


# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p

**Inside:**

**CIVIL RIGHTS:**  
25 years on



See pages 6 & 7

## ■ PAY FREEZE

## ■ HEALTH CUTS

## ■ SACKINGS

*"Management say they want a 'competitive' service—but what use is that if it destroys our conditions. We can't take any more cuts - we have to fight them"*

—Dublin Bus striker

# IT'S TIME TO FIGHT BACK

## THE NEW MILITANCY:



*Turn to page three*

*"People in my school have never been angry. But we have to take action—this pay freeze is the last straw"*

—Belfast school teacher

# Travellers scapegoated

## Vulture swoops

Tony O'Reilly has been made president of the Ireland/South Africa Trade Association.

This group of former sanctions busters held a fancy meal in the Berkeley Hotel in September.

O'Reilly who has been described as the most overpaid boss in the world, has small new opportunities for cheap labour from the Botha/Mandela deal.



## As Loyalist terror rises...

# Unite against the thugs

Loyalist paramilitaries in Northern Ireland are once more engaging in naked sectarian terror.

The UDA and UVF say

that anyone who falls into the "Pan Nationalist Front" is a target—in other words anyone who is a Catholic.

Several members of the SDLP have been attacked, dozens of churches or

church halls have been set alight—including some Protestant ones—and a number of GAA clubs have been destroyed by fire.

There have been a number of riots between Catholic and Protestant youths as the UDA and UVF try to turn the two communities against each other.

Far from stopping the paramilitaries, the RUC and British Army are often conspicuous by their absence when Catholics are attacked.

The UDA death squad who gunned down Catholic hairdresser Sean Hughes last month passed five Army posts on their way to the killing.

The troops did nothing even though local children

had reported details of the getaway car.

But the security forces themselves have been party to the loyalist violence.

Two hundred members of the UDR were convicted in Northern courts in the 1970's, many for murder.

### Imported

And the present wave of terror is being carried out with weapons imported from South Africa with the full knowledge of the British Army.

Their agent Brian Nelson helped to get the guns when he was a UDA intelligence officer.

But there are signs of resistance to the violence and to security force collu-



sion.

The recent Internment commemoration went into Belfast city centre from which Catholic marches had long been excluded. And locals in the Springfield Road area

have protested against Army and RUC inaction on the killings.

Every worker, Catholic and Protestant, has an interest in uniting against the bigots who are blighting people's lives.

Landowners in Co Wicklow have dug trenches and put up fencing to keep Travellers out of Calvary Bog.

The farmers thought that they could use Travellers as a cover for their illegal enclosure of common land. Local politicians, eager for votes, are stirring up anti-traveller feelings to deflect attention from their abysmal record.

Across Wicklow, travellers are being scapegoated for rising crime rates. While the politicians delay, dozens of families face another winter in rat-infested fields, with no running water, toilets or refuse collection.

Co. Wicklow still lacks a single official halting site and the Eastern Health Board area is the worst in the country in providing services and facilities for Travellers.

The County Council divides "indigenous" travellers from "transient" ones, as an excuse to limit housing for travellers.

Travellers do not choose to live dire conditions, but are forced to do so. An ESRI survey in 1986 found that 80 per cent of all Traveller families would prefer standard housing and half of those living on the roadside had already applied for a council house.

Racist myths that travellers are all lazy, dirty, criminal or have too many children only play into the hands of right-wingers like Fianna Fail, who want to deflect anger away from their attacks on workers.

## ESRI lies

The ESRI is supposed to be an independent body.

In September it told workers they had to put up with very low pay increases because Ireland was becoming 'incompetent'.

They were lying. According to the Economist Intelligence Unit Irish labour costs are half those of Germany and 7% lower than Britain.

## Fianna Fail funds

FF funds took a nosedive after the Goodman scandal. But now the Party has come up with some new ways to raise money.

£150 a plate dinners have been held in top restaurants in Dublin and Cork.

Golf tournaments with a £1,000 entry for competing teams are planned for Dublin, Cavan and London.

And they tell us they represent the plain people of Ireland!

"It's like that catch 22 ... the NIO control the RUC and Brits, who collect and pass on information on our homes and families to the Loyalists who then shoot us. Then we are expected to ask the NIO to protect us. What a joke, we are like fish in a barrel in this town."—A resident of Belfast's Springfield Road area on the Housing Executive's "advice" to local protestors that the Northern Ireland Office is responsible for security.

## Sack this bigot



O'Hanlon

Justice Rory O'Hanlon has condemned the use of contraception by married couples - from his judges bench.

In a recent judgement he argued that, "Contraception turns the marital act into self deception or a lie".

He also claimed that contraception was "anti-life and anti-love".

Father of twelve, O'Hanlon quoted at length from a book by an Opus Dei priest.

O'Hanlon is a member of Opus Dei - a secretive right wing organisation which recruits among the wealthy and powerful.

In Spain Opus Dei were the main supporters of Franco.

O'Hanlon's outburst is nothing new. During the abortion referendum he claimed that even if the Irish people voted for abortion it could never be legalised because "the Irish constitution is dedicated to the Holy Trinity".

O'Hanlon earns £39,000 a year for pontificating from the judges' bench.

He should be given the boot.

## IRA BOMBS STRENGTHEN UVF

POLITICIANS in Northern Ireland argue that loyalist violence is "counter-terror" or "reactive" or retaliation for IRA violence

This is not the case

Loyalist violence preceded the IRA's by several years

It emerges to shore up sectarianism, whereas IRA violence attempts to end discrimination and a bigoted state

However, this does not mean that the IRA can escape any responsibility

for the present upsurge in loyalist violence and rising sectarian tension

The bombing of Protestant towns like Portadown, Newtownards and Bangor only serves to strengthen the bigots

Even when the Provos bombed Newry—a

Catholic town—they placed the bomb at the Mourne County Hotel, which is situated in the only Protestant enclave in Newry

Actions like this do strengthen the UDA/UVF and reinforce the sectarian division in Northern Ireland.

## Waterford charges fight

Last month, hundreds of people gathered outside the court house in Waterford. They were protesting at summons against people who did not pay their service charges arrears.

The first person to be brought before the courts was SWM member, Tommy Hogan. The anger against the summons was so great that even the judge had to give Tommy the right to make a speech in the court on the subject.

He denounced the system of 'double taxation'

where working class people shoulder the costs of all services in this county.

Despite this the judge made an award of £192 against Tommy.

Speaking afterwards to Socialist Worker he explained why he was refusing to pay, "Why should I pay this? The rich in this country were given an amnesty after

they swindled millions from their tax bills. And when one amnesty was not enough for them, they were given a few more"

The campaign against service charges was fought for ten years in Waterford. When scab contractors came out to turn off water from houses in the Paddy Brown Rd, they were met by hun-

dreds of angry glass workers who surrounded their van.

Militant action like this forced the corporation to back down on water charges. Even the current, PD Mayor of Waterford, Martin Cullen had to give a pledge to withdraw the service charges and to have an amnesty for those who did not pay them.

Now however the City Manager, Michael Doody, has announced that he is going to take the 3,000 people who never paid the service charges to the court. 800 people have already been issued with a summons.

The campaign against the arrears should now mobilise hundreds on the streets. They should link up with the unions and show Doody that he is not going to jail workers or get his pound of flesh.

## GLASS BLACKMAIL

Waterford Glass is on the blackmail trail again.

They are demanding Government money to build a new furnace.

The reason? They want to sack 200 more workers.

This is Irish entrepreneurship -- the O'Reilly way.

# WE THINK

## The new militancy

### A fightback is building up among workers in the South.

■ When Health Minister Brendan Howlin refused to pay an agreed award to low paid dental assistants, 7,000 workers walked out.

One IMPACT worker described the result: "We did not get a great outcome because the bureaucrats rushed to settle. But it has breathed life back into the union".

■ When Dublin Bus tried to introduce a low paid grade, an all-out strike began immediately.

One NBRU member told *Socialist Worker*,

"The strike started very passively.

"A lot of people thought it would be settled up. But once it began, the rank and file began to stir.

"When we went around the picket lines pushing for a demonstration to demand Montgomery be sacked, we got great support".

■ In the hospitals, anger is boiling up over low pay.

The Irish Nurses Organisation have put in a £30 claim and have voted not even to talk about a new PESP. SIPTU have also put in a £17 claim and may ballot for an all-out strike.

In 1987, workers entered the first of the recent series of centralised agreements with a very low level of morale. Many hoped

that they would escape the Thatcherite attacks that were going on in Britain.

But after five years, the promises are wearing thin. The rich have made a fortune. A recent survey, for example, showed that Martin Naughton of Glen Dimplex is worth £119 million while Ben Dunne has an estimated £105 million.

### Poverty

But poverty and low wages are the lot for many Irish workers. Every sacrifice that workers make, only encourages the bosses to come after them for more. But now resistance is growing.

But this resistance mingles with moods of defeatism. The years of a downturn in struggle have their left its toll. The workplaces that were the best organised jobs in the past have often taken the biggest hammering.

The union bureaucrats do everything to stir up this mood of pessimism. They claim that no matter how low the pay increases offered in a new PESP there is no alternative.

What is needed now is a network of socialist militants. Individuals with political ideas can make a tremendous difference. They can spur on the fight and combat the moods of pessimism.



Dental surgery assistants on strike in September

## Yeltsin: 'Just like the old Communists'

Boris Yeltsin has won backing from the Western leaders in his struggle against the Russian parliament. Yeltsin is cracking down on democratic rights.

He has taken complete control of the Russian media. As one journalist said "It is just like when the old communists were in power".

Even if he carries through with his promised elections in December, Yeltsin is going to hold massive power as President.

His close adviser, Sergei Stankevich summed up the current attitude of the regime when he said "Democracy is a luxury during the difficult transition period."

The old ruling class that held power in the former USSR is still in place. As a leading Yeltsinite, Gavril Popov, admitted, the defeat of the coup of 1991 "did not bring democracy to power. It enabled the apparatus to rid itself of Communist Party control."

