

**UNFREE
CITIZEN**

newspaper of
Peoples' Democracy

Vol 4 No 11 - 5p.

For a 32-Co. Workers and Small Farmers Republic

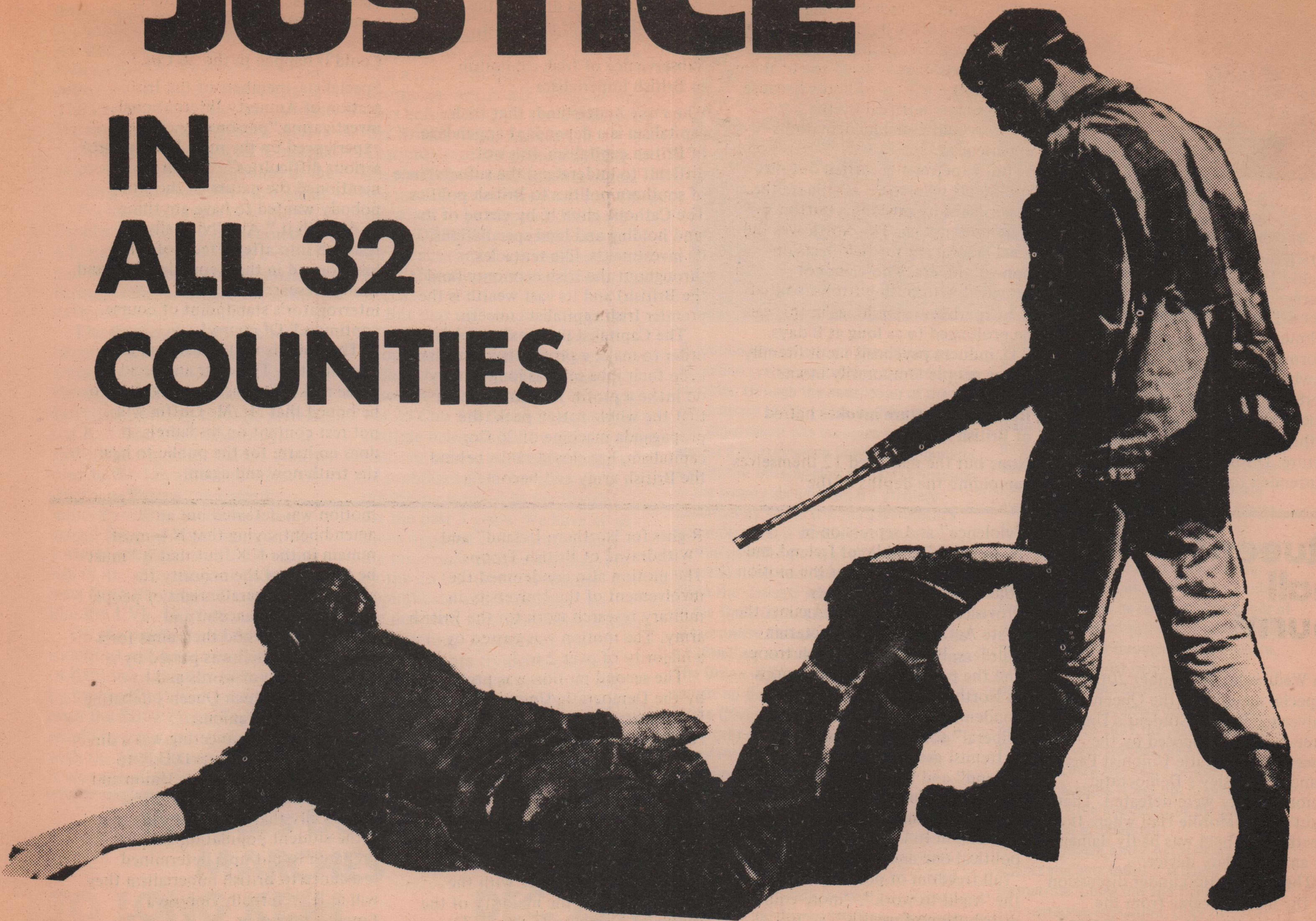
16th Dec. 1974

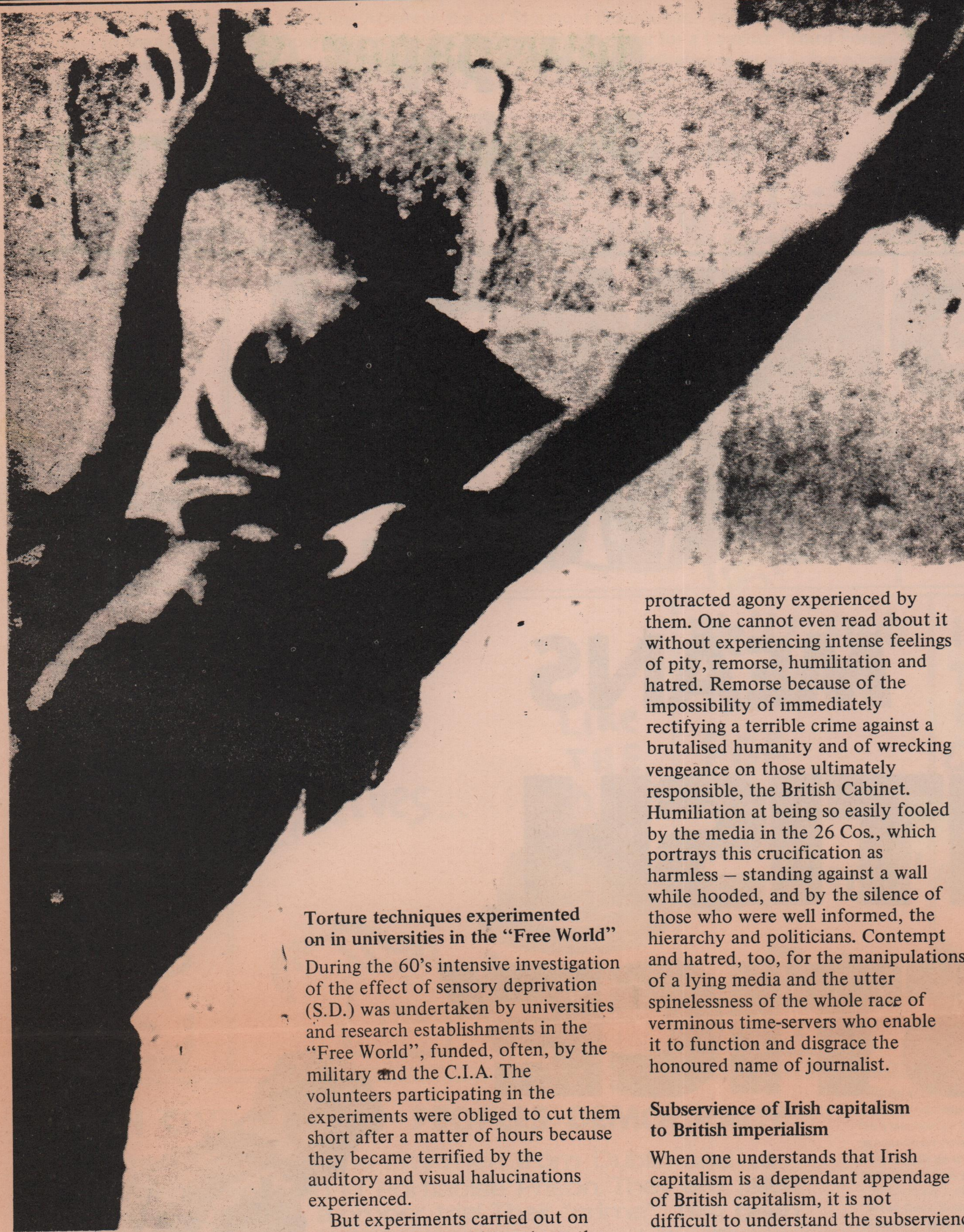
COMMON LAW

MEANS

BRITISH 'JUSTICE'

**IN
ALL 32
COUNTIES**





Torture techniques experimented on in universities in the "Free World"

During the 60's intensive investigation of the effect of sensory deprivation (S.D.) was undertaken by universities and research establishments in the "Free World", funded, often, by the military and the C.I.A. The volunteers participating in the experiments were obliged to cut them short after a matter of hours because they became terrified by the auditory and visual hallucinations experienced.

