

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

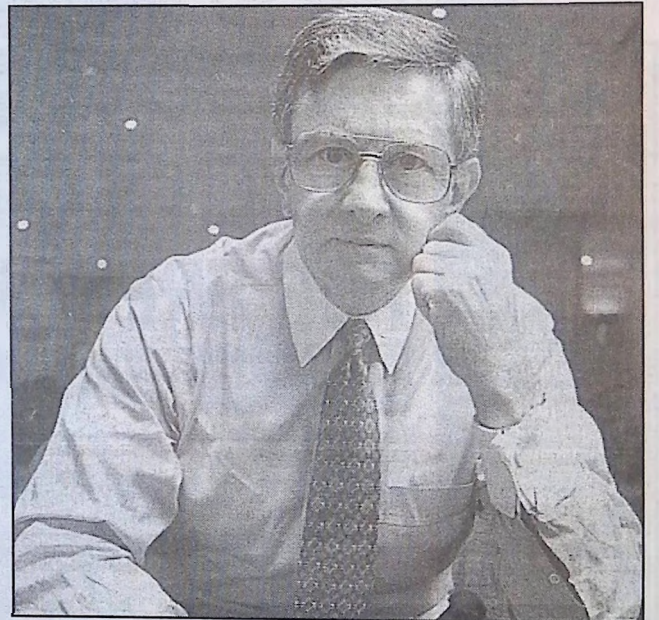
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Bruton plans dole cuts for young jobless while...

£1 million a day profits for banks



AIB director Jerry Casey: Paid £1.2 million last year

THE POLITICIANS of Dail Eireann are celebrating a boom in the Irish economy. They say that we are the fastest growing economy in Europe.

But it is the rich who are making all the gains. Look at the two main Irish banks. They are now making a staggering £1 million a day. Every minute, they make £694.

The top executives of the Bank of Ireland and Allied Irish Banks regularly warn against the dangers of inflation if workers start to demand wage increases.

But these sharks pay themselves over £200,000 a year.

Their greed and hypocrisy know no bounds.

Another group who are doing well are the big farmers. Last year, Irish farmers got a direct hand-out of £766 million. It worked out at an average of over £6,000 per farmer.

But the vast majority of the money went to the big farmers—in fact, the same class that John Bruton comes from.

These hand-outs will not stop the IFA denouncing 'increases in

public pending' or the 'growing power of the unions'.

It is a different story for working people. Nurses are being forced to go out on strike in Spring to win a decent wage that will cover them for the increased level of stress they face.

In ESB and Telecom thousands of workers are being threatened with redundancy.

The government claims that this will help the drive to efficiency. But what is so efficient about having nearly 200,000 on the dole?

The banks, the industrialists and the big farmers all do well under a Labour Minister for Finance. They have few worries about being taxed to the hilt.

It is time that our class had a real political force that fights the greed and hypocrisy of the Irish rich.

Subsidising Landlords

Figures issued by the Department of Social Welfare give lie to the idea that most people getting rent allowance are young people who just want to move out from their parents.

Only 7 per cent of those getting rent allowance are under 20 while 40 per cent were over

30. Now Democratic left leader, De Rossa has started to complain about the high sums spent on rent allowance and is promising 'a review'.

But the reason why the figure is high is that successive governments have cut back on public housing.

Thousands who before

would have qualified for a corporation house or flat are being pushed into private rented accommodation.

One third of private landlords who rent accommodation to families are now getting subsidies from the state.

It shows why it was madness to cut back on the public house building programme.

A warning against privatisation

The fiasco which left thousands of homes across Britain without water after Xmas is a warning against privatisation.

The water companies cut maintenance and staffing levels to give their executives fat salaries.

Northern Ireland had similar weather but there were no areas completely cut off.

But with water meters being built in some Housing Executive homes in the North, fears are growing that the Tories plan to go ahead with water privatisation.

The disastrous experience of householders in Britain shows why this has to be resisted.

EU report reveals Garda brutality

Last month the report of the European Committee for the Prevention of Torture slammed the treatment of people held in Garda stations.

In one case the report describes treatment of a man who had been held in Ronanstown Garda Station in Dublin. The report describes how he was punched and kicked by two uniformed officers.

Detectives interrogating him had also punched him and banged his head against a filing cabinet.

The medical evidence supported the man's story.

In November 1992 a person who was ill-treated by police from Finglas Garda Station got

a settlement of £375,000, after having sustained brain damage from being kicked and hit with a baton.

Weapons

When the committee visited Finglas Garda Station they found a large number of weapons in lockers and in desk drawers.

These items included home-made wooden batons, sawn-off shotguns, several hunting knives and a leather-covered metal cosh.

The committee concluded that:

"persons held in



certain police establishments in Ireland...run a not inconsiderable risk of being physically ill-treated".

This report confirms what many already know, police and police stations are dangerous for your health.

Nigeria's dictators have Irish friends

The murderers of the Nigerian writer Ken Saro Wiwa have some Irish supporters in the building industry.

Last month, the *Galway Advertiser* carried a letter from one Hugo V. Flynn supporting Nigeria's dictatorship.

He praised the Nigerian justice system and claimed that "the great majority of Nigerians and resident expatriates have no doubt about the guilt of those executed".

He even tried to blame the huge spillage of oil in Ogoniland

on Sara Wiwa. He wrote that "69 per cent of the oil spillage was due to Saro Wiwa and his faction".

No proof was offered. Nor was an explanation of how he came to such a precise measurement on oil spillage.

What Hugo Flynn never revealed was his own direct interest in the matter. He is a manager for an Irish building company that oper-

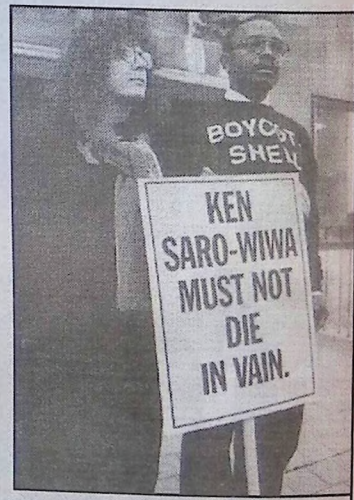
ates in Nigeria.

His firm is PW (Nig) Ltd which gives an address in Portadown, Co Armagh.

His letter in this local paper will undoubtedly be picked up by the Nigerian Embassy in Dublin to claim they have some support.

And all of this might even help to grease the tills of PW (Nig) Ltd.

Who said that blood money was a thing of the past?



inside the system

THINGS THEY SAY:

"Shell contributed to the logistics through financial support. To do this we needed resources and Shell provided these."

-Lieutenant Colonel Paul Okuntimo, Nigerian soldier responsible for crushing opposition to Shell's presence in Ogoniland.

"There is no structure for real participation by the non-ordained in the administrative and pastoral life of the Irish Catholic Church"

-Bishop Michael Murphy

RACIST BEER BOSS

Brewing giant Heineken has hit the headlines after one of its executives said there are too many "negroes" on Channel 4's new TV show *Hotel Babylon*.

Heineken are sponsoring the programme. After seeing previews, a company exec wrote to the show claiming it had "too high a proportion of negroes" in the audience. The faxed message also called for more "normal" people on the show.

LE PEN'S CONCERN FOR FRENCH SPERM

The December revolt in France was a big problem for Jean Marie Le Pen's Nazi National Front.

Le Pen opposed the strikes, but most of those who voted for his party supported them, according to polls.

The Nazi paper, *National Hebdo*, warned, "Many voters and sympathisers of the National Front are



even on strike. It is our duty to point out to them that they have been deceived."

Le Pen himself said the country's union leaders should be "thrown in prison".

Bizarre

But for much of the time Le Pen was reduced to making ever more bizarre speeches during the strikes.

In one he argued the main problems facing society were "stress, alcohol and tobacco which weaken the amount and dynamism of the sperm" of good honest Frenchmen!

★ Hard up Peter Johnson removed a bullet from his head with a pair of pliers after a gun attack in New

York. Peter, 37, said he had to operate on himself because he could not afford the medical insurance.

Diary Cover-up

The recently released state papers show that the Irish government wanted to hide the fact that nationalist hero Roger Casement was gay.

They were offered the Casement diaries in 1965 which contain details of his sexual activities.

But the British Ambassador suggested that "it would perhaps suit the Irish government to leave the position as it is, with the British govern-

ment carrying the blame for holding onto the diaries".

Since Casement's sexuality did not fit in with the family values espoused in Dev's Constitution, the Fianna Fail government of Sean Lemass agreed.

NEW YEAR SURPRISE

As the new year begins, spare a thought for former Italian Prime Minister Benito Craxi.

Craxi has been living in Tunisia for over a year to escape Italy's huge corruption scandals and trials.

He claims he is too ill to return to Italy and spends his days instead relaxing in his own villa.

It came as an unwelcome surprise when angry protesters travelled from Italy to wish him an unhappy New Year and demand his return for trial.

★ Ruairi Quinn has warned that public spending has to be cut back. But one area has seen a 93 per cent growth in its funds.

It is Ireland's Secret Service. This fairly unknown entity is now getting over £500,000 from taxpayers' money.

When Quinn was asked to justify the increase, he said that the Gardai had looked for more and that because it was a secret he could explain no further.

we think

The guns they won't decommission

The attitude of republican politicians to the execution of drug dealers stinks of hypocrisy. But it pales into insignificance beside the British government.

For the last year they have mounted a ferocious campaign to demand that the IRA 'decommission'.

They claimed that the amount of guns in Northern Ireland posed a real danger to the peace.

But the Tories have never had any diffi-

culty supplying weapons to dictators.

