

The Plough

-E-mail newsletter of the Irish Republican Socialist Party

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Once more North Belfast hits the headlines as the UDA opts the stakes and orchestrated a series of attacks on Catholic families living on the Deerpark Road. This is a mixed area, where most homes are owned by families, who choose to live in a mixed area. The residents in this area want no part of sectarianism. However the UDA have decided otherwise and launched a series of attacks on homes. One home had its windows broken 18 times since June. The new UDA commander is marking out his territory and having taken over from small time criminal, Andre Soukri, now snorting heroin in Maghaberry Gaol, the convicted extortionist is determined to make a name for himself. That name is 'Bonzo' John Borland.

Two bomb scares at the Holy Cross Girls Primary School one of which involved a blast bomb on the school gates occurred on Monday 1st September. When the parents of the children of the school were walking up the road 'Mousey Blaney' shot last year by Republican defenders when attacking Catholic houses, shouted sectarian abuse calling the parents "Fenian bastards."

The next day a gang under the leadership of Mousey Blaney intimidated Catholics in Deerpark on Tuesday night 2nd September. Blaney then returned on Wednesday attacking Catholics and forcing at least one family out. As he was doing this both UDA and UVF leaders turned up in the area with re-enforcements from Tigers Bay area.

At least four families have already been forced out, some of who have lived in the once-quiet residential street for a number of years. The few remaining Catholics fear they will be forced to leave soon.

Locals have accused the police of standing back and doing nothing.

"They are afraid of starting major trouble so they do nothing while these thugs are allowed to do what they want,"

Unfortunately those working in the protestant communities such as Eddie Mc Clean, a local community worker deny UDA involvement putting it down to drunken youths coming from outside the area. When similar incidents have occurred in the past that to has been the refrain of 'protestant community workers'. They deny the evidence before their own eyes because they refuse to stand up to the bullyboys.

There is a long list of areas where loyalists to intimidate Catholics have used the same tactics. Only recently in Maghera an attempt was made to target a Catholic family and drive them from their home. Catholics can't walk the main streets in Larne without fear of attack.

More than five years after the Good Friday Agreement it is clear that the fundamental sectarianism at the root of the Northern Ireland state has not been exorcised. The failure of the state forces to tackle sectarianism within their own ranks is glaringly obvious. The PSNI/RUC recently told the head of a Public Service Trade Union that the Union Jack was the national flag and could fly anywhere. The Northern Ireland Housing Executive without attempting to negotiate with the Republican Socialist Movement (RSM) took out a court order and used the police to smash a memorial to two dead INLA volunteers despite the fact the RSM had not only gone to every house in the estate to sound out the residents views where the monument was to be erected but also moved the memorial from the front to the back of the estate at the residents request.

So much for equality of esteem, freedom from free of sectarian attack and the Good Friday Agreement.

As Monty Python pointed out " This is a dead parrot" "The parrot is dead" so also some one needs to point out that the GFA is dead. The Agreement is dead and we still in the North live in a sectarian society.

Message from IRSP to the families of the Disappeared in Chile in support of justice for the families.

"On behalf of the Irish Republican Socialist Party may I send greetings support and solidarity to the hunger strikers in Chile in the protest against the cover up of the bloody crimes of the Pinochet Dictatorship.

In 1981 three of our own comrades, Patsy O'Hara, Kevin Lynch and Mickey Devine, all Irish National Liberation Army Volunteers along with seven comrades from the Irish Republican Army, died on hunger strike in the struggle for the recognition of the political nature of the struggle against British Imperialism.

We know the courage required to embark on the hunger strike, we know the fortitude required to see it through to the end and we share the burning sense of injustice that sparks a hunger strike.

We know that you have struggled long years for justice. We salute your valour, courage, determination and thirst for justice.

John Martin-Political Secretary -Irish Republican Socialist Party

Dear John,

Thanks for the quick reply to the request for a statement of support and recognition of the Chilean hunger strikers. I have forwarded a copy of it to the local Chilean community here. Exiled members of the Socialist party (Chile) will be holding a number of events around Sept. 11 to commemorate the 30th anniversary of the coup. The statement from the IRSP will be distributed at this event.

