The

Camchéachta

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Special Edition Marking the 25th Anniversary of the murder of Seamus Costello

SEAMUS COSTELLO

Revolutions Socialist

> "Of all the politicians and political people with whom I have had conversations, and who called themselves followers of Connolly, he was the only one who truly understood what James Connolly meant when he spoke of his vision of the freedom of the Irish people."

> - Nora Connolly, daughter of James Connolly, speaking of Seamus Costello shortly after his assassination

The legacy of Seamus Costello

THE VOICE OF IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALISM!

Teagmháil

Contact

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

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

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

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Europe

IRSP has members, supporters and contacts active in many working class campaigns and prisoner solidarity in towns and cities throughout England, Scotland and Wales, and across Europe, write to our International Department for futher details on how you can actively participate

IRSP International Department

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Newry:

North America & Canada

Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America & Canada

2057 15th Street, Suite B, San Francisco, CA 9411, North America. Tel./Fax. 415 861 1355 Email. irsp@netwizards.net

IRSC has members, supporters and contacts active in working class struggles and prisoner solidarity throughout North America, Canada and Latin America write for futher details on how you too can actively participate.

IRSM Online & Other Links

Official IRSM Website: http://irsm.org/irsp/

Prisoner of War Website: http://irsm.org/irspows/

IRSM Statements: http://irsm.org/statements/

The Starry Plough Online:http://irsm.org/irsp/starryplough

Teach Na Failte (Strabane) Ex Republican Socialist POW Support Organisation 31 Patrick Street, Strabane, Tyrone Tel/Fax: 028 71 884616

Teach Na Failte (Belfast) 392b Falls Road, Belfast, BT12 6DH. Tel/Fax: 028 90238321

Solidarity with Turkish Hunger Strikers Com (Dublin): www.geocities.com/turkishhungerstrike/

Solidarity with Turkish Hunger Strikers Committee (Derry): c/o P.O. Box 1981, Derry, BT48 8GX.

Republican Socialist Archieve Project P.O. Box 1981, Derry, BT48 8GX

Justice For Mark Barnsley (Ireland Support Group): c/o P.O. Box 1981, Derry, BT48 8GX.

Celebration of Resistance: www.hungerstrike.net

James Connolly Society: www.wageslave.org/jcs/

Larksnirit:

Got a Story? Let us know

If you would like to highlight an issue of concern in your area and would like to have it published in the pages of The Starry Plough then get in touch at the address above or contact a local IRSP representative. The Starry Plough is your paper.

For national and international news, or news for your workplace, community or action group then please send your articles, photographs, reports and any other information to The Starry Plough at the following address:

The Starry Plough/An Camchéachta PO BOX 1981 DERRY IRELAND **BT48 8GX**

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above contact list.

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ONLY marty dedicated to	the re	moval of	British	rule ANI	capitalism!

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Eagarfhocal

THS IS A DEAD PARROT!

We all remember the famous sketch from Monty Python when despite all appearances to the contrary the shop owner kept insisting the parrot was not dead. Remind you of anyone? It reminds me of Gen Well done David Adams.

Following the Ulster Unionist Party's decision to effectively dump the Good Friday Agreement Gen Adams repeats the mantra learned from the Pet shop owner, John Cleese, 'Implement in full the Good Friday Agreement'

Gerry, The parrot is dead! This is a dead parrot! Dead!! Stone cold dead! The Good Friday Agreement of the Color of the Co

But articles Two and Three of the constitution of the Republic are gone. Provisional Republicans renised the six county state and are running Government Departments

From at first rejecting the Patton report on Policing the Provisional Sinn Fein party now call for its in

Then a Sinn Fein MLA, criticises the PSNI/RUC for not cracking down on the dissident reput Then a Sinn Fein MLA, criticises the PSNI/ROC to All Glacking Good for the dissident republicans. Li and behold within a week two men are arrested in his constituency. Did Gerry then say, "Well done?" W

From at first rejecting disarmament the Provisional movement then carried out two acts of decor sioning

Sinn Fein ensured that the Rev Willie McCrea became chair of Magerafelt Council. Prov Republicans beat protestors against Orange marches off the streets in Ardoyne.

The cross border bodies will now go into a state of limbo and after January 18th the Unionists will pull down the political institutions. But with the latest developments at Stormont the institutions will be a long before the Unionist deadline.

Meanwhile the Northern Ireland Human Rights Commission is accused by one of its own members in Meanwhile the Northern Ireland Human regins Commission is accessed by the or its own members that it couldn't deliver on its remit under the Good Friday Agreement. Even within its limited powers and resources, it lacks direction on the strategies, policies and practices needed to carve out a positive manner. resources, it tacks direction on the strategies, politics and produces recued to carve out a positive re-for itself in protecting and promoting human rights. The commission has not tested its powers in the text of delivery of rights.

Crucially, despite a few worthy reports, three and half years on the commission have not delivered on the protection of human rights. It is clearly not 'independent of government, with an extended and enhanced role', as outlined in the agreement, claimed Inez McCormack.

The so-called equality agenda much trumped by supporters of the GFA also fails to deliver. The Equa Commission, which itself is riven by internal dissent, advised the N.I. Fire Service to remove a ban supporting the Armagh GAA all Ireland victory. So this is the height of the equality agendalt

Loyalist paramilitaries will continue their sectarian murder campaign and have received a political signal from soberly suited people within the unionist family encouraging sectarian killings. When they sort out their internal difficulties then nationalists beware.

The IRSP position has been consistently correct in its analysis of the whole peace process and the political institutions arising from that process

While we recognise the desire of the people for peace we said that the GFA could not deliver peace. What occurred during practically every summer since 1994 has not been peace. There may be a political process but there is little peace for those living on the front line.

Those who wish to continue with the illusion of a Belfast Agreement remember this

This is a dead parrot. This parrot is dead!!!!!

An Camchéachta

The Starry Plough or An Camchéachta

was first established in 1975 as

the national newspaper of the

Irish Republican Socialist Party.

For all correspondence write to:

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Starry Plough Fighting Fund

The Starry Plough is the only paper that stands firmly against British rule and the destruction of capitalism in Ireland. We need your support to enable us to continue the work of building a party that has a regular paper that genuinely represents the interests of the working class. In order for us to do so, we urge you to make a donation to The Starry Plough 'Fighting Fund'!

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IRSP ARD FHEIS '02 Review by John Martin Political Secretary IRSP

The 4th Ard Feis since the reformation of the Irish Republican Socialist Party in 1995 was held recently in Derry City.

A lively and critical debate took place over a wide range of issues and 24 resolutions were passed with a number of motions referred to the incoming Ard-Comhairle. Aims and principles of the movement are contained in the document "This is Republican Socialism", published on page 7 of this publication.

This was an important development in the evolution of the Party since Gino Gallagher initiated the revival of the Republican Socialist Movement in late 1994. A decision was then taken by the leading activists of the movement to not only expanding the IRSP with new members, but actively seeking the return of forme activists. As one comrade said. we have drawn a line under the past and we are taking a mature approach - the door is open to anyone who agrees with republican socialist politics."

Unfortunately an armed assault on the movement by a gang lead by a former INLA leader Hugh Torney and using known drug dealers led to the death of Gino Gallagher and set back by a number of years the rebuilding of been 4 Ard Fheisnna held which have pointed the way forward for the movement and shown what can be achieved by political

The below resolution probably summarises what most activist republicans believe despite what the Provisional Sinn Fein leadership says.

"Ard-Fheis recognises that the Good Friday Agreement has failed to deliver peace to working communities, increased sectarian division and is a major block towards a Republic. We call for all republicans and socialists to oppose the current political set-up, unite in opposition to the maintenance of a sectarian state and push forward towards a republic. We believe that political opposition is the best method available at this time to republican and socialist forces and that these forces could best be united in a Republican Forum that allows for unity in action whilst respecting ideological differences.

A lively discussion took place around the Non Aggression Pact with many delegates opposed to any talks with representatives of sectarian loyalism. A commitment was given by the Party leadership not to enter into talks

with the UDA without calling a special Ard Fheis. unlikely to be such an Ard-Fheis foreseeable future the However the delegates endorsed the NAP by a huge majority. Another resolution applauded and supported the disciplined and defensive role of the INLA in the defence of working class communities especially in North Belfast from sectarian attack and re-affirmed support for the INLA

On policing the position was clear - opposition to republicans ever taking seats on the Northern Ireland Policing Board.

An important document "On Organising Our Work in the Trade Unions" was presented to the Ard-Feis and showed the determination of the Party to turn towards the working class and it's organised sections in particular. This document will be thoroughly discussed and debated by the movement before the next Ard-

A comprehensive resolution on anti drug work was also passed with an emphasis on adequate preventative measures necessary in combating the drug epidemic that has devastated working class communities.

Solidarity was expressed with

Traveller Organisations, who are opposed to "The Housing Miscellaneous Act (2002)" a draconian piece of legislation, which criminalise Travellers for being Travellers.

