

# Socialist Worker

For a Workers Republic and International Socialism

In spite of summit  
they're still...

## THICK AS THIEVES



photo: Derek Speirs (Report)

THE NOTION that we should feel "humiliated" because Garret FitzGerald was kneed in the groin by Margaret Thatcher is rubbish.

Our attitude is that it couldn't have happened to a nicer person.

FitzGerald wasn't representing working class people when he went belly-crawling to the British Tories for a few crumbs of concession on the North. He was representing his own class, the same crew of capitalist opportunists who are slashing social services, cutting the dole, holding down pay and encouraging the gardai to hammer anyone who dares to dissent.

### ACHIEVEMENT

One reason Thatcher wouldn't give him anything which he could hold up back home as a significant achievement is that he had already given away any bargaining counters he had.

His Government has already delivered on extra-territory, on "border security", on trying to isolate the Provos in every way possible.

The Coalition has been one of the best little governments the Brits have ever had in Ireland. After all that, what could he threaten her with when she refused to throw him a few scrappy concessions at the summit? Invasion?

The FitzGerald Government has acted as the cats-paw of the Thatcher regime not because its members are weak or "unpatriotic". They act in this way because it is in their own interest to do so.

It isn't just the Brits in the North who need to hold the Provos down. The ruling class in the South are just as threatened by Republican militancy — particularly because they see the possibility of Catholic workers' struggles in the North becoming an example to workers in the South now

being forced by the FitzGerald Government to fight to defend their jobs and their living standards.

There is very little Margaret Thatcher wants FitzGerald to do which he is not doing already in the interests of his own class. It is that which makes his bargaining position so weak. And there's no way the Free

### FUNDAMENTAL

State bosses can get out of this corner.

The fundamental fact of the matter is that there is no essential conflict between the interests of the class which FitzGerald represents and the class which Thatcher represents. They are both totally committed to the maintenance of capitalist stability in all Ireland. All they have to argue about is how best to achieve that.

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Communism in Ireland — page 4 & 5

# WATERFORD WALKS ON WATER RATES

THE campaign against the water rates is highly successful in most parts of the country.

This is not surprising. Water rates are part of the bosses' offensive which is forcing down wages, flinging people on to the dole, putting our health in danger by cutbacks in the health service — all the measures which are designed to make working people pay for the bosses' crisis.

Already PAYE workers pay 9% of the tax bill while the rich get away with paying little or nothing. For example, this year the Government are owed over £91 million in overdue capital gains tax but less than a tenth of this will be collected.

Another £10m is due in capital acquisition tax, while the self-employed are thought to owe over £55m in overdue health charges, youth levies and one percent income levies.

As Aggio Giani, a worker from Waterford Glass pointed out in Waterford District Court, VAT was increased in 1977 from 2½% to 4% to compensate for the abolition of domestic rates. Today VAT stands at 24% and they are, in effect, re-introducing rates.

Nor are the local authorities keeping their promises of special treatment for old-age pensioners and those on social welfare or low incomes.

The Munster Express — a paper not known for its radical views — pointed out recently that it is becoming clear that to qualify for an



exemption from the water rates "a person needs to be more than merely poor or in receipt of a small income. It seems one would need to have one foot in the work-house".

Waterford Corporation has outlined the yardstick they will be using in deciding who has to pay. If a single person gets anything over £55 a week to feed, clothe and keep warm the s/he will have to pay at least 40% of the charges!

And the state is not being slack in enforcing the payment of this tax like it is on capital gains tax etc. In Kildare, the County Council has prosecuted demonstrators

under Section 18 (f) of the Offences Against the State Act.

The government can be made to back down on the water rates. Already communities all over the country are organising against the rates. These groups need to have regular open meetings to discuss where the campaign is going and how to bring the struggle forward.

Clearly the greatest hope of success lies in linking the militancy of the communities with the power of workers on the shop floor.

The Waterford Council of Trade Unions has shown a lead in this regard. It's October meeting promised to call a strike if anyone was

jailed

Local authority workers in Dublin have refused to cut off the water of anyone who had refused to pay. Local authority workers have more to lose than anyone else since successful collection of the water rates would leave the way open to privatisation of local services.

Talk of backing the water rates campaign with industrial militancy is not empty rhetoric. Waterford Glass workers struck for a few hours and joined the picket on the court cases at the end of October. Their action has shown the way to win the anti-water rates campaign.

JOHNNY CLOONO

the Anglo/Irish summit could not help but be struck by her "We have it — we hold it — we won't give it away" attitude. A victory for the miners would seriously damage that confidence and would be an inspiration to workers in Britain and Ireland to bring the struggle further.

The Southern ruling class have very similar objectives to Thatcher and have shown themselves quite willing to collaborate with Thatcher in the smashing of the miners as shown by the recent court freezing of the miners' funds.

In the coming winter months the danger is of the miners being starved back to work. Collections are fundamental for the survival of the strike. Already, moved by pictures coming from Ethiopia, thousands of pounds have been collected in workplaces for the relief of the famine there and many might feel reluctant to contribute also to the miners.

We are in favour of collections for Ethiopia. There is an immediate life or death need there. But it's important for militants to be pointing out that all the millions collected for Ethiopia will not change any of the conditions that created the famine in the first place.

A victory for the miners could be one small step on the way to creating a society where famines would no longer exist.

not giving his full support.

Even on his own terms this is a short-sighted view — the demoralisation that would follow the defeat of such an important group of workers is hardly the atmosphere in which a Labour Government would be elected.

Thatcher's objective has been quite clear and to date she has been quite successful. She is out to force down wages and erode the improvements in conditions won by workers over the years, thus making them pay for the bosses' economic crisis.

Initially it was the weaker sections: steelworkers, health workers, that were taken on and section by section were defeated. In March the Tories provoked the miners' strike by announcing the closure of a number of pits — despite previous assurances that they were "safe" for another few years. The miners didn't want the strike — knowing the difficulties of a coal strike going into the Summer months, when less coal is needed — but a refusal to fight would have meant the breaking of the union.

The miners' strike is not just another interesting bit of news from the world class struggle. Anyone watching Thatcher's performance after

# Students score a victory

STUDENTS in Regional Technical Colleges all over the country showed recently just how successful students' actions can be when they are linked with workers.

The wave of student occupations over delays in paying out of grants has led to a government promise that something will be done about under-staffing in college offices.

Student numbers have increased dramatically in recent years while the number of office workers has fallen due to the government embargo on jobs. The protest began when

workers at the offices refused to issue EEC Social Fund grants and demanded that vacancies be filled. The students saw immediately whose side the workers were on.

They occupied the colleges in support of them. Within days, the united action of workers and students led to the demands being conceded.

It is a clear example of the gains that can be made when students ally themselves with workers in the fight against the cut-backs.

Closer links between the rank-and-file of both the staff and student unions are needed if this fight is to gain ground. — JOHN HAROLD

# Tax matters

IF you get one of the pay-slips that are still going round, you have perhaps noticed that you pay rather a lot of tax.

You may even have, from time to time wondered just what the government is doing with that part of your pay packet it decrees itself entitled to.

Despite the fact that living standards haven't risen past 1973 levels, State indebtedness rose from £2,100m in 1973 to £8,500m in 1983.

By compounding each other's mistakes and inventing new ones of their own, successive governments have proved that a bad situation can only get worse while they are in control.

Now that they have made a complete mess of the economy, they use their favourite battlecry, "recession" to launch vicious attacks on workers. More and more is being demanded from those less and less able to pay.

