Revolutionary Republicanism

National Liberation, Socialism, International Solidarity

POBLACHT NA H EIREANN.

THE PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT
OF THE
IRISH REPUBLIC
TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

IRISHMEN AND IRISHWOMEN: In the name of God and of the dead generations from which she receives her old tradition of nationhood, Ireland, through us, summons her children to her flag and strikes for her freedom.

Having organised and trained her manhood through her secret revolutionary organisation, the Irish Republican Brotherhood, and through her open military organisations, the Irish Volunteers and the Irish Citizen Army, having patiently perfected her discipline, having resolutely waited for the right moment to reveal itself, she now seizes that moment, and, supported by her exiled children in America and by gallant allies in Europe, but relying in the first on her own strength, she strikes in full confidence of victory.

We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control of Irish destinies, to be sovereign and indefeasible. The long usurpation of that right by a foreign people and government has not extinguished the right, nor can it ever be extinguished except by the destruction of the Irish people. In every generation the Irish people have asserted their right to national freedom and sovereignty; six times during the past three hundred years they have asserted it in arms. Standing on that fundamental right and again asserting it in arms in the face of the world, we hereby proclaim the Irish Republic as a Sovereign Independent State, and we pledge our lives and the lives of our comrades-in-arms to the cause of its freedom, of its welfare, and of its exaltation among the nations.

The Irish Republic is entitled to, and hereby claims, the allegiance of every Irishman and Irishwoman. The Republic guarantees religious and civil liberty, equal rights and equal opportunities to all its citizens, and declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts, cherishing all the children of the nation equally, and oblivious of the differences carefully fostered by an alien government, which have divided a minority from the majority in the past.

Until our arms have brought the opportune moment for the establishment of a permanent National Government, representative of the whole people of Ireland and elected by the suffrages of all her men and women, the Provisional Government, hereby constituted, will administer the civil and military affairs of the Republic in trust for the people.

We place the cause of the Irish Republic under the protection of the Most High God, Whose blessing we invoke upon our arms, and we pray that no one who serves that cause will dishonour it by cowardice, inhumanity, or rapine. In this supreme hour the Irish nation must, by its valour and discipline and by the readiness of its children to sacrifice themselves for the common good, prove itself worthy of the august destiny to which it is called.

Signed on Behalf of the Provisional Government,

THOMAS J. CLARKE.

SEAN Mac DIARMADA. THOMAS MacDONAGH.

P. H. PEARSE. EAMONN CEANNT.

JAMES CONNOLLY. JOSEPH PLUNKETT.

RNU believe

1. **That the right of Ireland to self-determination is absolute and is recognised within the United Nations General Assembly Resolution 1514.**

2. **That in the struggle for National Liberation, territorial freedom, social freedom and economic freedom are elements of equal importance.**

3. **Therefore, the National & Class questions are intertwined and inseparable.**

4. **That our struggle is International. We must act in solidarity with other Anti-imperialist and Socialist struggles worldwide.**

5. **That the duty of a Republic is to provide for Social justice, Solidarity, Co-operation and care, from the cradle to the grave.**

6. **That we must participate in the everyday struggles of the working class, regardless of ethnic, cultural or religious differences.**

7. **That fundamental to our struggle is the Liberation of the working class by the working class, and that the key to that process is self-empowerment through struggle.**

Liberty, Equality, Fraternity

The three founding principles of Republicanism worldwide, which today more than ever have the potential (if adopted) to break the vicious cycle of misery, war, poverty and chaos, that Imperialism and world capitalism has visited upon Nations the world over, including our own.

At our 2012 Ard Fheis it was agreed that we consciously embrace ‘National Liberation, Socialism, and International solidarity’ as the core elements in the modern struggle for Irish freedom. It was further agreed that these three elements together would in the future be referred to as 'Revolutionary Republicanism', Irish Republicanism, in line with the principles of the 1916 proclamation yet manifest in its most precise, progressive and visionary form.

This was a decision of great importance for RNU as up until this point our direction had largely been limited to debates solely around the 'National Question', i.e.: by our demands for a British withdrawal from Ireland and an end to the partition of our country.

Although these demands are and will always remain central to our thinking, it had become clear to our activists and supporters that patriotism alone, (albeit with a steadfast refusal to accept British rule) would never be enough to actually secure the change we were looking for.

Today, we believe that it is not enough to call just for National Freedom and ignore the Socio-Economic factors which led to both the modern conquest of Ireland and the current material suffering of our people. We must also place the struggle for Socialism at the heart of our fight for Independence. This sets us apart from traditional Irish Nationalism and opens up to us many avenues of resistance which would have been neglected had we remained focused solely on the issue of British withdrawal.

There are two basic reasons why calls for Irish Freedom alone have not been and will not be sufficient to achieve the change we seek to create, explaining why we must incorporate Socialism into our world view.

Firstly it is clear that the bulk of Irish people have not been significantly motivated by simple Nationalist or Fenian style sentiments, certainly not to the extent required to convince Britain to relinquish its hold on Ireland.

Republicans should ask themselves why National Freedom alone is not an issue which motivates the people of this country. And if Nationalism alone will not motivate the masses to work for Irish Freedom, what will?

Secondly it is important to remember that if a 'United Ireland' was to recognise the current Capitalist system as legitimate; we would be free in name only. Under Capitalism all factors which control the real lives of people and all decisions made on their behalf are in the hands of a minority of wealthy

people, many of whom reside outside Ireland yet control property, wealth and resources here; land, factories, energy sources & homesteads.

Like James Connolly, we understand that only the Irish working class are the true heirs of Ireland. The Irish capitalist class is foreign-dependent and incapable of either bringing about an independent country or of keeping it independent.

