

CONTENTS

FOREWORD	2	HUMAN RIGHTS AFTER BREXIT	9
BREXIT	3	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• BRITISH POLITICAL OPINION• CHARTER OF FUNDAMENTAL RIGHTS• SAORADH'S POSITION ON HUMAN RIGHTS LAW• BRITAIN'S WAR CRIMES IN IRELAND• NO AMNESTY FOR BRITISH STATE MURDERERS• EQUALITY RIGHTS	
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• BORDER – HARD/SOFT		WORKERS RIGHTS AFTER BREXIT.....	12
PARTITION.....		<ul style="list-style-type: none">• WHAT THE BRITS SAY• WHAT THE EU SAYS• WHAT SAORADH SAYS• TORY AUSTERITY AGENDA• THE CAUSE OF LABOUR IS THE CAUSE OF IRELAND, THE CAUSE OF IRELAND IS THE CAUSE OF LABOUR	
IRISH NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY.....		CONCLUSION	14
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• BRITAIN'S USURPATION OF IRISH NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY• EU'S USURPATION OF IRISH NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY			
BRITAIN OUT OF IRELAND	4		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• GOOD FRIDAY AGREEMENT• BORDER POLL• NATIONAL DEBATE ON IRISH REUNIFICATION• ALL IRELAND POPULAR ASSEMBLIES• MOBILISATION OF THE WORKING CLASS• CAMPAIGNS• OBJECTIVES			
IRELAND OUT OF THE EU	6		
<ul style="list-style-type: none">• HISTORICAL OPPOSITION TO EU REFERENDA• CONSTITUTIONAL NATIONALIST POSITION ON THE EU• CAPITALIST AND IMPERIALIST INFLUENCES OF THE EU• FINANCIAL COSTS – THE TWENTY SIX COUNTIES• FINANCIAL COSTS – THE SIX COUNTIES• FINANCIAL COSTS – IRELAND• ALL ISLAND ECONOMY AFTER BREXIT• A CASE FOR REUNIFICATION• INTERNATIONALISM			



Foreword

Brexit has reignited the debate around Irish reunification and raised it to unprecedented levels both nationally and internationally in recent times.

The Partition of Ireland and the usurpation of Irish national Sovereignty, long identified as the root cause of the conflict between Britain and Ireland, is now center stage in this debate.

As Irish Republicans it would be remiss of us not to recognise this fact and to immediately set about factoring it in to our own strategy to achieve the objective of Irish reunification.

Furthermore, such a strategy must be guided by clearly defined Republican principles and policy positions on the issues pertaining to and associated with short, medium and long term goals towards that objective.

To this end, Saoradh has identified those principles and compiled this policy document – *Brexit in the context of Ireland* – to assist in the formulation of such a strategy.

A class perspective is a necessary requirement of any policy position based on these Republican principles and Saoradh has attempted to bring such a perspective into being throughout this document.

In identifying this, we also recognise that the objective of Irish reunification cuts across class lines and appeals to other interests including other progressive sections of Irish society.

Saoradh believes it would be foolish to ignore such progressive elements by not factoring them into any future strategy.

In this policy document we outline our view on the mechanisms required in order to facilitate such a wide ranging debate on Irish reunification and how this debate should proceed.

While the outworking of any debate on Irish reunification - in terms of producing a common and unified strategy - will be dependant upon the extent of commonality reached, we anticipate that there will also be differing opinions on what this strategy should be and how it should manifest.

As such, we believe that this should not hinder or be a blockage to the pursuit of current existing strategies by any of the participants in the debate; as to how they decide to pursue this common objective.

Saoradh will consider, in pursuit of the objective of Irish reunification, any and all means, as defined within the Party's constitution.

We in Saoradh contend that the debate around Irish reunification should not take place devoid of recognition of the ultimate Republican objective of the establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic.

In stating this, we believe that to do so would be a set back in the struggle to achieve such a Republic. To this end, we make a call for Republican and Anti-imperialist unity to ensure the struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism is progressed.

Brexit in the context of Ireland is Saoradh's initial contribution to the debate. We do however recognise that in such a debate, further more detailed contributions will be required. We commit to producing more detailed positions in the near future.

We also look forward to any future engagement from within Irish society on this important issue.

Our starting point for that engagement will be with those identified and referred to by the revolutionary Socialist Republican James Connolly when he stated:

“only the working class remains as the incorruptible inheritors of the fight for freedom in Ireland”.

Like James Connolly, we in Saoradh firmly believe that only a movement steeped in working class unity, can end the exploitation and oppression of Capitalism and Imperialism in Ireland and ultimately resolve the national question of Irish reunification.

We believe that the popularisation of a vision of a Republic based upon Socialist principles and values arising from a national debate on Irish reunification will act as a catalyst to provide the necessary wherewithal to achieve our ultimate objective of an Irish Socialist Republic.

Beirigí bua agus ar aghaidh linn le chéile!

Brexit

Brexit in the context of Ireland identified the failure to address the root cause of the conflict between Britain and Ireland; Partition and the usurpation of Irish national sovereignty.

Brexit is a British construct and therefore a matter for the British people. However, its outworking in terms of how it impacts on Ireland will be a matter for the people of Ireland to address.