This class of former commu-



Boris Yeltsin

nist bureaucrats had hoped that the market would work wonders for the Russian economy.

After 1992, prices controls were lifted and there was a sharp cut back on state spend-

ing. But this 'shock therapy' turned out to be all shock and no therapy.

Inflation rose by 900 per cent last year. Production in Russia has fallen by an astounding 25 per cent in the last two years.

The crisis has led to more splits in the ruling elite. Yeltsin's enemies of today, Kasbalatov and Rutskoy, were his allies in 1991.

Waiting on the wings are the 'red brown' alliance of old Stalinists and neo-fascists. These offer an even worse alternative than Yeltsin himself.

Years of dictatorship has made many Russian workers apathetic and disillusioned. Last month they watched the splits between Yeltsin and his former allies with barely a flicker of interest.

But the hope has to be that the strength of the workers movement will revive and take advantage of the splits between the rulers to build an organisation that holds out workers control as the solution to the crisis of Russia today.

## Can Hume and Adams bring peace?

Northern Ireland desperately wants peace.

Twenty five years of struggle and over 3,000 death seem to have brought little change.

The 'breakthrough' in the Hume/Adams talks may therefore be welcomed by many.

But there is little indication that these talks will help to solve the problems of the North. For one thing, their purpose is to bring about a unity of nationalist forces.

As Martin McGuinness put it recently, the aim of Sinn Fein today is "the nationalist side getting its act together -- Republicans, Dublin, the SDLP .. and putting it to the British that a solution is possible."

But the SDLP and the Irish government will only unite with republicans on proposals which leave working class Catholics in the lurch.

They have no interest in stopping RUC harassment. They have no idea how to create the tens of thousands of jobs needed to reverse discrimination against Catholic workers.

And this type of nationalist unity offers nothing to Protestant workers who fear growing levels of poverty and

unemployment.

According to the *Sunday Tribune*, the Hume/Adams report which has been sent to Reynolds includes proposals for an eventual British withdrawal and 'joint British/ Irish sovereignty over the North as a mutually acceptable constitutional option.'

Top think tanks in the South and Britain have long advocated joint sovereignty and power sharing as an 'interim' solution for the North.

There is every indication that Sinn Fein is now moving to an acceptance of these proposals. Just like the ANC and the PLO, they are now anxious to make their peace with the system.

But these proposals would only institutionalise sectarianism in the North. They would set up structures whereby working class people would be encouraged to lobby their own sectarian politicians and governments to put one over on the other community.

The alternative to the Adams strategy does not lie in armed struggle and more fundamental nationalism. It lies in socialist politics which challenges nationalism and builds for working class unity.

## PALESTINE:

## CAN THE PEACE PLAN WORK?

PEACE is desperately needed in the Middle East. Five wars since 1947 has led to the deaths of hundreds of thousands.

Millions have had to flee their homes.

But the Israel/PLO peace deal will do nothing to solve the problems at the heart of the conflict.

The Palestinians have only been given limited

by **DAVE McDONAGH**

control of two small areas of the territories which Israel occupied in 1967. The Gaza strip, for example, is only about 27 miles long.

Even here Palestinian control will be limited. The Israelis insist that its settlements in the West Bank and Gaza can only be policed by Israeli forces.

What is being created is very like the old South African Bantustans or homelands. These were mini-states that were completely dependent on South Africa.

Palestinians will continue to live in poverty in the West Bank and Gaza. They will still travel to work in low paid jobs in Israel proper, with no permission to stay overnight.

The *Economist* magazine has already hinted at rich pickings for Western capitalists in a stable Israel whose "high-tech could be married to the Arabs' low labour costs".

And it will be a Palestinian police force which takes over the job of maintaining 'security'. These police will be made up of PLO armed units who have been in North Africa—cut off from the mass of the population.

They will be used to crack down on those who want to continue resistance to Israel. A representative of the 400 Palestinians de-



Palestinian guerrillas burning posters of Arafat in protest at the deal

## ISRAEL: US WATCHDOG

Opponents of the State of Israel are often charged with anti-semitism. Israel is seen as a "haven" for Jews fleeing persecution in the West.

But the big powers who backed the new state in 1948 had long ignored anti-semitism. Britain had kept out Jewish refugees escaping the Holocaust while US President Roosevelt suppressed details of the Nazi death camps for two years.

The imperialist powers wanted a "watchdog" in the Middle East which would guarantee their interests in the region. The Zionist movement which colonised Israel was willing to do the job.

Zionism - far from liberating Jews - was itself a racist philosophy which treated the Arabs like animals. When the State of Israel was set up in 1948, its armies drove almost one million Palestinian Arabs from their homes.

Using terms like "ethnic cleansing" the Zionists grabbed land given to the Arabs by the UN and forced the inhabitants to leave. The Irgun and Stern gangs massacred Palestinians in villages like Deir Yassin.

Britain had ruled Palestine until 1948 and now backed the new state. In the 1950's as Britain's influence waned the US became the Zionists' main backer.

Israel has proved to be a valuable ally and has received billions of dollars in subsidies from the US.

## THE PLO'S FAILURE

The Palestine Liberation Organisation has agreed to a deal with Israel which it would have scorned twenty years ago.

Then the PLO's aim was to win back the territory taken by Israel in 1948 and to create a secular Palestine where Jew and Arab could be equal.

The Palestinian movement rejected the idea of a "ministate" in the Occupied Territories.

In 1967 the movement agreed a charter which said:

"The establishment of such a state could only result in the final liquidation of the Palestinian problem, the dis-

solution of the Palestinian people and the dealing of the death-blow to the Arab liberation movement."

Now the PLO has agreed to something less than the "ministate" and has "recognised" Israel, in effect giving up the fight against the racist state.

## Slaughter

And the PLO has "renounced terrorism" while the Israeli government's recent slaughter in Southern Lebanon has been forgotten.

The PLO have sold out for two reasons.

Firstly they represent the interests of the wealthiest Palestinians.

PLO leader Yasser Arafat has made huge sums of money from his



Yasser Arafat

contracting business.

Arafat belongs to a class of Palestinians with lifestyles far removed from the masses in the refugee camps.

But they lack political power and have always aimed to establish a state where they could have control.

Secondly the PLO have always looked to

the other Arab regimes to "lead the Arab revolution" and free Palestine.

They have refused to "interfere" in the internal affairs of these regimes.

## Enemies

The Arab rulers are the enemies of the majority of Palestinians. And in most cases they are kept in power with the help of American imperialism.

By looking to these rulers for support it is not surprising that the PLO has made its peace with imperialism against the interests of the majority of Arabs in the Middle East.

The real hope for peace in the Middle East lies with the masses of the region who have long suffered under brutal rulers.

The Palestinian struggle for freedom has been an inspiration throughout the region.

After the intifada began in 1987 the regimes of Egypt, Algeria and Jordan were all shaken by strikes and demonstrations.

The power exists to overthrow the rulers of the Middle East. Above all it lies with the working class of the region.

It was a mass strike by workers that toppled the Shah of Iran in 1979. The same could happen in other countries.

But nationalists like the PLO will always betray Arab workers. So will the Islamic fundamentalists who aim to take their place.

Only socialist politics based on the power of workers, can end the misery of the Arab masses.

where in the world to come to Israel and claim an automatic right of citizenship

Since 1987 the people in the occupied territories have fought bravely against the might of the Israeli state forces armed only with stones.

Hundreds have been killed in the intifada, or uprising.

Far from being a just settlement the peace plan will preserve the injustice suffered by the mass of Palestinians since the Zionist movement first settled the region and founded the State of Israel.

## WHERE ARE NATIONAL LIBERATION MOVEMENTS GOING?

One of the most significant responses in Ireland to the Israel/PLO deal came from Gerry Adams of Sinn Fein.

He welcomed the deal as a 'courageous first step and said that it showed a way in which a solution could be achieved from 'intractable problems.'

Across the world national liberation movements seeking to make their peace with the system. Often this involves settlements which leave oppression in place.

In South Africa, the ANC, is about to join in a coalition with the racist Botha regime and is even having discussions with Afrikaner extremists about the possibility of their getting a 'whites only' homeland. In El Salvador, the FMLN guerrillas have entered a social contract with the former organisers of the death squads.

In Nicaragua, the Sandanistas support the Chamorro government and demand that workers make more sacrifices to help pay off the national debt.

When nationalist movements start their struggle, they always seek to win a base among workers and peasants.

They promise that their victory will bring an improvement in their

conditions. In the 1920s, for example, Fianna Fail supported strikes by workers and claimed that they stood in the tradition of Connolly.

But nationalists seek to use the support of workers to win a better place within capitalism. It is never to change the system as a whole. This is why they always end up turning on their working class supporters.

In the 1980s this was often difficult to grasp because groups like the Sandanistas used a very left wing rhetoric. But the rhetoric was always ambiguous. Instead of genuine socialism, they stood for national development. The world was dominated by two superpowers. They thought that the state capitalist alternative of Russia offered a model for how their countries could develop.

After the fall of Eastern Europe in 1989, they gave up on this model. Just like many former Stalinists they came to believe that it was necessary to make their peace with a world dominated by the US. In reality, the US is weaker today than it was even before its defeat in Vietnam in the early 1970s. But to see this weakness you have to recognise the depth of the crisis facing capitalism and the continuing strength of the working class.

## Socialist Worker looks at the new 'Criminal Justice Bill'

# Whose law and order?

The Fianna Fail/Labour Coalition are bringing in one of the most repressive laws in a decade.

The Criminal Justice (Public Order) Bill will give sweeping powers to the gardai to move people on or to arrest them for trivial activities.

The legislation is directed against working class youth and those involved in political activity.

The Minister for Justice, Maire Geoghegan Quinn, has used a small number of assaults in Dublin city centre as justification for introducing the Bill.

