



AN CAMCHÉACHTA **THE STARRY PLOUGH**

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WHERE WE STAND A FIGHTING VOICE FOR SOCIALISM

**Irish Republican
Socialist
Party**

1974 - 1984

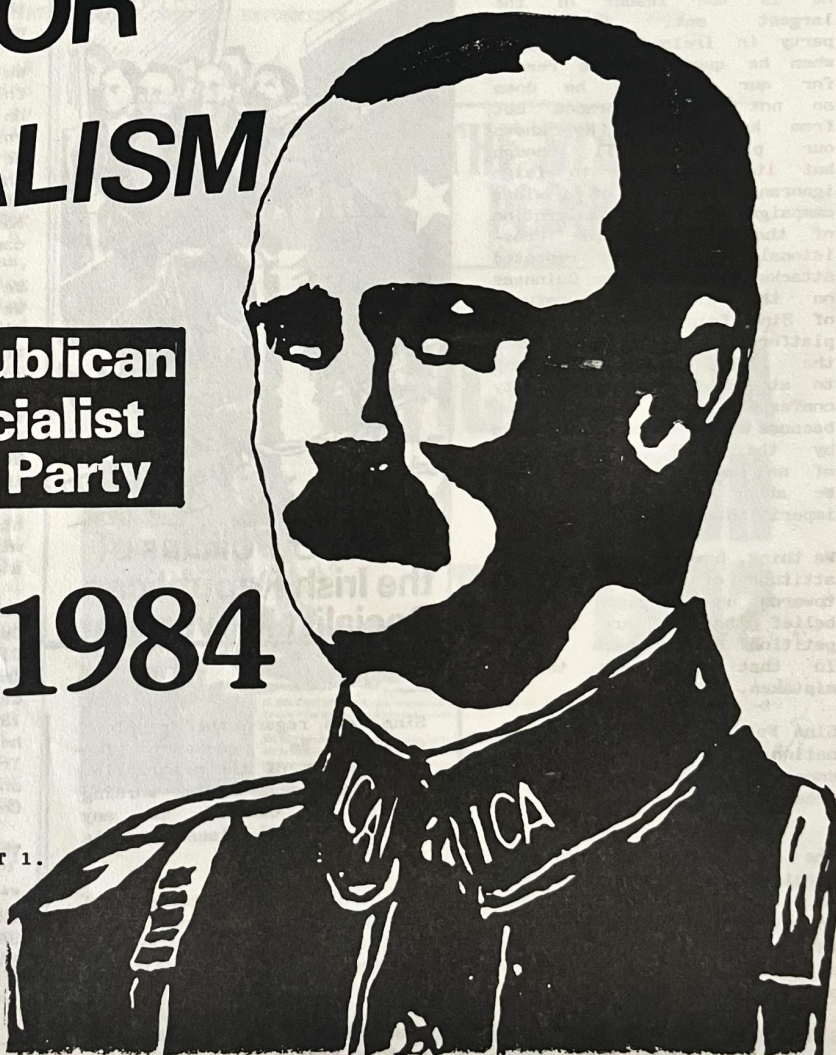
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WHY THE 'IRPS'?

Why the IRP's? That question is asked, often by foreign tourists coming to Ireland and, with a superficial knowledge of this country, cannot understand why we are not all in Sinn Fein.

It is sometimes asked by militant members of the working class new to politics. Their ignorance is their excuse. The President of Sinn Fein, Gerry Adams, Member of Parliament, West Belfast, from 1983, can hardly plead ignorance. He has been a republican activist for nearly 20 years. He has a fine honourable record as an anti imperialist. He is the leader of the largest anti imperialist party in Ireland. Therefore when he questions the reason for our existence he does so not from ignorance but from knowledge. He knows our policies well enough but it suits him to feign ignorance as part of a wider campaign of denigration of the IRSP by some Provisionals.** The repeated attacks by Martin Mc Guinness on the INLA, the refusal of Sinn Fein to share public platforms or campaigns with the IRSP, their refusal to attend an attempted unity conference on repression because it was organised by the IRSP are matters of no small concern to us. We abhor dis-unity in anti imperialists ranks.

We think, however, the negative attitude of the Provisionals towards us is based on some belief that we are in competition with each other. In that they are totally mistaken.

Sinn Fein is a petty bourgeois nationalist organisation concerned with the political freedom of Ireland.

The IRSP is a republican marxist organisation dedicated to a political economic social and cultural revolution that will rid Ireland of all of Imperialism and Capitalism.

Sinn Fein (ourselves alone) rarely co-operate with others

and do so only when they consider it politically advantageous (example during the hunger strike).

The IRSP central policy has been the Broad Front a pre-condition for revolution in Ireland.

Sinn Fein is an abstentionist party. The IRSP would take parliamentary seats in certain limited circumstances.



Sinn Fein regard the "peoples" support as necessary for the success of their struggle. The IRSP regard the working class as central to any struggle. The class struggle is the struggle.

The IRSP seeks international support from socialists, working class organisations and genuine anti imperialists. Sinn Fein also seek the above support and that of reactionary organisations such as Noraid.

The IRSP has never publicly attacked specific actions of the Irish Republican Army.

Leaders of Sinn Fein have joined the witch hunt against actions of the Irish National Liberation Army.

According to Gerry Adams "There are no marxists in Sinn Fein".

The IRSP welcomes marxists in its ranks.

These are just some of the differences between Sinn Fein and the IRSP.

It is unfortunate that we have had to outline them in the way we have done. But if some republicans can not see why we exist then it is our duty to clearly spell out where we stand.

We regard ourselves as followers of James Connolly. He saw clearly the pivotal role of the working class. He saw clearly they were the "incorruptible" inheritors of the fight for Irish Freedom. National and Social Freedom cannot be separated.

We maintain his belief. We stand for National Liberation and Socialism. We are the only socialist party in Ireland that unequivocally supports the armed struggle against imperialism.

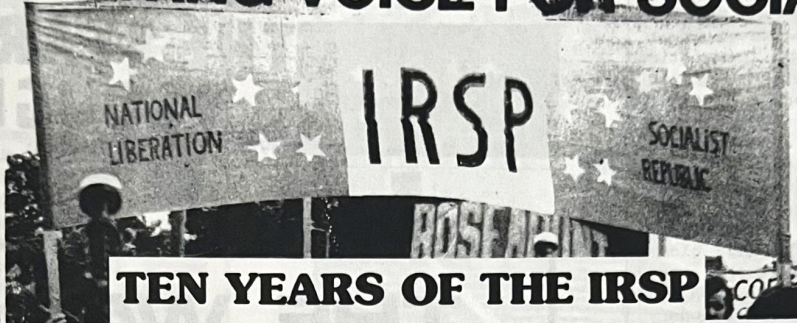
We make no apology for existing. Despite massive repression specifically directed at us, despite our own past mistakes we exist, proud and defiant.

Our flag is the Starry Plough. Our Class is the Working Class. Our enemy is Foreign Imperialism and Native Capitalism. We are the IRP's. Here we are and here we will remain until Ireland becomes a socialist society in the image of Connolly, Mellows and Costello.

Thats why there are IRP's.

**IN SAOIRSE (SINN FEIN IRISH MAGAZINE) GERRY ADAMS SAID: "IS IT A REPRESENTATIVE PARTY, HAVE THEY POLICIES?"

A FIGHTING VOICE FOR SOCIALISM



THE IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY WAS FORMED ON 8th DECEMBER, 1974, MAINLY BY FORMER MEMBERS OF THE OFFICIAL REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT, AND IMMEDIATELY DREW SUPPORT FROM A WIDER POLITICAL SPECTRUM. FROM THE OUTSET THE PARTY WAS DETERMINED TO TROD THE REVOLUTIONARY ROAD, AND IT SET AS ITS OBJECTIVES A PLEDGE TO STRUGGLE TO END IMPERIALISM IN IRELAND AND TO ESTABLISH A 32 COUNTY DEMOCRATIC SOCIALIST REPUBLIC, WITH THE WORKING CLASS IN CONTROL OF THE MEANS OF PRODUCTION, DISTRIBUTION AND EXCHANGE. THESE PROLETARIAN OBJECTIVES WERE A CLEAR BREAK WITH REFORMISM, AND IN THE YEARS SINCE 1974, ITS REVOLUTIONARY PROGRAMME AND ACTIVITY HAS RESULTED IN ATTACKS FROM BRITISH IMPERIALISM, ITS LOYALIST LACKEYS, THE NEO-COLONIALISTS OF THE FREE STATE REGIME, AND THE REFORMISTS OF THE SO-CALLED WORKERS' PARTY.

The 'officials' had betrayed these socialist principles through their failure to implement democratically decided policy and by declaring a cease-fire during a period of escalating British repression. The founder members of the I.R.S.P. realised that there was, and is, an underlying contradiction in Irish economic, political and social life. This contradiction finds its expression in the Border which partitions the 32 Counties, imposed against the electorally expressed will of the vast majority of the Irish people. In the Six Counties, domination by Stormont had existed for 60 years. This Loyalist control had depended for its survival on political repression, the coercion of workers, the denial of basic rights to the Catholic population, gerrymandered constituencies and ultimately on the military might of the British Government. In the 26 Counties, a neo-colony exists, no less dominated by imperialism than the occupied six counties. The Border exists as the political expression of the denial of self-determination to the Irish people as a whole. The 26 County Government relied as much, as the fallen Unionist Party did, on political repression of Republicans to maintain its own position as the native upholders of imperialist



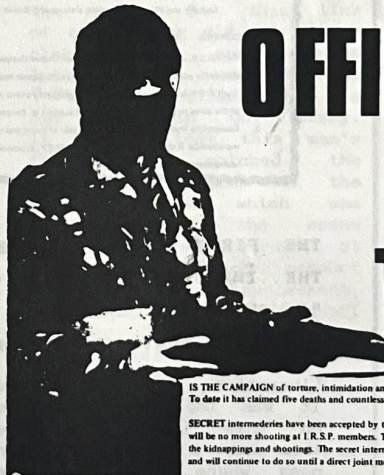
THE STARRY PLOUGH

An Camchéachta

8p.