But experiments carried out on volunteers who could terminate the experiment by pushing a button were not enough. The North was the ideal laboratory for field tests on non-volunteers, who were not provided with push-buttons, so that the experiments could, as in this case, be prolonged to as long as 8 days. S.D. induces psychosis i.e. it literally drives people temporarily insane.

Reading of torture invokes hatred of British rule

None but the martyred 12 themselves can plumb the depths of the

protracted agony experienced by them. One cannot even read about it without experiencing intense feelings of pity, remorse, humiliation and hatred. Remorse because of the impossibility of immediately rectifying a terrible crime against a brutalised humanity and of wrecking vengeance on those ultimately responsible, the British Cabinet. Humiliation at being so easily fooled by the media in the 26 Cos., which portrays this crucifixion as harmless — standing against a wall while hooded, and by the silence of those who were well informed, the hierarchy and politicians. Contempt and hatred, too, for the manipulations of a lying media and the utter spinelessness of the whole race of verminous time-servers who enable it to function and disgrace the honoured name of journalist.

Subservience of Irish capitalism to British imperialism

When one understands that Irish capitalism is a dependant appendage of British capitalism, it is not difficult to understand the subservience of southern politics to British politics. The Catholic church, by virtue of its land holding and land speculations, its investments, like tentacles, throughout the Irish economy (and the British) and its vast wealth is the premier Irish capitalist concern.

The Capitalist press exists solely in order to make a profit; its journalists keep their jobs only as long as they do make a profit. Is it any wonder that the whole rotten pack, the propaganda machine of 26 Co. capitalism, has closed ranks behind the British army and become a

transmission belt for the dissemination of its propaganda in the South.

The lie

The Lie is the social lubricant alone, permitting the party machines to function; it has become the essential ingredient in Southern politics and constitutes its major content. The Lie is the last resort of the political and spiritual bankrupt.

Southern capitalism, pro-imperialist to the core, fears the infection of its "own" working class, which it regards as its mortal enemy, with the anti-imperialist spirit of the workers fighting the British Army in the 6 Cos. The dilemma of 26 Co. capitalism and its 3 major parties is this: it is essential in order to retain the support of the people, that they be seen as Republican and Patriotic while, in fact, they are anti-Republican, pro-imperialist quislings. The Lie is designed to depict themselves as the true (albeit "moderate", "responsible") patriots and their opponents as insane monsters lusting for blood. What else can they do but lie when just the reverse is the truth?

The 12 hooded internees today

And, meanwhile, what of the 12 today? Well, 6 of them are still in Long Kesh and "reports emanating from the Long Kesh indicate that 2 of them are in a particularly bad way and are given heavy doses of Librium and Valium daily". The author interviewed the remaining 6 and found that "at least 4 have been badly affected. Only 2 appear to have made an almost total recovery, 2 years after the experience and even they are prone to violent nightmares and migraine headaches". One man, upon release, spent 2 months in a mental institution in the 26 Cos.

Could it happen in the 26 Cos.?

Specialists, members of the Irish section of Amnesty International, investigating "personality changes experienced by the men, had run into serious difficulties". "When we mentioned the nature of the study nobody wanted to have anything to do with it." And "virtually all research into after-effects of S.D. has stopped in the Republic of Ireland, though research from the interrogator's standpoint of course continues." Of course!

The book is well researched and documented. The clear and lucid prose makes for easy reading. It is to be hoped that Mr. McGuffin will not rest content on his laurels. It does no harm for the public to hear the truth now and again.

This is a book well worth reading. Its control theme is an experiment carried out by the British Army in August 1971, on 12 "guineapigs", internees selected to test the effectiveness of disorientation techniques (D.T.) in extracting information. The principal drawback to physical torture is that it breaks bones and leaves scars which can prove an embarrassment to the government authorising the torture. Disorientation techniques is intended to avoid this.

Queens' hall burnt

On Wednesday November 20th at a special meeting of the Queen's University Belfast Student's Union, three motions proposed by the Queen's Democratic Unionist Party branch of Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party were defeated. That night the McMordie Hall where the meeting was held was badly damaged by an incendiary device.

The first motion under discussion by the meeting came from the union executive. It . . . condemned

"violence" and repression in N. Ireland, Republic of Ireland and Gt. Britain. In particular the motion condemned the Emergency Provisions Act, Offences Against the State Act, Internment, Sectarian Murders, Brutality of British troops and the presence of British troops in Northern Ireland. It also condemned, just to add that nice "liberal" touch: "violence by extremist groups in Northern Ireland" and the "outbreak of violence in Great Britain". The motion also mentioned that the solution in Ireland had to be a political one and this had to include "full freedom of political thought", the "right to work", "more equal distribution of wealth", a "Bill of

Rights for Northern Ireland" and "Withdrawal of British Troops". The motion also condemned the involvement of the University in military research work for the British army. The motion was passed by a majority of over 2 to 1.

The second motion was proposed by the Democratic Unionist Party. It supported the "security forces in Northern Ireland in their efforts to defeat the current terrorist campaign". It was defeated by over 2 to 1.

The third motion also proposed by the DUP, said that "Northern Ireland must remain within the United Kingdom in accordance with the declared wish of the majority of the people of Northern Ireland". This

motion was defeated but an amendment saying that N.I. must remain in the U.K. but that it "must be the duty of the majority to allow the democratic right of people to pursue in a peaceful and democratic method their aims for a 32-Co. Republic" was passed by clever twisting of words and innuendos for which Queen's debating chambers are infamous.

The emergency meeting was a direct attempt by the Queens D.U.P. to "take over" the Students Union and enforce their right-wing politics. Thankfully that failed showing that if the student population are not prepared to put up a determined resistance to British imperialism they will at least verbally oppose a Loyalist take-over.

REVOLUTIONARY CITIZEN ARMY CALLS FOR SUPPORT FOR P.D. STATEMENT FROM R.C.A.

The Revolutionary Citizen's Army is a force of armed volunteers dedicated to the cause of the Irish working class and the establishment of a Socialist Republic in Ireland. We are organised on a 32 county basis and have been in existence for some time. We have decided to make our existence known to the people at this time because of the rapidly deteriorating situation in the six counties where the daily collaboration between the British Imperialist forces and Loyalist private armies and murder gangs points to the imminent danger of a British-backed Loyalist takeover and the establishment of an Orange Fascist state. We wish to alert the anti-imperialist population of all Ireland to this threat and to the need to resist it by force.

The Revolutionary Citizen's Army was established as an armed force because it is clear that the British Imperialists and the local Ruling Class have no intention of surrendering their control over our country and its people, due to political pressure alone. They have the British Army, RUC, UDR and Loyalist gangs — all armed to the teeth — to enforce their will. Meanwhile in the 26 counties the Dublin government, which is little more than a British puppet, uses the Gardai and Irish Army as auxiliaries to the Crown forces and to protect their own clique of gombeen-men and property speculators. Force must be met with force. We will use force against any body which tries to halt the onward march of the Irish working class.

The Revolutionary Citizen's Army sees as its most urgent task the defence of the nationalist areas in the six counties against sectarian Fascist onslaughts and all-out and successful resistance to any attempt to re-establish a loyalist controlled state. We are prepared to co-operate with all other anti-imperialist forces in this task and we urge the Provisional and Official IRA particularly to join in making preparations for united defence and resistance in the extremely grave situation which now faces us. The RCA is also committed to the general struggle against British Imperialism and its puppets and we pledge that we will not cease activity or dump arms until not only British rule but native capitalist rule have been overthrown and a Socialist Republic established.

The Revolutionary Citizen's Army supports the politics of the Peoples Democracy both because they have consistently been in the vanguard of the anti-imperialist struggle since 1968 and have faithfully adhered to the objective of a Socialist Republic and because more recently they alone have repeatedly warned of the danger of an Orange Fascist takeover in the North. We believe that victory can only be achieved by armed force combined with revolutionary agitation by the mass of the people. We urge the anti-imperialist population to follow the political leadership of the Peoples Democracy.

STATEMENT FROM P.D. CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Printed above is the full text of a statement which appeared, in part, in the 'Irish Times' last week. The statement was issued to the Press by the Revolutionary Citizen Army and a copy was sent to "Unfree Citizen". The Peoples Democracy welcomes the support of the Revolutionary Citizen Army and sees its formation as an important development in the working class movement in Ireland.

