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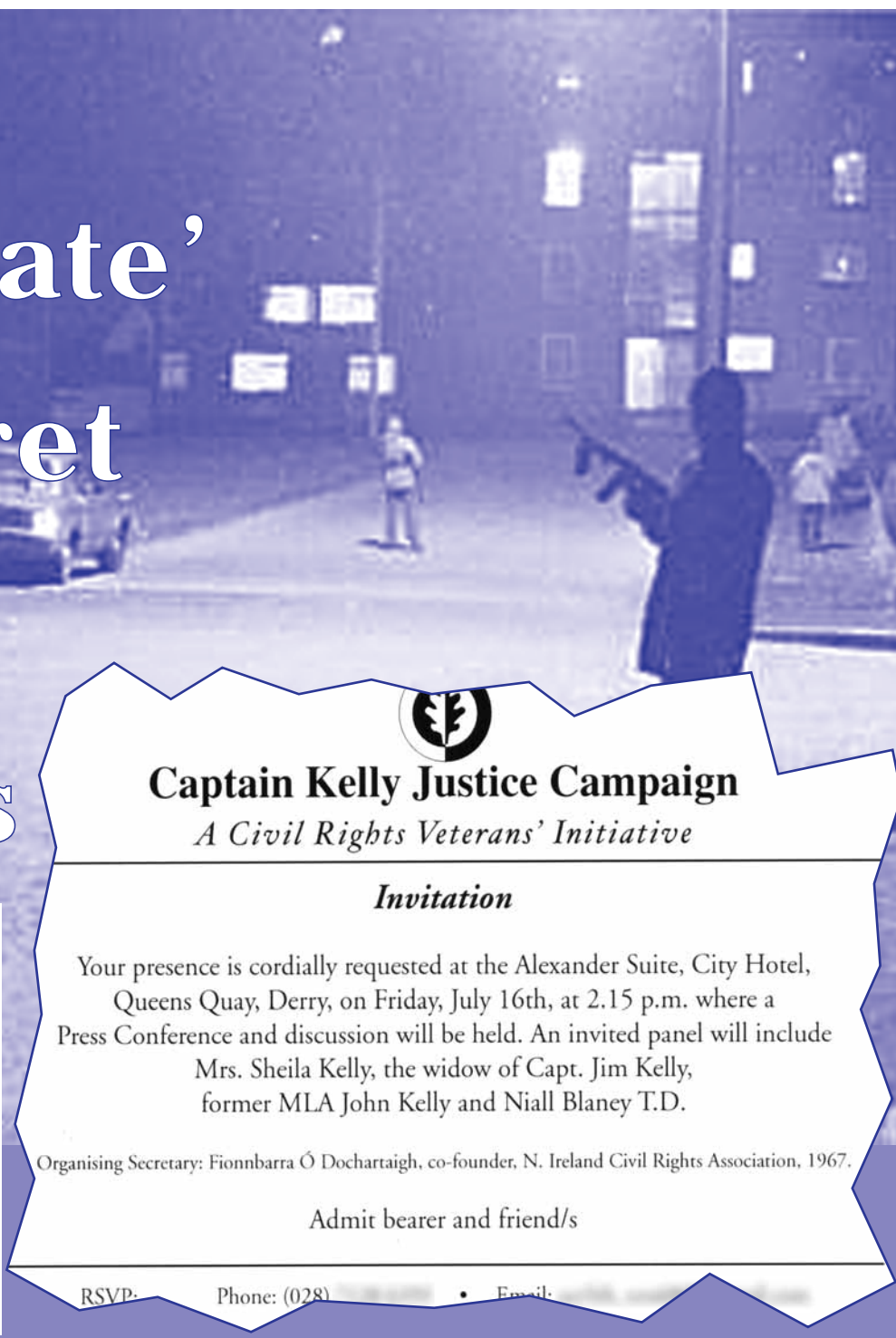
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STARRY PLOUGH EXCLUSIVE!

WE UNCOVER EXPLOSIVE DETAILS OF HOW CAPTAIN JIM KELLY, ON BEHALF OF THE LYNCH GOVERNMENT, ATTEMPTED TO SPLIT THE REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT IN 1969

Revealed: 'The Free State' & Their Secret War Against Republicans

The Starry Plough has received exclusively first hand accounts of the events in 1969 which have recently proved controversial. We have uncovered how a meeting in Derry attended by three senior members of the IRA's Derry Brigade saw the late Free State agent Captain Jim Kelly make an offer of weapons & ammunition, training and £50,000 cash to the IRA but only if certain guarantees were given by the IRA in return, the most sinister being the killing of six members of the IRA's national leadership. Read our exclusive interview with the two surviving men who attended that meeting inside on page 3



Captain Kelly Justice Campaign

A Civil Rights Veterans' Initiative

Invitation

Your presence is cordially requested at the Alexander Suite, City Hotel, Queens Quay, Derry, on Friday, July 16th, at 2.15 p.m. where a Press Conference and discussion will be held. An invited panel will include Mrs. Sheila Kelly, the widow of Capt. Jim Kelly, former MLA John Kelly and Niall Blaney T.D.

Organising Secretary: Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, co-founder, N. Ireland Civil Rights Association, 1967.

Admit bearer and friend/s

RSVP: Phone: (028) • Email:

NUAHT

ARDOYNE JULY 12TH

Page 4

IDIRNAISÚNTA

40TH ANNIVERSARY

OF THE FARC

Page 7

WOLFE TONE '04

REPORT AND

PICTURES Page 8 & 9

POLAITOICHT

IT'S GOOD TO TALK

Pages 13

THE VOICE OF IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALISM!

**The Starry
Plough**

The Starry Plough or An Camchéachta was first established in 1975 as the national newspaper of the Irish Republican Socialist Party.

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An Camchéachta

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If you would like to highlight an issue of concern in your area and would like to have it published in the pages of The Starry Plough then get in touch at the address above or contact a local IRSP representative, The Starry Plough is your paper.

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E d i t o r i a l**Catholic, Protestant and
Dissenter!**

Visitors to Belfast very quickly learn how to distinguish areas where the population is from the loyalist/British/Protestant tradition. Areas are marked out with bunting, colours, flags and slogans. The colours red, white and blue predominate. Although there are tasteful murals in some places there are also crudely offensive murals and slogans that encourage hatred not only of Catholics but also any outsiders who are different. So currently gays in Derry fear not only being beaten up on the streets by reactionary homophobic nationalists but also fear being burned out of their homes by right wing loyalist paramilitary gangs. In Belfast many non-white residents suffer abuse in the Donegall Road/Sandy Row/Village areas from right wing racist loyalists who support Combat 18, a neo-Nazi British organisation. We know that many of the ordinary Protestant working class residents abhor this racism but feel helpless in the face of loyalist paramilitaries. The failure of the police to seriously deal with racist attacks mirrors their failure to deal adequately with anti-Catholic attacks. This is a partially a reflection of the inbuilt right wing culture that predominates in military type state organisations but it also reflects the institutionalised racism and anti-Catholic culture of the RUC/PSNI.

The IRSP maintain that sectarianism is inherent in the very existence of the six-county state and it has permeated through the body politic so much that even reasonable rational people accept it and see nothing wrong with it. The British government, the Irish government, and all the

main political parties here negotiated or accepted the basis upon which the Good Friday Agreement was based, i.e. that there are two distinct communities here in the North of Ireland.

Let us be clear and unambiguous -- the IRSP reject that concept in its entirety. It leads to communities determining who lives in their areas -- it introduces concepts of group rights which are balanced against the rights of the other group thereby intensifying competition and jealousies between the two groups. It forces people to define themselves by religious faith, it allows for segregation, apartheid and ensures that ordinary working class folk will never have the opportunity to reach out in class unity with one another.

So long as the premise upon which the Good Friday Agreement was based is maintained then so long will the bitter division exist between Northern people. It is no coincidence that sectarian attacks have rocketed since the signing of the Good Friday Agreement. We now have more "peace" walls than we had during the armed conflict. These "peace" walls have gone up because unscrupulous and sectarian politicians have whipped up sectarian fears about the advantages that the other community has got, thus provoking sectarian clashes between two groups of poor working class communities. As the walls have risen people on both sides of those walls have taken to talking about "my community," i.e. Catholic or Protestant.

Researchers at the Ulster University have revealed that instead of playing "Cowboys and Indians" kids are now playing "prods and taigs."

Areas are now to be claimed the exclusive property of one or other of the two major religious factions. "Sandy Row is Sandy Row" meaning it is exclusively for White Anglo-Saxon Protestants. No blacks or Catholics need apply for houses there!! The clashes that have taken place over parades, over flags, etc., merely reflect the marking out of territory by one or other grouping. The allocation of housing, the awarding of government building contracts, the location of new businesses, the building of leisure centres and so on have all been influenced by the necessity to placate one or other of the sectarian blocks.

As republicans who believe in uniting Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter under the common name of Irish people, this growing apartheid is unacceptable.

As socialists we reject the two-community approach. There is one community and a divided working class. Only by the clear class-based approach to politics is there any chance of overcoming the bitter divisions that exist among the Northern people. Those who pander to the two-community approach or who whip up sectarian fears or engage in "whataboutery" in relation to resources have nothing in common with socialism and nothing in common with republicanism!

**NEW OFFICE FOR NORTH
BELFAST TEACH NA FAILTE**

Teach na Failte has recently under gone expansion throughout the country with it's newly developed offices opening in Ardoyne, north Belfast which are due to be officially opened on the 23rd anniversary of INLA Volunteer Michael Devine's death in Long Kesh. August 20th.

Work was carried out by the ex-prisoners and other voluntary workers from the area with no receipt of financial help or assistance from funding agencies. An amazingly high standard of workmanship was provided throughout, a real credit to all those who undertook this project.

The office is manned from Monday to Thursday each week from 11am to 4pm with a team of dedicated voluntary workers aiming to tackle the

issues that pose problems to the ex-prisoner community and their families.

Although this is a republican socialist project with the interests of our ex-prisoners and their families in mind - Teach na Failte will help anyone regardless of any political or religious background. Teach na Failte also hope to play a constructive role in defusing sectarian tensions and interface problems in the north Belfast area and are actively involved with other bodies and agencies in order to maximise that influence.

Our offices can also be used by community groups who find them-

selves without premises for their meetings and we would also intend to engage with women's groups from the community and have a constructive role in contributing to the needs of the youth of the area.

Teach na Failte wish to present to the public a higher profile of our ex-prisoner population and provide a republican socialist outlook and response to the problems they incur in their everyday life. Long term training and education are priorities of Teach na Failte that will assist the ex-prisoner to further their skills and employment opportunities so they may reintegrate fully back into society.

We also endeavour to have an impact through the offices of mediation, conflict resolution, and advice and counselling to the local and wider community.

For further information please visit our website at www.teach-nafailte.org or by contacting our offices at 028 9075 1705. Alternatively, call into our offices at Unit 8, Flax Centre, Ardoyne Avenue, BELFAST BT14 7DA for a friendly chat. All our dealings are conducted with the utmost confidentiality.

Charlie Clarke
(Treasurer - North Belfast Management Committee)

**North Belfast Teach na Failte**

Unit 8
Flax Centre
Ardoyne Avenue
Ardoyne
Phone: 028 90 751 705

OPENING HOURS:
Tuesday, Wednesday & Thursday
11.00am to 4.00pm

An Camchéachta Exclusive

The Final Insult!

Johnny White and Peter Collins break their 35 year silence on the events of 1969 after receiving invitations to a press conference for a campaign to clear Capt Kelly's name.

It was 1969 in Derry and the local Officer Commanding of the IRA, Johnny White got a request to set up a meeting the next day through a member of the IRA in South Derry. During this period Captain James Kelly had been holding meetings throughout the Six counties on behalf of the Dublin regime as a result of the Loyalist and RUC attacks on Catholic neighbourhoods and the burning of thousands of Catholic homes. The Dublin regime was coming under increasing pressure to help the beleaguered population in the North who were virtually defenceless. Pleas were made by Catholics for the government to help. We now understand that Captain Kelly was sent north with a mission, a mission to divide the Republican movement, and to provide the traditionalists with money and weapons and to isolate the more radical Marxist leadership. The twenty-six county regime was afraid that if the then Dublin leadership stayed in control of a growing and vibrant movement then that was a threat to the state itself.

The day after the initial contact a meeting took place in Derry City attended by Johnny White, Peter Collins, Micky Montgomery and Captain James Kelly of the 'Free State' army. Two of those at the

meeting, Captain Kelly and Micky Montgomery have since died. The following is an account of the meeting given to the Starry Plough by the two surviving men who attended the meeting.

MEETING SET UP

"The Kelly meeting in 1969 was arranged following a previous meeting in South Derry. Contacts were made with Johnny White (OC) asking for a meeting with the Derry Brigade. The following day Johnny White along with his Adjutant Micky Montgomery and Derry Brigade Intelligence Officer Peter Collins met with a man who introduced himself as Captain James Kelly and said he was an intelligence officer with the Irish Army (Free State). He also said he had the authority to speak on behalf of the Free State regime at the time.

£50,000

The meeting lasted only a few minutes. Kelly after explaining his role offered those present arms, training and money (£50,000). When those present asked Kelly what the Government wanted in return Kelly said 'A guarantee that the struggle would be contained within the

Six counties'. The OC then pointed out to Kelly that he knew as well as him that situation was guaranteed already as the standing orders within the IRA prevented any attacks within the 26 counties.

"At this point the OC then demanded to know exactly what Kelly wanted in return for these weapons and money and aggressively demanded, while pointing his finger towards Kelly, that he give him a straight answer. Kelly then said 'the elimination of certain members of the leadership of the Republican Movement.'

"SIX"

"At this point both Mickey and Peter joined into the conversation in a heated way and Mickey asked 'How many?' to which Kelly answered 'Six'. Kelly was then told in no uncertain terms to 'F*** Off!' The meeting then ended.

"Immediately after this the three members of the Derry Brigade made contact with the General Head Quarters of the IRA in Dublin and explained that a serious situation had arisen and that they needed a meeting with the leadership as soon as possible. The following day a meeting was held at a venue in South Derry where a report of the previous

day's events was relayed to the Chief of Staff of the IRA. The Chief of Staff told the Derry Brigade OC that he should have got the £50,000 first then told Kelly to 'F*** Off!'

NO FURTHER ACTION

"The representatives from Derry were then told that as they had now reported the approach from Kelly to the leadership they should take no further action and the leadership would take care of it from then on. After returning to Derry City both meetings were reported to the local command staff.

"Over the years nothing was said about these events other than to a very few very prominent republicans and former Civil Rights campaigners. We are not, at this stage however, prepared to name these people but believe that they will come forward in due course.

FREE STATE AGENT

"We would take this opportunity to urge all republicans to have nothing to do with this campaign to clear the name of this 'Free State' agent whose only legacy was the division and split of the

Republican Movement.

