



SOCIALIST REPUBLIC

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AUGUST 1979

AFTER 10 YEARS

ONLY ONE SOLUTION:

Brits Out Now!

SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE

NUCLEAR TIME BOMB SET TO GO!

The hour of decision on nuclear power is rapidly approaching for the Irish people. The mounting pressure for a decision is not coming from dwindling energy supplies. It is estimated that by the end of this year OPEC (the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries) will have an excess capacity of 12 million barrels of oil daily - some 25% of world consumption. They are not producing to full capacity because the big multi-national oil companies are using their monopoly positions to force up oil prices and accelerate the shift to nuclear power.

WHO WANTS NUCLEAR POWER?

This strategy is paying off. All the major capitalist countries have agreed to push ahead with plans to build more nuclear stations. A recent plan adopted by the EEC decided to freeze oil imports for five years, a move which is clearly designed to force through a crash nuclear programme. At the end of the 1980's it is hoped that 140,000 mega-watts (MW) of power will be produced by reactors. This will make it necessary to put 15 major nuclear power stations into operation every year.

Inevitably Ireland is being dragged into this whirlpool. After a European Council meeting of Community heads of state Jack Lynch reported to the press: "Ireland has been informally but bluntly told by our EEC partners that we should move faster towards the introduction of nuclear energy" (Irish Times, June 23 1979).

So even Lynch admits it - the decision to go nuclear does not flow from the needs of the Irish economy or the Irish people but from the dictates of international capitalism. How could it be otherwise?

Ireland's energy needs are nowhere near straining point. At the moment the Department of Industry, Commerce and Energy is revising energy targets downwards. Through conservation methods these targets could be reduced even more drastically. For example 2% of the energy used in Irish homes is consumed in space heating which is quickly wasted due to inadequate insulation. Ireland is also ideally situated for the utilization of alternative energy sources such as wind and wave power.

BIG BRIBES NOW: DEADLY REACTORS AND INTEREST PAYMENTS LATER

Of course the government admits that conservation and alternative energy are viable options - but not for another twenty years, says Jack Lynch. Even if it would take 20 years, is that such a long time to wait given the continued supply of oil and coal combined with interim insulation measures? It is if you are under pressure from international big business!

Euratom (the EEC's atomic institution) and the European Investment Bank are holding out a tantalizing carrot - a 50% loan to build a nuclear plant now. These institutions are only fronts for big business which is looking out for profitable investments. They hope to stick the people of Ireland (and other countries too) not only with deadly reactors but also with high interest payments.



AUGUST 1979 MARKS THE TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE introduction of British troops on to the streets of the Six Counties. At the time the British government claimed they would defend the Catholic minority from the attacks of loyalist thugs - mostly in RUC uniform. What they didn't say (or dare to admit) was that the RUC had just been beaten to a standstill in 'The Battle of the Bogside' after unsuccessfully trying to smash their way into Derry's ghetto. So their message to the people was "You don't have to defend yourselves; we'll do it for you". Since then a lot of water has flown under the bridge; one of the hard lessons learnt by anti-Imperialists has been that, whatever it might like to do, British Imperialism is incapable of granting any real reforms to the Catholic minority so long as it props up the partition of our country. AND THE TROOPS ARE THE MAIN AGENTS IN THIS DIRTY WORK.

They are the people who were drafted in to prop up a rotten sectarian state ten years ago, and who today give primitive bigots like Paisley the protection they need to urge an even bigger campaign of repression against "the enemies of God-fearing Ulster". So it is only by standing up and fighting back that these bullies can be put in their place. That is why the events of August 1969 are a source of great inspiration for the opponents of British Imperialism in Ireland. They showed the power of the Risen People and a ruck terror into the hearts of our masters - from Jack Lynch to John Hume to the Unionists to their British overlords. We can make it happen again; we will if we unite in action with all who agree on these basic demands:

- BRITS OUT!
- POLITICAL STATUS NOW!
- NO MORE TORTURE!
- SELF-DETERMINATION FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE!

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NATIONAL UNDERSTANDING:

YES VOTE WON'T STOP FIGHTBACK

RATHER LIKE BAD DREAMS PROPOSALS FOR WAGE RESTRAINT HAVE A HABIT OF RECURRING. Twice this year trade unionists have overwhelmingly defeated these proposals. When the first proposals for a new national wage agreement were mooted the government assured us that if it was rejected there would not be any other proposals coming forward. But once it was rejected the government rushed back with a new set of proposals - the somewhat misnamed National Understanding.

doubtedly carry a lot of weight. They appear to have accepted the new proposals on the basis that the figures for pay rises now being offered is adequate to counter price inflation. This is false. The new national understanding is offering a pay increase of 16% over a 15 month period. However the ESRI (Economic & Social Research Institute), a government funded body, has claimed that price increases so far this year are rising at a rate of 15.5% per year, or 19-20% averaged over 15 months. On this basis all one real wages will fall by 3-4% if these proposals are accepted. In fact the fall will probably be higher because the above figures don't take into account the indirect fall in the value of wages due to the fall of the 'Punt' which followed the 26 Counties' entry into the European Monetary System. Furthermore all the indicators suggest that prices are likely to rise even higher in the second half of the year. The leadership of the ICTU and now of the ITGWU as well are asking the Irish working class to sign a contract accepting a sizeable fall in our living standards.

Dishonest threats

In trying to push the "National understanding" the employers and their government in Leinster House were backed to the hilt by the pro-Fianna Fail and rightwing Labour Party hacks who dominate the leadership of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions. These people were effusive in their praise of the proposals contained in the National Understanding, and just in case you weren't overwhelmed by their enthusiasm they always finished their speeches with a threat. This was the last offer - the very last! The alternative would not even be worth thinking about...!