For over two years now the Peoples Democracy has warned of a Loyalist takeover in the 6 Cos. and the dangers of compromising, through talks or otherwise, with extreme Loyalist groups.

The British plans for the 6 Cos. become clearer every day. They are trying to 'Ulsterise' the 6 Cos. through handing power to the Loyalists. Already through increasing the RUC and UDR massively, the British have already handed security over to the Loyalists and when the British withdraw the Catholic minority will be faced with the armed force of Loyalism — in the form of the RUC and UDR which has in its ranks many of those who now form the para-military groups like the UVF, UDA etc.

On the political end the Convention Elections will have a massive majority of hard-line Loyalists who will not be prepared to share power with even the SDLP (John Taylor said he would be prepared to share power with the Catholic minority — provided it was not at a ministerial level!)

The Catholic anti-Unionist minority must resist with all their might, the takeover of power by the Loyalists and a return to the old sectarian Stormont, which will be worse than ever before. Despite the attempts by the British Army to beat the Catholics into the ground so that they will show no resistance when the crunch comes, we must not allow ourselves to be stopped. We must unite, DESPITE our political differences and form resistance and defence committees all over the 6 Cos.

But that will not be enough. It will be necessary to mobilise the people in the South too if we are to defeat the forces of fascism and reaction. There is support throughout the 26 Cos. for the anti-imperialist struggle being waged by the Catholic minority, it only needs to be mobilised. P.D. have been organising support in the South for the past 3 years. We have at all times opposed collaboration and the repressive measures brought in by the 26 Co. Govt. to repress Republicans and Socialists. At the moment, through Unfree Citizen and meetings throughout the 26 Cos. we are trying to prepare the workers for the part they will have to play in the next few months.

It is in this context that we welcome the formation of the Revolutionary Citizen Army and their support for us.

The Prevention of Terrorism Act which became law on 29th November (8 days after the Birmingham bombs) had been passed by the British government for more than 18 months and is unprecedented even by British standards. The powers it gives the English police can only be described as total and in reality means that a form of detention without trial has now been introduced without fuss or bother in Britain.

The Act itself falls under five main headings:

1. It proscribes the IRA (i.e. makes it illegal) to belong to or support the IRA in any manner can result in an unlimited fine plus 5 years imprisonment. The wearing of armbands, uniforms or carrying banners supporting the IRA carries a £200 fine plus six months imprisonment.
2. Police can arrest without a warrant.
3. A person can be held in police custody for up to seven days (If a new custody order is signed he can be held for a further seven days).
4. Anyone can be excluded from entering Britain and suspected persons can be sent back to Ireland even if they are residing in Britain.
5. Restriction and control of travel, North and South to and from Britain.

There was also a promise made by the British Home Secretary that a discussion on hanging would be introduced into the House of Commons shortly to deal with some political offences as well as one for the introduction of identity cards for selected people.

Since Nov. 29th when this legislation became law there has been an enormous number of arrests in England. More than 40 people have been held for extended periods (some for 12 days) and up to now 17 of these have been charged with numerous

BRITAIN: LEFT MUST OPPOSE NEW LAWS

offences under the Act. At least ten exclusion orders from Britain have been signed but so far only three of those have been served.

Perhaps the greatest iron lies in the abuse which is already evident in the implementation of this section of the Act. The 3 Irishmen who have been served with exclusion orders have all lived in England for long periods. They have all been active in politics but have played no part in the military campaign there whatsoever. John Rafferty (32) an ordinary member of Provisional Sinn Fein had his main political activity in selling papers in pubs and clubs. Gerry Doherty (40) and J. Flynn (28) both members of the Official Republicans 'Clann na hEireann' actually openly condemned the Provos whole military campaign in Britain. These 3 men have been forced to leave their families etc. at the whim of the British Special Branch merely for daring to challenge the British politically. How many more will follow?

What is happening in Britain is only a prelude to when these laws can be used by the British government against English, Scottish and Welsh militants who will shortly be forced to take a more determined and positive stance in defence of their wages, jobs and livelihood. It is up to the British revolutionary left to demonstrate clearly their internationalism and to organise now against this legislation no matter how unpopular that might be.

EDUCATION a basic right for all people



Attention was focused on the ridiculous education system operated in the twenty-six counties, through the occupation of the Department of Education by fifty students. The department was occupied to protest against a system which heavily discriminates against the working-class student. Education in the twenty-six counties is a privilege benefited by a few. It is the government's intention to let it remain that way.

The need for grants at all levels of education, has never been more urgent. When the students occupied the Secretary of the Department's office, they saw on 'Government Notepaper' that there is to be a £26million cut-back in educational finance. The Union of Students in Ireland has sought on three occasions to meet Dick Burke (Minister for Education) to discuss the urgent problem of properly financing education. On each occasion Burke has been 'unavailable'.

Militant action was the only means through which the frustrated students could focus attention on educational discrimination. The fifty students entered the Department of Education despite the efforts of Special Branch man Kennedy (a notorious Republican hounder). They barricaded themselves into the Secretary's office. Within an hour, the Gardai, without giving any warning,

smashed in the door with pick-axes and arrested all the students. They were taken at various intervals to the Bridewell and charged under the Forcible Entry Act. They were then put in filthy cells and given a mug of water and some bread. Most of the students were bailed out during the night — but ten students were forced to remain over-night as the gardai refused to accept U.S.I. bail for them.

The students appeared in court during the week and the charges against them were dismissed. Public opinion demanded that the students be released. Thousands of students protested against the governments negative policies throughout the country. The fight for equal rights and equal opportunities will continue.

The use of repressive legislation must be opposed. In 1971 the present Minister for Justice worried that the infamous Forcible Entry Act might be used against people for whom it was not originally intended — the hypocrisy of the Coalition government is unlimited.

The Forcible Entry Act is being used against students today — it could be you tomorrow. Come out and fight vicious and repressive legislation. Only through protest and militant action can the government be challenged — and defeated!

**People's Democracy
MARCHES
TO LONG KESH
TO ARMAGH JAIL: DEC. 25th
JAN. 1st**

Saturday 16th November saw the successful conclusion of a 4-week unofficial strike by members of the Transport & General Workers Union in Northern Ireland. They had succeeded in doing in those 4 weeks what the Officials of the Union had failed to do in several months of negotiating with the bosses of the transport industry. In terms of hard cash, it meant raising wages of the drivers from £26.65 to £39.65 and helpers wages from £25 to £38 for a basic 40 hour week.

The price of victory

History has shown time and time again how the working class have had to suffer in the struggle for decent wages and conditions, but not since the 1930s has a Trade Union member had to pay with his life for these basic rights. Mr. George Hamilton of Muckamore, Co. Antrim was killed in cold blood by a scab lorry driver who drove through a picket while Mr. Hamilton was on duty. The driver of the scab truck, a Mr. Allen has subsequently been charged with the killing of George Hamilton. Mr. Allen is a small business man, the owner of several lorries whose business was affected because of the strike. It's interesting to note also that it was the small transport businessmen and owners of lorries who brought economic chaos to Chile during the last weeks of President Allende's Govt., proving once again how the petit bourgeoisie can be the greatest enemy of the

working class during the struggle for working class control of the economy.

Why Unofficial strike

The trade union and the Road Transport Association (the bosses) are members of the Joint Industrial Council (J.I.C.) a talking shop where all grievances can be aired (in a civilised manner no doubt). So while the bosses and the Trade Union bureaucrats talk, the workers are driving 60 hours a week to bring home a living wage. Consequently when the Scottish and Nottingham workers won their demands for £40 per week after striking, the transport workers in Northern Ireland became more frustrated with the negative approach of the Trade Union officials to their needs. So on Monday 21st October 500 employees of Northern Ireland Carriers (H.I.C.) went on strike.

Their demands: £40 for 40 hours + cost of living increases.

