



# SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Paper of PEOPLES' DEMOCRACY

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## Nicaragua:

'I don't want war in Central America' claimed Ronald Reagan in a press conference in Washington on July 27. That's obviously why he has sent 5,000 combat troops for 'military exercises' in Honduras and the Caribbean. The truth is that far from seeking peace US imperialism is plotting all-out war to crush the revolutionary uprisings in Central America and the Caribbean.

As opposition to US involvement in the affairs of the Central American people has grown, Reagan's government has actually stepped up the pressure on the Sandinista government in Nicaragua and on the revolutionary forces in El Salvador and Guatemala. And of course the US aggression against Cuba has increased.

In Nicaragua for the past six months counter-revolutionary forces mainly ex-members of the dictator Somoza's National Guard have been making attacks into Nicaragua from Honduras. It's admitted that these 'contras' are financed by Washington and that they take their cue from the US ambassador to Honduras, John Negro-

architect of the later stages of the Vietnam war, to head a commission of inquiry into the situation in Central America has raised both scorn and alarm among such props of the US establishment as the New York Times and the Los Angeles Times. They fear that Reagan's policy will lead to an all-out war between Nicaragua and Honduras, followed by a new Vietnam with direct US military engagement.

Reagan fears that the example of the Sandinistas in throwing off the yoke of dictatorship will be followed, not only by other parts of Central America such



## Reagan Plots All-Out War

As El Salvador and Guatemala but also by the powerful working class in Brazil, Chile and Argentina.

If the US succeed in their campaign of intimidation it will set back the prospect of working class advance in Latin America and boost the US war-drive world-wide;

That is why it is in the interests of Irish workers and the anti-imperialist movement to give full support to the campaign to get the US out of Central America. We should

demand an end to the complicity of the Irish government with US aggression revealed in the permitted CIA sabotage of a recent Dail debate on Central America.

And we should start now to ensure that the national

mobilisations needed to end that complicity begin to be built in readiness for any stepping up of US or Honduran moves against Nicaragua.

Ciaran MacNamidhe

US HANDS OFF CENTRAL AMERICA!

SOLIDARITY WITH REVOLUTIONARY NICARAGUA!

The appointment of Henry Kissinger, the

## INTERNMENT 12 YEARS ON. IN THE NORTH WE ARE STILL INTERINED

On August 9th, twelve years ago, British Troops burst into working-class homes all over the North and dragged Nationalist workers from their beds; most were to spend the next few years in concentration camps, but first they had to run the gauntlet of savage beatings and brutality, and a number of 'guinea-pigs' were reserved for even more savage and systematic torture and sensory deprivation.

On this year's August 9th, supporters of the Irish struggle here and around the world will commemorate this crime against the Irish people. But the last round of internment was the latest in a long

line of such atrocities. What we will be commemorating even more will be the fact that it didn't work: that after an initial hesitation, the mass struggle against imperialism became even stronger and more determined.

That mass struggle has not yet defeated imperialism and built a workers' republic. So we remain interned, interned by partition, by the imperialist exploitation of our country, and by the various methods that the British installed at their leisure to replace internment - special laws, No-jury courts, Torture, and as was recently and tragically shown in both Lurgan and Armagh, the license of the UDR, RUC and

BRITS to shoot to kill when dealing with the Nationalist population.

But these forms of internment have not broken our spirit. The massive vote for Sinn Fein shows the level of continuing resistance to British rule, and the H-Block movement showed the power of a united movement in action.

The challenge today comes not from British brutality or our ability to endure it, but from the political challenges thrown up by the struggle itself. The failure of internment led eventually to the fall of Stormont; now the Assembly represents the first toe-hold in a British push to restore it. But our response now must be an all-Ireland one, and

must take into account the increasingly open collaboration between the 26-County capitalists and the British. It must also take into account the major economic offensive of imperialism, and advance a class struggle answer to the cuts, the closures and the dole queues.

No doubt this August, once again, Nationalist youth in the Six Counties will respond violently to the British presence. We sympathise with this reaction, and recognize that it is youth who can provide the lead for a militant fightback, but after the demonstrations of resentment comes the need to build, organise and forge a massive movement that can secure the right of self-determination for the whole Irish people.



# EDITORIAL

## GERRY ADAMS IN LONDON

The Sinn Fein turn to electoral activism and the strength of the left inside the movement holds out many promises of political change in the Republican Movement. In one area - the policy of Republicans towards the British working class and the Labour Party left - there has been a clear change in political attitudes. Gerry Adams' visit to London transformed that change of attitude into action.

Adams' visit generated what no amount of bombs could have done - a direct and open response from sections of the British working class in support of British Withdrawal from Ireland. The discussions generated guidelines for future action - as Gerry Adams himself said the touchstone for the united solidarity work in Britain is support of self determination for the Irish people and not the IRA's military campaign.

This position shows up the sheer stupidity of those who heckled the critical Labour MP at the Islington meeting. Of course its necessary to answer these criticisms but not to censor them - not if you want to see a real movement of solidarity among British workers.

We in Peoples Democracy could also remark wryly that the conditions for building an open and united movement in Ireland do not differ that much from the guidelines that Gerry Adams laid down for a broad based British movement. In both cases a willingness to build opposition to the British presence on the basis of the self organization of the working class is the touchstone.

In the long run a real movement of support in Britain will depend on a real mass movement here.

The action of Leon Brittan in banning the Sinn Fein MP from visiting Irish prisoners shows the level of British establishment hysteria generated by any dialogue between British and Irish workers. The ludicrous excuse that Owen Carron had been allowed to exercise that right because he was not elected as a Sinn Fein MP shows just how baseless and vindictive British Government attacks are. Yet again the votes of Nationalist workers are set as nothing against the spite of the Tories.

We suggest that this issue might well serve as an initial test of the new atmosphere of solidarity. Are those labour MP's now prepared to meet Sinn Fein also prepared to protest this attack on democratic rights? Are they prepared to carry out those visits denied to Gerry Adams and to act on the prisoners' grievances? In Ireland what has Hume got to say? Will he collaborate with Sinn Fein to ensure communication with the prisoners and protest the ban? What do other TD's think of Foreign Minister Barry's cheering on of British attacks?

These are suggestions only. But following Gerry Adams' London visit two things are clear. The first is the real political opportunities in dialogue with the British left. The second is the need to move quickly from united discussion to united action to defend our rights.

