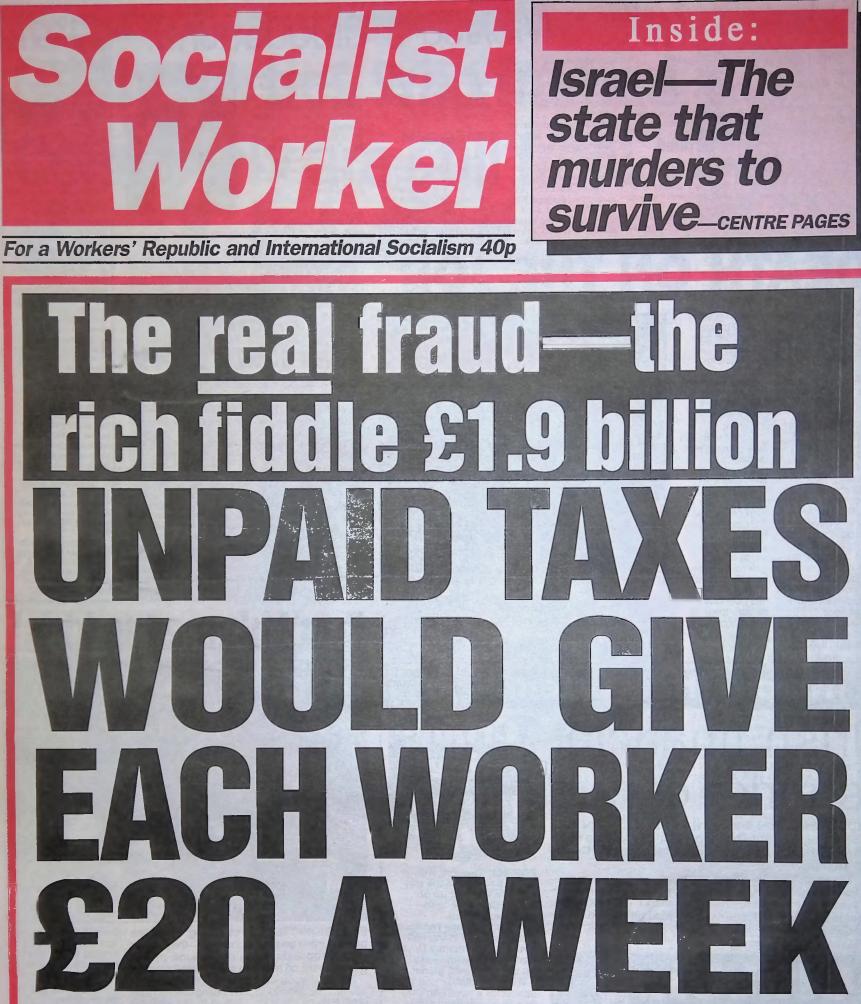
PAPER OF THE SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

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THE MEDIA have been trying to whip up a hysteria about the amount of fraud committed by

people on social welfare. They have been ably assisted by former socialist Proinsias de Rossa, who is now Minister for Social Welfare

But the real scandal is that the rich are refusing to pay their proper rates of tax.

According to the Revenue Com-missioners there is £1,9 billion out-standing in uncollected taxes from the

big companies and self-employed. The money they cannot collect would be enough to give every worker £20 a week extra for a year.

The Report of the Comptroller and Auditor General says only £553 mil-lion of the £1.95 billion owed will actually be recovered.

#### **Paying less**

And the rich are paying less than their share of taxes than they were five years ago.

Revenue say that compliance with

self assessment has fallen since 1991.

self assessment has fallen since 1991. Compliance by firms paying corpo-ration tax fell from 82 per cent to 73 per cent over the period. One overpaid cheat managed to fid-dle a staggering £490,000 and get off scott free. The gardaí delayed for months in pursuing the fraud and then the banks demanded that they he period

the banks demanded that they be paid up before the taxes were handed over. Unlike the unemployed or PAYE workers, the rich can afford to employ all manner of consultants and tax advisers to help them evade paying their share.

A few years ago top multinationals invented a major scarn to take advan-tage of Ireland's low corporate tax.

Output in Irish based multinationals officially doubled between 1987 and 1993.

#### Blame

But there was an amazing discrep-ancy between the output of Irish owned firms and multinationals based in Ireland.

In the top 10 Irish owned compa-nies average output per worker in 1993

was £128,000 while the corresponding figure for the top 10 multination-als was £814,000 per worker.

The discrepancy arose because the multinationals had juggled their overall figures to make the output share of their Irish branches look

bigger. That way they gained from Ire-land's low tax rates.Next time you hear de Rossa claim that social welfare recipients are to blame for Ire-land's high tax rates, remember the behaviour of his rich friends that he is now protecting.

# Irish rich shelters Mexico's 'bloodsucker'

**EX-PRESIDENT** of Mexico Carlos Sali-nas de Gortari is being wined and dined at expensive hotels

He is a friend of ex-Fianna Fail Taoisigh Albert Reynolds and Charles Haughey. But Salinas is hated by

ordinary Mexicans, 50 mil-lion of whom live in pov-erty. Many of them wear tshirts showing the ex-Presi-dent's head stuck onto the body of a legendary bloodAmnesty International reported that in 1994, Salinas' last year in office, "Scores of prisoners of conscience, mostly indigenous peasants, were detained".

#### Tortured

"Hundreds of people were tortured and ill-treated by the army and other secu-rity forces. Some detainees died as a result.

"At least 20 people 'dis-appeared' and the wherea-bouts of hundreds of people

who 'disappeared' in previous years remains unknown. Dozens of people were extra judicially executed by members of the security forces.

Annesty reported torture techniques that included "beatings, near asphyxiation with plastic bags, forcing peppered water into the nose, electric shocks and burning".

Salinas sent in the police against the Petroleum Work-ers' Union and used the army against the Miners' and Metal workers' union in his early years in office.

is now in jail on charges of masterminding a politicians charge of 'inexplicable en-richment'.

Revealed

Raul Salinas was put in charge of a semi-state com-pany by his brother and was supposed to have an annual income of \$190,000 a year. The 'inexplicable enrichment' charge arose from the discovery that he had \$300 million in foreign bank ac-

A US banker under inves-tigation has revealed Carlos Salinas involvement in the scandal. She testified that the President was given confidential documents about his brother's accounts in a limousine outside Citibank in New York. The Irish rich are shelter-

ing Salinas because he is part of their class.

We should show the same We should show the same solidarity with Mexican workers by demanding this torturer and murderer be kicked out of Ireland.



workers. CORI's researchers compared economic growth with 15 social indicators, including infant mortality, teenage Albert Reynolds

No social

workers

progress for

IRISH workers saw virtually no social progress between 1977 and 1994, even though

and 1994, even though the economy grew by 80% over those 17 years. More elderly persons live in poverty now than in the mid-1980s. New figures published by the Conference of Religious in Ireland give the lie to the idea that Ireland's booming

Ireland's booming economy brings better living standards to its

suicide and pregnancy, poverty, real hourly wages and unemploy-

"The gap between poor people and the rest of society has widened dramatically," says

"Secretaries of

"Secretaries of government depart-ments received an increase in *take-home* pay in the 1986-95 period of £447 a week while a single long-term unemployed person

unemployed person received an increase of £26 a week." Teen suicide, unem-

CORI.

Ξ

TWENTY EIGHT more workers died at their jobs last year compared to the year before According to the Health and

Safety Authority 78 deaths were reported last year compared to 50

the year before. The worst farming, fishing and construction. In their rush for profits trawler owners have encouraged sailors to go to sea "not wearing life jackets, with inadequate communications equipment and in inclement weather"

In the building industry, bosses

are getting away without proper scaffolding and inadequate protection for trenches Ireland's record on health and safety at work is one of the worst in Europe. Even the British Tory government managed to spend more on checking and enforcing safety rules than the .l.. Irish government. Proportionately, Ireland only spends half as much on

enforcing safety laws than Britain. The judiciary has not done any favours towards improving safety and health in the workplace

19 On the contrary, fines handed down

legislation are actually getting smalle according to

Sylvester Cronin the SIPTU member on the Health and Safety Authority.

### 'High earners favoured' -Tax inspectors LOW AND middle-income earners have

been the losers in successive budgets over the past decade, a major report finds. the four reliefs most commonly claimed by work-ers have either been re-duced or abolished.

Tax inspector members of the union IM-PACT say the wealthy have been the main winners.

#### Favour

"Income tax changes over the last 10 years have been pro-investor, pro-business and in fa-vour of the high-earner,"

says the study. Seven new reliefs have been brought in to help the rich since 1985—but

ployment, drug and child abuse and social housing needs were all worse in 1994 than in share purchases and film investment. 1977. Poverty amongst the elderly has been on the rise again since 1984. "Drug usage and teen suicide reached their worst level in 1994." The report also finds that since Labour and DL went into government, the trend hasn't changed one iota.

This doesn't even in-

this doesn't even m-clude the massive amounts of money the rich can claim for under pro-business schemes such as urban renewal,

### Don't blame the kids!



ELECTRONIC tagging of young offenders and a curfew on errant children—they're the crazy proposals being put around by the government on a way to stop juvenile crime.

When Minister Austin

Sergeants and Inspectors denied it would in-

Some commentators

John Donlon of The Star says working class parents find it hard enough to run their own lives much less act as

Austin Currie's Bill should be thrown out the same way in which the Fine Gael TD was when he ran for the Presi-dency—he came last!

months!

give a damn about the conditions in which young people have to live and grow-up in. Not one of them are talking about putting more facilities into giving children a purpose in life.

were excellent. George Maybury of the Association of Garda

The government want courts to be allowed to confine young offenders in their homes from 6pm to 6am for maybe months!

But the real criminals are all the mainstream parties who really don't give a damn about the

crease garda harass-ment of youths in work-ing class areas.

He says tagging may be necessary.

have rightly described the ideas as mad.

Currie got details of his upcoming Children's Bill leaked to see what the response would be, the right-wing rabble were out like a shot to wel-come the plans. Comment The President of Dub-In District Court, Judge Peter Smithwick, who isn't allowed to comment on proposed legislation, said the curfew plans

jailers for their children.

# Clubbing

Sharon Stone, Fergie, Kevin Costner and other rich people have recently paid out £13,000 each just to join the China Club of Beijing.

