

The

An Camchéachta

# Starry Plough



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## DESPITE TEMPORARY RELEASE AND MEDIA SPIN

# DESSIE O'HARE IS STILL A POLITICAL HOSTAGE



**Despite the recent media hype proclaiming that Dessie O'Hare's release is imminent there is no firm date for the permanent release of Dessie.**

Dessie was granted his first temporary release in fifteen years on November 2nd and the media immediately went into full swing in their peddling of the hype that this temporary release marks the start of a process that will see Dessie released by Christmas.

Even if this was the case that would still be almost three years later that other eligible POWs in his

position because the majority of Republican and Republican Socialist POWs were finally released on 28th July 2000.

Despite court challenges and action including protests outside the constituency office of Bertie Ahern and the Dail by the Free Dessie O'Hare Campaign, Dessie has still to be released.

These were the words of John Murtagh on behalf of Dessie's campaign at the recent Seamus Costello commemoration in Bray: "Dessie is being victimised, discriminated against, and demonised by the state authorities. Dessie O'Hare is no different from hun-

dreds, if not thousands of Republicans. He played his part in the struggle. It is now time he was released. The governments started releasing the first POWs under the terms of the GFA four years ago and Dessie is beginning his 24th year behind prison bars. Dessie has been in jail continuously since 1979 (with one year's exception, 1987) and in all of them 23 years he hasn't been given a single days temporary release despite many family tragedies including the death of his father.

"The case of Dessie raises issues over and above either the personality or deeds of Dessie O'Hare. Fundamentally it goes to the heart of the Good Friday Agreement. Carry out the wishes of the Irish people and release Dessie O'Hare now!"

# FREE DESSIE NOW!

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**THE VOICE OF IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALISM!**

# Teagmháil Contact

The Irish Republican Socialist Party has established Cummain in all major cities and towns throughout Ireland as well as Republican Socialist Committees in Europe, United States & Canada.

Each IRSP cumann meets on a weekly basis to activate, educate and organise events locally such as public and political educational meetings, solidarity protests, pickets and demonstrations from community to workplace struggles.

The Irish Republican Socialist Party has active Cummain, as well as individual members and supporters in the following towns and cities across Ireland, to contact and get involved with the nearest IRSP Cumann in your area write to:

<b>Ireland: irsp@irsm.org</b>	
<b>Ardglass:</b> For further details Email: irsp@irsm.org	<b>Dublin:</b> Email: dublinirsp@hotmail.com
<b>Armagh:</b> For further details Email: irsp@irsm.org	<b>Dundalk:</b> Email: dublinirsp@hotmail.com
<b>Belfast:</b> 392 Falls Road, Belfast, BT12 6DH. Tel. 028 90 321024 Fax. 028 90 330786	<b>Dungiven:</b> Email: derryirsp@hotmail.com
<b>Bray:</b> Email: dublinirsp@hotmail.com	<b>Galway:</b> Email: irsp@irsm.org
<b>Cork:</b> Email: dublinirsp@hotmail.com	<b>Letterkenny:</b> For details Email: derryirsp@hotmail.com
<b>Derry:</b> P.O. Box 1981, Derry, BT48 8GX. Email: derryirsp@hotmail.com	<b>Limerick:</b> Email: irsp@irsm.org
<b>Donegal:</b> Email: derryirsp@hotmail.com	<b>Newry:</b> Email: irsp@irsm.org
	<b>Strabane:</b> Email: derryirsp@hotmail.com

**Europe: irsp@netwizards.net**  
 IRSP has members, supporters and contacts active in many working class campaigns and prisoner solidarity in towns and cities throughout England, Scotland and Wales, and across Europe, write to our International Department for further details on how you can actively participate.  
 IRSP International Department Email: irsp@netwizards.net

**North America: irsp@netwizards.net**  
 Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America  
 2057 15th Street, Suite B, San Francisco, CA 94111, North America.  
 Tel./Fax. 415 861 1355 Email: irsp@netwizards.net  
 IRSC has members, supporters and contacts active in working class struggles and prisoner solidarity throughout United States, Canada and Latin America. Write for further details on how you too can actively participate.

**IRSM Online & Other Links**  
**Official IRSM Website:** <http://irsm.org/irsp/>  
**Prisoner of War Website:** <http://irsm.org/irspows/>  
**IRSM Statements:** <http://irsm.org/statements/>  
**Ex Republican Socialist POW Support Organisations:**  
**Teach Na Failte (Strabane):** 31 Patrick Street, Strabane, Tyrone  
 Tel/Fax: 028 71 884616  
**Teach Na Failte (Belfast):** 392b Falls Road, Belfast, BT12 6DH.  
 Tel/Fax: 028 90238321  
**Solidarity with Turkish Hunger Strikers Committee (Dublin):** [www.geocities.com/turkishhungerstrike/](http://www.geocities.com/turkishhungerstrike/)  
**Free Dessie O'Hare Campaign** [http://irsm.org/irsp/free\\_dessie/](http://irsm.org/irsp/free_dessie/)  
**Republican Socialist Archive Project** P.O. Box 1981, Derry, BT48 8GX. or derryirsp@hotmail.com  
**James Connolly Society:** [www.wageslave.org/jcs/](http://www.wageslave.org/jcs/)  
**Larkspirit:** [www.larkspirit.com](http://www.larkspirit.com)  
**Starry Plough Online** [www.irsm.org/irsp/starryplough](http://www.irsm.org/irsp/starryplough)

**Got a Story? Let us know** [plough@irsm.org](mailto:plough@irsm.org)  
 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.  
**Deadline for next issue of An Camchéachta is 20th November 2003.**



For national and international news, or news for your workplace, community or action group then please send your articles, photographs, reports and any other information to The Starry Plough at the following address:  
**The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta**  
 PO BOX 1981  
 DERRY  
 IRELAND  
 BT48 8GX

# Eagarfhocal

## Elections and the Agreement

When the Good Friday Agreement was signed the IRSP predicted it would fail. We also said that given the decision of the vast majority of the Irish people who voted for the agreement we would do nothing to hinder the implementation of the GFA. Following the suspension four times of the Assembly, the postponement of elections on the whim of the British Prime Minister and the failure of the Unionists to be satisfied with three major acts of decommissioning by the Provisional IRA we are now coming to the end of that phase of the GFA. After the elections on November the 26th there will be a review of the GFA and then negotiations to establish a new administration between representatives of the two major sectarian blocs. We say sectarian blocs because that was built into the GFA. In the coming election those who are elected must designate themselves as nationalist, unionist or other. We find this offensive for as Republicans we never saw ourselves as Nationalists; rather we adhere to the original internationalism of Wolfe Tone's brand of Republicanism.

Furthermore the failure of socialists and republicans to negotiate some sort of principled platform to oppose the sectarian policies and reactionary economic policies of the main parties means that there is no clear opposition to the prevailing political consensus. This is a major blow for progressive republicans. Accordingly the IRSP will not be standing in this election. The opportunism of some small left candidates to put themselves forward under different guises should fool no one. They do not represent a viable alternate never mind a left alternative. All they do is alienate many from becoming socialists with their frenzied dogmatic approach to politics.

A leading member of the INLA, Ta Power said before his assassination that the people were not fools and could tell who were the chancers and timewasters. Before the mass of the people one has always to be open and honest. We will not call for a vote for any candidates in this election. The people are wise enough to decide who they should vote for or indeed if there is any point in them casting a vote. However this should be the last time that Republicans and Socialists leave open the election field to our class enemies.

While the IRSP are not yet ready to fight elections all future elections should be fought 1/on a basis of opposition to an internal Stormont settlement, 2/ working class unity and 3/opposition to the neo-liberal economic agenda that the last power sharing executive implemented.

Immediately after these elections the IRSP will be encouraging debate and dialogue amongst all those who can agree with any of the above three points. If we can get agreement with others fine. If not then by the time of the next elections if the IRSP do not throw our hat into the election ring then we should shut up shop.

## An Camchéachta

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

For all correspondence write to:  
 The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta,  
 P.O. Box 1981 Derry,  
 BT48 8GX, Ireland.  
 Email: [plough@irsm.org](mailto:plough@irsm.org)  
 Website: <http://irsm.org/irsp/starryplough>  
 Issn Number: ISSN 1476-296X

# JOIN THE IRSP!

Send completed form to the address nearest to you on the above contact list.

**Join Ireland's ONLY party dedicated to the removal of British rule AND capitalism!**

**Ainm/Name:..... FOR NATIONAL**

**Seoladh/Address:..... LIBERATION AND**

**..... SOCIALIST**

**..... REVOLUTION!**

**Email and/or Tel : .....**

## Starry Plough

### Fighting Fund Appeal

The Starry Plough is the only paper that stands firmly against British rule and for the destruction of capitalism in Ireland.

We need your support to enable us to continue the work of building a political newspaper that genuinely represents the interests of the working class. In order for us to do so, we urge you to make a donation to The Starry Plough 'Fighting Fund Appeal'!

us to plan on a more regular income for The Starry Plough.

I enclose:

€1,000	€100,00	€50,00	€20,00
€10,00	€5,00		

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Please send your donations big or small to:

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 Account No. 14986015  
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 You can also take out a standing order that will enable

NUAGHT

# Declaration Of War Against Community

## Blockades In Response To Council's Refuse Tax Continues!

People Power took to the streets in many parts of Dublin and organised blockades, which prevented bin lorries from departing without having collected the rubbish of bin tax protesters.

Protestors have promised to step up their campaign of non-compliance by organising a lobby of bin men at depots throughout Dublin, the first of which took place at Rathmines Depot.

In a statement to the community of North County Dublin, Fingal Anti-Bin Tax Campaign said that Fingal Council has 'Declared war on householders' for Bin Tax 'Non-Collection'.

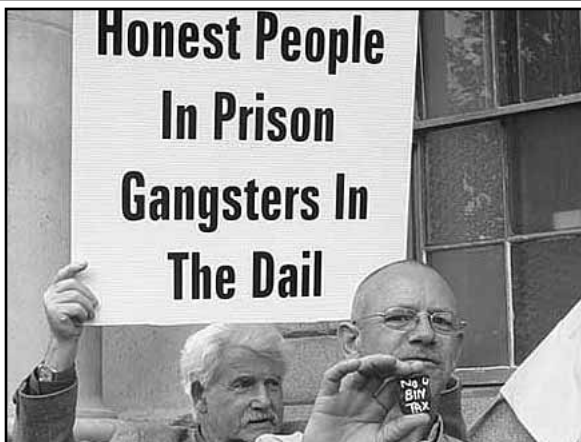
FABTC said "This is a declaration of war on the compliant PAYE taxpayers and contributory pensioners who are the basis of opposition to the bin double tax. "Our response to the bin routes will be to prevent the Council from victimising the community. They will implement a policy of 'All bins are collected or no bins will be collected'. The bin routes will not be allowed to proceed while bins are left behind.

"The Government is launching a savage attack on local democracy and attempting to impose a

new tier of local taxation on ordinary people. The Government hopes to bludgeon householders into an acceptance of the bin tax. It then wants the level of bin taxes increased annually to substantial amounts. This is against a background of massive tax breaks to big business in the Budgets of 2001 and 2002 (provision for corporation tax reduction of €329 million in 2001 and €305 in 2002).

"The next part of the agenda is an attempt to restore the hated water charges. It is, in other words, the creation of a parallel tier of local taxation which will, in no time, reach €1,000 per household. The Campaign to oppose non-collection is very much a blow against the actions of a Government which cheated its way to a Second Term and has since put many heavy burdens on ordinary people through its regime of stealth taxation including the relentless rise of local service charges such as that for refuse collection."

Fingal Co Council, which includes areas such as Finglas and Blanchestown, has issued an injunction against 15 anti bin tax activists, they are also planning to use new legislation that



allows them to ignore bins left out by those who have not paid the charges.

The Starry Plough have uncovered some startling facts under the Freedom of Information Act:

- (1) Local Councils around the Country are owed more than €54 million from homeowners who have not paid their bin charges.
- (2) In the Fingal area where protestors continue to defy a high court order, refuse services are paid for at the time of collections and not like elsewhere in

more prosperous areas where householders are asked to pay in regular lump sums.

(3) Arrears in Fingal are calculated as income deficit on the forecasted budget. Last year €2 Million was collected out of a total of €6 million owed which left a deficit of €4 million.

(4) Householders in the most prosperous local authority area in the whole Country, and who incidentally are the most staunch and vocal supporters of the anti-bin tax Lobby, owe an amazing €22million in unpaid bin charges.