### goodyear does a de lolean



More than 700 jobs have been lost with the closure of the Goodyear Tyre Plant in Craigavon. A massive multi-national conglomerate, Goodyear set up in the North in 1960 taking full advantage of the incentives offered by the former Unionist Government at Stormont under Capt. Terence O'Neill. The promise to create 2,000 jobs was never realised.

Goodyear claim the plant had become a loss operator in an attempt to justify the closure. But Goodyear is a multi-national which makes record breaking profits each year due, in no small part, to the practice of opening plants in places like Ireland, grabbing all the free hand-outs and tax concessions and shutting shop when these dry up. Throughout its years in the North Goodyear have invested the profits of the Craigavon plant not in Ireland, but through American banks that happen to have Goodyear as a major shareholder.

## CLERY'S - The Wages we need , The Union we want !

'Clerys, a legend in shopping and a fairytale in wages' runs one of the placards on the picket line outside Clery's in Dublin. The workers have been out on strike since June 24th. Many feel they'll be out for August as well. There are more than 360 sales, clerical and display staff fighting for union recognition and for pay increase:

Traditionally, the IUDWC (Irish Union of Distributive Workers and Clerks) has represented the distributive trades. But many workers were critical of the lack of

leadership and the fact that they were falling behind wages and conditions won by other unions. This could be put down to the old guard of the IUDWC, which with rapidly shrinking membership has brought 'new militant' John Mitchell to head up the Union. To date, the IUDWC has lost in PMPA and Clerys to the ITGWU.

Of course, there is inter-union rivalry here. The IUDWC is hemorrhaging and the ITGWU (already losing thousands through redundancies) must deliver

the goods or give up the opportunity to increase members. Unions are feeling the effects of job losses and this increases competition for members.

This tension of course is completely in the employers' interests. Clery's chief executive, Arthur Walls, can express pessimism about an early settlement, and save thousands during these summer months, a traditionally slow period for the big stores. Management here is also determined to resist the militant approach of the ITGWU No. 2 branch -

which the workers want to join - to seek wage increases above the 'national norm' and the offer of £2.36 over 14 months.

Clery's workers are an example of the low rates of pay in the distributive trade. A workers maximum is £101 per week. Commission can be earned but this is unreliable and can be as low as £5 a week.

Inter-union rivalry and the right of workers to join a union of their choice have complicated a fight for

a decent basic wage. In this regard, the ITGWU is no angel and has often obstructed (aided by bureaucratic Congress rules) their former members going to other unions.

In these times of recession and austerity government policies with serious long term consequences for trades union organisation and a structural weakening of the working class, unions should be fighting together.

A national drive among all unions in the distributive trades to raise the level

of wages is what's needed. Meanwhile Clery's workers are marching up and down on hot dusty days. 'Morale is fantastic' the secretary of the strike committee Sean Nolan said. 'People are determined to stay out until they get what they want on strike for.'

Messages of support, workplace collections, should be sent to: The Secretary, Strike Committee of Clery's, No 2 Branch ITGWU, Liberty Hall.

VINNIE JACKSON



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# RANKS INTERVIEW WITH AN ACTIVIST

Interview with HARRY FLEMING, a leader of the Ranks workers' occupation at Ranks Flour Mill in Phibsboro Dublin, July 25.

SR: Harry, could you bring us up to date with where the struggle with Ranks is right now?

HF: Well, we're back in Dublin now, and the fight will continue from the Dublin site. One major boost is the full support from the No 12 branch (of the ITGWU) meeting for the blacking of imports and we're optimistic that given that it will go from there to the District Committee then to the Executive and we might get an all-out blacking and maybe we might get back under the umbrella of the union.

SR: With the government talking so much about jobs today was there any evidence of any attempt to save your jobs by any Government bodies?

HF: Well in relation to the IDA there have been articles in the paper purporting to come from the IDA that there's no money going into Ranks. Well as you know we ceased milling on the 4th of February. We have a document in our hands addressed to Gordon Bull the director of Ranks Ireland Ltd., and it's dated the 7th April. Its from the IDA and it states they'd be only too willing to facilitate them in any way they can. So things like this have to be questioned.

SR: There's been a lot of confusion created by the press about your fight

and your relations with the workers of Ranks Mill in Limerick. Could you explain these issues for our readers?

HF: The situation in Limerick did turn out very ugly. To begin with we have to state that it's always been about jobs on the Dublin site. The situation was in reverse in Limerick. There were a number of people there who had the same idea as ourselves but due to pressures being brought to bear down there they had to accept monetary compensation.

Unfortunately, the greater majority of the Limerick people plumped to accept a lesser deal altogether. We in Dublin could not accept that gift that even at the bottom line it was the Labour Court recommendation. Taking that and some of the unsavoury things that happened during the Limerick episode we had people who tried to stand up and fight for jobs and the proper compensation openly intimidated, wives being abused on the street, telephone calls, and so on. We had to weigh it all up and decide what was the best thing to do; decide at what cost we could successfully prosecute this thing. We the Dublin workers didn't live in Limerick and we had to take our Limerick counterparts into account, look at their side of it. Life wasn't going to be very pleasant for them after we left and we decided that given that we would have to withdraw reluctantly. We drew up proposals for the withdrawal with the Company which the

the Company have not honoured since.

SR: Now that you're back in Dublin how do you see the fight to defend your jobs developing?

HF: We have a couple of things in the pipeline. On a much broader front we do hope to organise a meeting with all the sit-in groups for some time in September. We went around the country and got the sit-in groups to sign a document. We're going to call a meeting with a view to setting up a central committee that people in the same situation as ourselves can come to for advice. At the moment there's Clondalkin paper mills, Kingdom Tubes, Carigaline Potteries, McArdles in Dundalk, SNIA. They'll all be invited given that they are all in occupation at present.

SR: What is your advice to other workers who find themselves in the same situation as yourselves?

HF: Workers at all costs must defend the jobs. There's a lot of talk about creating new jobs, setting up new industries etc, the emphasis should be on job retention. Workers everywhere as I see it have to organise independently now of the trades union leadership because the leadership does appear to be lacking. Otherwise you wouldn't have workers sitting in throughout the country. If there was direction and leadership there you wouldn't have a situation like that.

SR: Could you tell us about the support you've

gotten from other workers?