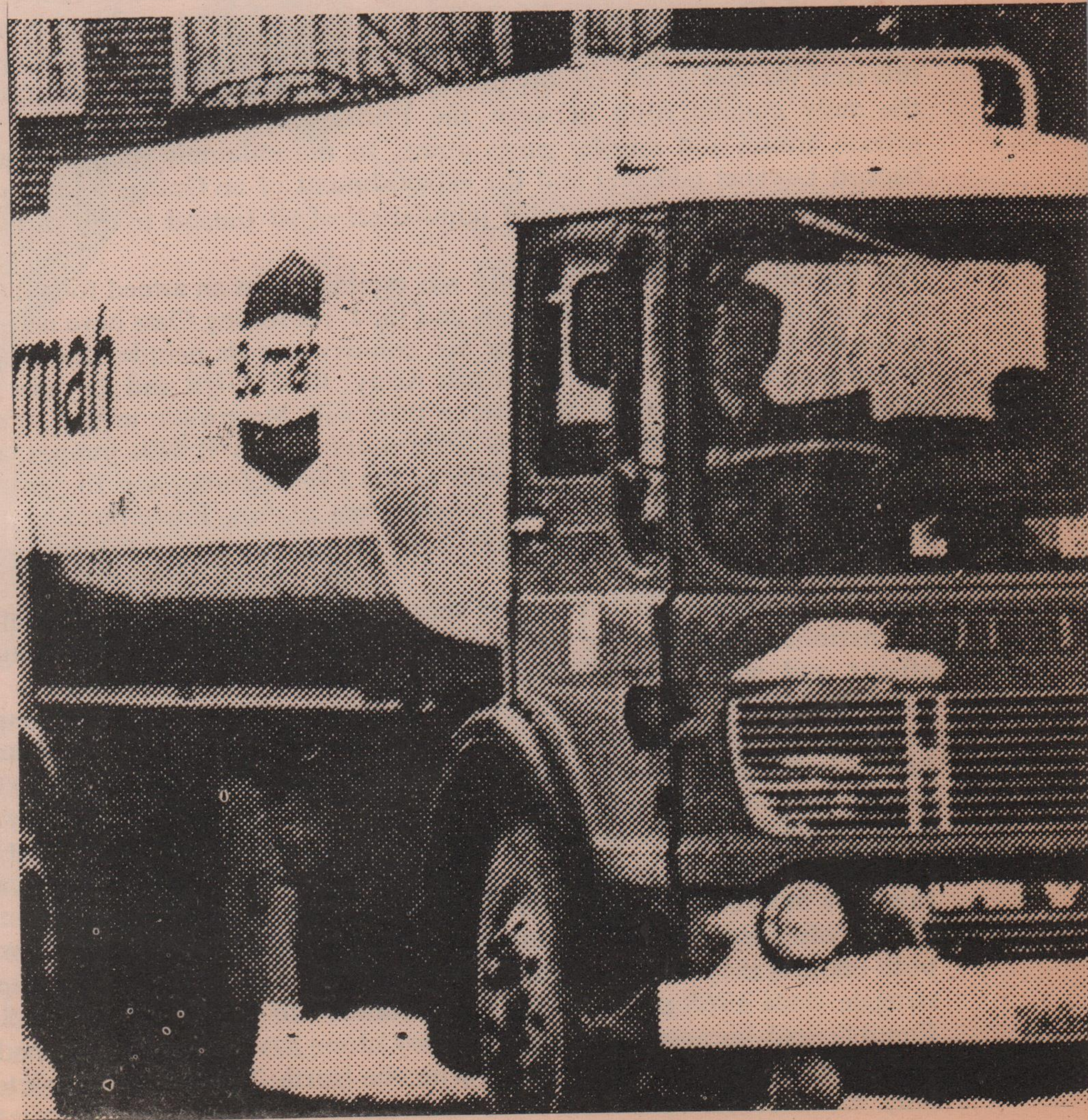
Tactics of strikers

As their action was not sanctioned by the union the men elected a 16-man committee which would not negotiate directly with the R.T.A. but would act as a pressure group on the Trade Union representatives, as well as being responsible for co-ordinating activities to ensure success of the strike.

The activities engaged in by the strikers were basically 2-fold. On the one hand to gain support for the strike from all the drivers in (NIC)

LORRY DRIVERS

Men win their demands despite condemn



Official Republicans disintegrate as leadership follows the S.D.L.P.

Just over a year ago in a series of articles entitled "From Revolution to Reform" we analysed the degeneration of the Official Republican movement into a Parliamentary-oriented reformist clique. Their recent Ard Fheis completed the process.

In a staggering piece of political cynicism, after 2 years of correctly announcing the S.D.L.P. for betraying their pledge to the internees, the Officials have done precisely the same thing and decided to take their seats on Councils and in the Convention if they are elected, despite the fact that internment is still very much with us.

Sean Garland, a member of the Ard-Comhairle gave an indication of their attitudes when he said now was the time to get out of the trenches when there was no-body else left there. In fact the Peoples Democracy and Sinn Fein (Provisionals) have stayed loyal to the pledge to the internees but obviously Garland wasn't thinking of revolutionary socialists or republicans but of the SDLP and their cronies. As the SDLP pander more and more to the Loyalists — and now they're talking of dropping the Irish dimension — the Officials are moving into their place.

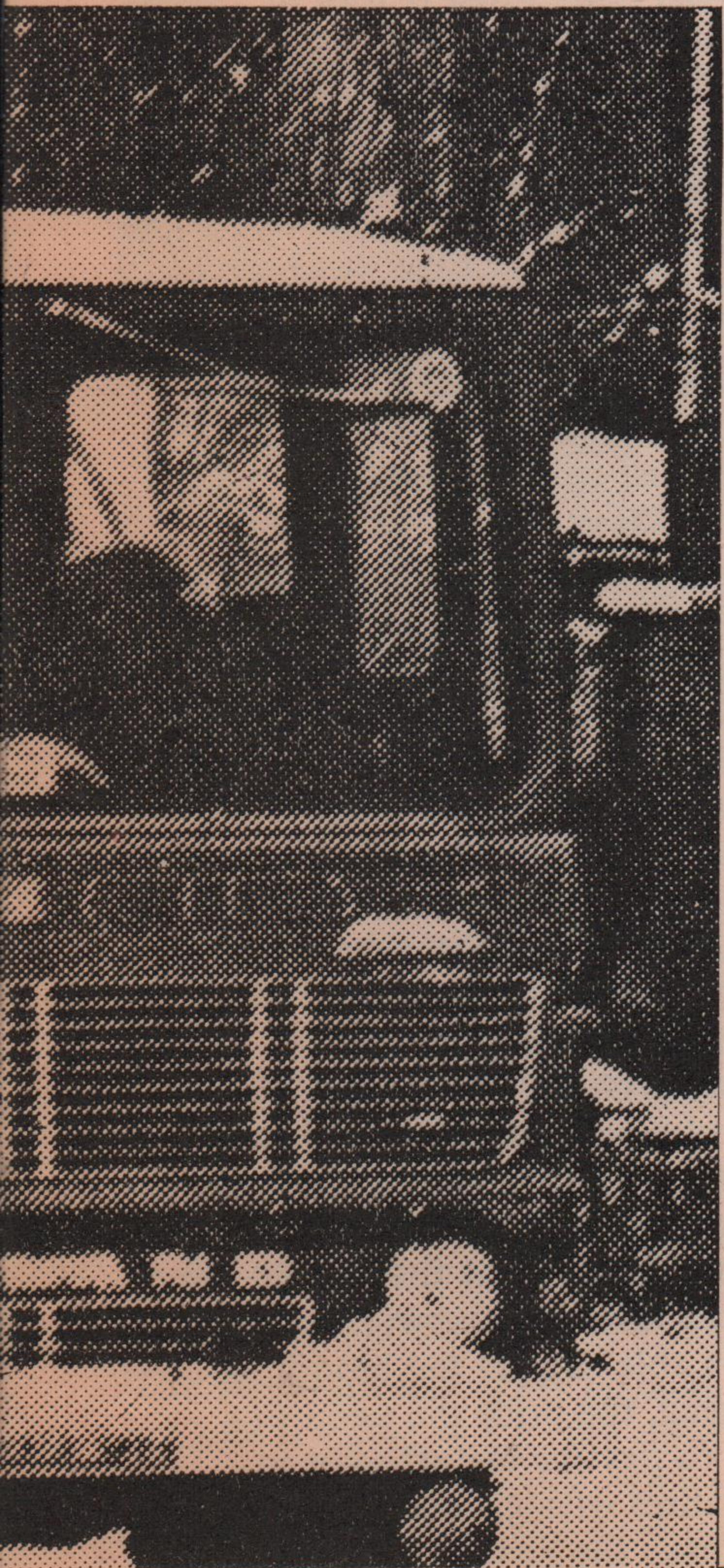
OFFICIALS JOIN CRUISE O'BRIEN, COONEY AND BISHOP DALY IN CONDEMNING THE PROVOS

But the generation isn't just on the question of Parliamentarianism. The major resolution on the North clearly linked an end to internment with an end to the Provisional bombing campaign — equating the violence of a guerilla force fighting imperialism, with the violence of the imperialists themselves, and virtually accepting the



STRIKE

nation from T.G.W.U.



and on the other, to cause maximum disruption of the economy with the subsequent loss of profits to ensure a strong bargaining position.

