize that, while simple solutions can seem attractive to communities that are strained to the point of breaking by the drugs problem, these simple solutions just do not work.

Task Forces
As a result of the Task Force Report, 13 Local Drugs Task Forces were established, 12 in Dublin and 1 in Cork. The Local Drugs Task Forces have enabled local community representatives to become involved in drawing up plans and implementing services and have resulted in the investment of much needed resources into local communities.

consultation
Citywide now has a membership drawn from every part of which outlined the need to tackle the drug problem through a three-strand approach, including treatment, education/prevention and justice. An intensive consultation process through Working Groups and seminars ensured that the policy document was based on the real needs and real issues on the ground. Citywide members met with government ministers, politicians and civil servants to lobby for implementation of its policies and there were marches to the Dail to highlight the need for immediate action.

roducing a drugs education programme in all primary schools by the end of 1999.

assets
The work of the Criminal Assets Bureau has been hugely important in targeting the assets of major drug dealers. One of the major frustrations experienced by local communities has been seeing people leading the good life on the proceeds of drug dealing - big houses, flash cars, foreign holidays, while young neighbours are sick of dying because of drugs. There has also been frustration at the perceived ineffectiveness of the Gardai in tackling drug dealing and the development of Community Policing Forums in local areas is an initiative to improve relations between Gardai and local communities.

commitment
Underlying all of these achievements has been the continuing commitment of local communities to tackling the drugs crisis. The Task Forces have enabled local communities to access resources to develop the activities that so many people became involved in on a voluntary basis. Community-based training programmes for drugs workers are enabling community activists to develop and enhance their skills in relation to drugs work.

deprivation
First of all it is important to acknowledge that there has been significant progress in some areas. The First Report of the Ministerial Task Force to Reduce the Demand for Drugs came out in October 1996. This report stated that 'drug use is concentrated in communities that are characterized by large-scale social and economic deprivation and marginalisation. The physical/environmental conditions in these neighborhoods are poor, as are the social and recreational infrastructures.' Government policy was finally giving official acknowledgment to the case which has been argued by communities for a long time, about the links between socio-economic conditions and drug use.

opioid
The most recent estimate for the number of opioid users in Dublin is 13,460 [Dr. C. M. Comiskey - Estimating the Prevalence of Opioid Drug Use in Dublin]. The numbers currently in treatment in the EHB area are 4,023 [June 1999], which represents less than a third of the estimated numbers. Since the introduction of the methadone protocol, there are waiting lists for all treatment services. Drug related deaths are continuing on an ongoing basis across the city - they receive little publicity, but cause heartbreak and misery for families and communities.

treatment
There are still major developments and improvements required in existing treatment services. Of the 4,023 in treatment, only a few hundred have access to aftercare and rehabilitation programmes.

Strategy
The Citywide policy document also states 'There is also a need for the National Drugs Strategy to become genuinely national, with a clear and coordinated strategy for prevention, which will link education, youth, family and community development services. It would be absolutely inexcusable for any other city or town in Ireland to experience a heroin epidemic similar



to Dublin, yet this will happen unless preventative strategies are put in place before heroin has taken hold in other cities or towns. Waiting until there is a heroin problem is leaving it too late.

experience
So how can the experience that Dublin has been through be of use to other communities in Ireland? We can go back to the two key lessons - first, that communities will take the lead on the issue and secondly that there are no simple solutions.

awareness
Yes, communities will need to take the lead outside Dublin just

as they have in Dublin. Partly because the heroin problem is so bad in Dublin, there can be a perception in other areas that if a community does not have a heroin problem then it doesn't really have a drug problem. There is no need to worry or to do anything about it. Local communities must not accept this viewpoint - a properly planned and resourced prevention strategy is needed now in all parts of Ireland. This does not mean becoming alarmed about the problem - it does mean that local community groups should look to the state agencies in their area

to start working with them now on prevention measures that include public awareness, schools programmes, parents programmes, youth programmes, early school leaver programmes, community policing structures.

investment
Finally and most importantly, the scourge of heroin will continue to affect communities until the real problems of poverty and marginalism are tackled. Major investment is required in the infrastructure of these communities - investment in education, health services, childcare, training, employment, housing, recreational facilities, public transport. Unless

this kind of investment takes place, the conditions that have given rise to the current drugs crisis will continue and the future of many more of our young people will be under threat. Citywide is part of a campaign to ensure a better future for all our children and communities; the support of all sectors of our society is needed for this campaign.

DRUGS ~ the facts

What is a drug?

- Any medicine that a doctor can give you on prescription
- A substance that people use for pleasure
- Something that changes a person's mood or the way they think
- Something that a person can become addicted to or dependent

Who abuses drugs?

People of all ages from all backgrounds

Why?

A lot of young people try drugs so they won't be the odd one out. Children will always experiment.

Where?

Discos, Pubs, Clubs, Parties. Anywhere there is nobody watching.

When?

Anytime

How?

Drugs are abused in many ways, for example, smoking, injecting, sniffing, eating or drinking.

Drugs commonly abused in Ireland?

Alcohol, Tobacco, Cannabis, Ecstasy, Heroin, Cocaine, LSD, Solvents, Prescribed drugs, Amphetamines.

Learn the facts about drugs

A COMMON ENEMY

The past thirty years in the North have been marked by massive turmoil in the community, massive destruction of poverty and abominable murder. Working class communities are entitled to feel they deserve a respite from what is sometimes euphemistically called the 'Troubles', yet the self same 'Troubles' probably did much to keep the scourge of heroin out of the towns and cities of Northern Ireland until comparatively recently.

epidemic

While the North was undergoing its own unique seizures the heroin problem had reached epidemic proportions in Dublin and other major European cities. As anyone reasonably attuned to current affairs will confirm, the results of this heroin problem have been devastating, yet in Belfast itself the abuse of 'hard' drugs is a relatively recent phenomenon which has coincided more or less with the tacit acceptance of 'normality' following the paramilitary cease-fires here. However all the evidence points to an accelerating heroin crisis in the North. Ballymena and other provincial towns have had their heroin problem clearly documented and there are now strong indications of an increasing abuse problem in parts of South Belfast.