### TAX THE RICH!

In a statement to the Starry Plough, The IRSP condemned FCC saying "Working class communities have the right to take a stand against any attempts made by those in power to introduce or enforce Bin Tax charges, this Tax will be resisted!"

"The campaign needs to widen further to encourage and include other working class neighbourhoods. Already we have seen protests in Dublin, Cork and Sligo.

"Our Party is in full support of FABTC and call upon the trade union movement to voice their anger as a gesture of support and solidarity with all communities resisting the Bin Tax. Our message must be loud and clear - TAX THE RICH! No Privatisation of our Bin Services!"

For more information you can Email: [dublinirsp@hotmail.com](mailto:dublinirsp@hotmail.com)

### WEST BANK EXODUS IS SHAMEFULL

A leading member of the IRSM has hit out at the drift of thousands of Protestants from the west bank of the River Foyle as a "national scandal".

Terry Harkin, spokesman for the IRSP, spoke out for the first time since it was announced by British direct rule Minister Jane Kennedy, that Foyle and Londonderry College will be relocating to the East Bank of the city to a site in the Waterside.

The move of the last second level state school from its present site on the Duncreggan Road is being seen by many as yet another sign of the disappearance of Protestants from west bank life and culture.

Harkin said that this brings shame on the city and that the decision for Foyle and Londonderry College to "up sticks" and go to the Waterside was the fault of Assembly politicians.

"This is all down to the Good Friday Agreement. This has copper-fastened sectarianism in our community," he said.

Harkin also hit out at recent stoning and petrol-bomb attacks on the Fountain estate, the last almost exclusively Protestant estate on the west bank of the River Foyle. He said, "Whoever is behind these attacks on the Fountain should realise that they are simply targetting ordinary families, just like their own families. This is what the British want to see, working class communities at each other's throats when all around these same working class communities are being screwed from every direction. We have noted a considerable rise in TV licence inspectors, debt collection agencies, proposed water charges from the British establishment and Derry City council proposing to add to our rates charges to upgrade a sports stadium. The people behind the attacks on the Fountain must realise that the people behind the wall in Bishop Street are not the enemy and anger should not be directed at them."

### PRISON TERM FOR SHANNON PROTEST

A member of the Cork Anti-War Campaign (CAWC) chairperson Dr Fintan Lane, who is currently facing 60 days imprisonment for his refusal to pay a €750 fine for trespass during an anti-war protest at Shannon airport. CAWC expects the arrest of Dr Lane to occur within the next two months and we will be launching a vigorous campaign at that time to further highlight the abuse of Shannon airport as a U.S. military refuelling point. This comes, as news of the 26 Administration owns up to allowing US Missiles to pass through Shannon on board on military flights.

Show Your Support!

Cork Anti-War Campaign can be contacted at: [corkantiwar@excite.com](mailto:corkantiwar@excite.com)

# ELABORATE STUNT TO FIX GFA FAILS

An elaborate set of choreography that would rival even the Moscow Ballet, fell flat on its face on 21st October when the IRA failed to decommission its weapons in the full gloating glare of the Ulster Unionist Council. Although the IRA are said to have decommissioned a considerable amount of weaponry Trimble and Co were not impressed as this was done in secret.

As the blame game got into full swing after the farce on 21st October ordinary working class people the length and breadth of Ireland were left wondering how they ever believed that a peaceful was ever in the gift of either Adams or Trimble or even the both of them together.

The day started with a declaration by the British establishment in Ireland announcing that they would allow an election to Stormont to be held on 26th November. A positive announcement according to Gerry Adams. Then it was his turn to step up to the mic in the Balmoral Hotel. Here he stated in round about terms that the IRA's war was over. This was followed by an IRA statement endorsing Adams' remarks, in effect agreeing that the war was over. A short time later the IRA issued a new statement declaring that they had decommissioned more of their weapons. No detail was given

of exactly what had been given up.

The next person to enter the fray was the Canadian man entrusted by the pro-GFA parties to report on decommissioning, General de Chastelain. He reported that the PIRA had indeed "put weapons beyond use" for the third time. In what was a very uncomfortable press conference the General struggled to get around the fact that he had agreed with the PIRA that no details of the decommissioning would be made public. Despite questions from the assembled hacks no clear definition of what was given up by the PIRA emerged. And this is where the problem lay for the UUP and David Trimble.

Instead of playing their part in the sequencing as planned, David Trimble emerged from his party headquarters to tell the assembled press that he was not happy with the lack of



General de Chastelain, less than open about decommissioning move.

clarity of the amount and type of PIRA weapons that were given up. The UUP planned to hold a Council Meeting to discuss what had gone on. This has since been cancelled although the elections called for the 26th November are still going ahead. This leaves the pro-GFA parties, particularly the UUP, in serious difficulties with the anti-agreement DUP

breathing heavily down the necks of the embarrassed and divided UUP. Where does this leave the GFA? Well we'll have to wait for the outcome of the Stormont elections to see who holds the balance of power.

Only then will we be able to truly gauge what impact the 21st October farce had on the flawed GFA.

**SCROUNGER  
NOT  
WELCOME!**



Reports are beginning to emerge that the Queen is preparing for her first trip to the 26 counties. The visit - which would be the first by a British monarch since partition in 1921 - has been agreed in principle by Buckingham Palace, Downing Street and the Irish Government, the Times newspaper reported.

Even so, the trip will require months of planning and would be one of the biggest ever security operations for a royal visit because of the strength of feeling amongst the ordinary working people of Ireland to such an extravagant waste of valuable resources. Millions will be spent wining and dining the British monarch, the Colonel in Chief of various British military regiments and ultimately responsible for the deaths of hundreds of Irish people during the last thirty years.

The proposed visit would be conditional on continuing calm in the North and progress in the peace process.

"It would be the cherry on the cake" a Senior Buckingham Palace courtier said when asked of this proposed visit. "The visit has been agreed through the normal channels, it is the Government's call. But a trip by the Queen to the Republic of Ireland would put a seal on something in the peace process. It would be the cherry on the cake. She would love to go. She would be fascinated to go."

The visit is scheduled to take place as early as next year but people the Starry Plough spoke to weren't shy in announcing their feelings on a trip by the British Monarch.

Sean from Tallaght summed it up best: *"The visit would be massively opposed by the people. We have plenty of bin lorries running empty at the minute, maybe we could put Lizzie in the back of one of them and drive her around Dublin, show her some genuine Irish feelings towards her ilk!"*

**Quote Quiz**

Who wrote the following words?

*"We are all in the gutter, but some of us are looking at the stars."*

- a: James Connolly
- b: Charlie Chaplin
- c: Oscar Wilde

Answer on Page 7

# Maskey and Mackin did not broker INLA ceasefire

A biography of Alex Maskey called 'Alex Maskey: Man and Major' by Barry McCaffrey has just been published. Part of the book carries the extraordinary assertion that "Liam Maskey and the trade unionist Brendan Mackin acted as conduits between the INLA and the British Government during discussions that ended with the Republican Group announcing a ceasefire" and "Throughout 1997 and the first eight months of 1998 the two men carried a succession of messages between the INLA and the British"

But according to sources close to the INLA this is simply not true. The INLA indicated to the Starry Plough that during both 1997 and 1998 the stance of the INLA towards the British was summed up in the phrase "Don't trust the British". As a result the leadership of the INLA had taken a decision that it would not talk to the British Ministers. During the whole of the year 1997 the INLA was not on ceasefire and indeed in December 1997 the Ard Feis of the IRSP had decisively rejected a motion recommending the INLA to call a ceasefire. While there was ongoing contact with the priests in Clonard Monastery no moves were made towards the British at all. However after the result of the Referenda on the Good Friday Agreement a series of meetings of

the leadership of the INLA was held. Resulting from these meetings a number of decisions were made including ending any co-operation with other groups and seeking talks with representatives of the Irish Government and with representatives of the Northern Ireland Office to explain the position of the INLA. In June/July 1998 only one meeting was held with Maskey and Mackin with a view to set up a meeting with the NIO. They were asked to facilitate that meeting because of their proud trade union record. This followed the RSM contacting Brendan Mackin with a view to exploring what would be the procedure re prisoners following any INLA ceasefire. At those meetings the representatives of the INLA informed those they met of the INLA's views on the consequences of the decision of the people in Ireland to endorse the Good Friday Agreement.

The INLA source stated categorically to the Starry Plough: "For the record it should be recorded that while both Liam Maskey and Brendan Mackin are good people of integrity they did not broker the INLA ceasefire. They did not carry a succession of messages between the INLA and the British Government. They did not act as conduits between the INLA and the British."



Willie Gallagher, IRSP Ard Comhairle, reading INLA ceasefire declaration

## Council Report Blames IRSM for breaking of rules in City Cemetery



A recent report by Derry City Council has strangely laid the blame for owners of plots in the City Cemetery building surroundings on their loved ones graves at the door of the IRSP.

The report states that if it wasn't for the IRSP putting up the statue in 2000 "without permission" then people would be happy to follow the rules of the council and keep it as a lawn cemetery.

An IRSP spokesperson in Derry stated, "the report states that the statue was put up without permission. This was simply not the case. At the time members of the IRSP and the memorial committee approached those in charge of the cemetery and actually brought them to the site and dis-

cussed with them what was being done. The IRSP personnel involved expressly asked if the new memorial was within guidelines and were told that as long as the memorial did not come forward more than two and a half feet from the road then it was within the guidelines and ethos of the lawn cemetery. In other words as long as it didn't cause an obstruction to grass cutting equipment. At no time was the actual design asked for.

"It is the view of the IRSP that this latest report from Derry City Council, attempting to force blame on the IRSP, is a farce and it's a shame that it goes down the tired old road of scapegoating the irps.

"The report plainly states that the statue was erected 'without permission'. IRSP personnel were present at a council meeting when this issue was discussed in 2000. Then a Council solicitor's report stated that the IRSP followed all guidelines in the erection of the monument and therefore because it did not break any rules then there was nothing legally that the council could or should do.

The spokesperson finished by saying, "There is nothing that the IRSP has done that would encourage anyone to break guidelines because we haven't done so ourselves. If people want to break the guidelines of the cemetery then that is for them to defend, not us."

## PROTESTS AGAINST CRIMINAL BY-LAWS

OVER 500 PROTESTERS descended upon Galway County Council Offices to voice their concerns at the council's decision to implement aggressive new By-laws in the country's 'City of Culture'.

As the protesters gathered in there hundreds outside the city council. One protester said: "Many young people have taken the opportunity to show off their talents which would come under the proposed by-laws like skating, to singing and dancing" as council members arrived in defiant opposition. As the meeting

got underway, those within the council chambers could hear protesters on the outside.

The crude criminal Bye-Laws put forward would effectively see an end to just about any form of street activity political or otherwise outlawed.

Also on the council's wish list are buskers and other street entertainers who have made Galway the type of tourist attraction what it is today, by creating regular open-air musical events and street drama. Some of who are from various countries with no other means of income other

than their entertaining skills try to make a living from doing so. "It's you who are the real criminals" said another protester screamed as council member poured out of the meeting.

Leading up the councils meeting, in which the city councilors looked set to endorse the new laws, Galway City Council dramatically backed down and deferred its decision until further discussion took place on the issue. Despite that, many in Galway look set to take on the powers that be next time until the proposals are dropped.

## NEW ONLINE INITIATIVE BY DERRY IRSP

Derry IRSP recently launched a new internet based discussion forum to replace the previous forum that according to an IRSP member in Derry "had no real administration controls therefore allowing for malicious elements to create havoc for the genuine users of the board."

"The response at this early stage to the new board has been very encouraging. In the first week of operation the new site had signed up over forty members and had hundreds of articles posted and is still growing steadily every day."

The Derry IRSP member went on, "The new Republican Socialist Forum is a place on the internet where Republican Socialists can go and discuss and debate policies and theories and the nitty gritty of day to day political activity. The old site was very successful but had it's limitations so the new format will go some way to giving supporters and members of the IRSM a unique presence on the net but will also aid in attracting new members and supporters to the IRSM."

Sign up to the new forum here:  
<http://rsmforum.proboards23.com/index.cgi>

TIONSCLAÍOCH

# Workers Hit Back Against Bullying!

## Dunnes Stores Staff Choose Strike Action

It is widely known that even in this day and age, workplace conditions have for many workers have deteriorated. This of course doesn't simply apply to those of us trying to hold down part-time, as most are well aware that at times its just as bad for full-timers.

However it's one thing to suffer in silence, like many workers have to do day and daily, but to take a stand to create change, is another.