In Solidarity,

Mike Quinn
Saskatchewan, Canada

NORTH EAST IRISH SOCIAL FORUM

Invites You To The 3rd All Ireland Social Forum Gathering

Cooperation not Competition
Human Rights Not Privatisation

Sunday, September 21st
10:30-5:30, followed by evening social events
Crescent Arts Centre, 2-4 University Rd.
Belfast

The NEISF is organising a one-day event under the title 'Cooperation not Competition, Human Rights not Privatisation'. The event will examine issues of privatisation, neo-liberalism, human rights, peace and democracy. The gathering will also discuss the future development of the Irish Social Forum and its European and World counterparts. This event is open to all those involved in the evolving Irish Social Forum networks, all those who are opposed to neo liberalism, privatisation and global capitalism and all those who believe that 'another world is possible.'

Agenda

Morning Plenary Discussion: 10.30 - 12.00
Neo-Liberalism - From the local to the global
Communities Against Water Tax (Manus Maguire), Fire brigades Union (Jim Barbour),
ICTU (Alisa Keane), Refugee Rights (Refugee Action Group). Chair (Emily Kawano)

Morning Workshops: 12.15 - 1.45

Workshops on

- Trade justice
- Anti war
- Another world is possible
- Poverty
- Ireland in the global economy

- Consensus facilitation skills
- Ghandi's
- Open
- Open
- Open

Lunch: 1.45 - 2.45

Food Not Bombs

Lunch will take the form of a public food Not Bombs event at the Venue.

Afternoon Discussion: 3.00 - 5.30

The Future of the ISF

The agenda of this session will not be set until one week before the event. Participants should feel free to e-mail their suggestions or issues they would like to discuss by September 15th. Possible elements to the session could be:

- Reports from regional social forums
- Workshops on specific themes such as ISF national structure, priorities etc.
- Open plenary to discuss workshop report backs and decision making on way forward

Social Event: 7.00

Theatre followed by,

World Music Disco, with resident DJ Steve Mc in Crescent Arts Centre

Additional Details

For more information or to suggest topics for workshops or the afternoon ISF

Session contact:

Eoin O'Broin at eoinobroin@hotmail.com

John Barry at j.barry@qub.ac.uk

Emily Kawano at neisf@ntlworld.com

Childcare

If you would like to register for childcare provided on-site, please rsvp to Emily Kawano, neisf@ntlworld.com or phone 9060 5091. Please provide name and age of each child, special needs and your contact details. There *may be* a small fee charged per child (approx. £3-£5). *Spaces are limited, so please reply ASAP.*

The Ideas of Frantz Fanon by Liam O Ruairc

Frantz Fanon (1925-1961) was a Martinican psychiatrist and revolutionary who became involved in the Algerian national liberation struggle during the 1950s. He wrote a number of books (1), one of which became extremely influential: *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961). The writings of Frantz Fanon influenced the thinking of Irish Republicans from the 1970s onwards (2). That is why it is interesting to examine his ideas.

Fanon's first book, "*Black Skin, White Masks*" (1952) was a devastating critique of the psychopathological effects of colonialism. Colonialism has imposed "*an existential*

deviation"(PN, 16) on the colonised as colonialism creates an inferiority complex in Blacks and other colonised races.

The analysis that I am undertaking is psychological In spite of this, it is apparent to me that the effective disalienation of the black man entails an immediate recognition of social and economic realities. If there is an inferiority complex, it is the outcome of a double process: primarily economic, secondarily, the internalisation--or better, the epidermalisation--of this inferiority. (PN, p.28)