There was also condemnation of the worlds drug companies and western governments for their refusal to reduce the cost of drugs and treatment for HIV/AIDS. These should be made freely available to help ease the suffering of those millions who suffer from the escalating HIV/AIDS crisis in the Third

On housing the Ard Fheis supported the demands for affordable social housing to be made available for all regardless of race, colour or creed and condemned the political scapegoating of ethnic and racial minorities. Support for Dessie O'Hare was also expressed and his immediate release as a qualifying political prisoner under the Good Friday Agreement was demand-

Support for political prisoners in Ireland and internationally was also expressed with particular sympathy for the Palestinians and in particular our comrades in the PFLP. Also the Ard Fheis sent solidarity greetings to those courageous death fasters in Turkey who were struggling against an oppressive prison regime.

The Ard - Feis ended with the Republican Socialist Movement in the strongest position it has been in since its foundation.

INLA LEAD -OTHERS FOLLOW

In our last issue we brought you exclusive pictures showing a init from the North Derry Brigade of the Irish Nationa Liberation Army firing a volley of shots over the grave of INLA nunger striker Vol. Kevin Lynch In that report we mistakenly said he unit was from the South Derry Brigade. We apologise for any confusion caused. The INLA also paraded in broad day ight at the annual hungerstrik commemoration in Derry in August.

Since that there have been tw shows of strength in Derry eportedly by both the Continuity IRA and the Real IRA. Is it coincidence that these two events followed so closely behind the INLA events or is more a case o the others playing catch up to the INLA? Who knows?

Connolly in 'Greatest Brit' **Awards**

It seems that not many things these days would shock you however the BBC has publihowever the BBC has proceed a forthcoming program for the top 10 Britons of all-time.

So far, a poll of the top 100 alltime greatest Britons has surprisingly thrown up none other than the leader of the 1916 Easter Rising and the founder of modern republican socialism, James Connolly.

Figures released to highlight the show said that over 30,000 viewers from both Britain and the six counties had nominated 100 list of 'Great Britons'. A spokesperson for the BBC said that "The criteria for the greatest Briton was if some one was born in the British Isles, including Ireland, or if someone lived in the British Isles, includ-

Although born in Scotland to Irish and Scots parents, Connolly went on to become leader of the socialist Irish Citizens Army in the rising against British rule in Ireland. He was executed for his part in

A spokesperson for the Irish Republican Socialist Party told Republican Socialist Parily thut the Starry Plough that she believed that the "membership of the IRSP would welcome the possibility of James Connolly receiveing an award, even if the title was the 'greatest Briton'.

"I don't feel that our member ship would have a problem with the tilte as it would only add the the growth of awareness of James Connolly and the politics he espoused. It will bring James Connolly to the attention of millions of people who otherwise would never have heard of him or his ideals for which he gave

GAP GETS BIGGER!

Ireland will soon be announced as the second richest country in the world behind the US per nead of population. Does that make you feel any better to hear that? Are you proud of Ireland's achievements or do you think that we need to be asking the hard questions of Ireland's leaders. For example why is 10% of still living below the poverty line when there is an undoubted surplus of wealth within the coun-

Why are thousands of Ireland's working class forced to live in squalid flat complexes that are rife with poverty, deprivation and

What are the politicians from the main parties doing about the state of our hospitals, roads, schools, housing etc etc?

realth generated by the Irish working class is making the rich richer and the poor poorer. The gap is widening on a week-ly basis. The workers are not enefitting from their labour!

make a stand and demand what is rightfully theirs and it is time e political puppets in Leinster House listened and did some-thing before the workers kick them out!

WHAT NEXT? ADAIR DUMPED!

The news of tension between the UDA and LVF could spell danger for nationalists

Johnny Adair and John White have been dumped out of the UDA. Should Republicans celebrate this fall from grace of some of the leading hate figures within the loyalist community or should caution be exercised in light of

Well yes and no. We all want to see the defeat of militant loyalism and seeing a prominent fig-ure like Johnny Adair isolated vulnerable is welcome but there is a real danger for innocent

had finished killing each other in their various feuds they immediately tried to ingratuate themselves within their own communities by attempting to divert attention away from their own shortcomings and immediately set about the task of killing innocent nationalists. This was to make them look like the defenders of the communities in which they exist

The fact is that no-one knows for sure what will happen when this current feud ends but nationalists need to be mindful of past experience

Meanwhile, the RUC's Assistant Chief Constable for Belfast Alan McQuillan has admitted his men have made no arrests and secured no convictions against the loyalists behind a campaign of murder and bombing in North Belfast. Surprise surprise!

Speaking on the BBC, Mr McQuillan compared the loyalists to "mafia gangs" and specu-lated that recent feuding - includ-ing the murder of LVF leader Stephen Warnock - were linked

At that stage however, he refused to blame loyalists for the alleged murder attempt on Davy Mahood the previous week, say ing officers were following sever-al lines of enquiry.

Davy Mahood himself immediately blamed the INLA for attempting to kill him. One local republican socialist source told us, "Nothing new in this further case of a loyalist developing an over active imagination and

attempting to take the heat off ow loyalists by blaming the INLA for stirring things up. The INLA didn't try to kill this loyalist." The source went on, "This is in line with current loyalist thinking. If your in a tight spot blame the INLA for starting the trouble in the first place. Remember that after they killed Gerard Lawlor in July they blamed the INLA for shooting a member of the UDA's youth wing and claimed the Lawlor killing was in response to that. There is no evidence what-soever that the INLA has been involved in any of this activity.

Mahood desperately tried in vain to justify blaming the INLA. He said that the INLA were the most active in the area where the shooting took place. The RUC later said that they had no rea-son to believe the INLA were responsible and blamed loyalists. This didn't stop the UDA sending a hit team out a few days later for a "revenge" attack. They targeted three innocent men sitting outside shops at Atlantic Avenue, off the Antrim Road at 5pm on a Saturday

IRSP RESPOND TO LACK OF LOYALIST ARRESTS

A North Belfast IRSP spokesperson claimed that "Lovalists in North Belfast have been responsible for over 300 pipe bomb attacks and sev eral sectarian assassinations.

"I would ask the RUC and their political bedfellows on the new local policing ing boards to explain why not one loyalist has been arrested but wher loyalist are allegedly targeting fellow loyalists there are massive security operations thrown into place to prevent loyalists from being killed an people like Andre Shoukri are arrested and charged within days. The RUC don't care about catholic lives. These facts speak for themselves"



Johnny Adair: Isolated and alone in the Lower Shankill?

WORKERS UNITY TO END POVERTY PAY

WORKPLACE ANGER INCREASES OVER DECENT WAGES

Hundreds of Firefighters from England, Scotland and Wales joined forces with their coworkers in the six counties last month in the first of a series of public protests to highlight their demand for fair pay.

protesting Firefighters grathered in Belfast city centre as part of their 'National' Campaign. Many supporters joined in as onlookers cheered in support of their demands.

The march and rally was aimed at securing a decent living wage for the 6 counties 2,000 uniformed fire service staff and to replace the now out of date 1977 pay formula devised by the bosses

Members of the IRSP took part, in a show of solidarity with all under paid workers, in the demonstration which was addressed by a number of leading trade unionists from both islands

spokesperson for the Fire Brigades Union said that firefighters wages was "in no way reflect the difficult and often dangerous job we do not least here in Northren Ireland.

"We have said all along that we want to avoid confrontation. This remains the case.

However, we are absolutely determined that our firefighters should receive the proper salary for the prosessional job they do. We are not asking for special treatment but fair treatment.

The battle for the firefighters demand of a 40% wage increase has been so far rejected by the 'Labour' government. Instead an offer of a mere 4% increase has been widely laughed at.

A Belfast IRSP spokesperson said that "It is incredible to think that as a worker, you are risking life and limb each day everyday yet your wage doesn't reflect the importance of the work you are

"Our party fully supports the fire-fighters in their struggle for a decent living wage, as do the communities from which they come from and risk their lives in.

"The crumbs offered by a socalled labour government only tightens the firefighters resolve in winning the battle ahead. Many thousands of public sector workers across the board who have been treated in a similar fashion over wages and conditions are also

these developments closely." **FIREFIGHTERS ARE** RIGHT TO STAND FIRM

The IRSP supports fully the right of the firefighters of the six counties to stand up against poverty pay in their workplace. In fact we would encourage all workers who are victims of poverty pay to organise and follow the lead set by the firefighters. Stand up to the bosses and demand an end to poverty pay!



SUPERQUINN BACKTRACK OVER PAY!



An estimated 130 butchers at Superquinn stores throughout the country have ended their strike over an increase in pay.

In a show of solidarity, 400 workers failed to turn up for work as the strike began at the end of

The butchers, who are all fully qualified in their trade informed the Starry Plough that they had been 'seen as second class workers' within one of the countries biggest superstores and had been forced to 'make a stand in order to be paid the the supermarket chainstore.

During the dispute, 13 out of 19 Superquinn stores took part in a strike over what has been called 'catch-up' pay.

Workers at Superquinn had even been issued with protective a notice that affected 5,300 workers at the chainstore as the strike entered its third day.