In Limerick, workers employed at one of the country's largest supermarket giants, Dunnes Stores are not taking things lying down. During a series of staff meetings recently there were calls for direct action to be taken against what they described as consistent 'allegations of bullying and harassment' within their workplace.

Just over 250 workers at the Dunnes Branch took the dispute to the picket line due to what has been described as 'the managements refusal to address serious major concerns' from bullying and changes in regular working patterns.

A reporter for the Starry Plough visited the picket one day at Limerick's Parkway Shopping Centre, to get some reaction to the dispute from striking workers.

Six hours into the protest which was held on the main roundabout at Limerick to Dublin Road, Aine told us that "The support we have got since early in the morning is amazing. All sorts have tooted their horns when they seen the posters. A few people that I have spoken to gave us alot of encouragement.

"This woman said that 'its good to see you lot have the nerve to

come out about it'. She then went on to tell us that her daughter left (Dunnes Stores) last year as they wouldn't even give her any holidays. It's a joke!" she said.

In Ireland each year, many part-time workers within the Retail or Hospitality sector are forced to give up their jobs due to unfair employment regulations which means all part-time workers fail to qualify for entitlements that other full-time workers receive in the law.

Many members of staff came forward during the one-day strike voicing their concerns on a number of issues involved at the Parkway branch.

Another, male, member of staff told us "It's not just about the issue of workers being bullied. There is other serious problems that need to be addressed. The fact that some part-timers were not allowed holidays and having to give up the jobs has created a certain amount of anger. It's not as if jobs are easy to come by in Limerick.

"We also have concerns about our working environment and the conditions in which we have to work under. Like, there is little or no ventilation in the heat of sum-



The Parkway Centre in Limerick, scene of industrial dispute by Dunnes Staff

**"It's not just about the issue of workers being bullied. There is other serious problems that need to be addressed."**

mer, especially this year when we had longer periods of sun and in the winter, well, all that I can say is that it involves brass balls and monkeys. Need I go on?" he laughs.

This strike action has shaken-up management at Dunnes who have had several high-profile industrial disputes in as many years. It was noted following the strike by the union who lead the action, Mandate, that their head-

quarters in Dublin has already received notification from Dunnes Stores commenting that they are how looking into workers concerns over 'ventilation' at their Parkway Store.

## British & Irish Neo Liberal Agenda: Widening Gap Of Rich & Poor

The 26 County state, has the second highest level of poverty in the western world, second only to the US. according to the report "The UN's 'Human Development Report' published in July.

The neo liberal economic agenda and right-wing policies of the present British and Irish Governments has only accelerated the ever widening gap between rich and poor, whilst steadily running down essential public services such as health, education and public transport."

Connolly said that if you hoisted a green flag above Dublin Castle, unless you established

the Socialist Republic, your efforts would be in vain.

### People Before Profit

The IRSP would say that if you print NHS documents in the Irish language, unless you put public health before private profit and take profit out of illness, your efforts will be in vain.

If you are sick, or injured, your prospects for speedy effective treatment and recovery depend on where you live and how much you earn.

The lower you are on the social

ladder the unhealthier you will be and the shorter will be your life expectancy.

If you are in a low income group you are more likely to suffer from lung cancer, coronary heart disease, stroke, respiratory disease, obesity and violent accidents; your birth weight will be lower, your diet will be poorer and your life expectancy will be five years shorter than those in upper income groups. It should not be so.

**Good health is a right, not a privilege, or it should be. Access to treatment and care should be equally available to all.**

### The IRSP Demands:

- a graduated income tax, and levy a profits tax upon the pharmaceutical industry, which will be used to finance research and development within the NHS and Free State health system, especially in preventative health care and medicine

- a regulation of the prices charged by multinational drug companies to the NHS and ROI health system.

- the abolition of all prescription charges and dental charges. If the government has money to go to war and maintain bases in South Armagh, it should have money to pay for those health charges.

- that all parts of the health care system, including private hospitals and clinics be brought under public control.

- opposition to PFI, because health treatment is given on the basis of whether it is profitable or not, and not on the basis of needs.

- opposition to privatisation.

**Put People Before Profit!**

### COMPUTERS DONATED TO STRABANE SCHOOL BY EX-POW GROUP



Republican Socialist Ex-POW group, Teach na Failte, made a very generous donation to St Mary's Boys Primary School in Strabane when they donated and installed three computers and a colour printer and fixed a fourth computer.

Teach na Failte became aware of the lack of computer facilities, particularly for the younger children at the school and became so concerned that the local group decided to do something practical to help solve the problem.

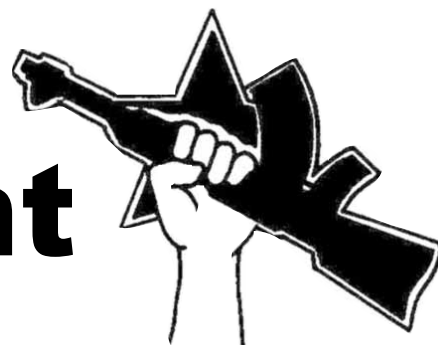
The Ex Prisoners group then contacted the principle of the school and offered him three computers and any back up assistance that he and his staff may require. The offer was gladly accepted.

Two members of the Teach na Failte staff went to the school and installed the computers in selected classrooms along with a colour printer which was also donated. A fourth computer was assembled out of components that were already available at the school.

The relevant teaching staff were then given advice on using the computers and how to recycle printer cartridges. The principle was then informed that should any problems arise from the computers then Teach na Failte would be only too willing to go back to the school and sort out any problems.

A local IRSP member commenting on the move by Teach na Failte said that this is the type of practical help that proves that Teach na Failte are working hard, not just for ex-prisoners, but for the whole community. He commended the donation of the computers to the local school and said that while it was a one off donation it would go a long way to helping the younger children of the area develop their IT skills. He wished the school well with their new equipment.

# GFA Is A Failed & Flawed Agreement



## Irish National Liberation Army Statement On 5th Anniversary Of Their Ceasefire

*The following statement was received from the leadership of the Irish National Liberation Army on the 5th Anniversary of the INLA ceasefire:*

In August 1998 the leadership of the INLA with the full support of the volunteers of the People's Army called a ceasefire in response to the will of the Irish people as expressed through the Referenda on the Good Friday Agreement.

Now five years on it is time to take stock.

Nothing that occurred since then has persuaded us to change our minds on the Good Friday Agreement. Four suspensions of the Assembly, a massive increase in sectarianism, the introduction of a neo-liberal economic agenda, the failure of mainstream unionism to actively accept an equality agenda and continuing direct rule by the British Government confirms the correctness of our analysis.

The Good Friday Agreement is a failed and flawed agreement. The Northern Ireland State is a failed political entity.



With the increasing disillusionment with in loyalist ranks over the whole so-called peace process and with whole sections of the UDA rejecting the GFA while the UVF re-arms now is not the time for any Republicans to be even considering negotiating any arms surrender.

A squalid political deal that

exchanges guns for Government was not what the republican struggle of the past was about. Such a deal is in effect an attempt to hide and cover up what has been in effect a defeat for Republicanism. Running Stormont departments does not and will not hide that reality.

However the INLA does not see a

return to armed struggle as a viable alternative at this time. Accordingly we have encouraged our membership and supporters to become actively involved in the day-to-day struggles of ordinary people. Such political involvement is following the example of our founder Seamus Costello.

A revolutionary army without a clear base of political understanding and activity is no longer a revolutionary Army. The INLA is part of and acts in the interests of the Irish working class.

Five years on from our ceasefire there is still a role for the INLA. We will remain vigilant in defence of working class communities but we will not take offensive action.

We will assist in resolving disputes within working class communities but we will not police those communities. The INLA is not a police force and we call on all units of the INLA to desist from policing communities.

It is no part of our role to police the working class. However we do reserve the right to defend our membership and the most vulnerable members of our community. It is time to encourage working class communities to take responsibility for their own lives.

We will encourage initiatives that give some respect and dignity back to communities living in fear from drug dealers and young disaffected youth. Therefore we encourage all volunteers to actively participate in a positive manner in daily lives of working class communities.

The INLA has no interests outside the liberation of the working class and the establishment of a socialist society.

There are however those who have abused and exploited working class communities. We warn those who used and abused the name of the INLA within working class communities to intimidate and extort to desist forthwith.

We are aware of individuals who use our name as a flag of convenience. Your day is done.

To the gutter press who regularly print falsehoods gossip title tattle and lies about this movement stop. Check your facts with this movement before you go to press.

Five years on the INLA ceasefire is solid. We recognise that the Republican struggle has to take a new direction and we call on all other republican forces to enter into dialogue with us and other republicans to discuss the way forward in the new situation we all find ourselves in.

Now is not the time for the failed strategies and tactics of the past. Now is the time for a new departure.

# Helping the young to help their communities

It is widely regarded that the laws that hold together the moral fibre of many modern societies derive from the ethos of various religions. As Christianity is the principle faith in the western world we, through our education and in most cases upbringing, developed our moral judgements in the Christian model. One must then assume that our judicial system reflects this public morality in its laws. Yet recently I along with many others have appeared in court charged with an offence of publicly demonstrating our opposition to an aggressive war against a decimated people by a vastly bigger superior military force. We are the criminals, yet the men who perpetrate the act are heroes. Those who arranged and planned it with their own interests as motives are victorious leaders. A distinct contradiction of Christian morality one might say.

The reasons given for the war were blatantly porous lies. The unprecedented media coverage of the carnage deemed the war the biggest public display of the US/UK might is right foreign affairs policy. The war was opposed within the countries that

took part in the aggression yet this was faced down by ambivalence and at times aggressive armoured policemen, shielding the executive statesmen from the critical demos.

All of this must have had an impact on the national conscience. Most menacing undercurrent from the action is that if something is accessible by force, then take it, regardless of the human costs. The connotations of this are even more disturbing if we reduce the scale of this message from a national to a community level.

We often speculate about the reasons why the youth within our communities are becoming more and more violent toward each other as well the peers around them. When the institutions that articulate the morality for society espouse such values as mentioned before, should they shoulder some level of culpability?

The hierarchical nature of our society is prevalent throughout the business, religious and political institutions, all of which have tiers to climb. The higher echelons protected and admired by

those wishing to climb them. This elitist culture is promoted widely in all forms of the media. Successful wealthy figures are the icons that youth aspire to emulate in their status. They crave the respect and wealth that their rich and powerful idols command. Capitalist society whilst permeating this materialistic ethic, places the vast majority of the populous well beyond the reach of their heroes social tier.

On the streets a new type of social tier manifests itself among the youth. The upper social echelons are light years from the street corners. If the average young 'Joe' in the street can't have the sports car of his celebrity idol he can gain 'street cred' from being adept at stealing cars. If he/she wants but cant achieve similar kudos and power of the political elite then the youngster can achieve notoriety among their peers for his/her ability to brutalise others within their community. When material goods are portrayed as absolute essentials yet cannot be afforded then they are taken by force, i.e. theft, mugging etc. Might is right after all.

Can't these kids just go to school

and achieve their wealth and status through a normal career? Today's primary and secondary education systems drive their students to strive towards a career within the status quo, to become wealthy careerists, to earn status after years of study and work. A youth can earn street hierarchy with the described methods in a much shorter time-span.

The youth were never as bad as this in previous generations. This is true. To assume however that young people or perhaps parents are just worse people than what they were simply isn't plausible. One may speculate that stricter parenting or more rigid adherence to religious institutions in days gone by were the solid grounding for our better-behaved youth.

What is certain is that our society and indeed our very culture have changed. Today's capitalism is marketing more material goods through more and more media outlets that either didn't exist or weren't available before. Worse still, children are being targeted primarily by the marketing gurus with goods that portray a financial

status and kudos befitting of their wealthy idols. They are in essence under incredible pressure to be social climbers in the capitalist model. Hence in the working class ghettos 'Joe' achieves his infamy through the appalling means that we are aware of. As today's society is much more tolerant to violence, (entertainment, computer games or even the 'Tele-wars' carried out by the ruling elite) Joe may not feel as squeamish to a bloody assault on a pensioner as the generations before him.

Our youth are also becoming more susceptible to the lure of alcohol. Under-age drinkers have been recognised as a huge market by the brewing companies and products have been marketed accordingly. Coupled with an incredibly forgiving attitude to excessive drinking habits within Irish society, drinking alcohol isn't just seen as cool but the done thing. Young men and women fuelled on drink with a negative mind set are a volatile lot.