WHAT TO DO?

In the recent past paramilitaries had attacked the drugs problem in their own unique fashion, small time marijuana dealers were driven out of working class districts and on occasion shot. Interestingly the enforcers from both sides of the community accused the 'dealers' of working with paramilitaries from the 'other side'. This policy met with some support from members of their long suffering communities but ultimately D.A.A.D. type activities only postponed the day of reckoning with the drugs prob-

lem. Such ritual amputations of low level drug peddlers will rebound on the practitioners as the populace insists on the removal of the gun from politics. A younger generation which holds no particular veneration for any particular set of 'boys' will more resort to ordering drugs by phone and collect on the outskirts of their area much as their contemporaries in other cities outside the North have done. Militant action against heroin was attempted in Dublin it failed miserably, it was only when communities, politicians, trade unions and statutory bodies joined forces that positive action was possible. On a recent two day visit to a drugs conference in Dublin, I was shocked to see the scale of the damage done before some successful intervention was practised, not only individuals but whole communities were affected. In some areas 90% of the personnel and resources of community groups and statutory bodies were absorbed by the heroin problem alone.

middle class

This meant in effect that no other significant community politics or activity could continue while the

problem persisted. The government itself only took positive steps when the problem reached middle class districts. I have stretched out Dublin's experiences not out of mean spiritedness but rather to point up a likely future scenario in Belfast. It is up to us to learn from the unfortunate experiences of other cities. A programme of preventative action embracing all those involved in anti abuse should be formed now. Assembly members, political parties, trade unions, community groups and statutory bodies must join with those already involved in anti abuse to form a broad front approach. A task force for all of Northern Ireland should be formed. A drugs education programme especially in schools should be initiated and resourced.

non-sectarian

This would also be an excellent opportunity for politicians to show that they are interested in the problems of all society. They must join together across the sectarian divide to battle with the non-sectarian heroin.

Damian Rush



NEW IRELAND GROUP

Although a small body of never more than a hundred people, the New Ireland Group, which first established itself in the aftermath of the hunger-strikes, has had an important role in perpetuating rational and reformist debate in this country. Many of the axioms of the Good Friday Agreement, including stronger north/south and east/west ties in these islands, and the centrality of Irish national self-redefinition, are to be found in New Ireland group writings from the 1980's.

forefront

In recent years the group has been to the forefront in pinpointing the demographic changes which threaten Unionist dominance, and yet suggesting that to replace a Unionist majority with a nationalist one would be no kind of a solution, unless some kind of consensual method of decision-making and governance evolves on this island.

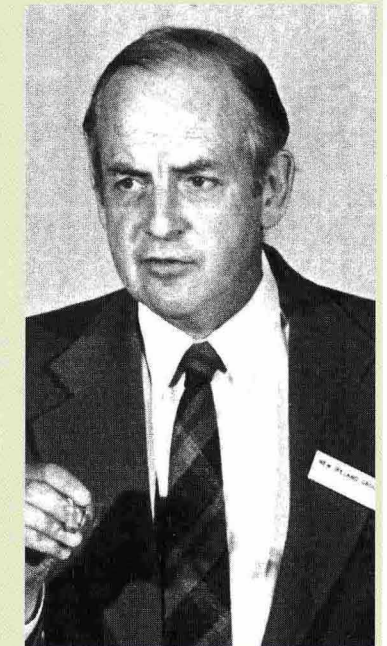
subversion

The group has also offered some valid critiques of Southern

Irish society that might come into play, should Northern Protestants ever decide to negotiate an agreed new Irish settlement, and in recent issues of their journal, *The New Irelander*, the group has endeavoured to analyse social structures in the north of this island in a way that reflects the new theories of power and its subversion, offered by current European radical thinkers. One such recent set of articles discussed 'The politics of space'. As epitomised by the urban geography of Northern Ireland's small market towns.

legacy

The New Ireland Group owes a particular debt to the legacy of *The United Irishmen* (and women) whose chief achievement was that they brought the international radical politics of their time into play in the narrower arena of their own nation. Their emphasis on human rights, female emancipation, the abolition of slavery, electoral enfranchisement and the termination of hereditary power, all prefigure the rightful stance of any open-



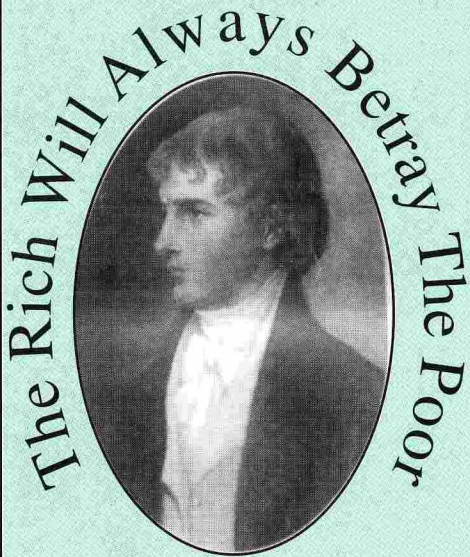
John Robb - founder New Ireland Group

minded reformist group in the North of Ireland today.

Liberation

The cause of Irish Liberation and the cause of Human Liberation are one.

Henry Joy McCracken Remembered in Belfast



Belfast's first citizen Bob Stoker unveiled a plaque commemorating the execution of Henry Joy McCracken. The memorial was erected by the Belfast Historical Society above Joy's entry in High St. Belfast. The significance of this action by the first citizen went largely unnoticed by the citizens of Belfast. McCracken who was arrested in Carrickfergus on 16th July 1798 and brought to Belfast, was tried and hanged in Cornmarket. He was a founder member of the United Irishmen in Belfast and also belonged to a prominent Belfast merchant family. He was the only Belfast