The press are also helping to build up an hysteria about rising crime levels.

A typical example is the Evening Herald. In a recent editorial they wrote that everyone of their readers was being 'abused, insulted and intimidated' by drunken mobs.

"It happens on street corners where drunken mobs harass passers by and on the cities' main thoroughfares. It even happens on golf courses."

### Singing

The Bill targets those who socialise outdoors. The Bill makes it illegal to "engage in shouting, singing or boisterous conduct" after midnight or at any time if asked to stop by a garda.

It could now be a crime for students to celebrate exam results or for kids to play a radio or ghetto-blasters on the street.

But in areas like Neilstown and Tallaght, working class youngsters have few other means of entertainment.

The powers to the Bill are so extensive that even some right-wing politicians are having qualms. Michael McDowell (PD) said it was "a recipe for friction between gardai and young people in working class areas who were just having boisterous fun".

Section 4 of the Bill could make it an offence for a person to be drunk in public.

It gives the gardai complete powers to confiscate any alcohol in their possession.

A person can be arrested without actually having done anything wrong and could face a fine of up to £500.

The gardai will now also have increased powers to "move on" someone who is "loitering in a public place".

This will replace the felony of "loitering with intent" which was abolished by the Supreme Court who decided it was unconstitutional in 1981 and was regularly used to harass homeless people.

If someone fails to move on they could face a fine of £500 or six months in prison, or both.

Paddy Harte, from Fine Gael made the disgusting racist comment the Bill could be useful against travellers "who have no aim in life but to buy and consume alcohol".

Workers' rights will also be severely eroded by the Bill. Under its provisions, gardai will be able to ban demonstrations, disperse pickets or prevent political rallies.

They can erect barriers up to a mile from any event in order to prevent people assembling.

This could be used to restrict demonstrations outside the Dail.

Alan Shatter pointed out that its provision could be used to stop the forthcoming protests against Irving's visit.

Another section of the Bill makes it an offence to "distribute or display any writing sign or visible representation which is threatening, abusive or obscene".

According to Eamonn Gilmore of Democratic Left this is "a serious threat to individual rights and liberties."

"It could create significant problems for trade unions and could be used to suppress legitimate political and social activity".

Brian Archbold, IDATU trade union official, agrees. He, told Socialist Worker:

"This is yet another in a long line of attacks on workers' right to organise. Workers could actually be fined or imprisoned for holding placards or distributing leaflets which might 'offend' their employer".

Shouting "scab" at someone crossing a picket line could make a striker guilty of an offence and face a fine of £500 and/or six months in prison.

A deliberately ambiguous part of the Bill gives the gardai the right to charge anyone in a group of twelve or more people with rioting if it was suspected that they might threaten to use violence. They can each be given a ten year prison sentence.

The gardai will also be given free rein to arrest without a warrant anyone who breaches any of the Bill's provisions.

The Criminal Justice (Public Order) Act is designed to crack down on the protests that this government could face in the future.

Mary Hamey recognises this fact. In a Dail discussion of the Bill she said "In recent years there were very serious inner city riots throughout Britain.

"There was also serious public disorder occasioned by the miners' strike and strikes in the printing industry as well as public demonstrations 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".

The Bill should be fought so that our rulers do not get new weapons for their armoury.



## A RECORD OF REPRESSION

**THE Public Order Bill is not the first attempt to curb basic democratic rights.**

In 1967, Fianna Fail introduced another Criminal Justice Bill.

It prohibited meetings within half a mile of the Dail; it gave greater powers of arrest to police and insisted there would be 24 hour notice given to the gardai for outdoor public meetings.

At the time, one Fianna Fail TD, Lionel Booth, argued that the Bill was necessary because of the

wave of student radicalism throughout Europe.

The Bill was a result of paranoia about the emergence of increasing workers' militancy and popular street protest demanding more housing.

### Provoked

The harsh measures even provoked a strong reaction from the rank and file of Fianna Fail at the time.

One delegate to their 1968 Ard Fheis claimed:

"if a Bill like this had been in place in 1916 the leader of the rising would have had to go to the au-

thorities for permission to march to the GPO".

As a result of protest the Bill was withdrawn.

In the 1980s the Fine Gael/Labour government also introduced a Criminal Justice Act.

The Irish Council for Civil Liberties argue that "the Criminal Justice Act of 1984 was the result of a knee-jerk reaction to a supposed 'crime wave' in the early 1980s which was exaggerated out of all proportion.

The detention powers in the 1984 Act legitimised garda practices which had been criticised in the 1970s by Amnesty International".

These powers were made permanent in 1991 without any discussion.

The 1991 Industrial Relations Act banned solidarity strikes.

It made strike ballots compulsory and forced workers to give a week's notice of any strike action and made unofficial action illegal.

Trade unions can now face High Court injunctions at the drop of a hat.

Earlier this year, Fianna Fail and Labour passed the Criminal Justice (Lenient Sentences) Act which allows the DPP to appeal against a court sentence he thinks is too lenient.

**WILL  
MORE  
POLICE  
POWERS  
REDUCE  
CRIME?**

More powers for the police will not reduce crime.

Ireland is already the second most heavily policed country in Western Europe.

At the end of the 1960s, there were 6,000 police in Ireland. Now there are nearly 12,000, at a cost of £300 per person.

But this huge growth of the police coincided with a growth in the rate of crime.

Nor are the police much good at detecting crime. Only 7 per cent of stolen property is recovered, for example.

It is a different story when it comes to the police protecting themselves. 50 per cent of attacks on Gardai end up with a conviction before the courts. But only 11 per cent of rapes end in conviction.

Giving the police more powers will solve nothing. Reducing unemployment and poverty would.

## WHY THEY HATE JURY TRIALS

**The Public Order Bill will abolish the right to trial by jury in some cases.**

Anyone charged with obstructing a garda or other 'peace officer' such as a traffic warden or sheriff will be tried by a District or Circuit Court judge.

Before this they could be tried by a jury.

If this Bill had been in place a few years ago, Derek Fairbrother could have been framed by the police.

Derek was brutally beaten up by Gardai in Finglas.

At the time Dick Spring spoke up publicly in this defence.

The police tried to cover themselves by framing him on trumped up charges of assault on a Garda and resisting arrest.

If the case had been held by a District Court judge who mixes with the guards every day they might have gotten away with it.

### Threw Out

But a jury of ordinary working people threw out the police charge and Derek was able to go ahead and win a case against the police.

During the miners strike in Britain show trials against miners charged with assault collapsed when juries threw them out.

After the poll tax riot in London, the police arrested 500 protesters.

No jury found a single defendant guilty.

Juries are not always great but the rich and powerful hate juries because ordinary people are given a say.



Derek Fairbrother

They always want someone who is drawn from their own ranks to give a judgement.

## WHAT YOU CAN DO.

Order copies of the Socialist Worker special fact sheet on the Public Order Bill and distribute them in your college and workplace. Price 50 copies for £1.

### Pass this resolution

*This union branch/section condemns the Criminal Justice (Public Order) Bill as a dangerous attack on our democratic rights.*

*It calls on local Trades Councils and civil liberties organisations to mount an immediate campaign of public demonstrations against this Bill.*

# Students and the struggle for Socialism

Third Level education has traditionally been seen as the training ground for the ruling class.

As a result many socialists today dismiss students, arguing that as a group they have no interest in challenging capitalism.

This view certainly was true in the past.

Most children were excluded from access to college. Without state funding the cost was simply beyond their means. And those that could go, clearly identified with the ruling class.

In 1925 in Britain for example, students acted as scabs during the General Strike.

However the period after World War II called for a very different sort of third level system.

Capitalism entered a long period of expansion and boom. Intense economic competition between companies and between national states demanded greater use of science and technology.

A growing mass of white collar workers were required to staff state bureaucracies, banks, insurance companies etc.

The sheer quantity of skilled workers required for an increasingly sophisticated economy meant that Higher Education could no longer be confined to the wealthy few.

In the late 1960's, in the South, grants were introduced to expand access to third level. RTCs, the DIT and two new universities were established.

In Northern Ireland the New University of Ulster was opened. In the older colleges student numbers were increased dramatically.

Eccentric academics in dusty halls were replaced by "knowledge factories" - geared to produce the greatest number of graduates at the lowest possible cost.

That contradiction lies at the heart of this period of development. For while the numbers increased dramatically, they also had to be on the cheap.

Paddy Masterson president of UCD, at a recent graduation ceremony, boasted that during his term of office student numbers had increased by 4,000 without any increase in staffing costs. The result of this cut-price expansion has been poor facilities and overcrowded libraries and lectures.

These pressures can lead in totally different directions.



'68

On the one hand they lead to a vicious competition between students for higher and higher marks at exams coupled with a general apathy or cynicism. But it can also explode rapidly into protest movements confronting the authorities in college and society.

There is also a contradiction between the notion of third level institutions as presented by themselves - institutions of inquiry and learning - and their reality as centres of cramming for the passing of exams.

Colleges play a major role in producing ideology which justify the rich and powerful. Today most social science courses are dominated by ideas that the working class is dead and that male white workers are a highly privileged layer. For long periods these ideas can be accepted. But when major struggles begin to emerge in society the contradictions in this ideology can come to the fore. It was a combination of these factors that led to the massive student revolts of the 1960's.

In France in 1968 protests which began against segregation of the sexes in campus hostels, generalised quickly into protests against US war in Vietnam and into opposition to capitalism itself.

Revolutionary organisations developed rapidly in France, Germany, the US and elsewhere.

Some of the left even talked about "student power" and the need to build "red bases" in the colleges. However while students are subjected to the attacks of capitalism, the do not have the same economic power as workers. Student demos can cause significant embarrassment to the ruling class but cannot challenge the very foundations of power in society.

Short of a revolutionary challenge to the whole system the pressure is always on students, out of fear of failing their exams, to go back to their studies. So while student protests can escalate rapidly, they can equally rapidly subside.