Scandal

A new scandal has

shown the lengths to which they will go to protect their profits from death.

In January, a moder-

ate Saudi Arabian opposition politician Mr al Mas'ray was deported from Britain.

Mr Mas'ray's, who was a torture victim,

annoyed the Saudi regime by sending anti-government statements on fax messages to a growing network inside the

country.

Stifling

His presence in Britain put a multi-billion pound arms deal be-

tween the British firm, Vickers, and the Saudi's into doubt.

Vickers boss, Colin Chandlers, had even discussed the possibility of Saudi agents 'stifling' Mr Mas'ray, but warned against it.

Now the Tories have decided to deport this dissident in order to clinch the deal.

Profits

Their friends will huge profits—but the weapons will be used by a crumbling regime to carry out far more executions than the dreadful 'Direct Action against Drugs'.

But do not expect David Trimble or Conor Cruise O'Brien to demand that the British government decommission its arms industry before they are allowed enter talks with the IRA.

Which shows really that it is a question of who, or rather which class of people, have hold of the weapons of death.

STOP THESE SOCIAL WELFARE CUTS

THE COALITION are planning new cuts on social welfare. Young people between the ages of 18 and 19 may have their dole cut in the next budget.

Richard Bruton, the Minister for Industry and Commerce claims that the cut is necessary to encourage them to take jobs or stay in education.

This is pure nonsense. The colleges are already crammed full of students who are trying to get educated under terrible conditions.

The majority of the rest are looking for work. Successive governments have already encouraged employers to bring in Yellow Pack grades for young workers.

When Bruton claims

that the dole for young people is too high, what he really means is that he wants them to work below the current Yellow Pack rates.

The plain fact is that there are not enough jobs to go around. There are now 5,000 more people on the Live Register than there were last year.

Claims

Government claims about a huge growth in jobs have proved a fantasy. Nearly half of the jobs created last year were either part-time work or Community Employment scheme jobs.

But despite the failure of the capitalists to

create jobs, the government's only answer to the unemployment crisis is yet more subsidies for them.

They are proposing to cut the employers PRSI and give them a subsidy of £80 a week to take on the long term unemployed.

The Irish capitalist class are already one of the most pampered and subsidised capitalists in Europe. They enjoy low rates of tax on profits and big grants.

In 1989 -- the last date figures are available -- the Revenue Commissioners stated that £1,189 million was given in tax relief to industry. More than £100 million was given in

grants.

And still the jobs were never created in significant numbers.

Whining

For all their whining about the levels of social welfare spending, Ireland's capitalists are still getting more in subsidies from the Irish state than all the unemployed put together.

This is why every single attack on social welfare must be resisted. If Bruton gets away with attacking social welfare benefits for the young, it will open the door to even greater attacks in the future.



Irish Criminal given Irish passport

The former Fianna Fail Minister Ray Burke gave an Irish passport to a Saudi Arabian businessman who was subsequently convicted of the worst banking fraud in the world.

In 1990, the solicitors firm of Haughey Boland which has strong Fianna Fail connections received a letter from Khalid bin Mahooz looking for an Irish passport.

If Mahooz had been a poor persecuted refugee, he would never have been given an Irish passport.

But under the notorious 'passports for investment' scheme rich crooks are allowed into this country.

Mahooz knew that a

charge of fraud was coming against up because of his involvement in the Bank of Credit and Commerce International.

He wanted an Irish passport to help move around the world more easily.

Ray Burke took personal charge of the issue and with unprecedented speed, Mahooz was given a passport. He did not even have to sign the normal naturalisation certificate. Instead pass-

ports were handed over to Mahooz at a sumptuous luncheon in the Shelbourne hotel.

It is believed that this was the last time Mahooz visited the country. His promise of a huge investment never materialised. Instead some money was put into 'horse breeding'

where very few jobs are created.

Ray Burke has been associated with major property deals in the past and owns a huge house in Swords.

His actions show just how Fianna Fail will look after their own -- the rich.

Pat Tierney: 1957-1996

On January 4th, the date of his 39th birthday, Pat Tierney hung himself in the grounds of the Corpus Christi Church. It was, apparently, a final slap in the face to an institution which had oppressed him so much.

Pat was for a good part of his life an energetic campaigner for justice and equality, not only through his writings but often actively on the streets.

He helped to set up the



Magdalene Memorial Committee which highlighted the scandal of nuns who sold off the land where the bodies of single mothers who had been placed in

Stay Safe blocked in "liberal" Dun Laoghaire

Some parents in the Dun Laoghaire area have received a letter from a local school, telling them that the kids would not be learning the "Stay Safe" programme.

Pupils attending the all-Irish Scoil Lorcan in

their charge were buried. When Prince Charles visited Ireland, Pat was to the fore in organising the huge street protests under the auspices of Dublin Against the Royal Tour.

He had been diagnosed as HIV positive several years ago and was an active campaigner for better facilities.

Although not always in agreement with him politically, the SWP cooperated with him on many occasions and greatly admired his fighting spirit.

Monkstown have been denied access to the programme because, the Board of Management say that teachers have voted against it.

"Stay Safe" is a very basic education course designed to warn young children from the age of 6 upwards against sex abuse by adults. It can be as simple as telling kids, "Don't take sweets from strange men" and uses video material to illustrate to children.

But there has been huge opposition to the introduction of this programme from the Catholic right in the education system. In the past groups like Youth Defence and Family Solidarity have openly and physically opposed the teaching of the "Stay Safe" programme.

Now some of the par-

ents in Dun Laoghaire believe that their kids are being deprived of this information because of Catholic influence on the school's board of management. And Dun Laoghaire is supposed to be one of the areas that has set the 'liberal agenda'.

Liberal agenda

One of the parents told Socialist Worker,

"The right wing elements are very hurt over the defeat of the divorce referendum and the kids are caught in the middle. We're extremely annoyed by the attitude of the school".

It is clear that the fight to separate church and state is still very much alive in our schools and hospitals. Parents of the Scoil Lorcan pupils should start a campaign to fight for a genuine, open education for their kids.

behind the headlines

Boom or Bust for the Irish economy?

The media have gone into ecstasy about the boom in the Irish economy. With official growth rates of nearly 7%, the Irish economy is supposed to be setting the record in Europe.

Right wing economists are claiming that the boom will bring a growth in jobs. The old mystery of record unemployment and record growth is now solved.

What with Seamus Heaney winning the Nobel prize and U2 riding high, the message seems to be that we are living in the best of times.

Well not quite. Firstly, the figures for the Irish economy are grossly inflated. Multinationals tend to use 'transfer pricing' to declare that a higher value has been added to production in Ireland than is really the case.

This way they get to enjoy Ireland's ridiculously low tax on profits.

One sign that this is happening is shown by the fact that in 1995 £2,019 million left the Irish economy for foreign destinations.

Hype

Secondly, the hype about job creation is not as good as it looks. The government claims that 49,000 jobs were created last year.

But 10,000 of them were from Community Employment Schemes and approximately another 13,000 were part time, which are defined by the International Labour Organisation as more than one hour's work a week.

In other words nearly half of the jobs created did not come anywhere near a living wage.

However, behind all the hype there has been a modest but uneven growth in the Irish economy. But the baying calls by the Irish ruling classes for increased productivity ensure that the growth does not result in more employment.

Disease

Workplace accidents are running at over 17,000 a year. There have also been over fifty deaths and over 100 new cases of industrial disease.

The result is massive profits for the big industrialists and the bankers and few improvements for workers.

How long will this boom last, and are there any visible limitations to it?

Here a crucial point has been the influx of £7 billion of EU funds. This has kept demand for goods and services at home very buoyant.

It has helped to produce a construction boom and a growth in consumer spending among the rich. Gunne motors, for example, say it is impossible for them to keep Mercedes cars in their showrooms.

The problem for the Irish economy is that there is no sign that the boom will maintain itself after the EU money is spent.

The boom in construction is a barometer of what is happening. There was a 14% increase in the volume of construction in 1994 and since then it has dropped slightly.

But the total volume figures are still 20% lower than the mid-80s figure. The boom is very uneven. Most building activity is in Dublin and the housing market leads the trend far ahead of factory building.

This is significant because factory building is more dependent on a general sustained growth in the economy.

And the problem here is that there are already signs that the rate of growth is slowing down.

The Irish economy is more open to the shifts and changes in the world economy than most others.

In 1990, 67% of the growth in real GNP was accounted for by exports of goods and services. But by the end of 1995 this had risen to a staggering 90%. The Irish economy is becoming increasingly sensitive to the world economy.

Problem

And this is where the central problem lies. The booms in capitalism in the late 20th century are far more shallow, more uneven and of a shorter duration than they have been for many decades.

Already, economists are talking about a 'pause' in the world economy. The recovery from the last recession is already starting to come to an end. This is bound to have devastating effects on the Irish economy.

A quarter of Irish exports, for example, now go to Britain. But Lloyds report that British retail sales growth has virtually ceased and manufacture grew by only 1% last year. The prospects for the future are not much better. Just over a third of Irish exports go to frontline EU countries. However, the French economy only grew by a miserable 0.7% last year, bringing fears of imminent recession and the growth in the German economy has lost momentum.

All of this shows why workers need to win their battles in the coming period if we are not to enter the next recession worse off than we left the last one.

by ALAN KELLY

PROVO'S HYPOCRISY ON DRUGS

In early January an Armagh hotelier Donal Gorman closed down his Saturday rave and changed over to disco music, in response to death threats.

Local Sinn Fein councillor Noel Sheridan had been campaigning for the venue to be closed for months because he claimed young people had been taking Ecstasy there.