The first part of the operation was carried out successfully by picketing other depots and the second part by blockading docks and all major points of entry — including main roads across the border. It was when the blockading of the docks was proving successful that the strike became headline news and the strike committee decided to allow urgent medical supplies through to hospitals. At this point 3000 men were taking part in the strike and 300 dockers gave a commitment to strike in sympathy.

Meanwhile the J.I.C. had been meeting continuously and two offers were made, the first of £6.50 per week, the second of £8.80 per week, both of which were rejected by the men who were holding out for their original demands of £1.00 per hour.

Establishment condemns strike

As one might expect the attitude of the establishment was one of condemnation and outrage. The old familiar phrases were trotted out, such as "shops have no goods"; "ordinary man in the street suffering unnecessarily"; "strikers causing economic hardship to small business men". etc. etc. They also told blatant lies about medical supplies not getting through to the hospitals.

The Road Transport Association issued slanderous statements about

the workers, saying they didn't deserve a rise as their productivity output was much lower than their counterparts across the water. But the most virulent opposition came from the small transport firms and owner-drivers, particularly in Larne where they drove their vehicles onto the ramps to prevent strikers unloading urgent medical supplies, thereby hoping to discredit the strikers and to put pressure on the Government to push for a quick settlement.

Strike cost £4million per week

By the 3rd week of the strike, it was costing the transport industry £4million per week and an offer of £35 per week was rejected by the men. It was at this stage that the allegation of a "Republican plot" were made public. Although no one seems to know for sure who was the source of these allegations, it is obvious the bosses would have a vested interest in seeing the strike break up by using the oldest trick in the book in Ireland i.e. dividing the workers on sectarian lines.

However, commonsense prevailed amongst the workers as was shown at the final meeting of the strikers on Saturday 16th November when the strikers won their demands and agreed to accept the employer's offer of parity of wages with drivers in Britain. At the same meeting the trade union representatives were booed off the platform and a

prominent member of the strike committee was appointed to chair the meeting. It seems clear from the feelings of the men at that meeting that they intend setting up a new branch of the T.G.W.U. in an attempt to oust their present trade union leadership.

Trade Union activity alone not enough

We in P.D. wholeheartedly support those who wish to see a greater degree of democracy and control by the rank and file within the trade union movement and a very practical starting point would be to demand that all trade union officials be paid the same wages as the membership to see that they keep their feet firmly on the ground and to ensure that the officials will always understand the needs of their members.

Finally we would point out to all trade union members, that trade union activity alone will not solve the economic problems of the membership. All the social and economic ills of the Irish people are a direct consequence of imperialist control. It is the task of the Peoples Democracy and should be the aim of every trade unionist to ensure the destruction of that control and to ensure the establishment of a 32 County Workers and Small Farmers Republic.

Issued by the Industrial Committee of the Peoples Democracy

British argument that anti-imperialist violence justifies internment. Meanwhile Tomas Mac Giolla in his Presidential address joined Cruise O'Brien, Patrick Cooney and Bishop Daly in denouncing the Provos and blaming them for the repression used against them.

In an anti-imperialist war like present one in Ireland, there can be no neutrals. Those who slander and denounce the guerillas, like the Officials are aiding the imperialists. The logical conclusion of their attitude was shown a few days after the Ard Fheis when Gerry Doherty, a former national organiser of Clann na h-Eireann, the Officials' organisation in Britain, was deported under Jenkin's new racist laws. He commented "I'm more annoyed with the Provisional I.R.A. than with the British Government . . . I've always campaigned against the Provisionals. They are a monster which has been allowed to grow up in our midst." Presumably drastic measures are necessary against monsters. Docherty ended up making excuses for the Ggovernment which had deported him. He said he supposed the British Govt. had to do something after Birmingham.

"PROGRESSIVE LOYALISM" — A CONTRADICTION IN TERMS

While they slander those prepared to resist British Army terror and Loyalist Fascism, the Officials' own solution to the Northern situation is a mixture of make-belief and surrender. The Ard-Fheis called for dialogue with "the more progressive loyalist groups". They refuse to see what is staring them in the face. There are no "progressive loyalist groups". The UDA and UVF whom the 'United Irishman' repeatedly flattered and praised, have proved

responsible for the assassination campaign and the Dublin and Monaghan bombings respectively. Progressive Loyalism is a contradiction in terms. Protestants who are progressive are not Loyalists, they are Republicans or Socialists. Again the logic of their position was revealed in a speech when Sam Dowling of Newry called for the acceptance of a 6-county Workers' State. The only dialogue possible with Loyalists is on their terms, which are acceptance of partition.

Maybe the Officials need it spelled out again. The 6-County state is an artificial entity created to ensure Protestant supremacy. To perpetuate the 6-County state is to preserve that supremacy. And, since the Loyalists need the British to reinforce and protect them, it is to preserve British rule and British imperialism in Ireland. In the grave situation in the North with the threat of a Loyalist take-over growing daily greater, the Official Republicans are behaving exactly like the German Communist Party during the rise of Hitler — attacking every enemy but the one in front of their eyes who threatens them most.