With these kinds of attacks on students, coupled with the more general crisis in society we can expect considerable explosions of anger in the coming period.

However, if the defeats of 1968 are not to be repeated, students must get involved in socialist organisation that links their anger with the power of the working class.

by Richard Boyd Barrett

## 25 years since October



## 1968... 25 years

In October 5th, 1968, a few hundred demonstrators assembled in Derry for a march for civil rights.

They were defying a ban imposed by William Craig, the Unionist Minister in charge of security.

Craig would later claim that the march could have become a danger to the US naval base in the town.

But his real reason for banning the march was that Catholic marchers were never let inside the walled city of Derry. They had to stick in their own ghettos.

The march set off from the Waterside area of Derry with three British Labour MPs at its head. When it entered Duke St, it came straight up against a police cordon.

Two double lines of police suddenly boxed in the demonstrators and laid into them with shouts of 'Fenian scum'. The Labour MP, John Ryan, saw policemen remove the glasses of a sixty year old and beat her repeatedly around the face.

But as word spread about the city, people began to fight back. Barricades were erected and for a few nights afterwards Molotov cocktails and bricks were hurled at the police.

Houses were turned into casualty centres as police in armoured cars fought to drive back people into the Catholic ghettos.

The grievances that had given rise to the Civil Rights movement were many. Derry like many Northern towns had a unique voting system in local elections.

Rich businessmen could get as many as 25 votes while the unemployed had none. The city was also 'gerrymandered' so 33 per cent of the voters got to

elect a 60 per cent Unionist majority on the council.

The Unionist council ran a tight system of discrimination. No Catholic was given a job in the Guildhall in Derry. In the previous three years only 15 local authority houses were built.

Northern Ireland was steeped in bigotry and sectarianism. The first Prime Minister, James Craig, summed up the attitude of the Stormont regime,

"I have always said that I am an Orangeman first and a member of this parliament afterwards ... all I boast is that we are a Protestant Parliament and a Protestant state".

Repression was needed to enforce discrimination against one third of the population who were Catholic.

The Northern Ireland Special Powers Act gave the police the right to arrest without warrant and intern without trial. The South African Prime Minister once said he would swap all his laws for this particular act.

What had begun in Derry on October 5th, was not just a riot --but an uprising that would shake the very heart of this sectarian Northern state.

The march in Derry had been organised by socialists.

The placards carried slogans such as "Class not creed", "Tories are vermin" and "The Proper Place for Politics is in the streets."

A small number of Protestant labour supporters had joined the march.

But very quickly the socialists lost the initiative. Two other rival wings emerged.

Four days after the original march, the Citizen Action Committee was formed at a hotel in Derry.

# The fight for civil rights

## How the IRA was born

The other group to emerge were the Republicans. Before the Civil Rights march they were a tiny force.

At the 1967 Easter Rising Commemoration in Derry, for example, there were only thirty seven people present.

For a while, all that people wanted was civil rights within the Northern state. They had demanded 'One Person,

One vote' and an end to discrimination in housing and jobs.

But attacks on the civil rights movement taught many youth that they would have to go further.

In August 1969, Catholic ghettos came under attack from B Specials, the RUC and sectarian thugs. Behind the barricades, Free Derry and Free Belfast were proclaimed. The British army were rushed in.

### Terror

But soon the same army was imposing its own terror.

In 1971, they imposed a curfew on the Falls Rd and shot several people. In 1972, they murdered 13 civilians in Derry.

It was at this point that the age old message of the republicans about the need to smash the border began to connect.

In Belfast, the Provos began with a dozen or so members. By 1971, they had over a thousand in Belfast alone.

After Bloody Sunday, they mushroomed.

But the Provos could not take the struggle beyond the Catholic ghettos.

All they could tell Protestant workers was

that "the sooner they realise (they are Irish) the better because it is only as Irish they can ever progress as a race, as a country, as a nation"

The IRA and Sinn Fein grew out of a mass movement for civil rights. But their politics led them to turn their back on mass struggle.

Armed struggle became the cutting edge.

Instead of stressing the need for mass organisation to resist the British and the RUC, the Provos adopted a strategy of bombing the city centres to take the pressures off the ghettos. When that failed, they settled back to a long guerrilla war.

Yet the only time that real gains were made to end the oppression of Catholics was when there was mass struggle.

In the three years from 1969 to 1972, the militancy of the Catholic ghettos meant that the B Specials were abolished, and Stormont itself was disbanded.

Because the Provos could not take the struggle forward, they are now talking about a peace process.

What ever 'interim' solution they have in mind—even if it were possible—would only be a variation on the SDLP's plans.

It would not bring peace to the North—and it would not be worth the sacrifice of 25 years of hardship.

than ever before.

Through the SDLP and the Catholic clergy they get access to all sorts of grants and EC funds for local projects. As the communities have become more and more segregated, there are more opportunities for Catholic solicitors, head teachers and businessmen to expand on their side of the peace lines.

Now they want a settlement where there is joint British-Irish sovereignty over the North — and power sharing at Stormont where they can send their representatives

It was led by the factory manager, Ivor Cooper along with John Hume. It brought together the respectable Catholic middle class of Derry.

This class had been kept out of the running of the Northern state. Ninety-three per cent of the top civil servants were Protestants.

The Catholic middle class hoped to use the mass movement to prise open positions for themselves. But to do this they had to reach an accommodation with the Unionist regime.

At the end of 1968, the moderates who

ce October 1968... 25 years



# ght for ights

by  
**KIERAN  
ALLEN**

## THE SOCIALIST VOICE IN '68:

On 9th October 1968, 3,000 students in Queen's University—both Catholic and Protestant—decided to march in protest against police brutality in Derry.

On the morning after the march, a mass meeting of students decided to establish a new organisation, People's Democracy.

The inspiration came from the huge student assemblies that were held in the Sorbonne in May 1968. Alongside Eamonn McCann and the activists in the Derry Labour party, PD was to become the socialist wing of the civil rights movement.

PD stood for direct action. It organised marches, sit-ins and invasions of council chambers. It warned that the Catholic middle class would try to sell out the civil rights struggle.

When the truce with O'Neill was called at the end of 1968, the PD broke it by organising a Belfast civil rights march.



Michael Farrell of People's Democracy

After they were attacked by and sectarian thugs at Bumbollet, whilst the RUC stood watching, they were welcomed into Derry by thousands.

PD tried to link this militancy with a clear appeal to Protestant workers. They were not just for more jobs for Catholics and less for Protestants—they wanted better conditions for all workers.

In Armagh, PD led joint demonstrations of Catholic and Protestant tenants whereas the nationalists wanted a Catholics only

demonstration.

In the election of 1969, they challenged both the Nationalist and Unionist politicians and got 25,000 votes.

PD showed their contempt for the Southern state by organising a civil rights march from Belfast to Dublin. When they got to the border to presented the Irish gardai with banned novels by Edna O'Brien.

Three thousand people turned up to greet them—despite the fact that some of the Southern left de-

*In August 1969 the Belfast Citizens Defence Association said in its "Barricades Bulletin":*

*"Protestant workers have been fooled into thinking they are a privileged class because they are better off than the Catholics. The Protestant slum dwellers off the Shankill Road or Sandy Row have more in common with the people of the Falls Road than with Chichester-Clark on his 600 acre estate in Castledawson. The only privileged class in Northern Ireland are the employers and factory owners who control the Unionist Party."*

nounced them for 'appeasing the Paisleyites'.

But PD reflected all the weakness of an organisation that had not broken out of a student circle. It did not try to build a clear party around a definite set of ideas.

This meant that it moved from one stunt to another. Without proper organisation, it was unable to develop real links with workers struggles which were on the rise in the South.

PD expressed the best mood of those who wanted an end to sectarianism in Northern Ireland. But it failed to work out politically how to relate to a struggle that was rapidly developing.

For a long period it insisted that the question of the border was irrelevant. It was not until June 1971, that it called openly for the British army to withdraw.

Then, after the Provos won a mass base, PD flipped over into becoming loyal supporters and advisors of the Provos. In 1973, for example, it was advising the Provos "that the London bombing should be a once only gesture" and predicting that the Protestant working class were being drawn to fascism.

These vacillations eventually led to its demise. They arose from a desire to simply reflect a mood of militancy—rather than take on the type of political arguments that comes from having a proper party.

Despite all their weaknesses, PD showed that there was an audience for socialists who argued that Catholic and Protestant workers should fight together against capitalism and sectarianism.

# MARXISM 93

A WORLD IN CRISIS—THE SOCIALIST SOLUTION

A weekend of meetings, debate and discussion on the 12th - 14th November

### Highlights:

- Debate with Colm Regan (Trocarre): Can the UN be a force for peace?
- Is nationalism stronger than class?
- Debate with Labour: What future for the left?
- Fighting racism: Black liberation and socialism

*Marxism 93 takes place in a turbulent world.*

*Epidemics, starvation and civil war drag millions into turmoil; some barely survive while others now fight those who were previously their neighbours.*

*And in the west the spectre of racism and fascism stalks the political horizon.*

*In Ireland a tight-fisted coalition government presides over mass unemployment and poverty—whilst in the North loyalist violence is on the rise.*

*But there can be an alternative—arising out of the struggles of workers all around the world.*

*No strategy can be forged unless we understand the lessons of past struggles and the way society works today.*

*Marxism 93 provides a unique forum from which we can learn, discuss and debate about our rich past, and from which we organise for the resistance that lies ahead.*

Courses include:

MARXISM AND THE MODERN WORLD

- The rise of Islamic Fundamentalism

- National Liberation movements in the 90s

- Is nation stronger than class

SOCIALISM AND CULTURE

- Art and revolution

- Postmodernism

REVOLUTIONS AND REVOLUTIONARIES

- Marx's theory of revolution

- Trotsky

- Do all revolutions lead to tyranny?