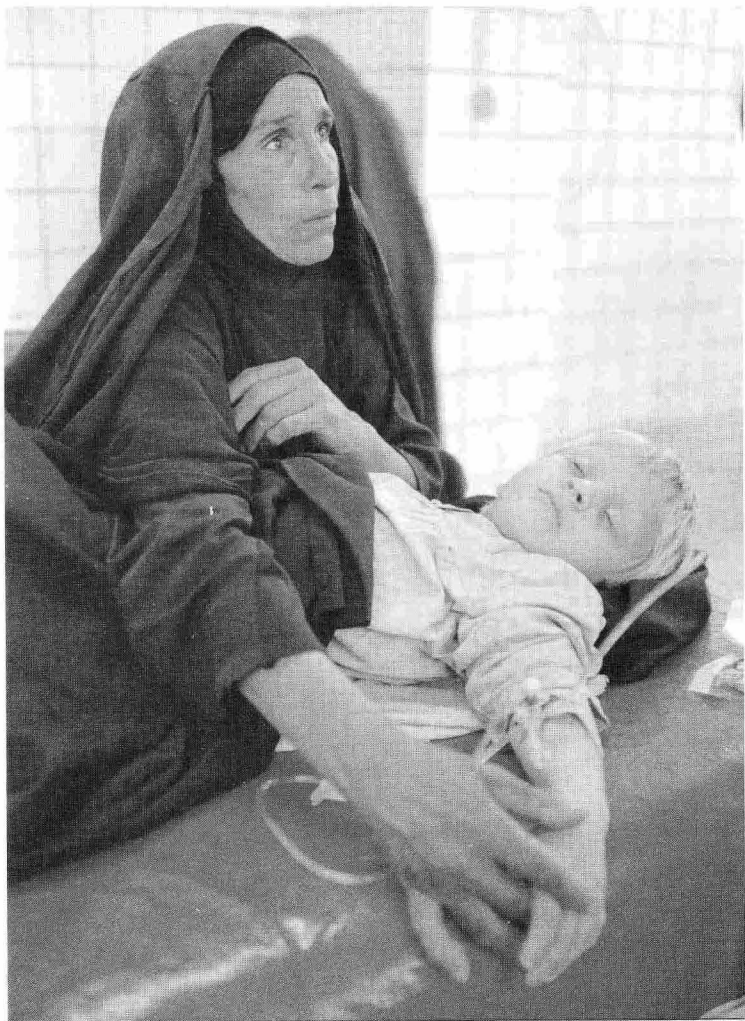
leader who was involved in combat when he led the attack on Antrim town in June 1798. He went to the scaffold accompanied by his sister Mary Ann, who was one of the greatly underrated "United Irishwomen" of the period. She founded the Belfast poorhouse at Clifton St. and dedicated her whole life to working for the poor and underprivileged of Belfast. The Lord Mayor must also be congratulated for taking this progressive step on behalf of the people of Belfast. Henry Joy McCracken, "He stood alone, faithful to the last." Jemmy Hope.

Seán Curry



Pic: Thomas McMullan, North Belfast News

IRAQ: THE HIDDEN WAR



In 1990 Iraq invaded neighbouring Kuwait. The fact that it had been an integral part of Iraq for 3,000 years before the British decided to change the maps in the 1890s does not warrant invasion, nor in fact that Kuwait is run by an undemocratic and abusive royal family. But such is the nature of international politics in the 'New World Order' that yesterday's ally is today's monster. We should perhaps ask how many countries of the world are armed to the teeth courtesy of the U.S. and Britain.

media

With the domestic and global media focused on the humanitarian and political crises in Kosovo, little American attention was paid to the resumption of bombing in the U.S.-British attack on the oil communications centre, an economic installation whose targeting is therefore prohibited under international law. Little press in-

terest has emerged in the latest documentation of the sanctions-driven humane toll in Iraq.

missiles

Over the past eight months, American and British pilots have fired more than 1,100 missiles against 359 targets.

expulsion

This is more than triple the targets attacked in four furious days of strikes in December that followed Iraq's expulsion of United Nations weapons inspectors, an assault that provoked an international outrage.

Yugoslavia

By another measure, the pilots have flown about two-thirds as many missions as NATO pilots flew over Yugoslavia in 78 days of around-the-clock war there.

'no-flight' zones

The strikes have done nothing to deter Iraqi gunners from firing on American and British planes pa-

trolling the 'no-flight' zones over northern and southern Iraq. They, like officials in Baghdad, are acting as defiant as ever.

no end

There appears to be no end in sight to the war, to the surprise and chagrin of some officials of the Clinton administration and the Pentagon.

sanctions

The way things stand today the sanctions have outlived their original purposes. The U.N. weapons inspection operation, Unscop, collapsed under allegations that it was penetrated by U.S. intelligence. In December 1998 the U.S. and British carried out air attacks, designed to reinforce Unscop's mandate, without U.N. approval. Since then, both of these states have continued to their policy of aggressive containment with frequent but underreported air attacks on Iraqi targets.

insulated

Despite continued military attacks and the draconian sanctions the Hussein regime remains insulated. The people who are suffering the most are the people who those in the U.N. purportedly are trying to help, the victimised people of Iraq. But what one should do is take a look at the facts, that the only thing the sanctions are effective in doing is killing the poor of Iraq. In August of this year a survey was carried out by UNICEF, it shows that during the time of the punitive sanctions, they killed 1.5 million Iraqis, one

third of which were children under the age of five. In the heavily populated regions of central and southern Iraq deaths have increased from 56 to 131 per 1,000. The rate for infants below one year has risen from 47 to 108 per 1,000.

emergency

There is no doubt that the Iraqi Government is responsible for the worsening humanitarian emergency but the international community is culpable in assuming that the oil-for-food programme would work. Under this programme Iraq is allowed to export £3.1 million worth of oil every six months to purchase foodstuffs and medical supplies. It is true that the Iraqi authorities are hoarding medical supplies and equipment. But the Security Council is delaying and denying approval of urgently needed supplies. The U.S. and Britain who dominate the Security Council, ban anything which could have a military application, this includes ambulances, chemicals for purifying water pumps, educational materials and various medicines for life threatening illnesses. What perhaps the Security Council should be doing is encouraging countries like Iraq to become active in the community of nations. Helping them to compromise and solutions to their many differences. But of course this is hard to achieve when Britain and the U.S. are more interested in warfare and vast sums of money which are involved in their ever enlarging weapons industries.