Living standards endangered

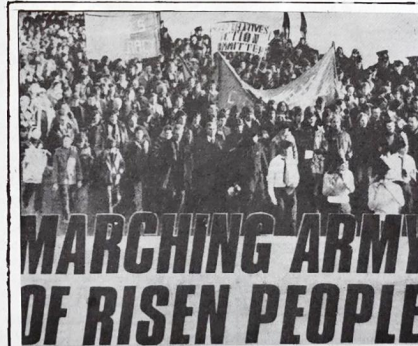
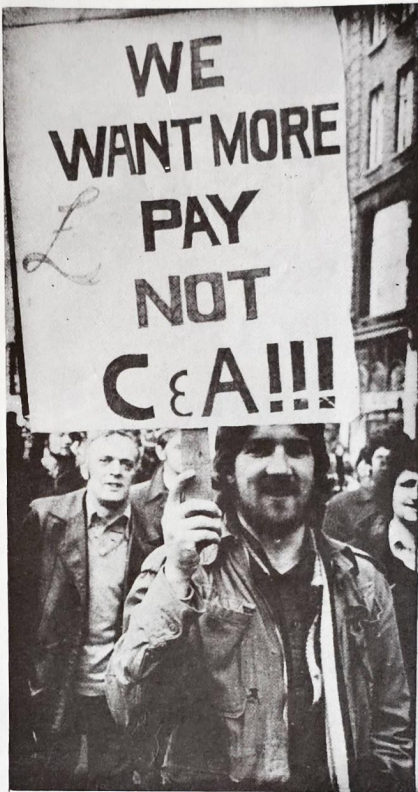
Fortunately for us all the alternative to the "national understanding" has turned out to be less horrific than was originally "feared" by the government, employers and the ICTU leadership. The government and the employers it seems are determined to make the working class an offer they cannot refuse. The National Understanding suggested a wage rise of 9-12% over a 15 month period. The new deal is proposing pay rises of 16-18% for a similar time period; which the Taoiseach Jack Lynch described as very generous indeed. However a national government's determination to secure a wage agreement has nothing to do with any natural generosity. The wage rises are not some gift from the capitalists to the workers - rather they are a compensation for the fall in real wages due to steep price increases. The government and the employers hope to pacify the working class in the face of even steeper price rises over the next years. They are aware (or at least vaguely suspect) the depth of anger in the working class; they have seen expressions of this in the huge PAYE demonstrations and in the Post Office workers' strike. They are also aware that capitalism is in a deep crisis internationally, that a sharp slump is expected to commence this winter, and that Irish capitalism is exceptionally weak in the face of a worldwide slump. They fear that this slump combined with rising prices could unleash the militancy of Irish workers and that this could in turn lead to a widespread radicalisation. To avert this they hope to establish an iron-tight wage agreement using the trade union bureaucracy to keep the workers "in line". In the event of massive price increases and a corresponding rise in working class discontent they will be able to use the trade union leadership to isolate striking workers and defeat them.

Role of ICTU

The scab leadership of the ICTU has already shown its willingness - indeed its eagerness - to play this role. During the Post Office workers' strike they threatened to have the Post Office Workers' Union (POWU) expelled from the Congress if they didn't call off the strike. In fact the POWU executive were on the verge of calling off the strike before a march of the rank and file postal workers insisted that there be no capitulation. In the event of the National Understanding mark 2 being accepted there can be no doubt that we'll see the ICTU achieving new prominence as strike-breakers par excellence.

Wage restraint wont work

The ITGWU executive which opposed the two earlier proposals for wage restraint has indicated its acceptance of the latest tentative proposals for a 'National Understanding'. As the leadership of the country's largest trade union their decision will un-



The alternative

There is an alternative! It is this: the trade unions must reject the latest 'understanding' and launch a sustained battle to defend the basic interests of the working class. That involves demanding a national minimum wage, that wage increases rise automatically with inflation, and full personal tax allowances for low paid workers. We would imagine that the 'generosity' of the government doesn't extend so far.

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 - Evelyn Reed - Women's Evolution, Sexism And Science Problems Of Womens Liberation
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REPUBLICAN NEWS - contracts malaria

THIS CAPTION (TAKEN FROM THE JULY 21 ISSUE OF AN PHOBLAcht/REPUBLICAN NEWS) SHOWS THE LARGE crowd of people at the end of the Burnt Tollet Commemoration march at the beginning of this year... which An Phoblacht/Republican News and the leadership of the Republican movement advised its supporters to oppose! Fortunately most of them disagreed and AP/RN kept quiet about it all afterwards. Could we conclude from this that wiser counsels now prevail and Imperialists seeking principled unity, we doubt if this is so. The vigorous opposition to the Bernadette MacAliskey election campaign is sad proof. The headline "WE WERE NOT MARCHING" would probably have given AP/RN's readers a less confusing idea of what the paper stands for!

How could such an embarrassing error have been made? We believe we have the answer. AP/RN has recently complained a lot about mosquito 'groups', particularly the species known as Peoples' Democracy. It has obviously suffered more than it would like to admit from the bites these creatures can inflict and has gone down with malaria.

Our Medical Correspondent writes: There is only one known cure for the unique strain of malaria AP/RN is suffering from: UNITED MASS ACTION!

THERE IS A JOKE WHICH USED TO DO THE ROUNDS OF PUBS IN BELFAST AND IT RUNS LIKE THIS: A worker goes into the Aer Lingus office in Castle St. and asks for a one-way ticket to Jeopardy. She is quite excited and tells the assistant she is looking for work. The assistant queries the destination saying he has never heard of the place. The woman is insistent - J-E-O-P-A-A-R-D-Y, Jeopardy. The assistant brings a whole pile of schedules and hunts through them - but without success. "I'm sorry, there doesn't appear to be a flight to that destination" he tells the woman. "There must be a plane" says the woman, "It's always being advertised". At this she produces a copy of the Belfast Telegraph and points to the headline "1,000 JOBS IN JEOPARDY".

West Belfast not so funny

Not surprisingly this joke never got very many laughs in West Belfast where unemployment even in the good days, always hovered around the 25% mark. But now it would probably get you a bloody nose! In the past year West Belfast has witnessed the collapse of a whole number of industry because of the British government's refusal to provide financial support - Staathearn Audio, DC Products, Keenfoods, Peter Pan Bakeries, and Antrim Crystal - the list makes depressing reading.

Sectarian policy

These closures have thrown more than 1,000 workers on to the dole-lines to join the 70,000 already unemployed. And this is only the tip of the iceberg. The policies of the Tory government expressed by junior Minister Giles Shaw "if firms don't pay their way they go to the wall" threaten another 100,000 jobs in the North that depend on government grants and subsidies.

Taken alongside the 3% staffing cuts in the Northern public service these policies raise the spectre of the North's appalling unemployment rate which already stands at 13% spiralling up to an unprecedented level of around 40%. This would include the closure of prestigious industries like the Harland and Wolfe shipyard.

Undoubtedly, the Tories will be wary of their Unionist allies by throwing loyalist workforces such as that at the shipyards into redundancy. Whatever crumbs of aid the Tory government maintains to the North will go to staving off such closures.

The problems that confront the Northern workers in fighting the scourge of unemployment are not qualitatively different from those faced by workers in the 26 Counties. Both result not only from the international crisis of the capitalist economy but from the effects of partition and the utter dependence of the economy, North and South, on imperialism. The obvious conclusion is that only a united fightback involving the working class on an All-Ireland basis can offer any solution.