- Rosa Luxemburg

- 1917 when workers took power

CLASS AND CLASS STRUGGLE

- Is there an underclass?

- Will revolution liberate women?

- Will the Trade Union leaders ever fight?

THE CRISIS IN THE SYSTEM

- Theories of capitalist crisis

- Why is loyalist terror on the rise

- 1930s-1990s: fighting fascism then and now

Marxism 93 will take place in the Institute of Adult Education in Mountjoy Square in Dublin from the 12th till the 14th of November.

Accommodation is available with members of the Dublin Branches of the Socialist Workers Movement. A creche will be available during the weekend.

As well as the meetings there will be entertainment on the Saturday night.

Tickets for Marxism 93 cost £6 (waged) and £3 (unwaged).

Please return the form early to get your tickets.

## MARXISM 93 Booking form

Name: \_\_\_\_\_

Address: \_\_\_\_\_

Tel: \_\_\_\_\_

Waged ticket £6

Unwaged ticket £3

Do you require accommodation

YES  NO

Do you require creche facilities

I enclose the sum of £\_\_\_\_\_ (make

cheques postal orders payable to SWM

Please return this form to Marxism 93

PO Box 1648, Dublin 8

# Is 'human nature' a barrier to socialism?

**"SOCIALISM is a good idea but it won't work. You can't change human nature." This is the most common and influential of all the objections to the possibility of socialism. JOHN MOLYNEUX explains why human nature is not a barrier to socialism.**



Are children born with a fixed Human Nature?

**T**HE NOTION that there is some basic flaw in human nature, which makes genuine equality and cooperation between people impossible, seems to provide a ready explanation for so many evils in the world—like racism and sexism.

Specific political issues like the degeneration of the Russian Revolution into Stalinist dictatorship and the apparent failure of socialism in Eastern Europe and China are also put down to human nature.

These ideas seem to connect with virtually everyone's personal experience. After all, who hasn't seen people ruthlessly competing for promotion, or been let down by a friend, or frustrated by people's apathy and selfishness?

These experiences have helped raise the human nature argument to the level of "common sense".

## IS HUMAN NATURE UNCHANGING?

**W**HY do people claim human nature will always make socialism impossible?

They say there are a set of characteristics and basic attitudes which are common to all human beings and that these are incompatible with the achievement of a classless society based on common ownership and control.

In particular, they argue that most people are inherently greedy and ambitious, so they want more than their fair share of material goods and to dominate others.

But any examination of how people behave, even in our society, shows this to be wrong.

Of course, there are plenty of examples of greed—look at the 1980s "loadsomoney decade". However, there are many more examples of self-sacrifice, courage and caring.

Thousands of people risked their lives to save others during the recent floods in the American Midwest.

Students and workers stood their ground in Tianenmen Square in China in 1989 as tanks bore down on them.

There are also hundreds of everyday examples: parents who devote their lives to caring for handicapped children; workers who choose abysmally-paid jobs caring for people rather than earn a higher wage in an office or a factory; the generosity of many people who give to charities and respond to appeals for help in the face of disasters.

These examples don't prove that humans are naturally unselfish. But they do show that people are not innately greedy.

It all depends on circumstances. It depends on whether people feel vulnerable and threatened or strong and confident.

It depends on how the matter in hand relates to the attitudes they have been brought up with and have formed in their

lives.

*In short, people change as their conditions of life and their experience change.*

For centuries, the Russian people suffered under Tsarist rule. It was a land of deep ignorance and superstition—and of the most backward attitudes to women and the most rabid anti-Semitism.

Then in 1905, and even more powerfully in 1917, these same Russian people rose up in rebellion.

They struck, demonstrated, rioted, fought and rose in insurrection—they made the greatest revolution in world history.

The Russian Revolution turned the world upside down. Workers seized factories, gave land to the peasants, pulled Russia out of the First World War, granted freedom to national minorities, enacted legal equality for women, and elected a Jew (Leon Trotsky) as president of its leading workers' council and placed him at the head of the revolutionary army.

Then, in the 1920s and 1930s, the revolution was overthrown by the Stalinist bureaucracy, which crushed the workers and peasants, condemning millions to starvation and millions more to death in labour camps.

*When they took control of their society during the Revolution, Russian workers and peasants displayed tremendous selflessness, courage and broadmindedness.*

But when they were crushed by Stalinist oppression, the Russian people seemed to return to the apathy and docility of Tsarist times.

Throughout these events, the "nature" of the Russian people—their collective attitudes, psychology and patterns of behaviour, which in any case differed between the social classes—changed profoundly.

It was changing circumstances which produced changed "nature".

## WHAT IS HUMAN NATURE?

**P**EOPLE change with changing circumstances. But does this mean there is really no such thing as human nature at all?

Socialists have sometimes been tempted to claim this as a quick way of dealing with an anti-socialist argument.

But there are serious problems with denying the existence of human nature altogether.

In the first place, it can lead to a view of human beings as totally manipulable. It can suggest that a totalitarian regime could eliminate any possibility of revolt.

*Yet a few years ago, the most repressive tyrannies—from the Shah's Iran to Ceausescu's Romania—were overthrown.*

In the second place, to suggest that there is no such thing as human nature is to imply that there are no common characteristics which human beings share.

What then can really be said about human nature?

Human beings today are not substantially different biologically from human beings 10,000 or even 20,000 years ago.

This physical nature endows human beings with common needs and capacities—which are the foundation of human nature.

The most fundamental and indisputable of these needs are for air, food and water, followed by clothing, shelter and warmth.

The capacities include the five senses, a large brain, the ability to walk upright, a hand which allows manual operations, vocal chords which permit speech and so on.

*It is the particular ways in which these capacities are used to meet needs that makes humans different from all other species.*

Humans meet their needs through working together to systematically produce the means to subsist.

As human beings transform their environment, they also transform their relations with others. As they exercise their capacity to meet their needs, so their capacities increase and develop.

When the form of production changes, so does the organisation of society.

As they moved from hunting and gathering to agriculture and from agriculture to craft manufacture and industry, so humans moved from the nomadic clan to the settled village to the town and the modern nation.

In the process, human behaviour and attitudes change radically.

Far from being the case that you can't

change human nature, the capacity for change and development is an essential part of human nature.

It is one of the key things which distinguishes human beings from other animals.

## CAPITALISM AND HUMAN NATURE

**A**POLOGISTS for the system, like University of Chicago "free market" economists, contend that capitalism is the best system of organising production because it corresponds with humans' natural tendencies towards greed.

But it is absurd to claim this. It took human beings two million years of human development to arrive at capitalism.

Neither the trading of commodities in general nor the buying and selling of labour power (the central feature of capitalism) appear anywhere in the natural world or in the early stages of human history.

It is also not true that capitalism makes individual self interest the driving force.

The driving force of capitalist production is profit, but profits can only be made by a small minority of society that own capital.

For the large majority of individuals, capitalism is based on the denial of self interest.

How many times have we heard employers admonish workers not to be "greedy" in demanding wage increases?

Under capitalism, employers are always pushing for laws like the Industrial Relations Act, which limit workers' rights to organise—restricting workers' rights to pursue their self interest through trade unions.

Far from being an expression of human nature, capitalism alienates workers.

Labour is no longer the means by which human beings consciously transform nature to meet individual and collective needs, but becomes simply a means of earning the money necessary for social survival.

Workers lose all control of their own labour, and work becomes reduced to meaningless drudgery.

Most people spend forty hours a week in a job they hate—or, at best, tolerate—and which wears them out and grinds them down.

This alienation affects every relationship in society. Relations between workers, between parents and children, between men and women, relations of sex and love—all are twisted and distorted.

People treat each other as objects and commodities to be used and manipulated.

Often, the most downtrodden and alienated individuals seek to compensate for their powerlessness and oppression at work or in society at large by bullying, battering and abusing others even more vulnerable than themselves.

These barbarities occur because capitalism makes access to the necessities of life dependent on purchasing power while at the same time ensuring that large masses of people lack that purchasing power.

## SOCIALISM AND HUMAN NATURE

**I**F, from the standpoint of human nature, capitalism stands condemned, what about socialism?

Is there some characteristic within basic human nature that would block the advance to a society based on equality?

The simple factual reply is no.

For tens of thousands of years, human beings lived in societies without private property, class divisions, rulers or a state.

Before the development of agriculture ten thousand years ago, people lived for thousands of years as organised hunters and gatherers.

These societies produced for subsistence. No individual or group amassed a surplus from production which allowed them to live off the labour of others.

Thus, for ninety-nine percent of the time that humans have inhabited the planet, they lived in non-class communities.

The Kung San people of the Kalahari Desert in southern Africa are one such community which has survived to this day.

This is not to romanticise hunter-gatherer societies or to claim that human nature is essentially socialist. That would simply present a mirror image of the anti-socialist argument.

Socialism today means taking the immense wealth, productive capacity, science and technology monopolised at present by multinational corporations, super-rich capitalists and their states—and subjecting it to collective democratic control on an international scale.

This would ensure adequate food, clothing and shelter for everyone. Starvation and poverty would be abolished.

This would in the process unite the human race—ending exploitation, national antagonism, war, racism and sexual oppression by removing the material circumstances that underpin them.

Socialism will not only meet basic human needs—it will also bring about an all-around development, enrichment and growth of human nature.

It is not just possible. It is necessary and worth fighting for.



# What's On

Branches of the SWM meet around the country at the following times and venues

## Athlone:

Meets every other Tuesday at 8:00pm in the Hooker Bar

5th October: The case for Socialism  
19th October: Building a revolutionary organisation in the 1990s

## Belfast:

Meets every Tuesday. Socialist Worker on Sale Royal avenue see sellers for venue.

5th Oct: How do we fight for Women's Liberation?

12th Oct: **PUBLIC MEETING** The fight against fascism, Central Hall, Rosemary St

19th Oct: Trotsky and Permanent Revolution  
26th Oct: ANC, PLO, IRA: Where are National Liberation movements going?