Obviously if the people who need help most are getting little or no aid from

the state then somebody else is. US multi-nationals reaped a sizable \$ 693 profit from this country last year.

Before you take off your socks to calculate the tax the state could have put to good use, remember that corporation tax, like the typical pay rise, if it exists at all, is in low single figures.

These companies get up to all sorts of skull-duggery to avoid paying even nominal tax.

The IDA is still happy to pour our hard-earned money into the manufacture of our biggest export, one black hole.

No matter who is "elected" into power, their primary objective is, or becomes, to safeguard the interests of the capitalist class. Under the present system it can be no other way.

The bosses have nothing to fear. Nothing, that is except an organised and militant working class with a socialist vision for the future.

- JEAN CROSS

# Carroll's cuts

IN the Dundalk Argus of Friday 3rd August, it was reported in front page headlines that a major breakthrough in reducing the working week was in the process of being negotiated by the group of unions in the local cigarette firm of P.J. Carrolls.

Mick O'Reilly, branch secretary of the ATGWU in Dundalk and his counterpart Pat Brennan of the ITGWU asserted the deal would form a "major concession for workers". O'Reilly went further and claimed that "it would be the biggest breakthrough for workers since the builders strike brought a 2½ hour reduction in the working week from 42½ to 40 hours".

Production workers are being asked to change drastically the conditions under which they work.

Continuous working of machines, staggered meal breaks, curtailed canteen facilities, and clock cards to be lifted in one's department and not in the main hall, are to be conceded to management who have stressed that any drop in weekly hours worked will have to be self-financing.

To them it'll be a feather in their cap but the workers of P.J. Carrolls will be left to pick up the tab! Of course this deal is seen by O'Reilly as grist to the mill to feed his large ambition. The publicity he will receive on this issue will be used to further his attempt to get Mattie Murrigan's job as district secretary of the ATGWU. One thing is certain he will never fill Mattie's boots even though he's too big for his own!

-PHIL TOAL

# MINERS MUST WIN

AFTER ten months on strike and coming up to Christmas, the miners are under tremendous pressure to return to work. As we go to print it looks as if some are taking McGregor's bribe of a holiday bonus. However, the majority are still out on strike and the bosses' newspaper 'The Financial Times' has predicted that the strike could go on into the new year.

The strike has presented the British workers' movement, after several years of defeats, with an ideal opportunity for a massive offensive against the Tories.

The TUC and Labour Party leaderships have done

everything to stop this. The strike in the docks and the proposed pit overseers' strike could have brought things to a head. Instead they were individually settled, leaving the miners to fight alone. The TUC for all its verbal support has refused to generalise the strike to other workers.

At its recent annual conference, the Labour Party rank-and-file came out overwhelmingly in support of the miners. Despite this, Kinnock, for fear of damaging the Labour Party's electoral prospects at the next general election, has used the excuses of the lack of a national ballot and "picket line violence" for

not giving his full support.

Even on his own terms this is a short-sighted view — the demoralisation that would follow the defeat of such an important group of workers is hardly the atmosphere in which a Labour Government would be elected.

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# NATIONALISTS NOT SOCIALISTS

**Ard Fheis  
union  
rumpus**

GERRY ADAMS' presidential address at the Sinn Féin Ard Fheis last month was a speech of real substance and deserves to be taken seriously by all Irish socialists.

It was an important speech first because the Provisionals themselves are important: whether certain left groups like it or not the Provos are, to an extent, dictating the pace and pattern of "national" politics in Ireland and it is necessary to relate to what they say — particularly to the key-note Republican speech of the year, which sets the agenda for the movement over the next twelve months.

It was important too because at leadership level Adams' line is the most coherent expression of the leftward development within Sinn Féin in recent years — and of the length and limit of that development.

This leftward shift is a very positive step.

It is to be welcomed in the negative sense that the Republican Movement is no longer dominated by the sort of thinking which held sway a dozen years ago and which was accurately described as "right-wing" and even worse: it involved a mixture of appeals to a mystical sense of nationhood, openly authoritarian-Catholic ideology and outright hostility to socialist ideas.

The shift is also to be welcomed in the positive sense that many rank-and-file supporters of the Republican Movement are now willing at least to listen to Marxist ideas and arguments. And that is something which the Republican leadership itself has had to take seriously — as witness the debate on the meaning of "Republicanism" in the letters page of *An Phoblacht*.

But it is important also to be clear about the limits of Sinn Féin's left move. Those

limits were clearly drawn in Adams' address. Any serious examination of what he said leaves little doubt that despite everything, Gerry Adams still stands solidly in the "orthodox" Republican tradition.

There is evidence for this in the language which he used naturally to describe his ideas — in his constant references to "the Irish people"; to the aim of "establishing a society which meets the needs of all our people"; to the desirability of creating "a just and pluralist society" and so forth.

This is not socialist talk. Socialists base themselves on the *working class*. The "Irish people" is a multi-class concept. A "just and pluralist society" implies one in which certain common decencies are observed. It does not imply one in which the working class has taken power.

Moreover, Adams made it explicit that the major, intermediate aim of the Republican Movement is not to join wholeheartedly in the "left" as it struggles against the "right" but to create a Republic in which "normal" left-versus-right-politics could get properly under way.

He put it: "The establishment of a society free from British interference, with the union at an end, will see sectarianism shrivel and will see the emergence of class politics proper, with a realignment of forces along left and right lines".

## IMPLICATION

The implication of this is that a left-right realignment must await the creation of the Republic and that, therefore, the left today should not divert from the struggle for "the Republic" by trying to make "left-versus-right conflict crucial in the here-and-now.

This is just another way of expressing de Valera's 1918 dictum that "labour must wait".

This line of thought is starkly and unmistakably present in the economic programme which Adams put forward. He said:

"We advocate a planned economy which is not concerned with the maximising of profits for multi-nationals and private enterprise, but is concerned with maximising the benefits to the Irish people themselves.

"Sinn Féin urges that job creation should concentrate in the areas of the most obvious potential development: natural resources; food processing for the neglected home market and for export; expanding the fishing fleet and the processing industry to the level of other similar-sized countries; diversifying from the current secure industries to manufacturing industry with export potential; developing agriculture through selective subsidies and land restructuring, particularly in its labour-intensive areas such as market-gardening, and providing the necessary social services through planned public spending programmes particularly in the construction industry with its spin-off potential."

This is a strategy for refurbishing capitalism — in a way which, if it worked, would make life under capitalism more tolerable for working class people. It is *not* a strategy for ending capitalism. If it succeeded — which the SWM asserts bluntly it cannot — it would strengthen the hold of the capitalist system. It is uncannily similar to the programmes of the Workers' Party and the Labour Party Left.

Nowhere from start to finish of Adams' speech was there a direct call for workers to aim eventually towards taking control. He concentrated on workers in their "communities", in tenants' groups and special interest groups



such as campaigns against water rates.

There was no reference to workers' activities in the one place where that activity has a potential to lead towards workers' power: no reference, that is, to activity at the point of production, at *work* — the place where workers create all the wealth which exists in capitalism and where the withdrawal of their services to capitalism can bring the entire system to a halt.

There was no strategy for making Ireland socialist.

The reason for this is not that Adams just can't see it, not that he is consciously opposed to a socialist Ireland. The explanation is to be found in the Republican tradition.

The Irish Republican tradition is not socialist, never has been. Republicanism is about nationhood not about class. Phrases and stories about the "nation" and its symbols and struggles come much more readily to the lips of all Republicans than cold references to class.

