

THE UNCONQUERED
SOUL ASSERTS
ITSELF"

AN PHOBLACHT

"BY THE PEOPLE
THE PEOPLE MUST
BE FREED"

—Connolly

THE REPUBLIC

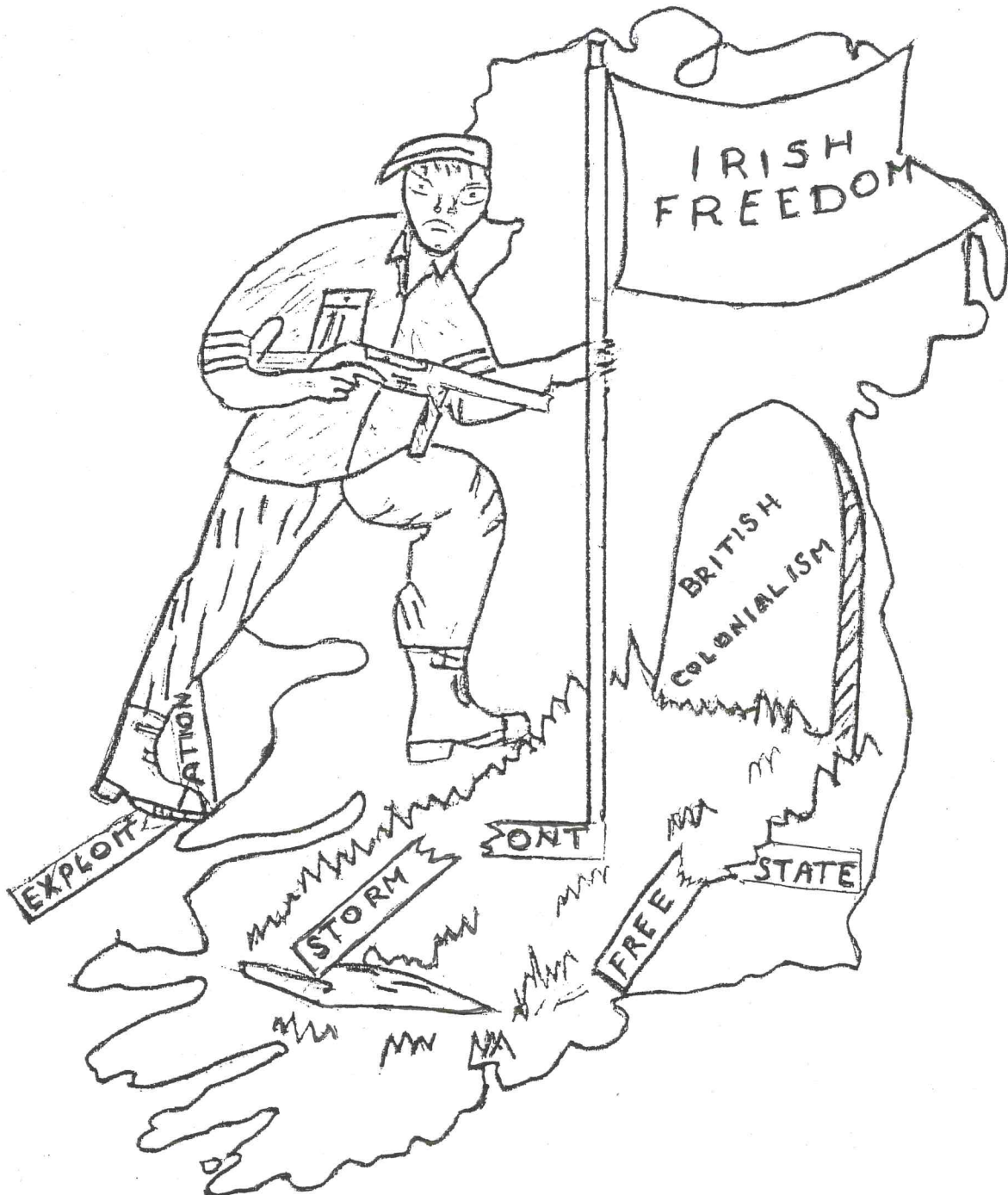
—Lator

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PREPARE FOR TOMORROW:
ORGANIZE! EDUCATE! ARM!

EDITORIAL

AN unavoidable feature of a publication such as this, is that at the outset it appears to lay more stress on the deficiencies of existing Republican organizations, than on the course of action necessary to set things right. While the paper seems to be forever harping on the inability of the Republican Movement to pursue a revolutionary path, it does not always follow immediately with the necessary antidote.

WE are very conscious of these trends, but for the life of us we do not know how they can be avoided. As time progresses the situation will right itself automatically; but it would, perhaps, be an advantage to explain now why this is so, so that our readers may understand our motives, and thereby retain our overall work in proper perspective.

IT is first necessary to explain our own position. Over the past five or six years the people responsible for the publication of AN PHOBLACHT were gradually awakened to the realization that the Republican organizations, and for that matter, all other groups which claimed revolutionary aspirations, were incapable of realizing an Irish Republic that would totally destroy the system of political, social and economic exploitation which continues to sap the energies and wealth of our people. In a word, although we appreciated the possibility of the Republican Movement establishing, by some means or other, and at some time or other, a 32 county Republic, we honestly concluded that such a state would in essence differ very little from that presently functioning in the Free State.

THE inevitable questions then arose: What earthly advantages could a 32 county state offer to the mass of the people, if they were to exist under the Tricolour as they did under the Union Jack? Could the sufferings, sacrifices and privations demanded from the people in a liberation struggle be justified, when all they got in return was an illusion of freedom, and the compulsory teaching of Irish?

