

# **Irish Republican Socialist News**

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# **End State Repression!**



The detention and vicious assault of five IRSP members in the 26 County state should be cause for alarm for all radicals and left wing activists throughout the state. Whilst obviously an attempt to kick down the moderate growth of the RSM is the south, it should also be seen by others as a shot across the bows; that they too can be arrested, stripped and beaten in the street, be smeared in the media and condemned by a senior Gardai officer on politically motivated, false charges.

Whilst some political groups rallied to support the 5 victims of state brutality, others were astoundingly

indifferent to the situation. In a country where most know the price of everything yet the value of little, it is unsurprising that the general public didn't react, but the question needs to be asked; where was the CPI, the Socialist Party, the Socialist Workers Party etc during all of this? Indeed some individuals showing their political sectarianism, have sided with the state, in online blogs, citing the dubious smoke and fire principal.

The democratic contradictions of Capitalism and Imperialism are being faced by us all in Ireland. In Mayo we campaign against multinational appropriation of our resources, in Shannon against our participation in global imperialist adventurism, across the country against the de-lapidated welfare system, in the North against imperialist partitionist domination. It is time that left groups around Ireland began to see the links in all of these issues and that an attack on one group within this framework of resistance sets a precedent for the treatment of all.

The admission of Bertie Ahern that the southern state faces a tough economic future because of the US economic downturn echoes the reality in Westminster where Darling has fashioning his latest Budget with the restrictions opposed by Capitalisms latest slump. It also reaffirms our opposition to reckless and erratic Globalised Capitalism and its system of market forces that inevitably peak and slump.

Should the world sneeze when the US catches cold? We need to challenge our place in the global world order and begin to push for alignment with progressive states such as Venezuela, Cuba and Libya for example. Ireland's position, internationally, is one of sub ordinance and dependence on savage imperialist capitalism.

Failure to question and resist this is as reprehensible as the silence of those who turn the other cheek when 5 Republican activists are arrested, brutalised and framed by corrupt state forces.

Free the IRSP 5!

**End Free State Harassment of Republican Socialists!** 

Inside...

Interview with Ray Collins
May Day and Easter Statements
and more Republican Socialist News...

### Irish Times - no INLA drugs link

According to an April article published in the Irish Times, there is no Irish National Liberation Army connection to the drugs trade in Ireland. Det Supt Barry O'Brien from the Garda National Drugs Unit was quoted as telling a meeting of the British Irish Interpaliamentary Body that no 'structured link' between

paramilitaries and the drugs trade existed. This contradicts the official line of the capitalist media, who constantly try to tie the INLA to the drugs trade, despite the fact that not a single member of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement has been convicted of drugs offences.

# **IRSCNA May Day 2008**

The Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America send solidarity greetings to our fellow workers and comrades in the class struggle around the world on the working class holiday of May Day, also known as International Workers' Day. We salute and share in your fight against oppression, exploitation and imperialism.

As the North American section of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement, we extend our greetings to our comrades and fellow members of the IRSM in the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Irish National Liberation Army, Republican Socialist Youth Movement, Republican Socialist Martyrs Flute Bands and Teach na Fáilte, along with all republican socialist prisoners of war. We reiterate that we remain committed to the struggle for national and working class liberation in Ireland, and working class liberation worldwide.

As this May Day dawns, the workers of the world remain exploited by a global capitalist class in its unending quest for profit. The Cuban Revolution remains defiant in the face of this and Venezuela continues to pursue a progressive path, but until the working class collectively and globally rises against the capitalist order, a better world for all will remain out of reach. We, the workers, are the ones with the power to build that world, and build it we must.

The spectre of climate change also haunts us. Capitalism cannot and will not address this in a serious manner because to do so would inevitably harm its ability to earn a profit for its small, parasitical ruling class. The solution lies in the hands of the working class and our ability to lead a revolution to create a sustainable socialist economy that can meet the needs of both our class and the planet we share. The survival and health of humankind is linked to the survival and health of the planet itself.

In the most powerful capitalist state, the United States, political debate currently revolves around which lap dog of the ruling class will lead the nation for the next four years. Fellow workers, let us be

honest with you, those candidates have the best interests of the capitalist system in mind, not our interests as a class exploited by that system. No matter which candidate wins the election, the real winner will be the ruling class, and the United States will remain a bastion of imperialism and exploitation.

In Ireland, conditions are growing for a republican socialist alternative to fill the void in revolutionary politics. It is obvious that neither the Good Friday Agreement nor any other imperialist brokered settlement can resolve the fundamental contradictions at the heart of Irish society. Only a socialist Ireland with full self-determination can do that, and a socialist Ireland can only thrive if capitalism is defeated on a wider scale.

On behalf of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement, we also extend solidarity greetings to the following organizations: All-African People's Revolutionary Party, All Pakistan Trade Union Federation, Communist Party of Bohemia and Moravia, Communist Party of Cuba, Communist Party of Nepal, Communist Party of the Philippines, Communist Party of Spain (Reconstituted), Debs Tendency of the Socialist Party USA, Freedom Socialist Party, Northeastern Federation of Anarchist Communists, \ Organization of Iranian People's Fedaii Guerrillas, Party of World Revolution, Peace and Freedom Party, Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine, Radical Women, Scottish Republican Socialist Movement, Seattle Anti-Imperialist Committee, Unión del Barrio, United Socialist Party of Venezuela, Worker-Communist Party of Iran, Worker Communist Party of Iraq, Working Women Organization and all others who are struggling to liberate the working class from the shackles of capitalism and imperialism.

As the great Irish revolutionary James Connolly said, "The great only appear great because we are on our knees, let us arise!"

Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America

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### 2008 Ard Fheis Report



The Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America are pleased to report that our first Ard Fheis since 1999 successfully occurred in Kansas City, Missouri on 26-27 March 2008. It was a momentous occasion for the North American section of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement, significant not only for the time that had elapsed since our last Ard Fheis, but also due to the fact that our activists are spread across a vast geographical area. It also represented the first Ard Fheis since a major reorganization of the IRSCNA in 2005. Meeting face-to-face as a group was a positive experience for all present.

Our cumainn representatives came from various locations in North America—including Chicago, Kansas City and Seattle--bringing with them diverse experiences and contributions. We would like to thank everyone that traveled such a distance to be in attendance.

Motions were passed upholding the Irish Republican Socialist Party's political analysis and program, sending solidarity greetings to our comrades throughout the world, and other issues of importance to the IRSCNA were discussed and voted on. More concretely, plans for

more assertive recruitment were discussed. It was also decided that the Ard Fheis will now be scheduled as an annual event. Most exciting of all, a monthly IRSCNA newsletter was launched to keep our allies, members and supporters up-to-date on the Republican Socialist Movement's news and to promote and broaden support for Republican Socialism.

