

For National Liberation & Socialism

# STARRY PLOUGH

OFFICIAL MAGAZINE OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST PARTY

**THE RICH GOT BAILED OUT  
THE WORKING CLASS GOT SOLD OUT**

**FIGHT  
BACK**

**As the governments implement more and more "austerity measures" we say it is time for our class to organise.**

**More Inside**

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**THE VOICE OF REPUBLICAN SOCIALISM IN IRELAND**

# STARRY PLOUGH

The Starry Plough magazine is the organ of the Irish Republican Socialist Party. The aim of this publication is to assist and develop republican socialist ideas as well as to create debate. This is your magazine and we constantly require input from our members and supporters and if you can contribute articles, photos, drawings, information on potential bookshops or stockists or anything else that you feel will help this project then please get in touch with us.

This magazine is put together by a volunteer collective of activists and is paid for only by donations, subscriptions and sales. We have no corporate backing nor do we want any.

We aim to produce the Starry Plough in order to provide a republican socialist perspective that's not normally covered in other papers or outlets. We welcome contributions from all our readers that will further the objectives of republican socialism. Likewise we welcome all articles that will initiate discussion as to the way forward for republican socialism in Ireland. As such the articles and opinions within the Starry Plough magazine do not necessarily reflect the viewpoints of the Irish Republican Socialist Party unless explicitly stated. All articles in the Starry Plough reflect the views of the author. Lastly, if any article contained within incites or inspires you then do get in touch, join the debate!

If you feel that you would like to write something then please get in touch with the editorial team via email:

[starryplough@gmail.com](mailto:starryplough@gmail.com)

### Joining the Irish Republican Socialist Party

If you want to consider becoming a member of the IRSP and agree with our aims & objectives as stated within this publication, then please write for more information to: **IRSP, 392b Falls Road, Belfast, BT12 6DH**

### PLAYING YOUR PART!

As already stated the Starry Plough survives entirely through it's own sales and donations. We believe it plays a vital role in spreading the Republican Socialist message throughout Ireland and abroad and as such it is vital that it must survive and flourish as a publication. If you like what you read within the Starry Plough and want to support our endeavours then why not make a contribution!

You can send Cheques and Postal orders (made payable to Starry Plough). You can also make a donation online at: [www.starryplough.net](http://www.starryplough.net)

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**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

*Europeans and Americans throw away enough edible  
food to feed every starving person in Africa.*

# A Symbolic Attack on Capitalism

At the middle of January a former bank building in Belfast was "occupied" by a group of political activists who have come together under the common theme of the "Occupy" movement, a world wide phenomenon which began last year as a response to the economic attacks on working class people.

Activists from the 'Occupy Belfast' movement, the local manifestation of this global anti-capitalist movement, have taken the necessary direct action to reclaim this building in protest at the cycle of housing repossessions and worsening unemployment crisis the youth and working class people are facing.

Statistics released this week project upwards of 27,000 jobs to be lost in the public sector within the north, and youth unemployment to exceed 20% over the next few years. Similarly there is a crisis of social housing up and down the country waiting to spiral out of control; upwards of 50,000 people are on the social housing waiting list in the north alone. As a result, such direct action is a predictable and necessary response to the worsening housing crisis and that of the capitalist system in general. The political process offers no solutions, only false promises which mislead people to believe

that the nature of the crisis lies not in the existence of the system itself, but within a temporary or short term flaw. 'Get a job, stay at home or emigrate, and this will all blow over', is the message we are told. However as Lenin noted, "One can never be radical enough; that is, one must always try to be as radical as reality itself".

The liberation of this building is set amidst this, but also within the context of actions taken across the country to reclaim empty, unused properties by and for the use of the people, an example being the action taken in Cork to reclaim a NAMA property on Christmas Day last year. Whilst the occupied Bank of Ireland is not a NAMA property itself, the use of this listed building by and for the people, is both a symbolic statement and a practical step to reclaim the right to common ownership, and to strike a blow against the predatory speculation on land and property which has contributed to this crisis.

The IRSP fully supports this action and encourages all working class people to involve themselves in the all aspects of political activism. After arguably years of boardroom negotiations, token gestures from the trade unions and other so called 'leaders' of the class, they have failed to provide an alternative solution to

the crisis and have failed in the face of a growing radicalisation amongst the ruling class, to combat it's attacks on workers through harsh 'austerity' programmes. The occupiers seek to build a movement that will challenge this.

The actions of the occupiers have struck a note with the most radical sections of workers and students and have left the reactionary politicians, media pundits and hostile classes either silent or dumbstruck. However they are mostly concerned about it's potential, and so they should be!

The IRSP argues however that for this movement to grow and succeed, that it must in the short term, build strong relationships with similar groups such as the aforementioned Cork occupiers. Secondly, despite the diversity of the occupy movement, students of revolution will know only too well that only the working class has the energy and determination to carry through a revolutionary movement until its realisation. Other sections of the population such as small business owners, small farmers and other sections of the lower middle classes may be sympathetic to the demands of the occupiers, however at the first mention of the negation of property rights they will proclaim, "No,

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

*In the United States it is illegal to donate to wikileaks but it is legal to invest in Lockheed Martin, which manufactures nuclear weapons technology*

you're demands are unrealistic, you are going too far etc." These reactionary views stem from their semi-privileged position within the capitalist state and are opposed to the progressive nature of the working class movement. Such is the position of the IRSP: we are out for revolution and no half measures will suffice.

However all acts against the state and the ruling classes in themselves will not lead to a revolutionary transformation of society: this is an erroneous position that is encouraged by philistine elements and by sections of the ultra left. The occupation of this building is only one step on the road to building a socialist alternative. It has allowed us the space to open a debate in the public sphere on the right and validity of property ownership and speculation in a time of crisis where young families are facing repossessions and a dearth of social housing exists to meet the needs of vulnerable working class and unemployed people. The existence of the space has also allowed us to form a network of dedicated revolutionary activists who are intent on using the bank as a space to formulate political solutions to the crisis, the IRSP will be arguing that there is only ever one solution: revolution!

We should use this position we are in now to consolidate the gains we have made and to organise a strategic way forward for the movement. People are full of enthusiasm and willingness to act and although this spirit is to be commended, action simply for action's sake will far from

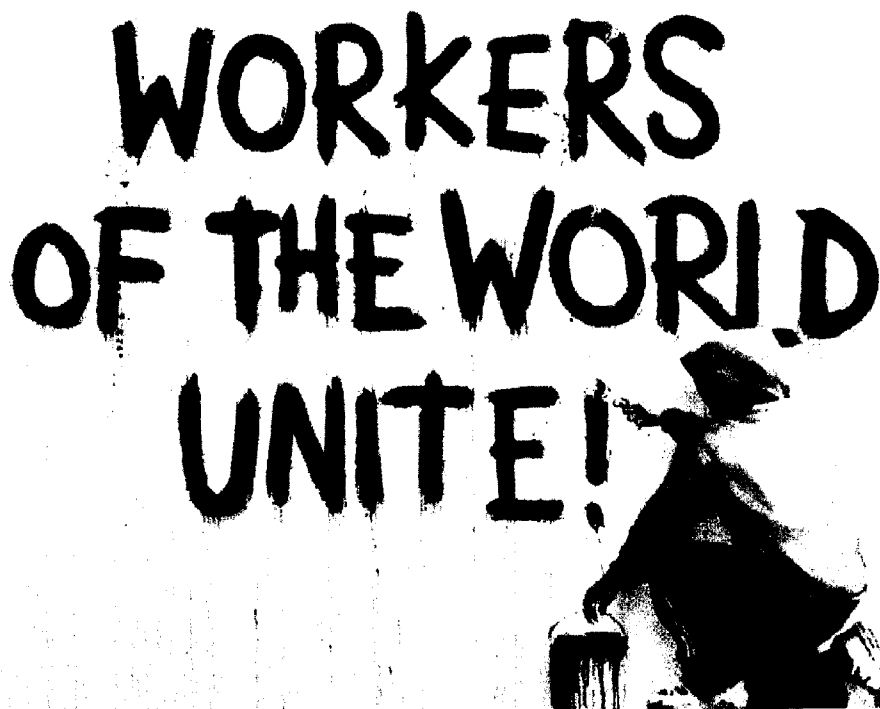
weaken the power of the propertied classes, but conversely provoke a reaction which we cannot absorb at this moment. Our base of support and participation is limited although expanding; as a result an escalation of the movement would be akin to spreading ourselves too thin over the field of battle by deploying forces that are not currently in our arsenal.

The socialist republican position is that the movement has been presented an opportunity to dictate the course and direction of the struggle on its own terms. It should therefore use this time accordingly to sharpen its ideas and to build up its support base. Whilst we are not advocating remaining stationary, which would lead to a general stagnation of the movement, we would argue that actions or demands that are not realisable by the movement or relevant to the mass of workers at this stage should be cast aside to be reconsid-

ered at a more mature stage of the struggle.

Whilst on the one hand the populist rhetoric of the 99% may explain the level of mass participation globally in the occupy movement and on the other, a determined revolutionary vanguard may already be forming around it, this is no substitute for a politically organised working class movement and as such the occupiers must take steps to establish support amongst militant sections of workers and the unemployed. We would argue further that while only the mass organisation and participation of the militant working class has the ability to bring about real revolutionary change, the role of the party is still a relevant and necessary tool in the revolutionary movement.