Conditions "*carefully fostered by an alien government*" that significantly impact on the Irish people are normally met with resistance.

Border – Hard/Soft

Currently, it is all speculation as to what the nature of the travel area between the counties spanning a British created border will be.

Whatever happens, Saoradh will be mindful that it will be designed to suit British and imperialist interests.

The root cause of the problem is the Partition of Ireland and the usurpation of Irish national sovereignty. That is what the Irish people need to be focused upon.

Partition

Partition was initially legislated for in the Government of Ireland Act 1920.

It came about against the democratically expressed wishes of the Irish people having overwhelmingly voted in favour of Irish Independence in 1918, and after the first Dáil Éireann was established in 1919.

The Partition of Ireland came into being in 1921, having been enacted by Britain and maintained through the use and threat of force. It was designed to protect Britain's interests in Ireland.

Partition ensures a continuation of the conflict between Britain and Ireland and is an obstacle to **peace** between both nations.

Partition and Britain's continued occupation of the six counties usurps the sovereignty of the nation.

Irish National Sovereignty

Saoradh believes in "*...the right of the people of Ireland to the ownership of Ireland, and to the unfettered control over Irish destinies, to be sovereign and infeasible...*" – 1916 Proclamation.

Britain's usurpation of Irish National Sovereignty

Saoradh is opposed to the continual violation of Irish national sovereignty by Britain through its claim of jurisdiction over, and its continued occupation of the six counties.

Saoradh is opposed to measures and policies introduced by Britain which impact on the Irish people:

- Privatisation and Austerity programmes imposed upon the working class by proxy through Stormont (now implemented directly since Stormont's collapse).
- Corruption at the highest levels and the continual fostering of sectarianism as manifested in the system of 'government' of the partitionist institution at Stormont.
- Draconian legislation enacted and introduced by Britain to assert control over and suppress a section of the Irish people.

EU's usurpation of Irish National Sovereignty

Saoradh is opposed to the usurpation of Irish national sovereignty by the European capitalist and imperialist super-state.

Saoradh is opposed to measures and policies introduced by the EU which impact on the Irish people:

- Privatisation and Austerity programmes forced upon the Irish working class and the working class of other European countries, like for example Spain, Portugal and Greece.
- EU confirmation that it will enforce a Water Tax despite its overwhelming rejection by the Irish people.
- Bail out of the Banks at the expense of the Irish people.

Britain out of Ireland

Good Friday Agreement

Saoradh does not believe that the Good Friday Agreement provides a means to advance the objective of an Irish Socialist Republic.

We believe the Good Friday Agreement and Britain's proxy administration Stormont represents the outworking of Britain's Normalisation, Ulsterisation and Criminalisation strategy, and as such has been and continues to be a distraction for some Republicans/Nationalists; limiting and curtailing movement towards reunification and the Republic.

Stormont, underpinned by the Good Friday Agreement has failed to deliver even the most basic of rights to the people living in the Six Counties.

Border Poll

Saoradh rejects the mechanism contained in the Good Friday Agreement of a Border Poll. In particular, we reject the triple lock system contained within, incorporating:

- The consent principle - whereby any change in the status quo (i.e. Irish reunification) is subject to the agreement and consent of the majority of the people of the Six counties.
- The power vested in the British secretary of state - to decide if and when to trigger such a border poll; based on whether it "appears likely" that a majority of those voting would express a wish to "cease to be part of the United Kingdom and form part of an united Ireland."
- The full control afforded to the British Government over the entire process.

The mechanism of a border poll contained within the Good Friday Agreement is highly ambiguous:

- There is no policy outlining what is required to initiate the triggering of a referendum by the British secretary of state.

Likewise, the 26 County State has no policy outlined in the event of the majority of the people voting in favour of becoming part of a United Ireland.

