# AN PHOBLACHT

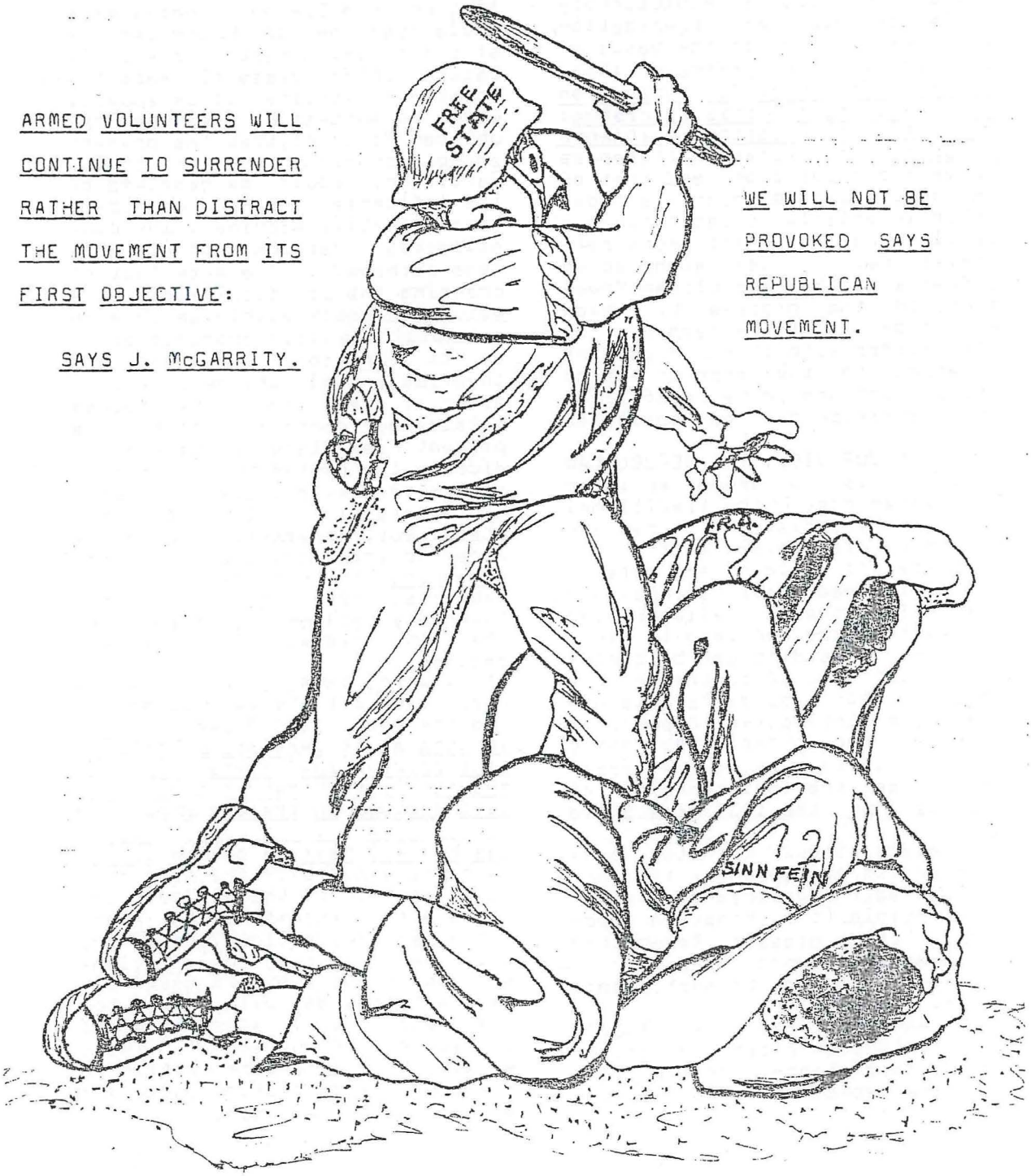
## The Republic

No. 6 July '66

THE FINE ART OF COMPROMISE

ARMED VOLUNTEERS WILL CONTINUE TO SURRENDER RATHER THAN DISTRACT THE MOVEMENT FROM ITS FIRST OBJECTIVE:

SAYS J. McGARRITY.




WE WILL NOT BE PROVOKED SAYS REPUBLICAN MOVEMENT.

# EDITORIAL

DURING RECENT MONTHS THERE has been considerable talk about "extremist groups"; or "splinter groups" which have broken away from the Republican Movement. And it has been intimated that the main differences between such groups and the "official illegal organization" are primarily ones pertaining to the use of violence. The organization responsible for the publication of AN PHOBLACHT has been listed as one such group; consequently, it is as well to make our position clear on this issue.

FIRST OF ALL, WE DO NOT CONSIDER ourselves a so-called "splinter group". We are a Revolutionary Socialist-Republican Organization, which was founded on the basis of the Republican Programme of 1933. We base our appeal for support on the realization of this programme; and not on the question of violence as such. The primary differences between our position and that of the Republican Movement, are those which invariably exist between a revolutionary movement and a reformist one. Not alone do we differ with the Republican Movement on the process by which Partition is to be removed; we also differ with them on questions relating to the sort of nation state which should be constructed once Partition has been abolished.

