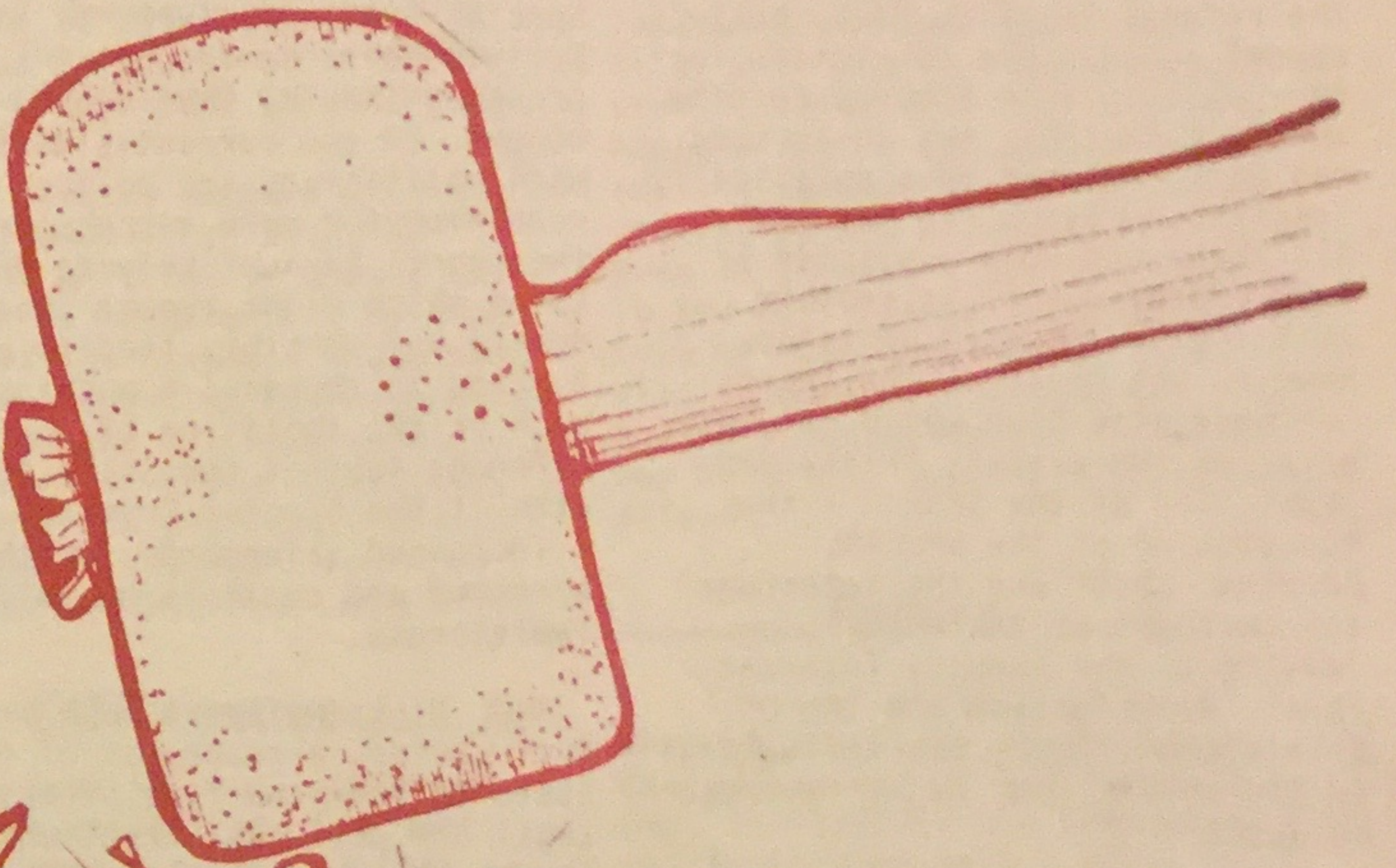


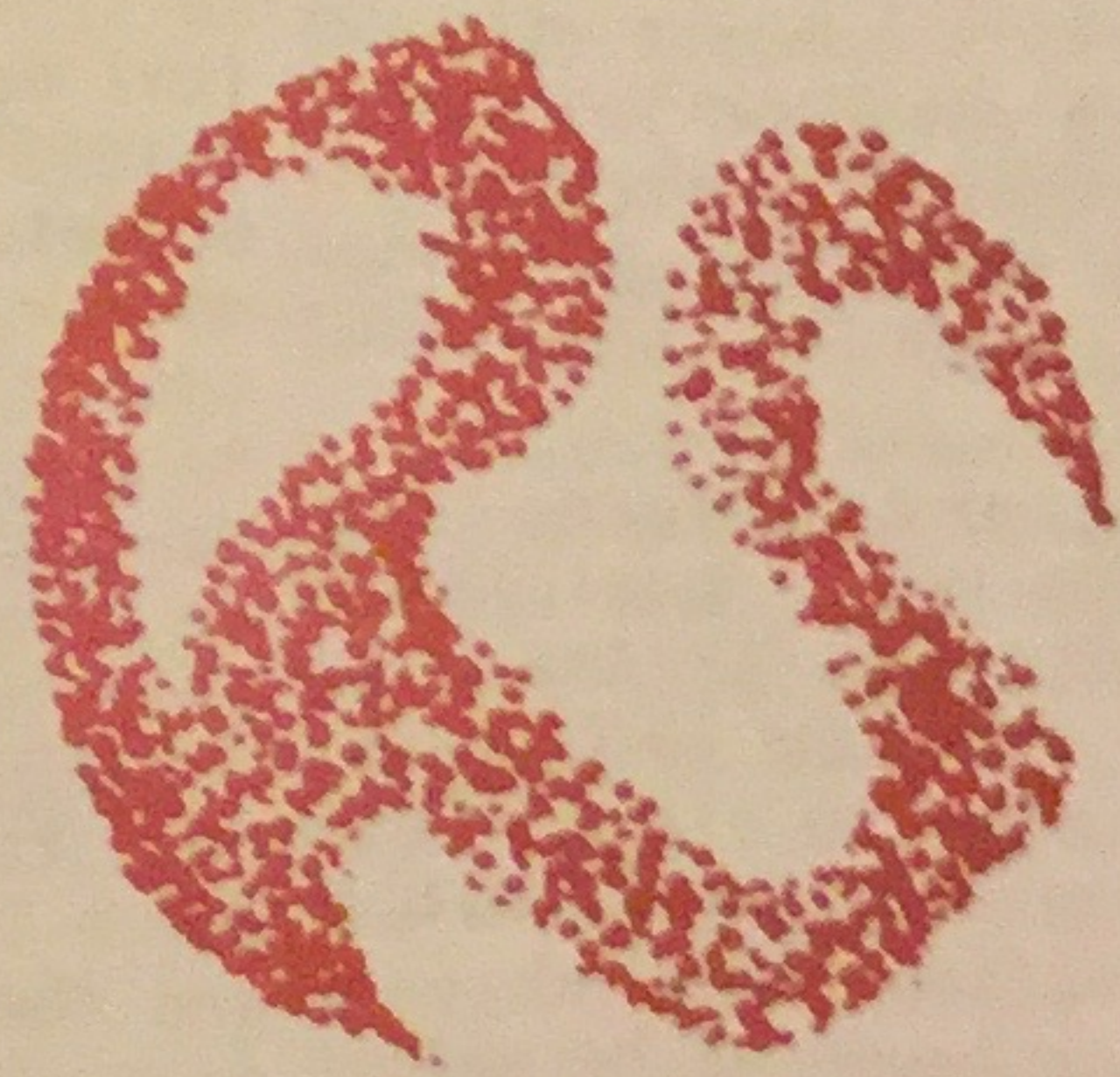
Rebel



CAPITALISM & STATE

20 p. no. 52

May '82



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RELEASE NICKY KELLY

The repression of political activists by the State, through its judicial arm, continues. The most recent example of this was the refusal to allow Nicky Kelly's appeal against his conviction for the Sallins Train Robbery despite the fact that his two co-accused had been released in a politically inspired decision, in May 1980. All three had been convicted 17 months previously in another politically-inspired decision. However the national and international attention which had focussed on the arrest, trials and conviction of the IRSP 3 - the functioning of the SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT and the interrogation methods of the *heavy gang* leading to the Amnesty International investigation and the O' Brian Committee - was influential in the convictions being reversed on appeal.

Throughout the trials all three maintained that the statements on which they were convicted were beaten out of them and there was ample physical evidence to bear this out. But the Court held that the injuries had been *self inflicted or inflicted on each other*. After this finding, described as *astounding* by one senior counsel, Nicky Kelly jumped bail and was sentenced to 12 years in his absence.

After a prolonged period in Port Laoise, Osgur Breathnach's and Brian McNally's appeals came up. They were released on fairly technical points and the decision could have gone the other way if it had been required - so much for an *independent judiciary*. In April 1980, 1 month before these appeals, the Provisional IRA claimed responsibility for the Sallins robbery. In June 1980, Nicky Kelly returned to clear his name and was arrested. The Special Criminal Court decided that he must serve his sentence as he was too late lodging his appeal. Recently after prolonged delays the Court of Criminal Appeal rejected his appeal after concluding that his statements must have been voluntarily given because he had *cooperated* with the police. That cooperation amounted to inviting the police to a spot where arms and money could be found. Nothing was found. It is reasonable to conclude as Kelly has claimed, that he took the police on this *wild goose chase* only to gain a respite from the interrogations and abuse. However it didn't suit the Court of Criminal Appeal - that sanctuary of reason - to arrive at such a conclusion and the reason for this can be traced to the aftermath of the May 1980 appeals.

when these appeals succeeded, there was an outcry against the free hand given to the police and against the operation of the Special Criminal Court. If Nicky Kelly were to be freed, as he properly should, that debate might reopen. In the current situation with politicians and police screaming for more repression, the courts are unlikely to do anything which might reopen that debate and possibly lead to a reduction in repressive machinery - such as the abolition of the Offences Against the State Act and with it the Special Criminal Court - increased safeguards for those arrested and controls on police lawlessness.

But Nicky Kelly is back in Port Laoise, a scapegoat of the State to save the face of its legal and political institutions. Though relieved that the long drawn out appeal charade is over, and not holding out much hope for the Supreme Court appeal, he is determined not to do 12 years on a false conviction. That determination has forced him to consider resorting to the only weapon left - a hunger strike until his release or his death.

The Release Nicky Kelly Committee is very concerned with the effect of a prison sentence even without a hunger strike. Of the IRSP 3, Nicky Kelly suffered the most psychological damage from the interrogations, beatings and long periods of detention. *"The urgency of the matter is not so much that an innocent man is in jail or that he was tortured and framed as part of a wider State conspiracy to discredit the IRSP but, rather, that his health is bad and deteriorating."* In view of all this the committee is asking people to write to the Minister for Justice and the Taoiseach demanding that Nicky Kelly be released (as either is empowered to under Article 13.6 of the Constitution); send a copy of such correspondence to the Committee at 34 Upr Gardiner Street, Dublin 1; send a donation to help the campaign and act as a sponsor for the Committee.

While the committee is immediately concerned with the situation of Nicky Kelly, it recognises the need to reopen debate on the whole question of repression.