## DIFFERENCES

And these phrases, songs and so forth reflect ideas which are deeply held. The tradition and the Movement which embodies it expects of a "Republican" something more than a person who sees the differences in the ways people relate to the means of production as the most crucial divide in humanity.

And this is compounded by the fact that the Republican Movement is not democratic in any sense that socialists would accept. It is true that debates at local level and at Ard Fheiseanna are real, and that the leadership does not any longer always win. And that the decisions of delegates at Ard Fheiseanna, even when these go against the leadership, do carry real weight in determining what campaigns the movement will be involved in in the coming year and what its line will be within them.

But the substance of Sinn Féin's politics is to a major extent determined by the level and course of the military campaign. All members of Sinn Féin pledge unconditional support to the IRA. When Republicans talk of the "leadership" they *mean* the IRA Army Council. And the level and course of the military campaign cannot be determined in an open democratic way, cannot be the subject of public, democratic argument and instruction.

Even if the IRA leadership was attracted in theory towards such a democratic structure, it would be suicidally crazy to try it. Armies don't work like that.

So democracy within Sinn Féin is necessarily limited and relatively shallow. As a result of that, and given the Movement's veneration of its own history, it is virtually impossible to introduce into internal Republican debate fundamental ideas which come from outside the Republican tradition.

Moreover, the Republican Movement, while it is now largely working class in its composition, is not based on the working class. It did not grow out of the organisations of the working class, "official" or "unofficial". It did not develop as part of working class organisation, but separate from and parallel to it.

There has *never* been an organic connection between Irish Republicanism and the organised working class, even "though militant Republicanism and militant working class activity often coincided in time and place and involved many of the same people.

But only the working class can overthrow capitalism in Ireland. From which it follows that only the working class can smash imperialism. For the working class to do this, a revolutionary party based on clear and hard-edged class politics must be built.

And that will have to be done outside the Republican Movement.

THE discussion on attitudes to pickets at the recent Sinn Féin Ard Fheis showed once again the true nature of that organisation.

A resolution from Clones cumann argued that no Sinn Féin member should pass a trade union picket under threat of expulsion from SF. Moving the resolution, Peter McAleer said that the issue was "whether Sinn Féin stood on the side of organised labour or organised capital".

The resolution, however, received the support of only one half of the hall. On a recount every member of the Ard Comhairle voted against it — ensuring its defeat!

The debate on the issue says a lot about Sinn Féin. There is no doubting its left turn; just prior to this resolution, the Ard Fheis passed a resolution calling for a 35-hour-week. Two years ago they had rejected a similar call.

But there is a fantastic difference between rhetoric and action. Sinn Féin calls itself "revolutionary socialist" organisation. It claims to be able to lead the mass of Irish workers to some sort of democratic socialist state. But when it comes to the vital issue of how to respond to working class struggle, the party does not know where it stands.

## DEFEATED

There were two reasons why the resolution was defeated. First, a number of Sinn Féin trade unionists explained to the delegates that the official trade union movement operated a two-tier picket system. They therefore claimed that the resolution was "impractical"!

Sometimes revolutionaries may be forced to pass pickets from fear of victimisation. No sensible organisation demands its quota of martyrs.

Unfortunately, none of the speakers at the Ard Fheis argued that as a party Sinn Féin had to fight hard in the unions against the two-tier picket system. In fact, the implication was that there was nothing wrong with the two-tier scabs charter instituted by the bureaucrats of the ICTU.

The second reason that the resolution was defeated was that there was a silent majority at the Ard Fheis who wanted nothing to do with pickets of whatever variety. Despite the left turn, the leadership of Sinn Féin know that it is vital to keep this section of the organisation. That's why Adams can say that he is "no Marxist" and why the party's current slogan is "One Ireland, One People."

When it came to the crunch the new leadership of Sinn Féin showed that they, like the old leadership of O Bradaigh and O Conaill, recognised the nature of their organisation as a class alliance.

That is why they voted down a resolution that would have expelled scabs from the organisation.

— KIERAN ALLEN



# What we stand for

The Socialist Workers Movement is a revolutionary workers' organisation which aims to organise the working class in the struggle for power and for the overthrow of the existing social order.

The system under which we live, capitalism, is based on production for profit and not for human need. It is a system that leads to poverty and war, racial and sexual oppression.

Only the working class can destroy capitalism and build a socialist society based on workers' control of production.

Our political action to prepare the working class for that is based on the following principles:

## REVOLUTION NOT REFORM

There is no parliamentary road to socialism as the left in the Dail believe. The system cannot be changed by piecemeal reform. The state machinery—the courts, parliament, the police and army—are used to maintain the dominance of the ruling class. The real power lies in the boardrooms of big business.

We stand for a workers' revolution which produces a different and more democratic society—one based on councils of delegates from workplaces and localities who are democratically elected and subject to recall at any time.

## NEITHER WASHINGTON NOR MOSCOW

That kind of socialism does not exist anywhere today. Workers have no control over countries like Russia, China or Poland. They are exploited by a state capitalist class. A workers' revolution is required in those countries too.

## A SOCIALIST ANSWER TO THE NATIONAL QUESTION

The six county Orange State is propped up by British imperialism. By bribing loyalist workers in the past with privileges in, for example, housing and jobs, Protestant workers have come to see their interests as being served by the British-backed Unionist boss class. This divides the working class and delivers a section of the workers as allies of imperialism. The Northern state is sectarian in essence and must be smashed.

The slow task of building working class unity against imperialism must be begun. However imperialism must be fought in the here and now and we support all forces engaged in that struggle regardless of our difference of programme.

We stand for: Immediate withdrawal of the British Army.  
Political Status now.  
The disbandment of the RUC and the UDR.

In the South, the bosses are junior partners with other European and American bosses in world capitalism. The main enemy is the boss at home. Nationalism or a united capitalist Ireland offers nothing to workers. The only republic worth fighting for is a workers' republic.

## WOMEN'S LIBERATION

We believe that only through socialism can women achieve full emancipation and that their struggle is part of the whole class struggle for socialism.

## FOR A RANK AND FILE MOVEMENT

The main area of political action for socialists is the mass organisation of the working class, particularly the trade unions. We fight for the independence of the unions from state interference, democratic control of all union affairs and the election of all union officials.

We oppose all anti-union legislation and all forms of national wage understandings and wage restraint. We oppose all redundancies. We say: Occupy to demand nationalisation under workers' control. Fight for a 35 hour week. We support the building of a rank and file movement which draws together militant trade unionists to oppose the class collaboration of the union leaders.

## FOR A REVOLUTIONARY WORKERS PARTY

The SWM is a democratic centralist organisation open to all those who accept its principles and objectives. The struggle for a workers' republic in Ireland is inseparable from the international struggle. The SWM fights to build a mass party of the working class as part of a revolutionary international of working class parties.

SOCIALIST WORKER is produced by the SOCIALIST WORKERS MOVEMENT. If you would like more information on our activities and policies, would like to become a member of the SWM or would like to take out a subscription to SOCIALIST WORKER - £3.50 for a year - clip this form and post to SWM, 41 Herberton Park, Rialto, Dublin 8.

I want to join.  I want a subscription and enclose £3.50.

I would like more information about the SWM

Name .....

Address .....

# How Irish Comm

IT HAS never been easy to be a Communist in Ireland.

Until recently the "Red scare" was for real in this country, and Catholic bishops competed with Orange demagogues in their denunciations of anything even vaguely associated with communist ideas.

And this happened in a country where the working class was, anyway, very weak: divided against itself in the North, and, in the South, merely a minority of the largely-rural population right up to the 60s.