What is also important to acknowledge is the changing nature of the conflict in the north.

During the heaviest days of conflict on the streets of the north, young men and women were mobilising themselves against the oppression and brutality of the British imperialist machine, which had a tangible enemy in the form of the British army and RUC. Today's adversaries are the capitalist conglomerates. Their weapons of control are not batons and bullets but the intense pressures of marketing. If the young men and women see through the façade of the selfish materialist capitalist ethos, will the street hierarchy hold as much credence? Could they learn that in contributing to and improving their communities they are in turn bettering themselves? It is a huge challenge for us to elucidate this to the young men and women within our communities, to make them feel a sense of worth to the districts in which they live.

To halt the growth of anti-social behaviour may go beyond the tried tactics of punishment beatings, expulsions and restorative justice schemes. They attempt to tackle the symptoms but not the cause of our youths increasingly violent and subversive attitudes.

# Seamus Costello Remembered

## Annual Commemoration held in Bray, County Wicklow

The annual Seamus Costello Commemoration was held in Bray on Sunday 5th October. The event was well attended by friends and comrades from around the country making the effort to pay tribute to one of Ireland's greatest leaders of his generation. The following is extracts of the main oration delivered by Paul Little:

Comrades and friends, we gather here in Bray today to not only remember our founder and political visionary - Seamus Costello - but also to celebrate the political legacy that he left to us, the Irish Republican Socialist Party and Republican Socialism.

Over the past few years, former INLA prisoners, many who are here today, through Teach Na Failte have embarked on a program of erecting suitable memorials to our fallen comrades across the country. That work is ongoing and will continue until all are recognised for what they were - Republican Socialists, Soldiers, in a volunteer revolutionary army that fought with great courage the mercenary forces of British and international imperialism.

Over the past few years the INLA, whilst adhering to its ceasefire, has had to take defensive measures in defence of the Irish working class which has come under attack from the reactionary sectarian campaign of loyalists. The INLA, whilst not relishing this role, will not leave vulnerable working class communities unarmed or undefended.

We salute the courage of each and every man and woman who makes a contribution to the struggle!

Today the IRSP has to face into the struggle for a socialist republic based on democratic principles, equipped with the integrity of republican socialist politics. This alongside our determination to achieve Irish freedom, full social equality for all, and self government are the arms required for today's struggle. The political conditions not only in Ireland but also internationally in 2003 demand that our response

is measured and tailored to achieve victory, not wallowing in a self-righteous indignance, engaged in a fruitless armed campaign that our enemies long ago learned how to minimise and negate.

Times and conditions change, that the Republican Socialist Movement moved with those times and conditions is a political imperative. We serve notice on our opponents today - in armed struggle the RSM was tenacious, determined, ingenious, and confident. In peace, we are equally tenacious, determined, ingenious, and confident. These were the attributes of Seamus Costello and we are proud to have inherited them.

Whilst the political conditions and the combined will of the Irish people expressed in 1998 demand that we use only peaceful methods it would be wrong for our opponents to see this as a defeat or weakening of republican socialism.

We listened to the combined wishes of the Irish people, which is more than the current Irish government did when it enabled the Anglo/American invasion of Iraq. An invasion that has led to the decimation of the Iraqi people and the plundering of their country's collective wealth, all to satisfy the lust of Anglo/American capitalism.

The IRSP are determined to present a real choice to the Irish working class, the choice between social equality and prosperity for all and the present class system which condemns millions to poverty and misery with the crumbs off the table of the greedy.

Have no doubt, comrades, we do not only want the loaf of bread but we mean to take the entire bakery. The demolition of capitalism, exploitation, and the class system was and is our aim!

Our opposition to the Good Friday Agreement is well documented and the present bartering of democratic institutions against long silent Provo weapons is but the latest example of the failure



An IRSM Colour Party pay tribute at the grave of Seamus Costello

of real politics in the failed entity that is the North.

If the current batch of wannabe 'statesmen and women' that represent 'politics' in Ireland represent the future, then God help the Irish working class. Sure we know they can talk the talk but precious few, if any, know how to take a single step.

We recognise the new political climate that the agreement has created. It has created space and room for dialogue that in the end can only be for the common good.

We also recognise the bad, whilst the creation of sectarianism can not be laid at its door its rapid development throughout society as a whole in the North cannot and should not be ignored. Sectarianism is through society as a whole but its violent manifestation has maximum effect in working class communities and is the cause of much secondary discrimination in the areas such as employment, housing, education, and health provision.

In North Belfast there is housing crisis for the Catholic community. The statutory social housing provider the housing executive if it was honest would admit that it has no real strategy to combat this discrimination in housing

provision, it cannot even get the language correct it calls North Belfast 'an area of high housing need', no its not, its an area of poor social housing provision because of sectarianism.

The IRSP are extremely concerned at secondary discrimination and its effects on securing a peaceful future for all. We do not remember any exclusion clauses in the Good Friday Agreement and if any people deserve peace it is the good people of North Belfast, an area in which one quarter of all the deaths in the conflict lost their lives in one square mile.

Across the country IRSP personnel are involved in working class issues that have real effect on ordinary people's lives, from the campaign against the introduction of a 'bin tax' in the South to the campaign against the introduction of water charges in the North, you will find the IRSP. We commend Socialist TD Joe Higgins for his principled stance on the 'bin tax', but one can but wonder if he would have been sent to prison if he held an offshore bank account! Lying, corruption, bribery, embezzlement, and tax evasion all seem to be the passport to power in Ireland under the Celtic Tiger.

The IRSP are also to be found in the trade unions, community

associations, and in every working class issue you will find an Irp. Not bad for a group of people that our enemies had written off as social misfits, profiteers, psychotic murderers, and a ragtag band of braggarts whose only concern is personal gain. I know of no current Irp who has profited from their membership of this organisation, indeed personal sacrifice for the collective good has always been our way and so it shall remain.

Seamus Costello founded the RSM, a volunteer army, and a subscription based political party. The IRSP is self funded, we are not in the pocket of any self interest group or foreign government. We are what we say we are - a working class political party, we serve no other interests only those of the Irish working class.

Those who see the lack of personal ambition of individual members of the IRSP for the baubles and titles of 'Western democracy' as a weakness in our movement are wrong once again, it is our strength. We remain uncorrupted by the lure of the easy life paid for by the honest toil of others. Whilst we may not lust after the 'baubles and titles', we do possess a collective ambition and determination that by far outstrips any personal ambition. Republican Socialism represents the opportunity for the maximum amount of personal freedom within a collective responsibility.

Like our founder and the man we remember here today, Seamus Costello, the only title that we crave is that of all free workers in a free society, the highest accolade of all, that of - comrade citizen!

Comrades, we have much work to do. Go out and preach the blessed gospel of discontent! Organise! Onwards to victory!

**The commemoration also heard calls for the release of INLA POW Dessie O'Hare. The following shortened statement was delivered on behalf of the Free Dessie O'Hare Campaign:**

Desmond O'Hare was born on 26 October 1956 and comes from a staunch Republican family. Dessie's grandmother did six months in Holloway Gaol for "keeping Republicans". His father and six of his uncles were interned between 1940 and 1944. One uncle died while interned on the Isle of Man.

Dessie was jailed for life in 1988 and is currently the O/C of the INLA prisoners in Castlereagh Prison. He has endorsed and fully accepted the INLA ceasefire.

The GFA in its entirety includes the early release of 'qualifying prisoners' meaning those prisoners whose organisations are 'maintaining a complete and unequivocal ceasefire'. Dessie O'Hare is such a prisoner.

Dessie's "crime", if 'crime' it was, was to be an active Republican. His co-accused, Edward Hogan and Fergal Toal, have already been released under the Agreement even though they were convicted of the same offence.

Dessie is being victimised, discriminated against, and demonised by the state authorities. Dessie O'Hare is no different from hundreds if not thousands of Republicans. He played his part in the struggle. It is now time he was released. The governments started releasing the first POWs under the terms of the GFA four years ago and Dessie is beginning his 24th year behind prison bars. Dessie has been in jail continuously since 1979 (with one year's exception, 1987) and in all of them 23 years he hasn't been given a single days temporary release despite many family tragedies including the death of his father.

The case of Dessie raises issues over and above either the personality or deeds of Dessie O'Hare. Fundamentally it goes to the heart of the Good Friday Agreement. Carry out the wishes of the Irish people and release Dessie O'Hare now!!!

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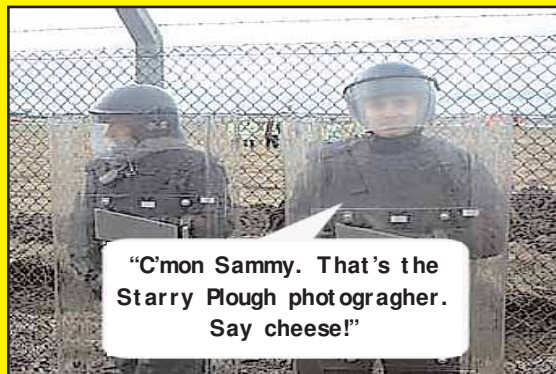
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## Anti-War Blockade

Shannon Airport Sat. 6th Dec.

US/British Imperialism: Out Of Iraq! Out Of Ireland!

organised by: Irish Anti-War Movement

Quote Quiz Answer:

(c) Charlie Chaplin

# Republican Socialists Remembered

## Strabane, Co Tyrone

It was a bright sunny day on 10th August when members of the IRSM came together with supporters in Strabane, Co Tyrone to dedicate a memorial to two local INLA Volunteers from the area who died as a direct result of their participation in the struggle for National self determination and Socialism.

The event began with a march from the entrance of the Carlton Drive estate towards the middle of the estate where the memorial is located. The sizable march was led by a lone piper followed by a large Republican Socialist colour party. This in turn was followed by a large number of former IRSM prisoners who paid their own special tribute to the fallen volunteers by wearing white shirts and black ties.

When the march reached the new memorial the colour party formed up in the car park in front of the new memorial. The former prisoners then formed up immediately beside the colour party.

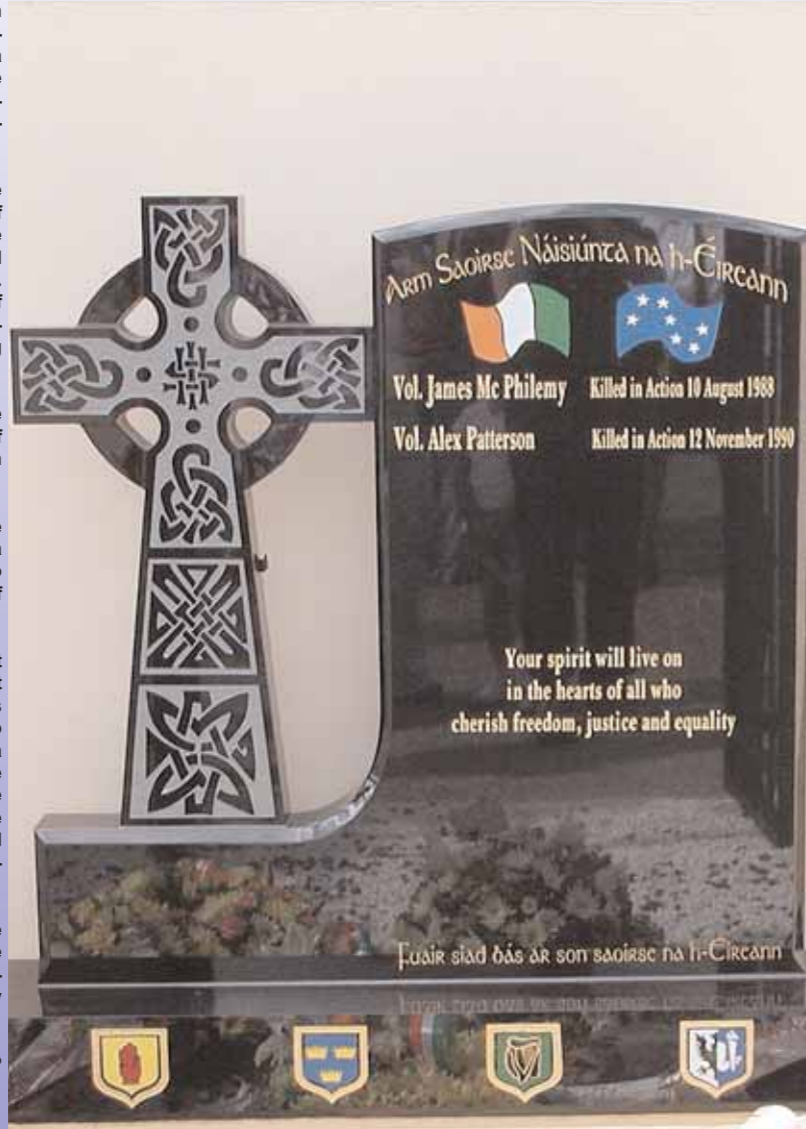
Chairing proceedings Eddie McGarrigle of the local committee started events off by asking a brother of INLA Volunteer Alex Patterson to come forward to say a few words on behalf of his family.