Lastly, a new Coordinating Committee comprised of Colm Mistéil, Danielle Ni Dhighe and T.J. O Conchuir was elected by a vote of the members present and officer positions were filled with Mistéil as Webmaster, Ni Dhighe as Public Relations Officer and O Conchuir as Prisoner Welfare Officer.

The slow but steady growth of the IRSCNA's membership and level of activity will be sustained by the incoming Coordinating Committee's efforts to continue to work through collective leadership and regular meetings.

Is Muidne,

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**IRSCNA Coordinating Committee** 

### INLA at Neil McMonagle 25th Anniversary Commemoration



In Derry six INLA Volunteers paid tribute to Fallen Comrade Neil McMonagle after conducting a brief patrol in Galliagh district. According to the Derry Journal 'Six masked men carrying guns, including two assault rifles, staged a 'show of strength' in the area before three men fired up to six shots from three handguns at the republican socialist monument at Leafair Park.' The patrol and tribute volleys drew condemnation from nationalist parties which prefer to see Irish workers unarmed under British occupation.

#### **IRSP May Day Statement 2008**

The Irish Republican Socialist Party wishes to extend heartfelt solidarity with all peoples struggling for socialism across the globe on International Workers' Day. Today we reach out to each other to gain momentum in order to struggle on against capitalist exploitation and its savage imperialist adventurism. We particularly thank our comrades in the IRSCNA for tirelessly working to raise awareness of the antiimperialist struggle in Ireland, the struggle for national liberation and socialism.

Across the globe advances have been made in the last twelve months. The Nepalese people have elected a Maoist government who are promising to press ahead with progressive governance. In Venezuela, the ruling United Socialist Party of Venezuela is forging its progress towards a socialist society, consolidating the economy with more nationalization of key industries. Cuba remains steadfast in face of contrary media speculation with the aid and cooperation of Venezuela. There are bright lights burning still for the cause of workers' power and human freedom.

The scourge of capitalism and imperialism still scar the world however. The Iraqi resistance struggles on against the storm troopers of Western imperialism. Israel still acts as the jackboot on the face of the occupied Palestinian people who bravely continue to struggle on in the face of impossible odds. Yet despite the needless bloodshed witnessed in the Middle East, the US and its Israeli deputy still sabre-rattle against Iran and Syria. The people of the world must prepare to react if today's imperialist superpower, the United States, draws more blood in the Middle East in its quest for hegemony in the oil-rich region.

Global capitalism still squats on the lives of many millions of people across the world, making misery of lives in the pursuit of profit. Millions of children die needlessly of starvation or treatable illnesses. Millions of children continue to be exploited by Western multinationals making dispensable fashion trinkets for rich Western children. We ask all Western children to make this their frontline in the battle against child exploitation in the third world turn their back on exploitive companies such as Nike by boycotting them and telling their friends why they are boycotting them.

In Ireland, we still suffer under imperialism. Moreover we are having salt being rubbed into our wounds with a new MI5 supercentre being opened outside of Belfast and tracts of Irish countryside being used to train imperialist troops for their murderous campaigns in Afghanistan and Iraq. The working class of Ireland remains divided, North and South. Sectarianism continues and will continue as long as partition remains hence dividing the Northern working class from uniting to push for our new Socialist Republic out of the sphere of control and influence of Imperialist Britain, the US and EU.

Our youth continue to grow up in a society defined

along sectarian lines, sectarian lines designed by the imperialist dominator to keep the people of this island apart. Division of the Irish working class is a British tactic designed for their needs. Loyalty to Britain was rewarded in the past to a section of the Northern working class with privileged access to industrial jobs and a monopoly on political power. This could never last and when global capitalism took heavy industrial labour to cheaper markets, the Protestant working class have been left with nothing but blind loyalty. It is now in their interests to reject the exploitation of Britain and to begin exploring avenues to our Socialist Republic. Do not allow another generation of children to grow up exploited by the scourge of sectarianism. Do not allow another generation of children to grow up under the dark shadow of capitalism.

Capitalism will continue to keep a sizable percentage of children growing up in poverty, exposing them to dangers of crime, drug and alcohol abuse and violence. When the child is old enough, the imperialist government will hand him or her a rifle to go off on an imperialist adventure to kill or be killed. If today's children are to one day bear a rifle, let it be for the Socialist Republic.

We in the Irish Republican Socialist Movement will certainly do our part in organizing and struggling for the Workers' Republic here in Ireland. We will continue to struggle against imperialist occupation in the North and corrupt capitalist exploitation in the South. Bertie Ahern is merely the latest in what will be more self-serving leaders of an increasingly inhumane system. Radical organisation in the South is becoming harder with draconian laws and oppression being meted out against the IRSM in the last 12 months. All of which supported by a cheerleader media of the bourgeois. Blackening the name of the IRSM and other radical groups in the South is commonplace but these lies were exposed when a senior Gardai detective revealed that there was no evidence of any links between the Irish National Liberation Army and drug dealing gangs. We will carry on our struggle regardless of media smear campaigns and state oppression.

We in the IRSM salute all others in the world who struggle under similar and worse conditions. To our comrades in Palestine, the Philippines, Cataluna, Euskal Herria, Lebanon, Iraq, Venezuela, Cuba, Colombia and many other countries struggling for justice and freedom,

our deep felt solidarity. Beidh ár lá linn (we shall have our day).

# # #

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# Statement from Eddie McGarrigle

"Do not be influenced by the tripe you read in the right wing media regarding our recent arrest and subsequent charge of membership. In all the hours of questioning that we endured never once was it mentioned to us about tiger kidnapping, weapons etc. This tripe reported in the media should be viewed for what it is, an attempt by securocrats working to a political agenda to demonize, criminalize and demoralize the membership of the IRSM. No charges have been laid against any of us, which includes the two Dublin lads (who were released on bail), in connection to the lies planted in the media.

I want to put on record that the treatment that we all received whilst in custody was nothing short of torture. The Irish Government speak out and condemn human rights abuses in faraway places such as China and Iran, whilst their political police in the free state can carry out such acts without impunity, such hypocrisy. I myself was thrown out of my wheel chair onto the ground a number of times by a number of special branch interrogators, who took great delight in stamping, punching and slapping me in the head and body, whilst making sure that they had the camera turned off in the interrogation room. All the other lads suffered the same and more at the fists and boots of our torturers.