The club near Tiananmen Square, where thousands of students were murdered by government forces in 1989.

At present, the average Chinese salary is £800 -showing what the Chinese and Western rich think about workers and stu-dents.

Crimeline punchup

Irish financial sharks centre

JUST WHEN you thought it was safe to go back in the water, Dermot Desmond plans to build a monster aquarium near the Financial Services Centre in Dublin.

Then gain there has always been something fishy about Desmond, ever since that business with Telecom's Ballsbridge site a few years

Now it appears that financial sharks will not be the only kind on view in the vicinity of the IFSC.

under occupational

inside the system

FOR ALL Socialist Worker readers who hate the way crime is dressed up on RTEs "Crimeline" programme, read on.

The programme (which is presented by Fianna Fail hopeful, the smarmy David

hopeful, the smarmy David Harvey) is causing hassle for our esteemed gardaí. While reconstructing the murder of a youth on Dub-lin's Westmoreland street late one night, a fight started across the road. The gardaí were called

The gardaí were called. But the first fight they saw when they screeched to a halt, was the Crimeline team acting out their own boxing match. The Guards went in—

heavyhanded of course — and onlookers were said to have a laugh watching garda supervisors fighting with real Guards. Nobody was arrested.

# The worst industries are farming, fishing and construction safety and health

# what we think **Guilty parties who framed Colin Duffy are still free!**

*"I am out of jail now after a long, long haul but I am still bitter and* angry about being there at all"

SO SAID Colin Duffy, who just had his conviction on a murder charge quashed. Colin had spent more than three years in prison after being deliberately framed by the RUC and a member of a

the RUC and a member of a loyalist paramilitary organi-sation, the UVF. Colin Duffy was arrested in June 1983 after a former UDR sergeant, John Lyness, was shot dead. Before the murder, Colin had repeatedly harassed by the RUC after he appeared at a press conference to allege that they colluded in a loyalist assas-sination of his friend, Sam Marshall. Marshall.

#### Evidence

The evidence against Colin hinged on two key witnesses. One was a former member of the UDR, known as witness B, who claimed to have recognised Colin. This witness was driving at speed some distance away from the scene of the murder. He claimed that he knew Colin

because he had searched his

because he had searched his car two years beforehand! The other witness, who was known only as witness C, turned out to be Lindsey Robb. Robb was later convicted of gunrun-ning for the UVF in the middle of their ceasefire last year. He is an associate of the UVF

thug Billy Wright and was clearly involved in moves to break the loyalist ceasefire. After he helped to frame Colin Duffy, Robb was given £2,000 per-sonal protection money and moved to Ayr in Scotland. It is believed that he finalised the arrangements for the arms shipment from there.

The whole case against Colin Duffy goes to the heart of the sectarian nature of the Orange sectarian nature of the Orange state. The evidence against him was based on the RUC and the UVF co-operating against him. The judge who convicted him

was Brian Kerr. He had also con-victed the Ballymurphy Seven, a group of teenagers, of planning to murder a police officer.

#### Campaign

That case was thrown out on appeal after a major public cam-paign was mounted to expose the miscarriage of justice. Northern Ireland's judiciary have al-ways had a notorious sectarian record.

Despite the fact Colin Duffy spent three years of his life in jail, no police officer or judge will be convicted of framing him. There will not even be an in-

quiry into what went wrong Locking up republicans and vili fying their name is regarded as fair game in Northern Ireland. Key elements of the British state are only annoyed because they got caught. Next time you hear Trimble or Major preach about the need for de-commissioning, remember that these hypocrites give political support for the peo-ple who framed Colin Duffy.

### he Employment Equality Bill means... Legalised Discrimination

OVER 150 teachers turned up to a public meeting in Dublin recently to protest at moves that would make discrimi-nation in schools legal. The meeting was organised jointly by the Campaign to Separate Church and State and Teachers for Pluralism. "reasonable in order to avoid offending the religious sensitivities of its members or

clients".

married.

This means makes it perfectly

legitimate to sack teachers like Eileen Flynn who lost her jobs after she became pregnant with

a man to whom she was not

claim that any teacher who is a single parent or gay offends 'the religious sensitivities' of a few

Leaked

the leaked versions of Niamh Breatnach's Education Boards

and Board of Managements Bill

indicate that the Church will now

legally get a veto over appoint-

As if this were not bad enough,

bigots they care to produce.

The church can now simply

The teachers are protesting about two pieces of legislation that are sponsored by Labour

Party Ministers Mervyn Taylor's Employment Equality Bill is supposed to out-law discrimination on the grounds of religious belief. But one clause in the Bill exempts schools and hospitals from its provision.

#### Sack

This clause allows the Bishops

to sack teachers or nurses if, in the official words of the Bill,' "discrimination is essential for the maintenance of the re-ligious ethos of the institution

This clause also gives the church power to sack people if

ing teachers. If they do not adhere to the doctrines of the Catholic Church, teachers who have been trained at the expense of the state can be banned from 90% of the country's primary schools.

#### Process

At a time when the government is waxing lyrical about the peace process in Ireland, these proposed laws could stop a Protestant being employed in a Catholic school or vice versa.

The Coalition are hoping to railroad this disgusting measure through because they know that teachers feel vulnerable if they speak out.

#### Meeting

One teacher at the Dublin public meeting, for example, ex-plained that she was not a Catholic but could not be open about it in her school. She also had to contend with her children

**"Discrimination is** maintenance of the religious ethos of the

going to a Catholic school, be-cause there were no choices in her area.

However, this level of vulnerability can be overcome if teach-

A recent survey of the mem-bers of the Irish National Teach-ers Organisation showed that 66% of teachers were unhappy with being forced to teach reli-gion in schools.

#### Resolutions

Over the coming weeks reso-lutions need to be raised in nurses and teachers union branch meetings to commit their organisation to opposing these sectarian measures and to defending anyone victimised by them. Those who thought that the fight to separate church and state ended with the divorce ref-erendum have got it so wrong. The fight is only starting to re-take our school and hospitals from those who want the right to discriminate discriminate



The ICTU has voted by a margin of five to one to enter talks on a new programme of social partnership.

The media have given the impression that the big Yes vote means that another programme for wage restraint is inevitable. But it is one thing to enter talks -and quite another to agree to the results. The programmes of social part-nership have done considerable damage to the trade union move-ment. Wages have fallen far be-hind the growth in the economy and the bosses' profits. Between 1994 and 1996, for example, the economy grew by an average of 0.5% a year — whereas earnings only rose by 1.9%. The po of that, social partner-ship has been used to strengthen the hand of the union bureauc-racy over the rank and file. It wapped the unions up in layers of 'procedure' and undermined the shop stewards who play less of a role because they cannot ne-gotiate on wages. The price for entering the first Programme for National Recou-ery, was that union leaders sup-proted the Industrial Relations Act when it was introduced. This vir-tually outlaws most forms of spontaneous solidarity with strikes. Today the union leaders pretend they were not responsi-be for the Industrial Relations Act — but still they use its provisions to dampen down struggles. The programme also directly tis fing more taxes off the rich, the Coalition want to stick the boot into the poor. But the union leaders will not have it all their own way when it comes to marching us into an-other programme. Conditions are less favourable for a new agree-ment than at any time for the last nine years. Firstly, 1997 is the benchmark year where countries have to meet the criterion for en-tring the European Monetary Un-ion. This means that the Coalition will be anxious to keep wages as low as possible. This is one rea-son why they are already talking so much about tax cuts instead. Second, the mini-boom in the rish acconomy means that work-ers have grown in confidence. The rank and file of key unions like the teachers, the nurses and the civil servants have still not agreed to miserable settlements under the last Programme for Competitiveness and Work.

essential for the institution"

## is the growth in sectarianism unstoppable?

THERE HAS been a frightening increase in sectari-anism in the North. The Housing Executive reports over 200 families, mainly Catholic, have been intimidated out of their homes since July. Catholic churches in Ballymena are blockaded by loyalists led by lan Paisley Jnr. A church of Ireland church in the Bogside, which had been slightly damaged some weeks previously, was badly burnt and sectarian slogans daubed on the walls. Amongst some commentators there is feeling of fa-tailsen about the growth in sectarianism. But there is noth-ing inevitable about it. Rather, it is the handiwork of Unionist politicians who set out over the summer to stir up anti-Catholic bigotry. Some Catholics mainly in border areas, have re-sponded by boycotting Protestant businesses. There are those who argue that the boycotts should not be opposed as long as the targets are known Orange Or-der leaders and remain nonviolent. However, in reality these boycotts easily extend into a campaign against all Protestant businesses.

der leaders and remain nonviolent. However, in reality these boycotts easily extend into a campaign against all Protestant businesses. They give the impression that there is a united community of Catho-lics. Yet a Catholic boss who pays £1.50 an hour in their shop should have no call on the loyalty of thousands of Catholic workers who suffer from these poverty wages. Socialists opposed the call for a boycott because it helps to deepen divisions in the working class can-not in any way advance the interests of any section of workers. Fortunately the Sinn Fein have now issued a state-ment voicing their 'total opposition' to the boycott. But originally some of their councillors in rural areas sup-ported the campaign of boycott and so helped to give it momentum.

omentum

momentum. Every political party in these islands accepts that the two communities' are separate, and ever so shall re-main. It is also accepted that the leaders of the Orange Order speak for all Protestants. However, many Protestants are shocked when they learn about the naked anti-Catholicism of the Order. They are disgusted when they see the declaration which each applicant to a Lodge has to sign. The declaration reads, "I was born at ... in the County ci.... of Protestant parents, was educated in the Protes-tant Faith and have never been in any way connected with the Church of Rome. My wife is a Protestant/I am unmarited....."

with the Church of Rome. My wife is a Protestant/I am unmarried......" Many Protestants do not agree with this anti-catholic bigotry. They care far more about being able to live in peace with their Catholic neighbours than they do about re-enacting myths of superiority. Similarly, revulsion against the arson attack on the Protestant Church was openly expressed by people in Catholic areas of Derry. Everyone condemned it and wanted to assure the congregation that the bigots who carried out the attack did not represent them. With people being forced to choose 'one side or the other', it is amazing just how little sectarian violence— as opposed to nastiness—there has been. It is a testimony to the determination of the over-the and none, not to join the bigots. This was evident when SWP members in Derry cam-paigned on the Waterside Clooney estate against loyal-is intimidation which had forced Catholic are wel-demning the intimidation, saying that Catholics are we-oome on the estate and calling on trade unions to or-ganise days of action to bring Protestant and Catholic workers together. workers together

It's about time someone did something' was the most common welcome from residents. Many said they were glad to be able to let their Catholic neighbours know they're not with the bigots. It is this continued rejection of sectarianism by the ma-jority of workers, despite the efforts of Trimble, Paisley and McCrea to whip up hatred, that prevents the North sinking back into war.

sinking back into war. But if the sectarian moods are fragile, the mood for working class unity is by no means solid. The situation in the North is characterised by a sense of volatility. The key to changing the situation is struggle and socialist r.

politics. And there's plenty to fight for-for a minimum wage and against the Job Seeker's Allowance for a start. The trade union action against sectarianism, for which the SWP has been campaigning, would also help counteract the bigots. However economic unity alone will not be enough to break the stranglehold of sectarianism. There can often be a gap between the trade union unity at the workplace and the sectarian pulls in local communities where big-ots get a grip.

and the sectarian pulls in local communities where big-ots get a grip. Here is where socialists have a major role to play. The stronger the organised network of socialists who put class before creed, the more lasting the unity of workers will become. During Drumcree, we saw how organised the bigots are. Those who want to oppose the poison need to be organised too. That's why we urge anyone who wants to light sectarianism to join the SWP.