HF: The monetary support we've gotten from workers in general has been great. Without that support the like of this couldn't continue.

SR: What lessons have you drawn from your fight so far?

HF: The only one you can rely on to do any fighting for you is yourself. The union are the people you work with, not the union structure as such. But the union you have within the job, that is the solidarity of the people you have with you is what you rely on to do your fighting for you. Its sad to say that you have these structures there which should be providing advice support and so forth but these people are letting jobs go by the thousand. Its being left up to the groups of individuals to fight these things themselves. Most people by the time they establish where they're going they've lost half of their troops. This is what its all about. If there was a central body that these people could go to with their full numbers they'd definitely win something at the end of the day.

**DONATIONS** are urgently needed and can be sent to: **RANKS Strike Relief Fund** c/o 69 Barry Avenue, Finglas West, Dublin II or ..... direct to ..... **Trustee Savings Bank, Phibsboro, DUBLIN (Ranks Strike Relief Fund Account No: -30/301245108)**

## finglas unemployed organise

"For the first time ever Anco grants have not risen with increases in social welfare and little has been done about it", Frances Chance, HOPE community worker in Finglas, Dublin told a recent public meeting on unemployment.

Youth Employment Schemes, promoted by the Youth Employment Agency and The Finglas Unemployed Action Group who hosted the meeting gave details of a recent HOPE survey which showed unemployment in Finglas running at 25%. In South Finglas the level rises to 31% and of these 26% are not receiving any social assistance. This amounts to about 5,000 people with no job in one working class area alone! Most people questioned on the survey were cynical about the Government and its policies. Quite a lot were aware of workers fighting back like in Ranks. Others felt helpless.

### YOUTH RIPPED OFF

Youth Employment schemes, promoted by the Youth Employment Agency and Manpower were roundly condemned as exploitation of young workers. The £77m collected through the 1% levy is used to provide cheap labour i.e. six months "training" work doing "normal" duties for employers at £40 per week. When their time is up, one group is out and a new group replaces them. Unscrupulous employers (and most are) can keep their business going for years like this, all the time fattening their bank accounts.

Anco schemes are not much better with low standards, sex discrimination and at the end - no job! The trade unions complain but take no action to end these abuses.

The meeting ended with an outline of the Action Group's demands for an end to closures and decent jobs for all.

Anne Speed

## NICKY KELLY SPEAKS!

A Chara,

As I contemplate my present position here in the aftermath of the hunger strike, I would first of all like to extend my sincerest appreciation and thanks to all those who worked unselfishly day and night to highlight my situation and secure my freedom.

That so many people from all walks of life, at many locations right throughout the world were working and calling for my release is a reflection of the correct approach, enormous amount of hard work and dedication of the Committee and the activists involved.

At all times during the hunger strike, even at my most isolated, when my

their ability or strategy in regards to the campaign. It is a nice feeling to be able to hold and helps the morale no end. While I am not saying the campaign went perfect, I am sure that the lesson will be learnt from any weakness that showed up.

My position now is that there is a moratorium period for the authorities to act in a honest manner, that is if they want to. Without this so called claim .... blackmail by hunger strike I feel it's essential if this campaign is to be successful that all resources are concentrated on the one single issue, my immediate release. To achieve this goal the campaign will have to remain as broad based as possible and involve all

broad based as possible is probably more important now, than ever before and all resources should be focused on the one demand my immediate release.

While there is a possibility of success in the court cases I myself am a bit sceptical of the courts. But the cases should gain media exposure and attract a fair amount of public interest. These court cases can proceed at the same time as the broad based campaign without drawing any resources away from the demand for my immediate release. Actually publicity-wise they could complement each other.

Finally, I would just like to reiterate once more, that should the authorities fail

I will be embarking on hunger strike again and should this situation arise, nobody will be under any illusions about the attitude of the State or for that matter that this whole confi-

ict will have to be settled one way or the other. I am sure I don't have to elaborate on this matter. I am as determined as ever in this regard. Someways maybe even more so. My position

in this regard I am sure you all can appreciate.

Your tremendous concern, support and solidarity is appreciated and gives me great strength.

## SPECIAL COURTS



NICKY KELLYS LETTER COURTESY OF THE



# DECLAN BREE SPEAK

Friends,

We gather here today to honour Bobby Sands and his colleagues who died on hunger strike in the hell hole of Long Kesh. Bobby Sands, who spent most of his young life imprisoned behind the bars and barbed wire of the foreign oppressor, felt that only a hunger strike, if necessary to the death, would force the British government to drop its criminalisation policy and concede to the five just and legitimate demands of the political prisoners in Long Kesh and Armagh.

The British Government in introducing the criminalisation policy thought it could convey to the world that there was no political problem in the North and that all offences committed

were committed by ordinary criminals. The British Government despite the deaths of the hunger strikers, refused to drop its criminalisation policy, but at the conclusion of the hunger strike campaign that policy lay in tatters.

Mrs Thatcher and her Government wanted the world to believe that the prisoners in the H Blocks and Armagh were purely criminals involved for personal gain, but Bobby Sands and his colleagues nailed that lie to the mast. Bobby Sands and his colleagues did not die in vain - their sacrifice did more in a few short months to undermine the British occupation and to undermine British imperialist policy than all the violence of the past 14 years.

On the first day of his hunger strike - March 1st

1981 - Bobby Sands, writing in his secret diary said: *'Foremost in my tortured mind is the thought that there can never be peace in Ireland until the foreign and oppressive British presence is removed, leaving all the Irish people as a unit to control their own affairs and determine their own destinies as a sovereign people, free in mind and body, separate and distinct physically, culturally and economically.'* On Monday March 9th he wrote: *'I always keep thinking of James Connolly, and the great calm and dignity that he showed, right to his very end, his courage and resolve. Perhaps I am biased, because there have been thousands like him, but Connolly has always been the man I look up to.'*

Like Bobby Sands, Connolly is also the man I look up to for Connolly was a Marxist, a socialist and therefore a Republican. Shortly before his death in 1916 he said: *'We are out for Ireland for the Irish. But who are the Irish? Not*

*the rack-renting slum-owning landlord; not the sweating, profit-grinding capitalist; not the sleek and oily lawyer; not the prostitute pressmen - the hired liars of the enemy. Not these are the Irish upon whom the future depends. Not these, but the Irish working class, the only secure foundation upon which a free nation can be reared.'*

Connolly was a Republican in the real sense. He placed no trust in the bourgeois catholic nationalists. He pointed out the immense difference between the socialist republicans and the physical force men. And as we assemble here today, to honour the memory of the hunger strikers, we should remember that no one group or organisation has a monopoly on republicanism. There are those, North and South of the border who would make such a claim. But I would repudiate that claim.