It is now time for a complete re-think of the existing U.N. policy. The British and U.S. policy has not worked. There is a need to re-examine the sanctions policy, one in which oil sanctions are relaxed in return for new commitments to arms control and inspections monitored by another member of the Security Council other than the U.S. and Britain. This would help see that the civilian population is treated with the dignity that they deserve. It would of course be necessary to ensure that the Iraqi regime does not hoard the essential resources as they have done until now. But it is important to make the point that contrary to British and U.S. statements it is the severity of the sanctions, not the fact of their diversion, which is responsible for the deaths of so many Iraqis.

demand

All progressive groups should call for:

- The international community should provide additional funding for humanitarian efforts in Iraq.
- The Government of Iraq should urgently expedite implementation of targeted nutrition programmes.

Both the Government of Iraq and the U.N. Sanctions Committee should give priority to contracts for supplies that will have a direct impact on the well being of children.

world order

If this does not happen it is hard to see how the British and American world order is not much different from the one spoken about by Ronald Reagan when addressing Westminster in 1982. In his speech he rambled on about how it was the U.S. and other 'free' nations responsibility to preserve the visions of other 'free countries'. What was most derogatory about his speech, was his inference to 'those countries and peoples, which deserve to be free'. Who are the British and Americans to decide in 1999 that the civilian people of Iraq do not deserve to be free of the tyranny of their punitive sanctions?

John O'Neill



DRUMCREE A PROGRESSIVE VIEWPOINT

This annual debacle threatens to suck us like a black hole back to the base sectarian swamp we have just dragged ourselves from. It cannot be allowed to be hijacked and become a vehicle for the tribal witch-doctors and backwoodsmen from both communities to try to derail the settlement. We have to be aware that they will be seeking out fundamentalist causes in order to block progress. The assembly must bring the sides together and broker a solution. After decommissioning this will be the opportunity for our elected representatives to prove their unity of purpose. If they cannot resolve this issue the future will not be promising. With the help of the "yes community" they can and must be successful. The progressive attitudes that have brought us thus far must be ranged against the sectarian ranting. We must all rally to our elected representatives to resolve this outdated squabble without preconditions. Continuing compromise must be our watchword. There must be a groundswell of community activists, trade unionists and political groupings to help cement and strengthen the agreement. To ensure it can weather the storm and worse that may lay ahead. It is too soon to relax in the hope that at last everything is up and running. Those working to wreck the agreement will not ease their fanatical conspiring. The majority must send the message loud and clear. We will not work with those who will not accept compromise.



ORANGE MARCHES IN PORTADOWN THE LAW

THE history of contentious Orange parades in Portadown is discussed in the Parades Commission's determination of 26 June 1998. As it appears from that assessment by the Parades Commission, Orange parades through predominantly Catholic districts in Portadown have given rise to serious inter-communal strife and exacerbated already existing tensions between the Catholic and Protestant communities in the town

mob violence

Since June 1998, Catholics in Portadown have suffered unprecedented and ever-rising levels of harassment, intimidation and violence perpetrated by loyalists. The innumerable protests, rallies and marches organised by the Orange Order have been calculated to inflame anti-Catholic animosity and have generally been attended by mob violence directed against Catholics.

encouraged

The atmosphere generated by the Orange Order's campaign over the Drumcree Parade has also encouraged loyalist terrorists to engage



in a series of gun and bomb attacks on Catholics, including the murder of Rosemary Nelson, the solicitor who represented the residents of the Garvaghy Road.

refused

The officers and membership of Portadown District LOL No.1 have refused to engage in direct dialogue with the representatives of

Catholic residents affected by contentious parades.

dialogue

They have refused to recognize or engage in dialogue with the Parades Commission.

intention

They have declared their intention to defy the law and to do whatever it takes, lawful or otherwise, to 'com-

plete' the Drumcree Church parade by marching along Garvaghy Road.

provocative

The overwhelming majority of the Garvaghy Road community is opposed to the holding of Orange processions through their area and regard it as a provocative and triumphalist form of sectarian intimidation.



The law governing contentious parades is now contained in the Public Processions (N.I.) ACT 1998 and the body given authority under the Act to impose conditions on contentious parades is the Parades Commission. Neither the Act nor the Commission is recognised by the Orange Order. It is for this reason that we say the Orange Order considers itself to be above the law and, by implication, to have the God given right to parade where it pleases. It makes no bones about the matter. It will simply not comply with the Act or co-operate with the Commission or even observe the principles of mediation, tolerance and mutual understanding enshrined in the legislation.

In short the Orange Order in Portadown has been parading and celebrating its traditions on an almost continuous basis in the centre of Portadown, in all the protestant areas of Portadown and on the lower Garvaghy Road itself during the last year. The demand that they should be allowed to process along the Garvaghy Road is explicable only on the basis that they wish to engage in a coat-trailing exercise as a vehicle for asserting Protestant and Loyalist domination over Catholics in Portadown.

The Residents Objection to Orange Marches

The Orange Order is a constitutionally sectarian, doctrinally anti-Catholic organization, founded in violence, and it both symbolizes and celebrates the historical exclusion of Catholics and Irish Nationalists from political and social power. Its role in systematic institutionalized discrimination against Catholics in Northern Ireland since partition has been too well documented to require rehearsal here.

characterized

Unfortunately the bigotry and prejudice that have historically characterized the Orange Order remain prevalent among its membership today, as evidenced in the

conduct of its members and supporters in recent years, especially in Portadown.

civilized

That any section of the community should want to celebrate the traditions associated with such an organization in an era were modern, secular, civilized societies seem to promote reconciliation and tolerance is a matter of regret. Despite this, the Catholic community in Northern Ireland has never sought to prevent or restrict the celebration of orange culture in those areas where the residents find themselves in sympathy with that culture. Nor have organisations that are either Catholic or Nationalist or Republican sought to parade or otherwise celebrate

their traditions in areas where the residents object to those traditions.

God-given

However, the Order's view that it has a God-given right to parade in large numbers with marching bands and camp followers through Catholic neighbourhoods reflects the kind of arrogance, calculated insensitivity, belligerence and aggressively supremacist mentality displayed by white racists in the American South in the 1960s and more recently by the Serbs in Kosovo. In short, even at the best of times in this divided society, there can be no objective justification for seeking to conduct an Orange parade through a Catholic neighbourhood.