Blitter fruits of british link

The immediate response of protestant workers to the economic crisis is to search for

TORIES SLASH NORTHERN JOBS

sectarian solutions, a search in which they are encouraged by the British government, Unionist bosses and politicians. The consequences for the Catholic population will be grim.

Trade Union leaders like the ITGWU's Paddy Devlin are well aware of these facts. Devlin has already commented: "The government is inspired now by the same ideas that inspired the (Stormont) Ministry of Home Affairs before 1969 and is applying the same vicious policies". Yet the only answer that Devlin has to these reactionary plans is to urge anti-Unionist workers to settle for "small co-operatives in government built factories."

Devlin, like the Communist Party's leading trade unionist Andy Barr, is scared stiff of standing up to the sectarianism of Protestant workers lest they upset the cosy truce inside the Northern trade union movement. They both back the pathetic 'Better Life for All' declaration (no longer even a pretend campaign) which aims at strengthening the British link and securing the total dependence of the Northern economy on British Imperialism. In this way they bow down to sectarian solutions.

The way forward

Anti-Unionist workers in the 6 Counties will have to rely on their own strength in the battle against the Tory economic policies every bit as much as in the anti-



repression struggle. Firms that threaten closure must be occupied and the solidarity of the anti-Unionist community mobilised to defend these occupations against the attacks of the RUC and the British Army. They must also seek support from workers in the South, ask for boycotts of British goods and occupations of British owned factories. It is British capital which must be made to pay first and foremost for although some of the firms are based elsewhere it is British imperialism which controls the purse strings and takes the decisions.

Militant action not militant words

The closures in West Belfast have up to now met with very little resistance. Workers have been content to leave the defence of their jobs to the likes of Paddy Devlin who for all his 'militant' words in negotiations has failed to save one single job. Leaders like Devlin are the kiss of death to workers' struggles and must be replaced. A West Belfast Workers' Action Council should be set up representing those thrown on the dole and those from workplaces still operating to develop a plan to protect the jobs that still exist and work out a plan for full employment in West Belfast. Such a body could take the fight to all the anti-Unionist areas of the North and lay the basis for mobilising the Irish trade union movement as a whole in defence of workers' jobs. That is the only way to avoid one-way tickets to JEOPARDY!

GOVERNMENT STEPS UP ANTI-UNION CAMPAIGN DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!

FIANNA FAIL AND THE EMPLOYERS HAVE UNLEASHED A HURGE OF STRIKES. All the economic problems are blamed on 'materialism' and 'greed' of a small number of workers who are holding the country to ransom. If only these 'needless' and 'harmful' strikes were eliminated things would be alright. If everyone worked harder there would be more to go around and we would not feel compelled to try and make gains at each other's expense.

WHO GETS WHAT?

This is an interesting theory which seems to make sense. But when we pass from theory to hard facts the picture changes. In recent times the 26 Counties has had one of the best records for increasing output. But the government and the employers do not seem very willing to let workers share in the prosperity. For example the real wage increases obtained by workers since 1971 were only half the real increase in national output (Gross National Product - GNP). Moreover the wage agreements offered under the National Wage Agreements were less than the rise in the cost of living. Let us add that these conclusions are based on the facts and figures published by the government and employers themselves!

So if you want to know why Fianna Fail and the Federated Union of Employers (FUE) are so anxious to put down strikes you will obviously have to look beyond their charitable desires. In fact you will have to look at their 'materialism' and 'greed'. To return to the question of wages for a moment. As stated, the money offered under previous wage agreements was less than the rise in prices. Nonetheless workers did succeed in winning wage increases in excess of prices. Between 1971 and 1977

prices rose by 150% while wages rose by 181.3% - a real wage increase of 12.5%. This of course was not very much - only 1.7% per year yet it helped keep the wolf from the door. Workers managed this by breaking the terms of the National Wage Agreements and their chief weapon was the strike, usually 'unofficial'. It was a purely defensive weapon during this time - as shown by the fact that it was precisely in 1974 and 1976, when real wages actually fell, that the number of strikes was greatest.

"But we are not against the right to strike" declare the very reasonable politicians and employers. "Of course not, we are only against unofficial strikes which even the trade union leaders oppose." Here we have double talk. The truth is that the government and employers, aided by the trade union leaders, ganged up on the trade union movement and forced it to accept a policy which effectively ruled out strike action in all but the most limited situations. The trade union leaders imposed the 'two tier picket', the so-called 'All-Out Picket' and the restrictive clauses of the National Wage Agreements. As a result the number of strikes declined by half during the 1970's compared with the 1960's. And most of the strikes which did occur were by definition

'unofficial'. The figures show that during the 1970's every two strikes in three were 'unofficial'. In other words because of the machinations of the government, employers, and trade union leaders, we are now in a situation where the normal form of strike action is the 'unofficial' strike. Well then, is it not a bit too much when these people say they 'only' want to outlaw 'unofficial' strikes. No, what they want to outlaw is the normal methods of striking.

FIGHT BACK

How can workers defend themselves against this anti-strike onslaught?

A strike is only 'unofficial' if the trade union leaders refuse to sanction it. They have acquired this power through the 'two tier picket', national wage agreements, and so on. And they use these as an excuse to declare most strikes 'unofficial'. The union leadership must be forced to revoke all such pro-employer rules and agreements. With decision-making power back in the hands of the workers on the shop floor and in the union branches, one can be sure that very few strikes will be unofficial. Then the government and employers will be forced to come out into the open and expose their real aims - the outlawing of all strikes.

OPPOSE ALL ANTI-UNION LAWS!

DEFEND THE RIGHT TO STRIKE!

unite to get the Brits Out



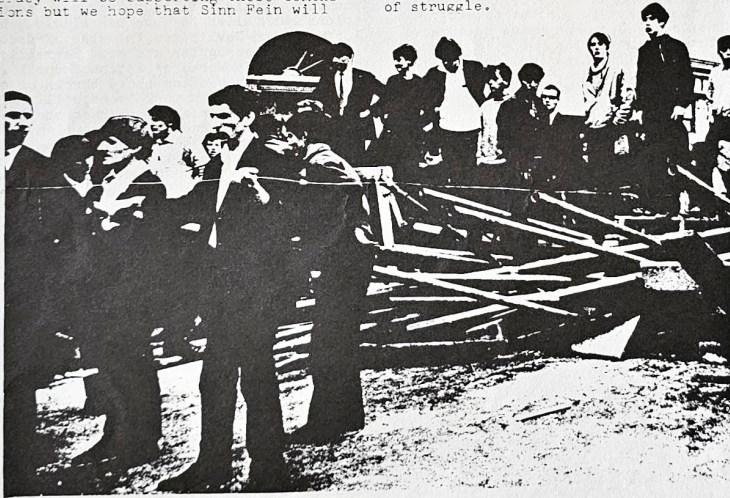
THE 12TH. OF AUGUST 1979, TEN YEARS AFTER THE MILITARY INTERVENTION OF THE BRITISH ARMY IN the struggle in the North, will provide different responses from each side in the conflict. The British and Unionists will feel a glowing rage that the struggle they set out to crush so long ago still continues. Fianna Fail and the SDLP will have nothing but an embarrassed muttering to offer. Lynch will hardly want reminding of his 'we will not stand idly by' speech or John Hume of his 'United Ireland or Nothing!' remarks made later in the struggle. The anti-Imperialist movement can have only one response. They must unite to defend themselves from the new round of political, military and economic assaults on the Irish people planned by Imperialism and reach out to win to their cause the broad masses who support the SDLP and the sham republicans of Fianna Fail.