And if all that wasn't drawback enough, there was the imperialist, British presence which gave all sorts of opportunists and arm-chancers an excuse to argue that class politics would have to wait until after the country was "freed".

So "reds" were never going to get an easy ride in Ireland.

But this is not the whole story. The Communists themselves have contributed to their own problems. And the major reason for that has been the weakness of their political ideas.

As Mike Milotte shows clearly, the central weakness has been an adherence to a "stages" theory of revolution: a belief that, in Ireland, "national" freedom would have to come first. Then it would be possible to proceed towards socialism.

The implication of this, and always has been, that at the moment it is strategically wrong to aim directly at socialism: on the contrary, Communists have argued, it is necessary to make alliances with all sorts of elements who are willing to support "progressive", "national" demands but who wouldn't touch socialism with a barge-pole.

So Marxist politics have to be watered down. And anyone who refuses to do this is denounced as "ultra-left".



Lenin saw the need to go for workers' power.

"Communism in Modern Ireland" is a sorry story. It's the title of a new book by Mike Milotte, a member of the Socialist Workers Party, and it traces the history of attempts to build a "Moscow-line" party in Ireland over more than six decades: since the 1917 Russian revolution until the present day. The book shows in exact and meticulous detail the ways in which the influence of the Stalinist regime in the Soviet Union operated to hamper the emergence of a revolutionary socialist leadership of the Irish working class.

In this article, EAMONN McCANN examines one aspect of that story: the effect of the Stalinist "stages theory" on the way Irish Communists worked.

Note: throughout the article, for purposes of convenience, the word "Communist" is used to refer generally to members of "orthodox" or "pro-Moscow" organisations.

This is the background reason for the headline in the Communist Party paper the "Irish Socialist" during the last 26 County election advising readers to vote to keep Fianna Fail in power. It is for the same reason that the CP made a formal submission to the New Ireland Forum, which had been set up explicitly to work out a bourgeois solution to the "National question".

Of course, Communists in Ireland didn't just dream this stages notion up. They argue that they can trace it back to Lenin himself. And so, in a sense, they can.

## TSAR

Lenin did argue in 1905 that it was "absurd" to talk of socialist revolution in Russia. Instead, he maintained, there would first have to be the "democratic" revolution: that is, the overthrow of the Tsar to put the capitalist class in power in a "normal" parliamentary democracy. Indeed, Lenin went so far as to assert that the "democratic revolution" — which he urged communists to support and work for — "will not weaken but strengthen the domination of the bourgeoisie".

Milotte notes: "This would be so despite the leading role

of the working class in the bourgeois revolution, because Lenin held, the working class was not aiming for power itself but for a "revolutionary democratic dictatorship" alongside the peasantry who, after seizing the land, would become a conservative force, siding with the bourgeoisie and compelling the working class to resume the position of revolutionary opposition".

However, Lenin was not an arid dogmatist who tried to force the facts into a ready-made framework. When the February 1917 revolution swept the Tsar away and brought the bourgeoisie to power, Lenin, noting the balance of class forces now that the old order had been smashed, and seeing the opportunities that existed, didn't hesitate to abandon any notion of doing things by "stages" and to urge the Bolsheviks to go directly for workers' power.

## TROTSKY

In effect, in 1917 his own perspective and that of Trotsky — whom Lenin had denounced in 1905 — now meshed together.

However, the ideas of the Russian Revolution did not long survive Lenin's death. By the late 20s the revolution — under pressure from a hostile capitalist world, with severe internal economic problems and with the working class itself decimated by famine and civil war — had degenerated under Stalin. And a crude and rigidly dogmatic version of the "stages theory" re-appeared. And given Stalin's bureaucratic control of the international communist movement, the theory came to be regarded as holy writ by orthodox Communists internationally.

It has had a disastrous effect on the development of Communism in Ireland where the CP has not attempted to build a party which would lead the working class directly towards power but, on the contrary, set itself the task of defending and implementing the policies of the Soviet leadership.



STALIN

ON THE National Question the Communist Party, faithfully toeing the Moscow line, has had to twist and turn and tie itself into knots.

For a start, despite the fact that it has always backed the general idea of a united



Derry 1968: Civil Rights marchers

# Communism failed

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Ireland, at various times it maintained separate organisations North and South — partitioning itself even as it denounced the partition of the country. The present Communist Party (the third organisation in Ireland to bear that title) only came into existence in 1970 when the Irish Workers Party (26 Counties) merged with the Communist Party of Northern Ireland.

But this organisational disarray merely reflected the inconsistency of "orthodox" Communism on the national question. The inconsistency arose from the fact that the Communists' attitude to British imperialism was not determined by how they saw the relationship between British imperialism and the Irish working class. The crucial factor was the relationship between British imperialism and the leadership in the Soviet Union.

This meant that as the foreign policy needs of the Soviet state changed, so did the tactics and strategies of foreign — including Irish — parties. And loyal Communists could find themselves singing the praises of IRA bombers one month, denouncing them as fascists the next. And with all sorts of other, more subtle, variations, depending on whether Moscow was urging alliances with "progressive" bourgeois

types or dismissing everybody outside the party as crypto-fascist.

In the 20s, for example, crudely applying the "stages theory", Communists argued passionately for . . . voting Fianna Fail. Before the 1927 general election their paper described FF as "the national revolutionary force still carrying on the struggle against British imperialism . . . they are the standard bearers of the national struggle and must be supported".

## FIANNA FAIL

However, by 1930. Moscow-line Communists were urging voters in Dublin "not to give a single first . . . or even tenth preference vote to Fianna Fail".

Quite clearly this change had not come about because Fianna Fail had changed in the meantime. Nor had the political issues or circumstances in Ireland. What had changed was the line being fed to the Irish comrades from the leadership in the Kremlin.

Although the stages theory was not formally abandoned, the Stalin regime at the time had taken a "left-turn" and advocated a policy of "class-against-class". This went to ludicrous lengths.

Having a couple of years previously matched the most romantic of Republicans in their praise for "the republic" their paper now announced

that there was now "no difference between a military dictatorship, a parliamentary democracy, a Free State or a Republic, a religious state or a non-religious one". Now it was full-blooded bolshevism or nothing!

When any political party announces that there is "no difference" — none! — between a military dictatorship and a parliamentary democracy it's obvious that there's something wrong somewhere. And the something has to be in the heads of the people making the announcement — in their ideas.

Milotte's book gives examples of this type of contradiction from every decade. One of the most glaring concerned the Barnes-McCormack case.

Peter Barnes and James McCormack were two IRA men executed in February 1940 for a bombing in Britain in 1939 in which five people died. At the time of the bombing, the Soviet Union had mobilised all its international supporters to build "popular fronts" against fascism: the reason being that Hitler was directly threatening the Soviet Union.

This involved making common cause with "progressive bourgeois elements" — like Churchill in Britain — something which wasn't going to be helped by planting bombs in Churchill's backyard. So, logically

enough, the Communist Party of Ireland denounced the two IRA men for "helping Hitler".

However, in August 1939 Nazi Germany and "Communist" Russia signed a "non-aggression" treaty. Immediately, the anti-Nazi rhetoric of CPs everywhere was toned down. And when, a few weeks later, Britain went to war with Germany and the Soviet Union stayed at peace, it was suddenly OK again for the IRA to bomb Britain.

And by the time Barnes and McCormack were hanged in February 1940 the CP paper "Workers Weekly" had done a complete U-turn and wrote that they had "trod the path to the gallows in a definite and imperishable cause, none other than the liberation of a nation".