When it was pointed out to him that alcohol had caused as many deaths as Ecstasy, Sheridan replied, "But alcohol is legal".

Sheridan and Sinn Fein have, rightly, been prepared to defend illegal organisations all their lives.

But now in the most breathtaking hypocrisy they have donned the mantle of moral guardians who are determined to enforce the law on drugs.

Since the start of January, a front organisation Direct Action Against Drugs has killed seven people. The killings should be unequivocally condemned by all who stand for freedom and justice. The policy of capital punishment has never been debated and decided upon even in the ranks of the republicans. Nor can they point to any democratically decided policy by the communities they claim to represent.

One justification has been that the IRA were executing 'drugs barons' before they bring heroin into the North. But four of those who died were nothing more than petty criminals whose in-

volvement in drug dealing was minor.

If Fra Collins was a 'drugs baron', then why was he and his wife opening their chip shop themselves?

If the RUC had any real evidence that Sid Johnson had imported drugs worth a quarter of a million, why did the judge give him bail?

If Martin McGrory and Ian Lyons were 'drugs barons' why did they live in a Housing Executive house and why was Ian Lyons driving a battered Fiesta? Neither the IRA nor anyone else has a right to engage in a campaign of 'moral cleansing'.

The reality is that these executions will do nothing to stop the

use of drugs. Every study shows that young people turn to drugs because they are bored or have rotten jobs, or none. Drug addiction is associated with poverty and unemployment. It is a problem that cannot be solved by execution. It demands changing society as a whole.



Martin McGrory, one of DAAD's criminals.

A FAILED STRATEGY

In the 1980s, the republicans tried to gain a working class base in Dublin by backing a campaign by 'Concerned Parents' to throw drug pushers out of areas.

They at least tried to hold mass meetings in the areas before making any decision to exclude any individual.

At the time, they claimed that this strategy would prevent Dublin following the pattern of heroin addiction in Britain and elsewhere.

Ten years later, addiction to hard drugs has never been higher in working class estates.

Many of the inner city community groups have now changed their outlook. They are putting the onus on the Irish state, which helped create the conditions whereby drug addiction spread, to come up with solutions.

Marches have been held to demand more treatment facilities. Clubs which refuse to serve water at raves have been denounced.

Above all there is a new awareness that what is really needed is jobs and a hope that working class people can get something out of life.

IS THERE A DRUG PROBLEM IN NORTHERN IRELAND?

The number of registered drug addicts in Northern Ireland is just over 60.

But of these 12 are 'therapeutic addicts' -- people in chronic pain receiving long term morphine or heroin

from their doctors.

According to the Department of Health some of the rest are not permanent residents and most contracted their addiction outside Northern Ireland.

THE REAL KILLER DRUG

The republicans have never had a problem with alcohol and even run a few drinking clubs throughout the North.

But alcohol is a far bigger killer than cannabis or even Ecstasy. According to the Health Promotion Agency, 900 people died from alcohol related diseases and accidents.

There is a road casualty every 11 hours in Northern Ireland due to alcohol.

In all alcohol is associated with 3 out of 5 murders, 3 out of 4 stabbings and beatings and over half of all violence in the home.

By contrast, deaths from other drugs, excluding nicotine, amount to less than 10 a year.

The number of death from Ecstasy has never been more than 2 or 3 a year. The main danger comes from clubs who try to charge teenagers for water, even though the drug can lead to dehydration.

WHAT ARE THE REPUBLICANS UP TO?

The republicans are using the drugs issue in the same way that right wing politicians do everywhere. They are building up a hysteria in order to help maintain a political base.

Their strategy of looking to Clinton and the Fianna Fail leaders in the South to make gains is in tatters.

Adams

Graffiti comparing Adams to Michael Collins has even be-

gun to appear in West Belfast.

The republicans are using the drugs issue to cover their failure on the political front. Mitchel McLoughlin claims the killings show the need for an acceptable police force to the sectarian RUC.

Police

It also shows that sections of the IRA are making a bid to become an official police force in the future.

Far from the killings showing that the Adams wing has lost control, they are the conclusion to a strategy that turns

away from fighting the system to trying to carve out a piece of the action within it.

Disastrous

This is a disastrous road. It plays into the hands of the British government by portraying the IRA as another 'group of heavies'.

It divides working class communities and alienates a large section of youths.

The latest turn in republican politics shows why there is an urgent need to build a socialist alternative to them.

As French Tories backpedal over cuts

Can the embers of revolt reignite?

FRANCE'S conservative government began the new year hoping it had ridden out the storm of revolt which paralysed the country in the last weeks of 1995.

But there are already signs that such hopes could be misplaced, and that new struggles could soon erupt.

Some workers stayed out right through Christmas and new year holiday.

In Caen in Normandy postal workers were on strike in early January. And in France's second biggest city, Marseilles, thousands of bus and tube workers were also solidly on strike, bringing public transport to a halt.

Most of the public sector strikes which had gripped the country in December ended in the week before Christmas, but only after the government made a series of spectacular retreats. At the heart of the revolt had been a strike by radio workers on the state owned SNCF network.

The government of Juppe wanted to push through a savage assault on jobs with the wholesale axing of lines and stations around the country. It also wanted to scrap the rail workers' much prized pension scheme which allows them to retire at 50 — forcing them to work several years longer.

U-turn

In a total U-turn the government dropped all these attacks, and to underline the scale of the retreat the head of the SNCF was forced to resign.

There was no doubting that rail workers felt that on their particular demands they had won a clear victory.

The government made similar big concessions, especially on planned pension attacks and privatisation, to other groups of workers such as postal

workers, civil servants, gas, electricity and telecom workers who had also been on strike.

Students also won large concessions from the government with extra funding and the promise of more teachers in the colleges.

And a further sign of the scale of the government retreat is that across the public sector bosses and unions are now discussing whether workers should be paid for the days on strike!

Alongside this, though, in some areas managers are targeting union militants for victimisation in the aftermath of the strikes.

Crucial in getting the key trade union leaders to argue for an end to the strike in the run up to Christmas was the government agreeing to hold a "Social Summit"

But the meeting, between the government, union leaders and the leaders of the CNPF French bosses' organisation on 21 December, produced little.

Juppe made a series of vague promises about tackling youth unemployment and talked of measures to cut working hours to help reduce unemployment.

But the government insisted it would go ahead with the crucial elements of the "Juppe Plan" of attacks on welfare and tax rises. Some of this is simply face saving.

Many of the worst at-



by PAUL
McGARR

tacks have been rendered all but meaningless by Juppe's concessions to public sector workers, especially on pensions — which were a key target of the plan.

Nevertheless Juppe says he wants to press ahead with new taxes and health and social security attacks in the coming weeks.

He has already issued decrees imposing new taxes and limiting the money hospitals and doctors can spend.

And the new year began with French president Jacques Chirac finally ending his long silence on the revolt by praising the "courageous action" of Juppe.

Whether this stance will again stoke the flames of revolt will be seen in the coming weeks.

LEADERS FACE TWO WAYS

The French workers' revolt has terrified the rulers of Europe. As it came to a close, the media claimed that it was simply about economic demands on pensions and welfare spending, with no wider implications for society as a whole.

But this flies in the face of reality. As the revolt intensified growing numbers of workers saw themselves making a wider challenge to the priorities of the bosses' system.

Even the French press spoke about the 'rebirth of a new solidarity'.

Millions rejected the notion that there was no alternative to the bosses' message of sacrifice.

Parallel with this change in outlook there

was an increasing growth of rank and file organisation.

In some areas 'coordinations' were established to link different groups of strikers.

Developments

How far these developments could go in the future depends on whether there is a growth of political forces with urge the struggle forwards.

It also depends on breaking the limits the union leaders set on any struggle.

The French union leaders played a double edged role. They were forced into calling the huge protests by the government attacks.

But they wanted to use the movement to establish their right to negotiate rather than to bring the government down. This is why they

worked so hard to call the movement off as soon as Juppe agreed to a "social summit" of employers and union leaders — the sort of partnership arrangement which exists in Ireland.

Embers

However, the embers of the revolt are still smouldering.

The French ruling class do not want to fully back down and have far less leeway than in the past. 1996 could bring a new upsurge of revolt.

Austria

Nazis get 20% in elections

The recent elections in Austria saw the Neo-Nazi Freedom Party get 20% of the vote. Although this was lower than predicted it is warning not be complacent at the re-emergence of the far right.

Like all fascist parties the FP tries to scapegoat minorities for the hardships faced by many people. The FP forerunner, the Union of Independents (VDU) made "no attempt to hide its Nazi leanings".

Haider's predecessor, Friedrich Peter was exposed in 1978 as a former member of the murderous SS brigade by a Nazi hunter, Simon Wiesenthal.

Haider himself comes from a family with a Nazi past, and as a student was a member of the right wing "Fraternity" so-

ciety. Since becoming the party boss he has stepped up the campaign against foreigners, claiming that they are out to rape Austrian women.

Like all nazis he combines his racism with a hatred for the working class, branding the unemployed and the poor as "parasites".

Amongst his supporters are the leaders of two banned German Neo-Nazi parties. Speaking recently to an international gathering of the far right at Ulrichsberg (an old celtic ritual place) in the South of Austria, he addressed former SS members as 'dear friends'.

Leaflets issued by the FP attacked artists and writers for perverting "true art and culture".



Haider's racist message has also got support from the Catholic hierarchy. Bishop Krenn of St. Polten argued that they didn't need a multicultural society, "coexistence yes, but no mixing".

The far right can be marginalised, by workers, standing together against racism and pointing the finger at those who are really to blame.