A united platform

Almost certainly however we will see trotted out again the same tired old solutions to the Irish question: direct rule, devolution and an 'Independent Ulster'. It is up to revolutionaries to put forward the only real solution: an immediate British withdrawal and a United Ireland.

The republican movement have already organized a series of marches around the 'Brits Out' demand. They have gone some of the way to mass unity by inviting support from trade unions, cultural groups and anti-repression groups and political parties. Peoples' Democracy will be supporting these demonstrations but we hope that Sinn Fein will

go further and agree on a united platform representing these groups. August 12th. will also be marked by a massive 'Brits Out' demonstration in London. The revival of the solidarity movement both in Britain and internationally can best be assured by a thoroughgoing unity at home. We are planning to discuss with other groups the possibility of holding united meetings to discuss the lessons of the past ten years. In any case we will be holding meetings around the 32 counties in the month of August to put forward our own views. The success of the August demos depends both on the unity they achieve and on our ability to learn the lessons of over 11 years of struggle.



RAC's to hold Autumn conference

In the debate within the anti-Imperialist movement over the past year we in Peoples' Democracy have consistently put forward the idea of an All-Ireland conference based on the Coalisland conference of two years ago. We had our first major success with this demand when groups working for Bernadette MacAliskey in the EEC election agreed to make this their main aim. Now we understand that the RAC co-ordinating committee is to call a conference. The conference, to be held in September, will be on the issue of H-Block and will be open to local RAC's.

We believe that the first step in extending the resistance would be an All-Ireland conference involving trade unions, cultural groups, the RAC's, anti-repression groups and political parties. For this to succeed we will require a thoroughgoing unity of

anti-Imperialists already involved in struggle and an active building of the conference by united demonstrations, marches, meetings, and so on. The RAC's September conference could prove to be a useful starting point in popularizing this idea and bringing together forces that would be prepared to build it. It could enable those who are presently fighting for political status to work towards gaining a wider audience. So we believe that the fullest possible support should be given to this conference and that time should be given over to discussing how to go forward from it, and in particular how to relate the campaign for political status to the broader issues of torture and the British presence. It could then become an important milestone in the broadening and extension of the struggle.

OUT OF T

'OUT OF THE ASHES OF 1969 AROSE THE PROVISIONAL movement with the traditional republican movement and a struggle. What is the central ideology of Irish central importance for the anti-Imperialist movement

PHYSICAL FORCE TRADITION

The most obvious element of both traditional Republicanism and of the Provisional movement is the strategy of military struggle against the British forces. 80 years ago Connolly had this to say about the Republican movement of his time:

"Ireland occupies a position among the nations of the earth unique in a great variety of its aspects, but in no one particular is this singularity more marked than in the possession of what is known as a 'physical force party' - a party, that is to say, whose members are united upon no one point, and agreed upon no single principle, except upon the use of physical force as the sole means of settling the dispute between the people of this country and the governing power of Great Britain." This factor holds together a movement marked by the extreme diversity of political opinion within it. However it should be pointed out that this strategy obtains justification from the continuous repression of the British and the credibility in the face of a silence and lack of leadership from the Irish labour movement.

It would also be a mistake to see this as the

PROVO-PD

DURING AND FOLLOWING THE EEC ELECTION CAMPAIGN have waged a campaign of criticism against Bernadette. Constructive argument and debate always helps. But the tone of the Provos' criticisms can only activists. The 35,000 supporters of Bernadette consoled to hear that they are "sincere and well-meaning" but that they were duped into voting for simply "climbing on the backs of the blanket every sell-out and bribe over the past ten years. There is hope in there for continuing the struggle?"

PROVOS LACK OF FAITH IN THE PEOPLE

Actually there is no sign of a flagging spirit among the militant anti-Imperialist population. The exact opposite is proven by the growth of the RAC's and their ability to bring increasing numbers on to the streets. But the readiness of the Provos 'theoreticians' to call into question the determination of the ordinary people when it suits the needs of their propaganda campaign against allies such as Bernadette and PD, illustrates an important weakness of the Provos. The Provos do not trust the revolutionary instincts of the mass of workers and small farmers and they don't believe that their combined power is the only force capable of demolishing British Imperialism. When all the bitter accusations (which even their authors probably did not seriously believe) are brushed aside the real issue which underlay the opposition of the leadership of the Republican movement to Bernadette and PD

TWO APPROACHES

Let us compare the Provos' 'boycott' and Bernadette's campaign. The Provos' 'boycott' was largely a 'party building' exercise - something to keep their members active and win new recruits. It was not aimed at helping and encouraging the ordinary people to get organized for an active fight-back against British Imperialism. The political propaganda of the Provos reflected this. They said hardly anything about H-Block and in the South their local election platform didn't even mention the North, the British presence or Free State repression. Their activity was confined to putting up posters and distributing leaflets while their propaganda was based on abstract ideas which bore little relation to the experience and consciousness of the people.

THE ASHES CAME



the PROVOS?

THIS CENTRAL MOTTO CLAIMS A CONTINUITY between the anti-imperialist struggle of the 19th century and the present day republican movement and how does it retain a relevance today?

central factor of Irish republicanism. For far as the anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland serves largely the same function as was served by the French and North American republicans in the late 18th, and early 19th, century and today by many 'third world' movements (like the Sandinistas in Nicaragua). It is a movement of revolutionary democrats concerned chiefly with the political (rather than social or economic) questions of democracy. In Ireland these questions resolve themselves as concerning the partition of our country and its domination by Britain. It is because the republicans have always been to the fore in raising these questions that they retain their historical importance and the loyalty of a sizeable revolutionary vanguard.