IN EFFECT, fellow republicans, we asked ourselves: What damn good is there in having a 32 county Republic if our people are still forced to emigrate; if the mass of our rural population continues to struggle in uneconomic holdings, while foreign landlords and gentlemen farmers retain control of the best of our land, and continue to expand their land possessions; if the control of our natural resources; meagre though they are, be retained by foreign speculators and a minority of the national bourgeoisie, to be manipulated for their own personal benefit; if our industrial development continues to be manipulated by alien and native capitalists, whose motivation is personal profits and not community benefits; and, if our proletariat continues to be faced with the prospects of occupational insecurity and periodic unemployment because capitalism deems this a necessary weapon in its arsenal to control the workers.

WE found the social, political and economic policies of Sinn Fein to be avowedly bourgeois in content. Consequently, it was plain enough that should Sinn Fein ever get its much desired 32 county parliament, things would inevitably remain very much the same as they are at present. And, since the I.R.A. is bound hand and foot to Sinn Fein policies, it was obvious that if Sinn Fein was bankrupt in the social and political sense, the I.R.A. was equally bankrupt in the military sense; by association the reaction of the former automatically applied itself to the latter.

WE then had a look at the programmes of the Communist party (or should we say Communist parties, since they recognize partition), and examined their record as a whole. On the surface their policies offered much that was desirable. However, it appeared to us that it was of little use proposing what could, and should, be done, when it was stipulated that the attainment of these objectives was to be restricted to a process of "peaceful transition."

NOW, you know, we know, and

everybody with a grain of common-sense knows that: 1) Ireland is not going to be freed by talking; 2) THAT THE BOURGEOISIE, who presently monopolize Irish affairs, are not going to relinquish their position of privilege on request. This implies that the bourgeoisie would voluntarily proceed to liquidate themselves as a political force in the interests of humanity. Perhaps stranger things have happened, but the likes of this has never occurred; nor is it likely to in the future.

THE discrepancy between the programme of the Communist party and the means by which they advocate its implementation represented, to our point of view, too great a contradiction to make any sense. Their position appears similar to the man who suggested marching North to fight the English, and who then took his troops to King-bridge Station to board the train for Cork. And this, of course, brings to the fore yet another factor which eliminates the Communist party as a medium of realizing Irish aspirations.

THE present anti-revolutionary attitude of Irish Communists emanates exclusively from their subjection to the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Since the twenties the Irish C.P. has prostituted itself to the interests of the C.P.S.U. It has taken its orders, its programmes, its changes in course from that source in the past, and it will continue to do so in the future. Yesterday, Irish Communists backed the idea of revolution; today they say that Ireland can secure its freedom via "Parliamentary means." All of this is in tune with changes in the foreign policies of Russia. In a word, Irish Communists have made no attempt to adapt the principles of socialism to the Irish situation. Instead, by their subservience to the C.P.S.U. they have endeavoured to push a Russian programme on the Irish People; and in the process they have undermined the socialist position, and antagonized the natural Irish sympathy towards socialist principles. These men blame their failure on religion; and ridicule the Irish as being priest-ridden. This is completely false. The principles of socialism do not clash in any way with religious beliefs; and James Connolly very adequately illustrated this point.

THE failure of Irish Communists

lies not in that the Irish people were, or are, priest-ridden; but, in the fact that they themselves are Moscow-ridden. It is quite obvious that such a group can hardly be considered an admirable source through which Irish freedom should be pursued.

WE arrived then at the inescapable conclusion that it was necessary to return to the bed-rock of our revolutionary traditions and from there advance by formulating new revolutionary policies and a new movement to implement them. This appears the only pragmatic approach to solving the present dilemma, and, of greater importance, for ensuring that when a Republic is again established-- as it will be-- that it will incorporate all the necessary elements of freedom and national sovereignty.

HAVING accepted this as the only realistic course open to revolutionary minded Irishmen, the decision was then made to launch AN PHOBLACHT. Our aims are to propagate the great need for a newly constituted revolutionary effort. However, by so doing, we are also faced with the very real need of illustrating the reactionary essence of the presently functioning Republican Movement; because this has first to be eliminated in the operational sense before it is practical to set in motion a new revolutionary offensive against the colonial structure.

THE surviving remnants of the Republican Movement must be destroyed and its remaining influence within activist circles nullified before it is secure to proceed with the task of a new revolutionary policy: this is the key to the tenor of our articles. We must clear the decks internally before we can strike with success externally; this is the reason why AN PHOBLACHT places such heavy stress at the outset on the reactionary essence of the present organizations. Once a majority of activists grasp the significance of this reaction, and the necessity for obliterating it, those organizations will fall. Then the decks will be cleared for action, and our foundations securely laid.

BRIEFLY stated, these are the reasons why the tenor of our paper is as it is at present. We are endeavouring to approach the task of revolution systematically; and we intend to pursue this course,

which advocates that we have to start at the bottom and work upwards, making sure at all times that each block is securely in place before adding another. At the outset this may appear slow; its purpose may at times even

appear a little obscure. Nevertheless, it is dictated by objective appreciations, and as each piece is put in place the overall picture will naturally become more readily apparent.

* * * *

**TRAITORS PREPARE TO
PROFANE THE MEMORY OF 1916.**

Elaborate nation-wide plans and preparations are being made to celebrate next year's half-century anniversary of the 1916 Rising. One can imagine on that great day the hosts of Irish dead rotating slowly in their graves, listening to every blast of lip service oratory let loose above them.