A certain hostility has arisen to the role of the party in the course of the occupy protests, this has as much to



**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

Thousands of buildings, homes and workplaces, were destroyed in the US invasion of Iraq yet one of the first to be rebuilt was Pizza Hut.

do with the inability of the establishment parties to offer any solutions or leadership to the people, but is not a good enough basis alone on which to reject the need for a disciplined revolutionary party. A party that is able to provide leadership when necessary, to formulate the correct tactics and strategy and to challenge the power of the state effectively is needed so long as the forces of counter revolution exist, i.e. the state apparatus (police, intelligence services, judiciary prisons etc.) and reactionary classes who defend bourgeois property against the common property of the working class. The experience of history tells us that the capitalist state cannot be swept away

in one blow overnight, there exists a protracted period where the working class has to consolidate and maintain its power whilst limiting the power of the reactionary classes. Such a stage is known as socialism and is the transitional phase on the road to full emancipation which is known as communism.

Whilst the composition of the occupy movement is extremely broad ideologically and does not have a uniformity in terms of its class basis, it argues through this first action that property is not a commodity to be speculated on and sold for a profit, this has to be the baseline realisation of any anti-capitalist

movement; that collective ownership of society by the people is the only truly permanent solution to the recurring crises of capitalism. We have a long way to go, but we must learn to walk before we can run. This stage presents to us a valuable opportunity to educate ourselves, organise and expand the movement and to argue the case for the Republican Socialist alternative.

Chris Donnelly, IRSP Activist

Can the Occupy Movement Make Real Change (Pages 6 & 7)

### SELL THE STARRY PLOUGH IN YOUR AREA

Selling political literature is contributing to the struggle in a number of ways. Primarily you are helping spread the message of discontent among ordinary people, you are also helping sustain this publication on a financial basis which isn't easy. You are also taking part in valuable political activity. If you are willing to help out in this way why not get in touch.

Email: [starryplough@gmail.com](mailto:starryplough@gmail.com)

### REPUBLICAN SOCIALIST POLITICAL LIBRARY

A political library exists at our offices in Derry. We have many books and political materials as well as a number of DVDs and CDs. We are always looking to expand what we have so that our members and supporters can avail of quality political literature. If you have anything that would be appropriate in such a library then we will gladly accept all donations. Contact the IRSP in Derry.



## FOCUS YOUR ACTIVISM - JOIN THE IRSP!

There are many individuals around the country equally angry about the ongoing economic attacks on the vulnerable as we are. Many of these also share our political outlook. Take the plunge, join the IRSP and be part of the Irish Revolution!

### WORLD OF INJUSTICE

Every time there is a major protest around the world, stock markets crash in order to create an anti-protest sentiment in people's minds.

Whilst there has been a notable raising of political consciousness during the past year this has manifested itself in the Occupy Wall Street movement so we ask is there merit in this political alliance.

# Can the Occupy Movement make real change?

In 2011 a new phenomenon came in the form of the occupy movement. On September 17th the first of the occupy camps were set up in New York and San Francisco by October there were occupy movements in over 82 countries across the world. The camps have been set up to protest against social, political and economic inequality. Occupiers have organised general assemblies in which every protestor has the chance to have their say in the running of the camp in this policy of direct democracy. The camps involve a communal existence where occupiers are delegated jobs such as cooking or cleaning. "We are the 99%" is the uniform slogan of the occupy camps which gives some indication of their ideological diversity. It refers to the vast concentration of wealth among the top 1% of income earners compared to the other 99 per cent. This is an attempt to draw in the middle class. This sort of strategy can only lead to failure as the working class will be sold out. The slogan is flawed but possibly reflective of the nature of the occupy movement. Capitalism cannot be reformed and will only lead to further exploitation. This economic crisis is not a battle between the 99 and 1%. It is a struggle between the working class and the ruling class.

The occupy camps are an outcry of the sorrows of the economic crisis. Young people in particular have a feeling of despondency and lack of opportunities. Official unemployment statistics in the



North of Ireland stand at 60,000. But the real figure is estimated at somewhere nearer 100,000. The occupy camp is certainly an effective way of highlighting the sickening prospect of another 'Lost generation'. In the South, unemployment is also on the increase. The unemployment rate south of the border now stands at 14.3%. Ireland has the third-worst level of joblessness in the 17-nation Eurozone. The rate in Spain is 21 per cent, Greece 15 per cent. Emigration is also soaring by 45% in Ireland. This crisis is a direct attack on our class and is directly targeted at the working class youth.

Although the nature and politics of the occupy camps is diverse, the one constant has been the reaction of the state

authorities. In America and England the police have aggressively attempted to force the occupiers to literally fold up their tents. Numerous arrests have also been made. They have also employed the more sinister tactic of using undercover police to infiltrate the camps and facilitate aggressive operations by special snatch squads. These violent scenes can be viewed on YouTube, they give a realistic image of the police as enforcers of the ruling class and smashes the 'guardians of peace' image involved by ruling class propaganda. One must also question the tactics of the occupy movements, in Glasgow the camp was moved to a public park from the city centre. Glasgow city council even set up special areas with portable toilets. This has had the effect

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

Google has jointly invested with the CIA in an Internet monitoring project that scours twitter accounts, blogs and websites for information.

*Although the nature and politics of the occupy camps is diverse, the one constant has been the reaction of the state authorities. In America and England the police have aggressively attempted to force the occupiers to literally fold up their tents. Numerous arrests have also been made.*

of clearing the protestors from the City centre where they would be more accessible to the media. Placing them in the park is an out of sight out of mind policy which has limited the impact of the anti-capitalist protestors.

There is no doubt that the occupy movement has achieved extensive media coverage but to what end? The camps highlight the problem but what do they do to alleviate it? As Marx said "The philosophers have only interpreted the world, in various ways. The point, however, is to change it". The camps will certainly draw attention wherever they may be but the media interest will not last. The media has also focused on the more negative aspects of the camp such as attacks by the extreme right. The state is also using its media to organise propaganda against the protestors. The incident at St. Pauls, London, is a key example of this, the media removed the coverage of why the protestors are there and shifted it to the fact that 'tourism was suffering due to the scruffy occupiers'. The diversity in the camps has possibly caused the movement to be ineffectual and take on a rather liberal character. Camp sites no matter how large will not change the mind-set of the ruling class. The state will simply ignore the occupations and when they deem necessary will employ the full force of their police thugs. Occupation is a great idea but it could be better used where it makes a difference. In Argentina, workers have seized factories and have set up co-operatives. There are now over 200 co-operative worker-owned businesses in Argentina. This sort of revolutionary

activity on a large scale would have a better chance of making a lasting impact.

The occupiers will have to decide soon whether to make themselves more relevant or simply fade from the attention of the media and the public. It is true the whole world is watching but for how long? In the Dame Street Occupation, Dublin, protestors set up outside the Central bank this is an encouraging step towards achieving some impact. Occupy Belfast initially set up camp outside offices of investNI. The occupations are to some extent an exercise of civil disobedience which highlights the grievances of the working class. But as history has proved you have to have mass participation of the working class in order to really change things. Many of the occupations have received the tacit support of nearby communities but the working class people have not physically joined the occupations in any large number. This means that the occupation remain isolated and withdrawn from the very people the purport to represent. The occupations are certainly a positive force but they will remain limited until they establish hard objectives and entice the support of the working masses. We are also for equality but we want to see a society where the working class are in control of the means of production, control, and exchange. For it is only when the majority of people within a single state (the working class) are in control of government that true equality will be achieved.

Garry O'Cianain

## WHAT YOU COULD DO?

Although there are limitations you can make a difference through real political activism. This starts in your community and workplace. Don't sit back and do nothing!

## WORLD OF INJUSTICE

When Americans were asked what they would do to become billionaires 24% said they would disown their entire families if that's what it took.

# There was a time when the health service promised care “From the Cradle to the Grave”, We ask has this come to an end?

*Providing a free and comprehensive health service should be a basic tenet of any democratic state. But this uncovers the fact that a ‘democracy’ like Britain is actually an illusion.*

*There is nothing democratic about the working class people of the Six Counties suffering at the hands of a Con-Dem coalition it did not vote for.*

Stormont Minister for Health Edwin Poots should resign with immediate effect. Never was a title ‘Minister for Health’ less descriptive of a person. Far from being a minister responsible for providing the best health care possible for the people of the six counties, Edwin Poots poses a severe danger to your health. Poots is fronting a concerted campaign by the British government to close vitally needed A & E units across the North. Poots also displayed his callous disregard for human life and sectarian nature in 2011 when he expressed his disgust at the decision to release critically ill prisoner Brendan Lillis.

“The prison could accommodate the condition he has. There was a physical therapist, there were nursing staff, there were physicians within the prison,” said Mr Poots

This statement brings in to question Mr Poots’ suitability for the position of Minister for Health. Considering that Brendan Lillis suffers from an excruciatingly painful disease called Ankylosing Spondylitis which compounded by other serious medical complications left him unable to move from his bed for 14 months. Mr Lillis’ weight had dropped to a

life threatening 6 stones. The IRSP feels that Edwin Poots, as a man evidently motivated by sectarian hatred and capitalist principles, is someone who should not be making the decisions which could risk so many working class lives in the 6 counties.