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MEITHEAMH 1975



OFFICIAL IRA TERROR TO END?

IS THE CAMPAIGN of torture, intimidation and murder, that the Official I.R.A. have carried out against the I.R.S.P., over? To date it has claimed five deaths and countless injuries.

SECRET intermediaries have been accepted by the Official I.R.A. and the I.R.S.P. The Official I.R.A. have agreed that there will be no more shooting at I.R.S.P. members. There has been relative quiet in Belfast in the last week, some of most of the kidnappings and shootings. The secret intermediary has met separately with both the I.R.S.P. and the Official I.R.A. and will continue to do so until a direct joint meeting can be arranged.

THE IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY since its inception as a Party, in December 1974, has demanded that the Official I.R.A. allow them to organise as a political party. Two of their members have been murdered and scores kidnapped, tortured and shot. An assassination attempt was made on the I.R.S.P. Chairman, Seamus Costello, in Wexford recently (see story page 21). The I.R.S.P. accepted 9 different intermediaries in the past but the Official I.R.A. only accepted one of these, Senator Michael Mullen. However his efforts failed when the Official I.R.A. refused to talk to the I.R.S.P.

THE DECISION by the Official I.R.A. to accept a mediator must be seen as a result of the call made by Tomás Mac Giolla recently for an end to the conflict. This call by Mac Giolla came with the full consent of the national leadership of the Republican Movement. Why was this call not made last December? Five lives could have been saved and the whole working class movement would not have been damaged by the conflict, as it undoubtedly has. However the statement by Tomás Mac Giolla in Newry recently that the I.R.S.P. is engaged in, or supports sectarian assassinations should be either substantiated or withdrawn. The I.R.S.P. is on record as condemning such murders. Such unfounded allegations are inconsistent with Mac Giolla's claim to be seeking reconciliation.

STARRY PLOUGH IN MAY 1975.

rule. The I.R.S.P. policy sets its sights at replacing the existing Six and 26 County partition arrangement with a 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic, with the Irish Working Class in control of the means of production, distribution and exchange. The I.R.S.P., from its founding has used the writings of James Connolly, as the basis of its analysis of the national and class oppression in Ireland and has sought to develop a genuinely revolutionary strategy which would achieve

Connolly's aims. As far back as 1974, the I.R.S.P. as a nationally organised political party was recognised as a danger to the status quo. It sought to link the national and social question, seeing these as complimentary, rather than antagonistic, as did Connolly. As the Party approached its Tenth Anniversary, the Annual Ard Fheis passed resolutions calling on its rank and file to study the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, seeing such, alongside the writings of Connolly, as a collective scientific tool towards the realisation of its socialist aspirations. Such an historic declaration after ten years of heroic struggle marked a new heightened consciousness, which no doubt in the future attract, ever increasing repression from the enemies of revolutionary socialism in Ireland.

BAPTISM OF FIRE.

Within a week of the formation of the new party entire sections of the Official Republican Movement, together with many other genuine republicans and socialists were flocking to the I.R.S.P. banner. Their decision, in the context of mounting pro-imperialist repression and reformist collaboration, for many would have dire consequences in the decade that was to follow. The first conflict and blood bath which followed was directed and controlled by the leadership of the Officials. British imperialism and an elimination of collaboration, in all its forms, could only be defeated with the successful conclusion of the war for National



I.R.S.P.

THE WAY FORWARD

The Irish Republican Socialist Party was formed at a meeting held in Dublin on Sunday, December 8th 1974. The inaugural meeting was attended by approximately 80 delegates from Belfast, Armagh, Co. Derry, Derry City, Donegal, Wicklow, Cork, Clare, Dublin, Limerick and Tipperary.

It was unanimously agreed that the object of the Party would be to "End Imperialist Rule in Ireland and Establish a 32 County Democratic Socialist Republic, with the Working Class in control of the Means of Production, Distribution and Exchange". To this end, it was agreed that the Party would launch a vigorous campaign of political agitation and education, North and South, on the following issues:

6 COUNTIES

1. Recognising that British Imperialist interference in Ireland constitutes the most immediate obstacle confronting the Irish people in their struggle for Democracy, National Liberation and Socialism; it shall be the policy of the I.R.S.P. to seek the formation of a broad front on the basis of the following demands.
 - (a) That Britain must immediately renounce all claims to Sovereignty over any part of Ireland and its coastal waters and should immediately specify an early date for the total withdrawal of her military and political presence from Ireland.
 - (b) Having specified the date for her total withdrawal from Ireland, Britain must immediately withdraw all troops to barracks, release all internees and sentenced political prisoners; grant a general amnesty for all offences arising from the military campaign against British Forces, or through involvement in the Civil Disobedience Campaign; abolish all repressive legislation; grant a Bill of Rights, which will allow complete freedom of political action and outlaw all discrimination whether it be on the basis of class, creed, political opinion or sex. Britain must also agree to compensate the Irish People for the exploitation which has already occurred.
 - (c) It shall be the policy of the I.R.S.P. to seek an active working alliance of all radical forces, within the context of the Broad Front, in order to ensure the ultimate success of the Irish Working Class in their struggle for Socialism.
 - (d) It will be an immediate objective of the party to launch an intensive campaign of opposition to E.E.C. membership. We therefore, intend to play an active part in the E.E.C. Referendum in the 6 county area and through our support groups in Britain.
 - (e) Recognising that sectarianism and the present campaign of sectarian assassinations arises as a result of British manipulation of the most reactionary elements of Irish society; we shall seek to end this campaign on the basis of united action by the Catholic and Protestant working class against British Imperialism in Ireland.

26 COUNTIES

1. The I.R.S.P. shall seek to have an organised United Campaign of all democratic forces against repressive legislation in the South and against the policy of blatant collaboration with British Imperialism, which is now being pursued by the 26 County administration.
2. The I.R.S.P. is totally opposed to the exploitation of our natural resources by multi-national corporations. It is, therefore, the policy of the party to give active and sustained support to the present campaign for the nationalisation of the resources.
3. Recognising that the rapidly increasing cost of living and rising unemployment are to a large extent a direct result of our E.E.C. membership; it shall be the policy of the I.R.S.P. to actively support the formation of peoples organisations to combat rising prices and unemployment.

THE FIRST ISSUE OF THE STARRY PLOUGH WHICH CARRIED THE IMMEDIATE DEMANDS OF THE PARTY AND CALLED FOR "A VIGOROUS CAMPAIGN OF POLITICAL AGITATION AND EDUCATION NORTH AND SOUTH".

Liberation in Ireland. It was the Officials stand on this issue which led them into a political wilderness where they have been continually rebuffed by the nationalist people and the more advanced sections of the working class. Their collaborationist and reformist policies necessitated the destruction of those who maintained Republican Socialist principles. They attempted to smash the I.R.S.P. through vicious physical attacks

and through force of reactionary arms, long since silent against the British Army of occupation in the North.

The events of the first seven months of the Party's existence have been well documented. With three members murdered and over 30 wounded in Belfast, it became clear that the new Party would not be intimidated out of existence. Throughout the duration of the conflict, the media in general, sided

with the Officials and destroyed the image and politics of the I.R.S.P., even before steps were taken to defend the right to organise politically. Ciaran Mc Keown, one of the leaders of this campaign of vilification, as Belfast correspondent for THE IRISH PRESS, later showed his true colours by becoming a leader of the "peace" people. That organisation was later proven to have been heavily financed by all types of anti-progressive forces as home, in Britain and abroad.

The British administration in the North and the Government in the South, paid special attention to the new Party. In Long Kesh Concentration Camp those members of the Officials who joined the Party were initially denied political status. Such was only granted after a protracted struggle in the camp. It was a common occurrence for I.R.S.P. members to be arrested and held for days on "suspicion" and then to be released without charge. In the south new members who were politically inexperienced were singled out for harassment by the Special Branch.

A week of "surveillance", a visit to home, job or university, or all combined, and two days detention was the usual treatment.

THE SALLINS AFFAIR.

This type of low intensity harassment reached a climax in June 1975, when the southern police took an opportunity to capitalise on the conflict initiated by the Officials. In May 1974, the U.D.A. had planted bombs in Dublin and Monaghan killing 34 people. Now, in June 1975, the U.D.A. attempted to blow up a train full of Officials travelling to Bodenstown in Co. Kildare. While laying a bomb on the track at Sallins, the assassins were interrupted by a local man out on a Sunday walk. This unfortunate man was savagely stabbed to death by the disturbed Orange fascists. Almost immediately the media returned to its 'dirty tricks', by attempting to blame the I.R.S.P. Ten leading members were arrested



THE MEDIA CONSTANTLY WAGED A 'SMEAR' CAMPAIGN AGAINST THE I.R.S.P. THE U.V.F. - BRIT INTELLIGENCE MURDER IN SALLINS WAS A CLASSIC EXAMPLE.

in Dublin and held for some days. The arrests further fueled the suspicion among the public that the I.R.S.P. was involved. "They would not be held for nothing" was a common expression among the general public. The men being held were questioned about the existence of a loyalist gang in Dublin. The reason for this line of questioning did not become clear until some months later when a member of the U.D.A. was killed by his own bomb in Co. Derry. It emerged that this man's fingerprints matched the fingerprints found on the murder weapon which was discovered at the scene of the railway murder, at Sallins. A full account of the loyalist involvement, written by IRISH TIMES staff reporter, David Mc Ketrick, was carried in that paper on October 30th, 1975. But neither THE IRISH TIMES nor any other newspaper

asked why the I.R.S.P. had been blackened by the police, nor attempted to correct the damage done in those early days of development.

