



SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Paper of PEOPLES' DEMOCRACY

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The North:



No Catholics need apply



Fight Job Discrimination!

Recent news reports have shown clearly that, 15 years after the mass struggles in the North against sectarianism, discrimination in employment is still rife. That shouldn't come as a surprise to any socialist or anti-imperialist. What should fill them with burning anger and a determination to organise and fight-back is the clear evidence that the trade unions and nationalist politicians have been quietly accepting the status quo and helping to preserve the sectarian practices in Northern industry.

workforce composed of 25% Catholic workers though they make up 45% of the local population and also unemployed among Catholic workers locally stands at 70%.

■Transport: A recent survey by Catholic workers in Belfast's Citybus shows the same picture - exclusion from management and from skilled jobs.

But what's really set the cat among the pigeons has been the demand by Irish Americans and American labour organisations that US firms in the North and US contracts be firmly linked to anti-discrimination clauses. This has thrown the spotlight onto the inactivity of nationalist and labour organisations in Ireland itself.

■■The newest source of capital investment in the North is from the South. The following developments are either already in existence or are in the planning stage and have generally been supported by both Fianna Fail and Coalition Governments:-

■ A Dunnes Super-market chain

■Investment in construction

■Dublin-Belfast and Dublin-Derry Air link

■ A new car ferry company

■Orders for the Belfast shipyard and heavy

engineering [both notorious for the level of discrimination].

■ A gas pipeline

■ A whole series of cross-border studies and developments in conjunction with the eec.

In none of these cases has the 26 county Govt. even suggested that investment should be linked to anti-discrimination clauses nor has any section of the Labour movement called for such a clause.

In the Labour Movement

□ A recent delegation from the American Longshoremen's union came out of a meeting with ICTU leaders expressing astonishment at their unconcern with levels of discrimination.

□ Shorts Shop Stewards demanded a statement from the the Northern Committee of ICTU giving Shorts a 'clean bill of health' and denying that Shorts discriminated. This was supported by a majority of the delegates but toned down after violent objections from Inez McCormick and other delegates.

□ Paddy Devlin, Northern secretary of the ITGWU commented on discrimination in the Civil Service: "The moves to abolish discrimination are well under way. They are held back only by the lack of jobs."

□ The most recent issue of The Northern People' printed by the 'Workers Party' carries an interview with a Shorts Shop Steward defending the company and goes on to suggest that Catholics will just have to wait until the economic situation improves!

There is a real need for a workers movement to investigate and fight discrimination in the North and any collaboration with it. Such a movement must clearly understand the role of the trades unions. Their collaboration is not confined to the North nor is it forced by loyalist trades unionists. The fact is that the trades union leadership, having turned their face against the Irish revolution and towards collaboration with imperialism are quite content to defend sectional interests of organised workers as opposed to the interests of the working class as a whole.

They must be prepared to face the old lie that opposition to discrimination is itself sectarian - the view of the Workers Party.

But they must organise. A really effective trade union movement, a really effective unity of workers and the foundations of an anti-imperialist party of the working class can really only be built by smashing the discriminatory practices that help keep workers divided.



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EDITORIAL

SEPARATE

CHURCH & STATE!

At the time of writing the result of the September 7 referendum is not known. Indications are for a 'YES' vote but with up to 30% voting 'NO'. All things considered not a bad achievement for the Anti-Amendment Campaign - representing tens of thousands of Irish voters who reject a sectarian approach to the Constitution of the South.

The 'NO' vote certainly means that the issue has not been decided for all time and to that extent also represents something of a set-back for the far-right supporters of the PLAC who wanted a derisory 'NO' vote. A Woman's Right To Choose will be more and more discussed in post-referendum Ireland.

None of the above is meant to understate the power and influence of reactionary forces in Ireland today. The intimidation carried out by the Catholic hierarchy and its secret societies the Knights of Columbanus and Opus Dei in the final weeks of the campaign testifies to the real power which these 'dark-age' forces still wield. Without doubt there will be an attempt to carry a McCarthyite style witch-hunt into all areas of Irish society. Women activists, trade unionists, civil libertarians are all potential targets. The right-wing will want to isolate people associated with the 'NO' vote in order to make easier its planned attacks on contraception, divorce and indeed democratic movements in general. We have to prepare now to defend these movements and individuals.

On all the major issues of Irish society the Irish capitalists are in confusion. Whether it is austerity, neutrality, the British occupation in the North - the establishment parties have no convincing answers. Ireland's dependence on imperialism severely narrows the room for manoeuvre on the part of Irish capitalism which forces it to rely evermore on repression as the means of keeping working people at bay and so some limited autonomy from its imperial masters. It is this bankruptcy of the established parties that allowed the far-right to organise around the Amendment and created the opportunity for the re-emergence of the Catholic Church as a direct political force in a way not seen since the 'Mother and Child' controversy of the 1950s. Like then the role of the Church is to curtail democratic rights and through pulpit bashing stifle the struggles of working people to get a solution to the crisis which is in their interest.

It is quite true that the pattern of life in the 26 counties is not the same as in the British occupied North. But that doesn't mean that the South has escaped that 'carnival of reaction' prophesied by James Connolly. The 26 counties is no more reformable in the interests of working people than the North. It is partition and not some quirk of Irish personality that maintains reactionary attitudes to the rights of women and other oppressed sections of society. It is in the common need to overthrow partition that the material basis for unity of the oppressed in Ireland resides. The lesson of the hunger strike campaign is that such unity can be realised but to be successful must mobilise the social and political weight of the working class. The working class has the decisive power that can break down the Church-State grip, sweep aside the fake democrats and misleaders and go on to smash partition.

Those who genuinely want to fight today for a new Ireland have to tackle the barriers erected in the Ireland of old. In particular the anti-imperialist movement [which with the absence of Sinn Fein from the Anti-amendment Campaign did not play the role it could have] must take responsibility for all the struggles of the oppressed, break with traditions of the past which failed to connect the struggle of the nation, the struggle of the working class and the struggle of women for the



RED SCARE

British television, radio and newspapers over the past few weeks have devoted tremendous resources to the story of how 13 young people have joined the ever lengthening dole queues in Thatcher's Britain. Not that the capitalist media which was almost unanimous in supporting the return of a Tory Government in the general election in June of this year, has suddenly become concerned about youth unemployment or woken up to the fact that 4 million plus out of work as a result of Tory policies is a really big story. No such luck!!!

The capitalist media has simply joined the witch-hunt against socialists, trades unionists and civil rights activists in a big way. They want to do everything they can to help the British Tories cripple the ability of working people to fight back against policies which condemn them to a life of poverty and repression.

The Cowley 13 are accused of having told lies about their educational backgrounds in order to get jobs with British Leyland. If this is true, then the real question is how come people have to lie to get jobs in a country which boasts itself as the 'Mother of Democracy?' As we in Ireland know British democracy in the final analysis is the preserve of exploiters and tyrants - it offers nothing to the exploited nor to those who fight for democratic freedoms.