Republicanism has its roots in the democratic revolutionary traditions of the United Irishmen, whose

objective was 'to break the connection with Britain' and whose means was the winning of political unity of 'Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter'. British Imperialism must never be underestimated. In the 1920's it responded to the struggle for independence by forcing partition on the Irish people. The seeds of the present crisis - the violence, deaths and repression - lie in this injustice and are directly Britain's responsibility.

The setting up of the two states suited the most conservative sections of the bourgeoisie in both states, as they feared that the struggle for independence would go further along the road of social revolution indicated by Connolly.

The continuous political crisis in N. Ireland since October 1968 has clearly shown that the 1920 solution to the Irish question is no longer viable.

The overriding obstacle to the achievement of national liberation and social emancipation by the Irish working

class and its allies is British imperialism. But, there are other political forces retarding progress which must be taken into account, particularly in Northern Ireland, where Unionist ideology can still sustain a mass base. While the forces of the Official Unionist Party, the Democratic Unionist Party and other sections of Unionism consciously stand in the way of the Irish people's advance to national liberation and social emancipation, the paramilitary campaigns of the Catholic nationalists have seriously damaged the anti-imperialist struggle. The results of their military actions have been to prevent the defeat of Unionist ideology amongst the Protestant sectors of the population; to alienate the British working class, so weakening the opportunity to win them away from support of present Westminster policy; to push to one side the democratic struggle for civil rights; and to give British imperialism a pseudo-justification for their policy of repression. In addition, their declared aim of destabilising the Republic of Ireland would in fact objectively strengthen imperialism's position in Ireland, by further tilting the balance of forces in Britain's interest.

I say that the way to defeat British Imperialism in Ireland is not by elitist military methods - whether by bomb and bullet in Britain, or in the cities, towns, villages of this country. These actions have provided a pseudo-

justification for repression and have alienated large masses of people, in Ireland as well as in Britain.

However, the way to overcome the ideas and practice of the Nationalist paramilitaries is not to parrot British Tory government policy, to pander to Unionist sectarianism or to bolster repression.

class and its allies is British imperialism. But, there are other political forces retarding progress which must be taken into account, particularly in Northern Ireland, where Unionist ideology can still sustain a mass base.

While the forces of the Official Unionist Party, the Dem-

armed campaigns'. This reflects the blinkered view which the CPI has of the class struggle in the six counties. Although the CPI acknowledges the sectarian foundations and character of the Northern Ireland state, it believes that the pro-imperialist convictions of protestant workers can be whittled away or at least neutralised through experience of common action with catholic workers around 'bread and butter' issues. The problem with this approach, is that these 'shared experiences' are extremely episodic and are constantly prone to break-up through the introduction of the 'Orange Card'.

The explanation for this lies in the fact that these fragile instances of 'class solidarity' make for less impression on consciousness than the reality of protestant domination in every decisive sector of society.

The only valid perspective for neutralising or changing the pro-imperialist attitudes of protestant workers must involve a general political demoralisation about the prospects of continued loyalist ascendancy.

The IRA's armed campaign has been a significant factor in whatever demoralisation has developed so far. For Peoples Democracy the problem is that republican strategy, both in its political as well as its military aspects, desire the leading role of the working



## WHAT WE SAY...

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC prints above the text of the speech Declan Bree was to deliver at the Mullaghmore Commemoration. We print it in protest at the actions of a section of the crowd who shouted down Bree and forced him to abandon speaking. In our view this incident is a slur on the memory of the heroic Bobby Sands and his comrades and does no service to the continuing struggle for national self-determination.

Declan Bree is associated with the Connolly Youth Movement, itself linked with the Communist Party (CPI). Bree supports the policies of these organisations to which Peoples Democracy is totally in opposition. But while the CPI's role during the hunger strike was one of equivocation, for example refusing support to the National H-Block/Armagh Committee, Declan Bree was one of the most active members of the Sligo Committee and raised the issue of the hunger strike on both the Urban District Council and on the Trade Union Council.

Declan Bree was invited to join the platform. Having accepted the invitation he refused to be intimidated by the vilification of the Commemoration by

this is not the first time Bree has taken such a stand. After Mounthatten's execution in 1979 Bree refused to be associated with a resolution of condolence at the Urban District Council, instead denouncing Mounthatten as an imperialist warmonger. He was praised for this by AN PHOBLACHT.

But there is an even more important reason why Bree should have been heard out; the principle of free speech within the anti-imperialist movement. How can there be united action by anti-imperialists if sincerely held views are suppressed, shouted down or censored?

Some may argue that Bree stepped over the line, we find no evidence of this in his speech, much of which expressed the convictions and aspirations of everyone in the anti-imperialist movement; that there can be no peace in Ireland while an imperialist army occupies any part of our country.

Within his speech Bree makes other criticisms and political assessments that Peoples Democracy totally rejects. Two of these deserve attention. The first is Bree's implicit contention that Republicans 'have fanned



# ISSUES AT MULLAGHMORE

The way to overcome them is to fight even more resolutely for democracy and a British declaration of intent to withdraw from Ireland, and to win unity around the defence of the common class interests of working people, Catholic and Protestant, north and south.

Friends, we must say it loud and clear - The Irish people have a fundamental democratic right to unity and independence. This right was most blatantly suppressed by the undemocratic imposition of partition, an imposition that establishes Britain's central guilt and responsibility for the political crisis in Ireland.

But Britain will not leave Ireland merely because the Irish people demand it. It is a delusion to imagine that moral pressure alone will force them to go. British imperialism will have to be forced out by a political mobilisation of the working class in the leadership of the national struggle.

To find a way out of economic decline and the vicious circle of violence in Northern Ireland requires an immediate end to British repression and a declaration from the Westminster parliament that it intends to withdraw a specific time from all interference in Irish affairs, political, military and economic; thus opening the way for the Irish working people north and south, to determine what future political and economic structures are needed to best serve their interests.