**GORETTI HORGAN** 

# AS DE ROSSA BETRAYS HIS SUPPORTERS ... Survey used to scapegoat the jobless

#### by DAVE **McDONAGH**

**PROINSIAS** De Rossa seems so desperate to ditch his left wing image that he is launching a new cam-paign to harass the unemployed.

Following media out-rage over 'welfare fraud' photographs will appear on dole cards and there will be more visits to the homes of people on the dole.

The coalition also plans to tighten the criteria which determine if an unemployed person is 'genuinely seek-ing work'. In many cases this will mean forcing people into low paid jobs. Cases of welfare fraud— at present heard in the Dis-

trict Court—may in future be tried in the Circuit Court where fines of more than £1,000 can be handed down

A survey by the Central Statistics Office is being used to back claims of massive dole fraud. But the survey only looked at a final sample of about 1,500—a tiny percentage of the live register. Michael McDowell of the

PD's seized on the fact that 679 people in the original sample did not live at the address given on the live register.

#### Confirmed

But the CSO director Donal Garvey confirmed that the address of the per-son on the live register is the address that they gave when they first signed on. He told reporters that, "In relation to people we couldn't find we can draw no specific conclusions at all".

all". Outrage also greeted the fact that almost one fifth of those surveyed said they did not want a job. But this does not necessarily mean they are committing fraud. For example, 70,000 of the 100,000 women on the live register are legitimately

live register are legitimately registered though not classed as unemployed or 'seeking work'. They include part time workers entitled to supple-mentary payments as well mentary payments, as well as women splitting their husband's benefit or simply

registering for credits. Many more women are unemployed and actively seeking work but are not sign-ing on because they would be excluded on the basis of their



# Making 'welfare' a dirty word

ATTACKS on welfare are being carried out by governments right around the world.

The Tories are introduc-ing a Job Seekers Allow-ance in Britain and the North to force people into low paid work. Recently up to 10,000 people demonstrated in

London demanding higher

pensions. Pensioners have been robbed of £10 billion since 1980 because pensions are linked to price rises and not earnings in-

A single pensioner is now worse off by £21 a week in real terms while a married couple have lost

married couple have lost £34 a week. In the US, President Clinton axed £35 billion from welfare spending over the next six years, slashing welfare for 13 million people.

million people. Governments in the EU are cutting public spend-ing to qualify for the sin-gle currency. At a recent meeting in Dublin, EU min-

isters discussed putting sanctions on countries who failed to stick to

who failed to stick to spending limits. Right wing economists are complaining about 'bloated' welfare budgets. Politicians have launched an ideological offensive against the welfare state. But workers have not taken all of this lying down. Huge strikes have taken place in Italy, Germany

place place in Italy, Germany and France against at-tempts to cut back on the

welfare state

#### Notorious

US Republican Newt Gingrich, notorious for scapegoating the poor, became so unpopular that be way not ellowed to he was not allowed to speak at his Party's con-

speak at his Party's con-vention. Millions of people real-ise that the welfare state is something worth de-fending. Most workers will need health care and other benefits at some point in their lives and other point in their lives and all will need pensions.

In Ireland, the govern-ment is using the issue of welfare fraud to divide employed workers from the unemployed.

#### Paying

3.81

### Cheated by the system

Intervened Only after the Ombudsman intervened was it agreed that she was entitled to the money under EU law since her husband had also paid social insurance in the UK. An 87 year old man discovered he should have been claiming a pension for his wife for 19 years but was denied the back money until the Ombuds-man intervened. It is estimated that less

man intervened. It is estimated that less than half of low paid workers eligible for Family Income Supple-ment are actually claiming it.

it. The Department of Social Welfare has set aside £50 million for the FIS schemes but only spent 21.3 million in 1995. Many people do not claim because of the complicated forms or because they are simply unaware of the scheme.

# **Poverty is the real scandal**

JIM MITCHELL of Fine Gael claims that welfare 'fraud' is 'worse than the beef scandal'! But compared to Larry Goodman's millions, almost two thirds of those on the register get £60 to £80 a week while 80 per cent get less than £100 o week

While 80 per cent get less than £100 a week. Even where people are claiming benefits and working, the idea that they are all living It up is a sick joke. One man interviewed in the *Irish Times* said that by 'doing the dou-ble' for two years he got £64.50 per week from the dole and £75 from his teaching job—a total of £139.50 a week.

THERE IS plenty of evidence of people who are cheated out of benefits, rather than the other way round. The Ombudsman's report for last year cited the case of a woman who was refused deserted wife's benefit because her husband had only paid 155 social insur-ance contributions instead of the required 156. Intervened

people eventually find work where they end up paying tax themselves. And when factories like Semperit close down, the hundreds who are sacked face uncertain futures where welfare payments

will be welcome. It is true that PAYE work-ers pay huge taxes but this should be changed by tax-ing the rich instead of rob-bing the poor.

They are creating a false picture of an unemployed 'underclass' who are ripping off PAYE workρ But most unemployed

The man described how if he got a few days work his dole payments would be docked immediately even if he had to wait a month to be paid

In the had to wait a month to be paid for the job. In some cases people are so des-perate that they think they are com-mitting fraud when in fact they are not.

not. Social Welfare made a raid on a cleaning firm where several women used false names and addresses for fear their husband's allowances would be docked. In fact they were earning less than the amount which would have led to this happening!

### international news

#### **AFGHANISTAN:**

# **Rebel forces capture Kabul**

KABUL, THE capital of Afghanistan, fell to the forces of the Taliban militia last week, giving it control of two thirds of the country.

other

The first act of the new government was to announce the implementation of its own extremely reactionary interpreta-tion of Islam.

This includes banning women from any em-ployment, the enforcement of the full facial version of the veil, the chaderi, the stoning of those accused of adul-tery and the cutting off of the hands of alleged

thieves. This is the latest of the long series of tragedies to beset the Afghan people. Throughout the last cen-

tury the country was be-sieged by the rival forces of British and Russian Tsarist imperialism, suffering three

British invasions as a result. In the 1950s it became a plaything as the US and the Soviet Union each sought the favour of the Afghan

king. There was growing re-sentment at the country's backwardness among a section of its middle class, which formed a pro-Russian People's Democratic Party. In 1978 a group of army officers staged a coup and put the party in power.

#### Effect

It believed it could overcome the poverty of the country simply by pushing through changes from the top modelled on what Sta-lin had done in Russia. In fact, the effect was to increase poverty in many

In fact, the effect was to increase poverty in many parts of the country. That drove many of the poorest peasants to ally with their old landlords in rising against the regime in the name of Islam.

The regime responded with a wave of executions and repression.

Brezhnev's government sent Russian troops to seize control of Kabul in 1979 in an effort to maintain its in-

an effort to maintain its in-fluence. The Russians were soon using exactly the same kind: of repression the Americans had used previ-ously in Vietnam. The US saw its opportu-nity to intervene as a vari-ety of Islamic resistance groups held the Russian troops down. It worked with the Paki-stani security service to pro-

It worked with the Paki-stani security service to pro-vide Afghan rebels with Stinger missiles, and al-lowed the different groups to finance themselves through trading in drugs. When the Russian troops left the country the war had created incredible suffering. There were four million Af-ghan refugees in Pakistan. The US, which had made so much of the plight of Af-ghanistan while the Rus-sians were there, now with-drew aid from the refugees. The leaders of the differ-ent Islamic resistance groups had no policies to

deal with the devastation and were soon fighting each

The mass of people were suffering at the hands of leaders who had enriched themselves through the war

as much as they had under the Russians. The Taliban emerged as a new Islamic force in the south of the country.

Monarchy It was based on students

from religious colleges which were financed by the

Saudi Arabian monarchy, There are reports that the US government and the Pa-kistani intelligence service also backed it, seeing it as a counterweight to the pro-

Iranian forces operating in the west of the country. But Taliban's success

comes from popular disen-

who oppose it—the forces guarding Kabul melted away last week.

#### Security

Tragically, the Taliban has no answer to the terrible crisis of the country ei-

It preaches a return to the Islamic "umma" or commu-nity which, it says, Moham-med established in the 7th century.

But driving women from their jobs, imposing the veil and cutting off the hands of people who are driven to steal by poverty will not bring that about.

Nor will carrying through policies which suit the US and the Pakistani security service.

The fighting in Kabul may have ended for the time being. But the sorrow of the people of Afghanistan is far from finished.

#### FRANCE: e Pen's National Front are sti rea A SERIES of council thousand strong racist ments have not seen his groups and police organi-

by-elections last month underlined that France's Nazi National Front remains a serious threat.