Eventually we were charged with membership of an illegal organization namely the INLA and remanded to Portlaoise Internment camp (The Irish Free States, Guantanamo Bay). A charge frequently used by the free state to intern Republicans-Republican Socialists. At our bail hearing in the Diplock Special Criminal Court, the state fiercely opposed bail to all of us.

Superintendent Dermot O'Sullivan was the main objector to bail, swearing under oath that the accused were involved in a conspiracy to extort money for the INLA from a businessman in Cork. When our legal team objected to O'Sullivan's evidence on the basis that none of us before the court were charged with any offence connected to evidence submitted by O Sullivan, one of the three judges quipped that he would allow the superintendent to continue with his evidence solely because

" The state was alleging that the accused were members of the INLA and it was reasonable to ascertain that you don't join the INLA and do nothing. I like many others have read the newspapers in regards to reports of tiger kidnappings and seizure of weapons".

How can anyone one of us expect any kind of justice when one of the judges on the bench comes out with such tripe?

Thankfully after a number of legal objections and arguments by our legal team, the three Judges in the Diplock Court set bail with stringent conditions and hopefully myself, John and Neil will be released in a week or so.

(The above statement was released on 2nd march all the comrades have since received bail.)

# **IRSCNA** Organized Language Circles



IRSCNA members have met with great success ongoing language circles in Kansas City, Missouri. Held weekly, the social study group allows those with no background in Irish to pickup some of the language, and those with more experience to sharpen their abilities. It has consistently drawn more participants in, and is still going strong four

months on. All taking part have expressed that they have improved their ability to speak and understand Ireland's native language, which is vital in undoing the damage inflicted by over eight centuries of British misrule in Ireland.

For more information on the Irish Language go to www.daltai.com or www.forasnagaeilge.ie.

# Interview with long time activist and singersongwriter Ray Collins



**Irish Republican Socialist News**: You're quite a well-respected musical figure in republican and socialist music, for you combined activism with song-craft. It's quite a different story from the multitude of bar-stool republicans singing ballads and not doing much else. And of course you're one of the few bards of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement. Sharing your experiences and wisdom with us is greatly appreciated, comrade.

**Ray Collins:** Thanks. But don't be too hard on bar-stool balladeers. Many of them help to keep the rich tradition of Irish Rebel music, old 'n' new, alive and kicking.

**IRSN**: Do you feel frustrated or ever shut-out by the horde of republican and rebel bands that uphold the political line of SF and the "peace process"?

**RC**: Frustrated? No! Shut out? Not at all. The songs I write and sing are not contingent on the political views or allegiances of fellow artists and bands, whether they toe the

Provisional Sinn Fein line or not. Long before the signing of the Not-So-Good Friday Agreement my friend-ship with other Irish singers was based on mutual respect as musicians. Interestingly though, I note that there are not , as far as I know, any songs in the Rebel tradition or style extolling the "virtues" of the so-called 'Peace Process' or rallying cries to storm Stormont. Maybe we can look forward to .... "The Trifles of the MLAs" by the Sinn Fein Stormonteers. Regards being shut-out; my music reaches a far wider audience then ever through the internet and also provides a link not just to new fans and friends but to other musicians from all over the world. After all I'm not ever going to be the flavour of the month on any major commercial radio or TV stations. Am I? And I certainly won't be losing any sleep over that.

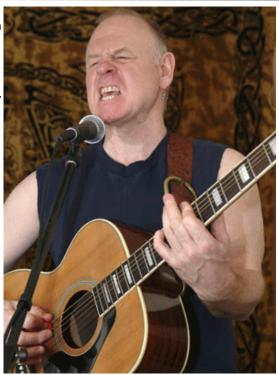
**IRSN**: Do you write your songs all in one go, or over time? That is, do you find that the songs come together organically in one piece, or do you piece them together at various times you are inspired?

RC: No set pattern. Some songs are almost complete. Start off with a thought or idea and then sing them out loud to myself, then put the chords together usually on an acoustic guitar. "Radical Rebel Girl' was such a song. Some songs I carry around in my skull for long periods of time. "Rovin' Clans was such a song. I started footering with that one when I was a teenager hitch-hiking around Ireland but didn't record it until maybe 20 years later. I've just finished recording two songs; 'The Ballad of Gerald McAuley' about my next-door neighbour who was shot dead by a Loyalist gunman in August 1969. And 'The Ballad of Sean Downes' who was killed by a plastic bullet fired by an RUC man outside my then home in Andytown in Belfast, in August 1984. The two songs will be put together as one track called '1969AUGUST1984'. . One of my most intriguing experiences as a songwriter-activist was the origins of a song called 'Song of Freedom'. I was being held in solitary confinement under the Prevention of Terrorism Act in Paddington Green police station in London, England. I was trying to make up some songs in my head to pass the time and I hit on a tune but couldn't find any words to fit. The tune eventually went into hibernation. Some time later when I was back in Belfast a friend sent me a poem that had been written by a young Scottish prisoner in an English jail. He was an ODC (Ordinary Decent Criminal) named Jimmy Anderson. I read through the poem, and the solitary confinement tune came right back at me. It fit perfectly and the song was born. What drew you to performing and recording music to begin with? Performing came quite naturally to me. I loved singing and playing guitar or banjo. In my neighbourhood we were always having sing-songs after the local pubs closed. As a teenager I hitch-hiked around Ireland and Europe with my trusty axe busking and singing for my supper in bars and cafes and coffee houses. As well as enriching my repertoire it vastly improved my sex life! Actually recording music was a much later development. I sat in on a few recording sessions in Ireland in the late 60s early 70s. Local productions of Irish Folk and Rebel bands and singers. Then I got married and had children and worked in engineering and was involved in the Trade Union Movement. Yet the music was always there and apart from singing at Union benefits and functions I would sit in on the many raucous sessions at the various boisterous Irish bars in London. Later we started a very active branch of the IRSP so I would always be available to belt out a few rebel songs at the many benefits we organized. I returned to Belfast during the Hunger Strike of 1981 and was working full-time in the IRSP office on the Falls Road. Around 1983 I went on a tour of Europe with two Irish Traditional musicians and

started playing full-time after that. I got into recording while on a tour of the USA and Canada in 1985. The major part of the tour was organized and sponsored by the IRSM support groups in North America.

**IRSN**: You've previously mentioned in our correspondence how the recording of the Saoirse Go Deo album was done on a shoe string budget in a Brooklyn basement. At the risk of stating the obvious, it's quite an unusual story for an album that has produced so many enduring anthems for a social movement. Would you elaborate further on how this record came to be?