The winning of a British declaration of intent to withdraw is of major importance because it would remove from the Unionist

leadership the major weapon by which it maintains the division of the working class in the North, the so-called guarantee of union with Britain. Such an attack on Unionism's ideological base would do much to develop the political unity of the working class of all Ireland, that is essential if the Irish people's struggle for self-determination and social emancipation is to be successfully concluded.

The call for a British declaration of intent to withdraw and for the establishment of democracy in the North is the key element in breaking the dead weight of Britain's control. It can be supported by broad sections of the labour movement and democratic opinion in the three major areas of political action - in the South, the North and in Britain. At the same time support can be sought for it internationally.

For we should remember that the socialist doctrine teaches all men are brothers, that the same red blood of a common humanity flows in the veins of all races, creeds, colours and nations, that the interests of labour are everywhere identical, and that wars are an abomination. Connolly himself pointed out that the socialist of

another country is a fellow patriot, as the capitalist of one's own country is a natural enemy. And as we in the socialist, republican and progressive movement in Ireland support the campaigns of the peoples in El Salvador, South Africa, Chile, Palestine, in their struggle for freedom and national liberation we know too, that our brothers and sisters internationally will support our struggle.

Today we have gathered to honour, in particular, the memory of Bobby Sands and his colleagues who died on hunger strike but I think that it is only right that we should also remember the more than 2,000 others who have died in Ireland and Britain, as a result of the violence of the past 14 years and indeed the countless others who have died in each generation.

It is my dream that my children's generation and their children in turn, will have the opportunity of growing up in a free Ireland where human life will be treated with the respect it deserves and where exploitation,

social insecurity and injustice will be a thing of the past. Others before them were young. They died a senseless death, British imperialism destroyed them in their

prime. Others at our side are young. Imperialism is cheating them of the best years, spoiling their youth. This need not be so. We know who they are that do not

want an end to misery, injustice, violence and despair. We call them by name - Margaret Thatcher and the forces of British imperialism.



class and the importance of its independent organisation. Consequently whatever political advances the Republican Movement may secure, it is not an adequate instrument for building socialism in Ireland.

Bree's second major error centres on the 26 counties. He writes that the republicans' aim of destabilising the Republic of Ireland (sic) would in fact objectively strengthen imperialism's position in Ireland, by further tilting the balance of forces in Britain's interests'. This really is a quite amazing statement.

The 26 counties is formally independent, but this independence is purely a sham. The ruling class in the south has the same basic interests as capitalists in any part of the world. When the interests of the capitalist class require it, national independence goes out the window. Any real struggle for self-determination will have to confront the Southern capitalists including the pseudo-republican Fianna Fail.

The CPI however following the classic Stalinist line see a 'progressive role' for that section of the capitalist class who back Fianna Fail. Flowing from this the CPI believes nothing should be done to undermine the position of these exploiters, who in the Stalinist schema will be part of a coalition of classes who will complete

the national democratic revolution aborted in 1921.

It was following this schema in Chile in the early '70s that left the door open for the military coup against Salvador Allende's Unidad Popular Government and the 10 years of brutal repression of the workers and peasants that followed.

The 1981 hunger strike should have provided proof if needed, that when imperialism snaps its fingers, Charles Haughey sits up as quickly as Garret Fitzgerald. To place any confidence in Fianna Fail or the Southern capitalists is to totally disarm the Irish working class.

These are serious differences between Declan Bree and Peoples Democracy. We believe that many militants inside and outside the Republican movement agree with us in rejecting Bree's positions. Unfortunately, we also know while the following of the CPI is quite small, the view that the Republican Movement is 'sectarian' and the belief that there is a progressive-bourgeois nationalist section of the ruling class have much greater currency.

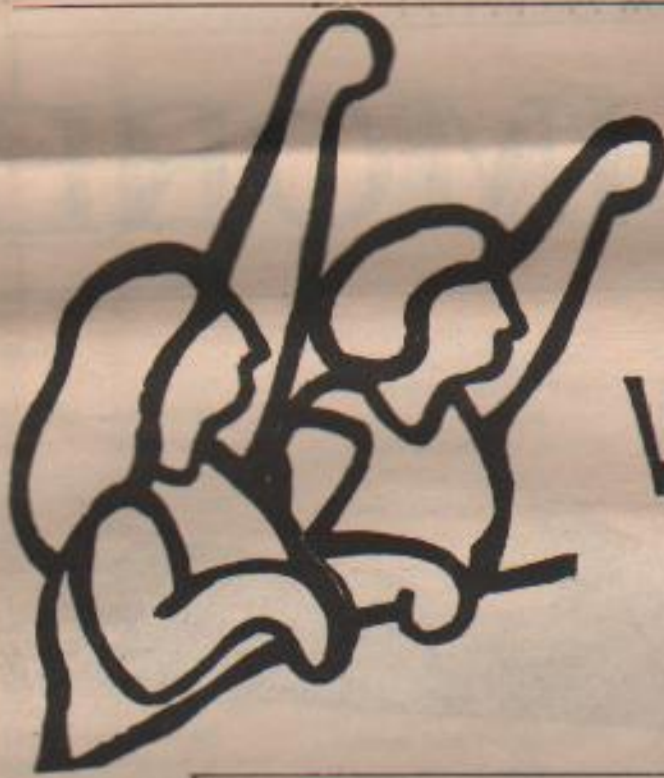
Indeed to be fair, Bree's view of the 26 counties was until recently also the practical policy of the Republican Movement. Rejection of that policy if translated into a positive political

strategy in the South will be a major gain for the anti-imperialist movement.

Gerry Adams at Bodenstown stressed the decisive importance of winning the workers of the South to anti-imperialism. That is an enormous and challenging task. We will have to openly and comradely discuss with workers who share illusions similar to Bree and the Communist Party, and to convince these workers through a combination of political propaganda and the concrete experience of anti-imperialist leadership of the struggles of working people, that Socialist Republicanism is the road forward.

Freedom of expression and organisation are preconditions for succeeding in this task. That's why Peoples Democracy defends Declan Bree's right to be heard, and to be answered by anti-imperialists. Reliance on 'bully-boy' tactics such as seen at Mullaghmore has another danger of particular importance to republican militants. History shows that it is not possible to suppress dissent outside an organisation without finally suppressing it within the organisation. Republican militants can't take this road without creating the sort of monolithic machine that Stalinists have used themselves and which they appear to disagree with so violently. Were that to happen with the Republican movement, we would all be the losers!