IN OUR VIEW, THE REPUBLICAN Movement is no longer an Irish Republican body in the traditional sense. The social, political and economic principles which now motivate its actions are more in tune with "Free State nationalism" than with the Socialist-Fenian gospel that was baptised in blood in 1916. Indeed, it can be claimed without fear of contradiction, that the only real difference between the contemporary Republican Movement and other Free State parties, is that while the former insists on the implementation of Article 2 of the 1937 Free State Constitution, the latter ignore it completely. Should Leinster House express its preparedness to consider itself a national parliament in principle (though not in practice), the present Republican Movement would undoubtingly consider itself free to participate in it.

WE CANNOT SO READILY ACCOMODATE the Socialist-Fenian aspirations of our revolutionary predecessors with the neo-colonial foundations of Free State nationalism. Most assuredly, we will not compromise in the demand for a United Ireland. But neither will we compromise in the demands for economic independence that are both explicit and implicit in our Socialist-Fenian Charter -- the Proclamation of 1916. National sovereignty implies social, political and economic freedom from external influences and pressures. A 32 County version of the present Free State cannot possibly fulfil this requirement.

IT IS CRIMINALLY MISLEADING TO tell the people, as does the Republican Movement, that the elimination of the Border and the setting up of a 32-county parliament would open the door to the removal of the social and economic exploitation which presently saps the country's vitality. It is equally wrong to suggest, as does the Republican Movement, that the present socio-economic order, which upholds Partition, would be deprived of its influence once the country's administrative machinery was consolidated under one roof (in Athlone perhaps?). The mere fact of changing the political administrative framework within which such an exploitive socio-economic order is to function, need not, and invariably will not, deprive that order of its potency. The "forces outside our control", which, the present Free State regime admits, dictate the course of Irish events, can as readily dictate the course of events in a 32-county Free State. But, apparently the Republican Movement considers it less demeaning to our people to be exploited under the shadow of a 32-county parliament, than under the twin shadows of the present regimes.

IN A WORD, THERE IS NO BASIS FOR reapproachment between ourselves and the Republican Movement; for so long as it persists in its present crypto-Free State course-; and the fact of whether that movement decides on the use or non-use of violence to get state power, has no real bearing on the issue. We believe our path; the political reunification of the nation, combined with reconstruction along Socialist-Fenian lines, to be the only practical road open to Irishmen. Our numbers may be small today, but the day will dawn when the people will appreciate the correctness of our stand. Then, we will have a real revolution in Ireland; a revolution whose aim will be absolute freedom.

# THE QUESTION OF COMPROMISE

## BY

## EOIN MacDONAIL

ONE FACT IS QUITE CLEAR TO all who have given serious thought to the question of establishing a sovereign 32 county Republic in Ireland: which is, that such a state most assuredly cannot be established without destroying in their entirety the two regimes that presently function within the Partitionist framework. Each of those regimes contribute to the maintenance of Partition, and all it entails socially, politically and economically, It is ridiculous to propose that either is less evil -- or more evil -- than the other. So that it is necessary to destroy both with equal thoroughness if the envisioned 32 county state is to be free from the evils which now flourish on all sides of the border.

MANY REPUBLICANS, AND EVEN organized Republicanism over the past decade and a half, have shied away from the truth of this self-evident fact. Many compromises have been made to avoid facing up to it, and coming to grips with it. To be sure, such compromises began on a small scale; but then they usually do. However, all compromise inevitably expands in breadth, depth and extent; and as it develops the justifications for its indulgence also grow proportionately. This has been the case with the Republican Movement; until today we find the most elaborate statements of policy being issued to circumvent, obscure and distort the one basic truth that all Irish revolutionaries must face: that they must destroy both existing regimes if they wish to create one nation state completely free from the corrupt politico-socio-economic base on which Partition is founded.

IT IS PROBABLE THAT MANY Republicans are completely oblivious to the fact that they are preaching and practicing compromise. And this, too, is characteristic of the growth of this insidious virus. It creeps up on you; it carries you with it; and you can always justify it to yourself and to others by that great old fall-back: "that it is the only practical and possible thing to do." Yes, indeed, the practitioners of compromise under the banner of revolution are renowned "Possibilists"; they can dig up a thousand reasons why a course of compromise is the only "Practical" road open.

THE COMPROMISING PRACTICES THAT have undermined the position of Irish Republicanism, and as practised in the Republican Movement, apply both to the Six and Twenty-six county states. It is, however, with regard to the Free State that compromise is so glaringly apparent. A recent example is to be found in a Statement issued by the I.R.P.B., and which reads: "From 1954 it has been the policy of the Movement to AVOID AT ALL COSTS any activity which might lead to bloodshed between the servants of this state (Free State) and members of the Movement."

NO DOUBT, THE WRITER OF THIS Statement experienced a wave of sanctimonious righteousness as he gave forth on Sinn Fein's adherence to the philosophy of "turning the other cheek" to the Free State. And it is equally certain that the leadership of the Republican Movement would, without exception, be highly indignant if they were told that the phrase AVOID AT ALL COSTS, represents the essence of undiluted compromise.