CUS threat. In the southern city of Toulon, where the mayor is a National Front member, the Nazis only narrowly failed to win. In the nearby city of Nice a Nazi topped the poll in the first round of the elec-tion

tion. These results come after Nazi leader Jean-Marie Le

Nari leader Jean-Marie Le Pen has thrust his party to the centre of political de-bate in France with a series of provocative statements and initiatives. A fortnight ago Le Pen, who in the past has been careful to play down his Nari face, publicly de-clared his racist beliefs. "Yes, of course I believe in racial inequality," he told journalists. "Blacks and whites are unequal. It's a fact and quite obvi-ous," The statement caused outrage. Even Tory presi-dent Jacques Chirac felt obliged to denounce Le Pen.

Pen. Le Pen's remarks were not an unguarded slip, but part of a quite deliberate strategy to transform his

The National Front has won considerable and growing electoral success in recent years.

#### Harder

Le Pen got 15 percent of votes in last year's presi-dential elections and his party took control of three town halls in the south of

the country. But there has been a big gap between that electoral support and the strength of support and the strength of the core Nazi organisation which has remained rela-tively weak and ideologi-cally soft. Le Pen has been work-ing over the last months to build a much harder Nazi narty.

He has been able to do the nas been able to do so by taking advantage of the growing bitterness and polarisation in French so-ciety, sharply revealed in last December's mass strikes and demonstra-

After those strikes Le Pen's deputy, Bruno Megret, issued an impor-tant analysis aimed at Na-tional Front militants. Bruno real success.

He argued that the Na-tional Front had to move from electoral support to build a mass party, ideo-logically harder and rooted in every locality.

That strategy has been single mindedly pursued by the Nazis in recent months, with a degree of

real success. They are much more rooted, with, as well as councilors in many areas, a string of new initiatives inside local housing asso-ciations, unemployed groups, small business

sations.

#### Racist

A few weeks ago Le Pen called on the party's young militants to prepare for a "revolution" as "the worm eaten structures of our system collapse". He then led a several

march through Marseilles after a young white boy was killed by a teenager whose parents had originally come from Morocco. The Tory government has made it easier for him by using racism to try and

ments have not seen his support decline. An opinion poll last week showed 51 percent of peo-ple agreed with at least some of the National Front's ideas. But that it also revealed three in four people saw Le Pen as a rac-ist and two in three saw the National Front as a dancer National Front as a danger to democracy.

divide workers. Worryingly, Le Pen's in-creasingly hardline state-

But the Nazis can be stopped



Workers taking action can undercut the Nazis

LE PEN can be stopped. He is just one side of an one side of an increasingly polarised and volatile situation which also points in other directions. Only a few weeks ago the government's attack

government's attack

on immigrants provoked a huge wave of anti-racis wave of anti-racist protest.

The government's plans to impose more savage welfare cuts and job losses

are again stoking the flames of social revolt. **Union leaders** 

have warned of strikes and demonstrations. Protests called so far have yet to take off, but they reveal simmering discontent which could easily erupt.

Support

This Saturday a large demonstration in support of the

immigrants fighting the government's attacks is planned, and on Monday a national teachers' strike and protest against cuts is due.

There have been significant local demonstrations, and in a few cases even factory occupations, against job cuts.

But unless initiatives such as these are built on they can subside and that can allow the initiative to pass to the right and Le Pen who will continue to try and build a harder mass Nazi party.

#### Challenge

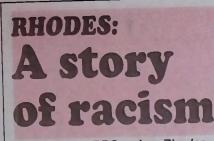
Unfortunately the major forces inside the working class show few signs of

rising to the challenge. Union leaders talk of possible strikes but do little to build a fight.

Leaders of the Socialist [Labour] Party and the powerful Communist Party seem more interested in manoeuvres aimed at a possible pact in general elections in two years time than in mobilising now.

We must hope the mood from below can overcome such obstacles in coming months.

PAGE SIX SOCIALIST WORKER



A MAJOR new BBC series, *Rhodes— a story of Africa*, sets out to tell the story of Cecil Rhodes a man once described as a 'colossus'.

Rhodes was a British imperialist who took over most of southern Africa and paved the way for the racist Apartheid system. He arrived in South

Africa in 1870 and went to Kimberley where diamonds had recently been discovered.

His wealth grew dra-matically after he grabbed diamond rich

grabbed diamond rich land from a man called De Beers. The De Beers min-ing company, which he then founded, is still one of the largest in the world

one of the largest in the world. Rhodes believed it was England's destiny to rule the world. "I contend that we are the first race in the world and that the more of the world we inhabit the better it is for the human race", he once wrote. In 1877 he argued that the British Empire should include all of Af-

that the British Empire should include all of Af-rica and South America. most of the Middle East, the is-lands of the Pacific, Malaya and the coasts of China and Japan.

He even wanted to take the United States back under British rule! Rhodes believed

Rhodes believed that an empire was the only guarantee against revolution in Britain itself. He calculated that the British market could only support six million workers. "Colonial statesmen must acquire new

lands to settle the sur-plus population and provide new markets", he argued.

#### Mad

Rhodes seemed mad to many British politicians but his ideas fitted with the 'scramble for Africa' that began around 1880. Rhode's imperialism was wedded to the needs of De Beers and South African capital-ism.

sm. He recognised that the mine owners faced a shortage of black la-

The finite officient of the second of the se

alised he needed black workers to dig for dia-monds and used brutal methods to get them. The Africans' resist-ance was broken in a series of wars which drove them off their lands. The white gov-ernment then imposed taxes and gave blacks no choice but to work in the mines.

Rhodes won the backing of the British to take over Bechuanaland part of which is modern Bot-swana. He then set his sights on Zambesia, a land inhabited by the

Ndebele. Rhodes had thou-sands of Ndebele tribe slaughtered in a one sided war and renamed the country Rhodesia after himself. It was al-most the size of Eu-

Most the size of Ed Meanwhile in South Africa, Rhodes' com-pany had moved into the goldfields of the Witwatersrand.

Witwatersrand. Rhodes supervised the setting up of the closed compound sys-tem, keeping miners in barbed wire guarded barracks. He oversaw racist degradation which in-cluded locking workers in solitary confinement for days and giving them laxatives to pre-vent them concealing diamonds in their bod-ies. ies.

#### Ruthless

When he became Prime Minister of the Cape, Rhodes passed laws removing the vote from most Africans and restricting them to no more than ten acres of land

restricting them to no more than ten acres of land. These laws formed the model for Apart-heid which was set up in South Africa in 1948. The BBC series por-trays the racism and the ruthless drive for profit that drove Rhodes. But, if the first two episodes are anything to go by, the pro-gramme is also disgust-ingly sentimental about Rhodes 'the man'. It took two actors to play the part of this co-lossus—Martin Shaw as the elder Rhodes and his son Joe as the younger man. Joe Shaw's young Rhodes is a boyish Hugh Grant type who saves a black man from a flogging and tries to persuade the racists that they can benefit from treating blacks with respect. The older Rhodes

with respect. The older Rhodes The older Rhodes is corrupt but we still have to endure mawk-ish reminders of his 'human side'. In the second epi-sode he unselfishly nurses a dying friend rather than hunt for cold

lt remains to be seen whether the series sac-rifices the real story of Rhodes the racist ex-ploiter in favour of such sentimental gush.

Rhodes is on BBC1 on Sunday nights at 9pm approx.

-DAVE McDONAGH

#### ISRAELI troops have murdered scores of demonstrators and exchanged fire with Palestinian police in the Israeli occupied West Bank and Gaza in late September.

Gaza in late September. Unarmed Palestinians, among them a 14 year old girl, were killed and many more shot as Israeli forces, declaring a state of emergency, moved to crush rioting and demonstrations. The demonstrations followed a provocation by Israel in opening up of the northern section of the 2,200 year old Hasmonean tunnel in Jerusalem. Arabs fear work on the tunnel threatens the al-Aqsa mosque— one of the most holy places in the Islamic word. Tension had been rising since the election in Israel of prime

the election in Israel of prime minister Binyamin Netanyahu and his right-wing Likud party

and his right-wing Likud party in May. Netanyahu has halted the im-plementation of the peace agree-ment negotiated over the last three years following the Oslo accord between Yasser Arafat's PLO and the Israeli government. The so-called "land-for-peace" deal allowed for limited self government for Palestinians in the small areas of the West Bank and Gaza—Arab land oc-cupied by Israel since the 1967 war.

#### Accords

The Oslo accords also prom-ised that there would be no fur-ther Jewish settlements in the occupied territories and that Is-raeli troops would be replaced by a Palestinian police force. This deal still leaves Israel dominating the area. It does nothing to address the poverty of the thousands of Palestinians in the overcrowded refugee camps

the thousands of Palestinians in the overcrowded refugee camps of the area, driven from their homes by waves of Israeli expan-sion and war. And the millions of Palestin-ians dispersed across the middle east since the creation of Israel in 1948 are also left out in the cold. But even the small conces-sions agreed during the peace

But even the small conces-sions agreed during the peace process have now been effec-tively repudiated by Netanyahu. Talks with the PLO have been stalled for months, Israeli troops have not withdrawn from the cit-ies of the West Bank: and new settlement construction was in-creased in August as a rush of Jewish settlers were introduced into the West Bank to colonise

### A racist sta srael:

SAR

THE ROOTS of the new wave of conflict stem from the racist nature of the Israeli state. The state of Israel was formed in 1948 on the principle that the Jews had all the rights and Arabs none. With the backing of United States, at least a milfion Palestinians were "eth-nically cleansed" from their homes and driven out to make way for the Jewish settlers. And less than half live in the Occupied Territories which voted for the Palestin-ian National Council. The majority are spread throughout the Arab countries of the region.

SRAEL'S LATEST

nically cleansed from the final of the Jewish settlers. On the night of 9 April 1948, for ex-ample, the irgun—an israeli irregular force—systematically massacred all 254 inhabitants, men, women and chil-dren, of the Arab village of Deir Yassin. Israel went to war every decade since to enlarge its territory—in 1956. 1967, 1973, 1982. In the early years of Israel's exist-ence. 80 per cent of its territory con-sisted of land abandoned by fleeing Arabs. Israel introduced land laws which confiscated former Arab fand. In July 1950 the Law of the Return was introduced allowing any Jew the automatic right to settle in Israel and gain citizenship. On the other hand all of the Arabs driven from their homes into retugee camps by Israeli terrorism have to ap-ply for naturalisation to return. This process requires them to swear an oath of lovality to the State of Israel

This process requires them to swear an oath of loyalty to the State of Israel

as a foreigner. Acceptance of the application de-pends on the say so of the Israeli Min-ister of the Interior.

