



AN CAMCHÉACHTA THE STARRY PLOUGH

NEWSPAPER OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

HIS MASTERS VOICE

Yes, We've seen it all before. Sunningdale, Power Sharing, Executive, The Assembly. We know what happened to all these attempts at democratising the 6 Co. State. **THEY FAILED.** Now, with the most grandiose title yet "The Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Council" another attempt is to be made.

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This time however Britain is looking South to the Dail and her erstwhile allies, the Northern Loyalists are being left out in the cold. It has taken the failure of all other attempts and the recent successes of the H-Block/Armagh campaign to make Britain understand that there can be no solution within the 6 County context. And with that fact staring him in the face Fitzgerald is willing to turn his back on the Nationalists by allowing for a continued guarantee of privilege to be extended to the ascendancy population.

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One thing is certain. Britain has not turned its attention Southwards for the good of the Irish people. We see Fitzgerald selling off more of our natural resources. We see him selling "all Ireland Courts" — one wonders if charges brought against the British Army or R.U.C. by the nationalist population would be heard in such courts. One may wonder! And yet while he's talking of "all Ireland" we see him selling bits of our constitution.

And you can bet he's selling a lot more that we don't see. And what of Thatcher. She has gained a new lap-dog, cheap fuel, better security, a great propaganda victory — even though she has butchered 10 men in Long Kesh the Irish Government will still befriend her. And she will gain more if we let Fitzgerald keep selling. Any returns on his sales will go to his class and not to the Irish people as a whole.

There can be no British solution to Ireland's woes. All we want from them is to withdraw from our country economically, politically and militarily and to make reparation to us for their centuries of exploitation, oppression and profit-making at our expense. Anglo-Irish Intergovernmental Councils are of no use to us.
End collaboration now!



ARD FHEIS '81

eagarphocal

The recent talks between Margaret Thatcher and Dr. Fitzgerald do not represent progress towards a solution to Britain's continuing political military and economic domination of the six North Eastern Counties of Ireland. The talks represent an attempt by a weak imperialist power and a dependent capitalist class in the 26 Counties to arrive at a solution which will take account of the economic political and security interests of both parties.

The 1916 proclamation declared "the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies to be sovereign and indefeasible". Fine Gael, the Labour Party and Fianna Fail do not defend this fundamental principle which was fought for so stubbornly by an earlier generation of radical republicans and revolutionary socialists.

MULTINATIONAL EXPANSION

Therefore any agreement reached by the British and 26 County governments will not be in the interests of the majority of the Irish people. Instead it will be a solution that will be appropriate to the privilege of a small class in the 26 counties whose chief function is to serve the transnational companies of America, Britain and other imperialist powers who now control the major manufacturing and mineral resources of our country.

Britain because of its close proximity to our country and its ambitions to retain a world role as a junior partner of the United States will remain our principal enemy. If we are to defeat imperialism and the recent initiatives centred around the "Anglo-Irish talks" and the proposed dropping of articles Two and Three of the 26 County constitution. We must forge a weapon that will offer the possibility of winning the struggle for national Liberation. It is necessary to convince the people of Ireland that we have a programme that is both democratic, national and social.

We believe that our programme for anti-imperialist unity represents the first steps to be taken if we are to advance the struggle for national liberation and socialism.

TURF LODGE

Success for IRSP Cllr.

Over the past number of months the Miriam Daly Craoibh IRSP, backed by City Councillor Gerry Kelly, has been fighting the housing executive and the department of health in regard to the flats and Masonettes in Turf Lodge.

These flats had been due for demolition for the past fifteen months but the Housing Executive declared that nothing would be done for 5 years. The Executive stopped all repairs and maintenance for the past two years.

This led to a situation where the dwellings were unfit for human habitation. To add to the residents problems, the flats became infested with rats and mice. This latest problem brought a whole series of illnesses including dysentery.

A number of children were being sent home from school because of rat fleas. Councillor Gerry Kelly fought the Housing Executive and the D.O.H. since his election in June, to have the flats pulled down and new houses built. After much agitation and pressure Kelly and the residents succeed in having a number of masonettes demolished and the tenants rehoused.

The Housing Executive also promised to build 90 houses in the area. But the situation had got out of hand. On September 16th Councillor Kelly led a number of doctors, welfare workers and journalists through the flats. The residents also sent a Deputation to the Housing Executive led by P. J. Conlon.



that maintenance and repairs were stopped. (For some of the residents this will mean as much as £500 refund).

The result of this is that the Housing Executive has been forced to bring the plan for the area forward from 5 years to 18 months. They have also been forced to agree to 150 houses being built in the area, an increase of 60. The rents for the flats have been frozen at £5.00 per week and the residents will get a refund of all moneys paid above this from 1979, i.e. from the time

The Housing Executive have also agreed to a grant of £450 for all families moving to new houses. The conditions are so bad that the Housing Executive have also been forced to rent private houses for the worst of the houses until the new houses are built. Work is starting immediately on the first 60

houses and they will be ready within 10 months.

The success of Turf Lodge must be an example of what can be achieved if the people unite, fight and agitate for themselves.

Since the elections in May, Gerry Kelly and Sean Flynn the IRSP Councillors in Belfast have established a number of advice



Apologists for Britain's military policies in Ireland have tried to present 'Bloody Sunday' as a freak incident which happened by

chance on January 30 1972 in the heat of a civil rights demonstration. This 24-page pamphlet ably disposes of this black propaganda myth by outlining the high level of planning that went into the operation.

Available from the I.R.S.P. at 20p

H-Block and Armagh

support Irish political prisoners

IRSP

centres in Belfast. If you want to know the time and venue of the advice centre nearest you phone 47178 between 10.00 a.m. and 3.00 p.m.

H-Block TOO LITTLE TOO LATE

THE ENDING of the hunger strike on October 3rd did not signify, as Mrs. Thatcher hoped, a victory for the British Government in their confrontation with the Irish political prisoners.

Because the prisoners ended the strike unilaterally and not as part of any deal with Britain, their demand to be treated as political prisoners still stands. They will continue to pursue it in the context of any changes which the British may make in the prisons.

Outside the prisons, however, both in Ireland and internationally their demand for recognition as political prisoners has already been won in propaganda terms. And more than this, the whole of Britain's role has once more been put in the international spotlight.

Just as in 1968/69 when the demand for civil rights challenged the whole basis of the sectarian six county state, so the demand for political status has once more focused national and international attention on the residence to the British presence.

SOLUTION

Once more of course, Britain has given too little too late. Rather than crushing the prisoners, they have succeeded only in alienating even larger numbers of Irish people from any so called British solution. British policy, which since the collapse of the Sunningdale agreement has relied heavily on Criminalisation and Ulsterisation now lies in ruins and they have nothing to replace it with.

Which is where Garret Fitzgerald steps in.

Fitzgerald's feeble attempt to help them out of their difficulty by tinkering with the Irish Constitution is unlikely to succeed where SDLP and Fianna Fail collaboration have failed in the past. The pro-imperialist and collaborationist nature of all these establishment parties was clearly demonstrated during the course of the hunger strike, when they came under pressure to take a stand in support of the prisoners five demands.

The pressure came from the mass mobilisation around the National SMASH H-BLOCK/ARMAGH campaign — from those who are the grass roots of all the political parties — the ordinary people of the working class and rural areas of Ireland. These proved to be the most militant and most consistent supporters of the prisoners.

When faced with this grass roots demand to support the prisoners, the leadership of the SDLP, Fianna Fail and Fine Gael dragged their feet and it became increasingly clear that they had a vested interest in maintaining good relations with Britain. This is something which is always more important to them than carrying out the wishes of the



Irish people. As a result ten men have died during the last year in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh and many more men, women and children have died on the streets.

STRUGGLE

Some may say that these lives were wasted because the five practical demands of the prisoners have not immediately been achieved. This is not so. These deaths, along with the many hundreds of others during the past decade and the many thousands over the centuries were only in vain if the struggle of which they were a part — the struggle for an independent United Socialist Ireland — is not carried on to a successful conclusion.

The immediate priority for the H-Block campaign is to exercise vigilance and ensure

that yet another manoeuvre in the grand British manner is not carried out on the prisoners. Prior and Gowie are just smoother versions of Atkins, Mason and the rest.

It is the energy and will of the Irish people that will guarantee a just resolution to the protest — Not the benign smiling face of British Imperialism.

MOBILISE

But the heightened political awareness and appetite of people mobilised by the campaign — in particular Irish working class youth — should not be allowed to dissipate.

Neither should the fundamental reasons for the incarceration of the prisoners and the deaths of ten of our bravest fighters be forgotten. A concerted effort to launch a broad front against Imper-

ialism is both a possibility and a duty for all Republicans and Socialists.

This task is a concrete and imminent one, not some pious aspiration to be mouthed in the abstract. Many H-Block activists are straining at the leash and want to root out the underlying reasons for the hunger strike and prison protest.

We must not disillusion them or waste the opportunities, however limited, to mount a new and deeper political struggle.

Five years of protest in the prisoners' culmination in the hunger strike has shown that all the might of the British Repression Machine has not crushed the prisoners. The mass mobilisation around the hunger strike campaign on the streets has shown that the people cannot be cowed into passivity by the Brits and RUC. These activities together with the continuing military campaign against Brit. presence in Ireland indicates that the struggle will go on

RELEASE NICKY KELLY!



In June 1980 Nicky Kelly was arrested at Shannon as he stepped off a plane from New York. Nicky Kelly was returning to Ireland after 18 months absence as Brian McNally and Osgr Breatnach had won their appeals in May.

Their convictions in the Special Criminal Court was based on statements forced from them by torture. By the time of their appeal the existence of the Heavy Gang had become common knowledge. Their strong arm tactics had been widely exposed in the media. In fact the Sallins Train Trial was the first time that their tortures were exposed. Nicky Kelly's appeal will now be in November.

It is now 17 months since Nicky's arrest and during that time he has been left to rot in Portlaoise Prison. Yet it has been virtually impossible to gain any publicity for his case. There is a naive belief in liberal circles that "Justice will be done".

Is Nicky Kelly to receive the same justice as Tony Walsh or Carmel Conneally? (both of whom received prison sentences for calling the Special Criminal Court a Tribunal.)

If there were any justice in the Irish courts Nicky Kelly would never have been convicted, and the man who tortured him would be in prison. But true to form this man has been promoted.

BROAD FRONT CONFERENCE

SUNDAY,
NOVEMBER 22nd
Contact Head Office
Tel: 721175.



Ard Fheis '81

Ard Fheis '81

Ard Fheis '81

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Ard Fheis '81

DRAMATIC GROWTH

The Chairpersons address from Naomi Brennan covered many areas, which were later to be discussed under their various headings. Elections, growth and development, H-Block and the Broad Front.

She welcomed the presence of many new delegates. "Not only has membership grown dramatically in existence", she said, "but many new cumainn have been built in areas where previously the party had no members. Coupled with this growth the political influence and recognition of the party both at home and abroad has developed to the point where we are now seen as a real socialist republican alternative".

On elections Naomi reiterated that "the IRSP is not an abstentionist party, but neither do we believe in the parliamentary road to socialism". She pointed to Chile as one example of the failure of this political direction. There are many areas in which we can fight for socialism in the trade unions, on the streets, housing etc., etc. through the whole election process. "It is not our aim to put the winning of seats in Dail Eireann before the fight for a socialist republic, nor to compromise our policies to that end".



She outlined our commitment to the H-Block/Armagh campaign, all party members had played their full part, despite the non-cooperation of other groups in the campaign, the three H-Block candidates standing in the general election who were IRSP members received massive support. It was not until the final counts that Tony O'Hara was eliminated.

It was argued that with the present state of the economy with cut backs on all levels, and repression growing north and south, it is useless

to ask for the support of the working class and then do nothing to fight in their interests. Suggestions came forward that what was needed at this stage was to stand agreed candidates.

Difficulty was envisaged in this as Provisional Sinn Fein will not accept nor work for any candidate who is not an abstentionist. This sectarian position rules out the possibility of creating any viable agreed anti-imperialist alternative to the so called "Socialist" T.D.'s or the reactionary almost defunct Labour Party, let alone the two major parties.

Due mainly to the H-Block/Armagh campaign and our total involvement in it, the 1981 Art Fheis of the IRSP was divided into two sections. The first part in June (as reported in the Starry Plough) discussed issues which arose immediately out of the campaign at that time and was the main item on the agenda.

The following is an account of the final part of the 1981 Ard Fheis which was held on Saturday and Sunday, 17 and 18 October, 1981.



International

greetings

Greetings to the IRSP Ard Fheis came from far and wide — El Salvador, Eritrea, Europe, Canada, Quebec, England, Scotland and Wales, Palestine to name but a few. Fraternal delegates brought messages of support and solidarity from their comrades in struggle against their own ruling classes.

A Welsh delegate correctly pointed out that the best help any foreign comrades can offer to the struggle in Ireland is to successfully smash capitalism and Imperialism in their own country. It was suggested that republican socialists from the Celtic countries come together for a conference to discuss our common enemies and way forward, and to clarify the real meaning of international solidarity.



by British imperialism and support their fight for national rights and against racism and instructs the Ard Comhairle to establish links with these organisations with a view to reciprocal solidarity".

Proposals for international conferences discussed. The Ard Comhairle will look into all possibilities to further consolidate those links.

The Chairperson went on to outline the gains made by the party over the past few months the success of the comrades in Turf Lodge with the help of IRSP councillor Gerry Kelly and local residents in getting a local housing programme brought forward, the development of new youth cumainn, the citizens advice centres being run by the IRSP and with particular success in Shannon.

The James Connolly cumainn in London have been instrumental in enlisting the support of Ken Livingstone who recently sponsored a group of relatives of the Long Kesh prisoners to the City Hall in London and called for support for the Hunger Strike.

Our growth in this period has not come from the emotionalism of the H-Block campaign but from a recognition that the IRSP is the only organisation which understands that the national question is the class question and that only through the fight for socialism in a free Ireland can there be any way forward for the Irish working class.

Socialist Alternative

In the Secretary's Report, Eilis Flynn spoke of the growth of the Party in recent months. She stressed the need for efficient organisation to match therapeutically increasing membership.

There have been quite a number of new IRSP cumainn formed and existing cumainn have increased their membership, some have in fact doubled. The reason for this, she felt, was the activity of the Party in the H-Block/Armagh campaign and also in the recent elections in the south and local government elections in the north.

"People joined the party because they see us as a socialist alternative to straight republican nationalism", she

said. Our non sectarian approach to the elections had helped the development of the party enormously. We were not a Party content to pay lip service to the struggle but who participated at every level. Apart from the main political activity of recent months IRSP cumainn were deeply involved in issues which involved the day to day lives of our own class.

In Belfast the Miriam Daly Cumainn in Turf Lodge with the help of IRSP councillor, Gerry Kelly, and local residents, ran a very successful campaign against the Northern Ireland Housing Executive on the appalling

Following discussion of the nature of international work a number of resolutions were passed. For example the following is one relating specifically to ethnic minorities "That this Ard Fheis recognises amongst its allies all those international minorities oppressed

Ard Fheis '81

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Ard Fheis '81

Ard Fheis '81

A Revolutionary Perspective

As usual the question of women's oppression and liberation produced lively discussion. What was noticeably absent from the discussion was any emotional outbursts which so often accompany such debates in other circumstances.

The reason for the high political level of discussion was due to an increased understanding by members, male and female, of the nature and causes of women's oppression in our society.

Throughout the past year many papers have been written and discussion has taken place on women's liberation and how it is to be achieved.

This resulted in many progressive positions being accepted by the Ard Fheis. Not one resolution was rejected. It was agreed that "what should distinguish the women's rights policy of the IRSP as a republican socialist party is a revolutionary rather than reformist perspective". Indeed all the resolutions on women put forward this perspective e.g. the question of abortion cannot be seen in isolation from the social economic and personal circumstances in which a woman finds herself pregnant.

If we could overnight abolish rape, poverty, lack of child care facilities, birth deformities, prejudice against unmarried mothers and illegitimate children, domestic violence and other evils of our society it is probable that fewer women would become pregnant unwillingly. IT IS HOWEVER THE WOMAN TODAY WHO BECOMES PREGNANT, WHO MUST HAVE THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE.

Discussion of this resolution produced three main reactions: firstly, while some comrades found they could not support abortion, they fully agreed that it must be a woman's right to choose between pregnancy or abortion.

Another reaction was that the potential father should have some say in the decision. However it was recognised that it is the woman who carries the child for nine months and bears the major responsibility for it for the next 15-20 years, therefore it must be her choice and no one else's.

It was pointed out that in a loving and equal relationship of course the situation would be discussed by both partners but any decision must ultimately lie with the woman.

The third position was that we are fighting for a republican socialist Ireland in which all our citizens would have the right to control their own lives. In order for women to control their lives they must be able to control their own bodies. The resolution was overwhelmingly passed.

Other discussions took place around the set of demands which the IRSP makes. These are:

1. That contraception should be freely available to all who wish to avail of it.
2. That it must be a woman's right to choose pregnancy or abortion.
3. That church and state must be completely separated.
4. No discrimination against the child of unmarried parents.
5. Equality in education, employment opportunity and pay under the law.
6. Free availability of divorce.
7. The removal of the directly anti-women legislation from our statute e.g. Criminal conversation, loss of consortium and harbouring.
8. Full paid maternity/paternity leave.
9. For state finance without state control, of Womens Aid Groups providing refuges for women victims of domestic violence and for legal aid for women in persecution involving domestic violence and all cases of family law.



BROAD FRONT

A wide ranging discussion on the hunger strike and the possibilities of developing a broad front campaign out of the H-Block campaign can be summarised as follows:

In 1981 the campaign for the five demands of the Political Prisoners in Long Kesh and Armagh was at its height. 10 comrades of the revolution were murdered slowly but surely by British Imperialism. The campaign in defence and support of the Prisoners grew daily.

Hundreds of thousands of people all over Ireland showed their support on picket lines, demonstrations, rallies, public meetings and even elections. This pattern was repeated world wide. Telegrams and messages of support flooded into Ireland. It had taken five years to build this campaign. The main reason why it took so long was that there was no unified campaign until October 1979 — more than three years after the beginnings of the blanket protest.

Only through broad front unity and activity was it possible to mobilise masses of people at home and abroad.

We believe that a 32 county Socialist Republic can only be achieved through the efforts of a unified and politically conscious working class, which can only come about through the creation of a unified struggle on the part of all anti-imperialists.

We believe it is imperative that all gains made by the united action of the H-Block Armagh campaign are maintained, strengthened and further developed; that other anti-imperialist elements are drawn into activity;

H-Block and Armagh:

support
Irish
political
prisoners

IRSP



that the campaign against Britain's presence in Ireland — of which the H-Block/Armagh campaign was a part — continues. The discussion therefore centred around the tactics and issues involved in building a new Broad Front.

It was agreed that a special day long conference was needed to further discuss all aspects of a continuing Broad Front. Issues such as neutrality, British Army repression, special courts, multi-nationals and unemployment were all raised during the discussion.

This conference will be held on 22nd November at 10.00 a.m.



conditions and rat infested flats which these people were forced to live in. The result of this campaign is that the demolition of the flats and rehousing of the residents has been brought forward by five years and rents have been frozen at £5.00 per week. She also welcomed the development of the Belfast IRSP Youth Movement and urged the youth to participate fully in all Party activities.

In Derry the Comhairle Cenattear have also initiated a youth drive, and the Patsy O'Hara Flute Band would soon be available for commemorations, marches and IRSP functions.

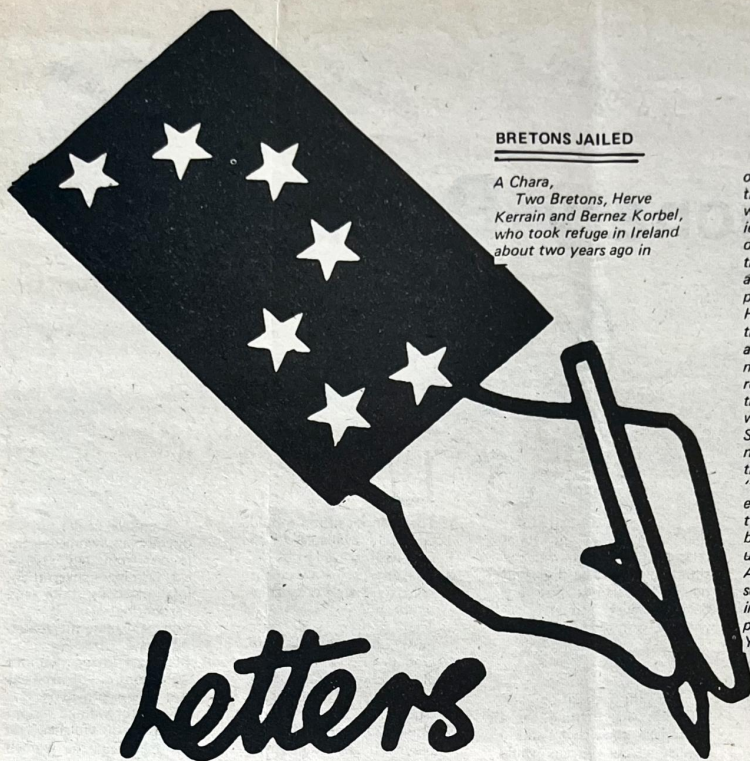
In Clare a petition has been circulated calling for the building of a regional hospital for the area. For some in the country the nearest hospital in Limerick is over 100 miles away thus entirely unsuitable and very costly for outpatients to travel to. This petition so far has received a very good response from the people of Clare.

In Dublin the Nora Connolly O'Brien Cumann maintain a regular bookstall at the G.P.O. each Saturday and although two members of the cumann have already been arrested and charged with selling papers and literature illegally, the members continue to man the stall

each week in the face of Garda harassment.

The cumann is also presently investigating a case of the exploitation of non-union labour by certain firms operating in the city. The findings will be fully published in a later Starry Plough.

She went on to report on the activities of various cumann around the country and concluded by again stressing the need for good organisation, determination and self discipline of all members. "We can go forward and build the IRSP with confidence in the correctness of our politics and look forward to the creation of the Socialist Republic that so many of our comrades have given their lives for."



BRETONS JAILED

A Chara,
Two Bretons, Herve
Kerrain and Bernez Korbel,
who took refuge in Ireland
about two years ago in

order to avoid conscription to the French army, went back last August believing that under the terms of an amnesty granted after the election of Fr. Mitterrand there would be no prosecution against them. However, on October 1, they were called to Rennes and told they must do their military service. They refused because, to quote them: "We are Bretons and we don't want to serve a State which denies us our national rights". They were then put under arrest, "arrets de rigueur". They expect to be detained for two months and then to be brought before the Tribunal Permanent des Forces Armées which is likely to sentence them to one year's imprisonment — as happened to Yann Ber ar Mat, Yannig Coraud and Noel

Even during the past few years for the same reason.

It appears that two others, Jean F. Jaffre and Francis Le Gall, who also refused to do military service for Breton reasons, and returned to Brittany after taking refuge in Ireland, are under similar arrest.

A campaign is being organised in Brittany for the release of these men. It would greatly help them if friends of Brittany in other countries made it known to the French authorities that they were concerned and sympathise with their principled stand. This can be done in various ways:

a. by writing personally to the French ambassador in the State where one is resident, expressing support for the stand taken by those Bretons and asking for their immediate release;
b. organising a petition to the same effect, by collecting signatures among one's acquaintances or at meetings, and forwarding it also to the French ambassador;
c. making known to the prisoners, via the Celtic League, that one is helping them in these ways.

Alan Heusaff
Runai Ginearalta,
An Chomarthas Cheiltigh
(sedadh thus).

NORBROOK SCABS

We the Patsy O'Hara Craoibh IRSP Newry would like to state our support for the workers in Norbrook laboratories who entered the tenth week of their strike on 14th October. Furthermore that despite the claims of Mr. Haughey and his cohorts, this strike has developed as a result of his refusal to allow his work force to join a union and look for better pay and conditions and not as a result of personal grievances between himself and the local union branch secretary or accountant, whom he has dismissed from his employment and are currently fighting a court case against him.

Also we would like to point out that the seven men dismissed by Norbrook were only given five minutes notice on 11th August and not the statutory two weeks that Norbrook claim. What is even more hypocritical is that Mr. Haughey made men redundant whilst he had four part-time students working for him for the summer. We would also like to bring attention to the fact that black legs are now being employed by Norbrook.

We feel that it is the duty of all trade unionists to give their support in what ever way possible to the Norbrook workers and force Mr. Haughey who epitomises the unjust ruling capitalist class that governs us to allow his work force a decent wage and working conditions. Indeed if we as workers allow this strike to be broken, the cause of workers everywhere and indeed the work of organised trade unions everywhere will be set back.

PRO, Patsy O'Hara Craoibh
Newry IRSP.

SOCIALIST ART?

A Chara,
Would the editor of the Starry Plough please explain for me the cartoon on page three in last months issue?

The cartoon does not serve any apparent purpose. Also its use of a working class woman indicates a certain bias against women on the part of the "artist".

The collecting of money is one of the tasks which is disliked by most activists but which they accept has to be done. To ridicule these collections only serves a negative purpose.

Sean Power,
Nenagh.

REVIEWS blind eye

This book reveals and documents for the first time how those who suffered and died in the world battle against Nazism were, in victory, betrayed by the British Establishment.

It reveals why, of an estimated 150,000 Germans implicated in mass murder under Hitler's bloody regime, only 5,000 have ever been brought to trial in the West.

It exposes the fact that the governments of West Germany have consistently refused to investigate and prosecute more than a handful of the Nazi murderers known to be living in West Germany. Despite the death of 20 million Soviet citizens at the hands of the Nazis only a single individual token German has ever been convicted by the West Germans for these 20 million deaths.

Bower describes how prominent supporters of the Nazi regime not alone escaped punishment by the British and the American authorities after the war, but how the Brits deliberately protected and appointed Nazis to positions of power and responsibility in West Germany. When finally a few Germans were charged with war crimes many prominent Englishmen rush to the defence of these mad dogs.

But what Bower, a top BBC investigative journalist,

fails to mention is the "strange" connection between these right honorable and gallant gentlemen and Ireland.

For many of the Establishment figures who rushed to the defence of the war crimes defendants have at one time or another supported repression in Ireland.

Perhaps mindful of the war crimes committed by the British Security forces in Ireland, Churchill who had once proposed that a 100 Nazi leaders should be executed without trial, was among the first to contribute to a fund to defend Field Marshal Manstein when he faced war crime charges.

Manstein's British defence lawyer who worked without fee was Reginald Paget the fox-hunting Labour MP who once demanded that Republican prisoners be taken out of Long Kesh and executed without trial in reprisals for the killings of Brit soldiers.

Paget's fellow lawyer in the Manstein case was another Labour MP Sam Silkin, the father of the British Attorney-General who was to defend Britain during the Strasbourg torture trial after the European Commission of Human Rights found the British Government guilty of torture.

Like father, like son...
Blind Eye to Murder/Tom Bower/Andre Deausch/£9.95 UK.

KEMMY

A Chara,

Despite all his talk of Socialism, Jim Kemmy doesn't act very much like one. What sort of a socialist would vote for the recent Free State budget. It was the most anti-working class budget ever and Kemmy refused to oppose it. Now as the effects of it are being felt Kemmy wants to come to the rescue.

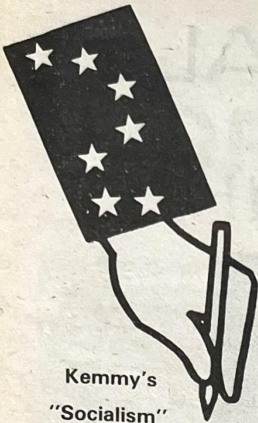
Kemmy will have to rescue more and more from the dole queue (Having encouraged the multi-nationals for years he can do nothing now as they pull out and leave more on the dole). Will he rescue us from that? Kemmy's support for loyalists in the 6 counties totally ignores the discrimination on which the northern regime is built.

This is part of the fabric of the north and can't be written off. And it should not be forgotten that it was the nationalists who went to fight fascism in 1939-1945. The loyalists were all in the specials defending the border!

Jim Kemmy is doing the imperialists job for them. He is only a stooge of and an apologist for loyalism.

Morris Fitzgerald,
Walkinstown.





Kemmy's
"Socialism"

A Chara,
Jim Kemmy the "Socialist" should read some of Karl Marx. Marx is and was the foremost socialist writer. Marx was in favour of a free and united Ireland. He said "we must take the initiative in dissolving the union formed in 1801. and replacing it by an independent Federative Bond.
Jim Kemmy does not agree with Marx, he believes that part of Ireland should remain under British domination. But if Karl Marx was a socialist and Jim Kemmy does not agree with him, then Jim Kemmy cannot be a socialist.

Peter O'Connor,
Cobh, Co. Cork.

P.S. Editor adds. True indeed. One only has to add that the greatest marxists of the 20th century, nationally James Connolly and internationally, Lenin, held views which are anathema to Kemmy and his "comrades".

A Chara,
When is Jim Kemmy going to catch himself on? The logic of his position is to establish the direct link between Britain and Ireland. It is the best way to demonstrate our internationalism. We should then join N.A.T.O. as a further act of internationalism.

John Murphy,

SEAMUS COSTELLO
MEMORIAL
COMMITTEE

PUBLIC MEETING

"SOCIALISM AND THE
NATIONAL QUESTION".

"FRIDAY 11th
DECEMBER 1981

AT 7.45 p.m. IN
LIBERTY HALL

ALL ARE WELCOME

more NOT less

THE CENTRAL BANK believes that workers should take an effective cut in wages. So does the National Economic and Social Council and, naturally, the Federated Union of Employers.

This call for a wages cut is echoed of course by the national newspapers in leader articles written by compliant editors who reflect the wishes of the captains of industry, their own management and the establishment generally. These people don't actually use the word cut. A more innocuous phrase — pay pause — has become the official jargon.

The Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU) whose leaders got used to delivering up a docile work force to employers through a national wage agreement (NWA) each year, are shocked and frightened. They may now be forced to behave like real trade union leaders and actually lead fights for the defence of their members living standards.

After the deliberate sabotage by employers of talks aimed at a new wages agreement. ICTU leaders have threatened a "free-for-all". This is meant to pressurise employers and the government into possible new talks and the strident rhetoric should not be taken too seriously. It is up to workers at local branch and workplace level to ensure that their union organisation works for them and is controlled by them.

The economic reason for the push for wage cuts is simply that containment via NWA's of workers wages is not sufficient to meet the investment and profit crisis of industry in Ireland and throughout the western world. Local firms need to become more "cost effective" — more jargon which simply substitutes the word cost for wages. Given that every economic circumstance in Irish society, as in every capitalist society, is geared to meet the needs of business owners

it is the working class that has to provide the solutions and sacrifices to the owners crisis.

More fundamentally we should not forget that the Irish government and employers organisations like the FUE act as local policemen for the multinationals. The cheap bartering of Irish physical and human resources by the IDA is dependent on large grants from taxpayers money and a plentiful supply of cheap labour. Only when Irish workers control the country, politically and economically, will we be able to plan an ordered and decent social existence. Until then workers should not listen to appeals for a wage cut "in all our interests". They should fight to maintain living standards.

Socialists meanwhile should strive to point out — in the course of activity with fellow workers in struggle — the link between our crisis hit economy and the fact that it will get worse before it gets better i.e. when Irish workers take control of it.



WE FIGHT FOR
NATIONAL LIBERATION
AND SOCIALISM IN IRELAND

DIRE HORSEMAN

Dire Horseman, waiting patiently
we hold ye still at bay!
Dark Horseman of
Apocalypse,
Ye concede us one more day.
Sinister spectre of these cages,
We have yet our goals to win
Ride out, Black lord of famines
Say they are not giving in!
To your sponsors, fell and fatal;
Go ye say, they will not bend
Go ask that Crown Sepulchral
Who else have yet got to send
Shade sable of these hellblocks
Say to them, 'how can ye win?
They are the risen, people,
Their day is coming in,
Say I cannot make them criminal
Say I cannot make them bend
Say I cannot make them fear me
They defy me to the end!
England, whats left for your gaining
At the dawning of their day
Still will their souls be marching on,
upon your own judgement day,
Dismiss me then, Oh royal masters,
What ye wish, I bring not in,
You have need of Greater Power than I,
If you England, are to win!
Ride out then, Ghost Apocalypse
For we will say our say!
No victories here for England,
This side of judgement day.

FEARBOLG

The Ard Comhairle of the IRSP wishes to pay tribute to four of our fallen comrades

To ensure they did not die in vain we must build a Socialist Republic.

Seamus Costello —
murdered 5th Oct. 1977.

Noel Lyttle — murdered
15th Oct. 1980.

Ronnie Bunting — murdered
15th Oct. 1980.

Tony McClelland — killed
16th Oct. 1979.



AN CAMCHÉACHTA
THE STARRY PLOUGH
SEAMUS COSTELLO MEMORIAL COMMITTEE

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THE STARRY PLOUGH 6p
THE REAL TERRORISTS



GET THEM OUT



The Army Council of the INLA remembers with pride their comrades.



The heroic example of our dead comrades strengthens our resolve to achieve the only meaningful monument to their memory: an Irish Socialist Republic where the ideals they fought for so bravely in their short lives can be realised in a society where exploitation and oppression are but brutal memory.

GARRET FITZGERALD

the lion heart!

STARRY PLOUGH readers will be surprised to hear that there is a new and very upmarket convert to Republicanism — Mr. Garrett Fitzgerald.

An Taoiseach and leader of Fine Gael, has recently announced himself as a Real Republican intending to lead a new crusade to change the Constitution.

He wants to turn the twenty six counties from a sectarian state with sectarian laws into a democratic state with a secular Constitution guaranteeing the right of the people to divorce, free legal contraception, secular education and the abolition of the barbarous concept of illegitimacy — this coming from the leader of a political party with its roots in capitulation to British Imperialism and the Blueshirt movement!!

Is Fitzgerald really serious about his intentions to amend Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution? Could the real reason for his crusade be his need to rely on the three so called Socialist TD's (who also happen to be two nationalists) for the survival of his Coalition Government. Perhaps that is an element but one thing is clear: the present phase of the struggle for a United Ireland has brought Britain to the point of settlement if the price is not too high and Fitzgerald will sell cheap.

His Party are experts at capitulation. If they were unable to stand up to Britain in 1922 and since then have reinforced partition, politically, economically and culturally, how can he expect the Irish people to believe that he will get a deal from Britain which will be in the interests of the working people of this Island.

Britain wants out of the six counties, but the British want to retain their influence in order to guard their economic and strategic interests. However today, their strategic interests are uppermost in their minds. Our historic neutrality has always been a thorn in Britain's side. They are prepared to "give us back" the six counties in return for the ending of our neutral stance and our participation in



This is the nob of the matter!!

Fitzgerald is leading a "Crusade" to change the Constitution hoping the Irish people will focus on the deletion of Articles 2 and 3. Meanwhile he sends Prof. Dooge (Minister for Foreign Affairs) across the world to discuss the steady abandonment of our neutrality and national independence viz a viz the East/West tensions and conflicts. As we are a Country dominated by Imperialism with a part of the Island colonised by Britain and the remainder intensely exploited by other imperialists through their multi nationals, the consequences of Fitzgeralds actions are very frightening and grave indeed.

Fitzgerald wants to settle the question of Partition in the interests of Imperialism. A patchwork solution involving the appeasement of Unionism by either Fine Gael or Fianna Fail does not hold out much hope for a qualitative change in the lives of working people, north and south.

Where does the IRSP stand on the question of changes in the Constitution? The Party along with other progressive organisations has always called for a secular democratic Constitution with the rights of every citizen guaranteed. We reject the attempt to tinker with the existing Constitution in order to placate the most backward elements of the Irish people.

The issues of our neutrality and Ireland's membership of NATO are central to the lives of every person on this Island. We believe that the debate on the Constitution and neutrality and NATO must not be confined to Leninster House or the columns of the Irish Times, this debate must take place in every town and village throughout the thirty two counties.

Socialist, Republican and Progressive Organisations throughout the 32 counties have a duty to gather the facts around these issues and to put them before the Irish people.

The IRSP will play its part in this task.

DEFEND THE EMBASSY 20

Twenty people are presently charged in the Special Criminal Court because of their participation in the August 20th march to the British Embassy. The defendants who are from Monaghan, Belfast, Wicklow, Tipperary and Dublin are charged under section 7 of the Offences Against The State Act. They are liable on conviction to sentences of up to 20 years.



A defence Committee for the Embassy 20 has been set up by the National H-Block and Armagh Committee. The defence committee has specific aims. Most important is to oppose the Coalition's attempt to criminalise all those who supported and participated in the mass movement for the demands of the prisoners. Secondly to organise meetings, demonstrations, pickets posters for the defence of the Embassy 20. To arrange for international observers to be present at the trials of the defendants.

The defendants are all agreed that the charges against them are politically motivated and they will fight their case accordingly. In their first appearance in the Special Criminal Court both

Harry Flynn and Gerry Roche made this point very forcibly to Judge McMahon.

When IRSP Councillors from Belfast Gerry Kelly and Sean Flynn protested from the public gallery they were evicted from the Court. At their last appearance on October 29th Roche demanded a trial by jury.

When Judge Hamilton was asked by Roche for an explanation as to why he was not allowed a jury trial Hamilton threatened to withdraw Gerry Roche's bail if he didn't sit down.

The prosecution had asked that defendants be tried in groups of five. Hamilton fol-

lowing objections from Solicitor Myles Shevlin ruled against this request. It is vital that all anti-imperialists and H-Block activists support the campaign now being organised by the defence committee which meets every Wednesday at 7.30 p.m. in 29 Mountjoy Square.



YORKTOWN bi-centennial

The 19th October 1781 was a red-letter day in the history of humanity.

It was the date of one of the most important defeats suffered by the British Army — a defeat which affected in turn the outbreak of the French Revolution and the 1798 Rising. Yet the media of these islands have hardly mentioned its 200th anniversary.

The reason for this silence is easy to understand — if we look at why General Charles Cornwallis, later British C-in-C in Ireland, ordered the British Army's bands to play the popular tune "The World's Turned Upside Down", that day in Yorktown, Virginia.

After Yorktown the world did turn upside down. The British defeat led to the French Revolution and the establishment of free republics in the USA, France, Switzerland, North Italy, and the Low Countries. It also led to attempts to establish free republics in Ireland and the Caribbean.

The tide of revolution unleashed by Yorktown receded after 24 years. The big WASP bourgeoisie gained control of the United States and limited the Right's of Man. Reaction was victorious in Europe by 1815, but many of the democratic gains made that day were never lost.

There is another special reason why the Irish should remember Yorktown. For at Yorktown, the Irish — both Ulster Protestants and native Irish — wrote a glorious page in their nation's military history.

For the British Army — especially its crack Brigade of Guards, then without its Irish, Scots or Welsh Regiments — it was one of the blackest days in its history.

In 1781 Cornwallis with a force of 7,000 regular troops, including 600 Guardsmen held Yorktown awaiting the arrival of 5,000 reinforcements and 23 ships from New York with which he intended to crush the American Revolution.

The British were at once besieged by a force of French regulars and colonial militiamen, both these detachments had heavy Irish membership. On the 14th of October Irish troops of the French Army took the first of two vital redoubts and the colonial militia, again with a strong Irish "beef-up" took a second.

On 16th October the Brigade of Guards supported by German grenadiers counter-attacked the French guns but more than 100 cannon survived to resume the bombardment of the town. A desperate Cornwallis now attempted to emulate Washington at the Delaware and under cover of darkness ship his men across the York river to Gloucester Point.



A midnight storm frustrated this attempt. The British fleet fled and General Sir Henry Clinton failed to turn up with reinforcements, so Cornwallis decided to capitulate.

The Brigade of Guards had lost one major, one sergeant and three Guardsmen killed.

But three lieutenant-colonels, twelve captains, one ensign, two adjutants, one QM, one surgeon, 23 sergeants, twelve drummers and 465 Guardsmen tamely surrendered along with some 6,000 other Brits.

As the 7,000 Brits surrendered, Cornwallis ordered the bands to play *The World's Turned Upside Down* to show that he understood the political meaning of the defeat.

The political effect of Yorktown was as important in its day as the French defeat at Dienbienphu in ours — with this difference: At Dienbienphu the French fought heroically and within nine years Col Jules Roy was able to write his great study of that battle. But Yorktown cannot be dressed up as a Dunkirk-style gallant British failure, so it is ignored by the British.

lion Irish Soldiers who served in its ranks in the century before Yorktown. This, it is felt, would take away from the "glory" of France. So neither mention the Irish.

The failure of the Coalition government to organise any event to draw attention to the strong Irish role at Yorktown can be traced to its pro-British policies.

The fact that not one student of the Military College at the Curragh wrote even a discussion paper on this vital battle shows the effect these same tame pro-British policies are having on Irish military honour and education.

The US, despite the presence of President Mitterand at the £1m celebration extravaganza, wants to play down the foreign element in this great revolutionary victory (it might give other people ideas) and the French have no desire to admit the debt owed to the one mil-

THE GREEN MOLE



Have you heard any of the different but equally pathetic excuses being peddled by members of Sinn Fein, the RTE Party, to explain the miserable showing of the Stickies' carpet-bagging candidate, Tom Moore, in the historic Fermanagh/South Tyrone by-election and Joe Sherlock's refusal to vote against the Blueshirts' anti-working class budget.

It got me thinking of Dr. Johnson. It was the late Dr. Johnson, was it not, who first observed that there were lies, damn lies and statistics.

The good doctor, were he alive today would, I have little doubt agree that in the light of modern Irish political realities, his famous

observation would of necessity have to be amended to note the fact that in Ireland there are liars, damn liars and stickies...

LIMERICK LEADER

Speaking of Kemmy, I overheard Michael Mills of the *Irish Press* discuss the Limerick spacer with a little guy from the *Irish Times*, in Nesbitt's bar "... the same old variation on the Muhammad Ali theme: He's the greatest... the difference, I suspect is that Kemmy believes it..."

MAD MICKS AND ORIENTAL GENTLEMEN

An interesting little aside to the Brits refusal to grant special status treatment to Republican prisoners.

During the British rule in Palestine convicted Zionist terrorists received "special status" treatment, Arab "terrorists" did not.

Another example of the old Brit game: One law for the colon another for the native.

The by-election for the vacant seat on Newry/Mourne council has proved to be yet another victory for the prisoners in the H-Blocks and Armagh.

The defeat of SDLP candidate Jack McMahon by James McCreesh, by over 1,800 votes doesn't go well for that party in South Armagh.

The SDLP threw its whole weight into the campaign with John Hume, Seamus Mallon and many other personalities canvassing for Mc Mahon. But the electorate of the area gave its answer. The result means that the SDLP should withdraw from the council in support of the hunger strikers.

Another Defeat for Hume

James McCreesh's total of 3,800 demonstrates once again the support there is for the prisoners five demands throughout the country. Incidentally, during the campaign John Hume made a visit to Crossmaglen on Sunday 27th September. His welcome was none too rap-turous as one might expect.

But did one of his body guards have to punch and knock out a young woman, just because she was asking Hume questions about the hunger strike?

Glen-Dimplex

Offers Nothing



AN CAMCHÉACHTA
THE STARRY PLOUGH

ON FRIDAY 24th October 375 workers of Glen Electric and Green Point in Newry came out on official strike. At 5 p.m. the same day strike notice ran out and the pickets started immediately. This story does not start there but in June.

It was then that the Irish Transport and General Workers Union submitted a claim for £15 and a better holiday scheme. The company replied that they could not afford to give an increase and ignored the claim.

The Northern Ireland Labour Relations Agency was then called in and recommended that the firm make an offer. Glen Electric responded by talking about inflation, the drop in sales and the higher cost of overhead and then after 7 days they offered NOTHING! We don't have the money said Martin Naughton, managing director of Glen Electric.

On August 1st, when the old agreement ran out, the firm were still offering nothing. In fact they were refusing to negotiate with the union at all. The workers though, were becoming more and more angry. The reason being the firms demand that they work a three day week for five months of the year.

While on the three day week, the take-home pay was on average £56.00. But the real anger arose from management's practise of, on occasion, running two assembly lines instead of the normal one. All of this while on a three day week.

The result was a meeting on Friday 16th October. At the meeting Martin King area secretary ITGWU, put it to the workforce that the firm was not interested in the claim and were not offering anything. The motion for a strike was put to the meeting, 175 voted yes and 133 no. (In a secret ballot). Notice was served on Glen Electric that an official strike would start on Friday 23rd October.

The Irish News of next day, Saturday 17th, exploded the myth of Glen Electric's claim of no money. It announced that the firm had just bought over Burco Dean an English concern (See box). The breaking of this story moved Naughton. During the next week he asked the union to withdraw the strike notice and work normally on Monday 28th October while he promised that the firm would negotiate.

On Friday 24th October over 200 workers assembled in the Minor Town Hall in Newry to consider Naughton's offer. But the ITGWU were having cold feet by now. Martin King spent 30 minutes trying to find someone in the hall who would speak out against the strike. But there were no takers.

Only 8 at the meeting voted to withdraw the strike notice.

King then told the meeting that because of two other disputes in the town, Paddy Devlin would do the negotiating. This caused pandemonium as Devlin was barred from the factory by the workers. The meeting demanded that King look after all the negotiating.

Glen Electric have always used the threat of unemployment to intimidate their workers. They have used this to keep the wages as low as possible while Naughton and Co. used the profits to build an empire. (See box on Glen).

The IRSP fully supports the workers in Glen Electric and Green Point in their demands for better pay and conditions.



IRISH BUILDING

Glen Electric was started in Greenbank, Newry in January 1974. The main item which it made was electric connector heaters. In its first year, turnover was £½ million and the firm made a profit. It has made a profit ever since then.

In 1975 Glen established Greenpoint to make small components for Glen electric. The first major purchase by Glen was Dimplex. In December 1977 Martin Naughton went to Southampton and purchased the company lock, stock and barrel. His bid of £2.5 million was eagerly accepted by the firm. The work force was cut back from 2,000 to 200.

This was followed by a take over of "CHU", makers of elements switches and thermostats. At the same time Glen bought "SUGNA" of Bangor. Both of these were quickly absorbed and Naughton used the SUGNA factory to establish Glen Mouldings. By that time, June 1978 the company's turnover was £12 million per year.

It was over a year before another takeover. In July 1979 Glen Dimplex, as Glen Electric had become, paid £1.0 million cash for the manufacturing division of A.E.T. in Dunleer. Here Naughton exploited the export relief grants by sending all of Basic Engineering products for export. But 25% was then reinforced for sale in the 26 countries. Also in 1979 the group was reorganised and Martin Naughton was credited with a 58% stake, while the other directors had less than 11% each.

In October last year, 1980, the company acquired the French firm of BRUNNER, who had a £6.0 million turnover in 1979. As part of the company, Glen Dimplex got one of the best marketing networks in Europe. After this Naughton declared Glen/Dimplex "the largest manufacturer of electrical heating appliances in the United Kingdom". They were also "the largest exporter with sales in 22 countries".

In August 1980, the firm paid back all of its N.I. D.A. loans and bought all of their equity and preference shares. The firm announced a growth rate of 40% for the two previous years. Bellings were next on the list. Here Glen Dimplex merely bought the rights to a new range of heaters which Bellings had just launched. But they could not buy the name. This was worth £4 million in turnover, when the group had a turnover of £3 million.

Then last month Glen/Dimplex took over BURCO DEAN. The new acquisitions products range from gas heaters to security equipment. Thus from £50,000 cash in 1974 and a turnover of £½ million in their first year, Glen Electric has become a multi million pound business with a turnover of £35 million per year. Along the way Martin Naughton has become a millionaire, bought over his old firm A.E.T. and bought his old boss's £250,000.

Does all of this sound like a firm which cannot afford to give a pay rise? Not a bit of it! Glen Dimplex can well afford to pay a decent living wage, instead of the wage slavery they presently practise!



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Badges in Honour of our
Ten Dead Comrades who
died on Hunger Strike.
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Join the IRSP

The IRSP is organised on a 32 County basis with the aim of establishing a 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic with the working class in control of the means of production, distribution and exchange.

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