Rebel will keep in touch with these developments but in the meantime we urge our readers to assist the Committee in whatever way they can to secure Nicky Kelly's release.



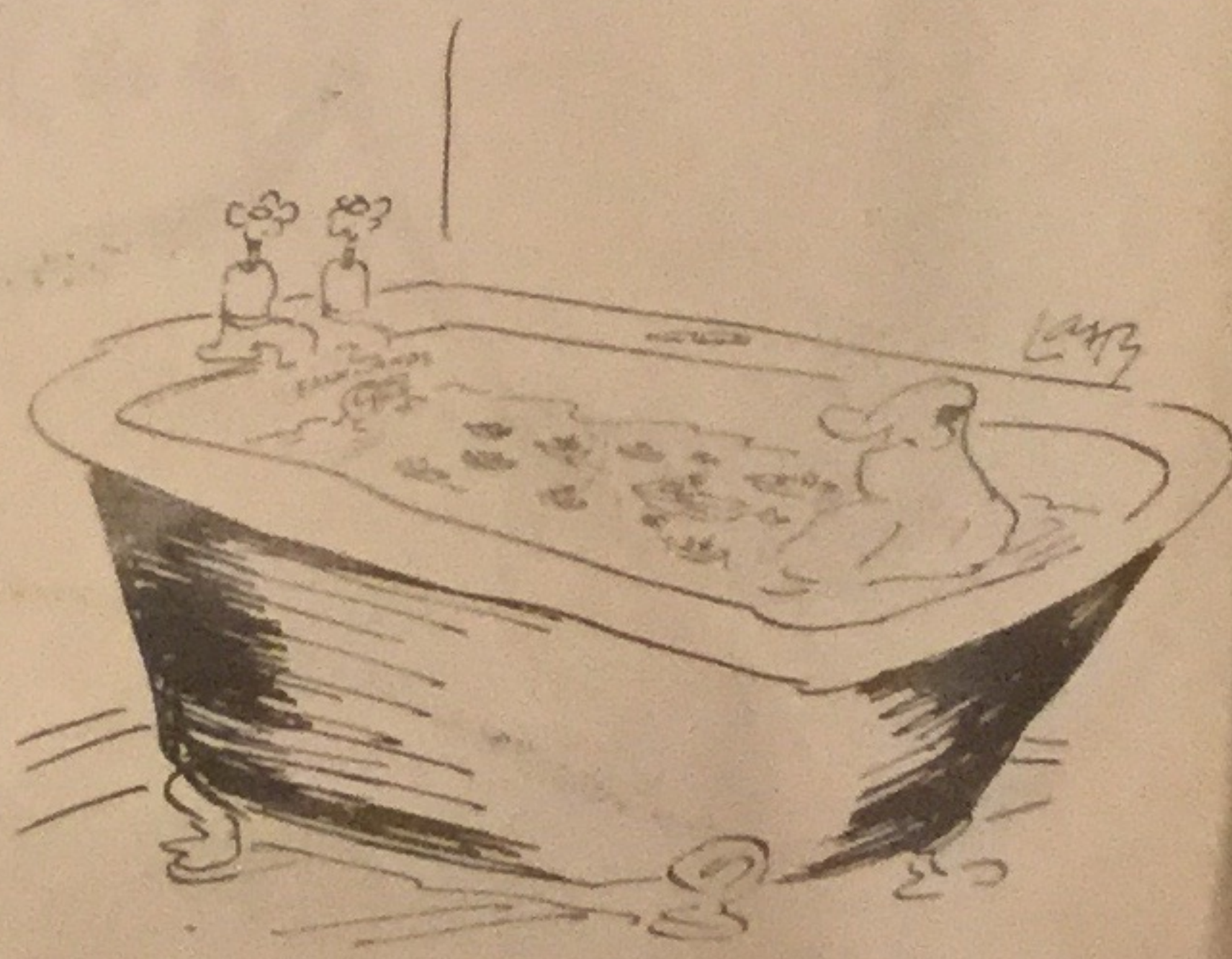
- SUPPORT NICKY KELLY !
- OPPOSE REPRESSION !
- OPPOSE THE SPECIAL CRIMINAL COURT !

WAR GAMES

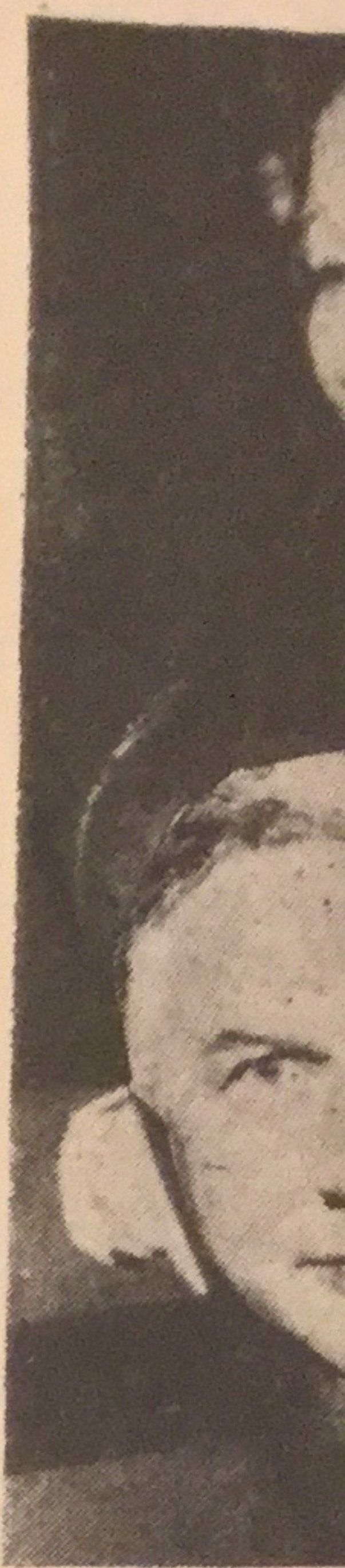
Now that it looks more or less certain that hundreds of young Argentinian sailors have already lost their lives in the British escapades in the South Atlantic, the Free State Govt. has woken up to the fact that this is no garden party but IMPERIALIST WAR.

Our supposedly neutral State which rushed to the support of the Brits within the EEC is now having second thoughts. The sinking of the Irish trawler by the Brit submarine must have shaken some big wig somewhere.

In the meantime, the Argentinian fascists and the Tory right-wingers are trying to outdo each other in posturing and threatening noises. Ideally, two right wing set-ups butchering each other could be quite positive for the revolution. If it weren't for the fact that the world is a powder keg right now...and that Armies lose wars while the working class loses its sons.



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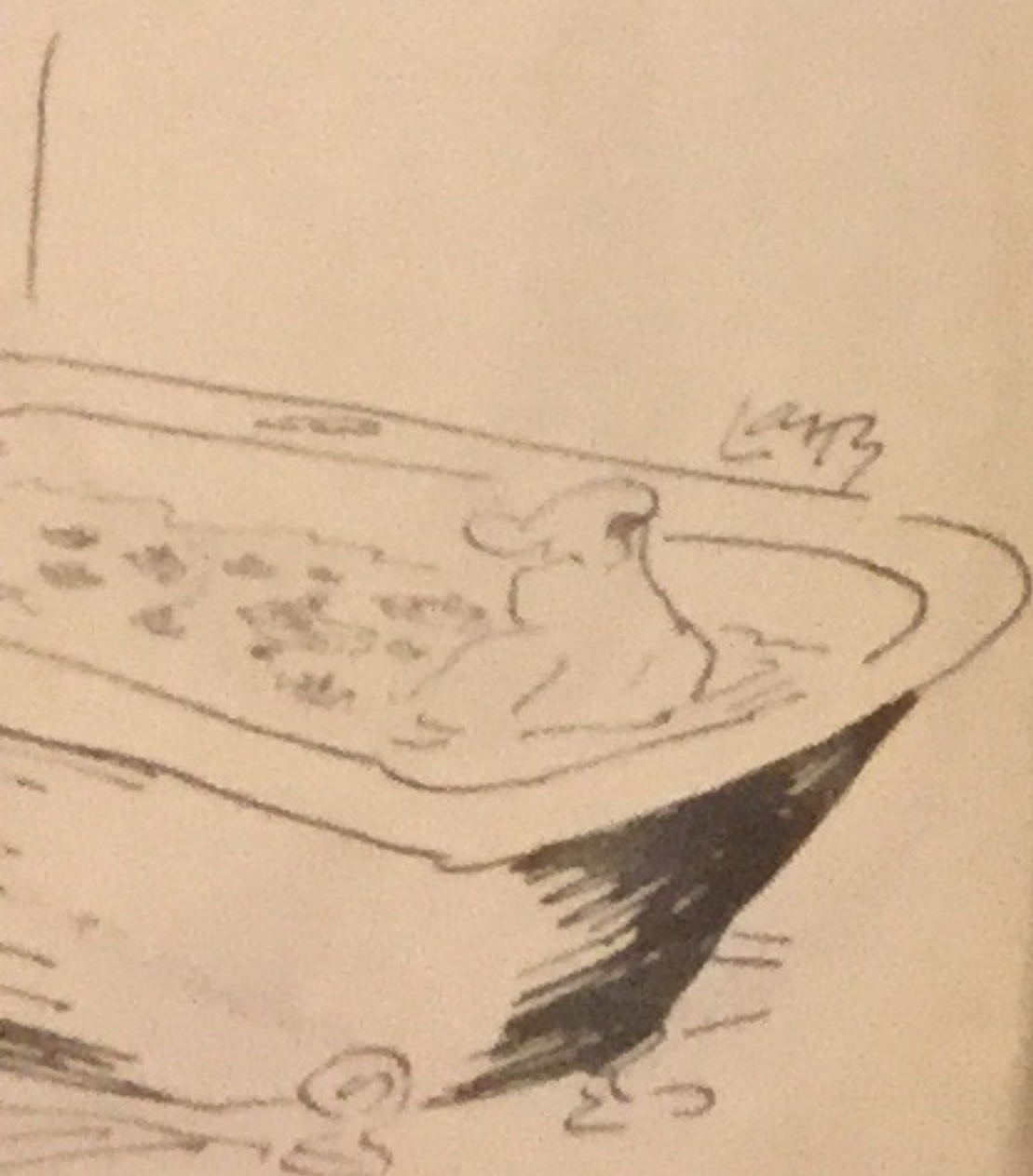
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ALL THE ROARING AND THE SHOUTING GOING ON ABOUT THE ANGLO-ARGENTINIAN MINI-WAR, COUPLED WITH THE INCREASED RHYTHM OF PROVISIONAL BOMBS, HAVE SOMEHOW MANAGED TO THROW A SMOKE-SCREEN ON SOME OF THE BASIC BRIT PLANS ON THE 6 COUNTIES. AND YET, WHAT WE HAVE CALLED THE 'PROCESS OF RESOLUTION OF THE NATIONAL QUESTION' GRINDS ON AND ON. IN THE ARTICLE BELOW, A COMRADE OF RS ANALYZES THE LATEST PRIOR SCHEME.