103 members of SIPTU went on strike for 8% catch-up pay that bosses owed to them since last

the entire to become the season of the the thinks had be the the the the the terms of the decreasing the terms of the decreasing the terms of the te

Following talks at the Labour court, Superguinn agreed to pay the increase sought by the

A Dublin IRSP Spokesperson said that "this was a strike in which workers across the country should learn from.

"When workers have a goal to end poverty pay and conditions and stick together, they can win. Workers must not remain isolated on this or any other battle with the bosses."

HISTORIC FACTORY TO BE **DEMOLISHED?**

Derry city has been for many ears renowned for its shirt make ng Industry. Both in word and in song workers have enshrined the city's industrial heritage in national history

Built in 1855, on the west bank of the River Foyle beside the city's Caigavon Bridge, the Tillie & Henderson building stands as a monument to it's industrial past.

The building is now owned by property developer Diljit Rana who, it is said, may be planning to demolish this world famous building so that he can carry on with the business of making money from the site. He is elieved to have forked out in the region of £950,000 when he pur chased the historic riverside property in 1999. He plans to build a hotel on the site after demolishing this building.

William Tillie arrived in Derry rom Glasgow in 1850 and his partner, John Henderson, erect ed the five story building covering nearly one acre of land on the Foyle Road, with 19,000 square feet of factory space. At that time this shirt factory was the largest of it's kind in the world. So much so that it got a mention in Karl Marx's 'Das

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One local historian told the Starry Plough, "If this landmark goes it will not only be the end of a beautiful artitechural building but the end of the mighty indus trial past of this city."

Thousands of workers, mostly vomen, passed through these doors throughout the years, par-ticularly during the late nineteenth century and into the twentieth century. To lose this histori cal site, with it's working class heritage, is another victory for rampant profiteering"

Another **Workplace Death**

The Starry Plough has repeate ly highlightled many deaths with in the country's building sites.

Sadly we have again see another construction worke killed. This time on a construct tion site in the city centre of

An IRSP spokesperson in Derry said, "The IRSP have been sad dened by the death yesterday of a 23 year old man, a construc tion worker from Limavady Co.Derry who was killed when a staircase crashed on top of him within the site of a new Debenhams Store at Foyleside shopping centre

"Our party reiteriate the call for greater health and safety regulaons to be introduced immed ately in order to prevent further loss of life of workers on building sites. It is our view that if con struction bosses continue to fail o increase safety measures to protect employees then this is clearly attempted murder of workers and they must be held ccountable!

REID'S CLAIMS DISMISSED

Short Strand Protestants Speak Out on Attacks

Two Short Strand Protestants have slammed claims by Britain's Secretary of State for the 6 Counties, John Reid, that recent violence in East Belfast has been carried out by nationalists.

NUACHT

They correctly said that the violence undoubtably came from loyalists in the area

Rod Clooney and Damian Brennan were speaking at a press conference organised by Protestant residents from the East Belfast interface.

It is estimated that more than 60 people either of the Protestant faith or of Protestant parentage live in the Short Strand.

"We're called Lundy's and turncoats," explained Rod Clooney, a Protestant originally from the Newtownards Road.

"After my mother and father died I had nowhere to go and I was welcomed into the Short Strand with open arms.

"That wouldn't happen to a Catholic in a loyalist area.

"My home has been attacked by loyalist rioters on countless occa-sions since I moved here.

"They don't care that I am a

Protestant. They view me with the same hatred that they do every Catholic from the Short

And Rod Clooney claims the RUC's attitude is no better.

"They have mistakenly called me a Fenian bastard in the past," he said

"They have to bear a lot of the responsibility for what has gone on in East Belfast since May.

"I have witnessed them sit back and allow loyalists to attack homes in the Short Strand."

BT48 8GX.

IRELAND

Rod Clooney says John Reid is wrong when he says the situation in East Belfast is tit-for-tat, Catholic against Protestant.

"I'm a Protestant living in the Short Strand being attacked by fellow Protestants," he said.

"The bottom line is that loyalism is trying to eradicate my commu-

And Damian Brennan who has a Protestant parent agrees.

"John Reid infuriated the entire community when he made his illadvised comments last week." said the Clandeboye resident.

"And David Trimble did the same when he chose to visit Cluan Place and not the Short Strand."

Damian Brennan says his community has been wrongfully accused of sectarian attacks on the people of Cluan Place.

"If there was even an ounce of sectarianism in any Short Strand resident then surely the first thing they would do would be to put the Protestants living here out of the

"The very fact that there are 60 Protestants living here who are treated as equals highlights the

"That the Short Strand is a community under siege.

The Irish Republican Socialist Party's representative in the area echoed the views of Damian and Rod when he spoke to the Starry Plough.

"John Reid doesn't have to live with the terror that the residents of this area have to live under" he said. "Furthermore to try to say that the nationalist residents had anything to do with the ongoing trouble is ubsurd. Nothing could be further from the truth. This community is under daily attack and John Reid turns up on our doorsteps to tell us we are involved in this trouble and we must stop it. This is blatant appeasement to the fascists on the other side of the wall who are trying to portray the working class communty there as some sort of victim community.

And he added "Yes they are victims all right, but not of republican violence. They are victims of loyalist intimidation and manipu-

SUNDAY **EVIDENCE** 'MISLEADING'

57th Death in Turkish **Hunger Strike**

As resistance continues to spread in the gaols and on the treets of Ancara and Istanbul and many other towns and cities

n Turkey, sad news once again as reached our office of the death of comrade Hamide

death for political status and

against maximum security pris-

serving a prison sentance of 12

years simply for being a memper of the DHKC-P (Peoples

Revolutionary Liberation Party-

The entire Staff of the Starry

Plough send you Hamide, your

family and comrades our

varmest revolutionary regards

and in the words of hunger strik-

er INLA volunteer Pasty O'Hara,

we repeat 'Let the fight go on!

ons or F-Type Prisons. She w

Ozturk who was aged 32. Hamide passed away in a hospital in Istanbul after many days on Death Fast, protesting to the

ecently into the events of Bloody Sunday it once again an into a storm of controversy

The inquiry heard the testimony of a retired forensic scientist, Dr John Martin. He spoke of how he did not know that some of the victims murdered on the day had been handled by British paratroopers on their way to Altnagelvin Hospital.

Dr Martin's claim that he was unaware at the time that civilans were 'carried in the back of an army vehicle', is simply astonishing.

that some of the victims had handled guns fitted conveniently into exactly the outcome that Lord Widgery wanted for his whitewash report.

The Forensic Scientist furthe commented that 'there was not as much known about contamination back in 1972 as there is now.' A claim flatly rejected by a spokesperson for the local Cumann of the IRSP.

The spokesperson told the Starry Plough that "each day of Saville brings to light nothing new. Forensic scientists, even back in the dark ages of 1972, knew all about cross contam nation of this type of evidence and a competent scientist would have asked the relevant questions at the time to rule out cross contamination"

The fact is that innocent people were cut-down in cold blood simply for being Irish and standing up for their rights in their own country. No forensic scientist can dispute that,"









SPECIAL 25th ANNIVER The legacy

Seamus

Republican Socialists commemorate this year the 25th anniver-sary of the assassination of nus Costello. If he is unsurprisingly remembered as the founder of the IRSP and the INLA, he should also be commemorated as one of the main architects of the left turn taken by the then unified Republican Movement during the 1960s. In contrast to Connolly, whose background was the workers movement. Costello came from the conspiratorial politics of the "secret army", understood their limits, and developed a strategy to reconstruct them on a left wing basis . Born in 1939 Seamus Costello applied to join the IRA aged 16, and became the commander of an ASU in South Derry during the border campaign. He was arrested in 1957, and was interned in the Curragh. Like others, he reflected on the reasons for the failure of the 1956 - 1962 campaign, and came to realise that there was an objective need to move away from a purely military conception of struggle. The IRA had sepa-

rated itself from the people. Costello

thought that the Republican movement

should be organically linked to the masses develop a solid political programme to give political leadership and if necessary complement mass struggle by military action. Through the efforts of Costello and others, the Republican Movement adopted a socialist stance by 1966/1967. This part of Costello's political life has much relevance in 2002. Forty years after the end of the border campaign, Republicans have still to understand the defeat of the 1990s. While some Republicans join the status quo and other "pan nationalist fronts", Republican Socialists will find inspiration in Costello's 1960s strategy. What is required of Republicans to be organically linked to the struggles of the working class and give political leadership.