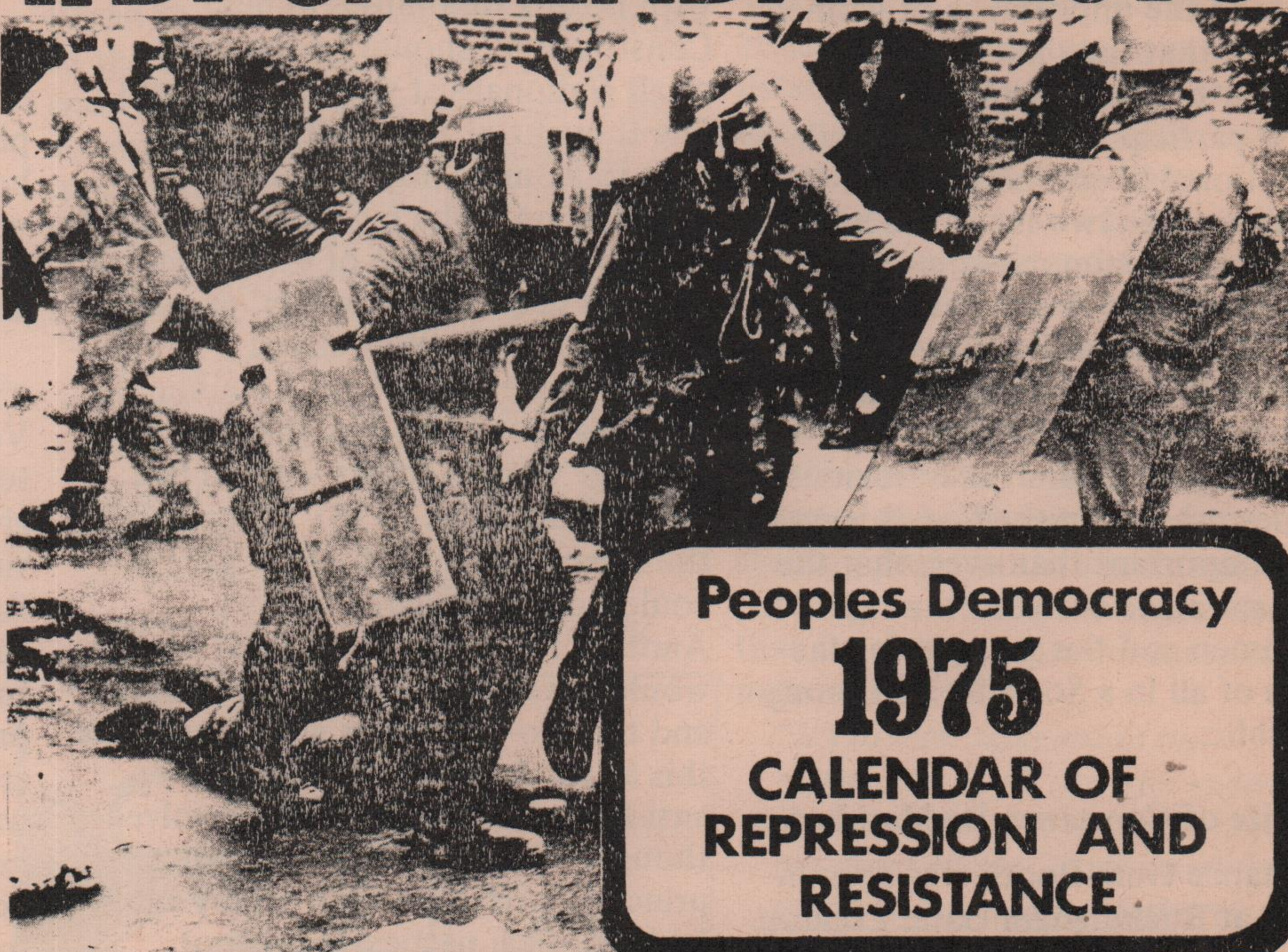
A SIMPLE CHOICE FOR THOSE WHO HAVE LEFT THE OFFICIALS

Faced with such a craven betrayal of everything their movement used to stand for, it is not surprising that the Officials are beginning to disintegrate. Individuals and small groups have been dropping out for months. Now whole cumannns are resigning. It is a healthy development and not before time. But there is no future for scattered groups of leftist Republicans, politically confused and disorganised. There is even less

future in trying to re-build the Official movement on the original 1970 lines for the seeds of its degeneration were sown much earlier than that. The hard realities of the situation in Ireland have narrowed down the political field considerably. The Peoples Democracy is the only

organisation with a 32-County perspective, trying seriously and with some success to build a revolutionary Marxist Party in Ireland to-day. Those who have left the Officials and are Marxists or are moving in that direction, have a simple choice.

P.D. CALENDAR 1975



Peoples Democracy
1975
CALENDAR OF
REPRESSION AND
RESISTANCE

12 PAGES SPIRAL BOUND
SIZE 17" x 12" with full page
photos of scenes from the last
6 years of struggle.
PRICE 50p from paper sellers or
63p by post from Connolly Books
(address back page)

CONSTANCE MARKIEVICZ

HER LIFE, POLITICS AND THE IRISH STRUGGLE



Constance De Markievicz, is known largely through her involvement in Republican politics, her role in 1916 and her subsequent terms of imprisonment, and her part in founding na Fianna Eireann. It is not generally thought important to mention that the Countess, or 'Madame' as she was generally known, was very interested in the question of women's rights, the struggle for the vote and equality. She did believe, naively, that the struggle for National liberation would automatically bring about equality for women, and did not perhaps give the issue as much emphasis as she could have done.

Obviously, she was wrong in believing that involvement in the national struggle would bring about complete equality for women in the new post-revolutionary society, as events in Algeria and Ireland since then have shown. Her career points to the importance of women realising that they must organise for their rights as women, even whilst participating in the struggle for national liberation and socialism. The two issues are not separate. We cannot assume, as the mistake of Markievicz has shown us, that women will achieve full equality simply through political participation. The national revolution in Ireland, as is obvious, has never been finished, so it is now more important than ever, that the links are made between the rights of women and the struggle for the rights of all in a Socialist 32 County Republic.

The life of Constance De Markievicz

Constance Gore-Booth was born in 1868, at Buckingham Gate, London. Her mother was an English aristocrat and her father inherited large estates in Ireland, where Constance spent most of her childhood. She spent a part of her youth in living up to her role as society lady in London and she returned to Ireland for holidays.

She showed her first interest in politics when she and her sister Eva, organised the Sligo Womens Suffrage Society, though she soon drifted away when she married a Polish Count Casimir Dunin Markievicz. She and her husband then entered the Arts Movement in

Dublin, where they lived, and through the involvement of the Arts with politics, Constance became involved in the Nationalist movement.

In 1900 Maud Gonne had founded a feminist and separatist organisation, the Inghinidhe na hEireann (Daughters of Erin). Women at this time were not exactly welcomed into mens organisations! Madame joined this organisation and they were involved in the organisation of patriotic plays, which led to the founding of the Abbey Theatre. They published the first and only journal devoted to Irish Womens nationalist activities, Bean na hEireann.

Women should be involved in politics

She appealed to the young women of Ireland to take part in politics and in the national movement, as women fighting not for the franchise only, but also for Ireland. "A free Ireland with no Sex disabilities in her Constitution" should be the motto of all Nationalist women" she said. She thought of the granting of the vote to women, however, as a "concession" which would have come in the natural course of evolution. She was mistaken, however, as was shown when the Provisional Government of the Irish Republic voted against extending the vote to younger women (older women had been voting since 1918). Ostensibly the reasons were that new registers could not be prepared in time. Another reason was that most women would have voted against the Treaty and the Pro-Treatyites would not have this at all. A certain amount of anti-feminism was certainly involved though. Giving the vote was not a principle with Sinn Fein or any other Irish Political parties. It was not considered important.

Organising in the Women's Trade Council

Markievicz did, however, help her sister Eva to organise in the Women's Trade Council in Manchester, which aimed to fight discrimination against working women. She conceived the idea of the Fianna to counteract brainwashing of Irish boys by the newly organised Baden Powell Boy Scouts. Girls were not allowed into the movement and even Markievicz's presence was questioned at the first

ALLENDE'S FAILURE A LESSON FOR IRELAND

In 1970, Salvador Allende was elected President of Chile "The first Marxist to come to power by democratic means" announced the world press across the globe. Socialist parties seized all over the world seized on Chile as living proof of the viability of the "peaceful road to socialism" i.e. reformism.

Three years later, Allende and his government of Popular Unity were overthrown in one of the bloodiest military coups in history. In his last message Allende declared that the fascist military would never rid themselves of the infamy this ad had brought upon themselves and their imperialist allies both U.S. and British. But in the weeks that followed his overthrow there was very little evidence of a sense of shame by the fascist junta as thousands of trade unionists and socialists of all persuasions were brutally massacred. Now the very same people who celebrated Allende's victory (the Communist Parties and "Socialist" Parties, are demanding the "restoration of democracy". This is a very bitter irony for it was precisely the 'democrats' in Chile, those who had governed under Allende for three years, who prepared the ground for the fascist coup, just as surely as the fascist generals who executed it. Their "peaceful road" had shown, yet again, the horrific consequences for the working class of parliamentary "mythical illusions". Illusion that their capitalist masters peddle but do

not and never will share. In practice the "Chilean road to Socialism" meant compromise and surrender to the fascist right wing. It was, in effect deliberate sabotage of working class Chilean initiative, as well as the refusal by a so-called socialist to prepare to carry through a struggle for power.

Chile — the classic example for us

Chile is a classic example of the fate that awaits the working class anti-imperialist workers under reformism. These people (reformists) are in effect working for capitalism under the banner of socialism. They aided the fascists in Chile they same way they are doing it in Ireland now (look at the Official Republicans) by fawning over Orange fascism with compromise on top of compromise. It was Rosa Luxemburg the great German socialist who said "There is only one remedy for the reformist illusions and that remedy requires, unfortunately, the shedding of a very great deal of blood!" The fascists both here and in Chile did not and will not stint their use of that remedy. The thousands of reformist speeches the world over will not be able to hide the blood and suffering, the price the people of Chile had to pay for the attempt to build socialism without social cost. We must learn the lesson of Chile. No truck with fascists. Smash them before they massacre us either in Chile or in Ireland.

WORKING FOR PEACE with the Protestant Action Group

The men who are "working for peace with the UDR" have been at it again. On December 3rd David Hugh Kincaid a UDR-man, of Osborne Street, Belfast, was jailed for 8 years for the armed

robbery of a Post Office. He shouted "Up the U.V.F." as he left the dock.

The previous day Lieut. Oliver Gibson and Corporal John Weir Mosgrove of Omagh UDR Headquarters, were charged with assaulting two Tyrone men and causing them bodily harm. (It must have been serious for UDR-men to be charged). Three bombs went off in Omagh, Beragh and Cookstown in the next few days. On December 6th the "Protestant Action Group" claimed responsibility and said they were in protest at the charging of the two men.