On Monday, April 5th, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, presented his White Paper "Northern Ireland - A Framework for Devolution". This represents the next phase of British strategy in the 6 Cos and coincides with, indeed complements, the other part of the same strategy: the development of the Anglo-Irish Council.

The recent offensive by the RUC, using and enticing informers to convict, or simply remand many militants of the Republican Movement is, obviously, the military counterpart of the same strategy: TO PREPARE A STABLE CLIMATE FOR THE AUTUMN ELECTIONS. Coming as it does in the wake of the defeat after the H-Block / Armagh hunger strikes, the objective of these initiatives is clear enough. The Hunger Strike re-emphasised that POLITICS in the 6 Cos are played out in the streets...they're out of the hands of the politicians. They depend on the relationship between the people and the State in direct confrontation and are not mediated through 'representatives'.

This situation shapes the need to create a forum that could conceivably restore the trappings of parliamentary democracy...a forum acceptable to the political hacks so that they can inch their way back to the political stage.

Proposals

This is the background to the White Paper. The document contains proposals for an election by proportional representation of a 78-member Assembly. The elections are planned for next

Autumn This Assembly would not have the powers of Government... that would still lie with the British...but it would have the option of commenting on British legislation and issuing reports and recommendations on various areas of policy.

The elected members of the Assembly would then elect a PRESIDING OFFICER, in whom a lot of power is invested. It is expected that the Assembly would have Committees, set up corresponding to each of the N.I. Departments. The members of these Committees, their Chairmen and Deputy Chairmen (their language) would be allocated by this Presiding Officer.

Differences

Now just in case your minds race back to 1972 and Stormont, let us remind ourselves that since that institution was put out of action, the 6 Cos have

particular Department is to be devolved, then Prior would probably appoint the relevant Committee Chairman to be its Minister. If the situation arises that all the 'transferable areas' were to be devolved, then Prior is empowered to appoint a full Cabinet of 13....If any of these appointees resign, Prior could re-appoint someone else.

The Assembly can recommend how it wants a particular Department run and by whom. If the recommendation has 70% support, Prior will put it before Westminster....they will decide on what happens next. But having said that, a recommendation can be put to British MPs and decisions taken even if it hasn't got 70% support in the N.I. Assembly. With this type of veto and control, the British hope to overcome any possible obstacles put in their way by either Unionists or Nationalists.

Failure

The last attempt to go through a process of this type failed because of two reasons: One, in 1973/74, the Executive was legislated as a 'Power Sharing Executive'...the concept of power sharing was

BRIT PLANS

been governed by Direct Rule; except for the five months Jan - May 1974 of the Power Sharing Executive - which was itself toppled by the Ulster Workers Council strike in 1974.

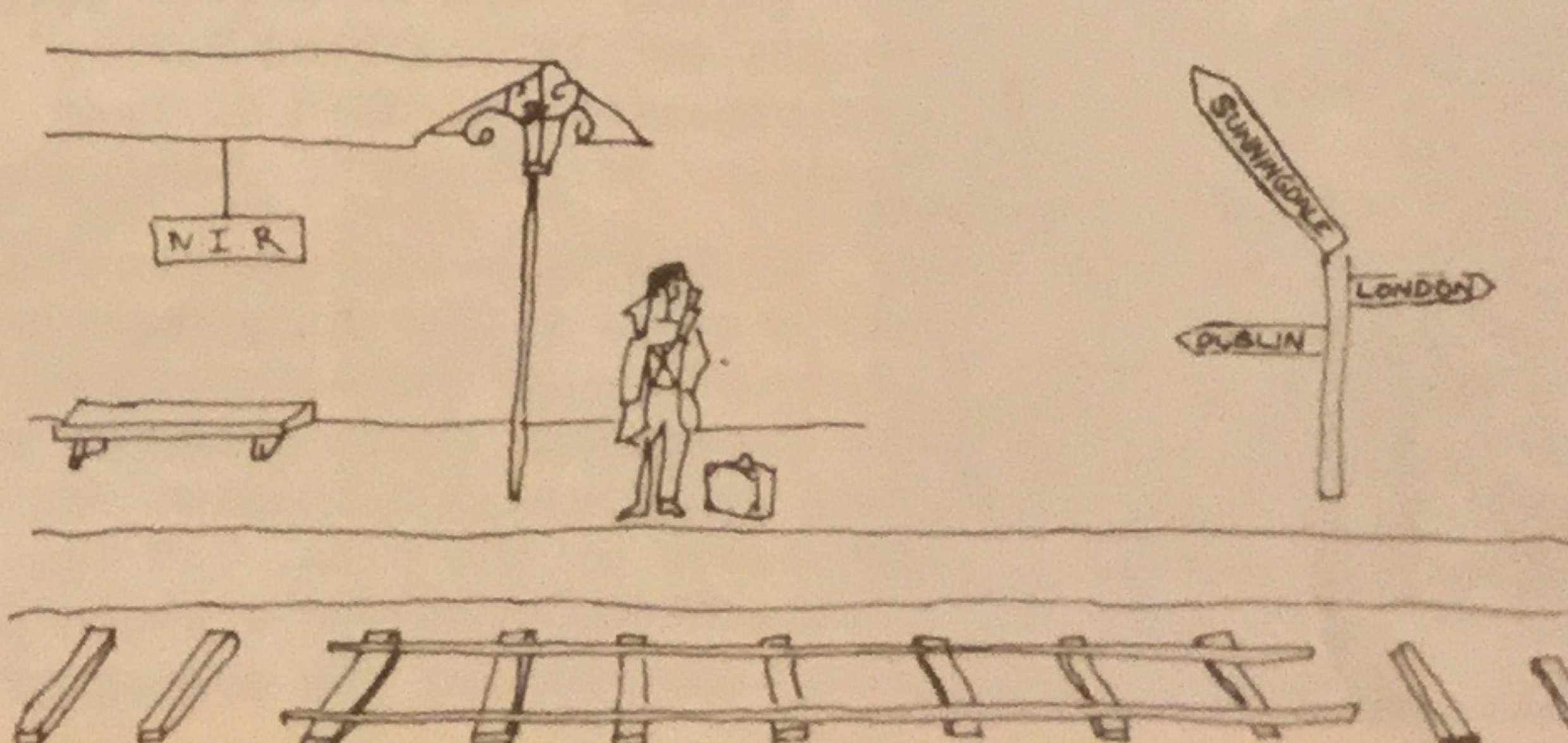
The White Paper points out two of the main differences between the 1982 set-up and the 1973 version:

" First it will be for the Assembly to recommend to the Secretary of State what form any devolved Administration should take and how devolved powers should be exercised. Secondly, devolution of Executive or Legislative powers could take place en bloc or there could be a 'partial devolution'

Whatever the tempo of devolution though, a number of decision making areas WILL NOT and CANNOT be devolved. These areas include Law & Order, Finance, Foreign Affairs, Defence, the Crown....although there is a provision in the White Paper that " if the Executive proved stable enough....some of these 'excluded' areas may be devolved". Under these parameters, if a

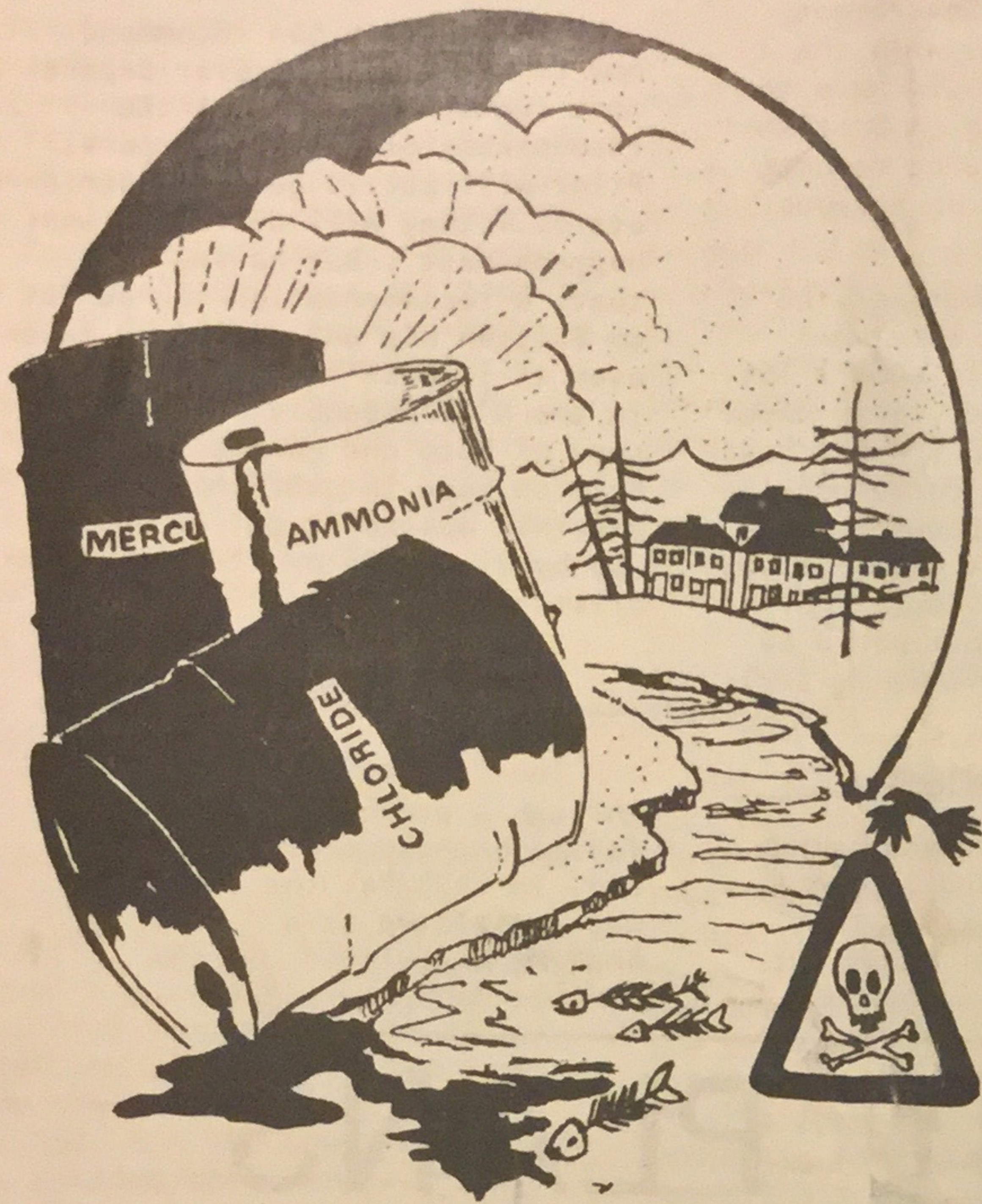
spelt out in the White Paper as a pre-condition. A large section of the Unionist bloc, headed by West, Taylor, Powell together with Paisley and Craig were pledged to oppose power sharing....and oppose they did. Two, the new N.I. Executive was from its inception to take part in ratifying the SUNNINGDALE Agreement which was to set up a COUNCIL OF IRELAND.