With the outbreak of the struggle in the North and the split in the Republican

Movement,
C o s t e I o
remained with the
Officials. He was on
the left wing of the
Officials, pressing the rest
of the leadership to adopt a more

militant stance. It was mainly due to the pressure of Costello and his supporters that the Official IRA adopted a more aggressive policy in 1971. But under the pressure of reformist elements, the Official IRA called a ceasefire in 1972. The strategy of the Officials in the North was seeking to unite Catholic and Protestant workers under the Civil Rights banner, reform Stormont and demand a Westminster Bill of Rights. The Official leadership argued that military activity alienated the loyalist working class and endangered electoral prospects in the 26 counties. The Official leadership was totally out of step with the mass struggle that was going on. They stated that the abolition of Stormont was a regressive measure! They were still stuck at the Civil Rights stage when the struggle against British rule was the main issue. No wonder that the Officials lost a lot of political credibility with the Nationalist working class. This political line was opposed by Costello and his supporters. Strategically, Costello argued that there was too much emphasis on appeasing loyalists rather than defending Nationalists, that the principal contradiction was partition and not the reform of Stormont. Tactically, he criticised the absence of armed struggle and the over-emphasis upon electoralism in the 26 counties. One of the lessons of this period, is the necessity for Republican Socialists of never being out of step with the mass struggle. Any struggle out of step with mass struggle is condemned to fail. It is also important to understand what the main contradiction is, and how the principal aspect of that contradiction manifests itself. The Officials failed to see what the principal contradiction was and embarked on the road to

At first, Costello tried to reform the Official Republican Movement from within. In 1972, in an attempt to open up a discussion on political and military strategy, Costello (who was still OIRA Director of Operations) and Sean Garland jointly formulated a policy document called "A Brief Examination of the sition: An Attempt to Formulate the Correct Demands and Methods of Struggle*. Their position was critical of the then leadership's gradual downgrading of the national question. The document was adopted at the October 1972 IRA convention and the subsequent Sinn Fein Ard Fheis, but never implemented. The Goulding- MacGiolla faction attempted to reverse the decision and tried to isolate and undermine tello by perverting methods of internal democracy. In 1973, the Offical Sinn Fein and Army Council adopted new organisational principles as part of a strategy of isolating the opposition without creating a split. Costello was weakened when Garland changed sides. Things came to a head when Seamus Costello was court martialled and dismissed from the Official IRA in July 1974. At the 1974 Offical Sinn Fein Ard Fheis, Costello was also dismissed from the party. Costello supporters had been so thoroughly purged from both the party and the army, that there were only 15 votes against the motion. Costello was certainly no "splitist". He tried to work within the Officials until he was expelled, and when the conflict later erupted between the Official IRA and his movement, he did everything in his power to resolve matters peacefully. He was probably correct not to leave earlier, as he ultimately would have ended up isolated.

Costello and his supporters had little choice but form a new political movement. On 8 December 1974, Costello and eighty of his supporters set up the Irish Republican Socialist Party. The same day, they discussed also discussed the formation of a new armed group that would continue the struggle the Official IRA had abandoned. They recognised the need for a revolutionary socialist party who would understand the relationship between the national question and the class struggle

in Ireland, and would have a programme of political action based on this understanding. Costello and his supporters were at first busy laying the foundation and structures of their party. In April 1975 was the first national conference, the same year the party paper "The Starry Plough" was established and party premises were purchased in Dublin. But the party had to fight for its very survival before even thinking of developing. The party was faced with very serious objective and subjective problems that crippled its development and growth.

First, the Officials attempted to wipe out Costetion organisation before it got off the ground, beating, pistal whipping and kneecapping its members, and on 20 February abouting dead Hugh Ferguson. Until a ceasefire between the two organisations was brokered in May, three comrades by dead and over forty injured. But the Officials never lifted the discrive to execute Costello, and assassinated him in 1977. Those who had refused to use their weapons against the amed forces of British occupation had not qualms about tuning hem against fellow Republicans! If the fighting with the Officials had been mostly concentrated in Belfast, it nevertheless had a debilitating effect on the movement in the country as a whole. Costello's supporters had also to cope with hotility of some Provisionals. A number of people left the Provisional IRA (then on ceasefire) to join Costello's organisation. To dissuade further defections, the IRA assassinated one of its nembers that had joined the IRSP, and blamed the killing on the Officials. In such a climate, the immediate threat to the movement was not even the state or the loyalists, but former commides.

On top of that, state repression attempted to and the IRSP, in the 26 counties in particular. This was no adinary Garda harassment. In June 1975, they lay the blame of the IRSP for a UDA attempt to blow up a train carrying Officials to Bodenstown. On 31 March 1976 at Sallins, the Cork-Dublin train was robbed. Although the Provisionals ther admitted responsibility for the robbery, the Free State government used it as an excuse to launch a vicious political attack on the IRSP. About 40 IRSP members were arrested, and most reported that they were tortured, deprived of sleep and lood, brutally kicked and beaten. Doctors and human rights observers later confirmed their injuries. Three IRSP members were eventually sentenced to long term prison imprisonment by the Dublin Special Criminal Court in December 1978. All thee had been framed, and after intense efforts by organisons such as Amnesty International to prove their innocence. two were released in 1980. The last, Nicky Kelly, had to wait 1992 before being officially cleared IC Osstello always maintained that there had been a state conspiracy to smash the IRSP. What is correlatin is that round 1976, the Free State took a particularly repressive stance against left-wing groups for example, Noel and Marie Murray, two Anarchists accused of lating a Garda during a robbery, where threatened with death penalty. But the IRSP particularly suffered. Ta Power estimated that the IRSM had by late 1975 about 800 members. Up to 15% of them had been injured -or even Killed- in arrests or by to Officials. That means that for the first two years, due to these difficult objective circumstances, the movement had little treathing space and simply struggled for survival.

At the same time, Costello was busy building an armed organisation organically distinct from the party. The resumption of armed struggle was one of the decisive reasons for leaving the armed struggle was one of the decisive reasons for leaving the armed struggle was one of the decisive reasons for leaving the armed struggle was one of the decisive reasons of the struggle was not a struggle with a struggle was not a struggle with a struggle with a struggle was not a struggle with a struggle was not a struggle with a struggle was not a struggle was not a struggle with a struggle was not a struggle

ERSARY EDITION Costello

(Selected Works, p.45) In early 1976, the Army Council of a "National Liberation Army" issued its first statement. "The National Liberation Army was recently formed with the aim ording British imperialist rule in Ireland and creating a 32 county Democratic Socialist Republic. As revolutionaries, we recognise the paramyunt prepssity for the previous results are recognised to the previous results are results are results and results are results are results are results and results are results are results are results and results are results and results are results and results are res both period of the paramount necessity for the existence of an armed anti-imperialist organisation which will play an effective role in the current struggle. (.) After five years of struggle against imperialism, the Irish people have victory within their grasp. We see it as our task, as revolutionaries, that they are not deprived of victory through the acceptance of any compromise solution negotiated without reference to the long term interests of the Irish working class." The statement ended with a list of 15 operations carried out since May 1975 ("New Army Announced", The Starry Plough n.10, January 1976, p.4) Due to the lack of weapons and ammunitions, it was not easy for Costello's army to make an impact. In May 1977, the Starry Plough stated for example: "There is little known about the National Liberation Army (NLA) who have remained relatively quiet since December 1975." ("National Liberation Army on the Offensive", The Starry Plough n.21, May 1977, p.6) The 1978 British Army document "Future Terrorist Trends" barely mentions Costello's organisation. The name of the group itself was not even clear. It is only in March 1978 that the armed group adopted the INLA name, and by that time Costello was already dead. Even if he was undeniably left-leaning, Costello dead. Even if he was undeniably left-leaning, Costello remained true to the physical force Republican tradition, and for him the army was the privileged vehicle for revolutionary struggle. This gave rise to a debate leading to a split (or resolutionations) in the IRSP in 1975. A faction led by Bernadette Devlin-McAliskey argued that the army should be subordinated to the party on the basis of democratic centralism. Otherwise, "Group B" would just be a smaller version of the IRA with left-leanings. The split significantly weakened the movement, as it lost experienced notifical cadres. movement, as it lost experienced political cadres

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Whether with the party or the army, Costello was committed to the Connolly position on the relation between the national question and the class struggle. The Officials concentrated on the class question while ignoring the national one, and the Provisional Republican movement concentrated on the nation-Provisional Republican movement concentrated on the national question while ignoring class issues. In contrast, the Republican Socialist movement would concretely link the two. Unfortunately, since Costello's death, the idea of "For National Liberation and Socialism" merely remained a slogan and was not developed into a concrete programme. This partly related to the fact that the IRSP put too much emphasis upon the strategy of the Broad Front. For its time, the proposal to form a united front was even extended if the results with exclusivism and elited front was very advanced -it broke with exclusivism and elit-ism latent within Republican politics to this day. Costello recogism latent within Republican politics to this day. Costello recognised that armed struggle on its own could not succeed, it needed to be grounded on a mass movement and collaborate with other progressive organisations. One must also note that the Broad Front envisaged by Costello had little to do with the so-called "pan-nationalist front" of today, as it would be limited to progressive social forces. The problem was that Costello elevated the tactic of the Broad Front to the level of a strategy. As a tactic, it is very valid for the IRSP to engage in joint actions, in a united front with other political organisations on specific issues and specific goals. However, the Broad Front is not the decisive catalyst for struggle. The development of the Broad Front should be subordinated to the necessity of building theirevolutionary vanguard party based on scientific socialism as the decisive vehicle to bring about national liberation and socialism. There was a problem of priorities because in effect, the IRSP tended to subordinate the development of the

party to the construction of the Broad Front, and was willing to submerge its particular political outlook in a Broad Front (see for instance the experience of the Irish Front in Derry in 1977-78). Costello called for the Broad Front without clear indica-tions of the dangers of popular frontism. The result is that the uous or the cangers of popular frontism. The result is that the party was unable to develop a clear ideology nor define its politics beyond the slogan "For National Liberation and Socialism" and a vague call for the "Broad Front". However, this failure is not unique: from the 1930s Republican Congress to the League of Communist Republicans in the 1980s, no group really solved the problems of the problems. really solved the problem of the relation between the strategy of party building and the constitution of the united popular front.