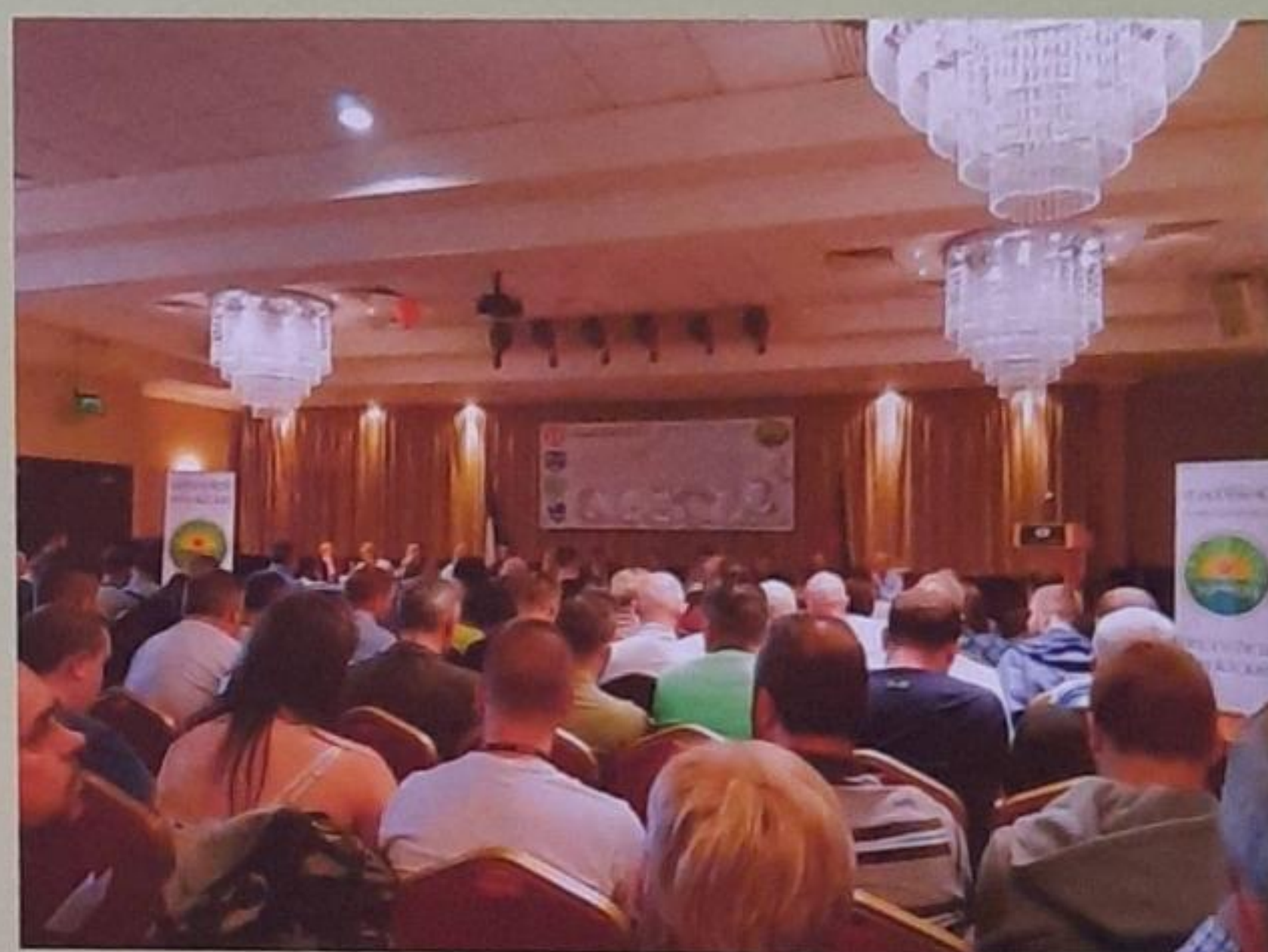
All Ireland Referendum

Saoradh recognises and accepts the democratic declaration of the Irish people for Independence as was expressed in 1918 and which manifested in the formation of the first Dáil Éireann in 1919.

Saoradh does not believe it is necessary or indeed even practical (given the reality of Partition) to hold an all Ireland referendum on Irish reunification.

National Debate on Irish reunification

Saoradh calls for a national debate on Irish reunification. This would necessarily involve political parties, campaign groups, human rights organisations, trade unions and other progressive sections of Irish society.



Saoradh advocates that such a debate should take place from within all sections of Irish society and in every corner of Ireland.

All Ireland Popular Assemblies

Saoradh calls for All Ireland Popular Assemblies to be established which would facilitate meaningful input from the Irish working class in the debate on Irish reunification.

Saoradh undertakes to facilitate and participate in such Popular Assemblies throughout Ireland.

Saoradh believes that such Popular Assemblies should be bottom up; firmly rooted in localised areas throughout Ireland. We believe that this approach will provide the best mechanism to advance the National debate on Irish reunification.

Saoradh advocates that such Popular Assemblies should be developed to provide mechanisms to enable the implementation of decisions on Irish reunification that are reached.

Saoradh states that there is no role for Britain in any shape or form in the creation, facilitation or participation of these assemblies.

Mobilisation of the Working Class

Saoradh advocates for the mobilisation of the working class of Ireland to bring about an end to Partition and the restoration of Irish national sovereignty.

Saoradh calls for Republican, Anti-Imperialist and working class unity around a campaign for Irish reunification.



Mass mobilisation in Dublin against water charges.

Such a campaign will involve the building of alliances with other groups and individuals both nationally and internationally.

Campaigns

Saoradh advocates that campaigns should have an inbuilt strategic capability to advance the objectives of Irish reunification and the establishment of a 32 county Irish Socialist Republic.

Effective local and national campaigns should be aimed at highlighting the social and economic injustice inherent in the joint global system of Capitalism and Imperialism and the promotion of an Irish socialist republican alternative.

In stating all of this, we are ever mindful of the words of that revolutionary socialist republican James Connolly when he stated:

"If you remove the English army to-morrow and hoist the green flag over Dublin Castle, unless you set about the organisation of the Socialist Republic your efforts would be in vain.

"England would still rule you. She would rule you through her capitalists, through her landlords, through her financiers, through the whole array of commercial and individualist institutions she has planted in this country and watered with the tears of our mothers and the blood of our martyrs."