Only a tiny proportion of Palestinian Arabs now live in what is now Israel.

#### the area.

the area. Confiscation of Arab lands has been accelerated to provide for expanded settlements and the "safe" roads for the exclusive use of Jewish settlers. And the repression of Pales-tinians has been progressively intencified intensified.

have seen a youth club and scores of homes bulldozed by the Israeli THE Palestine Liberation Organisation was formed to fight Israeli occupation

The thousands of Palestinians who travel daily into Israel to work are routinely denied access.

Buildozed

In East Jerusalem Palestinians

Like other nationalist movements— from the ANC in South Africa to the Re-publicans in Ireland—it played down any talk of changing conditions for the mass of poor Arabs—this would threaten the interests of its rich and powerful allies.

#### Allies

In the cities of Cairo, Damascus and Tehran huge numbers of workers toil in ter-rible conditions.

These are the real allies of the Palestin-

These are the real allies of the Palestin-ians. It is by unlocking the revolutionary poten-tial of the working class of the region, smash-ing the corrupt pro western governments of the middle east, that the strength to defeat Israel could be mobilised. Because the PLO refused to do this, it was eventually forced to accept a lousy deal which placed it as a collaborator with Israel in the oppression of the mass of Palestin-jans.

# 14.19 spread throughout the Arab countries of the region. 80 per cent of Arabs who live within Israel's borders have for years been subject to military administration. Army passes were required to travel even short distances. Special identity cards (marked with a "B") are issued to Isra-Imarked with a 'B') are issued to Isra-et's Arabs. Israel has resorted to massacre of Pal-estinian civilians repeatedly. For exam-ple, in September 1982 more than 1,000 Palestinian men, women and children were murdered by two fascist Lebanese militias, the Phalange and the 'Army'' of Major Haddad in two refugee camps, Chatlia and Sabra in Beirut. The Israeli army at that time occupied much of Lebanon and controlled the ar-eas where the massacres took place, in full sight of their observation towers. The fascist militias were armed, fi-nanced and advised by the Israeli gov-ernment. The Israeli forces under Likud prime minister Menachem Begin had obviously deliberately slipped the leash on their fascist allies. Begin himself was a leading member of the terrorist organisation the Irgun in the Arab-Israeli war of 1948, and was involved in the massacre at Deir Yassin.

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army and residents' permits can-celled as Israel tightened its grips on Arab Jerusalem. Even Yasser Arafat's helicop-ter has been refused flying per-mission between the Gaza and the West Bank for days and then further delayed in acts of petty vindictiveness. vindictiveness.



C





Like many other national liberation movements it argues that all classes of Arabs can be allies for the liberation of Palestine. In the sixties and seventies it con-ducted armed actions against Israel's al-lies. But after it found that this was an

ian state.

ineffective tactic, it drew closer to Arab governments in the middle east and worked through the United Nations. In the 1980s the Intifada was launched.

of Arab lands and to create a Palestin-

In the 1980s the Intifada was launched. This was a spontaneous uprising of Pal-estinians designed to make the occupied areas ungovernable. Masses of young, poor, Palestinians fought courageously and finally forced the Israeli government to negotiate. However, the PLO had no strategy to take the uprising forward.

### What do by **KEVIN WINGFIELD** socialists say? at murders **Does Revolution** lead to tyranny?

WHEN Marxists criticise the parliamentary system and advocate revolution they are de-manding not less but far more democracy.

An obvious reply to this is that whatever Marxists many intend, history proves that whenever Marxists or revolutionaries of any whenever Marxiss of revolutionaries of any kind take power, the result is always the abolition of democ-racy and the estab-lishment of tyranny.

forward to the Chinese revolution, the Cuban revolution and various other Communist, Stalinist or nationalist regimes in eastern Europe and countries such as North Korea, Vietnam and Cambodia.

torical law that all revolu-tions lead inevitably to dictatorship is easily re-

futed by citing examples that contradict it. The American revolu-tion of 1776 led to Amerition of 1776 led to Ameri-can capitalist democracy. The German revolution of 1918-19 overthrew the Kaiser and established the Democratic Republic of Weimar. The Portu-guese revolution of 1974 ended 50 years of fas-cism and resulted also in bournepis, domocracy. bourgeois democracy. And the popular revolt in eastern Europe in 1989 brought, in the main, major gains in political de

Jor gains in political de-mocracy. As for the English and French revolutions, we should not be misled by popular historical images of Puritans closing down theatres and the guillo-tine descending on inno-

Rising

lishment of tyranny. Clearly the most im-portant test case for this claim is the Russian revolution and its degen-eration into Stalinism. But the argument can thoritarian methods this was for two reasons. First because, as in First because, as in the case of any funda-mental social revolution, they faced desperate and armed resistance from

But the argument can be extended back to Cromwell and the Eng-lish revolution of the 17th century or to Robespierre and the Jacobins in the French revolution. It can also be taken

armed resistance from the old order (in the case of the Jacobins from the old order of all Europe which united in war against the revolution). In such circumstances victory is impossible with-out stern and decisive methods—like cutting off kings' heads. The alter-native to victory is the ab-solute certainty of counsolute certainty of coun-ter revolutionary dictator-ship and mass slaughter of all those who have The idea of an iron hisrisen up.

Second, although the revolutions were made in the name of "the people", they brought to power a new ruling class—the capitalist bourgeoisie. The revolutions in-volved an alliance be ween the lower orders of tween the lower orders of society (small traders, ar-tisans, the urban and ru-ral poor etc) and the ris-ing bourgeoisie against the feudal monarchs and aristocrats aristocrats. There were from the outset conflicts of interest

As the revolutions de-veloped, the representa-tives of the lower orders (the Levellers and Dig-gers in England) began to assert their demands. Not surprisingly the bourgeoisie met them with repression. This does not change the fact that in their over-all historical impact— economically, socially and politically—these revolutions were im-mensely progressive.

tine descending on inno-cent necks. These momentous struggles were enor-mous steps forward from a situation where there was previously no de-mocracy of any kind. Indeed, along with the American revolution, they were the key events that laid the foundation for, and gave birth to, the

war period, the key point is to understand these

too were versions of bourgeoisie revolutions. In eastern Europe In eastern Europe "Communist" regimes were basically imposed from above by the Red Army. In China, Cuba and elsewhere, middle class leaderships came to power at the head of peasant armies. What was missing in all these cases was the fundamental ingredient of socialist revolution and the cornerstone of Marx-ism—namely "the self emancipation of the working class".

emancipation of the working class". In all these revolutions the working class re-mained passive or at best played a secondary role. Nowhere, apart from Russian in 1917, did the working class take power

power. The fact that the new rulers called themselves Marxists and Commu-Marxists and Commu-nists signified not their al-legiance to Marx or the 1917 revolution but to Stalinism and state capi-talism—particularly as a model of economic de-velopment velopment

velopment. They became dicta-tors because their goal was not socialism, which can only be achieved in-ternationally, but national economic develop-ment in a hostile capital-ist world from a base of poverty and low produc-tivity.

poverty and low produc-tivity. Such development re-quired forced accumula-tion of capital from the la-bour of impoverished workers and peasants. That in turn required dic-tatorship

That in turn required dic-tatorship. Thus when we exam-ine the question histori-cally we find that there is no law of history that all revolutions lead to tyr-anny. Where revolutions have led to tyranny it was due to their specific na-

due to their specific na-ture and circumstances. Perhaps the most im-portant conclusion is that these specific circum-stances would not apply to a real workers' revolu-tion in Britain or any-

were the set of the se where else today. Due to industrial and economic advance the working class is now the main and indeed the only revolutionary force.

lass

- JOHN MOLYNEUX



RF:

# **POLICE FORCE**

THE PLO's police force consists of 35,000 men in eight different security

eight different security organisations. Until September's clashes, the Palestinian po-lice were hated by the Pal-estinian population. They have a fierce reputation among the mass of Palestin-ians for brutality and cor-ruption.

They had been set up un-der the Oslo accords to po-lice the Arab areas. They are regarded and have al-ways acted as a surrogate for the Israeli forces. In September a police

ing tortured in police cus-

**B** Why here peace process failed?

ing tortured in police cus-tody. Two months ago Palestin-inas took part in demon-strations which stoned the police throughout the West Bank cities. Police head-guarters in Tulkarm were attacked and set ablaze by angry demonstrators. When clashes erupted in September the PLO police were forced to respond. De-spite their corruption, re-pression and history of col-laboration some Palestin-ians may now hack them hoping they can fight hack against Israeli guns.

withdrawn from to disarm the PLO police and place the whole area under military control. Because it is founded on

racism and conquest, Israel can maintain itself only with the arms supplied by US imperialism and with the coercion of those whose

**Question** of WE ARE told that class divisions are a WE ARE told that class divisions are a thing of the past—that we are moving towards a "classless society". This book demolishes the myths and shows that inequality and class divisions are as fundamental today as they have ever been

are as fundamental today as they de-ever been. Lindsey German is the editor of the monthly Socialist Review published by the Socialist Workers Party in Britain. She is also author of Sex, Class and Socialism, now in its second edition.





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More militant Islamic groups under the umbrella of Hamas grew as desperate young men volunteered. The rise of Arab resist-ance to the PLO sell-out has encouraged those in Isreal who favour a purely military solution—more war and more colonisation through settlements of Jewish extremisists. Israel now threatens to re-enter the areas it has withdrawn from to disarm

coercion of those whose homes it has destoyed. It can therefore never live in peace with the Arabs. Only a secular Palestine where Jew and Arab can live with equal rights can offer the prospect of long term peace.

The Palestinians are denied control over external security, foreign policy, borders, immigration, main roads, water or electricity. For the desperately poor inhabitants of the camps it meant very little. The only chance of a job was to commute to Israel feeing commute to Israel facing daily harassment at the hands of the Israeli army and police. For huge numbers there was no work. Anger and resentment grew but the PLO fighters

THE MIDDLE East **Peace Process was** an attempt to

**Yasser Arafat and** 

the Palestine Liberation Organisa-

tion into policing the Palestinians of

the West Bank and

In return the Palestinian National Council would be given the powers of a municipal council over just

30 percent of the occupied territories while Israel still dominated.

The Palestinians are

of the past were now policing the Palestinians.