Added to objective (attacks on the movement) and subjective (resignations, political hesitations), the assassination of Seamus Costello in October 1977 by the Official IRA was a decisive blow against the IRSP. To all intents and purposes, he was the party. He was the main political and organisational brains behind the movement. It left the party in confusion and without direction. Today, the organisational strategy of the Republican Socialist Movement would differ significantly from that of Costello in at least one important aspect: the stress on collective leadership. Collective leadership would have helped avoid many of the problems that rose within the movement after the death of Costello. Twenty five years after the assassination of Seamus Costello, those are just some of the most important issues of Costello's legacy that Republican Socialists should reflect on.

Liam O Ruairc

Seamus Costello 25th Anniversary Commemoration



Assemble 2pm, Sunday 20th October Town Hall, Bray for March and Rally to Little Bray Churchyard, Bray

> Main speaker Bernadette Devlin McAliskey

Organised by the I.R.S.P. Seamus Costello Commemeration Committee.

For more details regarding the Commemeration contact: Dublin IRSP on 01-873562 or email: dublinirsp@hotmail.com Bray IRSP contact details ring Stephen on 086-359004. Belfast contact details ring Fra on 028-90321024.

This is Republican Socialism!

reland and internationally with bhers who share that common goal. The IRSP stands in the tra-sition of James Connolly, seek-ing an end to all forms of Stayloitation and the creation of a 32 county socialist republic, with he working class collectively owning the means of production, istribution, and exchange, as well as democratically adminis-ering society.

Socialism
The socialism we embrace is the kind that liberates, not enslaves. We strive towards a society that functions to meet human needs, not the need for profit. Our socialism is a means of liberating our class from all forms of oppression, whether economic, political, religious, cultural or social, it is a socialism that envisions our class controlling their own destinies and that of the nation as a whole.

nation as a whole.

National Liberation
The struggle for national liberation cannot be separated from the class struggle. Any attempt to isolate one from the other will result in failure. It is meaning-less to speak of a free nation, after overwhelming majority remain oppressed, and national sovereignty is lost through multi-national corporate control of the economy just as much as by partition. At the same time, someone who refuses to challenge British impenaitism in Ireland cannot claim to be fighting for socialism and the continuation partition prose up the divisions in socialism and the continuation of partition props up the divisions in the working class of Ireland that hold us back from our own liber-lation. We have no choice in whether or not we wish to con-sider the interconnection of the national and class questions, reality forces us to do so.

reality forces us to do so.

We define the national liberation struggle as that struggle which seeks to force a British military withdrawal from the occupied six counties. The destruction of the pro-British loyalist armed forces. The withdrawal of British political influence from all parts of Ireland. The ending the partition of the island of Ireland and the overfurning of both the partitions of the island parts of Ireland. The gaining of collective economic control of the nation's resources by the nation as a whole and the eradication of any control or influence exercised by foreign capitalists over any aspect of the Irish economy. The recognition of a separate Irish cultural identity and the establishment of revolutionary 32-county socialist republic.

We aim to build a strong alliance in Irish society of our class in towns and cities, agricultural workers in the country-side, unemployed workers. working class refugees, linked as a movement internationally with other like-minded liberation struggles.

We firmly stand-by the struggle for a republic. On that we are inflexible, but our struggle for the republic is a means to an end. For us, the national liberation struggle is but an aspect of the struggle for socialism.

Oyalism & Nationalism
We distinguish between loyalism
and Protestims. We recognise the right of everyone to their
own religious beliefs, provided
they do not use these beliefs to
oppress others. We have no
uparrel with Protestant workers
end welcome them to join us in
struggle. However, we stand
totally opposed to the political

nise that nationalism can play a reactionary role. The national chauvinism of the Tories National Front, etc. is counter-revolutionary and anathema to socialists. The nationalism of an oppressed country is vastly dif-ferent from such reactionary jin-goism. We support all struggles against imperialism throughout the world.

Class mobilisation
Only by mobilising our class
north and south - Protestant,
Catholic and Dissenter - can the
goal of national liberation and
socialism be achieved. Workers
have distinct interests as a class,
ultimately opposed to any other
class, we must join together as a
class to win control of society.

For a fighting union
As republican socialists, we take lesson from battles that have gone before us, in the community and in the workplace. We must reclaim our unions and organise the unorganised. We remain committed to the revolutionary industrial unionism of Larkin and Connolly. As republican socialists we see the creation of a fighting 'rank and file' trade union movement as something that still holds potential and we support the building of a revolutionary shop stewards' movement.

ment.

Equality

Our class faces daily, relentless assaults inflicted on us from many quarters and a constant onslaught of attempts to divide us. The IRSP oppose and fight against all forms of inequality and oppression, including that of women, travellers, lesbians, gays, or other sexual minorities, refugees. Africans, Asians, and any other oppressed sector of the working class. We oppose racism, Zionism, sexism, homophobia, national chauvinism, and anything else which divides our class. We support reproductive rights and unhindred access to contraception, including a woman's right to choose abortion. We are opposed to religious sectarianism and seek the complete separation of church and state and a secular society.

Our Earth
The increasing destruction of our environment is due to misman-agement of industrialisation and the inevitable product of a system, which puts profit before all else, that is, capitalism. The IRSP is committed to sustainable and renewable energy sources, preservation of the ecology and biodiversity of our planet, with protection of all species and the promotion of a healthy environment for all people and animal life.

Revolution not Reform
The IRSP believe that the present class system cannot be reformed out of existence. There exists no parliamentary road to socialism and the liberation of our class. We need to build an organised working class movement with the politics capable of leading the fight against capitalism. Our class are entitled to control over all the wealth of society and to obtain it through any means necessary.

If you agree with us, then we urge you to join the Irish Republican Socialist Party and help build a movement that can accomplish these aims and objectives. Be part of the Irish revolution!

publican Merchandis

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international

EARTH SUMMIT FARC



The recent Earth Summit, convened by the United Nations in Johannesburg, showed the industrialised nations of the North unprepared to consider seriously the problems faced by the developing nations of the South. Even clearer, however was the extent to which the United States is bent on a course of unilateralism, intending to force its will upon the entire world.

The summit began with UN Secretary-General calling the present model of development "fruitful for the few, but flawed for the many" and calling for a new chapter of responsibility, partnerships and implementation. He noted that the industrialised nations, "have the wealth...have the technology (and) they contribute disproportionately to global environmental problems," and he called not only on governments, but on corporations to join addressing the world's problems

As with all such summits, it ended with pledges to halve the number of those without clean water or proper sanitation by 2015, restore depleted fisheries by 2015, reduce bio-diversity loss by 2010, and, use and produce chemicals without harm human health or the environment by 2020. A resolution to increase the use of renewable energy failed, due chiefly to opposition from the US. If past history is any indicator though, none of these resolutions will be met and all the problems they pledge to fight will just get worse.

The USA defended its support for genetically modified crops, hostility to Zimbabwe's land reform, opposition to renewable energy, advocacy of trade as the only means to development, and privatisation of public services. The US finally acknowledged global warming is real and likely to be caused by human activity, but then unsettlingly oddly went on to say that they intended on taking no action to stem the climate change now threatening all life on the planet. And, as is now becoming increasingly common, the US generally maintained its stubborn refusal to modify its position on any-thing and was booed and heckled throughout its address to the summit for positions at odds with the rest of virtually the entire world.

American unilateralism, militarism, and unfettered capitalist zeal now pose a serious threat to world peace, the health of the planet, and the lives of millions of the world's people and it will take more than heckling during the Yank's speeches to deal with the threat. There was no evidence, however, of the Europeans, with whom the US is increasingly in conflict with due to competing agendas, developing the resolve to defy the leader of western imperialism. Few other nations possess the ability to stand up to the military might of this sole remaining super-

The world is running out of time for resolutions that will never be met and statements of support for developments that will never advance beyond being statements. The Maldives is threatened with the very real possibility that their entire nation will sink below the waves due to global warming. Changes in salinity and temperature of the North Atlantic are approaching a theoretical threshold which could cause the Gulf Stream to swing south ward, potentially causing a 10 degree F drop in average temperatures throughout Europe. A growing hole in the ozone layer around the earth is already causing a rise in malignant melanoma in Australia and New Zealand, which is becoming a serious threat to the lives of those living there

In a world where technology now enables the creation of vast wealth, the system of capitalism continues to ensure that a growing number of people live in absolute poverty. Millions die annually from lack of medical care, malnutrition and starvation, unsanitary living conditions, inadequate housing and a host of other problems that the world has long been capable of solving. Millions continue to die from diseases that modern medicine could eradicate, were there the will to do so. The distribution of wealth continues to be concentrated in fewer and fewer hands, so that a single individual, such as Microsoft owner Bill Gates, has tens of billions of pounds, while millions earn less than a pound a

The IRSP recognise that the solutions to the problems confronting the nations of the world exist, but will never be implemented so long as the world continues to languish under the system of capitalism. This is because capitalism puts all the productive forces of the world and the labour of all its people into motion to secure profit for the benefit of the few, rather than to meet the needs of humanity.