As such, Irish Freedom without Socialism would not be freedom at all. We cannot ask the Irish people to fight for National Sovereignty only to then hand their countries wealth and resources over to a business class after that fight is won.

We believe that our current and future activists possess - and will continue to posses - the foresight, motivation and courage needed to play a significant part in the Irish freedom struggle. We ask all those who read this booklet to consider carefully how our principles would impact on their lives if practiced on a significant widespread scale.

If you agree with the principals contained within this booklet we strongly encourage you to do something about it, which means getting involved with the Revolutionary Struggle and pursuing the fight for Self-Determination and Socialism in Ireland.

‘We have a world to win’

‘Tiocfaidh lá éigin nuair a bheidh an fonn saoirse seo le taispeáint ag daoine go léir na hEireann’... Bobby Sands

The term ‘Revolutionary’ can mean many things to many people, but in this booklet we use the term to mean those who want to bring about a total positive overhaul in society. That is *a Revolution*, a series of events which turn the nature of the state around, reverse injustices, redesign socio-political relations and economic priorities and replace the current system with one which should permanently provide for a better standard of living for as many people as possible and in as many ways as possible. The true meaning of freedom!

We propose that such change could take place in Ireland through a chain of social, political and cultural shifts including future ‘revolutionary encounters’ which would aim to seize back for the Irish working class all Irish territory, resources, means of production and political power, and putting these elements to work for the good of all the people.

‘Electoral-politics' alone could not deliver such change, certainly not on a permanent basis. Because the very tools available for change through that process; elections, government, taxation and legislation do not sufficiently influence either the state or financial set ups in a way which would permanently serve the Irish people. And this is quite deliberate.

The state has and does, deliberately design their 'constitutional' process in such a way as to place even basic revolutionary demands beyond reach. For example by introducing partition on a Gerry-Mandered basis -as occurred in 1922 - and through follow up mechanisms such as the 'triple lock' principle of the Good Friday Agreement. Aspects designed to prevent National Liberation from occurring through passive elected methods.

Revolutionaries understand that their world view (although currently in the minority), is one which desires change above and beyond what many people believe to be possible. It is almost comparable to faith, albeit faith in the human spirit, the potential of the collective, and in methods of solidarity.

For this reason activists are often prepared to sacrifice, suffer, inflict and die for the greater good. Yet they can be people of Great Spirit, unique creativity and kindness, this is because most sincere Revolutionaries have often rejected the values of greed, self aggrandisement and individualism which the invader and Capitalism has long taught our people to accept as normal and correct.

Revolutionaries also understand that in a Colonised or Occupied society - such as Ireland - there are two aspects to our political situation; the 'National Question' and the 'Class Question', we are concerned with both and in equal measure. We do not believe that either aspect can be compromised on if we wish to establish permanent change in Ireland.

The 1916 proclamation was also quite open about its 'Revolutionary' intent and its authors deliberately used the term to set themselves apart from the many reformist nationalist projects of the time.

Like them, we are concerned with the National Question because freedom and justice cannot exist in a country which has undergone invasion, occupation and colonisation, unless that process is reversed. The very fact that the people of a country have been denied the right to Self- Determine their own past, present and future makes it wrong to suggest that real freedom could exist in such a situation, even if the economy of that country provided for some material equality.

We hold that the Irish people will never realise their full potential unless they are given the opportunity to govern their own future.

Humans cannot be said to exercise their full potential, if communities or nations are not allowed to self determine, i.e. have the right to make decisions, even if at times they are the wrong decisions. The only powers that have benefited from the denial of self-determination have been Imperialist/Capitalist powers; there is no real benefit for people who live under occupation or colonisation of any degree.

This is why 'National Liberation', our struggle for Irish freedom is an essential task, and why we challenge others on the Left who relegate to Republicanism to 'sectarian politics'. Many such parties simply lack the back bone or the serious revolutionary intent required to face up to Imperialism at home, while condemning it the world over.

However it would also be wrong to suggest that the struggle for 'Brits Out' alone represents the sole aspect of Revolutionary politics in Ireland. We recognise that the capitalist system which we currently live under (north and south) restricts our people's freedom, just as much as the infrastructure of British occupation has done. In fact British rule and the capitalist economic model

have shown themselves to be related and interlinked aspects of a tragic Irish history, and so we also strive to replace this unequal economic system with a Socialist model.

It was the combination of these two elements, the National Question and the Class Question (in reference to the struggle of the Working Class) which motivated one of the most admirable fighting forces in Irish history, the 'Irish Citizens Army' which was led by committed Marxist, James Connolly.

Connolly was a principal author of the 1916 Proclamation and led the ICA into the Easter Rising of that year. An insurrection which challenged both the Imperial logic behind the slaughter of the First World War; and stamped on history Ireland's claim to Self-Determination and the equality of its citizens.

What motivates an activist can vary from person to person, many wish to challenge the inequalities and oppression which they themselves experience daily, some are following doctrines such as the writings of Connolly, Lenin or Mellows, which they believe to be a correct analysis on the world.

Many revolutionary activists find that their own personal experiences and reflections upon them challenge the general theories they had been given throughout their lives.

But most are motivated by personal experience and political ideals combined, as well as the belief that if human beings put their mind to it, act and struggle together, the course of history can be changed and a truly equal and free society created, allowing man kind to live life to its full potential.

Revolutions have been launched over many generations and throughout the world, yet it would be wrong to say that we agree or celebrate all examples without question.
For a range of reasons there were many unsuccessful Revolutionary projects, the most obvious being the Russian Revolution and its later equivalent in China.

We make no apologies for separating good historical examples from bad historical examples, even if both were practiced by the same person.