Breandán MacCionnaith





“Communities and Governance in a Time of Transition”

Congratulations are due to the N.I.V.T. for organising one of the most enlightening and informative conferences held here in recent years. The calibre of many of the international speakers and the debates surrounding their contributions were of a focused and concise nature.

The community and voluntary sectors were well represented by many groups from across Northern Ireland, involved in many aspects of community and voluntary work. Local political representatives were also in attendance, and made a positive contribution to the overall debate.

All contributors to the theme of the conference avoided a false sense of euphoria on the current political process. What came across was a level headed determination to make this process work.

Although covert ethos manipulation was discernible in some of the international contributions, it detracted little from the overall value of the conference.

The talk given by Naomi Chazan from Israel was one of the highlights of the conference. Her outlining of the difficulties involved in the Israeli Palestinian negotiations were a timely reminder of how we must all still be vigilant to ensure the ultimate success of our own process.

Once again well done to all at N.I.V.T. for organising such a successful conference. Delegate An Eochair Ex-Prisoner Support Group.

AN EOCHAIR

An Eochair or the “Key” was established to identify structures and systems designed to meet the needs of Official Republican Prisoners and their families.

Our ex-prisoners had no support while in prison and none on release. Families were left to cope on their own, any support given was limited. We decided to start a process where all our ex-prisoners can regain the respect and fair play they rightly deserve and have been denied for too long.

An Eochair can be contacted at 426, Falls Road Belfast BT12 6EN or Tel/Fax: 028 90247291

Peace Prize Hypocrisy

EAMONN McCANN

Two Nobel Peace Prize winners have spoken out about a proposal to manufacture war materials in Ireland.

‘I am delighted’, John Hume told journalists on August 24th, referring to the news that U.S. firm Raytheon is to establish a plant in Derry. The plant, which will eventually employ 150 people, will make missile-guidance and defence radar systems.

‘Significant and very positive development’, added Mr Hume’s fellow peace laureate, David Trimble.

The two leaders were speaking at a function in Derry Guildhall, where Raytheon chief executive Daniel Burnham explained why the \$20 billion company - the fourth largest defence contractor in the U.S. - had selected Derry for its new plant. He mentioned the high-tech skills of the local workforce, the persuasive influence of Mr Hume and Industrial Development Board officials, and crucially, the prospect of political stability and peace.

‘It would have been unthinkable for us to have made this decision some years ago, in the depth of the troubles,’ he said.

And just as peace helped bring the plant to Derry, the 150 jobs would, in turn, help make peace permanent. ‘We have the opportunity to participate in Northern Ireland’s economic development, thus promoting peace’.

Among Raytheon’s top-selling products are Patriot anti-missiles, which became well known to television viewers during the 1991 Gulf war when it was deployed against incoming Iraqi Scuds; the Hawk and Stinger surface to air missiles, the Sidewinder and Phoenix air to air missiles, and the Maverick air to ground missile.

Raytheon has been one of the fastest growing companies in the U.S. in recent years, with a workforce of 118,000 following the 1997 take-overs of Hughes aircraft and Texas Instruments. More than 60% of its revenue, and a higher percent of its profits, come from arms and arms-related sales. It is the leading Western manufacturer of missile guidance systems.

The company has a controversial reputation in the U.S. where it has been accused of intimidating workers, price rigging and fraud. In March 1990 US courts imposed a \$10,000 criminal fine and \$900,000 in civil penalties on Raytheon on a felony count of illegally obtaining secret Air Force documents which gave it an edge on competitors bidding for contracts attorney Henry Hudson declared that the single 1983 incident which formed the basis of the prosecution had been merely the tip of the iceberg.

The following year, Raytheon used the supposed success of the Patriot against the Iraqi Scuds as a platform for an intensive sales

drive in the Middle East. However, the house of Representatives Sub-committee on Legislation and National Security was later to declare, ‘there is little evidence to prove that the patriot hit more than a few scud missiles launched by Iraq during the Gulf War, and there are some doubts even about these engagements. The public and Congress were misled by definitive statements of success issued by the administration and Raytheon representatives. However, Raytheon’s close relations with the US defence establishment have continued to stand it in good stead. In March this year, Defence Secretary William Cohen announced that Egypt would be buying the latest and most advanced Patriot model, the Patriot 3 from Raytheon. The bulk of the \$3.1 billion cost will come directly from the US taxpayer as aid. The money will be transferred directly from the US Treasury to Raytheon, once the missiles have been shipped to Egypt. (A high percentage of Western aid to developing countries takes this form.)

Previously, Raytheon had been able to capitalise on its contribution to the Gulf conflict by securing orders from Saudi Arabia, which had benefited greatly from the disabling of Iraqi oil production in the war, and from the imposition of sanctions afterwards. In the two years following the war, the Saudi dictatorship added Sidewinder heat seeking missiles, Maverick air to surface and Sparrow radar-guided missiles to its arsenal - all Raytheon products.

Last April, Raytheon announced that it expected increased orders for missiles then being ‘proved’ in the Kosovo conflict.

‘We are restricted in what we can say about activity in Yugoslavia’ chief executive Burnham told a conference of arms manufacturers, but perhaps you have read that the Department of Defence has submitted a supplemental request for congressional approval.... As an example, the Navy has requested about \$113 million to accelerate the remanufacture of 324 Tomahawks.’

According to J. Whitfield Larrabee, whose racial Massachusetts-based legal practice acts as a watch dog on corporate crime and commercial abuse, Raytheon, to an unusual extent, is driven not just by a thirst for profits but belief in right-wing ideas, zealously promoting what used to be called Reganomics. On a number of occasions in the mid 90’s the company assembled its workers, plant by plant, to view videos extolling the proposal for a North America Free Trade Agreement. It campaigns for tax breaks and against tax regulation, and contributes massively to politicians who espouse the same views.

