

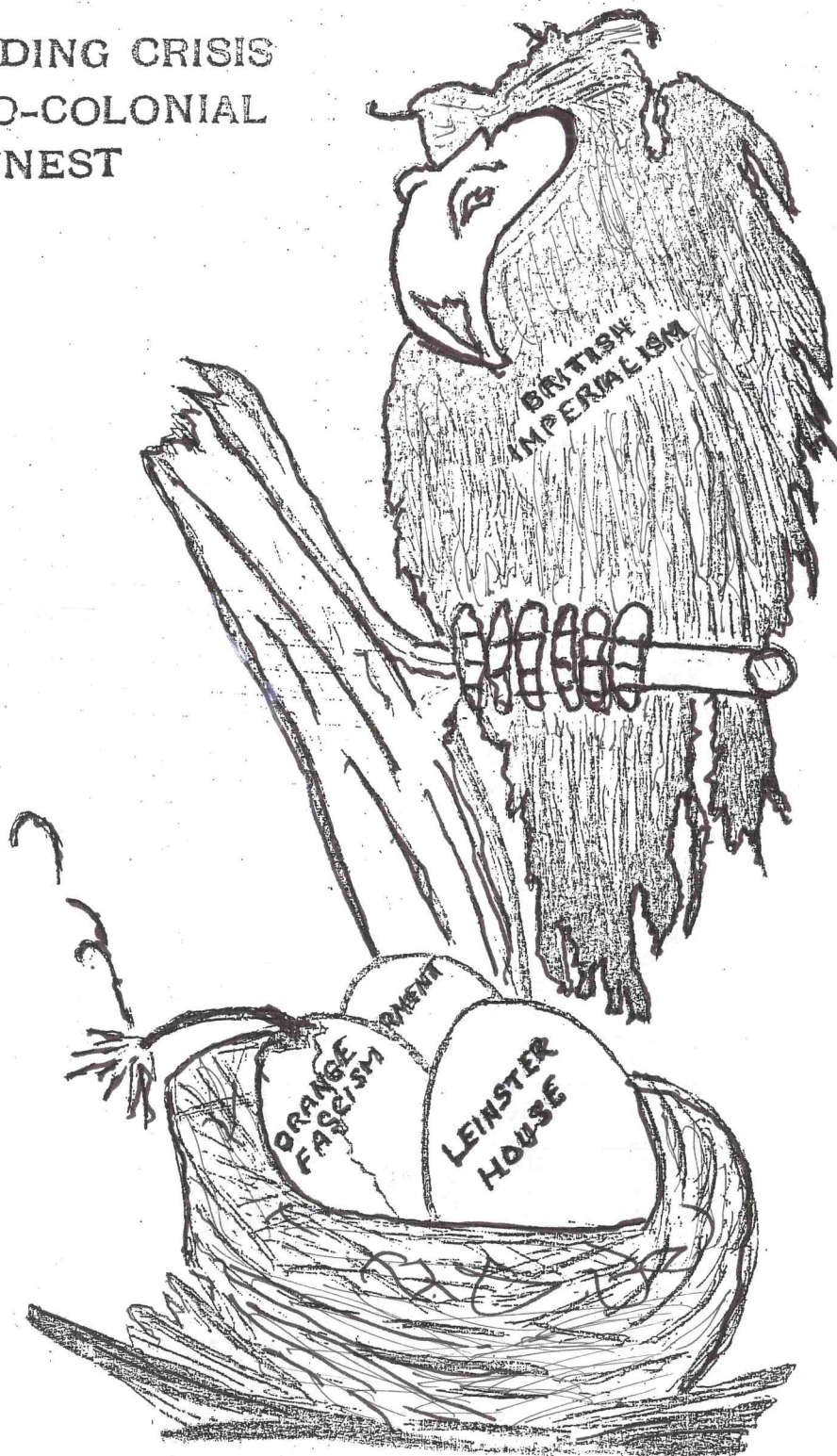
AN PHOBLACHT

The Republic

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IMPENDING CRISIS
IN NEO-COLONIAL
NEST



EDITORIAL

AT NO TIME SINCE THE DAWN OF the Irish Republican struggle in the late 18th century, have Irish Revolutionaries been presented with conditions more favourable to success than those of today. Our revolutionary predecessors from 1798 to 1921 fought for National Independence against a Britain that was at the height of its power. Today, our foe stands weak; tottering on the brink of its own obliteration, British imperialism is faced with the need to marshal all of its remaining strength to save itself. "England's difficulty is Ireland's opportunity," went the rallying cry of Irish Republicans for over a century. The despoiler of people's and nation's is in dire difficulty now; and because of it, the greater is our opportunity. But where are Ireland's revolutionaries? Where are the men and forces to lead our nation to that long-sought goal -- FREEDOM?

IT IS PARADOXICAL THAT IRELAND should stand without the services of a virile revolutionary movement at that time when her traditional enemy is dropping on its knees. For years Republicans have beaten their heads against barriers of steel in attempts to break loose from the despoiling grip of British imperialism. Now, when that barrier is rent with decay, we stand like gaping fools, devoid apparently, of the energy or the common sense to break forth and smash the rust-eaten shackles of thralldom from our wrists. Like the proverbial "bunch of old women," Irish Republicans huddle to debate this or that aspect of the colonial system in Ireland, and how best to alleviate its more adverse effects. This is no time to confuse cause and effect. This is not the time to waste energy trying to REFORM or patch up the system that has been the bane of our people. REFORM BE DAMNED! What Ireland needs is REVOLUTION; an upheaval of an intensity that will see the last imperialist blood-sucker and the last go-been capitalist, with all their works and poms, kicked far out into the Irish Sea. This is a time when Irish Republicans must THINK BIG and ACT BIG; a time for action backed by the thunder of guns, and not merely supported by the echoes of rhetoric.

