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No return to th 2 The way forwar The months of peace opened up new horizons for tens of thousands of The bombing in London which broke the The reality is that the Brit-

ceasefire is a tragedy. It's immediate impact has been to cause needless injury to the lives of English working people.

In the longer term it opens up an horrific scenario where the most right wing elements of the British and lish states get ready to im-pose repression. Within minutes of the bombing the RUC were an-

Ing people. The last 25 years. This bloated armed force of 14,000 was worried that its numbers would be cut if the ceasefire continued. But in all the worry and fear that will grow with this bombing, it is vital to under-stand who is to blame for the breakdown of peace.

nouncing they were getting back to their old habits of

the reality is that the bill-ish government has refused to take the smallest of meas-ures that might have helped to consolidate the peace

* After talking to the IRA before the ceasefire, they re-fused to talk to Sinn Fein af-ter the ceasefire for weeks until they used the word

'permanent'. * They then drew up the excuse about 'de-commis-sioning' -- while refusing to

even contemplate disarming the RUC or demanding that the 150,000 legal weapons in the Northern Ireland were

in the Northern Ireland were called in. * They openly encour-aged the Unionist Party in their demand for an elected assembly in the North; knowing that such an as-sembly dominated by Trimble and Paisley would only be a stepping stone to a return to the old Stormont type reime type regime.

Sinn Fein should have been taken into all-party talks immediately

The ceasefire is breaking down today because the To town today because the fo-ries, which are a hated gov-ernment, was more inter-ested in hanging onto power with Unionist support --than making any real move to peace in Ireland. It is their actions which must loadly actions which must loudly be condemned if there is to be any hope of regaining the peace in the North.

workers in the North. People like Trimble were shaken as many Protes-tant workers began to ask what had his fur-coat brigade of Unionism ever done for them.

Many began to see class as the main divide in the North. They began to ask why their schools were based on an 11+ that discriminated against all working class people. They wanted a united fight against the Tory attacks on the health service and the unem-ployed

attacks on the health service and the unem-ployed. Of course, the sectarian tension never went away. Many were pulled in two direction at one: seeing the sense of class politics, but still stay-ing open to the sectarian political structures that the Northern state has established. The way forward in Northern Ireland today means recognising that all workers in the North have lost out because of sectarian tensions. Today it is necessary to turn the battle against oppression into an overall fight against the two totten states that grew out of the partition of Ireland.

reland.

There needs to be a political force that ar-gues with Protestant workers that loyalism has brought them nothing: that any notion of being superior to Catholics only works to the better-ment of the Orange bosses: that the RUC are not their police force -- but one that will repress all workers.Similarly, it is necessary to argue with Catholic workers that whatever about the past unity with Protestant workers can be forged and that this offers far more than aligning them-selves with either Albert Reynolds or the US president.In the immediate term there has to be a response from our union which says: NO RETURN TO THE WAR: DON'T LET THE TORIES WRECK THE PEACE: CATHOLIC AND PROTESANT WORKERS UNITE

UNITE

Republicanism The republican movement grew out of a fight against oppression and sectarianism in Northern freland. But the two main tactics they have used in recent years shows that the movement is bankrupt.

LOOKING FOR FRIENDS IN HIGH PLACES: This was the Adams approach. He did everything to ingra-tiate himself with the White House even web tiate himself with the White House, even wel-coming Clinton's trip to Ireland and encourag-ing people to line up like stage Irishmen for the photo-call that would be used in his re-election campaign. He though that they and the Southern gov-ernment might put pressure on the British

the movement is bankrupt. government to move for-ward. But the reality is that the White House runs a huge military machine that is designed to pro-tect the profits of West-ern capitalism. Clinton presides over terrible discrimination against black people in the US. Expecting the leaders of US imperialism to help working class Catholics in Northern Ireland was always a foolish illusion. The US government was only interested in

increasing its influence in order to make more room for US multi-na-tionals to get more cheap labour from both Catholic and Protestant workers

Catholic and Protestant workers. It was never going to lift the burden of pover-ty and discrimination from the many working class people who sup-ported Adams. *ARMED STRUGGLE:* As frustration with the Adams approach grew more republicans began to talk about a return to armed struggle. The Lon-don bombing shows they have started to win the argument. But the tactic of bomb-

at a dead end

ing brought few results over the last 25 years. Instead it helped to iso-lated the struggle against discrimination to the Catholic working class areas. Increasingly it became more and more counter-productive as bombs were often concentrated in Protestant towns. It pushed thousands of Protestant workers into the hands of the UDA and UVF.

and UVF. Any resumption of that tactic today will be even more disastrous. It will give the British and Irish state a free hand to impose massive repres-sion, including probably

internment. It will help to heighten sectarian tension to an unprece-dented pitch. And the tragedy is that after the all the suffering the armed struggle will sim-ply be a tactic that is de-signed to win further leverage before the Ad-ams strategy is tried again. Socialists oppose both these tactics be-cause they are built on the one premise: that political advance does not come, out of the mass activity of work-ing class people.