Larbee claims the company ‘covered’ a \$21 million tax cut from Massachusetts in 1995 by threatening to move its operations elsewhere - then six months later, slashed its Massachusetts workforce by 4,400 anyway. He also details a case from October 1994 in which Raytheon quietly paid a penalty of \$4 million for having fraudulently overcharged the US Department of Defence for an anti-missile radar system called PAVEPAWS. ‘Clearly, this misdemeanour wasn’t enough to make the high spending company non grata with top defence officials.’

Also in October 1994, Raytheon sacked 870 employees at two aircraft factories in England which it had bought from British Aerospace, despite the fact that following the take-over, in a desperate effort to meet the company’s requirements for keeping their job’s the workers had cut overheads by 25% and raised productivity by more than 30%.

The British Labour Party, then in opposition, denounced the move. Eight hundred skilled workers are to be thrown on the dole despite a promise that their jobs were safe for years to come.’

Now in government British Labour was represented at the Derry ceremony by NIO minister George Howarth who joined Mr Hume and Mr Trimble in praising Raytheon as just the type of hi-

tech investor areas like Derry need to attract.

‘Raytheon has customers all over the world’, Howarth told the gathering, and is one of the phenomenal success stories of industry. As a company Raytheon set themselves the highest standards. I am pleased that NI and Derry in particular, have met these standards.

The SDLP Mayor of Derry, Pat Ramsey, hit the same note, seemingly pleased that Raytheon had considered worthy of contributing to the company’s phenomenal success. ‘Having Raytheon here will show other companies that Derry can support the leading hi-tech companies’.

Mr Hume made clear what he believed Derry’s posture should be. ‘The city owes a debt of gratitude to Raytheon’.

Those who had planned the press conference were unfortunate in their timing. The news of the new plant was swamped by a spate of stories about the crisis in the peace process, Mo Mowlam’s response to the IRA killing of Charles Bennett, the leak of the Patten report on the police etc. The company scarcely figured in the press conference Mr Hume, Mr Trimble and Mr Howarth gave.

Said Mr Hume, seated alongside Mr Burnham, ‘the atmosphere on our streets has been transformed by the cease-fires, the peace is very obvious... In recent times there has been a lot of confusion, but we ought not to be looking at the negative aspects. Lets look at the positive and do all in our power to promote peace’.

Mr Trimble said ‘there cannot be a licence to kill. The government cannot turn a blind eye to such wrongdoing... Are they (the Republicans) genuinely committed to exclusively peaceful means, or are they just stringing the community along by retaining the capacity to inflict violence? These matters must be addressed seriously’.



Northern Ireland in the Third Millennium

Roy Garland October 1999

Some time ago I was asked to write an article on the future of Northern Ireland for the United Irishman newspaper. My reaction was and is one of hesitation. I do not like to gaze into crystal balls, and I do not believe that the future shape of things is somehow already determined. In one sense the future is ours, and the society we live in can be moulded to create something better for all. In another sense the future is beyond our control, and subject to forces that are international. We are also constantly frustrated and haunted by a past that is laden with guilt, hurts, resentments, misperceptions and animosities. All of these factors seem ready to wreck havoc on the best plans we could ever devise.

Having said that, I ask myself what kind of future can I as a Unionist, envisage for Northern Ireland? Firstly we must make a clear distinction between the kind of world we would like to see, and what is likely to be the reality on the ground. I would like to see a real coming together of Nationalists, Unionists, Republicans, Loyalists, Socialists, Liberals and others in a shared political and constitutional agreement. I would hope that this would finally undermine the long established pattern of sectarian rivalries and class inequalities, to be replaced by a co-operative system serving the needs of all. Hopefully the benefits of this would not be confined to the people who live in this part of Ireland, but would be extended beyond our borders, and across the seas, as we communicated whatever wisdom we gathered in reaching such an idyllic scenario.

While we have much to be thankful for in the modern world, there are also destructive processes undermining our physical, social, psychological and spiritual well-being. In my new world these negative factors would be replaced by a greater working with, and for nature and humanity. We would be open to learn from any source, and ready to adopt good solutions to needs as and when we encounter them.

The wisdom gathered by the Greens and others over the years would be developed and used to encourage widespread innovation using the best means of living together in peace and mutual respect for each

citing society in which new ideas would not be dismissed simply because of where they came from. The sick and the needy would find a valued place, and gender differences would be a source of enrichment and enhancement to the whole. Who could reject such a world?

Well of course the reality is that there are people who see things differently and some of them would reject such a world were it even a conceivable reality. We can only start from where we are, and our understanding of human nature would suggest that a utopia is not, and is unlikely to be on offer.

In the face of the harsh cold realities of life in Northern Ireland we could so easily slip into pessimism and apathy. So much effort by so many people has been put into creating something new, that a failure to see the Good Friday Agreement implemented might have very negative consequences. That Agreement, in my view is far from perfect, but it represents a zenith in the relationship between our peoples thus far, and need not yet be dismissed.

That this agreement was at all possible is something whose significance should never be underplayed. Real change has taken place. Republicans have conceded the right of the people of Northern Ireland to withhold their consent to a single all-Ireland political structure. They have also I believe, recognised that violence can never achieve the unity of the Irish people. As John Major re-states in his memoirs, the IRA in 1993 probably did say that the conflict was over and that they wished to bring it to an end. They stand ready to operate the new political structures envisaged in the agreement. The republican movement has moved substantially into a political mode and has sought to bring their movement into the world of politics and reality at the end of the millennium.

Loyalists have also changed and changed substantially. They have been active promoters of the agreement and without their goodwill and active support political progress would not have been possible. Many of the far seeing ideas, which are central to the agreement, were first mooted among loyalists decades ago. Without this

stuck in the mire of sectarian warfare, which by this stage could have degenerated into an even more serious civil war.

Ulster unionists, despite their detractors and critics, have changed massively. The right wing sought to roll back the tide of change. Their intention was to get into such a position of strength in the executive of the UUP, that they could dictate terms. However they are hampered in this because sectarian rhetoric is seldom tolerated even by the right. Powersharing with nationalists, and I believe with Republicans in the context of movement on decommissioning, has become increasingly acceptable, but there remains acute nervousness about republican intentions.