## Cork:

Meets every Tuesday at 8:00pm in the Anchor Inn, Georges Quay.

5th October: 1930s, 1990s - Is History repeating itself  
17th October: Socialists and the Catholic Church in Ireland

19th October: Why do men rape?

26th October: Why does the Labour Party sell out?

## Derry:

Meets every Tuesday in Badgers Pub Orchard St.

5th October: How do we get workers power?

12th: Do our genes control our behaviour?

19th: Is there a working class culture?

26th: ANC, PLO, IRA: Where are National Liberation movements going?

## Dublin North:

Meets every Wednesday in Conways Pub Parnell Square.

6th October: 1930s, 1990s - Is History repeating itself

13th October: Socialists and the Catholic Church in Ireland

20th October: Why do men rape?

27th October: Why does the Labour Party sell out?

## Dublin South:

Meets every Thursday in the Trinity Inn Pearse St.

7th Oct: Support the Busworkers: The new

militancy in the working class.

14th Oct: Will the Sinn Fein /SDLP talks bring peace to Northern Ireland

21 Oct: Do our genes govern our behaviour?

28 Oct: The Politics of SWM

## Tallaght:

Meets every Wednesday at 8:00pm in the Tallaght welfare centre, Main St.

6th Oct: Can the UN be a force for peace?

13th October: **PUBLIC MEETING** Stop Irving: The fight against fascism-see posters for details

20th Oct: Trotsky's fight against Stalin

27th Oct: Womens liberation and Socialism.

## Galway:

Meets every other Thursday at 8:00pm in

Currans hotel Eyre Sq.  
7th Oct: The North: Can protestant and Catholic workers unite

14th Oct World in crisis-the socialist answer.

21st Women's liberation and Socialism.

## Waterford:

Meets every Thursday IN ATGWU Hall Keyser St 8:00pm

7th Oct: Is there a Gay Gene?

14th Oct The marxist view of religion

21st Oct: Are the men to blame for sexism?

28th Oct: Will the Hume/Adams plan bring peace?

To contact the SWM in Bray, Coleraine, Cookstown, Drogheda, Dundalk, Kilkenny, Limerick, Navan, write to SWM PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Phone (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

# JOIN THE FIGHTBACK



# JOIN THE SOCIALISTS

Ireland is crying out for a fighting socialist organisation. Thousands of people who voted Labour in the last election in the South are still there looking for change -- only they are not looking to Labour any more. In the North, the republicans who dominated the struggle for nearly 25 years are in a cul de sac.

SWM is building a fighting alternative to these parties.

When the visit of the fascist David Irving was announced, SWM put into motion a huge campaign to organise opposition. SWM members are now working flat out to bring buses from all over the country to join the protests against Irving's visit.

When a wave of anti-traveller hysteria broke out in Bray, SWM members took to the streets to organise a petition of 500 names to the local council to demand that common land be kept open for trav-

ellers and non-travellers.

When the bus-workers went out on strike, SWM printed hundreds of leaflets to build solidarity with their struggle.

When the bigots in Belfast tried to protest against the Brook Centre, SWM helped organise a counter-protest.

And all of this is winning more and more recruits to the organisation.

One new member who joined put it like this,

*"I used to vote Fianna Fail or Fine Gael. But I recently lost my job. The system is just not working. Anyone who has gone around Dublin looking for work can tell you that the system is not working. Something has to be done"*.

Someone else who joined was appalled by Irving.

*"I did not think of myself as political before this. But I could not believe it when I heard that someone was coming over here to justify the Holocaust. I started to get involved with this issue and it opened my eyes."*

For anyone who wants to fight against fascism, war and poverty, the SWM is a must.

Join and get active

## NO CIVIL RIGHTS WITHOUT SOCIALISM



Saturday October 9th:

- 10am: Do all revolutions lead to tyranny? Speaker: Mark Hewitt
- 11.30: The Marxist Theory of Revolution: Speaker: Conor Kostick
- 2pm: ANC, PLO, IRA On the road to Nowhere? Speaker: Kieran Allen
- 3.30: Will a socialist revolution liberate women? Speaker: Goretti Horgan
- 5.30: The lessons of the Civil Rights movement. Speaker: Eamonn McCann

A weekend of discussion and debate organised by Socialist Workers Movement. At: The Playhouse Artillery St, Derry.

Friday October 8th 8:00pm:  
**Paul Foot on: British Justice**

Saturday night Social The Peadar O'Donnell Waterloo St, Derry 10pm

# What we stand for

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. It has to be overthrown. The machinery of the capitalist state—parliament, courts, army, police etc.—is 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 SWM 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. Workers' revolutions are needed to win real freedom in the East. 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 SWM aims to build such a party in Ireland.

## Join Us!

If you would like to join the SWM or receive more details, send this slip to: SWM, PO Box 1648, Dublin 8, Tel: (01) 872 2682 or PO Box 103 Belfast 15 2AB

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

Phone \_\_\_\_\_

## Magdalen Laundries

## Sisters of Hypocrisy

WHEN Our Ladies of Charity decided to have the remains of 133 women exhumed, cremated and re-buried in another plot they drew unwanted attention to one of the most shameful episodes in the history of the church in Ireland.

The Magdalen Memorial Committee, set up by relatives and survivors of religious institutions, called on the archbishop for a proper public reburial.

Despite this the remains were transported in a truck and buried in a private ceremony. Margo Kelly, a committee member, told how they arrived at Glasnevin in time to see earth being shovelled in on urns stacked in graves bearing serial numbers or names like "Magdalen Dolores" or "Magdalen St Francis".

This was just one example of how these women were treated, in life and death. They were inmates of High Park, Drumcondra, one of the infamous Magdalen institutions.

## Caring

The institutions were established in the 1880s as a supposedly caring alternative to workhouses which sprang up after the famine.

That they failed miserably to live up to this promise was inevitable, given the attitude of society and the church towards "fallen women".

Operated by orders such as the Little Sisters of the Poor, the Sisters of Charity and Our Ladies of Charity (titles that rival the ministries of Orwell's 1984), discipline was extremely harsh.

It remained so almost to the present day. Residents were forced to wash in cold water, keep silent in corridors and undress in darkness.

Women who fell foul of the law could be sent there on what amounted to a life sentence.

They were referred to as "penitents" and any woman unfortunate enough to end up in one lost all contact with the world outside. They provided cheap, almost slave, labour for the church's extensive laundry business, the profits of which were invested elsewhere.

The Magdalen Memorial Committee held a public meeting in the Ormond Hotel in September amid speculation that the site was sold to recoup losses on GPA shares. It called for a proper funeral, the erection of a memorial plaque in the old cemetery and the formation of a support group for survi-

vors. Women whose lives have been affected by these institutions were asked to tell their stories.

Carmel Flood spoke of how her family fought to claim the remains of her mother when they heard about the cremations.

They learned that six bodies a day would be exhumed. When asked how she felt about the nuns she said, "I'd love to strangle them." Then she broke down sobbing.

## Saints

Bernice Dermody told of a plot for nuns a hundred yards from the disputed site, making the point that the women are separated from "the saints" even in death. Josie Gilbert learned of the story through the papers. Her mother was put in the Sean McDermot Street laundry.

Josie was sent to an orphanage a hundred miles away. When she tried to contact her mother years later she was told that Mary Gilbert no longer existed: her name was now "Laura".

Anton Sweeney of Adoption Action said that when he tried to find out about his mother he was told that her records were the property of the state.

To this day he doesn't know if she's alive or dead.

Referring to claims that the site had been sold to finance the building of apartments for the remaining residents, Margo Kelly asked if there would be any sympathy for her if she were to sell her sons' graves to get out of a tight spot.

## Graves

A question was raised as to why the surviving women were not present at the reburial. A convent employee said that the nuns didn't want photographs of the women in the papers with headlines like "Magdalen Women". A relative pointed out that it was the church who bestowed the title in the first place and that it had no problem with it until now.

The employee was asked if the women had been given a choice. She said no and sat down to a chorus of boos.

This controversy again illustrates the power and hypocrisy of the church as an institution and its disgraceful treatment of the poor.

But people are fighting back. The dominant mood in the Ormond Hotel was anger. A few more campaigns like this and that power will be a thing of the past.

—Mick Doyle

To contact the Support Group:  
Margo Kelly  
(01) 345 045

## BOOK REVIEW: "Race and Class" by Alex Callinicos

## Fighting racism today

In London, a black person is twenty times more likely to be stopped by the police than a white. In America, half the prison population are black --although blacks make up only 12.5% of the population. Million of blacks still suffer discrimination, harassment and racial violence.

But how did the filthy racist ideas which justify this oppression start? And how do we fight back against them?

Callinicos's book shows how racism rose with the slave trade in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

The rulers of England set up plantations to get sugar from the West Indies and cotton from America. These plantations were worked by slaves.

More than six million African slaves were shipped to the West Indies alone. The triangular trade which linked Britain, Africa and the Americas created huge wealth.

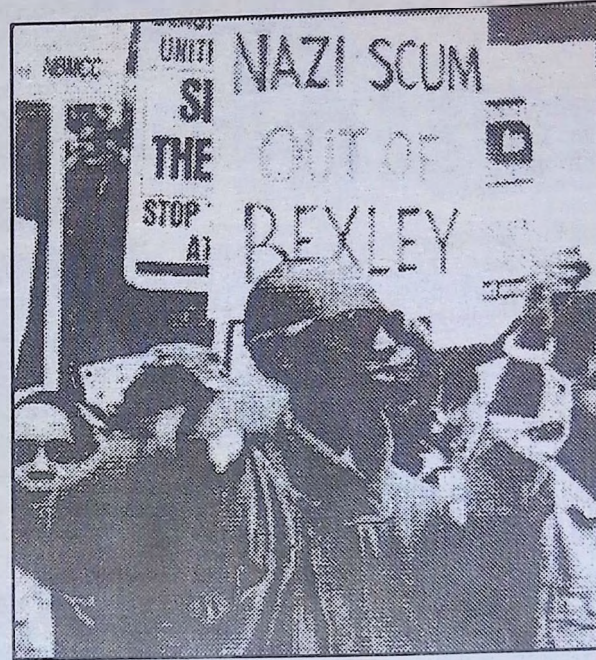
In the original plantations white and black slaves worked the crops together. These white slaves from Europe were promised eventual freedom, though more often than not the promises were never kept.