# First international conference on Women and Work

This is an abridged version of an article which appeared in the June 27 issue of INTERNATIONAL VIEWPOINT.

TURIN — The first conference of women from industrialised countries on the theme of women and work was held here on April 23-25.

The aim of the conference was to look at all aspects of women's work, inside and outside the home, and women's work in relationship to their role in the family. This approach was summed up in the title 'Produce and Reproduce, Women and Work'.

The preparation of the conference, and the discussion that took place at it, reflected a compromise between these two positions. The preparatory papers and the workshop discussions covered a broad range of topics: Wage-earning women, Women in Self-employment or in Self-managed Work, Domestic Labour, New Technology, Social Services and services run by women, were the topics of the first day's workshop. On the second day the themes were: The family and work, Sexual identity and self-perception, Culture, Feminism and power, Women and politics, Trade unions and feminism.

## WOMEN AND WORK

The conference set out with the aim of analysing what has changed over the last ten years in the relationship between women and their work. There is some basic statistical information which provides a starting point. Women represent an ever-growing percentage, indeed the often majority of, the increase in the active workforce available. This is particularly the case for the 25-35 age range, which was previously characterised by a sharp drop in the number of women working as it was the prime period for child-bearing.

This increase in the available workforce has not been matched by an increase in the jobs available, except in the service sector. There has been an increase in the number of women looking for jobs, and an increase in the number of unemployed women. For example, in the Common Market countries the number of women unemployed rose from 1.1 million in 1975 to 4.3 million in 1982.

The increase in educational opportunities for women has increased expectations in regard to jobs, but jobs taken often require a lower level of skills and qualifications than women have. The impact of the women's movement has also increased awareness among broad layers of women — leading them to see themselves as individuals, as unemployed workers, rather than anonymous housewives. This has stimulated them to fight for their own independence, including economic independence, despite the sacrifices this can entail. But how will

this awareness and radicalisation survive the blows inflicted by the ruling class determination to make the working class pay for the crisis?

## COMMON FEATURES IN ATTACKS ON WOMEN

The contributions by women from so many different countries helped to produce a clearer understanding of the way in which these attacks are being carried out. A clear picture emerged despite the different political situations, there were common elements in all the European countries:

- there is a generalised attack on employment, which most severely attacks the weakest part of the workforce: women,

- there is an increase in part-time work under different forms (eg the 'free Wednesdays' in France, remaining at home but on call in Germany, the spread in job sharing schemes, or as in the commercial sector in Italy, working only those days of the week or times of the year when demand is heavy),

- the spreading concept of the 'family wage' through increasing dependents allowances and unemployment benefits or favouring job opportunities for the 'heads of families'.

This latter point is illustrated by the example of Italy where at the same time as there is a severe attack on the inflation-indexing of wages and workers wages in general, government decrees have increased allowances for dependents. The trade unions and political parties have agreed to this trade-off. There are similar developments in Spain.

At the same time there are propaganda campaigns throughout Europe to 're-value' private and family life. In this context part-time work is often put forward as a means of women reconciling their role as mother/homemaker and worker.

Again, on a European-wide level there are cuts in public spending, with obvious consequences on jobs in the service sector — where many women are employed, and on the quality of life for women. This puts pressure on women to return to the family and drop out of the active work force and social involvement.

Another common feature came out in looking at how the trade-union leaderships respond to the effect of the crisis. They base their perspectives on what is 'possible', what is compatible with the capitalist system. Thus, it is extremely difficult to get union bodies to take up women's real needs.

This was the common framework to the discussion at the conference, despite



the different experiences and different ways of expression that continually arose during the three days. The basic premise of each discussion, whether on personal identity or new technology, was the economic crisis although there were many divergent approaches.

## WOMEN AGAINST THE CRISIS — A EUROPEAN CAMPAIGNING SLOGAN

For us, the most significant proposal to come out of the conference was to launch an international campaign on the slogan 'Women against the Crisis'.

This proposal came from several Belgian women who have been involved in the Belgian women's campaign 'Femmes contre la crise' over the last three years. Joint activity between women's groups and the union rank and file laid the basis for the campaign which has now won the participation of the major unions and progressive political parties.

The main themes of the campaign agreed at Turin are:

- defence of women's right to work and economic independence
- opposition to governmental and employers policies which discriminate against or particularly affect women
- opposition to part-time work, for a shorter working week with no loss of pay.

The proposed activities for this campaign were to hold an international Tribunal in Belgium in March 1984 on all forms of sexual discrimination women confront at work, and later a European-wide women's demonstration.

Despite all the differences of approach and opinion the conference marked a step forward in translating what women feel today into forms of struggle and organisation. After initial hesitation, the participants expressed their desire to organise to involve other women, to undertake broadly based actions, to broaden their field of activity. Now we have to move ahead in this perspective.

D. ERBA and R. CARBONI

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## EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

Due to lack of space, this article has had to be held over until the next issue.





# Poland Today

## INTERVIEW WITH GERRY FOLEY EDITOR OF INTERNATIONAL VIEWPOINT

**GERRY FOLEY, the editor of International Viewpoint, a fortnightly news review published under the auspices of the Fourth International, recently visited Ireland. He gave the following interview to John Meehan about the political crisis in Poland.**

**SR:** Recently martial law has been lifted in Poland. It looks like a very formal move. Would you see a parallel between this new legislation and so called 'emergency legislation' in Ireland?

**GF:** In a very general sense the two situations are similar. No repressive state can rest on force alone. Political deception, and the ability to win at least the resignation of a substantial section of the population, is essential also. Any dictatorship will make moves to try and legitimise itself. It will try to reassure sections of the population that it rules on the basis of law.

When internment was withdrawn in the North of Ireland during the mid '70s the repressive system was made more selective and effective. But many people had big illusions. It took the build-up of the H Block campaign and the hunger strikes to destroy those illusions. The result then was much broader and more massive opposition to the legitimacy of the system. In Poland you have the question - What does a return to democracy mean in a totalitarian regime? The Soviet Union in the past year has not had martial law. Was repression any less total in the Soviet Union than it was in Poland? Of course not. So the lifting of martial law in Poland has a clearly formal character, and there is much less possibility of deceiving people, as happened in the North of Ireland when internment was dropped.