While we recognise that under Soviet rule, universal education & literacy, a high degree of gender equality and universal access to medical care were made available, both the USSR and China committed dreadful acts such as invading smaller vulnerable nations; they often failed to end poverty and denied basic democratic rights to most of its citizens.

Yet these types of examples should not put us off, as their failure was not based on the ideas which drove the first visionaries, but by attacks from both outside and from within.

All Revolutionary experiments of the 19th & 20th centuries came under ferocious attack from the Imperialist countries such as Britain, America, France and Germany. The Paris Commune of 1871, the

first successful capture of a major city by workers, was attacked by Prussia in alliance with French Royalty and bourgeoisie.

Soviet Russia was immediately attacked by no less than nineteen capitalist powers. The revolutionary Irish republic came under immediate attack as did Vietnam, Korea and Cuba. America has also used mercenaries, economic blockades and sanctions, to attack and undermine Revolutionary experiments all across South America and beyond and has been successful in restricting the success of most if not all of these examples.

These attacks often created overt militarism in Revolutionary countries, which paved the way for the curbing of individual freedoms and democracy. In this environment corrupt individuals rose quickly to positions of authority and reversed the very ideals which launched the Revolution in the first place.
However, sincere activists do not give up at the mention of such unsuccessful examples. Instead we study, discover and learn from both positive and negative examples of past experiments, putting our knowledge to work for the future Revolutionary Irish Republic.

We make no apologies for separating good historical examples from bad historical examples, even if both were practiced by the same person. By this method we can learn both how 'to do' and 'not to do' things. We may quote the ideas of, and refer to the actions of Wolfe Tone, Padraig Pearse, and Michael Collins, and later right up to Seamus Costello, Gerry Adams or Cathal Goulding. This does not mean we agree with the entire life's work of any of these individuals. But we can and do learn from many people's examples and apply their lessons to the current Republican experiment as we see it.

Participation in everyday struggle, empowers the Irish Working Class gains the trust of the people and can make them familiar with the wider Revolutionary objective.

No Irish Republican organisation can claim to possess a step by step blueprint predicting where, how and when Revolution will take place in Ireland, however it is the belief of RNU that to convince ordinary people to join in that struggle, we must first stand by them in their widespread demands for reform, before they will join us in the struggle for Revolution.

This means we do not ignore everyday 'bread & butter' struggles and focus only on the end goals of Irish Freedom and Socialism. Instead we view participation in the everyday issues and campaigning for temporary reform of the economic system as a means to gaining the trust of the working class and in time convincing them of the need for a more permanent change.

There is no typical type of Revolutionary activist.
In the past as in the present they have come from every race and religion. All ages, sexes and classes have dedicated, and at times given their lives to the pursuit of a better society. People may become

Revolutionaries at different times and ages, some may be spurred on by a life event to apply alternative theory to their world view and adopt values which perhaps were alien to them before.

The true meaning of Freedom

'We the oppressed people of Belfast, Derry and Ballymun, of Wexford, Cork, Limerick and Galway, we the nationally dispossessed, the country rebels of Crossmaglen and Tyrone, the poor, the unemployed and the underpaid are in the business of achieving power and establishing a real democracy.' ... An Phoblacht Editorial (January 1979)

We stand for National liberation in Ireland, this means we seek to reverse the process by which the British state came to hold political control over our lives and instead establish political Self Determination in a free socialist Ireland with Sovereignty over all 32 counties.

James Connolly understood that the struggle for Irish Freedom and the struggle for Socialism were one and the same.

By either mass revolutionary encounter - in conjunction with the wider struggle for Irish Freedom & Socialism - or by any realistic means not contradictory to that struggle, we passionately seek and encourage the Irish people to work towards the securing of the occupied Six Counties of Ireland, bringing them back into National control and within the Sovereignty of the revolutionary Republic.

The pursuit of National Liberation also means resisting and preventing other current or future threats to Self-Determination, be it via the foreign policies of the USA, NATO, IMF, the European Union or any institution which compromises the Irish Working class's ability to control its own affairs or resources.

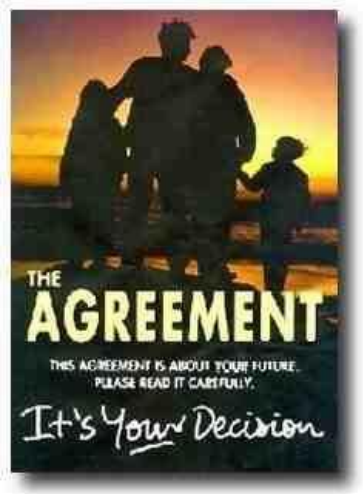
British rule in Ireland was the result of a long process of historical wrong doings, from the earliest selfish ambitions of English and Norman kings - who sought to expand their territory and power- to the later Imperialist ambitions of English/British parliaments who used military power and draconian laws to seize for their landlord and merchant class, Irish land, livestock and resources.

British control in Ireland today relies both on a subservient domestic parliament in Stormont and on military control of the six county areas - using the British PSNI, backed up by British army intelligence and covert military ground units.

As well as this, layers of governmental and economic structures loyal to the status quo combine in a conscious effort to prevent Self Determination Ireland, one example of this dynamic is press support for the British PSNI, the press being financially supported by the business class and subsequently briefed by governmental departments. This pattern is repeated in many arenas and across the country.

This situation is made possible by the acquiescence of successive Southern governments; the Irish Capitalist class and Northern Unionist/Loyalist, forces whose leading figures decided to recognise and work within the status quo and against Revolutionary progress. History shows us that economic gain, personal political power and the survival of the business class was what motivated these enemies of the Irish freedom struggle**.**

As advocates of National Liberation therefore, we look upon the above mentioned institutions and relationships with great mistrust and seek instead to create new mechanism and relationships of our own, compatible with the cause of Irish Freedom.



Following the Good Friday Agreement, a great deal of effort was made to demoralise and depoliticise the republican base and drag people away from principles of Irish Freedom. At the time of writing it is important to simply reinstall in our people the belief that full Irish Freedom from foreign political influence is the proper, correct and healthiest state in which we could organise as a people with dignity.

We have a long and bitter history of English conquest which is too eventful to fully address here, however during all phases of invasion what gave Britain the confidence to steal our freedom was a genuine belief that the Irish as a people, their traditions, language and culture were less worthy of human respect than their English equivalents.

For these reasons it is important that we embrace as our own, all positive aspects of Irish culture, Gaelic or otherwise and refuse to conform to Britain's preferred role for us in our own country.

Britain always has and still seeks to normalise its conquest of Ireland and make it appear like a natural state of affairs, it often does this through public displays on Irish soil such as Royal visits or British Army recruiting stalls. It is important that Revolutionary Republicans are to the forefront of opposing such displays, thus promoting the truthful fact that the only natural state of affairs here is one in which Irish self determination is not compromised.

When we speak of the 'Irish Nation', we do not do so in a racist or jingoistic sense. Our concern is for all Citizens of Ireland regardless of perceived racial, religious or cultural make up. This thinking again is in line with the 1916 proclamation which states [The Republic] "declares its resolve to pursue the happiness and prosperity of the whole nation and of all its parts".
We merely recognise that Britain singled out the 32 counties of Ireland as a country for conquest, that that conquest is still evident and affects the territory of the whole Island of Ireland, its Islands and territorial waters.

This is the territory which we consider to be our naturally defined home, in which Britain should have no jurisdiction, the logically defined area which we intend to liberate, creating a free socialist society through the process of education, agitation and revolution.

Why we are Socialist

"The employers cannot carry on industry nor accumulate profits if they have not got the good will of the workers or their acquiescence in carrying on such industry." ... Jim Larkin

Socialism occurs when the wealth of a country is taken back from the rich and placed in control of the Working Class, to be used for the betterment of society as a whole. This is the opposite of the current capitalist/neo-liberal system, in which a selfish privileged class control the world's resources and force the rest of us to work for very little, creating for them untold profit margins at our expense.

All credible studies show that there are enough resources in the world to provide for the needs of all people, but that because a minority of wealthy people monopolise these resources, they are withheld from the rest of us, creating endless suffering worldwide. "*The income of the world's richest 1,75% matches the income of the poorest 77%* . (Milanovic, Branko (2011), The Haves and the Have-Nots).

We believe that Socialism is necessary for a number of reasons, firstly to reverse the Capitalist system mentioned above and in doing so; help to end the widespread suffering that system has created.

A socialist society has the power to end needless scourges like poverty, pollution, exploitation and war, and in turn provide sufficient food, water, healthcare and homes for all people. Under the current system these things are deliberately kept from working class people creating epic levels of starvation, poverty and suffering the world over.

Ireland has suffered its fair share of this Capitalist nightmare, from the so called 'famine' (the proven deliberate theft of Irish food from these shores) the horrors of slum tenement dwelling, mass emigration of whole generations and right up to today wherein hundreds of thousands of our people face hopeless lives of unemployment, poverty, renewed emigration, eviction and the absence of basic resources' and services needed to live a decent life.

We believe our people deserve better than this, but that a permanently better life for all can only be guaranteed by seizing wealth back from the business class and putting it to use for the public good. Under Capitalism, our futures are decided not so much by our 'free will' but significantly by market forces and the monopolisation of resources by the wealthy. German Revolutionary Karl Marx correctly observed that as a result capitalism created 'Wage slaves', because while wealth is in the hands of the rich, the rest of us are forced to labour for them in order to get a wage and thus survive.

This effectively means that our lives are controlled – in no small way - by the wishes of the capitalist class.

Marx believed correctly that free people cannot live under such circumstances and so while capitalism exists '*The Worker has no country*', Revolutionary Republicanism agrees with this analysis, and states that until Ireland is Socialist, true freedom cannot exist for anyone here but the rich.

It also makes tactical and logistical sense for Republicans in Ireland to embrace Socialism. The future class and national struggle, a fight to take control of the country's wealth and put it in the hands of the people would give the Irish Working Class a real and concrete reason to fight, struggle and suffer for Irish freedom. Under capitalism no such motivation exists.

Nationalism offers people only feelings of patriotic satisfaction in struggling for their nation's parliamentary independence. We have seen how such patriotism (though well meaning) is not enough to sustain revolutionary struggle to the extent where upon a British withdrawal from Ireland can be secured.

"No private right to property holds good against the public right of the nation".... P.H Pearse

We believe that the struggle for Socialism is perfectly compatible with the principles of the 1916 proclamation, which declared "*We declare the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland"* and which resolved to *"Cherish all the children of the Nation equally".*

Both lines, when considered alongside the closing comments of Padraig Pearse in his final pamphlet (the Sovereign Nation*)* which states that *"no private right to property holds good against the public right of the nation"* and that the nation must "exercise its public right so as to secure strictly equal rights and liberties to every man and woman within the nation" clearly indicates that the authors of the proclamation had more than patriotic sentiment in mind when they spoke of *ownership of Ireland*.

Nowhere within the 1916 proclamation did it specify that ownership of Ireland and its resources could be monopolised by a minority of Irish people within the privileged business class.

We hold that it is unlikely that the Irish People across the 32 Counties will ever rally for a United Ireland if they hear only Nationalist or Patriotic arguments; Republican Socialist struggle on the other hand will give them a concrete reason to fight and liberate their country.

Historical experience (with some honourable exceptions) also teaches us, that within the Irish Freedom struggle, those with an Anti-Working Class sentiment, the same people who have business interests at heart are often the very people who give up on National Independence when they see the disabling effect their struggle is having on commercial interests.

The Nationalist capitalist class - by and large - historically abandons the Irish Freedom struggle the moment it affects their profits or long term stability, Socialists or Working Class Republicans have no such interests and as such are less likely to sell out in the face of compromise.

Thus for both tactical and humanistic reasons, Revolutionary Republicans seek to combine the struggle for National Liberation and Socialism into one fight for greater Irish Freedom.

Internationalism

'I am an ordinary republican socialist who is determined to strive for a free socialist Ireland. I am also an internationalist as all true Socialists are'...Dominic McGlinchey

Revolutionary Republicans oppose imperialism everywhere - the division of the globe based on the subjugation of weaker nations by stronger ones— we support the right of self-determination for all oppressed nations and offer whatever assistance we can, bearing in mind that the Irish struggle also received admiration and support from all corners of the globe.

We recognise that Imperialism is actually an acceleration of International Capitalism; when the pursuit of ever increasing capital drives profit minded people in one country to invade another, in the pursuit of new markets and resources, ultimately in the defence of profits.

All the world's most notorious Imperial powers - France, Germany, Japan, Britain & USA - sought the appropriation of other countries resources, minerals and markets in their pursuit of profit for a few, this is the guiding force of Imperialism, despite claims that invading powers are in fact 'civilizing', 'liberating' 'bringing faith & culture' etc.

The roots of English rule in Ireland lie in the feudal colonial system; however Britain later developed into an Imperial power via the development of monopoly Capitalism.

And it was through this process that modern British rule and its characteristics in Ireland were defined. Our original oppressors were usurped by the capitalist class, who developed Britain into an Imperial power through the monopolisation of Capitalism, which now occurs everywhere.

Therefore wherever Capitalism exists, there also exist the potential roots of Imperialism, and danger for small nations like our own. As such we show solidarity with other freedom struggles overseas, viewing international struggles against capitalism and Imperialism, ultimately as our struggle also, and recognising that comrades worldwide view us in a similar light.

This is a matter of common sense, a common struggle for a common goal. The dual goals of International Solidarity seek not only to bring about but also to secure the Revolution.

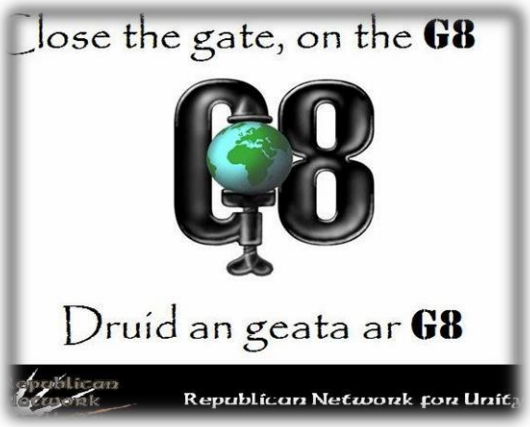
For example, post- Revolution if Britain attempted to invade Ireland (or anywhere for that matter), through International Solidarity, it may find its own workers going on strike, refusing to run trains, load ships and planes, etc. etc. The EU coming to Britain's aid or wishing to make profit for themselves could find similar problems with their own working classes. Similarly, the working classes

in other countries involved in insurrection might find assistance from Ireland very important. Freedom fighters can easily imagine how welcome it would be, if the workers of an invading country downed tools in support of their cause, yet how would this ever occur if they did not put strong emphasis in International Solidarity in the first place?

Solidarity with other oppressed nations is also essential so that we don't get used against one another as soldiers, as resources politically and to ensure we don't remain silent.

For centuries Irish people have been used by Imperial powers to oppress, invade, fight and kill overseas, despite the fact that we ourselves had gone through a horrific and murderous process of invasion. A ludicrous situation and one borne from a lack of International Solidarity,

Today we must also consider how 'Globalisation' affects the lives and well being of workers in Ireland; with (amongst other aspects) firms packing up and moving to other countries in pursuit of profits from lower paid work forces.



Unemployment and the down grading of local Irish economies quickly follow as the capitalist classes search the planet for opportunities to ever increase their yield of wealth.

This process in conjunction with the so called 'World-Wide recession' and the rise in power of global bodies such as the IMF (International Monetary Fund) make it essential that Irish Republicans recognise, that should they want to intervene politically here, they must begin to think in a global context.

We can learn from other struggles and examples, whether or not they are similar to our own, recognising that Imperialist powers everywhere do likewise. We learn lessons from other parts of the world to strengthen our own struggle and minimise potential for future shortcomings in our own strategy.

Vitally we must also recognise that the resources of a small country like Ireland will simply not be sufficient to ensure availability of all the necessary products needed to bring about an improved way of life for the Irish people in the event of independence, for these reasons a future Revolutionary Ireland will need to strike up comradely relationships with likeminded international projects similar to our own, recognising that we have mutual needs and in the spirit of comradeship.

There is no point in trying to implement Socialism if it leads to a degrading of our lives, the purpose of Revolution is to enrich our lives and this is only possible with International co-operation and the mutual exchange of resources, as required to enrich the lives of all human beings.

The staged process by which we envisage Socialism being implemented in Ireland – including a transitional period and a revolutionary period – may also rely on what can be learned from both International Revolutionary and Social Democratic models elsewhere.

* Note: the reasons we envisage a ‘transitional period’ lies with our views on community mobilisation. These are addressed later, in the section ‘from reform to revolution’.

From reform to revolution

"We believe in constitutional action in normal times; we believe in revolutionary action in exceptional times."

... (James Connolly, from The Workers Republic)

Ultimately, revolutionary republicans seek to overthrow completely the current system of Irish Capitalism as a part of the overall National Freedom struggle and in conjunction with other struggles around the world.

Without apology and alongside the fight for territorial Freedom we seek to confiscate from the wealthy classes; all minerals, production materials, properties, land, capital etc and instead put these resources to work for the collective welfare of the Irish people. Putting an end to generations of manmade scarcity, exploitation and unearned privilege, instead designing an economy in which our citizens can live a fruitful and healthy life.

We must literally dispossess the wealthy elite, because history teaches us that compromising with the super rich (for example by merely using parliamentary methods to achieve better living conditions for the people) will only lead to temporary relief for the working class. We can rest assured that while the Capitalist class holds the key to significant resources, they will use those same resources to destroy the gains and influence of the workers movement however and whenever the opportunity arises.

There is a great difference between the changes we seek to create and those proposed by passive left wing political parties.

Dispossession of the financial elite may well require a revolutionary ‘encounter’ or indeed a series of encounters launched by the Irish working class with a view to physically taking control of Irish resources, the means of production, distribution and exchange. It may involve the seizing of resources by workers on the ground or indeed it may be done by successful decree from a revolutionary government.

We cannot at this stage, foresee exactly what conditions Socialists would be forced to act under in a revolutionary Ireland, however It has been a rule of history that the ruling class fights ferociously to protect its privileges, wealth and power. When defeated or temporarily blocked, it tries to gather strength to counterattack. The counterattack of the capitalist class that nearly loses power is ferocious, and we predict that they may resort to violence to defend their 'paradise'. With this in mind it is prudent to presume that the working class and the revolutionary movement may have to defend itself also by force of arms.

And so clearly there is a great difference between the changes we seek to create and those proposed by passive left wing political parties.

In the past, Labour (social democrat) governments have with some success negotiated with the privileged classes better terms for ordinary people; free health care, unemployment benefits, the minimum wage etc. When this occurs, the privileged classes are asked to pay just a little more in taxes, effectively returning a small slice of their profits to help pay for minimally improved living conditions for the rest of us.

This is not Socialism, it is merely a temporary reform and such reforms - in the absence of constitutional change - may last only so long as it takes for the wealthy to return a party of their own to government, a party who will ensure that all or most of those compromises are reversed.

Following such reversals the Labour movement and the Unions find themselves weakened, demoralised and (due to the prevalence of reformist politics within its ranks) unfit to engage adequately in the fight against the oncoming right wing onslaught.

In recent decades we have seen Tory, New labour, Fianna Fail & Fine Gael governments make savage attacks upon the Irish and British National Health systems, introduce legislation to reverse workers rights and most recently make draconian cuts on unemployment, sickness and housing benefits.

In the 26 counties, we have seen successive governments hand over the welfare of the entire Irish people to the IMF (International Monetary Fund), who for the sake of saving bankers and the privileged classes demand an end to even the most basic of welfare rights and working conditions, which were fought for by trade unions and labour ministers in the past.

These are the inevitable fruits of Labour reformism. Although ‘social democrats’ claim to be progressively left wing, they lack the incentive and power needed to push on and create permanent change. At best their projects improve the lives of the working class for no more than a few short years.

We on the other hand, through Revolutionary Republicanism, propose a permanent and secure solution to oppression and inequality. One which involves breaking the hold which the wealthy have over the minds of our people and the resources of our country.

Our solution instead puts the people literally and fully in control of their own country and in turn declares their country’s resources to be ‘Sovereign Property’, held in trust for all citizens and to be worked only for the public good, never again being seized by a privileged few.

However to complete this mammoth task, the securing of both the national territory and its resources for the people. To get us to the point where the people may be confident, capable and ready to launch a series of successful revolutionary encounters to that end, we need to first build an alternative political momentum within the Irish people.

This in itself will require a new culture, one which values solidarity, the welfare of our neighbours and a belief in the collective ability to create change. Such a momentum and culture can be created during a prolonged and successful series of everyday grassroots ‘bread & butter’ struggles.

We hold that serious campaigns for better living standards, via the higher taxation of the rich (in the present) can represent a logistical stepping stone, a means to mobilise the masses into political activity to demand better services, housing, welfare and general way of life. This process if carried out via radical agitation can politicise people, create a spirit of solidarity and give communities confidence in their abilities as well as opening their eyes to further National realities and social requirements, such as the need to rid Ireland of British rule and to end partition.

Yet we will not fall into the traps set for Social Democrats of the past. Our reform struggles of the future will be fought with a view to empowering the workers, to facilitate them in gaining confidence and knowledge, while at the same time always keeping the revolutionary objectives in their sight. Reforms worth fighting for should strengthen the workers and weaken the capitalists, rather than the other way around.

So across the country, as we stand and agitate, with and for the people in this opening phase, we can unashamedly introduce them to the Core Principles of Revolutionary Republicanism – 'National Liberation, Socialism & International Solidarity', the only causes and means with which we can destroy the powers that created the oppression and poverty we find ourselves struggling against today.

We hold that within the future course of successful gains in everyday struggle, it will be the job of Republicans to emphasis and encourage the rising power of the Irish Working Class and point to their new found abilities, an ability to shape the future of their own country, through targeted agitation and further deliberate action.

A revolutionary momentum can be created during a prolonged and successful series of everyday grassroots struggles.

We believe it is reasonable to assume, that through a continual process of; education, organisation & agitation - occurring in conjunction with gains made through campaigns for reform - that a new found confidence and world view can develop amongst the Irish people.

And we hold that it will be within this new spirit of mass Social confidence and Political consciousness, that the; will, ability, strategies and methodology required to plan the encounters capable of seizing our National Territory & resources back for the Irish Working Class can and will be found.

To this end, we declare our intention to stand with the Irish people in their day to day struggles and fights for positive change; such as through trade union initiatives, anti-Policing & human rights campaigns, campaigns for better services & welfare, and campaigns to force private land lords to lower rents. This will be our role, in this the first stage of the Revolutionary Irish Freedom struggle.

It would be foolish of us to presume that the Irish working class would automatically rally behind the revolutionary banner without them becoming familiar with the movement. If the people do not recognise us, then why would we expect them to put their faith in us in the future?

RNU hold that in order to strike up a relationship with the working class we must first support them in their daily struggles, and in the short term that means helping them to achieve reforms which would better their lives albeit temporarily.

This is not a contradiction, our long term aim is the seizing of the national territory as well as actual wealth and resources from the wealthy classes, but in the here and now and for tactical reasons, we join with the working class in their struggle for short term reforms, all the while convincing them of the long term need to take resources and political power out of the hands of the rich.

As the struggle advances, we will continue to fight alongside the Irish people on a range of every day issues which concern them and are relevant to their social and national well being. We intend to organise on this basis with a view to becoming relevant to their lives, to help them improve their conditions and gain confidence, and as part of the process of building a strong, vibrant and unapologetic Revolutionary movement capable of taking back Ireland and all that Ireland holds, for the Irish people.

Why we oppose 'State' Policing

Gardai attack peaceful opposition to Shells theft of Irish National Resources.

As political activists, schooled in both the National and Class struggles, RNU members have learned from direct example that the ultimate purpose of 'policing' (both north and south) is the defence of state power and an unquestioning implementation of draconian laws when needs be.

This duty is quickly followed by a rush to defend the wealthy classes, the rich and their accumulated wealth. Our members live in working class communities which have painfully learned through example that a neighbour's welfare and security means literally nothing to state police forces whether they go under the title of RUC, Gardai, or PSNI.

Behind the hype and cuddly imagery of state propaganda, both the PSNI and Gardai systematically fail to defend the interests of the Irish Working Class. This is demonstrated on a daily basis by a persistent police failure to disrupt anti-community activities, be they committed by criminal and drug gangs or by corrupt business men/bankers and Multinational Corporations.

Their apparent lethargy when it comes to dealing with anti-social crime sits in stark contrast to the passionate efforts of police of all ranks when it comes to disrupting radical political activities in Ireland be they committed by Republican freedom fighters or pacifist environmental campaigners.

Across Ireland, both police forces continue to recruit primarily vulnerable working class people as informers in return for allowing them to commit an array of anti-community activities; drug dealing, burglary, car theft etc. This tendency is at an epidemic level in some working class areas and has literally destroyed the lives of whole communities.

The PSNI and Gardai also execute vigorous and draconian anti-Republican measures, aimed at disrupting not only legitimate political activities, but visiting daily hardship upon activists' families and children.

This is seen in the extensive and daily abuse of stop and search powers such as the so called 'Justice and Security Act' and through PSNI facilitation of internment by remand, launching operations in conjunction with British military intelligence, MI5, Special Intelligence Service, the Director of Public Prosecution and the Attorney General.

Claims as to the public accountability of the PSNI, are quickly put to bed when considered alongside the refusal of that force to make available to community bodies (such as the District Policing Partnerships or independent inquiries) any information considered by them to be 'sensitive' or in the 'national interest'.

In the South we only need to look at examples of Political Policing operations - as well as to how the Commissioner of An Garda Síochana blatantly ignores the findings of his own Ombudsman - to ascertain the true calling of that force. Section 30 of the 'Offenses against the state Act' and the utilisation of the Special Criminal Courts to Intern Republicans clearly and deliberately indicate a deep desire on behalf of An Garda Síochana to protect the partitionist Status Quo in Ireland.

Furthermore; the defence of bailiffs as they evict vulnerable families, guarding foreign multinational interests in Rossport, defending the destruction of priceless national heritage sites at Tara and their attacks on protestors in Dublin during anti austerity protests, all point to a force which is fundamentally at the service of the financial elite here.

Through their actions they confirm that defence of property; state power and privilege are their real priorities, at the expense of the needs of working class communities.

Therefore, RNU dismiss attempts to portray state Police forces as accountable, social policing services. In the North we stress firstly the passionate PSNI campaign of Anti-Republican harassment then to the feeble and unaccountable nature of their supporting bodies such as the Policing Board and DPP; committees which have performed no role other than to be window dressing for what is a paramilitary state Police Force.

There is little or nothing to be gained for Republicans by engaging with such bodies; which seek to give legitimacy to state policing here. For it is the very destruction of the Freedom struggle which the

PSNI in particular aims to achieve. In this task they need a veneer of accountability; unfortunately some Nationalists are happy to oblige through their participation on toothless but high profile 'accountability' projects.

Support for Republican prisoners

RNU recognise that political conflict in Ireland is a legacy of British occupation and imposed political rule here. Whatever the views of our individual members on physical force, we all hold that were it not for British occupation, exponents of Irish Freedom would not find themselves incarcerated and suffering imprisonment in Britain, Ireland and around the world.

Cogús are involved in a wide myriad of activities aimed at improving the lives of republican POWs and their dependents. Ranging from awareness rising of the daily struggle for human rights behind bars, to protesting against degrading practices such as strip searches and raising funds to support the dependents of republican prisoners. Cógus help support the families of imprisoned Irish POWs. Anyone who would like to donate to Cógus to help aid us in easing the hardships of Cógus prisoners can do so directly via paypal – eirenua17@gmail.com

Take back Ireland. Join RNU!