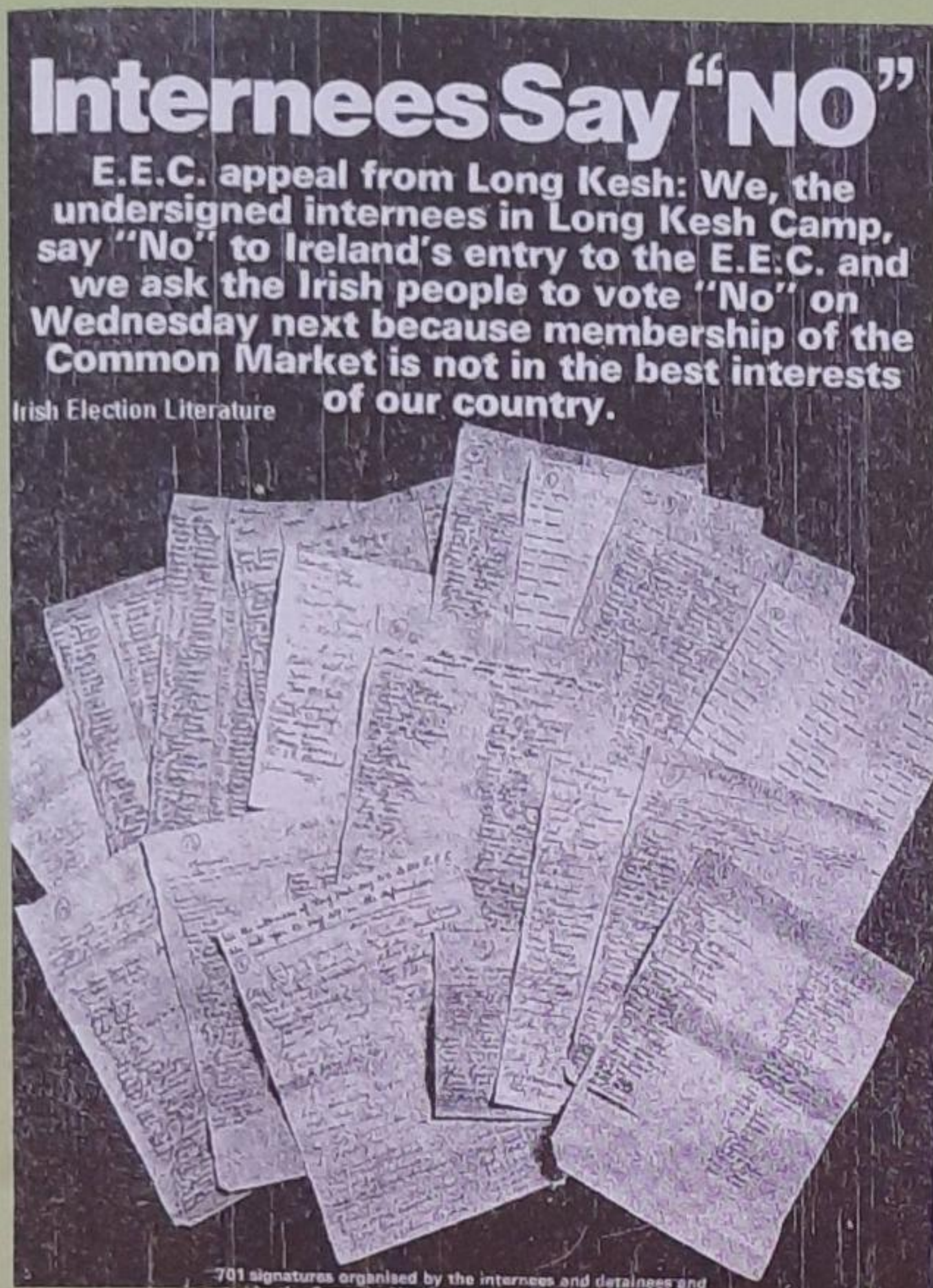
Objectives

The History of Ireland is littered with examples of when the struggle for freedom was compromised by narrow agendas and the setting aside of working class interests.

Saoradh believes that the Irish working class must be to the fore in whatever debate takes place and must firmly position itself as the vanguard in all that we do.

Saoradh will keep to the fore of our minds the objectives contained within the Party's Constitution, in particular:

- An end to Partition and to Britain's illegal occupation of the six counties.
- The establishment of a 32 county Irish Socialist Republic based upon the constitutional principles of sovereignty, self determination, public ownership, democracy, liberty, equality and international fraternity.
- To ensure the equal distribution of the nation's wealth and wealth producing resources via public ownership of the means of production, and guarantee equal influence and control over all spheres of economic, social and political life.
- An end to all Irish involvement in those institutions and alliances, domestic and foreign, which infringe upon the sovereignty and independence of other nations and peoples and replace such actions and alliances with ones based upon the principles of international co-operation and solidarity.



At its first Ard Fheis held on the centenary year of the Easter Rising 2016, Saoradh reaffirmed its opposition to imperialist interference in Ireland.

At its 2017 Ard Fheis, Saoradh affirmed its opposition to the EU. This is a long standing Republican position.