IF IRELAND IS EVER TO REALIZE

the benefits of independence, with her people enjoying to the fullest the fruits of their labours, then, such a destiny can most assuredly be reached only through a revolution wherein her soldiers march with the objects of Socialism stamped indelibly in their minds, and a pledge for its fulfilment carved on the butts of their guns.

IN THE PAST, THE LABOURER, THE mechanic, the farmer or his sons, the intellectual, the dockworker, the shop assistant, the engineer; all went forth to fight the cause of the middle-class under the banner of a so-called classless nationalism. "Let us not disrupt the unity of the national effort by talking about class interest or class conflict," was the great cry of the Irish bourgeoisie. Yes, and you can still hear their lackeys in the Republican Movement rant the same garbage. Well, we are all for UNITY. But this time let it be a unity of all the workers; a unity of all those engaged in both manual and mental labour committed to fighting in their own interests; and not a unity of workers to fight as proxies in the interests of a parasitical middle-class. The Irish working people have for too long watered the tree of Irish liberty with their blood, while the middle-class parasites have picked whatever fruit that tree has borne to date. 'Tis time we workers did our own picking for a change; and the only safe way to ensure that this will be so, is to define our national aspirations as primarily those of the working classes. In other words, let our object be SOCIALISM in Ireland.

REVOLUTIONARY MOTIVATED AND class conscious Republicans must increase their efforts to clarify the pertinent fact that Ireland's continuing struggle for independence is every bit as much a class war as it is a national war; the two are inextricably entwined. To gain our freedom, we must break the connection with imperialism; and to do this, it is necessary to destroy not alone Britain's neo-colonial institutions, but also the power and influence of a collaborating Irish bourgeoisie. Make no mistake on this issue: unless a contemplated future struggle for national liberation is combined with the fight to establish a WORKER'S REPUBLIC, we cannot, in

all honesty, counsel anyone on the necessity or advisability of rallying once more to the "Cause." Because insofar as we are concerned, the Irish "Cause" is no longer worth fighting for, unless it is one which specifically aims at national unification on the basis of establishing a socio-economic order preponderantly designed to cater to the needs of the majority; as against the interests of a minority.

THERE ARE THOSE WHO CLAIM, either from base ignorance or a precommitment to a middle class ideology, that the interests of the majority of our people can be readily and easily realized without being overly hard on the established interests of the present ruling classes. These people, like the President of Sinn Fein and the Social-Democrats who have lately entered the arena of Republican endeavour via the back door, are energetically engaged in propagating a theory which contends that the socio-economic structure of a United Free Ireland can consist of a socialist sector and a free enterprise (capitalist) sector, with both functioning harmoniously to the benefit of all classes. Such people forward their preposterous claims on the premise that rank-and-file Republicans and the people in general are basically too stupid to grasp the violent social differences between the Socialist and Capitalist modes of production. Instead of enlightening the people -- and Republicans must at all times be guided by such a policy if they are to remain true to their allegiance -- such people designedly confuse the issue by their double-talk, in an effort to hide the facts. And this, regardless of whether it be conscious or unconscious, stems primarily from an allegiance to the socio-economic status quo.

THE REASONS WHY A NATION'S socio-economic base cannot be conceived as a combination of socialist and free enterprise sectors, with both enjoying equal opportunity, are simply stated. The motive power of free enterprise (capitalism) is profit; and profit can only be realized through exploitation of one sort or another. Socialism is based on a co-operative non-exploitive economy. Obviously, the two cannot be combined under one roof. Capitalism, due to its very nature, can neither co-exist with or co-operate with socialism. And when bourgeois or petty bourgeois reformists speak

in terms of a socialist-capitalist combination, they have in mind nationalization or State capitalism combined with private industry; which is a different matter entirely. Such a combination exists in Ireland today, and what are its great benefits? A greater degree of nationalization tomorrow would not, could not, alter the situation to any noticeable degree, because capitalists would still control, and continue to draw their PROFITS from, state operated industries and utilities, through a possession of the bulk of bonds, etc. that would be issued to acquire the capital necessary for construction and expansion.

THE SPOKESMEN OF SINN FEIN AND their social-democrat allies, equate nationalization to socialization through the common denominator of "State Control." They do not, however, venture to deal with that little matter of WHO CONTROLS THE STATE. In a bourgeois democracy -- the Free State is such -- it is a fact UNDENIABLE that the state functions primarily in the interests of the bourgeois ruling class. This being the case, you can nationalize everything in sight and still not upset the socio-economic ascendancy of that particular class. Unless this ascendancy is completely destroyed and replaced with one of working people's interests, the CAUSE of economic and social conditions which are presently to the detriment of the nation's majority cannot be removed.

IT IS ALL TOO EASY TO BECOME sidetracked on this issue; and bourgeois politicians are past masters in the art of side-tracking the aspirations of the working people. So Republicans should be on their guard against those who talk in terms of a "disembodied democracy," which allegedly facilitates the capitalist and the worker to co-exist in a grand harmony of interests. Such a state is impossible; the history of all hitherto society clearly demonstrates that it is impossible; and Republicans must realize and be guided by the fact that it is impossible, if they are to avoid being the tools of bourgeois politics in the future.