This time around, power sharing has been dropped as a concept and objective. Instead, we have this absurd 70% which is supposed to be the ruse to convince both sidesand convince the British that a position is acceptable to both sides. On the Anglo-Irish dimension, while the 1982 PAPER refers explicitly to the Anglo-Irish Council and the Joint Studies which began in 1980, it portrays them as parallel and independent developments to which the new N.I. Assembly aligns itself only if it decides to. Presumably, British thinking on this one is that Loyalist opposition to the Anglo-Irish talks has already played out through the posturing



(Continued on p.10)

In the last issue of *REBEL*, we printed an article on the immediate and very organised response in the communities of West Dublin (Newcastle, Saggart, Rathcoole, Brownsbarn, Tallaght, Clondalkin and others) to the announcement by the then Minister of the Environment PETER BARRY that a CENTRAL DEPOT for toxic waste is to be opened in Baldonnell. The newly formed AMALGAMATED ANTI-TOXIC GROUP (AATG - made up of residents and community associations, action groups and the Alliance for Safety and Health, ASH) has organised two major public meetings in Rathcoole Community Centre. This article reports from these meetings and other news from the battle in West Dublin.



toxic opposition grows

Hundreds of people turned up on both occasions in Rathcoole to oppose the siting of a TOXIC CENTRE in their community. The committee of the AATG invited the Ministers of the Environment (then Barry, now Burke) to come and *speaking to the people*, along with local T.D.'s and Councillors. The first meeting coincided with budget day - so no T.D.'s and no Minister. Councillor LAING of Fine Gael argued that the Centre was a reasonable proposal, but after being attacked from the floor he said he would, of course, represent his constituents if they were against the centre. He was left with little doubt on that front. The chairperson of the Labour Party argued AGAINST the Centre, not just in Baldonnell but anywhere in the country.

The follow-up public meeting on April 30th saw a whole line-up of T.D.'s on the stage, all of whom said they were opposed to the Centre. But in very different and contradictory terms. Mervyn Taylor of Labour argued against the Centre and the industrial developments which make it necessary while Mary Harney of Fianna Fail suggested a survey to find the best site! She obviously has not been told that such a survey

has been carried out and Baldonnell was selected. Harney went further and presented herself as the envoy of the Minister who had told her that he is now willing to receive a delegation from the Community.

REZONING

The discussion in these events has really hotted up. Everyone is opposed to the site. The attitude towards the T.D.'s is volatile. On the one hand people want them present and taking positions but on the other, they are attacked as unreliable or opportunistic. Two of the Action Groups (one from Clondalkin, another from Newcastle) argued strongly against relying on the politicians. The Clondalkin Group draws on their experience of fighting against the prison - the Newcastle group points to the position Harney and others have taken on land rezoning for chemical development.

By the time of the second public meeting different groups had produced their own literature. The Clondalkin group produced a very well-laid out leaflet on the issue of the Site. The Newcastle Group produced a short pamphlet documenting the zoning of

A NATIONAL ISSUE

their area for toxic development. The Alliance for Safety and Health had also produced a detailed leaflet against the Centre and the plans for extending landfill sites across the country.

As the meeting closed, despite attempts by the Committee of the AATG to block it, it was agreed that a mass protest be organised to coincide with the delegation to the Minister. Local meetings are to take place as a build-up to that protest. Already plans are underway for a meeting in Clondalkin on May 13th in Rowlagh Community Centre in Clondalkin, organised by the Action Group. Clearly, members of the committee would have been happier to keep direct control over the process and report back in the future rather than develop a process of mass agitation. These contradictions will appear again in future meetings and planning and will be a subject of debate at the National Anti-Toxic Meeting planned for Dublin on June 6th.

STATE STRATEGY

It is likely that the decision by the Dept of Environment to locate a Toxic Centre in this area is a decision on which the State is going to make a stand. They have been forced to retreat in the past in other communities and this time have refined their strategy and chosen well their location. The Baldonnell site is located strategically between the two major zones of toxic production in 26 Counties: Cork and West Dublin. It is outside the concentrated communities of working class anger such as Finglas. And they have attempted to diffuse potential opposition by arguing that this will not be a dump but only "a warehouse-storage area" and thus is not dangerous. To add to this they have attempted to give the impression that all the dangerous waste will be exported.

This is nonsense. Their only statements issued on Baldonnell say that between 1,500 and 4,500 tonnes of toxic waste will be stored and later exported (where necessary) in Baldonnell. Yet all previous documentation from Co Councils and Semi-State Bodies such as the Institute for Industrial Research and Standards put the quantity of toxic waste at a figure of 25,000 tonnes annually. The real story here is that the State can only export certain types of toxic wastes - generally those that can be recycled. The rest will have to be held in this country, and the only part of the Baldonnell Announcement dealing with this says that Local Authority tipheads have to be upgraded to receive industrial and domestic wastes remaining in Ireland. So besides the storage of lethal chemicals in warehouses in Baldonnell other hazardous wastes is destined for tipheads all over Ireland. Not only are West Dublin communities threatened by the transportation



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ONCE EVERY SO OFTEN REBEL PRINTS AN ARTICLE WHICH BECOMES THE FOCUS OF CONTROVERSY AND DEBATE. THE PIECE ENTITLED ' THE HEROIN CYCLE ' WHICH APPEARED IN REBEL 51 WAS MORE CONTROVERSIAL THAN MOST . A LOT OF COMRADES AND READERS MADE SURE THAT THE EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE GOT TO KNOW OF THEIR VIEWS ON THIS ARTICLE.....SOME CALLED IT 'DISGUSTING AND DESTRUCTIVE ' - OTHERS CONGRATULATED US FOR PRINTING IT . MORE ARGUED THAT IT WAS ' INCOMPREHENSIBLE ' ...A FEW SAID THAT THE BODY OF THE ARTICLE WAS O.K. BUT THAT THE POLITICAL PROPOSALS AT THE END WERE ' UNACCEPTABLE ' .

BELOW WE PRINT TWO RESPONSES TO THE ARTICLE . THE FIRST , ENTITLED ' THE GREAT OPIUM WAR ' ATTACKS THE QUESTION FROM ANOTHER ANGLE ; THE SECOND WRITTEN BY AN RS COMRADE FROM CORK TAKES UP THE DEBATE ON HEROIN AND ADVANCES A FEW INTERESTING POINTS.

Great Opium War

Most of the heroin used in the West originates from the area known as the *Golden Triangle* in the territory where the borders of Thailand, Burma and Laos converge. The area is dominated by high mountains where powerful opium warlords control production of the drug.

The biggest warlord of them all is *Khun Sa* who is said to have over 2,000 men on his payroll. His fortified H.Q.'s in the bordertown of *Ban Hin Tack* are said to be ultra-modern with tennis courts, football field, shops stacked with goodies, swimming pools etc.

Khun Sa has worked quite closely with a number of right-wing Chinese Generals who fled the country after the revolution. He has also enjoyed full cooperation from the C.I.A. and the *Thai Government* who have used his troops against the guerrillas of *Pathet Lao* and the Burmese and Thai Communist Parties.

At the time of Carter's Presidency in the U.S., it was rumoured that the U.S. wanted to make a deal with *Khun Sa* offering to buy most of the 600 tons of opium harvested in the area and controlled by *Khun Sa's* gunmen. The deal fell through because the U.S. were not able to

supply the funds that were needed - as the Drug Enforcement Agency Officials put it :

Khun Sa's ability to produce opium is far greater than the U.S capacity to buy it.

In this context, it is perhaps surprising to note that in the last few months, *Khun Sa's* fortunes seem to have gone down. The Thailand Government has suddenly offered \$25,000 reward for the opium warlord's head. A crack team of rangers who were sent to catch him got wiped out in an ambush...and last week over 800 regular Thai soldiers, supported by artillery and aircraft attacked *Khun Sa's* H.Q.... after three days of battle, they entered *Ban Hin Tack* but captured nobody because they had all fled to neighbouring Thai.

Word has it that this remarkable change of policy by the Bangkok Government, going to war on its old friends so to speak, is due to some contacts *Khun Sa* is said to have established with the communists locally, who are giving him opium in exchange for rice. Whatever the real cause may be, *Khun Sa* has declared to his friends that the opium flow will not be disrupted. So no need for alarm yet!!!

DEAR REBEL, 5

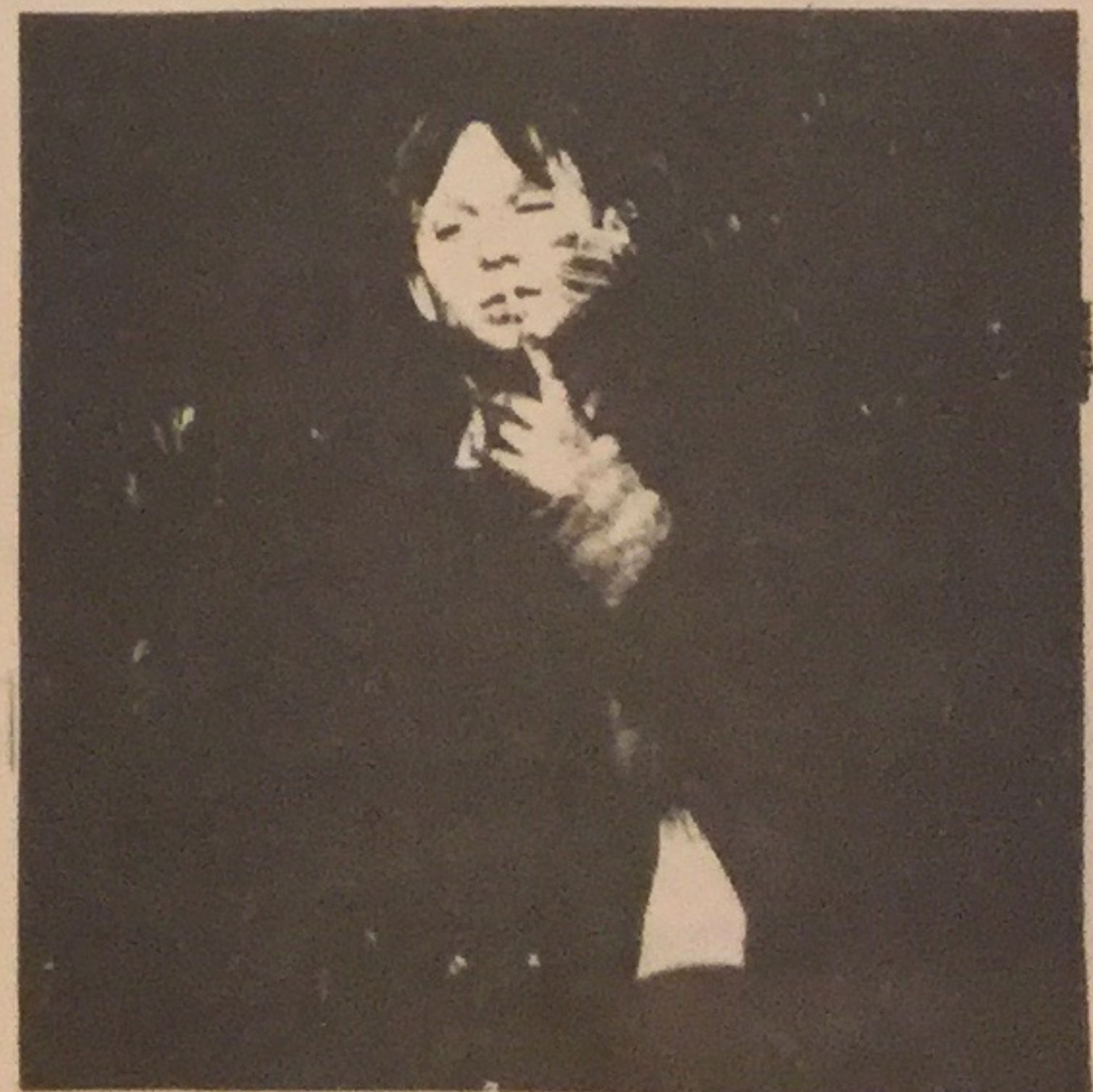
The 'Heroin Cycle' provoked a lot of discussion in Cork. The question of heroin is something that confronts us in this country more and more ; both personally as we see friends , lovers and relations engage in the cycle...as well as political ly as we see heroin use become a *mass phenomenon* . The question we have to confront is whether this mass practice is in fact revolutionary, capable of overthrowing capital and creating a new society.

