

IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

an
camchéachta



THE STARRY PLOUGH

NO 1 DEC 1987 30p



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FIGHT IMPERIALIST COLLABORATION



STARRY PLOUGH EDITORIAL

At the 1984 Ard Fheis, the I.R.S.P. took a monumental step in formally adopting the principles of Marx, Engels and Lenin. This decision was not reached overnight but after months of discussion and debate throughout the 32 counties.

There was opposition to this fundamental change of direction from a minority of 'comrades' who instead of attending the Ard Fheis and politically arguing their case, they chose instead to stay away and conspire against the leadership. This illustrated their political bankruptcy, that when faced with political dialogue they were unable or unwilling to take part.

The instability of the Republican Socialist Movement can be traced back to its formation in December '74. Faced with a savage onslaught both from the State and the Officials, this helped to shape its politics and militarism emerged as the dominant characteristic.

The 1984 Ard Fheis was an attempt to break away from 'Left Republicanism' and embrace the scientific socialism of Marx and Engels in order to analyse and thus formulate a political programme for the Irish revolution.

This was to be short-lived as those comrades who had disagreed and not attended the Ard Fheis continued to conspire and were instrumental in intimidating and ultimately forcing a large section of the Ard Comhairle to resign. With the dominance of militarism, the Republican Socialist Movement struggled through one crisis after another, constantly having to react to situations.

In the absence of a cohesive political leadership, comrades refused to face up to the fact that attempting to reform the organisation with a few changes here and there was not solving the basic contradiction, that of the primacy of politics and the inevitable break with traditional republicanism. The fear that change would lead the movement down the same path as the reformist (counter-revolutionary) Workers Party was used as a whipping post to stop any political debate.

During 1986, Thomas Power and other comrades in Long Kesh drew up a document (printed in full in this month's supplement) which analysed the Republican Socialist Movement, the reasons for its instability and pointed the way forward - the building of a revolutionary party.

This was the first time that there had been a serious attempt to analyse the Republican Socialist Movement and its role in the struggle. There were those who saw this document as a threat to the small power bases they had established and others who had been expelled some years previous who were intent on destroying the Republican Socialist Movement through sheer hatred and revenge.

An unprincipled alliance by these people was formed, not on the basis of any politics but on the primacy of the gun. The most savage attacks ever witnessed in republican history were embarked upon, starting with the Rosnaree massacre. Many distortions have been told as to exactly what took place, we feel it is important to clarify it once and for all.

When Thomas Power and other comrades were released in December 86, they embarked,

with the support of comrades in the movement, upon a series of talks with this 'alliance' and it was agreed there would be a peaceful parting of the ways, there was never at any stage talk about the possible dissolution of the Republican Socialist Movement. Rosnaree was the venue chosen for the final meeting and it was there that comrades Thomas Power and John O'Reilly were brutally gunned down and murdered. This was not, as the media tried to portray, an internal feud but a savage attack from former members outside of the organisation, its sole aim being to wipe out the Republican Socialist Movement. As an organisation we lost many good comrades, volunteers Michael Kearney, Kevin Barry Duffy and Emmanuel Gargan but they were not only our loss but a loss to the anti-imperialist struggle as a whole. The only people who benefited during this period of attack were the British and pro-imperialist forces. During the past six months, and using Ta's document as a starting point, debate has been taking place amongst comrades, not only about the future of our movement but the political direction of the struggle as a whole.

There are those with a superficial analysis who argue that given the radical leftward trend in the Republican Movement, that the Republican Movement has taken over ground which the I.R.S.P. held and because of this there is no role for the I.R.S.P. in the struggle as it is adequately served by Sinn Fein.

There are others who believe that the Republican Socialist Movement, given its history cannot fundamentally change and therefore is doomed.

In analysing the anti-imperialist struggle, it is very clear that it has lost momentum. Failure to mobilise large sections of the working class in the south has led the struggle into a cul-de-sac. The armed struggle on its own is not going to defeat the might of British imperialism and the petit bourgeois politics of the Sinn Fein leadership, who deny the leading role of the working class and thereby class struggle, offers no way forward for the Irish revolution.

The leadership of the Republican Movement has made it very clear that socialism is not on the agenda at this time, in other words 'Labour must wait.' For the petit-bourgeois, there will never be a time for putting socialism on the agenda. The working class will only fight when it's in their interests to do so.

At present what are the working class being offered by the Republican Movement? Some idealistic 32 County Republic? The only change being the abolition of the border and the withdrawal of British troops. The nature of the State itself will not change. The working class will still be a repressed and exploited majority of the Irish population.

Leading up to Easter 1916, Connolly was quite clear on this issue when he stated "If you remove the English Army tomorrow, and hoist the Green Flag over Dublin's Castle, unless you set about the organisation of a socialist republic, your efforts will be in vain. England will still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her

financiers, through her landlords, through the whole array of commercial and industrial institutions she has planted in this country and water with the tears of our mothers and the blood of her martyrs."

Subsequent events proved Connolly's prophecy right. The Republican forces succeeded only in creating a 26 county capitalist state tied to its master, British imperialism. They did hoist the green flag, they did paint the letter boxes green, but the working class gained nothing.

With the present economic crisis in the capitalist system as a whole, Ireland as a country dominated by imperialism, always suffers worse than the developed capitalist economy. In the coming years, capitalism will be forced to try and prevent a crisis in the 26 counties by forced emigration, massive unemployment and part-time working.

It is the duty of all socialists to point out that capitalism cannot solve these problems. Ireland will remain an under-developed capitalist country because it cannot join the rich imperialist club. Consequently capitalism cannot develop the Irish economy. Only a social revolution, which will free the means of production from the hands of the bourgeois class, can develop the Irish economy and further the interests of the working class.

We believe that only the building of a revolutionary communist party capable of pushing socialism onto the agenda, can mobilise the social forces necessary for a successful conclusion to the struggle for Irish national liberation and socialism. **We also believe that the use of armed struggle as an extension of politics is a legitimate and necessary tactic.**

This is in sharp contrast to many of those involved in the National Liberation struggle who see the armed struggle as the prime moving force and pour scorn on politics. An absence of politics can produce at times people who carry out acts of "individual terrorism". With no political content, these acts often degenerate into the barbaric and this can have serious consequences for the revolutionary movement in Ireland.

While it is a simple matter by the stroke of a pen to call oneself a Marxist-Leninist Party, it is quite another matter to actually build such a vehicle. We recognise that there will be a long hard struggle ahead in which we need to develop a revolutionary theory and practice capable of making a decisive intervention in the Irish struggle. But by breaking with left republicanism/militarism, we feel that we have made the first steps along that road.

STARRY PLOUGH

The Starry Plough has an essential part to play in the building of the revolutionary party. It must be an organ which is capable of carrying in its pages, intense theoretical debate necessary for our advancement. It also has the role of educating the most advanced sections of the working class and progressive elements within Irish society. The pages of the Starry Plough will always be open to those who are genuinely interested in the development of the anti-imperialist struggle and contributions to the debate will be welcome.

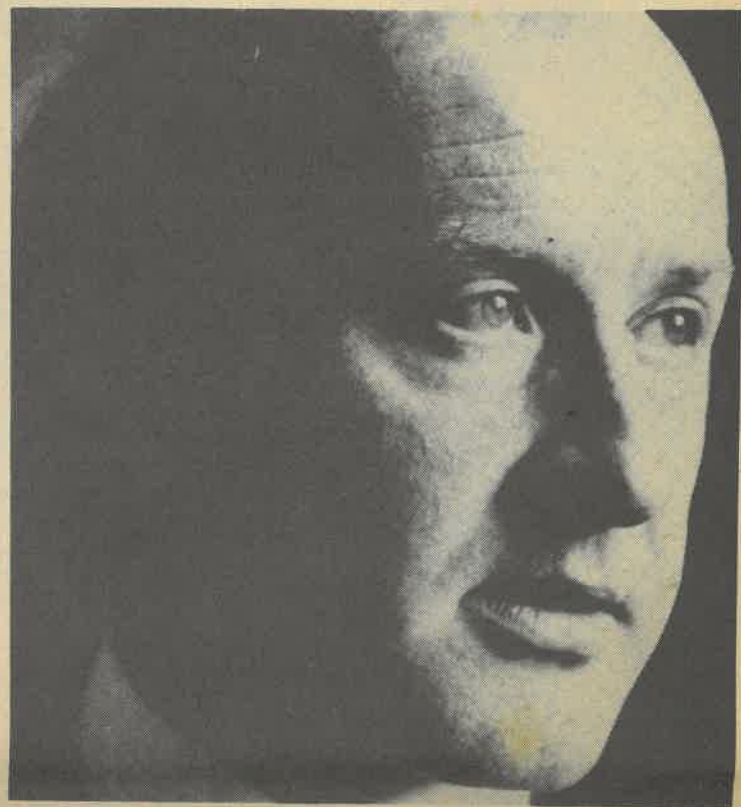
POLITICAL VETTING

The Community Groups Against Vetting has been formed to fight against the insidious introduction by the British government, of political vetting.

The campaign against political vetting is designed to highlight and fight against the arbitrary withdrawal of A.C.E. grants from voluntary and community groups by the Department of Economic Development, with no explanation or right of appeal. To date in Belfast, ACE funding has been withdrawn from the Irish newspaper 'LA', the McAirt Irish Language Nursery in the Short Strand, the Twinbrook Tenants and Community Association and the Conway Mill creche. In addition, the Belfast Education and Library Board, under pressure from the British

attempts to force existing independent ACE schemes to come under Church control. The Church's historical role in Ireland has always been one of collaboration with the British, ignoring the oppression of the working class people. As such they are a massive barrier to social progress. They have tried to stifle any progressive independent moves by working class people to organise or change their environment. One only has to look at the deafening silence from the hierarchy in response to the withdrawal of ACE FUNDING.

Surprise but welcome support for the campaign against political vetting has come from the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions which is in sharp contrast



government, has withdrawn funding for part-time tutors at the Conway Education Centre.

It should not be forgotten SDLP Brian Feeny's role in this whole affair. Earlier this year he accused 'certain' community groups of being no more than fronts for 'paramilitaries'. When challenged to produce evidence to substantiate his claim, none was forthcoming, obviously because there wasn't any!

Not only was Feeny setting up community activists as targets for Loyalist murder gangs, but the British government was then in a position to start arbitrarily withdrawing ACE funds.

At the moment the Catholic Church is the largest single employer in ACE workers in the nationalist areas of Belfast. In some areas there have been

to their opposition to the National Liberation struggle. In their report they stated that it is "a basic concept of natural justice that where action of one form or another is taken against an individual or an organisation that the person or group has a right to know what the charges or allegations were and had the right to challenge them in some judicial or semi-judicial forum".

N.I.C.T.U. did not accept that the presence on a management committee of a political activist or well known public critic of the British government was in itself, just cause for withdrawing funds from a project.

It appears that any independent initiative taken by the working class people to improve their lot, culturally or socially, is to be treated as subversive.

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SEAMUS COSTELLO 10th ANNIVERSARY

Costello.... a retrospective view

by Fionn O'Foyle

When the green leaves have turned to brown, and summer has given way to autumn, October arrives to provoke memories of a political and historic nature. This was the month of a successful revolution in Russia in 1917. It was the month when the Stormont regime in 1968 thought they could baton a peaceful civil rights march of Derry's streets, and the natives would thereafter be quiet in their allotted ghettos. And October 5th, the date of that first Derry march, will be forever associated also with the life, struggle and brutal political murder of Seamus Costello, the republican socialist leader who died on a Dublin Street because he fully understood the vital bridge that must be built between the social and economic facts of life, and what is often termed 'The National Question.'

Those who ordered the pulling of that trigger that blasted him from this earth, also thought that their act on October 5th, now ten years ago, would remove one of the most active and articulate spokesmen of my generation, and that his physical absence would in no short measure aid their solely economic - reformist drive towards a parliamentary careerist future. Events were to show that his erstwhile comrades would completely abandon 'The National Question,' openly and secretly oppose and conspire against those who upheld its aim in a militant fashion, distort history beyond all recognition, issue economic policies that resulted in multinational fly-by-nightism, and even criticised the middle-classes of the country for not being skilled enough to take us to a higher stage of capitalist development. The fact that they still give lip service to Tone, Hope, and Connolly showed that they have learnt a lot from Fianna Fail insofar as they realise that not too far beneath the skin of most Irish workers is an ideology that has not abandoned the dreams of past leaders, thinkers and martyrs who would give their all for an end to imperialist domination.

This retrospective view of Costello cannot cover the detail of his very active life which was covered by the author of this piece seven weeks after his murder in Republican News in an article entitled, "A Personal Farewell." Friends of Seamus, a few years later, published a memorial pamphlet, its cover bearing simply his name and profile, which alas has long been sold out, but goes even further than the article mentioned. Other materials no doubt exist, but from what is at hand it is clear that some general characteristics are prominent in his life.

His militant republicanism of the 1956-62 Resistance Campaign, and his 'university days' in the Curragh concentration camp, linked the practical affairs of a guerrilla army to the much wider dimensions of how that army could link itself to the nationally minded people and the socially and culturally deprived. Those lessons had not been learnt prior to the initial stages of the '56 campaign, and were to prove to be the major reason for its ultimate decline in a popular sense. The successful revolutions in Cuba, Vietnam, Africa to a limited extent then, and China in particular, all collectively had thrown up the contradiction of isolated militarism which had no grass roots networks for effective popular resistance.

International lessons had a bearing on our national dilemma,



Seamus Costello speaks, Tomas MacGiolla listens

that above all was the striking reality that saw Costello and others engage in a political inquest of their 1956-62 experience. Such eventually gave birth to the Social and Economic Programme of the Republican Movement, published sometime in 1964/5 which led to the emergence of the unemployed workers groups, housing action committees, campaigns linked to fisheries, land and co-operatives etc. His high profile in all these fronts, and his strong emphasis on the 'National Question' was to set him apart from those who viewed their future in terms of parliamentary careerism. For him there was no 'peaceful road to socialism,' and his contempt for a purely reformist or economic approach to politics nationally, eventually cost him his life. He was the personification of what we can term 'republican socialism'.

For Costello theory and practice should go hand in hand.

the poor and exploited the wage-earner through the extraction of surplus value. It was a social machine without a soul. Real democracy must be seen in terms of industrial and political control over the means of production, distribution and exchange, as preached by Connolly and Mellows.

Books were as essential to the revolutionary activist as were other implements of struggle. Self-education could be a knife to cut the ideological grip of the exploiters over the exploited. Discipline in learning and life-style would be hallmarks he looked for, and he had little time for those who held socialist ideas in abstraction from the daily reality of the Irish working-class or small farmers. History linked past, present and future. "OUR" class can ultimately rule or be ruled. Ireland is "our" earth, but "their" country. We are permitted to live only so long as we submit to "them" - the imperialists



His own involvement in local, regional and national organisations showed in a practical sense how he visualised the need for grass-roots involvement. Such networks stretched from his interest in tenant groups, to small farmers, to trade councils, to the women's struggle, to the jails or the local councils etc. Literally from his own street to the centre of the national stage. To maintain such a high profile within that broad network entails much travel, time and energy of a physical as well as intellectual nature. Yet such travel brought its own rewards, new arenas of conflict, debate and education, new faces and potential allies, new doors that opened with warm hearts to one that fought the cold, inhumane face of imperialism in all its guises. Costello's life must above all be seen in terms of the lessons thrown up by the struggles of his epoch, which he took on board intellectually and organisationally, and should be seen as a progressive development over time.

His own ideology can be summed up by his own quote: "I owe my allegiance to the Working Class." Yet this could too easily become a hackneyed slogan, used without thought as to what would be its ultimate objective. For him capitalism was the law of the economic jungle that trampled on

and their neocolonial allies in politics, bureaucracies, industry, education, culture, etc. For him 'revolution' was no mere 'rebellion' and 'rebellion' was by no means 'revolution.' For him not only must labour never agree to wait, but it must take the commanding heights of struggle. For him, always since our first meetings in the early 'sixties, doing your 'bit'

meant an activity of a life-time. For him, socialism was very much on the national agenda. A decade



later we have much to ponder upon when we think of the man, the struggles and the ideas conveyed by the name Seamus Costello.

On Sunday the 11th October, the tenth annual commemoration of the death of Seamus Costello, revolutionary socialist, was held in Bray, Co. Wicklow. It was organised by the Seamus Costello Commemoration committee and was attended by former comrades, friends and socialists from all over the 32 counties. The parade formed up in the town centre behind a pipe band and marched to the graveyard. There were banners from the various trade union organisations with which Seamus had been deeply involved. (Unfortunately due to being held up at the border by the R.U.C. the large 6 county contingent did not arrive until the main body of the proceedings was over.

The commemoration was chaired by Liz Doyle who spoke of the treachery of the Workers Party both at the time of Seamus's death and the present day. Another former comrade gave a

short speech recalling Costello the revolutionary. The main speaker was leading Trade Unionist Matt Merrigan. He castigated the Free State government on their disastrous social and economic policies. He also berated the Irish Trade union movement in general for ignoring the National Question. This he said was in stark contrast to the recognition that Costello, himself a leading trade unionist, gave to the importance of the national struggle as regards the working class struggle.

Many wreaths were laid on behalf of the many friends and comrades Seamus had worked with in the past. Included were a wreath from the Republican Socialist prisoners and one from the Republican Socialist Movement.

Due to the late arrival of the 6 county mini-buses many people from the north were unable to take part in the march. Despite this, a Republican Socialist colour party formed up in the car park and marched to the grave to a welcoming reception. The flags were lowered in salute to the fallen comrade and founder of the Republican Socialist Movement.



prisoners

One of the functions of the Starry Plough is to encourage debate amongst those involved in the anti-imperialist struggle. We especially welcome contributions from P.O.W.'s and to this end we are leaving a page (more if necessary) open to prisoners, letters, articles, poems etc.

SPONSOR A PRISONER!

At this advanced stage of Ireland's struggle for National Liberation and Socialism, it will come as a surprise to many people to hear that quite a few political activists jailed by the British for their political actions and beliefs do not get financial help from the Green Cross.

What makes this situation even worse is the fact that for the best part of our struggle, prisoners have had to make many sacrifices to fight the criminalisation policy introduced by the British, the most far reaching was the 1981 Hunger Strike where 10 Republican and Republican Socialist prisoners died.

Each and every one of us have, at one time or another, had a close relative or friend imprisoned and each of us are well aware of the many problems that go with having a loved one in jail. As well as the emotional problems there are also financial problems. Many people have had to make personal sacrifices to provide necessary parcels etc. to a loved one in prison. The introduction of the P.D.F. (Green Cross) helped to alleviate to some extent the burden facing a prisoner's family.

There are those today who will tell you that all our political prisoners are catered for, but this is not so. At present there are forty five Republican Socialist prisoners in jails throughout Ireland, Britain and France who receive no financial help.

The Republican Socialist Movement has been in touch with various groups and individuals in America, Canada, Britain and the twenty six counties in the hope of getting these prisoners sponsored, so that their families can be helped with their financial problems. We have had some success in this task, but there are still many more prisoners who need financial help.

We call on all those people and organisations who have stood by the prisoners protests in the past to support our cause and to put an end once and for all to the British criminalisation policy. How can we deny this policy as a fallacy when forty five political prisoners are being ignored.

If you would like to help or would like more details on how to sponsor a prisoner, please contact the P.O.W. Department, 392 Falls Road, Belfast 12.

**REVOLUTIONARY
CHRISTMAS AND
NEW YEAR
GREETINGS TO
ALL REPUBLICAN
SOCIALIST PRISONERS IN
CRUMLIN ROAD, LONG KESH,**

**MAGHABERRY,
MAGILLIGAN
PORTLAOISE
ENGLAND AND
FRANCE**

**support
Irish
political
prisoners**

IRSP

PELTIER ASKS FOR ASYLUM

Leonard Peltier, a native American activist, who has been imprisoned for over 12 years in U.S. jails is now asking for political asylum in the Soviet Union.

Peltier, a Lakota-Anishnabe Native American and a leader of the American Indian Movement (AIM) was falsely convicted in 1977 of the killing of two FBI agents during an FBI armed assault on the Pine Ridge Reservation in South Dakota.

For over 10 years Peltier has been fighting for a re-trial and at present he is awaiting a response to his appeal made to the Supreme Court. Evidence was deliberately suppressed on a ballistics report showing that the gun allegedly used by Peltier could not have fired the bullets whose casings were found near the bodies of the two FBI agents. Peltier's attorney denounced "the spectacle of a man sitting in a maximum

States into relenting, into releasing their stranglehold upon the Native American Peoples." Dacajeweah, a Native American leader and member of AIM stated that "there is a force that will not let Peltier leave prison." He is therefore seeking freedom in a country that has long been supportive of his struggle.

Over 17 million Soviet citizens have signed a petition demanding Peltier's release. In June, two Soviet eye specialists visited him at Leavenworth Penitentiary to treat a blood clot behind his left eye. Prison officials denied him access to medication the doctors brought from the Soviet Union. The Soviet physicians said that earlier treatment which was denied Peltier would have prevented loss of vision in his eye.

Washington's frameup of Peltier is connected to the FBI's Cointel Programme, a major effort to



Dacajeweah and Steve Robideau

security jail for more than a decade because the FBI deliberately suppressed a ballistics report that would have wholly exonerated him."

Also, the one witness in the case Myrtle Poor Bear later testified that the FBI had threatened her life and the lives of her children if she did not swear she had seen Peltier shoot the agents.

Peltier, in a letter to the Government of the Soviet Union stated that "no man nor woman who truly loves their homeland wants to leave, however, because there is no justice for myself and because there is no justice for my people, I am making this request for political asylum in your Great Nation." He continued "My People are living in some of the worst conditions in the world...Through speaking the truth, I want to embarrass the oppressor class of the United

break the back of progressive movements especially the Black, Latino and Native struggles, using the most vicious forms of repression. From March 1973 to March 1976, at least 342 traditional Indian people, AIM members and supporters were killed. The FBI raid on Pine Ridge in June 1975 was part of this campaign of murder.