Historical Opposition to EU Referenda

Historically, the Republican Movement has advocated against in relation to referenda on the EU or its predecessors:

- 1972 – to join the EEC
- 1975 – to remain in the EEC
- 1987 – single European Act
- 1992 – Maastricht treaty
- 1998 – Amsterdam treaty
- 2001 – Nice treaty
- 2002 – Nice treaty
- 2008 – Lisbon treaty
- 2009 – Lisbon treaty
- 2012 – Fiscal treaty

Constitutional Nationalist Position on the EU

Saoradh rejects the position adopted by some constitutional Republicans/nationalists who have sided with the oppressor in the form of the EU, and British and Irish elites, against the working class:

- 2016 – to remain in the EU

Capitalist and Imperialist Influences of the EU

Saoradh is opposed to both capitalist and imperialist influences and how they combine to obstruct the establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic:

- Neoliberalism (influence of capitalist and imperialist ideology).
- Undemocratic – the EU initiates policies through the unelected and unaccountable European Commission.
- Usurps the rights of member states who voted against the EU in European treaty referenda i.e. France, Belgium, Greece and the 26 counties.
- Directly interferes with and prohibits socialist based policies such as nationalisation etc.

Financial Costs – The Twenty Six Counties

Saoradh challenges the false assertion made by some that the Irish people are financial and economic beneficiaries as a result of their decision to remain within the EU.

As a result of the most recent financial crisis within Capitalism, the Irish people in the 26 Counties were worse off in comparison to other EU members tied to the Euro zone.

According to figures released from the European Central Bank (ECB): between 2009 until 2013, the Irish people lost €18,474 per household, followed by Greece €16,909 and Spain €12,780 (see Fig.1).

The 26 Counties are currently a net contributor to the EU. In 2016 - the last year for which full data is available - it paid in just over €2 billion and in return registered €1.6 billion in public sector receipts. This

left Ireland, with just over **€244 million** in the red (a more-than ten-fold increase on the net loss for 2015).

The situation is expected to worsen further, with the 26 Counties' EU budget payments expected to rise year-on-year from 2017 to 2020.

Information discovered from the Department of Finance in Dublin laid bare the huge increases in EU budget contributions expected over the four-year period:

- **2017:** €2.02 billion
- **2018:** €2.65 billion (forecast)
- **2019:** €2.68 billion (forecast)
- **2020:** €2.75 billion (forecast).

The nature and speed of any recovery or further impact will be determined by the European Commission whilst the 26 Counties remain in the EU and continue to relinquish sovereignty to Brussels.



Fig 1.

Financial Costs – The Six Counties

It is not possible to be definitive on whether the Six Counties is a financial net beneficiary or contributor to the EU. The ambiguity arises in attempting to calculate what the Six Counties' notional 'EU contribution' is and matching that against what it actually receives.

One possible way to work out what the Six Counties contributes is by attempting to ascertain how much the British government pays to the EU each year and to work out a notional 'Six Counties Contribution'.

In 2015 the British government paid £17.6bn to the EU; however this was automatically reduced by £4.9bn which is the rebate which Britain has

negotiated since 1985, bringing its total contribution down to £12.9bn. This is up from the £8.7bn paid in 2009 and it is forecast to rise to £15.2bn by 2020.

From this, it is possible to calculate a hypothetical Six Counties population based total contribution of **£366m** (2.9 per cent of the total figure).

However, given that the contributions to the EU are funded through revenue raised by the British exchequer it may be more accurate to calculate the Six Counties' contribution on the basis of its share of tax revenues.

The Net Fiscal Balance report produced by Britain's Department of Finance and Personnel estimates that the Six Counties produces 2.5 per cent of the UK's tax revenue meaning that the Six Counties' hypothetical contribution could be as low as **£322.5m**.

It could be even lower if the HMRC Disaggregated Receipts figure of 2.1 per cent is used which would bring the Six Counties' contribution to as low as **£270.9m**.

If we examine the individual EU funds that are paid into the Six Counties each year, i.e. the Common Agriculture Fund, the Common Fisheries Fund and the Investment for Growth and Jobs Initiative, the Six Counties received **£320m** in 2015 (DFP, 2016).

Special EU funds such as the PEACE IV initiative and the INTERREG fund provides an additional **£50m** annually, but these funds are set to be phased out after 2020.

Depending on exactly how the Six Counties' contribution is calculated it would be fair to suggest that currently it either roughly **breaks even** or is a net beneficiary from the EU of up to **£100m**.

Financial Costs – Ireland

Combining both sets of figures from the 26 Counties (€244m net contribution) and the 6 Counties (between £0 – £100m net receipt), Ireland is a net contributor to the EU to the tune of **€131m - €244m**, or **£116m - £216m** at current exchange rates.

The forecasts previously highlighted above suggest that Ireland's net contribution to the EU will continue to rise over the coming years.

After Brexit kicks in, those who are directly affected by the loss of EU payments need to become vocal in the debate and instrumental in the formulation of demands to be made of the British government to foot the bill. Popular assemblies could facilitate all of this.

Indeed, while Ireland remains within the EU it will be subject to the neoliberal agenda pursued by the Troika consisting of – the European Commission, the European National Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Saoradh is opposed to these capitalist and imperialist influences and control - we therefore advocate a planned exit from the EU.

All-Island Economy after Brexit

After Brexit and while the 26 Counties continue to remain tied to the EU, the existing all-island economy will suffer. In particular, it is predicted that the Six Counties will be impacted disproportionately as a direct result of the loss of EU subsidies.