Without a blush, Fianna Fail, and the shadow government, Fine Gael, will come forward to solemnly tell the people that the moment the Tricolour waves over the 32 counties of Ireland, FREEDOM WILL BE THEIR'S. How pathetic and stupid!

It is interesting to recall what some of our dead patriots actually said regarding the "freedom" THEY AIMED AT:

"The soil of Ireland for the people of Ireland, to have and to hold without faith or fealty, rent or render, suit or service to any power under heaven."

AND:

"The freedom of a nation is the freedom of the lowest class within the nation."

Today, many of our people are unemployed; living on the edge of poverty, or on State Charity. Is this doing justice to the memory of men who were so ruthlessly killed for our freedom? Can a so-called Irish Government, which allows any person with enough money to own the very ground under the houses of our Nation's working class -- demanding "rent and render" -- claim agreement with such men as Pearse? Would the 1916 leaders have tolerated our frightful emigration and unemployment for so long? Would they have made our country the happy hunting-ground for foreign and Irish Capitalists? Would they have us dependant on the dollars of patronizing tourists? LIKE HELL THEY WOULD !!!

No matter what our two-faced politicians will say, the establishing of a 32 county Parliament does not necessarily mean freedom. And this has been proven by the antics of the "Stepping Stone" Fine Gaelers and the Fianna Fail "Republicans". They have shown over the years that they cannot even handle 26 counties, not to mind 32.

If Irishmen and Irishwomen want to sincerely honour the memory of our 1916 martyrs, then, let them unite in a revolutionary movement and work towards the realization of the goals for which those men so readily sacrificed their lives. Workers of Ireland unite. You, and only you, are the true heirs of Connolly and Pearse. You can pay homage to their memory when you have established a WORKER'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC in Ireland, and not before.

* * *

"SOCIALIST" (Cork)

IT STILL HOLDS TRUE TODAY.

"But very many of our present prominent leaders must first retire or be dismissed. These men must at once be got rid of utterly. They must. There is nothing else for it. They are stopping our way, clinging round our arms, giving us up to our enemies. Many of them came into this business from the mere desire of gaining little personal distinctions on safe terms, and at a cheap and easy rate of obtaining petty honours and offices - of making a small Dublin reputation - of creating a parish fame or a tea-table fame.

They will never suffer the national movement to swell beyond the petty dimensions which they are able, themselves, to manage and command, and are, therefore, a source not of strength, but of weakness, and the source of all our weakness. But for them we could walk down the utmost force of England in one month."

JAMES FINTAN LALOR.

FROM THE EDITOR'S POST BAG.

THE number of letters received in response to our first issue was gratifying to all concerned. Some of those will receive private answers; the remainder will, unfortunately, have to go unpublished due to lack of space. The following letter, from a well known Republican, a man of unassailable standing, was considered exceptional in that it contained many points which, we feel, are on the minds of most activist Republicans today. We give part of this letter which was considered pertinent to open discussion; and follow with a few comments of our own.

* * * *

A Chara: Thank you for the copy of AN PHOBLACHT received in the post last week. I enclose 30s.; please send me a copy each month.

FOR a long time I have considered it necessary that a voice be raised to combat the off-colour Republicanism Sinn Fein and associates have come to represent. Perhaps your paper will fill this need. The first issue appears headed in the right direction; but time alone will tell. Since you requested criticisms and suggestions, here are a few ideas of mine which you can toss around.

1) WHILE there is a great need to show up the stupidity of the Republican Movement, and to illustrate that their policies have no earthly hope of success, it is also important to present alternative proposals of action. Unless this is done, I doubt very much that your efforts will have any lasting effect.

2) I also think it very necessary that a new revolutionary army be organized. Obviously, the I.R.A. has shot its bolt; it is presently passing from the Irish stage with a pitiful wimper. There are some who consider it profanity to suggest that the I.R.A. should be scrapped. But what are we supposed to do about an organization whose head men have neither the desire nor the ability to press the fight? Furthermore, I know, and you people should also know, that the present Army Council are practically all for Republicans entering Leinster House; and if it were not due to opposition within Sinn Fein, this decision would already be in force. This is what the I.R.A. has come to, although all its members may not realize it yet, and I say dump it, and fast.

INSTEAD, why not revive the name of the good old CITIZEN ARMY? Build a fighting force drawn from the working people of Ireland, and committed unequivocally to fight exclusively in their interest. I think its time something such as this was done. Throughout the centuries it is the ordinary man who has taken the blunt of the fight for freedom, and very little thanks or benefit he has got for his trouble. We working people should stop sucking the hind tit, and strike out in our own interest. So, I say to you, nail the flag to the mast now, and say to the ordinary men and women of Ireland: if you want land, if you want security, if you want to set up a 32 county government representing your own interests, and not run by a minority for their own benefit, then, the only way is to fight for it.

IF your paper will start a movement in this direction, I cannot see it fail in the long run. The people are sound. The people have always been sound, and once they see that a new party is truly working in their interest, methinks that you lads will find out yet what a power the people can be when roused.

Republican, (Dublin).

COMMENT

AN PHOBLACHT is in complete agreement with the proposition that criticism by itself is not enough. However, we would like to point out that since we do not represent a political organization --yet, that is-- it is impossible for us to present a programme. Only a political party can undertake such a task. All we can do at present is to show the inadequacies of the Republican Movement, and point in the direction a Republican organization must head if it is to be revolutionary in deed as well as in name. When such a revolutionary party is formed, we will, of course, be only too glad to present its programme. Let's hope this is not too far off.

REGARDING the revival of the Citizen Army: this might be a good idea, although we would suggest that the Citizen Army, by being restricted to the Irish proletariat, was by far too sectarian to be a really effective revolutionary

BY AODH MACELROY.