He began by outlining his family's anguish at the loss of Alex, compounded by the fact that false allegations were made in TV programmes alleging that Alex was a police informer who was shot by mistake during an INLA attack on a UDR member. He thanked the local committee for giving him the platform to discount these allegations and he said that the fact that the committee had gone ahead with the memorial was testament enough to his brother's character and good name.

Following Mr Patterson was Micky Og Devine from Derry, son of the 1981 hungerstriker. He read the IRSM roll of honour, which was then followed by the lowering of the flags, a lament by the piper and a minute's silence.

Gerry Ruddy from the Ard Comhairle of the IRSP gave the main oration.

A speaker then read a statement from the leadership of the INLA.



## Dungiven, Co Derry

After the annual Kevin Lynch Commemoration in Dungiven the Teach na Failte committee unveiled a new memorial, located beside the hungertrikers memorial in the Grove, in memory of Kevin Lynch.

On Sunday 3rd August a few hundred Republicans, accompanied by a piper and various flute bands, including the Kevin Lynch Memorial Flute Band, marched through the County Derry town of Dungiven during the now annual Kevin Lynch Commemoration. The march made it's way to the car park of the local church where a rally was held. The two main speakers at this years event were Jimmy Bradley of the IRSP and Raymond McCartney of provisional Sinn Fein.

Various wreaths were laid on the grave of Kevin Lynch including from various branches of the Republican Socialist Movement.

After the main commemoration the bulk of the assembled crowd then followed the bands towards the new Teach na Failte memorial which has been installed just under the hungerstrike memorial in the Grove. Paul Little from the IRSP then gave a short oration in which he outlined Kevin's commitment to the struggle for a Socialist Republic.

The days events came to an end when those gathered made their way to the local GAA hall where a function was held.



## Maghera, Co Derry

Several hundred members and supporters of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement gathered in Maghera on Sunday 17th August to see the unveiling of a new memorial to local INLA Volunteer Brendan Convery and his comrade Volunteer Gerard Mallon from Armagh.

Volunteer Convery had been part of an INLA ASU that attacked an RUC security post some twenty years earlier but as they made their escape were unfortunate to meet an incoming RUC patrol and he, with Volunteer Gerard Mallon were killed.

This memorial unveiling made the headlines when a building firm, backed up by some 200 members of the paramilitary RUC was attacked and removed during a night time raid just 36 hours before the planned memorial unveiling. Luckily a member of the memorial committee was at hand to rescue the marble stone from the attackers. Republicans in the area, undeterred by the clandestine attack, rallied round and built a new memorial in a matter of hours, even using some iron girders from a decommissioned RUC base in Cookstown, to strengthen the base of the memorial.

The attack on the memorial came in the wake of a verbal sectarian attack by the DUP backed up by a local SDLP representative eager to appeal to the reactionary element. But their plan was thwarted by the ingenuity of members of the local committee who worked flat out following the night time incursion, and in record time, got a new memorial built from scratch and ready in time for the memorial to be officially unveiled on the Sunday afternoon.

The day of the unveiling itself passed off peacefully despite the rants by the DUP/SDLP bloc. Hundreds of local people turned out to lend their support to the Convery family who are popular in the area and of course to support the right of the IRSM to commemorate it's fallen volunteers.

As the march made it's way around the town the RUC were on hand keeping a close eye on proceedings. The march was led by an IRSM colour party, followed by a large number of Republican Socialists in white shirts and black ties







# Anger At North Belfast Eviction

The North Belfast branch of the IRSP has called the eviction of a north Belfast single parent from a Salvation Army hostel in the Cliftonville indicative of the callousness that comes from the mismanagement of the housing crisis for Catholics in the area.

The single parent of two under school-age children had reached the end of his tether in regards to being placed in totally inadequate and unsuitable accommodation by the Housing Executive. This had led directly to the dispute between Mr. Rattle and the Salvation Army, which in turn has led to his eviction.

The IRSP recognise that the Salvation Army plays a vital role in providing temporary housing for vulnerable families. Mr. Rattle is not vulnerable, he is quite capable of looking after himself and his family. He is simply homeless through no fault of his own. He requires a home in which to raise his family. He does not require the level of in-house support that Salvation Army provide. He has found this intrusive into his privacy and feels that his ability as a parent is being brought into question. The Housing Executive have quite clearly abdicated their responsibility by placing Mr. Rattle in a Salvation Army hostel and have created this foreseeable, and preventable, eviction.

The housing crisis in north Belfast is being totally mismanaged by the Housing Executive, who have attempted to shift their responsibility on to charities and local housing associations, rather than face up to their stated



## NIHE's Corporate Image means nothing to the homeless in N Belfast

role. The public's money that is being spent, in this particular case over £500 per week, to keep a family in a hostel is exorbitant and wide-open to profiteering by unscrupulous landlords and hostel owners.

The IRSP are stating that there is a housing crisis in nationalist north Belfast, because of the sectarian allocation of houses, the points system operated by the NIHE in north Belfast is a joke and has no real bearing on either housing need or provision.

The IRSP are saying whilst there may be reasons why housing in this part of the city is allocated on the basis of religion, there is absolutely no justifiable reason for the amount of vacant property lying empty in nationalist areas. Some of this housing is brand new and is lying vacant because of bureaucracy. Why is this housing not being used?

The IRSP will be seeking a meeting with the NIHE to campaign for proper resources to be made available to bring these houses into public usage.

## Demand the Closure of Illegal Loyalist Shebeen

The Irish Republican Socialist Party in North Belfast is calling for the immediate closure of an illegal loyalist drinking den that is being used as a base for launching attacks on Catholics traveling from Ligoniel to other parts of the city. Following a meeting with some of the local residents affected, the IRSP released the following statement.

The IRSP's North Belfast representative Paul Little said: "The nationalist working class communities in North Belfast have been thrown to the wolves on the altar of political expediency rather than the British government tackling those responsible for the current level of loyalist attacks. The Shebeen operated by the UDA which is situated at the junction of the Ligoniel and Crumlin Roads has been open for a number of months now and attacks especially on cars and taxis leaving Ligoniel have increased tenfold.

"For many in Ligoniel daily trips to work, school, and other everyday trips have become a nightmare with residents injured and their cars damaged. The North Belfast branch of the IRSP are asking who is responsible for curbing the opening of these shebeens which are endemic in loyalist working class communities? Has a special dispensation been given to the UDA to operate these clubs which are a blight on those communities and provide easy access to drink and drugs for young people who often then attack their Catholic neighbours?"

In conclusion, the IRSP representative said: "All those political parties and governments who are party to the farce that is the Good Friday Agreement should wake up and smell the coffee, whilst the British government fail to tackle loyalism that is refusing to change, refusing to live beside their Catholic neighbours without attacking them, and choosing the weakest in our society as its victims, all talk of a peaceful future here is fantasy with no basis in reality. The working class people of Ligoniel are entitled to the same rights of freedom of travel as everyone else and they cannot be written off as a sacrifice to sectarian bigotry."

## ATTEMPTED MURDER IN N/BELFAST

The IRSP's North Belfast representative Paul Little said: "The murder bid happened on the Somerton Road on Saturday afternoon, a local builder who was in his van when a armed man fired two shots at him. Fortunately the man was not hit but two bullets entered the van through the rear window. The car used in the sectarian attack was found burnt out in the Mount Vernon area, which leads us to believe that the attack was carried out by the UVF who control that area. The PSNI sealed off the area around the attack on the Somerton Road just off Fortwilliam on the Antrim Road."

"The North Belfast branch of the IRSP in condemning the murder bid are asking a number of questions of the PSNI and the DPP. Why have the PSNI hushed up and blacked media coverage of the attack? Whose agenda are they working to in hushing up the murder bid? Have the DPP authorised a general hushing up of sectarian attacks in North Belfast?"

In raising these serious questions, it is hard not to conclude that the PSNI, either of their own volition or on the direction of the British government or DPP, are deliberately down playing sectarian attacks by loyalist murder gangs due to the sensitivity of the current negotiations. Peace will not be built on lies and coverups, there is a very real need for peace to be built from the ground upwards, with some degree of honesty. Only the cause of sectarian division is served by state coverups.

## IRSP Mourn the Death of Edward Said

It was with great sadness that the Irish Republican Socialist Party heard of the death of Edward Said, professor, author, and tireless champion of the Palestinian intifada.

Edward Said made significant contributions to a number of fields of intellectual inquiry, but reached beyond the world of academia in a manner which few accomplish. Edward Said helped transform the social sciences, especially those focused on the Arab world, but he was also an activist who ceaselessly championed the cause of justice and tirelessly sought to bring clarity and truth regarding the struggle of the Palestinian people and the Arab nation to the world.

Edward Said was among the most effective voices for bringing to light the reality of the Palestinian cause in the West through his newspaper columns, scholarly essays, books, and interviews. Said made errors in his time, as all men do, but his works were important for helping to humanise the reality of the Palestinian struggle and for adding the credibility that is bestowed by the work of a genuine scholar. His voice and intellect will be missed.

Peter Urban

## Troy (New York) Connolly Memorial Archives Donation to the Linen Hall Library

The Linen Hall Library of Belfast, who maintain an exceptional collection of documents related to the history of Irish republicanism, as well as Irish political thought and action in general were the recipients of archival material related to the erection of a statue of James Connolly in Troy, New York state.

Troy is where Connolly lived during a significant portion of his time spent in the United States as an activist with the Socialist Labor Party, the Industrial Workers of the World, and the Irish Socialist Federation and the erection of the bust of Connolly was an undertaking of trade union and Irish organisations in tribute

to Connolly's contribution to the working class struggle in both Ireland and the United States. The archival material was donated to the Irish Republican Socialist Party, who in turn donated these materials to the Linen Hall Library, thereby making them available to the public for purposes of research. We have been told that the Linen Hall Library staff "are over the moon" over the gift from the IRSP of the materials from Troy.

The Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America, who acted as intermediaries, are in turn grateful to those involved in the

erection of the monument to Connolly in Troy for having entrusted us with their archives and hope that they will be gratified that their archives have achieved a final home, where they will be appreciated for years to come.

It is the intention of the IRSCNA to eventually initiate an annual commemoration in honour of Connolly at the site of the statue in Troy.

For more information on the Troy monument, please visit:

[www.wageslave.org/jcs/projects/troy](http://www.wageslave.org/jcs/projects/troy)

## Loyalist Attacks Escalate in North Belfast:

# Residents Want No Part In Sectarianism

Once more North Belfast hits the headlines as the UDA ups the stakes and orchestrated a series of attacks on Catholic families living on the Deerpark Road.

This is a mixed area, where most homes are owned by families, who choose to live in a mixed area. The residents in this area want no part of sectarianism. However the UDA have decided otherwise and launched a series of attacks on homes. One home had its windows broken 18 times since June. The new UDA commander is marking out his territory and having taken over from a small time criminal, the convicted extortionist is determined to make a name for himself.

Two bomb scares at the Holy Cross Girls Primary School one of which involved a blast bomb on the school gates occurred on Monday 1st September.

When the parents of the children of the school were walking up the road one well known loyalist who was shot last year by Republican defenders when attacking Catholic houses, shouted sectarian abuse calling the parents 'Fenian bastards'.

The next day a gang under the leadership of this man intimidated Catholics in Deerpark on Tuesday night 2nd September. He then returned on Wednesday attacking Catholics and forcing at least one family out. As he was doing this both UDA and UVF leaders turned up in the area with re-enforcements from the Tigers Bay area.

At least four families have already been forced out, some of whom have lived in the once-quiet residential street for a number of years. The few remaining Catholics fear they will be forced to leave soon. Locals have accused the police of standing back and doing nothing.

They are afraid of starting major trouble so they do nothing while these thugs are allowed to do what they want. Unfortunately those working in the protestant communities, including a senior local community worker, deny UDA involvement putting it down to drunken youths coming from outside the area.

When similar incidents have occurred in the past, even in front of 'protestant community workers'. They deny the evidence before their own eyes

because they refuse to stand up to the bullyboys.