In 2011 Belfast A & E department was closed and other emergency services were threatened. The Belfast Health and Social Care Trust Board made the decision to close the accident and emergency unit at Belfast City Hospital. Sinn Fein Cllr Tom Hartley was one of those who voted in favour of closing the A&E department. These attacks on the health services are putting the lives of working class people at risk by forcing them to travel further distances to receive urgently needed care. This will also place a massive strain on the staff at both the Royal Victoria Hospital in West Belfast and The Mater Infirmorum in North Belfast. Unlike Mr Poots, the working class cannot afford private treatment at the Ulster Independent clinic or the North West Independent hospital. Both the Democratic Unionist Party and Sinn Fein try to dodge guilt by passing the buck to Westminster. Members of Sinn Fein are great fans of saying “There is no alternative”

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

In the UK, the money earned by the poorest tenth fell by 12% between 1999 and 2009, while the money made by the richest 10th rose by 37%.



Well the alternative is refusing to act as Westminster's executioners, refusing to implement the savage cuts which will have a devastating effect on their constituents. But there has been no protest or refusal to implement these cuts by either party. This indicates a clear class division in Irish politics. The DUP and Sinn Fein are ruling class, establishment parties which are more concerned with their Stormont pay-cheques rather than fighting for the health service which provides for their constituents. The IRSP were at the forefront of both the campaign to save City hospital's A&E department and the campaign to have Brendan Lillis released. We will continue to oppose any further attacks on our health service by any means necessary. But we do not take the reformist position of solely defending the health service. We believe that there is an urgent need for a revolutionary change.

Why is it in a time of economic crisis it is our health service and not the wealthy and overpaid that is being targeted with cuts?

Why is it always the most vulnerable in society to bear the brunt of reducing a deficit which was caused by the ruling class?

The severe cuts to the health service are coming at a time when the North is suffering from extreme health problems. It is well-known that in the North there is a worrying rise in the number of suicides amongst our young people. Young

people in the age group of 17-24 are also the worst affected by unemployment. This situation is untenable and the powder keg will eventually blow as the youth will not be content to become another 'lost generation'. We hear all the time from the British government that there is a limited budget. But there is no limits on what they spend maintaining their imperialist presence in the middle-east. This shows the priority of the British government and how little the ruling class actually care about their constituents. Providing a free and comprehensive health service should be a basic tenet of any democratic state. But this uncovers the fact that a 'democracy' like Britain is actually an illusion. There is nothing democratic about the working class people of the Six Counties suffering at the hands of a Con-Dem coalition it did not vote for. This is why we feel that separation from the antiquated union and the establishment of a socialist republic is the correct step forward for the working class people of the north.

The IRSP believes there is a need for a major review of health service provision in the North and South with the ultimate aim of a single health service for the island. We also believe that more resources should be made available especially in our teaching hospitals. One single unitary health service would undoubtedly be a more practical solution but there is a fundamental need for a change in attitudes towards the health service not just the

structure. In socialist countries such as Cuba, one can see the importance which is placed by revolutionary socialists on providing health care for its citizens. Before the revolution of 1959, Cuban people suffered the same poor health and lack of health care that exists in many Latin American countries today. Today in Cuba, health care has been a system that is the envy of developing countries – and some developed ones. It is praised by international experts, including the World Health Organisation and has led to dramatically improved health indices. For example, Cuba has a doctor: patient ratio of 1:195, which is the best in the world! In Britain it is 1:518. This comparison is an indicator of the choice we face of Socialism or barbarism. Capitalism is barbaric as the current disdain for our health service shows.

This smashes Sinn Fein's mantra of 'There is no alternative'. This phrase is used in a condescending manner which actually masks their true intention. What Sinn Fein means to say is 'We know best, trust us, and don't ask too many questions'. The attack on health care is a symptom of the rotten capitalist disease but it is also a microcosm in regards to the problems of the irreformable six-county state. We believe that our health service, North and South should be unified and rebuilt on socialist structures and principles that will give the working class a healthier future.

Garry O'Cianain

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

U.S. corporations have reaped a massive \$2.8 trillion in profits from the 'war' on terror whilst tens of thousands of civilians were killed

In Connolly's own words;

# Socialism and Irish Nationalism



*This is a short essay written by James Connolly in 1897 in which he clearly outlines and defines the differences between Socialism & Irish Nationalism*

*"The section of the Socialist army to which I belong, the Irish Socialist Republican Party, never seeks to hide its hostility to those purely bourgeois parties which at present direct Irish politics."*

The public life of Ireland has been generally so much identified with the struggle for political emancipation, that, naturally, the economic side of the situation has only received from our historians and public men a very small amount of attention.

Scientific Socialism is based upon the truth incorporated in this proposition of Karl Marx, that, "the economic dependence of the workers on the monopolists of the means of production is the foundation of slavery in all its forms, the cause of nearly all social misery, modern crime, mental degradation and political dependence". Thus this false exaggeration of purely political forms which has clothed in Ireland the struggle for liberty, must appear to the Socialist an inexplicable error on the part of a people so strongly crushed down as the Irish.

But the error is more in appearance than in reality. The reactionary attitude of our political leaders notwithstanding, the great mass of the Irish people know full well that if they had once conquered that political liberty which they struggle for with so much ardour, it would have to be used as a means of social redemption before their well-being would be assured.

In spite of occasional exaggeration of its immediate results one must remember that by striving determinedly, as they have done, towards this definite politi-

cal end, the Irish are working on the lines of conduct laid down by modern Socialism as the indispensable condition of success. Since the abandonment of the unfortunate insurrectionism of the early Socialists whose hopes were exclusively concentrated on the eventual triumph of an uprising and barricade struggle, modern Socialism, relying on the slower, but surer method of the ballot-box, has directed the attention of its partisans toward the peaceful conquest of the forces of government in the interests of the revolutionary ideal.

The advent of Socialism can only take place when the revolutionary proletariat, in possession of the organized forces of the nation (the political power of government) will be able to build up a social organization in conformity with the natural march of industrial development.

On the other hand, non-political co-operative effort must infallibly succumb in face of the opposition of the privileged classes, entrenched behind the ramparts of law and monopoly. This is why, even when he is from the economic point of view intensely conservative, the Irish Nationalist, even with his false reasoning, is an active agent in social regeneration, in so far as he seeks to invest with full power over its own destinies a people actually governed in the interests of a feudal aristocracy.

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

Spain gave Saddam Hussain 57,500 munitions designed for carrying chemical weapons.

The section of the Socialist army to which I belong, the Irish Socialist Republican Party, never seeks to hide its hostility to those purely bourgeois parties which at present direct Irish politics. But, in inscribing on our banners an ideal to which they also give lip-homage, we have no intention of joining in a movement which could debase the banner of revolutionary Socialism.

The Socialist parties of France oppose the mere Republicans without ceasing to love the Republic. In the same way the Irish Socialist Republican Party seeks the independence of the nation, while refusing to conform to the methods or to employ the arguments of the chauvinist Nationalist.

As Socialists we are not imbued with national or racial hatred by the remembrance that the political and social order under which we live was imposed on our fathers at the point of the sword; that during 700 years Ireland has resisted this unjust foreign domination; that famine, pestilence and bad government have made this western isle almost a desert and scattered our exiled fellow-countrymen over the whole face of the globe.

The enunciation of facts such as I have just stated is not able today to inspire or to direct the political energies of the militant working class of Ireland; such is not the foundation of our resolve to free Ireland from the yoke of the British Empire. We recognize rather that during all these centuries the great mass of the British people had no political existence whatever; that England was, politically and socially, terrorized by a numerically small governing class; that the atrocities which have been perpetrated against Ireland are only imputable to the unscrupulous ambition of this class, greedy to enrich itself at the expense of defenceless men; that up to the present generation the great majority of the

English people were denied a deliberate voice in the government of their own country; that it is, therefore, manifestly unjust to charge the English people with the past crimes of their Government; and that at the worst we can but charge them with a criminal apathy in submitting to slavery and allowing themselves to be made an instrument of coercion for the enslavement of others. An accusation as applicable to the present as to the past.

But whilst refusing to base our political action on hereditary national antipathy, and wishing rather comradeship with the English workers than to regard them with hatred, we desire with our precursors the United Irishmen of 1798 that our animosities be buried with the bones of our ancestors — there is not a party in Ireland which accentuates more as a vital principle of its political faith the need of separating Ireland from England and of making it absolutely independent. In the eyes of the ignorant and of the unreflecting this appears an inconsistency, but I am persuaded that our Socialist brothers in France will immediately recognize the justice of the reasoning upon which such a policy is based.

1. We hold "the economic emancipation of the worker requires the conversion of the means of production into the common property of Society". Translated into the current language and practice of actual politics this teaches that the necessary road to be travelled towards the establishment of Socialism requires the transference of the means of production from the hands of private owners to those of public bodies directly responsible to the entire community.

2. Socialism seeks then in the interest of the democracy to strengthen popular action on all public bodies.

3. Representative bodies in Ireland would express more directly the will of the Irish people than when those bodies reside in England.

An Irish Republic would then be the natural depository of popular power; the weapon of popular emancipation, the only power which would show in the full light of day all these class antagonisms and lines of economic demarcation now obscured by the mists of bourgeois patriotism.

In that there is not a trace of chauvinism. We desire to preserve with the English people the same political relations as with the people of France, or Germany, or of any other country; the greatest possible friendship, but also the strictest independence. Brothers, but not bedfellows. Thus, inspired by another ideal, conducted by reason not by tradition, following a different course, the Socialist Republican Party of Ireland arrives at the same conclusion as the most irreconcilable Nationalist.