The lessons were obvious. The police knew of the loyalist involvement in the Sallins affair, but this was hushed up in an effort to destroy the credibility of the Party. This incident is even more

sinister when it is remembered that the U.D.A. gang responsible could have been acting on behalf of the S.A.S. who most certainly have links with British Intelligence in the South, and who in turn are highly suspected of involvement in the Dublin bombings.

BROAD FRONT STRATEGY.

After the failure of this latter major attempt to smash the Party, frame ups, charging and sentences continued North and South. The I.R.S.P.'s political stance was seen by the powers that be as even more threatening when it presented its strategy as the creation of a broad front of anti imperialist and progressive forces. With a back cloth of mounting repression throughout Ireland, the Party spelt out its policy in an Easter Message which was delivered at commemorations in various areas. It outlined what the Party felt was urgently necessary:

"We as a Party understand the necessity of uniting the National Struggle and the Class Struggle. We will not fall into the imperialist trap by waging the National Struggle to the exclusion of the Class Struggle. The needs of our class are the needs of Ireland, they cannot

be presented as isolated parts, but must be welded together to secure the end of British Imperialist Rule in Ireland, North and South. To this end one of our many tasks in the short term is to work for the unity of the Irish people behind the demand that Britain end her presence and interference here, and to do this we must seek the formation of a broad front to actively work for this demand. We as a party are prepared to work with any organisation or individuals who support our demands that:-

1. Britain renounce all claims to sovereignty over any part of Ireland.
2. Britain specify an early date for the total withdrawal of her military and political presence from Ireland.
3. Britain release all internees and Political Prisoners and grant an amnesty for offences arising from the military campaign against British Forces, or through involvement in the Civil Disobedience campaign.
4. Britain abolish repressive legislation.
5. Britain grant a bill of rights that will ensure the complete freedom of political action, and outlaw all discrimination whether it be on the basis of class, creed, political option or sex.
6. Britain agree to compensate the Irish people for the exploitation that has already occurred.

Under such a short term programme, we as a Party must ensure that, for the sake of gaining some concessions, we do not drop our other demands, which would mean a return to a pre-1969 position in the North where the basic problems would still exist, and also we must ensure that the struggle does not de-generate into a mere campaign for a bill of rights."

"In Ireland today, because of the crises in the capitalist economies throughout the world, society as we know it is divided on class lines and the native Irish capitalist class are uniting with their imperialist masters in an effort to solve their problems at the expense of the working class.

We see so called labour party leaders unable or unwilling to mobilise the workers in defence of class interests, and because of this the large pool of unemployment in the country has been left leaderless and at the mercy of the capitalist system. Even today the workers, North and South, are being fooled into believing that acceptance of Wage Agreements and Social Contracts are in their interests, when in fact they are instruments used to blunt the effectiveness of the workers in their opposition to redundancies and short time working weeks. We must ensure that they see the socialist alternatives. They must be made aware that the fight for the right to work is the same as the fight against the British Army, is the same as the fight against Internment and the Offences Against The State Act and is the same as the fight for more houses.

All the problems confronting the Irish Working Class are caused by the one enemy Foreign Imperialism and Native Capitalism. The left in Ireland today must realise that in order to resist the attacks on the Irish Workers and Small Farmers, there must be unity of action in this resistance and if they refuse, because of political sectarianism, to come to the defence of the working people, they

BROAD FRONT FOR A TIME.

will suffer the fate of the reformist and be pushed into a position of total irrelevance in the context of working class politics".

INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT.

Then, as now, international support for the I.R.S.P. was always welcomed. That began as a stream, gradually built up behind the Party's solid left wing policies. The earliest manifestation of such was a message from the West German/Ireland Solidarity Committee announced that they had withdrawn their support from the Sinn Fein (Gardiner Place) faction. They expressed complete agreement with the policies of the I.R.S.P. In the weeks that followed Easter, similar messages of support poured in from France, Switzerland, Canada, Belgium, and the United States. Today in the U.S.A. the Party salutes the efforts of the Irish Republican Socialist Committee of North America (I.R.S.C. - N.A.), which was established in 1984 to co-ordinate the work of various sympathisers there, as well as in Canada. Today, also, and for some years now, the I.R.S.P. enjoys the active support of solidarity committees throughout England and Scotland and this build up has resulted in the election of an International Secretary at the 1984 Ard Fheis.

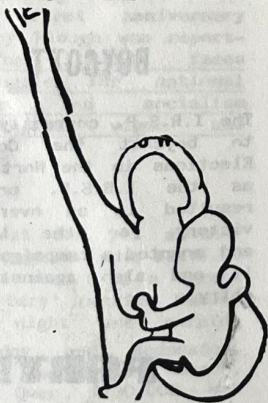


Mary Reid of the I.R.S.P. and Joe Cahill of Provisional Sinn Feir

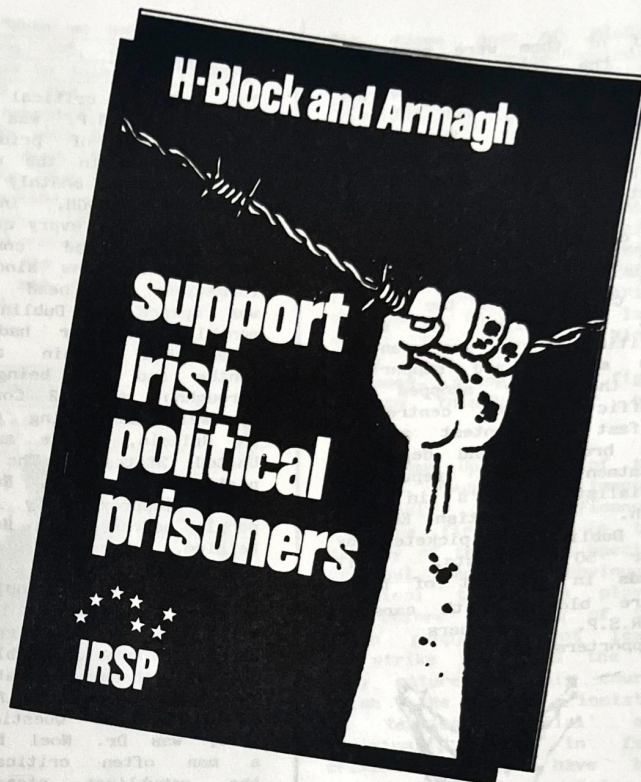
WOMEN.

From its earliest days the I.R.S.P. took a progressive stand on the question of women in capitalist society and within the revolutionary movement. 1975 had been declared International Women's Year and the Party, at its first Ard Fheis, regardless of major attacks, devoted considerable time to discuss this essential area of struggle. Various resolutions relating to 'the womens question' were passed after lengthy discussion. In a statement issued by the Party it said: "To date all we have seen from the 26 County Government is a large amount of window dressing" in relation to the economic factors facing women. It put forward a number of demands which included: 1) The right of women to a job; 2) Equal pay for equal work; and 3) A wider choice of jobs for women.

The role of women since the Party's inception is reflected in the fact that at its first Ard Fheis (Annual Congress), three women were elected to its National



Executive, including the former Westminster M.P., Bernadette Devlin. At the Party's first annual commemoration to memory of Wolfe Tone, at Bodensstown, Co. Kildare, on June 8th, over 800 people were addressed by a sister, Ita Ni Chionnaith, and the Party's founder Seamus Costello, of the Ard Comhairle (National Executive). Also during the summer months, a general meeting of activists and supporters was addressed by Stella Makowski of Limerick, and had as its topic women's oppression.



POLITICAL STATUS.

The summer of 1975 marked a high point in prison protests aimed at obtaining recognition as political prisoners. The dire conditions for the P.O.W.'s resulted in 15 members of the I.R.S.P. held on remand in Crumlin Road Jail, appearing naked in the Dock of Belfast's Magistrates' Court. In a letter smuggled to the Starry Plough and published in the July issue, the P.O.W.'s spoke of the introduction of "an elaborate plan for the punishment of 'difficult' or 'unco-operative' prisoners. The plan, which has been in operation since September of last year, is not only designed to punish prisoners but to ensure that they will in future conform to prison discipline. It does this by a systematic degradation and humiliation of the prisoner and by physical and psychological torture".

The smuggled letter spoke of months being spent "alone in dark, cold, damp cells and continued graphically: "The boredom of this solitary confinement is numbing. There is nothing to do except pace up and down the floor

or try to sleep. Part of the punishment is 'sensory deprivation' — the exclusion of noise and light from the cell. Owing to its special construction it is impossible to hear anything outside the cell and since the light switch is controlled by the Screws the cell is liable to be, and frequently is, blacked out. All this combined eventually disorients the prisoner".

Even though incarcerated in Long Kesh and Crumlin Road Jail on trumped up charges, in many cases, no charges at all, I.R.S.P. members and supporters fought back and demanded what little rights remained to them — the rights of political prisoners. 20 members of the party went on Hunger Strike in Long Kesh initially, because of the authorities' refusal to grant them political prisoner status. They saw this refusal as "a test case for the dismantling of the entire political prisoners apparatus". The I.R.S.P. called on the public to join in protests that were planned. There were about 40 I.R.S.P. comrades and supporters in Long Kesh. One of them was interned (without charge), at least

half of them were sentenced and the rest 'on remand'. Mr. William Truesdale, Governor of Long Kesh, was publicly criticised by the Party and humanitarian groups because of continuous harassment and beatings.

A campaign in support of the Long Kesh hunger strikers was planned all over the 26 Counties and the North, but was called off after political status was granted. 100 members and supporters of the Party stopped all traffic in the centre of Belfast in protest against the brutality and degrading treatment of republican socialist P.O.W.'s in Long Kesh. The British Embassy in Dublin was picketed by over 50 activists. All roads in and out of Derry were blocked with cars by I.R.S.P. members and supporters.