The swiftness with which the media moved on from the Cowley 13 to 'exposes' of Trotskyist 'moles' in the Labour Party and wild talk of 'infiltrators' and 'conspiracies' provides the real truth. The Cowley 13 were sacked for holding political views which put them on the side of working people which motivated them to be active trades unionists. British capitalism doesn't want these sort of people in

the factories helping to organise the defence of jobs and living standards. And it doesn't want them in the Labour Party either in case that organisation begins to take 'socialist rhetoric' seriously.

Of course the Tories and the media couldn't get away with this if it wasn't for the pathetic mis-leaders of the British Labour and Trades Union movement. These latter have for some time now been conducting their own witch-hunt against militant activists. As the recession has ruined the lives of working people the Foots and the Murrays have been running scared that the movement might demand they break with the capitalist system which is responsible for this misery. But that is something these right wing bureaucrats will never do.

Eric Heffer the left-wing candidate for leader of the British Labour Party has warned of the

danger of McCarthyism (a red scare) in Britain. He has said :- 'This is the time for all true democrats to say enough is enough before it is too late and the atmosphere develops into one of hysteria.' We shall see at the upcoming Labour Party Conference just who the 'true democrats' are.

The media in Ireland have reported events in Britain and commented that this type of witch-hunt is not likely in this country. The intimidation of the 'pro-life' brigade against opponents of the constitutional amendment is a warning that we shouldn't be so confident. If a witch-hunt succeeds in Britain make no mistake about it, the politicians, bosses and media will try to get the bandwagon rolling here!

JOHN MAGEE.

WE REMEMBER

On August 8th ten years ago two members of Peoples Democracy, Mike Farrell and Tony Canavan, ended a 34 day hunger strike. They had been jailed for 'illegal marching' after organising a campaign to protest British complicity in the Loyalist terror campaign of random assassinations.

Their fast was in protest against this and to demand political status [at that time denied to short-term prisoners but recognised for long-term sentences]. After 34 days Secretary of State Whitelaw capitulated by releasing all short-term prisoners.

The hunger strike was significant for both the anti-imperialist movement and for PD. The first truce between the IRA and the British and its subsequent collapse led to the dissolution of



Movement and left anti-imperialists divided and demoralised. The open, united campaign organised by PD helped lay the basis for a new unity around the Political Hostages Release Committee.

The hunger strike was significant for PD in that

our own faith in the weapon of mass struggle and brought us face to face with the depth of commitment and sacrifice required from Socialist revolutionaries.

Our congratulations to Michael and Tony. We are proud to be associated with such

PD SLAMS FASCISTS

Peoples Democracy Councillor, John McNulty has condemned the National Front march through Belfast City Centre which took place on Saturday, September 3. The Councillor said:-

The National Front is a fascist organisation which has for many years been terrorising the Jewish and black communities in Britain. Importing itself into the 6 Counties, it links up with the most extreme reactionary brands of loyalism. It will surprise no-one then that this fascist march was marshalled through Belfast by the RUC, the same force which bars the nationalist citizens of Belfast from the City Centre.'

The National Front march was also condemned by the Belfast Trades

Fight The Closures ~ Occupy!

The closure of Dunlop in Cork at the end of September will mean the loss of 680 jobs in a region which has already witnessed serious redundancies as multinationals have closed down and moved elsewhere in search of bigger profits. According to one ITGWU official this latest closure 'will have an almost catastrophic effect on the city' and local people are very pessimistic about alternative jobs being found.

The Dunlop closure holds many important lessons for workers elsewhere. It completely demolishes the argument that plant closures are the fault of greedy, militant workers. The workforce at Dunlop have over many years made concession after concession; they negotiated a cut in the workforce from 1,600 to 680, they agreed to various lines being dropped from production and they have accepted wage freezes while productivity and profits were rising. Despite all these sacrifices by the workers, Dunlop is not only scrapping their jobs but resisting the payment of redundancy terms to which the workers are entitled.

A similar fate may well be in store for workers at the Asahi plant at Killala. The ITGWU have accepted a rationalisation plan which the plant's own shop stewards had recommended should be rejected.

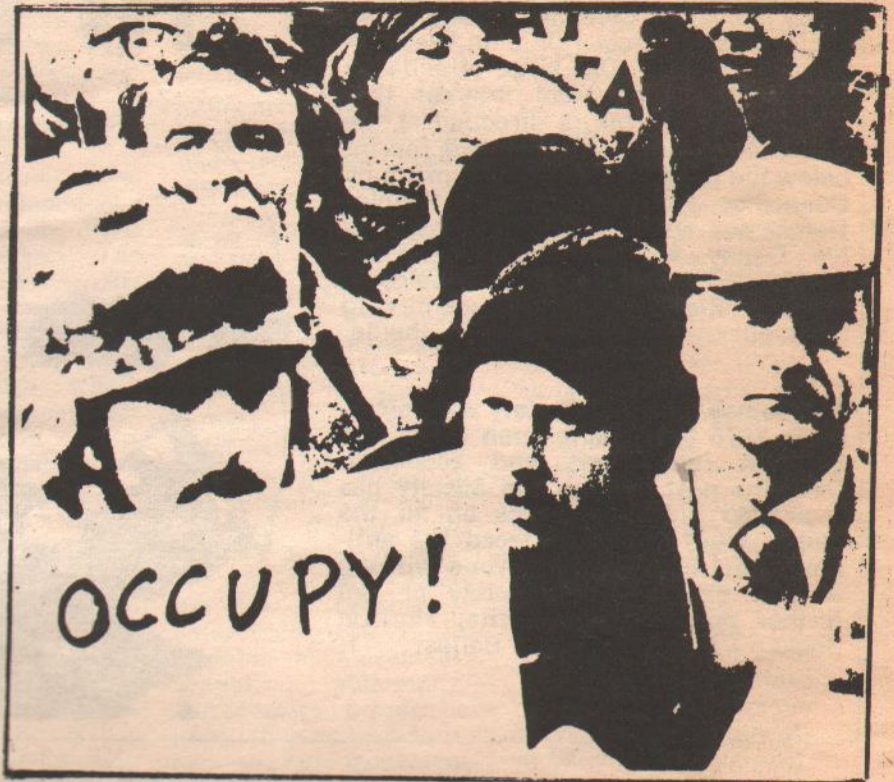
Asahi, a Japanese multinational had threatened to close the plant and in face of this and a press witchhunt, ITGWU officials were able to persuade the workforce to cave in. While this will allow the ITGWU to continue its 'boast' that not a single day's work has been lost at Asahi due to ITGWU action, it gives a green light to the multinational to pull the plug on the remaining jobs whenever it sees fit.

Agreeing to redundancies and wage cuts will never defend jobs in the short-term or guarantee continued operation of these firms in the long run. Its because workers at Ranks flour mills and Kingdom Tubes understood this most important lesson that they occupied their workplaces and are today at the head of the fight against the austerity policies of the Coalition.

Occupation of plants threatening closure is the first step in building an effective defence of jobs. But workers can't be left to shoulder the burden on a plant by plant basis. This is a problem for the whole trade union movement and we have to force the leaders to fight, to give official recognition to all occupations and mobilise the ranks of the unions in support of occupying workers. This would not be impossible! There could be a special conference of the Ictu

to discuss and agree a national plan of action to halt further closures and create new jobs. If the ICTU and union leaders are not prepared to give this sort of lead then those who are presently leading the fightback should take the initiative and organise a conference of rank and file union members who are willing to join the fightback.