The 'Heroin Cycle' opened with a look at drug use in pre-capitalist society; it identified it as a *collective activity integrated into society*. Drug use in pre-capitalist societies, the article argued, was based on the possibility of desiring the non-return from the trip...what it called " *a happy death desire* " . In fact, I think, drug use in pre capitalist society was based on RELIGION - which was not religion as we know it today. Drug use in pre-capitalist societies was very strictly controlled and required *initiation and qualification*. ' Eating the gods ' was a highly specialist activity, reserved for ' priests ' who then translated their ' higher insight to wisdom...either prophetic , like foreseeing the future, or philosophical , like defining 'correct' conduct of relationship inside the community and also between the community and gods/ nature.

We must, of course, remember here that pagan gods are not the same as 'modern' gods. The most important difference here is that pagan gods were *part of society*, with rights, demands and duties. They had love affairs and a high profile...they were most certainly not seen as an 'escape ' to a better place like heaven. The latter type gods are Christian.

The article, correctly in my opinion, identifies this latter day desire for escape, some call it release, as the present-day basis of heroin use . It argues that in capitalist society drugs are not *allowed* to be an extension of reality. Instead, they are treated as if they were a NEGATION of reality. Be that as it may, I think that our struggle for a communist society,

Continued on p. 6





but where in the article is the young proletarian desire for control of her or his own life. Where is the option of effective organised rebellion ?

Finally, the article does not clarify the techniques of 'cure' used by the authors (to what extent are they different from the techniques used by the state) Nor are their reasons for setting up a rehabilitation centre are made explicit. Perhaps, if 1000s of Irish comrades were using heroin, the option of rehabilitation, as a task for revolutionaries, would appear as viable.

My immediate reaction, in the present Irish circumstances, is not that sympathetic however .

What does appear as a R E A L option today, and dare I hope as an option that goes some way to avoiding heroin use becoming even more prevalent here, is to put forward and argue, to prove in practice, the possibility of taking control of our own lives . I do not think that heroin can ever be a *safe drug*.. (in pre-capitalist society, the drug under its present form was unknown)...neither do I see myself, as a member of a vanguard organisation antagonistic to capital and state, as having the right to decide this question, one way or the other, for anyone other than myself. I will, however debate it.

The laying off Cadbury's in Cool (Dublin) is over a week. We spoke to 39 workers in dis a good insight in and related matte

For the past 3 and WUI negotiate ments for all exc and fitters, who agreement. 20 odd their helpers, now were all in these except two who we Of this pair, one representative fo of negotiations b small membership, these negotiations Few workers were these agreements complex and legal understood and pro mentation led to agreed increases. most recent expi '81, the workers increase i.e. 3% b ated inflation rat came up with the t complicated type d ed to mislead - 8% activity deal + £2 bonus provided the full attendance re of the offer, whic could be lost for to illness, provok the workers we spo

The Unions reco production workers accept it on the that they would g increases if trans won a better deal rejected the offer their representat for a better deal reluctant to do s put obstacles in port workers sugg demands. Confiden ingness of many t representatives to f workers interests the workforce. Se ards were describ more than two gen sorting things o ment and rumours Officials in the getting an *indus* bonus were under and WUI reaction workers demands.

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6 surely, cannot be based on mysticism, drug inspired or otherwise. Neither can a communist society be a utopia where drugs are restored into their ' correct ' place

and that people can and do decide on this basis. I think that this is a crucial question worthy of discussion.

Medically, physiologically, heroin is a pain-killer and that is its use. It kills psychological pain and the question asked usually by its users is not 'how much can be got out of heroin' but how much use can be got away with . People do know the physical effects of heroin . They are conscious of the price. Heroin use is a choice - a decision.

Unemployment though, rejection by the system, is not a choice. But the options for people are not restricted to being a *good* employed citizen or an *unhappy* unemployed one - as the article seems to imply. The desire for freedom and escape is part of both of these options....

The article confused me in this respect. I don't know what role heroin can play in this or in any future society. There is the question of 'ultimate acceptability' , rather like nuclear power, new technology etc. Millions of people have decided that nuclear power is not acceptable....that free access and popular control do not make it safe. Opiates, the category of drugs, to which heroin belongs, exist in many forms - each with a different physical and psychological effect. The article discussed heroin *in-itself*, so to speak, as if this did not matter. I believe that it DOES matter



The recent hysteria in the press supposedly quoting top ranking members of the cops and sections of the establishment is I think, a reflection of how the cops are losing in their war against working class criminals. The cops are looking for changes in the law to make it easier for them to detain people for heavier interrogations....the long established *right to remain silent* is now being qualified.

This whole campaign is geared to bring about a wholesale change in public opinion to make it easier for the state to introduce more repressive legislation. That's now they did it when they introduced the Special Criminal Court back ten years ago when they couldn't convict people for lack of evidence. Now the word of a senior cop is enough to send you down for years...and still they complain.

Then, there is the *Offences Against the State Act* and its Section 30. This Act is used against political organisations for gathering information and intelligence....but now it is being used against 'ordinary' criminals.

Contrary to what is being said in the press, I think, the cops have too much power...what they haven't got is EVIDENCE to convict people suspected of having committed crimes. If the law changes further to give more power to the cops, that power will not be used against the well-organised criminals but against the most deprived sections of the society...working people who have been expelled from production and are existing on the dole supplemented by small crime and thousands more who will never take part in production.

Repression is their only answer to unemployment...repression for all those who refuse to accept the shit the state dishes out. Crime is one of the very few options remaining for an increasing number of people. Especially those who want to consume the benefits capital is supposed to be offering.

I think political organisations have the responsibility of organising crime politically..... they should get rid of its *individual nature* and socialise it. Crime should not be directed against working class people -

that creates more divisions among ourselves. Recent attempts to set up vigilante groups etc only strengthens the hand of the cops.

Crime is the reflection of capital's inability to meet the needs of a vast number of people. To that extent it must become a conscious strategy of those outside production as absenteeism/sabotage are for those inside production. The needs of the working people are directly opposed to the needs of capital and state.

I am writing this letter to Rebel because most of the political parties of the left have fuck all to offer to people like us but the same old slogan about the 'right to work'why do they have nothing to say about *the right to re-appropriate* ?

Robin Hood
Gardiner St.
Hatch 36



Cadbury's

The laying off of 1300 at Cadbury's in Coolock (North Dublin) is over after its sixth week. We spoke to some of the 39 workers in dispute who gave us a good insight into the dispute and related matters.

For the past 3/4 years, ATGWU and WUI negotiated house agreements for all except electricians and fitters, who have their own agreement. 20 odd drivers and their helpers, now in dispute were all in these trade unions except two who were in AGEMOU. Of this pair, one was the AGEMOU representative for the purposes of negotiations but with such small membership, AGEMOU clout in these negotiations was limited. Few workers were satisfied with these agreements - they were too complex and legalistic to be understood and problems in implementation led to delays in paying agreed increases. So when the most recent expired in November '81, the workers sought a 25% increase i.e. 3% below the estimated inflation rate. Management came up with the typically complicated type of offer, designed to mislead - 8% + £3p.w. productivity deal + £200 Christmas bonus provided the worker had a *full attendance* record. This part of the offer, which apparently could be lost for days off due to illness, provoked scorn among the workers we spoke to.

The Unions recommended it - production workers voted to accept it on the understanding that they would get pro rata increases if transport workers won a better deal. Transport rejected the offer and instructed their representatives to go back for a better deal. They were reluctant to do so and constantly put obstacles in the way of transport workers suggestions and demands. Confidence in the willingness of many trade union representatives to fight for the workers interests is low among the workforce. Senior shop stewards were described as *little more than two general foremen, sorting things out for management* and rumours that Union Officials in the factory are getting an *industrial peace* bonus were underlined by ATGWU and WUI reaction to transport workers demands.

Hence in December 81 most of the transport workers changed to AGEMOU, and this is where the addition of AGEMOU to earlier house agreements became important - albeit by accident. Having recognised AGEMOU for earlier negotiations management couldn't pull the *non-recognition* trick. In January, Keating (Deputy

General Secretary of AGEMOU met twice with Cadbury's management seeking a 22% cost-of-living-indexed rise. When management refused to move from their 8% offer the transport section voted to work-to-rule i.e. working a normal day until 5p.m. When informed of this decision management opted for confrontation *you work normally or you don't work at all* and refused to release the ignition keys to the workers. For two weeks, from the beginning of March, this continued with the drivers reporting for work each morning.

During that period several attempts were made to break the strike - the Rathmore (Kerry) factory started drawing more produce than usual from the Dublin factory - which was being used to supply the country areas. The Rathmore drivers agreed to the Coolock drivers' request to discontinue. Next the Pandoro haulage company arrived with several trailers, which they began to load. Management said that this stuff was for England, but as B & I handle all produce for England, the workers suspected that Pandoro was being used to supply the country. When management refused to stop loading the workers carried out their threat to put a picket on the gate - which lasted for 7 weeks. Though the picket was made official within 3 days of being placed, management has consistently tried to discredit the workers and their Union with talk of *unofficial* and *communist T.U.* etc. ATGWU and WUI seemed eager to give the

same impression - saying that AGEMOU was not a member of ICTU. In fact, although AGEMOU is not a member of Congress, it is affiliated - a common enough arrangement. Despite these efforts and the ultimate isolating tactic of *protective notice* a strong solidarity existed between the workers in dispute and those in production.

Since April 5th, all workers had been laid off and for a few weeks the dispute was shunted from conciliation to the Labour Court and back again. An offer made on April 21st was considered so derisory that the workers didn't even vote on it. Since then Cadbury's management has increased the attempts to isolate the workers in dispute - this dispute, they say, has so seriously disrupted overseas orders that job losses are inevitable, even though such losses are probably part of the glorious "5 year plan".