NOT INTRINSICALLY SOCIALIST

And it is clear from the above that the republican movement is not intrinsically socialist, whatever the views of individual members. But it also shows why any serious Marxist movement must stand for a co-operation between socialists and republicans in the fight against imperialism. We in PD oppose both those who ignore the Provos because they are not socialists and those who baptize the Provos as socialists because they have decided to co-operate with them.

ARMED DEFENCE

The Provos stand in the republican tradition of 'physical force' and revolutionary democracy. But these elements alone do not account for their leadership of the present struggle in the North which in the past ten years has had the proportions of a mass struggle. The missing element is that of defence. Armed defence is not part of a 'physical force' tradition nor is it imposed by the ideology of any single organization. It is an objective fact - a need felt by the Northern nationalists and embedded in the bloody history of the 6 Counties. The Provisionals were the group best placed to fulfil that need after the collapse of the local defence committees and the need for defence, first from the Loyalists and later from the forces of the British state. Because of this they still retain the passive sympathy of many no longer active in the struggle.

SELF DEFENCE AND MASS STRUGGLE

Ten years on from August 1969 the British have not stabilised the situation here. They violently oppose a United Ireland but any real reform is impossible for them to grant and they have fallen back on a series of squalid deals with the Unionists. The Northern economy is in collapse and new cuts will accentuate this. The British reply is the tried and tested answer to the Irish question - more and more repression.

It is becoming clearer and clearer to the mass of the Irish people that they must fight back.

The Provos remain the leading organization of the anti-imperialist movement and retain the support of the anti-imperialist vanguard. However this vanguard has found itself isolated from the mass of the population, and this isolation arises primarily from a tendency within the Provos towards reliance on a totally military strategy.

This military strategy leads away from the political task of winning new allies to the struggle for a United Ireland, in support of democratic demands and against repression. It is also ineffective in defending the masses. It is not able to prevent a creeping occupation of the areas by the RUC, the new repressive laws, the torture and the H-Blocks. Where once the night belonged to the Provos it now belongs to the British.

Anti-imperialists must unite to carry the fight within the organizations of the masses - trade unions, tenants and cultural groups. This requires that the Provos move to a programme of united political action and the demand of revolutionary democracy. We in PD are hopeful that they will do so, but the longer they delay the more difficult will be the struggle against a merciless enemy.

DEBATE WHAT LIES BEHIND THE PROVOS JIBES? WHAT ARE THE REAL ISSUES?

SINN FEIN AND AN PHOBLAIGHT/REPUBLICAN NEWS Bernadette MacAlliskey And Peoples' Democracy. strengthen the anti-imperialist movement. The anti-repression ticket will hardly be ill-intentioned while being told at the same time an "opportunist" and a "careerist" who was "tricked". If all these people who have resisted can be so easily tricked then what

THE REAL ISSUES?

A CEASEFIRE?

Readers can judge for themselves whether it was the Provos or Bernadette and PD who had the best strategy for encouraging the fight-back against imperialism. We suspect that the Provo 'theoreticians' know the answer to this as well as we do. That is why they went out of their way to concoct fantastic explanations for PD's behaviour. For example one An Phoblacht /Republican News correspondent claimed that PD wanted to win influence through the elections so that we could turn around and put pressure on the Provos to call a ceasefire!

The implications of course is that our real aim is to undermine the resistance to British Imperialism. Let's get it straight: PD believes that the sole responsibility for violence lies with the British Army, and we defend the right of any member of the anti-imperialist community to oppose by any means necessary these foreign invaders (and their RUC/UDR allies) who oppress them. Therefore we do not call for a ceasefire; we simply call on the British army to get out now. Then and only then will there be peace. Moreover we believe that the experience of the past ten years shows that any attempt to win national freedom and socialism will be put down by violence; consequently we do not call on the anti-imperialist minority to dump arms. Within this framework we have a difference of opinion with the Provos which is similar to the difference we had over the EEC election. The Provos think that they should defend the people against state harassment; we believe that the people with the help of Socialists and Republicans should be responsible themselves. Our alternative does not necessitate a ceasefire or a dumping of arms - it implies a new political direction. Above all it requires a strategy for the broadest and most massive mobilisations so that ordinary people will have the confidence to take on their own self-defence. Whether it is the EEC or armed struggle the real difference comes down to this: will the Provos make a revolution on behalf of the people or will the people, led by revolutionaries, make it themselves? This is what we should be discussing and not dragging in red herrings.



Bernadette's campaign by contrast put the spotlight on British imperialism and particularly on this 'local' issue she demonstrated more effectively than all the confused ramblings of the Provo 'theoreticians' that the anti-imperialist minority saw the Euro-Parliament as a confidence trick to divert them from their real needs and interests.

In addition to this Bernadette's supporters and PD activists spread the word about the RAC's everywhere they went. What pleased us most about the campaign was not simply the size of the vote - one of the biggest single endorsements of anti-imperialist sentiment over the past ten years - but the fact that new RAC's were set up to channel that support into continued and active opposition to repression and imperialism.

HAUGHEY BILL

The remarks of Patrick Cooney during the Senate debate on the Health (Family Planning) Bill, clearly indicate that the right wing intend to insist on the enforcement of the draconian provisions of Haughey's legislation. Attacking the voluntary Family Planning Clinics as purveyors of 'promiscuity' (a moral value judgement on the behaviour of others), Cooney arrogantly asserted that the great 'silent majority' would welcome their closure.

Opposing the law

Despite Haughey's claim that the Gardaí won't be used to enforce contraception laws these laws will give reactionaries a free hand to interfere with peoples' right to choose their own birth control method. What does this mean to the Contraception Action Programme (CAP) and the 'right to choose' supporters? Firstly it means they must recognise the important challenge that they now face, that is, if the law is enforced - without challenge - it will severely hamper any future campaigns. Secondly, any opposition must be built in such a way as to involve the largest number of people in united mass action. Fighting the bill in the courts is a valid way of protesting, but will only be successful if backed up by mobilizations and involvement of broad forces in action. The many thousands of people using the clinics cannot all become involved in court cases, but can be mobilised in meetings, demonstrations, local activities around health centres, defence of the clinics,

RESTRICTIONS OUT DEFEND YOUR RIGHTS



and so on. The example of the "Save Wood Quay" campaign is a striking illustration of the need for mass action. Concentrating on the legalistic/parliamentarian approach, whilst failing to bring continuous mass action into the campaign has inevitably led to the isolation of the campaign leadership, and possibly defeat. The Contraception campaigners cannot afford to make the same mistakes.

Clinics uncertain

CAP, which has been the only force consistently resisting the Haughey legislation in a principled manner, is now in a good position to give leadership to all those resisting the changed law. The clinics have issued defiant

words saying that they will flaunt the law, but are unlikely to put up much of a fight unless someone else leads the way. CAP has an important role to play here. But even if the clinics are not harassed immediately CAP will have to carry on with its own job of opposing all restrictions on contraception.