Vinny Jackson and John Magee



DEFEND UNION RIGHTS!

Trade Unionists at Musgrave Park Hospital in Belfast are striking in support of 20 catering staff sacked at the end of August. The workers all members of NUPE were sacked for attending a union meeting

and include shop steward Danny Deeds. The sackings have been condemned by the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trades Unions. The Committee in a statement has said that the refusal of the Eastern Health and Social Services Board to

negotiate over the sackings makes the Board clearly responsible for any hardship suffered by patients.

The Board's tough stance is obviously aimed at breaking the strength of the NUPE branch in the hospital, which has a

militant tradition. If successful the Board would step up its attack on other unions and in other hospitals.

Resolutions of support, donations, should be sent to:-
 Danny Deedes, care of NUPE, 523 Antrim Road, Belfast 15.

ACTION TO STOP CUTS!

The Eastern Health and Social Services Board has been forced to shelve plans to impose cutbacks in the home-help service and the number of social work jobs in North and West Belfast. The proposed cuts would have chopped

£200,000 from the districts home-help budget and meant that vacant posts in social work teams catering for blind and deaf clients would not have been filled.

The plans were shelved when the Northern Ire-

land Public Service Alliance [NIPSA], threatened to withdraw its members from the emergency out-of-hours service and implement a policy of non-co-operation with the cuts. The union remains wary that management may

attempt to revive the cuts and has pledged to take whatever industrial action is needed to protect the service in one of the North's most deprived areas.

JOHN MAGEE.



EDUCATION FOR SOCIALISTS

UNEMPLOYMENT



For all their squabbles, there is one thing the Coalition and Fianna Fail agree on, and that is that the workers are responsible for the crisis of the Irish economy and that they must pay for it. In this they are backed up by the employers, bankers and economists - the so called 'experts'. How many times have we heard that we are pricing ourselves out of the market or living beyond our means????

Basically, the argument runs like this.....Irish workers are paid too much and the increases they are demanding are too high. This puts up the cost of goods produced and makes them uncompetitive. Thus Irish firms can't sell their products and have to shut down or make

workers redundant. At best profits are reduced and there is no money left to invest and create new jobs. In addition, foreign investment is scared anyway. Thus unemployment is blamed on Irish workers. You might not have noticed it but you are paying your self too much!!

Let us examine this argument and nail the lies in it one by one:-

■■ Lie 1...
Irish wages are high.
 This is nonsense. Wages in Ireland are the lowest in the EEC.

■■ Lie 2...
Irish wages have risen further than those of our competitors.
 Let us look at the facts. Irish labour costs

rose from an index of 100 in 1975 to 102.7 in 1982, less than all the other EEC states. Even the experts will have a hard job trying to show this paltry difference has increased unemployment by about 50,000 during those years. The assumption underlying the argument is that wages are almost the only costs a firm pays. In fact wages in manufacturing industry account for around only 15% of costs. Even if wages went up 10%, costs would only go up by 15%.

LIE 3...
Firms close down because of too high wages.
 The truth again is somewhat different. A survey carried out by the British TUC in 1980 discovered that over half of all the firms which closed down did so

because of lack of orders. High wages was the least reason. The situation in Ireland is exactly the same.

■■ Lie 4...
Lower wages and increased profits will lead to more jobs.

Here we get to the real reason why governments and employers want to hold down wages. What they really want is bigger profits. Evidently, 'we will have to tighten our belts' does not apply to the bosses and the banks.

However, is it true that lower wages will mean more jobs? Experience tells us NO! Once multinationals and even native firms gain higher profits they don't re-invest in Ireland. Millions flow abroad every year without being taxed

and are never seen again.

This is where the heart of the problem lies. Ireland is one of the most profitable locations in the world. Yet it doesn't gain any benefit because it is a country dominated by imperialism. Multinationals aren't interested in creating jobs in Ireland; the main reason for firms closing down is lack of orders. This is just part of the recession that has hit every capitalist country but Ireland suffers twice as much because of its domination by imperialism. Native firms are smaller and weaker and foreign multinationals close their branch factories down sooner than their bosses in the imperialist nation.

So what is the alternative? The only solution in the interests of workers is to break with the imperialist domination of the country. This means no more hand-outs by fly by night multinationals and the nationalisation of any firm that threatens closure or redundancies. It means taking over the banks and releasing their huge resources to put people back in work at wages they can live on. It also means destroying partition which assures the political domination of the country by Britain and divides the working class. The workers alternative involves all this and more but a good first step is exposing the lies of the bosses arguments.

AFTER THE ELECTION,

'After the Elections - What Next?' was the theme of a public discussion organised by the James Connolly Society in the Andersonstown Social Club on Wednesday, August 17. The large attendance showed the very great interest that exists about the future direction of the anti-imperialist movement. We reprint below the texts of the speeches made by Councillor John McAnulty of Peoples Democracy and Assembly representative Danny Morrison of Sinn Fein. SOCIALIST REPUBLIC would welcome articles, letters from readers wanting to comment on this theme.

The James Connolly Society was founded in 1976 to promote open discussion between republicans and socialists. Over the past 7 years the Society has organised public meetings on all the major issues that have faced the anti-imperialist movement. Anyone wishing to join the Connolly Society or get further details call or write: Horizon Books, Avoca Park, Belfast 11.



JAMES CONNOLLY SOCIETY

DEBATE THE WAY FORWARD

JOHN McANULTY

'The victories of Sinn Fein in the Assembly elections and more recently in the Westminster elections have an importance beyond the undoubted immediate gain for Sinn Fein as an organisation.



JOHN Mc ANULTY:

It shows that after 15 years of punishing oppression and brutality the nationalist population in the North are still undefeated, still willing to struggle on, still willing to register resistance to British rule. The importance of this should not be underestimated. Sinn Fein won similar victories in the '50s but in a time of calm and when traditional nationalism had stood aside in despair. These victories now, after a long and bitter struggle, and in the teeth of opposition from the SDLP, the Southern politicians and the Catholic church. The support gained is a real barrier to British plans.

Already, the gains from the election have reversed a British strategy of many years standing to present the IRA as isolated criminals and their own repression as simply a 'police action'. The votes for Sinn Fein have made nonsense of this explanation

This vote, plus the bloody trauma of the H Block struggle, has convinced sections of the Labour Party left and progressive forces in America and elsewhere that Britain has no solution to offer here and a

whole new layer of solidarity has been created.

The key point here is that any solidarity internationally ultimately depends on mass struggle here. But despite the election successes the mass struggle on the streets and in the factories is at a low ebb. The fact is that while we

face new opportunities, we also face many new problems.

After the high point of struggle here the nationalist masses were filled with enthusiasm and confidence and successive British and Unionist opponents struggled from expedient without any clear strategy. Now we face an extreme right wing British government which understands that no real conciliation or cosmetic reform is possible. One aspect of this is their decision to continue the

Assembly in the face of a total nationalist boycott. The hysteria in republican circles at the time of the Assembly's formation has been followed by a dangerous apathy. We should not forget that as long as the Assembly exists it acts to stake a British claim that any future solution will be a partition solution. Neither should we forget that it was through the Assembly that the Unionists lobbied for the 'Shoot to kill' policy that nationalists are suffering from today.