There was yet another twist to come. In June 1941 the Nazis invaded the Soviet Union anyway. And suddenly opposition to Hitler was again the central task of Communists everywhere. And again the IRA, including the unfortunate Barnes and McCormack, were denounced as "agents of Hitler".

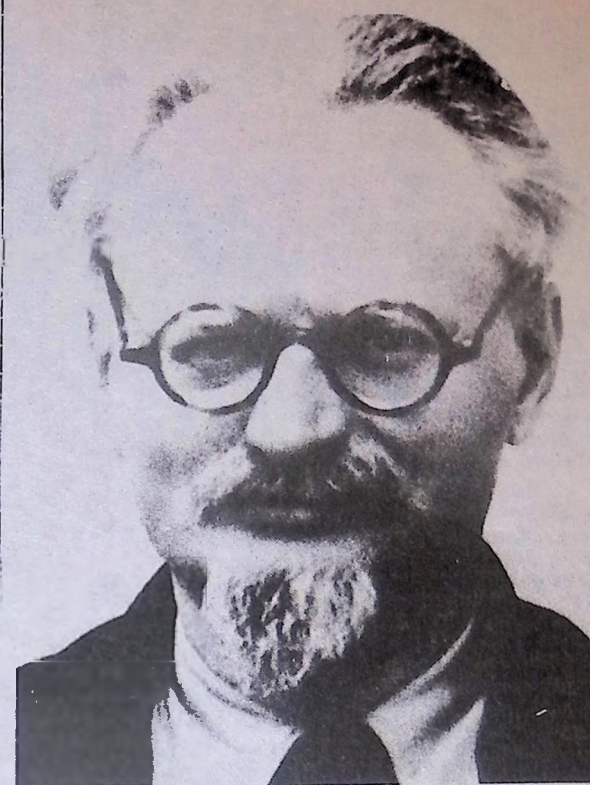
For the same reasons, while the Hitler-Stalin pact held good, the CP's line was that the 26 Counties should stay out of the war — and the six counties should get out of it. Once the pact broke down the line was that the 26 Counties should get into the war and the six counties redouble its contribution.

This unquestioning adherence to "the line" has not been as marked in recent years. The crisis in world Stalinism, reflected in the emergence of "Euro-communism" and the development of open working class opposition to the Stalinist regimes (most dramatically in Poland) — and indeed the death in 1953 of the "Great Leader" himself — has meant that Moscow is no longer able to expect such absolute and unthinking obedience. Even so, its influence is enormous, and the Irish CP is among the most "loyal" in the world.

## UPDATED

At the beginning of the present phase of the Northern troubles, for example, Irish Communists were operating an updated version of the stages theory. This held that there were "progressive elements" in Unionism and that nothing should be done to alienate them..

Thus in 1968 leading CP member Betty Sinclair denounced civil rights marchers who resisted RUC



Trotsky never believed in stages.

attacks as "hooligans and anarchists" and Andy Barr told British TUC leaders that the kids joining the IRA after Bloody Sunday were "psychopaths" with an "appetite" for blood.

What the CP was now after as the next "stage" in the long march towards workers' power, was a "democratised" parliament at Stormont. (This is now also the policy of the Workers' Party: they nicked it from the CP.) So they opposed the abolition of the old Stormont parliament in 1972 and have since called for its reconstitution — in a "democratised" form, of course.

## BITTERLY

The CP had considerable influence on the early civil rights struggle, an influence which it used to oppose bitterly every effort to bring in either class questions or the national question. At conference after conference CP stalwarts lined up with the most hardened right-wingers present against both republicans and revolutionary socialists. And this didn't happen only because of their stages theory.

As well as that the CP wanted to preserve the base it had built for itself inside the trade union bureaucracy. Andy Barr, for example, was president of ICTU in the mid-seventies. No Communist in Britain has ever held such high office. But Brother Barr didn't win the position by fighting for his Communist politics among the mass of trade unionists. He won it by not fighting for his politics, by being a good bureaucrat and a regular guy. And in that role he, and other leading CP trade unionists, played a prominent part in the ICTU's "Better Life For All" campaign.

This campaign was / is Six-county orientated, determinedly moderate, explicitly opposed to all violence except the violence of the state and has had as its central aim the attraction of

more multi-national investment.

It has got nothing whatsoever to do with socialism of any sort. And it has been the main activity of the CP in relation to the North since the mid-seventies.

Why is it that people who are genuinely, subjectively committed to class struggle, and who are capable of immense and dedicated work on immediate issues even when this guarantees them hostility of powerful forces all around, why is it that they slavishly follow these tangled twists of policy and rewrite their own history as they go?

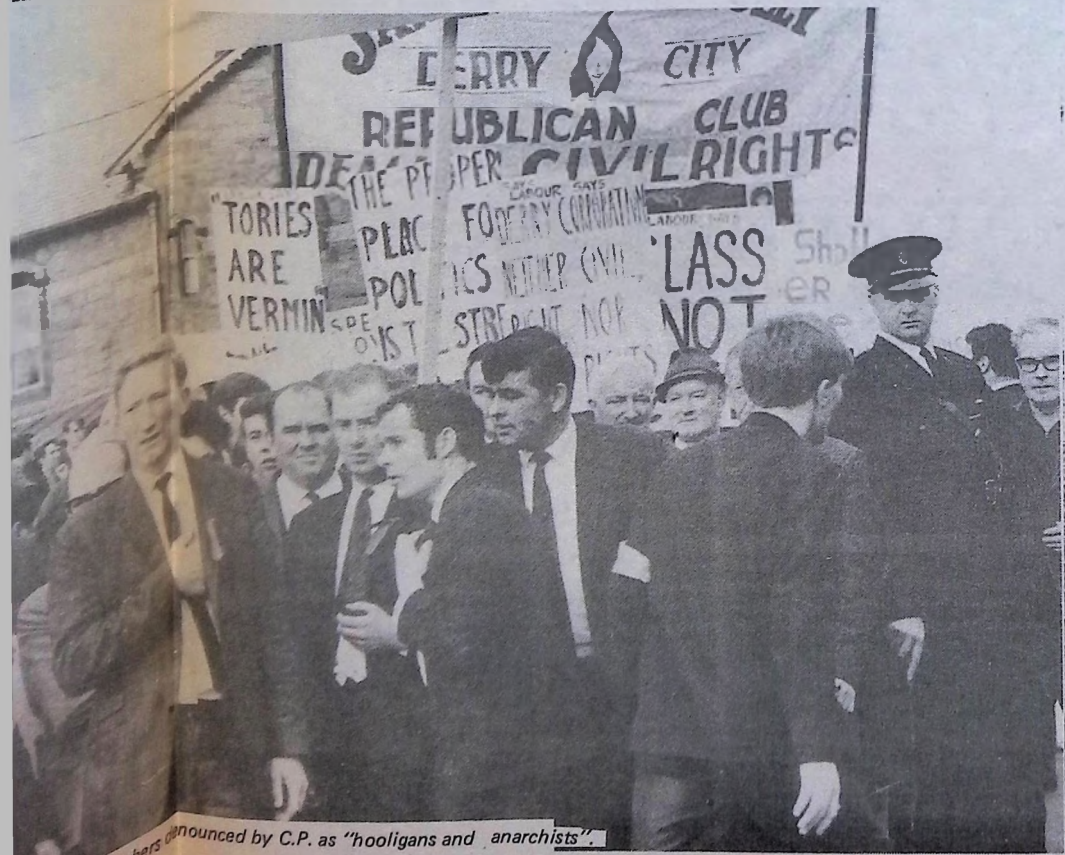
It isn't that they are dupes or dullards, because they are not. It is because they believe that while Stalin might have "gone too far" in certain matters, he was basically

sound in his "interpretation" of Marxism. That, most importantly, he was right in his contention that it was possible to build "socialism in one country". And that socialism has actually been built, in the Soviet Union and its satellite states.