Latin America

New evidence about the CIA's role in Latin America has come to light with a trail of US paid military officers in Honduras.

During a 10 year long struggle with left wing guerrillas, the Honduran military set up 26 clandestine graves for the 'disappearances' of dozens of socialists.

The killings were carried out by the elite Battalion 3-16.

This battalion was in fact established and trained by the CIA.

They also engaged the services of Argentinian officers who were expert at torture techniques.

The present Commander in Chief of the Honduran army, General Discua was the battalion's first commander. He was trained in the US by the CIA.



Many other officers in Battalion 3-16 were also directly on the CIA's payroll.

Now for the first time a civilian court has charged 10 of the Honduran army's top brass with violations of human rights during the

1980s.

And the head of the CIA, John Deutch, has even admitted that Honduras was an example of 'how not to do things'.

Like getting caught out, maybe.

Crusaders and Cannibals

by Vasco Purser

It is now the 900th Anniversary since the first Crusade set out from Europe to capture the Holy Lands from the great Muslim powers. Ever since, the Crusades have been romanticised in much of Western culture.

Walter Scott's story Ivanhoe is based on a character who has returned from the Crusades.

Or think of the Robin Hood story. Even this wonderful fighter against the rich and powerful owes his loyalty to King Richard who is off doing his duty while evil King John takes his Kingdom.

The scale of brutality which the crusaders inflicted on the Muslim, Jewish and even Christian peoples in the Middle East has barely been recognised.

Up to the 19th century it was possible to read of the exploits of Frankish knights who proudly boasted of their cannibalism while on the Crusades. But since then their exploits have been sanitised.

The crusades began in 1096, when the Emperor of Byzantium (now Istanbul) wrote to the Pope looking for assistance in a war with the Turks, who were then a nomadic tribe who had converted Islam.

He expected to get a few mercenaries but got a shock when he saw what arrived.

Pope Urban II declared the 1st Crusade at the Council of Clermont in November 1095. He made an emotional appeal to save the Holy Lands. He declared that it was a Christian duty to kill 'infidels' for God.

For the next 200 years there were over ten major crusades, and the last of the crusader states such as Cyprus and Rhodes lasted nearly 500 years.

Pope Urban II's motives had little to do with religion. By harnessing the machinery of feudalism to the services of the church, the crusades could be used for extending the power of the church, and possibly reuniting Eastern and Western churches under the papacy's control.

The call to a crusade might have fallen on deaf ears, had not the pope also promised that "the possessions of the enemy will be yours, too, since you will make spoil of his treasures".

The Crusaders themselves - the majority of them Feudal Barons - took his cue. And it should be no surprise - least of all to the Pope - that, despite the pious sentiments, the Crusades would be an episode of "cruelty, intolerance, greed and cynicism".

Even before it reached Turkey, the first crusade massacred thousands of Jews in Germany. It set the pattern for the future. According to one historian, 'the Crusades abroad, were often accompa-



nied by pogroms against Jews at home'.

The Crusaders made little provision for food supplies. Instead towns like the site of modern day Belgrade were sacked and pillaged.

One of the first communities massacred just outside Byzantium was a Christian one.

When they captured Nicea, the daughter of the emperor recounted how they 'cut babies to pieces, impaled them on wooden spits and roasted them over a fire'.

From the outset the Baron's aim was to carve out territories for themselves. Raymond of Toulouse acquired the County of Tripoli, Baldwin got the County of Edessa. Others such as Philip IV of France cynically raised special taxes for a crusade and then never went.

The brutality became legendary. On finally capturing Jerusalem - its entire Muslim population was killed. Bishop William of Tyre wrote at the time "not all of them, indeed were there on behalf of the Lord".

The Fourth Crusade was largely waged against the Eastern Christians, resulting in the destruction of the city of Byzantium. Another was waged against religious heretics - the Albigensians - in southern France.

Italian merchants became essential to the whole movement, providing the money and ships. In return they received lucrative trading rights to Mediterranean ports controlled by the Crusaders.

Italian towns such as Venice, Pisa and Genoa benefited enormously.

Both Christians and Jews had been treated tolerantly under the Muslim rulers - the crusades in their brutality, destroyed any tolerance towards Christians.

Far from being motivated by Faith the crusades were another part of the general expansion of Feudal Europe (into Britain and Ireland, into Eastern Europe and south into Spain), but this time couched in the terms of religious zeal and the Holy War.

FIVE YEARS AFTER THE

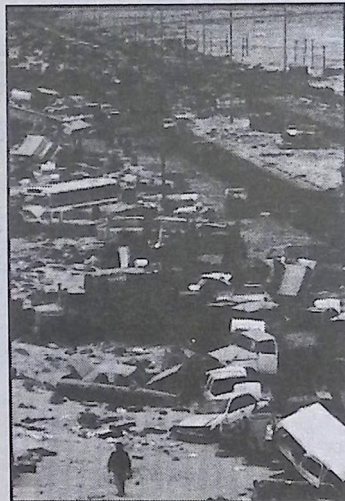
The lies for oil

Five years ago, on January 17 1991, the Gulf War began. More than 40,000 people were killed in the war, which US President George Bush said would bring about a "new world order". The Gulf War was in fact a war for oil and profits. It aimed to tame Saddam Hussein and to show that the US was the only superpower that could police the world. In the 1980s the US had no problem with Saddam Hussein, the president of Iraq. They saw the Iranian revolution of 1979 as a major blow to Western interests. They believed that Saddam Hussein could be used to tame the radical Islamic fundamentalists in Iran.

German companies supplied Saddam with the materials for chemical weapons which were used to eliminate his Kurdish opponents. US Presidents authorised the sale

of \$1.5 billion in high technology equipment that was used by Iraq for chemical and nuclear facilities.

In all they supplied Saddam with \$50 billion worth of arms during the Iran-Iraq war.



But when the Iran - Iraq war ended the Western powers no longer needed Saddam and so stopped financing him.

Iraq was now left with massive debts, and with oil prices falling, there was no means of paying them back.

Saddam's solution was to move Iraqi troops into Kuwait in August 1990. He hoped to gain control over Kuwait's oil and so repay the country's debts.

But of course this threatened the interests of the huge western oil companies in the Gulf.

Sixty per cent of the West's oil comes through the Gulf.

The oil is controlled by multinationals like Shell, Exxon and Texaco who make billions of dollars each year.

Saddam's invasion of Kuwait could not be tolerated by Western powers who wanted to ensure the maintenance of

a cheap and plentiful supply of oil.

The pretext they used for their war against Iraq was the restoration of democracy in Kuwait.

But to call Kuwait a democracy is somewhat misleading. Of the two million people living in Kuwait only sixty thousand have the right to vote. No woman can vote.

The large immigrant population in Kuwait is treated very badly. They basically have no rights. Most of them are denied the chance of ever gaining citizenship. They work in mainly manual jobs or in domestic service. Unions are illegal.

When the war began, US jets were given permission to refuel at Shannon. Despite its claim to neutrality the Irish government was determined to do its bit for the Western forces.

It fell to organisations like the No to War in the Gulf Campaign, which was initiated by Socialist Worker, to pull thousands onto the streets in protest.

The anti-war movement was denounced by right wing politicians and media celebrities like Gay Byrne as 'pro-Saddam'. But it is only now the full facts about what really happened is coming into the open.



NEW WORLD ORDER

George Bush promised that the Gulf War would bring about a "new world order". He said that "the 1990s will usher in an unprecedented period of world peace and democracy".

But the war in the Gulf did not lead to peace. According to UNICEF there are currently 53 million war refugees in the world. In 1994 \$815 billion was spent on arms.

The last five years have been marked by vicious wars in Bosnia, Rwanda, Liberia, Chechnia. In Bosnia 170,000 people have died since 1992.

The "new world order" was never about protecting or improving ordinary people's lives. It was about promoting and defending US interests right across the globe.

SANCTIONS

The economic blockade of Iraq initiated by the US has led to even worse conditions for ordinary Iraqi people.

In 1993 the UN warned of pre-famine conditions in Iraq. Last year the meagre food ration was cut in half. Now it stands at just 1kg of rice and 6kg of bread a month. A chicken can cost a month's wages.

One-third of Iraqi children are malnourished. Officially, sanctions are aimed at undermining Saddam. But aid agencies are also being hampered in their work. In 1994 for example, UNICEF received \$70 million for work in Iraq. Last year it has been halved.

Hospitals are unable to get hold of the medicines they need to treat their patients, many of them suffering from illnesses which are a direct result of the war.

None of the UN's resolutions on Iraq mention ending the repression of the Iraqi people as a precondition for lifting sanctions. None try to limit Iraq's stocks of conventional weapons.

This is not surprising. After the Gulf War a senior US diplomat admitted "Our policy is to get rid of Saddam Hussein, not his regime".

A hi

During the First World War Minister Lloyd George said "If people really knew what they would be stopping they don't know any more".

When a country goes to war it must have that country's population behind the support of the people governments have always been prepared to lie.

Much of what we were told about the Gulf War on TV and in the newspapers was untrue.

In fact the final justification used by the US in the war with Iraq - there were 265,000 Iraqi troops and 1,500 tanks in the Saudi Arabian border - was a lie.

The US government said they had classified photos to prove this. Independent satellite photos showed that there weren't any Iraqi troops massed on the border ready to invade Saudi Arabia.

Just days after Iraq invaded Kuwait the Kuwaiti rulers employed consultants at a cost of \$11 million. Their

THE GULF WAR

of a war



A history of deceit

After the First World War the British Prime Minister Lloyd George said, 'The people really knew what was happening, they would be stopped tomorrow. But, of course, they don't know and they can't know.'