There is only one solution to the continuing degradation of the earth's environment, hunger, illness, poverty, ignorance, and war. That solution is the overthrow of capitalism worldwide and the construction of socialism. It is the struggle for the liberation of the working class in every nation that alone holds the opportunity to save humanity and the other species with which they share the earth.

As the great communist Rosa Luxemburg once said, we confront a choice of socialism or bar-barism. If we do not meet that challenge, there may be none left to mourn our failure.

n analysis of the musical and cultural connection between the Irish and African Liberation Struggles

DM Gould

e a man that have the blues to sing the blues."

Into Slavery

Irish Penal Laws of the 18th Century were remely oppressive. After the Treaty of Limerick 691), the Irish Parliament, filled with Planter ers and controlled from England, enacted a al code that secured and enlarged the landholdings and degraded and impoverished the h Natives

discriminatory and oppressive laws were ifically directed against Irish Roman Catholics majority of the native Celts had been 'convert-Catholicism by this time, but not having one the Protestant Reformation seen on houring Britain), and were in place for over a ry. Penal Laws reduced the Irish peasants to human levels in the eyes of the British and their ed' Protestant landowners. Catholics could ther teach their children nor send them abroad: sons of property could not enter into mixed mar-Catholic property was inherited equally ng the sons unless one was a Protestant, in h case he received all (this contrasted with the lity of Protestant landowners to pass their ates on to a single heir - the net affect was that ates owned by Catholics became progressively naller with each generation, until they became sufficient in size to be economically viable any ger); a Catholic could not inherit property if there s any Protestant heir; a Catholic could not posarms or a horse worth more than £5; Catholics uld not hold leases, and they could not make a ter than a third of their rent. The hierarchy Catholic Church was banished or suped, and Catholics could not hold seats in the sh Parliament, hold public office, vote or practice w. Cases against Catholics were tried without s, and bounties were given to informers against

Jeanwhile, a shift from tobacco to cotton and then sugar production in the 'British' West Indies in the 1640's made the islands less attractive to ntured servants who crossed the ocean from or Britain voluntarily. Sugar production uired such strenuous labour, especially in comon to the work of the tobacco planters of nia and Maryland, that men would not willingly entake it. For these reasons, when Barbados ints became free, they frequently headed for nia or other 'mainland' colonies. And the sugar ers turned more to buying slaves partly they could not buy servants unless they shanghaied,' or 'barbadosed' as the word was the time, or unless they were sent as prisoners, e captured Scottish and Irish soldiers whom er Cromwell shipped over

ut not all captured Irish were sent to the islands as rants or prisoners. During the terror of Oliver vell, when more than two and a half million of 'choice land' was usurped and given to sh Protestant settlers, evicted Irish peasants nd landowners alike were often exiled to barren, e regions, such as parts of Connaught off the Shannon. Children were often shipped as s to the West Indies. It is estimated that more 100,000 boys and girls, between the ages of nd 16 (many of whom were orphaned because parents were murdered under Penal Laws) shipped as slaves to the West Indies. Over 000 Irish slaves were shipped to Barbados In Black Folk Then and Now, W.E.B. Du Bois "Young Irish peasants were [also] hunted as men hunt down game, and were forcibly aboard ship, and sold to plantations in

The Blues

bugh many credit the Mississippi Delta area as egion where Blues music originated, others its origins as beginning much earlier in the Indies, where the Irish and African slaves proed a unique, yet sorrowful, blend of Celtic and African music prior to the emergence of the Delta Blues of the early 1900s. With both cultures subjected to the tyranny and degradation of slavery, it is only natural that their music would be a mutually soulful expression of extreme suffering and privation. Moreover, Irish Celtic folklore and African folklore were not written, but recited with lyrical inflections and often accompanied by music. This strong oral tradition of both cultures served well the slaves of the West Indies, because the Blues were a way to tell a story - and tell it out of the reach of censo ship. Early Blues were indeed very irregular rhythmically and usually followed speech patterns; and this can be heard in recordings as late as the 1920s and 1930s.

Blues music would continue to grow following the harsh social environment of slavery, into the sharecropping era and levee building camps, on through the struggle for civil rights. In the early 1900s, the 'field holler' gave rise to the spiritual Delta Blues. This was a reflection of the profound despair and alienation that prevailed in the construction camps of the South, where recently freed slaves and exiled Irish immigrants were often forcibly conscripted to work on the levee and land-clearing crews, and oftentimes worked literally to death. Here the Troubles mixed with the Blues. These men were called 'barrow men' or 'hoppers.' One such famous Irish hopper was Bluesman Black Hat McCoy, who sang:

The was Ed Slocum, a man without skill. He had to leave Denver, for a cabbage he did steal. The steal ing of cabbage wouldn't keep him alive, And he stared dead broke for Hell's Creek Drive."

The Blues and The Troubles of the anci

The culture of those of African descent in America during this time was also markedly different from the constrained, essentially conservative traditions of those of European descent; and thus the earthy sometimes lustful lyrics and rhythms in Blues music reflect a sensuality, not part of mainstream norms, but unique to African and other immigrant groups, particularly those upon whom American culture was forced. This was a time, for example, when Irishman James Joyce could not be read or legally published in the prudish United States

In 1845, emancipated slave Frederick Douglass made a five-week lecture tour of Ireland. He gave a series of fiery anti-slavery lectures in Dublin, Wexford, Waterford, Cork, Limerick and Belfast sometimes drawing parallels between Irish and American slave experiences and more often distinguishing between them as forms of oppression. His letter back home to the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison published in The Liberator reporte

"During my stay in Dublin, I took occasion to visit the huts of the poor in its vicinity and of all places to witness human misery, ignorance, degradation, filth and wretchedness, an Irish hut is pre-eminent.... I see much here to remind me of my former condition.... He who really and truly feels for the American slave cannot steel his heart to the woes of others.

Other 19th century commentators also compared conditions of the Irish and enslaved African-Americans. A French traveller to both America and Ireland reported that "I have seen the Indian in his forests and the Negro in his chains, and thought, as I contemplated their pitiable condition, that I saw the very extreme of human wretchedness; but I did not then know the condition of unfortunate Ireland.

Irish immigrants to America were referred to as 'White Niggers.' Storefront signs in the early 1900s often read, "No Black, No Irish." Moreover, both groups were targets of racist stereotypes that usually drew on a perverse form of Darwinism in which both Blacks and Irish were considered somehow nearer to apes than were Anglo-Saxons. Illustrations from this time period can be found, notably in the publication Punch, that show an alleged similarity between 'Irish Iberian' and 'Negro' features in contrast to the higher 'Anglo-Teutonic.' Both groups were considered 'savages,' thus the need for 'superior races' (like the English) to rule over them.

Political Implications

The link between Irish and African liberation appeared in political contexts as well. The Black nationalist Marcus Garvey named his headquarters in New York Liberty Hall in direct emulation of Irish Socialist Republican Party founder James Connolly's headquarters at Liberty Hall in Dublin: and he justified the inclu sion of green along with black and red in the familiar interna tional African flag of the Universal Negro Improvement Association because green symbolised the Irish struggle for freedom.

Tanzania's leader in the anti-

colonial struggle and first

President attributed his own socialist views to the influence of an Irish missionary. And Kwame Ture, the recently deceased leader of the All-African People's Revolutionary Party (known during his days as a civil rights activist in America as Stokely Carmichael), never failed to draw out the similarities between the Irish struggle for freedom and that of African people throughout the world.

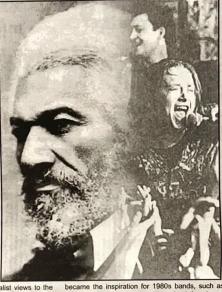
The Poet Claude McKay, who was of African descent, told of attending a Sinn Féin demonstration at which he was heckled with "Black Murphy" and "Black Irish." He later wrote. "I suffer with the Irish. I think I understand the Irish. My belonging to a subject race entitles me to some understanding of

Appropriately enough, songs of the civil rights movement in America of the 1960s became anthems of the movement for Catholic civil rights in the North of Ireland of the 1970s and 1980s. Civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. toured the North of Ireland as part of the filming of a documentary depicting the similarities in the African and Irish struggle for civil rights (The documentary is entitled The Black and the Green). Renowned Irish civil rights leader, and one of the founding members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Bernadette McAliskey (then Devlin), found out when she visited the U.S. in the early 1970s that:

"I was not very long there until, like water, I found my own level. 'My people' - the people who know about oppression, discrimination, prejudice, pover-ty and the frustration and despair that they produce were not Irish Americans. They were black, Puerto Rican, Chicano. And those who were supposed to be 'my people', the Irish Americans who know about English misrule and the Famine and supported the civil-rights movement at home, and knew that Partition and England were the cause of the problem, looked and sounded to me like Orangemen. They said exactly the same things about blacks that the loyalists said about us at home. In New York, I was given the key to the city by the mayor, an honour not to be sneezed at. I gave it to the Black Panthers.