"OUR FREEDOM MUST BE HAD AT ALL HAZARDS. IF THE MEN OF PROPERTY WILL NOT HELP US THEY MUST FALL; WE WILL FREE OURSELVES BY THE AID OF THAT LARGE AND RESPECTABLE CLASS OF THE COMMUNITY - THE MEN OF NO PROPERTY"

Theobald Wolfe Tone.

* * *

JIM CONNOLLY, in his LABOUR IN IRISH HISTORY, wrote: "The Irish are not philosophers as a rule, they proceed too rapidly from thought to action." It should be added that this lack of attention to philosophy, to the need for clear-sightedness in political action which haunts the political life of Ireland to the present day, is almost exclusive to the "men of no property" - the "men of property" are fully conscious of what they want, and how to get it: a subservient and docile working class, ever ready to bend their backs to the greater profit and glory of the wealthy class. The ordinary people of Ireland have always been willing to fight courageously for a cause, but they have generally lacked clarity about the objectives for which they should strive, with the ultimate result that others have reaped the fruits of the struggle in which the common people have suffered and died. It is the "men of no property" who labour and fight and die: it is the "men of property" who gather in the profits.

WHILE it is not necessary for all Irishmen to become seasoned philosophers, it is essential that every Irishman and every Irishwoman cultivate a degree of political consciousness that will equip them to understand the consequences of any action they take, and decide the road they wish to travel to reach their desired goal.

IT IS NOT sufficient to make annual pilgrimage to the graves of the martyrs, to do homage and commemorate the heroes of yesterday. Better by far to neglect the pilgrim journey and spend the time mastering the philosophy which

motivated the actions of those whose memory we justly revere. Far too many lay their tributes at the shrine and leave as they came, empty of understanding of what deep motives impelled these men to give their lives for a cause they counted higher than life itself. There is no respect for the dead in remembering the manner of their death, while the cause for which they died lies buried in obscurity and forgotten by those who should keep it alive. James Hope, Wolfe Tone, Robert Emmet, Henry Joy McCracken and James Connolly fought to free Ireland not only from the rule of an alien power but to free her also from the rule of an alien class - and it is that alien class that now rules Ireland, North and South.

ANY lingering ideas that the ruling class of the Free State have anything fundamentally different in store for the people of Ireland, than was their lot under alien rule, should have been permanently dispelled when Lemass opened negotiations with England's BAILIFF'S in the North. Lemass clearly demonstrated the contempt in which the wealthy class looks upon the common people of Ireland, and Ireland's past. This contemptuous act was very much in character for the "men of property". "The rich," said Henry Joy McCracken, "always betray the poor," and Lemass is representing the interests of Ireland's rich against the poor.

UNDER the cloak of an appeal for a united Ireland, Lemass is seeking the support of the Six County bailiffs the better to rule the workers of Ireland in the interests of Irish capital. No Irish Rebel worthy of the name should accept Lemass' forgery. The Lemass design for "Unity" is a plot for a front of capital, North and South, against Irish labour.

ENGLAND'S puppet rulers in the Six Counties retain state power by means of open armed terror. The reactionary Unionist regime at Stormont stays in office by means of flagrant gerrymandering and the use of one of the most corrupt political organizations in the world. A facade of political stability and "civil peace" is maintained by the 20,000 "B" Specials, a para-military force of armed

civilians that is blood relation to the Storm Troopers of Nazi Germany. Their certificate of "legality" has the same authenticity; a ruling class that has need of them and the terrorism they exercise over the democratic opposition.

THE working people of Ireland must grasp the fact that the national bourgeoisie have won THEIR REVOLUTION, and are no longer a revolutionary, but a reactionary, force. This ruling group are now interested only in maintaining their own privileged position and state power over the Irish people, and everything they do will be with that objective in mind. It is in the light of this understanding that we must view the Lemass negotiations with the Six County reactionaries.

THE "National Unity" which the Lemass faction is working for is, in reality, a national front of bourgeois reaction against the people in face of the world crisis of the capitalist system. This so-called "unity" could bring only misery to Ireland, and put them at the disposal of the expansionist imperialist powers of Western Europe and America. The inevitable resistance of the Irish people would be met with the united strength of Stormont's fascist "B" Specials, and the Free State hand-picked political police. This conspiracy against the Irish people must be smashed while it is still in embryo - we cannot afford to wait until it is fully consummated.

REAL national unity - the unity of the Irish working people - will never be achieved by plots and conspiracies jointly hatched in Dublin and Belfast. Ireland will be united, in the only form of unity that really counts, by the revolutionary action of the Irish people. Not the pacts and bargains of Lemass and the ruling class of the Free State, but the bringing down of the Stormont clique by direct action of the working people. Not "unity" with the fascist executioners of the Irish people, but the revolutionary and total destruction of Stormont's "B" Specials.

THE unity of Ireland on terms that have any real meaning for the majority of the Irish people will never be realized under the national bourgeoisie, who are unalterably opposed to the revolution progressing beyond its present stage.

IT is only the "men of no property" who are capable of raising again the banner of revolutionary struggle and pressing forward to the winning of true national unity under new conditions and guided by a new programme of action. To achieve this great national aim the creation of a revolutionary fighting force alone is not enough. It is essential that such a force have the political leadership and guidance of a revolutionary party. Those who see the need for action along these lines must break with bourgeois political leadership, create a revolutionary party of the working people and challenge the ruling class for leadership of the Nation. Failure to take such a step will leave the Irish people without the necessary political leadership, and their activity, no matter how courageous, will be without direction and, therefore, ineffective. With Lemass and the Stormont crowd already neck deep in conspiracy against the nation, there is little time to waste.