**RC**: I had recorded a collection of Irish Traditional and Rebel songs on a four-track machine at a friend's wee studio in the basement of his parents' house in Brooklyn. As well as the 'old' songs I added "Let the Fight Go On" a song based on the dying words of INLA Hunger Striker Patsy O'Hara. The words were written by veteran Republican Socialist and long time IRSP member James Daly. (James and Ray were neighbours in Belfast). The main thrust of the tour, I referred to above, above was to try to raise funds and promote the policies of the IRSM. One of our goals was to produce an album of songs honouring IRSM martyrs and heroes. The collection was eventually called 'Saoirse go Deo'/'Let the Fight Go On". It included songs about Seamus Costello, Miriam Daly, Patsy O'Hara, Michael Devine,



and the 'INLA Freedom Fighters'. There were many people involved but I should mention Peter Urban of San Francisco and thank him again for all his help and assistance with original production of 'Saoirse go Deo'

**IRSN**: Outside the struggle in Ireland for national liberation and self-determination, what struggles of peoples around the world do you feel are most relevant to republican socialists?

RC: \*"OUR STRUGGLE IS YOUR STRUGGLE" "YOUR STRUGGLE IS OUR STRUGGLE" \*On a personal level the struggles of the indigenous peoples of the Americas are close to my heart. I had the privilege of being invited to various meetings of the American Indian Movement and played at several benefits. The connections culturally, linguistically, economically, and the love of one's native land are obvious. It is with a sad and heavy heart that two friends of mine, leaders of AIM have passed on recently. Vernon Bellecourt and fellow brother in song and music, the inspiring Floyd 'Red Crow' Westerman. I have also had the privilege of being invited to sing at African Liberation Day celebrations in Washington DC. [ And in reference to your earlier question about being shut-out; I'd rather be with African-American activists singing "Let the Fight Go On" OUTSIDE the White House than churning out 'Danny Boy' INSIDE the White House.] On the theme of being shut out, and it is the "Irish" month of March. Much better to support the all inclusive Saint Patrick's Day Parade in Queens, New York, especially in solidarity with ILGO [Irish Lesbian and Gay Organization], than march in the AOH exclusive parade up Fifth Avenue. Regards actual official links with political groups and parties around the world I wouldn't address that issue in a personal capacity. The struggle for National Liberation in Ireland must never be one of narrow Nationalism. It must always seek to forge links with our natural allies; those who take a principled stand and fight against all forms of imperialist repression and capitalist exploitation worldwide.

**IRSN**: Any final words to add, comrade?

**RC**: On the issue of repression I condemn the recent arrest and detention of six IRSP members on trumped up charges by the Free State west-Brit forces. I further condemn the brutal assaults on these comrades one of whom, despite being confined to a wheelchair was pistol whipped and had his nose broken. Once again the Heavy Gangs of the state police are being used to threaten and intimidate members of the IRSP in an attempt to smash the organization. Such crude and ham-fisted tactics failed over 30 years ago and they will fail again.

IRSN: Go raibh maith agat.

To listen to Ray Collins's Music go to:

www.raycollinsmusic.com or http://www.myspace.com/raycollinsmusic

### 10 years on From the Good Friday/Belfast Agreement

April 2008 was the 10th anniversary of the signing of the Belfast/Good Friday Agreement. In 1998 the Irish Republican Socialist Party opposed that Agreement mainly on the basis that it institutionalised sectarianism in the political institutions of the North.

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"After thirty years of conflict, civil rights agitation and death destruction and mayhem the end result is that we have now got a more sophisticated head counting exercise. There is now no incentive for people to move away from entrenched sectarian positions" (Political Secretary's Report to Ard-Feis 1998)

We also pointed out that the issue of sovereignty was so ringed around with pre-conditions and confusions that unionists and nationalists could interpret the issue of sovereignty in the agreement to suit their own political stance. We pointed out clearly that "Northern Ireland in its entirety remains part of the United Kingdom" (Article one of Annnex A of the agreement)

We queried whether the so- called equality agenda would in fact be implemented given that "the deputy leader of the Unionists said that nationalists could not expect equal rights to unionist because unionists were the majority." (Political Secretary's Report to Ard-Feis 1998)

10 years there is still no bill of rights, no Irish Language Act, and the DUP resisting anything that smacks of a nationalist agenda. We also pointed out that "The cross border bodies are not moves towards unity. They are simply pragmatic responses towards the need for capitalist economic efficiency within the context of the European Union. (see below-from the media The border — economic asset for North and South) Does any one here think that improved co-operation on issues such as 'animal and plant health.. teachers qualifications and exchanges, waste management social security fraud control, aqua culture accident and emergency services' (GFA) was what the last thirty years was all about.?" (ibid)

We also did not believe that the RUC would be abolished or essentially reformed. We were wrong there. The RUC became the PSNI and many young catholics are now joining the PSNI with the strong encouragement of provisional Sinn Fein.

At that time we tried to tell the strong republican base that existed in 1998, that in essence the GFA was a defeat for republicanism and that rather than try to work the new institutions by jointly running the north with unionists, (in effect administering British rule,) republicans should form a legitimate opposition within the new assembly and oppose from both a republican and socialist positions the right wing policies being implemented under British direction whilst upholding the republican base positions.

Unfortunately few were prepared to listen to us. They were prepared to put their trust in the 'republican leadership'. In the intervening 10 years many who once scorned our arguments have since come to realise that they were fooled by that same republican leadership and that our initial position was correct. There have been at least two splits from Provisional Sinn Fein since then and a fracturing of republicanism.

Clearly from a Republican perspective the republican position has suffered a serious defeat. MI5 now have a strong physical presence in North Down, British regiments are still stationed in the North of Ireland at the level they were in 1968, a regime still operates from Stormont administrating British rule and also implementing economic policies dictated by the British Treasury. Former armed combatants it is true are now involved in running that Administration and that has gripped the imagination of those with only a superficial analysis of politics. But the question has to be asked in whose interests are they administering British rule?

Supporters of the Good Friday Agreement especially from those who once took up arms against British rule point out the gains they claim made since the GFA. They point out that it covers a wide range of areas from "constitutional issues, political matters, institutional arrangements, human rights, equality, policing, justice, language and culture issues." (Gerry Adams Irish Times April 2nd 2008) and that progress has been made on these fronts.

Yes. There have been changes. Now we have a vibrant catholic/ nationalist middle class now on an equal basis with protestant/ unionist middle classes. In Adams own words there is now a "level playing field" (ibid) The mantra of "equality" is rarely away from the lips of Provisional Sinn Fein leaders. But what kind of equality? Is it equality for the middle classes? Is it the equality of poverty? Is it economic equality?