In response to this the Southern parties and the SDLP have offered their 'Council for a new Ireland'. This is a real threat to the anti-im-

perialist movement. Irish capitalism sees the vote for Sinn Fein as a threat to itself. Before it could from time to time indulge in nationalist rhetoric in order to obtain some leverage over British strategy. In this crisis they need to crush the anti-imperialist sentiment of Irish workers to survive. The only direction that the forum can move in is towards further repression internally and more collaboration with Britain. The role of the Southern parties in the attack on women's rights enshrined in the proposed amendment to the constitution shows this clearly

Finally, one of the most basic new elements we face is the economic crisis of imperialism. The early period of this struggle was fuelled by an economic boom which brought a new confidence to Irish workers, especially in the North. Now we face recession, cuts, and mass unemployment. Not unreasonably the anti-imperialist movement is expected to answer these questions.

Posing these questions helps us to begin the process of finding answers. In the North today there are many localised fightbacks: 'against informers, against plastic bullets, against the 'Shoot to kill' policy, and also fightbacks on unemployment, cuts and housing. Its our job to unify these and bring them together in one mass struggle which should have as its focus opposition to the Assembly.

Such a movement could extend itself through all 32 counties by opposing the fake solutions posed by the 'Council for a new Ireland' and challenging not only British imperialism but the collaboration of Irish capitalism.

Above all we need the strength of the working class, especially in the 26 counties. For years, the Workers Party has burrowed away in the Labour bureaucracy and it has paid off in increased support for

them. We need to challenge them but not by copying them. The H block-Armagh movement showed that it is possible to approach workers from outside the Labour movement and win support. And we can learn from our mistakes then by also working seriously and consistently in the labour movement. Here a great challenge faces the republican movement. It has shown a new openness, a new enthusiasm and a new level of organisation in relation to the working class. But it has yet to put forward new policies to deal with the economic crisis and this is an essential element in building a real movement of the working class.

Apart from these strategic difficulties, there is a more general political problem facing the anti-imperialist movement. The decision to stand in elections was pre-dated by a long discussion around the old argument - 'If elections could achieve anything they would make them illegal.'

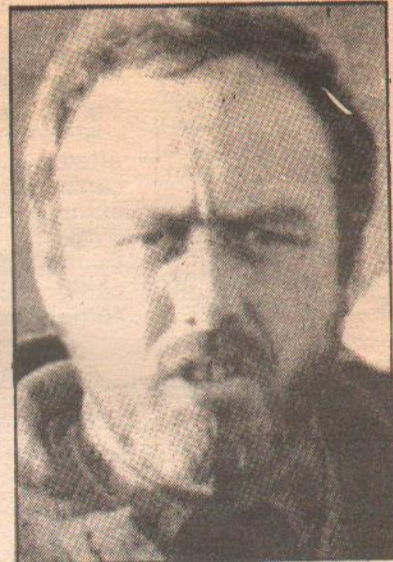
Sinn Fein's victories have settled this to some extent without clarifying the role of elections in the revolutionary process. We in Peoples Democracy believe that revolutions are made by the mass of the people rather than by individual groups no matter how large or well organised. People must free themselves. They cannot be freed by an external agency.

The sort of debate that the Connolly Society is holding tonight is of great value to the activists who attend but it doesn't reach the mass of working people. They learn from their own experience and their own actions. It is here that elections are important. Through elections, revolutionaries win a platform in political debate. They win sections of the working class to their program and in voting for this program workers take a first step. Its up to revolutionaries to present them with the

next step of uniting in mass struggle against capitalism and imperialism.

Its the job of revolutionaries to prepare and organise and unify the struggle to pose the question of power. That's why we need a revolutionary party and that's what Peoples Democracy is fighting to build.

There are many problems to be resolved. But there are also many opportunities. The main point is that we do not have to resolve all these problems now.



DANNY MORRISON

'The first thing before we can discuss the way forward is to take into account not only recent events and developments, not only revolutionary strategy but the tradition of nationalist resistance in the North. Since partition left the people of the North isolated and condemned, through the civils rights struggle and the process of armed struggle, the nationalist people of the North have come back time and time again and have borne every cross forced upon them.

It is extremely important to understand that out of that nationalist tradition there was always a republican movement which had potential - revolutionary potential - to be radical

Many will resolve themselves in action. What we do need to do is to unite together to build united action. Gerry Adams' recent speech advocating passive resistance to the British occupation is a welcome move in this direction. We should not delay but come together now to build a movement of the working class that can throw out the imperialists and their capitalist collaborators and put forward the real solution to the crisis of imperialism - an Irish Workers' Republic!

and which was of the people. From the struggle - from civil rights through armed struggle, through the heroic sacrifice of the young men, and if need had been women in Armagh gaol, on hunger strike throughout 1981 what they represented was genuine grievance, genuine determination and grit of a people determined to be free. And we have to appreciate that, we have to look at why that exists, we have to examine why that doesn't largely exist in the twenty-six counties and what has contributed to that development, what is behind partition, what is behind the driving force of the Irish revolution, which I believe is the Republican Movement.

WHAT NEXT?

■ Sinn Feins election involvement didn't come about by accident. The ability of the movement in 1981 to ensure that Bobby Sands was elected didn't come about by accident either. There were a number of people in the Republican Movement who for a number of years believed that areas like Fermanagh, South Tyrone, Mid Ulster, areas like West Belfast had potential for inflicting poll defeats against nationalist collaborators and in creating a republican veto over British attempts and SDLP attempts to sell down the stream the war and struggle.

You have to be very wary of what potential the elections have unleashed. For example, as John McAnulty said, if voting could have got one anywhere, the British, and infact all the colonial powers, would have banned it years ago. All we're managing to do is exploit certain weaknesses in the nature of British colonial rule in the North of Ireland - that's all we're managing to do. But this electoral intervention has its weaknesses, it has its strengths. Its weaknesses are pitfalls which no revolutionary organisation or revolutionary should allow himself or herself to fall into. There is a danger and it has been warned against, of falling into clientelism with regards to the constituency advice centres which have absolutely no use unless we are to raise the consciousness of the people.

■ The positive developments of the recent mandate given to Sinn Fein have obviously been seen, in overturning British propaganda on Ireland which has stated that the popular Republican struggle had no support. That's how they were able to introduce criminalisation, build the H-Blocks and stick young men and women away and weaken the struggle. We were able to overturn that by our political successes. We were able to show in America, in Europe, Australia and elsewhere that the nationalist people of the North remain undefeated, that the nationalist people of the North despite what they had gone through, were infact certain where they were going. Remember the conditions against which Sinn Fein gained its first 65,000 votes and then the 100,000 plus votes.