In *International Viewpoint* No 19 (December 1982) we published the transcript of an internal report given to leaders of the Polish United Workers' Party (PUWP - the Polish Communist Party) in Wrocław. Tadeusz Porebski, a member of the PUWP's political bureau, explained that: 'in raising or suspending the state of war we will give special powers to the government. I'm thinking for example of the militarisation of the enterprises as a way of strengthening the discipline of the workers, proclaiming a state of emergency in certain areas throughout the country, .... but formally, the state of war will be lifted.'

It's also clear from this transcript that the PUWP intended to lift martial law on the first anniversary of its introduction - last December 13th 1982. Their tim-

etable got knocked off by 7 months. That indicates how difficult they found it to even carry out a formal manoeuvre. They feared that a lower level of intimidation might stimulate opposition rather than make people more ready to tolerate the totalitarian system.

We could publish the transcript because Solidarnosc people got a hold of it, which shows they were part of a mass movement with people in every walk of life in Polish society. The transcript was published in the underground press so the intentions of the government are quite well known. I doubt if the lifting of martial law will be an effective boost for the Jaruzelski regime.

**SR:** The Pope's recent trip to Poland exposed the contradictions of the Catholic hierarchy's policy. *Osservatore Romano*, the Vatican's official newspaper, was obliged to sack Father Virgilio Levi for suggesting that Lech Walesa and Solidarnosc should be abandoned. What does he represent?

**GF:** It is clear that he reflects the Catholic Church's point of view on the situation in Poland. The basic orientation is to manoeuvre with the regime, to try and get some kind of a deal, to re-establish social peace. That means sacrificing the mass movement to some extent. The Church is prepared to do that. Father Levi was quickly fired, I suspect, because the Pope knows that this Church attitude is well known in Poland. It is widely discussed, particularly among the Solidarity leaders. To state so boldly that Lech Walesa would have to be sacrificed, even before Walesa himself could decide if that was his own wish, or before he could justify such a move to his rank and file, would have created an instant scandal. The Church's relationship with both the underground movement and the masses would have been undermined.

The Catholic Church institutions in Poland and Ireland have differing social structures. In Ireland it is part and parcel of the ruling class. Its personnel comes from the privileged classes.

In Poland the Church has no social roots. Its traditional social base in the aristocracy and bourgeoisie was destroyed when the country became a deformed workers state after World War II. So the Church's institutional roots are very shallow. People tend to look to the Church as an alternative to the totalitarian regime. It, at least, is a little bit human. It has some relationship with the masses of people that depends on mutual respect and not force, terror and lies.

If the Church makes a political mistake it can be devastating in a very short period of time. That's not like Ireland, where the Church has set its face against the mass movement time after time in the most scandalous way without suffering major damage.

**SR:** How have the Communist Parties been affected by the rise of Solidarnosc?

**GF:** The repression in Poland today, brutal as it is, is pretty small potatoes compared with the USSR in the 1930's under Stalin; hundreds of thousands, maybe millions of people killed, the show trials - that type of thing is not happening today in Eastern Europe.

In the 1930's the circumstances were exceptional. The international workers' movement did not understand the qualitative change in the Bolshevik party after the death of Lenin, the Stalin regime continued to have some of the aura of the Russian Revolution, and it was felt that the Stalin regime was not as bad as the Nazis. Progressive opinion and the international workers' movement tended to look the other way if they saw Stalin's crimes.

Since then there is much broader understanding about the repressive side of Stalinism. Even the most pro-Moscow Communist parties in Western Europe find it hard to defend Stalinist repression in Poland. In all the anti-bureaucratic political revolutions since the East Berlin uprisings of 1953 the Communist Parties have been hit very hard. The crushing of the Czechoslovakian Prague Spring in August 1968 drove deep unhealed wounds into the CP's.

A new mass movement, or even a more bloody crushing of it, or a political revolution, would be a definitive disaster for the international Stalinist movement. It would damage the big Western European Communist Parties in France, Italy, Portugal and Spain and would also weaken the legitimacy of the bureaucracy in the Soviet Union itself. The impact on the CP's was much greater during the rise of Solidarity. Now it's more like a running sore. Take for example - Canada. The May Day demonstrations are supported by the trades union movement in general but are organised by the CP. On the last May

Day they tried to exclude a pro-Solidarity contingent from the demonstration. That caused a tremendous political scandal. That weakened the CP's position in the labour movement.

**SR:** Do Polish workers see links between their struggles and the Irish national movement?

**GF:** There was a very strong identification with the hunger strike in Poland - that was the period when Solidarnosc was legal. Many young people developed a radical version of traditional Polish nationalism. I was asked for books about Ireland wherever I went. Bobby Sands' prison diaries were in big demand. I spoke to a national convention of committees for the release of political prisoners in Poland about the hunger strikers. I was asked to do that by the organisers of the Convention. What I said in support of the hunger strikers was very well received.

**SR:** How widespread is the Fourth International's (FI) practical solidarity work? Has it been confined to Western Europe?

**GF:** The Fourth International (FI) has done a lot of solidarity work on

Poland. I was in France when martial law was declared on December 13 1981. The French section of the FI, The Ligue Communiste Révolutionnaire (LCR) played a very prominent role in all of the demonstrations supporting Solidarnosc. They concentrated on building support inside. The French trades union movement. For the first time opposition developed inside the CP led union, the CGT (General Confederation of Labour) against the line of the leadership. This, to some extent, reflected the LCR's success in developing an influence in the trades union movement.

Before the outlawing of Solidarnosc the FI in Europe played a large role in sending trades union and professional delegations to Poland. The FI's role became quite well known in Poland.

We began publication of a journal in Polish - *Impraktor* - around the martial law. This has been circulated clandestinely. It is widely enough known to be a factor in the political debates within Solidarnosc.

For the first time there have been significant struggles against Stalinist repression inside Third World countries. Remember that democracy is often 'here today, gone tomorrow' in the poorer regions of the world. The pressure of hunger and absolute deprivation is so strong that people have tended not to feel a great deal of sympathy with others who are just denied democratic rights in the bureaucratized workers' states. That's understandable but narrow. It is important to overcome it. The Mexican section of the FI the PRT (Revolutionary Workers' Party) played a leading role in the demonstrations supporting Solidarnosc. The most significant demonstrations in support of the Polish workers outside the advanced capitalist countries occurred in Latin America.