THE VAST MAJORITY OF IRISH Republicans are, and always have been drawn from the ranks of the working people. Many strategems have, and are still being used to discourage Republicans from identifying themselves with their class, and consequently, with their class

interests. Even today, you can hear yahoos like the President of Sinn Fein rant about "foreign ideology" and "atheistic communism", when it is suggested that Irish Republicans should be conscious of their class origins and their class aspirations. Such smear tactics are the everyday tools of the ruling class and their cohorts; and if Republicans are going to be intimidated by them, then, they have no one but themselves to blame when things do not turn out in their favour in the end.

IF IT IS DESIRED TO ESTABLISH a Republic which represents national unification combined with an order of things beneficial to the welfare, security and future happiness of the majority of the Irish people, the goal must be defined from the outset as A WORKERS' REPUBLIC. This means not alone a national war of liberation, but

also a class war. You cannot accept the former and reject the latter, and at the same time speak in terms of a WORKERS' REPUBLIC. Let all Republicans give some thought to this matter, because its implications must be clearly understood if we are to avoid future disappointments and betrayals. We have seen the "benefits" derived from our glorious 26-county Free State; and God knows, any Republican worth his salt could not possibly wish a 32-county version of that monstrosity on the Irish people. But the possibility remains a distinct one for so long as the mass of Republicans avoid coming to grips with the class issues inherent in our struggle. Let us all clarify these issues; and by so doing let Republicans rally to the flag of Socialism, which was nailed to the national flag-pole by James Connolly some fifty years ago.

AN ANSWER TO CRITICS

BY

EOIN MacDONAIL

OCCASIONALLY WE RECEIVE LETTERS from irate IRA men, charging AN PHOBLACHT with the heinous crime of "trying to destroy the IRA," and by implication, the objects of the Irish revolution. And, it is usually alleged in these letters that we are engaged in this labour either because we are enemy agents or, because we have a grudge of some sorts against members of the IRA leadership.

FRANKLY, WE FIND IT VERY difficult to understand how any literate person could construe our motives as such from the writings in AN PHOBLACHT. Indeed, it is rather peculiar that AN PHOBLACHT should be charged with being anti-IRA, when in fact it is the only publication in over 20 years which has DEMANDED that the IRA MUST return to the only comprehensive social, political and economic programme it ever formulated, if it is to fulfil its role as spearhead of the Irish revolution, and if it is to save itself in the process.

OBVIOUSLY, THE PEOPLE WHO CHARGE us with anti-IRA and anti-republican motives, and who rant and rave about our disruptive activities, are completely incapable of distinguishing between our traditional revolutionary cause, and organizations formed to serve that cause. Consequently, they are unable to appreciate that if an organization such as the IRA embarks on a course detrimental to the cause, it automatically ceases to be revolutionary, regardless

of how long or how faithfully it has previously served the interests of the revolution. Since beginning publication this is all AN PHOBLACHT has said in regards the IRA: that the IRA, through its subservience to Sinn Fein's neo-Griffithite politics, has embarked on a course diametrically opposed to the realization of our traditional revolutionary aspirations; and due to this, that it must return to the revolutionary position which is both explicit and implicit in its 1933 Programme if it is to fulfil its true role in the Irish revolution. Such a stand can hardly be construed as being either anti-IRA or anti-revolutionary.

WE OF AN PHOBLACHT WOULD PREFER by far to see the IRA reestablished in its former position as the military arm of the Irish revolution. As revolutionaries we cannot, however, be expected to condone the position which presently finds the IRA as the serving boy to constitutional political aspirations. Over the past decade or more the IRA has been used in the most cynical manner as a vote-getter for Sinn Fein. And if there are people who think we are dreaming all of this, they would be well advised to dig into the circumstances which triggered the necessity for an election in the Free State in 1957. A weak coalition government was then in

office in the Free State, and with all things considered, this represented the best possible situation for the IRA campaign then in progress. Yet, as a result of backstairs intrigue between certain leadership elements of both Sinn Fein and Clan na Poblachta, the then Free State government was defeated on a motion of no confidence, which was introduced in the belief that prevailing public opinion cultivated by the IRA could be exploited by both parties. Well, everyone knows what came out of that little political gimmick.

NOW, THERE ARE THOSE WHO CLAIM that all of this has past since the "shakeup" within the leadership of the Republican Movement. But has it? We of AN PHOBLACHT claim that this is not so; and say instead that all that has happened is that the IRA were relieved of one bunch of constitutionalists to be saddled with another of a slightly different hue. The present crowd, representing a mixture of neo-Griffithites and Social-Democrats, are no more revolutionary than their predecessors; and insofar as the IRA is concerned, it is evident that the Social-Democrats at least would like to see the Army disbanded altogether. So that in effect, the IRA is presently a sort of football; the neo-Griffithites would like to retain the IRA and use it as before; the Social-Democrats want to get rid of it altogether, and to this end they have recently been, and still are very active, especially in Dublin.

UNDER THESE CONDITIONS THE IRA cannot possibly function as it was originally designed to function. Under these circumstances it is impossible to view the IRA as a revolutionary body, militarily or otherwise. The truth of the matter is, if the IRA is again to be revolutionary, there are only two courses now open to it; 1) it can align itself behind an effort to form a revolutionary political party and integrate itself with that party as its military arm; 2) it can transform itself completely, and through restructuring become a revolutionary movement in itself, independent of its present political entanglements, and composed of both political and military components.