In the early days of the Civil Rights movement those of us on the left pointed out that one of the consequences of calling for equal rights on issues such as housing and jobs, under the current economic system would be to create less job and housing opportunities for protestants thus further feeding sectarianism within those thus disadvantaged.

Equality under capitalism meant taking from one group and giving to the other. That simply facilitated the old Imperialist tactic of divide and rule.

The Unionist Aristocracy and bourgeoisies in collaboration with sections of the British ruling class argued forcefully against Home Rule at the turn of the 20th century on the grounds of religion, the economy, the interests of the British Empire, strategic military grounds and racism.

Through the Ulster Unionist Council they created an all class alliance that linked the protestant proletariat to their industrial masters. Despite the fact that the unionist bourgeoisie was extracting as much surplus value from the protestant proletariat as they could possibly exploit, the protestant masses identified with their exploiters and with the reactionary British Empire fearing a loss of, in many cases, imaginary privileges they had, compared to the catholic masses. The trade union movement was divided. As early as 1843 skilled workers in the iron shipyard formed a trade union called the "Belfast Protestant Operatives Society" to keep out Catholics from the shipyard. (page 27"Yes We have No Banannas" Paddy Devlin Blackstaff press1981) When the first Northern Government was set up in 1921 the first Cabinet looked "-like an executive committee of Northern industry and commerce" (page 68" Northern Ireland; the Orange State" Michael Farrell Pluto Press 1990)

But it also included two working class members off the Unionist labour Association in minor positions to keep the protestant proletariat on board. Protestant workers who either opposed partition or preached socialism were described as "rotten prods" and driven out of their workplaces. Thus was created an enormous block to Irish independence, a block it must be said, greatly underestimated and misunderstood by republicanism

As the 20th century progressed many Protestant workers formerly 'privileged' by easy access to jobs in heavy industry, found their sector in decline. Resentment, hatred, bitterness based on years of indoctrination about the privileges of being British made many easy prey to bigotry and sectarianism. It took courage to stand up to sectarian hatred and there were many trade unionists workers and socialists who did so.

James Connolly, Ireland's outstanding Marxist writer in the early part of the 20th century had argued strongly against partition on the grounds that it would create a reactionary bulwark against socialism. And so it has proved.

The Good Friday Agreement, far from being but a stage on the road to a united Ireland that Provisional Sinn Fein adherents argue, has in fact re-enforced the sectarian nature of the 6-county state by pushing its inhabitants into being either "unionist" "nationalist" or "other" for the purposes of forming an administration . There is now no incentive for main-stream political parties to reach across the divide.

Instead we now have political parties based on communal interests. It is in the political interests of the mainstream political parties to maximise their votes within the protestant or catholic sections of the population. So it is in the direct interests of PSF, SDLP, DUP, and UUP to maximise the turn out from their "side of the house". Now as the administration is a coalition there is absolutely no chance of radical measures, never mind socialist measures, being introduced. After all the budget is allocated from Westminster and must be allocated in accordance with the wishes of the Westminster Government which means implementing neo -liberal economic policies.

So when Gerry Adams of Provisional Sinn Fein argues that "The

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fierce opposition from within unionism and the British system to the Belfast Agreement has stemmed from the recognition that the agreement is a powerful instrument for change." (Gerry Adams Irish Times April 2nd 2008) he is being less than honest. The Agreement is an instrument of British policy. It has stabilised the Northern state. And did not the most formidable opponent of change and of opposition to nationalism and Catholicism, Ian Paisley point out that Adams had revised every republican position he ever had and that PSF were now administrating British rule?

'I did smash them [the Provos] because I took away their main plank. Their main plank was that they would not recognise the British government [in Ireland].

'Now they are in part of the British government. They can't be true Republicans when they now accept the right of Britain to govern this country and take part in that government.' (Interviewed on BBC radio One "Andrew Marr Show" on March 9 2008)

When Paisley agreed to share limited power with Provisional Sinn Fein he knew that the Union was safe.

The IRSP has advanced the argument that in the current climate there is no basis for republicans engaging in armed struggle. There is little or no popular support, organisations are well infiltrated with people hostile to the national struggle and the prospects of any successful conclusion to an armed campaign practically nil. A military strategy is an elitist strategy at this time.

Republicans need to take a different direction and we have argued consistently that that direction is the class struggle. Needless to say the mere mention of class struggle has the politically sectarian jumping up and down frantically shouting 'economists, "reformists" "anti republicans" and whatever suitable insult they can think up without having to make up a suitable sensible argument. Worst of all in their eyes are those who put forward clear arguments based on a socialist understanding of modern Irish society. They are accused of being trendy middle class intellectuals living in theoretical ivory towers.

Such anti-intellectualism has no place in a revolutionary organisation. It is almost impossible to think of one revolutionary leader from the 20th century who was not also simultaneously a writer and thinker; Lenin, Trotsky, Gramsci, James Connolly, Liam Mellows, Mao tse Tung, Stalin Ho Chi Minh, Fidel Castro, Che Guevara. Also in the IRSP itself two of our outstanding leaders Gino Gallagher and Ta Power were critical writers. One has only to read through their prison exercise books to see the depth of their intellectual thinking. All of the above were thinkers, writers and doers, basing themselves on the class struggle.

The IRSP has argued from its inception that without national liberation there can be no socialism and without socialism there can be no national liberation. So in deepening and developing the class struggle we are in actual fact deepening and developing the struggle for national liberation.

Too many republicans, influenced by the immediacy of armed struggle think there is a quick solution to political problems whether it is the issue of anti-social behaviour, (kneecap the hoods or more direct community work) or the issue of partition (one more heave). Too often one can hear republicans referring to "my community" when making arguments about lack of resources, interface violence or other local issues. What they actually mean by "my community" is a local catholic community where they do some community work. Republicans need to remember some wonderful phrases of Wolfe Tone, a founder of Irish Republicanism,

"To subvert the tyranny of our execrable government, to break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils, and to assert the independence of my country-these were my objects. To unite the whole people of Ireland, to abolish the memory of all past dissentions, and to substitute the common name of Irishman, in the place of the denominations of Protestant, Catholic, and Dissenter-these were my means." "To unite Protestant, Catholic and Dissenter under the common name of Irishmen in order break the connection with England, the never failing source of all our political evils, that was my aim". "If the men of property will not support us, they must fall. Our strength shall come from that great and respectable class, the

men of no property".

We republican socialists need to remember that it is not "our community" we owe allegiance to but to our class as stated by the leading founder of the IRSP Seamus Costello. "I owe my allegiance to the working class"

In an examination of the connection between the role of the state and community action another founder member of the IRSP has written "-many engaged in community action operate within their perceptions of a civil society and do so in the full knowledge that they subscribe to the hegemonic values of the state. – They become as a consequence an extra-bureaucratic arm of the state"— (The State and Community Action" Terry Robson- Pluto Press-London 2000.)