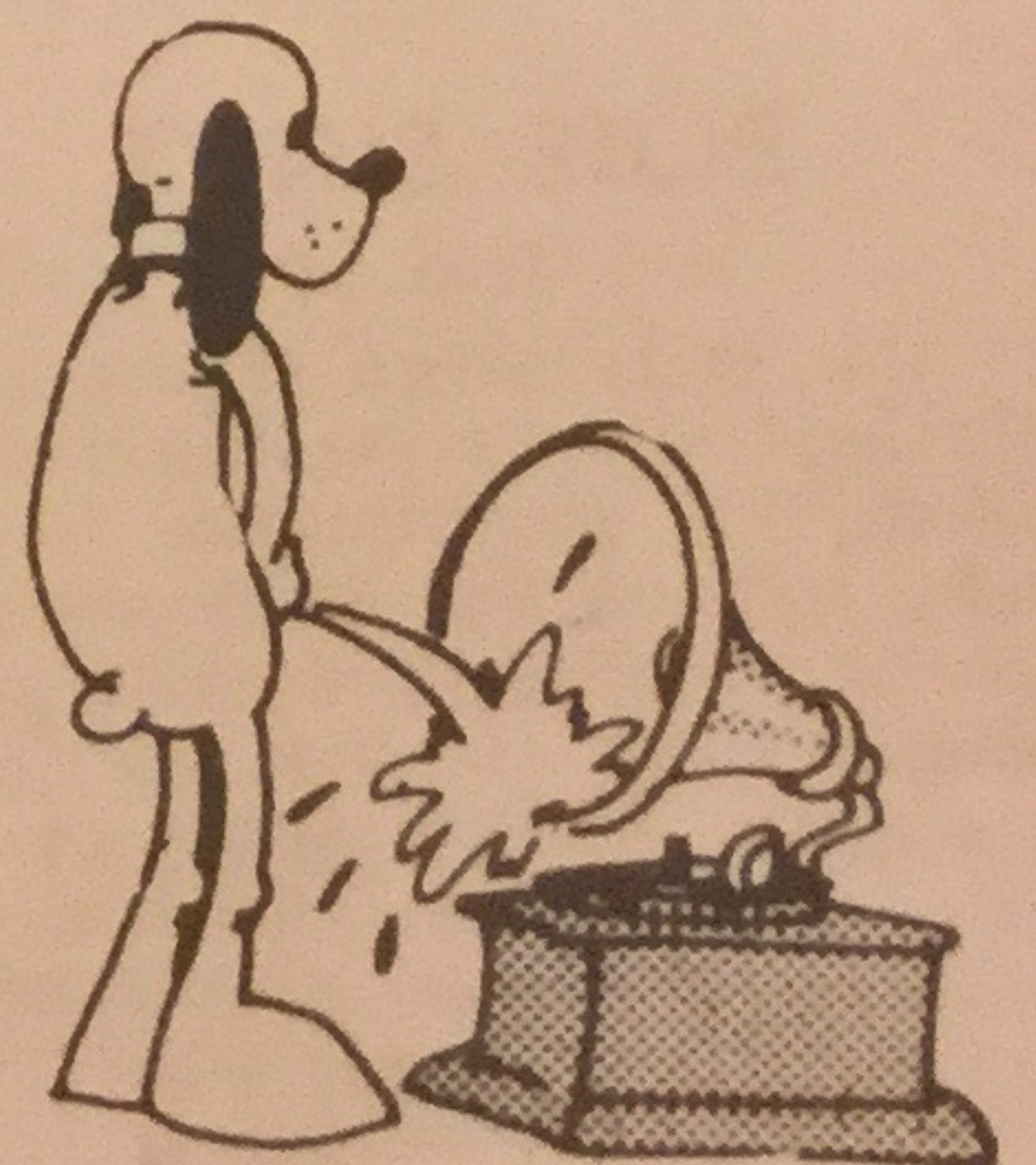
In the meantime, the transport workers have had to survive without wages for the past 8 weeks, the production workers for 4 weeks, while Cadbury's does its bit to keep wages at subsistence level and below it where possible. It is worth noting that in 1981 Cadbury-Schweppes increased pre-tax profits from £61.3m to £80.6m - an increase of 31.5%; inflation is running at 28%, Cadbury's workers were offered 8% and to force them to accept Cadbury's threatened to close down the whole plant permanently.

STAR BAR

The Cork Council of Trades Unions meeting last week to discuss the MAYDAY March decided in their wisdom that unemployment was to be the theme of the march. So far so good. A motion was put forward that an unemployed person should address the march - unemployment in Cork at present is running at 16% of the workforce.

The Executive, incredibly, torpedoed the idea because - wait for it - there wasn't an unemployed Association in Cork and they DIDN'T KNOW WHO TO ASK. The brains behind the decision, local ITGWU hack and would-be T.D. Joe O' Callaghan ended up addressing the march himself.

Could it be that the Transport Union was scared in case the voice of the unemployed in Cork would criticise the ONE BIG UNION who have done nothing at all for the unemployed?



Gases Dispute

IRISH INDUSTRIAL GASES (IIG) a subsidiary of a British firm, which has a virtual monopoly in supplying gases to industry and hospitals, was the scene of a dispute recently over pay. The workers, members of the I T G W U, Branches 14 and 2, representing drivers, general workers and clerical staff were out on a 25% pay claim.

The Company was offering an 18% increase over 15 months, i.e. 10% from Dec.'81-Sept.'82 and 8% from Dec.'82 - March '83. This was conditional on the Union accepting reduced shifts, closure of the Nitrous Oxide production plant (the only one in this country), the introduction of computerisation for the clerical staff, productivity agreements and a no-strike clause. BRITISH OXYGEN CORPORATION, of which I I G is a subsidiary, reaped a profit of £900,000 in the year ending Oct.1981 from the company, along with a further £600,000 by disposing of shares in ERGAS; notwithstanding all this, it still tries to put into operation a whole series of rationalisation plans for its Irish operations.

There have already been 40 redundancies, leaving 270 employed in Dublin. 'Modernisation' of clerical activities threatens further job losses, while asset stripping is related to over-capacity of plants in the U.K. and is forcing decisions like the planned closure of the Nitrous Oxide plant. Similar to the CHLORIDE plant next door, there have been a series of changes at Management level with tighter control from the British base.

Workers at the plant told Rebel that though money would solve the immediate problem, the strike action which went ahead without going through the proper procedures is due to a more general level of dissatisfaction which has been building over the last two years. Safety and health is not an issue in the plant yet, though many of the gases used are hazardous.

The workers on strike expected that the Union would urge them to accept the 18% and this is in fact what happened. However, there is a possibility of renewed action from clerical staff in the near future.

BLUE SHIRT

The Ballyfermot Blueshirt Jim Mitchell was canvassing in the South West constituency in Kelly's Pub, touting for votes when he was confronted by a group of people about the P.R.S.I. and slagged about his State car. Two brachmen stood at the door keeping a watchful eye on the ex-Minister.

New Cadres

Miss Foy, a chief psychologist with the County Dublin Vocational Educational Committee speaking at the Teachers Union of Ireland recent Seminar, said that a special squad, similar to the drug squad, is needed to combat the male youth gangsters on the streets of Dublin.

Miss Foy said the new squad would be made up of new cadres of Lugs Brannigans. They would need to be trained in the cultures, cultures and ways of the Street Corner Gangs, so that they would eventually succeed in breaking their code, in outsmarting them and out toughing them and in breaking up their structures. She said, having done this, it would then be necessary to give these youngsters a change: by removing them to an environment in which they would receive sufficient stimulus yet be controlled by experienced people who could wean them off their learned behaviours



and attitudes and provide them with a means to return to the outside world, be self sufficient and independent.

Gangs - watch out for Miss Foy, penetrating your ranks. She is hell-bent on the manipulation of human lives using systems tried and tested on laboratory animals!!!

Continued from p. 4

and concentration of lethal substances in their areas, but other communities will also face dangers from toxic wastes. The worrying part of this, is that the national newspapers and many others have swallowed the "doctored" State figures hook, line and sinker and paid little attention to the future plans for tip-heads.

One effect of this strategy by the State is division and confusion in Finglas where the battle against the Dunsink dump has been going on for over a year. The West Finglas Tenants Association, influenced by Sinn Fein-Workers Party have welcomed the Minister's proposals arguing that the problems for Finglas have been resolved. The Finglas Anti-Toxic Group, on the other hand, has rejected the new moves by the Dept of Environment realising the implications both for West Dublin and also for their own area. Organisation in Finglas against the plans is all the more difficult now and the confusion in the community will continue for some time.

Another important aspect of the new State proposals is that they are proposals which were developed by Fianna Fail when they were in Government. Although Peter Barry was the Minister who made the announcement, it is in fact almost identical to the proposals contained in a document produced when Raphael Burke was Minister of Environment in April '81. So while Fianna Fail politicians are pretending in West Dublin that it is not Party policy, REBEL has the documents which prove that Fianna Fail are the real authors of this plan. It is in fact a Bi-Party strategy.

Over the past few months, the West Dublin area has been the target not just of the proposal for the toxic centre but also for a series of manoeuvres concerning land rezoning. A complex of chemical companies (owned by the Coyle Group from Galway and Cement Roadstone) under the name of RATHCOOLE PRODUCTS have applied for rezoning of land in Newcastle from agricultural to industrial use. Rathcoole Products is the name of a mushroom farm in Newcastle with a director by the name of Con McCarthy who is acting as a front for these companies. Despite local opposition, they have managed to push their proposal through the Co. Council and it is going on display next month. The battle on this is hotting up as the Newcastle Action Group are just publishing a newsletter on the issue and organising opposition to the plan. The Action Group had a bitter break-up with the Newcastle Residents Association over the rezoning question. They are fully opposed to the plans of the companies while the residents' group backed the plans on the basis of 'jobs'. The Action Group argues that the plans are for toxic jobs and will be of no benefit to the community.

The battle for Dublin West is stepping up. The State was not expecting the immediate and angry response from local people to its new plans. The community organisations are moving fast - despite many contradictions. The viewpoints of different local groups will come to the forefront over the next few weeks as the debate moves to a higher level. The issue is no longer who is against the Centre, but rather HOW TO FIGHT IT! The State will not beat an easy retreat. THEY HAVE NO WHERE ELSE TO GO! Confrontation is on the agenda.

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Power



polish spring

" The winter is yours but
the spring will be ours..."
This is the slogan that was
advanced last December when the
Police and Military of the
Polish State tried to smash the
growing movement of SOLIDARITY.
Despite the severe blow that
the Polish working class received,
they have recently shown that they
are not by any means beaten - as
some 'Lefties' had wished or hoped.

On MAYDAY, the underground
movement chose to show its mass
appeal. SOLIDARITY, though
hounded by the repressive forces,
still retains the support of the
Polish working people. While only
a handful of people took part in
an 'official' MAYDAY parade, in
another part of the Polish capital
Warsaw, over 50,000 workers
turned up with red flags to
support SOLIDARITY. This was the
first time the people had come
out to the open and defied the
State since last December.

The following day, the
underground leadership of
SOLIDARITY called another march.
Thousands turned up again, but
this time, the cops and the
Army were not taken by surprise.
They turned their batons, and
water cannons onto the people....
The curfew suspended was
immediately reimposed.

The cold winter of silence
is over....the spring of
resistance is with us.

Power to the Polish workers!