Already serious physical assaults had been made on the prisoners by Long Kesh warders resulting in serious injuries, such as loss of sight of one eye and broken ribs. The hunger strike ended only after the demands had been met in full. The Governor of the camp informed the I.R.S.P. that they would sit in on all meetings in future that were held in the camp. This along with the representation on the welfare group met their demands on the question of recognition. Agreement on the searches had been reached which, it was hoped, would bring the beatings to an end.

Truesdale, the Long Kesh Governor, was awarded the M.B.E. by Elizabeth II of England, in her Birthday Honours List, for services given to the Crown and British Imperialism. These internationally notorious 'services' were ably exposed by our P.O.W.'s during 1975.

FIRST YEAR.

The first critical year of the I.R.S.P. was noted by a sense of pride and determination in the columns of the Party's monthly paper, THE STARRY PLOUGH. In spite of attacks from every quarter, the Party had continued to steadily grow since its formation. A head office was opened in Dublin. A monthly newspaper had been established within a few months and was being sold throughout the 32 Counties, as well as having outlets in Britain, Europe and the United States. The Party participated in a European Tour, (approximately 20,000 people addressed in Holland, Belgium, Germany, Austria and Switzerland, during a five week period) and attended a seminar in the U.S. from which it received very favourable publicity. One of those who attended the Amherst Forum in America on the Irish Question in 1975, was Dr. Noel Browne, a man often critical of the republican standpoint. In a personal account of his impressions, publicised later, he gave the following estimation of the performance of Seamus Costello in the debates:

"Seamus Costello spoke for the I.R.S.P. and gave a scintillating display of good humour, history, politics and hard facts. No one who listened to his three hours in the afternoon, and, by unanimous demand two hours additional repeat in the evening, now doubts but that they will have to shoot him or jail him, or get out of his way, but they certainly won't stop him. Costello, the Revolutionary Marxist Socialist, whose ambition is a secular, pluralist united socialist republic, won't go away until he gets it. I've never heard his brand of republicanism before. He has his own socialist republican following. As well as that, he has gathered around him a considerable block of support from the militant 'Officials', now tiring of their own seeming tiring leadership.

Is it not a triumph for our radio, T.V. and newspapers, and of the venomous Dublin political denigration machine, that none of us has even read, heard of or seen this man's remarkable dialectical skill and political ability?"

BOYCOTT

The I.R.S.P. correctly decided to boycott the Convention Elections in the North which, as the I.R.S.P. predicted, resulted in an overwhelming victory for the Loyalists and mounted a campaign against it and also against E.E.C. entry.

PARTY

Since the formation of the Party the I.R.S.P. had done well to remain intact in the face of such repression and much of its work was involved in the organisational end of the Party and the expanding of the Party, with remarkable success.



Arguing class politics

After the first year the I.R.S.P. had branches throughout the 32 Counties. As a priority the Party had attempted to create a climate of opinion that would favour the formation of a genuinely broad front which would be a tremendous contribution to the overall anti-imperialist struggle. The Party had during its first year been to the forefront in opposition to repressive legislation through a series of public meetings throughout the country. The I.R.S.P. had also involved itself at local level in strikes, agitation against Internment, protests in favour of nationalisation of our mineral resources and inland waters, the prevention of evictions, etc.

After only one year, the I.R.S.P. had become a new and major political force and also registered as a political party. It was becoming a headache for the British Government and its Free State puppets. It was the only political party which had managed to entwine the National Question and the Class Question and felt it could successfully do something about it. By the first anniversary the Starry Plough was reporting: "The I.R.S.P. faces the struggle for national liberation and socialism with renewed vigor and strength".

FRAME UPS.

The pretext for yet another onslaught against the I.R.S.P. came as a result of a 'great train robbery' outside Dublin on the night and morning of Tuesday and Wednesday, the 30th and 31st March, 1976. Over £200,000 was seized from a C.I.E. train at Kearneystown, Co. Kildare. The Free Staters, without any proof whatsoever, yet again singled out the I.R.S.P. for a series of mass arrests. Politically this was their reaction to the call for the broad front of anti-imperialists which the Staters fully realised had massive potential, and so threatened the status quo, both North and South. The Special Branch, and a body which was to become known as 'The Heavy Gang', were to spearhead this latest attempt to smash the Party, once and for

all. "When we have finished with you lot, no one else will want to join your Party", screamed Det. Garda Joe Egan repeatedly as Party activists were being subjected to the most foul forms of brutality during 'in depth' interrogation. Such in a flash illustrated the real motivation and mentality behind the mass arrests, torture and frame ups which followed.



The physical torture practiced by the Heavy Gang consisted of the following :-

1. Violent simultaneous clapping of the ears. This causes pains in the heads and results in partial loss of hearing or even cause permanent damage to the eardrums. It is commonly used by the R.U.C. in Castle-reagh, Strand Road and Gough Barracks.
2. Constant blows with fists or batons to the biceps. After about a half an hour of this the upper arms swell up and the arms are rendered immobile.
3. Jabbing of the groin and stomach with extended fingers.
4. Kicking, punching and squeezing of the genitals. In the case of the I.R.S.P. prisoners this was favourite of the interrogators as it left no marks while it caused the maximum of pain.
5. Kicking of shins and ankles in the search position.

The frame ups of Michael Plunkett, a trade unionist and General Secretary of the I.R.S.P., Brian Mc Nally, married with four children and active in community politics, Osgur Breatnach, married with one child and Editor In Chief of the Starry Plough, and Nicky Kelly an active community worker, were to occupy the Party for a considerable period of time. Only in the late summer of 1984, was Nicky Kelly to ultimately be released, pledging to fight on to totally clear his name.

The Frame Up trials of the I.R.S.P. Four was of immense political significance. For the first time in the history of the present Special Criminal Court, an obviously political trial was played out before the eyes of the Irish people. Not least to strike many was the no jury nature of this court, which the state insisted on terming 'Special' and 'Criminal', when in fact criminals would have had a jury, and what was obviously a political court, was set up to 'criminalise' the age old anti-imperialist struggle. The existence of legislation to protect the proceedings at this court in effect amounted to a conspiracy of silence, which the press only too often complied with. The public who dared to expose its workings and 'verdicts' under Section 4 of the Offences

cont. P.12



Gerry Roche shows bruises



QUIETLY CONFIDENT" INLA SPEAKS

THE FOLLOWING IS AN AUTHORISED...
INTERVIEW WITH A REPRESENTATIVE
OF I.N.L.A. G.H.Q.

Q. AT THE RECENT ARD FHEIS
THE IRSP DECLARED ITSELF
A MARXIST ORGANISATION.
HOW DO YOU VIEW THIS?

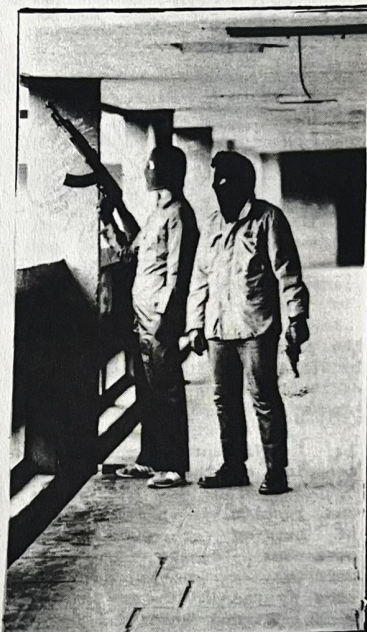
A. We take a close interest in what is happening within the IRSP and in particular the recent adoption of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Remember that we trace our origins and our traditions to the Irish Citizen Army founded by James Connolly. Now Connolly was a Marxist. He made no secret of the fact himself. So it comes as no great surprise to see the IRSP developing in a more consciously marxist direction.

Now having said that we also recognise that there are many within our ranks who have a more traditional republican viewpoint and the adoption of marxism by the IRSP has to be explained and made to mean something in practical terms. This does not come overnight, but we are committed to developing politically in line with the development of the IRSP.

Q. IT WOULD BE FAIR TO
SAY THERE HAS BEEN QUITE
A LOW LEVEL OF INLA
ACTIVITY RECENTLY, IS
THERE ANY REASON FOR
THIS?

A. Yes, the level of INLA activity has dropped off recently and some of the media commentators have said we are a spent force. If they want to think that, well that's fine by us. Let our actions speak for themselves in the coming months. We in many ways are a relatively young organisation. Ten years is not a long time in terms of revolutionary politics. We were borne out of turmoil and subject to constant pressures. In many ways we were organisationally and politically immature.

But we have learned a lot of lessons. We know where mistakes were made in the past. We are quietly confident for the future.



Q. THE WAR FOR NATIONAL
LIBERATION IN THIS PRESENT
PHASE HAS GONE ON FOR
15 YEARS. HOW DO YOU
SEE THE FUTURE?

A. Well in many respects before the hunger strikes in 1980 and 81 there was a certain war weariness on behalf of the people at large. But the deaths of the hunger strikers lent a new deepness and determination throughout the nationalist people. There was a deep going determination to fight to the finish and to see this struggle through. A whole range of things since then like the shoot-to-kill policy, the plastic bullet deaths and of course the total arrogance and

sectarianism of the judges here has deepened this determination. This is of course reflected in our own volunteers.

Q. YES, BUT IN TERMS OF
POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT,
HOW DO YOU SEE THE ARMED
STRUGGLE?

A. Well, if you mean by that do we still see the necessity for armed struggle, the answer is a straightforward yes, we do. In fact even more than ever now. In Thatcher and the present Tory government you have the most reactionary British government for well over 50 years. Thatcher is bent on an international alliance with Reagan to smash any progressive or revolutionary force. For the nationalist people all she can hand out is more repression and more hardship. The working-class people, especially within such a sectarian and repressive system as the Northern State, must have an armed organisation to defend and fight for their interests.