The reality is that community politics is no substitute for class politics. Community politics can certainly complement class politics especially when it creates positive links between communities fighting common economic and social problems. Currently there are enough class issues to unite many sections of the working class in Ireland.

The British taxpayer pays out £7 billions per year to subsidise the North its 1.7 million inhabitants. . That is the equivalent of £4000 per head. Now that stability has been secured future British Governments will want value for money. Having lost heavy industry and seen the failure man-made textiles as a replacement the Northern economy is heavily dependant on the public sector, services and retailing. Large numbers of people are economically inactive in the North with nearly 40% of the working age population. The education system is socially divisive class based and not fit for purpose. Every year over 1000 pupils leave school without basic qualifications and over 12000 without GCSE passes in Maths and English. For this pool of labour prospects are bleak as there is an expectation that in the British economy over 3Million jobs will be shed in the unskilled sector in the next 10 years or so

Currently households in the north pay out 40% of that paid out by households in Britain. Gas bills are going up. Electricity bills are going up. Water charges are being introduced. Public sector jobs are being axed and replaced by the private sector. Working class families can now not afford mortgages and the state refuses to increase substantially the supply of social housing to meet current needs. There is a slump in the building trade and energy prices are rising dramatically. In the South of Ireland the economy has slowed down to a 2%growth rate its lowest growth rate for 20 years and unemployment is expected to rise to 5.5% or 6% this year. House prices are 15% down on their peak in 2006 and as in the North some working class families now find themselves with negative equity. Many now face the prospect of either selling their homes or having them dispossessed and moving into rented accommodation to be at the mercy of landlords. Currently the strong Euro and weak sterling means that the 70% of small businesses that export to the British market could face difficulties. 60,000 Jobs are dependent on UK trade links.

Capitalism worldwide has suffered its greatest shock since the great depression in the1930's. That Depression aided the rise to power of fascism with the subsequent world war. What happens in the world economy directly affects workers in both parts of Ireland. Neither of the two administrations can protect the working class from the effects of a recession even if they were so inclined. Administrations that include the right wing PD party in the South and the right wing DUP in the North will have as their first priority defence of capitalism and their cronies in the business world. For all Sinn Fein's professed "radicalism" they are the party that introduced Public Private Initiatives that essentially is privatising the educational system.

For capitalism, that has been one of the outstanding successes of the Belfast /Good Friday Agreement. Sinn Fein is now working the capitalist system with a gutso and enthusiasm that would turn the stomachs of those who once believed in their left wing posturing. We say to those republicans shed away your illusions and work towards republican aspirations by joining with growing sections of the working class in taking up explicit anti-capitalist stances. There is now an opportunity to rally working class forces in a fight back against the cuts now being imposed. Are republicans prepared to join in that fight?

Gerry Ruddy

### IRSP speaking in Catalonia

The following analysis was delivered to a number of well attended public meetings throughout Catalonia from on 1st, 2nd, 3rd and 4th of Mav.

It is an honour to be here today to give you all the analysis of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement in relation to what is generally known as the Irish Peace Process.

The year 2008 will mark ten years since the Belfast Agreement was signed. This occasion offers the opportunity to examine the reasons advanced for advocating or opposing the Agreement and how well they have stood the test of time.

The parameters of the Belfast Agreement were the logical outcome of the peace process. Gerry Adams claims that the peace process represented a seismic shift in British state policy. He claimed that the British policy towards republicanism had changed from one of repression to one of accommodation. He claimed that the British position was one of inclusion in dialogue and negotiations. What goes unmentioned is that 'the strategic objective was to include republicans while excluding republicanism'. The price to be paid for the inclusion of republicans in the talks was the exclusion of republicanism. This means dialogue with Republican leaders and organisations but on the basis of an agenda that excludes the political objectives of Republicanism. Central to the political objectives of Republicanism were that there would be no internal settlement, that the Irish people have a right to self determination and it's not dependent on the agreement of a majority in the north. The whole peace process may have included Republicans, but from the 1993 Downing Street Declaration to the final 1998 Belfast Agreement, was always based on the British states political alternative to Republicanism since 1972: an internal county solution with cross border bodies grafted on it. The longstanding Republican demands were never serious runners for all party talks, and none of them appeared  $\boldsymbol{I}$ the final Belfast Agreement. The key conditions were later formalized in the Downing Street declaration of 1993 as an end to violence and a commitment to exclusively peaceful and democratic means. Equally important was the British government's commitment to the consent principle and its refusal to act as a persuader for a United Ireland. When it called the cessation of its campaign in 1994, Republicans were in effect, accepting these parameters for talks. The recent publication of Alastair Campbell's diaries shows that Blair made it clear to the Provisional leadership that the settlement would not "explicitly commit to a United Ireland" and that "Adams was ok" with such parameters, although Mc Guinness appears to have been more reluctant.

The culmination of this peace process was the signing of the Belfast Agreement on April 10th 1998 and its subsequent endorsement n two referendums on 22nd May 1998. Apologists for the Belfast Agreement argue that it was an act of self determination. freely negotiated and democratically endorsed. There are three objections to this. First, it was not 'freely negotiated' as it was the British state which determined the parameters of the negotiations restricting them to those of the Downing Street Declaration, the Framework Document and the Mitchell principles. The paramount principle endorsed in those documents, to which all participants in future talks had to pledge their adherence and commitment, is the principle of consent. Therefore all participants to the process were committed to partition before the talks commenced, which was in effect a negation of an expression of self-determination. Second, the political package on offer was subordinate to the British states approval. The Belfast Agreement had to be accepted and ratified by Westminster before it was presented to the people of Ireland, leaving aside any objections they may have. Irish objections, whether raised or not, are meaningless to the British government under this wholly undemocratic arrangement. Thirdly, there were two referendums held in two different states for different purposes and different sets of questions. The fact that they were held concurrently did not make them a single event and even less an act of self-determination, with the Six County referendum having the power of veto over that to be held in the Twenty Six Counties. For those three reasons, "the triple lock" as Blair called them; the Agreement was not an exercise in self determination, but instead was a copper-fastening of partition. For those three reasons, the fact that the referendums were carried by a big majority of those who voted in the Six Counties

(71%) and an even larger one in the Twenty Six Counties (94.5%) does not refute that there was a democratic deficit in the whole process. On top of that, the 1998 Belfast Agreement was promoted by the 'manufacturing consent' – as Chomsky would have put it – that a 'No' vote meant a vote for violence and a 'Yes' vote as a vote for peace, manipulating opinion polls and relegating dissenting voices tot the margins. 'Information Strategy' a British government document outlines the governments strategy for getting the right result through campaign and blatant media manipulation designed to flood Northern Ireland with positive stories about the peace deal.