Classified

STICKIES

Now that the Stickies have
changed their name in what is
now nearly a yearly tradition,
could Rebel readers suggest
what they should call themselves
next. Send your suggestions to
Rebel and the winner will receive
a copy of the latest issue of
Magill.

* * *

The QUAY CO-OP, a Resource
Centre, opened in Cork, at
Sullivan's Quay, on Sunday
May 2nd. The Co-op has meeting
rooms, an alternative bookshop
which will stock Rebel as well
as other hard-to-get literature
and an eating place.

BEST OF LUCK WITH IT,
comrades!

The SUNDAY WORLD of May 2nd
produced this 'Shock Horror
Exclusive' on their front page:
Entitled 'Night Raid on Glue
Sniffing Party', the article
told its readers that the raiders
were led by the Louth Sinn Fein
Councillor Fra Browne. One
supposes that this is one cheap
way a politician gets free
publicity by terrorising
working class youth.

By the way, this is the same
Fra Browne who in the last
General Election ran an
abstentionist ticket with the
explanation that he was doing
so to save £20,000 for the
sick Free State economy!

And there are still some
well meaning people who
believe that Republican politics
can be somehow reconciled
with revolutionary socialism.

Work

She types, she types, she types
Click, click, tip goes the
typewriter
What a wonderful world
How soothing is the sound of
the typewriter
Tip, tip, click does it go.

Seven in the morning the letters
come flying
The white pigeons of the office
Time drags
Rushing steps are heard in
the corridor
Not a minute of the precious
working time must be wasted
Money, money, money turns
the world.

Grey faced men hunched over
their office desks
Tightly gripped pens scribble
away on sheets of paper
The air is stuffy and heavy
Air conditioners blowing in
every room drowning the sound
of the typewriter
Click, click, tip does it go

' We don't have lunch breaks
at this office' says the boss
' Germans don't eat lunch'
This hard working race
Fatherland is proud of you

Working minutes must not be
wasted
Lists must be written
Everything which is typed by
our typewriters must be filed
in the Master File
the record of our sweat, energy
and our agile fingers and
rushing feet

The white neon lights continue
to blaze brightly as the office
sun
No corners are left in the
dark
The Master File is witness to
it all

Ring ring goes the bell
in the small hot kitchen
Nescafe is served with
Coffee Mate - no less!
Sedique rushes around
nervously
The hardworking staff must
be thirsty

SIEMENS needs you all
SIEMENS is just about to
turn the nights of this desert
into a sea of light
More sub-stations are
needed
We must work harder

There outside my window lies
the desert, thirsting under
the scorching Eastern sun
waiting for its turn to be
fertilised by these agile
humans.

by Dion G.

(Continued from p.3)



NORTHERN IRELAND A FRAMEWORK FOR DEVOLUTION

of the Third Force, Paisley's Carson Trail and the Day of Action....so this time round the Assembly will not be a focus of Loyalist wrath.

Attitudes

The attitude of the various political Parties in the 6 Cos has also undergone some significant changes since Sunningdale. On the Loyalist side, last time round there were deep divisions between those who tried to wreck the Assembly from the outset and Faulkner's Unionists who tried to make a go of power sharing. This time, with that centrist unionist wing totally eclipsed, it looks like Unionists have a more unified approach to the White Paper. While promising to block any move towards relations with the Free State, they are, nevertheless, eager to work with the Assembly and get as much devolved power as possible.

In this context, it would be interesting to dwell for a second on the role of this 'Presiding Officer' mentioned earlier. This post seems to have been borrowed from the *Independent Ulster* scheme developed by the UDA's political wing in their pamphlet 'Beyond the Religious Divide'. Here they advocate an American style 'House of Representatives' with a Speaker who would appoint Committees, Chairpeople etc. So, this 'Presiding Officer' is the Brit's attempt to placate even some of the most extreme Loyalist opinions.

On the nationalist side, the SDLP was for the idea in 1973; this time around, the Party is in a bit of a quandary and have not yet decided whether they're going to stand for elections or not. The Provisional Movement, on the other hand, which boycotted the whole business ten years ago, has now announced that while intent to wreck the Assembly, they are nevertheless taking part in the elections on an abstentionist ticket. P.D. which also boycotted the scene in 1973/74, will probably try to get elected and be the left-opposition inside it.

Alliance and the Republican Clubs have welcomed the proposals - for them they're the only way that they can try to secure a place in the sun.

Disengagement

By developing the process of Anglo-Irish links parallel but as yet SEPARATE to establishing a

measure of devolved power for N.I. politicians, the British are slowly implementing *the politics of disengagement*. On the security and economic fronts disengagement has been going on for some time. This time round, in sharp contrast to 1973/74, it is the anti-imperialist resistance which is seen as the main stumbling block to be knocked over.

On the military front, despite the setbacks and some serious tactical errors of judgement, the Provisionals are strong...and the fact that these elections have been timed to coincide with the anniversaries of the H Block deaths should ensure even greater hostility to this latest British 'initiative'.

We Say

Our attitude is that this initiative is part of the *normalisation process* necessary to the establishment of parliamentary democracy in the 6 Cos. At the same time, international capital is trying to integrate its structures North and South. The interests of the working people all over Ireland are very much subordinate in these plans.. Strong capitalist government for the whole country, unified, and part of the NATO ALLIANCE - cost-effective and capable of dealing with dissent....these are the clear objectives of bourgeois unification.

These elections are to strengthen capital and the State. They are NOT and should not be seen to be a vehicle for the anti-imperialist movement.

We see as our tasks

To organise and fight for the needs of the low-paid, the unemployed, women, prisoners and all those oppressed and criminalised by capital.

To continue, support and extend military resistance against imperialism and its allies.



REBEL NO. 45 FEARS
GENERAL EFFECTS
MENT, THIS ARTICLE
STATE OF AFFAIRS
AFTER ONE YEAR OF

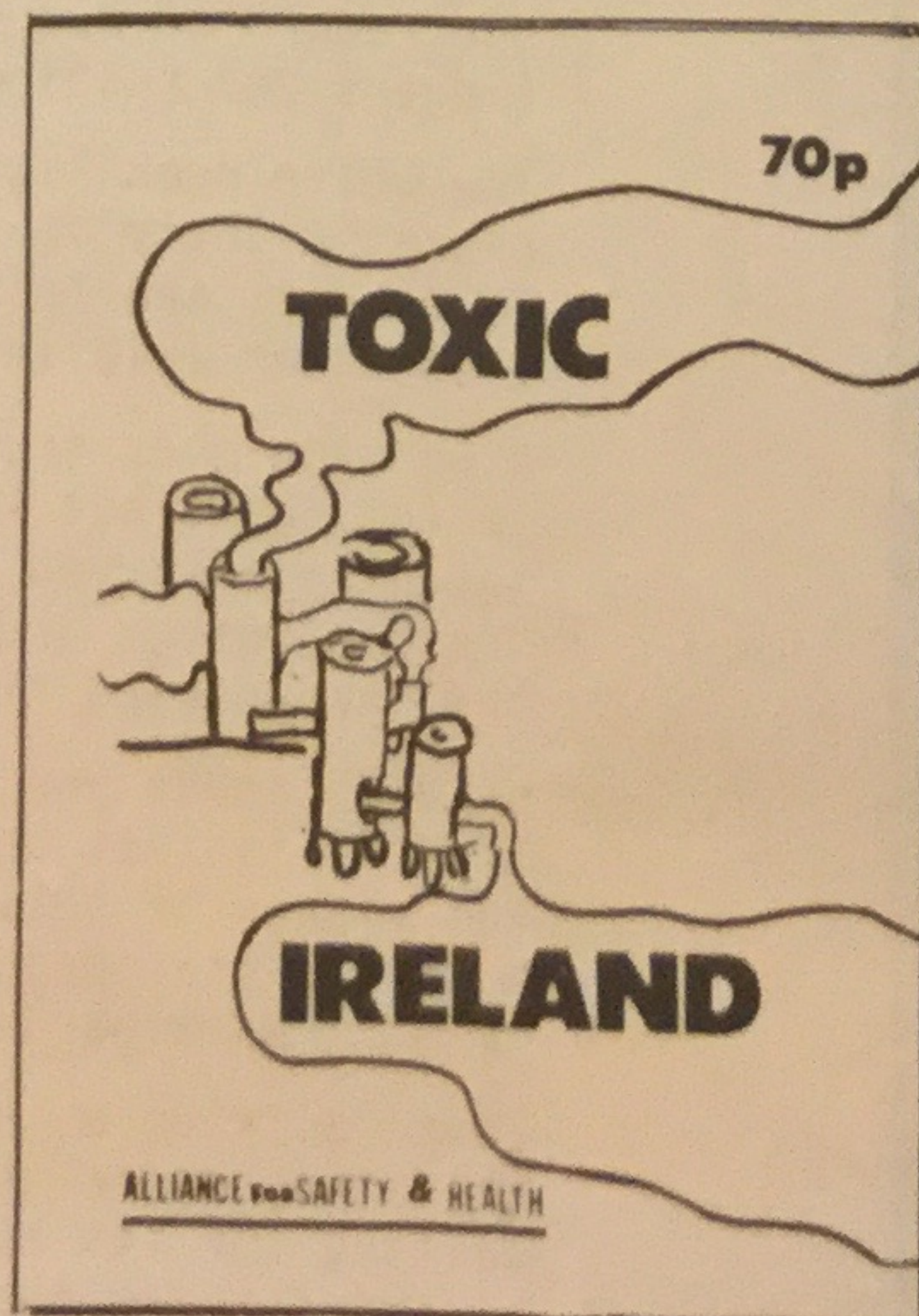
Nuclear

Mitterand was not with the voters. Socialists and anti-nuclearists tried to "freeze" the work was in progress generating and re-plants and to have a debate on energy. er to shift the focus from nuclear. The took place with the elements by experts in Parliament. The conclusion of the proposed development would be the number of installations to be installed. popular resistance strongest, was the victory; its cause had been a clear election.

On the military Socialist/Communist movement did not stop experiments in the spite of renewed the Australian and Governments and by the French on Earth. Moreover, been taken to equip Army with neutron build new strategic marines. Charles Socialist Ministers placates the military movement, had already "HERNUCLAIRE" which ition spokesman others.

Ecologists scribbled and the "soft energy trade union CFDT, the Socialist Party Quiles and others this conclusion.

Then came the at local level, o In many places, S and Councillors w the elections, be in delaying nucle and had even take ent resistance-tu



Publications

TOXIC IRELAND is the title of a new pamphlet produced by the ALLIANCE FOR SAFETY and HEALTH (ASH). This 50-page pamphlet examines all the aspects of the toxic cycle in the 26 Counties: production-waste-transportation and waste. It also contains accounts of the growing opposition to toxic industry in the communities and workplaces.

Price £1.00 (including postage) from ASH, Box 1240, Hamilton St. Dublin 8. IRELAND.



REBEL NO. 45 FEATURED A LONG INTERVIEW WITH FRENCH COMRADES ON THE GENERAL EFFECTS AND IMPLICATIONS, OF THE MITTERAND SOCIALIST GOVERNMENT. THIS ARTICLE, WRITTEN BY ONE OF THOSE COMRADES DESCRIBES THE STATE OF AFFAIRS WITHIN THE FRENCH ANTI-NUCLEAR STRUGGLE DURING AND AFTER ONE YEAR OF SOCIAL DEMOCRATIC GOVERNMENT.