CAP's role :

CAP plans to continue to assert the right of access to contraception and information for all. How this will be done, in a manner which will make the political aims evident, will be very important. As the legislation discriminates very heavily on an economic basis against the working class, future campaigning must make this obvious and also involve sections of the working class willing to fight. Therefore, it will be essential to engage trade unions and their members, women's groups, student unions, and so on, in a united way around specific actions. The call for international support, through an appeal and also from the British and American women's movement will also be important factors in building momentum and confidence to the campaign. Propaganda activity such as the projected CAP pamphlet and the current poster will serve to remind many that the campaign is continuing.

This coming winter will be a crucial test of strength. All those who defend democratic rights must answer the challenge.

**SUPPORT THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE!
JOIN CAP**

FEMINIST FEDERATION; new all Ireland plans

The next few months could be crucial to the future of the women's movement in Ireland. On the 9th. of June the Irish Feminist Federation was set up. If the full involvement can be built of women from all parts of Ireland to fight around the most important issues for women today it could be the first step towards building an active all-Ireland women's movement.

32 COUNTY ORGANISATION

It was this positive result that provoked women in Dublin to organise the Federation conference. Most of the women who attended were from Dublin with some from Belfast, Cork and Galway. Women active in Limerick could not attend but are going to be involved fully in the future. There was discussion around the importance of unity, the relationship of feminism to Irish women, and what issues were the most important for us here and now. All the women present felt we needed to open communication with other women around the country, co-ordinated

PHOTO below: Mary Glinn, wife of a striking postman addresses the Feminist Federation.



campaigns, organise activities simultaneously and support one another generally. There was also a very strong feeling that we had to have a concrete structure in which to do this. So the federation was set up. Hopefully there will be unity meetings on the Belfast style in any place where there is enough interest. There is

also a steering collective whose job it is to communicate and co-ordinate between the unity groups and encourage women from different parts of Ireland to become involved.

DUBLIN MEETING

The first Dublin unity meeting was on July 14 and was very successful. After a general discussion on women's position the 60 women present were particularly interested in equal pay, nurseries and childcare and the power of schools in encouraging social attitudes. The meeting heard reports from various groups such as Wicca, the Contraception Action Programme, and Rock Against Sexism, and agreed to bring out a leaflet condemning Haughey's new legislation on contraception as discriminatory and repressive.

There has never been a 32 county feminist organisation before and we have always had problems with communication and co-ordination between different parts of Ireland particularly North and South.

In Dublin, since the dissolution of Irish Women United 2 years ago, there has been no group active on general feminist issues. There have been particular groups around the Rape Crisis Centre, Wicca, Contraception Action Programme, and the Women's Centre and so on, but with little or no co-ordination or joint activity. This means that there was no organised feminist presence and leadership even though huge opportunities appeared, like the 6000 women strong anti-rapé march last year.

Also there was no overall group women could approach in which they could have discussions and hear broad feminist ideas. They had to choose one issue on which to be active. This need was shown by the very big attendance of "new faces" at meetings to set up the Women's Centre, the Federation and the Dublin Unity meeting.

Also in Belfast there are a few different women's groups organised around varying basis like the Belfast Women's Collective, the Lesbian group and Women against Imperialism. A few months ago there was a meeting called by members of Women against Imperialism to discuss the possibility of unity between them around agreed issues. All of the women's groups have got involved, at the same time keeping their own specific areas of interest. The Belfast Unity meeting have organised a demonstration against rape and a campaign against the Payment of Debts act.

The Unity meetings in Belfast and Dublin will probably be held every month or so and notification will appear in the national press, in Dublin, and so on.

If all groups and individual women concerned with women's position in society become involved with the Irish Feminist Federation we could have a much stronger and more forcible voice.

Belfast homosexual murdered BY 'QUEER BASHING' GANG

RECENTLY THE GAY COMMUNITY IN ENGLAND AND AMERICA CELEBRATED 10 YEARS OF STRUGGLE FOR Gay Liberation by organizing 'Gay Pride' week. While gays in the USA were protesting in their thousands against the refusal of San Francisco immigration authorities to allow gay activist - Carl Hill - into the city to join the celebrations because he was wearing a 'Gay Pride' badge, Belfast newspapers carried a story which still typifies the position of gay men and women in Ireland.

On June 2 Anthony McCleare, a hospital porter, was beaten to death by what members of the Northern Ireland Gay Rights Association (NIGRA) claim is a gang of 'queer bashers'. This fatal attack is not the first they have made in this area of town - Oxford St./Chichester St. area. Despite the fact that McCleare's body showed evidence of him having been badly beaten, police the following day put out a statement claiming that 'foul play' was not suspected! NIGRA and McCleare's brother are now pressing for an independent post-mortem to establish the truth.

The lack of concern and anti-gay attitude of police and authorities can be measured by the almost casual announcement, contained in the orders reaffirming Direct Rule, that the law on homosexuality in the North is not going to be changed. By refusing in this way to legalize homosexuality, a free license is being given to gangs such as the one which attacked and murdered Anthony McCleare. The struggle for democratic rights for the gay community has for too long been ignored by the socialist and anti-Imperialist movement; to continue to ignore this important area of discrimination could, in fact, be a matter of life and death.



overthrow of the bloody dictatorship

RECENT EVENTS IN THE CENTRAL AMERICAN NATION OF NICARAGUA HAVE SHOWN THAT THE LATIN AMERICAN revolution will continue to haunt USA Imperialism and its native backers. The Somoza dynasty has collapsed. Somoza's downfall is a great victory for the oppressed people of Nicaragua and an encouragement to all opponents of USA Imperialism, especially as it comes so soon after the fall of another of its allies, the shah of Iran.

The stage was set for this victory by the militant upsurge of the oppressed masses in early 1978 which forced the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie to desert Somoza. With much hesitation they began to oppose him by setting up the FAO - a broad opposition front which included some Stalinists. This called for the removal of Somoza while leaving the state structure intact. Understanding that Somozaism is the basis of this structure it is hardly surprising that such an opposition came to nothing.

THE ROLE OF THE SANDINISTAS

While the FAO initially succeeded in establishing themselves as the only political alternative to Somoza their weakness and timidity soon enabled the Sandinistas to gain an

influence over the more militant sections of the oppressed masses. However, in September 1978, the Sandinistas launched a military offensive before the masses were ready. Such activities outside and independent of the day to day activities of the masses and their organizations inevitably results in failure. Moreover, the repression which followed the defeat resulted in a downturn in the activity of the masses. However, repression alone was not enough to save Somoza. The September defeat only provided a short breathing space for his regime. But by April 1979 a new offensive was initiated, under the leadership of the newly formed bourgeois dominated Provisional Government - a united bloc of the bourgeoisie and the Sandinistas.