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force. A future revolutionary army will have to be founded on a far wider base, taking in the urban and rural proletariat, the farm labourers, the small farmers, and some sections of the petty bourgeoisie. Such a force would, in effect, represent a PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY. If it were to be simply called the Irish Citizen Army, there may be some who may misinterpret its representation due to the historical traditions attached to the name. This latter condition is, however, only an opinion, and we would like to hear the views of our readers on the issue. Whatever title is used it is apparent, in all events, that a new revolutionary army must be formed in conjunction with a new revolutionary party. We all have a tendency to hope for the best with regards to the I.R.A., but it now appears that only a miracle could make that body adequate to carry out the military tasks of the Irish Revolution.

Editor.

WHEN YOU HAVE READ AN PHOBLACHT WHY NOT PASS IT ON TO A FRIEND, AND HELP PROPAGATE THE IDEAS OF REVOLUTIONARY IRELAND.

NATIONALISM IS NOT ENOUGH

THE following article by Eugene McElDowney appeared in a recent issue of NEW IRELAND, a magazine which gives the opinions of the student body of Queen's University, Belfast. We reprint it because we feel it is heartening to find such discussion developing within our universities. Also, it proffers an opportunity to let our own readers know that publications are available which discuss problems of great concern to us all. These magazines should be supported. The fact that we republish this article does not necessarily imply that we agree with it. Actually, we disagree with many of its implications, and these shall be covered by a commentary which will follow the article. However, we are by no means hostile to the article. On the contrary, we feel it is a gladdening sign that the students of Queen's are taking such an interest in the country's political problems; and more especially, that they are seriously examining the means by which the situation can be righted. He is a poor revolutionary who would not stretch out his hand to such men -- he would also be a very stupid one. So we say: good work Queen's, and may our other universities follow in your steps.

* * *

MOST people in Ireland today who desire national reunification and independence fall mainly into two groups. There are those that argue that the division of Ireland is an injustice perpetrated against the wishes of the majority of the people of Ireland, that Ireland has the right to self-determination, and that submission to British rule is a betrayal of one's country and an act of cowardice. And, there are others who believe that National Independence is merely a step which must be taken before the Irish people can enjoy real progress and social freedom.

IT would be fair to state that the Nationalist Party, which claims to represent the nationally-minded people of Northern Ireland, must be placed in the first group. It might also be fair to say that it is the refusal of the Nationalist Party to adopt an economic argument which has caused it to stagnate, and has resulted in its

failure to make inroads and converts. Politics is basically about economics, and in most countries the economic question has resolved itself; the lines of those wishing to make changes in society opposing those who wish to conserve the status quo. However, in Ireland this has not begun to happen yet. Our politics continue to be dominated by the issue of partition.

THE origins of what we, today, call Patriotism are also rooted in economics. The first hostility of the Irish to English invasion was derived, not from love of Ireland, but of the lands which the English were seizing. This remained the prime consideration until the end of the late century, and the growth of the Gaelic League and "revivalism". The United Irishmen were primarily economists. Wolfe Tone wanted to break the connection with England, not merely for nationalist reasons, but because he regarded it as "the never failing source of all our evils." The Fenians and the Land Leaguers were worried about absentee landlords and evictions, also economic motivation. Today, Nationalism has become a vague concept, a blind impulse, a prejudice. No one attempts to reason out his nationalism. One is born a Nationalist just as one is born with two feet. While I agree that an appeal to nationalism is not necessarily the best or only one, and while I do despise the idealism which attaches itself to nationalism, nevertheless I believe it must be tempered with a consideration of economic fact.

PEARSE once said that whenever anyone came to him and said he loved Ireland, he was forced to ask himself could anyone walk through the fields and mountains, see their beauty, love them, and then walk through the cities and towns of Ireland and see the poverty and injustice that prevail without love of the people who live there is an empty thing. This fact begs the question that removal of partition will lead to prosperity. Would the people be better off? Would the twin evils of emigration and unemployment be eradicated? Removal of partition in itself will mean nothing. National pride might be satisfied, but national hunger, poverty, unemployment and homeless-

ness will remain unappeased. An economic answer must be sought.

I believe that partition stands in the way of Irish progress by distracting people from real issues. I believe too that it serves the purpose of British Imperialism by dividing the people and preventing the establishment of an independent Irish economy. I also believe it to be the negation of the wishes of the majority of the Irish people, and therefore the negation of democracy. For these reasons I oppose partition, but I realise that abolition will not be enough.

IT will be useless if a green flag is to fly over Ulster and the people are to remain under the same injustices. Only reunification coupled with a new social order, where the wealth of our country will belong to the people, where economic planning supercedes the present disorder, where vested interests are put in their proper place -- only this will be worth having. Such a system alone will cure the evils rampant in our land today. With the establishment of such a society Catholic and Protestant will learn to live together in the knowledge that they have nothing to fear from each other. As things stand at present, it must be realised that Nationalism is not enough.

COMMENTARY

NATIONALISM is a composite of which the constituent parts, in varying degrees, are social, political and economic. Nationalism, like democracy, is also a relative factor rather than an absolute one. Consequently, various people, and more especially, various social classes, have a definite tendency to give it different meaning.