The governmental power of England over us must be destroyed; the bonds which bind us to her must be broken. Having learned from history that all bourgeois movements end in compromise, that the bourgeois revolutionists of today become the conservatives of tomorrow, the Irish Socialists refuse to deny or to lose their identity with those who only half understand the problem of liberty.

They seek only the alliance and the friendship of those hearts who, loving liberty for its own sake, are not afraid to follow its banner when it is uplifted by the hands of the working class who have most need of it. Their friends are those who would not hesitate to follow that standard of liberty, to consecrate their lives in its service even should it lead to the terrible arbitration of the sword.

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

The British Government paid for a chlorine factory in Iraq that was intended to be used for manufacturing mustard gas.

Looking back at our history:

# Learning from Seamus Costello



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The late Seamus Costello was the co-founder of both the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the Irish National Liberation Army following the inaugural convention at the Spa Hotel, Lucan in 1974. Tragically Seamus Costello was assassinated by an Official IRA gunman, Jim Flynn, on 5th October, 1977 in Dublin's North Strand. Costello's murderer later paid with his life for striking down Ireland's most dynamic revolutionary but his removal from the nascent Republican Socialist Movement was, to quote Ta Power, 'an almost incalculable loss.' On the Sunday closest to the anniversary of his assassination, Republican Socialists from Ireland and beyond hold an annual commemoration in his home town of Bray, county Wicklow, to pay homage to a lost leader whose likes have not been seen again.

There are a number of testimonies to Seamus Costello's outstanding political ability, his charisma and his many achievements in his tragically short life available online but as yet there has been no biography published in hard copy. Hopefully, that will not always be the case.

Many might ask what would Costello's views be on the current political situation, would his revolutionary brand of Irish Republican

Socialism have succumbed to reformism or neo-liberalism? The truth is that no-one can second guess a dead person, as it is a futile pursuit but we can certainly examine his politics in relation to what would have been the political issues of his time.

## Costello On Elections and Bourgeois Elected Assemblies:

Costello states that the IRSP are 'a revolutionary socialist party' whose objectives are 'a revolutionary socialist state in Ireland' - leaving no doubt whatsoever about the party's Marxist orientation. He is by no means an isolationist and states that he regards the Irish Republican Socialist Movement's struggle for a democratic Socialist Republic 'as part of the worldwide struggle for the emancipation of working class people'.

In the same interview Costello also extends solidarity to 'genuine revolutionary movements' internationally. Seamus Costello famously states that he favours 'guerrilla tactics' in electoral politics, with the express intention of 'bring(ing) them tumbling down in ruins!' He clearly sees engagement in liberal-democracy as a means to an end, with a view to destroying 'the confidence of the people in these institu-

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

650,000 African American males are in prison because of drugs;  
0 Wall Street cocaine-addicts are in prison because of drugs.

**He reinforces the non-reformist, revolutionary Socialist need to negate liberal democratic parliaments in Ireland, not just because they are partitionist but because, even in an Irish unitary state they are "institutions that have to be abolished if we are to make progress from the point of view of establishing a Socialist Republic."**

tions' not propping them up or conferring legitimacy on them. The 'few MPs or TDs of the right calibre' that Costello refers to are obviously elected IRSP representatives who would be of course acutely aware that there can be 'no parliamentary road to Socialism'. Elected IRSP representatives would use their elected positions to point out the limitations of liberal democratic assemblies and use them for propaganda purposes.

Costello's description of bourgeois elected assemblies is remarkably similar to Lenin's assertion that they were essentially 'dung hills' adequate for standing on to make speeches (propaganda) but still 'dung hills' stating: "We don't see Parliament as an institution that is likely to produce the results which we want from a long term point of view."

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#### **Seamus Costello on the Broad Front:**

Costello returns often to the recurrent theme of the necessity and desirability of a 'broad front' to achieve the possibility of the equal goals of national liberation and a Socialist republic. The nature of the 'broad front' would be 'anti-imperialist' in nature, therefore not merely a pan-nationalist front. Membership of the broad front would be open to 'affiliated or-

ganisations who support the agreed political programme of the Front.'

Costello's 'broad front' has been left open to various interpretations, to a certain extent, though we are able to see unequivocally what it is definitely not, ie namely not a pan-Nationalist type front. When Costello was proposing broad front politics in the 1970's the Republican Movement had already split along generally left-right lines, yet both movements ostensibly shared the same goal of a Socialist Republic.

In present day Ireland, the largest group of Republicans, the Provisionals, do not share that primary objective, their stated objective is merely a unitary state. Of the non-Provisional Republican groups, several state that their objective is a Socialist Republic but as was the case with the Provisionals pre-Stormont, there is invariably the proviso that 'labour must wait' and therefore it is questionable if there is the clear Costello Broad Front criteria of 'shared objectives'.

What we do know of Costello's concept of a united front or 'Broad Front' is that participants must adhere to the minimum requirements/objectives of working towards:

- 1: National Liberation &
- 2: a Socialist state, anything less than that and it is merely a pan-nationalist front, albeit with a hint of cordite

#### **Seamus Costello on Other Republican Groups:**

Costello, naturally enough, sees clear ideological differences between Republican Socialism and the reformist direction of the Officials and their

### **WHAT YOU COULD DO?**

Follow Costello's example. Agitate within your community, help empower the people, fight against injustice and lead by example. Don't sit back and do nothing!

**WORLD OF INJUSTICE**

Between 1998 and 2011, 333 people in the U.K. were killed while in police custody, while Cameron thinks twitter and free speech are the problem.

"stages" approach, which was originally adopted from Stalinist elements such as Roy Johnston and other 'two-nations' theorists within the partitionist Left.

Costello's critique of the Officials' approach, when he asserted that "there is no hope of achieving National Liberation until such time as the Protestant and Catholic working class in the North are united" was countered by the revolutionary Republican Socialist analysis of Costello and the IRSM "that the British presence in Ireland is the basic cause of the divisions between the Protestant and Catholic working class."

Costello repeatedly points out the contradictions in the Stickies' ring-road Socialist approach where the national question is abandoned, and non-contentious 'bread and butter' issues become the apex of their politics. History has vindicated Costello's critique of the Officials' approach and their reliance on bread and butter politics which was reminiscent of Connolly's critique of Walker's 'gas and water' Socialism a century previously.

The Provisionals were then the main Republican group engaged in armed struggle against the British occupation. Costello identifies their limitations, in relation to the Republican Socialist Movement, stating that the Provisionals: 'are not as an organization, dedicated to the establishment of a Socialist Republic'.

Unlike the IRSM, whose twin objectives are national liberation and a socialist state, the Provisionals would stop well short of that and would accept an Ireland that was a 'theoretically independent state.' History has vindicated Costello's critique.

### Seamus Costello on Co-operation With Loyalists?

Costello cautions against the Officials' approach to working-class Loyalists, where they jettisoned or hid their politics in pursuit of short-time bread and butter' issues, as basically a dishonest and a futile exercise seeing 'no point whatsoever in co-operating with them on short-term issues while at the same time trying to fool them about our politics!'

Costello rightly points out that if Republican Socialists were to adopt the Officials' bread and butter approach 'we would be in the same position as the people in Belfast in 1913 whom Connolly described as "gas and water" Socialists.'

Costello calls the Officials and their ilk 'ring-road Socialists' due to the fact that in those days work on the first of the ring-roads, that would later become known as the west-link that bisected working class areas of Belfast, saw substantial co-operation between the OIRA and Loyalist paramilitaries. (The only consensus that the Officials achieved with their

co-operation with Loyalist was a consensus in racketeering.)

Costello stresses that Republican Socialists need to be upfront in explaining their politics to working-class Loyalists, pointing out their opposition to British imperialism and not fall into the pattern set by the Stickies in their pursuit of unprincipled co-operation for short term goals.

### Conclusions

Even the most casual perusal of Seamus Costello's writings indicate that he was quite clearly an advocate of and ideologically rooted in, revolutionary Socialism. The movement he co-founded parted company with the Official Republican Movement primarily in opposition to the latter's terminally reformist, non-revolutionary direction. Revolutionary socialism is very much the Irish Republican Socialist Movement's *raison d'etre*, just as much as it was in 1974.

The Officials passed a death sentence on Seamus Costello and eventually carried it out, chiefly because of the revolutionary political alternative to their reformism that he co-founded. Therefore, the annual Seamus Costello commemorations in Bray are just as much about re-affirming the revolutionary Socialist character of the IRSP, as it is about remembering Seamus Costello.

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

There are 1500 newspapers, 1100 magazines, 9000 radio stations, 1500 TV stations, 2400 publishers, owned by only 3 corporations.

## Commemorations in Wicklow:

## Remembering Costello



For the video of the IRSP speech scan the code with your smart-phone

The month of October saw two events commemorating the 34th anniversary of the death of Seamus Costello. The first event which was organised by the IRSP was a wreath laying at Seamus' graveside in Bray where activists travelled from all corners of Ireland to pay homage to the founder of the party. The second event was organised by the Seamus Costello Memorial Committee which was held in Newtonmountkennedy on 22nd October.

On Sunday 9th October dozens of IRSP activists and former friends and comrades of Seamus Costello gathered at his graveside to mark 34 years since he was brutally slain on the streets of Dublin by an apolitical gunman. Speaking at the event Paul Little of the IRSP's Ard Comhairle paid tribute to and stressed the importance of following the example of Seamus and of republicans being able to build local areas of strength.