USA DITCHES SOMOZA

Faced with this new development the United States has abandoned Somoza. Their aim now is to weaken the radical wing of the Provisional government and maintain a bourgeois state in Nicaragua. A crucial element in achieving this objective is to ensure that the structure of the National Guard remains intact. The Provisional Government's stated position is not far from this. They are proposing a new national army composed of the Sandinistas and 'honest and patriotic' National Guard officers. Washington is determined to prevent the Sandinistas from controlling the army in the new regime; the Nicaraguan bourgeoisie has the same aim.

SANDINISTAS: TWO STARK CHOICES

The Sandinistas are in a contradictory position. Despite the defeat of September their prestige is still high with the masses. They are the leaders of the mass upsurge. In the towns they control they have set up committees to organize the distribution of food, security, propaganda and to discuss the future course of the revolution. Yet they are members of a bourgeois dominated Provisional Government whose avowed aim is to preserve and consolidate capitalism and imperialism's interests in Nicaragua. This will eventually entail the suppression of the self-organization which the Sandinistas initiated. Thus the political struggle within the Sandinistas will be of decisive importance. They cannot continue to represent antagonistic classes. They can continue to tail-end the bourgeoisie and help them to create a more stable bourgeois state, which will be of little benefit to the masses. Or, they can break from their Popular Front alliance with the bourgeoisie in order to provide the masses with a clear leadership, that will give the masses a real chance of radically transforming Nicaraguan society.

ICTU MUST QUIT N.I. POLICE AUTHORITY

WHILE 400 TRADE UNION DELEGATES PACKED INTO THE HOLIDAY RESORT OF BUNDORAN FOR THE annual conference of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) last month the latest victim of RUC torture, Belfast taxi driver Hugh Murphy was seriously ill in the Royal Victoria Hospital with back injuries inflicted while he was being held in Castlereagh interrogation centre. While in Castlereagh Murphy was locked up in the same cell where Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers - Transport and Salaried Staffs Association (AUWE-TASS) shop steward Brian Maguire was found hanged just over a year ago. Last year's ICTU conference called for a public enquiry into Maguire's death and conditions in Castlereagh but as ICTU's Northern Ireland officer Terry Carlin reported to delegates the Northern Ireland Committee had done nothing to follow up the resolution.

NI Committee condemned

The NI committee's failure to oppose torture and brutality carried out by the RUC was highlighted by National Union of Public Employees' (NUPE) delegate Brian Sullivan when he condemned the nomination of Carlin as a member of the RUC Police Authority. Sullivan described the Authority's role as a whitewash agency for RUC torturers and warned that Carlin's membership "was only giving credibility to the RUC and Secretary of State Humphrey Atkins". The NUPE delegate also protested at the manner in which the whole issue of repression had been "shoved under the carpet at the last Northern Ireland conference of the ICTU". He told delegates that it was time the trade union movement stopped avoiding its responsibilities and looked at the whole situation in the 6 Counties. ICTU should reverse the Northern Ireland committee's decision to nominate Carlin.

laws. This will be filed away and quietly forgotten about.

WARNING this man works with the RUC



Terry Carlin

report him to your local trade union

ICTU executive dodges the issue

The response of the ICTU's executive to NUPE's call was to say that the conference had no authority on these matters, which must be left to the NI committee. In other words the ICTU executive prefers to condone torture and brutality in order to condone the loyalist extremists in the trade unions than help to nail the murderers of trade union militants like Brian Maguire. For this reason the ICTU executive can be expected to ignore the proposal by Kevin O'Connell, that ICTU President Jack Curllis should visit the H-Blocks and report on his findings. Nor can we expect the ICTU executive to act on the resolution adopted by the conference condemning all repressive

Opposition must be organised

Or will it? NUPE Organizer John Coulthard told the conference that the Prevention of Terrorism Act (PTA) "was an evil thing must be brought to an end". Many of the delegates obviously agreed but without organization there is little they will be able to do in the face of the ICTU bureaucracy's opposition. The Trade Union Campaign Against Repression (TUCAR) had made some small beginnings to organize against repression but these are in danger of being frittered away by its failure to take the fight into the union branches and workplaces. For too long TUCAR has seen its role within the already organized anti-Imperialist milieu, and with few exceptions has failed to draw support from outside the republican and socialist organizations. The debate at the ICTU conference, the H-Block motion passed at the ITGWU conference and the opposition expressed to the PTA by both the NUPE and the Northern Ireland Public Service Association (NIPSA) in the North indicate that within the trade unions themselves there is a reservoir of concern over the increasing repression. This concern is independent of support for the armed organizations in the North and cannot be organized on that sort of exclusive platform.

Opportunity for TUCAR

TUCAR must grasp the opportunity indicated by the ICTU and ITGWU conferences to mount specific campaigns around both the H-Blocks and Carlin's membership of the RUC Police Authority. Motions should be tabled in all union branches where there are TUCAR members demanding that ICTU president Jack Curllis leads a trade union delegation to investigate the H-Blocks; separate motions should be put calling for Carlin's resignation from the Police Authority and the boycott of this whitewash institution.

END COLLABORATION WITH TORTURE!
BOYCOTT NI. POLICE AUTHORITY!

NUCLEAR TIME BOMB SET TO GO!

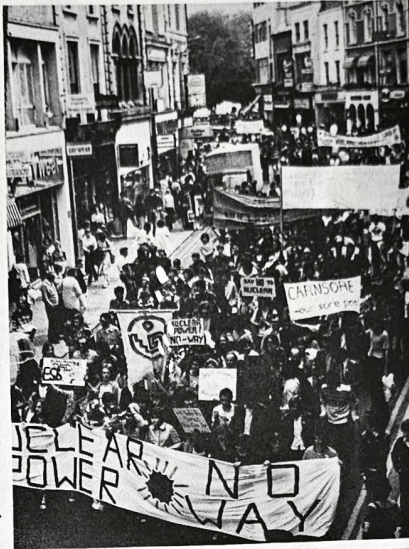
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BUILDING THE ANTI-NUCLEAR MOVEMENT

The anti-nuclear struggle can no longer be viewed in purely 'ecological' terms - it is up against international capitalism. Any strategy for building an effective anti-nuclear movement must base itself on this central fact. Only the combined strength of the people can seriously hope to challenge this foe. The anti-nuclear movement has so far succeeded in alerting the general public to the dangers involved in nuclear power. What it must do now is to channel this concern into active resistance to the government's plans.