What we were fighting, and indeed when the IRA announced the strategy of the long war, what we were saying was this; the British are not going to be got out of Ireland constitutionally. The British are going to have to be fought on a number of separate fronts. It was going to take a considerable amount of time to remove the British presence from Ireland and during the course of that revolution, because that's what it's going to be, will be the will be the flourishing of certain ideas with regard to the liberation of every single man, woman and child with regards to attitudes in the home, our attitudes towards gay people, our attitudes towards how economics is generated, how people live, how property should be redistributed. And that is, in fact, what we hope to gain at the end of the day - complete and absolute control of our lives and to be able to determine what we do with our lives.

Our struggle is very certainly unique with regards to the liberation struggles in other countries throughout the world and, in particular, in other 3rd world countries. For example, the struggle here is being fought against a background of mass media disinformation and information. No-

other struggle took place against such a background, no other successful struggle, and in fact it is true to say that whenever we fight with an Armalite in one hand and a ballot paper in the other it's an experiment, an historic experiment. Whenever the Yanks were fighting in Vietnam and whenever the Vietcong were fighting against them and indeed in Namibia, in Angola, in Mozambique, none of those soldiers were faced with the exact repercussions of their actions against the enemy. But every time a shot is fired in the North of Ireland, or a landmine is exploded, and there are fatalities or casualties, the media draws through the mill the exact effect of that operation on the total community here.

I think the Nationalist people of the North have to be congratulated, and certainly the Republican movement has to be clapped on the back, considering what it has withstood over the last 14 years. The struggle is going to be a long struggle, the political successes are only going to reap certain benefits to the struggle. They have shown there is popular support, they have overturned British propaganda. Now what we hope to do, and indeed this is where the problem arises, because pro-

blems always arise from success, the problems which we face North, South and in Britain and internationally, have to be analysed, have to be examined and we have to come up with strategies which dovetail on certain fronts.

The Republican movement has developed as a result of certain divisions in Ireland and certain attitudes. The electoral successes in the North, and indeed if we are to develop these in the South where people largely consider the institutions of the state as legitimate presents us with major difficulties and honestly don't know how we are going to overcome them.

People who are not particularly tied to our tradition can put forward certain strategies which are difficult for the Republican Movement to overcome, because unfortunately whenever Britain divided Ireland in 1920 with the Government of Ireland Act and whenever she enforced that in 1921, actual recognition of Free State institutions and not just the Oath of Allegiance which De Valera was later to ditch, but the actual institutions of the state led to a major problem, led to a split and led to the Civil War. Indeed, down the decades one has often been considered as a traitor if one ever entered into institutions which other men and women had died opposing. The republican split in 1969 enforced that division and it presents major problems to us. For example, if Sinn Fein, in

order to develop the the popular struggle in the North, in order to link in with and properly represent working-class interests, advocate entry into Leinster house, it would still present major problems and possibly insuperable problems and potentially split problems.

So we have many, many problems to face. Also I would personally be afraid that we would attract to our movement people who are really interested in political careers. At the present point in time, given the abstentionist policy of the Republican movement and the fact that, at least internally, anyone who stands for election has to declare an oath of allegiance to the Republican movement, republican philosophy, and ideology, I would be afraid that we would attract to our movement people who would be interested in getting into debating chambers, into parliament for their own ends and for their sectional ends and not for the ends of the people. We are going to have to remember this point whenever we discuss the way forward. Secondly, inside the North, I believe that the Nationalist community is basically sound. We've had many crosses to bear, from the time of internment and from the H-blocks which replaced internment.

The H-Blocks and Armagh gaol were filled with young men and women on the basis of signed, forced incriminating statements made by these people under spells of 7 days in Castlereagh, Gough bar-

racks and Strand road. Whenever the Brits found that that had been blown wide open the Brits then moved from there to the present strategy of using hired perjurers. Now we're going to have to mount a street campaign against that which will also have its limitations because the British appreciate absolutely the value of this strategy.

It has the potential of rending the Nationalist community apart, it certainly creates distrust and of course a major by-product of it is that Republican activists, along with ordinary people, are going to go to gaol for long periods of time. We are going to have to determine strategies and tactics to fight all these problems. The electoral victories give us the opportunity to link in with people in Britain who sympathise with Nationalist unity. But to this day, no organisation, along with ourselves let me modestly add, has produced, or finalised a strategy for British withdrawal. We come up with statements like 'Disarm the RUC or UDR!' or with statements like 'Immediate, total British withdrawal!' and yet the various scenarios are going to present us with major problems. The Republican Movement is fighting a long struggle and it is prepared to develop its strategy as it goes along.

■ I believe that we totally and absolutely need unity but I also think that comrades in other organisations have to bear respect for the traditions of the Republican Movement."



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'UNMANAGEABLE REVOLUTIONARIES'

Margaret Ward explains in her introduction that this book arose from her perception, as an active socialist feminist in Belfast, that the 'conflicting allegiance of nationalism and feminism, [would] continue to overwhelm us' unless a start was made by honestly confronting them. The book records the conflicts, tensions, and productive interactions between feminism and nationalism between 1880 and 1940 in Ireland.

It is a pioneering work forcing all of us to look at both the past and the present day in a completely different way from before.

Because of the relentless pressure from the international women's movement over the past 20 years, it has now become a truism, even in some right-wing liberal circles to say that women have been written out of the pages of history. Especially in a backward country like Ireland we are obliged to read his story, rarely if ever her story.

Established historians, are now beginning to perceive dimly the threat to their credibility posed by the scandalous exclusion of half the human race from their his story. They would like to make fake gestures to women and get away with it. Margaret Ward, because of her genuine socialist feminist approach, avoids this trap and warns against 'simply tagging (women) on to what we already know'. Her method is 'to re-examine what is already accepted so that a whole people will eventually come into focus: our historical categories will have to change.'

The book begins with a remarkable event on 31 January 1881: Irish women were asked by Irish men to take over a turbulent mass movement called the Land League. For the next 18 months the Ladies Land League took control of the campaign. It proved such an embarrassment to the men that they quickly moved to rewrite the history of the period once the agitation was over. But not everything could be suppressed. In 1886 Maud Gonne, daughter of a British Army officer, had decided at the age of 21 to devote her life to the cause of Irish freedom. She went to numerous men in the nationalist movement asking for help and information. She met the old fenian John O'Leary at a talk organised by the exclusive and all-male, Contemporary Club. The subject was the Land

League. Maud was still only trying to find her feet and asked just one question: what had happened to the Ladies Land League? John O'Leary made a famous reply: 'They may not have been right, but they were suppressed because they were honest and more sincere than the men.'

Anna Parnell was the driving force behind the Ladies Land League. As a result of her experience she became a recluse in an artists' colony in Cornwall, England. She never broke her links with Ireland, once, despite being almost penniless, she sent a donation to a Patriotic Childrens' Treat in 1900. It was a protest against the visit of Queen Victoria to Dublin, 'the Famine Queen'. This event, organised by women, was a big success. Arthur Griffith wrote: 'Dublin never witnessed anything so marvellous as the procession through its streets last Sunday of the 30,000 schoolchildren who refused to be bribed into parading before the Queen of England.'