Peltier asserted in his letter to the Soviet government: "My conviction was geared to breaking the backs of the American Indian Movement and to permanently dissolving all organised attempts of Native Americans to regain some degree of control over their own lives and destinies.

Letters of support for Leonard Peltier can be sent through the Leonard Peltier Defense Committee, PO Box 6455, Kansas City, Kansas 66106.

AWARENESS

To hell with your politics, I want none of this
For I am a soldier of Erin
All battles are won at the point of a gun,
I've no time for political learnin.
I leave that to men who are good with a pen,

Who can talk to all and sundry,
And what if I die? Does it matter why,
I lay down my life for my country?

There'll be time enough for the political stuff
When we've driven the Brits from our shore
Then I'll put down my gun, for the hard part is
done,
Now the talkers can come to the fore.
At least that's what I thought until I was caught
And was treated like dirt from the gutter
"This can't be right, it's a political fight",
My first political words I had uttered.

Then I started to learn, I began to yearn
For the reason to show I was right,
To show I'm no crim, and despite Maggie's
whim
This is a purely political fight.
To win back a land torn from the hand
Of a nation who'll never give in,
England concede, you do nothing but breed
Contempt, and you know you can't win.

For 800 years we've suffered the jeers
Of the so-called ruling classes,
But we've too many dead, now it's come to a
head
Look now on our risen masses
This is a war you just can't ignore,
'Tis a nation crying out for it's freedom,
Free from your chains and your spurious
claims,
Of justice in a 'United' Kingdom!

You have plundered our wealth, destroyed
our health,
With your blatant exploitation,
Like a leech you have stuck and our life-blood
you suck,
Growning fat on our deprivation.

But soon you'll desist, for our will to resist,
Is greater than any emotion,
And our love is strong for this land you have
wronged,
And our cause is one of devotion.

Oh, England you're blind and close your
mind,
To the atrocities done in your name,
You are ruled by a woman who is far from
human,
Who appears to revel in shame.
Now your union flag is only a rag,
Soaked in the blood of millions,
And wherever it flies thousands die,
To rid themselves of your minions.

You destroy and disrupt, debased and
corrupt,
Leave nothing but pain in your wake,
Why can't you see that this shouldn't be,
That it's only for Maggie's sake.
When she last needed votes Argentinian boats,
Were sunk in an act of aggression.
Then the media was used to distort the news,
So we got only Maggie's impression.

You're too late to save, you're doomed to
the grave,
The warmongering slut has decreed it,
Don't step in her way or with your life you'll pay
She's a terrorist and she won't concede it.
But we've had our fill of your laws and your
bills,

For too long we've suffered in silence,
So we took up the gun to end a war you begun,
And it's you who's to blame for this violence.

Your camps and jails, like the 'Crum' and the
'Maze',
Are a further weight on your shoulders,
For the hostages there have become more
aware,
They've become political soldiers.
They know your schemes, your plans and
dreams,
Of exploiting the poor and the weak,
But not for much longer for our will is now
stronger,
And our struggle is reaching its peak.

So learn of politics, I agree with this,
And I'm still a soldier of Erin,
Wars can be won at the point of a gun,
Backed up with political learnin!
I have joined the men who are good with a pen,
And I can talk to all and sundry,
And if I should die at least I know why,
I lay down my life for my country.

LIAM O'LOINGSIGH

prisoners

PATRISTIC VIOLENCE

I have recently read an article in 'Fortnight,' 'Proud to be a Homosexual in Unliberated Ulster,' (10/6/85) by a Mr. Tony Weir. I believe he had a few very pertinent things to say. For instance, he points out, by quoting Freud, "That everyone has the innate ability to develop their personality, but in highly organised hierarchical and competitive societies, individual sexuality is not a matter of spiritual sensibility or development, but the result of coercion and reaction."

In my view this is true not only in relation to individual sexuality but in every aspect of our lives, Lenin it was who said that the state is an instrument of oppression: "a special organisation of force." Generally the State is a lot more subtle in the use of force. In this part of Ireland all subtlety was long ago dispensed with. However, Mr. Weir's article raises the question of the role of the State in reinforcing the culture of what he identifies as patristic violence and bourgeois culture in general.

Pierre Bourdieu provides a useful insight into how the ruling class maintain the hegemony of its culture and in the role the State plays through its institutions. The description of the state provided by Lenin in "The State and Revolution" remains today the clearest statement and analysis of the real role of the State in capitalist society. Today, just as yesterday and the day before, hegemony is a question of force, but today this fact is camouflaged. When things become heated this camouflage will become a luxury, and when you take it away a sword will be revealed.

I believe this camouflage, its type, its nature, its workings etc. are well documented and described by Nicos Poulantzas. He brings the Marxist theory of the State as outlined by Lenin in 'The State' into the late 20th century, in his exposition of the relative autonomy of the state.

Some may be hard pushed to see any connection between Poulantzas and Lenin other than their Marxist perspective, but for me, Poulantzas describes the development of the State under Capitalism to a point in the late 20th century and sets the tone for further study and development thereby augmenting Lenin's 'The State.' Poulantzas shows that the State with its ability to rise above the sectional interests within the bourgeoisie and represent the bourgeoisie as a whole, as a class, is able to maintain hegemony in the interests of the bourgeoisie. So it is the winning of the battle for political power, for hegemony of the working class must be won.

This can only be undertaken by a party that is dedicated to this aim. Its cadres must live for it - members must study and apply Marxism-Leninism under the guidance of a strong leadership. In such a party it would not matter that a person homosexual, heterosexual, bisexual nor what their religious background was. It only matters that they apply themselves to the science of Marxism under the discipline of the Communist Party leadership. This is a very authoritarian structure, some might say I am describing, but no, it is no more authoritarian than the structures we presently exist under. What it is though, is a serious step on the road to changing the basis of the rigid and authoritarian structures we live under.

We Communists do not attempt to destroy the social relations of production, but we are about destroying the contradiction contained within this relationship under capitalism. That is the

private accumulation of capital from the social relationship of production. Production is social, therefore so should its benefits be.

At its base this is what we are about, but as Mr. Weir in his article points out, we live in a culture of patristic violence. Everyone's experience of this will, no doubt, be wide and varied, it may be State violence, ie. murders perpetrated by the RUC, small business men forced out of business by the big monopolies or the violence experienced by women everyday of their lives. This is the violence that forces them into soul destroying marriages, that rob them of their personalities and development as individuals, that turns them into an appendage of the bricks and mortar called home, which makes them a household utensil like a cooker or a kettle, and murders them before the age of forty-five. Because of this culture of patristic violence, to change society, to change reality is our aim.

The changing of reality is not just as simple as a re-distribution of wealth, it requires a well thought out programme and strategy based on the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. The party should now embark upon this, and in the course of thrashing out such a programme will expose any defects it has. (It being the party), its weak areas etc, are we that party?

A digression is long overdue here. To explain what might come across as a contradiction in the above article, where I state that the analysis of the State by Lenin in 'the State' remains the clearest statement etc, and I further say Poulantzas brings the Marxist theory of the State into the late 20th century. What I am saying here is, that the State's repressive role as outlined by Lenin is the same today only it has developed and grown sophisticated since Lenin's day. The laws of dialectics applies to all processes, the State has developed dialectically and what I believe Poulantzas has done, is to have recognised, recorded and explained this development, thereby augmenting Lenin's 'The State and Revolution.'

There is a question that begs to be asked in the light of the above article. Is violence by Republicans, by Revolutionaries also part of this culture of patristic violence? One cannot give a simple yes or no answer. The very title patristic, excludes the participation of women, and when all is said and done, women do not participate in actual armed action. Not of their own choice, but because they are more often than not delegated to a secondary role. How do we move the gear? Oh, get a bird to do it, it's the same in party political work, women comrades are delegated to do clerical or administrative work or they are assigned to 'women's issues', when the whole point is to be raising the consciousness of everyone, not this regressive division of labour, which in reality means, we end up with a party that reflects the very hierarchical structures we are pledged to smashing. In the light of this it might be argued that we are part of this culture of patristic violence. While on the other hand it could be said that the very essence of the violence engaged in by Republicans is progressive in that it is anti-imperialist, regardless of its actual mechanics.

I do not mean by the above that if women were allowed to participate directly in the armed struggle, then we will have done away with any patristic tenets that might be present. Nor do I

misunderstand the whole concept of the culture of patristic violence as outlined in the original article by Mr. Weir. I understand he was referring to our male dominated, macho image society. Women comrades should participate in the movement on an equal footing to their male comrades. I believe provision for this should be incorporated to any party constitution or programme, and made to work, not just stated as placatory platitudes.

We, as a party must understand the nature of the patristic violence, therefore in order to counter it. We must understand that it is a culture of patristic violence therefore it is all pervasive.

Eamon McCallion.
Republican Socialist P.O.W.

1. FORTNIGHT 10/6/85, page 13.
2. 'THE STATE AND REVOLUTION' by Lenin.
3. PIERRE BOURDIEU 'REPRODUCTION IN EDUCATION, SOCIETY AND CULTURE' (Sage Publications, London, 1977).
4. 'THE SITUATION AND OUR TASKS' PSS ISCININ SESI.
5. NICOS POULANTZAS 'POLITICAL POWER AND SOCIAL CLASSES IN CONTEMPORARY CAPITALISM' 1975.



Car Park - Long Kesh

VISITOR'S ORDEAL

A few weeks ago a female relative was visiting a Republican Socialist prisoner in Long Kesh. After her visit, she was on the minibus taking the visitors back from the H Blocks to the carpark, when it was stopped and she was removed from the bus by prison staff.

She was informed that she was under the suspicion of having passed or been passed an item contrary to prison regulations, during her half hour visit. She was then taken to a room inside the reception area where she was informed that she would have to undergo a strip search.

She rightly refused and demanded that they send for the R.U.C. (the prison authorities have no legal authority to strip search). Whilst waiting, two Brits came in with Alsatian dogs, they pretended to set the dogs on her, leaving her in a terrified state.

During this period, the minibus in which she had travelled to the Kesh had left along with all the



INTERMENT BY REMAND

In March of this year, political activist David Clinton had his flat broken into by the RUC, ransacked and a radio receiver and notebook were taken away. There was no-one in the flat at the time.

Mr. Clinton went to his local RUC Station to report the damage done to his flat, but he was told to come back to see the officer in charge. He called on several more occasions but the officer was never available to see him. The notebook was returned within a few days but not the radio receiver.

Mr. Clinton instructed his solicitor to seek the return of his radio receiver and for five months, letters were exchanged with no result.

On August 26th, Mr. Clinton

was arrested and charged with collecting and recording information likely to be of use to terrorists. The only evidence produced by the police was that the radio receiver was tuned in to receive police messages. The fact that radio receivers are perfectly legal, and you can buy them at many electronic outlets, plus it is not an offence to listen to police messages as countless people no doubt do, did not seem to matter.

Just like the British used the 'supergrass' system to keep political opponents of the state behind bars for years on remand, so we can see the increasing number of people being remanded on trumped up charges. This case illustrates that internment by remand is alive and well!!!

and when a bus arrived, having no money in her pocket, managed to persuade the bus driver to take her to Lisburn. She then had to persuade another driver to take her to Belfast.

The I.R.S.P. totally condemns the illegal detention and treatment of this woman by the prison authorities. It's important that other relatives who may find themselves in the same position know that they can refuse to be stripsearched and if they are detained, which is illegal, then they should refuse to leave the premises until they have been allowed to use the phone. Finally and more importantly, visitors should be vigilant at all times and if someone is missing from their minibus, they should make sure someone is informed.



WAS EXTRADIT

On December 1st, the Free State Government finally ratified the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism Act. For the past several months the question of this Act has been the foremost political issue in Ireland. It was implemented on the wave of reaction to the Enniskillen bombing and the O'Grady kidnapping. At least this is what the Haughey government would have us believe. It's ratification was inevitable and the aforementioned incidents merely let Haughey off the hook regarding his statements at the time of the passing of the act a year ago.

Haughey has tried to give the impression of introducing safeguards by giving the Attorney General the responsibility of determining whether there is a case to answer. In fact, since the Attorney General is a political appointee, his assessment will be influenced by political considerations and not strictly legal considerations. It is a purely cosmetic exercise designed to lessen the humiliation suffered by the Fianna Fail government at the hands of Thatcher and King, nothing more. It is also an attempt to buy off the 'green nationalist, anti-Brit' element in his Party who threatened a revolt over the ratification and lack of safeguards surrounding extradition.

Although the Act has been referred to many times as the Extradition Act, what it actually does is effectively destroy the political clause of the existing 1965 extradition act. **It effectively destroys the right of political asylum which has been an international tradition for centuries.** To understand the significance of the change of attitude to political fugitives, it is necessary to look at the history of political asylum and political extradition.

Historical Attitudes

The existence of Irish political exiles is far from being a new phenomenon. In 1607, the Earls of Tyrone and Tyrconnell with their lesser chieftains fled to Spain. Since Spain and England were enemies, the Irish contingent were accepted. Similarly, after the Williamite wars many Irish soldiers found refuge on the continent.

Since the Europe of those days was in a continual state of flux and warfare, rivalries between dynasties and nations ruled out any question of extradition. There was the value of the refugees to the host country as a supplement to their army, not to mention the fact that one day's rebels could very conceivably be next days rulers. In the case of Ireland, both Spain and France looked for an independant Ireland allied with them against the emerging strength of England.

With the American and French revolutions came the spread of new revolutionary ideas. The American Declaration of Independence asserted the right and the duty of a people to rebel against what they saw as an unjust government. The French constitution of 1793 assured asylum to fighters for freedom, banished from their own countries (but no refuge for tyrants).

After the "Year of the Revolution" in 1848, many political refugees arrived in Britain, (the most famous being Karl Marx) and were not denied sanctuary. Naturally, British liberalism did not extend to Ireland and the young Irishlanders were forced (as were the Fenians a generation later) to find shelter in France and America.

America became the natural place of exile for Irish people on the run from British oppression due to the huge influx of Irish immigrants fleeing the famine and its aftermath. This was the case until the end of the Tan War when many republicans were forced to shelter from the Free Staters. With the end of hostilities between the "staters" and republicans, the 26 counties became a tenuous haven for those who still carried on a sporadic struggle against British occupation. Ireland was still "United" with Britain when the British government passed its first Extradition Act in 1870. The important point about the British Act is that it formed the basis of Irish extradition law until 1965. It contained a very clear political exception clause which stated, **"no person is to be surrendered if his offence is one of a political character or if he proves that the requisition for his surrender has in fact been made with a view to try to punish him for an offence of a political character."** There was also a "prima facie" requirement - ie. it had to be shown that there was a case to answer in the first place.

The definition of what constituted a political offence was not made until 1891 when

Switzerland tried to extradite Angelo Castioni from Britain for the killing of a member of the conservative local administration in the Canton of Ticino. The case has been quoted as a legal precedent until the advent of the European Convention on the Prevention of Terrorism. At the time Justice Denham said of the non-extradition for murder **"It must at least be shown that the act is done in furtherance of, done with the intention of assistance, as a sort of overt act in the course of acting in a political manner, a political uprising, or a dispute between two parties in the state as to which is to have the government in its hands....."** Castioni was not extradited.

The British never made any serious attempts to extradite Irish fugitives from either Europe or the U.S.A., obviously accepting the political ramifications involved and the impossibility of extradition. With the emergence of the Free State and the Stormont ruled six counties, the political offence questioned took on a new sharpness. In 1923, the Free State was anxious to lay its hand on Frank Aiken who was believed to be hiding in South Armagh. Although Aiken was not captured, Craig, the Stormont ruler indicated that he was willing to see him quietly handed over the border without recourse to legal niceties. Ironically, Aiken eventually

established governments". He went on to state, **"I must therefore emphasise, in order to prevent any further controversy or discussion on this point, that there can be no question of our handing over, either to the British or to the six counties authorities, persons whom they may accuse of armed political activities in Britain or in the six counties"**.

Once again the recognition of the legitimacy of the struggle against partition did not hinder the use of the Offences against the State Act against the I.R.A.

In 1955, the Council of Europe drew up a European Convention on Extradition which was signed by 12 member states in 1957 and which came into force in 1960. The Free State did not sign as it had no extradition treaty of its own. They soon set about rectifying this situation. A certain Charles Haughey said in the Dáil on the subject of extradition that there would be no departure from **"the normal international practice in accordance with which extradition for political offences is prohibited"**.

The Extradition Act was passed in April 1965, having been presented by a certain Brian Lenihan, and the European Convention signed

campaign and the onset of the present phase the war of liberation O'Dálaigh's judgements extradition stood unquestioned in Free State Law until the Dominic McGlinchey a Seamus Shannon cases.

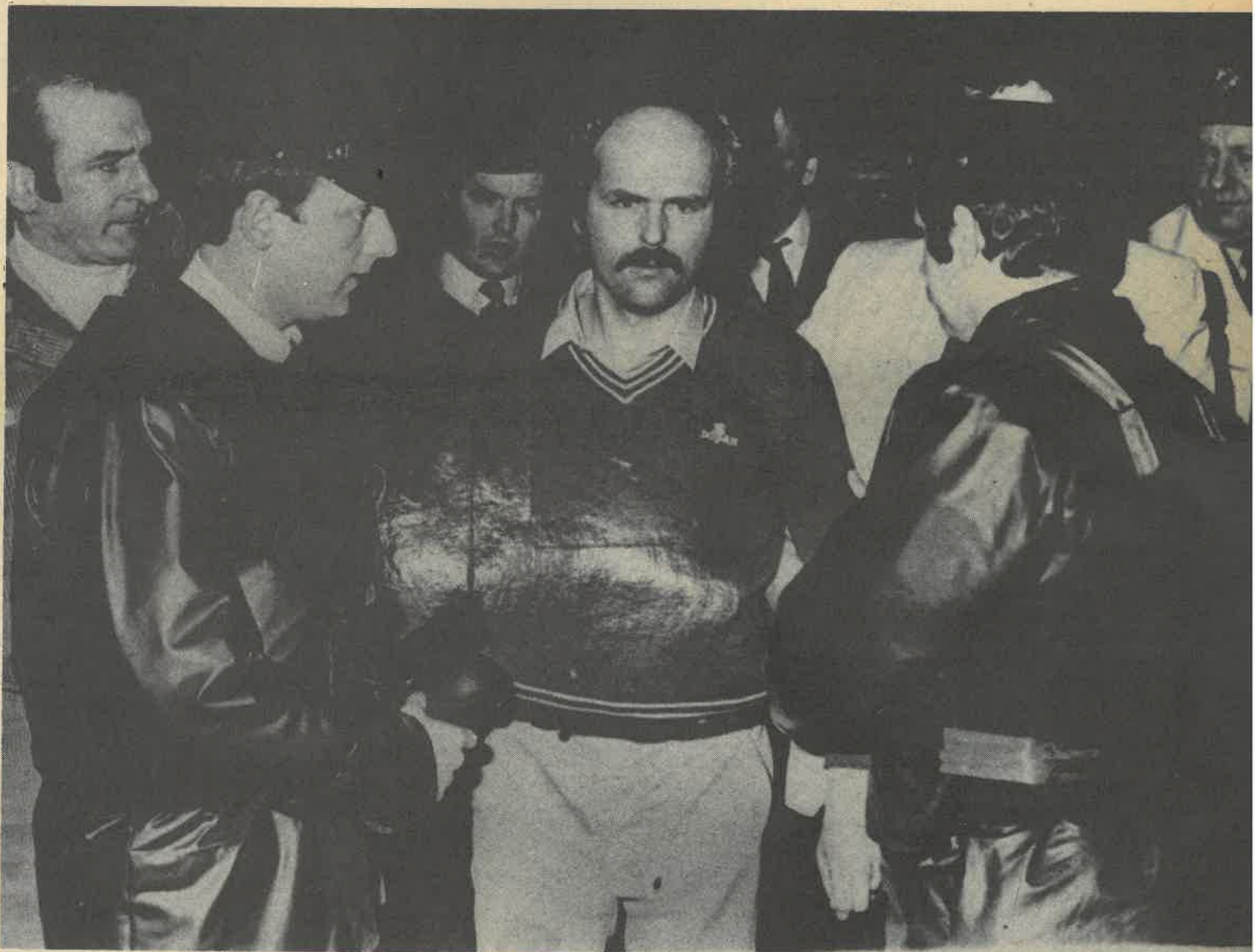
On the wider European front, a great change of attitude towards the political offence became evident during the seventies. Using the actions of Palestinians (notably highjacking aircraft and the various European Urban Guerilla groups, (actions given sensationalism immediacy and impact through instant T.V. coverage), the Council of Europe drew up the European Convention of the Suppression of Terrorism 1977.

The Free State did not sign because of doubts about the constitutionality of the implied restriction of the political exception to extradition. At that time O'Dálaigh's definitions were regarded as guidelines. The Convention did not define what was a political offence but **what was not**; section 3 excludes the following:

An offence under the Hague Convention on Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft;

A serious offence involving an attack on the Safety of Civil Aviation;

A serious offence involving an attack on the li



signed the European Convention on Extradition in 1966 on behalf of the Free State. The simple act of shoving people from one side of the border to the other "without legal niceties" has been used a few times prior to the well known recent case of the two Derry men handed over to the RUC at Muff on the Derry/Donegal border.

Not until the resurgence of the I.R.A. campaign of 1939 did the question of political extradition arise. It was ruled out by the De Valera government, but De Valera remarked of the I.R.A. **"that the cause of their violence was legitimate,"** and the Irish people would view its introduction at being at Britain's behest. The lack of extradition for the I.R.A. was amply compensated for by the introduction of the Offences against the State Act. Violent repression of Republican activists (and nowadays of course, socialists or any other "undesirable" activists) was enshrined in Free State Law.