It follows from this that it was the fundamental task of Marxists everywhere to defend the Soviet Union, continuously to adapt policies and priorities to the foreign-policy needs of the Soviet state — even when this was clearly against the immediate interests of the actual workers on whose behalf the Communist Party was supposedly campaigning.

The alternative version — to which the Socialist Workers Movement adheres — is that there is no such thing as socialism in the Soviet Union, that the final flickers of it were snuffed out when the rule of Stalin and the state-capitalist class he represents was clamped on the country in the 20s. And that the priority for Marxists is to support workers where ever they are in organised struggle against exploitation and oppression — in the Soviet Union as much as in Ireland.

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Civil Rights marchers denounced by C.P. as "hooligans and anarchists".

# Battle of Algiers

THIRTY years ago this year, an insurrection on November 1st signalled the beginning of an eight-year bloody battle for Algerian independence from France.

The French Government sent off army reinforcements to Algeria, bringing the total of French soldiers in Algeria to 500,000, the largest colonial army ever assembled. Like the British army in the North, they were supposedly there to keep the peace.

The ugliest side of French colonialism came to the fore. For 130 years the French had deprived 98% of the Arab population of civil rights, forced them to speak French and clamped down on Islamic traditions. The French colons (settlers) in Algeria—known as Pieds Noirs, a reference to their black boots—controlled the civil service and administrative posts. Or else they installed Algerian yes-men, the "beni-oui-oui".

## WAR

During the war, over 250,000 Algerians were killed; 8,000 small villages were destroyed; 2,000,000 peasants were uprooted from their homes; 300,000 others were forced to flee to neighbouring Tunisia and Morocco. The French generals had claimed that they would leave an Algerian nothing. Algerians saw their country completely ravaged as they bore the brunt of their horrible plan.

The war had major political repercussions in France. As was to happen again over Vietnam and Angola, the metropolitan ruling class shuddered at the impact of revolution in its colony. For the first time, a full scale war of national liberation toppled a French Government bringing 500,000 people, including Algerian workers in France, on to the streets and challenged the traditional left parties in France.

Francois Mitterand, then little-known in the Socialist party, had said on the day of the November 1st insurrection that Algeria was France and should remain so. The Communist Party put forward the lame slogan of "Peace in Algeria" and refused to openly support the FLN. Many of its best militants, further disillusioned with Russian tanks in Hungary in 1956, left the party in disgust. A new left emerged in France that was tired of the open class collaboration of the Socialist Party and the CP, and looked to the Algerian Front Nationale de Liberation (FLN) as heralding in a new third world socialism.

## FLN

Yet the FLN was not a socialist party, nor had it ever claimed to be. It had combined those that sought just civil rights for Algerians, like Ferhat Abbas, the moderate President of the Algerian Provisional Government in 1958, and those who stressed militarism, like Messali Hadj of the National Army of Liberation, the military wing of the FLN

## SUPPORT

It had wide popular support, from the Algerian peasants (fellas) and the densely populated working class areas like the Casbah in Algiers. It presided over (but did not organise) the General Strike in Algiers on July 5th 1956. But it also wooed the support of the emerging Algerian middle class. "We must make the liberation of Algeria the work of all Algerians, not just a fraction of the people", the FLN declared.

However, in the wake of the upheavals of war, the new Algerian working class stirred. Its interests were in conflict with the all-class FLN. It occupied factories and farms

left vacant by the fleeing Europeans after the Independence Agreement signed at Evian in 1962. A massive wave of working class militancy flowed across the new Algerian state. Workers flocked into a newly founded trade union, the UGTA, and demanded workers control and a spreading of the workers management committees which had sprung up.

## MILITANCY

But this spontaneous workers militancy could not challenge the rulers of the new state. They lacked a workers party, a political alternative to the FLN, which could establish a workers state based on the workers power in the factories. Without it, the UGTA found itself increasingly squeezed by the new ruling elite. In the words of a UGTA leader in 1963, the regime "was allowing the petit-bourgeois spirit to persist . . . consolidating their hold on the banks . . . and slowly but surely squeezing the life out of the self managed industry".

## BEN BELLA

Initially, the FLN, fearing the militancy of the workers in its ranks, attempted to contain the struggle. Ben Bella, released from prison in 1962, was the new president leader of the FLN. In response to the spate of occupations, he posed as a radical who talked of the "second socialist phase to the revolution" and the need to involve workers in the running of factories and farms.

He issued his famous March Decrees in 1963 calling for workers control. He drew up a programme of land reforms. But behind the verbal support for workers hard won gains, he began to assume complete central



French 'paras' in operation during the Algerian War - the people's tenacity drove them out

control of the self-management movement and to appropriate more and more personal power.

Ben Bella's men took over the leading position in the UGTA and quashed its independence. The 2,500 private enterprises were allowed to flourish while the 450 self-managed occupied firms were left to flounder. The newly-nationalised Bank of Algiers withheld credit from occupied places of work. The Parti de la Revolution Socialist and the Algerian Communist Party were banned in 1962.

## OVERTHROW

The tight grip of centralised state-capitalism gradually suppressed the workers' self-activity. By 1965, Col. Huari Boudemienne could overthrow Ben Bella himself in a military coup. His coming to power signalled the sad end for those who

had any illusions in the "socialism" of the FLN. He had put down the workers' struggles and in the name of "socialist-nationalisation" eliminated any workers' involvement from below.

## INDEPENDENCE

Since then, Algerian independence has proved a grim reality for Algerian workers. 700,000 are forced to emigrate to European factories where they face racist abuse. Workers in Algeria have suffered from extreme poverty and severe under-nutrition. Hundreds have flooded off the land into the cities. In 1977, low wages and rising prices forced anger and frustration inside the state-controlled unions. Boudemienne responded with sustained attacks on the unions and arrests of militants.

"Nationalism, that magnificent song that made

people rise against their oppressors, stops short, falters and dies away on the day that independence is proclaimed". So wrote Franz Fanon in his book on the Algerian Revolution. He is right.

The story of the Algerian Revolution shows that from the beginning, workers needed to organise independently of the nationalist FLN. Nationalism "stops short" because it is not about workers power.

## REVOLUTIONARY

Ben Bella and Algeria's ruling elite today have proved that. Only the working class politically organised from the beginning around its own revolutionary party could have ensured a political alternative to Algerian nationalism. It is a lesson that should not go astray for us here in Ireland,

— MARNIE HOLBOROW

# Nicaragua—spread the revolution

IT'S now five years since Somoza was overthrown by the Sandinistas. This five years was an important period for the new government.

It had to try to deliver its promises within that time, and then face a national election, which was one of those promises.

Their election victory, should give inspiration to socialists everywhere, particularly in view of what they had to fight against.

Since they took power, the progress made in Nicaragua under the Sandinistas has been immense.