News of these broken promises reached England and Europe and, because of fears of a backlash there, white slavery was stopped.

African slaves then made up the total slave population.

This was also the period when the ideas of liberalism and 'natural human rights' were being formed. The justification of slavery now became a problem.

The origins of racism spring from this time. The colonial class could support both slavery and the idea of 'natural rights' by claim-



ing that blacks were somehow sub-human, naturally inferior to white people, and that they weren't fit to have the same rights as an Englishman.

In the eighteenth century racism emerged in Britain as a largely defensive ideology, the weapon of class whose wealth, way of life and power were under a mounting threat.

The writer Eric Williams wrote in his classic study *Capitalism and Slavery* in 1961:

"Slavery was not born of racism; rather, racism was a consequence of slavery."

Racist ideology, however, survived the abolition of slavery in the nineteenth century.

In the nineteenth century Darwin's ideas were mis-used to claim that there was a process of natural selection which made the white race superior.

Racist ideology continued to exist because the world was still dominated by a handful of European colonial powers vying for supremacy.

Callinicos's book also examines an important difference between revolutionary socialists and black nationalists: the belief that white workers materially benefit from racism.

Black nationalists argue that the agency of change is not the industrial working class but a "black collective radical tradition" forced by centuries of oppression and resistance.

But white workers do not benefit from racism. Racism divides the whole working class, weakening white as well as black workers. Black and white workers have practically identical interests. Both suffer exploitation at the hands of the capitalist class.

To keep these powerful class forces apart capitalists compensate white workers with a sort of public and psychological wage, attempting to make them identify with their ruling class.

For instance, after the American Civil War the whites in the southern states were admitted to public functions, parks and schools. The police force was drawn from their ranks. They had the vote.

The newspapers sided with racists while completely ignoring the views of the black working class. Blacks were subjected to public insults and humiliation and treated as inferiors.

But when the workers were divided, all workers lost out. Today a white skilled worker in the southern states of America earns less than a northern black worker.

Race and Class ends with the role of black liberation in the fight for socialist revolution. It is indispensable reading for anyone who wants to know where racism comes from -- in order to destroy the society which creates it.

—Gavin Wilmot

Special Offer:

## Race and Class

by Alex Callinicos

£3:00 incl. postage from SW Books PO Box 1648, Dublin 8.

## Wild Swans by Jung Chang:

## A portrait of Stalinism

AT the beginning of this century China was a country dominated by feudal warlords. Today, although most of the population still lives on the land, China has some of the fastest growing industrial centres in the world.

This transformation has been far from painless. Each generation suffered at the hands of a tyrannical dictatorship. But they also fought back in three revolutions and countless other movements.

"Wild Swans" tells this story through the lives of three women, the author Jung Chang, her mother and her grandmother.

The grandmother, Yu-Fang, lived in a country ruled by rival warlords backed by the major powers - Britain, France, Germany and Japan.

Society was dominated by ancient prejudices and formalities, with women treated as virtual slaves.

At the age of fifteen Yu-Fang's father gave her to a warlord general as a concubine.

She was also one of the last generation to suffer the mutilation of foot-binding. Because small feet



were considered beautiful young girls had their bones repeatedly broken to prevent them growing.

The 1927 revolution brought the nationalist Kuomintang to power. But the new regime was riddled with corruption and proved incapable of preventing a Japanese invasion in the 1930s.

Yu-Fang and her daughter De-Hong lived in Manchuria under the Japanese puppet regime of Manchukuo.

The sheer brutality and arbitrary nature of Japanese and Kuomintang rule turned many people towards the communists.

De-Hong, the author's mother, was attracted by their promises to end the injustices against women.

But many of those who fought in the communist armies were to

be sorely disappointed after the communist victory in 1949. They wanted an end to privilege, corruption and the old prejudices. However, the leadership had a different priority.

Their aim was to rapidly build a modern industrial economy capable of competing with the western powers. Their model was Stalin's Russia, where a vast bureaucracy imposed an extreme form of exploitation on the workers and peasants.

Although the communist government was supposedly "socialist", it was rigidly hierarchical and privileged. The pay of the highest grade of civil servant, for instance, was 26 times that of the lowest.

Chang, whose parents were both high-ranking officials, tells how she "grew up taking hierarchy and privilege for granted".

At the top of the pile, Chairman Mao was treated as a virtual god. Millions of party members were encouraged to devote themselves to modernising China by following his every word. Even school children were expected to "submit ourselves unquestioningly to the control of the great leader".

But life had its dangers even for the officials; the bureaucracy itself had to be disciplined. So there were frequent campaigns against "rightists" or "capitalist roaders".

who would be denounced and disgraced.

This process reached its most extreme form during the ten years of the Cultural Revolution. "Red Guard" groups were set up to terrorise officials and intellectuals through "denunciation meetings" and "thought reform". These meetings involved beatings, torture and sometimes death.

Many of the victims were completely arbitrary, the result of personal vendettas or even to fill quotas of "class enemies".

Chang's father was eventually driven insane by years of persecution and hard labour.

Deng Xiaoping came to power following Mao's death in 1976 and quickly brought the Cultural Revolution to a halt.

This perhaps explains why Chang seems to be sympathetic to Deng and the "reformers" against Mao and the "hardliners". But the Tiananmen Square massacre shows that both factions are prepared to use brute force to maintain their power.

"Wild Swans" gives a fascinating insight into communist rule in China. Although the author doesn't say as much, it shows that Chinese communism never had anything to do with socialism.

—Simon Gilber

If you have a story from your workplace phone (01) 872 2682

## INDUSTRIAL NEWS

# SACK MONTGOMERY- SUPPORT THE BUSWORKERS

Seventeen hundred bus workers in Dublin Bus went on strike against the introduction of a two-tier workforce.

Management wants to introduce over 200 "Imp" minibuses on city routes to replace the old double-deckers.

Drivers on the new buses will be paid £50 a week less than drivers of "big buses".

The attacks on the busworkers are being led by the general manager of Dublin Bus, Montgomery.

Montgomery is a Thatcherite who devastated busworkers condi-

tions in Sheffield. He has been brought over here to do a hatchet job on Dublin busworkers.

Up to now drivers on Imp routes could move on to double decker routes after three months and see their pay rise. But under his new scheme the 500 Imp drivers could be stuck on

low pay indefinitely.

Coming only months after the craft workers' strike, this is the latest in a series of attacks on wages and conditions. But members of SIPTU and the NBRU are determined to resist it.

An NBRU member said: "Management say they must be 'competitive' and give a decent service. But we know they have no interest in transport - their

only interest is in profits.

"Everyone knows that eventually this will affect all of us. A two-tier workforce will weaken union organisation and will lead to future attacks on all bus workers.

"But this fight can be won."

*"All but one of the  
Black and Tans are dead.  
And his name is  
Montgomery."*

— Dublin Bus worker

### AER LINGUS

## Resistance stiffens

Workers in Aer Lingus are resisting management's attempts to force through the notorious Cahill Plan.

The company had demanded 1280 voluntary redundancies by September 24th. However, only 700 workers applied for the package. SIPTU has vowed to resist compulsory lay-offs.

At TEAM management have demanded a pay freeze and a 13 hour three day week to reduce overtime earnings. One worker summed up the attitude of many: "Who do they think we are? They should pay out compensation for the lay-offs they imposed this summer; they should restore our shift premium rates they cut last June; they should pay up on the productivity deals - then we might consider talking to them"

As well as the job losses, workers are also fighting against creeping privatisation.

During September, it emerged that management was holding talks with hotel chain Trusthouse Forte to sell off Aer Lingus' in-flight catering service. This is a vicious anti-union firm. After they took over the Shelbourne Hotel, SIPTU members had to put up a major battle to defend their rights.

Cleaning and baggage handling operations are also up for grabs. The plan is for these services to be contracted out. At a SIPTU meeting, 300 general operatives voiced their anger and opposition to this attempt at privatisation. They also decided to break off the local-level negotiations that have been going on for the last few months.

These groups of workers showed their willingness to fight the Cahill Plan when they staged a wildcat strike in July. Similar militant action is needed now if the latest moves are to be defeated.

### PAT THE BAKER

## Shop workers to ballot for blacking

At the time of going to press, workers in branches of Quinnsworth and Crazy Prices around the country were set to have ballots on whether to black Pat the Baker products.

The strike is heading into its seventh month, and while the strikers have been leafleting shops asking consumers to boycott the bread, blacking action is essential now if the strike is to be won.

Two of the strikers said that they were confident of winning the vote in at least two of the five shops.

They said they expected SIPTU to act immediately on the results.

"We don't want them to sit around for another three weeks while they see what the other unions are doing."

Up to now, officials of SIPTU and the other supermarket workers' unions, IDATU and INUVGATA, have been taking an attitude of "you-go-first-no-you-go-first".

Even the holding of the ballots was put back for three weeks until the end of September.

If the ballots go in their favour, the strikers will be depending on the courage of individual shop workers to refuse "as a matter of conscience" to handle the bread.

All three unions have failed to issue official blacking instructions to their members. A SIPTU official tried explaining to *Socialist Worker* that

because the scabbing breadmen put the bread onto the shelves themselves, it is harder to organise blacking!

He also said official blacking would break the Industrial Relations Act. "Actions of conscience" are all that the law allows.