FROM THE BEGINNING WE HAVE suggested that the IRA should break with its present constitutional political associations, and on the basis of the IRA Programme

of 1933 restructure its organization along conventional revolutionary lines. Such a course, we feel, represents the easiest method of straightening out the present mess. We have, of course, vigorously attacked the constitutionalist movement to which the IRA is now tied, and will continue to do so without apology to anyone for so long as these people persist in their scurrilous practice of sailing their reactionary ship under the Republican flag.

IN CONCLUSION, WE WOULD LIKE TO point out to those people who say we engage in attacks on the IRA, that we have never done so, but if the IRA insists on associating with reactionary and slippery political elements, then IRA men can hardly blame us if a part of our barrage against reactionaries falls amongst them. It is the height of arrogance on the part of the IRA to think, as they most certainly do, that just because they are the IRA they are above reproach; that their position is unassailable by virtue of some divine decree. Too many of us are sick to death with the Holy Republican Writ that is dished out by an IRA leadership which at the same time arrogantly pursues a reactionary political path. It is time for all IRA men to wake up to the fact that their only purpose is to serve the cause of the revolution, and not the other way around. They should also wake up to the fact that all organizations present or future are expendable commodities; and that the IRA, like any other, is but a means to an end and not an end in itself. When the IRA ceases to live up to its responsibilities, it ceases to be of use, and must be replaced if the Irish revolution is to succeed. Because the revolution is bigger than any organization that ever has or ever will appear on the Irish scene.

TO OUR READERS

IN AN EFFORT TO CULTIVATE a meaningful dialogue on the various social, political and economic issues which presently divide the ranks of Irish Republicanism, AN PHOBLACHT will make available from 3 to 4 pages in alternate issues to any Republican who wishes to contest or refute specific positions taken by this paper.

IRISH POLITICS AND THE BRITISH CRISIS

BY

AODH MacELROY

WHEN THE PAISLEYITE ORANGE RABBLE IN Belfast insisted on parading their shame and stupidity before the whole world, they looked on themselves as being cast in the mold of Carson and the Ulster Volunteers, of whom Lenin once said:

"These aristocrats behaved like revolutionaries FROM THE RIGHT, and by that tore up all conventions, tore down all the veils that prevented the people from seeing the unpleasant, but undoubtedly real, class struggle."

HOWEVER, 1966 IS NOT 1914, AND yesterday's world cannot be recalled to life. Paisley may make pretense at donning the mantle of Carson, but he can be no more successful at recreating Carson's 1914 role than Napoleon the Little proved to be at trying to fill the shoes of Buonaparte.

PAISLEY MAY BE UNAWARE THAT HEGEL'S claim, "that all facts and personages of great importance in world history occur twice," was corrected by Karl Marx, when he wrote: "He (Hegel) forgot to add: "the first time as tragedy, the second as farce." The oft times farcial antics of Paisley would appear to provide ample evidence of the truth of that statement: for example, his jet plane trip to Rome to yell obscenities at the Pope, and his unceremonious ejection from the Eternal City. Nevertheless, there are definite historical reasons for the appearance of such a grotesque mediocrity on the stage at this point in history.

THE ORANGE ORDER AND THE Volunteers belong to a period in Irish history when the Anglo-Saxon imperialists sought to rule Ireland by means of open armed terror, and over the opposition of the vast majority of the people who were, for the most part, Republican and Catholic. Composed of national traitors and specially selected immigrants from England, Scotland and Wales, Orangemen represented the imperialists' attempts at the construction of a mass base in Ireland that might be passed off as indigenous support for English rule in Ireland. Recruits were obtained from the ranks of middle-class "loyalists" and Protestant workers corrupted with special favours at the expense of the Republican and Catholic majority. Unemployment, low living standards

and the mass misery that are the natural consequence of a society based on exploitation of man by man, were blamed on "Papish Plots" fiendishly hatched by Catholic Republicans to rob Protestant workers of their heritage and destroy them. The anger of workers which should have properly been directed at the ruling class was turned towards Republican workers, and anti-Catholic pogroms, in no way different from the anti-Semitic pogroms in Nazi Germany, were fostered and encouraged by the imperialists and their dependents in Ireland. A movement with the superficial appearance of religious bigotry was, in reality, political tyranny designed to smash the struggle for national independence, and maintain the rule of an alien power in Ireland. Protestant worker was used against Catholic worker to assure the continued enslavement of both.

THE MOUNTING CRISIS:

THE DEVESTATING CRISIS THAT IS rapidly overtaking Britain is already having widespread effect on the Irish economy, but particularly in the directly English-ruled 6 Counties area. The linen industry is almost completely wiped out by competition from synthetic fibers; shipbuilding has been in rapid decline since the close of World War 2; and aeroplane production appears headed for obliteration due to the Wilson government's policy of handing control of the aviation industry over to the U.S. monopolies. Declining opportunities for employment in Britain and elsewhere means that the safety-valve of emigration will soon be no longer available.