Health clinics, hospitals and health programmes were initiated — such as the

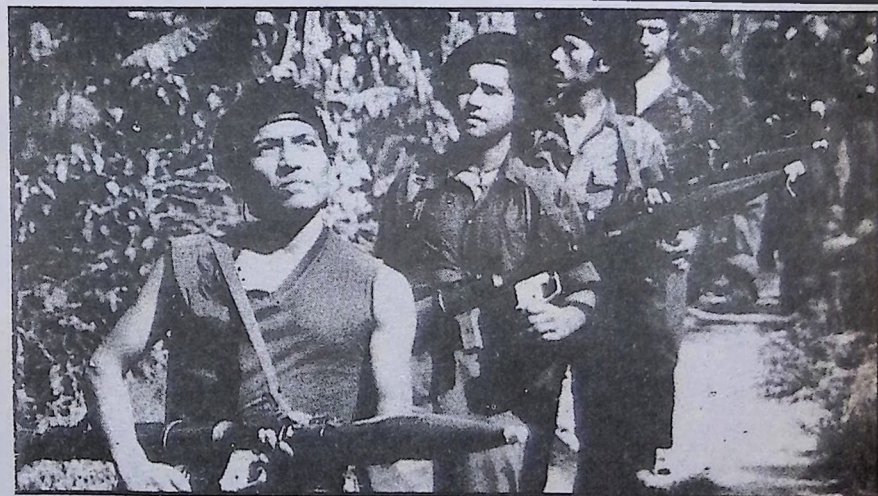
vaccination campaign which eradicated polio in less than 4 years, education is now a basic right to all; illiteracy which had affected over half the Country's population has been reduced to less than three per cent. These reforms have been carried out in spite of a brutal imperialist war being waged against it on both the military and economic front.

Even though some of the Nicaragua's supporters claim that it's a "workers state" or a socialist country, I think that it obviously is not socialist. In fact, it proves one of our strongest arguments that if the revolution does not spread, socialist ideas will be watered down

into petty reforms, until a drift back into the status quo develops with the eventual outcome of a state capitalist country.

But the Sandinistas are not seeking international revolution as a way of defending their revolution. Instead, state ownership of the means of production — nationalisation — was deferred in the "national interest". Private bosses were allowed to continue exploiting work workers and creaming off profits.

Since the Nicaraguan economy now depends on the co-operation of the private capitalist sector, the Sandinistas have been forced



RIGHT-WING Nicaraguan "contras", armed with US-supplied rocket launchers—

to secure any alliance with the "patriotic" and "progressive" sections of the middle-class who had not followed Somoza into exile.

These people are NOT interested in defending the

revolution. They are on the same side as Reagan and the US army.

In the end, the only way in which Nicaragua can defeat US imperialism is if the working class were to take power and spread the

revolution to the rest of Central America. Even the might of the American military machine could not stand up to such a force.

—KARL WALSH

# Criminal nurses bill— fightback begins

THE Nurses' Bill (1984) has been dubbed by some as the "Criminal Nurses Bill". Most people won't have heard of it because its passage through the Dail is getting very little media attention.

The Bill is a reaction to the display of ward nurses militancy seen in Castlebar in 1983. The dispute scared local management so much they started to take photographs of strikers on the picket line. Photos of strikers throwing stones at the local nuns who acted as scabs were later submitted to the discipline committee of An Bord Altranais (the Nurses' Board) in an effort to have the nurses involved struck off. Fortunately they were unsuccessful, despite the failure of the ITGWU bureaucrats to organise rank and file support across the country for the Castlebar nurses.

## FEE

There are three important measures in the Bill: the Board is to be reconstituted; an annual "retention fee" is being introduced and a "Fitness to Practice" Committee will be set up.

The structure of the reconstituted Board is even less democratic than the present one. It is hardly representative at all of nurses working at ward level. There are to be several ministerial appointees and the Minister for Health will be able to veto most of its decisions.

At present a nurse has to pay to register when s/he qualifies and is then registered for life. The Bill changes all that. Nurses will have to pay a fee EVERY YEAR to retain their registration. There is no provision in the Bill for exemption from this annual retention fee for the 2000 or

so nurses on the dole in the 26 Counties.

The figure of £12 has been suggested for retention each year. But of course no guarantee is given that this won't rocket to £112 or £212 in the coming years.

Hidden in the gobble-degook of the Bill is a provision to include in the register "persons of ancillary profession." This is seen by most psychiatric nurses as a way of pretending that the attendants in the Central Mental Nursing Hospital in Dundrum are, in fact, nursing staff.

Many of these attendants are little more than screws who were transferred from the Department of Justice some years ago. They have been looking for danger money because of the increased pressure and tension of work since armed guards were drafted in because of the presence of "paramilitary mental patients".

If the attendants were to be registered this would mask

the truth of the situation: the psychiatric patients in Dundrum are not being treated. They are locked up under the care of a few doctors and one chief nursing officer who preside over a squad of attendants/screws.

The Fitness to Practice Committee, however, is the most alarming aspect of the Bill. This is the section which invites comparison with the Criminal Justice Bill.

## COMMITTEE

The Committee will override all grievance and disciplinary procedures agreed between union reps. and local management. Thus a nurse in trouble with the authorities might get satisfaction at Tribunal or District Court level. S/he would still not be out of the woods however, since the Committee could declare her/him unfit to practice and s/he would be struck off and out of a job anyway.

And the Bill makes no distinction between personal conduct, on or off duty, and professional conduct. This provision has clear implications for trade union militants, socialists and republicans. The lessons of the Castlebar dispute have been well learnt by the bosses!

There seems to be a feeling among nurses around the country that this is a fait accompli. There is every evidence of a measure of collaboration between the union and the Department of Health and Nurses Board.

The 500 member Psychiatric Nurses Association Branch in St Brendans are determined to fight this blatant exercise in trade union bashing. They have been meeting TDs and organising petitions against the powers of the Bill.

If it goes through, any immediate countrywide non-registration campaign will be necessary. The groundwork being done now by the nurses at St Brendan's is laying the basis for such a campaign.



# Dundalk devastated

IT will be a lean Christmas for many Dundalk workers and their families, for the past year has been disastrous in terms of employment in the town.

Weyenburg Shoe Factory is just one of a line of industries that have closed in the past year. The fight to save McArdle Coachbuilding Plant, which like Weyenburg had 300 employees was lost.

But the biggest loss of jobs has come in the last couple of months. Williamsons Builders Providers and CRV Engineering works let 50 employees go between them. Last month Clark's announced 50 redundancies and this was followed with the devastating news that Ecco will be making 200 of it's permanent workforce redundant by March and 31 of its weekend workers were to leave by the end of November. This amounts to one third of its 650 strong workforce.

The town now has the highest ratio of workers out of work in the 26 counties, but this latest shock for

Dundalk workers has been met with the usual hypocritical mouthings from the local union branch secretaries.

Pat Brennan, Branch Secretary of the ITGWU offered workers no hope with the cynical statement "with the numbers that are out of work the authority may open a second dole office. The Labour Exchange was only built to cater for 800 and the job losses will bring the number to near 3,500. It's the only growth industry in the town". Of course he conveniently forgets that he plays a major role in these job losses.

This year 112 jobs were lost in P.J. Carrolls through redundancies and early retirement. The only crib the unions had with management was that the redundancy payments were not enough. Nothing was said about saving jobs.

At Greenore Plastics recently, management announced 9 lay-offs after workers put in for the 24th wage round. One line (2

machines) was to be transferred to England. Mick O'Reilly, Branch Secretary with the ATGWU told workers this could be fought and the machines kept in production.

## MEETING

After the shop stewards and O'Reilly met management a general meeting was called (which O'Reilly chose not to attend) and due to management threats of a complete closure the workforce voted 24 to 20 to accept the removal of the machines from the factory. O'Reilly, Pontius Pilate fashion washed his hands of the whole affair, obviously feeling that the vote exonerated him from any responsibility for the job losses.

One thing is certain, we will watch Mr O'Reilly's performance in Ecco over the next while very closely.