This kind of bureaucratic cowardice has meant the strike has gone on far longer than necessary. Official blacking, in defiance of the law, would have brought victory months ago. The strikers have massive support among trade unionists and the general public. They need their officials to start giving some real support now. Donations and messages of support to: Pat the Baker Strike Committee, c/o SIPTU, Liberty Hall, Dublin 1

## Public service fights Tory pay freeze

Tory Chancellor Kenneth Clarke has announced another pay freeze for thousands of public service workers in Northern Ireland.

Trade union leaders have condemned the plan. But words are not enough. Action is the only language the Tories respond to.

Their plans to test 14 year old school children were smashed by thousands of teachers boycotting the tests.

Firefighters, postal workers and civil servants have yet to settle this year's pay rises. It was decisive action by firefighters last time round that won them the pay formula that is now under attack. Their delegates met in London at the end of September to decide whether to go for 24-hour strikes.

A Belfast firefighter told *Socialist Worker*: "A substantial majority of FBU members support industrial action which could start in November with a series of 24-hour strikes."

He said that the pay freeze was just the first of the Tory attacks on the fire service.

"Pay is the tip of the iceberg - it's all about changing conditions and cutting the fire brigade. The money is there - in Manchester senior officers have been offered 6.6 per cent."

In June the FBU voted seven to one to reject the government's 1.5 per cent pay rise. But union leaders have been slow to move on this anger.

The Tories, on the other

hand, have moved quickly. The army's "green goddesses" have been serviced, and FBU members fear that this time the army could try to commandeer fire stations and vehicles.

The firefighters are not the only ones under attack. Trust status and cut-backs in the NHS have drastically changed the conditions of thousands of nurses in Belfast.

One nurse responded to Clarke's announcement by saying

"How do you measure productivity when you are nursing a patient fighting AIDS or helping someone struggling with mental illness?"

NIPSA, the largest civil servants' union, are balloting for a one day strike on November 5th.

A demonstration is planned for lunchtime in Belfast on that day. The worsening of their pay and conditions is linked to market testing, contracting out of services and job losses.

A teacher said: "Last year we got a 0.5 per cent rise when inflation was 3 per cent. Now it looks like we're getting nothing."

"People in my school are really angry. They can't understand why, given the scale of attacks, the response of our union leaders has been so lame."

But the boycott of school tests, and the government ultimatum forced, shows that the Tories are not invincible.

Five million workers in Britain and the North are affected.

Together, they have the power to stop this latest Tory attack. It is time for union leaders to start the fight

## Issues for the labour movement

# Was the PESP worth it?

At the recent SIPTU special delegate conference, Edmund Browne said: "The success of the PESP speaks for itself."

But according to a paper prepared by SIPTU's research department, over the period of the PESP

■total employment in the economy has stagnated

■total manufacturing employment has also stagnated

■the unemployment live register has increased by 90,000 (an increase of 40 per cent)

In addition, the 1% levy and the "dirty dozen" social welfare cuts have pushed

down real incomes.

The PESP was supposed to protect the low paid - especially those in newly or weakly organised jobs. But a grand total of only four claims were referred to the Labour Court under the PESP's low pay provisions.

Only 50 per cent of workers won the 3 per cent local bargaining increases allowed under Clause 3. These were mainly workers in well organised jobs, where the local shop stewards and members have fought for the 3 per cent.

Low-paid workers covered by the Joint Labour Committees and Joint Labour Councils did not make

any gains under Clause 3, as bosses refused to open talks at national level.

So the PESP may have been saying one thing to Edmund Browne - but to thousands of workers and unemployed it said failure.

It is in the public service that the problems for the supporters of PESP had built up.

Due to deferred claims from previous years being paid, public sector pay did not fall substantially behind that of the private sector.

But very few workers won either special awards or got the 3% extra local bargaining increase.

This however was not good enough for the Coalition. They now want to break up the Conciliation and Arbitration system, which has traditionally set pay levels.

The ICTU are in talks with the government at present on a revised Conciliation and Arbitration scheme. These talks were not part of the PESP, and their purpose is to give the government the power to set aside arbitration awards. Previously, only the Dail could do that.

A glimpse of what is in store for workers came with a recent ERSI report. They claimed that Irish wages

levels are becoming 'uncompetitive'.

This is a complete lie. Irish unit wage costs are now 50% below that of Germany and 7% below the low pay paradise that is Britain today.

The ERSI added that: "employment prospects would best be served by not exceeding the low general increases applicable in the private sector, and by modifying the criteria on which arbitration decisions are based."

More ominously, they said "one approach would be to set an overall limit for the public pay bill."

by 7,000 other health workers in support and the threat of a total stoppage in the health service. Now ambulance workers have taken strike action.

Then there is Aer Lingus, Dublin Bus and, across the country, a wave of resentment against the closures and redundancies now taking place.

At the SIPTU Conference in May, Billy Attley said: "We will be judged by how we fight the redundancies in Aer Lingus."

They have been found wanting. But there is another way.

We can build on the general anger to defeat any new deal that is proposed, and to support any action that workers are prepared to take in defence of their living standards

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers' Republic and International Socialism 40p



## Attacked for having Black friends

THIS IS PAUL PYE, a white teenager from South London whose best friend is black.

Just hours after the fascist British National Party won a council election in the Isle of Dogs he was attacked by a thug screaming "You nigger loving bastard".

Everywhere Nazis organise, these type of attacks are carried out.

Since the BNP set up a headquarters in South London, four black people have been murdered in racist attacks.

Giving Nazis a platform in Irish universities means that more blacks, Jews and socialists will be attacked and murdered.

Socialists everywhere stand up for free speech. But this is already limited in our society.

The millionaire press baron Tony O'Reilly, for example, uses papers like the *Daily Star* and the *Irish Independent* to exclude the voices of militant trade unionists and socialists. More free speech would help those who want to change society.

But an exception should be made of fascists. People who deny that the Holocaust happened are not about having a rational debate. They want to whip up an atmosphere of hysteria which allows racist attacks to take place.

They want to build up an army of thugs who control the streets. That way, as Hitler put it, the 'little man' can feel like a superman.

Giving them a right to a platform means denying black people and Jewish people the right to walk the streets safely.

David Irving is not just a historian. He is a fascist organiser.

His meetings in Britain are protected by the British National Party.

Irving's aim is to get a fascist organisation off the ground in Ireland. He denies that the Holocaust happened in order to make it respectable for it to happen again.

This is why he should be stopped. In 1988, a thousand students prevented Irving speaking and organising in TCD. The power of numbers can again drive this fascist rat back into his sewer.

## NO PLATFORM FOR FASCIST SCUM:

# KEEP THE

# NAZI IRVING

# OUT

### WHO IS IRVING?

DAVID Irving calls himself a historian and is author of numerous books.

But he is no ordinary historian. Since his teenage years he has also been a Nazi.

At the age of sixteen he chose Hitler's *Mein Kampf* as a school prize.

"You can call me a mild fascist, if you like," he says.

There is nothing mild about him or his associates.

He is a regular speaker at fascist rallies throughout the world. He has been welcomed by groups from the Ku Klux Klan to the British National Party.

Although officially

banned from Germany, he speaks at almost fifty fascist meetings there every year.

In March 1992 he was fined £2,900 after one such meeting where he claimed that no Jews were gassed in Auschwitz.

The fine was increased to £12,000 when he appealed it.

He has been banned from entering Australia, Canada and Austria.

He had a revised edition of his major work *Hitler's War* privately published. It was this book that Kevin Myers, Irish Times columnist, described as "sometimes brilliant".

What Myers doesn't mention is that all reference to the death camps has been deleted from the revised edition.

"Why dignify something with even a footnote that has not happened," Irving explained.

He had to pay compensation to Anne Frank's family when he claimed that her diary was a fake.

But it is his own words that truly damn and expose him for the Nazi that he really is.

■ "I think that Jews are enraged with me because I've detracted from the romance of the Holocaust."

■ "The infamous gas chambers at Auschwitz, Treblinka and Majdanek did not exist - ever - except as the brainchild

of Britain's wartime Psychological Warfare Executive."

■ "I think the eyewitnesses [death camp survivors] are an interesting problem for psychiatrists to explain."

■ "I visited Hitler's eyrie in Berchtesgarden. I regard it as a shrine."

His views on women and working class education are no better:

■ "We now have women presenting the news on the BBC. They should leave serious things to men."

■ "Education should be concentrated on a supereducation

for the intelligentsia, with a purposeful, yet positive near illiteracy for the masses."

Some suggest that Irving is mad.

But mad or not he has a deadly serious objective - the building of a mass Nazi movement. By denying the reality of Nazi crimes he hopes to make this possible.

The only suitable reply to him and his Nazi filth is

**NEVER AGAIN.  
IRVING  
MUST BE  
STOPPED.**

Anti-fascists throughout Ireland need to prevent Irving spreading his fascist poison. Here is where the action is:

### Anti-Nazi League Rallies against Fascism

**CORK:**  
Thursday 7th October: 8pm UCC  
Speakers: Leon Greenman (survivor of the Holocaust), Kathleen Lynch (Democratic Left) and Brid Smith (ANL).

**DUBLIN:**  
Tuesday 19th October:  
8pm Liberty Hall  
Speakers: Ester Brunstein (Auschwitz Survivor) Des Geraghty (MEP) Joe Costello (TD) Brid Smith (ANL)

### Protests against Irving

**CORK**  
Saturday 9th October:  
Demonstration from Cork City leaves Winthrop St 6pm. UCC students assemble 6.30 at UCC Library.

**Buses for Cork protest:**  
- Dublin buses leave 1pm from Liberty Hall. Tickets £8/£6  
- Waterford bus leaves 3:00pm from Apple Market

**DUBLIN**  
Assemble 6pm Stillorgan gates, Belfield. UCD students assemble outside lecture theatre 6.30pm.  
**Buses for Dublin protests:**  
- Belfast Bus 2pm outside Queen's University.  
- Derry Bus Magee car park 1pm.