Attempts to do this over the past year have been disappointing. Many activists have dropped out and local groups have folded. One reason for this is that the movement has been talking about things in a language intelligible only to itself. It tends to be forgotten that while the vast majority of people are concerned about the dangers of radiation they still have illusions in the good faith of the government and the EEC.

It was in order to foster and cultivate these illusions that Fianna Fail decided to hold a public enquiry. Now that they are under EEC pressure for quick action this promise is a millstone around their necks. John and O'Malley will try to make the Enquiry as limited and powerless as possible. This gives the Anti-Nuclear Movement a valuable



opportunity to expose the government's hypocrisy. Over the coming months the whole movement should throw its weight into a determined campaign for the broadest and most thorough Public Enquiry. If this is successful the Movement will have an ideal platform from which to denounce nuclear power; even if it is not successful the Irish people will have learned a valuable lesson about the aims and methods of the pro-nuclear lobby.

Evelyn Reed

In next months issue we will be carrying a tribute to the author of WOMENS EVOLUTION, the late Evelyn Reed. She died of cancer in New York on March 22nd 1979. Reed who was and is an inspiration to many in the modern women's movement was a life time member of the SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY (USA), American supporters of the Fourth International.

**JOIN
P.D.
NOW**

If you are interested in joining Peoples Democracy and fighting for a 32-County Socialist Republic fill in the form below and send it to:
BELFAST: Connolly Bookshop, Avenue Park, Andersonstown.
DUBLIN: 36, Clanawley Rd.
Name
Address

INTERVIEW with a member of the Republican Socialist Tendency

SOCIALIST REPUBLIC:

In your resignation statement you give your reason for leaving the SLP as being that the party has become electoralist and reformist with no interest in involving itself in workers' economic struggles, womens' struggles, or above all in the national struggle. If that is so why did you join the party in the first place?

REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST TENDENCY:

When the SLP was formed it was by no means clear that it would follow such a course. On the contrary it attracted a large number of militants who wanted to fight the government on these questions but who quickly lost interest when the SLP were seen to have no perspective for action and to vacillate on the national question.

SR:

How does the SLP compare now in influence and strength to when it was first formed?

RST:

There is no comparison! You can see that in the vote that Noel Browne and Matt Merrigan got in the 1977 General Election compared to their vote in the recent local election where Merrigan got a lower vote than even the Sickles got. Two years ago they had an audience of thousands of militant workers. Now they have little or no influence at all. The membership has dwindled from three or four hundred to less than a hundred. Most of the branches in the country and many in Dublin have just collapsed while all their members in the North have left.

SR:

Is it not inevitable that after an initial burst of enthusiasm a new socialist party will tend to flag, and many of its members will become demoralised and drop out?

RST:

No, it is not inevitable - not in a period which has seen a massive upsurge in workers' struggles, an upturn in the womens' movement and a new rise in the anti-imperialist struggle. Besides it wasn't the 'faint-hearted' who left, it was for the most part those militants who did want to get 'stuck in' on the burning issues and who felt that the SLP was becoming irrelevant.

SR:

You also say in your statement that the SLP's degeneration centred around its unwillingness to take up the national question. Could you elaborate on that?

RST:

The left-liaison grouping from the Labour Party who set up the SLP never held anti-imperialist positions. For them the struggle against British occupation was irrelevant to winning socialism. But they were disturbed to find that the pro-imperialist course of the Labour Party in coalition necessarily led to an onslaught on democratic rights in the 26 Counties. In the 1977 elections they attacked repression and as a result won the admiration of anti-imperialist militants. Finding themselves in a minority in the SLP they went along with the adoption of anti-imperialist demands: when it came to putting them into practice it was another matter. H-Block was, and is, too hot an issue. They didn't want to participate in united campaigns with republicans because they feared the outcome of such campaigns. They feared that participation in mass campaigns would direct the party on a dangerous course away from, what for them, was the real issue: winning seats in the Dail.

SR:

How did the RST come to be formed?

RST:

By last autumn it had become clear that the SLP was moving away from any orientation towards struggles. Up till then, supporters of Peoples' Democracy in the SLP had been slow to form a tendency because we didn't want to force a polarization in a situation when people including some of the leadership were still politically developing. But it became increasingly clear that the only alternative to forcing a confrontation was to watch the party stagnate and dissolve. Almost as soon as the tendency was formed we found ourselves in the centre of a major crisis in the party. A few days before the SLP annual conference Noel Browne, its only Dail Deputy, launched an attack on the campaign of the H-Block prisoners. We proposed at the conference that the party disassociate itself from these remarks. Browne and the west-Brit grouping around him threatened to split from the party if it participated in campaigns against repression. The centre leadership, terrified of losing their only deputy, capitulated to Browne and decided that repression should not be a priority of party activity. This involved overruling our conference decisions so they also introduced measures which effectively eliminated democratic discussion in the party. After that the SLP proceeded to decompose.

SR:

There were other far-left groupings in the SLP. What role did they play in the proceedings?

RST:

Their role was a very contradictory one. For the most part their criticism of the leadership was highly abstract and they offered no practical alternative to the leadership's electoralism. To give you an example: they are opposed to participating in broad based united campaigns against repression (for the best 'leftist' reasons of course!). Instead they proposed that the party should channel its activity on this question through the trade unions which of course fully suited the reformist leadership because it meant that you end up doing virtually nothing at all. The Irish Workers' Group saw the SLP as a debating forum and demanded that the party begin by discussing every question of their programme. Confronted by yawns they promptly denounced everyone else for betraying the working class.

The Socialist Workers' Tendency is a more serious current. They do not want to get trapped in a sectarian ghetto. But, reflecting their isolation from the working class, they are very doctrinaire in their opposition to united fronts and mass action. So they saw the SLP mainly as a 'get rich quick' scheme. They went in to grab as much as they could - forming a tendency immediately, producing a tendency bulletin (Socialist Worker Review) which was more professionally presented than the SLP's own paper, getting elected to as many committees as possible, and so on. At the same time they tried to create an abstract and dogmatic debate around 'Revolutionaries Vs. Reformists'. When it dawned on them that they were only alienating sincere militants they changed course - this time towards collaboration with the leadership. In particular they helped the party leadership overturn conference decisions on the national question. A number of their own members became disgusted by this and left. They formed the Socialist Workers' Group and have been active in campaigns against repression and supported the Bernadette Devlin/MacAliskey election campaign. At the moment the remaining fragments of the SWT, and of the old SLP leadership, are all hanging together for fear of hanging separately.

The RST resignation statement is available by writing to PD at the above address; Price 30p including post & packaging.

WHY THE SLP FAILED