Ian Paisley's DUP has also changed. Occasionally the old rhetoric can be heard from pulpit or platform, but where are the massive protests against Irish government involvement in Ulster's affairs, or changes in the RUC? What happened to the old notion of 'Peace through Victory'? Once there was a refusal to share power with nationalists like the SDLP, now such an arrangement appears to hold no terrors for them. The Agreement is still presented as a sellout, but if it is so, why do DUP politicians enthusiastically take their places at Stormont.

As for the SDLP, despite Unionist criticism that they sit on fences, the reality is that they have sought to adopt a responsible stance, even at times when they could have acted otherwise for short-term political gain. The Alliance Party has tried to adapt a realistic and helpful role in the process, and the Women's Coalition represents a new voice in politics, that was unthinkable in the past.

What then holds us back from making the final moves into the new executive and new beginning? In my view the biggest obstacle in a new future is our collective failure to acknowledge the wrongs of the past, and the part that we have played in it. Too frequently we seek out easy targets for blame, whether that be Republicans or Loyalists. Pointing fingers remains a viable strategy to avoid having to take risks ourselves.

We continue going around in circles and then in frustration and despair, and

this doesn't actually help. We try harder but no matter how strong our condemnation of others, life goes on in the same old way, as we walk along the edges of the same abyss.

Aside from self-righteousness, major practical issues and choices have to be confronted. These cannot be side stepped if we really want a new beginning. A central issue is that of decommissioning which must be seen as symbolising that violence is not an appropriate or acceptable tool in the world of democratic politics. I understand the reluctance of paramilitaries to contemplate decommissioning, or even a promise of weapons destruction, prior to the new executive being set up and the new dispensation has arrived. The possibility and in fact the reality, is that some Unionists would question the validity of any promise, and no amount of armaments would satisfy some, but I believe that

decommissioning has the potential to unleash the shackles that bind us to the past.

Republicans must know that the possession of weapons offers little or no guarantee of political progress nor does it ensure the protection of the Catholic community. Rather the continued existence of illicit weaponry remains a threat to everyone. Full implementation of the agreement in contrast, holds out the possibility of greater security for all and an end to the age old nightmare of painful conflict. Whatever about the letter of the agreement, the spirit of that agreement requires such movement.

Rather than representing **surrender**, decommissioning would in practise be greeted by the negative forces within Unionism with dismay. It would be seen to jeopardise their future and might heighten their suspicions,

especially as further demilitarisation would follow. However by far the majority of both Unionists and Nationalists would greet any such move with a sense of relief, and future generations would remember such courage with gratitude. Loyalists would I believe reciprocate and practical electoral advantages could accrue to them and to Sinn Fein.

Thus while I reject the utopianism and believe that 'the poor will always be with us', a better life for all is possible. It can become a reality but it cannot be actualised without a determination by the major players to leave the past take risks and eventually to enable us all to take up our rightful inheritance in peace. May our politicians find the wisdom and tenacity to open the door to each other, and to the new future that beckons us.

MUSEUM OF HOPE

Welcome to the Museum of Citizenship - imagine a high-tech, hands on, interactive museum that confronts prejudice and promotes a sense of common citizenship and responsibility.

A broad group of diverse people from various sectors has come together to promote the creation of a Museum of Citizenship for Belfast.

The role of the Museum is to get people to think without telling them what to think.

This will not be an ordinary Museum of artifacts and documents; it's a journey of inspiration and education. A Museum that encourages ideas and self-criticism. An institution with a mission to explore alternative visions and to challenge set beliefs.

With modern technology the Museum will entertain as well as horrify but ultimately encourages people to confront their prejudices. Visitors are challenged on everything from racism to good citizenship.

The Museum will also use its unique educational environment to explore issues of diversity, tolerance and co-operation in the workplace and in the community.

Belfast is a City in transition-emerging from decades of violence and sectarianism a new City is becoming visible. While we need to think about physical reconstruction, the promoters of the MOC believe we must also strive for the personal regeneration of our citizens, especially our young people.

Across Northern Ireland, many courageous people are actively engaged in meeting the challenge of building a lasting peace. They understand that

peace cannot simply mean an absence of violence.

The political process of the future will be as outlined in the Good Friday Agreement.

Partnership * Equality * Mutual Respect.

We will require a language that belongs to all sections of our people.

So when we discuss pluralism, justice and a democratic society we need to think beyond the confines of Protestant and Catholic We have to include the ethnic minorities, the travellers and the socially excluded. We need to recognise the emerging Ireland with its rich tapestry of diverse traditions and celebrate our diversity as a core strength.

The proposed Museum of Citizenship alone will not cure society of bigotry and intolerance. The challenge of the project is how it impacts in our thoughts and influences us towards positive change.

In the political landscape the proposal is to establish a Museum of participation, contemplation and dialogue.

The proposal for a Museum of Citizenship, located in Belfast is one of the many forwards looking and imaginative ideas to emerge from the Northern Ireland troubles.

Not only the Museum itself, but also the narrative it has to tell of our recent history, can be a beacon for progress in Europe. The message must be:

1. Violence is not an acceptable way of resolving conflict.
2. Sectarian attitudes and behaviour should not be accepted as normal.
3. Strength through diversity.

Theobald Wolfe Tone



Wolfe Tone was born in Dublin in 1763. He was 35 when he died. In 1791 he founded the United Irish movement in Belfast. Its aim he said was: "to subvert the tyranny of our execrable Government, to break the connection with England, the never failing source of our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country, these were my objectives." "To unite the whole people of Ireland; to abolish the memory of our past dissensions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman in place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter- these were my means".

Belfast

With Nelson Simms, Henry Joy McCracken and Russell, Tone went to McArt's Fort near Belfast, and "took a solemn obligation never to desist in our efforts until we had subverted the authority of England over our country and asserted our independence "Wolfe Tone was arrested" brought to Dublin and tried. He told his judges "I mean not to give you the trouble of bringing judicial proof to convict, legally, of having acted in hostility to the Government of his Britannic Majesty on Ireland. I admit the fact." He asked to be shot like a soldier. They ordered him hanged within 48 hours, by that time he was found aying in his cell.

greatest

He died November 19th 1798 - the greatest figure in our history, the father of Irish Republicanism.