THE IMPERIALISTS ARE NO longer in a position to be able to extend favours to a corrupted Protestant working class. They are now busy hatching a scheme whereby they will be able to rob and exploit Ireland in co-operation with the national bourgeoisie instead of against them, and the ruling class in the Free State have already signified their agreement with the plan; Lemass having already held talks with the

English parliamentary representatives at Westminster. The value of the plan to the imperialists has been evident for some time, and in one area alone -- the fight for national liberation -- it is paying substantial dividends to the English ruling class. If there is any justification whatever for the existence of the Free State as a separate entity, it could only be in the territory serving as a firm revolutionary base from which to carry forward to completion the struggle for the independence of the nation. But the Lemass government are aiding the imperialists to hold on in the 6 Counties, by preventing Republicans from using the 26 Counties for such a purpose. The Free State territory is also being thrown open to English investment at the expense of Irish industry and Irish freedom.

THE SAXONS ARE HAPPY WITH THE partnership they have set up with Irish capitalists for the joint exploitation of Ireland, and they want to do nothing that might retard the development of their plot against the people. Having these things in mind, it is clear that propaganda about "Papish Plots" no longer has any place in the imperialist scheme of things. The problem is that thousands of Protestant workers in Belfast, brainwashed for a century or more, really believe the fantastic tales of "Papish Plots", and are laying blame for the devastating effects of the current crisis at the door of such non-existent plotters. The Paisleyite rowdies are so confused and distraught at their abandonment by their erstwhile imperialist protectors, that they are even accusing solid pillars of the Orange ascendancy of being in league with the "Papists" against loyal Protestants.

THE EVENTS AT BELFAST ARE evidence of the fact that the imperialist-created Frankenstein is slipping out of the master's control, instead of being a source of strength in time of stress, it turns on its creator; even taking up arms against the Stormont government. The deep split in the ranks of the ruling faction in Belfast means not only that the government has to fight an extremist group of its own creation, but that their mass base is rapidly eroding and leaving them without a semblance of support in the land. The ruling clique is forced to take action against the faction that had hitherto been their strongest and most loyal support, and that precisely at a time when they are in most dire

need of the support.

THE PAISLEY RIOTS ARE "COMING" events casting their shadow before them." In them we can discern the stark outlines of the oncoming crisis. But while O'Neill makes some effort to halt the pogroms, and the Paisleyites carry slogans calling down the curse of heaven on the heads of his government, there is always the possibility that the warring factions will compose their differences and the Paisleyites be held in reserve as a fascist detachment against the time when the ruling class has need of them. Republican workers should exert every effort to prevent such an outcome. It is high time Republican workers in Ireland took a close look at the situation, and conditions arising out of the deepening crisis of the English ruling class, and decided on what steps they must take in order to bring to a victorious conclusion the long-dormant war for national independence, and proceed to a fundamental transformation of the existing social order, thus ensuring that Ireland will not again suffer a new famine resulting from the application in Ireland of policies designed to solve England's crisis at the expense of the working people.

NEW TIMES - NEW CRISIS:

THE CRISIS OF THE EARLY PART OF the century that erupted into world war in 1914, was a crisis that involved mainly conflict between contending imperialist circles. The working class did not appear on the scene as a fully independent force until 1917. Ireland's Easter Week only foreshadowed that appearance. It was not until 1921 that the English working class really began to show signs of willingness to take action, when the London dockers refused to load the Jolly George with arms and munitions for use against Soviet Russia. In 1916 the English ruling class had found English workers still dependable when they put down the Easter Rising in Ireland.

BY THE TIME THE REVOLUTION had matured in Europe, the Irish working class had lost its best and most experienced leaders, and were unable to take advantage of the situation. The liberation struggle that started with the end of the world war was led by the national bourgeoisie and petty bourgeois elements, of whom Peadar O'Donnell once remarked: they have no demands that cannot be met within the limits of the existing social system. The treacherous bourgeoisie not only excluded the working class from any participa-

tion in the leadership, but also foully murdered the few workers' leaders who had survived the Easter Rising. Ireland not only suffered the catastrophe of defeat, but lost her best sons in the process.

THE CRISIS NOW DEVELOPING comes at a different time and under vastly different conditions than those prevailing in 1914 and ensuing years, and presents the Irish working class with much greater opportunities to assert their leadership over the fight for the independence of Ireland and press on to a Socialist solution for the nation's problems. To achieve that the workers must advance a correct program, and dare to take the kind of action necessary to enforce it -- revolutionary armed action of the popular masses to sweep the imperialist and the reactionary bourgeois from the stage.

WHAT MAKES THE IMPENDING CRISIS different from that of 1914, more critical for the imperialists, hence more critical for their Irish dependents and more promising for a victory of the Republican working class? Let us glance at a few of the most important differences.

ONE FACTOR WHICH MAKES FOR considerable difference is the fact that England is no longer the dominant power in world politics that she was during the first quarter of the century. On the contrary, England herself is now dominated by, and dependent on, the U.S. ruling class, who have now donned the mantle of world domination.

THIS NEW DEVELOPMENT HAS ITS own cumulative effect on the English upper class, the middle class and, ultimately, the working class. In 1914 the English bourgeoisie were solidly united, had the loyal support of the middle class, while the working class either supported their objectives or remained docile and obedient. This situation, so favorable for the ruling class, has changed radically.

THE BOURGEOISIE ARE SPLIT INTO conflicting groups with the dominant faction being more or less content to serve as page boy to U.S. imperialism while others resist this menial position, want to assert a greater degree of independence and even suggest an attempted return to England's long dead days of glory. The split in bourgeois ranks leaves the vacillating middle class without a leadership they can cling to and have confidence in. Determined and positive action on the part of the working class could win or neutralize many of these elements.