With the onset of the 1956 campaign, the Taoiseach, John A. Costello, a former Attorney General, spelled out the political nature of the struggle being waged: **"International law is not a mutual assurance system for the preservation of**

in 1966 by Frank Aiken. There were to main sections, part III which dealt specifically with Britain and the six counties and part II which dealt with other countries. Both sections had a political exception clause, but there was no provision for the presentation of prima facie evidence.

During an extradition case in 1969, which involved an Irishman involved in Soviet agent, George Blake's escape to Moscow, Chief Justice Cearbhall O'Dálaigh made it clear that **acts of violence, including murder,** when carried out in the course of a rebellion were protected from extradition under section 50 of the 1965 Act.

This important judgement was held as the most comprehensive Irish ruling on a political offence. O'Dálaigh also made it clear in a further judgement in 1970 that he regarded the I.R.A. activity in the six counties as political. In this case the person concerned successfully claimed that he was likely to be charged with a political offence (an arms raid) if he was returned on what was ostensibly a criminal warrant. In both these cases the **LIKELIHOOD** of being charged with a political offence was enough to preclude extradition. With the advent of civil rights

physical integrity or liberty of international protected persons, kidnapping, hostage taking or serious false imprisonment; The use of explosives or firearms if used to endanger persons.

In addition to this, under section 4, there are further considerations to be taken into account on the nature of the action in question: *Whether it created a collective danger to the life, physical integrity or liberty of persons; Whether it affected persons foreign to the motives behind it; Whether cruel or vicious means were used in the commission of the offence.*

Obviously the effect of these restrictions is, to all intents and purposes, to destroy the long accepted idea that armed rebellion is political!

In the early 1980's the Free State judiciary underwent a change of attitude concerning political extradition. For years the British have been shouting for the extradition of those on the run in the 26 counties. O'Dálaigh's precedents were overthrown in the Dominic McGlinchey case.

The basic facts of his case are well known but the most significant factor was the acceptance of new criteria on the definition

ION INEVITABLE?

"political offence". Chief Justice O'Higgins stated that cases of this nature would have to be judged on whether **"the person charged was at the relevant time engaged in what reasonable civilised people would regard as political activity"**.

Presumably the "reasonable civilised people" would be those who made the rules i.e. the ruling bourgeoisie who would naturally see any subversion of their privileged position as "unreasonable". The emphasis was now on the "crime" rather than on the motive. The Seamus Shannon case reinforced the new rules. Here, O'Higgins stated that the Provisional I.R.A. had abandoned normal political activity in favour of violence and terrorism, conveniently forgetting how the Free State was set up in the first place.

These judgements defused any potential furore over the constitutionality of signing the European Convention on Terrorism. The Convention is a further attempt to standardise Europe and turn international law into the "mutual assurance system for the preservation of established governments", in direct contradiction of John a Costello in 1955. It is patently a repressive measure aimed precisely at this.

At a more parochial level, as far as Ireland is concerned, in the final analysis, considering the precedents of the McGlinchey and Shannon cases, there is no legal reason why extradition should not be proceeding apace under the present 1965 extradition act, without any ratification of the Convention on Terrorism Act. There is no prima facie requirement in either act so a case can be constructed while the person is in a British jail, as O'Higgins later admitted happened in the McGlinchey case.

Because of the war situation in Ireland and the direct involvement of Britain in the call for easy extradition, it is easy to lose sight of the fact that the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism is exactly that - something that affects Europe as a whole.

Since the end of the war, Europe has been gradually developing into a homogenous unit; the desire to have a European economic bloc to compete with the U.S. and the Socialist blocs has progressed into a desire to have a political unity. Thus mutual assurance of the maintenance of the established forms of government is of central importance to the ruling classes. International co-operation has been a striking feature of the established governments' attempts to ensure that Europe as a whole remains "stable".

Here we must point out that it is not only



"conservative" governments who follow this line. The first extradition of Basques from France to Spain took place with "socialist" (Social Democratic) parties in power. This is a word of warning to those who woo "Social Democratic" or "Labour" type parties in the mistaken belief that their liberal rhetoric really means something concrete. A brief look at the British Labour Party's past record on the 6 counties should dispel any doubts on that score. These types of Parties have a vested interest in the maintenance of the established forms of bourgeois government as much as the recognised openly conservative parties "Stability" i.e. the maintenance of capitalist rule, is a priority with European governments as a whole, and of course the Free State government is no exception to this rule.

Ireland, on the other hand is experiencing a revolutionary situation in the 6 counties and should this develop into a 32 county revolutionary situation, it would have serious implications not only for Britain but for Europe as a whole. This is well recognised in Europe hence the many attempts being made to have

the Free State toe the European line. The Single European Act is a case in point; it also underlines the duplicity of the Free State government (no matter what party label happens to be hung on it). Any government which betrays the long held desire of the Irish people to be a neutral country in such an underhand way will freely shaft its own people on such an issue as extradition.

The level of collaboration between the Free State and Britain is at an unprecedented level. The 26 counties is going through an economic crisis which threatens to reach disastrous levels. Its economy is so closely tied to and dominated by Britain that naturally the political ties are equally close.

Thatcher voices her disapproval in no uncertain terms at Haughey's smallest deviation from her wishes. She cannot understand the need for safeguards; British law is unquestionably just. Of course it is!!!! Irish people only have to look at the cases of the Birmingham Six, the Guilford Four and many other cases, the most recent being that of Gilbert McNamee, cases where the defendants

were tried by the media and found guilty well before the end of the trial.

Look at the racist, almost exclusively anti-Irish P.T.A. under which thousands of Irish people have been questioned and hundreds excluded from Britain. We also have the non-jury Diplock courts in the 6 counties.

Already we have seen (before the suppression of Terrorism issue) armed Special Branch opening fire in a crowded Dublin street in pursuance of British designs on an Irish citizen. We have reached the stage where the cross-border "Operation Mallard" was able to be launched at great expense (to the Free State in particular). This great search for 4 boat loads of assorted arms only managed to uncover a couple of 'shorts'. Unfortunately four escapees were also apprehended and are now at the centre of the whole extradition process.

The whole thrust and aim of these measures is ultimately to destroy the national liberation struggle. The Free State government obviously recognises the threat posed to it by the struggle. **It also recognises the fact that a discontented working class which is aware of the significance of the national liberation struggle to its own emancipation is an even more serious threat to its existence.** Hence ostensibly anti-republican measures are easily used in an anti-working class role; for example the offences against the State Act has been used to end the occupation of factories in industrial disputes in the recent past.

The coming months will see the fruits of the ratification of the European Convention.

Britain's desire to lay its hands on Irish citizens with the minimum of fuss must not be allowed to proceed without protest. Each and every case must be contested and highlighted at all levels and by every means possible.

Ultimately the only solution is the overthrow of the state which perpetrates such measures. It is directly in the interest of the working class as a whole to combat the repressive laws and the state which introduces and enforces them. Connolly's "incorruptible inheritors of the fight for Irish freedom" must see the direct link between the national struggle and the social struggle and consequently the equally direct threat from repressive legislation. The working class must mobilise in its own interest. In the short term this means mobilisation to fight extradition.

BLATANT ACTS OF COLLABORATION

The sight of Paul Kane being dragged bruised, bleeding and bemused from a ditch by Free State forces must have sickened many Republicans north and south.

Paul was originally arrested on the 25th November in Co. Longford and held for 48 hours under the notorious 'Offences Against the State' Act. Not being able to charge him with any **"offences against the state"** he was released, only to be pursued, assaulted and charged, would you believe, with assault on a Garda. The manner of his arrest made it clear to everyone on this island that the charge against him was **"manufactured"** and used to hold him until the Free State cops received an extradition warrant from their northern cronies.

This warrant was duly served on him when he was released on bail on Thursday, 26th November. In all, Paul was arrested three times in the one week, victim of the Free State's collaboration with British imperialism. He is currently appealing his second arrest and the circumstances surrounding it.

Paul Kane's arrest came as a result of operation **"Mallard"**. This massive and expensive operation was aimed to intimidate and harass critics of the southern bourgeoisie, who are referred to as "subversives" by that class. Over 50,000 homes have been searched so far in this operation, indicating that the state has many more **"subversives"** than they have previously admitted.

Political Activist sentenced

Recently in Cork city, a political activist was arrested and subsequently convicted of IRA membership and sentenced to 5 years in prison. The evidence against him was that he had posters in his home depicting support for the IRA. Backing up this "evidence" was the

word of a Garda who stated that he believed the man to be a member of the IRA. This repressive law, if widely used, will strip the veneer of democracy from the 26 county state. Who needs internment when you have a police state and a compliant judiciary.

Secret Deal

It has been revealed this week that there has been a secret deal in existence for a year, between the British and their Free State lackeys. Both states' "security forces" have been given permission to cross the border in order to defuse bombs in each others territory. It was further revealed that Free State bomb disposal experts crossed the border and defused a landmine at Pettigo. It must be asked what other secret deals has the Free State entered into with the Brits. They can be no less treacherous to the Irish people than their more public deals. We call on Irish soldiers not to allow themselves to be used against their own working class people. Refuse to do imperialism's dirty work.

Capitalist Crisis

These acts of collaboration are bound to increase as the crisis of capitalism deepens in the south. Socialists must build now and develop methods of organisation to be able to resist the bourgeois offensive and to be in a position of playing a leading role when the working class fight back. We must state clearly that it is our purpose to destroy the capitalist system north and south. This is not a conspiracy, we are opposed to conspiratorial politics, we are open and clear about our beliefs i.e. the majority of the Irish people "the working class" should rule this country in their own interests and abolish the present rule of the minority class.



FIGHT BACK



WATERFORD GLASS: A CLASSIC CASE OF CAPITALIST EXPLOITATION

When Globe Investments took over Waterford Glass in 1984 the more politicized members of the workforce realized that in a confrontation situation, dealing with a multinational company would be much more difficult than dealing with native capitalism, because of the much greater resources available to a multinational and because of the inexperience of the workforce in dealing with this multinational threat.

The first event was an investment package for modernization (i.e. new machinery). Union officials were taken at the company's expense on a tour of European crystal factories using more efficient machinery. They returned suitably impressed and in their turn advised the workers on the importance of getting this new machinery to 'secure their future'. Workers who expressed fears about their jobs were reassured by guarantees that no jobs would be lost as a result of new machinery. One union official even went as far as to say that once you have a job in Waterford Crystal your career was secured! As if to underline this more people were actually employed in this period. The end result was that the new machinery came in. In some sections of the factory it is already in use and in others it is waiting for sectional agreement.

Waterford Glass made big profit increases in the years 1985 and 1986. Workers were pressed to increase their production by structural changes and overtime and this in actual fact happened.

Towards the end of 1986 attention was focused on the takeover of Wedgewood by the Waterford Glass Group. Shortly after the takeover, 800 Wedgewood workers ended up on the dole, thereby giving an indication of what may lie ahead for the Waterford Glass workers who consequently felt their 'job security' shaken to the core.

1987 was getting off to a bad start for Waterford Glass workers, the dollar was falling in value and Waterford Glass profits were down. It was not the first time that Waterford Glass profits had fallen, in 1982 there was a substantial drop but this time there was a difference. In 1982 all the workforce felt that they were needed. But in 1987 there was a feeling that machinery could reduce their numbers. However, this fall in profit is deceptive as the profits for the first 6 months of 1987 are in line with the average.

1986 had been an exceptional year. The following table shows Waterford's operating profits as a percentage of sales:

Profit Table						
1980	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
7.3%	8.4%	6.8%	6.9%	8.0%	8.5%	16.6%

Comparing the performance of Waterford from 1980 to 1985 then Waterford's first half result of 6.1% for 1987 must be judged as reasonable. Results in 1986 are way out of line with Waterford's previous experience.

Rumours abounded in June 1987 and workers worst fears were realised. The company attacked the workers on 3 fronts. They wanted:-

1. 750 redundancies
2. Time on, time off for half the workforce at a time

3. Substantial changes in work practices.

The management must have expected a tough reply to these demands. The Waterford Glass workers had a militant history. On every occasion, when they were asked to take action only a small handful ever refused. This was their biggest challenge ever. The union stated that they would not be accepting any redundancies and commissioned three consultants, Brendan McSweeney, Professor Robin Wensley and Dr. Rob Bryar to assess the situation. The union informed the management and the membership that they would be formulating an alternative plan.

Nobody was mentioning new machinery but the very fact that they wanted 750 redundancies meant that there would be a drop in production. Management must have believed that new machinery would take the place of the 750 workers.

The workers who made Waterford Glass what it is, who made millions in profit for the company, were at the first opportunity being cast aside. The management simply wanted to increase their profits by reducing

their bottom line back to compulsory redundancy.

One may well ask what happened that the consultants did not come up with a plan. The simple answer is that they were never supposed to. Their job was to examine the situation and make recommendations, not to come up with a plan.

Professor Robin Wensley analysed the marketing strategy of the company. Dr. Rob Bryar analysed its financial performance and prospects. Brendan McSweeney examined both the financial and marketing performance and prospects. He also summarised things for the union and made recommendations.

Dr. Rob Bryar was strongly of the opinion that there was no justification for redundancies. He described a booklet produced by management as "at the best highly misleading". All three agreed that the management were overstating their case.

After getting the green lights on the voluntary redundancy the management issued their terms. Prefabs were erected in the factory grounds containing a firm by the name of "Pauline Hyde

demands so it is now up to the remaining workforce to protect the wages and conditions and tell the management that they are finished being pushed around and there will be no more redundancies.

SUMMARY

A few years ago a worker in Waterford Glass was considered as having one of the most secure jobs in Ireland. Now almost a quarter of its workers are being made redundant. It just underlines the fact that under capitalism you can never be sure of security of employment, no matter how stable the company may appear. **This will always be the case due to the economic ups and downs endemic to capitalism.**

There were several shortcomings in the union leadership in the fight with management. For a start it was not fought from a socialist perspective and trade union principal that you never concede any job loss, because a redundancy, even if voluntary, means a job lost forever. They made a serious tactical mistake by claiming they were going to come up with an alternative plan thereby giving credibility to management's

workers were totally divided. This is a tragic mistake that workers in Wedgewood in Britain made as well when they suffered their 800 redundancies by not asking for support from their fellow workers in Waterford.

The lessons of Waterford Glass and other struggles must be clear to the Irish working class. Ireland is a medium developed Capitalist country whose economy is stagnant. Monopoly Capitalism, unable to develop to its highest stage "imperialism" is effectively stunting the growth of the economy. Only a Social Revolution can free the "means of production" from their corpse like hands and enable rapid development to take place. Only then can the evils of unemployment, emigration and poverty be eradicated. **To this end the establishment of a revolutionary communist Party is a necessity. A party that is capable by its theory and practice of going beyond Trade Union consciousness and prepare the way for the seizure of power by the working class.**



their wage bill and in true capitalist style did not hesitate to do so.

Only a strong workforce stood in the management's way and their first test came on the 27th August. The management had said that they would be starting the time on-time off on the 14th September. The union went to its members on the 27th August and looked for

Ireland" in the supposed job opportunities, therefore giving false hope to workers and undermining opposition to redundancies.

There was a panic among the workers that if they did not accept the voluntary redundancy, they would be forced out with less money and this was used as a subtle form of intimidation. While certain individual union officials worked hard to fight this and fight redundancies and lay-offs, they failed as a collective body to show real fight to prevent compulsory redundancy. It was only in the last few days before the closing date for applications that a leaflet was distributed telling people that the joint negotiating committee would look for a strike to stop compulsory redundancy.

Over 800 workers have applied for the voluntary redundancy so the management, sadly, have more than achieved one of their demands.

Negotiations were now in progress over their other 2

claim that there was need for redundancies. The fact that union representatives went to Europe to study new machinery at management's expense showed how naive they were that they thought they could do this without compromising their integrity. The fact that several trade union representatives, including a member of the unions' "Joint Negotiating Committee" with management, actually took redundancy showed that they had no understanding of trade union principles and could not have their heart in the struggle. Another blunder was the fact that they could not see that Waterford Glass is now a multinational company. There was no attempt to contact their fellow workers in Wedgewood in Britain for support for a joint attack on the bosses, not realising that they worked for the one company, just as sure as the cutting rooms and the blowing rooms in the glass factory for the same company. **While management were totally united,**

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKEY

In September of this year, the Leninists of the Communist Party of Turkey, (who are organised around the paper "Iscinin Sesi - Workers Voice," held an extraordinary Sixth Congress of their party and reclaimed the name, Communist Party of Turkey for genuine Communists.

For many years the "official" Communist Party has been travelling further and further along the path of opportunism, compromise and non-revolutionary politics. This culminated in the "officials" liquidating themselves and merging with the reformist Workers Party of Turkey.

R. Yurukoglu, the leading Iscinin Sesi-Workers Voice theorist said: "Our Party's reclaiming its rightful name is not symbolic, it is of a profound political, historical, ideological and organisational significance. The coming years will prove that."

Recognising the importance of this event in its international context, the I.R.S.P. sent the following message of congratulations and solidarity: "The Irish Republican Socialist Party hails the decision of the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkey (Iscinin Sesi) to reclaim the name Communist Party of Turkey to which they are justly entitled and thereby rescue it from the hands of opportunists and liquidators. We see this step as an important landmark in the struggle to rebuild the World Communist movement and to restore to it the revolutionary content of its glorious beginning."

international NICARAGUA ON THE BRINK

Despite being heavily involved in his "Gulf Adventure", Ronnie Reagan has not been distracted from his war against the Progressive Nicaraguan Government. Since 1980, the Reagan administration has pumped 3.5 million dollars 'Humanitarian Aid' package to the Contra mercenaries.

The result of this aid has been to equip this mercenary army with the latest most sophisticated (and expensive) military equipment. It is both ironic and nauseous that the contras are mainly based in Honduras, the poorest country in Central America. Not content with the Official millions they are sending to the contras, the U.S. has been involved in dirty underhand deals to smuggle money and arms behind the backs of the American people. The Irangate hearing has "white-washed" Reagan's involvement but to most observers it is clear that Ronnie was involved up to his neck with North and his cronies.

THE ARIAS PLAN

The Arias "Peace" Plan was signed in Guatemala City on August 7th by five Central American Presidents (Nicaragua, El Salvador, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Honduras) and was due to go into force on November 7th.

The Arias Plan has five main points 1. A cease-fire 2. An amnesty for rebel forces 3. An end to outside assistance to rebel forces 4. A pledge to reject the use of one Nation's territory to destabilise another Nation's government 5. The holding of internationally-monitored elections for public office in each country and for representatives to a Central American parliament.

It is quite clear that the Nicaraguan Government signed the "plan" under intense pressure. They have achieved spectacular results in their literacy drive and on health but their



President Ortega at the United Nations

DANGERS OF THE PLAN

This plan was drawn up by the pro-imperialist Arias from Costa Rica and signed by the death squad regimes of El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala. It compels the Sandinista government to hold elections within six months and to legitimise the contra murderers and dress them up as the democratic opposition. It equates the FMLN/FDR with these mercenaries despite the fact that the FMLN/FDR is very clearly a popular revolutionary organisation with much support among the people. They control over 30% of the land area of El Salvador whilst the mercenaries are externally based in Honduras and Costa Rica and control no land in Nicaragua.

We in the IRSP believe that the

cases it has gone much further. They closed down the offices of the FMLN/FDR in Managua. They declared a unilateral cease-fire and agreed to allow the CIA/Contra financed newspaper 'La Prensa' to reopen. It set up a national Peace Commission and appointed Cardinal Obando y Bravo a right wing foe of the Sandanista government to head it. They declared that contra leaders would be allowed back into the country and repealed a law which confiscated the property of those adjoining the Contras. All these actions and many more the government have taken in order to give the peace plan its best chance. Reagan has called these moves a "sham" and continues to demand complete surrender. The Contras have recently called for the Sandinistas to dismantle their army. The "Duarte" regime in El Salvador has dragged its feet on

U.S. but only requests that Reagan stops this. So-called humanitarian aid is not covered by the agreement and \$3.5 million dollars has been sent openly since the agreement was signed.

On the whole, this is a 'bum' deal for Nicaragua and if they are trying to win a moral victory by accepting it then if they are not careful the price could be disastrous. Reagan and the CIA will not spare any effort to subvert the Nicaraguan revolution from within. The Sandinistas must move towards more "Socialism" not less. The working class and the peasantry will continue to see that it is in their interests to defend their revolution against attack from reactionaries if they have confidence that the Sandinista leadership is continuing on the road to revolution.

regimes such as El Salvador and Chile which must be backed up, and "totalitarian" regimes such as the Soviet Union and Iran which must be fought (albeit with the odd "Contragate" style slip up).

Hypocrisy here is taken to the point of irrationality. And indeed, so it must be, Reagan and Thatcher are fighting tooth and claw to hold together an irrational style system-imperialism - and furthermore hold it together on their terms.

The position of world dominance the U.S. held is slipping from its grasp. Whereas its need to export capital, to retain and extend its markets, is now greater than ever, it finds itself in a position where its markets are not only stagnant but actually contracting. Other capitals of greater dynamism are pushing the U.S. out. British imperialism is in a similar situation. The alternative is posed: export or die and, although the imperialist beast is a rapid obscurity, it has no intention of voluntarily rolling over and dying.

The resistance of regimes like Khomeini's Iran are at once a threat and an opportunity for imperialism. A threat because Iranian capitalism has its own national interests to look after and these contradict those of the West, a threat also because the Iran-Iraq war threatens to drag in the whole of the Middle East creating a highly unstable and



extremely dangerous situation. But it is an opportunity for U.S. imperialism to show that whereas it might not be as young and sprightly as it once was it can still pack a punch against the upstarts like Khomeini.

Imperialism does not, and cannot have any progressive role to play in the Gulf or anywhere else. U.S. gunboats are not in the Gulf in the interests of peace or safety. There is nothing peaceful or safe about a heavily armed task force of U.S. imperialism. The safest thing that it could do would be to sink slowly below the waves.

The truth is that the Western powers are not interested in bringing genuine peace in the Gulf. They encouraged IRAQ to attack Khomeini's Iran seven years ago. They have kept the war going ever since, piling up billions of dollars from selling arms to the combatants, while the people of Iran and Iraq have been piling up one million dead bodies.

Now Reagan, Thatcher and the rest have sent their war fleets into the Gulf to try to bring Iran back under their heel at the point of a battleship's gun. Whether they are using the U.N. or the helicopter gunship, the imperialist interference in the Gulf can only mean more suffering for the people of the Middle East. We must demand the immediate withdrawal of all Western forces of imperialism.

The true enemies of peace and justice in the Gulf are the Reagan's and the Thatchers who make diplomatic noises in Washington and London while their guns boom in the Middle East.

THE GULF WAR

As Reagan's fleet steams its way around the Gulf, the British bourgeois press once more engages in its favourite pastime: Khomeini baiting. Scores of Fleet Street's finest hunch over battered word processors, somewhere between frenzied fits of chauvinism and alcohol induced stupor. Look on with distaste if you will, but these gallant lads are busily raising the flag for the civilised West in a crusade against the godless heathen.

The line which the gutter hacks of Fleet Street come up with when they triumphantly input their finished work will be of no surprise to any casual follower of the British media. With a cavalier regard to history, television, radio and newspaper alike tell us that the U.S. task force is protecting freedom in the Gulf, giving a stern warning to the 'mad mullahs' of Iran who are intent on terrorising and subverting the 'free West' and generally keeping the situation of peace and democracy that we all know and love so well.

Of course this is not the case. Western Imperialism backs right to the hilt governments for which 'terrorist' is too mild a term. To justify this the Reagan administration has had to make a distinction between 'autocratic'



Workers and peasants demonstrating in support of the revolution in 1980.

economy has suffered enormously due to Contra attacks and the necessity to divert much necessary funds and people into defence. The result has been shortages which the right have used to agitate against the State. There has also been persistent reports that the Soviet Union has exerted pressure on Nicaragua to sign and if this is true (The Nicaraguan government deny it) it represents one of the more worrying aspects of "Glasnost." The Soviet Union seems hell bent on retreating even further from "World revolution."

so-called "peace" plan is extremely dangerous for the oppressed people of Nicaragua, El Salvador and Central America itself. It is dangerous in that its implementation could lead to a serious demoralisation among the progressive forces in Central America and in support groups outside. The "Arias" plan represents an attempt by the Central American bourgeoisie to resolve the crisis in their favour.

Since the signing of the agreement, the Nicaraguan Government has moved quickly to implement the terms and in many

the agreement and human rights activists have stated that since the "signing", repression and murder has continued there unabated and even increased in ferocity.

The Nicaraguan Government has received very little from the "Arias" plan. The agreement does not call for Honduras and Costa Rica to kick out the Contras but only requires them to pledge that they will not allow their territory to be used to destabilise Nicaragua. They have always denied they were doing this so the Contras will remain. The agreement does not stop funds to the Contras from the

MANCHESTER MARTYRS COMMEMORATION

The annual Manchester Martyrs Commemoration was held on the 22nd November despite serious setbacks.

To begin with the march was banned by James Anderton (the first time in 120 years) on the grounds that he "he had information" that at least 1,000 loyalists and fascists had been organised to smash the martyrs demonstration. On Friday 20th November, the Labour controlled Manchester council felt they were left with no option but to sanction the ban. However at the end of the televised meeting with Anderton, Councillor Stringer made it clear that he was unhappy with the way in which the Chief Constable had put them in this position. Speaking for the Manchester Martyrs Committee, Dominic Delaney asserted that cancellation was not on the agenda and a peaceful rally would go ahead. Anderton agreed that he could not ban a rally.

The next setback was a telephone message from Sinn Fein on the same evening stating that they were withdrawing from the commemoration on the grounds that they only wanted people in Britain to call for "troops out" and self-determination for Ireland, and that the tone of the commemoration was of a too militant nature.

Unfortunately some groups blindly followed the Sinn Fein line and very many other people were genuinely confused by media reports that the whole event had been called off.

In the event a convoy of cars and mini-buses left the assembly point and travelled to Longsight market where approximately 500 people gathered. The huge police presence was shown to be entirely unjustified by the Loyalist/fascist presence which was comprised of only 70-80 union jack waving enthusiasts, who managed to burn a tricolour.

The rally was addressed by representatives of the Manchester Martyrs Committee, the Viraj Mendis Committee, WRP (Workers Press), Irish Freedom Movement and the I.R.S.P. A statement from the Republican Socialist prisoners in Long Kesh was also read out. Speaking for the IRSP, Eamon Mullan said: "We are gathered here today to honour the memory of the Manchester Martyrs Allen, Larkin and O'Brien who gave their lives so long ago in the cause of Irish freedom. Since that time it has been ever shown that Irishmen and women have been willing to make the supreme sacrifice in pursuance of the objective of Irish national liberation and socialism. For despite the superficial changes, the basic nature of the relationship between Britain and Ireland has not changed. It is the relationship of the oppressor to the oppressed, of the exploiter to the exploited, of the dominant to the dominated."

"It must also be recognised just how important that struggle is to the British working class. It is a well known statement that so long as one nation dominates another, the dominant nation can never be itself free. So long as the British working class acquiesce in the oppression of Ireland, the British working class can never be free. Marx and Engels were among those who protested against the

treatment of Fenian prisoners and actively campaigned on their behalf. They recognised the limitations of the Fenians but they also recognised the revolutionary potential in their struggle, and the progressive qualities which were bound up in what was basically a national struggle...." He went on to say:

"The struggle in Ireland has after twenty years reached a stalemate. What is needed now is a new dimension. At the moment the war is being held at what is to the British "an acceptable level in the six counties. At the same time the Free State government is screwing its own working class to a level which is becoming more and more intolerable. All of the 26 counties PAYE goes to paying off the interest on the National Debt."

It's obvious that the working class in Ireland need a revolutionary direction if they are to be free from the tyranny of exploitation. It's equally obvious that there will be no unification of the Irish working class so long as the border exists and Britain maintains the illusion of a privileged Loyalist working class in the 6 counties. Since the border is enforced by armed presence it should be equally obvious that it is imperative for the working class in Ireland to struggle against what divides us. Gerry Adams stated that Socialism was not on the agenda at the moment, in other words the old theme "Labour must wait." Labour waited in the 1920's, Labour is still waiting. Labour, the working class, is the key to the struggle in Ireland. "The only incorruptible inheritors of the Irish struggle" as Connolly described us, are the only people who can genuinely and successfully carry the national struggle through to a revolutionary socialist conclusion, the working class can only be led by a revolutionary vanguard party of the working class, and not by those who would compromise principles for short term gains....."

Towards the end of the Rally the H Blocks Martyrs Memorial Flute Band from Glasgow arrived to a noisy reception. A short march around the market area and a selection of republican tunes was played and ended with Amhán na bhfian. The rally broke up peacefully with no arrests.

A few comments on the non-appearance and advice to cancel by Sinn Fein: Firstly it appears as an act of political cowardice in the wake of the Enniskillen bombing, tragic errors do not mean that heads should be kept down until public opinion forgets. Secondly, Sinn Fein are guilty of a serious misjudgement in believing that only the Labour Party and T.O.M. should be accorded the distinction of Sinn Fein approval. The Labour Party record in the 6 counties is there for all to see and it is far from honourable. Ken Livingstone, for all his highlighting of the situation in Ireland will not influence the leadership or political direction of the Labour Party one iota. As for T.O.M., the people they rely on to bring numbers to their rallies are the very people Sinn Fein condemn for being vocal in the their support for the armed struggle. Even if many of these groups on the left are small in

comparison to the Labour Party and to a certain extent factionalised, it does not detract from the significance Ireland has in their political analyses. Active British working class support must be encouraged, revolution in Ireland is in the long term interest of the British working class.

I.N.L.A. PRESS RELEASE

We feel it is necessary due to the deliberate distortions in the media, to reprint the statement issued through the Republican Socialist Publicity Bureau on September 15th, 1987 regarding the position of Dessie O'Hare and his associates.

The following is the text of a statement issued to the Republican Socialist Publicity Bureau.

"We find at this time it necessary to clarify our position with relation to speculation, allegations, half-truths and downright lies currently being circulated to and by various elements of the media. The subject of which we speak is the individual referred to by the fanciful pseudonym of the "border fox". We wish to put on public record the following facts:-

1. The person concerned and by association the individuals involved with him are not members of the Irish National Liberation Army or any section of the Republican Socialist Movement.
2. As is well known to the Nationalist people, Brits and informed journalists there is only one Irish National Liberation Army operating under and controlled by a central authority. Therefore these individuals in this local do not and cannot constitute a faction thereof.
3. Recent incidents and robberies committed in counties Armagh, Cavan, Monaghan and Westmeath were not conducted for or under the auspices of our movement.

In closing we wish to state that as Socialist Republican revolutionaries we recognise and fully support the right of any oppressed people to arm themselves in pursuance of freedom. However, we feel strongly that actions recently allegedly conducted by this band of individuals if anything is detrimental to the aspirations of the Irish working class. It is obvious that the British recognise this and hence we have such verbiage being fed to the media in a blatant attempt to "hype up" this individual with the hope of a catastrophic atrocity comparable to Darkley whereby the Republican cause and the struggle of our people will be portrayed to all the world as sectarian and blood thirsty. This form of media manipulation and the danger emanating from it are obvious and we would urge careful consideration of such by journalists.



CONGRESS '86 REVIEW

The publication of Congress 86 must be wholeheartedly welcomed by all Socialists. At this time when there is a serious shortage of political ideas about the political direction of the struggle, it reaches us as a breath of fresh air. This small pamphlet is all the more important because it has its origins amongst prisoners in Long Kesh whose "revolutionary credentials" cannot be brought into question. For too long revolutionary theory has been scoffed at by the militants in the revolutionary movements who equate political progress in the same way as the Yanks in Vietnam - by the body count!

At this particular time, the National Liberation struggle is floundering for lack of direction and its inability to break out of the traditional republican mould. This pamphlet shows that within the prisons there are some who recognise this fact and are prepared to criticise and contribute to the development of political theory.

The pamphlet consists of nine articles which have obviously not been written to a set plan. The pamphlet suffers from this and also from the choice of its first article which is given a prominence it does not deserve. It would have been much better and much more relevant to prioritise the call of two of the articles i.e. "Build the Revolutionary Vanguard Party and build it now."

To give prominence to the call for a united front at a time when the left is weak and disorganised is hopelessly premature, to say the least. But that is not all this article asks the left to do. It asks us to compromise our principles or reach an accommodation, and I wonder if it is just by accident that the principle chosen is abortion. "Take for example the emotional debate on abortion. Socialists and Fenians might well have diametrically opposing views. Fine. As Democrats we can argue our respective positions and abide by the majority." Must women wait? is a question we must ask the author while the males build their cosy united front where, by show of hands, principles fall by the wayside. While not wanting to nit pick at the article, which I found rather confused, I would suggest that the chief tasks facing revolutionary socialists is to build a theoretical base around which a genuine Communist Party can be built.