Nuclear Social Democracy

Mitterand was elected President with the votes of environmentalists and anti-nukes who promised to "freeze" the sites where work was in progress on nuclear generating and reprocessing plants and to have a national debate on energy matters in order to shift the emphasis away from nuclear energy. The debate took place with the usual arguments by experts in both sides in Parliament and in the Media. The conclusion was that all of the proposed sites of nuclear development would go ahead but the number of installed reactors to be installed. PLOGOFF, where popular resistance had been strongest, was the exceptional victory; its cancellation had been a clear electoral promise.

On the military side, the Socialist/Communist Party Government did not stop the nuclear experiments in the Pacific in spite of renewed protests from the Australian and New Zealand Governments and of wild sailings by the French Friends of the Earth. Moreover, the decision has been taken to equip the French Army with neutron bombs and to build new strategic nuclear submarines. Charles Hernu, who as a Socialist Minister of Defence placates the military establishment, had already been nicknamed "HERNUCLAIRE" when he was opposition spokesman on Defence Matters.

Ecologists screamed betrayal and the "soft energy lobby" - the trade union CFDT, a fraction of the Socialist Party led by Paul Quiles and others - criticised this conclusion.

Then came the implementation, at local level, of the new plans. In many places, Socialist Mayors and Councillors who had, before the elections, been instrumental in delaying nuclear developments and had even taken part in violent resistance-turned-coat. It

seems that they were blackmailed by State threats of holding out on grants and working against their reelection. In the debate that followed the elections they turned and gave the classical pro nuclear arguments about nuclear - boosting the economy and fighting unemployment. Ecologists and local people who had worked with and/or supported such politicians were conned and thus heavily disappointed. Work resumed on the frozen sites in many areas and work on other nuclear projects, thought by local people to have been abandoned, resurfaced. There are three major examples:

1. Five years ago there were major clashes about a proposed power station in LE PELLERIN, near the Breton City of Nantes. Now, despite opposition by the Socialist Mayor of Nantes, a new site is being proposed nearby at LE CARNET. The State, especially under Communist Party (CP) pressure, want one nuke in Brittany after the PLOGOFF rebuff. The reason for the slight shift - from Le Pellerin to Le Carnet - is because of the French Air Force who do not want a nuke near their base at Le Pellerin for fear of an Eastern missile attack

2. The Semi-State Company COGEMA, which is in control of the whole nuclear fuel cycle, reopened the file of a project for nuclear waste storage in a disused uranium mine in St. Priest Laprugue in The Centre Mountains. Local people mobilised and demonstrated massively and many scientists also opposed it, so the State had no choice but to drop the project again.

3. Mitterand promised that uranium mining would not take place in areas where local people and councils opposed it, and where, in any case, the environment should be preserved. Uranium pro-

specting appears to have stopped in the Alpes-Maritime (but for how long?) The State has already granted a new prospecting licence nearby in the Esterel Mountains close to the French Riviera.

Manoeuvres and manipulations like the above, and the general strategy of the Socialist/CP Government i.e. the game of give and take and pretended incoherence and clumsiness combined with a big stick policy when necessary, is generating anger and frustration and a significant increase in the level of violent resistance to their plans.

* CNAN - the French National Anti Nuclear Coordination has stated that they would not condemn violent actions since any hopes of stopping the nuclear programme have been dashed.

* In Cherbourg, opposition to the use and extension of the Le Hague plant for re-processing French and foreign nuclear waste continues periodically with renewed strength. Following militant protest which blocked unloading facilities in the port, the new regime used the naval base facilities, something the previous regime never dared to do. Subsequently, even the pro-nuclear CP trade union joined the protest.

* In South West work resumed after a considerable delay caused by last years sabotage. The scenes which followed were reminiscent of the 6 Cos with violent clashes against the cops, bomb attacks and shots were fired. The paratroops were brought in and a 60 year old man along with some youths were kept standing naked all night. The HEAVY GANG.

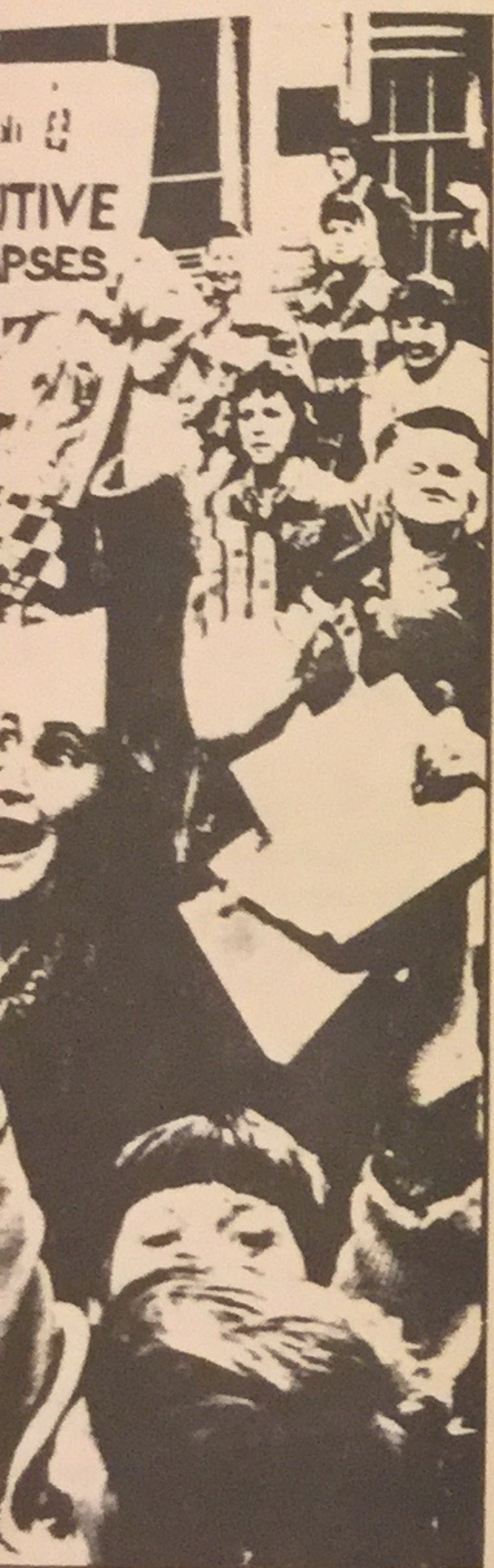
* The village of CHOOZ near the Belgian border is to have a second nuke and here is another hotspot as the public enquiry has been disrupted and the State has retaliated violently.

* In Greys, Malville, in the East of France, the first ever military attack - 5 rockets from an RPG 7 was launched in January against the fast breeder reactor being built there, damaging the concrete mantel. A group calling themselves PACIFIST - ECOLOGISTS claimed responsibility

When the right were in power, the French Anti-Nuclear Movement could slow down and even halt the nuclear plans in alliance with the T.U.'s and the left in general. With the latter in power the rank and file militants feel naked and desperate, some turning to guns and explosives and running the risk of marginalisation, given the tradition of conventional forms of struggle in the Movement. There are lessons to be learned from what has happened in France - the Anti-Nuclear Movement can not afford to rely so fully on playing left wing bourgeois democracy. In power this left wing continues its nuclear programmes.

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(including postage)
Box 1240, Hamilton St.
n 8. IRELAND.

Editorial

The first four months of 1982 have been months of stock-taking for most of the political organisations of the Irish Left as well as sections of the anti-imperialist movement.

Most comrades who had put a lot of hopes in the H-Block/Armagh mobilisation of last year have now come to recognise - and admit - that in 1982, the revolutionary anti-imperialist movement suffered a defeat....a set-back. The reality of that defeat and its political consequences have not been played out yet. But we can see *some of the effects* in the large-scale mass confusion in the 6 Counties as well as the widespread rise of social-democratic and reformist politics in the 26 Counties.

For us, in Rebel and Revolutionary Struggle, both aspects of this 1982 Irish reality are not only interlinked and dialectically connected, but demonstrate how, in practice, the NATIONAL and SOCIAL struggles are the two poles of the very same equation: THE STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM AND ITS LOCAL ALLIES.

Many of you reading these lines may say that these connections are not so obvious....that the political process in Ireland, or in any other country, is far too complex to be neatly summarised in a couple of sentences. Be that as it may, it is our objective to argue, and demonstrate, that

- (i) There is a cohesive link between what happens in the 6 and the 26 Counties
- (ii) That the H-Block defeat has acted as a detonator for a large scale disorganisation both at the NATIONAL and the SOCIAL levels.

On the first point, many comrades argue that *either* the national and the social questions are really one and the same (thus reducing the analytical and political tasks to one COMMON denominator) *or* that the two aspects of class struggle are so distinct that the first (the national struggle) has to be resolved first in order for the second to have any significance at a later stage.

As a result, the necessity for an INDEPENDENT COMMUNIST INTERVENTION on the national question gets devalued and people start tailing either the Republican bloc or the anti-Republican bloc which (supposedly) has only the social questions as its area of intervention.

The CONTINUOUS and UNINTERRUPTED nature of the link between the war in the North and anti-State/capital struggle ALL OVER THE 32 COUNTIES gets blurred in the process.....sectarianism, militarism or simply 'boredom' with all the killing and the unbending nature of Republican politics set in.

Which simply adds more impetus to the vicious circle.

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On the second point, and partly as a consequence of the above confusions, many comrades were delighted with what was going on last year around the H-Block Armagh struggle. Many argued that the whole campaign demonstrated so clearly not only *the politicisation of the Republican Movement* but also its shift to the Left. We argued that the campaign demonstrated the particular Irish variant of social-democratic politics in full flight....we predicted the severe defeat, we warned against it, but we were unable to avoid it.

Now, that there is a glimmer of hope that the consequences of the defeat may help some straight-thinking Republicans to think again and re-direct their suicidal course, the whole weight of the Left is thrown behind calls for a ceasefire and a consummation of that rightist line adopted by the Provisionals last year. If that line succeeds the present defeat of the anti-imperialist movement will turn into a veritable disaster which will take a generation to overcome.

The circus happening in the forthcoming elections in West Dublin is a clear spectacle of what happens to a 'Left' which loses its head in its grandiose dreams of 'representing' the people.....budding politicians going, literally, mad.

These are some of the reasons we believe *systematic and flexible organisation* remains the only possible answer to the present difficulties. An organisation with a regular paper, spinning the wheel of communism across the country, part of the people, not 'representing' them, working against its enemies and their traps, but also warning the people against the mistakes of our so-called friends. An organisation capable of engaging battle when State and capital least expect it and able to withdraw and disappear in the undergrowth when the enemy is strong and waiting.

Plan, work, organise, study and debate, build your infrastructure and contacts, increase your discipline and watchfulness, find your comrades.....until victory!

To our readers

Deadline for article for Rebel 53 is Friday May 28th.

Our Limerick readers are asked to watch out for a Special leaflet announcing a Rebel Meeting in their area.

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