There is a long list of areas where loyalists intimidate Catholics and have used the same tactics. Only recently in Maghera an attempt was made to target a Catholic family and drive them from their home. Catholics can't walk the main streets in Larne without fear of attack.

More than five years after the Good Friday Agreement it is clear that the fundamental sectarianism at the root of the Northern Ireland state has not been exorcised. The failure of the state forces to tackle sectarianism within their own ranks is glaringly obvious.

The PSNI/RUC recently told the head of a Public Service Trade Union that the Union Jack was

the national flag and could fly anywhere. The Northern Ireland Housing Executive without attempting to negotiate with the Republican Socialist Movement (RSM) took out a court order and used the police to smash a memorial to two dead INLA volunteers despite the fact the RSM had not only gone to every house in the estate to sound out the residents views where the monument was to be erected but also moved the memorial from the front to the back of the estate at the resident's request.

So much for equality of esteem, freedom from sectarian attack and the Good Friday Agreement. As Monty Python pointed out "This is a dead parrot. The parrot is dead." So also some oneneeds to point out that the GFA is dead. The Agreement is dead and we still in the north live in a sectarian society.

# The INTERNATIONAL View

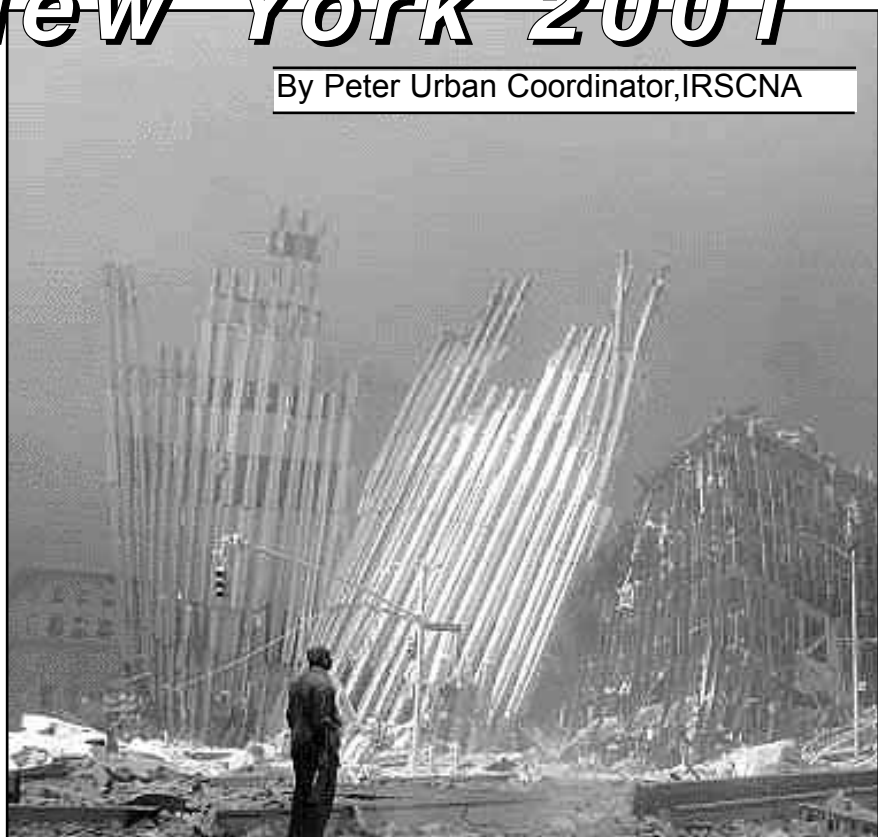
Irish Republican Socialist  
Committees of North  
America,  
2057 15th Street, Suite B,  
San Francisco, CA 9411,  
North America.  
Tel/Fax 415 861 1355  
email:  
irsp@netwizards.net

## 11th September: TWO ANNIVERSARIES

### Chile 1973 - New York 2001



By Peter Urban Coordinator, IRSCNA



While media around the world, but especially in America re-examined the events of 11 September 2001, the date this year was the 30th anniversary of another act of blood letting, the memory of which helps to put into context the events of two years ago. It was on 11 September 1973 that the US-backed fascist coup d'état led by Pinochet overthrew the democratically elected government of socialist Salvador Allende.

It is extremely unlikely that the reactionary fundamentalists of Al Qeda selected the date for their attack on the United States to commemorate the overthrow of Allende, as they would have little sympathy for a secular socialist government, yet the two events still have a common element. That is, they both resulted from a US foreign policy, which considers only the concerns of American capitalists pursuit of profit, but ignores the genuine needs and concerns of the masses of the people in countries around the world.

While virtually every newspaper in America reported on the commercial aircraft used to topple the World Trade Centre towers and damage the Pentagon, few had much to say about how the Chilean armed forces with US backing and assistance launched air and ground strikes against the presidential palace in Chile. While much was said of the almost 3,000 Americans who died in the attacks of September 2001, there was almost no mention of the hundreds of Chileans killed during the coup, the tens of thousands of Chileans who were tortured afterwards, or the hundreds of thousands who were forced into exile.

As with Chavez in Venezuela today, the US media was quick to take up the US government's position that Allende had no popular mandate, despite the fact he was returned to the Presidency with a larger margin of victory than for his first term and the undeniable reality that both Chavez and Allende were the recipients of larger majorities of their electorate's votes than was won by George W. Bush in the 2000 election. With similar irony, Bush claimed the September 2001 attacks stemmed from those responsible "hating us for our freedoms", while he has used those same attacks as the pretext for an unprecedented assault on the very freedoms and civil liberties.

US forces occupied Nicaragua and Haiti for some 20 years each in the early 20th Century. Cuba was occupied in 1906-9, 1912 and 1917-22. Between 1900 and 1910, US troops invaded Colombia, Honduras, the Dominican Republic and Panama. During the following decade, the US invaded Mexico on several occasions, landed expeditionary forces in Guatemala and Costa Rica, as well as sending troops to China in 1911, 1912 and 1920, Turkey in 1912 and invading the Soviet Union in 1918-22. While a world-wide depression and a Second World War kept America distracted briefly, the CIA helped to overthrow the democratically elected governments of Iran (1953), Guatemala (1954), and supported a coup in Brazil in 1964. Lest we forget, there was also Korea, Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, the Congo, the Philippines, Laos, Cambodia, Indonesia, right on up through Grenada, Panama, Libya, Iraq, Haiti, Bosnia, Somalia, Afghanistan, Iraq and the list sometimes seems endless.

On top of these direct military interventions, invasions, assistance, and so forth, there have been the

persistent intervention through surrogates in the affairs of Zimbabwe, Namibia, Azania and Palestine, where Apartheid regimes of color and of religious affiliation and ethnicity carry out such blatant theft, murder, and oppression they have become pariah nations to virtually every nation on earth, except the United States.

Still, one might say, that cannot justify the killing of over 2,500 American civilians in September 2001. And, that would be true-it has long been said that two wrongs cannot make a right. Consider further, however, that the US fought tooth and nail to block the creation of a World Court to hear cases were international law has been violated and when it was unable to block it, withdrew its signature from the treaty which supported the court's creation and insisted that US military and political officials must be held immune from prosecution outside the US, thereby rendering non-violent means of seeking recourse and justice for violence unleashed by America impossible.

Beyond that, the maintaining of a military budget which exceeds that of most of the rest of the world combined ensures that conventional warfare with the US offers little realistic opportunity to press ones case. Witness the most recent attack on Iraq, where the US didn't dare to advance their infantry until they had first starved the country with twelve years of draconian economic embargo and then destroyed the nations infrastructure with virtual carpet bombing, and still felt compelled to lob endless artillery assaults against their opponents, all the while whining that it was unfair that some Iraqis were fighting for the defense of their nation against a foreign invader without being dressed in military uniforms. When I was schooled in the public education institu-

tions of America, they never tired of telling us about the great ingenuity of the American patriots who fought the British redcoats in their traditional military formations, while attired in buckskins and hiding behind trees and rocks and the French Resistance to the Nazi occupation were heroes. Now, I suppose they must teach that the Minute Men and Green Mountain Boys were cowardly terrorists, or have they simply stopped teaching that America gained an independent republic by waging a revolution? And, we know what they say about the French today.

When the attacks of 11 September 2001 occurred, the IRSCNA issued a statement condemning the killing of so many civilians, but challenging Americans to recognise that the foreign policy of their government had legitimately garnered the hatred of many people throughout the world and see that they could not hope to be secure so long as their government left so many with unredressed grievances. Today we issue that same challenge and suggest that a simple beginning to that process be a forthright statement of the US's responsibility in bringing about the nightmare of the Pinochet coup in Chile, coupled with an apology to the people of Chile for the death, torture, imprisonment, and exile that followed in its wake. After that, they might consider compelling their government to end the occupation of Iraq and Afghanistan and cease propping up the brutal and illegal occupation of Palestine by their Zionist allies.

**Simply put, there can be no peace without justice and for working people of every nation, their interests can be won by no war, but the class war.**

# Police Attack on Anti-War Demonstrators

Witch-hunt Against Longshore Militant

By Peter Urban Coordinator, IRSCNA

Last April 7th, police opened fire with non-lethal projectiles, including bean-bag rounds, wooden dowels, and 'sting balls', which send out a spray of BB-sized rubber pellets and a cloud of tear gas at an anti-war protest at the Port of Oakland on the San Francisco Bay. They injured numerous demonstrators and nine longshoremen standing nearby, sending five of the longshoremen to the hospital. The police opened fire at two gates when protesters refused to move. The longshoremen, pinned against a fence, were caught in the line of fire, while attempting to do their jobs. The demonstrators had targeted the

port because of two shipping companies with Pentagon contracts, APL and Stevedoring Services of America (SSA). The police arrested 31 people, including ILWU business agent, Jack Heyman.

The week before, management from both APL and SSA met with port and police officials to coordinate efforts to prevent the demonstration from taking place and blocking the terminal gates. Port of Oakland spokesman Harold Jones said, "How the police decided to do that, however, was not under our control."

The police said that their

response was justified because the demonstrators were throwing debris at them. However, eyewitnesses dispute the claim. Joel Tena, an aide to Oakland vice mayor Nancy Nadel, who was sent to the protest as an observer stated. "At no time did I see protesters act in a provocative way or throw any projectile." Four members of the Oakland City Council have called for independent investigation of the matter, as has the ILWU and the Alameda County Central Labor Council.

The International Longshore Workers' Union, is notable for a long and proud history as one of, if not the, most militant trade union in America. The ILWU initiated dock action against the South African apartheid regime, the dictatorship of Pinochet in Chile, and, more recently, in support of the Liverpool dockers in England, among a host of other issues.

When Jack Heyman tried to warn longshore workers at a nearby terminal gate that police were firing on longshore workers, the police pulled him out of his car and arrested him. As the president of the union's Local 10,

Henry Graham, asked rhetorically, "If a union official can't tell his members to get out of harm's way, then what rights do we have? Safety is a fundamental right of all workers. And the right to protest for the demonstrators is indelibly etched in the Bill of Rights."

Another ILWU business agent, Trent Willis, said dockworkers were leaving the docks after the incident. Willis said, "They shot my guys. We're not going to work today. The cops had no reason to open up on them."

A defense committee, Committee to Defend ILWU Local 10 Business Agent Jack Heyman, has been established in the Bay Area, as well as in Seattle and Portland. Donations can be sent to the committee in care of Local 10; 400 North Point Street; San Francisco, CA 94133) to help defray Local 10's legal expenses and build a defense campaign.

The Irish Republican Socialist Party denounces this attack on Longshoreman Jack Heyman and the police violence that led to it and demand that all charges against him be immediately dropped.

## 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!

# "Break the Chains" Conference on Political Prisoners

In early August, the prisoners' support group Break the Chains hosted a three day conference on prisoners issues around the world in Eugene, Oregon. Among those participating in the event were members of the Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America, the IRSP's support group in Canada and the US.

On the first night the event was kicked off with Chystos, a Native poet and activist along, as well as Ward Churchill, well-known professor, Native activist, and author of two definitive books on the FBI's COINTELPRO programs war against the Black Panther Party and American Indian Movement, among others, as well as a book on Marxism and Native Americans. Churchill spoke at length about the US government's repression of activists and oppression of political prisoners, concluding with a rousing advocacy of revolutionary action rather than reformist measures. A recording of local political prisoner Rob Thaxton's was played from an earlier telephone conversation, lending the event a sense of immediacy.