THERE are many interpretations of Irish Nationalism. To the Irish bourgeoisie, Grattan, O'Connell, Butt, Parnell and other parliamentary figures, are nationalists. Irish radicals, on the other hand, would look askance at the fore-mentioned; they certainly would not deem them true nationalists. Their nationalism is of a different school, resting on such men as Wolfe Tone, Emmet, Lalor, Stephens, Connolly, Pearse, etc. The contradictions between both ideas of Irish Nationalism should be readily apparent without the need

for historical illustration; that an immense abyss divides both versions must also be conceded. Keeping all of this in mind, we then ask the logical question: What does Eugene McEldowney mean when he says "Nationalism is not enough."?

FROM his article we get a definite impression that Eugene views the parliamentary concept of nationalism as the only one. And, since this is quite obviously incapable of coming to grips with present conditions in Ireland, he automatically condemns nationalism in toto. Such a blanket condemnation is most certainly illfounded.

WHILE it would be too tedious by far to examine the article step by step, a few of its statements beg comment.

IN the first paragraph the Irish people are basically divided into two groups. The first, apparently, are devoid of both political and economic motive, and are propelled solely by emotion. The second appear to be concerned only with the economic aspects of our overall problems. This is a highly irrational division, and a couple of minutes' perusal of the paragraph will show why, without touching further on it here.

IT would be more correct to say that the two groups generally represent: 1) those who desire political unity, but who do not desire alterations in the present socio-economic structure as a whole; 2) those who aim at national unity on the basis of totally destroying the political, social, and economic structure which now prevails on both sides of the border, and its replacement by a social democracy which would be more complementary to the needs of the people.

THE Nationalist Party of the Six-Counties, being a bourgeois orientated body, falls into the first group. And, as a consequence, it evinces a complete disregard for the economic and social problems which beset the common people of the Six-Counties; and for that matter, which weigh down on the common people of Ireland as a whole. They take this stand -- which McEldowney complains of -- not because they are simply nationalists, but because they are bourgeois nationalists; their "stagnation" reflects their class commitment, and not a lack of aware-

ness of social and economic issues.

TO implement the economic reforms envisioned by McEldowney, would also necessitate political and social readjustments; and this can only be achieved through a revolutionary nationalist effort. Furthermore, such a re-orientation of Irish society can only be brought about in a united Ireland, and not by any piecemeal efforts such as the Communist Party considers possible. Consequently, the abolition of Partition constitutes an important element of any effort aimed at economic and social recovery. In a word, if McEldowney desires economic reforms on the level he considers necessary, then, what he desires, perhaps without being aware of it, is the revival of revolutionary nationalism in Ireland.

ONE peculiar statement in the article is that the writer despises "the idealism which attaches itself to nationalism." What in the devil does he mean by this? Idealism, when tempered by the necessary revolutionary realism, is an indispensable element to any attempt at realizing even such economic changes as he himself seems to desire. It is idealism to desire and work towards the liberation of Ireland, socially, politically and economically. If the men striving for such objects are not idealists, then, what in God's name are they?

THE most important proposal of the article is the writer's insistence that the raimeis of the parliamentary-bourgeois-nationalists is insufficient to meet the needs of the present situation. This is most certainly true. Instead of coming to grips with the problems as a whole, the bourgeois nationalist politicians emphasize the political factor of partition; and by concentrating on it they hope the people in general will neglect to develop an awareness of the reactionary socio-economic set-up now existing on both sides of the Border. And this, by the way, is the policy of all parliamentary parties in the Free State, as well as of the Nationalist Party of the Six Counties.

THE Unionist Party, also of the bourgeoisie, stands opposed politically to the nationalist bourgeoisie. However, such a contradiction is by no means abnormal. You can be sure that when an org-

anized people's party emerges, all the bourgeoisie will unite to oppose it. Indeed, we had ample opportunity to appreciate the rapidity with which this bourgeois unity came into play, when the Free State sped to the aid of the Unionist regime, which was being threatened by the I.R.A. The I.R.A. of the nineteen fifties was by no means radical in its social or economic ideas. Still, were it successful in its attempt to start a guerilla war in the Six Counties, forces of a very radical nature could well emerge and take over the direction of the liberation struggle. It was this possibility that influenced the Free State in its actions - their response to the attacks being made on the Stormont regime being an expression of class solidarity in the hour of need.

HOWEVER, the fact that bourgeois nationalism is as it is does not mean we have to throw all concepts of nationalism overboard. Instead, we must develop our revolutionary nationalist tradition, and interpret it in the light of existing conditions. Only in this manner can the Irish problem -- social, political and economic -- be solved. Therefore, we say: In Ireland, "Bourgeois Nationalism is not enough;" but, "Revolutionary Nationalism will certainly do the job."

LONG LIVE THE RIGHTS OF THE IRISH
PEOPLE! LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION
ARY IDEALISM THAT STRIVES TO
OVERTHROW THE DICTATORSHIP OF
CAPITAL!

* * * * *

ONE OF OUR GREAT REVOLUTIONARIES

"BELIEVING, HOWEVER, THAT ANY-
THING SHORT OF A THOROUGH SOCIAL
REVOLUTION CAN EFFECT BUT SMALL
GOOD FOR THE PEOPLE.....MY FIRM
RESOLUTION IS TO ESTABLISH A
DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC IN IRELAND;
THAT IS, A REPUBLIC FOR THE WEAL
OF THE TOILERS." James Stephens.

WARM SEND-OFF FOR BRITISH GUN-BOAT

H.M.S. Brave Borderer received an unexpected salute as it departed from Waterford on September 10th, when 3 Republican soldiers let known the Irish people's feelings by firing a salvo at the unwelcome visitor. Unfortunately, no casualties were inflicted on the enemy vessel. You had better brush up on your shooting boys; this sort of inefficiency could very well give Irish revolutionaries a bad name.