THERE NEVER CAN BE ANY BASIS for compatibility between the traditional aspirations of Irish Republicanism, and the neo-colonial status inherent in the Free State. Consequently, if there has to be bloodshed in the struggle to eliminate the Free State, Republicans must, of necessity, accept that event for what it is: a state of affairs which is unavoidable, no matter how regrettable it may be. The Free State has given ample proof of its readiness to spill Irish blood to maintain its position; and it has shown no desire to change its ways. Now, The Republican Movement blatantly informs us all that it is, and "has been the policy since 1954, "to AVOID AT ALL COSTS the shedding of blood in any confrontation with the Free State. In other words, come what may, the present leadership of the Republican Movement has no intention of leading the fight for

national unity and liberation, if this struggle is going to entail shedding the blood of Free State quislings.

WHAT AN AMAZING ADMISSION FROM a Movement that prides itself the only true upholder of our revolutionary tradition? A tradition, mind you, which has, from the beginning, accepted without equivocation the fact of armed struggle, which usually results in bloodshed, as an unavoidable feature of any effort to liberate the country!!!

PEARSE, WHOM SOME STYLE A dreamer, a poet who had little idea of the PRACTICAL implications of revolution, wrote: "A thing that stands demonstrable is that nationhood is not achieved otherwise than in arms;" and he continued: "We must accustom ourselves to the thought of arms, to the sight of arms, to the use of arms. We may make mistakes in the beginning and shoot the wrong people; but bloodshed is a cleansing and sanctifying thing, and the nation which regards it as the final horror has lost its manhood. There are many things more horrible than bloodshed; and slavery is one of them."

"THERE ARE MANY THINGS MORE HORRIBLE THAN BLOODSHED; AND SLAVERY IS ONE OF THEM."

WHERE DOES THIS PLACE THE men who wrote: "the policy of the Movement (is) to AVOID AT ALL COSTS any activity which might lead to bloodshed."??? Apparently, they prefer the idea of slavery to that of shedding the blood of those who perpetuate the economic and social subjugation of our people via the machinery of the Free State. Only a twisted and politically perverse mind could construe this sort of thing as anything but blatant COMPROMISE.

IT IS INTERESTING TO NOTE THE manner in which this "policy" of no bloodshed in the Free State developed. And in this fashion it can be illustrated how a course of compromise can start from a small and apparently inconsequential beginning and blossom forth in full bloom; and at the same time pass unnoticed in its growth.

AROUND 1954 A GENERAL ARMY ORDER was issued to the I.R.A., restricting the carrying of loaded weapons in the Free State area; and which also rescinded the hitherto standing order that all personnel should defend weapons in their possession -with their life if necessary. One of the many arguments in support of this was that it was ridiculous for Army men to resist arrest, and by so doing possibly incur a murder charge, when they had only a pistol in their possession. A certain logic upheld this view; after all, on the surface, it appeared foolish to involve men, and the Movement generally in an open conflict with the Free State, all on account of a minor weapon. And, of course, if this happened it would upset all the great plans that were in the making for a really big campaign. So the argument went.

HOWEVER, WITHIN A SHORT TIME it wasn't pistols and the odd submachine gun which were being surrendered to Free State police without a whimper. By late '56 and early '57 fully armed units, better equipped than any which operated during the Tan War, were laying down their arms at the beck and call of Broy Harriers --who would not come within 20 miles of an armed I.R.A. unit if they thought for one minute a fight were possible. A mass of weapons, acquired at the risk of life and freedom, were lost in this manner; until eventually this disgraceful carry-on became quite acceptable both psychologically and organizationally to the movement as a whole--or most of it. Until today, it's a hard and fast policy no less; and there are still some who wonder why the people don't take the I.R.A. seriously any more !!!!!!

WITHOUT EXCEPTION, COMPROMISE predominates in all Republican Movement policies which in any way relate to the Free State. In an endeavour to avoid antagonizing the moguls of the Free State and at the same time retain the semblance of allegiance to our revolutionary traditions, the Republican leadership have embarked on, developed and perfected a technique of double-talk and political slight-of-hand that far outshines performances previously given by such people as Dan O'Connell, Redmond and a score of others. By comparison, such characters were rank amateurs when compared to the present Republican Movement, and that's a fact.

THE PRESENT REPUBLICAN LEADERSHIP try to have it both ways on the question of whether or not the Free State is essentially a neo-colonial regime. For years now, successive leadership cliques have mesmerized a great number with their obscure and ambiguous pronouncements on this matter. Contradiction has been, and continues

to be, the general rule whenever it comes to dealing with the relations of the Movement vis-a-vis the Free State. Why is there all this difficulty in explaining to the people in simple language the true facts of the matter????

AS AN EXAMPLE OF THE contradictory positions adopted by the movement on this question, we will refer to two statements made quite recently;both of which were published in the May issue of the UNITED IRISHMAN.

ONE STATEMENT, ISSUED UNDER THE heading, "Sinn Fein Comment on De Valera Plea, has this to say:
"The present system of partition Government came about by...an Act of the British Parliament....This division of our country was accepted by Cumann na nGaedheal(now Fine Gael) in 1922 and by Fianna Fail in 1926. Despite any constitutional changes made since in the 26-County state,these parties still accept,acquiesce in and operate that British imposed system ...Not only are the Six Counties controlled by England but the 26 Counties have merely the trappings of freedom not the substance."

IT IS, BY THE WAY, INTERESTING to note that the Labour Party has been excluded from this indictment, although it too accepted Partition from the very beginning. Presumably,the omission arises from the present overtures for combined political action in the Free State arena between this partitionist party and the Republican Movement.

HOWEVER, REGARDLESS OF THE omission, the "Comment" in plain language accepts the fact that the Free State, like the Six County abortion of a state, is merely a puppet government; a neo-colonial regime which is contained by limits imposed on it by Britain,and which continues to accept and uphold such limits to its freedom of action. Apparently then there should be no great difficulty in defining the attitude of the Republican Movement to such a regime. As a neo-colonial state, a conscious and active tool of British imperialism which is obviously maintaining British Rule in Ireland, it would appear logical to treat the Free State on the same basis as the British founded institutions in the Six Counties. Because, in the final analysis, there is no essential difference between British imperial interests being upheld in Ireland by Irishmen or Englishmen.

HOWEVER, IT IS QUITE APPARENT that the leadership of the Republican Movement does not go in for this sort of logical analysis when it comes to adopting a course of action. It appears that while this leadership is willing enough to call the Free State a British instituted, and therefore a British controlled, regime in their pseudo-Republican polemics, they are quite unwilling to relate their own charges to policies applicable in the Free State area.

CONSEQUENTLY, IN ONE STATEMENT, printed in page 2 of the U.I. for May, the Free State is depicted as a hollow shell, possessing "merely the trappings of freedom but not the substance;" which cannot be interpreted to mean anything but that it is in fact a contributing element to the continued functioning of British Rule in Ireland as a whole, However, in page 12 of the same paper,another statement by the I.R.P.B. makes it quite clear that when it comes to action the Movement does not consider the Free State in any way connected with British Rule in Ireland. Now,we find that the Republican Movement considers British Rule in Ireland to exist only in that area occupied overtly by British forces;to wit, the Six Counties. And despite the fact that in page 2 the Free State was seen to possess only the "trappings of freedom" -- "A tricolour flag and green pillar boxes do not constitute freedom; they are merely symbols,"said the writer--on page 12 it is layed down that "the Movement is prepared only to engage in actions against British forces in Ireland." In other words, talk is cheap.

WHEN IT IS PURELY A MATTER OF talking about present conditions in Ireland, the Republican Movement is ready and able to harangue with indignant eloquence on the puppet status of the Free State regime. But when it comes to action, things are, to say the least, slightly different. All such charges are rapidly and thoroughly brushed under the carpet. The tricolour flying in Kildare St.,and the "green Pillar boxes", become accepted and concrete evidence of freedom from British Rule; which is now conveniently restricted to the Six Counties.

TO MAINTAIN THAT THIS SORT OF thing does not constitute compromise with a vengeance,one would have to be either a complete idiot, a political illiterate, or a

hypnotic totally under the spell of the "all-knowing eye" of the Republican leadership. The whole business is so glaringly and so completely a sell-out, it is a source of continued amazement that there are still so many who cannot see it. Perhaps, this mystery is to be accounted for by the actual enormity of the course of COMPROMISE being practiced in broad daylight. Many see it, but are unable to reconcile what they do see with the idea that an Irish Republican organization would, or could, indulge in such blatant duplicity, practiced in such an arrogant and hypocritical a fashion.

IT WOULD BE FUTILE TO PROCEED and uncover more instances which demonstrate the course of COMPROMISE now pursued by the Republican Movement. These examples exist for all literate persons to discover for themselves. They can be found regularly in the pages of the U.I., and in nearly every utterance on policy that emanates from the movement. And if there are those who do not want to see what is going on, then, there is little we can do; because there is no man more blind than he who refuses to recognize what is under his very nose.

IN CONCLUSION, WE BELIEVE THERE is no easy way by which the problems created by the setting up, and continued functioning of the Free State can be solved. Nor have we a cut-and-dried plan to put forward at this time to overcome these problems. What we do maintain, however, is that a solution compatible to the realization of our traditional revolutionary aspirations cannot, and will not, be found via compromise. Furthermore, in our view, if a successful method is to be found to deal with the Free State, we consider it a very necessary prerequisite that Republicans accept all the facts relating to the matter in their stark nakedness. We must face these facts and try to solve the problems they create for us; and not proceed in ostrich-like fashion to ignore their very existence in the vain hope they will disappear. This is what the Republican Movement is doing at present, and it is fooling no one but itself.

---

TO OUR READERS.

HELP TO PROPAGATE THE IDEAS OF Revolutionary Ireland by supporting our effort. We can do with any contribution, no matter how small, which will assist in continuing publication of AN PHOBLACHT.

# WHAT DIFFICULTY ?

THE ANTICS AND PUBLIC UTTERANCES of spokesmen for the Republican Movement are a continued source of amazement to this writer; but it must be confessed that the U.I. Editorial (May) on the Free State "Presidential Election" will take some beating.

APPARENTLY, THE EDITOR IS AS hostile to the basic Republican position towards the Free State, as are the Leadership in general to the basic principles of revolution. The Editorial begins: "The forthcoming Presidential election in the Twenty-Six County State is more clearly than ever before, a political contest." A brilliant deduction, I will admit! But he goes on: "For Republicans, the attitude to be adopted presents difficulties, no matter how the affair is viewed."

HIS PUNCTUATION IS CORRECT, WHICH would indicate the Editor had at least some schooling; but what in God's name does he mean by DIFFICULTIES?? After 44 years of Partition one would not expect the Voice of Republicanism to be still beset by difficulties when it comes to deciding the attitude of Irish Republicans towards a Free State Presidential Election!!!!!!

"MR. DE VALERA HAS GIVEN Republicans sufficient reasons for not supporting him," says the Editor of the United Irishman! You can say that again brother!!"But, Mr. O'Higgins has not, so far, given any reason for supporting him." From this it would appear that should a crowd like the Free State Labour Party put up a candidate, Republicans could very well be expected to vote for him, since that Pro-Treaty party has, of late, thrown the odd smile in the direction of the Republican Movement.

SUCH SENTIMENTS, AS EXPRESSED in the U.I. Editorial, are surely of great concern to all thinking Republicans, regardless of whether or not they fully agree with the stand taken by AN PHOBLACHT. Because, to intimate, as the Editorial does, that Republican participation in a Free State Presidential election is an open question, equally applies to participation in Free State parliamentary elections.

ON MANY PREVIOUS OCCASIONS AN PHOBLACHT has drawn attention to the gradual sliding of the R.M. towards Free Statism. Here is an other indication on the way the wind is blowing.

* * * *

# NEO-COLONIALISM IN IRELAND

## BRITISH RULE WITHOUT BRITISH TROOPS

MUCH CONFUSION EXISTS AS to the real extent of British Rule in Ireland since the partitioning of the country in 1922. There are those who claim the 26-County area is independent of British Rule; and that this is substantiated by the fact that British Forces no longer police the Free State, and its government is elected by the people of the area. Of late the Republican Movement cannot make up its mind whether this theory is, or is not correct. One minute its spokesmen will denounce the idea as utterly false; and in the next breath they will then go on to say that the I.R.A. "is prepared ONLY to engage in actions against British Forces in Ireland," because, "the policy of the Republican Movement is directed solely against British Rule in Ireland. In a word, it is plain that the Republican Movement is not, and does not wish to be clear on the subject of British Rule in Ireland.

ON THE OTHER HAND, THE POSITION of AN PHOBLACHT on this question is without ambiguity: We hold that Partition, while altering the form of British Rule in Ireland, did not alter its extent to any degree. Consequently, in our view, British Rule in Ireland remains nation-wide; and no contradiction exists between the continued functioning of this Rule and the fact that the Free State is administered by an elected parliament which does not now swear allegiance to the Crown.

TO UNDERSTAND WHY IRELAND IS IN fact still a British Colony, although two-thirds of the country "enjoys self-government", it is necessary to take a look at the changes that have taken place in the British imperialist colonial system.

TO BEGIN, THE OBJECTS OF THE imperialist colonial system always have been, and still are, 1) the economic exploitation of the colonial country, its resources and its manpower; 2) the strategic domination of the country and its absorption in the imperialist bloc; 3) the maintenance in the country of a political system capable of fulfilling these aims.

DURING THE ERA OF CLASSIC colonialism Britain upheld all three of these objects in Ireland by a nation-wide occupation. However, this century ushered in, in Ireland and elsewhere throughout the Empire, a rising tide of aggressive nationalism; and as well, Britain's leadership of the imperialist wolf-pack was being seriously challenged for the first time in a century. Under these pressures it was made apparent that the old methods of colonialism were rapidly becoming outmoded.

AFTER THE FIRST WORLD WAR, WITH its leading-power status rapidly slipping from its grip, and militant nationalism on the rise throughout the empire, British imperialism faced a crisis. The old system of running an empire was proving itself economically less profitable and more demanding. It was also proving more difficult to hold on to the colonies; so that it was fast becoming a question of whether to stick it out with the old methods and risk losing all; or, to find a solution whereby the crisis could be offset without any great detriment to the continued functioning of basic imperialist colonial objects. Basing its approach on class differences within the various liberation movements, Britain was able to develop a solution compatible to its interests. Briefly, the solution incorporated what we know today as neo-colonialism; which is nothing less than the original three imperialist colonial objects now offered in a more attractive gift - wrapped parcel to fool the gullible.

NEO-COLONIALISM, "THE GREAT deception," evolves around what may be styled the technique of formal independence. That is, states "created" by British imperialism are given a nominal "political independence", but continue to be completely dependent on Britain economically, financially and militarily.

IRELAND WAS THE PLACE WHERE THIS new method of colonial rule received its first try-out. On the basis of an appeal to the bourgeois instincts of the Griffith-gang, Lloyd George broke the solidarity of the Republican Movement, and used this split as a lever to gain the acceptance of partition. In this particular case partition was important. It afforded the "creation" of two states -- double insurance as it were; thereby lessening the percentage against future dangers from the Irish bourgeoisie by dividing their authority between two rival states and governments, each continually at cross-purposes with the other, and therefore with British imperialism in the background as the final arbiter.

UNDER THIS PLAN BRITAIN WAS able to withdraw its military forces from the Free State, thereby cutting down on its military and financial expenditures; and at the same time retaining its ability to protect its overall interests at any time by using the Six Counties as a garrison for Ireland as a whole. Why suffer the expense and exasperations of occupying all of Ireland when modern technology facilitates the same end from a much smaller, and therefore less vulnerable base in the North-east? The problem in Ireland was solved as easily as that.

THE HARD FACT IS, THE BRITISH garrison in the Six Counties serves to ensure the continuation of British Rule in Ireland as a whole; to ensure the continued functioning of both the Free State and Stormont; and not just the latter as some simple-minded people seem to think. And this is why, for example, that the Free State invariably comes to the rescue when the I.R.A. starts one of its campaigns in the north, while at the same time bending over backwards to show there is no intention of aggression against the Free State as such.

BY FAILING TO UNDERSTAND THE nature of British Rule in Ireland since the Treaty, the Republican leadership are, consequently, unable to appreciate that when they attack the Six Counties they are also attacking the security of the 26 County state; because both sectors are integral parts of overall British Rule in the Country. This means in effect, that British Forces cannot be expelled from the Six Counties without at the same time coming in direct conflict with their auxiliaries in the Free State. The Six Counties cannot be freed from British Rule without simultaneously freeing the 26 County area from the same rule.

BY THE SAME TOKEN, REPUBLICANS cannot hope to secure control of the Free State, by peaceful or other means, without ultimately having to face Britain's Six-County-based Irish garrison. It would be naive to think the Border would deter such forces from moving southwards. It is equally naive to think this garrison's sole purpose in Ireland is to protect the security of Stormont. British Forces are in Ireland to protect British interests, and these interests are still nation-wide.

IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT AN PHOBLACHT has, from the outset stressed the fact that the Republican struggle is still a uniformally national one. It is true that the external form of British Rule now varies in Ireland; in the Free State, indirect colonial rule has replaced the old, undisguised and direct one; while in the Six Counties, the old open practices still prevail for all interests and purposes. But external trappings in no way detract from, nor hinder a continued and unified British domination of the whole nation. Republicans may well be able to exploit weaknesses inherent in this form of bi-lateral rule - and it has weaknesses; but, to be successful this would have to be done within the confines of strategic concepts which take the struggle as a whole into consideration. The weaknesses cannot be adequately exploited by proceeding on the basis of two distinct strategies to coincide with the political division of the country; in which case Republicans are in fact playing directly into the hands of British imperialism.

THE GREAT POINT OF DIFFERENCE between classical colonialism and neo-colonialism, is that while the direct occupation of colonies by imperialist forces was a constant factor in the former, it is a variable one with regards the latter. Today, there are neo-colonial states which are occupied by imperialist forces; but these are the exception; the greater number are not directly occupied.

AS A CONSEQUENCE, WHEN OBJECTIVELY assessing whether or not the Free State continues as an integral part of the British imperialist

colonial system, more factors than the existence of British forces in the area must be taken into consideration.

FOR A START, THE FREE STATE WAS "CREATED" by a British Act of parliament. And from this it is reasonable to claim that the setting up of the Free State did not constitute the setting up of a sovereign independent state, but merely represented a delegation of authority by British imperialism to such forms of administration as it judged expedient in its own interests.

THE IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT "transferred" certain powers to the government of the Free State. But, the entire British administrative machinery was taken over by the Free State without change. The same bureaucracy, the same laws, the same methods of repression:-arrest and detention without charge, suppression of newspapers, persecution of Republican organizations, and the filling of jails with thousands of Republicans; all were maintained without a break. The assets, investment holdings and financial interests of imperialism were zealously protected. The economy of the Free State continued to be completely dependent on Britain; a fact dramatically illustrated in recent months with the signing of the Trade Pact. Even with regards military matters, British imperialism continues to hold effective control of the Free State forces. The Free State army is completely dependent on Britain as the primary source of its arms and munitions. During W.W. II, when Dev waxed heavy on his neutrality gimmick, Britain continued to supply the Free State with its military needs despite its own demands and requirements. Officers of the British General Staff sat in Dublin all through that war to co-ordinate and direct planning and operations for the Free State army on the event of a German invasion. In other words, during W.W. II, the Free State forces held Britain's Irish colony secure; and they did so, old I.R.A. men and all, in the glorious name of Irish patriotism. In more recent times, we have seen the Free State army serve in the Congo and in Cyprus; serving the interests of imperialism under the guise of peace-keeping.

THERE IS NO DOUBT ABOUT IT, Britain came up with a winner when it hit on its neo-colonial scheme for Ireland. Even the sophisticated illusion tricks of the Great Houdini were mere child's play when compared to British imperialism's mass hypnosis of a great number of the Irish people --including many Republicans. British imperialism in Ireland: now you see it, and then it's gone safely concealed under the folds of the Tricolour flying over Dublin.

EVEN THIS BRIEF SKETCH CAN LEAVE no doubt but that the setting up of the Free State in no way ended, or even impeded the continuity of the old British imperialist regime in Ireland. The people of the Free State were granted the PRIVILEGE of electing a Dublin-based government. But this government by virtue of limitations imposed on it by the British Act of parliament which CREATED it in the first place, has from the outset been so completely dependent on Britain economically, financially and militarily that it never has been in the position to do anything other than follow the LINE LAYED DOWN FOR IT BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM.

IN PLAIN LANGUAGE, THE PEOPLE OF the Free State were granted their "freedom" by British imperialism; freedom, that is, to elect a parliament whose primary function is to see to it that British interests continue undisturbed in the Free State area. This is the "great boon" which the people of the Free State now enjoy: THE PRIVILEGE OF ENDORSING THEIR OWN SUBJUGATION AND EXPLOITATION BY BRITISH IMPERIALISM THROUGH THE PROCESS OF PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY.

IN CONCLUSION, IT SHOULD again be stressed that the following must be accepted by Irish Republicans before they can ever hope to come up with a successful plan to realize a 32 county state exemplifying all the demands of our revolutionary traditions: 1) The Treaty of 1922, and subsequent setting-up of a crypto-colonial government in the Free State, in no way limited the extent of British domination in Ireland. 2) Due to this, our traditional struggle for liberation must, of necessity, continue to be conceived as a national struggle, and not a regional one.

IT IS POSSIBLE THAT a diversity in tactics, designed to exploit in the initial stages some of the weaknesses of the partitionist set-up, would prove beneficial. But the exploitation of such opportunities cannot be used as a valid arg-

ument for the pursuance of policies which, in effect, differentiate between the Free State and the Six Counties. Such a "Partitionist line of reasoning" is presently characteristic of policies pursued by the Republican Movement. And it is totally wrong, because it is based squarely on the acceptance of Partition on terms dictated by British imperialism. Britain says the Free State is FREE; so what does the Republican Movement do? It marches forth chanting its undiluted abhorance of all things British, and at the same time formulates its policies according to the British pronouncement on the unquestioned freedom of the Free State. Talk about contradictions!

---

# IRA DEFEATISM DEFENDED BY LIES!

## BY PADDY MAC

IN A LONG AND WHIMPERING "Statement" issued in May, and signed by McGarrity, the IRA made the usual attempt to justify its fellon-setting activities on the plea: WE GET BLAMED FOR EVERYTHING. "On one occasion only in the past 12 years has the Republican Movement engaged in hostile action within the boundaries of the 26-County state," proudly writes the IRA publicity agent. One would think this was some great achievement to be boasted about!!! "Nevertheless," writes the bold McGarrity, "all such pointless activity (blowing up Nelson etc.) is laid at the door of the Movement. In 1957 hundreds of Republicans were interned, ostensibly as the result of a raid for gelignite made on a quarry in the 26-County state. The Republican Movement denied any connection with the raid. Nevertheless, this isolated action was sufficient for the introduction of internment."

IT'S A SAD DAY INDEED WHEN THE IRA has to stoop so low as to employ LIES to justify its actions. Perhaps, McGarrity thinks the people can be easily fooled by false information?? In any event, let's get this straight: the raid for gelignite which is referred to had no connection whatever with the reopening of the Curragh in 1957. Nor did the Republican Movement in any way associate the two events at the time.

THERE WAS GOOD REASON WHY THIS was so. The gelignite raid took place on May 5th. The arrests which saw the Curragh reopened began on July 6th; some two months later. The Free State did not require AN EXCUSE to reopen the Curragh; they have the POWER to do so any time they wish, and let no one fool himself on that issue. However, in this instance the train of events which influenced its reopening were plain enough at the time.

THE OPENING DAYS OF JULY SAW A rise in IRA activity in the Six-Counties. On July 4th, a patrol was ambushed at Carivegrove, Co. Armagh; enemy casualties were one dead and one wounded. Immediately afterwards, Clutterbuck, the British watch-dog in Dublin, delivered a NOTE to de Valera, instructing him to fulfil his obligations under the Treaty. On July 6th, the Curragh was reopened. All of this can be readily confirmed by referring to the British and Irish newspapers--or even to the United Irishman.

IT IS INTERESTING TO SPECULATE ON why the IRA of today glossed over the TRUE ROLE played by the Free State in this issue, and instead blamed a "splinter group", that raided for gelignite to undertake a few actions against the common enemy. Taking into consideration the overall actions of the "splinter group" involved, I cannot say their position can be condoned by Irish Revolutionaries. But the fact is, why blame them for something for which they were not responsible; why use this group as a whipping-boy to distract public attention from the true culprits --- the Free State quislings who reopened the Curragh on the direct orders of their British masters??

IN PLAIN LANGUAGE, THE IRA condones the Free State order of things by misleading the people with false information. The facts are now tailored to suit the new POLITICS of republicanism.

---

### THE SIGNS OF CHANGE.

ON APRIL 25, 1940, THE IRA GAVE their opinion of the Special Branch by blowing up part of the HQRS at the "Castle". On May 14, 1966, the new Sinn Fein IRA launched another attack. It lasted some two hours, and the people involved were armed with PLACARDS. And there are people who call this PROGRESS ???

* * * *

# A PRIMER ON REVOLT BY JER.COLLINS

PART ONE CONT'D

SO FAR AN ATTEMPT HAS BEEN made to identify the significance of a Revolutionary Programme. This was followed by an examination of Revolutionary Policy; wherein it was demonstrated that policy is essentially an instrument by which a given programme is realized. The next link in the chain is Revolutionary Action, which, in turn, can be viewed as the instrument of policy.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTION

AT THIS STAGE IT IS NOT THE desire to examine the various categories of revolutionary action, but rather to place such action as a whole in proper perspective to the other elements of revolution which influence and dictate its direction and content.

IN ESSENCE, REVOLUTIONARY ACTION constitutes any act or combination of acts designed to complement the realization of a given revolutionary policy. From this it can be seen clearly that action undertaken by an organization is not revolutionary by virtue of its own content, but through its relationship to policy.

IT IS NECESSARY TO GRASP clearly the underlying significance of this inter-relationship between Action, Policy and Programme if one is to appreciate fully what revolution really entails. All too frequently the idea is held in Ireland that military action against the occupational regime is revolutionary solely on the strength of its manifest aggressiveness towards the enemy. This is a mistaken and highly dangerous notion, because regardless of how warlike an anti-occupational campaign may be, it is not its military content as such which determines its revolutionary status, but the policies it is designed to complement.

A FEW ILLUSTRATIONS MAY assist in presenting more clearly what I am trying to establish. Take our own situation: it will be conceded that a revolution in Ireland must entail not alone the political reunification of the nation, but also the social and economic reconstruction of the country as a whole. As a result, to be revolutionary, any organization which presently professes hostility to the partitionist regimes must: first, present a programme based on these aims; second, formulate policies which correlate the realization of this programme both to prevailing conditions and the organizations capabilities; and finally, engage in a sequence of activity designed to implement the policies. In such a context any activity engaged in is revolutionary action, regardless of whether or not it is military in form.

ON THE OTHER HAND, AS AN example of military action which is not necessarily revolutionary, we can take the I.R.A. campaign started in 1956. In this instance there existed no programme that I know of. And for that matter neither did the Republican Movement of the day regulate its aims according to a series of co-ordinated policies. Consequently, it is difficult to determine what the I.R.A. was actually fighting to establish as an alternative to what it was trying to destroy. It is utterly stupid to claim the I.R.A. was fighting for Irish freedom, and let it go at that. Of itself, the term freedom is far too vague to mean anything; it must be qualified by social, political and economic committments in order to have a positive form. Lacking such committments the late campaign in the Six Counties was, in every sense, negative; and the military activity which ensued was therefore non-revolutionary.

ANOTHER EXAMPLE, WHICH DIFFERS in form but whose end result is similar, is to be found in the case of the I.W.P. Here we have an organization which presents a programme that is essentially revolutionary. However, the policies conceived to realize it bear no relationship whatever to revolutionary demands; and, as a consequence, all action the organization undertakes is unavoidably reactionary.

THE FOREGOING EXAMPLES SHOULD at least show that revolutionary action is a constituent part of a trinary formula, whose elements of programme, policy and action

must at all times complement each other. When any conflict develops between these elements, then the entity loses its revolutionary standing to a degree determined by the extent of the contradiction.

IRISH REPUBLICANS HAVE A tendency to ignore the theory of revolution, and instead view revolution soley in terms of action against the enemy. Unfortunately, this has the unavoidable result of endowing their activities with a certain negative quality; that is to say, their actions are determined more by what they oppose than by what they propose to create in its place. In the old days the results of this negative position were at least partly obscured by the fact that any armed action against the colonial regime was bound to produce some good, in as much that at least it served as a counter-force to the oppressive force of the enemy. However, since conditions of direct oppression no longer exist the bankrupcy of the position becomes more and more apparent. The people no longer have anything to gain from it ; and neither does it proffer them the prospects of a better alternative to what they presently possess. Hence, the growing apathy towards armed action against the colonial regime on the part of the people. This does not imply that the people are becoming antagonistic towards all attempts to gain independence;it simply means they are apathetic towards military action carried out in the name of Irish independence, when no clear case is made to show that such action is capable of producing something better than that already in existence.

THIS PERTINENT FACT MUST surely be apparent to all by now. And the primary lesson to be learned from it, is that the old approach to revolution, wherein Republicans could rally a mass support for their efforts without the necessity of committing themselves to a social and economic programme of revolutionary proportions, no longer applies. The call for action to free the country no longer receives the response of old. The question is now asked, either consciously or subconsciously; "What do you propose to free us from?" And the only way that query can be answered is by the presentation of a programme.

AGAIN, THE FACT TO BE grasped,and quickly,by contemporary Republicans,is that they can no longer restrict their interpretation of revolution to mere military action against the British in the North-east, and at the same time expect a wide response from the people. If Republicans are ever again to regain a mass basis for their efforts,then, they can only hope to do so when they place such military action in proper perspective. That is, when they can demonstrate to the people that such action is necessary and vital to the implementation of policies which,in turn,relate to a social, political and economic programme that offers the people at large a positive prospect of a better way of life.

THE FACTORS TOUCHED ON SO far are elementary. And yet,unless they are understood, unless the fundamentals of the simple formula that has been demonstrated is thoroughly grasped, it is difficult to appreciate how the more complex problems created by a revolution in motion could ever be mastered.

IRISHMEN HAVE NEVER SHOWN A reluctance to fight against their enemies. But with all our fighting over the past 2 centuries,the results to date are meagre by any standards. Surely, of itself this should tend to demonstrate that revolution entails more than a willingness for combat. This does not mean,of course, that physical force is an unimportant factor in revolution. Far from it. However, to have revolutionary potential, to possess the capability to deliver an adequate return for the demands it makes, physical force must be subordinate to the directives of policies, which, in their turn, must be subservient to social, political and economic objects conceived to better the people's welfare.

UNLESS THIS IS THE CASE, any organization which embarks on a sequence of violent acts is promoting nothing more or less than anarcho-terrorism. It is important to bear this in mind, especially nowadays when frustration, arising from the reaction of official Republicanism, tends to breed a desire for action ---- any action. It may, at times, appear a good idea to take a crack at the Free State regime, or at that of Stormont; and it is IF SUCH ACTS ARE GUIDED BY A DEFINITE PURPOSE. But without that purpose any action of a violent sort will, in the long run, do more harm to Republicanism than to the enemies of Republicanism. ACTION DIRECTED BY CORRECT POLICIES IS REVOLUTIONARY:WITHOUT THAT PURPOSE IT IS TERRORISM, -- ANTI-REVOLUTIONARY.

To be continued.