Desperate More militant Islamic

incorpoarate

Gaza.

### years after the Battle of Cable Street... How the fascists were beaten by Roisin Cronin he Battle of Cable

Street took place in London's East End on October 4, 1936. Sixty years on it provides an inspirational example of how the fascists can be beaten.

The British Union of Fascists (BUF), also known as the Blackshirts because of the uniform they wore, was launched by Sir Oswald Mosley, former Conservative and Labour MP, in 1932.

By 1934 the BUF claimed to have 40,000 members.

Its membership was initially over-whelmingly middle class. It also drew support from some sectors of big business, its most influential supbig business, its most initiating sup-porter being Lord Rothermere, owner of the Daily Mail. That paper featured an editorial entitled "Hurrah for the Blackshirts".

Another of Rothermere's newspapers. the Sunday Dispatch, gave a prize each week to people who wrote in on "Why I like the Blackshirts".

Mosley also targeted friends of the future King Edward VIII for support. On June 7 1934 Mosley's fascists staged a mass rally at London's Olympia. The Communist Party (CP), responding to pressure from mem-bers and supporters, called a coun-ter-demonstration. The call for a mass rally was rejected by the lead-ership of the Labour Party and the ersnip of the Labour Party and the London Trades Council, who wanted to avoid confrontation. But in the event 2,000 people marched to Olympia where they

chanted anti-fascist slogans and dis-tributed anti-fascist literature.

bout 400 anti-fascists went inside to disrupt the meet-ing. Once inside they were met with fierce brutality.

Spotlights were shone on them as black-shirted fascists dragged them

out and beat them up. Afterwards in a disgusting state-ment the Labour Party leadership said. "The Communists, by smashing the Blackshirt meetings, are, as usual, aiding the fascists, and getting public sympathy for them." In fact, Olympia had revealed to many the true nature of the

Blackshirts. In some ways it was a turning point - supporters like Lord Rothermere were becoming reluctant to be linked with the BUF because of the changing attitudes towards them

But Mosley went ahead with or-ganising a mass rally in Hyde Park

on September 9. By now a Coordinating Commit-tee for Anti-Fascist Activity had been set up to involve non-communists as well as communists. They called for the fascist rally to

be "drowned in a sea of working class activity"

Once again the Labour leadership and the TUC General Council re-fused to back a counter-demonstration. They called on workers to boy-



Fascists smashing the windows of a Jewish tailor's shop in London's Mile End Road in the 1930s

cott any such protests which they said

would "lead to widespread disorder". But despite this a large number of trade union branches in London passed resolutions in support of the protest.

The counter-demonstration was a massive success. Between 100,000

massive success. Between 100,000 and 150,000 people turned out to op-pose Mosley's fascists. One anti-fascist protester wrote, "I shall never forget my elation when the contingent of which I was a mem-ber wheeled into the park from the Bayswater Road. As we looked to the sight we could say nothing of the right...we could see nothing of the

ain. Many of them had fled pogroms in Eastern Europe at the beginning of the century. More recent immigrants were refugees from Nazi Germany

many. Mosley attempted to scapegoat Jews for the problems in the city, say-ing, "The big Jew puts you out of em-ployment by the million, the little Jew sweats you in Whitechapel". The Blackshirts held meetings in the Fact End and marched through

the East End and marched through mainly Jewish areas, shouting, "The Yids, the Yids, we gotta get rid of the Yids'

And again the Labour and trade And again the Labour and trade union leaderships opposed this mo-bilisation of workers against the fas-cists. Fascism, they said, would be defeated by ignoring it. The build up to the anti-fascist mo-bilisation was faced with the practi-cal difficulty that the route of Mosley's march had not been an-nounced. There were three likely alternatives

There were three likely alternatives routes and each had to be covered by the anti-fascists.

The Communist Party's paper, the Daily Worker, produced a special

The poor houses, the mean streets, the ill-conditioned workshops were the same, but the people were changed. Their heads seemed higher, and their shoulders were squarer - and the stories they told! Each one was a "hero" many of them were... " The "terror" had lost its meaning. The people now knew that fascism could be defeated if they organised themselves to do so."

open sward which was entirely cov-ered by what looked like a solid band of people." The couple of thousand

couple of thousand Blackshirts were protected from the angry crowd by the police. Mosley's voice couldn't be heard above the shouting and jeering of the protest-

ers. With the BUF by now stripped of all respectability they had hoped to claim, their support was slipping. They now turned to the East End of London for support. The East End was an area of high unemployment and deep poverty. It was also the area which housed half the total Jewish population of Brit-

When the local Stepney branch of the CP attempted to heckle them at

their meetings they generally found themselves arrested by the police. Mosley announced a march for October 4 through East London.

The CP leadership was again re-luctant to mobilise against it. Taking their line from Stalin in Russia they were more interested in building a respectable Popular Front alliance with Tories, Liberals and clergymen

clergymen. But pressure from its members, including many in the Stepney branch, and the high level of anti-fascist feeling among so many workers in Lon-don, convinced them to call for acfour-page supplement with maps covering all contingencies. Cyclists and motorcyclists were recruited to carry messages about the route. Anti-fascist doctors and nurses set up first aid posts.

The meeting place for most anti-fascists was Gardner's Corner. But after early morning the crowds were so huge that they were spilling onto surrounding streets. An estimated 250,000 had come. When the fasciste arrived number

When the fascists arrived, numbering no more that 3,000, the police be-gan trying to force clear the route for them. They were met with a crowd that solidly stood its ground, chanting "They shall not pass", echoing the Spanish Republicans defending Madrid from Franco.

Several drivers abandoned their trams at Gardner's Corner to block the route.

The huge crowds and the new obstacles made it impossible for the fas-

cists to get through. The police now decided to try to get the march down Cable Street.

ut this had been planned for. As soon as the signal was given barricades began to be erected.

Many of those involved were Irish dockers, as large numbers of them lived in or around Cable Street.

Phil Piratin, a Stepney communist, tells how a lorry was pushed on its side, "supplemented by bits of old furniture, mattresses...it was a bar-

furniture, mattresses...tt was a bar-ricade which the police did not find easy to penetrate." As they charged they were met with milk bottles, stones and marbles. Some of the housewives began to deep milk bottles from the reof tops drop milk bottles from the roof tops. A number of police surrendered.

When the police did manage to break through the barricade all they

break through the barricade all they found were yet more barricades. The police simply had to call off the march. The fascists were de-feated. The Daily Worker proclaimed : "Mosley said he would march his militaristic columns through the East End of London. The police said yes; the Home Secretary said yes; the Cabinet said yes; but the workers said NO! And NO it was." Phil Piratin explained what the vic.

Phil Piratin explained what the vic-

tory meant: "In Stepney nothing had changed physically. The poor houses, the mean streets, the ill-conditioned workshops were the same, but the people were changed.

"Their heads seemed higher, and "Their heads seemed higher, and their shoulders were squarer - and the stories they told! Each one was a "hero" - many of them were... "The "terror" had lost its mean-ing. The people now knew that fas-cism could be defeated if they organ-ised themselves to do so." Although the BlockEite could

Although the Blackshirts contin-ued to try to mobilise over the fol-lowing years, instead of their racist chants the slogan now heard on the streets of London was that of the anti-fascists - "The rats, the rats, we gotta get rid of the rats!" The Communist Party played a huge role in this - not only in terms of organising mass action to smash the Nazis, but also by providing an alternative for working class people. They organised rent strikes and blocked evictions. In the process they Although the Blackshirts contin-

blocked evictions. In the process they were able to win over supporters of Mosley. The Battle of Cable Street, and the

defeat of Cable Street, and the defeat of fascism in Britain in the 1930s, shines through in a decade when in Germany, Italy, Portugal and Spain the fascists were coming to power. It shows that the most pow-erful force in the fight against fassism is the working along

fascism is the working class.

## TV for the promised land The Promised Land is a five part docu-

mentary series which looks at the mi-gration by black Americans from the Mississippi cotton belt for the north.

Between the 1940's and the 1970's five mil-lion blacks left the terrible conditions and degradation of the South, heading for the "promised land".

The first programme gave a picture of what life was like for blacks in the south in the thirties, through the voices and experiences and music of those who where part of this, America's largest peacetime migration.

Most blacks worked on the cotton plantations as share croppers. Instead of being paid a regular wage whole families would carry out the backbreaking work of picking cotton from sun up to sun down. At the end of the season they were supposed to receive a share of the profits of the plantation.

#### Debt

But in fact most never received any money and spent their lives in debt to the plantation owners.

In one case the owner refused to pay out any money because he wanted the money to send his own son to col-

lege. The plantation owners and the police col-laborated to make sure no one was idle, especially at high season. The Vagrancy Act meant it was illegal for blacks to be out on the streets not working during the day.

But some people found a way to avoid this. One participant in the programme decided at seventeen that he had had enough

#### Playing

He took his guitar ,left the plantation and spent his days sleeping, coming out at night to play the blues in the juke houses of the area. The 1930's saw a

slump in the worlds market for cotton. As a result people moved from the plantations to the towns of the south

The boxer Joe Louis was a symbol of resistance there was a black man who could legitimately take on a white man and win

#### where segregation was

more blatant The "Jim Crow" system of social segrega-tion left little doubt about the place of Black Americans in the scheme of things.

Blacks weren't al-lowed to live in the same areas as whites; blacks had to sit at the back of the bus; in train stations blacks weren't even allowed the same drinking fountains as whites.

The programme also showed how blacks tried to fight against this, often in indirect

ways. For example in the thirties many blacks looked to the boxer Joe Louis as a symbol of resistance there was a black man who could legitimately take on a white man and win.

#### Victories

His victories, in par-ticular over Max Schelling who had been adopted by Hitler as a symbol of Aryan supremacy, was the occasion for mush rejoic-

ing. They restored a pride and dignity to a people who suffered endless degradation and humiliation at the hands of their white bosses. of their white bosses. The first programme ended by looking north and the rest of the se-ries will trace the at-tempts by blacks to es-cape the horrors of life in the south.

On the basis of the first programme the remainder of the series is

not to be missed. — Róisín Cronin

# The search Gloomy myths about the North J BOWYER Bell's previ-

book

ous books include The Secret Army, a much-praised history of the IRA. But this book is a big disappointment.

Bowyer Bell has set out to give a popular presentation of "the Protestant case" in relation to the politics of Ireland.

For Bowyer Bell the sectarian divisions are a question of perception. Protestants, we are told, fear Catholicism as a threat to their way of life, their religious liberties, and even their 'prosperity'

#### Agents

Seeing all Catholics as agents of Rome rule encourages Protestants to support a discriminatory and op-

to support a discriminatory and op-pressive state. Any compromise would concede ground to Catholics, weaken the union with Britain — the only guar-antee of their liberties — and under-mine the position of Protestants. *"No Surrender"* and *"Ulster says* 



#### Orangemen besiege Drumcree this summer

- remains the catcheries for everything.

#### Pessimistic

There is nothing particularly new in any of this except the "literary" style of the book which makes readbook

ing it very hard going despite endless repetition. And the book's conclusions are

extremely pessimistic. Bowyer Bell talks about Protes-tants as if they were all the same and therefore he completely misses three key points.



#### FOREVER Gone, Forever

Before his arrest, Hill was a mili-tant shop-steward — and success-fully lead his workmates out on

fully lead his workmates out on strike on one occasion. Hill began to fight back from the moment of his imprisonment after the trial. When handed a set of dirty clothes by a prisoner who had the support of the screws, Hill threw the clothes back at him, telling him and the screws: "Listen you scumbag, I'm not an animal, I'm an innocent man. I want decent clothes and decent treatment. If you or anybody else messes me about, I'll take your head off."

#### Campaign

This book makes it quite clear This book makes it quite clear that it was a campaign from below with huge international solidarity that secured his release. He also exposes the hypocrisy of Irish poli-ticians, like David Andrews who only took an interest in the Six-be-rouse of nublic Dressure

when Andrews and other politi-cians were visiting him on one oc-

Even though Hill suffered mo-ments of deep despair and loneli-ness, on one occasion coming close to committing suicide, he writes of his ordeal with a sense of humour. After the Six lost their 1987 appeal, the Sun editorial, true to form, said: "If the Sun head it way we would "If the Sun had its way, we would have been tempted to string 'em up years ago.

Paddy tore off the editorial to use as toilet paper! Hill was continually aware of what was happening on the outside world whether it was the Falklands War or the Miners' Strike, Paddy identified with the miners when he saw them being batoned by the cops at the Battle of Orgreave. As he told his fellow prisoners in the television room. "See that, look at what they're doing in front of the TV cameras and the world's press. Imagine what they could do in a room with nobody watching them."

or bitterness towards the judicial establishment when he was finally released.

Many people will remember him pointing at the Old Bailey and tell-ing the world media: "Justice? I don't think those people in there have the intelligence or the honesty to spell the word, never mind dis-pense it. They are rotten."

#### Justice

The title of the book is quite appropriate as Hill's time in prison left him with many scars. Hill's father died and his marriage

broke up while he was imprisoned. He still has not been able to resume normal relations with his children.

Reading the book makes one all the more angry that the Six have still not received adequate compensation and that the West Midlands Police were exonerated for torturing and framing the Six.

Its publication is rather timely, at a time when Governments on both sides of the Irish Sea are attacking civil liberties.

Forever Lost, Forever Gone by Paddy Joe Hill, Bloomsbury Pa-perbacks, £6.99

First "Protestants" are not a monolithic group. They are divided by class. There are rich Protestants — including the "fur-coat brigade" of Unionist politicians—living in the posh areas of Northern Ireland far away from the violence or the slums. slums

There are Protestant managers with enormous salaries in Hospital Trusts who prattle away about in-ternal markets and privatisation and there are Protestant domestics and nurses trying to keep a collapsing health service going with poor pay and worse conditions.

and worse conditions. The second point is that Orangeism was set up and enshrined in the six county state precisely to bind Protestant workers to the Or-ange bosses and prevent them from uniting with their Catholic brothers and sisters. Sectarianism is not therefore a

product of religious misunderstanding or suspicion

#### Policy

It is the result of conscious policy to promote the interests of the rich, built into the structures of the Northern Ireland state

But the third key point is that for masses of Protestant workers the experience of being working class

stands in stark contrast to the triumphalism of Orange ideology. Feelings of class and identifica-tion with other workers constantly collide with the sectarian ideas pro-moted by the Protestant bosses and middle class.

middle class. The Orange Order has declined by a third in the last 25 years; the machine that brought down Sunningdale or mobilised tens of thousands against the Anglo-Irish Agreement can mobilise fewer than 10,000 bigots for Drumcree. The Unionist monolith is frag-menting

The Unionist monoiltin is frag-menting. For example, the fringe UDP and PUP, while not breaking with loy-alist sectarianism, have developed as an expression of Protestant work-ing class discontent with the likes of Trimble and Paisley.

All this century sectarianism and ideas of class have competed within the Protestant section of the working class.

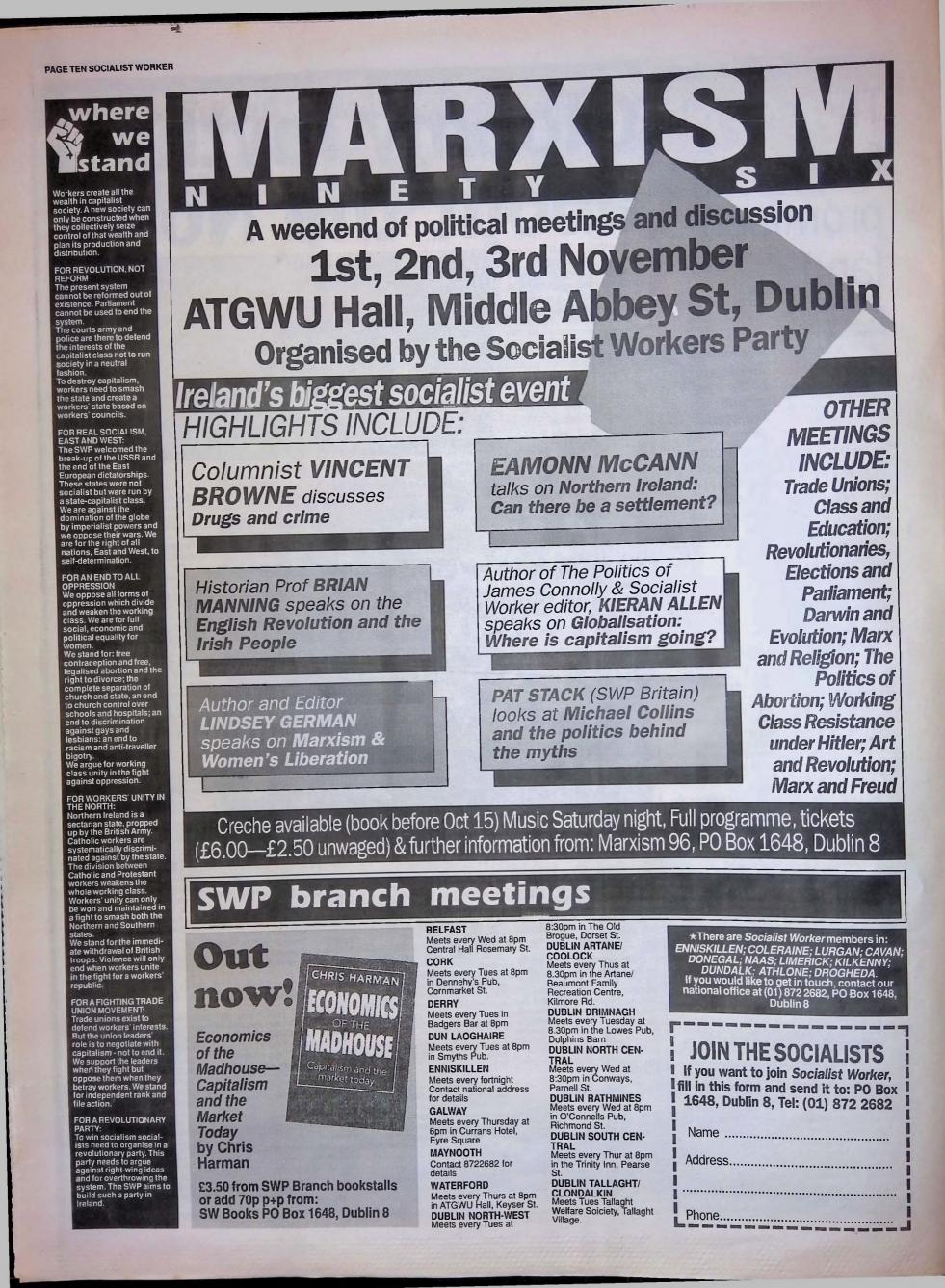
Today with Orangeism less and less able to provide even the illu-sion of privilege there exists a real-istic basis for developing anti-sec-tarian working class unity.

Dr J Bowyer Bell has nothing to say about this.

Back to the Future, The Protes-tants and a United Ireland, J Bowyer Bell, Poolbeg, £6.9 —Kevin Wingfield

The Birmingham Six on their release from prison casion, Hill got extremely angry when they refused to see other in-nocent prisoners in prison such as Gerry Conlon. Only when Hill threatened to trash the waiting room, did they fi-nally agree to see Conlon. Even though Hill suffered mo-ments of deep despit and longligone is Paddy Joe Hill's highly moving account of the Birmingham Six case.

After reading the racing pages, Paddy tore off the editorial to use



#### news & reports — politics; the unions send in your reports telephone: (01) 872 2682, fax: (01) 872 3838 **BUS EIREANN IARNROD EIREANN, DUBLIN BUS...** Ferry Unite to figh workers face Via attacks 1990 these attacks it is essential

THE NATIONAL Bus and Railworkers Union is balloting all its members in the three CIE companies: Dublin Bus, Bus Eireann and larnrod Eireann. transport must end next

The union claims that the transport minister Michael Lowry is trying to imple-ment viability plans in all three companies which management are refusing to negotiate.

Bus Eireann was the first company targeted. The plan would result in drastic at-tacks on workers' pay and conditions.

Management are seeking savings of £2.5 million per year from overtime payments alone, even though many workers rely on overtime payments to earn a decent wage.

#### Reduce

A recent article in the Sunday Tribune made it clear that management's intention is to reduce wages to the level in the private sector

This could result in a wage cut of £100 per week for Bus Eireann drivers.