Paul alluded to the time when Seamus first started out in politics there was no discernable republican presence in the entire county of Wicklow. That soon changed however as Seamus began to organise in the Bray area and in surrounding towns and villages. Seamus first task was to sell the United Irishman, newspaper of the republican movement at the time, and this then evolved into organising meetings and building campaigns around issues that affected local people.

Speaking of the challenges of today Pól Little said, "Today in 2011 republican socialism, like Republicanism in the 1960's, was going through a period of revolutionary change where there is careful examination of our politics, strategy and future development. On the political front we are confident that the IRSP have continued to build on the firm political foundations we inherited from Seamus Costello. Strategically, the IRSP are in the process of developing new initiatives to develop republican socialism into a fighting revolutionary force that is

both relevant and effective. To do that we need to build a political party that recognises that capitalism and global capitalism is the ultimate corruption of human kind. It is an economic theory based on exploitation, imperialism and greed, in practice capitalism does not work without the above components."

At the event wreathes were laid in honour of Seamus Costello by the various sections of the IRSP, the INLA and the Seamus Costello Memorial Committee.

#### Newtonmountkennedy

Saturday 22nd October saw a commemoration being held in the community centre in Newtonmountkennedy, about ten miles from Costello's home town of Bray. This annual event is organised by an committee made up of former friends and comrades of Seamus Costello who are determined to keep Seamus' memory alive and his politics vibrant. Around seventy people gathered in the hall of the community centre where an exhibition of photos and newspaper clippings adorned the walls, all detailing the political activities of Seamus Costello, the most poignant of these clippings were reports of Seamus' cruel killing and funeral. Speakers at the night's event were Sean Doyle, former friend and comrade of Seamus, Ross Gildea of the Irish Republican Socialist Party, Brian Leeson of Eirigi and Rúan O'Donnell a local historian. The evening began with Sean Doyle of the Seamus Costello Memorial Committee speaking of Seamus' political life and cruel murder. "Seamus was murdered by an instructed assassin under orders. Which I believe deprived Ireland and the working people of the most able revolutionary figure since James Connolly. I am not alone in this assessment.

As years go by more people have come to realise his contribution and commitment to building a revolutionary movement in the

Tone, Lalor, and Connolly vision. I have no doubt as young leaders will emerge in the revolutionary tradition to take up the challenge to inspire and guide people's empowerment. They will find inspiration as I did and still do in Costello as he did in Connolly. Seamus Costello was the leading figure after Operation Harvest in the Republican movement to work tirelessly to convince the leadership of the absolute necessity of the two strand approach, The National Question And The Class Struggle as the two strands of the one struggle.

Mr Doyle went on; "From 1962 Seamus and a few comrades set about their task with such enthusiasm throughout the county organising meetings at every parish pump 7 days a week 365 days a year .... He travelled the county talking and listening to people air their grievance. Then he would simply ask after Joe or Joan had finished "do other people in your community have similar problems?" He would then suggest that they call a meeting which he would attend and support whatever course of action they were prepared to institute after their debate. He was always mindful that in the final analysis that people collectively had the strength and power to demand change which he would support and facilitate."

Brian Leeson of Eirigi praised Costello's commitment to the cause of Republican Socialism and placed him historically in the same brackets as James Connolly, Fintan Lalor and Liam Mellows.

Ross Gildea then spoke on behalf of the IRSP and gave a very articulate and confident presentation on the political impact that Costello had had on himself and how as he learned of Seamus Costello he became more politically aware and active and eventually joined the IRSP. This was an excellent event that brought together friends and comrades from around the country.

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

The Vatican owns billions of dollars worth of shares in the most powerful international corporations such as Gulf Oil, Shell, GM, Bethlehem Steel, GE, IBM.

# Ar Thús

## Cadhnaíochta:

Máirtín Ó Cadhain agus Athghabháil na hÉireann

Le Crá Croí Cois Cuain

Is iomaí Gaeilgeoir a chuala tráth ar Mháirtín Ó Cadhain. Ba dhuine de mhórscribhneoirí na hÉireann é, agus níor sáraíodh é fós mar údar i nGaeilge. Tugtar "Ulysses na Gaeilge" ar a úrscéal fileata 'Cré na Cille'. Níl an méid céanna airde tugtha ar a shaothar polaitiúil, afách, agus ní nach ionadh b'fhéidir.

Rugadh Ó Cadhain i mBoth Chuanna, i nGaeltacht Chonamara, i mí Eanáir 1905, ach níor cláraíodh a bhreith go dtí an bhliain dár gcionn. Ba nós an ama é sin, óir ba mhinic nach dtugadh leanaí a gcéad bhliain de shaol leo, mar a tharla i gceantair ar an trá fholaigh (agus mar a tharlaíonn go fóill in áiteanna éagsúla ar an saol mór).

Dúirt an Cadhnach ní mhoille faoina fhás anois:

"Mar thar áit ar bith in Éirinn tá an t-idirhealú aicmeach, an class distinction, suntasach sa nGaeltacht. Gheobhadh Marx, Engels agus Lenin cruthú breá ann ar a ndeimhne gurb iad an ardaicme agus lucht an rachmais, na capitalists, is túisce a thréigeas saúlacht nó cultúr na muintire. B'ionann na boicht agus lucht na

Gaeilge. Bhí an fuath aicmeach seo gríosta ionam i bhfad sul ar léight me an chéad fhocal den Chonaolach ná de Das Kapital."

Dúirt Ó Cadhain é seo agus é ag tabhairt léachta i mí Lúnasa 1969. D'fhoilsigh an t-cagras misneach an léacht faoin teideal 'Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge, Gluaiseacht ar Strae'. Caint dhúshlánach a bhí ann, gan amhras d'fhéadfá a rá gur gháir chatha a bhí ann fosta. Thug sé léargas géar ar na heagraíochtaí teanga, Conradh na Gaeilge srl., agus ar staid na Gaeilge sna sé chontae fichead. Chinn an Cadhnach cad é a bhí cearr - ro aibh Gluaiseacht oifigiúil na Gaeilge ró-choimeádach agus ró-bhuartha faoina measúlacht.

Cha raibh an léacht sin an chéad uair a thg Ó Cadhain dúshlán do lucht na teanga. I mí an Mhárta 1962 d'foilsigh an iris Ghaeilge Comhar alt leis an Chadhanach dar teideal 'Do na Fíréin'. san alt seo chuir sé síos ar dhrochstaid na Gaeilge agus cheisnigh sé cad a bhí idir lámha ag na grúpaí éagsúla a raibh ina gcuid de ghluaiseacht na Gaeilge. Bhí an saothar chomh conspóideach sin go raibh ar an eagarthóir éirí as a phost.

**WORLD OF INJUSTICE**

At the height of the Gulag system under Stalin, the incarceration rate was 800 out of every 100,000 - the rate in the U.S. today is 743 out of every 100,000.





Ba dhuinne ceannána é Máirtín Ó Cadhain. Ní thitfeadh sé siar.

Briseadh as a phost mar mhúinteoir sa Chárn Mór i nGaillimh é de bhri nach raibh sé sásta a chuid phoblachtánachais a ghéilleadh don easpag áitiúil. Ba é seo tríochaidí an Mheatha Mhóir, deich mbliana nuair a d'imigh milliún Éireannach ar a n bhád bán.

Bhí an Cadhnach ina bhall de na hÓglaigh ag an am seo. araon le Muinntear na Gaedhealtachta, Eagrais feachtasaíochta ar ériugh leo brú a chuir ar Rialtas Fhianna Fáil chun talamh a chur ar fáil i gcondae na Mí do togra nua Gaeltachta. (Is Gaeltacht bhriomhar é Ráth Cairn fós inniu.) Thuig an Cadhnach gur cheist shóisialta í ceist na Gaeilge. Thosaigh sé ag teacht leis an sóisialchais.

Imtheorannaíodh Ó Cadhain, le baill de na hÓglaigh agus daoine eile a bhí "dochrach do shábháilteacht an Stáir", i gCnoc an Arbhair go gearr i ndiaidh thús an Dara Chogaidh Dhomhanda. Bhí sé amuigh arís i ndiaidh trí mhí ach i mí Februa 1940 gabhadh arís é agus cuireadh chun an Churraigh é. Chaith sé ceithre bliana ann, agus linn an ama theagasc sé Gaeilge do leithéidí Mícheál Ó

Ríordáin agus Breandán Ó Beacháin.

Thug an Cadhnach aghaidh ar an scríbhneoireacht chruthaitheach don chéad uair sna blianta seo. Foilsíodh 'Cré na Cille' i 1949. Tá an t-úrscéal lán le tagairtíaicmeachas agus déanann sé cúis mhagaidh den seanscoil idir Fianna Fáil agus Fine Gael, ag léiriú a easpa measa ar na páirtithe úd.

Phós sé Máirín Ní Ródaigh i 1945 agus d'fhan siad ina lánúin go dtí gur éag sí i 1965. Idir an dá linn chaith Ó Cadhain na blianta idir an suairceas agus an duairceas, idir dóchas agus éadóchas. Bhí sé le réidh le géilleadh go raibh an Ghaeilge ar shlí na firinne. Ina alt 'Do na Fíréin' thug se amach faoi rialtas an tSaorstáirt:

"Tá sé cruthaithe go hiomlán againn tar éis dhá fhichead bliain narbh fhiú rialtas dar gcuid féin muid, nach bhfuil sé d'acmhainn ionainn muid féin a rialú."