In conclusion, Republican Network for Unity seeks to create positive Revolutionary change in Ireland as part of the international struggle for the liberation of mankind. Oblivious to hazard or obstacle, we aim to place the working class in control of our national territory, resources and decision making processes.

This is not a pipe dream, nor an exercise in sloganeering. It is a clear and positive declaration of intent to create for future generations a better, fairer and free Ireland.

We do not 'exist to resist', we exist to win.
To win back for our people the National territory of Ireland, our land, our resources, our industry and homes, our rivers and our seas and ultimately our destiny.

Through grass roots struggle and revolutionary encounters, we seek to establish full Irish Sovereignty and the overthrow of the financial elite.

To this end we seek to organise an effective, coherent and determined political movement, capable and willing to play their part in taking back Ireland and establishing a true democracy.

It is the duty of every right thinking Irish man and woman to play their part in this struggle and we strongly encourage them to do so.

To learn more about our project or how you can play your part in the struggle for Irish Freedom and Socialism, contact Republican Network for Unity via **joinrepublicannetwork@gmail.com**

Members of the Network from Ireland & Scotland gather on Cave-hill mountain County Antrim, in a traditional Poc Fada competition to provide an alternative for young people, away from the pomp and hypocrisy of a British Royal visit. June 2012

Constitution of the Republican Network for Unity

Name

1.0 The name of our organisation shall be the Republican Network for Unity, also known as RNU.

Aims and objectives

2.0 Our aims are the pursuit of National Liberation, Territorial Unity & Socialism for Ireland and its islands.

2.1 To stand by the Irish working class in their everyday struggles, aiming to build solidarity and maximise quality of life, in line with our Republican world view.

2.2 To promote the principles of revolutionary republicanism as defined in position papers and policy documents officially endorsed at Ard Fheis.

Membership

3.0 Membership of the group shall be open to all who accept the, core principles, policies and constitution of the Republican Network for Unity. Members will be required to be ambassadors of and demonstrate commitment to the organisations principles.

Structure

4.0 The supreme authority of the organisation and the movement shall be the Ard-Fheis which must meet once a year.

4.1 The Ard-Fheis shall elect a leadership of the organisation to be known as the Ard-Comhairle. The Ard-Comhairle shall consist of a minimum of 7 members but no more than 12.

Nominations from members wishing to propose or be proposed for an Ard-Comhairle position are to be forwarded to the National Secretary no less than 30 days prior to the date of Ard Fheis.

4.2 The Ard-Comhairle shall meet at least four times a year or more frequently if deemed necessary, and shall be responsible for its own records, communications and modes of working. These records must be available for all members to see upon request and be made available for subsequent Ard-Fheis and incoming Ard Comhairle.

4.3 At its first meeting following the Ard-Fheis the Ard-Comhairle shall elect, from its own ranks but with the power to co-opt two non Ard-Comhairle members, a committee to be known as the Executive Committee and consisting of five members. The Ard-Comhairle also has the authority to set up committees to oversee work in various fields. These committees shall then be answerable to the Executive.

4.4 The executive shall be the day to day, decision making body of the movement in conjunction with from Ard-Comhairle to implement the objectives of RNU.

This includes the power to maintain discipline and develop strategies for development of the movement. It shall have the full authority of RNU and has the power to direct members in their political work. It may oversee the development of Cumann, oversee and approve publications and statements and delegate all work to its membership.

The executive must keep minutes which should be forwarded to all Ard Comhairle members following each meeting.

4.5 A Cumann is the representative structure of the organisation and can only be set up with a membership of at least five members. Those who wish to be members of RNU but who number less than five people in a specific geographical area shall be known as a Slua. All cumann and Slua activity is subject to the authority of the Ard-Comhairle and between its meetings, the Executive.

4.6 Where supporters of RNU exist (who for whatever reason cannot commit themselves to full time membership) valuable contribution can still be made through membership of 'Chairde RNU'. Chairde enjoy full recognition and acknowledgement from the movement as a whole. Chairde RNU do not have voting rights at cumann or Ard Fheis.

Discipline

5.0 All RNU members are subject to the 'Code of Conduct' which they shall read on becoming a member. All perspective members are subject to a probationary period of three months. Probationary members cannot hold a position on the Ard Comhairle, the Executive or cumann officer board.

5.1 Upon being elected in any contest, no member of RNU may take his/her seat in a partitionist body in Ireland, nor may they accept a seat in Westminster.

Constitutional change

6.0 This constitution can only be changed by a 2/3 majority of the membership at future Ard-Fheis. The organisation for Ard-Fheis shall be the responsibility of the Ard-Comhairle.

‘Revolutionary Republicanism’ represents the core principles, political objectives and general worldview of Republican Network for Unity.

Within this booklet, we explain how through the mobilisation and subsequent rejuvenation of the Irish Working Class, a new universal spirit can be found here, one with the power to transform Ireland into a country fit for a free people.

We seek to create an Ireland in which our National territory, our resources, decision making bodies and means of production are taken back into the control of the entire Irish Nation and put to work only for the benefit of this and future generations.

For many years now, principled republicans have been asked to ‘show their alternative’ to the failed politics of Stormont, to put into black and white just how they intend to achieve Irish Freedom, the seemingly unattainable 32 County Socialist Republic.

Without apology we declare that this is our alternative.

To prepare for future change, we must assist the Working Class today. Both in their struggles against injustice, and in their everyday demands for better living standards.

It is our belief, that within a continuous process of - struggle and success - the political awareness, social confidence and grassroots talents needed to peruse successful revolutionary change can be found.

We openly propose Revolution as a means to create a truly free Ireland, this booklet explains why.

Produced by Republican Network for Unity

www.republicannetwork.org