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POBLAUGHT SHOISIALACH

# SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Paper of PEOPLES' DEMOCRACY

## TAKE THE CAMPAIGN ONTO THE STREETS



# SEPTEMBER 7th.

## Make Sure its a 'NO' Vote

IN THE RUN UP TO REFERENDUM DAY ON SEPTEMBER 7th opponents of the Constitutional amendment will be pulling out all the stops for a 'No' vote! In mid-August, a four-week country-wide drive against the amendment will be launched by the campaign. This final effort will kick off with a series of press conferences, featuring doctors, lawyers, politicians, socially involved groups, trade unionists, feminists each in turn detailing their reasons for opposing the amendment. This will culminate in mass meetings held simultaneously in major cities in the 26 counties on a selected night before voting day.

The campaign has covered a lot of ground and has spread far and wide. It has been of great importance that women in particular have come together to defend themselves. Who would have thought a year ago that such a referendum could be defeated? It has been brought to peoples notice that such an attack on womens rights cannot be tolerated and enshrined in the constitution.

It must be emphasised that the Catholic church cannot assume moral responsibility for the entire nation. This aspect has been taken up by the AAC with great gusto, but there has been less emphasis on the relationship between the church

which has been at the centre of the struggles fought in the past in Ireland and will continue to be an obstacle to social progress unless it is taken up politically whenever it rears its head.

We should be under no illusion that the pulpit will be used to urge people to vote against democratic rights on this issue, in the same way that it has been used on divorce and contraception and the issue of 'illegitimate' children. Ending that interference remains a central political fight for all progressive forces. This has been a key lesson of the anti-amendment campaign.

The experience of fighting to build a broad-based democratic campaign holds another lesson for the future.

The fight to stop the right-wing offensive of SPUC and PLAC has brought together the widest coalition of political forces ever seen in the history of this state.

And despite the official absence of Sinn Fein, the involvement of some individual members who have joined the campaign in the last few weeks is to be welcomed. Peoples Democracy argued from the first days of the campaign for a broad-based united front. We raised the need for political representation for every current on the main bodies of the campaign. This we stressed,

and allow different currents to propose their strategy for victory in full open view of all campaign activists. This is what we fought for with some success in the H-Block campaign.

Unfortunately the leadership of the Anti-amendment campaign think they can build a broad campaign while prohibiting the expression of views of important sections of the campaign. This censorship, worse still, is totally one-sided. Opponents of the amendment who also oppose abortion are totally free to emphasise this aspect of their views but the supporters of 'A Womens Right to Choose' are supposed to keep silent.

While there are no surprises in this practice of the campaign steering committee it is outrageous that at the last conference sections of the left supported a recommendation that the 'Right to choose' voice should be silent up to Sept. 7th. The adoption of this recommendation is a serious threat to the unity of the campaign.

Peoples Democracy agrees with and accepts the platform of the AAC. Right to Choose supporters,

their tactics to working on the AAC platform and organising separate and independent propaganda. This is correct and entirely acceptable within the context of a broad based and democratic mass campaign.

Those, especially of the left, who attempted to restrict political rights and therefore avoid the thorny question of abortion, are being politically opportunistic and are getting it wrong.

Abortion is on the political agenda today because SPUC and PLAC put it there. Not everybody in the anti-amendment campaign is required to have the same opinion. But those who see the right to choose as the only real solution to the dilemma of Irish women have the right to say so. We base our view on the actual choice that Irish women already make.

No 'suspension of democracy' can cover-up this fact of life. What is more it is the compelling reality that for many Irish women society makes abortion the only viable option that ensures that the fight for the 'Right to choose' will go on until this democratic right is asserted.

ALL OUT FOR SEPTEMBER 7th!

MAKE SURE ITS A 'NO' VOTE!

## WHY WE ARE VOTING NO!

DES BONASS ATGWU  
Executive Member -  
Dublin Trades Council.

ROSA MEEHAN  
UCD Students Union  
Welfare Officer

'I'm voting NO because the last thing the working class needs right now is this amendment. This whole thing was started by a right wing minority. And the politicians jumped, nervous of the Church's attitude and influence. Barry Desmond - Labour Minister for Health - in particular was one of the first to support SPUC and the pro-life lobby. There was no popular demand for this.

Women of child bearing age have rents, mortgages bills and families to worry about. They don't need this! Having children is an economic as well as a moral or social choice, that's a fact and its women who can best decide. That's why I'll be voting NO!

HELEN MAHONY

TUI Conference delegate  
(Teachers Union of Ireland)

'I'm against the amendment because its an attempt to penalise, terrorise and isolate women, particularly those thousands of women who go to Britain for abortions each year. Its also an attempt to stem the fight for democratic rights, like contraception and divorce.

EDDIE CONLON :  
National Organiser for the  
Anti-Amendment Campaign

The amendment is about fighting these people who want to drive women back into the home and tie them forever to the kitchen sink. Its about challenging the church and state and the way they try to control our lives and our bodies. Its about challenging the ideas which led to the amendment and the vicious attacks which are now going on against workers living standards.

Its about attacking those with power and privilege who would cynically use the amendment to divert attention from cuts, unemployment and high taxation. Voting NO is saying we have

I think women should have total control over their own sexuality. This is especially important for women students and for young people generally since the one way or the other the outcome of the vote on September 7th will have tremendous implications for the kind of Ireland we will have to live in. Young people and students on their holidays should put all their efforts into defeating this amendment.'

Mary O'Donnell  
ITGWU, Limerick

The trade union movement has always been to the forefront in advocating equality for women not just in work but other areas as well. So it was important that the ICTU Congress should have so clearly backed the Executive's statement of opposition to the Amendment.

While the referendum may seem to many as irrelevant and therefore harmless, I believe it is a dangerous opening shot aiming at creating fear amongst women which will fit in nicely with attacks on living standards at this time. That's why I'm voting 'NO'.

NELL McCAFFERTY  
Journalist and Author of  
'The Armagh Women'.

'First and foremost I will vote against the amendment because I support abortion rights for women.

The constitutional amendment shows a callous disregard for life beyond the womb. Anyone seriously interested in ensuring food, shelter and a full life for women and their children would be campaigning for one family - one home, a weekly wage for women.

I believe that women left to themselves will make absolutely the right decision about pregnancies. It is not for me or anyone to tell them what to do.'

Organisations stated for identification purposes only