Q. BUT THEN HOW DOES THE
IRA CAMPAIGN REALLY
DIFFER FROM THAT OF
THE INLA?

A. You must look first of all at the political strategy of the IRA and Sinn Fein. It has been clearly stated by leading spokespersons that the IRA want to force the British government to talk to Sinn Fein, who will hopefully be the majority voice of nationalist opinion. We think such a strategy naive and dangerous. We believe that imperialism created two states in Ireland, both of which need to be smashed by the working-class people themselves. The British government have never given anything over nor are they

ever likely to because their system does not allow them to. We base our struggle, and let me say this here, this is an ongoing and developing process, we base our struggle on the working-class people throughout Ireland. These people, not the sweet words behind closed doors, are the only way to a socialist republic. That may well be a longer and harder road but it is the only way. We are at present reassessing our strategy as to how best we can use our forces against Imperialist control in Ireland.

Q. THE INLA HAS CARRIED OUT A NUMBER OF PUNISHMENT SHOOTINGS IN THE NATIONALIST AREAS. HOW DO YOU RECONCILE THIS WITH BEING A SOCIALIST ORGANISATION, FIGHTING FOR THE WORKING-CLASS PEOPLE?

A. The problem of hoods - that's what it is usually called - is a very serious one in nationalist areas. A section of the youth become very alienated from even their own people and turn to joy-riding, burglary and general anti-social behaviour. This can become very serious, for example old people can and have got run down by joy-riders; working-class people have had their possessions stolen and maybe assaulted. People come to us and want action taken. Often there is no option but to take action against certain individuals. But we recognise it is not the solution. There are hoods and there are hoods so to speak. The youth I mentioned are a problem that can at least be stemmed somewhat in a political way and we have supported the IRSP and various community groups in their efforts to do this. We have taken action against only a fraction of those people have demanded of us. But there is a more serious type of 'hood'. That is the one that is armed and, when it suits him, uses the name of the INLA to line his own pockets and terrorise working-class people. It is beyond doubt that the RUC and British Intelligence have and are using such elements both to gather information and to discredit revolutionary



organisations. We have altogether a different attitude to such elements and regard them as counter revolutionaries and they will be treated as such.

Q. ONCE AGAIN THE MEDIA RECENTLY OPENLY STATED THAT THE INLA CARRIED OUT THE DARKLEY KILLINGS, HOW DO YOU REACT TO THIS?

A. The circumstances surrounding the Darkley killings have been made clear. We once again deny involvement and condemn the Darkley Hall killings. They did absolutely nothing for the republican socialist struggle and indeed did immense damage to it. The persistence by the media to link us to it is a concerted attempt to discredit our legitimate anti-imperialist struggle.

Q. THE INLA HAS CLAIMED SOME OPERATIONS IN THE 26 COUNTIES, HOW DO YOU SEE THE ROLE OF ARMED STRUGGLE THERE?

A. The operations you refer to were basically ones of armed propaganda and we see the necessity in certain fields to do this. But this is not to say we are about to launch a strategy of armed struggle against the 26 County State. That would be stupid in the extreme. However, we reserve the right to defend working-class interests and forward the struggle where and when we feel it necessary. As I said before, we are developing our ideas on how best to fight Imperialist control in Ireland.

Q. TO RETURN TO A MORE GENERAL QUESTION, HOW DO YOU VIEW THE MAIN THRUST OF THE ARMED STRUGGLE IN THE COMING PERIOD?

A. That's a very general question, and a very difficult one. The national struggle against British occupation remains the main task in the coming period. In terms of defining your enemies, the link with British capitalism is the major obstacle to progress in Ireland. British ruling-class interests prop up and defend Loyalism and its various militias; they are seeking to draw Ireland into NATO's war plans; they are the policeman for international capitalism in Ireland. We should never forget that basic political truth.

Q. IN CONCLUSION, HOW DO YOU VIEW THE 10 YEARS OF THE INLA?

A. The INLA, against great odds, has survived and is still fighting on. It cannot be defeated because it is rooted in the struggles of the people. 10 years ago the INLA was formed to fight for 'national liberation and socialism'. That is still the case today. We are further along that road because our people are more steeled, more determined and more politically aware. The British ruling-class has tried every method to smash us as the fighting voice of the Irish working-class. They have failed and time goes by we become more capable of carrying on the struggle until victory. We, like Seamus Costello, owe our allegiance to the working-class.

Against The State (Amendment) Act 1972, enacted by the Fainna Fail (ure) Government, could face fines of upwards of fl,000.00 or to imprisonment for a term not exceeding five years, or to both. The Coalition Government, of Fine Gael (former Blueshirts) and the so called Labour Party, would certainly use this and any other means to stop or frustrate public protest or interest.

Against such legal restrictions many organisations and individuals refused to bow before the wishes of the powers that be. The public trial was opposed vigorously on the streets and at public meetings with hundreds of people acting in defiance of Section 4 of the O.A.S. Act, all of whom could have been deemed in 'contempt of Court'.



Petitions were organised in housing estates, trade union branches, and outside Labour Exchanges. The daughter of James Connolly, the 1916 executed leader, Dr. Nora Connolly O'Brien, then in her eighties, braved many an open air meeting on more than one occasion to speak out. Patsy O'Hara, later to die on hunger strike for political status in the H Blocks in 1981, left the Derry Comhairle Ceanntair area to reside in Dublin so that he could help his friends who had been tortured, framed and jailed. Many marches and meetings were viciously attacked by plain clothed and uniformed gardi.



Maire Comerford Joe Stagg

Joe Stagg, brother of Frank Stagg who died on hunger strike in an English Jail, Marie Comerford, a veteran of the 1916/23 struggle for independence, Dr. Miriam Daly, a Queens University Lecturer who was later assassinated while the acting national chairperson of the Party, Rev. Fr. Piaras O'Duill, Bernadette Mc Aliskey, (nee Devlin), a former Westminster M.P. were only some of the many brave people who stood up and spoke out

NORA CONNOLLY O'BRIEN



in those dark days for the Party and socialist cause. An independent public inquiry held at Liberty Hall attracted many legal figures and public representatives. Foreign visitors included Judge Bloch from France, and Jan Bandres, Senator, Basque lawyer and member of the International Council of Jurists.

As with the Sallins incident, the press, with few exceptions, made no attempt to publish the refutations or allegations, nor indeed to emphasise that there was no factual basis for them. This was an example of the Show Trial phenomena which was later to be copied by the British judiciary in the North some years later. As now, the press did not even report the many discrepancies that emerged day by day in the trial/s. This is perhaps understandable, and a reflection of the 'standards' of Irish journalism, given that many of the so called 'reporters' assigned to cover the trial/s spent the greater part of their time in a nearby pub. If the price of liberty is eternal vigilance, then we can expect little towards liberation from that quarter alas!

The press because of their long practice of self censorship allowed themselves to become another agent of the Special Court repression machine in the course of the proceedings. Press coverage of the case improved noticeably after the hearing of medical evidence, which testified so overwhelmingly to the men's injuries, that even the Prosecution no longer denied that the I.R.S.P. 4 had been injured whilst in police custody. The State claimed instead that the injuries were self inflicted. Again this 'tactic' was not lost on the R.U.C. or its Chief Constable, Kenneth Newman, in later years in the Northern context.

In addition to the public protests, and mainly due to media unprofessionalism, the IRSP drafted and published a detailed pamphlet, entitled; "Framed through the Special Criminal Court-The Great Train Robbery Trial". This case was well documented and its 50 odd pages exposed the many ignored, yet blatant inconsistencies. It will for some time remain an important document of party history during our earlier struggles.



welts caused by garda tortures.

P.O.W's.

Almost every type of abuse was being directed against our comrades, both inside and out. The daily degradation of strip searches, were coupled by restrictive visits and state cruelty against our incarcerated comrades in Portlaoise in the South. Resistance to strip searches were met by sadistic warders using batons to enforce this latest attempt to dehumanise and humiliate Irish Freedom Fighters. Sometimes these strip searches took place three and four times



on average every day, certainly as a planned psychological attack on those known by the Free State authorities to be active in the resistance struggle and its military and political wings.

The Minister of (In) Justice, then one Cooney, made the infamous statement that "prisoners have no rights", which certainly aided the imperialist war machine in British occupied Ireland, when in March 1976 they abolished Special Category Status which in effect was political status. At every stage throughout history of the past decade the Free Staters, 'led the way' in the sphere of repression, and Britain was never slow to seize on such practices, and pointed south of the border to justify its own repressive techniques.

THE GREAT ESCAPE

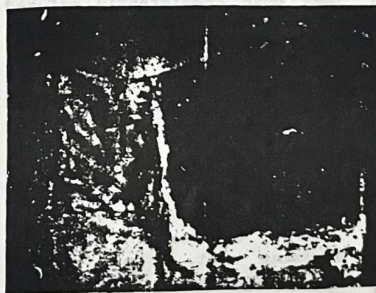
"One of the most carefully planned and cleverly executed escapes in prison history", was how one newspaper described the escape of nine Republican Socialist POW's in April of '76. The nine comrades dug their tunnel from one of the four huts in Cage 5, known then as "mole hill" because so many tunnels had been dug from there. Despite ever-vigilant screws, modern high technology apparatus, dogs and other obstacles, a forty foot tunnel measuring only 18 inches in diameter provided the only route deemed possible to freedom. After coming 'up' they established that they were still 'inside', but were prepared for such an eventuality.

They cut through a perimeter barbed fence and scaled a 20 foot high wall with improvised grappling hooks and ropes made from sheets in full view of British Army observation towers. Then, as one Brit put it simply... "They disappeared into thin air".