Tháinig athrú mór ar an scéal sna blianta beaga dár gcionn, afách. Bunaíodh Misneach, agus de shliocht Mhuinntear na Gaedhealtachta a bhí sé gan amhras. Nuair a bhí Gluaiseachta na gCearta Sibhialta ag teacht faoi réim san oirthuaisceart

forghafa, bhí Gluaiseacht Chearta Sibhialta na Gaeltachta á bunú ó dheas. Agus bhíodh Máirtín i lár báire. Sheasadh sé ar bhallaí bríce i lár Ghaeltacht Chonamra, é anois ina sheanfear agus a shláinte ag cliseadh air, é ag tabhairt comhaile don ghlúin óg.

Tá an chomhairle seo go fóill le fáil ach féachaint ar 'Gluaiseacht na Gaeilge, Gluaiseacht ar Strae':

"Ní hé amháin gur chóir do lucht na Gaeilge a bheith páirteach i gcoga seo Athghabhála na hÉireann - is é an taon rud ar fiú a bheith páirteach ann in Éirinn - ach is é ár ndualgas a bheith dhá chinnireacht agus dá threorú. Bíodh an Ghaeilge ag stiúra na réabhlóide, ar an gcaoi seo bíodh an Ghaeilge ar na smaointí is forásaí in Éirinn: is ionann sin agus slánú na Gaeilge. 'Sí teanga na muintire a shlánós an mhuitir. Mar sin, an áit is tréine an dushlán in aghaidh an rachmais, in aghaidh na héagóra, ar son na bhfann agus na mbocht, bíodh fainne Gaeilge an choirnéil le feiceáil agus leas dá bhaint as anois nár shamhlaigh an Coirnéal ariamh."

Fuair Máirtín Ó Cadhain bás 18ú Deireadh Fómhair 1970.

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

In the last 30 years rich western countries have moved 74% of their heavily polluting factories to poor southern countries.

As the debate around the 11+ debacle continues and children are still forced to undergo "selection" tests we outline our opposition to the division of our children on class grounds.

# Selective Education is a Class Issue and Must be Opposed

*The 1944 Education Act introduced free secondary education for all children in the north of Ireland but selective educational streaming at age 11 created educational elites and vastly favoured children from middle-class and upper-class backgrounds.*

The 'Northern Ireland Transfer Tests' previously known as the '11+' have left children on the verge of Secondary education with the worst of both worlds. The Academic Selection Process in the North was drastically changed from 2008 onward. The very real inequalities of educational streaming in general, and in the north of Ireland in particular, limits children's learning environment and in the case of many working-class children it ends their educational development before it has even really begun.

The 1944 Education Act introduced free secondary education for all children in the north of Ireland but selective educational streaming at age 11 created educational elites and vastly favoured children from middle-class and upper-class backgrounds. While Britain introduced Comprehensive education in the 1960s, the north retained its two-tiered Secondary/Grammar school system. There are designated 'Comprehensive' secondary schools in the north but the whole rationale behind Comprehensive education model is that they would be much

more than egalitarian schools surviving in a sea of Grammar/Secondary models. In the north, not unsurprisingly, Grammar schools have become bastions of middle-class values and due to the complex sectarian nature of primary and secondary education, children effectively find themselves streamed along both denominational and class lines.

Until November 2008, the 11 plus transfer test was administered by the Council for the Curriculum, Examinations and Assessment (CCEA) as the accepted method of transfer between primary and secondary schools.

Dissatisfied with the abolishment of the 11 plus exam, Grammar schools and their powerful lobby effectively rebelled and commissioned their own entrance exams in English and Mathematics. These schools fall into two groups, the Association for Quality Education (AQE) and the Post Primary Transfer Consortium (PPTC). Both tests are based on the Northern Ireland Key Stage 2 Revised Curriculum. While those accepting the AQE exam are all Prot-

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The United States has 5% of the world's population, yet it uses 33% of the world's natural resources.

estant grammar schools, the PPTC members are almost but not exclusively, Catholic grammar schools, the exceptions being the integrated Lagan College, Oscar Wilde's old school Portora Royal, in Enniskillen, Rainey Endowed in Magherafelt and Victoria grammar school.

Over in Britain prior to the introduction of Comprehensive schools in the 1960s the 11+ test, largely devised by discredited Educational Psychologist, Cyril Burt, was used to stream pupils into either grammar or secondary schools. The test itself was an IQ-type test largely designed to vindicate Burt's theories on inherited intelligence and massively favoured children from middle-class families. The infamous IQ test-based '11+' was a product of and effectively reinforced, a class-based educational system totally unfavourable to working-class children.

The two-tiered education system in the north, with the transfer test administered by the powerful Grammar school lobby, falls far short of even UNESCO's timid educational goals which are reproduced below.

UNESCO's Education For All (EFA):

#### Goal 1

Expanding and improving comprehensive early childhood care and education, especially for the

most vulnerable and disadvantaged children

#### Goal 2

Ensuring that by 2015 all children, particularly girls, children in difficult circumstances and those belonging to ethnic minorities, have access to, and complete, free and compulsory primary education of good quality.

#### Goal 3

Ensuring that the learning needs of all young people and adults are met through equitable access to appropriate learning and life-skills programmes

#### Goal 4

Achieving a 50 per cent improvement in levels of adult literacy by 2015, especially for women, and equitable access to basic and continuing education for all adults.

#### Goal 5

Eliminating gender disparities in primary and secondary education by 2005, and achieving gender equality in education by 2015, with a focus on ensuring girls' full and equal access to and achievement in basic education of good quality.

#### Goal 6

Improving all aspects of the quality of education and ensuring excellence of all so that recognized and measurable learning outcomes are achieved by all, especially in literacy, numeracy and essential life skills

The current transfer procedure, although not still based on the thoroughly discredited previous Burt IQ-based model, still creates the same inequalities in education and largely reinforces the class-based streaming of children at such an early age. The 11+ system that exists at present operated by the PPTC and the AQE reproduces selection within selection for children aged only eleven! Grammar schools' inflated uniform costs, monopolised book, equipment and school trip fees often prohibit working-class kids from that option even if they succeed at the current transfer test. The 'Grammar school rebellion' against attempts at removing educational streaming betrayed the powerful influence of the Catholic church and the Protestant Grammar school anti-egalitarian lobby, backed by Unionist and Nationalist parties in the north. It is a tragedy that working-class people in the north still lend their votes to politicians and parties who view their children as unworthy of fit-for-purpose fully Comprehensive education, on the basis of the seasonal waving of either the Green or Orange flag! Until such times as secondary education is no longer used as a means to 'stream' children at the tender age of eleven, working-class kids will continue to be unfairly excluded from reaching their potential by an antagonistic lobby-group whose modus operandi is to reinforce educational elites.

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

52% of Brazil's population is of African or Native descent.  
yet 0% of its 30 billionaires are of African or Native descent.

# Why the Unemployed Should be Organised

*Until All Are Free, We Are All Imprisoned*

**Unions in the north held a day of action on November 30 in protest at planned changes in public sector pensions. This is a worthy cause which should be supported by all workers, but those on benefits suffering the effects of Tory welfare reforms find it difficult to sympathise with the very same public servants who are implementing these reforms on the ground without very much dissention**

Why a Union of the Unemployed?

The media report the level of unemployment on a regular basis, quoting carefully filtered government statistics, usually 'adjusted' to give the impression that the government is doing everything in its power to protect or even create jobs. The negative effects of unemployment on individuals and communities rarely appear in these reports, and token sympathetic offerings by current affairs documentarians steer well clear of any notion that unemployment might be designed.

Disregarding 'frictional' employment (where a small percentage of the workforce are moving from one job to another), unemployment levels are inversely proportionate to the peaks and troughs of the economic cycle, the notion of 'full employment' is unattainable in a market based economic system.

Most economists define unemployment levels of less than 13% as ideal or full employment, hence accepting that in order to balance the national books and control inflation a tenth of the workforce will be idle even at the best of times. It follows from this that the unem-

ployed are not outside the workplace by choice and should receive support from the State, in the form of welfare, while they are. However, while the State is prepared to subsidise the unemployed, the level of welfare support is kept to a bare minimum, usually only a fraction of the average wage. This is also the case for those who cannot work due to illness.

Society has been programmed to treat anyone who doesn't work as if they are a shirker therefore unworthy of full citizenship. This is one of the divide and rule tactics used by the establishment which creates different layers among the working class and pits one against the other to ensure that we as a class do not unite to fight for our interests. A Century ago the trade unions formed Labour parties in Britain and Ireland providing a political voice for the working class. Today these organisations have changed beyond recognition, labour parties have embraced neo-liberalism having shelved internal democracy and the mild Keynesianism which once distinguished them from their conservative rivals.

An important role of the trade unions is to protect the jobs of their

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In the McDonald's code of conduct, giving food designated for the rubbish bin to homeless people is strictly forbidden.

members, but they do not make it their business to look after unemployed members. When trade union members retire or are made redundant their voting rights within the union are diminished, in fact unions take the view that once a member leaves the workplace he/she leaves behind their greatest weapon, their ability to withdraw their labour, and are therefore no longer of any use to the union. The inability of out of work union members to pay full union subscriptions tends to exacerbate the situation.