A similar plan exists for Dublin Bus, where man-agement are demanding wage cuts, hiring of part-time seasonal workers, and the contracting out of some loss-making routes. They also want to recruit

new workers on lower rates of pay, redeploy the city's bus conductors and scrap the existing agreements which ensure workers get full pay if they've been as-saulted.

Yet another viability plan with similar demands will face Iarnrod Eireann work-

ers. The three viability plans represent the most vicious attack on public sector

workers yet. Lowry and hatchetmen he has the natchetmen he has ap-pointed to the board of CIE will be anxious to see these attacks through the board will be anxious to see these attacks through. He has al-ready justified the plans on the basis of "EU legisla-tion" and the need for greater efficiency. Lowry claims that the state subsidy to public

Anger

at tyre

ciosure

plant

plan

year and that the three com-panies must be profitable. Both the NRBU and SIPTU should defend pub lic transport as a social

service, not a profit-making venture It is expected that the NBRU will receive a huge mandate for strike action.

The key to stopping these attacks will be unity between workers in all three companies. A national transport strike affecting all the coun-try's bus, rail and DART services would stop both management and govern-ment plans in their tracks.

Solidarity While Bus Eireann workers may be the first to face

that they are backed up by workers in Irish Rail and Dublin Bus.

Already some union figures claim that solidarity action between workers in the three companies would be illegal under the Industrial Relations Act of

and for

Such strike action may

well be illegal but how else can workers defend their jobs and conditions?

SIPIL

workplaces it organises to support these strikers. More regular mass pick-ets need to be organised which involve over SIPTU workers throughout the ho-tel and restaurant trade. Anyone who breaks the

Anyone who breaks the Royal Dublin picket or brings supplies to their man-agement should be in-formed in no uncertain

terms that they will not be welcome in SIPTU organ-ised jobs. The bosses at Royal Dub-

The bosses at Royal Dub-lin are some of the crudest anti-union busters seen in recent years, daring even to recruit scabs to take over strikers jobs. It is time that the SIPTU leaders now took the gloves off

CIE workers potentially have immense power-they could smash the In-dustrial Relations Act by united action

# **Royal Dublin Hotel strikers** stand up to bosses' threats

have been met concretely and fully. The hotel trade in Dublin

is booming and the Royal Dublin cannot get away with pleading poverty to avoid giving workers the most ba-

for vouchers

Officia

THE STRIKE over pay and conditions at the **Royal Dublin Hotel** entered into its fifth week on Saturday September 28th.

Despite bad weather and a steady stream of threatening letters from management, morale is an the picket lines is

Even the sight of three well padded Fine Gael members sauntering past the picket lines on September 24th couldn't dent the strikers enthusiasm.

the strikers enthusiasm. Liam Burke, Paddy Burke and Phil Hogan, who were and are regular drink-ers at the Royal Dublin made a point of sneering at the strikers, with Phil Hogan roaring about his right "To go where he liked and do what he liked". He took his drink into the fover and in the words of one

foyer and in the words of one striker: "Chuckled away at us'

Among workers, however, support for the strike is strong and widespread. £865 was raised at the Baggot Inn gig organised by the Social-ist Workers Party, while £365 was collected at the re-cent ICTU conference. Workers nationwide have raised regular collections. According to Holly Kavanagh—assistant shop stew ard—Holland and Gilmore, the two hotel own-ers, are really starting to feel the workers power: "We're Among workers, however,

hitting them in the pocket and that's where it hurts most.

most." Turnover on a recent all Ireland match day was down by 60% and many of the ho-tels regulars are refusing to pass the pickets. Guinesses, Murphys and Heinekin, and United Bever-

ages have all refused to de-liver while workers are on strike and management are having to collect and deliver stock themselves at huge ex-

#### Promise

"Huge conferences, all kinds of things, are being cancelled left right and cen-tre" says Holly "manage-ment have backed them-

IT WAS announced last month that the Semperit tyre plant in Ballyfermot

tra cost.

tyre plant in Ballyfermot is to close in December. The closure will mean the loss of 650 jobs in an area where unemployment is al-ready around 37 per cent. The managing director of Semperit Ireland, Jack Golden, said that the Ballyfermot plant "does not match the ideal pro-tile of the group's manufactur-ing unit of the future". They say that costs in the Irish plant are too high. The closure of Semperit is part of their strategic plan 2000 which will mean the creation of low-cost super-plants across Eu-rope.

But Semperit in Ireland is already in fact a profit-making company. Last year it made profits of £5 million. This year it is forecast to make another £5 million.

#### Protect

The only reason that Sem-perit is closing down is be-cause £5 million isn't enough for the bosses of the parent company, Continental AG. Workers in Semperit have already done everything the politicians and economists say they have to do in order to protect their jobs. When they were due a 3% wage increase under the PESP they gave this up in exchange

selves into a corner and we aren't going to go away" Having previously been conned into deferring strike action by the promise of a 3% pay rise, workers are adamant that they're not go-ing back until their demands have been met concretely trary overtime allowance of time and a quarter, no Sun-day allowances, no sick pay, no maternity allowance and

no maternity allowance and no pension plan. A victory this strike could be central in making clear to all hotel workers the clout they hold by being organised and militant.

#### Pressure

Increased pressure should be placed on management by ensuring that all deliver-ies at the service entrance are

sic entitlements like a pen-sic on plan, sick pay, mater-nity leave and a minimum rate across the board of les at the service entrance are faced with pickets. But victory would really be ensured if the biggest un-ion in the country, SIPTU, pulled its finger out. It should officially call for collecting faced by the service of the servi £5:50 an hour. At present employees with years of training and expe-rience are working for £2 to £4 per hour with an arbi-

collections from the many

action. According to one Semperit worker, "The company have put millions into state of the art machinery. Why should we let them just walk off if they are so determined to wreck our lives."

off.

#### Prevent

Militant action by the Sem-perit workers can prevent the redundancles. If the workers occupy the plant this would stop the com-pany from moving its valuable equipment. Already the bosses have said that they will not sell the company to one of their com-petitors.

**IRISH FERRIES** announced last week that their continental service is closing for the winter period from the 4th November with the loss of 400 jobs.

The workers concerned heard the news on the national media. They are in effect

sacking the workers and will take them back on a contract basis with far worse conditions when the service resumes in

June. Most of the workers are permanent and have been working with Irish Ferries for many years.

#### Conditions

The 50 to 60 people who are temporary are being laid off and will not be taken back cn.

The conditions up until now have been two weeks on ship and two weeks off, seven weeks annual paid leave, 13 weeks sick leave and a contributory pension.

The new conditions will be far worse.

They will be working two weeks on ship with only one week off, no sick pay, no holidays and no work between October and June.

There is also a threat of bringing in yellow pack workers.

There is anger among the staff.

As we go to press no decisions have been made as to how to fight for the retention of the jobs.

It seems that there will be full support from union members on the cross channel ferries.

They plan to move their spe-clalised manufacturing equip-ment to one of their other

ment to one of their other plants. An occupation would chal-lenge these plans. It would also be an impor-tant signal to workers in the Continental group in other countries. In Austria for exam-ple the company is looking for 1,000 redundancies. If workers in Ballyfermot occupy it could provide the basis for a real fight across all countries. It would also create a politi-cal focus that would get mas-

cal focus that would get mas-sive support throughout the country from people who want to see the multinationals and greedy bosses taken on.

Already this year the work-ers were laid off for three weeks in August. Now they are being laid off for another two

# weeks. But now the company has come back to the workers and said that this wasn't enough to save their jobs. The company intends to shift production to even lower cost plants in Central and Eastern Europe so that they can boost their massive prof-its even further. This is the globalisation that the politicians say can't be beaten.

beaten. But far from being power-less the workers can use their power in the plant to demand

Socialist Vorker 0 JOB SEEKERS A 

WHAT A disgusting bigot Ian Paisley Junior is.

He has been organising pickets of Catholic masses in order to whip up sectarianism This aspiring politician wants to make a name for himself so that he can take his father's seat. On radio recently he justified his action by claiming that Catholics must be made to feel what Protestants felt during the summer. But one of the churches he is still

picketing in Ballymena was subject to an arson attack during the Drumcree events. In Derry, some Catholic sectarians have burnt a Protes-tant Church to the

ground. Ordinary people, however, despise both the action of Paisley and the Catholic sectarians. The congregation of the neighbouring Catholic Church in Derry, for example, raised £4,000 in one collection for the Protestant church,

THE FULL impact of the changes which the Job Seekers' Allowance will bring to peo-

Job Seekers' Allowance will bring to peo-ple on the dole in the North will not become clear for a few weeks yet. The savagery of the new regime faced by peo-ple signing on will mean that many families pres-ently living on the edge will be pushed over it. Young people, in par-

Young people, in par-ticular, are being targeted by the JSA. The Tories

-5

18-24 year olds at present receive about £37 a week, as long as they can prove they are "actively seeking work".

Once the JSA is intro-duced on 7th October, this

duced on 7th October, this will no longer be enough. The "client adviser", as dole workers will now be called, will be able to instruct a claimant to apply for par-ticular jobs—like the £2.00 an hour ones that no one wants!

If the claimant refuses to take the job, "sanctions" can be imposed which will cut their dole in half for six

months, or even cut it all to-

gether. If they leave the job be-cause they can't stand it, they will be denied any benefit. Older workers, too, can be

forced to take very low paid

jobs. The difference is they get longer to look for a job which is in line with their qualifications and which pays a decent wage. But after six months *any*-*one* can be forced to take a job at £2.00 are hour or have their dole cut.

#### Benefit

The fight against the JSA and for a minimum wage are, therefore, clearly linked.

And nowhere is a fight on these issues more needed than in Northern Ireland. While one in four people in Britain would benefit from a £4.26 an hour minimum

wage, four in ten people in the North would.

A fight against the JSA and for a minimum wage would also help counter Trimble's bigots whose votes in Westminster have helped keep the Tories in power long enough to bring in the JSA.

Bringing Protestant and Catholic workers together to fight for their rights as work-ers would do a lot more for peace than the talks in Stormont have!

**DERRY TRADES COUNCIL Protest against Jobs Seekers Allowance** Dole Office, Asylum Road Monday 7th Oct. 1.00pm-2.00pm

### What can doleworkers **do**?

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