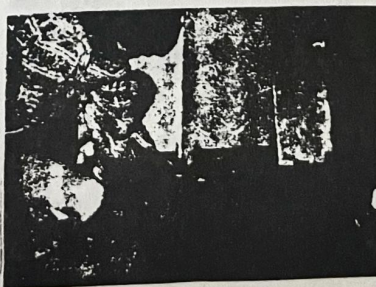
ONE KEEPS WATCH



THE DIGGING BEGINS



OUT COMES THE CLAY



PEACE WITH JUSTICE.

By October 1976, mounting repression against republicans and socialists, both north and south, seemed to create a climate for a new form of unity in action. The party's Broad Front strategy was understood by many outside our own ranks. In Derry a series of discussions took place between several anti-imperialist groupings. These included six in all, the I.R.S.P., the Provisional Republican Movement, the Irish Nationalist Party, the Magilligan Prisoners' Welfare Committee, the Political Prisoners' Action Committee and the Prisoners' Dependents Fund. After agreement on unity in action on four basic demands, an umbrella action group emerged, which became known as the Irish Front. Party comrades viewed this as an experiment in anti-imperialist unity, which revolved around the campaign to fight for: 1) An end to harassment, torture and intimidation 2) Full support for Political Status leading to an unconditional general amnesty; 3) Repatriation of all Irish political prisoners in English jails; 4) A withdrawal of British troops and an end to British interference in the political, cultural and economic life of Ireland.

In the early months of 1977 an intense debate within the columns of Republican News, the Provisional Sinn Fein weekly, centred on the possibility of the creation of People's Assemblies throughout the occupied six counties. This debate seemed to clarify the growing wish for unity in action by many anti-imperialists, particularly at grass roots level. It was a period when the so-called 'Peace-People' appeared on the political scene with their own brand of pro-imperialist, moralistic naivety, which did initially draw towards its ranks sections of even the nationalist population, many of whom expressed a war-weariness. The anti-imperialist movement had to respond, and around the slogan 'Peace with Justice', it argued its case with conviction. The IRSP monthly, The Starry Plough, posed the question, "What kind of Peace?". Its opening remarks

revealed the extent of the threat from the right;"From the DAILY EXPRESS to the UNITED IRISHMAN, from the UDA to the Catholic Hierarchy, opinion is unanimous. The 'Peace' movement is portrayed as the spontaneous popular upheaval against the Provos. Bishops say it is proof of GOD's intervention, the Officials and the other reformists delude themselves that it is somehow a sign of working-class unity while the right wing politicians and media use it to claim that there is no support for republicans".

front

If ever there had been a need for unity in action, then the broad front programme of the party was the central issue to meet the challenge from every reactionary element that jumped on the 'peace' bandwagon, both at home, in Britain and in Europe. The creation of the Irish Front met with the approval of the IRSP, and its leader, Seamus Costello, addressing a mass meeting at Derry's Rossville Flats, declared; "This date is as important as October 5th 1968, or Bloody Sunday 1972, for here we have unity in action". A party member who was elected as the Irish Front's External Secretary, undertook a three week tour in England and Scotland, spelling out their position thus; "We put the SDLP, the right-wing Catholic clergy, the Alliance Party, the Officials, the 'peace' movement all in one group alongside right-wing trade unionists who have recently made demands for an increase in 'security'. For us the demands for an increase in security, means an increase in repression".

The lessons gained from participation in the Irish Front, which as 'an experiment' lasted for fourteen months, are several. The party attempted to raise economic and social questions, as well as the national question. As one of its IRSP officer board declared; "The national question is the social question; the social question is the national question. We aim to involve the masses in struggle".

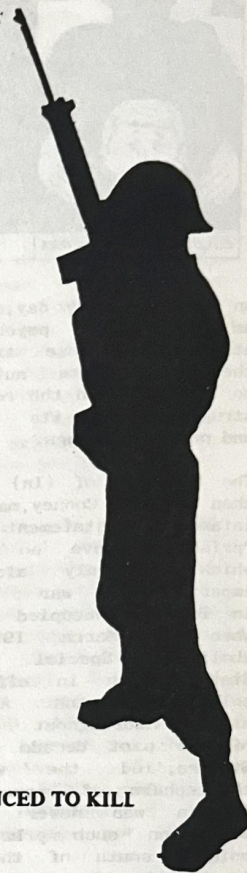
As the 'peace-movement' began to fade into disarray and insignificance, so too the fortunes of unity in action on the part of the anti-imperialist movement. The need to openly confront the rising tide of reaction was always understood by the grass-roots of all anti-imperialist movements, and

those essential battles show that having a clearly defined political stance, can attract support for unity based on principle, among wide sections of the working-class population. If at this juncture anti-imperialists had abandoned the only true people's parliament - the streets - to the reactionary tide, then history may well have read quite differently.

ASSASSINATED.

A few years ago, SILENT TOO LONG published a pamphlet. The opening page of this document, comments; "Over six hundred Catholics murdered must surely mean a people under attack; but the media, and the 'security forces' and even the Catholic clergy, have never given the murder of completely innocent Catholics anything like the publicity given to the deaths of RUC and UDR men, people who live by the gun. Indeed, they have consistently refused even to see the murder campaign as a separate singular entity, but have lumped all these deaths together as mysterious, unsolved crimes".

When it came to the assassination of our own comrades, while the vast majority of their murderers will remain at liberty because of official blessing at the highest levels, thereby deemed "unsolved" by way of omission, their deaths are not so 'mysterious' insofar as they were conscious and active anti-imperialists. What links us with the findings of SILENT TOO LONG can be summoned up by their comment; "The involvement, at every level, of the British 'security forces' in the present campaign should provide whatever proof is needed that Britain approves of, and encourages Loyalist sectarianism. Six County Catholics, of all political



LICENCED TO KILL

hues and none, are in British eyes, the flies in the ointment; and British policy is and always has been, to "kill one half of us and to intimidate the other".

A deep study over the years, since 1966 when a young Belfast barman was shot dead by the UVF, shows that at times when Nationalist expectations are rising, Loyalist murder-squads set out to dull or curtail any progressive advancement. While their actions of torture, mutilation and eventual death are inflicted against a random Catholic, the message is firmly directed against those collectively part and parcel of his culture. Its the old-age message of 'Croppies lie down....or else'. These kidnappings, usually in darkness, and the slowness of death to the victim, are surely aimed at blackmailing the liberation movements and all those who would wish for Ireland, unity, peace and socialism.

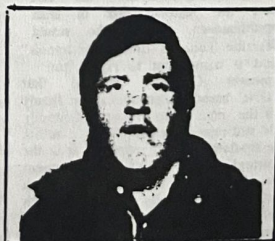
One last comment on assassinations, from the viewpoint of the British establishment, it lends weight supposedly to its 'blood-bath theory' following a military and political withdrawal. Such an argument holds back support from liberally-minded people across the water from supporting such groups as the Troops Out Movement. However these potential supporters of Irish freedom should acquaint themselves with the writing of Brig. General Frank Kitson, eg. **LOW INTENSITY OPERATIONS**, and they will soon realise that pseudo-gangs have always been an organisational tool of British colonial history and in practice aimed at furthering its own aims.

costello

On October 5th, 1977 our movement was shocked by the early morning news bulletins which informed us that an assassin's bullet, fired by a member of the counter-revolutionary 'Officials', robbed us of the life, courage and intellect of comrade Seamus Costello. Guns long silent against the real enemy - British Imperialism - could be brought out of reactionary dumps to strike down one of the most outstanding members of the Irish working-class. His assassination was aimed at cutting off the physical head of our movement; to leave the Republican Socialist Movement leaderless and without direction. His stature both in life and death, was ably reflected by the attendance of many working-class leaders and grassroots organisations at his funeral. From the veterans of 1916 and the Civil War, to the youngsters of Derry's and Belfast's ghettos, generations united as the daughter of the executed 1916 leader, James Connolly, gave a moving oration. Seamus was gone and the sense of loss was undescrivable, yet his words of command could not be drowned by clay... "We owe our allegiance to the working-class, therefore we must build its revolutionary movement". In later times, the movement which he founded published its own literary tribute entitled: **SEAMUS COSTELLO (1939-1977) IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST.**



On December 12th, Colm 'Rooster' McNutt, an activist of just eighteen, was shot down by an SAS assassin as he walked through William Street car-park, just some twenty yards from the party's Derry office at Chamberlain Street. The widow of Seamus Costello travelled to the city to deliver an oration at his final resting place. On the night of his funeral, Colm's overt political activity was conveyed to television viewers when on a late night news review programme he was clearly visible on the picket line outside Strand Road RUC barracks. The protest that day was to expose the torture of Denis Heaney, a local Sinn Fein activist, who was then in custody. Denis himself was to be assassinated across the street from Connolly House, the party's offices, by an SAS unit using an unmarked car, some weeks later. Although made aware of Colm's death, and in spite of his acting as a guide to a camera crew and programme presenter, the BBC made no comment that one of those who picketed was assassinated only a few days after.



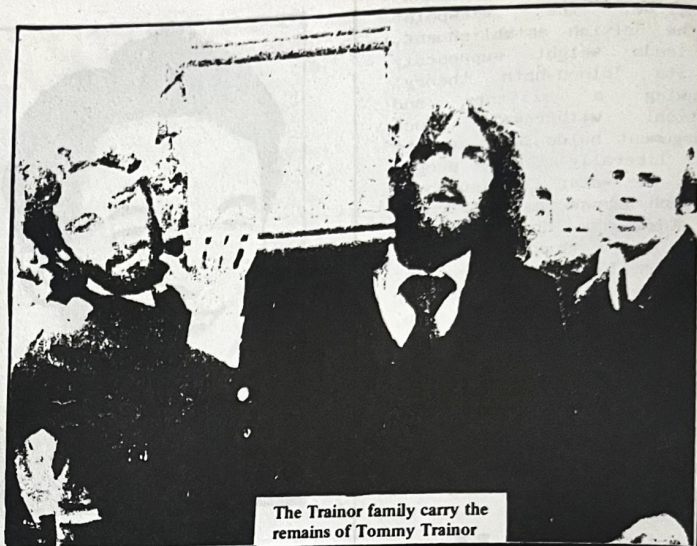
This latest manifestation of Downing Street-inspired assassinations, was to continue for many months. It was an earlier example of the current 'Shoot-to-kill' policy. The intensity of political executions on a summary basis reached all areas of the north. On March 8th, 1978 another member of the IRSP, Thomas Trainor, was gunned down in broad daylight, alongside a companion, Denis Kelly. Both had been returning from the Labour Exchange when the pillion passenger of a motor-cycle jumped off the bike and sprayed them with bullets from a machine-gun, pursued them to where they fell and continued to fire into their bodies as they lay slumped across each other having run twenty yards in an attempt to escape. Thomas Trainor's mother and father were victims of an ambush in April 1975 as they returned home after a social evening. Mrs Trainor died as a result of gun shot wounds. In December of the same year her other son, Ronnie, was killed following a bomb attack on the family home. Ronnie was also a youthful member of the IRSP and Loyalists were believed to have been responsible for both these deaths.