The event was unusual for activists from elsewhere in North America because of its anarchist character. With many, especially younger, activists having become disillusioned with the sectarianism of much of the socialist Left in America, various tendencies of anarchism largely predominate throughout the Pacific Northwest today. However, the event drew broadly from the Left and featured a wide range of topics. Irish

Republican Socialist activists of the IRSCNA attended from the states of Pennsylvania, Washington, Oregon, and California.

Among the workshops presented over the weekend were: The Jericho Movement and the Struggle to Free Political Prisoners in North America by Paulette d'Auteuil, who also did a workshop on Basque POWs; A History of Anarchist Black Cross (ABC) by Matt Hart of the ABC Federation; Attica to Gustafsen Lake by Dacajewiak and Attica riot participant Splitting the Sky; Transgender People in Prison by Sailor Holiday of California Prison Focus; The Marini Trial-Italian State Repression Against Anarchists; Chemical Prison-Merger of the Psychiatric and Prison Industries; Men Against Sexism by Ed Mead, on a group he helped found to end prison rape; Invisibility of Women's Prisoner Resistance by Vikki Law of Re-Sisters; and Green With A Vengeance on Oregon Eco-Defense political prisoner Jeff Free Luers.

San Diego, California IRSP supporter Janice Jordan of the California Coalition for Women in Prison presented a workshop entitled, "Women in Prison/Free Battered Women Now!"

A 90-minute workshop on Teach na Failte and the centrality of the prisoners to the contemporary struggle for Irish national by IRSCNA Coordinator Peter Urban drew a crowd of over 50 participants. The workshop traced the tradition of promi-

nence given to prisoners of war in the Irish national liberation struggle from the days of Young Ireland and the Fenians, through the Curagh's 'university of the revolution', Internment, the Blanket, No Wash, and 'Dirty' protests, the 1980 and 1981 hunger strikes, and up through the contemporary effort to free Dessie O Hare and the struggle for segregation and political sta-

tus in Maghaberry. This provided the foundation for a discussion on the work of Teach na Failte, including the memorial project their members have organised throughout the past year.

Further event information can be found on Break the Chains' website <http://www.break-thechains>.

**DESSIE O'HARE**

PRISONER OF WAR

BERTIE AHERN'S HOSTAGE

IN PRISON SINCE 1987

QUALIFYING PRISONER UNDER GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT

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**Stairiúil**

**History**

**Feargus O'Connor & James Bronterre O'Brien**

**By Peter Urban**

**Feargus Edward O Connor was born on 18 July 1794 at Connorville, County Cork. His father, Roger O Connor had been a member of the United Irishmen.**

He studied law at Trinity College, Dublin and was a member of the Irish Bar. He became a barrister, but then entered parliament as supporter of Daniel O Connell and his drive to repeal the Act of Union. He was elected MP for County Cork between 1832 and 1835, but was expelled for failing to meet the property qualification for MPs. In 1936 he wrote a series of letters to Daniel O Connell urging an alliance between Irish peasantry and English working class. In the correspondence he called O Connell 'balderdash' and accused him of running the Repeal movement as a dictatorship. The goal of uniting Irish peasants with Irish workers led to the Chartists providing support and endorsement of the Democratic Association of the Leeds working class. In the correspondence he called O Connell 'balderdash' and accused him of running the Repeal movement as a dictatorship. The goal of uniting Irish peasants with Irish workers led to the Chartists providing support and endorsement of the Democratic Association of the Leeds working class. In the correspondence he called O Connell 'balderdash' and accused him of running the Repeal movement as a dictatorship. The goal of uniting Irish peasants with Irish workers led to the Chartists providing support and endorsement of the Democratic Association of the Leeds working class.

Connolly notes that the Democratic Association was described as, "an association with aims almost entirely socialistic and revolutionary," and that in it the Chartists saw, "the realisation of his long-hoped for dream of a common programme uniting the democracies of Ireland and Great Britain".

Chartism was an important stage in the development of the working class movement within the Britain and Ireland. The Chartists put forward the very modest demands that working men be granted the vote, members of parliament receive payment for holding office, electoral districts be made equal in size, that secret ballots be used and that parliament sit annually. Despite the moderate tone of these demands today, at the time they were seen as a threat to the state and various attempts were made to suppress and control their activities. Chartism's tactics were equally moderate, focusing their energies on collecting signatures for a national petition, or Charter,

from which the movement gained its name. O Connor is particularly notable for leading a repudiation of the middle class elements within Chartism.

The movement developed out of the London Working Men's Association, formed in 1836. The failure of the Luddite movement and of the Grand National Consolidated Trades Union led many working-class activists to abandon trade unionism in favour of political action. Three petitions were presented to Parliament, in 1839 (signed by 1.28 million people), 1842 (signed by more than 3 million) and 1848 (signed by over 2 million), but all three were rejected. The march and demonstration planned in support of the presentation of the third Chartist petition frightened the English government sufficiently that they threatened to use the military against any demonstration. Rather than confront the Army, O'Connor instead took the petition to Parliament by taxi. Under O Connor's leadership, Chartism became the leading expression of working class protest.

O Connor emerged as leader of the Chartist movement in England in 1837. As a result of his humor, invective, and energy, O'Connor became the best-known Chartist leader and the movement's most popular speaker. He was also the owner of the Leeds-based weekly newspaper, the Northern Star, which became the voice of the Chartist movement. He relied heavily on the financial support of the handloom weavers and of factory workers to continue publishing. Amidst his activism as a Chartist in England, O Connor continued to press Irish grievances and to seek Irish support.

He was imprisoned in 1840 and 1841, along with 58 others, for seditious incitement of the Newport rising of 1839. He was re-elected to Parliament from Nottingham in 1847 and presided at the 'Great' Chartist meeting in London in 1848. He was finally committed to a mental asylum in 1852 and died later that year.

Not a socialist in the modern sense, O Connor sought to settle unemployed workers in agricultural colonies as peasant proprietors, believing this would contribute to a rise in wages for urban workers as a side-effect.

Another great leader of the Chartists was also Irish, that was James Bronterre O'Brien. O'Brien was born in County Longford, in 1805. He attended Trinity College in Dublin, where he won several academic prizes including the Science Gold Medal. After studying law at King's Inn, O'Brien moved to England in 1829. There he joined the Radical Reform Association. In 1836 he joined the London Working Men's Association.

O'Brien published a number of works, including Rise, Progress and Phases of Human Slavery: How it came into the world, and how it may be made to go out of it, published in 1830; Address to the Oppressed and Mystified People of Great Britain, 1851; European Letters. He also founded and wrote for newspaper, the National Reformer, which he founded in 1837. O'Brien was influenced by the socialist writer, Gracchus Babeuf, who had been executed during the French Revolution. In 1836 O'Brien began publishing translations of Babeuf's work in the Poor Man's Guardian. He also included Philip Buonarrotti's account of Babeuf and the Conspiracy of Equals.

O'Brien was originally an advocate of physical force, Connolly notes, but "in his later days gave himself almost exclusively to the development of a system of land banks, in which he believed he had found a way to circumvent the political and military power of the capitalist class." He was also incarcerated in 1840 on charges stemming from the Newport rising. Connolly also credits Bronterre O'Brien with being "the first to coin in English the distinctive title of 'social democrat', as an appellation for the adherents of the new order."

O'Brien died on 23rd December 1864.

**The History of the Troubles According to the Provisionals**

**By John Nixon**

**A friend of mine who visited Derry City recently commented that he was surprised (and deeply disappointed) to see a mural of what he described as "a living hunger striker" while there was no such mural to two dead hunger strikers, i.e., Patsy O Hara and Mickey Devine.**

This didn't surprise me in the least although I am not sure if the mural he saw is representative of any particular person but in many ways it epitomises why there is so much 'revising', reinterpreting and prolific rewriting of republican history to conveniently suit specific political agendas and orientation.

It puts things into a context so to say, and allows for frank and honest debate on the controversial claim that history is written by the victors. I'm not sure about this one, sounds too elitist. Napoleon maintained that history is but a fable agreed upon.

Murals are vignettes of how we interpret and perceive the past. They are barometers which denote changes within the political climate but less subtly and more subliminally they convey an exclusive interpretation all of which is so apparent within loyalist communities where ubiquitous tattered flags lay territorial claim to corners and cul de sacs.

Today we are into commemorative culture and most republican murals throughout the north commemorate (or celebrate) the past thirty years of struggle; they constitute a sort of history according to the Provisionals.

My friend's comments came as no surprise and no eyebrows were raised when I learned that a recent conference which focused on the setting up of a museum to commemorate/celebrate the history of republican struggle in H Blocks, Long Kesh, etc, excluded IRSP/INLA reps.

Apparently it was 'overlooked'. Not at all. Provisional apologists, historians and literati, et al, are singularly focused on establishing Provisional political and historical hegemony by crook or by hook.

Any alternative to Provisional republicanism and the organisations now deeply diluted socialism is seen and deemed as a threat. There has been a lot of airbrushing of collective and individual sacrifices and suffering and with a proposed political tourism project being formulated by Sinn Fein's Coisde na Iarchimi it's likely we are about to see the Provisionals imposing their own hegemonic imprimatur via elitism, exclusion and selectivity. Sound familiar?

Other groups who participated in



**"Provisional apologists, historians and literati, et al, are singularly focused on establishing Provisional political and historical hegemony by crook or by hook."**

the struggle and whose members or volunteers survived the crucibles of the prisons and prison camps ignore these trends at their peril. The need to eclipse political and historical events and people out of history carries it's own agenda and motive. No need here for an exegesis on why or how. Suffice to say that ultimately the Provisionals when making exclusive claims to the history of republican struggle and their interpretation of it, also aim to validate that past and the consequence of past acts so as to legitimise (read justify) future political strategies and their outcomes.

It has always been and remains today an integral part of their elitist mind-set. INLA or Official IRA volunteers who went through the prisons will find consensus on this one.

Legitimacy is conferred not only via those who claim to have been protagonists and therefore having a claim to authority on a particular slant or interpretation of the past but this is also seen by them (and wrongfully) as a bulwark against any challenges of that interpretation.

Thus the Provisionals' core of cadres so well trained and equipped with the teachings of Paola Freire's Pedagogy of the Oppressed have been tasked by their movement's inner sanctum

to revise, review and rewrite history according to the Provisionals. They are facilitated by a clique of academics and "artsy types" who find it all okay and au fait in the wake of a new so called Dispensation to court those they once deemed as Beyond the Pale.

The coveting of history for whatever purpose, is nothing new, and the example of the Nazis comes to mind at once. However, the Provisionals have acquired much subtlety in their delivery and interpretation of the past.

Their canon of literature, imbued with academic weight and validated by so-called intrinsic knowledge and understanding of that past is to all intents and purposes more of a valediction than a validation, for ultimately there is a finality in all of it.

**But constant dripping will wear away the stone and this drip-feeding of the Provisional's history can and must be challenged.**

**There is little dialectical in it that can't be challenged indeed, if anything there is a clear onus on all 'other' protagonists and republican/socialist historians to make it happen.**

*(Editorial note: John Nixon is an Ex-INLA participant in the 1980 hunger strike).*

**Victory to Hunger Strike Protest in Chile**

The following is a statement of solidarity sent to hunger strikers in Chile from the IRSP's International Department:

*On behalf of the Irish Republican Socialist Party may I send greetings support and solidarity to the hunger strikers in Chile in the protest against the cover up of the bloody crimes of the Pinochet Dictatorship.*

*In 1981 three of our own comrades, Patsy O'Hara, Kevin Lynch and Mickey Devine, all Irish National Liberation Army Volunteers along with seven comrades from the Irish Republican Army, died on hunger strike in the struggle for the recognition of the political nature of the struggle against British Imperialism.*

*We know the courage required to embark on the hunger*

*strike, we know the fortitude required to see it through to the end and we share the burning sense of injustice that sparks a hunger strike.*

*We know that you have struggled long years for justice. We salute your valour, courage, determination and thirst for justice.*

IRSP International Dept.

LITREACHA DEARGA

# RED LETTERS

## Starry Plough Readers Views

### SUPPORT FOR ULSTERBUS/CITYBUS STRIKERS

Well it happened after much sabre rattling Bus workers in Ulster went on strike, legally for the first time in over ten years.

Talks between the company and the unions broke down, and even translink's last minute appeal to the court's failed, so on Friday 17th October, instead of the usual dawn chorus of sixty-three, 23.000cc diesel engines firing up coughing out their poisonous fumes over the Falls park we had the sound of silence.