When a country goes to war its rulers know that they

have that country's opinion behind them. In order to get the support of the people governments have always been forced to lie.

What of what we were told about the Gulf War? In the news- papers it was untrue.

To affect the final justification used by the US for its war with Iraq - that there were 265,000 Iraqi soldiers and 1,500 tanks on the Saudi Arabian border - was a lie.

The US government knew they had classified this. But they showed that there were no Iraqi troops on the border and that they were to invade Saudi Arabia.

Just days after Iraq invaded Kuwait the Kuwaiti rulers employed PR agents at a cost of millions. Their task

The details were told to Congress by a young woman who claimed to have worked as a volunteer in the maternity ward of the hospital.

effect was the one that the US, British and French troops were using "smart" bombs, precision bombs which would hit a designated target.

In fact, only 6% of bombs used in the war were guided missiles.

The Western forces were blanket bombing Iraq, destroying whole villages at a time.

In one case they bombed a baby milk factory, falsely claiming that it was a test site for biological weapons. They also destroyed a bomb shelter which they said harboured military personnel. In fact there were three hundred civilian women and children inside.

The US at first denied, though it has since admitted, that it used napalm bombs during the war. Iraqi soldiers described how bombs were dropped onto the trenches and they saw people burn to death.

When Iraq used chemical weapons the US and UK denied it to their own soldiers. They claimed that the chemical warning

alarms that sounded a number of times during the war were activated by aircraft fuel.

When thousands of young, working class soldiers returned from Vietnam they found that the US government didn't want to know about them.

The victims of agent orange, a chemical used by the US army, were denied any help by the authorities.

Victims of the Gulf War have received the same treatment.

Some soldiers have suffered horrific injuries from these weapons. Some have been contaminated by radiation and have developed cancer.

Western governments have refused to recognise what happened to these soldiers. They rejected the evidence of scientific teams which confirmed that mustard gas and sarin had in fact been used.

They continue to refuse the victims of these weapons the medical treatment they need. The main concern of the Western powers was defending the profits of the oil companies. They cared little about the number of working class lives that were wasted in this terrible war.

what do socialists say?

Is peace breaking out?

Dave McDonagh

The recent peace deals in Bosnia, Palestine and Northern Ireland have been welcomed by ordinary people around the world.

The joy and relief of millions of people show that human beings are not naturally warlike and would prefer to live in a society where killing and maiming no longer exist.

'Peace process' has become a buzzword of the nineties. We are told that a combination of military pressure from NATO and the charisma of Bill Clinton have brought a new era of calm to the world's trouble spots.

But the peace deals are very unstable. In every case they have left the basic divisions intact.

In Bosnia, the Western leaders have helped to impose arrangements whereby Serbs, Muslims and Croats all live in ethnically pure areas.

Partition

A new partition of the country has been established on the basis of the ethnic cleansing which the West claimed to oppose.

The new partition arrangements only stores up the threat of war for the future.

Already major disagreement exist about the fate of Eastern Slavonia which Croatia claims even though it is now in Serb hands.

Both the PLO in Palestine and Sinn Fein in Northern Ireland, were movements which fought against oppression.

But both are now trying to make peace with the oppressors.

In the case of the Palestinians this has been at the cost of a huge retreat.

Yasser Arafat's Fatah group won the leadership of the PLO in the 1960's because it promised Palestinians exiled by the Israelis the prospect of 'the Return' to their homeland.

But now Arafat has accepted the idea of the 'mini-state' which he derided 25 years ago. This 'mini-state' on the West Bank and Ghaza will be poor and overcrowded.

Terrorise

Any semblance of peace will be continually threatened by the Israeli settlers who remain to terrorise the Arab population.

In the North Sinn Fein are ditching the idea of a united Ireland as a practical reality in the near future in favour of establishing 'parity of esteem' within the Northern state.

Their problem is that, so far, the British government is engaged in a strategy of humiliating them before they finally accept their credentials.

Any settlement which finally emerges in the North will be based on the notion that the two communities should compete for scarce resources.

A recent example of this was the location of the 500 job Stream factory in a Catholic area of Derry.

This happened after John Hume campaigned for his constituency to be favoured over a Protestant part of Belfast.

In both Palestine and the North it is the anti-imperialists who have made their peace with imperialism.

Both Arafat and Adams welcome Bill Clinton as a 'peacemaker'.

Clinton's image is totally false. He presides over the same imperialist order that the hated Ronald Reagan did ten years ago.

The US still backs brutal dictators in Latin America and the Middle East.

Whatever 'peace' the West brings will be short lived. Imperialism is a system that dominates the

globe bringing war and conflict in its wake.

War and oppression are part and parcel of the capitalist system. Capitalist powers spread around the world by enslaving whole continents and whipping up divisions among the people they conquered.

The imperialists fought two World Wars to redivide the world and have fought numerous wars against smaller powers who threatened their control. As long as imperialism dominates the world there is no prospect of a lasting peace.

Slaughter

Already our rulers are talking about fighting new 'resource wars' in the next century. The last major 'resource war' was the slaughter in the Gulf aimed at protecting oil profits.

But while socialists do not share in the optimism about the current peace deals that does not mean we are pessimistic. We place our optimism in the ability of the working class to fight back.

The First World War ended because workers in Russia and Germany made revolutions. The Vietnam War ended because of the huge radicalisation in the US in the 1960's and 1970's.

Last month French workers showed that they do not share Chirac's vision of the future.

Much of the anger in the revolt was directed against the fact that billions are being spent on nuclear tests while workers face cuts.

When workers the world over take the wealth off the rich we will also dismantle their war machines.

There will be no need for weapons of destruction in a socialist society where cooperation replaces competition.

Clearing the myths about 1798

When Wexford rose

by KIERAN ALLEN

NATIONALIST historians have long seen the 1798 rebellion in Wexford as a glorious episode in the centuries long struggle of Gaelic Ireland to cast aside English rule.

Revisionists such as Conor Cruise O'Brien have denounced it as a bloody sectarian war that led to the massacre of hundreds of Protestants.

Both are myths which seek to serve either the Green or Orange wings of the Irish upper class.

THE origins of the 1798 rebellion had little to do with the past struggles of Gaelic Ireland.

The only two Gaelic movements of the 18th century—the Whiteboys and the Houghers—were involved in localised rural struggles that never even posed the issue of separation of Ireland from England.

The 1798 rebellion grew out of an altogether different source. Just twenty years previously the growing capitalist class of Belfast found itself in support of the American revolt against the crown.

Like the American colonists they too demanded an end to English restrictions on their trade and an extension of the franchise so that their class could wrest control of parliament from the landlords.

Impact

Most of them still saw the mass of Catholics as 'unfit for liberty' and, indeed, as a threat.

But under the impact of the French Revolution of 1789, a radical wing began to emerge.

Here after all was a predominantly Catholic country which had overthrown aristocratic privilege—and despite the strictures of their bishops, there were many Irish Catholics who enthusiastically backed it.

There was also another reason to question old certainties. The Penal laws prevented the Catholic rich from owning land. As late as 1778 only 5% of Irish land was in Catholic hands. Instead the rich Catholics became merchants who derived their profits from trade and commerce.

After a period of economic boom they too felt a new confidence and began to demand an end to all restrictions.

The United Irishmen were formed in 1791 from this newly confident Irish capitalist class. The idea that they represented the 'men of no property' makes little sense.

Of the 400 United Irishmen in Dublin over 100 were classified as merchants and most of the rest belonged to the professions.

In Belfast the United

Irishmen denounced 'the handful of wicked and evil men' who stirred up the Antrim weavers to strike for higher pay.

In Wexford, the leadership of the United Irishmen came from the same class. Matthew Keogh and Edward Roche were merchants, John Colcough was a doctor and Bagnal Harvey was a liberal Protestant landlord.

Among the foremost opponents of the new movement in Wexford was the Catholic Bishop James Caulfield who feared the ideals of the French revolution.

Moderate

Most of the United Irishmen's leaders supported the more moderate wing of that revolution. They disliked the beheading of the king and were terrified of the Paris mob.

However, the reaction of the English government and the local ascendancy in Ireland to their demands forced many of them down still more radical paths.

As war broke out with France in 1793, a ferocious repression was imposed on Ireland. Executions for sedition became common. The Orange Order was given official backing to impose terror. The press was heavily censored.

The United Irishmen almost collapsed under the re-

In order to smash the power of England and its local ascendancy it drew up a scheme 'to embrace the lower orders and in fact to make every man a politician'.

pression. But in Belfast a revived movement began to take shape on the initiative of a number of tradesmen. It was a secret underground movement that was dedicated to the cause of revolution.

In order to smash the power of England and its local ascendancy it drew up a scheme 'to embrace the lower orders and in fact to make every man a politi-



cian'.

But the old tensions within these capitalist revolutionaries did not go away. Leaders like McNevin claimed that they only wanted a government that was 'representative without being hereditary'; one that had a 'strong and concentrated central power'; in fact, one that 'would require few alterations in the existing structure'.

Yet for all their moderation they knew that they had to mobilise tens of thousands in an army if they were to win. So 279,896 people in Ulster, Munster and Leinster were enlisted in the United Irishmen. It was one of the largest revolutionary organisations ever seen in Europe.

But many of the leaders were still anxious and fearful about unleashing this force. They had seen the 'combinations' or workmen organise riots in Dublin. They saw how the 'mob' in the French revolution began to raise new

questions about property and freedom. They were worried that the peasants might want to reopen the old question of the conquest of their land.

The leadership saw a French invasion as the way out of these difficulties. It would add considerable military power to their own—but it would also ensure that discipline would be imposed on their own followers.