The latest assassination of Thomas Trainor and Denis Kelly, was blamed on the SAS by the Republican Socialist Movement, and the statement claimed Tommy a Volunteer of the Irish National Liberation Army. The statement went on to say that during the last raid on the Trainor home by Brits and RUC two weeks previously, they had boasted, "the SAS will get you". Similar threats were made to Colm McNutt in Derry. The Party's Ard Comhairle (national executive) issued a statement expressing its deepest regrets and offered its sincere condolences to the father, family, relatives and friends. It ended, "He was a brave son of the Irish working-class and died for the liberation of his people and class. When the Irish Socialist Republic comes to be built he will be remembered with pride".

The role of the RUC and British intelligence in the murder of Tommy Trainor was later borne out by the

fact that during the trial of two Loyalists for involvement in the murder it was revealed that the Sterling sub-machine used had in fact disappeared from Portadown RUC station some time earlier. The shadowy hand of British intelligence was revealed when the 'New Statesman' carried detailed confessions from Mike, a former British Army Intelligence officer; which spelt out SAS involvement in the recruitment and operation of UVF murder squads in the mid 1970's in County Armagh.

As Tommy's coffin was carried into the parish church the bells rang the hour, and the mourners following in. Everywhere there was a sense of community in mourning, of people drawing strength from each other. At the graveside which was covered with wreaths of fresh flowers, long tri-coloured ribbons flowed and fluttered from the wreaths.



The Trainor family carry the remains of Tommy Trainor

Two British Army helicopters circled the graveside non-stop, and, as Miriam Daly, who was elected as national chairperson after Costello's death, stepped forward to give the oration

they flew directly overhead, hovering, attempting to drown out the tribute of the human voice with the classical arrogance of the armed occupying oppressor.

M. MONTGOMERY RLP



Micky Montgomery Republican Socialist died on Dec. 1st, 1984. Only two weeks before his death Micky had attended the Derry IRSP Educational School and had enthusiastically supported recent developments in the Party. A life long republican Micky had been one of the original 13 men given the seven day hooded treatment.

Micky was a member of the Ard Comhairle of the IRSP and in 1978 was chosen to give the oration at the Bodinstown Commemoration. Below we print an extract from his speech of that day and though his body may be dead his revolutionary spirit lives on and his words will inspire fresh generations of Irish revolutionaries.

ARMED STRUGGLE

There are the theoretical purists on the left who have digested like a ovthon the complete works of Marx, Engels, Lenin, Trotsky and Mao-Tse-Tung, yet unlike them they cannot relate THEORY WITH PRACTICE, because they are blinkered by abstract ideological purity. These people condemn the supposedly "Reactionary" physical force tradition of IRISH REPUBLICANISM yet mouth phrases in support of the armed liberation struggles in AFRICA ASIA, and LATIN AMERICA.

Unlike these DRAWING ROOM SOCIALISTS Connolly did not reject the historic task of Irish Republicanism. Those who would describe Tone as only a 'bourgeois' find it convenient to reject him... however Connolly realised that TONE based his republicanism firmly on the men of no property. Connolly did not reject this principle... rather he up-dated it and redefined it in the context of the subsequent development of capitalism. A month before Connolly was to meet his death before a British firing-squad he summed up his views on the relationship of national liberation and socialism as follows:

To this end Connolly forged the weapons of the Irish Citizen Army and the Irish socialist republican philosophy. Today the Irish working class have the weapons of the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the Irish National Liberation Army.

THE CAUSE OF LABOUR IS THE CAUSE OF IRELAND... THE CAUSE OF IRELAND IS THE CAUSE OF LABOUR. IS IT NOT WELL THAT WE OF THE WORKING-CLASS SHOULD FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE IRISH NATION FROM FOREIGN RULE AS THE FIRST PRE-REQUISITE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL POWER NEED FOR OUR CLASS?

GREETINGS

"On behalf of supporters and groups in Canada we send fraternal and revolutionary greetings to the IRSP on the tenth anniversary of the founding of the Party.

To the revolutionary soldiers of the I.N.L.A. and the imprisoned volunteers, and the families of our departed comrades, We Salute You".

Love, Strength and Solidarity,
SASKATCHEWAN H BLOCK AND
ARMAGH SUPPORT COMMITTEE.

AROUND THE COUNTRY...

LIMERICK.

The IRSP in Limerick held a regular series of public meetings in Limerick city centre to coincide with the Anglo-Irish talks between Fitzgerald and Thatcher. Speaking at the meeting, Mary Gilfoyle warned of the dangers to Irish neutrality by incorporation into the NATO war plans. Fitzgerald, she said was perfectly willing to barter Ireland's neutrality for the meagerest of crumbs from Thatcher's table.

DERRY.

A very successful educational was held by the Derry Comhairle Ceanntair on Sunday 11th November in the newly renovated party offices in Chamberlain Street. Papers were delivered on 'Marxism and the Party', James Connolly's life and times, 'William Thompson' and 'Seamus Costello'. Following each paper a lively discussion followed in which the present development of the Party was put in the context of the real problems of the struggle today. National education officer Proinsias de Barra, said that this educational was the first of a number in which the present development of the Party would be brought to the rank and file members and make decisions at Ard Fheis a reality. It is hoped to have the papers delivered available soon in pamphlet form.

ARMAGH.

A wreath laying ceremony in memory of INLA volunteers Seamus Grew and Roddy Carroll was held in Armagh on Sunday 9th December. Seamus and Roddy were murdered by an RUC undercover squad on December 12th 1982 as part of the new notorious 'shoot-to-kill' policy. Speaking at the ceremony, John Martin said that the circumstances surrounding the murder of the two Volunteers and the cover-up afterwards had exposed the nature of British rule in Ireland and the way they were prepared to use terror to repress the legitimate struggle for national liberation.

BELFAST.

Bernadette McAliskey, speaking at an anti-repression meeting in Conway Street Mill organised by the IRSP, strongly criticised Sinn Fein for their attitude to anti-imperialist unity and for not sending a speaker along to the meeting. The meeting which was held on Sunday November 18th was attended by a broad cross-section of political activists. The theme of the meeting was 'Justice and Repression' and was held against the backdrop of the Anglo-Irish talks between Fitzgerald and Thatcher. A spokesperson for Relatives for Justice outlined the campaign against the use of paid perjury and the show trials. PD speaker Paddy Walsh said that the two aspects which characterised the Nationalist people were a desire for unity and anti-



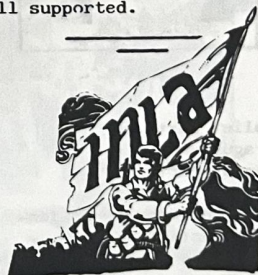
BERNADETTE McALISKEY.

unionism. Kevin McQuillan on behalf of the IRSP said the purpose of the meeting was to try to draw together an active unity around some of the anti-repression campaigns already existing and to give them a political context. This was of particular importance when plans for an 'internal solution' were being floated about and the SDLP were considering returning to Stormont. He also drew attention to the role of NATO in an Anglo-Irish repression plan for Ireland. Echoing some of Bernadette McAliskey's comments about a downturn in popular involvement since the Hunger Strike protests, he said the IRSP was pledged to build broad-based resistance to the reality of British repression in Ireland.

CORK.

Over 200 people came to the ITGWU hall in Cork on Thursday, November 29th to hear several speakers talk

on the issue of paid perjury and the show trials. Organised by the "Stand up to Britain" committee the meeting focused on the use of paid perjury in Northern courts. Des Wilson from Belfast was particularly well received when he castigated Fitzgerald for his craven attitude to Thatcher and demanded that it was about time the people in the 26 counties registered their disgust for the policies of successive Free State governments. He said that long before Fitzgerald ever went over to get publicly humiliated in front of Thatcher he knew that Thatcher was going to reject the Forum proposals out of hand. Dermot Walsh of U.C.C., who has compiled a study about the abuses of Emergency Legislation in the North, said how totally corrupt the whole system of paid perjury and the show trials were and that he proposed that the whole legal defence should withdraw from the system and thus render it unworkable. Gerry McKeever, recently released on bail after having spent 18 months on remand on the word of RUC perjurer Harry Kirkpatrick, gave an account of the legal farce that has been dressed up but in fact is nothing more than another tool of political repression being employed by the British government. Chairing the meeting, Jim Lane said he was heartened by the broad spectrum of people who had turned out for the meeting and the Committee hoped that forthcoming meetings on strip-searching and plastic bullets would be equally well supported.



WE FIGHT FOR
NATIONAL LIBERATION
AND SOCIALISM IN IRELAND

VICTORY FOR FSLN

CLASSICAL ELECTION RESULTS REFLECT THE POPULAR NATURE OF THE SANDINISTA REVOLUTION.