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PLATFORM

What is to be the future of left politics and for that matter, party politics in Ireland. Where in common with modern trends most parties are committed to a centrist political programme, fearing to be labelled left or right. Their inability to tackle social problems has led people to become apathetic about politics and the possibility for change.

There are many questions to be investigated by the broad left. Will the Irish Labour Party cease to claim the S.D.L.P. as its surrogate in the North and heed the calls of some to organise North and South? Will the British Labour Party organise in Northern Ireland? Could a hybrid Labour Alliance in the North with links to both emerge? Will there be a coming together of a new left on an all Ireland basis? Will a devolved U.K. bring about new alliances within these islands, as regional pressure groups within Europe? Scotland already seems to be looking to the Republic as a role model.

Should the left consider similar associations? These are just some of the scenarios to be considered. We welcome any person or groups wishing to have their contribution to the debate considered for publication to contact the editorial board.

The editorial panel of the United Irishman would like to take this opportunity to thank all those who contributed articles or helped in any way with the production of this edition. The views expressed in the United Irishman are not necessarily those of the Editorial Panel anyone wishing to contribute articles for further editions or comment on the U.I. should do so by writing to The United Irishman 426 Falls Road Belfast BT12 6EN or TEL/FAX: 01232 439095. E-mail: unitedirishman@excite.com

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A PROPER CHARLIE



Ireland is a Country at the moment reeling from one political scandal to another. Recent times have seen the Beef Tribunal, the Hepatitis C Tribunal, the Dunnes Stores payments tribunal, an inquiry into the banks and their avoidance of DIRT tax, an inquiry into the National Irish Bank. Currently running there are the Ansbacher accounts Tribunal and the Planning Tribunal. Add to this a scandal which saw two senior judges resign and perhaps at some time an inquiry into passports for sale and the altering of a finance act to suit a friend of the present Taoiseach. These will all be dealt with in future articles, and of course whatever new scandals arise as there seems to be a new one every week.

Napoleon

But perhaps the mother of all scandals and by far the most damaging is the scandal caused by Charles J. Haughey. This man was the leader of the biggest party in the state Fianna Fail for twelve years and Taoiseach for seven of those years. It appears that he saw himself as a statesman similar to Napoleon or in more modern times Mussolini. It was his belief that in return for his work for the state, that the state owed him and owed him big. Where Haughey has profited from his concept of Ireland being his Empire, it is us, the people of Ireland who will suffer the scandal and shame when history is recorded, and what has been the response from Fianna Fail the party from whence he came? Well, they act in denial, exactly the same way as post war Germans, they knew nothing, they

saw nothing and it had nothing to do with them. But just like pre-war Germany, all the signs were there to avoid the disgrace not only to their party, but to our nation as a whole.

HUMBLE BEGINNINGS

His political life started in 1951, when he received a Fianna Fail nomination to run for the Dail. He fared badly, it would take three elections before he was finally successful in 1957. He was elected to the Dail at the expense of Harry Colley the father of his friend George This was taken to be the origin of the deep ill will between the two which would surface on many occasions in subsequent years. Haughey got his first big political job in 1960 when he became a junior minister of justice, it was the year that he bought Grangemore, a large Victorian mansion in Raheny. In October 1961 he became Minister of justice. During this tenure the then leader of the opposition Fine Gael complimented him on his 'exceptional and outstanding ability', only for him to comment five years later that 'he stinks politically of course'. At this stage he quit his accountancy practise and any business interests. For thirty years of his political life he has claimed to have lived on nothing but his income as a public servant- and how he made that money stretch! Before the sixties were out he held the agriculture (1964-1966) and Finance (1966-1970) portfolios. In 1966 Lemass retired and Colley and Haughey squared up for the Fianna Fail leadership but Jack Lynch won being a compromise candidate. In December the animosity felt by George Colley came to the fore again as he took a swipe at Haughey and Taca, the 1960s Fianna Fail fundraising machine referring to 'low standards in

high places' believed to be a direct reference to Haughey and went on to say about Taca-under no circumstances can we allow big business to dominate or appear to dominate Fianna Fail. In 1968 Haughey bought 130 acres at Ratoath Co, Meath, he didn't need a mortgage even though his salary at the time was only £3,700. This land was later developed as a stud farm. In 1969 Haughey sold Grangemore, for housing development to a company owned by the Gallagher group. He received £204,000 for a property that he acquired a few years earlier for £50,000. The land was rezoned and the house demolished and developed for suburban housing. The deal remains controversial to this day as Haughey had managed to avoid the payment of income tax and surtax on the sale as a result of provisions he had introduced a year before under the Finance (Miscellaneous Provisions) Act 1968.

By the end of the sixties everything was going brilliantly for Charles J. Haughey, he was an heir apparent to the Fianna Fail leadership and it was the formative years of his 'emperor complex'. But then on May 6th Haugheys world seemed to come shattering down when Jack Lynch sacked him from cabinet for his involvement in attempting to ship arms from Belgium which were destined for the Provisional IRA. This was well documented by Official Republicans at the time and by a few other commentators since. Almost £100,000 of State money, retrospectively sanctioned by the Dail for 'relief of distress' in the North, found its way to two Bank accounts in Dublin and Monaghan, under fictitious names. Haughey met with James Kelly a Captain in the Irish Army several times to develop contacts with people in Northern Ireland. Kelly had drawn money to buy pistols, bullets and bulletproof vests from an arms dealer. In April 1970 when the shipment was intended to arrive, the special branch was waiting. Jack Lynch confronted Haughey in Hospital where he was undergoing minor treatment. Haughey asked for time to think. He did not get the time. Lynch sacked him, for 'not subscribing to the governments policy on the north'. Haughey asked his Fianna Fail colleague Des O' Malley before the arms trial if Peter Barry, then Secretary of the department of Justice 'could be induced directed' or 'intimidated' into not giving or changing his evidence the answer was negative. The testimony of the Minister for Defence and Haugheys differed so much that the judge commented that the two stories could not be reconciled and that one must be lying. Haugheys testimony conflicted with four of the chief protagonists and in order for him to have been telling the truth the other four would all have to be telling lies. He was acquitted and spent the next few years in the wilderness.

TO BE CONTINUED
Paul Moloney