Unions in the north held a national day of action on November 30 in protest at planned changes in public sector pensions. This is a worthy cause which should be supported by all workers, but those on benefits suffering the effects of Tory welfare reforms find it difficult to sympathise with the very same public servants who are implementing these reforms on the ground without very much dissention.

Taking this into account, the question arises, Are the unemployed simply the part of the workforce who are temporarily outside the workplace or are they in a class of

their own?

Logic suggests the former, but in practice the unemployed as a group have been left defenceless against poverty and stigma, suffering economic hardship and second class citizenship. This is the reason why the unemployed and the sick need an organisation of their own which can represent their particular interests, putting forward policies designed to improve their lot while campaigning alongside the rest of the working class for a better society for all.

The immediate aim of the the Unemployed Union is to stop the Tories Welfare Reform Programme North of the border, and the ECB/IMF imposed austerity cuts which effect welfare in the South. Our long term aim is to end means-tested benefits and introduce a universal basic income coupled to a fair tax system.

Basic income levels should be set above poverty levels, for example; A survey carried out earlier this year by the Rowntree trust on poverty in rural areas of N.Ireland calculated that a single person living in a rural

area, needed at least £17,000 ( about £320 /week) in order to have an acceptable standard of living, including a means of transport. This reduced to about £14k for an urban dweller.

Currently a worker on minimum wage takes home substantially less than this and an unemployed person gets a maximum of £7,000 including housing benefit. These statistics highlight the urgent need for change.

Technological advances in production and communication mean that there is no need for everyone of working age to work full-time so working time should be reduced and work shared out, but the stigma of not working must end, after all those with the highest incomes (the 1%) do not work.

It is not realistic to expect the unemployed and the sick to achieve any of their aims without challenging not just the parties of government but the whole economic, political system. If we want change we must be prepared to fight for it.



## WHAT YOU COULD DO?

Join a union or join a tenants group, if there isn't one in your area set one up. Organise and agitate within your community. Don't sit back

**WORLD OF INJUSTICE**

Women in Vietnamese Nike factories are regularly beaten in public if they fail to adhere to the company dress code.

# Local Activism Gets Results

*An overview of the IRSP's Leading Role in a Grass Roots Campaign*

The Irish Republican Socialist Party in Dublin along with other left wing groups set up MASC (Mulhuddart Against Sewage Campaign) which set about putting pressure on the local council to act to stop the noxious smell in the area.

The IRSP learned that the health hazards of the sewage could include Irritation in the eyes, cough, soar throat, shortness of breath, fluid accumulation in the lungs, fatigue, pneumonia, loss of appetite, headaches, irritability, poor memory, dizziness, olfactory fatigue (which is when the smell becomes undetectable), loss of consciousness, oxygen deprivation, Allergic Alveolitis, Viral Hepatitis, Weil's Disease, Occupational Asthma and in very rare cases even death. Years of poor planning and mismanagement during the "Celtic Tiger" years has led to massive

housing developments without the proper infrastructure being correctly planned for.

Local IRSP activist Gerry Murray stated that "I have been personally raising this issue with Fingal County Council since 2007, it has been an intermittent problem since then. Fingal County Council spend time and money masking the smell by adding chemicals (how environmentally safe are these chemicals ?) and by doing other work such as replacing manhole covers. So far all their attempt to properly control this dreadful stench have failed."

A year ago on Friday 11th February 2011 the IRSP along with local activist organised a rally leaving from the Local Primary School in Mulhuddart to Fingal County Council offices (which in distance

is about 2-3 miles) to complain about the stench. In all about 60-70 local people joined this march and when we reached Fingal County Council a few speeches were made by Local Activist and by a member of the IRSP. A letter outlining the concerns of local residents along with a promise of future action that would be undertaken unless the problem was resolved was also handed into Fingal County Council.

The Council addressed those concerns and by all accounts started work on the problem and to date the outcome seems satisfactory, however local IRSP activist Gerry Murray remains vigilant and maintains that he will continue to monitor the situation and if the stench returns, he believes the IRSP will organise actions that will have an impact on the County Council.

## TEACH NA FAILTE SUPPORT SERVICES

Teach Na Failte offers support to former INLA prisoners and their families. A wide range of support services are available in our offices in Derry, Belfast and Strabane.

These include education &

training, counselling & therapies and welfare rights and housing advice.

If you would like to avail of any of these services then simply phone or drop-in and TnF members will do what they can to help.

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

Weapons manufactured in the U.S. and U.K. are responsible for 94% of non-health related deaths on earth.

The Great Natural Resources Give Away & Cover up

# Who Owns Ireland's Natural Resources?



Everyone has heard of the controversial Corrib Gas field. The Corrib field is worth approximately €1.7 billion, this is before any gas is extracted (€1.7 billion for a piece of ocean floor). You may also have heard of the Kinsale field which has been operational for the last twenty years. Marathon energy started to operate the Kinsale field in 1978. They sold their interests in the now almost defunct Kinsale field, on 17 of April 2009, to PSE Ireland Limited a subsidiary of Petroliam Nasional Berhad (Petrolas) for a reported \$180m.

However these aren't the only ones, there are many. But the most important fields, besides the afore mentioned are Spanish Point off the Clare Coast, which has known reserves of one and a quarter trillion tonnes of gas and 206 million barrels of oil, valued at €30 billion. The Dunquin field situated off the coast of Kerry, which is estimated to contain 25 trillion cubic feet of natural gas, and 4130 million barrels of oil. The Petroleum Affairs Division of the Minister's Department estimates there are 10 billion barrels of oil lying off the west coast of Ireland, valued at over 500 Billion dollars at current prices.

The reason most people haven't heard of this, is because Tony O'Reilly of independent papers, owns Providence Exploration Company, who have stakes in both the Spanish Point field and the Dunquin field. O'Reilly is said to own approximately 80% of the states media. O'Reilly, according to his own paper, The Independent is already the second richest man in Ireland, with a recorded wealth of € 2.75 billion. O'Reilly is set to become one of the wealthiest men in the world when the Spanish Point and Dunquin fields become operational.

So while the rest of us are waiting in hospital corridors on trolleys and joining the dole queues, Tony and the people who made it easy for him to accumulate such wealth i.e. (the establishment parties) live in the lap of luxury, at our expense. Ireland's natural resources, if in the hands of the people, would pull us out of this elite made recession. What it all comes down to is the fact that, would it not be better to nationalise our wealth of natural resources, instead of nationalising our already insolvent banks.

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

46% of children who lose an arm or leg in the world, lose it to a weapon manufactured by a U.S. company.

# If Republican unity is to be built, let it be around the politics of Connolly and of Costello.

*Republicanism is blighted by an attitude that mass political work is not necessary, which is something that has to change if real progress is to be made.*

*Irish Republicanism  
is in a bubble.*

*It is also at a  
crossroads and the  
challenges it  
now faces are  
arguably as  
formidable as  
those faced by  
any other generation  
of Republicans  
and Socialists  
previously.*

When traditional republicanism finds itself at a low ebb, it inevitably retreats like a wounded animal to its comfort zone. In recent times this has manifested itself in the form of the Irish Republican Forum for Unity which has since dwindled and fallen apart.

The concept of unity in itself seems to amount to progression for some Republicans, but this is certainly not the case. Unity for the sake of it is pointless at best and at worst, counter-productive.

There is nothing revolutionary about unity in itself, what makes such an initiative progressive encompasses many factors including who are actually involved, the political basis on which these groups have come together and what the goal of any such forum is, to name but a few. So let us assess the IRFU and why I believe it was nothing more than a comfort zone for traditionalists.

In recent years anti-GFA Republicans have probably enjoyed the vast majority of their support in Derry city. Many IRFU meetings of course have also taken place here. The top-

ics of the IRFU meetings are also noteworthy. Internment, the GFA, POWs etc have all been on the agenda and are all issues the people of Derry know inside out.

And this is my point, republicanism has made itself insular from the majority of the working class people in Ireland. When republicanism feels threatened it goes back to the strong holds, to the areas it knows it has support and deals with issues that could be perceived as less than ambitious.

It is very much a case of preaching to the converted, there is little point in holding these kind of meetings in areas where pretty much all of those who attend support you anyway.

This isolation is only compounded and reflected by many insular Republican activities based around the unity project. Joint POW pickets and commemorations being a perfect example of this, where in many respects Republicans are sticking to what they know and refusing to make genuine advancement towards appealing to the Irish working class, which surely should be the goal of

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

The U.S. spends more money on weapons each year than the whole world spends on food and drink.



such a project.

Republicanism is blighted by an attitude that mass political work is not necessary, which is something that needs to change.

Conspiratorial Republican armies have always tended to relegate the working class to the sidelines of their own struggle, an attitude which remains prevalent within the Republican mindset. It is a deep ideological flaw which needs rectifying.

Republicanism needs to look outward and to act accordingly. It has got to spread its message to every town, in every county, in every province. It has got to make itself relevant to the workers across the 32 counties, especially in the South where it is weakest. There is one key component which is essential to doing this, and that is socialism. It is here that the IRSP comes into its own.

Traditional republicanism will always retain some degree of sympathy in the South of Ireland, especially in working class areas, but it will remain equally irrelevant and in no way has the capacity to mobilise the Irish working class on its own merit despite its progressive content and tendencies.

People's ideas and their motivations emanate from their material state, their economic and social condition, and traditional republicanism by neglecting this relegates itself to irrelevancy as far as working class people in the South are concerned.

In times of economic crisis workers look for an alternative, but they are much less receptive towards the ro-

manticism of the Republican tradition when their living standards are being attacked as they are rightfully concerned with getting food on the table and buying school books. The Republican tradition without socialism by its side does not have the capability to drive through revolution.

Then we have the socialist groups like the SP and the SWP. Their ideological weakness on the national question again relegates them to the realm of irrelevancy to the workers in the North.

How could any such group hope to make genuine progress in the carnival of reaction that is the 6 county statelet, with sectarianism being perpetuated and institutionalised by the GFA.

The only solution is to tie the national question to the struggle for socialism in Ireland, and to hold them together knowing that to divorce one from the other would be to invite certain failure. Republican Socialism appeals to all workers, it is relevant to the workers in the North and it has never been more relevant to workers in the South.

So, when we talk about 'Republican Unity' it is vital to keep this political stance in mind. Under no circumstances should a Republican Socialist abate any aspect of his or her socialism for the sake of unity, knowing full well that it is this political viewpoint manifested that will free Ireland.

To do such a thing would be to denounce freedom, this is something that traditional republicanism fails to understand.

Political sovereignty is not necessarily tantamount to freedom. Republican Socialists should of course do all they can to finally resolve the national question, but they must always keep in mind that a capitalist Ireland, free from British occupation, is not free at all. It is still enslaved with its people oppressed. Ireland, as distinct from her people, means nothing.

Republican unity remains a myth, with many working class people in Ireland not even being aware of its existence. It is time to break from the comfort zones.

It is time to ditch pointless mud-slinging at former comrades like 'sell-outs' and 'traitors'. It is time that we stood up on the merits of our own politics, and spread those ideals to every corner of Ireland because they have never been more relevant.

The task of the IRSP now should be to push a line of demarcation between themselves and other Republicans and to fully explain their position and strategy, standing on their own two feet. If Republican unity is to be built, let it be around the politics of Connolly and of Costello.

And to those who reject socialism, who believe it is not necessary and Irish republicanism is enough in itself...if in the final analysis your Republic is the one we see, know that every time you mention the word 'freedom', you have betrayed it.

For National Liberation & Socialism!

J. O' Neill

**WORLD OF  
INJUSTICE**

Since the year 2000, 7,500 people have died from "acts of terror" and 200 million people have died from poverty.

# Defining Common Ground

From slaves, to serfs, to the working class, ordinary people have always been the tools from which the elite in any society extract wealth. In Ireland today, 1% of the population owns 34% of the wealth. The Capitalist economic system, with its inherent contradictions, has completely failed and the working class are now being made foot the bill while the speculators and developers who played a central role in Ireland's economic problems get reimbursed from the public purse. Landlords continue to exploit the vulnerable with extortionate rents while also enjoying the benefits of a state subsidy through rent allowance. At the same time social housing remains drastically underfunded and in short supply, a truly ludicrous situation to have with 350,000 homes lying as a result of the property bubble.

Our national sovereignty is being denied through the occupation of the North, the use of Shannon Airport by imperialists engaging in rendition flights, murder and resource grabs and the IMF/ECB controlling the Irish economy from offices in Washington DC and Frankfurt.

Despite all this, the response of the Irish working class has been tepid and apathetic. The lack of a credible leadership in trade unions and the

left, one that is unafraid of confronting the state, has been a massive contributing factor to the lack of revolutionary activity engaged in by ordinary Irish people.

The liberal left cannot be trusted to lead any confrontational working class actions. They have proven time and time again that they have not got the stomach for street politics, preferring electoral reformism to open revolution. Left Republicanism needs to fill the leadership void that exists within the Irish working class. However, no Left Republican grouping alone has the capabilities to do this across the entire Island. But united in an alliance Left Republicanism can have an organizational presence in every one of the 32 counties of Ireland to build on.

Creating a Left Republican alliance of action should be undertaken by all serious protagonists of the ideology. Having a set of core issues that we can all agree on would be a decent starting point. From agreeing on these points we can take the first steps to building trust and a relationship of co-operation.

Agreeing on the following five points can become the first step towards a unity of ideas, of purpose and of direction and activity.

To this end we believe the following pre-agreed points could be the basis of working together:

- *That the means of production, distribution and exchange should be owned by, and under the democratic control of, the working class for the benefit of the entire people of Ireland.*
- *In the establishment of a democratic and secular society which is free from sectarianism.*
- *The working class, through mass agitation and revolutionary activity, are the only body that can achieve our goals of smashing native capitalism and uniting the entire Island of Ireland under socialism.*
- *That the natural resources of Ireland belong to the people of Ireland, not private corporations.*
- *That the present class system cannot be reformed out of existence. There exists no parliamentary road to Socialism or liberation of the working class.*

With all Left Republican groups and individuals working more coherently together, the fightback against imperialism and capitalism will be all the more effective. Considering the current political and economic climate, unity among Left Republicans is an absolute necessity.

**WORLD OF INJUSTICE**

When the IMF bails out a country, it actually only bails out the big banks in the country which are owned by Wall Street's big banks.

# THIS IS REPUBLICAN SOCIALISM!

What the Irish Republican Socialist Party stands for.



The Irish Republican Socialist Party is an organisation created by and for working class people, to aid working class liberation in Ireland and internationally with others who share that common goal. The IRSP stands in the tradition of James Connolly, seeking an end to all forms of exploitation and the creation of a 32 county socialist republic, with the working class collectively owning the means of production, distribution, and exchange, as well as democratically administering 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.

## 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 meaningless to speak of a free nation, if the overwhelming majority remain oppressed, and national sovereignty is lost through multinational corporate control of the economy just as much as by partition. At the same time, someone who refuses to challenge British imperialism in Ireland cannot claim to be fighting for socialism and the continuation of partition props up the divisions in the working class of Ireland that hold us back from our own liberation. We have no choice in whether or not we wish to consider the interconnection of the national and class questions, 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 overturning of both the partitionist governments presently administering political affairs 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.

## Loyalism & Nationalism

We distinguish between loyalism and Protestantism. We recognise the right of everyone to their own religious beliefs, provided they do not use these beliefs to oppress others. We have no quarrel with

Protestant workers and welcome them to join us in struggle. However, we stand totally opposed to the political ideology of loyalism. Loyalism is a reactionary, sectarian and pro-imperialist ideology, with which we can make no compromise. We recognise that nationalism in the context of the Irish struggle is progressive, but we also recognise that nationalism can play a reactionary role. The national chauvinism of the Tories, National Front, etc. is counterrevolutionary and anathema to socialists. The nationalism of an oppressed country is vastly different from such reactionary jingoism. 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.

## 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 unhindered 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 mismanagement 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.

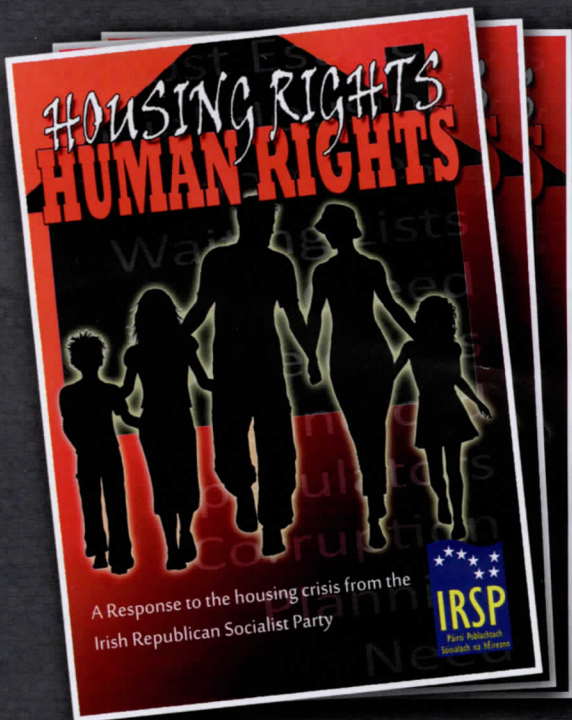
## Revolution not Reform

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.

# HOUSING RIGHTS HUMAN RIGHTS

**5,000** sleeping rough on our streets  
**100,000** families on waiting lists  
**350,000** empty properties  
**There are no excuses!**

Read our proposals online @ [www.irsp.ie/housing](http://www.irsp.ie/housing)



Today in Ireland ordinary working families are being made to pay for the excesses of the rich and the greedy. One area where this is evident is the lack of availability of decent affordable housing that should be available to all the citizens of Ireland but simply isn't. Instead families are living in sub-standard privately rented accommodation that clearly does not meet their basic needs.

Other families do not even have a home to call their own. We in the IRSP have analysed the current situation north and south, identified solutions and have published a policy called "Housing Rights - Human Rights", which we believe can alleviate those problems and give all citizens in Ireland access to the basic human right of decent housing.

This policy booklet can be picked up at one of our street information stalls or viewed and read online.

Visit our website for more information: [www.irsp.ie](http://www.irsp.ie)

**2012 IRSP  
Commemorative Calendar  
Now Available**



**Only £5 or €5 Each**  
**All proceeds in aid of Republican  
Socialist Political Prisoners**

**Available at all IRSP offices, street  
information stalls and online.**

**Title:** Starry Plough, No. 3

**Organisation:** Irish Republican Socialist Party

**Date:** 2009

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