In addition, workers whose jobs are dependant upon businesses which are built and reliant upon cross-border cooperation, could find themselves out of a job due to the increased financial impacts and uncertainty on those businesses as a result of Brexit. Saoradh contends that Irish reunification could mitigate for these impacts.

A Case for Reunification

Saoradh believes that the reunification of Ireland will provide an opportunity for a restructuring of Ireland's economy.

In the short term, the ending of Partition will provide an economic level playing field (such as it can be under Capitalism) for all of the Irish people. It is important that the type of economy to be structured has the interests of the working class at its core.

To this end, Saoradh contends that this will only come about if such demands arising out of any debate on Irish reunification are to the fore - Hence the importance of Popular Assemblies and the mobilisation of the working class in shaping the future trajectory of Irish society.

Britain out of Ireland and Ireland out of the EU makes political, economic and strategic sense.

Internationalism

Saoradh recognises that the struggle against Capitalism and Imperialism is an international one. We do not believe the EU (designed, created and maintained to suit the interests of Capitalism and Imperialism) can be radically reformed.

In advocating Ireland's exit from the EU, Saoradh recognises that relationships with other nations need to develop. Such relationships should be free from exploitation and designed to bring real prosperity to all of the people of those nations.

Historically, Irish Republicanism has always stood firmly against racism, sectarianism, colonialism, and imperialism in Ireland and across the world. Saoradh stands in this tradition. International solidarity is a key component of our world view and of our struggle.



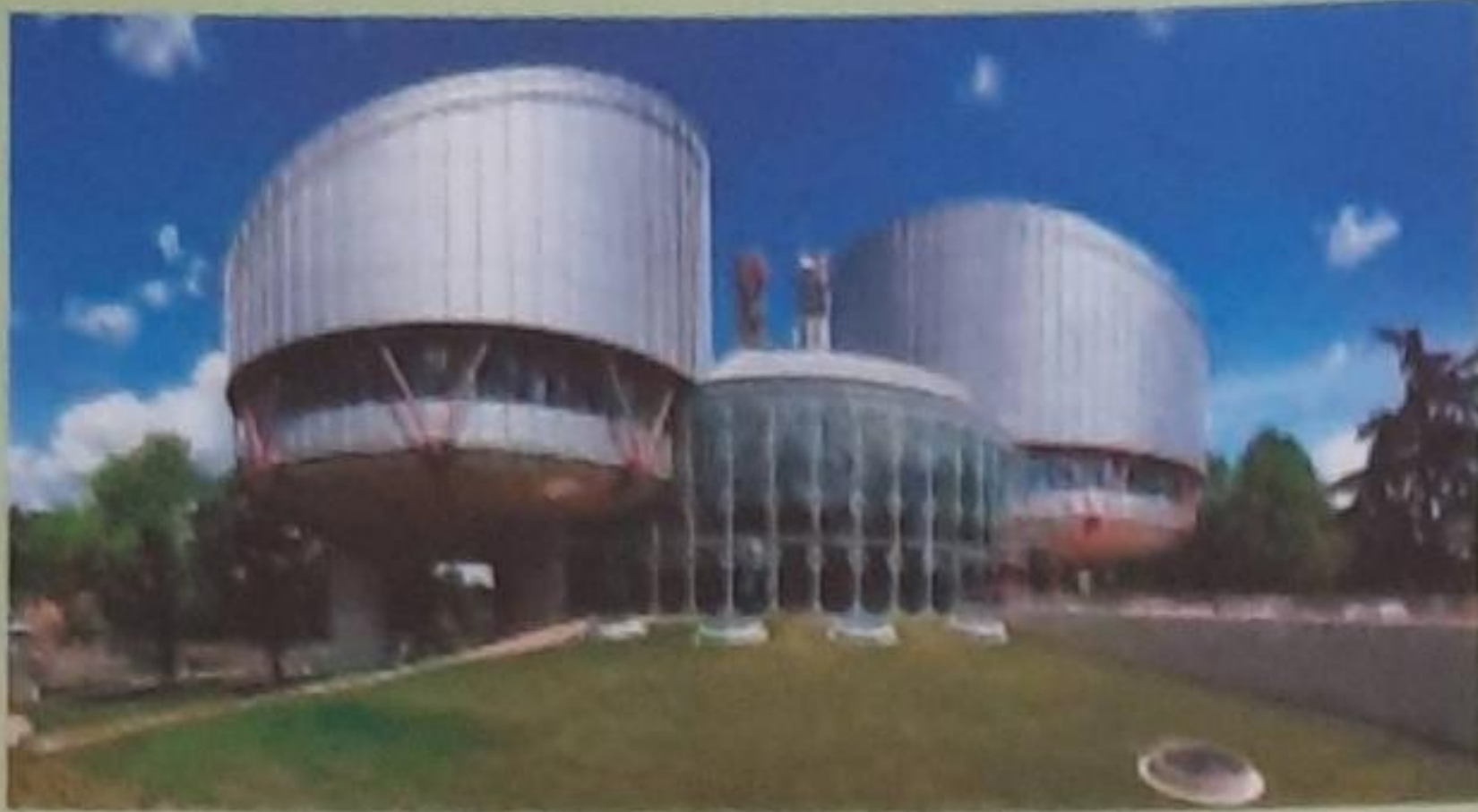
Brexit and the corresponding rise of right wing nationalist ideology not just in Britain but across Europe and further afield, has fuelled racism and bigotry to heights not seen in years.

This in turn has given rise to anti-immigrant policy decisions that directly impact on immigrant communities and which are creating a deeply worrying cycle where the old abhorrent phrases and signage of the past like "No Irish - No Blacks - No Dogs" appears to be making a come back.

Saoradh rejects such forms of xenophobia and racism and calls for Republican, Anti-Imperialist and Internationalist solidarity to defeat racism in whatever form it takes.

We believe that, as Irish republicans, we have a duty and a responsibility to ensure that we continue to support people struggling under the exploitive global economic system that puts power before rights, and profit before people.

Human Rights after Brexit



European Court of Human Rights situated in Strasbourg

Our fundamental human rights in the Six Counties are protected by several different laws.

The Human Rights Convention was brought into law by the Human Rights Act and protects everything from our right to a private and family life, to our right to free speech.

Being part of the Human Rights Convention and the Human Rights Court is actually nothing to do with being part of the European Union – the Court is a separate institution that was set up after World War II to safeguard basic rights.

However, Britain's planned exit from the EU has created some confusion, and reinvigorated arguments within the British establishment that it's time for Britain to abandon the Human Rights Convention too.

British Political Opinion

Broadly, British political opinion on the Human Rights Act is split down British political party lines. Both Labour and the Liberal Democrats made pledges in their manifestos to keep the Act. The Conservatives previously said that they wanted to repeal the Act, although this appears to have been put aside while negotiations on leaving the EU continue.



Some Tories want to leave the Convention and set up a new bill of rights, which many fear would be a diluted version.

That's not the view across the whole of the Conservative Party, though. Bright Blue, a liberal think tank backed by more than 100 Tory MPs and peers, recently published research advocating sticking with the Human Rights Act.

Charter of Fundamental Rights

In the Six Counties, we can also currently avail of alleged protections contained within the EU Charter of Fundamental Rights, which sets out certain political, social and economic rights that EU institutions have to respect when exercising their powers.

Unlike the Human Rights Convention, the Charter is part of EU law and will be directly affected by Brexit. The British government has said that, when Britain leaves the EU, the Charter will no longer have effect in British law.

Further, many rights to equality and non-discrimination are supposedly protected by EU laws. All this could change.

Saoradh's Position on Human Rights Law

Saoradh acknowledges the positive (but limited) contribution the European Court of Human Rights (ECtHR) has had on exposing the denial of human rights to the Irish people by Britain over the years.

That said, over recent years there has been a decline in the number of cases the ECtHR has ruled upon against Britain. This can be put down in part to lesser numbers of cases coming before the court and the influence and political interference exerted by the European Commission.

Jean Claude Juncker, the current President of the European Commission (one of the main bodies in the EU), has previously spoken about how the EU shouldn't interfere too much with member states.

Indeed, Protocol 14 which was introduced in 2010 has led to many involved in Human rights bodies to question the ECtHR's ability to uphold those rights.

Protocol 14 was allegedly designed to filter out applications with a lower chance of succeeding, but effectively it established additional admissibility criteria.

- the Court could refuse to consider cases in which the applicant had not suffered a "significant disadvantage"; and
- which did not raise serious questions affecting the application or the interpretation of the Convention; or
- important questions concerning national law.

This has resulted in an increase in the number of cases not advancing to the ECtHR in recent times.

In the aftermath of Brexit, Saoradh believes that victims of human rights abuses should still be able to continue to access the ECtHR as Irish citizens.



The Hooded Men took their case to the ECtHR.

Britain's War Crimes in Ireland

Britain has committed a litany of crimes against the Irish people over the centuries as a result of its occupation. Ranging from genocide and economic poverty to the murder of innocents and torture, Britain has inflicted the worse crimes of humanity upon the Irish people.

In more recent times, victims of British State violence and their families have sought out the truth and campaigned for justice, particularly around cases of "shoot to kill" and "collusion".

Some of the families have issued legal challenges through inquests and the courts in what has proved to be a long drawn out process. For some, after substantial delay, this process may ultimately lead to a hearing before the ECtHR.



Sam Marshall 20th Anniversary march for truth and justice.

Saoradh does not believe that Brexit will prevent such cases being aired before the ECtHR. We will continue to support victims of British State human rights abuses in their quest for truth and justice.

No Amnesty for British State Murderers

Recently, there have been calls for British State forces to be given immunity from prosecution - an effective amnesty - for their crimes against the Irish people.

Over the years, an effective amnesty for British State murderers already existed. Therefore, one wonders what it is, that is actually being called for?

Saoradh contends that the answer to this question lies in the determination of the families of victims of British State murder to pursue truth and justice for their loved ones and the consequences it has for the British State.

We can determine, therefore, that what these people actually want is that all of the many questions that arise from their crimes in Ireland cease and be replaced with an acceptance from the Irish people that the British State can do as it pleases.