He showed how the oppressed tended to interiorise the racist and colonial stereotypes. This is the "black skin, white mask" syndrome. This inferiority complex in blacks results in a desire to "whiten the race" or "lactification" (PN, 47). If being black or colonised has connotations of inferiority, blacks and other colonised people will denigrate their own race and will want to become "more white than white". One can witness a similar process amongst many middle class Catholics in the North or with "West Brits" in the south, as they try to be "more British than the British" and denigrate their own Irishness. That is the "existential deviation" imposed by the legacy of British rule. Fanon would probably have called Dublin 4 historical revisionism historical lactification. In 1953, Fanon started to work in the Blida-Joinville Hospital in Algeria. He saw the limits of colonial psychiatry. In 1954, for an Algerian population of ten million, there were only eight psychiatrists and 2500 beds! Fanon's hospital was designed for 971 patients, but there were over 2000. But more than that, it was the colonial context itself, which made therapy problematical. In his letter of resignation he wrote:

If psychiatry is the medical technique that aims to enable man no longer to be a stranger to his environment, I owe it to myself to affirm that the colonised, permanently an alien in his own country, lives in a state of absolute depersonalisation.

To heal from colonial neurosis, decolonisation is necessary. Frantz Fanon is one of the precursors of ethno-psychiatry, and his analysis of psychiatry and therapy under colonialism is highly original. However, some of his conclusions are quite dubious - like denying the importance of the Oedipus complex for Blacks and colonised people.

In "The Wretched of the Earth"(1961), Fanon's most important work, he continued to develop important insights into the psychology of oppression of colonial people, as well as a theory of liberation through violence, and how the revolutionary third world could create a new human being. Fanon analysed the central place of violence within colonial society--economic, political, military, cultural and psychic. Colonial reality is "Manichean"(DT, 33). Its central division is that between coloniser and colonised, and it is based on force.

"The colonial world is a world cut in two. The dividing line, the frontiers are shown by barracks and police stations."(DT, 31) Any observer can attest the truth of this sentence from Belfast to Bogotá. If colonialism is of a violent nature, Fanon concludes that only a counter violence can eradicate it: *"For the colonised, life can arise only from the decomposing cadaver of the coloniser."(DT, 69)*

Fanon is the apostle of violent decolonisation. Violence is the "absolute praxis" (DT, 63). *"The colonised man finds his freedom in and through violence. This rule of conduct*

enlightens the agent because it indicates to him the means and the end."(DT, 64) But Fanon's specific contribution, his originality, lay in emphasising the essentially pathological nature of the colonial situation, on how neurosis and mental pathologies developed as a result of the colonial situation. Therefore, he stressed that *violence had not simply a political or strategic function; it has an individual and existential therapeutic value, as it liberates colonised and oppressed people from colonial neurosis and inferiority complexes. At the level of individuals, violence is a disintoxifying force. It frees the colonised from his inferiority complex and from his desperate and contemplative attitude. It makes him fearless and restores his self respect."*(DT, 70)

Fanon may appear "blood thirsty" to many, but there is probably a lot of rhetoric in his writing. And from reading the chapter on "Colonial War and Mental Disorders", Fanon was clearly aware of the pathological effects of violence. He provided there ample cases illustrating such syndromes as homicidal impulses in a survivor of mass murder, the onset of impotence in a liberation fighter whose wife was raped by soldiers, the continual terror of a former police inspector involved in torture, the suicidal obsessions of an FLN member who becomes guilt-ridden for placing a bomb in a public place killing ten civilians. Perhaps, Jean-Paul Sartre's foreword to Fanon's book is far more extreme:

The native cures himself of colonial neurosis by thrusting out the settler through the force of arms (&) the rebels weapon is the proof of his humanity. For in the first days of the revolt you must kill: to shoot down a European is to kill two birds with one stone, to destroy an oppressor and an oppressed at the same time: there remains a dead man and a free man; the survivor, for the first time, feels a national soil under his foot"(DT, 20)

By curing the oppressed from colonial neurosis, violence and the liberation struggle were supposed, "to set afoot a new man"(DT, 242). What led Fanon to believe this were a number of phenomenon's he had observed during the Algerian struggle. Fanon had seen how armed struggle had changed the place and role of women and youth in Algerian society through their involvement in struggle, or how for example, petty criminals transformed themselves into freedom fighters. The film "The Battle of Algiers"(3) represented very well this process in cinematographic terms. The liberation struggle indeed tended to temporarily and conjecturally change the role of women, young people etc in society, but the social nature of the FLN struggle resulted in those changes not lasting. For example, women's place within independent Algeria has not been the most progressive. The ongoing political violence in Algeria can testify to the ultimate failure of the FLN project. Fanon's mystique of violence overestimated its progressive impact.