The logic, dynamic and parameters of the peace process combined to mould a partitionist framework which served to predetermine a type of outcome republicanism had for long stood rock solid against. The 1998 Belfast Agreement amounts to the following: the British state has repeated its 1973 Sunningdale declaration of intent to remain in the North until a majority in it asks it to do otherwise; the British state has made it clear that the unionist veto shall remain in place and has strengthened the partitionist ethos underlying that veto by having it enshrined in the revised Southern constitution: the British state has ruled out any transition to a United Ireland by refusing to state that by a certain date - no matter how far in the distant future - it will no longer have a presence in Ireland. The principle of consent, no change to the constitutional status of Northern Ireland without the consent of the majority of the people is enshrined. With no end to partition, no British declaration of intent to withdraw, no United Ireland, the outcome of the peace process had no identifiable Republican content. It was a 'partitionist fudge'.

The Provisional movement claims that the Belfast Agreement does not represent a defeat for Republicanism. Danny Morrison, former Sinn Fein publicity director, claims that the British couldn't defeat the IRA nor could the IRA defeat the British, so the IRA did not win but had not lost either. That is demonstrably wrong. The political objective of the Provisional IRA was to secure a British declaration of intent to withdraw. It failed. The objective of the British state was to force the Provisional IRA to accept that it would not leave Ireland until a majority in the North consented to such a move. It succeeded. The Sinn Fein movement claims that the Belfast Agreement does not represent a defeat but an honourable compromise. First is that it was Nationalism and Republicanism that did the main compromising. The bitter pills the peace process has required Republicans to swallow are: "the deletion of Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution (the territorial claim over the North); the return of a Northern Assembly; Sinn Fein abandoning its traditional policy of abstentionism; reliance on Britishgovernment-appointed commissions on the equality and human rights issues and on the future of policing; and the implicit recognition of the principle of unionist consent on the constitutional question" Republicans sit in an assembly they never wanted. The British government never gave a declaration of intent to withdraw. There is still a heavy British army presence in the North. The police have not been reformed. MI5 are entrenched in the North. Unionists won on the big philosophical issue. In return for Unionist concessions on power-sharing and an Irish dimension, Nationalism and Provisional Republicanism explicitly signed up to acknowledging that there can be no end to the union without the consent of the majority in Northern Ireland, and that it is legitimate for consent to be withheld if that is the majority view. The Sinn Fein movement has gone much further than a 'compromise', an 'accommodation' or a 'negotiated settlement'. In endorsing the 'principle of consent' contained in the Agreement, accepting that Northern Ireland will as of right, remain part of the United Kingdom until such time as a majority within the six counties decides otherwise, Sinn Fein had ditched the idea that lay at the heart of its own tradition and that had provided the justification in political morality for the campaign, indeed the existence of the IRA

The only significant constitutional shift went in the opposite direction of republican objectives, the British state retained sovereignty in the North and the consent principle was embedded, whereas Articles 2 and 3 of the Irish constitution were deleted. Thanks to the framework of the Belfast Agreement, it is the Dublin government, not the British, which has dropped its claim to jurisdiction, leaving Northern Ireland within the UK. In the words of former British Prime Minister Blair, the settlement 'is not a

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slippery slope to a United Ireland. The government will not be persuaders for unity'. For the DUP, Northern Irelands place within the Union has been strengthened. "I have not changed my unionism, the union of Northern Ireland within the United Kingdom, I believe is stronger than ever" declared Ian Paisley in his inauguration speech as First Minister. The DUP believes that it has safe-guarded Unionist interests through forcing the Provisional movement "to transform and conform" to use the expression of new DUP Leader Peter Robinson.

In positive terms, according to Mitchel Mc Laughlin: 'There is steady demographic, political, social and economic change, undeniably pointing in one direction, towards support for a United Ireland'. But do these changes really point in that direction? The first argument is that demographics show that the Catholics will soon be in a majority position in the North and will vote for a United Ireland at the earliest opportunity. Partition will supposedly come to an end when Catholics reach the magic figure of 51% of the population in the North. However, the idea that a United Ireland could be brought about by demographic change has been highly disputed and dealt a blow by the most recent census figure, for those reasons senior Irish government sources have stated that they do not expect Northern Ireland's constitutional position to be raised again for '30 to 35 years'.

The second argument is that the development of an all-Ireland economy will create a dynamic towards unification and therefore make partition redundant. The argument that the 'all Ireland economy' is a stepping stone towards a United Ireland is 1005 wrong. Economic exchanges by themselves will not abolish the border no more that the development of the Benelux economy merged the three countries together. The third argument is that the development of cross-border institutions will generate a political dynamic towards unification. Cross-border bodies - cannot and will not lead to re-unification and an end to British rule. In his address on 30th September 2000, Martin Mansergh, Northern Advisor to three successive heads of 26 counties administrations stated that 'there is no evidence, let alone inevitability, from international experience, that limited cross-border co-operation necessarily leads to political unification'. Such bodies have existed for decades and have not brought a United Ireland any closer.

The Belfast Agreement is non-transitional and that Sinn Fein strategy is no logger designed toward destabilising the northern state which would possess the potential to create transitional structures.

Clearly, by its own admission, it is no longer Sinn Fein's intention to destabilise the Northern State, as one senior figure pointed out, "we are prepared to administer British rule in Ireland for the foreseeable future" Consequently all the central tenets of both traditional republicanism and Provisional republicanism have been jettisoned. In making the Belfast and St Andrews Agreements work now, Sinn Fein are working the same basic institutions and arrangements that they worked to undermine more than 30 years ago and refused to accept until recently. They are also accepting that the SDLP's policy, analysis and approach throughout the years were correct. "It should be clear that what they are doing is implementing the policies which have been consistently pursued by the SDLP. The Good Friday Agreement, again heavily negotiated by the SDLP is identical to Sunningdale" in 1974. This raises the question of whether Sinn Fein can justify the IRA campaign, between its rejection of the Sunningdale Agreement of 1973 and the Belfast Agreement of 1998, objectively speaking, very little progress towards Republican objectives if the provisions of Sunningdale and the power-sharing executive ad the provisions of the Belfast Agreement are compared.. If Republicans were right to reject Sunningdale, there logically is little justification for them to accept the terms of the Belfast and St Andrews Agreements. As Bernadette Sands-Mc Kevitt said about her brother' "Bobby did not die for cross-order bodies with executive powers. He did not die for nationalists to be equal to British citizens within the Northern Ireland state". Opponents of the peace process like her have been vilified. However, opponents are neither 'dissidents' as they do not dissent from the core principles of Republicanism, nor war-mongers as they are often portrayed. They are not against peace, but against the process. They are

for peace, but not peace at any price; and for all the reasons discussed above, the current process cannot deliver peace and iustice.

The essence of the Agreement is that when the Provisional movement openly supports the policing and court systems, the DUP will share power with them, with a DUP First Minister and a Sinn Fein Deputy First Minister in devolved government. According to a DUP document the St Andrews Agreement makes fundamental changes to the Belfast Agreement and offers from a Unionist perspective 'undoubtedly a better package' compared to the 1998 Agreement. It secures:

- -Unionists setting the political agenda
- -DUP veto over all major decisions
- -DUP veto over cross border relations
- -Republicans jumping first
- -Republican support for the police, the courts and the rule of British Law
- -No Sin Fein policing and justice minister

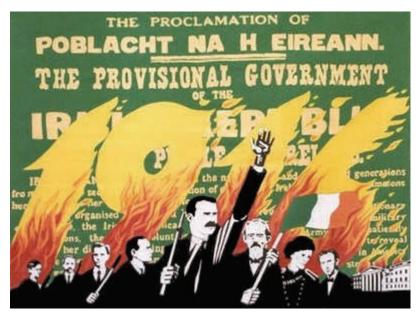
For the provisional leadership the most contentious issue in the St Andrews Agreement was the pledge to support the PSNI, MI5 and the court system. It has caused untold heartache amongst the republican community. Futhermore, the leadership of Provisional Sinn Fein have openly called on the republican community to inform on anti-GFA republicans, arrest them using anti-terrorist legislation, to put them through the Diplock courts and create more political prisoners. They expect us and the community to support these anti-republican declarations. The transfer of 'counter terrorist' intelligence from the police to MI5 means at present that any justice minister would have no effective control over counter terrorist operations in Northern Ireland. Sinn Fein is colluding with the British state to hide the fact MI5 has been given an expanded role in the North to take supreme control of all counter terrorist intelligence with virtually no accountability or outside control. According to Ian Paisley; 'Monday 26th March was a day of great victory for the unionist people of Northern Ireland. That was the day republicanism accepted the strength of unionism; that was the day that Irish republicanism adhered to our demands. That was the day that unionism secured its future'. Paisley says that the DUP made Sinn Fein realise 'it was the end for republicanism' Gerry Adams will sit in our Assembly - a British institution of the British state. He will take an oath pledging to support the police, the rule of law and British Justice... The IRA has finally been shunned from the politics of this province. The DUP will ensure that it ever returns" He concluded by saving that the DUP is in control: 'Unionist are writing the agenda, we are dictating the pace of change and we are controlling the conditions for government' This is because Unionists will have an effective veto on all Sin Fein policies, unionists will have the ultimate veto'

The Achilles heel of the current settlement is 'creative ambiguity' has been central to the peace process. George Orwell would have appreciated the way 'an "agreed Ireland" 'turned out to mean the very opposite of a 'United Ireland', while 'powersharing' came to denote 'separate spheres', not reconciliation". Or as Bernadette Devlin Mc Aliskey puts it more bluntly, peace has been bought by "perjury, fraud, corruption, cheating and lying". That is probably one of the reasons why Professor Paul Bew asks whether the St Andrews Agreement and restoration of devolution are a "model for world peace or Hitler-Stalin Pact Ulster style". Despite all the hype about the St Andrews Agreement and power-sharing there remains a split in its interpretation by the two communities which is fundamental enough to bring it down. For Nationalist and Sinn Fein, it is supposed to be a transition to a United Ireland. For Unionists, it is supposed to secure the six counties' place within the UK and give them the 'ultimate veto'. Both cannot be right at the same time and therefore the process is likely to generate further instability. This fundamental flaw should create the space for a political alternative to develop.

## **IRSCNA Easter Statement**

#### Comrades,

The Irish Republican Socialist Committees of North America take the occasion of Easter 2008 to reaffirm our unwavering support for the leadership and program of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. We salute your tireless effort and courage in standing firm in the face of continued state repression against our movement. The example of the Irish National Liberation Army in maintaining a principled ceasefire for ten years--while not giving up arms, compromising its right to defend Irish workers, or sacrificing its own organisation for respectability--is a positive example for revolutionaries the world over to learn from. We are proud of the work carried out by Teach Na Fáilte in community activism and support for political prisoners. We



also proudly acknowledge the diligent work by the Republican Socialist Youth Movement in training future party leaders. The Irish Republican Socialist Movement's honest and principled relationship with the wider anti-imperialist struggle is a living example of James Connolly's teachings, when he instructed, "march separately, strike together."

British imperialism and its allies in Ireland fear the growth of the Republican Socialist Movement, its increased confidence, level of activity, and support. The recent attacks on the party and Teach Na Fáilte amount to internment by remand, and the return of the Heavy Gang and the brutal tactics visited upon the IRSP in the past by state forces. British imperialism is still as active as ever in Ireland, only now they will utilise their junior partners from the Northern nationalist petit-bourgeoisie and Free State ruling class to implement the repression of political activists who oppose capitalism and imperialism. The Unionists are not the only lackeys of British imperialism opposing a democratic settlement in Ireland to justify the continued occupation of the island. Thus it is fair to expect that repression will continue to increase against those who have not exchanged the vision of freedom, peace, and equality that was first shown to the Irish masses in 1916 in exchange for a seat at the table administering British rule.

The IRSCNA is proud to continue representing the IRSM, building solidarity as well as giving practical aid and support to the best of our ability. We stand firm in the Republican Socialist tradition begun by Connolly and continued today by the IRSP. The IRSM's political analysis and leadership has never been as sorely needed as now: the Republican Socialist analysis and programme is the only one within Irish anti-imperialism that can both understand the line of march and lead by example.

Onward to the Socialist Republic, comrades!

### First Issue of IRSN



Thank you for reading the first issue of *Irish Republican Socialist News*, which is published by the North American section of the Irish Republican Socialist Movement.

The Irish Republican Socialist Movement exists to agitate, educate and organise within our class and to mobilise our fellow workers towards the objective of removing the Northern colonial and Southern neo-colonial statelets on this island, thus ending imperialism and capitalism, and preparing the basic structures for an Irish Workers' Republic.

We welcome correspondence from those interested in our politics, history and activities, and constructive criticism or suggestions.

www.irsm.org | www.irscna.org

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