Only for many working class people in Ulster the price of silence was expensive, unable to get to work or get their children to school many people were forced to take a day off work and many thousands of students were forced to miss school, allow not all were disappointed with the bus workers strike, for the Socialists party's it was as if all their Christmases and birthdays had come at once, " a strike and the opportunity to talk to workers on the picket line sell them a paper and sign them up for the revolution" after driving a bus for thirteen years I could of told them they were wasting their time, odds on they didn't sell a paper.

Listening to the local news reports, many people held the drivers to blame, but nothing could be further from the truth, the only people who should be held to blame for the misery caused by the industrial action is the union officials " ATGWU and GMB" and Translink.

The Unions have manipulated the workers and have push through the easiest industrial action option, a one-day strike

without an overtime ban, which means the passengers it was intended to target, the students who travel home from the universities and collages on Friday's will travel home on the Saturday instead.

If I were still a bus driver I would be asking the union officials why they did not call an overtime ban and a work to rule, the drivers would have their flat week to live on, "instead of losing one fifth of their wages and worse if the dispute escalates and just before Christmas" and an overtime ban would keep the public on board, Translink would lose all their private hire, " all the W.I and church shopping trips to Dublin ect,ect" and there would be abandoned buses causing massive traffic congestion in every town and village in N.I.

The Chairman of the Citybus branch ATGWU told bus workers that the European directive on driving time will effect the driver's overtime. I believe this to be wrong.

"THE EUROPEAN Working Time Directive was introduced in 1998. Many workers hoped it would mean the end to backbreaking hours. Britain is the only country that allows workers to sign individual opt-out clauses. Under pressure from the bosses New Labour exempted some groups of workers from the legislation altogether. These included transport workers, It took until 1 August this year to end the exemption, and the opt-out clause still means these workers are caught in the trap of working long hours. Junior doctors will have to wait until 2009 before the 48-hour working week law covers them. Britain's opt-out clause is

due to be reviewed next year. Already bosses are lobbying to make sure New Labour keeps it. They want to continue getting away with low pay to force workers into overtime. John Cridland, deputy general secretary of the CBI bosses' club, defended this "flexibility" last month, saying, "Overtime is the icing on the cake for the majority of workers-they love it."

The bus workers should remember that the series of one and two day stoppages is dramatic, but as last Friday proved the travelling public can cope with that type of action, and the bosses are able to point the finger of blame at the workers.

The union officials know a one and two day stoppage will hurt the bus workers more than the translink bosses, workers think of your families a overtime ban and work to rule will hurt Translink more than you, they will have to force the issue, you will be the good gays, and the public will see what a bad employer Translink is.

When I think of the drivers and their struggle, a struggle against their bosses, not helped by union bureaucrats and careerist A old adage comes to mind " Keep your enemies close and your friends closer, and remember the sack Belfast International airport workers and who was their fulltime ATGWU official"

Sean Smyth  
Ex CityBus Driver

p.s will the unions refund the drivers union dues during the dispute?



IRSM Guard of Honour For Moria White

## Cuimhneam

Fallen Volunteers and political activists remembered

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

Vol. Seamus Costello	Assassinated	5 Oct 77	Co. Wicklow
POW Colm Maguire		10 Oct 87	Co. Laoise
Vol. Patrick Campbell	Killed in Action	10 Oct 99	Co. Antrim
Vol. Alex Patterson	Killed in Action	12 Nov 90	Co. Tyrone
Vol. Ronnie Bunting	Assassinated	15 Oct 80	Co. Antrim
Vol. Noel Lyttle	Assassinated	15 Oct 80	Co. Antrim
Vol. Tony McClelland	Killed in Action	16 Oct 79	Co. Armagh

"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."

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. Seamus Costello	Assassinated	5 Oct 77	Co. Wicklow
POW Colm Maguire		10 Oct 87	Co. Laoise
Vol. Patrick Campbell	Killed in Action	10 Oct 99	Co. Antrim
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Vol. Tony McClelland	Killed in Action	16 Oct 79	Co. Armagh

"Whenever death may supound 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 Maghaberry, Portlaoise and Castlereagh remember with pride the volunteers of the Irish National Liberation Army who gave their lives in the struggle for Socialism.

Vol. Seamus Costello	Assassinated	5 Oct 77	Co. Wicklow
POW Colm Maguire		10 Oct 87	Co. Laoise
Vol. Patrick Campbell	Killed in Action	10 Oct 99	Co. Antrim
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"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".

Comhbhron Byrne

Deepest Sympathy is extended to Martin, Ritchie, Kevin, Brida, Imelda and the Byrne Family circle on the deaths of their Father "Trawler, and Brother Johnny who both died suddenly.  
From Dublin IRSP

Byrne

Deepest Sympathy is extended to Martin, Ritchie, Kevin, Brida, Imelda and the Byrne Family circle on the deaths of their Father "Trawler, and Brother Johnny who both died suddenly.  
From John & Catherine.

Byrne

Deepest Sympathy is extended to Martin, and Ritchie, and the Byrne Family circle on the deaths of their Father "Trawler, and Brother Johnny who both died suddenly.  
From Declan Duffy Castlereagh Prison.

Byrne

Deepest Sympathy is extended to Martin, and Ritchie, and the Byrne Family circle on the deaths of their Father "Trawler, and Brother Johnny who both died suddenly.  
From Gerry Burns Portlaois Prison.

White

Heartfelt sympathy is extended to the White and Brown family circle following the death of Moria. A sister in struggle, always remembered by the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Derry.

White

It is with great sadness that we learned of the death of Moria White, wife to Johnny and mother to five children. Always remembered by the staff and volunteers of the Derry Brigade, Irish National Liberation Army.

#### Insertions:

If you would like to place an 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.

## SAD PASSING OF MORIA WHITE

The death occurred in Derry recently of former Republican Socialist activist and wife of former IRSP Ard Comhairle member Johnny White

Moria White died unexpectedly and her loss has been described as unbearable amongst her close knit family.

The INLA, in recognition of her personal struggle throughout the troubles in which she was forced to bring up her family in very difficult circumstances, paid their own special tribute when a volley of shots were fired outside her home during her wake. An IRSM guard of honour

accompanied Moria's Starry Plough draped remains throughout her funeral.

Moria's daughters recieved a presentation from the IRSM at a recent fundraising function for the upcoming Neil McMonagle memorial. This was a framed picture of their mother's funeral inset into the Starry Plough flag which was used on Moria's coffin at her funeral.

Moria's last political act was to lay a wreath on behalf of the IRSM on 13th July this year at the unveiling of a memorial in William Street.

An

The Starry Plough

# Cam chéachta



Pairtí Poblachtacht Soisialach na h-Éireann

FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION AND SOCIALISM!

# THE STORMMONT ELECTION

While it is now a moot point (nominations having closed), the IRSP's stance on the coming Assembly and future elections continues to be a dense bed of nettles, rather than one single thorny point. It raises a spectrum of issues both internally and externally for members, supporters and even other members of the broad republican spectrum not connected to the RSM, the Provisionals being most affected.

There are a number of the afore mentioned nettles that have to be grasped by the movement with regard to elections in general, and the debate that the upcoming one has spawned is the ideal situation to grasp them. We need to have this debate and we need to have it now.

To deal first with the upcoming Stormont election, we need to have a position on this and we need to put the work into getting that position out. My personal view is that we need to contest it as if we were standing candidates. We need to put our position to the electorate and use the experience gained to target seats and areas with a view to running RSM candidates in future polls.

We should not be calling for a boycott, but rather be out on the doorsteps arguing our point, putting our politics across and urging people to look very carefully at the politics of those they vote for and at the Good Friday Agreement as a whole. What will be the effect on the local economy when the artificial Euro and US money dries up? What is the candidate's position on abortion, social services, health and education? Why has the GFA not brought peace to working class areas across the six counties? Why are more people being burnt and bombed from their homes at a higher rate than before the agreement was signed? Where is the parity of esteem and equality we were all promised by the pro-GFA parties? If the voter can't find a candidate who answers these questions to their satisfaction, then we as Irps should be advising that voter to put a "NONE" across their ballot paper to show they want to vote but can't. These are awkward questions to ask and inflammatory advice to give, but we should be out there asking them and giving the advice.

However, to put our position to the electorate we need first to adopt those positions and articulate them. In this document I will only deal with the first two I deem to be most divisive to the movement and therefore the ones we should tackle first.

Stormont: On this, at least our position is clear. We took a decision at the last AF that we would not stand. I thought the position was wrong when we adopted it and I still think it was the wrong line to take, but it's there and cannot be overturned. The issue of taking seats (if elected) is a non-starter for me, as the RSM would be hard put to find any socialist who'd swear an oath to a head of state that wore a crown.

Also, it has never been the policy the RSM to abstain from elections, other than the EEC referenda in the

70s. Costello, like Connolly before him, believed that "to elect a socialist to any body was too elect a disturber of the peace." They both seemed to have instinctively realised that bourgeois democracy has an inbuilt safety net of exclusion deployed against revolutionaries. That's because we exclude ourselves and by this exclusion we, and we alone, provide the charge levelled at us by the bourgeois (and now Sinn Fein) that we have no mandate.

Secondly, if we did contest these polls in every area we can, the movement would qualify for funding under the current election system. The allure of having the Brits pay for our message dropping on to every nationalist and loyalist doormat in these areas, having first paid for their printing, is strong to me. The press would be bound by law to carry our position on issues from the national question to the bread and butter real politic facing the working class in the six counties across the sectarian divide. That's a message they have been trying to suppresses, North and South since 1913.

Thirdly, and probably the worst nettle for some, we need to address the effect that all this would have on our relationship with those who, in essence, would be our competition: Sinn Fein. Many, many comrades have more than a little difficulty articulating an anti-GFA position, because of respect for individual members of the RM, who they see as comrades and do not wish to offend. How will Sinn Fein react to an open challenge against their position on the doorsteps of, say, N. Belfast and Derry? What will the position of the RSM be if our members and election workers are attacked or intimidated by loyalist or other groups?

Lastly, Policing, just as big and as thorny as the above. Do we support the DPP's when we know that our communities are crying out for a working police force? I would contend that we should propose a different kind of policing board and force, locally recruited and responsible to a locally elected and rotated magistrate. In proposing an alternative and actively pursuing it (maybe seeking funding for pilot schemes in areas where people turn to the RSM instead of the PSNI for protection and justice) we negate the need to put ourselves on that particular cross.

The RSM has been silent for too long on the election front, the world has moved on from the days when we could sit quietly back and say every vote cast is a vote for the armed struggle. There is a time coming, and that time is not far off, when the phoney economy that has been put in place to buy, pacify and nullify any type of anti-GFA feeling will collapse. The Euro and Yankee bucks will dry up

like so much South Derry sheep shit and blow away.

When I was about seventeen, Patsy O'Hara's brother told me that "just because you have a colour TV and a bit of carpet in your living room doesn't mean that your not being oppressed". That was true then and it is true now, the material may be different, video's, PC's, DVD's and laminate flooring may have replaced the Radio Rentals colour TV and carpet in the new post GFA vernacular. But the fact remains that at some stage the money will dry up. When it is judged that we have been disarmed and subdued the money will be pulled out. The jobs that came with it will be closed, the community projects will no longer receive the grants and poverty will once again be the norm in Nationalist and Loyalist ghettos and in 50 years our grandchildren will be forced to rise again to fight a fight we abrogated. They will ask, and rightly so, why was the struggle of the Irish people to control their own destiny put on hold for badly paying 1-3 year contract jobs? Why did the pro GFA groups allow themselves and Ireland North and South to become a state dependant on handouts from the capitalist rather than a state with it's own economic infrastructure and production base? We make very little as a nation and when the outside cash dries up our industry will again not be able to support the nation.

I don't think we should wait for them to be asking these questions I think we, as Irps, Socialists and republicans should be out on the pavement asking these questions and asking them now. This movement was conceived to, once and for all, unite the Class and National questions, to ask the awkward questions. Now is the time to be asking them, while there is still time to find a plan B. We need to be on the doorsteps saying "We are the Irps, we are the movement of Connolly, Costello, Bunting, Power and Gallagher and we've not been bought by or bought into this sectarian agreement, we have a plan B and we will stand by the ideal of a Socialist Republic, that will cherish equally the nation's children and be the scourge of that class of Irishman or foreigner capitalist who would subjugate those children for personal gain and profit.

If we do not stand by these aspirations for a better future for our people, if we do not ask these awkward questions, if we do not stand now, who will?

-Terry Harkin



THE VOICE OF IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALISM!