



AN CAMCHÉACHTA THE STARRY PLOUGH

NEWSPAPER OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

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collaboration and coercion RUC game

Britain is losing the propaganda war.

In the past few years Britain has been publicly shown up to be the aggressor. They have been found guilty of torture; they have slowly murdered 10 men on Hunger Strike; they have killed adults and children with plastic and rubber bullets; they have murdered peaceful demonstrators; the list of indictments is endless.

During the hunger strikes the cause of Irish independence gained world wide support. Britain was condemned all over the world. And now, because this condemnation is no longer so vocal, the British War Machine is trying new tactics against the Republican Socialist and Republican movements. They think they have discovered the ultimate weapon against us – THE INFORMER.

There is no doubt that the British Army and RUC have gained useful information from touts. But that is a very far cry from smashing the INLA or PIRA.

Recently several members of both those organisations have broken under interrogation. These same men have spent more than ten years fighting for Irish liberation. They should not be confused with touts, who give information to the enemy constantly like James Kennedy, or those who turn their back on the struggle such as Kevin McGrady. British propaganda labels them all "Supergrass". Yet some of those men who have broken in Castlereagh torture centre have retracted their original statements which has resulted in charges against their erstwhile comrades being dropped. Those others, the Blacks, Kennedys, and McGrady's will be only too willing to make up any stories the Brits require in order to receive their thirty pieces of silver, estate in South Africa, and of course immunity from prosecution.

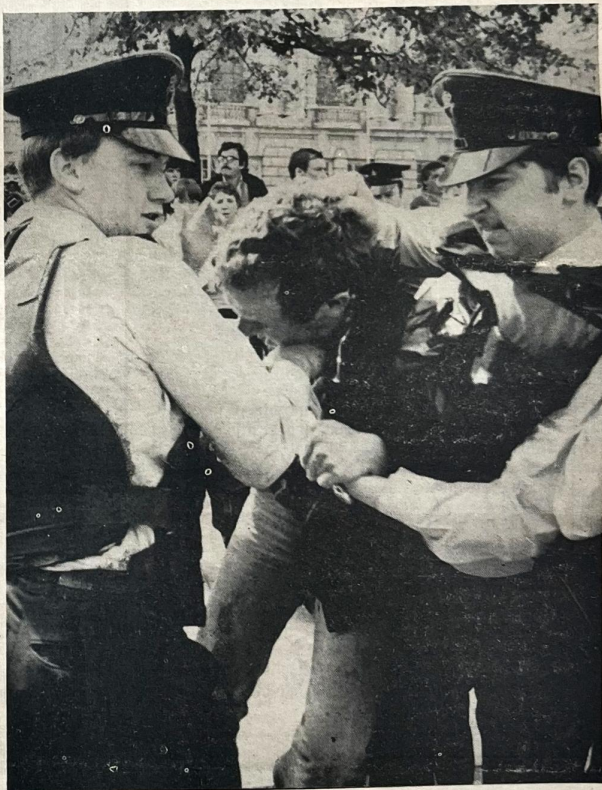
The Brits are not so naive as to believe that Irish resistance to British rule can be smashed by a few touts. But that's just what they want us to believe. In thirteen years of struggle involving thousands of activists it is a very poor showing for British propaganda to produce only a handful of informers.

None the less a handful is too many. It should be noted that these informers have been used and prisoners broken at a time when the military attacks against the British Army have been at their lowest. At a time when the mass campaign around the five demands has ended. These two factors have left many political activists demoralised and therefore more open to manipulation by a sophisticated, British war machine which is attempting to undermine the support given by the nationalist community to the war of liberation.

We must examine the collaboration of the Gardai and RUC in the light of these tactics. Continually, the RUC has claimed that it is "only" engaged in a war against crime. Now we see the Gardai using the same tactics and language. Increasingly the Gardai does the RUC's job for them, e.g. capturing the Crumlin Road escapees, searching for arms etc. (see p. 12). Thus further isolating the Northern Nationalist community and actively working for their demoralisation.

The "ritual" condemnations of the SDLP and IIP must also be viewed as collaboration. Each verbal attack on the revolutionary forces by these groupings is an attack on the right of the Irish people to self-determination and independence.

Padraig Pearse's speech at the grave of O'Donovan Rossa becomes more relevant by the day. "They think they have bought half of us and intimidated the other, but the fools, the fools, the fools, while Ireland holds these Fenian graves, Ireland unfree shall never be at peace."



H-Block Conference

IRAN'S BROAD FRONT

eagarphocal

UNITED

The past few months have been a trying time for us all in the Republican Socialist Movement. The Movement has been hit by a series of troubles. As the front page explains, there has been difficulties with the use of informers by the RUC and British Army.

There has been a serious division within the Movement which resulted in the shooting of a number of our comrades. That division is in the process of being settled. Within the next few months, it is hoped, there will be a return to a united Movement.

ELECTION

There has also been a General Election, in which the Irish Republican Socialist Party fought for the first time as a national organisation. Although the results were a disappointment to us all, and by no means reflected the work put into the campaign. They demonstrated that there were a number of people who fully supported the Republican Socialist Movement. Immediately after that General Election came the contest for Town Commissioners in Shannon. Here the Party put up two candidates and succeeded in getting one elected, ahead of 4 from the main parties. This election proved that there is support for the IRSP and its policies. 95% of Stella Fean's transfers went to Brigid Makowski. Equally, 80% of Brigid's 2nd and 3rd transfers would have gone either to Stella Fean or the other anti-imperialist candidates, as the Party had directed it's supporters to do.

H. BLOCK/ARMAGH

On March 14th, the National H-Block/Armagh Committee held it's recall conference in Dublin. Although the IRSP must be disappointed that it's resolution for a call for the establishing of a Broad Front was defeated by 10 votes, there were many aspects of the conference that gave us hope.

Throughout the conference there was an underlying support for the idea of a Broad Front.

It was heartening to see over 400 delegates from the 32 counties. After nearly 6 months of inactivity, the conference showed that the H-Block/Armagh campaign is not finished and that there is still both support and a demand for a national campaign to mobilise the greatest mass of the Irish people.

RIGHT TO CHOOSE

Recently in the Junior Common Room, Trinity College, Dublin was held a conference to decide on a campaign on how best to fight the proposed Pro-Life Amendment. The conference which had support from all over Ireland, concluded that the only option open to it was to fight a campaign on the Right to Choose. The Irish Republican Socialist Party sees this as a positive move and will do all in it's power to assist the campaign.

Sí an teanga ceann dena ghnéithe is tábhachtaí sa troid ar son saoirse na hÉireann. Ní bheidh saor go himlán go mbeidh achad duine ag labhairt an teanga - Gaeilge.

Ainneoin na n-éacht-anna atá déanta tá brón orainn a rá go bhfuil sí ag fáil bháis. Tá alán daoine ag scrúdu sáinn na teangan. Sí an phríomh-chúis na gur beagnách a scriosadh an teanga go h-íomlán ach cén fáth nach bhfuil muintir na h-Éireann in ann í a h-athbheoú arís. Tá an chuid is mó den locht ar na rialtais abhí i gcomhacht ó cuireadh críochdheighilt ar Éirinn;



The Palestine Revolt: March 1982

WEST BANK RIOTS

In the recent General Strike called by the Arab Mayors of the West Bank, the whole of the West Bank closed down. So successful was it that the General Strike was extended for another day. The reaction of the Israeli Military was as expected, they attacked the various demonstration called by the Mayors.

on the West Bank. This completely destroys the present Israeli plans to establish a series of Village Leagues. They were to be a counter balance to the pro- PLO Mayors.

They were made up of pro-Israeli arabs. These want to recognise the right of Israel to exist, in return

they will receive the powers to control some of the small settlements. The Village Leagues will ignore the large number of Israeli settlements which are being set up on the West Bank. They want to "exist peacefully, side by side". All of this is in preparation for the Israeli annexation of both the West Bank and the Gaza Strip.

*You suffered much, but told few;
you never deserved what you went through;
Day and night you bore the pain,
waiting for justice which never came.
May comes with sad regret,
the day and hour we will never forget.
In tears we watched you sinking;
we watched you fade away,
and though our hearts were breaking,
we knew you could not stay.
You bore your cross with dignity,
until the very end;
God love you, darling Patsy,
until we meet again.*

Peggy O'Hara

The Israelis had fired a large amount of tear gas at a crowd which had gathered in defense of the shopkeepers. When some youths replied with stones, the Israelis fired on the crowd, killed a young boy and injured others.

This was the second to be killed within 48 hours. These latest demonstrations show the total support there is for the Arab may-

nfor deindeadh aon rud i ndairire chun cabhair a thabhairt don ghaeilge. Níor shólaíth siad airgead ná tionscal don ghaeltacht in am. Chuir siad iachall ar dhaoine imeacht óna ceantracha ghaeltachta. Tá leatrom á dhéanamh ar ghailgeoirí: ní siad in ann a ngnóthaí laethúla a dhéanamh i ngeailge. Ní thuig leo a ndualgais a gcomhlíonadh.

Gloaimid na I.R.S.P stop a chur le marú na teangan. Deirann daoine go bhfuil saoirse ins na sé chontae fichead; deirimid nach mbeidh aon saoirse ann gan ar dtéanga le sóisialachas. Molaimid na h-eagrais ghaelacha agus beidh an bua againn amach an seo. Ná ra fada uainn é.



MAY 5th

May 5th, 1981 was the day that Bobby Sands, MP, died on Hunger Strike in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh. He died after 65 days without food.

Bobby Sands and the other 9 Hunger Strikers are the symbol of the spirit and resolve of the Irish People. They died not only to gain better conditions for themselves, but to proclaim the right of the Irish People to a United, Free and Independent Ireland. Support the activities organised in your area.

Remember May 5th



H-Block

New Committee but same Old Outlook

On 14th March, 1982 in the West County Hotel, Dublin, the National H-Block/Armagh Committee held its annual conference. Over 400 delegates from throughout the 32 counties were present. The main business of the day was to establish a way forward for the movement for the coming year.

APPROACHES

The arguments centred around 2 different approaches to the way ahead. The 1st was that the National Committee's brief should be expanded to include the Prisoners outstanding demands, to organise a commemorative programme for the dead Hunger Strikers, to defend the activists from harassment etc., to oppose collaboration between the Free State and the 6 counties, and to oppose all repressive laws. This was originally proposed by Sinn Féin but was endorsed by the National Committee. The resolution limited the life of the new committee to 6 months.

FUTURE

The 2nd view came from the Irish Republican Socialist Party. It was that the future of the movement lay not solely in defending the prisoners, the campaign and its activists, and fighting against repressive legislation, but also include the establishing of a Broad Anti-Imperialist Front to fight all aspects of imperialism in Ireland.

The vast majority of the

people who supported the campaign actively were in support not alone of the prisoners but also of the struggle to free Ireland from British domination.

EXAMPLE

The National H-Block/Armagh Committee is the best example of a broad front in action. It mobilised the greatest number of people in support of the 5 demands of the prisoners. In a similar way a large mass of the Irish people could be activated by a broad front which details the effects that imperialism has on the lives of the people

in Ireland. The struggle in Ireland must be against all the aspects of imperialism and not just its obvious occupation of the 6 counties.

Such a front demands the greatest possible participation. The call must go out to as many people and organisations as accept the demands of the Front.

FEELING

The National Committee's resolution was passed by a small majority and the IRSP's one was defeated. But the feeling of the meeting was that the National Committee should set about organising talks between all the Parties

interested in British Withdrawal and Irish Independence. It is hoped that these should have some outcome within the 6 month period which was included in the resolution that was passed.

BRITISH

Also passed by the Conference was a resolution from the Rathmines and Ranelagh Action Group which called on the incoming committee to "instigate an active campaign in support of the demands of Republican prisoners in British jails". This was similar to one submitted by Joe Stagg which was also passed.



ELECTION

The other main business of the conference was to elect a new committee. This was preceded by the withdrawal of a number of the previous Committee members withdrawing their names from the election. These were Christina Carney, Paddy Bolger, Gerry Adams, and a number who were co-opted on to the last Committee.

Those elected were: Maura McCrory, Fra McCann, Dave O'Connell, Vincent Doherty, Des Long, Paddy Logue, Dave Farrel, Seamus Ruddy, Tony O'Hara, Bernadette McAliskey, Mitchel McLaughlin, Joe Keohane, Joe Stagg, Caoimhin O Caolain, and Christine Ni Elias.

H-Block and Armagh

support
Irish
political
prisoners

IRSP



THEY SHOOT CHILDREN



THE USE OF RUBBER AND PLASTIC BULLETS IN THE NORTH OF IRELAND

They Shoot Children: The Use of Plastic Bullets in Northern Ireland. by Information on Ireland, ISBN 0 9507381 2 3

Available from 34 Upper Gardiner St., Dublin or Information on Ireland, 32 Ivor Place, London NW1 6DA. Price 50p + 20p p. & p.

Information on Ireland has just released a 40 page booklet called "They Shoot Children: The Use of Plastic Bullets in Northern Ireland".

It is a detailed booklet which traces the development of the baton round from the use of wooden bullets in Hong Kong to the Plastic bullets used in the 6 counties to kill 6 children recently.

"They Shoot Children..." is a very useful book. It will be read the world over, not only by those interested in Ireland. But by all those who are interested in fighting Oppression and Repression wherever it is to be found.

As reported in the *Starry Plough*, the Canadian Province of Quebec used Rubber Bullets against the MicMacs, part of the native population. The Spanish Government has used them in a number of "riot" situations.

This book is a must for all serious people.

Hunger strike T.D. Honoured



K. DOHERTY,
TD

On Sunday 21th March a large number of people gathered at the estate in Monaghan when it was renamed after Kieran Doherty, TD who died last year on Hunger Strike in the H-Blocks, Long Kesh. Kieran Doherty was elected last June, 1981 as a TD for Cavan/Monaghan. The renaming of the estate was carried out by the late TD's parents. Hundreds of people from all over the 32 counties came to see the unveiling.

The renaming was as a result of a move by the residents of the estate when over 75% of them signed a petition in support of the change. Despite the fact that only 66% of the residents were necessary to get the change approved, the local Council refused to allow the estate to be renamed.

On Monday, 22nd March, the people of the area came out to prevent the Council workmen from removing the sign. They came out on the orders of the Town Clerk and were accompanied by a large force of Gardaí, both uniformed and Task Force.

The local residents have declared that they will use all the powers at their disposal to fight the refusal of the Council to accept the decision of the local people.

IRAN'S FRONT BROAD : National Council of Resistance

In response to the recent article on Poland in the February issue, there has been a demand from our readers for more articles of a deeper nature on other foreign struggles. The Starry Plough has therefore decided to publish an article on Iran. This is based on the decision of the Ard Comhairle of the Irish Republican Socialist Party to give critical support to the National Resistance Council of Iran. It is hoped that it will help explain just where the revolutionary forces are in Iran today.

STRUGGLE

Since February 1979 the struggle of the Iranian people has been front page news. It has been watched not only by other revolutionaries but by the major imperialist powers. The overthrow of the Shah was a victory for us all. Gone was one of the greatest Tyrants in the world. He was overthrown by a risen people who in their tens of thousands turned out onto the street to demonstrate and force his removal.



The generally accepted figurehead of that upsurge was the Ayatollah Khomeini. But there were many other groups active in the organisation of the people, some of these were the Mujahdeen, the Fedayiheen, the Revolution Guards, elements in the Armed Forces, Liberal business elements.

All of these combined to ensure that the Shah would have to leave. What emerged was a complete confusion. The Ayatollah Khomeini became the new Leader of the country. His use of the Mullahs was the most noticeable point throughout this first phase of the establishing of the new state.

OPEN

Khomeini promised a more open structure with an elected Parliament, a President and a greater say for the people of Iran. All of this was

to be set up with the boundaries of an Islamic Republic. It has been the definition of an Islamic Republic that has caused the problems.

ISLAM

Khomeini has always had a very fundamentalist approach to the amount of influence that Islam should have on the new state. Thus it is the literal interpretation of the Koran that should be used in all dealing.

VIEWS

This was at variance to the views of the elements within the Armed Forces which supported the Revolution. They wanted a much more liberal approach to the development of the new state. These were supported by the Liberal business section which had Bani-Sadr as their leader.

OTHERS

A similar view was taken by the People's Mujahedeen which was in favour of an Islamic Republic but with a much more Socialist slant.

The Fedayiheen took a different prospective. They were a revolutionary socialist organisation and believed that a Socialist Republic was the only answer to the problems of Iran.

CHANGE

In the past year the picture has changed. Now the killings and torturing of people has begun again in Iran. But this time it is not the Shah that is doing it but the Ayatollah Khomeini. It is the same people that are being tortured. The Mujahedeen and the Fedayiheen and other opponents of the Regime. Khomeini and the Mullahs are being supported by the Tudeh Party, the Iranian Communist Party, and the Pro-Moscow Fedayiheen Majority. Israel is supplying spare parts for the American arms that the Iranian Army is using in the war against Iraq.

NCR

The opposition has organised into a new broad group, the National Council of Resistance.

It is to this that the Irish Republican Socialist Party has decided to give critical support.

The NCR is made up of the People's Mujahedeen, the same lower ranking officers in the Armed Forces, and the Liberal Business section.

In a recently published pamphlet the NCR outlined its proposals for their new republic. On the basis of this document support was given to the NCR.

FREEDOMS

The NCR has established a Provisional Government, and it is proposing that the new Iranian Republic be an Islamic one. Under the Constitution, it will guarantee the rights of all minorities in Iran. It will ensure that all basic human and Democratic rights will be granted, i.e. the Freedom of the Press, of Speech, the right to Jury Courts etc. Under no circumstances will it allow the use of torture or illtreatment of prisoners or suspects.

All national groupings will be given internal autonomy and will be furnished with all cultural, social and political rights. An agrarian revolution will be started to bring in land reforms, to provide technology, interest free loans, and proper irrigation. The

Provisional Government proposed a "collective form of farming, setting up small villages and rural workshops. This will stop the drain of people from the land. All of this includes the building of a proper infra-structure with gas, electricity, railways and roads."

WORKERS

The position of the Working Class in Iran will be improved and all the old laws will be repealed. All new laws will have to be ratified by the Proletariat.

WOMEN

The NCR will guarantee the rights of Women. It will ensure that Women get Equal Social, Political, and Economic rights. This is to include the right of equal pay for equal work. So the NCR and its Provisional Government is attempting to establish a liberal, democratic bourgeois republic. It will be anti-imperialist and progressive in its foreign policy.

KORAN

One drawback is that it bases its social policy on the Koran and Islam. The NCR believes that "the will

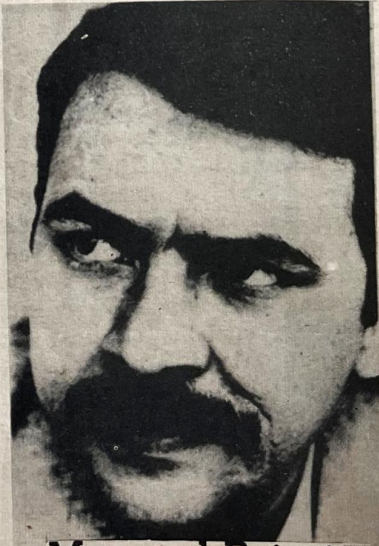


Various degrees of workers control and participation will be introduced in the Banks and Factories. The right to strike will be recognised and all taxes will be abolished. Proper housing, transport, sanitation, nurseries and kindergartens will be established. All citizens will have the right to free education, up to and including University.

of God manifests itself in the social realm, gradually".

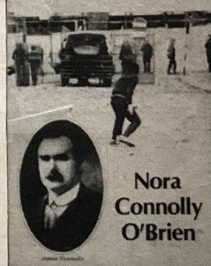
The NCR is not fighting to establish a Socialist Republic but it's Democratic Islam Republic will be much more advanced than the present one.

Its basis is a broad front which has been the goal of the Irish Republican Socialist Party.



Massoud Rajavi

WE SHALL RISE AGAIN



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Connolly
O'Brien

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french tour

Freedom of the City for IRSP

On the 23rd February, 1982 the Irish Republican Socialist Party started an 18 day tour of France. Ellis Flynn, General Secretary, and Tony O'Hara, brother of Patsy O'Hara, represented the movement.

MAYOR

The first day's activities set the tone for the whole tour. In Montpellier, the Deputy Mayor received the delegation. He saluted the bravery of the Hunger Strikers and wished success to the Irish People in their struggle for National Liberation and Socialism. He informed the meeting that he hoped to have a street in the city called after Patsy O'Hara.

GUEST

Later that night, the delegation were guest speakers at the showing of a film on the Struggle in Ireland. This was followed by a lively discussion on the Irish Republican Socialist Party, its politics and on the fight for National Independence.

PHONE-IN

The following 2 days were spent in Marseilles. Throughout their time there, Ellis and Tony were on a number of radio programmes. The first of these was a phone-in.



The radio station later reported that their switch board was jammed with calls during the programme. The large number of questions asked demonstrated the amount of interest there is in France. Many of the callers were delighted to speak to Irish Republican Socialists. In this way they could get a proper perspective on the black propaganda put out by the British.

LYON

The town of Lyon was next. Here Ellis and Tony spoke to university students, press and radio. At an official reception given by the Com-

munist Party, a praise was given to the Working Class in Ireland for their support of the campaign for National Independence. Those who had given their lives in that campaign were remembered.

PATSY O'HARA

Later at a lunch sponsored by the Mayor of Vaulx-en-Velin, Tony O'Hara was given the Freedom of the City. Ellis Flynn, as General Secretary, was presented with the same honour. A ceremony was held later to unveil the name plate of the street, in the town, called after Patsy O'Hara. Here the Mayor

laid a wreath to the memory of the Ten Hunger Strikers.

PARIS

Paris was next on the list. In Paris Ellis Flynn addressed a meeting held after a showing of the Patriot Game. Unfortunately Ellis had to leave the tour at this point and return to Ireland. Tony O'Hara, continued, however, and over the next 6 days he visited Caen, Le Harve, Nante, and Clarmont-Ferrend.

IWA

On his return to Paris he addressed a meeting organised by the Iranian Writers Association. This was also addressed by delegates from El Salvador, Poland, Kurdistan

and some Human Rights Groups. On behalf of the Party, Tony expressed Solidarity with the N.C.R. He criticised the torture and killings being carried out by the Khomeini Regime. As he finished he was given a standing ovation by the crowd of 2,000.

TAYLOR

The tour ended at a seminar on violence in the Sorbonne University in Paris. John Taylor gave a speech and was taken to task by Tony O'Hara on many of the points he raised. In contrast to the meeting the previous night, there was only 30 people present.

The tour has been very successful in explaining Republican Socialist politics to a large number of people.



ISOLATE SOUTH AFRICA

The Total Strategy is the new name for the Foreign Policy of South Africa. It is in fact the South Africa's Government strategy from combating all opposition to its racist regime. On Friday 19th March the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement had a public meeting in the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin. The guest speaker was to have been Archbishop Trevor Huddleston. But due to a bout of flu and a temperature of 102, the Archbishop could not make it. However he sent his address by special courier. It was read by Canon Burgess.

The address detailed how South Africa is prepared to and does use any method to protect its racist regime. It included a number of facts about the recent attempted overthrow of the Socialist Government in the Seycelles.

The attempted coup was led by "Mad" Mike Hoare, with the help and assistance of a large number of Government Ministers from the Government of South Africa. The Archbishop went on to

FIGHT AFRICAN RACIALISM



prove that this was not just people working on their own, but a part of South Africa's Total Strategy.

The Archbishop continued by giving other instances of the work of the South African Government in Southern Africa and the Indian Ocean.

It was regrettable that the Archbishop Huddleston was not at the meeting to answer questions. His paper raised many points that would be relevant to the situation in Ireland.

The meeting was called as part of the campaign to force the isolation of South Africa. All Starry Plough readers should be aware of this. They should report to the Starry Plough if they are working for a firm that trades with South Africa. Or if they know any firm that does, they should bring pressure to bear on its owners or management to stop the trade at once.

This is one way you can help to fight the racist regime in South Africa.

PRESSMEN MURDERED TO SILENCE THE TRUTH

On Wednesday, 17th March the Security Forces in El Salvador brutally murdered four Dutch journalists. After luring them to a lonely spot in the countryside, the American trained Government troops shot the journalists from close range.

Of course the Government had to cover up by claiming that it was the guerrillas that were responsible. Yet the killings happened in an area where there has been no guerrilla activity. It is also only 2 miles from the base used by the American Government to train the Salvadorean Army.

Since then the Junta, led by Napoleon Duarte, has imposed travel restrictions on all journalists.

This is an obvious move to prevent the world's press from getting a true picture of just how much of El Salvador is controlled and run by the FDR/FMLN.

Guerrillas blew up 18 buses in 6 locations in and around San Salvador the capital city. This brings the total this year to 250 buses.

The Junta in El Salvador has admitted that it will be unable to hold a complete election. It has attempted to guarantee the protection of all polling booths but will be unable to. It has therefore cut the number of booths down to a more reasonable number, reasonable for them to protect that is.

IRSP ELECTION VICTORY

The Irish Republican Socialist Party had an election victory in Shann on March 10 when Brigid Makowski won a seat on the newly created Shannon Town Commission. Makowski took the fourth seat out of the nine vacancies which were hotly contested by twenty-six candidates.

Mc CARTHY

Patricia McCarthy, Labour, won an easy victory topping the poll with 833 first preference votes but failed in the final count to bring the other four Labour candidates along with her. McCarthy's surplus of 586 was spread among all the remaining candidates.

FIANNA FAIL

The real benefactors were two Fianna Fail contestants, Murtagh and O'Driscoll, who went over the quota of 247 after the distribution of Mc Carthy's surplus. Makowski received forty-three of McCarthy's surplus strengthening her fourth place first preference total, a position she never lost before reaching the quota on the eighteenth count picking up second preference votes from each of the twelve candidates eliminated along the way.



FEAN

Stella Fean, the second IRSP candidate, was eliminated on sixth count with all but two of her second preference votes going to Makowski.

FINAL

The final make-up of the Shannon Town Commission is: Irish Republican Socialist Party (1); Fianna Fail (5); Fine Gael (1); Labour (1); Independent (1). Out of that total only Makowski, McCarthy and three Fianna Fail managed to reach the necessary quota.

SECOND

Shannon, celebrating its twenty-first anniversary this year is the second town to come into existence since the formation of the Free State, the other one being the town of Tramore. Town status for Shannon, the second largest town in County Clare, was approved in a plebiscite decision by only thirty percent of the electorate in September 1981.

EXCLUDE

At that time the Irish Republican Socialist Party

opposed the move for Town status because the boundaries as drawn up excluded the Shannon Industrial Estate and Shannon International Airport. Based on that opposition, one of Commissioner Makowski's resolutions at the first meeting of the Shannon Town Commission on March 15 was to call for Urban District Council status for Shannon with the boundaries re-drawn to include the Industrial Estate and the airport.

MAJOR

Other major resolutions presented by Makowski at the Commission's first meeting which elected two

5. A new pathway to be constructed between St. Connad's school yard directly to Cronan Estate.

6. A letter to be sent to the Minister of Posts and Telegraphs regarding the inadequate public phone situation in Shannon.

7. Future meetings of the Town Commission be held in the evening at a convenient location in the Town Centre in order to encourage and accommodate public attendance.

LIMITED

Two of these resolu-



Brigid Makowski with the banner for the O'Hara Band.

Fianna Fail members as Chair and Vice-Chair called for:

1. Approval of proposals from the Shannon Tenant's Association calling for a halt to rent increases and a freeze on rents at the 1981 level and a scheme for 100 percent financing of the purchase price of houses to residents.
2. A meeting of the Town Commission with the Shannon Free Airport Development Company to discuss housing needs, maintenance and heating.
3. The Commission to immediately press for the establishment of an indoor sports and recreational complex to be situated in the Town parkland.
4. A meeting with CIE about public transportation in Shannon and to adjacent communities.

tions met with limited success; future meetings will be held at 6.30 p.m. and an emergency meeting between the Town Commission, the Tenant's Association and the Shannon Free Airport Development Company to discuss the proposed rent increases. The remaining resolutions were put off for discussions until the next Shannon Town Commission meeting which will be held on Tuesday, April 6.

NOTICE

Shannon Citizen's Advice Centre

Monday 2 - 4 p.m.
Tuesday 2 - 4 p.m.
Thursday 7.30 - 9.00 p.m.

The Citizen's Advice Centre is now open 3 days per week. We are available to help with all your problems.



The Patsy O'Hara Flute Band on the election trail.

MAY DAY
SOCIAL

SHANNON KNIGHTS

MUSIC BY:
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ALL ARE WELCOME

ADMISSION: £1.00

WHO OWNS MOGUL MINES

And Why They Are Closing

The Mogul Mine near Nenagh, Co. Tipperary, is to close in July. This has been expected for the past year, but the closure has been brought forward from 1983 to this July. The Company has given many reasons for the closure, the price of lead and zinc on the world market and the cost of running the mine at present.

The real reason is more obvious, the Multinationals that "own" the mine no longer finds it profitable to steal Irish ore. They have therefore decided to leave.

The workers in the mine are not the only losers. All that is left after 17 years of mining is a hole in the landscape.

In this article the Starry Plough shows in detail just who owns Mogul Mines, how much the Irish People got out of the deal.

Questions must be asked of the Government as to what will happen now in Nenagh and district?

Will the same happen in the case of Tara?

LEAD/ ZINC

Mogul Mine has yielded close on 20 million tons of Lead/Zinc ore since it started production in 1965. Ireland has benefitted little from this, due to tax-holidays, low royalties, relatively low employment when the capital involved in the project is considered, and nothing by way of downstream industry.

BOLDNESS

The reason for this is the capitalist composition of the Irish ruling class, and its total subjugation in domestic minerals policy by international mining groups. With neither a real will to develop long-term industrialisation here, nor the political boldness to effect even mildly hazardous reforms in ownership and tax policies, Irish governments have sold out another mine of wealth to maintain the status quo and help keep themselves in power for an extra 6 months.

YIELDED

Now the earth has yielded what it had to offer at Silvermines, and with cuts in

allowed the robbery to take place must bear responsibility. An obvious way to provide finance would be to nationalize what is left to us - now. Down the road from Silvermines is the lucrative and high-grade barytes deposit at Ballynoe, currently being

SMEALTER

On a wider scale, a break-even smelter could be built to take the ore from Tara mine. Investment in metallurgical plants to use the metal would then be a very wise course of action, and would give the country sounder industrial base.

Question of building a smelter being kept under review, but with current prices for Zinc, and with the amount of ore known to exist in Ireland, it's doubtful if a smelter would break even. Needless to say, that is considering our export product to be Zn and Pb metal. The whole process would yield dividends for Ireland only if manufacturing industries using the metal were established here also. There is actually smelting overcapacity at the moment in Europe.

NORANTA

Noranta effectively controls all Lead/Zinc (denoted Pb/Zn) production in Ireland, and 80% of exploration.

In 1977 Noranta International had sales of over 1.5 billion dollars from literally dozens of mines. It is also a world leader in copper and molybdenum, together with huge interests in nickel, potash, aluminium and timber.

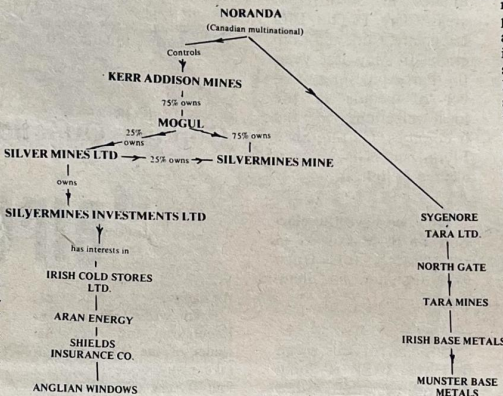
KERR ADDISON

Kerr Addison Mines, is another N. American multinational. In 1976 it bought its effectively 75% share in the Silvermines mine for 9 million dollars.

MOGUL

Mogul International, which owns Mogul Ireland is a Canadian company. Through St. Patrick's Mines, it exploited Avoca Mine from 1958 to 1962, while the 4-year tax-holiday awarded to mines starting up prevailed. (Avoca is now subsidized by

the Government). In 1978 Mogul sold a prospecting vehicle, Irish Copper Mines, to a Toronto businessman; there were 3 million dollars in ICM's kitty!



robbed by the Yankee Mag-cobar company. Revenues from this mine alone could finance an industrial project in the area, and safeguard the families of Silvermines.

VIGOUR

The IRSP will be demanding such measures in the months to come, and with vigour, because there is little processing involved in bagging baryte for industry, and the task is well within the compass of the state. Some barytes is milled before export, at Foynes, but most of it is taken home to plants in Texas, and provides jobs and revenue there.

the 560-strong workforce already a fact of life, redundancy deals have been negotiated with the rest. What has the area to offer them by recompense? Nothing else in the way of industry, and those who get jobs by and by can expect drops of up to 1/3 in their wages and living standards; it was admitted by many ex-miners made redundant after the closure of Gortdrum, that such was the case with them in 1975.

ALTERNATIVE

The IRSP demands that alternative and equivalently paid work be provided for the miners and staff of Silvermines. The ruling class that

MINERALS IN THE IRISH ECONOMY:

All Irish ore is exported in concentrate i.e. first stage, form. The total value of minerals exported in 1979 was nearly £80 million. This is equivalent to 2.25% of all exports in value or 1.1% of GNP. 70% of exports in minerals were base metals (copper, Pb, Zn).

The value of exports of minerals (2.5% of total) is actually higher, but leakages abroad such as corporate tax in the countries of origin of

the multinationals bring it down here. As it is classed as an export industry the mining business is allowed the same concessions in many cases as exporters of other items! e.g. very little VAT is paid.

Government revenue from mining was a paltry £4.2 million in 1977, coming from income tax i.e. the workers themselves (56%), corporation tax (33%) and royalty payments (11%).

Dividends paid out by the metal mining sector in 1979, by contrast amounted to £68 million, and the dom-

estic non-Governmental share was probably not greater than 20% of this. Tax on these shareholders is small in Ireland.

Jobs. Mining is not a job intensive industry, accounting in the mid-70's for just over 3,000 jobs peak in total and including ancillary industry. Silvermines was at its peak the second largest employer (560) after Navan.

Government royalties are decided on a case-by-case basis, but usually range from 4% - 10% of profits, a small amount indeed.

THE ORE

Low-grade mineralization, lower down the rock pile, is now being mined.

Drill-indicated tonnages circa 1977, in short dry tons, and excluding shales, measured 19,900,000 sdt. combined Lead/Zinc/Silver. More than half the ore was in the carbonate reef rock-type near the top of the rock pile. Older rocks e.g. limestone and sandstone had lower concentrations of ore.

Grades of ore varied as follows:

Lead:

From 0.97% in old red sandstone to 4.5% in the now worked lower G zone. Other zones averaged 2.4% Pb.

Zinc:

From 4% midway down the pile to 9.2% in the Upper G zone. Other zones averaged 6.3% Zn. (Navan mine contains up to 11.0% Zn in some parts, making it the richest in Europe).

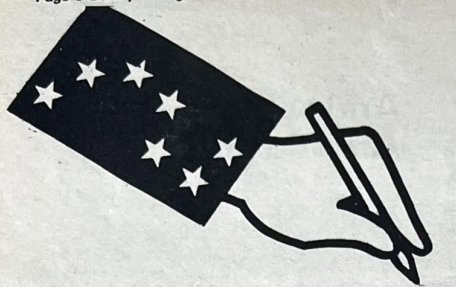
Silver:

From none none in Old Red Sandstone to 1.1 ounces/ton in Upper B Zone.

Ireland's Mineral Resources

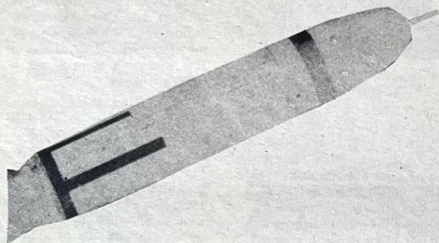


nationalise the mines



Letters

TRUE BLUES



A Chara,

The Tory MP, Sir Anthony Meyer recently visited Aberystwyth, in Wales. He was full of praise for the new Budget. The Government's decision to spend £7,000m on the Trident Missile was welcomed by him, as was the plan to tax the dole. This would make the unemployed more open to lower paid jobs.

He admitted that there was a connection between the recent riots in Britain and the Racist Police. He said that the Tories had wanted to sack the Chief Constable in Liverpool. But the riots in Toxteth had happened before they could do anything.

He informed the meeting that the Tories were not dependant on the yotes from 6 unionist MPs and that the Protestants would just have to knuckle under.

He was also very worried about the election of Charlie Haughey. Believing, that it would lead to a reduction of security on the Border. He must have confused CJH with a republican.

He went on to defend Enoch Powell as "an imperialist", not a racist. If you are unemployed, black, or a northern Irish Catholic, that is like making a distinction between a plague rat and a poisonous snake.

It is obvious that with Tories like Sir Anthony Meyer running the North of Ireland, that we must struggle until we achieve a Democratic Socialist Republic.

Is Mise,
P. O. Deorain,
Aberystwyth, Cymru.

parliamentary road?

Sir,

Over the past few months, the IRSP has been involved in a number of elections. The 1st was last June, when the Party put up 3 prisoners in Clare, Dublin and Waterford. In the recent general election the Movement put up 6 candidates in 5 different areas, Clare, Dublin, Dun Laoghaire, Cork and Limerick. In May last year, the Party put up a number of people in the local elections in the 6 counties. Getting Sean Flynn and Gerry Kelly elected in Belfast.

that giving them illusions in the bourgeoisie democratic process.

Yours,
Niamh Bishop.

EDITOR:

It is IRSP policy that there is no parliamentary road to Socialism. Throughout the 7 years of its existence, the IRSP has always held that as one of its basic tenets and the position has not changed. With reference to both of the

local elections that the Party was involved in the last year, Bridgid Makowski's election as a Commissioner in Shannon is as a result to the long hours of hard work put into both the IRSP and the defense of the people of Shannon. The election of Sean Flynn and Gerry Kelly was as a result of the fore sight of the Ard Comhairle when it saw that there was a demand within the Republican areas for another to show their support for the prisoners in Long Kesh.

Genuine Questions

'eire nua'

A Chairde,

I am writing as an active Republican and occasional reader of the Starry Plough. Like many other socialists I find it very difficult to pin down precisely where the IRSP stands.

You would be doing Yourself a service, if you produced a document comparable to "Eire Nua". In it you could state in detail your policies and tactics.

This does not have to be the form of a booklet. It could be as a series of articles in the Starry Plough.

It is time that the shroud of secrecy covering the Irish Republican Socialist Party

was taken off. This was first wound around the Party by the Forces of the State. But it has been reinforced by your equivocation on where you stand.

So what is the IRSP? Does it see a role for multi-party parliamentary democracy in a Socialist Republic? Does it support Centralisation or de-centralisation? What is the role of free Trade Unions in the Republic? These are real and genuine questions. You owe it to yourselves and your supporters to give some of the answers.

Is Mise,
Tom Fahey.

Now we have the election of B. Makowski in the "race" for Town Commissioners in Shannon.

Does all of this mean that the IRSP is going to follow the other socialist parties into local government, the Dail, Westminster or Prior's new assembly?

There is no way that a Socialist Republic can be got by the use of electioneering.

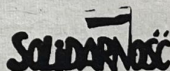
The IRSP would be better served if it spent more time trying to convert more of the working class to a revolutionary way of thinking

Why did the recent article on the crisis in Poland, there was a lot of attacks on the Catholic Church. As can be seen from the turn out at various masses, the vast majority of the Poles support the Church. It has been the only protector that the Poles have ever had. Leave the Church alone and concentrate on the removal of the British from Ireland.

M. Kavanagh, Co. Waterford.

I was delighted with the article on Poland. It said everything that I was thinking. Let us see more articles in the same vein. Why not examine the situation in Central America.

T. Hayes, Limerick



Isn't it a pity that we don't have a good fighting Trade Union like Solidarity in Ireland. If there was then we would not be in the present situation. But with the infiltration of the Unions by the Stickies, there is no likelihood of that.

P. Ahern, Carlow.

Why did the Starry Plough fly the "Starry Plough" upside down for a number of months? Is this a new way of mourning? Or is it that the Socialists

I must disagree with the use of the Hammer and sickle in the articles on the Blueshirts. The use of this symbol connects us with the Soviet Union. Any connection with that country can only be bad.

B. Makowski, Clare.



in the IRSP don't know the difference?

M. Maguire,
Newry.

Editor: This was an oversight on our behalf and will not happen again?



Postal Points

Solidarity have at no time advocated the setting up of an Independent Socialist Poland. So I do not see how the IRSP can give support to it. It is obvious that you are afraid to condemn it. Solidarity is just a puppet of the CIA and America.

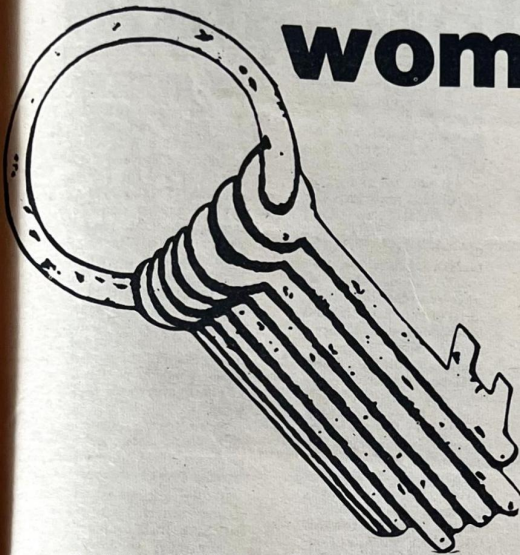
Socialist, Wicklow.



Solidarity may have a few problems in its make-up but it should get better support than the article last month.

Dublin reader

international women's day



Seated around the chair were other members of the International Womens Day Co-ordinating Committee. Most of the Irish anti-imperialist organisations were represented as well as representatives of the Welsh Republican Socialist Party, anti-imperialist women from Leeds, Manchester and London. Solidarity greetings from all corners of the revolutionary world were read out to loud applause especially that from South West African's Peoples Organisation (SWAPO).

The discussion centred around the need in Ireland for anti-imperialist feminists to unite on feminist issues. Feminism per se in Ireland is loosely represented by bourgeois women who at best don't take a stand on the national question. For example divorce is very definitely a feminist issue but the forces fighting this single issue campaign are not even necessarily feminist and are certainly not anti-imperialist.

Those present saw a need to unite the feminist, anti-imperialist forces and fight within

feminist campaigns as a broad front. This need had been recognised as far back as International Womens Day the previous year and if the discussion lacked anything it was an apparent absence of any organisational initiative. Unfortunately, as one speaker pointed out, feminist issues never got a chance to take top priority in the anti-imperialist movement in Ireland and certainly not last year with the hunger strike, elections etc.

However, a number of women present at the meeting, have determined to remedy this failure within the next few months. Watch this space.

The division within the feminist movement on the question of imperialism was very apparent on Saturday 6th February when the two camps within the feminist movement held separate conferences in celebration of Women's International Day.

What we would describe as predominantly bourgeois feminists held a conference in Liberty Hall. Stalls ranging from sexism in education to the Irish Communist Party were present. A group of women were launching a new campaign to fight the fact that married women are not eligible for social assistance (based on the fact that married women are the property of their husbands and thus their responsibility).

The atmosphere was all very sisterly and laid back with a colourful self-defence display in the afternoon followed by a series of interesting short dramas.

Down in the Junior Common Room in Trinity the atmosphere was more politically charged. An excellent exhibition of the war in the Six Counties since 1969 with particular emphasis on the part played by women was mounted filling two sides of the big common room. It was compiled and brought over from the London Armagh Women's Group. This display was open to all until 3 p.m. after which a closed discussion took place between the women present.

WOMEN

FIGHT BACK

It came as a bit of a surprise to many of those present that the conference has not been organised for the purpose of launching a campaign on the right to choose, especially since it had been organised by that group, but in fact was more concerned with the proposed Pro-Life amendment. A vote had to be taken as to whether the function of the right to choose group was to initiate such a campaign or step sideways and form another separate committee to oppose the Pro Life Amendment Bill.

Two general positions developed, one was for this separate committee to initiate a campaign against the bill, with the Right To Choose group being involved, but not fully, in it, with the hope that people who oppose the Pro Life Amendment, but also oppose the idea of freely

available safe abortion, would join the platform.

A conference on "The Right To Choose" was held in the JCR, Trinity on Saturday 20th March. The conference was attended by about 60 women from various groups and organisations, including Irish Republican Socialist Party, Irish Socialist Women In Struggle, Right To Choose Group and women who believe in the concept of a woman's right to choose.

The majority of women who had been under the misconception that the conference was launching the campaign on the right to choose and other areas of women's

oppression, were totally against this proposal, feeling that it was dishonest of the Right To Choose Group to sidetrack from the basic issue they are in existence for and stressed the need for The Right To Choose Group to come out honestly and openly on that issue.

While of course the Pro Life Amendment would be a part of that campaign, it should not be the sole focus of the struggle. The latter proposal was overwhelmingly carried, but most women who feel the need for street activity on the plight of women, were left wondering just how far those "extreme feminists" were willing to go in their pursuit of THE RIGHT TO CHOOSE.

BADGES

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Republican Socialism VS British Reformation

Have some British socialists learnt nothing from the last 14 years of Irish struggle?

'BACKWARD'

John O'Mahoney's attack on "backward Irish nationalists" like ourselves and Provisional Sinn Féin coupled with his defence of Sinn Féin the Workers Party (SFWP) was a regurgitation of those prejudices of British reformism towards Irish revolutionaries, dressed up in the usual sociological jargon that so often masquerades as marxism.

Like a World War 11 Japanese soldiers emerging from some Pacific island in a later decade O'Mahoney wants to revive old battles fought over the years against the logic of anti-imperialist struggle in Ireland. Today, however, those prejudices have earned a new currency with the rise, electorally at least, of two-nationists and anti-national "socialists".

TENET

The lynchpin on which those prejudices exist is the abiding tenet of many British socialists who take the model of British class struggle as absolute and who berate Irish class protagonists for not playing fair . . . fair meaning British.

ADVANCED

If only Irish people and revolutionaries would behave as if they lived in "advanced capitalist society" as O'Mahoney postulates. The fact that we do not conform to the British model means that either O'Mahoney's diagnosis is wrong or that the Irish people are incorrigible in their backwardness.

SFWP

This latter view, which approximates closely to an unmentionable political viewpoint, is something that O'Mahoney's favoured group, SFWP, has erected as it's new "socialist" justification for supporting imperialism in Ireland. SFWP's analysis of Ireland's industrial underdevelopment blames not imperialism but the innate parochialism of the Irish middle class. Progress lies with industrialisation from outside by multinationals — British, European or otherwise — plus the rejection of any form of anti-imperialism (or nationalism as both SFWP and O'Mahoney prefer to call it).

INCAPABLE

It may interest Irish workers and British socialists to know that one of SFWP's criticisms of Irish capitalists is that they are incapable of extracting the maximum productivity or

capitalisation from the Irish labour force.

SFWP's rejection of nationalism has led it to support "majority" rule and RUC law and order in the North while they condemned the hunger strikers as murderers and terrorists.

NEUTRAL

In the cosmopolitan scenarios adopted by SFWP, Militant and two nationists the enemies are Republicanism, Catholicism, and Irish capitalism. Imperialist capital is at worst . . . and at best, progressive because that industrialises the nation, builds up the proletariat and creates the pre-requisites for socialism. In Russia this type of ultimate states theory was called menshivism; in circles inspired by British reformism it is called socialism.



To Irish republican socialists it is simply the age old imperialist argument that urges the natives to forget about their independence and garner the advantages of "advanced" society. To SFWP the national question is dead because imperialism can drag the Irish nation into the 20th century. To O'Mahoney the national question is dead because this has already happened.

The conclusions are the same — at least in their negative aspects: reject republicanism and adopt the methods of class struggle which exist in advanced (British) society.

STABLE

So Ireland, according to O'Mahoney, is an "advanced capitalist society" and has a Southern government as stable as any in Europe. We could say a lot about the "advanced" nature of our industrial base and infrastructure, North and South. It is currently the subject of anguished debate amongst the Irish bourgeoisie. But this is not the point. The bald phrase about Ireland's "advanced capitalist society", even if it were

true, says nothing about real politics which is about the relations of power between classes and nations. We have British soldiers occupying part of our country and a border divides the Irish. (The Irish middle class regard this as a continuing source of destabilisation and a threat to their whole existence). Leninists have always regarded the attainment of national unity and independence as the two central tasks of the national revolution. But O'Mahoney seems to believe that this has been done in the North but not in the South; the most peculiar variant of two nationism we have yet encountered. O'Mahoney reveals the most appalling ignorance, or revision of socialist attitudes towards this border which, as Connolly predicted, has produced a carnival of reaction, North and South. For while that border divides workers within one part of Ireland, namely the Six Counties, it also divides and retards the working class in the whole of Ireland. The border is the basic reason for this division, not a result or some side effect. Workers unity depends on eliminating the cause of disunity, not ignoring it and hoping that it will disintegrate in the face of some economic onslaught from the 26 Counties.

NATIONAL

This should be self-evident. But O'Mahoney and others whose economism blurs their view of the national question, draw up tough sounding battle plans for socialist struggle which ignore this reality. In their scheme of things one fights for workers' power in the South in the naive hope that the border, along with it's subsequent divisions, will simply disappear. In Britain this type of economism can lead to serious political errors. In Ireland it starts off as an ultra-left joke and ends up as a defence of Loyalism.

Revolutionary politics in Ireland mean tackling the border and all it's manifestations head on. In reality such an approach is working class and merely flows from our analysis which says that imperialism is the main enemy in Ireland. Yes, in this sense, we are nationalists first, to use an economist distortion of marxist definitions.

CLASS

The fact that Irish class divisions break down, electorally and otherwise,

along mainly national lines is to SFWP an unfortunate obsession with Civil War politics and the Irish peoples' domination by provincial ideas and backward political formations. And to O'Mahoney? An explicit answer would be interesting. One implicit view underlying his patronising and anti-republican "socialism" is that the anti-imperialist movement is out of touch with "advanced capitalist society". To British reformists and the modern breed of liberal West Brits we have ever been backward.

Some specific points in reply to a catalogue of reformist jibes posing as "hard marxist" criticism:

1. We criticise SFWP, among others, *not* for criticising Irish capitalism — something we do constantly ourselves — but for doing so to the exclusion of, and as a diversion from, attacking imperialism.

PROGRAMME

2. The IRSP's election programme pointed to specific economic links between Irish capitalism and imperialism. That programme was conveniently and dishonestly ignored by O'Mahoney in his rush to dismiss republicans as "reactionary".

What he also ignored in his lengthy article was mention of a single constructive point or proposal for a socialist election programme. Was this because any attempt to do so would have revealed a shift towards Militant whose British and Irish sections both refused to support the H.Block campaign or hunger strike?



Countess Markievicz

3. The use of a quote from James Connolly, which attacked the physical force tradition and which doubtless mesmerised putative students of Irish Labour history, conveniently ignored two facts among others.

Firstly, it was written 17 years before Connolly, like Lenin, broke from the 2nd International on the appropriate grounds that it had shed it's internationalism; 17 years before Connolly's Irish Citizen

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Immediately after the General Election in the 26 Counties, Socialist Organiser published a series of articles which attacked the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Provisional Sinn Féin, and PD. In those articles "John O'Mahoney" dealt with a number of political points that the Starry Plough decided to answer.

Socialist Organiser is the paper of a group of "enterists" in the British Labour Party, the only equivalent group in Ireland is the Militant Tendency in the Irish Labour Party.

Many of our readers will wonder why the Starry Plough should spend any time at all with small English left groups. We

believe that there is a definite Republican Socialist approach to politics, both, in Ireland and in other countries that are controlled by imperialism.

The articles in Socialist Organiser raised many of the fundamental questions about anti-imperialist socialism and we believed that they had to be answered.

This article has been sent to Socialist Organiser in the form of a letter from Seamus Ruddy, as Editor of the Starry Plough. We have asked that it be printed in full.

As there has been no Ard Comhairle to ratify the article it is being printed as the position of the Editorial Board.

Army took up arms against the British Crown.

More specifically, Connolly was ostracised by British socialists for his stand on Irish sovereignty and armed struggle in 1916, something which Lenin defended to the hilt.

CONNOLLY'S

Secondly, Connolly's polemic was pitched against the late 19th century Invincibles who in the middle of perhaps the only Irish generation not to launch a serious armed assault against British rule emphasised political adherence to physical force without seriously engaging in either political or physical struggle. Connolly understood this and critic-

tween the two in a similar way as do the British working class between the two main imperialist parties in Britain. One, Labour, bases much of its appeal on the aspirations of the working class while the Tories make no such pretence. In Ireland Fianna Fail pitches much of its propaganda at workers and small farmers (partly through economic and partly republican propaganda) while basing itself primarily on Irish capitalism and thereby ultimately on imperialism. Fine Gael, once again, makes no attempt to even pretend to be in favour of either workers or the republic in the same way as do Fianna Fail.

RIPOSTE

Fianna Fail, not the IRSP, is the nearest thing to a populist party in Ireland today. Doubtless O'Mahoney would riposte by pointing to sociological and even class differences between Fianna Fail and British Labour (the fact that they are in different countries may occur to him). What he cannot do is dispute the essential political and historic division between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael; a division which most closely approximates to that between Labour and Tory in his own country.

CLASS

An understanding of Irish class politics demands more than the trite label "green tory" used to describe Fianna Fail. Such an understanding would also explain why the phrase "Irish People", which the 'marxist' O'Mahoney objects to, is as legitimate as that of the "Irish working class". The former implies a republican potential; the latter implies a republican, socialist one. In Britain it would

be wrong to appeal to the British people, for obvious reasons. But, — and this is deliberate repetition — we live in Ireland, a country dominated by imperialism.

ASPIRED

The fact is that both Fianna Fail and British Labour have aspired to the description designated to Fianna Fail by O'Mahoney, i.e., "the main government party of the bourgeoisie for 40 of the last 50 years". Pious condemnation for making the distinction we have made in Ireland is a little rich coming from someone who, however understandably, has actually joined such a party in Britain. We distinguish between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael. We also distinguish between ourselves and all bourgeois parties. Does O'Mahoney really not understand these distinctions or is he just making political capital from the misconceptions of British reformists? If he does not understand these categories in Irish politics he should cease posturing as some learned marxist.

STOMACH

Incidentally, from where we stand, there is no difference between the imperialism of respective British governments, be they Labour or Tory. Once again, while we do not condemn British socialists for involvement in the British Labour Party it is hard to stomach platitudes from the same quarter on the distinctions we draw between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael.

BROAD FRONT

5. The IRSP never called for a Broad Front with Fianna Fail or the national bourgeoisie. A careful perusal of O'Mahoney's text and his misleading use of single quotes indicates a jesuitical mind at work here.

6. O'Mahoney's depiction of IRSP's attitudes during the hunger strike is similarly dishonest. Unlike others we regarded the main target as Thatcher, not Haughey.

ELECTIONS

7. In O'Mahoney's previous article on the elections he spoke uncritically of SFWP's left opposition to the government. Since then SFWP have gone into government with Haughey as Taoiseach on the basis that his economic programme is more generous to the working class than that of Labour or Fine Gael



In the same article O'Mahoney dismissed the IRSP's election effort by quoting two of the three lowest voting figures achieved by our candidates.

MASON

We realise the limitations put on British socialists arguing inside the party of Mason and Concannon (incidentally, whatever happened to the threatened campaign to oust Concannon) but your coverage of Ireland could at least bear some resemblance to socialist reality. We sincerely hope that your readers and supporters inside the British Labour Party do not derive any inspiration from such "left" philosophy.

LABOUR

In summary: the development, or degeneration, of SFWP and Irish Labour has to be seen against the arguments inside the Irish working class of the 26 counties on how to provide jobs, houses and a general level of prosperity. The arguments are the same as they have always been in oppressed countries. One argument says that investment, financial solvency and so on can only be provided by outside forces. The alternative argument is republican and claims that only an independent nation can properly provide such things in the long run. The socialist republican viewpoint is that only in the framework of independence can socialism develop. And vice-versa. Put crudely, how can the working class control the forces of production without controlling the nation?

At the same time one

cannot separate the struggles for independence from workers' emancipation. This had led in the past to the failure of both struggles.

TRAP

O'Mahoney would have us walk into this trap. While condemning De Valera's message that Labour must wait he turns it around to conclude that the republic must wait. We wish for to be postponed and unlike straight nationalists or British economists refuse to counterpose one to the other.

Today much of the Irish Labour movement is still polarised by this false choice. SFWP believe that to be socialist involves rejecting everything, not "much of the republican tradition".

DEBATE

The essential political debate inside the Irish left today has not changed since the turn of the century. On the one hand there are those who see the way forward via British methods of class struggle within the status quo of imperialist domination. On the other hand revolutionaries in Ireland realise the centrality of the national question in Irish class politics. Over 60 years ago that debate was exemplified in the Connolly-Walker controversy. Walker demanded that Connolly and his Irish Socialist Republican Party reject their backward nationalism and join with the army of British Labour. Is John O'Mahoney issuing the same invitation? What was that remark by Karl Marx about history repeating itself?



Jim Larkin

ised it. But what O'Mahoney, like other British socialists before him, has done is to use that understandable criticism to condemn present day revolutionaries engaged in both types of struggle. Anyone who wishes to compare the Invincibles and this generation to the IRA or INLA is either seriously misinformed or maladjusted. Or both.

MEDIA

4. Yes we distinguished between Fianna Fail and Fine Gael in the election. The latter earned the full backing of all sections of unionism, the British media and such as Conor Cruise O'Brien. Workers in the 26 Counties also distinguish be-



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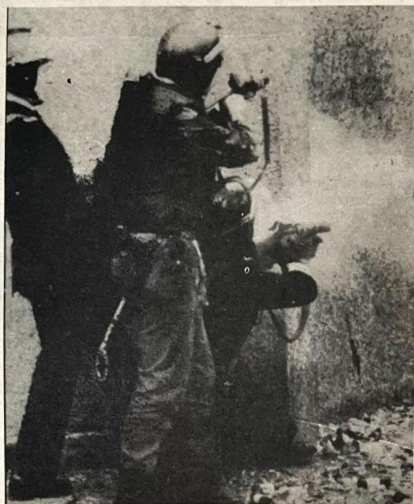
GARDAI - RUC — NEW FORCE

The full extent of the Coalition's collaboration with the British Administration in the 6 counties is only beginning to be seen now. Jim Mitchel, as Minister of justice, was preparing to establish an all Ireland Court. In this all those who opposed British rule in Ireland would appear. As a preliminary to this he was to propose a new Border Police Force.

This was to have been a combination of the RUC and the Gardaí. Its purpose was to patrol the areas of the 6 counties where is no support for the RUC. Areas, such as, South Armagh where the sectarian RUC cannot even show their face without a large force of British soldiers to "assist" them.

That area's rejection of the RUC is based on it's total support for a United Ireland and of those who are fighting to achieve that goal. No case has to be made to them for rejecting the RUC, they know from long experience that the RUC is a totally biased bunch of sectarian bigots. Who have gotten away with the most horrific crimes, murder, kidnapping, robbery, and tens of thousands of assaults.

The preparatory work for this New force, lets call it the RIC, has already begun. The RUC and the Gardaí are in constant contact. They patrol opposite sides of the border at the same time. They pass files and information to each other as to the whereabouts of their "opponents". The RUC has assisted in training the Gardaí in their "interrogation" techniques. In recent statements the RUC has said that there are "mutual benefits to be gained from action taken North and South of the border to combat a common enemy. "This enemy had 'done enormous damage upon the image of Northern Ireland abroad.'"



This enemy had caused "a drain on the economic resources of the South, and had also hindered the marketing of the Republic (sic) as an industrial base and tourist haven." As one can only expect from the RUC, the statement re the image of the North has been put in reverse. It should be talking of the damage done by the RUC, by their indiscriminate murder of men, women, and children, using plastic bullets. By their savage assaults on thousands of innocent people. By their continued use of torture and "illtreatment" on people in their custody. This is the correct image of "Northern Ireland" today.

As to the drain on the economic resources of the Republic, that has happened because the 26 counties is tied politically and economically by imperialism, British in particular. As the old

adage goes, "He who pays the piper calls the tune."

Continuously, the Governments in the 26 counties have refused to defend the nationalist people in the 6 counties. When these take up arms both to defend themselves and to fight for a United Ireland, it is only to do a job that should have been finished many years ago.

The RUC statemen goes on to praise the Gardaí for the arrest and imprisonment of the 6 escapees from the Crumlin Road Prison, Belfast. And why wouldn't it, the Gardaí were only doing the RUC's job for them. We must be on our guard at the present moment, as Charley Haughey makes one kind of speech in Washington, i.e. a united Ireland is the only solution. The Gardaí and the Blue Shirts are making plans not alone to establish a cross Border police force but possibly a new RIC.

THE GREEN MOLE



BRITISH ARMY SCHOOL OF MOTORING

It comes as no surprise to this column that the ITGWU has asked the Fire Authority, the Health Inspector and the Factory Inspector to examine the working conditions of the clerical staff in the Sunday Tribune. The over crowding is so bad that the "paper" is even finding it hard to keep it's general managers. There have been three GM's in the past year.

But relief may be at hand as the Sunday Tribune is to move to new premises in Apollo House. At least the hacks will be able to go for a decent jar now, in Mulligan's or the White Horse with their colleagues in the Press.

The British Army's anxiety for a better press for its "peacekeeping activities" in the Six-Cos. does not extend to allowing even the most bent of Fleet St. hacks observe any driver training for action in the North.

Drivers based at Catterick are at the moment training in the Lake District in a simulated Riot area. The scenery includes tailors dummies thrown across the road or propped against barricades. A recent addition to these props includes a life-sized doll to represent a child. Drivers are encouraged to try their skill knocking this down without crushing it.

PRESS GANG

Der Freishutz

How many readers noticed an article from the Six-Cos. in the London Times recently by one Christopher Thomas?

Thomas began his article by describing the countryside and told his posh readers that the Border "divides villages and streets, rivers, ditches bridges, even houses".

Later: "The countryside is beautiful, much of it magnificent farming land handed down from the planters of 400 years ago. The land is obviously worth a fight".

Later still Thomas adds: "The murderers live in Dundalk and other dreadful, dingy little towns on the southern side..."

Now apart from the failure to mention who was on the land before the planters arrived, isn't it extraordinary how one side of a village or a ditch or a house can be beautiful and the other side dreadful and dingy?

The article of course is part of the new far-right swing of *The Thunderer* under the new boss, the Dirty Digger Rupert M., but Thomas the Hack is also motivated by a personal desire for revenge.

Recently Thomas was behaving in Dundalk in the manner for which he is well known in Fleet

NEW APPOINTMENT


The Green Mole this month announces the transfer of Martin King from the Newry office of the ITGWU to Liberty Hall. His place is being taken by Brendan Campbell. The new appointment has taken place despite the fact that there has been no advertisement for the post. The usual practice is to advertise internally first and then generally. This has not happened yet, and when it does Mr. Campbell will get the job.

It is important to remember that Brendan Campbell is a member of the Sticksies.

Questions were asked at the recent H.Block/Armagh Conference and suggestions were made! The Green Mole is therefore opening a "book" on the matter. The first person to guess the identity of the Green Mole will win an all expenses paid holiday to Siberia. Conor Cruise O'Brien need not apply.

Street's pubs when some locals gave him a couple of minor, if sharp, lessons in good manners...

Funny enough Thomas has no objection to his children going to school in one of these dreadful southern towns.


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