The government sponsored free treat in Queen Victoria's honour attracted only 5,000 children. There were 4 speakers at the Patriotic Childrens' Treat. Although the event had been organised by women from start to finish 3 of the speakers were men. The one woman orator was Maud Gonne, the main organiser. 40 years later she was still meeting people who had been patriotic children at the treat. Maud's romantic admirer, the poet WB Yeats, commented gloomily: 'How many of these children will carry bomb or rifle when a little under or a little over thirty?'

As Margaret Ward says: 'He proved more farsighted than he realised.' As a direct result of this experience the women who set up the Patriotic Treat founded Inghinidhe na hEireann (Daughters of Ireland) in October 1900. It was the only nationalist women's organisation in this period that was completely independent. Although it was very successful it made one fatal strategic error: it subordinated the interests of women to those of the entire nationalist movement. It would not support the campaign to win the vote for women, because this was 'English agitation'. Inghinidhe argued it was wrong to make demands on the foreign British government. There should be no diversion from the 'main aim' of winning freedom for Ireland.

This strategy was 'disastrous on two counts. Firstly, putting off progressive campaigns to a future 'stage' of the struggle, meant making unacceptable concessions to reactionary forces and giving them a base within the broad nationalist movement. Secondly, it meant that when the national struggle reached its height in the early '20s, it was sold out due to betrayal from within. As we now know to our cost women were penalised very severely by the imposition of partition: as Connolly accurately predicted the 2 partitioned states became a 'carnival of reaction.'

A theme that runs implicitly through Margaret Ward's book is that a strategy which does not seek to combine the national and social revolutions ... that is a permanent revolution strategy ... is a strategy doomed to fail.

At this junction there is a powerful overlap between the strategic goals of both feminists and Trotskyists.

Inghinidhe, because of their abstention from the women's suffrage movement, cut themselves off from potential allies in the Irish Women's Franchise League-IWFL. Many Inghinidhe activists were founders of Sinn Fein in 1908. The Party's programme was very moderate and explicitly anti-socialist. Conflicts often broke out within the party because of the contradiction between this programme and the vigorous instincts of the rank and file membership. On such occasions Inghinidhe ne hEireann, which had become inactive, was resurrected as a safety valve for militant activity.

Margaret Ward tells us that in 1911 Sinn Fein set up a broad committee to oppose the visit of the new English King, George V. The United National Societies Committee organised one of the biggest nationalist demonstrations since the days of the Land League. But some wanted to go further: 'Countess Markiewicz remembered Inghinidhe as being always in favour of the most extreme action possible, while people like Griffith..... were in great dread of a riot.'

As George V passed through admiring loyalist crowds in Dublin, Markiewicz unfurled a black flag and began distributing a leaflet denouncing Irish people willing to 'crawl to those who oppress and rob them.' In the ensuing



row an old man hit Markiewicz with a stick attached to a Union Jack. Markiewicz burnt a Union Jack and her comrade Helena Moloney put a brick through a shop window displaying pictures of the royal couple.

Court cases followed, Markiewicz making one flamboyant gesture after another, and the government eventually decided to drop charges because of mass support for the women.

Helena Moloney at this time was a close colleague of James Connolly and his Socialist Party


of Ireland (SPI). They had no qualms about supporting the campaign for women's suffrage. Inghinidhe continued to decline and the remaining members of the dwindling organisation decided, says Margaret Ward, to give their support to the small group of Socialists associated with Liberty Hall.

There are strong parallels between the attitude of Inghinidhe and Sinn Fein's attitude to the anti-abortion amendment: they refuse to campaign for a No vote on the grounds that the constitution is illegit-

imate. Margaret Ward notes that: 'The Sinn Fein Women's Department ... may in consequence be rendered all but irrelevant, when confronted with the first major crisis of its existence.'

In the short space of this review I have only been able to cover a small amount of Margaret Ward's excellent book. BUY IT!! READ IT!!

AINE FURLONG.



PD ORGANISE AGAINST AMENDMENT

'Women, Partition and the Amendment' was the theme of a public meeting held on Monday, August 29 in Dublin. Organised by Peoples Democracy in opposition to the Amendment, some 40 people turned out to hear an interesting panel of speakers: Leonora Lloyd, a founder member of the International Contraception, Abortion and against Enforced Sterilisation Campaign, Margaret Ward, author of the recently published 'Unmanageable Revolutionaries' - Women and Irish Nationalism (reviewed elsewhere on this page), Helen Mahony, Secretary of Trade Unionists against the Amendment, and PD member Sue Esterson.

Leonora Lloyd told the meeting that there is a struggle all over the world by women to win control over their own fertility. She drew a parallel between the circumstances which gave birth to the British National Abortion Campaign and those of the Anti-Amendment Campaign in Ireland. 'The Pro-Choice movement came into existence in Britain for the same reasons that the AAC came about in Ireland - because of anti-abortion hysteria. In Britain the NAC was formed after James White's attempt in 1975 to restrict the 1967 Abortion Act. In Ireland the AAC was formed after the PLAC secured promises from politicians to amend the 1937 Constitution.'

Helen Mahony explained that the Amendment was an attempt to 'penalize, terrorise and isolate women' and warned that it might 'stem the fight for democratic rights like contraception and divorce'.

Margaret Ward warned that partition would be bolstered by the Amendment: 'It will highlight the differences between the two parts of Ireland, with pregnant women the symbol of the difference. Women in the North will never give up the right to be treated for cancerous wombs in exchange for a United Ireland'.

Speaking for Peoples Democracy, Sue Esterson condemned the statement of the catholic bishops as a veiled attempt to coerce catholics into supporting the Amendment. She said 'The bishops hope to exclude discussion of the underlying political reasons for the Amendment'. Sue also warned that the Amendment 'undermines the prospect of Irish unity'