Postcolonial Algeria has in fact a lot in common with the image given by Fanon of parasitic native ruling classes and neo colonialism in his chapter on the pitfalls of national consciousness. This chapter has proved far more accurate than his optimistic voluntarism about the possibility of the third world creating a new humanism given the degeneration of African and other postcolonial states into the corrupt neo-colonial instruments of the IMF and the World Bank. "The Wretched of the Earth" is a document of its times, of the hopes decolonisation had raised. Its value is perhaps more moral than political. Its analysis of the social forces and strategies involved in the liberation struggle - the poor

peasantry in particular - is now recognised as being basically flawed (though Fanon was right to be highly critical of the national bourgeoisie). But Fanon's book is certain to remain a classic of revolutionary and anti-imperialist literature. Unfortunately the majority of recent interest in his work comes from so-called "postcolonial studies", which are trying to bury what was revolutionary in Fanon's thought into the academic quagmire. It is time for the oppressed to re-appropriate Fanon.

NOTES

(1) Books referred to: Les Damnés de la Terre (Paris: François Maspero, 1961) = DT, Peau Noire, Masques Blancs (Paris: Le Seuil, 1952) = PN

(2) For example: Freeman Read Memmi, Read Fanon (An Phoblacht 13 February 1976, p.6), R.G. McAuley Fanon on Algeria: Lessons for Irish Republicans Today (An Phoblacht-Republican News 13 September 1980, p.10), John Squire Frantz Fanon (An Phoblacht-Republican News 27 October 1988, pp.8-9). Fanon was widely studied in jail by Republicans. Bobby Sands was acquainted with his writings. Two recent books have noted the importance of Fanon for Irish Republicans. Brian Feeney Sinn Féin (Dublin: O'Brien Press, 2002) pp.363-367 quotes Tom Hartley and Danny Morrison on the matter. See also Richard English Armed Struggle (London: McMillan, 2003) pp.234-235 for a similar view.

(3) "The Battle of Algiers" (1965), film directed by Gillo Pontecorvo. For an alternative view, see the future theorist of postmodernism Jean-François Lyotard La Guerre des Algériens (Paris: Galilée, 1989) one of the most lucid and penetrating contemporary commentators of the Algerian war.

FORTHCOMING EVENTS

"Crisis In Maghaberry" Meeting in Teachers Club 36 Parnell Square, Dublin 1 Friday 5th September at 7.30

The Four demands of the Prisoners are
1/ Segregation from loyalist and criminal prisoners
2/ Recognition as a group
3/ The right to have their own spokesmen
4/ A wing of their own

NE I social Forum meeting:

**Monday, Sept. 8
7:00- 9:00
One World Centre**

Everyone welcome

Belfast Anti-War Movement
Press Release

Public Meeting
Tuesday 7.30pm - September 9th
Queens University Students Union
Conference Room

The Belfast Anti-War Movement is holding a Public meeting to discuss the question of the US/UK occupation of Iraq.

Ann Fitzpatrick from the Belfast Anti-War Movement said "the occupation, far from bringing peace and stability, has turned into a nightmare for ordinary Iraqi's." Every day between 15 and 25 Iraqi civilians are killed. No one is safe. A TV cameraman was shot because US troops were unable to distinguish between a camera and a rocket launcher from 50 metres away. A family was gunned down because they misunderstood a command at a checkpoint," she continued. She said, "Demonstrations occur daily because the infrastructure has not been rebuilt and hundreds of thousands of children are without water or electricity."

"George Bush and Tony Blair lied about the war on Iraq. The Hutton enquiry is exposing Tony Blair's lies daily. Neither Bush nor Blair has been able to show a shred of evidence of Weapons of Mass Destruction," she said.