Two other articles I found particularly good: "The Vanguard" and "Sinn Fein Philosophy: Revolutionary or Reformist?". The second article is a courageous attempt to expose the weakness of current Republican strategy. The article is much too short and many points

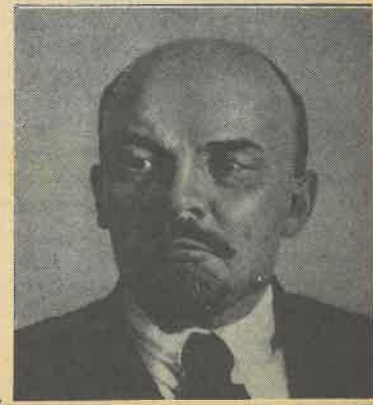
are just stated rather than being developed (a future pamphlet in the making here, comrade) but nevertheless contains many excellent ideas and statements "For those of us who believe that if there is to be a revolution there must first be a revolutionary party and that without a revolutionary party built on the Marxist-Leninist theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses to victory, the weakness and flaws in the ideology of Sinn Fein are obvious for those with the courage and clarity to see them."

These words could have come directly out of the pages of the 'Starry Plough' and form one of the main planks of the I.R.S.P.'s reorganisation as does "The time has come when the unhappy marriage between republican and revolutionary socialists must be terminated." (the I.R.S.P. paid dearly earlier this year to break from left republican militarism and all its associated evils and dead ends for the working class).

At this particular time, this is an absolute necessity. For the struggle to progress, the working class North and South must be drawn in. It must be shown that only socialism can solve the problems of unemployment, emigration, poverty and despair. Stagnant Irish monopoly capitalism which is tied to imperialism cannot develop the economy. Only a social revolution can free the means of production and restore the essential dignity of the Irish people. To this end it is necessary for all socialists to wrench themselves away from the woolly ideas of Republicanism and fight for genuine class politics.

Over the years many socialists have joined Sinn Fein in order to change it from within, like some other deluded British socialists who 'entered' the Labour Party, their efforts have achieved little. In many cases their politics have fallen to the "mean" level and they have drowned in the sea of petty bourgeois ideas. Organisations like Peoples Democracy have been guilty of fawning on Sinn Fein to such an extent that over the years some of their leading members have followed the logic of their politics and joined Sinn Fein.

In the words of the comrades "Let us not be found wanting in the months and years of struggle ahead" - Build the Vanguard Marxist-Leninist Party and build it now!



Also to the individual at the centre of this attention we would urge him to be aware of the potentially damaging effect any future actions attributed to his band may have on our people's war.

S. Barry
G.H.Q.
IRISH NATIONAL LIBERATION ARMY.

CROCODILE TEARS



The bomb at Enniskillen, which killed eleven people was a terrible tragedy, and like all civilian deaths is to be deeply regretted. The IRA in a statement said "The I.R.A. admits responsibility for planting the bomb in Enniskillen which exploded with such catastrophic consequences. We deeply regret what happened...."

Since Enniskillen, British imperialism and its lackeys have orchestrated a campaign of vilification against the IRA and the anti-imperialist struggle. It should come as no surprise to revolutionary socialists to see the line-up of those jumping on the reactionary bandwagon.

The sight of Maggie Thatcher and the British establishment shedding crocodile tears and wringing their hands in grief at the deaths of a few 'paddies' was nauseating to those who have suffered and lost loved ones through the use of plastic bullets, imprisonment, torture and murder.

The IRA must be congratulated for admitting responsibility in stark contrast to the doling out of medals to the murderers of 14 people shot dead in Derry on Bloody Sunday. Even today the British are perpetuating lies about the Bloody Sunday massacre.

The difference in morality between the revolutionary forces and the imperialists is clear for all who wish to see it. Our morality is based on the working class and is entirely different and separate from bourgeois morality which is based on the selfish interests of a few.

There should also be no illusions that the Catholic Church is neutral in political matters. It is heavily invested in the world capitalist system and performs a

War mongering hypocrites, Thatcher and King at Enniskillen.

reactionary role on a world wide basis. In certain parts of the world there are progressive priests but they are the exception rather than the rule. The whole weight of the Catholic Church stands firmly on

the side of imperialism. Like the bourgeoisie, it is terrified of the "ignorant masses" organising themselves and throughout their whole history have used the pulpit to direct the faithful along the "proper" path and have bent and twisted their own teachings in

order to support the ruling class.

The massive walk out and protests of Catholics during masses in which the pro-imperialist statement from the Bishops calling on support for the RUC, British Army and UDR, was read out shows again that in times of crisis the Church is indeed a paper tiger and that the idea of "conservative" Ireland while not exactly a myth is an extremely fragile entity.

As Marxists we view religion as the "opium of the people" and whilst that view is not shared by the majority of the working class it is becoming increasingly obvious to them that the "Holy men" have nothing to offer regarding the social struggle of the oppressed masses in Ireland or elsewhere.

The Protestant Churches in Ireland have made no secret of their pro-imperialist stance and therefore their reactionary calls after Enniskillen for the re-introduction of internment, proscription and capital punishment were entirely predictable.

The reaction of the bourgeois Fianna Fail government in the south was also illuminating for the working class. Like a surfer, they rode the wave of hysterical reaction and dared to expose themselves yet again minus their "Republican" trappings. Operation Mallard was designed to terrorise and intimidate not only Republicans and revolutionary socialists (some of the houses of IRSP members were raided three times in one week) but also increasingly nationalists and anti-extradition activists.

The idea of the 26 county government being a sovereign state was also exposed as the myth it always has been. The ratification of the European Convention on the Suppression of Terrorism was always an in vcnm

Terrorism was always an inevitability with or without Enniskillen. The 'Free State' bourgeois only being capable of straining or tossing occasionally at the harness of British domination.

A flood of extradition warrants is expected to follow the passing of the European Convention. The

scenes witnessed at the arrest of Paul Kane are only a taste of what is to come as the 'Free State' buckles down under its master's thumb. Make no mistake, the repressive apparatus of the State, which is presently being used against the forces of national liberation will be used against working class struggles that openly challenge the state. We only have to look at the miner's strike when Thatcher used the experience gained in Ireland to smash and undermine the strike.

The Communist Party of Ireland came out with their usual spineless social democratic double talk. Blaming the oppressed for bringing about increased repression is a ridiculous position for a communist party to take. The nature of the base of this organisation and its poverty of a theoretical understanding of Marxism-Leninism ensures that this Party, pursuing the political direction that it has taken, has no role to play in the struggle for socialism in Ireland.

We must not bend or grovel under the weight of bourgeois inspired reaction. We must continue undeterred with the major tasks confronting us, to build the revolutionary party which is capable of meeting blow for blow the bourgeois offensive.

**BUY THE
STARRY
PLOUGH
EVERY
MONTH**



RUC brutality at Republican funeral.



THE STARRY PLOUGH

BIRMINGHAM SIX FRAME-UP



Gerry Hunter



Dick McKenny



Bill Power



Paddy Hill



John Walker

Scientists have proved that samples from playing cards, leatherette, picture postcards and cigarette packets will produce the same response to the Griess test as explosives.



Hugh Callaghan

Despite the overwhelming evidence pointing to the innocence of the men involved in this case, it appears that their appeal may well be rejected. The supposedly impartial and objective judges, Lord Chief Justice Lane, Lord Justice Stephen Browne and Lord Justice Patrick O'Connor are already showing their true colours by openly deriding defence evidence.

The case for the defence rests on three main planks: evidence of brutality in the obtaining of "confessions," new forensic evidence, and a detailed schedule of police questioning had written (now retired) Detective-Superintendent George Reade who headed the investigation which resulted in the imprisonment of the "Six" in 1974. At the time of conviction the "Six" claimed that they had been systematically beaten to extract confessions. All the confessions had glaring inconsistencies and contradictions.

Evidence for the brutality came from various sources; Billy Bailey, a former police station cleaner stated that he had found blood in a cell where the men had first been held. Past and present police officers Joyce Lymas, Kenneth Garrington and Paul Berry all recounted how they had seen the men marked, frightened, and generally abused. Joyce Lymas actually received threatening

phone calls in an attempt to suppress her evidence.

Tom Clarke, a former Queen's Road Station officer also gave evidence about the abuse of the six prisoners, through being threatened with guns and dogs and being prevented from sleeping. The crown attempted to discredit Clarke's evidence on the grounds that it was a case of sour grapes arising from his dismissal in 1977. The judges prevented Clarke's wife and another policeman from fully giving evidence that he had spoken of the incidents in 1974.

The forensic evidence which was presented at the time showed that the six had been in contact with Nitro-glycerine. In fact the Griess test has been shown to give positive indications if the subject has been in contact with nitro-cellulose, contained in cigarette packet wrappings, playing cards etc. The forensic "expert" Frank Skuse took an early retirement, as much of the evidence he produced in other cases was shown to be "unreliable."

The third plank is the highly dubious "Reade Schedule." It shows many errors and omissions. Lord Gifford, the defence counsel described it as being explicable only as a careful but flawed "script" written to ensure police consistency in false evidence at the 1975 trial. When he was under severe pressure from Lord Gifford, the Judges came to Reade's rescue by openly deriding

the line taken by Gifford that there was a police conspiracy and mass perjury. Such a thing could not possibly happen in Britain!!

This attitude is nothing new nor something to be surprised at. The fundamental implications of such a finding are too serious to be contemplated either by the British judiciary or The British government. There would naturally be serious doubt cast on all the major bombing cases of that time, but also the whole issue of the impartiality of the courts in regard to cases involving Irish people would be called into question on a level never before seen.

Lord Denning obviously had this in mind when he made this statement in his judgement on the Birmingham case: he said it would be "an appalling vista" if the "six" were to succeed in their attempt to sue the police for assault. "It will mean that the police were guilty of perjury that they were guilty of violence and threats, that the confessions were involuntary and were improperly admitted in evidence and that the convictions were erroneous."

Bearing this in mind, there is very little chance that the appeal will be upheld. The best the "six" can hope for is a Royal pardon which neither confirms nor denies guilt. The sacred veneer of British justice must not be scratched for fear of revealing the rottenness and corruption underneath.

IN MEMORY

Carroll Roddy, Grew Seamus, in proud and loving memory of Vols. Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew I.N.L.A. who were murdered by R.U.C. thugs on 12th December 1982. Will never be forgotten by the Republican Socialist Prisoners in Long Kesh, Maghaberry, Portlaoise, Crumlin Road, Magilligan.

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Craven Joseph in proud and loving memory of Vol. Joe Craven I.N.L.A. who was brutally murdered by Loyalist thugs on the 5th December 1983. Will never be forgotten by his comrades in the G.H.Q. Staff and Vols. of the I.N.L.A.

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McNutt Colm, in proud and loving memory of Vol. Colm McNutt I.N.L.A. who was killed on Active Service on the 12th December 1977. Never forgotten by the Republican Socialist Prisoners in Long Kesh, Crumlin Road, Portlaoise, Maghaberry, Magilligan.

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McNutt Colm, in proud and loving memory of Vol. Colm McNutt I.N.L.A. who was killed on Active Service on the 12th December 1977. Gone but not forgotten by his comrades in the G.H.Q. Staff and Vols. of the I.N.L.A.

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