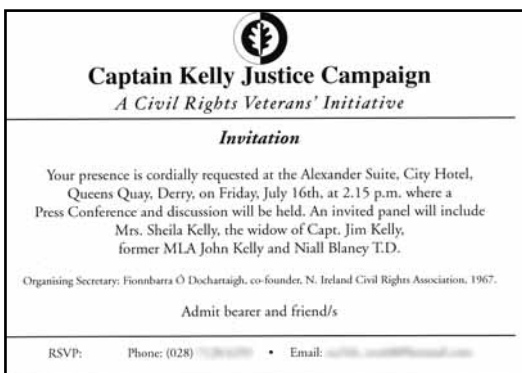
"We believe the reason the 'Free State' Government was offering this deal was because they feared less an armed struggle contained within the Six counties than an armed struggle throughout the Thirty-two Counties. They feared a scenario where tens of working class men and women would take to the streets and challenge their authority and attempt to change their system into one that put working class people first.

"As the Republican Movement was to the forefront of that struggle it would have been important to divide the movement and form a organisation that would have been prepared to pay lip service to the Free State Government. In order to orchestrate this it would have been necessary to eliminate those from within the leadership who would have been considered Socialist or Communist. This would then have laid the groundwork for the formation of a right wing and catholic leadership that would have been prepared to dance to the tune of the Dublin regime."

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THE PROVOCATION THAT LED TO THESE CLAIMS BEING MADE PUBLIC

Johnny White and Peter Collins both agree that the final insult to them came when cards dropped through their respective letterboxes inviting them to attend a press conference that was part of the Captain Kelly Justice Campaign. So incensed they were that someone who they had intimate knowledge of attempting to split the Republican Movement in 1969 should be lauded as an innocent victim of injustice that they decided to attend the press conference to finally, after 35 years silence, get this information into the open.



The invitation, printed here, proved to be the final insult to these two veteran republicans. Thirty-five years after meeting Captain James Kelly and being offered £50,000 for the elimination of six leaders of the Republican Movement they now found themselves invited to a campaign press conference that would aim to clear the name of someone they viewed as nothing more than an agent of the Free State regime and whose motives in 1969 were to split and divide the Republican Movement.

Johnny and Peter have both stated categorically that they would not have attended the press conference if it hadn't been for the Secretary of the said campaign, Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, sending them both personal invitations to attend. But when these invitations landed on their doorsteps it was then, and only then that they decided to attend and reveal the full truth behind Captain Kelly's motivation in 1969. Johnny White commented, "We both took this as a grave insult to every Republican who stood up

from Ballyseedy, Drumboe, the Curragh, Enda McGee, Martin Bryan, John Morris, Ronan MacLochlainn, the list goes on and on of Republicans denied justice by the Free State. These are all prime examples of 'Free State' justice shown towards Republicans and Republican Socialists.

He went on "We would also, as former leaders of the Republican Movement in Derry, categorically refute claims made by Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh, that he was a member of the leadership of the Republican Movement in Derry. At no time was this person ever anywhere near leadership level, especially during the period in question. In fact at that time he spent more time in Cork than in Derry."

When asked if they would support Fionnbarra Ó Dochartaigh's call for a tribunal into these events both Peter Collins and Johnny White said that they would no problem supporting such an inquiry. That view has also been echoed by another prominent veteran Derry Republican Liam O Comain who was also prominent at the time. Johnny said, "We would definitely support an inquiry into these events, not just Kelly's court cases but also into Kelly's role in 1969 and into the orders he was given and why?"

against the 'Free State'. It is ironic that if the 'Free State' apologists who attended the meeting had only listened to what myself and Peter had to say it could have actually helped the Kelly family find the justice that they are looking for. Although from our point of view no such justice was shown to Republicans right from the foundation of the state. Right



KEY EVENTS IN THE LIFE AND TIMES OF FREE STATE AGENT JAMES KELLY

- ▶ He was born in Bailieboro, Co. Cavan, Ireland on the 16 October 1929
- ▶ Captain James Kelly joined the Free State Army in 1949.
- ▶ Made Lieutenant in 1951.
- ▶ 1956, he was appointed as Training Officer to the North Meath Battalion of the Local Defence Force (FCA) working in Kells, Co Meath
- ▶ In 1969 met with IRA in Derry and offered £50,000 for the elimination of six key leaders of the IRA.
- ▶ Charged with importation of arms in 1970.
- ▶ Died on 16 July 2003.

VOTE NO. 1 KELLY

YOUR INDEPENDENT CANDIDATE



The major national issue at the moment is the search for peace. The only way that peace can come is through political change which will eliminate the cause of violence. In his heart and soul every elector in Cavan and Monaghan knows this. Every elector also knows that our country will not reach its full capacity, economically, socially or culturally, until there is political stability with peace not an issue.

In Cavan and Monaghan, we all realise that violence or the threat of violence effects our economic development. What industrialist will invest the major sums necessary to create jobs, in a border area like this especially, until there is peace and an assurance of peace for the future? Consequently, it is futile to state, as the major political parties have done, that "the North is not an issue" in this election.

PEACE

As the majority recognise, there will not be final peace in Ireland until Britain withdraws. The steps necessary for British withdrawal are

1. A British Declaration of Intent to leave Ireland within 5 years.
2. United Nations to undertake peacekeeping in the Six Counties during the 5 year interim period.
3. United Nations to act as the Police Authority in the Six Counties during the 5 year interim period.

REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST EX-PRISONERS PIN



There has been a high demand for the limited edition Ex-RSPOW pin-badge which is available in limited numbers from Teach na Failte.

Priced at £2.50 it is available from Costello House, 392 Falls Road (028 90238321) or PO Box 1981, Derry. (028 71262999)

RUC & BRIT ARMY TERRORISE ARDOYNE COMMUNITY

IRSP slam PSNI/British Army "heavy-handedness" in Ardoyne. The IRSP have slammed the tactics used by the PSNI and British Army in Ardoyne during the contentious 12th July Orange parade.

This comes after recent disturbances resulting from the overturning of the Parades Commission by the PSNI to allow the 400 UDA/UFF coat-trailing bigots to return from their march via the Crumlin Road at Ardoyne shop fronts. This decision had sparked fury from residents and quickly turned to violence as we saw heavy-handed tactics being employed by the PSNI.

An IRSP spokesperson, Charlie Clarke who was at the scene stated, "Once again we have watched the district of Ardoyne become a prison, surrounded by a ring of steel and guarded vehemently by heavy-handed PSNI/British Army riot squads.

People of this community have been hemmed in from early morning and are denied the freedom to move freely and conduct their business with normality. This is because every year we face the backlash of sectarian marches walking through this working-class republican area. It is no longer acceptable and the people of this community have understandably resisted.

The PSNI overturned a decision laid down by the Parades Commission and allowed the supporters to return through this area. About 400 well known UDA/UFF volunteers representing 'K' Coy were flaunted under the noses of the residents of Ardoyne and were heavily guarded by the PSNI. Also with the crowd was a mob of drunken louts who began hurling bottles and various other missiles into the protestors on the other side of the barricade. It is only natural that with tensions running as high as they were, fuelled by the PSNI betrayal that the community responded in the way they did.

When people realised that this was happening, they were met with the cold truth of 'Policing', beaten down by police batons and manhandled to the point of GBH. This certainly brings into dispute the eligibility of the Parades Commission. The IRSP call for the immediate resignation of those within the PC and the disbandment of this ineffective organisation. Organisations who continuously make decisions only to be overturned by the PSNI are not needed. We also call for nationalist politicians to stand down from the Policing Board. Once again we see the cold reality that the PSNI are not acceptable in these communities and will continue to be so until the full implementation of the Patton report is in place."

The events that followed were described by Charlie Clarke to be "The worst street violence that this community has witnessed in the course of twenty years." He went on to add, "The fact that the Paratroopers were placed into position along Ardoyne Road at the top of Cranbrook Court shows quite clearly that the PSNI were intent on causing violence at this time. There was no need for the British Army to be situated here in the very heart of demonstrators, and their presence and the force that they adopted heightened tensions within the community.

I believe that this was a cleverly orchestrated tactic used by the PSNI to move the focus from the Orange parades and place it upon this community. I take this opportunity to commend the bravery and courage of all the men, women and youths of this area who valiantly resisted attacks from the PSNI/British Army. However, I remind those involved that there remained a very real threat to the safety of civilians from the retreating British Army, who undoubtedly would have reverted to their first instinct to implement the use of live ammunition."

The area has been reported quiet but tense over the last few days with a restrained calm being firmly in place. The spokesperson further added, "Two further parades are due to pass through the area within



the next few weeks and the IRSP will be monitoring very closely developments within the area. The IRSP would also take this opportunity to refute any such allegations that were made by the gutter press journalism of the Sunday World that the INLA were responsible for orchestrating the violence that occurred as a result of the heavy-handedness of PSNI officers against this community whilst forcing loyalists through their area. No such allegations could be further from the truth."

Meetings with the community have been held and further meetings are being organised in order to avoid another occurrence of last week's violence.

EYEWITNESS ARDOYNE 2004

The 12th July parade passing through Ardoyne was always going to be contentious - in fact it is the most contentious of all the marches in Belfast at present. Massive security operations, open-air prisons, police / army brutality against the community are all part and parcel of the day's events for the residents of Ardoyne. Shopkeepers are refused the freedom to trade, and the public are refused entry and exit from their area. A pretty dire concoction of circumstances where frustration and anger are rife. As a republican socialist comrade from this area I know only too well the ramifications that accompany these situations and the aftermath that the district suffers every year. It is dreaded.

A few months ago Teach Na Failte in north Belfast concluded that it needed a contingency plan to help counter the interface violence brought on by sectarian marches through the area. The management committee made approaches to various different groupings set up within the communities as well as being invited into some other cross-party negotiations to tackle the problems of interface violence. These had for some years been deemed to be controlled by one section of the republican tradition. Teach Na Failte was welcomed onto the Parades Dialogue Group in Ardoyne and listened intently to the position and policies of the group. It was agreed after some intense in-house debate that Teach Na Failte could have a positive input into the response of the community to the contentious sectarian march that loomed over the area.

Teach Na Failte had great influence and were able to bring some element of change and present the republican socialist perspective to the group. Teach Na Failte were involved in every aspect of the determination of the group and influenced the final decisions made. It was agreed by all that there would need to be a protest in response to the parade and after a few weeks debating the form of protest was established. Teach Na Failte agreed completely and also helped finalise the formation of the protest. It was also debated strenuously that as there was a protest, that protest needed to be stewarded in order to keep the protest peaceful and keep the focus and onus on the real cause of the problem - the Loyal Orders and their coat-trailing hangers on. Teach Na Failte recognised their responsibility to steward the protest as they had helped formulate and supported the protest from the inception. It was made clear from the very beginning that Teach Na Failte would steward the protest but refused to police their community. It was also stated that in previous years there had been a heavy-handed approach to stewarding from individuals from other republican traditions and that

Teach Na Failte would not tolerate or be part of any such dealings. If in any instance this occurred, then Teach Na Failte stewards would remove themselves from the protest and their involvement would cease. Further it was stressed that if the Parades Commission or the PSNI reversed the decision then Teach Na Failte would render the agreement void and would withdraw from the protest. This was accepted and the group were left in no illusion as to Teach Na Failte's position. Teach Na Failte provided a number of stewards for the day and kept in close contact with all through a radio network operated by T Na F. The morning's parade passed peacefully and dispersed within 15 minutes or so.

During the course of the afternoon, Teach na Failte were made aware from members of the community of a sinister presence of British Army land rovers around the Duncrue Industrial estate - around 240 to 260 in total each bearing the presence of at least four soldiers on board. This was further backed up by an estimated total of 150 PSNI / British Army land-rovers along the length of the Shankill Road. Teach Na Failte believed that these were to be deployed to Ardoyne and that the PSNI were planning to force the parade and their hangers on up through the area. This was a very worrying development and quickly provided the potential for serious violence.

The area was sealed off at approximately 4pm and a massive presence of British Army and PSNI were put into place. Possibly the biggest presence in some years. It became apparent to all the intentions of the PSNI and everyone prepared for what was to happen next. The parade was pushed quickly through, followed in quick succession by a cavalcade of buses carrying bandsmen. Around 15 minutes later the residents of Ardoyne were met with a thunderous applause and cheering from what proved to be around 400 UDA/UFF volunteers being escorted through the area by the PSNI. These UDA/UFF henchmen were notoriously known to the residents of Ardoyne as they had instilled fear into the hearts of the people for years. Some of the residents losing loved ones at the hands of these evil murder squads.

All hell broke loose; loyalists began throwing bottles into the crowd and was reciprocated from the angry and betrayed youths from the Ardoyne area. It was at this point that the Teach Na Failte stewards removed themselves from any such protest as agreed. What followed next was a severe heavy-handed approach from the British Army and PSNI towards the community resulting in serious head injuries and various

other bruising. The local Priest Fr. Gary Donegan (Present throughout the Holy Cross blockades) was beaten to the ground by Paratroopers deployed to the area. At this point the community reached it's breaking point and responded with a venom that no one was expecting. Men, women and youths began to fight back against the vicious beatings they were receiving from the PSNI and Brits, leaving utter chaos for a further hour and a half. Brits had trapped a section of the community and forced them towards loyalist Glenbyrn, refusing them entry back into the community were they proceeded to baton at will against the defenceless and desperate crowd trying to reunite with their friends and family. This brought things to a crescendo and what transpired were the scenes witnessed by all of Brits running in retreat. The people of the community had had enough and vented their full wrath upon the Brits and PSNI - causing us to witness some of the worst street violence and hand to hand fighting in 20 years.

Teach Na Failte commend the bravery and courage shown by all that day, in their resistance of attack from the state forces. Attempts were made to calm the situation by republicans from another tradition, some proving unprepared for what happened and resorting to other not so amicable means of negotiation with the community. Albeit their attempts were futile amidst the anger and hurt being manifested from the community. Brave as it was though, Teach Na Failte along with others realised the reality of the situation - retreating and beaten Brits were ordered to load their weapons, volatile and isolated, crying like children and in control of lethal force. Thankfully the chaos subsided after a time and there was no excuse for the Brits to do what they were placed there to do - use live ammunition upon the residents of this community. That was a very harsh reality. The other sad fact is that men, women and youths from this area are now facing lengthy prison sentences for their actions provoked by the heavy-handedness of the State forces. People from this community are going to continue to suffer, wives without husbands, mothers without sons and children without fathers. The sad harrowing reality of the situation is the Loyal Order's need to march through working class republican areas and their green light of approval to do so by the British State forces. Two further marches are due in August 14th and 28th and this community wait in dread for that time. I hope this has proved to give an insight into what exactly happened in Ardoyne on the 12th July 2004

(Teach Na Failte is the organisation of Republican Socialist political prisoners and is a part of the Republican Socialist Movement)

ONE YEAR ON FROM HIS MURDER BY THE US OCCUPIERS OF IRAQ....



A FRIEND REMEMBERS

MAZEN DANA



Mazen Dana was born in Hebron, Palestine in 1961. He was arrested on numerous occasions for his political activism prior to, during, and after the first Palestinian Intifada (1987-1993). Mazen spent time in a number of Israeli jails including Negev detention Camp (Ansar 3), Maskobiyya (Russian Compound) interrogation center in Jerusalem, Alfar'a prison in Nablus, and Aldhahriyah prison in Hebron. After graduating with a degree in English from Hebron University, Mazen worked as a journalist. He was the correspondent of Alquds Voice as well as a number of local Palestinian newspapers. Later Mazen became a Reuters correspondent and cameraman where he covered the first U.S. Gulf War 1991, The Second U.S. Gulf War, and The Second Intifada (2000-). He is the first and only Arab Journalist who received the International Press Freedom Award as well as a number of regional and local awards for his efforts. Mazen Dana was killed in Iraq on the afternoon of August 17, 2003 by an American tank while was filming the notorious Abu Ghraib prison.

Man is a cause: A Lament for Mazen Dana
By Seif Dana

If you go into Mazen's office you will see a poster of Ghassan Kanafani inscribed at the bottom with Kanafani's famous maxim Al Insan Kadiyya "Man is a Cause" from his short story, Return to Haifa. Mazen believed that humanity is not merely a thing, but a project, a goal, a cause, a force that moves and motivates. In 2001 Mazen received the International Press Freedom Award. The ceremony was held at the Waldorf Astoria hotel in New York City. The text of Mazen's acceptance speech read, in part, "What is great about my work in journalism in Palestine is that revealing the truth about the cold and oppressive reality of the Israeli occupation to the world is commensurate with my political beliefs and my humanist values." In his speech Mazen wanted to speak about many things; the systemic bias of the media, Israeli racism against Arabs and the importance of bringing the truth of Israel's occupation of Palestine to the world's attention. But, Mazen had only a couple of minutes, and you can't even list the problems that beset this world in a few minutes. One point Mazen drove home in his speech was that he would "continue to reveal the truth and work hard for it and against those who want to stifle it, even if it costs me my life." It did cost him his life.

After the IPF award ceremony Mazen and I spent

the rest of the evening together. I had not seen him for seven years prior to that evening. Unsurprisingly, our conversation turned quickly to the current Intifada. Mazen quoted Kanafani: "What a war does, requires a war to undo. If managed well, the Intifada could become our war of independence." I was impressed by Mazen's political acumen; he was reminding me of a lesson I didn't fully appreciate during the first Intifada. I was seventeen when the first Intifada started and at that time I believed that it was our war of independence. I understand now, that it could have been a war of independence, but that vast stretches of death, suffering and degradation can separate a potential reality from its actual realization in the here and now.

Mazen also spoke of life in Manhattan, which had never impressed him. He said: "So many people here are unaware of their humanity, it gets lost beneath all the layers of commerce and consumerism. When everything is for sale, nothing has value." Yes, there were beautiful buildings and the sheer scale and speed of everything is breathtaking. But, this form of modernity has missed something important. You don't only have to go to Palestine or Iraq to see what capitalism does to people, degradation is not solely a matter of subsistence - of food, shelter, and clothing. Even in New York City, the heart of the American capitalism, where vast quantities of human effort are captured and consumed, the nature of the market is to only cater to (highly elaborated forms of) subsistence or animal needs and to either kill off or cauterize our higher (and more ultimately humane) needs. I responded to Mazen lightly and quipped that H. G. Wells and Federico Garcia Lorca, my favorite poet, also had low opinions of New York. Mazen added that at some level he simply missed the grapevines of Hebron, our hometown.

Since I have been in the States I have visited two places named Hebron. The first Hebron was in New Hampshire, where I mused about buying a bit of land, building a small house and planting some grapevines. The second Hebron was in North Dakota; where the favorite sport of the locals is ice fishing, and I doubt that our Mediterranean grapevines can survive the frigid winters of the northern plains. My grandfather always said: "Lucky are those who have a burial place in Palestine." I share my grandfather's desire to be buried in my homeland. And yet I reserve my highest honor for those, like Mazen, who are buried in the martyrs'

cemetery. One day, when I go back home, I will not carve Lorca's Lament for Ignacio Sanchez Mejias on Mazen's tombstone. I will not write that "it will be a long time, if ever, before there is born an Arab so true, so rich in adventure." Instead I will engrave Kanafani's famous call to masses of the world to speak and act against their oppression, to, as

Kanafani put it, "knock on the walls of the tank." Mazen Dana, resting in Hebron's martyrs' cemetery, was a man who gave his life knocking very hard on the walls of the oppression tank. Rest in peace dear old comrade.

Mazen Dana

1961 - 2003



Mazen Dana was born in Hebron, Palestine in 1961. He was arrested on numerous occasions for his political activism prior to, during, and after the first Palestinian Intifada (1987-1993). Mazen spent time in a number of Israeli jails including Negev detention Camp (Ansar 3), Maskobiyya (Russian Compound) interrogation center in Jerusalem, Alfar'a prison in Nablus, and Aldhahriyah prison in Hebron. After graduating with a degree in English from Hebron University, Mazen worked as a journalist. He was the correspondent of Alquds Voice as well as a number of local Palestinian newspapers. Later Mazen became a Reuters correspondent and cameraman where he covered the first U.S. Gulf War 1991, The Second U.S. Gulf War, and The Second Intifada (2000-). He is the first and only Arab Journalist who received the International Press Freedom Award as well as a number of regional and local awards for his efforts. Mazen Dana was killed in Iraq on the afternoon of August 17, 2003 by an American tank while was filming the notorious Abu Ghraib prison.

ANTI-WAR PROTESTORS CLEARED!

Protestors who took part in Anti-War demonstrations during George Bush's visit to the Six Counties have been bound over to keep the peace for twelve months at Belfast high Court. After the judgement the five anti-war protesters celebrated with champagne at Belfast Magistrates' Court after the verdict following the demonstration against the visit of US President George Bush to Ulster last year.

The five activists had been accused of disorderly behaviour and wilfully blocking a road after violence erupted at a protest against the visit of Bush to Belfast in April of 2003.

During the demonstration the RUC/PSNI had moved in and made a

number of arrests after a fire engine had to be re-routed away from the front of Belfast City Hall because protesters were blocking the road.

However, at Belfast Magistrates' Court, all charges were withdrawn against the activists, some of whom wore anti-war t-shirts.

Those at the court on trumped up charges were Catherine Ross, Colette Dornan, Tomas Gorman, Darren Malone and Pdraig O'Connor all from Belfast.

The activists all agreed to be bound over to keep the peace for one year.

Magistrate Ken Nixon warned them that any further incident in the next year would be seen as a breach of their order.

Speaking afterwards, an IRSP spokesman welcomed the outcome and said he had been present last year at what he called "the peaceful protest".

He said: "I am happy that this burden has now been lifted from their shoulders. No-one knew what the outcome of the case was going to be until the verdict so it was worrying for them and their families, but these were people who involved themselves in protesting against an unjust invasion in Iraq and against George Bush's hypocritical visit to Ireland to talk peace.

Earlier representatives from the group, Belfast Food Not Bombs, had served breakfast outside the courthouse to offer support to the activists. Spokesman Hamish Arrowsmith said: "We feel it is important to support people on trial for their actions to highlight these issues. Our work is about investing and caring, not killing."

A WORLD TO WIN!

Timber Workers on Hunger Strike

At least nine Indonesian timber workers began a hunger strike on 23 June, while thousands of their comrades are on strike. The strike and hunger strike have been undertaken to demand payment of wages earned in April and May, which have still not been paid by their Hong Kong-based bosses in Indonesia. The hunger strikers have been undertaken in front of the East Kalimantan province governor's office, two weeks after the strike against the Kalimantan Plywood Industry and Santi Murni Plywood companies began. The objective, according to Giartini, one of the hunger strikers, is that: "The government must show an interest in the fate of the workers".

Over a thousand workers have not been paid for the two months labour, because the company says a severe depression within the plywood business left the companies short on cash. The most recent offer from the companies was that the workers would be paid only Rp 500,000 (about £30), however, the timber workers normal earn from Rp 800-1,000,000 per month. In addition to the hunger strike, the operations manager and his assistant were taken hostage and are still being held. At least one of the hunger strikers, Ismed Soerya, is a member of the Indonesian Labor Struggle National Front, who berated foreign companies and the Indonesian government, saying: "The people are still being oppressed by the economic and political systems practiced by autocrats who believe more in capital strength than the power of the people".

IRSP: Free Luers

On the fifth anniversary of his incarceration, the international department of the Irish Republican Socialist Party sends greetings of the party's solidarity to American Prisoner of War Jeff "Free" Luers, his friends, and his comrades.

The sentenced handed down to Free for burning three SUVs at Romania Chevrolet in Eugene, Oregon--22years and 8 months--is yet another reminder of what the law in the United States is designed to protect; not human liberty and the pursuit of happiness, but property. Free's real crime wasn't the destruction of three oversized, petrol-guzzling automobiles, it was daring to suggest that the health of the planet might be worth more than private property. There is something obviously missing in the story of Jeff Luers confrontation with the law--justice. Justice is wholly lacking in the tale. Instead there are a list of hypothetical rights guaranteed by the U.S. constitution, each lined out in deference to the only right that only matters within the American system of jurisprudence: the right to private property.

The IRSP is aware that Free has continued to follow the course of a revolutionary since his incarceration, speaking out on the concerns of political prisoners, prisoners in general, the environment, and issues concerning the broader anarchist and activist communities and applauds him for his continued activism. To those struggling to win Free's release, the IRSP extend our solidarity and encouragement. To all those struggling on behalf of the environment, to ensure the survival of ourselves and all other species against the inhuman degradation of the earth witnessed under the system of capitalism, we extend our solidarity as well.

Right-wing Terrorist Plot

Did you hear about the actual terrorist plot uncovered in the US by the FBI? Probably not. Neither the FBI nor the US administration issued press releases about the serious threat they appear to have foiled.

The quashing of this very real threat wasn't even the product of a serious investigation by the US government, instead it fell into their hands by accident. When William Karr, of Nooday in US President Bush's home state of Texas sent counterfeit UN and Defense Intelligence Agency credentials to a co-conspirator in New Jersey, he accidentally sent them to the wrong address. The recipient saw what the package contained and contacted the FBI. When they paid a visit to the sender of the package, they unexpectedly discovered multiple fully automatic machine guns, remote-controlled explosive devices hidden in briefcases, 60 pipe bombs, and a cyanide bomb large enough to kill every single person within a 10,000 square-meter building. The combination of false identification badges, chemical weapons, explosives, and guns rather clearly point to the FBI having stumbled on a serious plot against some site in the United States, but neither the FBI nor Justice Department Secretary Ashcroft held a press conference or even issued a press release to boast about having stopped the plot from being carried out.

Most likely, because the Karr is a white supremacist fascist, not an Islamic jihadist, an anti-imperialist revolutionary, or-what the FBI continues to describe as what they believe to be the most serious domestic terrorist threat, ecological or animal rights activists. Instead he was just one of those types responsible for the worst terrorist incident to have ever taken place in America before 11 September 2001, the bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma City--an American neo-fascist. So, the question must be asked, is the US government shredding the guaranteed civil rights of the American people out of fear of terrorist acts leading to the loss of life and property in the US, or is it only interested in whipping up fear and hatred directed against Arab and Islamic peoples, to justify invading and occupying Arab and Muslim nations in order to gain control of the major petroleum reserves existing in the world? Then again, do we really need to bother asking that question?

Resisting Imperialist War & Plunder

Terry Harkin

Last month, Terry Harkin of the IRSP International Department extended a statement of international revolutionary solidarity greetings on behalf of the Irish Republican Socialist Party to the RESISTING IMPERIALIST WAR AND PLUNDER Conference in Frankfurt, Germany.

"As I write, the arch imperialist and architect of this current phase of capitalist expansionism-Ronald Reagan is being laid to 'rest' with all the pomp and splendour of a despot of old. Plaudits from the perceived great and good proclaim him to have been the 'greatest' US leader of the 20th century. Carve an other face on Mount Rushmore they say. For this is the man who destroyed Communism, Socialism and stabilised Central America. The man who 'won' the Cold War, the man, who with George Bush Sr., invented the New World Order, whose troops now march across the globe in the name of their anointed son under the banner of the 'War Against Terror.' The architect may be dead, but his ideas and children live on.

"His legacy, if it can be called that, is this war on terror. But as we all know comrades it is not a war on terror, but a war of terror. It is a war to enable the flow out of conquered nations of oil and other natural wealth. While a tide of Coke a Cola, Big Mac's and GM cars foster division and exploitation among the vanquished.

"And all, all in the name of democracy. We in Ireland know all about the British and US take on democracy! We understand it as this, they invade your nation, import settlers, spread money around, buy who they can, Kill or exile those they can't.

"Then, and this is the good bit comrades, they call an election. If your money men and death squads have done their work well, you win, if you don't think your going to do so well, you disenfranchise the opposition by calling them terrorists and exclude them from the process. After all, there are still more British troops on active service in the North of Ireland then there are serving on expansionist duties with NATO or the Bush/Blair coalition.

"As it has been in Ireland for almost 900 years, so it is today in Iraq, in Serbia, in Haiti, Afghanistan and almost all of central America. This is the New World Order of Reagan and the Bushes.

It would be true to say that Reagan did more than any other to advance the cause of world capitalism by uniting far flung elements of world business and right wing politicians from around the world in a quest for the "Global Market."

"It is therefore fitting that this conference take's place the day after his burial. As Reagan forged global unity among a diaspora of capitalists and right wing'rs, so let us today start to build a global front to fight them. At the turn of the last century unity was the core of the developing power of the Working Class.

"Reagan and his cohorts have learnt their lesson from this and it is they now that are unified and we the Diaspora. Groups and even nations are alone, afloat in a sea of the bought and fallen comrades. Demonised, margin-

alised, played off against each other and divided.

"But today, there are many groups here, many nations are represented. Let us start today to build a unity that will eventually shake the New World Order to it's core and end it's evil march. A unity that stretches once more from Derry to Deli, from Istanbul to Melbourne.

"Today we have the opportunity to mix, to network, to make new comrades for the struggle. We need them comrades, for there will not be a day of reckoning, because that day is here. The New World Order is at the door and we must make our stand now, collectively or we will fall to it one by one.

"We in the Republican Socialist Movement in Ireland trace our line to those who Lenin himself called 'the first Red Army in Europe' the Irish Socialist Republican Party and the Irish Citizens Army. It is still the politics of their leader James Connolly that inspire us today for it was he who said. "The Great Only Appear Great Because We Are On Our Knees. Let Us Arise."

"Let us walk from here today, let us walk among others when we return to our individual nations or communities, let us give other the courage to stand up. To say no to this war, no to the New World Order and no to the continued exploitation of those who produce but do not share in the wealth they generate."

African Liberation Day: Solidarity Message From The International Department

For two decades now, the Irish Republican Socialist Movement has expressed its solidarity with African people around the globe struggling for their liberation and the liberation of the African continent under Pan-Africanism and Scientific Socialism on African Liberation Day. We are happy and proud to do so again this year.

We remain mindful that the working people of Ireland share with African workers throughout the world an enemy in the form of imperialist exploitation; an enemy in the form of neo-colonial betrayal; a history as a colonised people, and a history as a people engaged in continuous struggle for generations. We continue to recognise that attempts to destroy the natural solidarity that arises out of those commonalities through racist ideology and historical falsification serve to demonstrate how threatening to our oppressors it is when we join together and express our mutual solidarity. Moreover, we continue to understand that the most sincere expression of solidarity is a preparedness to stand shoulder to shoulder with another and to share resources when possible, rather than merely spouting words and phrases.

We are living in a world where the ruling class of the capitalist and imperialist nations believe themselves to have won a decisive victory over the working class, which is also a world in which that class is seeing the inherent instabilities of capitalism rising increasingly to the surface, so that the system of exploitation stands naked and hideous before the world.

These two, mutually contradictory circumstances has thrown capitalism into crisis mode and prompted an increase in the degree and extent of imperialist adventures and a renewed viciousness internally.

As a result, we have seen the French and US governments conspire to destabilise and then overthrow the elected government of Haiti, perhaps the most African of nations of the Western Hemisphere. On the streets of Haiti, we saw a bloody class war initiated not by workers, but against them by the ruling class and that class war will continue to be waged, because the working people of Haiti cannot afford to do otherwise. We have seen the US imperialists step up their attacks on the Cuban people, many of whom derive from Africa and many of whom served with honour in the liberation movement's of the African continent. We are watching even now the continued assault and occupation being carried out by the British and US governments in Afghanistan and Iraq and by the Zionists in Palestine. Finally, we have seen the attempts to isolate and demonise the nation of Zimbabwe, to thwart revolutionaries such as the AZAPO, to hinder the African unity being championed by the Leader of the Libyan revolution. Nowhere, it seems at times, can one find peace in the world today; nowhere can

one find harmony and justice.

We in Ireland have seen the largest force in the anti-imperialist struggle simply depart the stage, surrendering in the process the gains made through thirty years of difficult struggle and sacrifice. We are left with the Good Friday Agreement--a document which copperfastens the sectarianism that has plagued us for years, surrenders even the vestiges of national sovereignty that we had retained, and which does nothing to move us towards our long-sought goal to end the partition and occupation of our nation. Those who again took Britain at its word, when that word has long been known to us to be completely worthless, have traded tangible means of self-defense in exchange for the right to run for a legislature that isn't functioning and little else. Our people, our communities, languish in despair and dismay at the present and future that they confront now; kids turn to self-destructive hedonism and suicide is reaching epidemic proportions in the nationalist communities of Ireland's occupied six counties.

Our enemy is emboldened and our own people demoralised. The imperialists become increasingly vicious in their exploitation, while the anti-imperialist forces have been badly shattered through ill-fated processes of 'negotiation' in many nations. But we in the IRSP say to you today, we cannot secure our liberation through discussion with our oppressors. What is required is not pacts reached with our class enemies or foreign occupiers. What is required is unity, such as the unity that Pan-Africanism offers to Africans throughout the world; bonds of solidarity between anti-imperialists in Africa, in Ireland, in Palestine and Iraq. We in the IRSP express our solidarity with you now, in celebration of African Liberation Day, because we must keep our alliances strong in the face of this onslaught.

Together, we will win this struggle for the liberation of our nations and our class. Together we will create justice and harmony and lasting peace or fall in pursuit of it, because to live on our knees is simply not an option.

Forward Ever, Backward Never!

Revolutionary Armed Forces Of Colombia (FARC) Celebrates 40th Anniversary



FARC Fighters: Insurgent Colombia

The FARC is South America's oldest, largest, most capable, and best-equipped Marxist insurgency. The FARC's origins can be traced to a period in Colombia known as La Violencia (The Violence) which spanned 1948 to 1958.

It was triggered by the assassination of George Eliecer Gaitan, a presidential candidate and progressive who stood in support of the rights of Colombia's landless peasants. La Violencia describes a decade-long war between the reformists and the country's large landowners and industrialists, which resulted in over 200,000 deaths. The peasants banded together in self-defense groups, which developed into revolutionary

communities then called "Independent Republics", mostly in southern Colombia. In 1964, about 16,000 government soldiers attacked these "Independent Republics", but the guerillas had taken refuge in the country's southern mountains. Later that year, the FARC was born out of a gathering together of these groups, as the military wing of the Colombian Communist Party, under the leadership of Pedro Antonio Marin, aka Manuel Marulanda.

Marulanda (known by his nom de guerre "Tiro Fijo" or "sure shot"), now 76, who turned a group of 48 armed farmers into what is now the FARC, with 17,000 armed combatants and many thousand more supporters, still leads the insurgent move-

ment. Marulanda has been mistakenly declared dead by authorities at least 17 times.

The FARC is organized along military lines and includes units that operate in key urban areas as well, carrying out guerilla and conventional military action against the Colombian army, police, and against economic targets. The FARC attempted to negotiate a peace agreement with the government in 1984, which led to a cease-fire, during which the FARC established a political party, the Patriotic Union (UP). Since that time, however, right-wing death squads run by drug cartels tied to the Army murdered thousands of the UP members, causing the party to disintegrate.

The most recent attempt by the FARC to negotiate a peace agreement with the Colombian government was during 1997 to 2002, when Andres Pastrana was President. In 1998, Pastrana granted the FARC a Switzerland-size "safe haven" (42,000 square miles). Pastrana and Marulanda met several times, and on numerous occasions Pastrana, but peace eluded them. Colombian President, Alvaro Uribe, has taken a hard line against FARC under pressure from the US imperialists. The FARC have responded in kind. At Uribe's August 2002 inauguration, the FARC bombed the Presidential Palace, killing 21.

In an interview published in Green Left Weekly, in May 2004, the periodical asked: what it would mean for Colombia that Uribe has asked the US to intervene militarily in Colombia with the same amount of force as in the invasion of Iraq?

The FARC responded:

When a president asks to be invaded by a world power like the United States, it shows he is anti-Colombian, he is Colombia's enemy. No one, from any part of the world, is going to ask that their country be invaded by another country, especially if they claim to have authority, or that they have the support of most of the population. This just shows Uribe's fascist, pro-US nature... Colombia is a rich country, a country of 44 million people, a country in a very strategic position in South America, a country with vital underground wealth, and biodiversity. But the majority of its people are poor. Eighty percent of

the population lives in poverty, and 50% in abject poverty, and these trends continue to grow. Meanwhile, 20% of Colombians live off the country's wealth... The FARC is struggling for political power. It is struggling for a new Colombia, hand in hand with the Colombian people. The FARC is part of the people. It is struggling for political power so that there are no exploiters or exploited, so that we can have a just society, where inequalities disappear, and so that we can construct a Colombia where a large majority will benefit from the country's riches.

In April of 2002, the FARC launched the Bolivarian Movement, which enjoys strong support in Colombia's academic, political, and social sectors. The FARC point out that this movement is growing, but because it's an underground movement, none of those who are part of it can come out publicly, because they would be immediately murdered, or at the very least jailed. Still, despite its clandestine nature, it is growing among intellectuals, teachers, students, and among sectors of workers and the unemployed, both in the country and the city.

The FARC sees itself as part of a larger movement made up of people in Bolivia, Ecuador, and other people of other parts of the region engaged in a struggle against the devastating effects of the neoliberal economic model; a model generated by globalisation, the imperialist war against the peoples of the world, carried out by the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank.

The Irish Republican Socialist Party support the struggle of the FARC and the National Liberation Army (another revolutionary socialist guerilla movement operating in Colombia) against imperialism and native capitalism. Moreover, the IRSP hope that the Bolivarian Movement will help to mobilise large sectors of the revolutionary, urban working class in Colombia to struggle for an end to a privileged capitalist minority administering the country in the interests of foreign imperialist, while leaving the masses of the nation in economic bondage and political repression.

At this year's annual wreath laying ceremony in Derry, to commemorate INLA Hunger Striker Patsy O'Hara, IRSP Ard-Comhairle member, Eddie Mc Garigle addressed to those in attendance.

Mr. McGarigle spoke of Patsy and his 'selfless dedication' stating that: "Over these past few days I have pondered over the words which might encapsulate Patsy's selfless dedication to the republican struggle, the truth is there are no words or speeches which would adequately explain the full extent of Patsy's courage or determination."

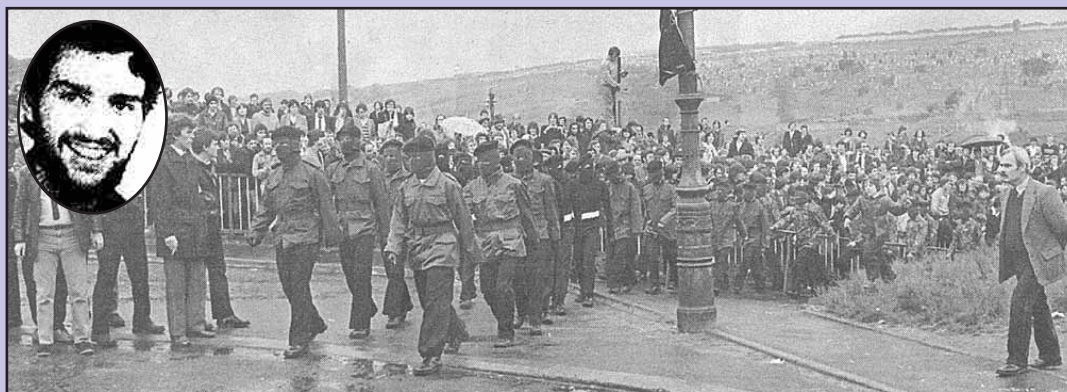
He continued by saying that "No fine words will be sufficient to convey the enormity of the terrible burden of grief and pain endured by the O'Hara family both during the traumatic days of the 1981 hunger strike and the long, lonely years which followed. We can only bow our heads in awe of your courage and steadfastness. Mixed with the grief and pain is a great sense of pride and today we gather here at his graveside with you to embrace you in solidarity."

"Patsy was 23 years old when he died on hunger strike; during his short life he witnessed the barbaric nature of British rule. The repression and gerrymandering of the Stormont State with the backing of the British forced young men like Patsy to take up arms. He saw injustice, he resisted, he saw brutality, he resisted, he witnessed at first hand the lackeys of imperialism baton and murder peaceful protesters in this city, he resisted. Patsy was on the side of the downtrodden and oppressed, he was interned at the age of 17, he was a victim of several frame ups and internment by remand. He was a revolutionary soldier who joined the ranks of INLA and fought for the liberation of his class and his people.

"The 'Criminalization' policy introduced in 1976 condemned hundreds of

Cuimhneachán

Patsy O'Hara: A revolutionary soldier who fought for the liberation of his class & his people



The INLA Guard of Honour Marches out for the Funeral of Vol Patsy O'Hara.

Republican prisoners to the cruelty and horrendous conditions of the H blocks and the Blanket protest. After finding himself in prison in 1979 he was then sentenced to 8 years. Patsy joined the blanket protest, he refused to be labeled a criminal, he refused to allow the Republican struggle for freedom to be criminalized, he fought back just as he did whenever and wherever he was faced with bullies. In 1981 Patsy and nine friends and comrades died in defense of the struggle for Irish freedom. Times have changed in many ways, it is clear that we all find ourselves living in somewhat confusing times, spin doctoring seems to be the order of the day. The recent report by the so called International Monitoring Commission

came as no surprise to any Irish republican, its independence is a sham, it is a tool of policy for both the British and Irish governments with a mandate to isolate and demonise republicans, it is yet another mechanism by which they hope to pressurize republicans into conforming to their set of rules, let me make this clear, The Republican Socialist Movement will never jump through any hoops to suit the agenda of either Government.

"Within the IMC report is yet another attempt at criminalizing the Republican Socialist Movement, I refer to its assertion that the INLA are involved in the drug trade. Those who propagate and meddle such stories, whether within the

IMC or the Sunday World have one thing in common, all of them fear, in one way or another the class based analysis of the Republican Socialist Movement. The demonisation and attempted criminalization of revolutionary republicanism is just as evident today as it was in 1981. The INLA are a principled, disciplined and noble Army and I salute its volunteers."

He said "I agree with the political analysis of the IRSP that conditions for armed struggle no longer exist, at this time, and I concur also with the INLA ceasefire, I believe that we should pursue peaceful methods of struggle at this time, however various republican organizations have chosen different tactics. Despite the differences between republican traditions it

is essential for republicans never to forget that our common enemy is still British Imperialism. Regardless of the strategy each of us take in pursuit of freedom, regardless of the difference of opinion, let us always treat each other with respect, dignity and comradeship. Let us promote dialogue between us, and let each of us respect our differences.

"It would be remiss of me not to mention the plight of the republican prisoners in Maghaberry Prison. All republicans, regardless of differences or tactics need to rally to their support. Today in Maghaberry Prison Irish Republican prisoners face the same enemy as the prisoners faced in Long Kesh in 1981, the issues are the same, the agenda of the British is the same, their goal is the criminalization of Irish Republican prisoners. Republicans of all shades need to put their differences to one side and form a unified campaign of support. Wherever and whenever injustices are found republicans of all traditions need to stand shoulder to shoulder.

"Political frame ups as experienced by Patsy in the 1970's are not a thing of the past, local republican Seamus Doherty, a principled republican from this city is currently awaiting trial on falsified charges. He is the victim of a State stitch up and should be freed immediately. The overriding legacy which Patsy O'Hara and his comrades left to us was their strength of character, their courage, commitment, integrity, honesty, principle and the bonds of friendship and camaraderie they forged. It is our duty as republicans, to aim to emulate those same characteristics, to do otherwise, is unthinkable.

Concluding Mr. McGarigle said that "there is no finer calling in this world than to stand shoulder to shoulder with the oppressed, with the marginalised and with the poor. It is there we will see the spirit of men like Patsy O'Hara live on."



Wolfe Tone Commemoration 2004

In June members and supporters of the IRSP came together from throughout Ireland in the Kildare village of Sallins for a march to the grave of Theobald Wolfe Tone in Bodenstown. The march was this year led by the RSM Memorial Flute Band from Derry and Strabane on it's first ever public outing. Also on parade were the Republican Socialist Martyrs Memorial Flute Band from Belfast. It is indeed a testament to the continued growth of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement that two flute bands are now available for all the movement's outdoor events. Just a few years ago this was not possible but the ability of the movement to now attract sufficient numbers of young people in the North West and Belfast has made the long overdue formation of these bands now possible.

At the grave of Wolfe Tone, Gerard Foster delivered the main oration. He began by outlining what Seamus Costello said when he spoke at the same site some 38 years earlier. He said, "Friends and comrades, in 1966 Seamus Costello, founder and leader of the IRSP and INLA stood on this very spot, the most revered grave in Irish Republican history. He delivered one of the most prophetic orations ever delivered here in Bodenstown. We make no apology for revisiting his oration here today. 38 years ago Costello said of the Six Counties:

'In the North, the destinies of one and a half million of our countrymen are controlled by a puppet regime whose existence for some 45 years has depended on the support of British armed forces. This regime has found to it's apparent delight that one of the simplest ways of ensuring its continued existence is by the furtherance of bigotry and sectarianism. Ample evidence of this policy can be found in the antics of a certain revered agent provocateur. These then are the means by which the British imperialists intend to maintain the people of the North in perpetual slavery. These are also the means by which the working classes are divided against their own material welfare. the pro-British capitalist classes who control the economy of the North know very well that, when the people reject those who foster sectarianism, their next step will be to demand a just share of the wealth, which they create. These are the real reasons why one section of the community are led to believe that it is in their interest to discriminate against another section. Never are they told that the standard of living which they enjoy, at the expense of their victimised neighbours, is theirs by right - rather are they tricked into believing that these natural rights are a reward for their support of the regime. These tactics serve to ensure that a large section of the population of the North remain loyal to the regime and at the same time do not insist on having a bigger share of the wealth.'

"Costello was highlighting how Britain maintained it's rule in Ireland by sectarian and social division. Of course Britain could not only have done this by force of arms alone. There are native capitalist classes both North and South of the border that have facilitated British rule because it allowed them to profit. They serve no master but money. They have been a constant block to the Republic.

"No matter what guise they went under, or what republican name they choose to call themselves, such as Fianna Fail - Soldiers of Destiny - so long as they were in defence of existing property relations they were and are a block to the Republic. In every generation there have been those who have compromised their principles, endeavouring to partially liberate Ireland from the yoke of the British through negotiation that first required the concession of equity, instead of social equality.

"We regard the Good Friday Agreement as one such effort. Sinn Fein have reaped electoral rewards as a result. They are now the largest nationalist party in the North and have built a base in the South that seems impressive. But in so doing they may well have forgotten the lessons of history. The Workers Party once had similar success in the South. Where are they now? When a political movement ditches it's principles it may well have short term electoral reward but in the long term it will be no longer what it was.

"It would be remiss of us at Bodenstown not to highlight that Wolfe Tone over whose grave we stand, believed in Liberty, Fraternity & Equality.

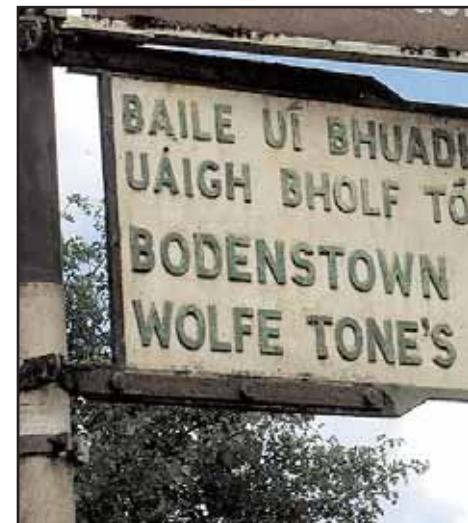
"Liberty includes the freedom to express your views without fear or favour. We call on all who call themselves Republicans to recognise the right to dissent, the right not to agree, the right to articulate minority views. And we call on all Republicans to condemn anyone or any organisation that tries to stifle political opinions they don't agree with. We in the Republican Socialist Movement have endured bitter times in the past. We have learnt that the way to resolve differences is not to take up the gun against our opponents but to respect their vows while not agreeing with them.

"We have strong differences with other republicans over such issues as the Good Friday Agreement, abstentionism, armed struggle and so on. But we must not allow those differences to embitter us or to demoralise our political opponents. If we call for the unity of the working class so also should we call for the unity of Republicans on issues on which we can agree. That is why we welcome the growing openness among Republicans on issues on which we can agree."

All speeches from this page are available online at: www.irsm.org/statements



Pictures, Top left: Republican Socialist Martyrs Band forming up, Top Right: Colour Party at grave of Wolfe Tone, Middle Right: Sign post to the grave of Wolfe Tone, Bottom: Parade makes it's way to the grave of Wolfe Tone from Sallins, Below: Gerard Foster delivers main oration in Bodenstown.



Volunteer John Morris Memorial Unveiling

INLA Volunteer John Morris was executed by 26 county secret police in June 1997. On June 15th past hundreds turned out in his native Tallaght to see the unveiling of a new memorial to this brave volunteer. Despite severe provocation and intimidation at the event from the secret police those attending held their composure and carried on with the event in a dignified manner. The secret police drove through the parade, confiscated cameras, verbally abused members of John Morris' family and arrested and assaulted one of the organisers.

Speaking at the memorial unveiling Gerard Murray started by saying, "May I pay tribute to the work carried out by the Teach Na Failte Memorial Committee in not only organising this memorial but also the wide series of memorials to volunteers and comrades of our movement over the past two years. Tremendous work comrades

"The death of John was a loss to his family and to the republican socialist movement. John joins a long list of republicans since 1922 gunned down by the forces of the so-called free state. We republicans have long memories. We recall the murder of Harry Boland, the executions of Mellows, Barrett, O'Connor and McKelvey, and the bitterness with which the so-called "De Valera republicans" hunted down, murdered tortured and beat those republicans who stood by their principles in the thirties and forties.

"We don't forget that in the last round of the armed struggle against the presence of British troops in Ireland all sections of the Free state establishment rounded up republicans, banned us from the airwaves, handed our men over the border to the British Imperialists and did everything physically possible to destroy republicanism in Ireland. They did not succeed. Our presence here today to honour our fallen comrade is a testimony to the enduring power of our republicanism.



The march makes it's way to the new memorial in memory of INLA Vol John Morris in Dublin

"But comrades and friends it is important to stress that our republicanism is not some sterile abstract ideology, divorced from the everyday realities of peoples' lives. John Morris and many others like him are proof that our republicanism is rooted in the everyday reality of working class life. John was a member of the INLA. While politically he saw the need for a working class party that stood for the marginalised and dispossessed he realised that the rich and powerful, the supporters of the Imperialists, could not relinquish their power without a fight hence the necessity for a cutting edge to the struggle. And in that struggle he fell.

"Of course the full forces of the establishment have united to denigrate his and the sacrifices of others. Through the judiciary, the media, the Garda, and the political elites, barriers are erected to prevent the full truth coming out. The paid perjurers of the press have mocked lied and distorted the truth. Sections of the media have denigrated us as drug dealers. We are not. No

member of the INLA is involved in drug dealing. No member of the IRSP is involved in drug dealing. The IRSP have challenged those journalists who have made these allegations in the past to produce the evidence. We are still waiting the evidence.

"We are however aware that a small number of pseudo gangs, and former members of not only the INLA but other republican armies are engaged in extortion, racketeering and drug dealing using the name of the INLA. We know who they are for some of these gangs are operating obviously with the full approval of the so-called security forces. Those who descend into extortion and racketeering have no right to call themselves republicans for they besmirch the very name John Morris was a victim of a shoot to kill policy because he was a republican socialist. The same policy adopted by the British in the North is the same policy carried out by the Garda in the South. So long as we remember this, the crumbs from the table of the rich will not seduce us nor the slanderous lies of the media halt us.

"Meanwhile the façade of what passes for politics in the North continues. Do we really think that the elections will change anything? The political process that produced the Good Friday Agreement is fatally flawed. So long as the political parties, including Provisional Sinn Fein play the tribal card then no progress can be made towards the Republic we all want. It may gain support for an internal settlement but it will not deliver the Republic.

"We in the Republican Socialist Movement have made it clear time and time again that the only Republic worth fighting for is the Socialist Republic as envisaged by James Connolly. It is not part of our Republicanism to administer British rule in Ireland and say that it is a stepping stone to the Republic. It is not. That may be what Irish nationalism is about. It is not what Irish Republicanism is about."

Vol Kevin Lynch Commemoration

The annual Kevin Lynch commemoration was held on a warm mid summers day and was one of the biggest parades in Dungiven in many years.

This year's parade had two bands representing the Irish Republican Socialist Movement among the four bands on parade. They entertained the big crowd and were all well turned out. The day's events began with the traditional short walk from the Lynch family home to the local churchyard where wreaths were laid on behalf of various organisations and individuals including various branches of the IRSM and the Lynch family.

The speeches then began with Gerard Murray on behalf of the IRSP and Francie Molloy of Sinn Fein.

Gerard Murray began by paying tribute to the sacrifice of INLA Volunteer Kevin Lynch and his comrades in their battle for political status and against criminalisation. "Today as we salute the memory of Kevin Lynch, hunger striker and political prisoner, it would be remiss of us not to express our full solidarity with current Republican political prisoners in Maghaberry and to reiterate our call for the immediate release of Dessie O'Hare and the other qualifying Republican prisoners under the terms of the GFA. We make no distinction between different republican groupings when it comes to solidarity with republican prisoners. Do not forget there would be no republican prisoners in gaols if there was a final settlement to the national question. And so long as the national question is unsettled then so will there be republicans who will wage a struggle to establish a republic on the island for all the people of the island."

He went on after describing the current political situation, "We reject the notion that there are two separate divided communi-



Gerard Murray addresses the crowd at the annual Kevin Lynch commemoration

ties. There are not two communities - instead we have a divided working class who clash in deprived areas. And while elements of the self same working class clash particularly in July those who benefit from the sectarian clashes jet off to sunnier climates tut-tutting about the fighting going on amongst the lower class-

es. Was it for this that men and women sacrificed the best years of their lives in struggle in prison, in exile and for many in death? Was it for this that the hunger strikers died? Surely it is legitimate to ask hard questions? Is it not time to call a halt to the endless round of talks about talks about talks?"

04



MARX, ENGELS AND LENIN ON IRELAND AND THE NATIONAL QUESTION

By Liam O Ruairc

Throughout history, nationalism has taken (1) many different forms (conservative, radical etc), (2) has/is supported by many different social groups (bourgeoisie, working class, etc), (3) has very different political effects (reactionary, progressive). When dealing with nationalism, it is necessary like Marx, Engels, Lenin and Connolly to reject an abstract and timeless theory of nationalism. It was always historical and concrete. The fundamental point is that their analysis of nationalism was always put in terms of (a) the strategic interests of the working class, and thus always emphasised (b) the relation between nationalism and democracy. Marxists have to understand simultaneously the social roots of national struggles and the national content of the class struggle.

It is a commonly held misconception that Marx and Engels did not understand the importance of nationalism. They are famous for writing in the Manifesto that "the workers have no country". Does that mean that they have no interest in the nation? In fact, Marx and Engels understood very well the importance for nationalism for working class politics. In the same Manifesto, they write that the proletariat "must rise to be the leading class of the nation, must constitute itself the nation, it is, so far, itself national, though not the in the bourgeois sense of the word." The question of the leading class of the nation is of extreme importance. Societies are divided into classes, so the "national interest" must be represented by one of them. The most progressive class in society would be truly national in so far as it was able to take the whole society forward, even while it was promoting its own interest. If it is not that of the proletariat, the nationalism will be that of the ruling classes that conceive their own interest as those of the entire nation. That capacity to represent the interest of a particular social class as those of the entire nation is very important. Similarly, they have been accused of intending to abolish national differences. However, what Marx and Engels foresaw was not the complete disappearance of all national distinctions whatever but specifically the abolition of sharp economic and social differences, economic isolation, invidious distinctions, political rivalries, wars and exploitation of one nation by another. In the case of Ireland and Britain for example, they advocated "the transformation of the present forced Union into an equal and free Confederation if possible, or into complete separation if necessary" (255). The Irish question was decisive in the formation of the Marxist analysis of the national question.

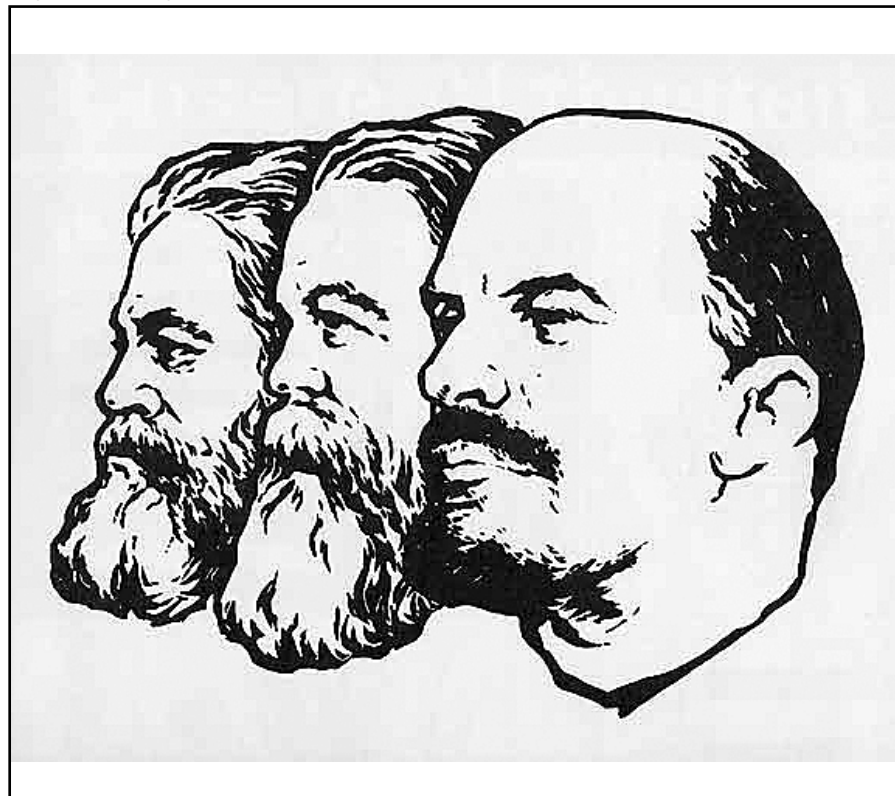
For Marx and Engels, there was nothing intrinsically progressive about Irish nationalism, the right of a nation to self determination is not absolute. Marx and Engels were clearly aware that the relation between England and Ireland was one of oppression. But, Marx's support for the Irish struggle was "not only acted upon feelings of humanity. There is something besides." (404) His support for Ireland's right to self-determination was based on a class analysis. In the 1840s and 1850s, Marx and Engels believed that Irish freedom would be a by-product of a working class revolution in Great Britain. But in 1869, he wrote: "Deeper study has now convinced me of the opposite. The English working class will never accomplish anything before it has got rid of Ireland. The lever must be applied in Ireland." (398) Why? Marx thought that the English aristocracy maintained its domination at home through its domination of Ireland. "A nation that oppresses another forges its own chains." (255) This is why "to accelerate the social revolution in Europe, you must push on the catastrophe of official England. To do so, you must attack her in Ireland. That's her weakest point. Ireland lost, the British Empire is gone and the class war in England till now somnolent and chronic, will assume acute forms." (404) Thus, for English workers, "the national emancipation of Ireland is no question of abstract justice or humanitarian sentiment, but the first condition of their own social

emancipation." (408) Therefore the task for socialists was everywhere to put "the conflict between England and Ireland in the foreground, and everywhere to side openly with the Irish." (408) Their position on Ireland was analysed in terms of the European and British revolution. The situation was assessed in terms of its impact on the balance of forces between classes in Europe, Britain and Ireland and how it would increase the class struggle. Regarding the class struggle in Ireland, they arrived at the conclusion that the land question "is not merely a simple economic question but at the same time a national question, since the landlords there...are...its mortally hated oppressor." Marx saw the relation between the national question and the class struggle in the following terms: "In Ireland the land question has hitherto been the exclusive form of the social question, because it is a question of existence, of life and death, for the immense majority of the Irish people, and because it is at the same time inseparable from the national question." (407) The solution advocated by Marx was "What the Irish need is (1) self-government and independence from England, (2) an agrarian revolution, (3) protective

What was true of the relationship between Britain and Ireland, in the later part of the 19th century was mirrored all over the world with the imperialist stage of capitalism. Imperialism is a worldwide system of colonial oppression and financial domination of the overwhelming majority of the world by a small number of capitalist countries. A handful of imperialist countries obtain high profits of the exploitation of oppressed people worldwide. Imperialism thus divides the world into oppressed and oppressor nations. Lenin, after Marx and Engels, developed the most advanced Marxist understanding of the national question. For Lenin, the focal point in the socialist programme "must be that division of nations into oppressor and oppressed which forms the essence of imperialism." (CW21, 409) If one confronts the reality of imperialism, the first fact is that the world is now divided between oppressor and oppressed nations, and that national oppression has not only been extended, it has intensified. Imperialism has also the effect of dividing the working class. The superprofits are able to "buy off" a layer of the working class in the oppressor countries.

the necessary framework for the transition to socialism in societies dominated by imperialism. Lenin was keenly aware of nationalism as a catalysing agent. His analysis is based on distinctions between oppressor nations and oppressed nations, bourgeois nationalism and revolutionary nationalism. In so far as the oppressed nation fights the oppressor "we are always, in every case, and more strongly than anyone else, in favour, for we are the staunchest and the most consistent enemies of oppression." (CW20, 411-412) "The bourgeois nationalism of any oppressed nation has a general democratic content that is directed against oppression, and it is this content that we unconditionally support." (CW20, 412) Consequently, Marxism must take both tendencies of nationalism into account by advocating "firstly the equality of nations and languages and the impermissibility of all privileges in this respect (and the right to self-determination); secondly the principle of internationalism and uncompromising struggle against the contamination of the proletariat with bourgeois nationalism, even of the most refined kind." (CW20, 435) The task of the socialists is not simply to tail the bourgeois nationalism. Democratic demands, Lenin argued "must be formulated and put through in a revolutionary and not a reformist manner, going beyond the bounds of bourgeois legality, breaking them down, going beyond speeches in parliament and verbal protests, and drawing the masses into decisive action." (CW22, 145)

Real revolutions do not take a "pure" form, with a "pure" working class. Responding to Socialists who had dismissed the 1916 rising as a nationalist revolt, Lenin replied: "To imagine that a social revolution is conceivable without revolts of small nations in the colonies and in Europe, without the revolutionary outbursts of a section of the petty bourgeoisie with all its prejudices, without the movement of non-class conscious proletarian and semi-proletarian masses against oppression of the landlords, the church, the monarchy, the foreign yoke, etc - to imagine that is tantamount to repudiating social revolution. So one army lines up in one place and says 'we are for socialism', and another somewhere else lines up and says 'we are for imperialism' and that will be a social revolution! ... Who ever expects a 'pure' social revolution will never live to see it. Such a person pays lip service to revolution without understanding what revolution is". ("The Discussion of Self Determination Summed Up", CW22, 355-356) The role of nationalism and national question is crucial for the socialism: "The dialectics of history are such that small nations powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments, one of the bacilli which facilitate the entry into the arena of real power against imperialism, namely the socialist proletariat." (CW22, 357) The rising failed, but Lenin nevertheless defended its validity. "The misfortune of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, ..., but only in revolutionary movements which are often premature, partial, sporadic, and therefore unsuccessful will the masses gain, experience, acquire knowledge, gather strength, get to know their real leaders, the socialist proletarians, and in that way prepare for the general onslaught, in the same way as separate strikes, demonstrations, local and national, mutinies in the army, outbreaks among the peasantry, etc, prepared the way for the general onslaught in 1905." (CW, 358) The 1916 Rising was also significant because it took place in Europe. "The struggle of the oppressed nations in Europe, a struggle capable of going to the lengths of insurrection and street fighting, breach of military discipline in the army and martial law, sharpens the revolutionary crisis in Europe infinitely more than a much more complete rebellion in a single colony." (CW, 357) The stance of Marx, Engels and Lenin on Ireland and the Irish question are the model for the socialist understanding of the national question.



tariffs against England." (158) It was in the interests of the class struggle that the Irish should give a central importance to the national question. In a 1882 letter to Kautsky, Engels wrote that the Irish "have not only the right but even the duty to be nationalistic before they become internationalistic", "they are most internationalistic when they are genuinely nationalistic." (449) To the idea that workers of oppressed and oppressor nations should somehow put their national differences behind, Engels replied: "If members of a conquering nation called upon the nation they had conquered and continued to hold down to forget their specific nationality and position, to 'sink national differences' and so forth, that was not Internationalism, it was nothing else but preaching to them submission to the yoke, and attempting to justify and perpetuate the dominion of the conqueror under the cloak of Internationalism. It was sanctioning the belief, only too common among the English working men, that they were superior beings compared to the Irish." (419)

Lenin wrote that "The policy of Marx and Engels on the Irish question serves as a splendid example of the attitude the proletariat of the oppressor nation should adopt towards national movements, an example which has lost none of its practical importance." (CW20, 442) Socialism for Lenin "will remain a hollow phrase if it is not linked up with a revolutionary approach to all questions of democracy, including the national question." (CW21, 413) Within their ultimate aim of socialism, communists support "every revolutionary movement against the present social system, they support all oppressed nationalities, persecuted religions, downtrodden social estates etc. in their fight for equal rights." (CW20, 34) He wrote this important statement: "Increased national oppression under imperialism does not mean that Social Democracy should reject what the bourgeoisie call the 'utopian' struggle for the freedom of nations to secede but, on the contrary, it should make greater use of the conflicts that arise in this sphere, too, as ground for mass action and for revolutionary attacks on the bourgeoisie." (CW22, 146) Nationalism is a potent mobilising agent and

Republican Socialists Of The First International

Peter Urban

In March of 1871 the years of work and debate by the First International on the Fenians and the Irish question finally resulted in the formation of the first Irish section of the International Workingmen's Association (IWMA). As it happened, Marx read the announcement of the formation of the new Irish section to the General Council on St. Patrick's Day. Among the names of the founding members of the new Irish section, two stand out above the rest, Samuel Kavanagh and John Devoy. Kavanagh, an old Fenian, went on to become a member of the General Council of the International, but the name of greatest importance was that of John Devoy.

While the Fenian leader James Stephens reportedly took a membership card in the International, in November 1866, there is no record of his having made any lasting contribution to the IWMA. Devoy, however, was an active early organiser of Irish sections of the International in America, and the New York section he founded was to endure for a number of years. Three months after the IWMA's first Irish section was formed, Marx nominated J.P. McDonnell to the General Council. McDonnell was seated on the Council on July 4, 1871 as the Council's Corresponding Secretary for Ireland and became one of the most notable of the Irish socialists during the era of the First International.

Within nine months of having taken his seat on the General Council, McDonnell was able to report:

That flourishing Irish sections had been formed in Bradford, Chelsea, Cork, Coothill, Dublin, Middlesbrough, Marylybone, and Soho. In Cork the sections were very strong. The sections in Dublin were large and were increasing rapidly in spite of the Dublin newspapers, which were denouncing the International as an association opposed to all moral-

ity and all religion.

Efforts were being made to form sections in Bristol, Bolton, Belfast, Wellington and a number of other places, he concluded. The next month Irish sections were founded in Ennis and Limerick, Ireland, and Sheffield and Peckham, England as well. The Irish sections of the International, both in Ireland and in England came under attack virtually upon their founding. While the sections in Ireland drew fire from the conservative forces of the Church, the State, and the gentry; it was the representatives of the English working class who assaulted the Irish sections of the IWMA in England. Within a month of the formation of Irish sections in England, John Hales, leader of the British Federal Council of the IWMA and Secretary of the General Council, proposed a resolution stating: *"That in the opinion of the Council the formation of Irish nationalist branches in England is opposed to the General Rules and Principles of the Association. He argued in its support:*

The resolution met opposition on all sides, perhaps best put by Engels who said, according to the Council's minutes:

There was the fact of seven centuries of English conquest and oppression of Ireland, and so long as that oppression existed, it was an insult to Irish workingmen to ask them to submit to a British Federal Council. If members of a conquering nation called upon the nation they had conquered and continued to hold down to forget their specific nationality and position, to 'simple national difference' and so forth, that was nothing else but preaching to them submission to the yoke, and attempting to justify and to perpetuate the dominion of the conqueror under the cloak of Internationalism.

If the promoters of this motion were so brimful of truly International spirits, let them prove it by remov-

ing the seat of the British Federal Council to Dublin, and submit to a Council of Irishmen...If the motion was adopted by the Council, the Council would inform the Irish working men, in so many words, that, after the dominion of the English aristocracy over Ireland, after the dominion of the English middle class over Ireland, they must now look forth to the advent of the dominion of the English working class over Ireland.

The issue of the Irish sections in England did not die with Hales' resolution, however. The Corresponding Secretary for the British Federal Council, John Roach, took up the attack. Roach joined by Hales, hurled charges of misuse of his position on the Council against McDonnell, in regard to his having issued a circular appealing for funds to support the Irish organiser in Cork, and they also claimed that the Irish section in Middlesbrough had never been recognized by the Council. In response Marx and Engels threw back charges of gross neglect on the part of the keeper of the minutes, Hales, and defended McDonnell's actions as a worthy undertaking. A sub-committee was established to look into both charges, headed by Marx's ally Jung, with the end result being the Middlesbrough section was found to be a recognized Irish section and McDonnell free of any wrongdoing.

The difficulties of the Irish sections of the International in Ireland came from a wholly different source. At the same time that McDonnell announced the formation of the sections in Cork and Dublin, he noted that the Dublin newspapers were denouncing the new section there and that in Cork the priests, led by Canon Maguire, were leading an attack on the sections there. McDonnell's chief organiser in Cork, a teacher named John DeMorgan, lost most of his pupils as a result of his organizing efforts. The situation in Cork eventually became so severe that arrangements had to be made to support DeMorgan

financially, so he could continue his work for the IWMA.

The International publicly condemned the use of police terror in Cork and Dublin against the IWMA's sections. All the Cork newspapers carried the resolution condemning the police abuses, though primarily for the purpose of denouncing the International, not the police. In addition to attacks in the press and pulpit, both the Cork and Dublin sections were forced to defend themselves from physical assaults. The Secretary of the Dublin section, McKeen, reported that the section: "met with much opposition from the clerical national party. The Dublin section had held a meeting when a member belonging to the Nationalists broke in and threw the meeting into disorder." In Cork the tables were turned somewhat, when the members of the International there broke into a meeting called to denounce the IWMA, seized the chair after a prolonged battle of fists and broken furniture, and then addressed the crowd of nearly 400 workers in the hall. Despite police harassment, clerical condemnation, abuse in the press, and physical assault the International remained alive in Ireland. DeMorgan reported that the establishment of the International sections "had done much good, all the large firms in that city Cork and the South of Ireland were conceding the nine hours for fear the men should join the International." At the Hague Congress of the International news of the spread of the International to Ireland was met with great enthusiasm.

The first Irish section founded in the U.S., Section 7, grew rapidly and attempted to make inroads into the Irish republican societies in existence in America. By November 1871, two new Irish sections were established in America, sections 24 and 28. The first fruit of the labours of these sections was demonstrated in mid-December of the year, when they drew a large Irish contingent to a march of 10,000 people protesting the execution of the Paris communards, led by a number of prominent Fenians.

IWMA Section 12, headed by bourgeois reformist Victoria Woodhull, began issuing declarations in the name of the IWMA, which had nothing in common with the principles of the International, especially causing dissension amongst the Irish sections. Section 12 was expelled and a resolution passed prohibiting the admittance of sections whose membership was not at least two-thirds wage earners. In the debates on the split in the US Federal Council and the expulsion of Section 12, Friedrich Sorge argued heavily on the fact that:

developed capitalist countries no longer had cause to rely on alliances with other classes—such as the peasants, who were rapidly becoming extinct as a class in the West, but must stand on their own; and that the more highly developed state of the working class in the West necessitated a revolutionary movement with a more democratic/egalitarian orientation, rather than the Bolshevik's strongly hierarchical, leader-



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It was Anton Pannekoek whose book on the Workers' Councils gave Council Communism its name, but his fellow Dutch comrade Hermann Gorter was most influential in establishing the tendency as a distinct political trend in Marxism. Gorter was born in 1864 and is well known as a poet in the Netherlands. By the time he became active within the Zimmerwald Left during the First World War, he had been a leading figure in the Left-wing of the international socialist movement—especially in Germany and his native Netherlands—for decades.

When the Bolsheviks encountered opposition within the early Communist International from some sections of its Left-wing, chiefly on the issues of participation in traditional craft-based trade unions and in parliamentary elections, Lenin responded with his pamphlet, *Left-wing Communism: An Infantile Disorder*.

The emerging Council Communists were the primary target of the polemic, but the response, drafted by Gorter, avoided a corresponding reliance on insults in its title; instead Gorter entitled the work, *Open Letter To Comrade Lenin*. Gorter also avoided reminding Lenin—who had attributed the Left Communists' 'errors' to their youth and lack of experience—that he was, in fact, Lenin's senior by six years and a veteran of the international socialist movement for decades.

The main thrust of Gorter's response primarily makes the argument that the backward economic and social development at the time of its revolution made the tactics employed by the Bolsheviks inappropriate for use in the highly developed capitalist societies of Western Europe and North America.

In doing so, he identified four major areas of departure: that the craft-based trade unions had ceased to be viable anti-capitalist vehicles in developed capitalism and needed to be replaced by more democratically administered, industrial unions; that the divisions between the various political parties of capitalism that the Bolsheviks sought to exploit in the Russian Duma could not be relied upon in the West, where the capitalist parties would overcome any divisions to present a united front against the working class; that the working class within

Léargas Hermann Gorter

This is the third in a series of article looking at revolutionary currents in Marxism, other than Marxism-Leninism. The previous articles focused on the contributions of Rosa Luxemburg and Anton Pannekoek.

based approach.

While several of these perspectives are also reflected in the writings and actions of James Connolly and Jim Larkin, the first indisputably mirrors the position of these Irish revolutionaries. The idea of replacing the craft-based trade unions with industrial unions was a central plank of the Socialist Labour Party, who sponsored Connolly's two trips to the United States, and it was the idea which gave rise to the Industrial Workers of the World, of which Connolly was a founding member, as well as the underlying concept inspiring the launch of the ITGWU by Connolly and Larkin. In fact, this concept was known in Ireland, Britain, and Australia as 'Larkinism'. The position of Connolly, Larkin, and the Council Communists—whose German representatives in the Communist Workers' Party of Germany launched a similar organisation there, the Unitary General Workers' Union of Germany—alike was that the older, craft-based trade unions were inseparably tied to the capitalist system, in which they acted as brokers of labour power.

These unions divided workers along specific job duties within an industry, competitively seeking a higher price for the labour of those they represented, but not challenging the existence of capitalism. Instead, what was needed was a unified and revolutionary organisation of the workers, encompassing entire industries and ensuring that a strike action could completely shut down production, rather than just removing a portion of the workforce, which could more easily be replaced by scabs. Moreover, this industrial organisation could serve as the vehicle in the economic sphere, where the real struggle between labour and capital played out, for the working class to organise itself and seize power in a revolutionary upsurge. The advantages of this form of union organisation were many, but chief among them were that organisation in the economic sphere was seen by the Council Communists as something which arose out of the nature.

Polaitíocht

It's Good To Talk

John Martin

The election results were a disappointment for those on the left. In England, Respect an opportunist creation of the Socialist Workers Party crashed to a humiliating defeat. Respect was trumpeted as the spearhead of the radical left's revival. It was to have mobilised the votes of the millions of people who opposed the Iraq war, and its leaders confidently boasted they would win seats and "give Blair a bloody nose" on June

10th.

But reality checked in. In the European elections, it averaged a mere 1.67% of the vote in the nine English regions. The other radical left party, the Greens, polled nearly four times more, notching up 6.19%. As well as being annihilated by the big three parties, UKIP and the Greens, Respect was also eclipsed in the European ballot by a motley collection of minor fringe parties, including the BNP, English

Democrats, Seniors, Independents and the Countryside Alliance.

In the North of Ireland, the Socialist Environmental Alliance candidate, Eamon McCann, who based the bulk of his campaign on opposition to the Iraq war, polled a disappointing 9 thousand odd votes, just over 1% of the vote.

The manner in which the SEA established itself, chooses its candidate and conducted its campaign is an object lesson in how not to build a socialist alternative.

Remember the SEA claimed to have support from environmentalists, trade unionists, etc. In reality the Green Party stood their own candidate, the Workers Party supported the independent, Gilliland, (no politics) and some trade unionists refused to back McCann because of his stance on the IRSP. At the end of the day McCann had the support of only some members of the CPI, the SWP and some very dedicated socialists and trade unionists. We take no pleasure in the low vote for McCann. We warned the SEA that by placing the emphasis on calling for Imperialism out of Iraq they were making a fundamental mistake. To oppose Imperialism far away while deliberately ignoring its presence in Ireland and refusing to tackle the fundamental

contradictions at the heart of Irish politics the SEA were opportunist and dishonest. Because of the national question the vast majority of workers voted for the party that they believed could best protect what they saw as their national interest. Hence the huge votes for both the DUP and Sinn Fein. As republican socialist we may regret the workers' choice as it seems to set worker against worker but we will not ignore where the workers consciousness is.

The SEA's stance of appeals to an abstract class-consciousness while ignoring the real consciousness of the workers was an ultra leftist error. It is relevant to recall the remarks made by Jack Bennett in an introduction to 'Freedom the Wolfe Tone Way' by Sean Cronin and Richard Roche 1973 when he wrote,

The socialists of the O'Brien School hold that it is not permissible even to talk about territorial unity and political independence because they say a million Protestants in the North don't want those things. It is quite all right however to blether away to your hearts content about 'social-

ism' even though five million Irish people, at the moment at any rate do not want socialism. How come?

What's the difference?

Simple. It is a hellavalot safer to blether about socialism. It gets you nowhere. It keeps the cosy status quo comfortably intact.

And it does not bring you too closely to the bone of the real politics.

The relative success of some socialists in the 26 county elections shows the importance of sustained political work on the ground. There is no shortcut to support for socialist policies other than by sustained long term work within the working class and that work is political, economic socials and cultural as well as electoral. Sinn Fein's populist approach paid off in electoral terms. The strategy of broadening their base by appealing out from the traditional republican base towards the wider radical, environmentally conscious and educated youth has reaped its reward. Sinn Fein is now in the process of challenging for the support of the traditional Irish Labour Party supporter while at the same time winning over the more republican minded grass roots Fianna Fail supporter. As its support grows we can confidently see an even more shift to the centre away from any concept of socialism.

The IRSP is a small republican socialist party that considers itself internationalist. We have members mainly residing in nationalist working class areas in the North and with strong roots among some working class communities.

We were prepared to consider working with other groups on a principled basis to see if agreement could be reached for agreed political platform for the last election. The opportunism of the SEA prevented that.

Nevertheless we will continue to have an open door to those who wish to talk about developing socialist / socialist republican ideas policies and programmes.

If the left and the republican left can not even talk to each other why oh why would the bulk of the working class population even give us the time of day?

It's good to talk.

This is Republican Socialism!

The Irish Republican Socialist Party is an organisation created by and for working class people, to aid working class liberation in Ireland and internationally with others who share that common goal. The IRSP stands in the tradition of James Connolly, seeking an end to all forms of exploitation and the creation of a 32 county socialist republic, with the working class collectively owning the means of production, distribution, and exchange, as well as democratically administering society.

Socialism

The socialism we embrace is the kind that liberates, not enslaves. We strive towards a society that functions to meet human needs, not the need for profit. Our socialism is a means of liberating our class from all forms of oppression, whether economic, political, religious, cultural or social. It is a socialism that envisions our class controlling their own destinies and that of the nation as a whole.

National Liberation

The struggle for national liberation cannot be separated from the class struggle. Any attempt to isolate one from the other will result in failure. It is meaningless to speak of a free nation, if the overwhelming majority remain oppressed, and national sovereignty is lost through multinational corporate control of the economy just as much as by partition. At the same time, someone who refuses to challenge British imperialism in Ireland cannot claim to be fighting for socialism and the continuation of partition props up the divisions in the working class of Ireland that hold us back from our own liberation. We have no choice in whether or not we wish to consider the interconnection of the national and class questions, reality forces us to do so.

We define the national liberation struggle as that struggle which seeks to force a British military withdrawal from the occupied six counties. The destruction of the pro-British loyalist armed forces. The withdrawal of British political influence from all parts of Ireland. The ending the partition of the island of Ireland and the overturning of both the partitionist governments presently administering political affairs of Ireland. The gaining of collective economic control of the nation's resources by the nation as a whole and the eradication of any control or influence exercised by foreign capitalists over any aspect of the Irish economy. The recognition of a separate Irish cultural identity and the establishment of revolutionary 32-county socialist republic.

We aim to build a strong alliance in Irish society of our class in towns and cities, agricultural workers in the country-side, unemployed workers, working class refugees, linked as a movement internationally with other like-minded liberation struggles.

We firmly stand-by the struggle for a republic. On that we are inflexible, but our struggle for the republic is a means to an end. For us, the national liberation struggle is but an aspect of the struggle for socialism.

Loyalism & Nationalism

We distinguish between loyalism and Protestantism. We recognise the right of everyone to their own religious beliefs, provided they do not use these beliefs to oppress others. We have no quarrel with Protestant workers and welcome them to join us in struggle. However, we stand totally opposed to the political

ideology of loyalism. Loyalism is a reactionary, sectarian and pro-imperialist ideology, with which we can make no compromise. We recognise that nationalism in the context of the Irish struggle is progressive, but we also recognise that nationalism can play a reactionary role. The national chauvinism of the Tories, National Front, etc. is counter-revolutionary and anathema to socialists. The nationalism of an oppressed country is vastly different from such reactionary jingoism. We support all struggles against imperialism throughout the world.

Class mobilisation

Only by mobilising our class north and south - Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter - can the goal of national liberation and socialism be achieved. Workers have distinct interests as a class, ultimately opposed to any other class, we must join together as a class to win control of society.

For a fighting union

As republican socialists, we take lesson from battles that have gone before us, in the community and in the workplace. We must reclaim our unions and organise the unorganised. We remain committed to the revolutionary industrial unionism of Larkin and Connolly. As republican socialists we see the creation of a fighting 'rank and file' trade union movement as something that still holds potential and we support the building of a revolutionary shop stewards' movement.

Equality

Our class faces daily, relentless assaults inflicted on us from many quarters and a constant onslaught of attempts to divide us. The IRSP oppose and fight against all forms of inequality and oppression, including that of women, travellers, lesbians, gays, or other sexual minorities, refugees, Africans, Asians, and any other oppressed sector of the working class. We oppose racism, Zionism, sexism, homophobia, national chauvinism, and anything else which divides our class. We support reproductive rights and unhindered access to contraception, including a woman's right to choose abortion. We are opposed to religious sectarianism and seek the complete separation of church and state and a secular society.

Our Earth

The increasing destruction of our environment is due to mismanagement of industrialisation and the inevitable product of a system, which puts profit before all else, that is, capitalism. The IRSP is committed to sustainable and renewable energy sources, preservation of the ecology and biodiversity of our planet, with protection of all species and the promotion of a healthy environment for all people and animal life.

Revolution not Reform

The IRSP believe that the present class system cannot be reformed out of existence. There exists no parliamentary road to socialism and the liberation of our class. We need to build an organised working class movement with the politics capable of leading the fight against capitalism. Our class are entitled to control over all the wealth of society and to obtain it through any means necessary.

If you agree with us, then we urge you to join the Irish Republican Socialist Party and help build a movement that can accomplish these aims and objectives. Be part of the Irish revolution!

Teagmháil Contact

The Irish Republican Socialist Party has Cummain established in cities, towns and villages in Ireland as well as Republican Socialist Committees in Europe, United States, Canada and Britain. Each IRSP cumann meets regularly to activate, educate and organise events locally such as public and political educational meetings, solidarity protests, pickets and demonstrations from community to workplace struggles. To find out more about the IRSP in your locality then use the contact details listed below.

Ireland: irsp@irmsm.org

IRSP MAIN OFFICE:

Costello House,
392 Falls Road,
Belfast

Down, Armagh, Fermanagh Munster & Connaught:

Email: irsp@irmsm.org

Counties Derry & Donegal,

P.O. Box 1981,
Derry, BT48 8GX.
Email:
derryirsp@hotmail.com

Belfast Central, Lagan Valley, County Antrim:

392 Falls Road, Belfast,
BT12 6DH.
Tel. 028 90 321024
Fax. 028 90 330786

Tyrone:

31 Patrick Street,
Strabane,
028 71 884616

Dublin, Leinster:

Email: dublinirsp@hotmail.com

IRSP ABROAD: irsp@netwizards.net

Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America (IRSCNA) and the Federation of Irish Republican Socialist Committees Abroad (FIRSCA)

2057 15th Street, Suite B, San Francisco, CA 94111, North America.
Tel./Fax. 415 861 1355 Email. irsp@netwizards.net

IRSC and FIRSCA has members, supporters and contacts active in working class struggles and prisoner solidarity campaigns throughout United States, Canada, Latin America and in towns and cities throughout England, Scotland and Wales, and across Europe and other areas.

Write for further details on how you too can actively participate with like minded individuals in solidarity with the struggle in Ireland.

IRSM Related Contacts & Online info

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Free Derry Books:

Hours: 11am - 3pm Weekdays
45 Great James Street (First Floor)
Derry
Tel: 028 71 262999
starry_plough@hotmail.com
Postal Address:

PO BOX 1981
DERRY, BT48 8GX

Teach na Failte, Ex Republican

Socialist POW Support

Organisation:

www.teachnafailte.org

Teach Na Failte (Strabane):

31 Patrick Street, Strabane, Tyrone
Tel/Fax: 028 71 884616

Teach Na Failte (Belfast):

Costello House, 392b Falls Road,
Belfast, BT12 6DH.
Tel/Fax: 028 90 238321

Teach Na Failte (North Belfast)

Unit 8, Flax Centre, Ardoyne Ave,
Ardoyne Phone: 028 90 751 705
OPENING HOURS:
Tuesday, Wednesday & Thursday
11.00am to 4.00pm

IRSP Online

www.irmsm.org

Free Dessie O'Hare Campaign

www.irmsm.org/irsp/free_dessie

James Connolly Society:

www.wageslave.org/jcs

Larkspirit:

www.larkspirit.com

Cork IRSP Online:

www.irmsm.org/cumann/cork

Derry IRSP Online

www.angelfire.com/space/derryirsp

The United Nations (UN) were formed after the Second World War as a successor to the ill fated inter war years League of Nations, which had failed to maintain world peace, that is if the capitalist system ever wanted (or wants) peace at all after World War One.

After all was not the First World War duped 'the war to end all wars'? The UN was and, in theory is, an attempt to stabilise world capitalism, which is itself an unstable system. This was, is, supposed to be done by securing the economic, social and political conditions, which this peace can be achieved. It started as an agreement between the victorious allies, victorious over Hitler and the axis forces representing the fascist variant of capitalism, at Dumbarton Oaks (Washington DC) in 1944 between the USA, the United Kingdom and the USSR. This charter was signed in 1945 with an initial membership of 51 countries. By 1992 the total number of countries had reached 179 following the sudden increase in the number of internationally recognised states after, what has turned out to be, the disastrous break up of the USSR and Yugoslavia. The object of the UN is to maintain peace among the capitalist thieves of the world, a contradictory role to say the least, and its major organ is the Security Council which is in permanent session and charged with the maintenance of this fragile international peace.

One of the roles of the UN Security Council is to call on member states to put together peace keeping forces to monitor cease-fires or conflicts in specific disputes (disputes often orchestrated by one or more of the UN's member states, most notably the United States and Britain). The Security Council has 15 members, of which 5 are permanent. These are the United States, Russia (having taken over the seat of the former USSR in 1991) the United Kingdom, France and China. These five permanent members have, at least in theory, an absolute veto on Security Council resolutions and are supposed, again in theory, to be able to halt any aggressive action proposed by any member state. However these checks and balances are proving increasingly more difficult to enforce as the US and British illegal invasion of Iraq has recently proved.

In March 2003 the United States and Britain decided that they were going to invade Iraq, irrespective of what the United Nations had to say on the subject. This invasion was, of course, orientated towards the possession of Iraqi oil particularly by the USA with the Brits hoping to pick up a few spare barrels from their benevolent masters in Washington. This as expected does not look as if it is going to happen with British influence in Iraq mentioned less and less in news bulletins. However irrespective of who gets what out of Iraq the fact that there was no UN mandate for an invasion in the first place makes the entire exercise illegal. What is more three of

AN OBITUARY TO THE UNITED NATIONS?

By Kevin Morley

the five permanent members of the Security Council voted against giving the United States and Britain the go-ahead to invade. The USA and Britain blatantly rode rough shod over the United Nations totally ignoring every word of caution coming from that organisation. To all intents and purposes the UN ceased to exist in the format in which it was designed in March 2003. From that date on it may as well be referred to as the United States, perhaps the United Nations of the United States just to give it some facet of legality. The USA now know that they can now do what the hell they like irrespective of the what the UN thinks or, for that mater, the views of the Security Council. Anything which may be perceived as a threat to the capitalist interests of the United States can now, it would appear, be met with military might and there is nothing anybody can do about it. This was one of the fundamental reasons for the formation of the UN, to prevent aggression, and it would appear, just like its predecessor the League of Nations to have failed.

On June 10th 2004 The Irish Independent on page 28 could report that the 'UN' role is restored. This triumphant and certainly premature is of course to reassure the world that the, now puppet, custodians of global capitalism are back in the driving seat. Well anybody who believes this must believe that the moon is blue and made of cheese. The UN's credibility was lost in March 2003 no mater what The Irish Independent might have us believe. The papers report was on the transfer of sovereignty back to the Iraqis, providing, of course, they do implicitly what the United States tell them and in the interests primarily of the USA.

The newspaper reported 'The unanimous UN Security Council vote on the transfer of sovereignty to the Iraqi interim government is a sign of great hope for the country and world order.

That is not to say that it has settled the future of the country, much less the wider questions. But it does send out two enormously important and welcome signals. President Bush and his critics have reached a compromise, and the role of the UN has been restored'. This role is now superficial because whether the UN agreed or not the United States would have installed their puppet regime un-elected of course, so therefore it was better for the United Nations to agree and at least make it look like they had an input.

This Iraqi interim government will be un-elected and unaccountable to the Iraqi people, even if it is only a stop-gap before elections can be held which is anybody's guess, and therefore might as well be sitting in a reserved office of the White House. It would seriously appear that this 'interim government' will be an extended arm of the United States and would seem to have very little say over the actions of the US troops, this task will be held by the parent body in the White House. The best the Iraqi 'interim government' can expect is perhaps some form of consultation on minor issues but nothing serious.

Just as in the 1930s the League of Nations proved unable to prevent German expansion during the years of the Third Reich. Today its successor the United Nations would appear to be unable to be equally ineffective in combating the expansionist, certainly in influence, of the United States (this is not to say that the USA as imperialist as they are could be described as fascist). Is this a mater of history repeating itself, all be it not on the same scale? Is it time perhaps for global capitalism to invent some other comic sideshow to preserve global peace? And elect another bunch of clowns, commonly known as governments, to act out the show?

Capitalism is and always has been an unstable and often dangerous system. It needs wars periodically either on a global stage or at local conflict level. After all the arms trade is one of the capitalist beasts most important segments, it could be described as the abdomen of the beast.

The United Nations have failed to prevent US and British military aggression in Iraq in much the same way as they have failed to stop British militarism in the six counties. In fact very rarely has the UN ever been mentioned in the case of the North of Ireland. Imperialism and military aggression which normally accompanies it is wrong be it in Iraq or here at home in Ireland. Nobody can be opposing one while supporting the other. It is illogical to oppose British militarism in Ireland, which many people in the United States do, while supporting US aggression in Iraq, which again many of these same people do.

We are only in the fourth year of the 21st century and already we have seen one major power, and another country which still thinks it is, stretching their muscles in a small country like Iraq. What other surprises does global capitalism have in store for the planets working class? A nuclear holocaust perhaps! There is only one long term answer to this instability and that is for the proletariat of the world to remove from power the robber baron capitalist class who thrive and profit out of war, conflict, poverty, the system they preside over and replace it with a workers controlled socialist society which will see an end to all wars among peoples.

Litreach Dearga Red Letters

PO Box 1981 - Derry - Ireland plough@irism.org

No More Lies!

A Chara,

During the month of May, a group of republicans met in Belfast. The purpose of the meetings was to facilitate all republican ideas, defend the right of people to pursue them free from fear and ensure that the freedom to think is safe-guarded. The republicans involved also surveyed the options available to those intent on promoting republicanism. As a result the following points were agreed.

Within the Republican family there should be room for the open airing of our disagreements; we cannot move forward until we are able to do so.

We believe the criminalisation of Republicanism in the vacuum of the current process is shameful and contrary to the principles of Republicanism. It is our duty to stand up against it and speak out.

It is time for Republicans to reclaim the honour and integrity of the cause which sustained our beliefs; to stand together against the tyranny of abuse and intimidation employed against anyone who has the courage and fortitude to speak out against the wrongs and injustices they see, or suffer themselves.

Republicans of all shades should stand with each other in repossessing the ownership of their struggle. It does not belong to a clique, it is owned by all the people who believe and participate in it.

Republicanism is not about corruption, intimidation, or isolation from one another. It is not self-serving. It is about the Republic, and that Republic is about people. The true spirit of Republicanism is not a cult of personality. It is those who have always been the hidden backbone - once upon a time the volunteer, now the taxi driver, the door man, the day labourer; the support staff in hospitals, waitresses, school workers; the unemployed, marginalized, forgotten.

We have all stood together in times of hardship and crisis. More and more we find ourselves standing apart from one another, and our destinies loosened from our grip and out of our control. We once believed we would deliver the Republic to each other where we would all be equal - Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter.

Today what we see is an attempt to defraud us of the fruits of our labour. The ideals we fought for are never spoken of, and those who do remember them silenced. Our beliefs were traded for the realities of the current process, a process that suits the interests of political parties and not the common people. These realities include a criminalisation of the people's armies; corruption that fills the coffers of the elite and expands their empires, rather than advances the Republic; children beaten, shot, tortured; comrades isolated, spat upon, silenced, imprisoned, disappeared.

No more. Together as Republicans we are standing against the tyranny in our midst. It is time to come together, to convene a congress of Republicans, to determine where we are going, to support each other no matter our differences, to reclaim our heritage, integrity and honour, to speak out against injustice, corruption and criminality, and to stand up for the Republic.

Stand with us. Make your voice heard.

MARTIN CUNNINGHAM, South Down MICKEY DONNELLY, Derry PADDY FOX, Tyrone, TOMMY GORMAN, Belfast BRENDAN HUGHES, Belfast JOHN KELLY, South Derry ANTHONY McINTYRE, Belfast TOMMY McKEARNEY, Monaghan TONY McPHILIPS, Fermanagh CLARE MURPHY, Belfast KEVIN McQUILLAN, Belfast FRANCIE and GERALDINE PERRY, Downpatrick MARY ELLEN O'DOHERTY, Derry FIONBARRA O'DOCHARTAIGH, Derry NOEL O'REILLY, Belfast LIAM O RUAIRC, Belfast DOLOURS PRICE, Dublin MARIAN PRICE, Belfast BRENDAN SHANNON, Belfast ROISIN Ni SHEANAIN, Belfast CARRIE TWOMEY, Belfast.

Thanks

Dear Editor,

I recently had reason to contact the IRSP in Derry in relation to some problems myself and some elderly neighbours were having with a young person who moved into our block of flats and proceeded to cause immense disruption such as all night parties and vandalism. All the residents here are elderly and were unable to cope with the stress that this caused. After months of getting nowhere with the SDLP, Sinn Fein or the Housing Executive I approached the IRSP after receiving one of their leaflets through my door.

Within a week our neighbour has moved back home to his parents and his flat is being re-allocated and the place is back to how it should be. I would just like to offer my thanks to those involved and I will certainly pass on the word that the IRSP were there for us when no-one else wanted to know.

We appreciate your views. Please ensure that when writing to keep your letters brief and to the point. Due to time and space many are unfortunately withheld from print.

Johnny Murray
(Address withheld)

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FOR UNCENSORED POLITICS

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Litreach Dearga Red Letters Continued....

RACISM MUST BE OPPOSED!

A Chara,

As a follower of political events and as someone who considers myself to be a follower of James Connolly I would like to call on the IRSP to take a more prominent role in the various anti-racism campaigns around the country.

There have been abuse, beatings and killings of asylum seekers in Ireland. Racist sentiment seems to be taking a hold in Ireland. The recent racist referendum and other Government policies are fermenting this sentiment.

The people in Ireland need strong, clear and concise leadership on these issues, not the present fortress mentality. I believe the IRSP has the politics to give that leadership but that it will take time to come about, but in the meantime the IRSP should be out on our streets standing with the asylum seekers against the hate and bigotry.

In solidarity,
Patrick Molloy
Dublin



UPCOMING EVENTS

COMMEMORATION

**IN MEMORY OF
VOL BRENDAN CONVERY
& VOL GERARD MALLON**

**ASSEMBLE 2.30PM,
SUNDAY 15th AUGUST AT THE
NATIONAL HALL IN MAGHERA,
Co DERRY**

**IRSM NATIONAL
HUNGER STRIKE
COMMEMORATION**

**SUNDAY 22nd AUGUST
ASSEMBLE: 2PM,
ROSEMOUNT FACTORY,
DERRY CITY
FOR MARCH AND RALLY**

R.S.M. MEMORIAL FLUTE BAND
STRABANE - DERRY

To join or to help out please contact either
STRABANE: 028 71 884616 and ask for Zac
or email: zaclogue@hotmail.com
DERRY: 028 71 262999
or email: derryirsp@hotmail.com

www.angelfire.com/band2/rsmmemorialfluteband/apply.html

Republican Socialist Martyrs
★ Flute Band - Belfast ★

Are you 12 years and over and interested in joining the Republican Socialist Martyrs Flute Band?

If you are in the Belfast area then why not become involved in our flute band?

We can train you in flute, drums or colour party and new members are always welcome so if you are interested or if you know anyone who is then get in touch. If you do not want to join the band but can provide time towards fundraising etc then get in touch also.

For details contact:

**Costello House,
392 Falls Road,
Belfast.
Tel 90 238 321**

Cuimhneam

Fallen Volunteers and political activists remembered

Members of the Republican Socialist Movement whose anniversaries occur at this time:

Vol. Kevin Lynch	Died on Hungerstrike	1 Aug 81	Co. Derry
Vol. Michael Devine	Died on Hungerstrike	21 Aug 81	Co. Derry
Vol. Brendan Convery	Killed in Action	13 Aug 83	Co. Derry
Vol. Gerard Mallon	Killed in Action	13 Aug 83	Co. Armagh
Vol. James McPhilemy	Killed in Action	10 Aug 88	Co. Tyrone
Comrade Rose Campbell	Died	13 Aug 80	Co Antrim
Comrade Hugh O'Neill	Died	10 Jul 81	Co Antrim
Comrade Pearse Moore	Died	15 Sept 85	Co Derry
Comrade Dermot McShane	Killed by British Army	13 Jul 96	Co Derry

The staff and volunteers of the Irish National Liberation Army remember with pride our comrades whose anniversaries occur at this time.

Vol. Kevin Lynch	Died on Hungerstrike	1 Aug 81	Co. Derry
Vol. Michael Devine	Died on Hungerstrike	21 Aug 81	Co. Derry
Vol. Brendan Convery	Killed in Action	13 Aug 83	Co. Derry
Vol. Gerard Mallon	Killed in Action	13 Aug 83	Co. Armagh
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Comrade Pearse Moore	Died	15 Sept 85	Co Derry
Comrade Dermot McShane	Killed by British Army	13 Jul 96	Co Derry

'If you hoist the green flag and remove the English army....unless you set about establishing a Socialist Republic all your efforts will have been in vain.'

The Ard Comhairle and Membership of the Irish Republican Socialist Party remember at this time our comrades who died in the struggle for a Socialist Republic.

Vol. Kevin Lynch	Died on Hungerstrike	1 Aug 81	Co. Derry
Vol. Michael Devine	Died on Hungerstrike	21 Aug 81	Co. Derry
Vol. Brendan Convery	Killed in Action	13 Aug 83	Co. Derry
Vol. Gerard Mallon	Killed in Action	13 Aug 83	Co. Armagh
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Comrade Dermot McShane	Killed by British Army	13 Jul 96	Co Derry

"Whenever death may supplant us, let it be welcome, provided that this, our battle cry, may reach some receptive ear and that other hands reach out to pick up our weapons, to entone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine gun fire and new cries of battle and victory ever onward, Venceremos"

Republican Socialist POWs in Magherry, Portlaoise, Magiligan and Castlereagh remember with pride the volunteers of the Irish National Liberation Army who gave their lives in the struggle for National Liberation and Socialism.

Vol. Kevin Lynch	Died on Hungerstrike	1 Aug 81	Co. Derry
Vol. Michael Devine	Died on Hungerstrike	21 Aug 81	Co. Derry
Vol. Brendan Convery	Killed in Action	13 Aug 83	Co. Derry
Vol. Gerard Mallon	Killed in Action	13 Aug 83	Co. Armagh
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Comrade Pearse Moore	Died	15 Sept 85	Co Derry
Comrade Dermot McShane	Killed by British Army	13 Jul 96	Co Derry

"When the freedom of our country and class has been won, let us guard it well, remembering it was paid for in the blood of those now dead. The building of the revolutionary party is the only tribute befitting our comrades."

Insertions:

If you would like to place a notice into Cuimhneamh then please contact the Starry Plough office with details as soon as possible before you want it to appear. Our contact details are on page 2. Family notices are especially welcome.

FREE ALL POLITICAL HOSTAGES



FREE DESSIE O'HARE NOW!

Dessie O'Hare is a qualifying prisoner under the terms of the Good Friday Agreement. He is currently being held hostage by the 26 County administration and is being denied his right to freedom from his incarceration for political reasons.

For full details of Dessie's case please go to the following website: http://irsm.org/irsp/free_dessie/

An

The Starry Plough

Camchéachta



Pairtí Poblachtacht Soisialach na h-Éireann

The Olympic stadia were built with Workers' blood!



As we go to press the Olympic Games are just getting into full swing in Athens. Amongst the hype and hopes of thousands of athletes one aspect of the games has been overlooked by the corporate media covering the games, that is the plight of the thousands of construction workers who sweat blood and tears in order to get the various impressive stadia finished on time for the lavish opening ceremony.

At least 18 workers have been killed in the construction sites of the olympic stadia. Their bosses were afraid that the olympic stadia and other venues wouldn't be ready so they turned the construction sites into gulags so as to finish the work on time and not to be embarrassed in the eyes of international

mainstream media. Furthermore British tabloids were pressing them as well so they used this as a further excuse to impose the modern olympic gulags.

They virtually ignored safety procedures, they used inexperienced workers and they even used illegal immigrants, who were forced to work with low salaries, for maximum working hours and without any complaints (modern slave labour)!

The result was that workers got killed. Very little is said about this in the media and the bosses just ignore the situation altogether. Their arrogant response to concerns about the situation is to say that: "accidents will happen!".

The olympic stadia and other venues were built with the blood of workers! Is this the olympic spirit that we all hope to see during these games?

The official number of workers is 14 but after some research we found out the names of 18 workers who died in olympic construction sites.

Workers in Greece say that the number of those killed in the supporting infrastructure for the games is more than 100 but this is hard to verify. But it seems that the media and most unions are totally controlled by the state and such information is censored. **Here are the names of those workers killed in these sites that we have been able to uncover:**

- Hristos Miamis (62) - Olympic Village
- K. Mpourmpoulas (32) - Metro, Sepolia
- Thanasis Papagiorgis (45) - Olympic Building
- Kotsi Astrit (35) - Olympic Village
- L. Marinakis (29) - Hippodrome, Markopoulou
- Vaggelis Imeri (45) - Olympic Village
- Ali Varet (29) - Olympic Shooting Range
- Manea Marinel (32) - Olympic Village
- Panagiotis Mpolanis (58) - Mass Media Centre
- Ilias Mauropoulos (48) - Hippodrome
- Mihalis Evaggelou (46) - Olympic Gym, Galatsi
- Giani Krekou (29) - Olympic Shooting Range
- Kostantinos Zervoudakis (33) - Attikis Highway
- Alex Mpatsi (32) - Olympic Village
- Ntoka Ntalip (51) - Olympic Village for the Press
- Milo Zote (23) - Metro, Dafnis
- Vlassi Marzinis (36) - Unkown Site
- Sotiris Seka (51) - Olympic Village for the press

FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION & SOCIALISM!