THE general details of this affray have been covered by the regular press, so it is unnecessary to repeat them. However, a few of the hidden facts may be of interest.

I happened to run across some of the I.R.A. and Sinn Fein "brass" in Dublin soon after the incident became known. Man alive, you'd think it was a major Republican catastrophe. Their faces had that long worried look, as they explained that these "irresponsible characters" were bent in getting everybody "in trouble." Richard Behal came in for special comment; but it is apparent that they are a little scared to throw him and the others like him out of the organization, because this would probably cause another split, and leave them with nothing but the regular bunch of stump-orators.

IN a nut-shell, the Waterford incident was looked upon as a very stupid piece of work, which could do no good to the movement. This may be so, depending on your point of view. For my part, I think it was a very good job that someone let it be known that we are not all West-Britons yet; and the 3 men who had the courage to take up positions on the banks of Waterford harbour gave expression to the deep-down sentiments of the Irish people.

IT is a great pity that such men don't come together with like-minded parties throughout the country, and form a revolutionary army more compatible to their general sentiments. Because they can be sure that they are never

going to receive much co-operation from the crowd they are now tied to.

AT the rate things are going, the so-called I.R.A. men in Dublin are becoming more proficient in ballad singing and dancing than in their real job of learning to fight. And from what I hear, the same applies to Cork city and other large urban areas.

THE present situation, and the atmosphere within the I.R.A., reminds me of the suggestion made in 1956 by a certain individual, to the effect that it was a great pity we could not fight the British by writing nasty letters to them. No doubt this character would be excellent at this form of combat, seeing as how he's making a name for himself at present writing historical stories and advising our youth how to become good patriots — God help us! God help Ireland! Unfortunately, he didn't prove so hot a few years back on the hills of Ulster with a gun in his hand; he found that he could not shoot at the R.U.C. or Specials. The point I am trying to make is that the present leadership sets great faith in the advocates of verbal combat with the enemy, and they don't like it when someone fires a gun. "Good God man, that could get us all in jail."

THIS same principle also applies to the protests made during the recent court hearings of the three arrested Republican soldiers. Our brave I.R.A. came equipped with **FLACKARDS**. In the good old days their equipment would have been a little more substantial; and if the cry of "the Cork boys have arrived" had gone up -- as it did recently -- you would have found the Broy Harriers running for cover, and not standing their ground in the middle of the road. Yes indeed, things surely have changed, and for the worst.

And yet, I suppose things could be far worse; at least there are still men like Dunphy, Behal and Kelly who are prepared to fight both north and south of the border. Over a hundred years ago, Kilkenny was one of the first to espouse the Fenian faith; it may be that Kilkenny men, such as the fore-mentioned, will step into the gap again today and give that faith a very necessary injection of life.

* * * *

DANGER! ! ! !

BELFAST CLOWN AT WORK.

EVER SINCE his departure from Sinn Fein, Sean Caughey of Belfast has been a busy man. We find him in Dundalk early in August, talking with cabógs like himself on the subject of uniting Republicans for a parliamentary onslaught on the border. The following month he's in Dublin visiting the Free State's quisling Minister of Justice, and offering to co-operate with Leinster House to bring about the unity of the country. Caughey also requested that the Free State assist the "pro-Irish section" of the Six Counties, by providing them with military training. In October, we find him stating his views in THE IRISH DEMOCRAT. The man certainly gets around.

WHILE IT is impossible to cover in detail all of the goings on of this erstwhile small "r" republican, it is still very obvious that the man is either an idiot, or, that he believes the Irish people, and especially those of the 6 Counties, to be utter fools. It would, perhaps, be more charitable to say the man is a bloody fool, and fervently hope that his tomfoolery will not cause further confusion in the ranks of the 6 County nationalists. God knows, the northern scene is in sufficient disarray without Caughey charging about it like the bull in the proverbial china shop.

THE MEANS by which Caughey visualizes the reunification of Ireland are given in the October issue of THE IRISH DEMOCRAT. Presumably, this excuse for a political paper, the official organ of the Connolly Association, is in agreement with him. Certainly, it published his article without editorial comment; and we all know that while any political organ may often publish material contrary to its own views, it will invariably make the fact well known. Since this was not done in this case, we are justified in thinking that the C.A. agrees with Caughey; and that the Communist Party is also of a like mind, since it is well known that the C.A. and the C.P. are of one mould.

CUR READERS can now see why we are so intrigued by Caughey's appearance in the pages of the DEMOCRAT. Caughey, a midget politician who barely rises to the aspirations of a petty bourgeois democrat, receives headlines in a paper claiming to represent the revolutionary aspirations of James Connolly, and the revolutionary theories of Karl Marx! ! ! ! ! We are not sufficiently versed on

the polemics of the split between the Revolutionary and "revisionist" sections of the Socialist Movement to pass a final judgement; but, if this does not personify socialist "revisionism" in all its tarnished glory, then, will some reader please write AN PHOBLACHT and enlighten this writer further on the subject.

WHAT HAS Mr. Caughey to say that pleases the DEMOCRAT so well?

AFTER WRITING some twelve paragraphs of rigmarole, whose incoherency is such that it defies rational analysis, Caughey gives a 7 point programme to put "pressure" on the Free State, and force its politicians to act against the continuation of partition. The proposals range from "writing to T.S.s, making suggestions, criticising, urging action," to, "lobbying T.D.s; organizing demonstrations; holding parades and pickets." He ends his little gem with:

"Consideration of possible steps to be taken has been confined to political action. The political possibilities should be completely exhausted before other methods are used."