It would allow them to

form a new revolutionary government that would not be dependent on the mob.

Instead of responding to the rising anger in the Irish populace, the United Irishmen began to time their revolt on a French landing.

As food prices started to rise and the British government imposed conscription on the poor, many 'waited for the word'—but it never came.

Even after the failed landing in Bantry Bay, the leaders kept waiting. The army and militia under General Lake was able to impose a widescale campaign of disarming in 1897—but still the word to revolt never came.

The effects of this strategy on the movement was disastrous. Mary Anne McCracken wrote to her brother, Henry Joy, that the leaders had 'lost the confidence of the country from being prudent and cautious'.

Support in Ulster began to drain away as the government mounted a sectarian campaign in alliance with the Orange Order. The British army rose to new heights of terror so that even its Commander in Chief, Abercromby, complained about its 'state of licentiousness'.

Finally in 1798, the radical wing of the United Irishmen under Arthur O'Connor, the Sheares brothers and Lord Edward Fitzgerald won the argument for a rising

without French help.

But even they were divided among themselves as to the best tactics. The campaign of repression had also severely disrupted the lines of communication inside the movement.

The result was that when the rising took place in May 1798 it was confined to a few counties. The revolutionary underground had squandered its opportunities and the rising was not as strong

When British troops and loyalist militia pursued the rebels into South Carlow in June they murdered all around them—killing 200 in one day.

as it could have been.

One of the foremost counties was Wexford where 20,000 United Irishmen assembled to take the towns of Wexford and Enniscorthy. The rebellion was fought under the slogan of the 'Rights of Man' and the rebel catechism showed how the movement connected itself to an international fight for liberty.

"What have you got in

your hand?

A green bough
Where did it grow?

In America
Where did it bud?

In France

Where are you going to plant it?

In the Crown of Great Britain.

The leaders of the movement were drawn from the Protestant and Catholic liberal middle classes. But their opponents were intent on stoking up sectarianism as a way of breaking them.

Many of the militia which were sent to oppose them—such as the North Cork Militia—openly wore Orange emblems. They were encouraged to spread terror and mayhem.

At the start the leaders strategy of opposing sectarianism in their own ranks was successful. But as the rebels became aware of their own isolation and a fear of reprisals developed, the local rivalries in rural Wexford spilled over into a spirit of revenge.

After the rebels were defeated in New Ross, for example, loyalist prisoners were burnt alive in Scullabogue.

But appalling as these blemishes on the rising were, they paled in comparison to the official brutality encouraged by General Lake and his army.

When British troops and loyalist militia pursued the

rebels into South Carlow in June they murdered all around them—killing 200 in one day.

When they recaptured Wexford, a loyalist group known as the 'Black Mob' were given freedom to murder and rape at will. Most of the leaders of the Wexford rising were not only hung—but their bodies dismembered and paraded through the streets to cow anyone who wanted to resist the might of the British empire.

Ideas

After the rising, the establishment developed the myth that the Wexford rising was organised by blood thirsty peasants. They wanted Protestants throughout Ireland to turn their backs on the ideals of the United Irishmen.

The reality was that the rising was part of an international fight for liberty. It was still a liberty that would have created new opportunities for a rising capitalist class. But in its day, it was attempting a great advance.

Daniel Graham's new book *The People's Rising* helps to set the record straight. It tends to over focus on military history to the neglect of the politics behind the rising.

But it is useful to those who want to cut through the myths of either Conor Cruise O'Brien or the Christian Brother version of history which pretended that social class was a foreign invention.

■ Daniel Graham: *The people's rising* Gill and Macmillan 1995

comment

JACK CHARLTON: Not bad for an ex-Leeds Player!

The comments over the past two months have said it all. "The End! It's Over! 10 (nearly!) glorious years of Ole, Oirlin and Ossification! You'll Never Walk Alone! We'll never win again!"

Some pundits described the past few years as "the Charlton decade"... momentous, historic, cataclysmic, orgasmic...and even fun.

First things first. The son of a Yorkshire miner was good for Irish soccer. We won some, drew lots and lost few. To bring joy to sprawling working class estates from Ballinteer to Ballina was brilliant.

Fans hitting the roof when Houghton hit the net - and then realising the table of drink was annihilated.

Mortgaging the childer to get to Cagliari. Singing 'n willing in the Swan in Stockwell, and not realising the factory back home had just gone bust.

Anfield

Standing-room only on tables in The Albert near Anfield last November. Dutch and Irish smiling, sweating, out-singing each other. Someone shouts, "If you hate the Queen of England clap your hands". We did.

Wearing green, supporting "the country" and still being able to give two-fingers to the idea of "the nation".

Socialists love fun more than anyone - that's why we fight for a better world, and not one Haughey, Bruton or Trimble wants. It's been a funny ol' 10 years. Casey went. Robinson came. Grizzly Adams bought Armani. And the Church was given the red card.

And what of Charlton? He never patronised fans or players. He's associated more than anybody with bringing alive some kind of success on the field.

At the beginning, Charlton had the same squad to work with as had the manager he replaced, Eoin Hand.

But Charlton made his players "get stuck in", what a lot of fans see as "real" football. The joke was that Eoin, on the other Hand, used to tell his players, "when you get into the opposition penalty area, pass it back to our keeper!"

Charlton gave us a style - fast, exciting, unpredictable, confident, multicoloured. His 4-4-2 system did work, but lately, with the game

changing, it's defunct.

Charlton found players everywhere. Nobody cared about the accents. They didn't know the anthem. Neither did we.

Charlton was always astute and mostly very lucky.

As for Dunphy, some of the things he said had a point but most of the rest was wrong. Underlying all his mutterings was the idea that popular football was not on but a boring and "elitist" game was.

Of the last 10 years, Dunphy wrote: "While every gobshite in the country inhaled the intoxicating fumes of glory, the real football community recoiled from the worship of false gods."

And Dunphy gets tens of thousands of pounds every year from Tony O'Reilly to write this!

He also said the President of the FAI, Louis Kilcoyne was the hero of the hour by forcing Charlton to resign.

Kilcoyne was the greedy 'entrepreneur' who made a packet selling off Shamrock Rovers' ground in Dublin to property developers - even though Kilcoyne had got the famous and fabulous pitch on the cheap from nuns.

Irish fans, past and present, have long since learned not to trust the clandestine, oligarchic FAI executives and their potbellied decisions in cigar-choking hotel rooms to rocket up ticket prices.

Irish Press

And yes, Charlton made a million from commercial opportunities. He still supported the locked-out Irish Press journalists, as the fans supported the brilliant bar strike the night of the Ireland/Italy game. Soccer is the best game in the world because every fan can have his or her own view on what needs to be done.

It is a game of two halves, eight pints and a chicken vindaloo. As Charlton takes his place on the terraces of history, we realise he hasn't done bad for an ex-Leeds player!!

BY DAMIEN MCLOUGHLIN

film:

Hate borne of police oppression

by MICK
DOYLE

Filmed in black and white, Mathieu Kassovitz's *La Haine* is a bleak and terrifying portrayal of urban France today, depicting what one of the main characters describes as a society falling apart.

The film is set in Paris and its storyline is played out through the eyes of the three central characters.

Vince is an angry Jewish youth who becomes consumed by a desire to hit back at a brutal and often racist police. Hubert is a young black boxer doing his best to keep out of trouble. Said is a happy-go-lucky kind of kid of Arabic origin who holds the three of them together.

Riots

The film opens with footage of rioters battling against the police, scenes which are virtually synonymous with



France these days. The story starts properly with a housing project under siege. Riot police swarm around the streets or line up menacingly behind armoured vans. After a night of violence an uneasy peace has settled on the ghetto. When Vince learns that a local youth has been beaten almost to death by the police

during the night he produces a police revolver lost in the riots and swears to his two friends that he'll kill a cop if the youth dies.

Said appears not to be too put out by this but Hubert argues hotly against the futility of it.

More trouble soon erupts in the area and after a scuffle with police the three

friends go on the run in the centre of Paris. A number of adventures follow, some funny, but others frightening and brutal. The violence of the police, and of the boys themselves when they are roused to it, is sickeningly graphic.

Shocking

The end of the film is particularly shocking

and overall the strongest impression you'll be left with is of a country, and by extension a continent, that is in serious trouble. Definitely worth seeing.

■ *La Haine* opens at the Screen in Dublin on January 12th, UCI in Tallaght, OMNI in Galway and the Capitol in Cork.

book:

Justice Delayed

Michael Heaney's book tells for the first time the whole story about one of the most notorious and blatant miscarriages of justice in the history of the Irish Republic.

The case of The Tallaght Two received little widespread publicity until it had almost run its course.

On a February night in 1984 Eamon Gavin's car was broken into by three youths. As the car was pulling away Gavin jumped on the bonnet. During the race that followed Eamon Gavin was beaten and threatened as he clung on to the bonnet for his life.

Media

The media assumed that Martin Meleady and Joseph Grogan were guilty when they were eventually convicted - they were both young, from a tough working class area and both had a history of petty crime. Eamon Gavin on the other hand was a middle aged man with a good job and living in a respectable area.

Prejudices like this served as a kind of smoke screen for a case

that was peppered with unlawful legal procedures, flawed evidence and downright dishonesty.

The Gardai, the judiciary and the Department of Justice made sure that the truth would remain buried for as long as possible.

Martin Meleady and Joseph Grogan were first identified by Eamon Gavin as they sat outside a courtroom at Rathfarnham courthouse. They were then cautioned by a Garda who had encouraged Gavin to participate in this unorthodox method of identification.

Innocence

Despite mounting evidence of the innocence of the two youths Gavin would stick to his story throughout the case.