IN THE PAST ENGLISH WORKERS have had militant traditions and

have conducted many magnificent struggles; but the adroitness of the English ruling class and their ability to corrupt a section of the workers or otherwise siphon off worker discontent during the time of England's empire building, kept working class battles well within bounds and, although they often became very militant in struggles for reform of the capitalist system, they never developed into REVOLUTIONARY struggles for the eradication of the system.

HOWEVER, WITH ENGLAND'S DAYS of power and glory gone, the ruling class will no longer be able to operate in the old way, and will attempt to unload, as they are now attempting to unload the burden of the crisis on the backs of the English working class. Militant action for reform will no longer suffice to mitigate the effects of the capitalist crisis, nor will it put an end to the devastating effect of U.S. monopoly domination of England's economy and the harnessing of England to the American war chariot. England's working class have only one choice of two alternatives; to submit to abject slavery, dominated by an alien power, or to arouse themselves to action in defence of the integrity and independence of their nation, if they would take the latter course they will have to assert their authority over all classes and factions in the only possible way in which they can assert it -- through revolutionary organs of authority; in which case they will become allies of the revolutionary Irish, instead of an army of conquest serving the imperialists.

IMPERIALISM'S WEAKEST LINK:

IRELAND HAS A CENTURIES LONG tradition and rich experience in the art of revolutionary warfare. There are few illusions among the Irish people as to the source of political power -- they have long since learned that such power depends on the might of an armed and determined people.

THE CRISIS OF THE WORLD SYSTEM of capitalism has already struck some devastating blows at the Irish economy, resulting in increased unemployment and misery. The dominant section of Irish capitalists have long since abandoned any pretense of seeking independence, and are openly conniving with the Anglo-Saxon rulers. This leaves the working people in sole command of the fight for completion of the war of liberation that has been held in check by the imperialists for more than 40 years with the aid of the Free State Bourgeoisie. At the same time

the working people, in order to solve the problems brought on by the capitalist crisis, will have to raise the question of a fight for a new social order to replace decaying capitalism.

THE MERGING OF THE FIGHT for independence of the nation with the fight for Socialism, the deepening crisis of the capitalist system, together with the splits in ruling class ranks and among their bourgeois dependents in Ireland, the loss of allies amongst professionals and the middle class, has weakened the position of the imperialists and resulted in a corresponding strengthening of the working people and their allies, who are reaching political maturity.

THESE FACTORS, TAKEN IN conjunction with one another, place Ireland in the position of being the weakest link in the chain of imperialist rule in Western Europe, and the place where the first open armed clashes with imperialism are likely to occur. In spite of the fact that they are on extreme right-wing manifestation, (perhaps because of it?), the Paisleyite mobs roaming the streets of Belfast are an indication that a contest of arms with the imperialists cannot be long postponed.

WHILE WE CAN READILY EXPECT that anti-imperialist struggle in Western Europe will be started by the Irish people, it could never again be confined to Ireland, isolated and defeated as it was in 1916. A rising of the Irish working people would be an example and a stimulus to similar action by English workers harrassed by the effects of the capitalist crisis and rapidly losing their Social-Democratic illusions as the Wilson government exerts ever greater efforts to save the English ruling class at the expense of the workers and by betraying the nation to U.S. imperialism.

THE U.S. RULING CLASS WOULD be bound to intervene on the side of English capitalism, and in defence of their own interests and investments in the same manner as they intervene in Vietnam, Latin America and a score of other areas. An intervention which would take place on invitation of the government of the day (whether Social Democrat or Tory) and, therefore, sufficiently constitutional and legal to satisfy all those who worship at the shrine of "constitutional action." This, of course, would be an open invitation to the workers of Western Europe to join in a front of anti-imperialist struggle and spell

the beginning of the end for capitalism in that part of the world.

TOWARD A REVOLUTIONARY PARTY:

THE CRISIS THAT IS NOW HAVING its effect on England, and will soon lay siege to all Europe, places a particular burden of responsibility on Irish revolutionaries -- who have such a fertile field in which to work -- whose activities, if properly directed, could well be of vital importance to Europe, and consequently, to the world. Revolutionary action by the Irish people could contribute much toward tipping the scales in the direction, at an early date, of Socialist solutions to the crisis of capitalism, and a guarantee of a world of peace and plenty -- a Socialist world.

REVOLUTIONS, HOWEVER, DO NOT happen by chance -- they are made by revolutionaries. What Ireland needs above all else in this time of crisis is a revolutionary party of the working people, able and willing to lead the nation in the fight for national independence and the transformation of society from the Capitalist system of exploitation of man by man, to one based on Socialist principles, where exploitation shall be no more. In order to accomplish this we must carry on a sharp struggle to clear the path to our goal of all obstructions and impediments -- and there are many such. The Social Democrats are being exposed and losing their hold over the working people, but others, pseudo-revolutionaries, are coming forward in the service of troubled imperialism.

THERE ARE SOME WHO PARADE about the world masquerading as revolutionaries. The untimely destruction of nearly all the outstanding leaders of the Irish working class at Easter Week and in the Civil War -- James Connolly, Liam Mellows, Cathal Brugha, etc., -- cleared the way for pygmies to strut the land in Ireland as though they were giants. After a time even they themselves began to believe in the legends of their great stature and fancied themselves Gullivers cast adrift in an Island of Lilliputians.

SUCH, FOR EXAMPLE, ARE THE gross mediocrities like O'Riordan of the I.W.P., who heads the only political movement in Ireland that has never risen arms in hand to secure at least a measure of independence for the nation, and who damns to eternal hell-fire all who refuse to be confined by the rules set out in bourgeois constitutions and propose other than "constitutional" methods.

SUCH ARE THE LEADERS OF THE Connolly Association, who just recently chided Seamus Costello for his speech at Bodenstown, when he declared:

"...to imagine that we can establish a Republic solely by constitutional means is utter folly. The lesson of history shows that in the final analysis the Robber Baron must be disestablished by the same methods that he used to enrich himself and retain his ill-gotten gains, namely force of arms. To this end we must organize, train, and maintain a disciplined armed force which will always be available to strike at the opportune moment."

THE EDITORS OF THE IRISH Democrat, who double as leaders of the Connolly Association, had this to say of Costello's "unconstitutional" proposals:

"For years now the Connolly Association has been preaching what might be termed a "Parnellian solution"...in which the common people learn a loyalty that transcends the border, and an enlightened democracy in Britain making it impossible for British imperialism to prevent the resultant territorial unity.

"According to this view, not the power of the gun, but the political strength of the working class movement, would hold reaction at bay while the Irish people established their Republic."

CONSTITUTING NO MORE THAN minor sections of the English Communist Party (themselves dependent on Moscow for guidance) these pseudo-Irish radicals are completely detached from events in Ireland, and instruct the Irish people to suffer the indignity of being aliens in their own land, abide by the constitution and exercise patience until Englishmen are moved to win Ireland's freedom. No one could tender more loyal service to the English ruling class and the U.S. imperialists who keep them, than do these renegades who pretend to be revolutionaries. After Social-democracy these "constitutionalists" are the last-ditch defence of the capitalist system.

IRELAND'S MOST PRESSING NEED now is for the building of a party of Revolutionary Socialism, that will sweep aside the traitors and renegades and raise on high the banner of national independence and Socialism; the banner of anti-imperialist struggle -- for a rebirth of the spirit of Easter Week on a new and higher plane in this revolutionary age. Let us proceed with the building of a revolutionary Marxist-Leninist

organization dedicated to the construction of a new society in Ireland, and for the true independence of the nation.

BODENSTOWN ORATION

AFTER A LAPSE OF SEVERAL YEARS the voice of Fenianism broke through the "Sinn Fein Umbrella", to echo again over the grave of Wolfe Tone. Seamus Costello's oration was a refreshing change, which indicated that the militant spirit of the IRA is once again asserting itself. Such an event cannot help but have a heartening effect on all Republicans.

SEAMUS COSTELLO'S SPEECH contrasted with the general trend of recent years, in that it was straightforward and to the point. Republicanism would be well served if this style became the rule rather than the exception. No doubt there are many secondary issues in Mr. Costello's oration which we of AN PHOBLACHT would contest. However, there can be no doubt that we fully agree with him on the one major factor which he so sharply defined. That is: "the Robber Baron must be disestablished by the same methods that he used to enrich himself and retain his ill gotten gains, namely force of arms." And we are also in total agreement with the closing sentiments of his oration: "We must organize, train, and maintain a disciplined armed force which will always be available to strike at the opportune moment."

FOR SO LONG AS THE IRA MAINTAINS allegiance to such sentiments, there is always hope that the socio-politico-economic issues of our revolutionary struggle, which presently cause much division, can be satisfactorily solved. All revolutionaries know right well that any realistic contest for state power must entail armed struggle when fundamental issues are at stake. And anyone who says otherwise, while at the same time laying claim to a revolutionary status, is highly suspect. Men who talk on the practicality of "Peaceful methods", when it is quite evident that the status quo is ready-- as all are --to defend its position with the forces at its avail, are either fools, or tools of the ruling classes.

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THE NEO-PARNELLITES 'IRISH DEMOCRAT' FLIES TRUE COLOURS!

IT WAS WITH CONSIDERABLE amusement and enlightenment that we read the July issue of the IRISH DEMOCRAT; which is published by the pseudo-Irish section of the British Communist Party. Deeming it necessary to make known their complete antagonism to all ideas relating to the use of force, --as expressed by Seamus Costello at the conclusion of his Bodenstown oration,--these political mongrels, masquerading under the name of Connolly, decried the notion that Irishmen should even consider using "the power of the gun" to rid themselves of the British imperialist parasites and their lackeys who now despoil Ireland.

ACCORDING TO THE EDITOR, Desmond Greaves, the "Connolly Association" has a far better idea; "What might be termed a 'Parnellian' solution."

A "PARNELLIAN SOLUTION" NO LESS; and this is the best ADVICE a self-styled socialist-No! a self-styled Marxist yet -can give to the Irish people in this day and age! I can tell you one thing! It does not require much imagination to guess the interests that character is labouring to uphold.

EVEN WHEN ONE ALLOWS FOR the well-known and longstanding antagonism the British Communist Party (sic) has shown towards all efforts of revolutionary armed struggle in Ireland, it is still difficult to credit that their pseudo-Irish section would openly display the degree of their reactionary politics in such blatant a fashion. 'Tis true that many a bizarre proposal has seen the light of day in the columns of the "Democrat". But even the most humourless of men must surely chuckle at the suggestion, so seriously forwarded by these erstwhile socialists, that the best a contemporary Irish revolutionary movement could do, would be to emulate the parliamentary agitation of Parnell!