THAT'S NICE: "The political possibilities should be completely exhausted before other methods are used." Ever since that double-crossing West Briton, Dan O'Connell, got upon his orange box to crusade for Repeal of the Union--some 3 million dead Irishmen ago--we've heard the same old yarn. The record is getting a little worn boys. What intrigues me is what these people mean by "completely exhausted?" Do they mean when they are "completely exhausted?" Or, when the Irish people are "completely exhausted?" It's a good question.

THIS LINE of gibberish is, of course, right down the alley of the somewhat "jaded reds" who operate out of 16 King St., London. Hence, its inclusion in a paper of a communist front organization. Reactionaries, whether they be of the right or of the left, usually make good companions; they have so much in common, Caughey, formerly of right wing Sinn Fein, finds encouragement in the pages of a reactionary left-wing paper. It is a fitting wedding of lost souls. Of itself the mess worries us but little; we only hope that the men of the north retain a proper perspective of the whole affair. An important role awaits the rebels of the 6 Counties; let's hope that in the meantime they will not allow themselves to be taken for a ride by any orators who suggest that the Free State is going to arm revolutionaries to free Ireland. That yarn should be kept for the fairies. (BY Paddy Mac)

THERE WILL BE A FIGHT!

YES! BUT WHEN? AND BY WHOM?

When speaking at Drogheda on August 15th, Cathal Goulding remarked: "There will be a fight, there must be a fight." Yes Cathal, that sort of talk is sure to draw a cheer, but who is going to start this fighting you talk about? Certainly not the I.R.A. It has become a standing joke throughout the country; no one has taken it seriously for years, and nothing has been done as yet to rectify its decline.

THE CONTENT of the oration in general shows clearly that the thinking of the Republican Movement has not changed a bit. They are still talking in terms of fighting on two distinct levels against a united enemy. The policy still remains: military action in the North, and parliamentary action in the Free State; the latter is now styled something called "the economic resistance campaign," whatever that means.

THESE PEOPLE still haven't got it through their thick skulls that you cannot overthrow the 6 County set-up without overthrowing that of the 26. They rant and rave about cross-border collusion to combat the I.R.A. whenever it attempts to strike in the North; and yet, the significance of this collusion has never been related to the policies of the Republican Movement. Why?

CATHAL LAMENTS the social and economic exploitation of the working people in the Free State. He rightly lays the blame at the feet of the neo-colonial system which rules the area- although he does not say so in as many words. However, he goes on to say that this can be combatted by the co-operative and Credit Union movements which exist here and there around the country. As a member of Sinn Fein, he also believes that this neo-colonial system can be destroyed by electing a Sinn Fein majority to Leinster House. How naive can one get?

IN THE FIRST place the co-operative and Credit Union movements to which he refers can never hope to compete in a big way against the resources of the bourgeois class which dominates the state. Even if they could, which is impossible, they would not be allowed to develop to the stage where they would present such a threat.

CATHAL ADMITS that the ruling class of the Free State "has shown nothing but opposition" to the co-operative movement. Still, the only conclusion he draws is that we must still fight along on the same lines; he even infers that Capitalism in Ireland can be defeated by such "economic resistance"-as he styles it.

IT WOULD certainly be easier for all of us if this were true. However, anyone who has given even a cursory attention to the essentials of Capitalism, and the means by which it exerts its economic dictatorship, is aware that co-operatives functioning in a bourgeois state cannot appreciably counteract the ascendancy of the capitalist ruling class. As has been said: 1) such people's movements do not, and cannot, possess means adequate for such a task; 2) even if they were capable somehow of marshalling such economic strength, they would never be allowed to develop it. The simple fact of the matter is that a capitalist state is designed, not alone to facilitate the operation of the capitalist machine, but also to ensure its continuity.

THE FOREGOING observations on the limits of the co-operative movement should not be taken as a condemnation of its basic principles. The idea itself is admirable, and in a state committed to the interests of the working people, which would be in complete sympathy with the principle of co-operative endeavour, such a system of co-operative labour would be a major factor of the economy. However, it is foolish to think that it is possible to overthrow Irish Capitalism by co-operatives. Such a task can only be done by destroying the political, social and economic foundations of Irish Capitalism; and this means REVOLUTION.

SHOULD MR. Goulding really desire the social and economic changes he speaks of so eloquently, then, he had better start thinking in terms of revolutionary action; he had better join the revolutionaries of the country, and quit preaching that mumbo-jumbo he now resorts to on public occasions.

(BY Paddy Mac.)

**Desmond Swanton
Commemorative Committee**

October, 1965.

A Chara,

We have been authorised by the Editorial Committee of *An Phoblacht*, to act as their agents. We have undertaken to do this work because there is need today for a revolutionary voice to re-assert the traditional Irish Republican position. *An Phoblacht* is that voice, and as such is deserving of all the support we can give.

We ask you also, to support this publication in whatever way you can. Articles on revolutionary affairs, or criticisms of any material published in *An Phoblacht* will be accepted by us. Both articles and letters of criticism will be dealt with in strict confidence by the committee

We are of the opinion that you will want to be associated in some way with the promotion of this publication. Financial support to help defray printing expenses is urgently needed. We call with confidence on you to be generous in your contribution, and energetic in enlisting the help of your friends. Subscriptions however small will be gratefully received and acknowledged by our treasurer – Brendan O'Neill, *Naomh Iosef*, Buxton Hill, Sunday's Well, Cork City.

The undermentioned members of the committee will also accept subscriptions. Articles, and letters should be sent direct to the secretary.

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Is sinne,
Ig Cuis na hEireann,
Jim Lane,
Sec.

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The above leaflet was distributed with the November, 1965 issue of *An Phoblacht*.
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