Blues and Modern Music

Meanwhile, the Blues were also reflected in popular music of this time, and continue to be to the present day. And there can be no doubt that the Blues were to influence, perhaps more profoundly than any other musical style, not only Rhythm and Blues, but Rock and Roll, especially during its formative stage, the 1960s and 1970s. Some of the best rock guitarists - such as David Gilmour, Eric Clapton, Jimmy Page and Jimi Hendrix - have used the Blues as a foundation for offshoot styles. And one of the best known rock and roll bands, and indeed the most successful - the Rolling Stones based their music predominantly on Blues melodies; as did the renowned Irish rocker. Van



became the inspiration for 1980s bands, such as Dexies Midnight Runners, who coined the phrase "Celtic Soul" to capture its essence. The latest generation of Blues players, like Robert Cray and the late Stevie Ray Vaughan, added high tech to the Blues; and even the 1990's era of 'grunge rock' was drawn to the simplistic yet riveting textures of the Blues. The late Kurt Cobain's haunting rendition of Leadbelly's " Where Did You Sleep Last Night?" comes to mind.

And the Struggles Continue...

Under the new President Bush, America is regressing to a more oppressive, intolerant state. Only the young, naïve American boys (and their British counterparts) who are now sent in to 'save' African and South American countries from themselves (all in the pursuit of profit, of course) can any longer be 'freedom fighters.' In this stifling environment, more and more true freedom fighters internationally are added daily to the now infamous American and British Lists of Terroris Organisations.' But the struggle goes on - both for Ireland and Africa, and their scattered children and will continue to go on until genuine liberation is obtained.

As freedom fighter, Assata Shakur, who immigrated to Cuba to escape the so-called justice of right-wing

"When I was in the Black Panther Party, they [United States] called us terrorists. How dare they call us terrorists when we were being terrorized? Terror was a constant part of my life. I was living under apartheid in North Carolina. We lived under police terror."

The people of the occupied North of Ireland also continue to live with police terror. And in this enigmatic period of human history, a collaborative effor against neo colonialism, imperialism, subjugation and oppression is essential in the name of Freedom.

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Van Morrison's Irish synthesis with the Blues

ITREACHA DEARGA

RED LETTERS

Starry Plough Readers Views



CONTIBUTE TO THE DEBATE

This is your page to create debate about the issues that affect the Working Class both at home and internationally. If you would like to contribute please send all correspondence to:

LITREACHA DEARGA Starry Plough PO Box 1981 Derry, BT48 8GX, IRELAND.

or email: starry_plough@hotmail.com

SHORT STRAND VIOLENCE ORCHESTRATED BY LOYALISTS

Friends and Comrades,

A Chara

Pay increases based on per-

centages are unfair! A 2% increase to a low paid worker equals less that £4 (€6) per

week. To a middle rate worker the rise would be £8 (€12) but

to a well paid worker it could mean £20 (€30) and better still

to a well paid executive it would

mean a whopping £100 (€150) How can this be fair?

Captains of industry get wage

increases and bonuses equal to or more that the average

worker earns in a year yet these are the very people who

say that a 2% increase is enough for everyone. It's OK

for them! When they retire or

are even <u>sacked</u> they get golden handshakes a low paid worker couldn't hope to earn in

Let's get real! Let's get away from the percentage increases and deal in real figures. It would

be better to hear the actual increases in a format that can

easily be understood. Be it 10p (15c) per hour or in some cases as much as £5 (€7.50) per

some ordinary workers actually

hour, an increase of more t

Since May 11th the Short Strand area of East Belfast has come under attack on a daily and nightly basis. Some of these attacks have been highly orchastrated by loyalist paramilitries, dozens of homes have been destroyed while the PSNI and British army do absolutly nothing.

TERMS
OF
WAGES

Wages

Everything that can be used as missles have been coming over these so called peace lines, including pipebombs, blast-bombs, paint, sauce bottles, food waste and even excrement. Then when people come out to protect their homes PSNL/British army come in and open fire with plastice bullets on anyone who dares to cross their path.

We also have been stopped from visiting doctors, dentists, shops and the post office, which means our elderly people having to travel over a mile away to the town or to the Markets to get their penOn other occasions funerals have been attacked and children have had guns pulled out on them whilst walking over Queens bridge. The message in loyalist east Belfast is clear, SHORT STRAND TAIGS ON OUR ROADS AT THEIR OWN RISK. This is nothing short of a blatant sectarian attempt to cleanse East Belfast of our community.

During the past few months the media have failed to show the true picture of whats going on. We call on the readers of this paper to highlight whats happening to us in East Belfast and to stand in solidarity with the people of Short Strand.

The IRSP's position on sectarian violence is this: the people of east Belfast, catholic and protestant alike are being used as political pawns in a process that was doomed from day one. A process that would spread naked sectarianism back through working class areas. While we in the IRSP totally deplore and condem the working class communities destroying their already deprived areas. We shall not stand by while a nationalist community is being constantly terrorised.

The INLA in these interface areas such as Short Strand are active and we are assured that they will take whatever steps are necessary to ensure the protection of our people and their homes.

An Activist On The Ground, Short Strand
East Belfast

COLOMBIAN TRADE UNIONISTS SOLDARITY CAMPAIGN

Dear Comrades, friends and supporters of (CTUSC)

The Colombian trade unionists solidarity campaign have launched a Christmas draw, we hope to raise enough money to reunite Jaime an Colombian refugee living in Belfast with his wife who he has not seen in two years and this daughter who he has not seen in over three years since he had to flee Colombia for the Christmas holidays.

To finance the reunion we are selling ballots they cost £1. each or six for a £5. If we work hard enough we should be able to pay for the flights for Jaime family and all so make a donation of £1000.00 to the Colombian trade union movement, I am sure you will agree that this year has been a very bad one for our brothers and sisters in Colombia and your help would be very much welcomed.

Please let me know if you can help and if you are willing to take draw tickets

Yours in Solidarity

Sean Smyth independent socialist Secretary, Colombian Trade Unionists Solidarity Campaign.

TEL: 07900 212 934 E-MAIL-seansmyth1964@hotmail.com



BONO SHOULD LOOK CLOSER TO HOME!

A Chairde,

Its great to see the Starry Plough published on a bi-monthly basis, long may it continue.

Following on from his well publicised meeting with world leaders at the GB summit, Bono the so-called Humantarian of Irish Rock Group U2, is to have an entire programme of the Oprah Winfrey show centered around his crusade to highlight the plight of African Countries caught up in an Aids eppidemic and his battle to have Thirld World Debt cancelled. While no one can argue that they are not worthwhile causes, its just a pity that he doesn't also look a little closer to home and see the plight of the thousands of poor and homeless people that are forced to live on the streets in every city and town in Ireland.

Perhaps the very same Tax Exile could be asked nicely, would he be willing to extend his inner compassion to accomodate these poor unfortunates in his luxury Clarence Hotel in Dublin and his multi-milion pound Mansion in Killiney, or perhaps through the kindness of his heart he could donate just 5% of his personal fortune estimated to be around 6300 million to homegrown worthwhile causes, such as, Aids Alliance, Refuge for Battered women, the Samaratins Vincent De Paul, ISPCC, Goal, Alone, Trocaire, Anti-Drug campaigns, The Society for the Blind and Concern to name but a few or perhaps he could use his influence to inform world leaders of the state of the Health service in his own home Country (not only the ones he adopts for tax reasons) where seriously ill patients have to linger on hospital trolleys and in wheel chairs in the hope that someone else will vacate the bed, which sometimes means waiting for someone to die.

He can also use the opportunity to inform them about hospital waiting lists and ward closures, about the under staffed, under paid, overtired nurses and doctors who work in an overcrowded and stressful environment.

Or perhaps I have said enough, he might have more than enough on his plate with the Oprah Winfrey show and the new album about to be released, to be able to give time and assistance to worthwhile causes closer to home.

Yours in Continuous Struggle Sean Og Republican Socialist Dublin



Red-Eye

earn in an hour!

d Letters continued. State sponsored or privately paid

hairde, tells of a situation of two sec schools in Dublin that ales both sides of a two tier les pour side de la contraction de la contractio Wesley College which is sith Wesley College which is a well fee paying school which tales middle-upper class stufrom affluent southside tens from aniuent southside such as Stillorgan, and Stillorgan, and Doddun The College fees for wealthy parents is a the sorts €3176 a year.

The other is Moyle Park College The other is morror and college which is situated in working class which is situated in working class clondalkin which facilitates workclass areas of Ronanstown, ng class areas of normalistown, Kinamanagh and Walkingstown where many parents struggle to make ends meet, there is no colmake enus moot, more is no colclass families.