Families of victims of British State violence have relied upon human rights laws to aid them in their pursuit of truth and justice. As was previously stated



Saoradh believes that these very limited and fast-disappearing 'rights' represent little more than a gloss-over for the EU liberalisation and privatisation agenda.

Moreover, it is Saoradh's view that none of these 'rights' deal effectively with issues arising from mass unemployment, the introduction of zero hours contracts and low-paid workers being forced to work in multiple jobs.

Workers on zero hours contracts have no guaranteed earnings. They are often called to attend work at short notice, a cycle that disrupts the home and places a particular strain on families and those who have to arrange care for dependents.

In addition, the EU advocates the falsehood of 'free movement' of workers. In reality this is more about the free movement of capital as a neoliberal institution and therefore it will always favour the corporate at the expense of the trade union.

For example, successive EU directives and EU court decisions have been used to suppress trade union collective bargaining, working conditions, workers' pay and the right to strike.

It is Saoradh's analysis, that in terms of the actual laws pertaining to workers; we more than likely won't see any movement on that until after Brexit kicks in. This will also depend on whether Britain decides to stay in the single market or not.

Rather than wait until the deal is done - so to speak - and rely on Britain's or indeed the EU's good faith in protecting workers rights. Workers need to formulate their own demands on these protections, and ensure that these demands are loudly heard and that workers rights become a reality.

Campaigns around workers rights should materialise around such demands; providing an opportunity for all within Irish society to engage in realpolitik. By taking ownership of such campaigns and through their collective contribution, the Irish people can create a proper foundational means to achieve a better future.

Saoradh contends that whichever course of action the British Government embarks upon in regard to these issues upon leaving the European Union - the rights of workers need to be protected.

Tory Austerity Agenda

Faced with Tory austerity leading up to and in the aftermath of Brexit, it is predicted that the Six Counties will incur pressures upon public services; with confirmation of real term cuts in public funding of:

- 2% between 2018-19; and
- 3% between 2019-20.

In addition it is forecast that there will be:

- net cuts in take home pay for workers;
- welfare cuts;
- a rise in inflation and living costs;
- public sector pay cap;
- zero hours contracts; and
- obstacles to Trade Union organisation in the work place.

The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour.

Saoradh calls for a reinvigorated radical Irish Trade Union Movement to champion the demands of workers in the aftermath of Brexit; to ensure the rights of workers really are protected.

We call on the Irish Trade Union Movement to actively campaign for Irish reunification. In doing so it would be putting the rights of workers center stage and so ensuring the best possible outcome for those workers.

In making this call we are ever mindful of James Connolly when he said: "The cause of labour is the cause of Ireland, the cause of Ireland is the cause of labour."

The current emphasis on the reunification of Ireland provides the Irish Trade Union Movement and workers an opportunity to play their part in contributing to real revolutionary change.

The Irish Trade Union Movement, Republicans, Anti-imperialists and other progressives need to promote a vision of an Ireland which puts economic control in the hands of the many and not just the select few.

Acting together we can really make a difference!

- Brexit in the context of Ireland highlights the failure to address the root cause of the conflict between Britain and Ireland; that is Partition and the usurpation of Irish National Sovereignty.
- Because of this failure we are now witnessing the creation, by two super elites based in Whitehall and Brussels, of a theatre of conflict along this artificially created Border.
- Attempting to address this issue by solely tackling it in terms of a hard or soft border misses the point – it doesn't address the root cause of the conflict.
- It will be an objective for Saoradh to bring focus to the issues of Partition and the denial of Irish National Sovereignty as being at the core of this conflict.
- That may entail a direct challenge to whatever mechanisms that may be implemented as a result of Brexit which divides the Irish people.
- The only real long lasting solution is the removal of Partition and the restoration of National Sovereignty to the Irish people.
- Britain out of Ireland and Ireland out of the EU makes political, economic and strategic sense.
- In this context, the Irish people will be free from foreign interference to determine the shape of the Republic to be established and be center stage in determining its relationships with other nations.
- Saoradh advocates that these relationships between nations should be based on international cooperation and solidarity designed to be mutually beneficial to all of the people of those nations and not just for the benefit of a selected few.
- Popular Assemblies can provide a means to facilitate a National debate on Irish reunification.
- The Irish people need to develop a strategic plan which at its core includes short, medium and long term goals towards that objective.
- The mobilisation and input of the working class of Ireland is the key to all of this.
- The fundamental rights of Irish citizens need to be present in any debate around Irish reunification.
- Saoradh believes that ultimately the objective of the establishment of an Irish Socialist Republic is the only way such rights can be truly guaranteed.
- Saoradh calls for a reinvigorated radical Irish Trade Union Movement to actively campaign for Irish reunification to ensure the best possible outcome for workers.
- The popularisation of a vision of a Republic based upon Socialist principles and values arising from a national debate on Irish reunification will act as a catalyst to provide the necessary wherewithal to achieve our ultimate objective of an Irish Socialist Republic.

"...the Republic I would wish our fellow-countrymen to set before them as their ideal should be of such a character that the mere mention of its name would at all times serve as a beacon-light to the oppressed of every land, at all times holding forth promise of freedom and plenteousness as the reward of their efforts on its behalf..."

- James Connolly