LIKE ALL BOURGEOIS PROPAGANDA organs, the "Irish Democrat" scurrilously misrepresents the physical force aspect of Irish revolutionary efforts; by its intimation that parliamentary democracy represents the essence of political freedom. The gist of their per-

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verse argument goes something like this: There is no need to resort to "the gun" to establish a truly democratic social order; all that has to be done is to "use" the political machinery of the capitalist order in an "intelligent manner".

THIS IS A VERY INTERESTING thesis, to be sure, from an outfit that has the gall to claim adherence to the Marxian socialism of James Connolly. And it is equally enlightening to read, also in the July issue of the IRISH DEMOCRAT, "Comments on Policy" which say: "When on January 21st, 1919, Dail Eirenn (sic) constituted itself the Government of Ireland, that was democracy ... Its courts were democratic institutions... And that is the democracy that the 'Irish Democrat' stands for."

IT IS AN UNAVOIDABLE POLITICAL fact that the First Dail was an institution based on, and consequently motivated by, the tenets of bourgeois democracy. And from this it followed logically that its "courts" pursued and upheld the rights of the bourgeoisie, both Irish and British, against claims of the Irish rural and urban worker. As a result, when Irish rural workers in the West of Ireland took possession of some landlords estates, the "democratic" courts of the Dail, backed by a misguided, but nevertheless culpable IRA, moved TO RESTORE ORDER when the workers in Cleaves' factory, in Knocklong, settled a strike by taking over and declaring a soviet; and when the miners in Arigna, Co. Leitrim, and the mill-workers in Bruree, Co. Limerick followed this lead and did likewise, the Dail, backed covertly by the Trades Union Congress, once again RESTORED ORDER.

NO KNOWLEDGEABLE PERSON WILL deny that such action on the part of the First Dail was consistent with the regular functioning of a bourgeois democracy. And neither can it be denied that it was consistent with the tenets of bourgeois democracy that Pearse's declaration: "no private right to

property is good against the public right of the nation, "should be struck from the draft of a Democratic Programme before it was presented for ratification to the first setting of the Dail. All of this represented bourgeois political democracy in action; that is, politics especially designed to uphold the sectarian interests of a middle-class, which in this particular instance happened to be Irish. And it is precisely this middle-class concept of "democracy" that the IRISH DEMOCRAT, BY ITS OWN ADMISSION, STANDS FOR.

IT IS THE HEIGHTH OF class-treason to suggest that a socio-economic order, compatible to the welfare of the Irish worker and small farmer, can best be realized through the use of a political machinery which is particularly designed to uphold interests diametrically opposed to the emergence of such an order. Bourgeois democracy, operated via the medium of parliamentary politics, has from its outset been a tool for the furtherance of class interests; a tool in the maintainance of a dictatorship of bourgeois interests over those of the working-class majority. Such a "democracy" now functions in Ireland; and the only way to destroy its effects is to destroy it in toto -- and not to join it as the IRISH DEMOCRAT suggests.

AND THIS, MR. BOURGEOIS-LACKEY Greaves, is why Irish revolutionaries talk in terms of armed struggle; not because we like to fight, but because we know WE HAVE TO FIGHT if we are ever to get our rights.

WE IRISH REVOLUTIONARIES ARE more discriminating in our definition of "democracy" than that residue of decadent socialism which now lingers on under the name of the British Communist Party. To us "democracy" means People's Democracy; which, for the information of the IRISH DEMOCRAT, means no less than the DICTATORSHIP OF IRISH WORKING-CLASS INTERESTS OVER ALL OTHERS IN THE COUNTRY. And while we are aware that this may shock the bourgeois sensitivities of the IRISH DEMOCRAT, we are not hesitant to make clear that in our struggle to realize a 32 County Irish People's Democratic Nation State, we will as readily wade through the blood of the reactionary Irish bourgeoisie, those cockroach capitalists who scurry around at the beck and call of British imperialism, as through that of any other who stands in

our way. Blood will be spilt, if blood has to be spilt to gain our rights. So the IRISH DEMOCRAT should know what to do with its "Parnellian solution" in so far as we are concerned.

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IT IS, THEN, HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT to all thinking Republicans, that the sole feature of Mr. Costello's speech which was vigorously attacked by the Social Democrats, was that which has been just given. As so-called socialists these people might be expected to take issue with the speech on some of its social or economic aspects. But no! The only point which made them shudder was the old true and tried Fenian gospel; a gospel, incidentally, to which all Revolutionary Socialists the world over unequivocally subscribe.

IT IS KNOWN, OF COURSE, THAT THE social democratic elements who came under the "Sinn Fein Umbrella" these past few years, and who rapidly rose to key positions due to abilities which they certainly possess in certain fields of organizational labour, have been very busy these past few months trying to drum up support for their plan to DISARM THE IRA. And you can be sure that if they don't succeed in this act of sabotage, they will try their level best to either misdirect IRA energies, or at least keep the Army as small and insignificant as possible. These characters are slippery bastards, and make no mistake about it. They have to date fooled a lot of sincere Republicans by their ability to articulate fluently on social and political issues. Many have fallen for their line, believing it represents the introduction of a much needed progressive outlook into the thinking of the Republican Movement. Don't be fooled by their fancy talk; judge them by their readiness to place the outcome of their alleged objects on the only plane capable of a decisive decision--the field of battle. Seamus Costello has at least made this issue clear, and all revolutionary Republicans are at one with him. He did a good days work at Bodenstown on June 19th, last; and if other primary issues were handled as he handled the one on armed struggle, it would not be long before organized Republicanism was again headed on the road to REVOLUTION.

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THE TRUTH.