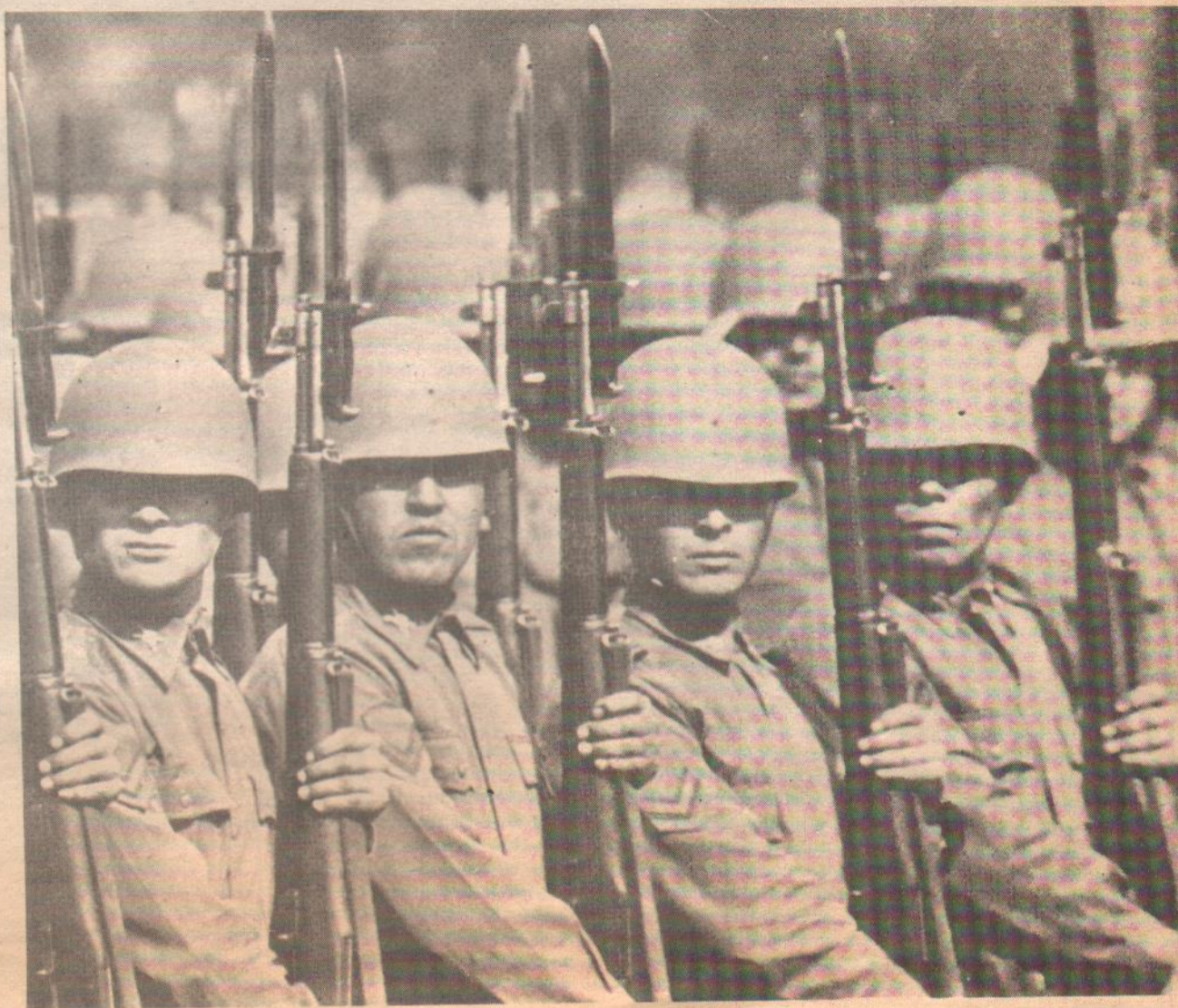
CHILE - Ten years of struggle and resistance

Ten years ago in Chile the attempt by Salvador Allende and his Popular Unity Government to establish a 'peaceful road to socialism' ended in disaster with a blood-bath led by the Generals of the Chilean Army and the deaths of tens of thousands of working class militants.

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC has spoken to Patricio Riesco of the Socialist Party of Chile [PS CNR], in exile in Ireland. Below we print his comments on the downfall of the Popular Unity Government, and the recent growth of a new resistance to the Generals in Chile.

Latin America has for too long been 'America's backyard' and progress-

ive forces there battling against dictatorship face the machinations of the CIA and the armed might of the American Army. The Chilean disaster proved the impossibility of a 'parliamentary road' to socialism and in Uruguay the defeat of the Tupamaros proved that armed struggle alone was not successful. Now the victory of the mass struggle of workers in Nicaragua has brought a new wave of hope to Latin America and a new threat to the Chilean Generals. Reagan's response is the threat of invasion and all-out war. Our response should be increased solidarity with the struggle in Latin America.



September next will mark the 10th anniversary of the downfall of the Popular Unity Government in Chile.

With the election of Allende in Chile, history was made, as this was the first ever Marxist president elected by a people anywhere in the world.

The Allende Government was a popular government that had the support of the majority of the working class people. The reason was simple: Allende carried out deep reforms that were in direct benefit of the working people. The nationalisation of the copper mines and the banks, the agrarian reform etc., were in itself revolutionary measures that no one can deny.

However, the right wing and the Yanks were not sleeping and they decided from the very first day of the Popular Unity Government that they were not to stand by

and watch the Allende Government carry out transformations in 'their society'.

What failed in Chile was the concept of the 'peaceful road to socialism'. The strategy of the Popular Unity Government was wrong. It is not possible to achieve socialism by peaceful means. In any capitalist country, the bourgeoisie will not hesitate to use the army as their last resource to repress those who want a better society. Without privileges for anybody.

The Chilean workers and peasants were at last able, through years of class struggle to elect a Government of their own and to carry out profound transformation in society, but unfortunately, they did not have the means to defend themselves when, on September 1973 the Army was used by the right wing and American imperialism to overth-

row the government of Salvador Allende.

It is 10 years since. The Army have done everything possible to silence any opposition to its rule. From the beginning they had the support not only of the multinationals, but also of the middle classes and their political party in Chile - the Christian Democrats. It is only now, after 10 long years of struggle by the Chilean people, 10 years of fighting back, of resistance, that the Christian Democrats are realising their mistake when they supported the coup that toppled Allende. For years, they were expected to be part of the Government of Pinochet. Of course Pinochet and his masters

the multinationals and the Yanks ignored them after they used them to save democracy in Chile.

Pinochet is now isolated, but he still has the full support of the army and the Reagan Administration. Internally, the opposition is growing daily. Press reports will like to make us believe that the Christian Democrats are at the front of the opposition but this is not so.

The working class in Chile, is and will always be, at the front of the opposition to the Junta. It is they who have been making sacrifices, who have been fighting organising and agitating against the dictatorship. They will have to be the

beneficiaries of any changes in Chile, and there will have to be many changes.

The Christian Democrats are in opposition now for their own ends. Sections of the left in Chile, wrongly, have been calling on the Christian Democrats for the formation of a common front of opposition. The Christian Democrats are taking a reactionary direction and would very much prefer to enter into negotiations with the military, than to form an alliance with the left. Besides, the American State Department is already looking at the situation closely and if they see Pinochet in more trouble than he is now, they will no doubt, require the services once

again of the Christian Democrats.

The working class is showing us the way forward in Chile. Today all over Chile revolutionary actions are taking place. Confrontations between the people and the army are taking place daily. The people know very well that they will have to rely on their own organisation and strength.



C.
GREENHAM
N.
BELFAST
D.

The peace women at Greenham Common in England have mounted ground patrols after a spate of attacks on their camp. The patrols began as thousands of anti-nuclear protesters gathered around the base for demonstrations to mark the 38th anniversary of the dropping of the 1st atomic

bomb on Hiroshima.

In a series of attacks cement has been poured into the camp water supply, paint sprayed at protesters and tents knocked down. The women have been camping outside the airbase for 2 years, protesting about the decision to

site cruise missiles there

Meanwhile... marchers from 15 British cities converged on the airbase for a 3 day fast and vigil commemorating the 200,000 people who died in the US bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

September 3, the anniversary of the outbreak of World War Two saw 300 supporters of the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament march in Belfast.

marathon which passed a nuclear bunker on the posh Malone Road. Speakers at a rally included Senator John Robb and Joan Ruddock, Chairperson of the British CND.

neutrality of the 26 Counties and said also

that she was 'horrified to see the heavy military presence' in Belfast. Senator John Robb urged that all efforts be made to ensure that the whole island of Ireland should remain free of nuclear weapons.