She suggested, "the effect of the occupation can be felt at home. The occupation is costing billions of pounds to maintain, while services and jobs are being cut and water charges are being introduced."

"The millions around the world who marched against the war on February fifteenth have been proven right. That the war was unjust, unjustified and illegal," she said.

The Public Meeting will feature John Rees from the Stop the War Coalition in London, organisers of the 2 million strong march on February 15th. Jamal Iweida from the Belfast Islamic Centre will also speak as will Monica Mc Williams from the women's' coalition.

The meeting is part of the build-up to the international day of action

against the occupation around the world between September 25th and 28th. The Belfast march and rally will be on Saturday 27th September.

Please contact Anne Fitzpatrick - 0774 0683767

Subject: Belfast Anti Racist Meeting

For circulation

Dear Brothers and Sisters

Over the past while we have seen the rise of racist incidents and attacks on ethnic minorities around Northern Ireland. We have also seen the overt rise of racist material, graffiti and groups springing up in various areas. This would be of concern to all those progressive forces that look to seek a socially just and inclusive society. Following a recent meeting held in the Multi Cultural Resource Centre in Belfast attended by human rights organisations, ethnic minority support groups, Asylum seeker lawyers, practitioners, development organisations, and other interested parties, it was decided a second meeting should be held. This meeting is to discuss any practical and visible strategies that can be developed to raise awareness and to tackle this increasing problem. Various groups and organisations are and have been actively trying to tackle this problem but it was suggested a broader meeting to discuss all the various strategies and maybe finding some practical activity together, could be yet another way of helping to bring this issue to the fore.

The meeting is to be held in the Multi Cultural Resource centre, **Sept 17th at 7pm. Address 9 Lower Crescent Bt7.** {The street across from the Empire, and is beside the One World Centre in S/Belfast}. Those groups, organisations and individuals who would be interested in attending the meeting are welcome. It will be informal and open to all to have an input. For further information contact Nathalie at the Multi Cultural Resource Centre at Nathalie@mcrc-ni.org or alternatively you can contact myself at carlindavid@hotmail.com, PH 07974632485.

Davy Carlin

Agreed Convener

Robert Emmet

With plans by RTÉ to screen a 'Mint Production' documentary on Robert Emmet on the anniversary of his execution (i.e. September 20th) people may be interested to know that a commemoration to

mark the 200th Anniversary of the execution of Robert Emmet will be held in Dublin **on Saturday, September 20th** next; the procession will assemble at the Garden of Remembrance in Parnell Square at 1.30 pm and march to St Catherine's Church in Thomas Street, where those present will be addressed by author Seán Ó Brádaigh.

(From R.S.F.)

**International Day of Action Dublin Saturday 27TH
September**

GEORGE MONBIOT

George Monbiot, a regular feature writer in *The Guardian*, is the author of *Captive State* and *The Age of Consent*.

The One World Centre, The New Ireland Group and The de Borda Institute have organised the following events:

1 GEORGE MONBIOT The 2nd One World Centre annual lecture, 12 noon to 2 p.m., Thursday 9th October, Room G07, Peter Frogatt Building, Queen's University. Everyone welcome.

Further information available from The One World Centre, 4 Lower Crescent, Belfast BT7 1NR, Tel 90241879, e-mail stephen@owcni.org.uk

2 GEORGE MONBIOT "Unionism, Nationalism or Globalisation?" 7.30 for 7.45 p.m. on Thursday 9th October, in The Elmwood Hall, Belfast Tickets £5 (concessions £2.50), includes a free glass of organic wine from the Belfast Food Co-op.

Tickets and further information available from either The New Ireland Group, 7 Slievedarragh Park, Belfast BT14 8J sec.newirelandgroup@ntlworld.com or The de Borda Institute, 36 Ballysillan Road, Belfast BT14 7QQ pemerson@deborda.org

European Social Forum Paris, St Denis 12-15 November

Please feel free to comment on the contents of the Plough. We welcome political comments and criticisms.

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