—PHIL TOAL

STORAGE Technology in Finglas has been put into liquidation. The present company in America has run into financial difficulties.

Despite the huge sums of grants they have received, they intend to throw their workforce in Finglas on the scrapheap.

The workers did not take it lying down. Within hours of the announcement of the appointment of a liquidator, they occupied the plant. But eventually they accepted a promise from the liquidator that he would seek a new buyer — if they gave up the occupation and allowed him access to the plant.

The uncertainty about the plant's future could lead to demoralisation amongst the workforce. This is what the liquidator could be hoping for. For that reason, the workers should be holding regular meetings to involve all workers.

If the workers have to fight for their jobs, they will start with one advantage — they will be engaged in a highly politically sensitive battle.

The American electronic industry will be looking closely at one of the first example of how one of their companies can pull out of



# Unions—the WAY TO WIN

THE last issue of Socialist Worker carried an article criticising the role of Trade Union leaders in general and John Mitchell of the Irish Distributive and Administrative Trade Union in particular.

Since the article was published some people have taken it to mean that we are anti-trade union.

This is definitely NOT the case. We distinguish between Trade Unions, which are the defence organisations of working people, and the role that trade union leaders play in the Unions.

Most trade union officials are not elected by their members. They enjoy an income and lifestyle far better than the members they represent. They have become divorced from the problems that face workers today. Their role is to mediate between the Bosses and the workers, find a formula to settle the dispute, not give the full support which might help win the strike.

The experience of most workers today is that it is harder than ever to win disputes.

The two-tier picket makes it difficult to get support from other workers. The machinery of the Labour Court can take months to make a recommendation and even then it's nearly always favourable to the bosses.

To win a dispute it is necessary to go beyond the

normal advice of Trade Union leaders.

We need:

- \* All out picketing from the start.
  - \* Blacking of all goods and services.
  - \* Delegations to other workplaces to win support.
  - \* Involvement of all the strikers in the dispute.
- Union officials rarely support tactics like these. And official support for them will not be forthcoming until:
- \* There are elections of all full time officials.

- \* All officials are paid the average wage for the industry.
- \* There is recall and replacement of any official who does not represent the wishes of the members.

We want the unions to be run and controlled by the membership.

So for example, our view of the Dunne's strike is not whether the Union's officials are good or bad, but that to win it will be necessary to go beyond what they are proposing.

The striking workers in Dunnes have gone beyond the officials. They have looked for solidarity, taken up collections, gone to the dockers to have all goods for Dunnes blacked.

These are the ideas and arguments the SWM have proposed over the last five months of the strike.

Far from being anti-union, they result in much stronger union organisation and solidarity.

# Yankees gone home

Ireland.

That means that a powerful militant occupation can put tremendous pressure on the IDA. They can make a very simple point: the IDA

brought the multi-national sharks to Ireland — it is their responsibility to find jobs for the workers they have employed.



Workers in occupation at the Storage Technology Products factory

# Socialist Worker

## Anglo-Irish Talks

continued from page 1

### How to fight strip-search scandal



Extradition and strip-searching campaigns should be linked.

THE strip-searching of women in Armagh prison is a scandal and a disgrace, motivated by no consideration of security but quite obviously intended to break the spirit of the women.

After quite literally thousands of strip searches since November 1982 the only "contraband" discovered has consisted of a bottle of perfume, a letter to a boyfriend and a five-pound note!

(Why these items should be "illicit" is something of a mystery anyway.)

The women are searched before and after every visit to a court. For prisoners on remand this means twice a day while their trials are in progress — even though they

are in the close custody of warders and cops all the time to and from the court.

It is absolutely clear in these instances that the reason is not security.

#### PREGNANT

The women are also strip-searched any time they move from one wing of the prison to another. Even pregnant women are subjected to this. And since a baby was born recently to Jacqueline Moore from Derry, the baby, too, has been strip-searched every time it passes from wing to wing!

The women's bodies are probed as they stand naked. Those with long hair are asked to lift their hair up and then

turn around so that they can be inspected by the screws... giving the scene the appearance of a slave market.

This is sexual intimidation designed to humiliate and demoralise.

The SWM fully supports the campaign against strip-searching. We see it as part of the general pattern of repression and believe that it should be fought as such.

#### SEPARATE

One problem has been that the strip-searching campaign has seemed separate from other campaigns against aspects of repression, the theory seeming to be that you can get support on strip-searching (from feminists, for example) which would not be given to, say, anti-extradition campaign.

Just as it might be possible to get support on extradition from lawyers who would not back protests on the strip-search issue.

#### CAMPAIGN

What's needed is a single, united anti-repression campaign, covering the South as well as the North (there's strip-searching in Portlaoise, too, it should not be forgotten!)

Those who are only willing to oppose one element of the general repression will almost certainly not even carry their opposition on that issue through to the end.



A strip search in progress

we've said, FitzGerald is in no position to be pushy.

And neither is the bearer of the Georgian tea-pot, Charlie Haughey.

Haughey in opposition is a great man for shouting the odds about FitzGerald "selling out". But he has made no attempt to explain what he would have done if he'd been Taoiseach and Thatcher had taken the same line.

Would he have announced that he was taking the Army off the border? Would he have amnestied all political prisoners in Portlaoise and Limerick as a demonstration of his commitment to anti-imperialism? Would he have called on all Irish workers in Britain to back the miners in order to bring the Thatcher Government down?

Would he hell!

The only practical thing which Haughey has suggested FitzGerald should have done differently is that he should have insisted on Thatcher coming to Dublin for the summit rather than meeting her at Chequers. Big deal.

Apart from that — and a series of personal insults suggesting that FitzGerald is a feeble-minded dummy — Haughey has had nothing concrete to offer whatever.

And the reason is obvious. Fianna Fail, too, wants desperately to see a settlement of the Northern problem which would leave capitalism intact — which means leaving Britain's economic interests in Ireland undisturbed.

Indeed, Haughey's argument, when it is read carefully, is that the interests of the British ruling class would be better served by allowing the Free State bosses a bigger say in what happens in the North.

In the long-term he might even be right. But the main point is that Haughey is unalterably opposed to any open confrontation between British imperialism and those who bear the brunt of the suffering under imperialism

working class. Indeed, there is no doubt that in any such confrontation Haughey — as a representative of native capitalism which would be swept away by a working class victory — would be on the same side as imperialism now. It's just that politically he's far cuter than FitzGerald about the way he expresses it.

There's nothing for working class people in taking sides in this controversy between FitzGerald and Haughey. They are both aspects of the problem, not pointers towards a solution.

Only the working class has a clear vested interest in getting rid of what Thatcher represents in Ireland. But for the working class to intervene decisively and move centre stage requires a revolutionary working class party.

#### BRUTALITY

That can't be built on the basis of nationalistic fervour. It requires an awful lot more than "Brits Out".

It can only be built on the basis of the — usually small — struggles that workers are already involved in, the strikes, the sit-ins against job losses, the campaigns against the cuts. And by campaigning for working class involvement in the struggles against particular aspects of repression such as police brutality, strip-searching, extradition and so on.

In this country, in the end, there is either going to be a victory for imperialism and its ally, native capitalism, OR a victory for the working class. There is no soft option half way between these stark alternatives.

Workers outraged at the colonial arrogance of Margaret Thatcher should get involved in the task of building a Marxist party which leading the working class, is the only instrument which will ever be able to scrape the last traces of Thatcherism off the face of the country.

Sinn Fein  
Ard Fheis

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### NEW MOVE AT "ANGLO-IRISH SUMMIT"



cartoon by Mark Lynch