In the week following the 4th November, the outcome of the first free elections that Nicaragua has known became clear. They illustrated clearly that the people support the Revolutionary Process in their country, and that the large majority of them are solidly with the party which led the revolution to victory in 1979 - the Sandinista National Liberation Front (FSLN).

The President elect of Nicaragua is Commander of the Revolution Daniel Ortega Saavedra, and Vice-President Sergio Ramirez, both candidates of the FSLN. Of the 96 seat Assembly to be formed in January of 1985, the division of seats is as follows:



Mr Daniel Ortega

| | |
|--|----|
| FSLN | 61 |
| Socialist Party of Nicaragua. | 2 |
| Communist Party of Nicaragua. | 2 |
| Movement of Popular Action-Marxist-Leninist. | 2 |
| Conservative Democratic Party. | 14 |
| Independant Liberal Party | 9 |
| Popular Social Christian Party. | 6 |

Broadly speaking, the Vanguard of the masses, the FSLN, spearheads the property and bourgeois sectors.

The elections, proposed in order to institutionalize the popular victory of 1979, were in themselves a vote for the Revolution, in that over 80% of the electorate voted. Many of those who did not were soldiers mobilised away from their home areas, and therefore could not vote due to transport and security difficulties. Therefore only a tiny percentage did as the ultra-right parties proposed, boycott the elections as an indication of rejection of the new Nicaragua.

The vote for the FSLN would no doubt have been higher with the vote of all the citizens mobilised in the defence of their country. Nonetheless, these elections are patently authentic and free in that they reflect the make-up of Nicaraguan society, with the different social sectors voting without interference for the party that represents their interests. Thus some three-quarters of the population are poor, are peasants and workers, and a quarter are medium and large property owners. The difference between the reality which the Nicaraguan elections reflect and that which elections in Ireland, Germany or the US hide is startling.

For the socialist, there are some other points of interest in the results. Firstly they signal the virtual extinction of socialist parties other than the FSLN. This is an indication of the radical leadership of the Revolution by the FSLN, and the small degree of difference that the people can see between the facts, as carried out by the FSLN, and the theory or promises, of the other socialist parties.



Irish socialists should take note that names are not as important in making history as deeds. In none of the two successful revolutions in Latin America, the Cuban or the Nicaraguan, was the original Communist Party the party that led the people to victory. Likewise the socialist party of Nicaragua has been in existence for 40 years, with an old-man leadership now and has seen this young group, the FSLN, take the reins of history and liberate the Nicaraguan masses, practically in the space of ten years.

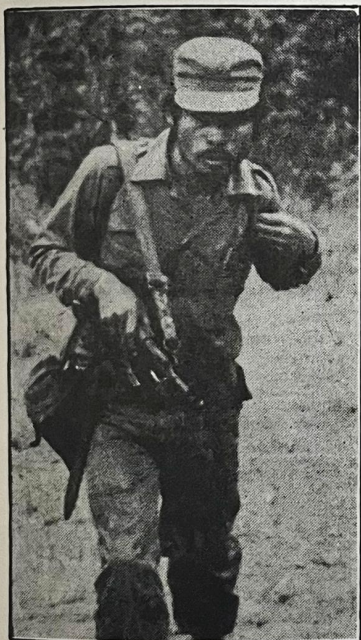
THE IMPERIALIST RESPONSE.

The response of the United States government to the election result in Nicaragua was a near-invasion of the country. On the night after the re-election of Ronald Reagan to the Presidency of the U.S., American warships came within 5 miles of the main port of Nicaragua-Corinto and in doing so violated international law of the sea. The fabricated pretext

for doing this was the supposed presence aboard a Soviet cargo vessel in the port, of MIG fighters. The response of the Nicaraguan Government and people to this action has been fast and dramatic. At diplomatic level it has been pointed out that Nicaragua will import whatever arms and materials it deems necessary for its defense, and that the US has no right whatever to dictate what goes in and out of any other sovereign state.

Internally, the citizens of Nicaragua have responded to a civil defence alert announced by their Government. Measures currently being taken to have the people prepared for an invasion include:

- The re-digging of air-raided shelters in every area.
- The organising of first-aid and anti-fire battallions in every area.



- The streamlining of supply foodstuffs through Government sponsored stores.
- Revolutionary vigilance around the clock in every street, village and farm.
- The training of anyone who has not had previous experience in using fire-arms for his or her defence and a general militia re-organisation in every area.



All these activities are organised through the mass organisations. These organisations have continued to this day from the pre-revolutionary period, when they were organised clandestinely to succour and support the FSLN guerrillas on the run, or in semi-liberated areas.

On the morning of Tuesday November 13, tanks of the Popular Sandinista Army, the army of the Republic, were deployed strategically around Managua, the capital of Nicaragua, and were greeted with jubilation by the people. It was a clear indication that the army of the people was alert and ready. To the 20,000 students who

during this, their annual holiday period, were to have gone to the country to harvest the coffee crop, but who now will remain in the city to defend their neighbourhoods, it was a resounding act of solidarity.

More so than in recent months, an atmosphere of war exists in Nicaragua as a result of the new imperialist aggression. The world, however, or those who have ears to hear, know the truth in Nicaragua: the General Elections of November 4th prove the popular nature of the revolution, and that it is therefore a revolution that will be defended with honour and with resolve.



IN MEMORIAM



CARROLL Roddy, GREW Seamus, (2nd Anniv.), CRAVEN Joseph, (1st Anniv.) and MC NUTT Colm (7th Anniv.). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vols. Roddy Carroll, Seamus Grew, Joseph Craven and Colm Mc Nutt. "From the graves of Irishmen and Irishwomen spring living nations". Always remembered with pride by the Vols. and Staff of the Belfast Brigade I.N.L.A.

CRAVEN Joseph, (1st Anniv.) In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol. Joseph Craven, murdered by the P.A.F. on Dec. 5th, 1983. Your courage was an inspiration to us all. Always remembered by the Belfast Comhairle Ceanntair IRSP.

CRAVEN Joseph (1st Anniv.) In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol. Joseph Craven murdered by the P.A.F. on Dec. 5th, 1983. We pay tribute to our comrade who was not afraid to hold the torch and show the way. Always remembered by the Republican Socialist Prisoners in Long Kesh, Magilligan, Crumlin Road, Armagh, Limerick and Portlaoise.

CRAVEN Joseph, (1st Anniv.) In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol. Joseph Craven murdered by the P.A.F. on Dec. 5th, 1983. Your courage is an inspiration to us all. Sadly missed by Geraldine and Peter.

CARROLL Roddy, GREW Seamus, (2nd Anniv.) In proud and loving memory of INLA Vols. Roddy Carroll and Seamus Gre brutally murdered on Dec. 12th, 1982, "Bid us farewell still and to make no peace with England until Ireland is ours." Always remembered by the Republican Socialist Prisoners in Long Kesh, Magilligan, Crumlin Road, Armagh, Portlaoise and Limerick.

CARROLL Roddy; GREW Seamus (2nd Anniv.). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vols. Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew murdered by the RUC

IN MEMORIAM



on Dec. 12th, 1982. "From the graves of Irishmen and Irishwomen spring living nations". Always remembered by the Vols. and Staff, Belfast Brigade INLA.

CARROLL Roddy; GREW Seamus (2nd Anniv.). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vols. Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew murdered by the RUC on Dec. 12th, 1982. "They may kill the revolution but never the revolutionary". Always remembered by the Belfast Comhairle Ceanntair, IRSP.

CARROLL Roddy, GREW Seamus, (2nd Anniv.) In proud and loving memory of INLA Vols. Roddy Carroll and Seamus Grew brutally murdered on Dec. 12th, 1982, who gave their lives in the struggle for national liberation and socialism. Venceremos. Always remembered by the Tony Mc Clelland IRSP Cumann Armagh.

MC NUTT Colm, (7th Anniv.). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol. Colm Mc Nutt who was murdered on Dec. 12th, 1977. "The struggle continues till Victory". Always remembered by his comrades in the Derry Comhairle Ceanntair, IRSP.

IN MEMORIAM



CRAVEN Joseph (1st Anniv.) In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol. Joseph Craven murdered by the P.A.F. on Dec. 5th, 1983. Sadly missed and always remembered by Marian, Barbara and Margaret.

MC NUTT Colm, (7th Anniv.). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol. Colm Mc Nutt who was murdered on Dec. 12th, 1977. They may kill the revolutionary but never the revolution. Always remembered by the Belfast Comhairle Ceanntair IRSP.

MC NUTT Colm (7th Anniv.). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vol. Colm Mc Nutt who was murdered on Dec. 12th, 1977. "The great only appear great because we are on our knees, Let us arise." Always remembered by the Republican Socialist Prisoners in Long Kesh, Magilligan, Crumlin Road, Armagh, Portlaoise and Limerick

CARROLL Roddy, GREW Seamus, (2nd Anniv.), CRAVEN Joseph, (1st Anniv.) and MC NUTT Colm (7th Anniv.). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vols. Roddy Carroll, Seamus Grew, Joseph Craven and Colm Mc Nutt. "Courage we are winning, and in the hour of victory let us not forget our comrades who have stood by us". Always remembered by the Ard Comhairle I.R.S.P.

CARROLL Roddy, GREW Seamus, (2nd Anniv.), CRAVEN Joseph, (1st Anniv.) and MC NUTT Colm (7th Anniv.). In proud and loving memory of INLA Vols. Roddy Carroll, Seamus Grew, Joseph Craven and Colm Mc Nutt. "Wherever death may surprise us, let it be welcome, provided that this our battle cry reach some receptive ear, that another hand reach out to take up weapons and that other men and women come forward to intone our funeral dirge with the staccato of machine gun fire and new cries of battle and victory." Always remembered by their comrades on the GHQ Staff of the INLA.

Join the IRSP



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An Runai,
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392 Falls Road, Belfast
8 Chamberlain St.,
Derry.

FIGHT FOR NATIONAL
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