What is the connection between the UDR and UVF or the Protestant Action Group? What can we expect from this British armed and trained loyalist force when the British Army hand over to it and the RUC?

P.D. Members Arrested

Three P.D. members (2 from Dublin) were held in Hasting St. Barracks for 'screening' after the Brits arrested them in Divis Flats. Having failed to find any conclusive evidence on them the army released two of the members after 6 hours and detained the third over-night in Townhall St.

There were no charges made at any stage and the whole incident was just another case of harassment against the anti-Unionist population.

It was obvious from the remarks of the interrogator in the Barracks that they had communicated with the police in the 26 Cos. in regard to the 2 Dublin cdes. and had been briefed on their background. — all in the space of a few hours. It is obvious that collaboration has reached a high peak of efficiency.

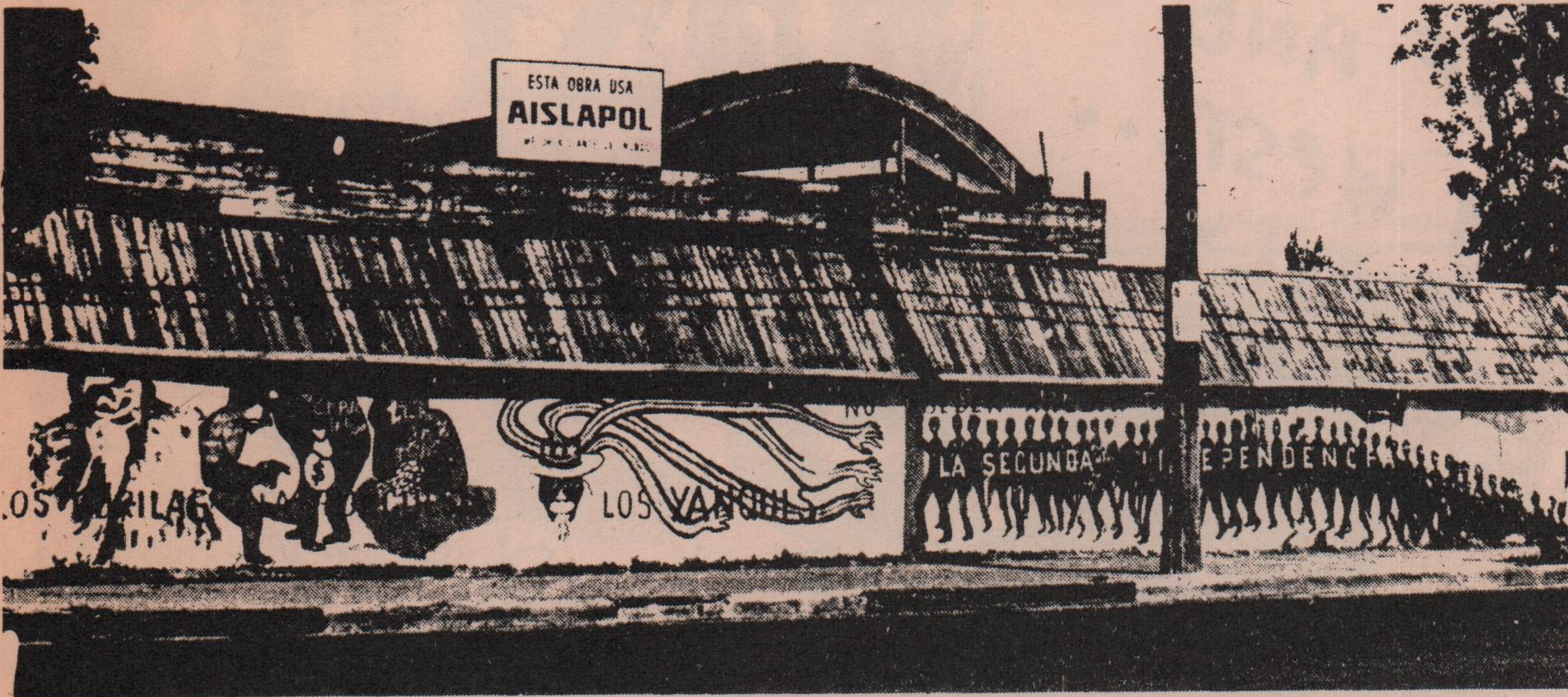
meeting of the Fianna. Women, they considered, had no place in a physical force organisation. Constance however, was already well acquainted with the use of weapons and was a good sniper, as she was to prove later, and she was gradually accepted.

Girls, however, continued to play a mainly supportive role for the Volunteers, with Markievicz continuing to believe that this would eventually give them equality. When King George visited Ireland in 1911, the men in the Republican Movement boycotted the event but Markievicz and the Inghinidhe, along with the Fianna, printed handbills to give out to the crowds who thronged the streets waving Union Jacks. In this event and many others they were obviously more political than the purely physical force organisations of the men.

Irish Suffragettes held a mass meeting of Irishwomen in Dublin in 1912 when P.M. Asquith visited there, demanding the vote for women. The women were attacked by a mob led by the Ancient Order of Hibernians, who were obviously anti-feminist, and several women, including Markievicz, were hurt. Two English suffragettes were given five years penal servitude in Mountjoy, for setting fire to the Theatre Royal, where Asquith was to speak.

CONTINUED NEXT WEEK:

CHILE THE GUERRILLA ARMY~M.I.R.



The military, the bourgeoisie, the yanquis can not prevent our second independence.

This article is about the Revolutionary Left movement in Chile, known as the M.I.R. The M.I.R. is inside Chile today struggling with the Chilean working class. They are not 'on the run' or in 'exile'. It is not for us to write their history or represent their views on their behalf. So as far as possible this article is based on documents and pamphlets, where members of M.I.R. speak themselves and say what they are doing. So although much of it is in quotes it is not an official M.I.R. article.

The Revolutionary Left Movement in Chile is called M.I.R. for short. It was active before Allende came to power in 1970, but they were not part of the Popular Unity government. For the 3 years of the Popular Unity government (Allende's govt.) they struggle in the cities and countryside and are still fighting today against the military dictatorship of the Pinochet junta.

Like in other Latin American countries, revolutionary ideas spread like wildfire after the Cuban revolution. Between 1916 and 1964, young Chilean militants of the socialist party and communist party began to develop a new strategy for revolution in Chile. At first they were active among school and university students. In 1967, when the Christian Democrat Party was still in power, these and other militants grouped together and sent hundreds of the most aware young people into the countryside to struggle with the Mapuche Indians and into the shantytowns of Concepcion and Santiago, to organise with the thousands of homeless and unemployed who lived in shacks around the big cities.

How did the M.I.R. (as this new organisation was called), see the struggle in Chile? In 1969, they wrote:

"Chile is a semi-colonial country its development is both capitalist and unequal and backward, yet this is combined with advanced industry like copper mining and very backward agriculture. Power is in the hands of an alliance of the imperialist powers and the industrial, financial and rural bourgeois. There is no anti-imperialist or so-called 'national' bourgeoisie, with whom we can ally and who are aiming for revolution.

So, our revolution is at the same time deeply anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist, in other words, basically socialist".

M.I.R. move into armed struggle

In 1969, after careful and detailed preparations, they moved into armed struggle, based on their wide popular support. But their whole perspective had to change when Allende and the Popular Unity government suddenly was elected to power. During the three years of the Popular Unity

government from 1970-1973, the M.I.R. organised inside the working class, living in the shantytowns, occupying land with the peasants, debating with students, struggling for control of the factories, organising with women in neighbourhood consumer groups which controlled prices. To do all this they operated on two levels.

1. They had a tightly knit core, composed of militants of M.I.R. they were in cells according to geography and function, for example: self-defence military operations, propaganda.
2. Movements like the Movement of Revolutionary peasants (M.C.R.) or Movement of Revolutionary Workers (F.T.R.) Movement of shantytown dwellers... all these movements were open to any worker and inside these mass movements M.I.R. militants would push revolutionary demands and ideas. But, you could only become a member of M.I.R. by going through one of these movements for up to a year. During this time, you would not know who the other M.I.R. members were.

The reason behind this double structure, was firstly to protect the M.I.R. members who were hidden inside the mass movements. This prevented infiltration and protected the M.I.R. to some extent after the coup of Pinochet. Secondly, this structure meant that the organisation really and constantly reflected as near as possible what the peoples ideas and initiatives were.

M.I.R.'s role during reign of Allende

In this way the M.I.R. developed from a small guerilla group to an organisation of popular power. The M.I.R.'s role, during the Popular Unity government, was not only to defend the working class against the attacks and sabotage of the bosses, but to attack the reformism of the other programmes held up to the workers: such as handing back nationalised factories to the bosses, or the reformism of fighting only wage demands. They believed the working class had to build up a form of POPULAR POWER.

Here is what they said about Popular Power in July 1973:

"It is more than ever essential that we organise the forces of the working class and of the people into AREA ASSEMBLIES OF WORKERS as an instrument of workers power and popular power, these growing assemblies are the only organisation on which the whole struggle of the people can rely on, to wipe out reaction and prevent a coup d'etat... popular power is the power to decide, control, to solve the problems of the working class and of the people, and not the interests of the bourgeois class... its a chance to satisfy the interests of the working class.

Popular power and Area Assemblies are the chance for a government by the people, of a people's government as a community..."

In the book 'Chile Si', some examples of this are given:

"... what does this mean? a trade union, whatever its strength is not a popular power... after the Barrancas barricades, when we united the people we explained to them what we understand by popular power... we controlled the passage of cars, ambulances could go and also fire engines, but others weren't allowed... when the police went to one area assembly and knocked gently at the door, we would open up to them and after they had come in, we explained to them why we had requisitioned two lorries... another example is when you see a total unity of workers, peasants, shantytown squatters and students and no-one struggling for HIS shantytown, or HIS union, but for the common interest."

The MIR and Reformism

The M.I.R. had supported Allende, when he went up for election, and so long as the Popular Unity government was advancing the interests of the people they continued their support, but when the right wing and bosses began to block the political programme of the Popular Unity government, and the workers were being asked to accept reformism... their support slowed down. Here is what the M.I.R. thought of reformism:

"... the reformist policies of the government will try to split up the working class and even aggravate their internal problems and make working class unity even more difficult. In fact, the reformist policies will try and lay out the aims of our struggle and even give political leadership to some of the workers, namely, those working for the



big companies, in the mines, for the big landowners and some of those in the nationalised factories.

The other workers, the majority, and the huge army of unemployed will be left without any immediate plan of action and will have to be content with a bit of 'redistribution', while they are supposed to be waiting for some faraway 'socialism'.

This is a policy of effort and sacrifice by the workers, while millionaire salaries go to state bureaucrats, a policy of 'participation' which appoints high-up civil servants to posts, without even asking the workers... but (today) there is a growing split with the old leaders of the working class, who have been running the struggle for the last 50 years... though its very difficult, especially for older workers, to just cut off from the very organisation which brought them into politics....."

Since the coup d'etat in Chile, of just over one year ago, tens of thousands of Chileans have been gunned down, brutally assassinated and tortured under the dictatorship of the Pinochet Junta... leaders and militants of the M.I.R. have often been singled out for special treatment: Batista Van Schouwen tortured-disappeared, Miguel Enriquez general secretary, assassinated. Before his death he spoke about the lessons of Chile:

"In Chile, its not socialism, nor revolution, nor revolutionary politics that have gone wrong... the Chilean experience should be a lesson to the peoples of the world. What has happened today and what we were drawing the attention of the workers to, over the last three years, was the result of the catastrophe, into which reformist politics has dragged the Chilean working class."

MIR support Peoples Revolutionary Army

In April this year, M.I.R. made its strategy even clearer. They support a REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S ARMY. They think that this army should involve as many people as possible, and not be just a small guerilla group of commandos acting in the name of the people'. Popular resistance committees have to be established, they say, in every factory, shantytown, office, school, uniting peasants, workers, students, squatters, and who will sooner or later be joined by rank and file soldiers and lower officers. They suggested that armed struggle begin straight away in the form of day to day defence, so that the workers don't become by-standers to armed actions... "the peoples revolutionary army has its starting point in the revolutionary party... so that no one gets the idea that there is going to be some sort of mass uprising."

"It's to these tasks and to the preparation of our party for violent confrontation, that we are devoting our major efforts... efforts of thousands of militants and of sympathisers, of hundreds of political leaders who developed during the difficult years when we were underground (1969-1970) and during the hard class struggle, which marked the period of the Popular Unity government."

SOLIDARITY WITH THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHILEAN PEOPLE !

SOURCE OF ARTICLE:

"Chile si!" Published by Big Flame 22 Woburn Hill, Liverpool. 13.
M.I.R. Recueil de textes" Pub. Politique Hebdo. 14/16 Rue des Petits Hotels Paris 10.
"L'experience Chilienne" by Alain Labrousse pub. Seuil.

CLEANERS AND JANITORS WANTED

John Taylor, former Minister for Home Affairs in the old Stormont Government, and the man in charge of the R.U.C. after William Craig. He is a leading member of the Harry West Official Unionist Party and it was he who called for a Loyalist "Third Force" to wipe out the I.R.A. Taylor wants a return to the old sectarian Stormont and the system of government which kept Catholics as second-class citizens for so long. Last week he threw out an "enticing" offer to the anti-Unionists of the North. He said that there "must be a place for their representatives in the Stormont Convention, BUT NOT AT MINISTERIAL LEVEL" !!!



IRISH CIVIL RIGHTS - PEOPLES DEMOCRACY

More than a hundred and fifty men from Dublin and all over Ireland are jailed in Portlaoise Prison. They are jailed there without even a proper trial. Their "crime" has been that they oppose British Army occupation of the Six Counties, and 26 Counties collaboration with Britain.



MARCH
to PORTLAOISE PRISON
Wed. 25th Dec. 1pm
Buses leave Parnell
Sq. Dublin 11.30am, back 3.30pm.

"Songs from the Barricades"
published by Peoples Democracy,
has a selection of 26 of the most
popular street ballads based on the
Irish struggle up to the present day.
Included are such songs as "Jack
Lynch's Army", "Bogside Man",
"Broad Black Brimmer", "Tom
Williams", "Over the Wall", etc. etc.
Price 25p; or 31p post paid from
Connolly Bookshop

"Battle for Algeria"
The story of the Algerian fight for
Independence, how the Algerian
people won political freedom from
the French Colonialists after a long
and bitter struggle very similar
to that which is being waged in
Ireland against Britain today.
The book, written by P.D. member
Michael Farrell, concludes with a
chapter on the similarities between
the Algerian and Irish situations.
Price 15p; or 21p post paid from
Connolly Bookshop.

**UNFREE
CITIZEN**
Yearly subscription rate to
"Unfree Citizen" £5
PLEASE CROSS ALL CHEQUES
OR POSTAL ORDERS

P.D. BOOKS

CONNOLLY BOOK SHOP
Avoca Park, Andersonstown, Belfast 11.

THE PEOPLES DEMOCRACY - What we stand for

The People's Democracy is a
revolutionary socialist organisation,
fighting for the establishment of a
32-County Workers Republic in
Ireland. In that fight we have
learned through our experience of
the struggle in the North that there
can be no progress made until the
age-old problem of the domination
and exploitation of Ireland by
British imperialism is settled.

We therefore support the use
of resistance against British control
in the North and have agitated and
will continue to agitate, to back up
that war - north and south.

Because both states, north and
south, are capitalist controlled we
recognise that the 26-Co. government
- and indeed all the Leinster House
Politicians - support Britain in the
continuation of partition in Ireland
and actively promote this by their
policy of repression in the 26 Cos.

Consequently we see that the
Struggle for National Liberation and
Socialism must be fought here as well.

Our activity is based on our
experience and Marxist analysis of
the situation in Ireland. We consider
the anti-imperialist struggle should
be fought to gain the support of
the working-class people of Ireland
and the People's Democracy pledge
themselves to achieving through
the struggle for National Liberation
a Workers Republic of Ireland.

**JOIN
P.D.
NOW**



If you are interested in joining the People's Democracy and fighting for
a Socialist 32 County Republic: fill in the form below and send it to
Belfast: Connolly Bookshop, Avoca Park, Andersonstown Rd. Belfast 11

London: Patrick Doherty, 34 Dalston Lane, London E8.

NAME _____

ADDRESS _____