CND organised a day-long protest with music, poetry and even a mini-

In her speech Joan Ruddock backed the

LIVINGSTONE SPEAKS OUT

When Ken Livingstone, leader of the Greater London Council remarked on RTE that what Britain had done to Ireland over the past 800 years was worse than Hitler's persecution of the Jews, he provoked a wave of indignation from the British establishment and its lackeys like Lord Gerry Fitt.

The reality is that Livingstone was historically correct in his evaluation. Not only is Britain still pursuing a policy of military and economic repression in Ireland but it bears a great deal of

responsibility for genocide in Ireland over 800 years. The Famine was Ireland's holocaust. The level of Ireland's population today bears witness to the fact that it has yet to recover from this historic attempt at genocide.

People like Lord Fitt want to cover up the fact that while Britain's methods may have changed its role is still that of a murderous colonial oppressor.

Brian Hughes



POBLAUGHT SHOISIALACH

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

Paper of PEOPLES' DEMOCRACY

After The Referendum

Win, lose or draw on September 7, the size of the 'NO' vote cannot be ignored. Despite all the confusion spread by politicians and the media, the hysteria whipped-up by the so-called 'Pro-life' brigade, the intimidation from the pulpits - tens of thousands of Irish people voted for democratic rights and against reaction. That in itself is a tremendous achievement.

With the referendum behind us the fight for women's rights must go on. What happens next is the big question for many 'NO' voters and activists. In answering this question we should be under no illusion that the right-wing intends to mount an attack on all the gains of the women's movement over the past 10 years. The referendum witnessed the mobilisation of all the forces on the right of Irish society, and the re-emergence of the Catholic Church as a direct political force curtailing social and democratic rights.

As we have seen through out the history of the 26 Counties' state, in times of economic crisis like in the 30s and 50s the Church has fought to maintain clerical power over society and preached despair and defeat. The net effect of its influence is demoralisation

of working people, whose traditional leadership has refused to challenge the role of the Church in the state.

The politicians that have held power over the past 60 years have been happy to see the Church play this role, for it serves to divert attention from the failure of their capitalist policies to meet the needs of the overwhelming majority of the Irish people. That is the reason that all the big parties were so quick to give support to the PLAC at the outset.

DEFENCE KEY ISSUE

We cannot predict just where the right will strike next - whether to harass women taking the boat to England or against the family planning clinics. But we have to take steps now to meet the attack wherever it comes. So the

first thing that needs to be done is for the Anti-Amendment Campaign to organise a conference for activists and open to 'NO' voters to lay plans for a defence campaign.

In meeting the attacks of the right wing we must reject any narrow approach which seeks to veto who can or can't participate. That would be to misread the result of the referendum, to see it as the end rather than the beginning of the debate. Above all else the campaign has exploded the issue of women's rights and that of the separation of church and state. More and more people want to hear the arguments involved. We have to go out there and convince them.

INTERNATIONAL TRIBUNAL

That's why the proposal for an international tribunal to investigate the crimes against Irish women in regards control of their fertility deserves to be supported. This initiative would allow us to build links with the broad international



IT'S A STEP
IN THE WRONG
DIRECTION
VOTE NO
AMENDMENT

Poster issued by the Anti-Amendment Campaign.

women's movement which has had to face these sort of attacks in many countries. Such a tribunal

would also be an ideal forum to open up the debate on the right to choose by drawing out the links between the

right to contraception and the right to abortion.

Anne Speed

supergrasses

We Interview Nell Mc Cafferty

Nell McCafferty went to the 6 Counties' to hear the 'supergrass' Raymond Gilmore testify in the 'no-jury' court. SR asked her about it.

sr: What was the atmosphere in the courthouse at the trial?

■ That of a police state rather than any normal legal system. The police ran the show and sorted out conflicts in their evidence between themselves. The judge gave absolutely no direction.

SR: What of Gilmore?

■ He exhibited no signs of human emotion and responded as if he had been programmed. A general feeling among journalists, lawyers, the public and the prisoners was that the police controlled every word.

SR: And the relatives?

■ Really distressed and

showing deep shock at one of their own turning informer.

SR: Do you think this will lead to any backlash in the communities, especially against clerics who have called on people to inform?

■ No. People distinguish quite clearly between the pastoral and political function of priests. Respect and affection for Catholic Church have if anything increased since it has remained the one unchanging institution in 15 years of division and change. However, people accept or reject clerical pronouncements according to their own politics. There's a feeling that 'the priests are on our side but they have to be diplomatic.'

SR: What effect has the kidnapping of the father had?

■ A whole series of reactions. First, amusement and the feeling

that this was just an excuse to let Gilmore retract. Then astonishment when he didn't. Astonishment turned to indifference and that is now replaced by an acknowledgement that kidnapping must one day translate into killing if the gesture is to have any effect. However, given Mr. Gilmore's own support for Sinn Fein there is not a real belief that he will be killed. As the situation becomes desperate there will be a fervent hope that he won't be killed. However it remains a possibility that desperate times will produce desperate action.

SR: How have people in Derry reacted to Gilmore's testimony?

■ Reaction ranges from fascination at the evidence as a detailed 'inside look' at the IRA, to utter distaste and revulsion at his traitorous activity. Interestingly enough he is seen as a traitor rather

than an informer, because people associate informers with criminal activity and don't see the IRA as criminals.

SR: Are the trials seen as a setback for the IRA military campaign?

■ No, their effect offset by the series of political victories for Sinn Fein. There is a clear sense of the per-

sonal tragedy of those jailed by Gilmore's evidence.

SR: Do these trials show up the sectarian nature of the 6 Counties' state?

■ I don't think so. We must remember that there are a number of supergrasses on the loyalist side also.

SR: Do you believe that there is the possibility of building up community action through an anti-informer campaign?

■ I don't really believe so. There didn't seem to be that sort of feeling among the relatives or in the community as a whole.

Our Views

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC would not agree with all the views expressed by Nell;

□ The Catholic Church. We agree that the outline presented by Nell is part of the story. But there is a growing anger and resentment and a disgust that people like Father Faul should try to smash resistance before it begins and do so by justifying in advance British repression and murder against any protest movement.

□ The Kidnapping.

■ The Kidnapping. Nell expresses no view

herself but we hold strong views. Kidnapping has no future as a tactic. It does not worry the British and is not likely to affect people who have already sold their comrades for personal gain. The killing of an innocent relative would revolt the anti-unionist community and damage the anti-imperialist organisations. In any case reliance on terror would show this battle had already been lost.

□ Sectarianism. We see the trials as clearly sectarian. Prosecution of small groups of loyalists is simply

icing on the cake in what is basically an anti-republican campaign. The loyalist terror gangs are happy to co-operate with 'security forces' who do their job for them by operating a 'shoot-to-kill' policy.

□ Fighting back. The recent opening of a broad anti-informer campaign has already proved Nell's assessment wrong. We believe that there are many political questions to resolve before a mass movement comparable to the 'H-Block Armagh campaign can be built, but it is the only direction in which a real victory is possible. We urge all our readers and supporters to play a full part in this campaign.