After their conviction, pressure from their community led to a third man coming

forward. Brendan Walsh admitted being in Gavin's car that night.

He refused to name his companions but said that neither Meleady nor Grogan was with him. His evidence was virtually ignored although his admission of guilt was accepted and he too was convicted.

Evidence of Walsh's thumb print, which would have greatly strengthened Meleady's and Grogan's claims, was initially withheld.

However in the end, evidence of Meleady and Grogan's innocence became so overwhelming that they had to be released.

Although the book at times gets bogged down in detail and evidence it's well worth reading for the light it sheds how corrupt the Irish legal system really is.

—MICK DOYLE
■ *The Tallaght Two*, by Michael Heaney, £9.99

film:

The Scarlet Letter

The screen adaptation of Nathaniel Hawthorne's 19th century novel, *Scarlet Letter*, stars Demi Moore and Gary Oldman and is set among the first puritan settlements in New England.

It is the story of a young woman, Hester Prynne who is branded an adulteress by the village and by religious leaders for becoming pregnant while her husband is missing and presumed dead. The father is the local village preacher whom Hester refuses to name because he would be sentenced to death.

Revenge

Hester's husband later turns up and seeks revenge against the father of Hester's child.

The ensuing drama shows the hypocrisy and cynicism of our rulers who use religion and sexual morality to discipline society and stifle individual morality.

Some critics have attacked the film for departing too much from the original novel in favour of making the story more "Hollywoody". Certainly, Joffe, the di-



rector has taken big liberties with the original book. But in showing the story as one of sexual and social repression, and religious hypocrisy, the film remains true to the spirit of the book.

Explicit

If anything, the film is more explicit in lambasting social and religious institutions than is the book. It also shows the hypocrisy towards native Americans, with the community leaders' assumptions of superiority over "the savages" being well and truly exposed.

Some have also criticised the film for its somewhat improbable happy ending.

And the positive portrayal of Hester's preacher lover, Dimmesdale, may seem strange to audiences following Bishop Casey, Michael Cleary and other similar cases in America.

However, Hollywood elements aside, this is a reasonable adaptation of a good book and is worth going to see.

—Richard Boyd Barrett

where we stand

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

FOR REVOLUTION, NOT REFORM

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

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

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

FOR REAL SOCIALISM, EAST AND WEST:

The SWP welcomed the break-up of the USSR and the end of the East European dictatorships. These states were not socialist but were run by a state-capitalist class. We are against the domination of the globe by imperialist powers and we oppose their wars. We are for the right of all nations, East and West, to self-determination.

FOR AN END TO ALL OPPRESSION

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

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

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

FOR WORKERS' UNITY IN THE NORTH:

Northern Ireland is a sectarian state, propped up by the British Army. Catholic workers are systematically discriminated against by the state. The division between Catholic and Protestant workers weakens the whole working class.

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

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

FOR A FIGHTING TRADE UNION MOVEMENT:

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

FOR A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

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

news & reports—politics; the unions—

Water Charges

Stop the Disconnections

by Deirdre Cronin

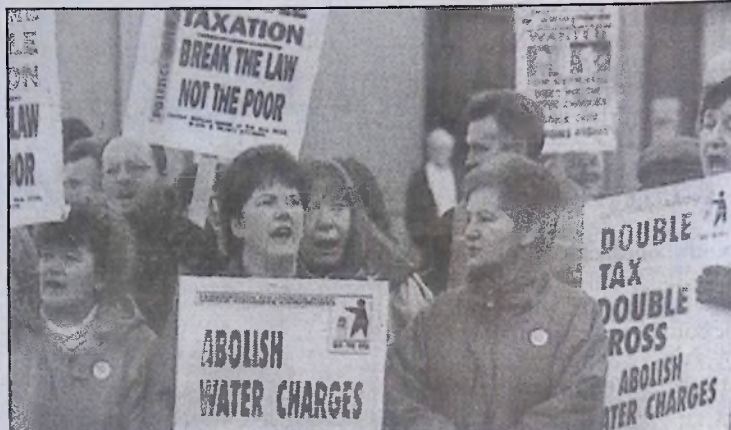
Twelve people were brought up before Dun Laoghaire District Court five days before Christmas for nonpayment of water charges.

All those with legal representation had their cases adjourned until Wednesday January 10. But the judge proceeded to make disconnection orders against three people who did not turn up.

The conduct of the Dun Laoghaire Rathdown council was appalling. They called an inspector to give evidence that none of the three were hardship cases.

The inspector gave a description of the conditions in which each of them lived. He described the size and state of each house, the type of neighbourhood and even the make of car in the driveway.

As one irate anti-water



charges campaigner said afterwards, "How dare they do this. It's a downright insult. They have no right to stand in judgement. Inside most houses people are battling to pay the mortgage, the ESB,

the phone bill...that's hardship in my book."

The judge awarded £300 costs against them.

It's in stark contrast to the way Larry Goodman is treated. His company was

guilty of tax fraud on a grand scale but he never appeared before a court.

Instead Irish tax payers are being forced to pay £100 million to the EU for the fraud in the beef industry.

The fight against water charges will not be won in the courts because the judges are part of the privileged elite in this society.

They want to maintain the status quo. They see the movement against water charges as a threat.

The court cases can only be used to make loud and angry protests of the sort that happened outside Delap's court in Balbriggan in December.

Appealing matters to the High Court and relying on well paid barristers will make little difference.

Instead we need to organise to resist the disconnections at a local

level. In 1994 the Waterford Corporation tried to disconnect a non-payer on the Hillview estate. But local people poured onto the street and refused to allow the disconnection to take place.

The demonstration swelled to five hundred when factory workers coming off shifts joined the protest. The police eventually had to intervene to escort the scabs out of the area.

Waterford Corporation has not rushed to cut others off since.

We need to organise against disconnections in Dublin in a similar way.

Don't rely on courts: organise

THE SCANDAL OF LOW PAY

Thousands of people, very often young, are trapped in low-paid, dead end jobs.

With huge unemployment, a person's only chance of work may be in factories where bosses deny even the most basic rights.

A young Dublin factory worker described her conditions. "We're employed on a day-to-day basis. you can come into work at 8.30 only to be told there's no work today. You're sent home without pay."

"We're all on £160 per week before tax for a 39 hour week. You can just about get by on it, but you couldn't afford a mortgage, a car or anything. Things have got worse. Initially they paid us if there was no work. Now they're cutting back on bonuses and overtime rates. We never got

sick pay". Another woman left her job in Wicklow factory because conditions were just so bad. "The place was rat infested. We had segregated canteens for the male and female workers.

They did their best to play us off against each other - giving the lads the better jobs and ensuring it was difficult for us to ever get together and discuss our common grievances about what was going on in the factory".

"I really felt we needed a union there. If I'm in that situation again I'll definitely try and get together with a few others and try and bring in the union. It's the only way to ensure you get the most basic rights and conditions.

Public order act

The police threatened to use the Public Order Act to break up the picket outside Balbriggan court. This act gives nearly unlimited powers to the police to disperse groups of people.

The Labour Party justified its support for act in 1993 by saying that it would only be used to deal with 'street hooliganism'.

But the act has increasingly been used against working class protests. During the TEAM Air Lingus dispute two years ago, workers were threatened with the use of the Public Order Act.

The Act allows for prison sentences for people who

stratons and unrest on a large scale against the poll tax.

"We do not have problems of that kind in Ireland, however, legislation should be in place in advance of such problems".

It was introduced because our rulers fear protests and mass mobilisations more than anything else.

The threat of the Public Order Act shows that Coalition is becoming frightened and want to lash out. They should get a very simple message back: we will not be intimidated.

SWP branch meetings—all welcome

- BELFAST** Meets every Wednesday at 8pm Penny Farthing Bar Central Belfast Jan 17th 5 Years after gulf War; Jan 24th: Is there a future for Socialism?
- CORK** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Dennehy's Pub, Cornmarket St. Jan 16th: Europe, Superstate or falling apart; Jan 23rd: Who are the working class?
- DERRY** Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Bar at 8pm Jan 15th: Drugs Why executions are no solution; Jan 23rd: The politics of family

- values.
- BRAY** Meets every Monday at 8pm in Royal Hotel Jan 15th: Did Lenin lead to Stalin; Jan 22: The politics of family values.
- DUBLIN NORTH-WEST** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in The Old Brogue, Dorset St. Jan 16th: Did Lenin lead to Stalin; Jan 23rd 5 Years after Gulf War ;
- DUBLIN ARTANE/COOLLOCK** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Artane/Beaumont Family Recreation Centre, Kilmore Rd. Jan 16th: Is

- religion the opium of the people? Jan 23rd: The politics of family values.
- DUBLIN CLONDALKIN** Contact 872 2682 for details.
- DUBLIN DRIMNAGH** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in the Bentley Pub, Drimnagh Road Jan 16th: Is religion the opium of the people? Jan 23rd: The politics of family values.
- DUBLIN NORTH CENTRAL** Meets every Wednesday at 8pm in Conways, Parnell St. Jan 17th The politics of family values; Jan 23rd 5 Years after Gulf War;

- 24th Did Lenin lead to Stalin?
- DUN LAOGHAIRE** Meets every Tuesday at 8pm in Smyths Pub. Jan 16th: 5 years after the Gulf War.
- GALWAY** Meets every Thursday at 6pm in Currans Hotel, Eyre Square Jan 16th: Europe: Superstate or falling apart? Jan 25th: 5 years after the Gulf War.
- MAYNOOTH** Meets every Thursday at 6pm in Class Hall D, Arts Block, Maynooth College
- WATERFORD** Meets every Thursday at 8pm in ATGWU Hall, Keyser St. Jan 18th 5 years after the Gulf war; Jan 25th Do we celebrate Irish National culture?

JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

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

Name

Address.....

Phone.....

Socialist Worker Public Meeting

Is Socialism Possible?

Speakers: **BRENDA PIERCY and KIERAN ALLEN**

Thursday 25th January, 8.00pm, ATGWU Hall, Middle Abbey Street

Socialist Workshop

"The Economics of the Madhouse"

An educational session on how capitalism works and why there is socialist alternative to the market.

Speaker: Chris Harman, (author of The economics of the Madhouse)

Saturday January 20th 2pm - 7pm

Young Traveller, St Mary's Place (off Parnell Square) Dublin

Tickets: £2 waged £1 unwaged

★ There are Socialist Worker members in:

ENNISKILLEN; COLERAINE; LURGAN; CAVAN; DONEGAL; NAAS; DIMERICK; KILKENNY; DUNDALK; ATHLONE; DROGHEDA.

If you would like to get in touch, contact our national office at (01) 872 2682, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

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

Packard Victory

Workers in Packard Electric in Tallaght scored a victory over Xmas. The company had wanted a hand picked gang to work over the holiday, ignoring seniority. Everyone else was to be laid off.

However, instead of being able to ride roughshod over trade union principles, Packard was forced to make the shutdown total, and when the workforce returned after Xmas they reverted to a 39 hour week instead of the 41 hours they had been working.

They have also implemented an overtime ban.

The new hours were as a result of a ballot passed 354 to 25 before Xmas but not implemented until pressure from workers at shop-floor level forced the unions to act on the decision.

But victory is tinged with bitterness as the company still refuses to pay a bonus due, worth about £20, and because of nearly 400 workers remain laid off since last June. Packard have made much of being 'committed

to Tallaght', a lie accepted and repeated by local Labour and DL representatives.

But the last few months have seen supervisors from the Tallaght plant sent to India to train workers in a new factory there which has recently resulted in a spin-off of 350 new jobs going to the plant in Coventry in England.

As one worker told Socialist Worker, "they want to play us off against each other".

Workers in Packard know the company is trying to bypass the union at every turn and they are bitter about the lack of leadership shown by the unions.

But as the pre-Xmas ballot shows, unity is their strength and pressure from below can make all the difference.

MOUNTVIEW INN

The Mountview Inn in Clonsilla near Dublin was closed by the owner, Michael Moran, in an attempt to break a strike by bar staff.

Strikers had rejected his latest offer because it only allowed for two people on security at weekends instead of two every night.

Moran had also refused to pay an outstanding bonus and money due to one striker suspended before the strike. And despite Moran's refusal to imple-

ment terms agreed after the World Cup strike of 1994, MANDATE officials recommended the deal.

If this is MANDATE's way of defending agreements other barworkers could face a similar situation. Unionised pubs should take up collections to support the Mountview strikers.

ESB deal "is a disaster for jobs"

After two years of negotiations and months of speculation, workers in the ESB have yet to vote on the new deal which will pave the way for privatisation of electricity services. At least 2,000 jobs will go if the deal is voted in.

"There will be some opposition to the plan. People see it as a disaster for jobs", according to one of the craft workers in the Moneypoint plant.

The fitters were the first group of workers to be settled during negotiations. The ESB wanted to have unlimited use of 'contract workers'. But even under the proposals that fitters will vote on, the company will not have it all their own way.

As one fitter put it, "Under this new deal the ESB will find it cheaper to employ our labour rather than unlimited use of contrac-

tors. But if the situation or the atmosphere changes in the future they could come after us again for more. This deal will always be open to renegotiation."

Socialist Worker also spoke to an ATGWU shop steward who believes the deal will be rejected by some sections of workers. "People here are concerned. They are concerned about the job losses and the notion of social services. It's talked about all the time at work. But one of the biggest obstacles for us is the lack of information from the unions. Blokes feel they are being kept in the dark."

Build the Campaign for better pay

Health Service

A major new campaign to win improvements in nurses' pay is underway. In January a series of rallies will be held around the country to help press the case.

After that a ballot will be held for industrial action. A big YES vote will help to show Michael Noonan that nurses are determined to improve their pay.

The four main unions -- INO, SIPTU, IMPACT and PNA -- are demanding an increase on the maximum point of the nurses pay scale.

At the moment the top salary that a nurse earns after three years training and nine years work, is only £17,005.

Strike

Fifteen years ago in 1980, nurses took strike action to establish a pay scale that was similar to clerical officers in the civil service and health boards.

But nurses have now fallen behind many who were in this grade as far greater promotional op-



Nurses deserve better pay for the service they provide

portunities are available to them.

In the meantime, nurses have had to become far more skilled. Nursing in Intensive Care Units today demands a far greater knowledge of medical technology.

In the psychiatric services nurses now carry a bigger caseload. They no longer simply implement advice from

consultants but have taken on extra responsibilities.

This is why the unions are absolutely right to demand that nurses get £21,000 at the top of their pay scale.

Emigrate

But they should also press hard for increases at the lower end of the scale.

Many nurses emi-

grate or leave the service after a few years -- and they also deserve a big increase.

Something should also be done about the pathetic wage of £5,058 that first year student nurses get.

This are now being used as cheap labour by many hospital managers.

Nurses deserve a better deal -- but they will have to fight for it.

This government will try to stonewall. It does not want to pay for the levels of stress and responsibility that nurses bear today.

Escalate

This is why it will be necessary to escalate the action from a series of regional stoppages to full scale industrial action, with emergency cover, quickly.

Teachers

Retirement deal should be rejected

Teachers' union leaders are trying to rush through a new deal on early retirements before there has been full discussion among their members.

Full details of the new deal will only be revealed just as many teachers meet for their Annual General Meetings, where voting will take place.

At the time of going to press, Socialist Worker

believes that this is a bad deal that should be rejected. According to our sources:

□ Teachers will now be forced to do two extra days of in-service training, without extra pay.

□ Parent teachers

meetings will now be held outside school hours, for no extra pay.

□ Half the time that teachers spend on internal staff meetings will not be paid for.

In all, teachers could find themselves working the equivalent of four extra days a year to gain the small concessions on early retirement.

Fight Quinn's Embargo

Labour's Finance Minister Ruairi Quinn has announced an embargo on the filling of vacancies in the Civil Service. Only one in every four is to be filled.

With unemployment at a two year high, this will only add to the numbers out of work.

"This is the thin end of the wedge", said a CPSU member in Social Welfare.

"Management have been pushing to increase productivity and casualisation of the workforce."

"We have had no permanent

staff recruited in fifteen years", said an IMPACT member in OPW.

"But there never seems to be a problem getting short term contract staff. This embargo will formalise what has already been the practice in many departments."

The lowest paid will be worst hit. Already almost permanent

overtime is a fact of life in many offices.

Low level promotion posts, the only way out of the low pay trap for many civil servants, will be eliminated.

The CPSU is balloting its members for industrial action on the issue.

Activists in the other unions should be pushing for similar ballots at their branch AGMs this month.

Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

inside:

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lies of the
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2000 ACE jobs axed

NOW THE TORIES ATTACK THE UNEMPLOYED

The Tories are planning to axe 2,000 Action for Community jobs in Northern Ireland. It will mean more misery and poverty for working class people.

The ACE scheme provides employment of a sort for over 11,000 people across the North.

ACE jobs are generally poorly paid, usually less than a 35 hour week and last just one year.

ACE workers are allocated to community and voluntary organisations to carry out jobs which should be done on a properly paid, permanent basis.

They work as community visitors doing home help type work, run playgroups, paint and decorate pensioners, provide advice on welfare rights and many other vital services.

When the cuts were announced community groups in Derry occu-

piated the Training and Employment Agency's office in the town in protest.

Paul Cavanagh of the North West Community Network explained why they had taken the action.

"At the end of the day it is people who will suffer: pensioners who will no longer be visited; children who will not get a place in a playgroup; families on benefit who will not be able to get independent ad-

vice on their entitlements; and communities who will lose the support of essential services."

The Tories want to bring in a new scheme,

called Community Work Programme.

This would mean the unemployed only getting their benefits plus about £10 for 'expenses'. They would

still have to do several hours work.

The removal of the ACE schemes will also affect thousands of women who wanted to get back to the workforce. Up to

now they have used this scheme to gain work experience.

But the Tories do not care about any of this. They are too busy looking after their rich

friends.

This is why they want to worsen conditions for thousands who took advantage of the miserable ACE scheme in the past.

Tories slash Housing benefit

The cuts on the ACE scheme are part of a wider Tory assault on the unemployed.

From 9th January housing benefit was no longer paid on the whole rent. Instead, it will be paid on a 'local reference rent' which for many tenants will be less than they actually pay.

Many will face the grim choice between paying rent or buying food. Organisations of the homeless say it will increase the number of evictions.

From October, all housing benefits will be paid in arrears. This will lead to even more private landlords refusing to let to those on housing benefit.

Single unemployed people under 25 will also only get benefit for the average rent of shared accommodation. Thousands of young peo-

ple could be forced out of flats and bedsits.

These Tory attacks on the unemployed must be fought. In the Republic, workers on the equivalent of ACE schemes forced the government to back down on the cuts.

They organised a campaign of militant mass pickets which involved community organisations and the unions.

The same thing can be done throughout the North. The Tories have never been weaker. They are keeping their hated government alive by risking the prospects of peace in the North.

A united fightback which cuts across the sectarian divide and which links the unemployed up with the trade union movement is what is needed to resist these attacks.