In 2001 Wesley College had 127 students sit the leaving cert, of which 82 went on to sit degrees at ther Trinity or the University College Dublin. Moyle Park College who had a similar class size had a total number of 7 who went on to sit their degrees. The pattern was similar when other toff schools and 'grinds' academies were compared to secondary schools in predominantly working class areas. In fact if someone from the 'poorest' schools in Dublin makes it to Trinity or UCD that is some achievement. It totally exposes the rubbish talk put forward by the government about equal opportunities in education. It is totally obvious that who you are and where you live will be the determining factor on whether you will

october 26th brussels

receive the best third level educa tion that money can buy. The next generation of doctors, teachers, bankers, solicitors, etc. will continue to be the preserve of the middle and upper classes.

Access to further education should be based on academic ability and not on ability to pay. Equality of educational opportunity will only be available when the same facilities and standards are afforded to all students, irrespective of social background or the ability of their parents to pay.

Stephen Downey Republican Socialist, Bray

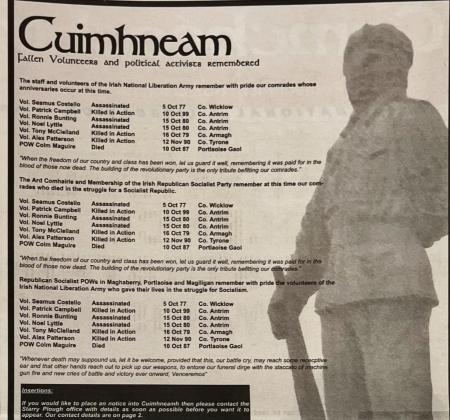
Disabled Access to Transport

A Chairde

May I please point out that despite Bray Urban District Council issuing a considerable number of taxi plates to help disabled members of the community, enjoy a better quality of life, this is not the case. We have been neglected by the adminstrators of the public transport system for so long but now feel exploited by individual, who applied for taxi plates specifically for disabled vechieles and who continually pass us by to pick up people with no disabilities

As my requests for answers as to why disabled people are still being neglected has gone totally unswered, will you help me to get a response through the meduim of your paper and please give your readers this message, that being different does not mean we don't count in modern day

Yours Truly, Marie Lacey, Bray, Co. Wicklow



PROTEST ANNOUNCED AGAINST EU BLACKLIST

The EU "Blacklist" = the neutralising of your democratic rights Let's defend these rights!

Since September 11 last year, the USA, supported by the European Union, has created a climate of "terrorism psychosis", Its aim is to undermine rights to freedom of opinion and freedom of association and to get rid of all opposition to itself, not just in the "bird world" but in the metropolitan capitalist ceun-

The USA is at the head of this demagogic campaign against "terrorism" and its preparations for war against all peoples who do not accept its diktat are proceeding apace. The aim of those who have launched a war drive, reduced Afghanistan to ashes and announced imminent war against Iraq is to secure their mastery over the world and destroy and permanently undermine any forces that might resist them.

Since September 11, the West has signalled that severe measures against "terrorism" are to be laken and are using calls for security as a way to undermine democratic rights. Some months after bombing Afghanistan, the USA proclaimed the existence of an "axis of evil". But that was not enough: CIA Director George Tenet published a list of "organisations to be eliminated". Who knows who will be the next to be attacked by the USA and its allies.

Infringing the national sovereignty of any country at will, the suppression and destruction of people's organisations and the murder of countless people are all deemed legitimate and not even to be protested against. The American and European media orchestrate propaganda along these lines. In the USA, new anti-democratic laws have been adopted using all these excuses. In Europe, rules

concerning telecommunications privacy and data protection have been relaxed. Personal data can be used by the authorities whenever they wish.

In the meantime the security services do not weary of expanding the scope of their alms. The USA and the EU continually expand their black lists of "organisations to be eliminated". These lists, which purported to be directed at Islamists connected to the September 11 attack (without serious proof of their complicity being advanced), soon found room for forces like the Revolutionary People's Liberation Party-Front (DHKP-C), the Kurdistan Workers' Party (PKK) and the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP). This exposed the true intentions of the compilers of such lists, namely to protect dictatorial regimes which oppress the peoples and are allied to the USA, such as Israel or Turkey. So they also violate the rights of peoples who state that it is legitimate to resist colonial occupation, including the use of armed resistance. Then the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC) were put on the list. Also the opportunity to attack at the level of national states has been taken. The Basque Batasuna party was banned in a particularly casual manner because it demanded the right to self-determination for the Basque people and did not compromise on this. And a few weeks ago the Communist Party of the Philippines (CPP) was put on the list. Holland immediately called on the EU to follow the US lead in banning this organisation.

The elimination of the revolutionary opposition in the F-Type prisons of Turkey, Plan Colombia, which scorns the aspirations of the Colombian people for independence and social justice, the operations in the Philippines which are supposedly directed at the Abu Sayyaf Group but in fact opens the door to US military intervention, and the criminalisation of anti-globalisation campaigners on the part of Bertusconi are merely different aspects of one and the same plan. The EU Blacklist

The EU Blacklist was compiled by an institution named COREPER, consisting of permanent representatives to the Council of the European Partiament. COREPER does not have to substantiate its designation of particular organisations as

terrorist", nor is it obliged to make its own motives public. No objection and no right of appeal are possible in the face of arbitrary criminalisation. Diplomats have simply taken rights away through the expedient use of the word "terrorist". Even the laws of nations have been adapted to such conceptions and make it possible to persecute opponents of anti-democratic measures as being "supporters of terrorism". In such a climate, basic democratic rights can no longer be preserved.

On the contrary, the list of "terrorist organisations" is actually a means of supporting murderous regimes. Terrorism, the work of imperialism

Since it came into being, imperialism has con-demned billions to unemployment, misery, repres-sion and torture. Imperialism is guilty of infringing the sovereignty of countless nations. Tens of mil-lions have paid or are paying with their lives or are left to vegetate in inhuman conditions. Imperialism has unleashed coups, massacres and genocide in Latin America, Asia, Africa and the Middle East. It created and financed Hiller, Mussolini and Franco in the same way that it trained thousands of notori-ous torturers.

Was it not imperialism which has always presented itself as a "modern and civilised system"? Let us recall Italian Premier Berlusconi's "war of civilisations". Just where is this civilisation? In Germany and Holland, racism is on the rampage. What has happened to the humanism that these countries pride themselves on possessing?

Listen to statements by Blair concerning his rela-tionship with the USA. "We are ready to pay the price of blood." But what barbarism is he talking about? Whose blood is the British Prime Minister planning to spill? It is nothing but hypocrisy, because it was people like him who drew up the

Those who: seek to prevent democratic rights from being infringed struggle against Europe's rampaging racism and cultural chauvinism, which is particular-ty directed against the Muslim community support

organisators ingiting against collaptorical and dictatorial regimes want to oppose new wars with which European imperialism is threatening the peoples of the world we call upon to take part in the October 26 mobilisation in Brussels against the EU Blacklist.Democratic rights must not be blacklisted!

Down with dictatorial and fascist regimes serving

Let us impose a people's blacklist on such regimes!

Abolish the EU Blacklist!

The following organisations are supporting the October 26 mobilisation:

October 26 mobilisation:

DHKC International / RKL (Revolutionary Communist League) Austria / Abnasel el Balsad (Children of the Land) Palestine / Bayan, Philippines / Comunitarismu et Indepentzia, Sardinia / Movement for the Confederation of Communista, Tuscany, Italy / BsB. (Movement for Social Liberation), Austria / CMKP (Communist Workers' and Peasants Party, Pakistan / D17 (Direction 17), Italy / EHK (Communist of Euskal Herria), Basque Country / Land and Liberation, Sicily / IAC (International Action Centre), USA / ILS (International Leninist Current) / IRSP (Irish Republican Socialist Party), Ireland / Campaign against Legal Impunity in Colombia / Communards Itilir / Communards, Sardinia / LUPO, Osimo, Ancona / Moro Islamie Liberation Front, Philippines / New Left Front, Hungary / FFLP (Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine) Palestine / RCG (Revolutionary Communist Group), Britain / Red Action, Nuremberg, Germany / Latin American Resume / Red Umbria, Listy / RKL (Revolutionary Communist League), Thuringia, Germany / Red Action, Duisberg, Germany / SJK, Serbia (League of Communists of Yugoslavia, Serbia) / Loyalty of Man and Earth, Lebanon / Chad Action for Unity and Socialism / Support Group for the Mothers of May Square, Basque Country / People's Democratic Left, Mexico / People's Committee for Support of the Palestinian People and the Struggle against Mormalising Relations with the Zionist Enemy, Tunisla / YPKP (Institute for Investigating the Massacres of 1965/66), Indenesia / Mohamed Regraigul (Activist of the Revolutionary Left in Moreceo)

The Starry Plough

Camchéachta ***,

Pairtí Poblachtacht Soisalach na h-Éireann

NATIONAL

LIBERATION

SOCIALISM!

THE VOICE OF IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALISM!