

# AN PHOBLACHT

The Republic

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A Proposal:

THE

Programme of 1933

The Basis For

Renewed Action ?

Let's Have An Answer

NOW!

# EDITORIAL

IRELAND REQUIRES THE SERVICES of an active revolutionary movement if our people are to survive as a self-respecting community with complete control over its own destiny. Unfortunately, no such a movement exists today. Certainly, no man in his right mind will contend that the present collection of "evolutionaries", "resolutions", and downright "reactionaries", who purport to speak on behalf of the Irish Revolution, can come anywhere near meeting the requirements of a revolutionary leadership.

THE MAIN TROUBLE WITH presently functioning Republican organizations, is that they abound in the making of a large volume of incoherent noises, without giving any thought whatever to the substance of revolutionary action itself.

FOR INSTANCE, REPUBLICAN LEADERS will talk their heads off on the subject of the I.R.A. fighting for Irish Freedom, when they appear at some commemoration or other. But they make no provisions for such a struggle; and from private conversations with them, it becomes very apparent that they haven't a clue as to how such a war is to be waged, and they show no desire to find out. Also, to hear some of them ranting about their new-found toy, "the economic resistance campaign," one could easily be misled into the belief that their economic policies, if ever put into effect, would mean a new and dynamic era for the Irish people. However, when their economic proposals are stripped of all the dressings and double-talk, it will be found that present-day Sinn Fein advocates nothing that was not forwarded by Arthur Griffith some 60 years ago.

IN AN INTERVIEW, PUBLISHED IN the January issue of the UNITED IRISHMAN, the President of Sinn Fein stated his party was not against foreign capitalists investing in Ireland, and was not opposed to the continued functioning of a free enterprise-capitalist system in the country. To be sure, he tried to confuse the issue by saying this state of affairs could not be conducted according to the laissez-faire principles of 19th century capitalism. However, since such pri-

nciples have not applied to capitalism in Ireland for decades, it is apparent to anyone with even an elementary knowledge of economics, that what Sinn Fein proposes is not the reconstruction of Ireland's economy along lines vastly dissimilar to the present set-up, but simply, that the present economic order can be better run by Sinn Fein.

SINN FEIN IS ALSO MAKING A lot of noise about its schemes for the growth of co-operatives, to offset the more adverse effects of capitalist exploitation. But the fact is, we have had co-op's in this country since the beginning of the century, and they have made no noticeable impact on the course of our economy. If a country is to employ the co-operative system of management in its agricultural, industrial and marketing industries, with the object of establishing and consolidating an independent economy, this has to be done within the framework of an overall socio-economic order that is infinitely opposed to the present order. Men such as Peadar O'Donnell, who are presently associated with Sinn Fein's co-operative schemes, are aware of this basic requirement--or they should be, if they have not been fooling the lot of us over the years. Why don't they speak up, and clarify the situation? Why don't they state the true facts to the people; that is, that co-op's under the prevailing capitalist order can, at the best, only represent temporary stop-gaps which will in time succumb to the aggressive pressures of capitalism; or become themselves but tentacles of the capitalist octopus.

TO SALVAGE THE NATIONAL LIBERATION struggle from the present morass of reaction and sophistry, one of two recourses is open. First, the I.R.A. can break with the parliamentary liberals of Sinn Fein, and reassert its leadership of the Irish Revolution by returning to its previous revolutionary programme. Failing this, the onus is placed squarely on the shoulders of each and every individual revolutionary throughout the country. It is up to them to convene and regulate activity designed to create a new Irish Revolutionary Effort.

FOR OUR PART, WE WOULD PREFER to see the I.R.A., depleted though it is at present, disengage itself from its enervating alliance with the Sinn Fein constitutionalists, and reassert its uncompromised status as vanguard of the Irish Revolution. The majority of us have served and fought in the ranks of the I.R.A.; as a consequence, it is only natural we should feel this way. Nevertheless, regardless of how we feel towards the I.R.A., our first and foremost allegiance must be to the cause of the Irish Revolution; and if the I.R.A. stands in the way of its progress, then, the I.R.A. must give way. In this regard, there can be no room for compromise.

IN AN ATTEMPT TO PRESENT practical proposals on the manner in which the I.R.A. can extricate itself from its present entwinement with the protagonists of parliamentarianism, we suggest for a start that the I.R.A. reassert its independence by returning to the programme adopted by the General Army Convention of March, 1933. Furthermore, that the I.R.A. cultivate, develop and expand the independent and positive revolutionary atmosphere which fostered that programme, and thereby increase the hopes and status of the organization as the vanguard in Ireland's continuing quest for freedom.

IT IS, OF COURSE, OBVIOUS THAT the 1933 programme will have to be updated, to complement elements made more apparent since it was originally issued. However, it does express the essentials of a revolutionary programme, and by accepting it anew as the basis for a reorganized effort, the I.R.A. can confidently issue a call for renewed action on the part of the country's revolutionaries; and can unequivocally demand the allegiance of all revolutionaries.

IT IS, THEN, UP TO THE I.R.A. to consider this proposal of ours, and make known its decision. This can easily be done at the next General Army Convention. Give us true leadership, or, give up the ghost, and get out of our way. This is all we ask of the I.R.A.; and surely it is not too great a request to make.

IN THE FOLLOWING PAGES WE reprint the essentials of the I.R.A.'s 1933 programme, so that contemporary Republicans who are not familiar with it may have a chance to consider its objects. It is also important, when reading the programme, to keep in mind that its makers conceived its realization through a revolution-

ary effort headed by the I.R.A.; and did not deceive either themselves nor the members of the Army by suggesting it could be implemented through parliamentary agitation. Consequently, the programme must, of necessity, be viewed in its proper context; and it must be accepted as a revolutionary task, and not one which can be realized within the limits of agitation alone. Unless it is accepted in this spirit it is pointless to accept it at all.

EACH AND EVERY IRISH REPUBLICAN bears the responsibility of realistically assessing the present state of our revolution; of judging the present backwardness of the I.R.A. and its detriment to the prospects of that revolution; and of examining our proposals for the rejuvenation of the I.R.A. with the view of returning it on the right road once again. What we forward stands completely in line with our revolutionary traditions. All we ask is that Irish Republicans of today act in the spirit of such traditions, whose political correctness have been substantiated over and over.

FROM THE BEGINNING, IRISH Republicans have based the attainment of their objects on the premise that they could only be realized through a revolutionary struggle, during which the enemy would have to be completely submerged. Over the years since our revolution was first set in motion, many "false prophets" have come forward to offer the people an alternative to this realistic stand -- to offer an easy road to freedom. Where did this sort of talk ever get us? Has it ever ended in anything but increased labours on the part of our revolutionary organizations, expended in the repairing of damage done to national morale and the national will to survive?

THE MEN OF 1916, WHOM THE parasites are now preparing to commemorate, sacrificed their all to rescue the people from the debasing effects of parliamentary opiumism. It was a big price to pay for national salvation, as many an Irish revolutionary has since come to realize; and it will be tenfold greater if we of this generation do not stand squarely behind our responsibilities. The men of 1916 had to do what was necessary, regardless of what was possible, in order to keep the Irish Revolution on the right track. Today, we can still chart our course between the necessary and the possible. But the time is running out, and that juncture is fast approaching where such manoeuvrability is once more denied us. IT IS FOR THIS REASON THAT WE CALL FOR ACTION NOW'.

# THE I.R.A. PROGRAMME OF 1933

IN THE "CONSTITUTION AND GOVERNMENTAL PROGRAMME FOR THE REPUBLIC OF IRELAND" the ultimate aims and ideas of the Irish Republican Army are set forth. In this document all the essentials of government are provided for, and a programme for national reconstruction and the establishment of social justice is outlined....

WE HAVE WITHIN OUR OWN NATION all the resources which are required to provide every citizen not only with the essentials of life but with comfort. Luxuries may not yet be available, but the first stage is to provide an adequate standard for all.

THE RESOURCES AND WEALTH OF THE Nation are very largely in the possession and under the control of those sections who are hostile to National Freedom, and who have allied themselves with British Imperialism. The immediate task is to rescue from them the heritage which they have robbed and plundered from the mass of the people. The powerful interests which dominate Irish life at present were built up on the basis of the Conquest.

THE MACHINERY OF STATE WAS devised and has been developed to serve these interests. The powers of this State machine must be smashed. The machinery of State of the Republic of Ireland will be devised to serve, not any privileged sections, but the needs of the whole people....

MEMBERS OF THE IRISH REPUBLICAN ARMY must accept the responsibility which the organization has shouldered and which history and tradition has imposed on it; that is the leadership of the struggle for National Freedom and for the economic liberation of the people. They must make themselves familiar with all phases of that struggle. Not only must they be the organised and armed vanguard but they must also supply leadership and guidance in directing the thoughts of the people along constructive revolutionary lines.

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## THE NATION'S RESOURCES.

THE RIGHT OF THE INDIVIDUAL citizen shall be admitted to personal and private property, the possession of which is not in conflict with or detrimental to the

common good.

## (1) LAND & AGRICULTURE.

THE SOIL OF THE NATION AND ALL its resources are the property of the people, and shall be subject to their jurisdiction.

THE soil of the Nation shall be used primarily to produce food for the people.

IT shall be the policy of the State to settle on the soil as great a proportion of the population as it can bear, and as economic good sense justifies. Large holdings of land not being used productively in accordance with Government requirements shall be distributed.

OCCUPIERS of land who comply with the reasonable requirements of the Community shall be guaranteed security of tenure with the right of succession to members of their families. These requirements shall be met by producing sufficient food to render the community self-supporting and independent of foreign food supplies.

AS the state shall demand the utilisation of land to its fullest productive capacity, it shall guarantee to the producer a minimum return for produce. The State shall accept responsibility for the marketing of the surplus at a guaranteed minimum price after provision has been made by the producer for himself and his family.

IT shall be the policy of the State to promote, as rapidly as possible, the co-operative organisation of the agricultural industry. Through the co-operative organisation credit shall be made available, by the State banking institution, for the fullest development of all branches of the industry, and for improving the standard of life of the agricultural community.

THE agricultural co-operative organisation shall be co-ordinated with the distributing and marketing organisations; these shall be responsible for regulating the production and the internal distribution of food supplies, and for marketing the national surplus.

CO-OPERATIVE organising of the agricultural industry shall be voluntary. Legislation shall not be applied to compel those who do not wish to enter the co-operative.

THOSE who elect to remain aloof shall not be entitled, as of right, to share in the State credits and facilities afforded to the

co-operative communities. They shall be responsible for according to any hired labour they may employ conditions of employment equal to the standard maintained in the co-operative enterprises.

#### (2) FISHERIES.

ALL rivers, lakes and inland natural waterways, and their resources, are the property of the people and shall be subject to their jurisdiction.

THE claims of any individual or company, to their exclusive ownership or use, or to the fisheries thereof, shall be abolished. Inland, coast and deep-sea fisheries shall be controlled and protected by the State.

IT shall be the policy of the State to promote the development of the fishing industry on co-operative lines. Through the co-operative fisheries organisation credit shall be made available by the State banking institution, for the fullest development, organisation and modern equipment of the industry, and for improving the standard of life of the fishing community.

#### (3) INDUSTRY.

THE National Wealth and Credit shall be made available and shall be applied by the State for the creation of a manufacturing industry capable at least of providing for the normal and essential needs of the community.

INDUSTRY so created shall be the property of the community. Workers in these industries shall be responsible for their operation, under State direction and management, and they shall be remunerated on a wage basis.

THE productive organisation shall be co-ordinated with the distributing organisation; these shall be responsible for regulating production, internal distribution, and for the marketing abroad of any surplus.

#### (4) DISTRIBUTION.

IT shall be the policy of the State to bring about, as early as possible, the co-operative distribution of products. To achieve this end such financial and credit facilities as will be required shall be made available through the State banking institution.

EACH Co-operative shall be responsible for distribution within its own area, and for transferring any surplus to the Central Marketing and Imports Board.

THE distributing co-operative organs shall work in conjunction with the producers, both agricultural and industrial, in their areas, and with the Central Marketing and Imports Board.

#### BANKING AND CREDITS.

THE State shall establish a monopoly in banking, and in the creation and issuing of credit and currency, so that the wealth and credit of the Nation shall be made available for the benefit of the community.

#### PRIVATE ENTERPRISE.

PRIVATE enterprise both in the production and distribution of commodities shall be permitted, subject to the maintenance of conditions of employment in private enterprises, equal to the standard maintained in State financed co-operative enterprises. Private enterprise shall not be of right entitled to share or participate in the credit and other facilities afforded by the State to co-operatives.

#### TRADE AND COMMERCE.

TO stabilise and safeguard the national economy, and to control production and distribution, exports and imports shall be controlled by the State through the Central Marketing and Imports Board.

IMPORTS which would impede internal production shall not be admitted. Overseas and coasting trade shall, as far as possible, be carried by the State Mercantile Marine.

#### TRANSPORT.

ALL forms of public inland transport shall be operated by a body set up by the National Economic Council.

#### INSURANCE.

ALL forms of insurance shall be made a State monopoly. After a date to be appointed insurances shall not be effected with private companies. Insurances which have not at that date matured or expired may be continued.

#### HOUSING.

THE State shall be responsible for the provision of adequate housing of citizens. Citizens shall be encouraged and assisted by the State to become the owners of their own houses. After a date to be fixed by the government, the building of houses for sale or rent shall be declared illegal. Houses declared unfit for habitation by the Public Authority shall be destroyed and no compensation shall be paid to the landlord in respect of such houses and sites.

#### GROUND RENTS.

AS the soil of the nation is the property of the people and subject to their jurisdiction, this jurisdiction shall be exercised to abolish landlordism in

all our cities and towns, and in any land required as sites for building purposes. Land required for building purposes and for providing social amenities shall be acquired on the basis of its agricultural value, and no payment shall be made in respect of the additional values created in it by the community.

#### TAXATION.

TAXATION for national purposes shall be assessed and levied on--

- (1) Personal income of the individual, that is, after allowance for the maintenance of himself and his family has been provided for.
- (2) Private trading and property.
- (3) Co-operative trading.
- (4) Unearned income -- a supertax to be imposed.
- (5) Land not being used productively.
- (6) Luxuries.

#### ECONOMIC CONTROL AND DIRECTION.

A body shall be created by the Government and styled The National Economic Council, the members of which shall be chosen by the co-operatives. Its functions shall be to co-ordinate and advise on the control and development of :-

- (1) Agriculture.
- (2) Fisheries.
- (3) Manufacturing Industries.
- (4) Banking, credits and taxation.
- (5) Internal Marketing, Exports and Imports.
- (6) Transport.
- (7) Insurance.
- (8) Housing.

#### JUSTICE.

THE present elaborate and bewildering system of law shall be swept away and a codification of laws in non-technical language shall be carried out. The principle of arbitration shall be adopted and extended as far as possible in civil cases.

THE Judiciary shall be appointed by, but shall be independent of, the Government and shall be irremovable except on proven maladministration. The legal profession shall be a branch of the Civil Service and the services of lawyers shall be available to all citizens. In certain cases the State may charge a fee for legal services.

THE regular police forces shall be as small as possible and shall be supplemented by forces recruited and controlled by local authorities.

THE penal code shall aim at the reforming of offenders rather than at their punishment.

#### BEWARE! POLITICIANS ON THE MARCH.

THE PROCESS OF CONDITIONING Republicans for the acceptance of Sinn Fein's entry into Free State politics increases in tempo. The latest "front" used for this purpose is the "Economic Independence Committee",; under which banner Sinn Fein, accompanied by their friends of the Bourgeois Labour Party, and a contingent from the I.W.P., launched a series of meetings, and sent a lobby to Leinster House, on the Free Trade Pact. As Tom Gill said in January's U.I.: "that means that our purpose now is, through political means, to end British rule in Ireland." We all know what POLITICAL MEANS stands for in Irish Republican terminology. It means that the bold Tomas is now preaching the gospel of a peaceful transition to Irish Freedom. We sure have come a long way since 1916.

ACCORDING TO THE GRAPEVINE, THE boys in Cork were none too happy about the E.I.C. meeting held in that city early in January. And 'tis hard to blame them when their top men combine with Free State labourites and I.W.P.ers to speak in the name of Republican Ireland. Only men who have strayed very far from the goals of revolutionary republicanism could find common ground with representatives of a Labour Party that has backed the treason of 1922 from the beginning, and with so-called communists, who have not once, repeat, not once, promoted a revolutionary act since they were set up by their immediate superiors of King St., London. The Sinn Fein rank-and-file in Cork, and all over for that matter, have good reason to feel uneasy about these trends.

THE IRISH REVOLUTION IS NOT going to advance by Sinn Fein's collaboration with such Free State groups as the Labour Party; nor are its socialist objects going to derive the necessary impetus by associating with parliamentary communists who preach of the path of Connolly, but practice the ways of O'Connell. Irish revolutionaries can well do without the advice or assistance of either, and be the better off by formulating their own Socialist programme, and their own policies to realize it. However, this will never be done while politicians run the Republican Movement. The politicians are only getting into their stride now; a few more years and they'll be heading for Kildare Street.

Paddy Mac

## TREACHERY BY

## UNION BUREAUCRATS

IT IS OF SOME SIGNIFICANCE that the November, 1965, issue of LIBERTY MAGAZINE -- published by the I.T.G.W.U. -- carried no less than three articles which condemned as irresponsible, and indeed as covertly irreligious, the actions of Irish workers who deemed it necessary to strike in defence of their rights. Two of these attacks were reproductions of sermons preached at a retreat in Limerick; the third, by none other than a Dublin I.T.G.W.U. shop steward.

AS TO THE ANTI-WORKING CLASS content of the two sermons, and the slavish drivel composed by the brainwashed class-traitor, we have no comment to make. All men are, after all, entitled to their opinions. What is questioned, and justly so, is the motives of an alleged trade union magazine, which uses its columns to propagate direct attacks on the legitimate offensive and defensive tactics of the working class --- strike action.

WE ALL KNOW THAT THE GREATER percentage of the country's newspapers are controlled by, and used in the interests of, the capitalist class. So that when anyone gives voice to opinions which are in accord with the objects and interests of that class, as in the case of the forementioned articles, it is inevitable that such ideas will get ample coverage. What then are the motives of the I.T.G.W.U. in displaying such articles so prominently in their trade union paper? The action was hardly in the interests of Free speech!

THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE. UNION bureaucrats abhor what they style "wildcat strikes"; that is, direct action taken by the men involved in a dispute with the "boss", without consulting the moguls of their union. Class warfare waged along these lines constitutes a direct threat to the dictatorial basis which bureaucrats, such as Kennedy and Co., use to control and manipulate the organized worker for their own ends. As a matter of fact, "wildcat strikes" very often express as much dis-sentiment with the methods of bureaucrat union bosses, as do they entail a struggle with the capitalist boss.

IN ADDITION, STRIKE ACTION that is unauthorized by the union bureaucrats invariably tends to compromise the latter's relations either with management or, the government itself. Indeed, it is very significant in this instance that bureaucrat Kennedy launched his attack against strike action in Liberty Magazine at a time when Fianna Fail was preparing to push through legislation to regulate industrial relations. The whole affair smells of a DEAL in the making between the Free State Government, the representative of capitalism in Ireland, and a large segment of the trade union leadership, whereby both will enter into partnership to control the worker; in the interests of the community of course.

ON THE WHOLE, THIS TREND IS in step with a widespread racket that flourishes in the so-called labour circles of many capitalist countries. This hinges on a new class of DRONES that have emerged from the ranks of trade unionism; "labour bosses" who make a career out of manipulating the worker in the interests of capitalism, in return for a respectable status in the bourgeois order. Such parasites vote themselves high-level salaries from the hard-earned union fees of workers enrolled in their respective unions; and the capitalists do their part to maintain such a position, by refusing to treat with any union other than those they term RESPECTABLE and RESPONSIBLE. You had a classic example of such collaboration smoothly at work during the recent I.T.A. strike. Big Business in liaison with Big Union Bureaucrats; and the poor unfortunate worker caught between both, and squeezed by both.

FEW KNOWLEDGEABLE OBSERVERS remain unaware of this situation; with the result, it is highly ludicrous for Sinn Fein, and I.W.P. and the likes, to talk about the trade union movement being in a position to save Ireland. The fact that unions are made up of workers does not necessarily make them the implement of working-class interests. The Labour Party is also a workers party, but we have yet to see it operate in their fundamental interests. The hard fact is, if existing unions and the Labour Party were truly str-

iving to establish a Workers' Republic, they would, of sheer necessity, have to be revolutionary. They are not. Indeed, at best both are either Reformists, apologists for the bourgeois order, or, racketeers. At the best of times they strive only to mitigate the more adverse effects of capitalist exploitation; never yet have they made any attempt to destroy the cause of such effects - the capitalist order itself.

SO, TO PROPOSE THAT THE union movement and the Labour

Party represents the only mass body which is today in the position to save the country, is very much like suggesting that the Fine Gael crowd could do the same job. The fact is, the only difference between Fine Gael and Fianna Fail on the one hand, and the combined labour movement on the other, is purely one of degree. Because, all subscribe to the existing order, and all are, as a consequence, committed to the maintenance of the fundamentals of that order.

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## THE FREE STATE REGIME

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SINCE BEGINNING PUBLICATION numerous remarks have come to our attention, to the effect that although we hit hard at the Republican Movement, we have gone easy on the Free State traitors. We do not rightly know what is intended by such remarks. However, let one fact be clearly understood: in so far as we are concerned, the Free State with all its works represents the very essence of treason to the traditions, the sacrifices, the aspirations and the welfare of our people.

TO US THE FREE STATE POLITICIANS are nothing but a bunch of political prostitutes, and their haunt in Kildare St., nothing but a political brothel founded to pander to the whims of the blood-sucking robber barons of British imperialism. If we were to devote space to the condemnation of the many social, political and economic perversities that are continually being perpetuated by such lackeys, we would have room for little else; and would therefore defeat the main purpose of our existence.

OUR PRIMARY OBJECT IS TO SEE a dynamic revolutionary movement established in Ireland. Now, to devote our energies and time to exposing the treason of the Free State West-Britons, would not contribute appreciably to the founding of such a movement. All potential revolutionaries should know by now what the Free State crowd are, and will be for so long as they exist. What they don't appear to realize is the extent to which a kindred reaction has proliferated within the ranks of Republicanism itself. It is this reaction which we must expose, if we are ever going to overcome the inertia that presently weighs so heavily on the back of Irish Republicanism, and which represents

a solid roadblock to our advance.

CALLING THE FREE STATE TRAITORS names is not going to endanger their position in any way. Irish revolutionaries must first clean-up their own back yard and put their ranks in order, so as to be in a position to hit the Free State with something weightier than mere words. This is our object.

FURTHERMORE, WE HAVE, FROM THE outset, made it quite clear that in our view the Free State must be completely destroyed along with Stormont, before the country can be considered free. We fail to see how our attitude towards the Free State could be made any clearer. Most assuredly our stand is much clearer on, and more antagonistic to, the Free State regime than any adopted by Sinn Fein. We don't beat about the bush; whereas they are forever ambiguous. And what's more, although we would not, even in our wildest dreams, suggest our freedom could be secured by allying Republican forces with a Free State political group, the Sinn Feiners are actually practicing such collusion at present with the bourgeois Labour Party.

FOR OUR PART, ONE FREE STATER, regardless of whether he wears a bogus labour tag or not, is as rotten as the next. They must all go; they are all offsprings of the same illicit union between British imperialism and its Irish mistress.

FRANKLY, WE DOUBT IF OUR POSITION vis-a-vis the Free State could be any clearer. And we fail to see how it can be said that we are harder on the Republican Movement than on it. We are only trying to save the R.M. from itself; we aim to see the Free State destroyed.



# A PRIMER ON REVOLT

BY

JER. COLLINS

## PART ONE CONTINUED

IN THE PREVIOUS ARTICLE A Revolutionary Programme was briefly outlined and defined as a presentation of the social, political and economic goals of a revolutionary movement. The fact that such a programme exemplified the ideological motivation, and therefore the principles, of the revolution was also underlined. However, the realization of a revolutionary programme requires planning, to take into account the resources of the revolution and of the opposition to it, to select the means by which the revolution advances, and to dictate the employment of revolutionary forces and resources. Such diversified planning falls under the general heading of policy.

### REVOLUTIONARY POLICY

A REVOLUTIONARY POLICY REPRESENTS an assessment of any given situation, and the strategic and tactical plans adopted for the employment of revolutionary forces and resources in that situation. From this it can be seen that a fundamental difference exists between the basis of a revolutionary programme; and the various policies conceived to realize it. And it is precisely this difference, by no means obscure or undefinable, that causes much confusion in the appreciations of many Irish Republicans.

A PROGRAMME EXPRESSES THE PRINCIPLES on which the revolution is founded. To modify such a programme, or to pursue a course of action antagonistic to its fulfilment, represents a positive violation of PRINCIPLE. On the other hand, policies are dictated by prevailing conditions; of necessity, they must change as conditions alter, or when new opportunities emerge. The only principle governing policy, is the principle of compatibility with the ultimate realization of the revolutionary programme it is designed to serve.

THIS SOMEWHAT BRIEF OUTLINE should at least serve to illustrate a great weakness among contemporary Irish Republicans; that is, the tendency to confuse policies for a programme, and therefore to confuse principles with strategic and tactical expediencies. An Irish

revolutionary programme must be based on the destruction of the neo-colonial system, and the construction of a new socialist order. The employment of force to achieve this end is purely a matter of policy; and for that matter, so is the participation, or nonparticipation in the arena of parliamentary politics. However, experience, coupled with a pragmatic assessment of current conditions in Ireland, points to the use of force as the only realistic policy. And in this sense only is force complementary to our principles. On the other hand, should the unprecedented occur, wherein our objectives could be gained without the use of force, and where the use of force could indeed complicate, rather than complement, the realization of a programme, then, under those particular circumstances a policy of physical force would in fact be in direct violation of our principles, since it would be antagonistic to the realization of our programme.

AN UNDERSTANDING OF THE VERY clear differences between programme and policy is complicated in our particular case, 1) by the lack of revolutionary theoreticians to chart our struggle over the years; 2) by the fact that the contemporary Republican Movement has never bothered itself with such a thing as a revolutionary programme, at least not since its reorganization in the late '40's. The present movement involves itself entirely in matters of policy, which have never been designed to serve a clear-cut programme. In other words, the contemporary Republican leaders are akin to the captain of a ship who spends his time charting the course of his voyage without having any particular destination in mind.

AS A MATTER OF HISTORICAL accuracy it should, perhaps, be mentioned that the I.R.A. leadership of 1933 issued one of the very few revolutionary programmes that has ever emanated from an Irish revolutionary movement. That the men of that time failed to achieve their goals does not detract from their position; at least they presented a coherent programme, and conceived policies to realize it. Their failure lay, in part at least, in the realm of their policies. However, although

the best of revolutionaries can, and very often do, make policy mistakes, it takes a bunch of complete idiots, such as the present leaders of the Republican Movement, to propose the building of a new nation state without the shreds of an understandable policy to guide them.

HAVING ESTABLISHED THE ROLE of policy in the overall framework of revolution, it is necessary to proceed and sub-divide policy itself.

IT HAS ALREADY BEEN SAID THAT revolution in Ireland involves the two phased process of destruction and reconstruction; with both dovetailed together to complement the ultimate realization of a revolutionary programme. Now, since the revolution must be divided into two distinct, though complementary, phases, the over-riding trend in policy must be likewise influenced for maximum efficiency and results. Consequently, to expedite explanations, the dominating policy during the initial period can be classed as War Policies; and those of the second period, Reconstruction policies.

#### WAR POLICY

IT IS POINTLESS TO talk on what should be done to save the country, unless you are in the position to implement your proposals. Therefore, having formulated its programme, an Irish revolutionary movement must assess the situation, formulate plans for the mobilization of support, and then commit its forces against the status quo in a struggle for state power.

POWER IS THE KEY TO revolutionary success; unless a movement succeeds in its struggle for state power its hopes, its aims, its aspirations for a better and more equitable life for the nation's people amount to nothing more than wishful thinking. It is for this reason that the quest for power looms so large in revolutionary appreciations during the initial stage of the revolution. However, it is of equal importance that a revolutionary leadership retain this quest for power in its proper perspective. State power is itself but a means in the service of the revolution, and is not an end in itself. For this reason, although all means can in theory be justifiably employed by the revolution in its struggle for power, in practice, limits are imposed by the necessity to stren-

uously guard at all times against any venture or commitment that would tend to compromise the status or functioning of the body which is to symbolize state power once victory has been achieved.

IT IS NATURAL THEN THAT although War Policies must be dictated by the need of doing what is necessary and what is possible to realize power, at the same time, they must also be governed by the paramount demand of avoiding any compromising action, even though such action may hold the possibility of a quicker victory on the surface. In other words, when War Policy is being formulated at any given point, its makers cannot isolate the range of their evaluations to within the scope and demands of the particular revolutionary phase they are engaged in. They must at all times look beyond that juncture where state power is actually acquired by the forces of the revolution, and take into consideration the probability of any longranged repercussions a course of action they contemplate initiating may have, or could possibly have, on the ultimate revolutionary reconstruction of the nation.

A FACTOR WHICH SHOULD, perhaps, be reemphasized, is that bearing on the employment of physical force. Force is an element which can be used in a variety of ways other than in its obvious form of military action. However, we are not concerned here with any particular policy governing its employment; more specifically, we are interested in basic attitudes towards its employment.

OF NECESSITY, A REVOLUTIONARY movement, must, from the outset, regulate its policies on the premise that force will have to be used in the struggle for power. Both precedent and ordinary common sense points to the realism of this stand. On the other hand, while a revolutionary movement must organize and prepare for the employment of physical force, should it so happen that an unique opportunity presents itself to facilitate the ascendancy of revolutionary forces without its use, naturally the leadership will not turn it down. On such an eventuality policies can easily be realigned to avail of the opportunity.

THE IMPORTANT THING TO BEAR in mind, is that although it is relatively simple for a revolutionary movement, that has from the beginning determined its progress

on policies which rely on the employment of force, to re-adjust rapidly to exploit any opportunity to acquire power by peaceful means; it is practically impossible for a movement whose progress relies on policies of peaceful means to change its course with equal success and speed, when it has been demonstrated that force offers the only solution. The truth of this statement is substantiated over and over in the pages of history; it is an uncontestable fact.

CONSEQUENTLY, THE MOTTO OF a revolutionary movement must always be: We are going to prepare for, and use, force, to acquire our objects. However, should the enemy be so kind as to vacate the field and allow the revolution to march forward without hindrance, then, we will naturally avail of the situation.

#### RECONSTRUCTION POLICY.

BASICALLY, THESE POLICIES are those formulated for the regulation of the revolution's advance once state power is in the hands of the revolutionaries.

POLICIES GOVERNING THE country's reconstruction, along lines compatible to the principles of Socialism, are of tremendous importance. Indeed, there are many cases where the revolutionary forces experienced success on the battlefield, only to lose their way when it came to the implementation of the social, political and economic changes that justified their existence in the first place. So that when revolutionaries do acquire power, they must be constantly on the alert against the emergence of any attitudes tending to foster the reactionary notion that the job is now completed for all practical purposes; or ideas that the revolution can afford to give a little here and there without undue adverse effects. The job is far from being done, and the revolution can no more afford to compromise during the course of national reconstruction, than it could during the period of struggle against enemy forces.

IN MANY RESPECTS IT COULD be said that the period of national reconstruction is one during which errors of policy more easily occur, than during the period of struggle against the forces of the reactionary regime. Or perhaps it is more correct to say: erroneous policies can remain undetected for a greater time during the reconstruction period, than during the period of armed struggle. This

can develop; first, through a relaxation in revolutionary vigilance, arising from the mistaken, though frequent, notion that the revolution is a reality once the struggle for power is won. Secondly, due to the growth of arrogance in leadership circles; which can express itself in the shape of pursuing policies that the people in general are not yet ready to accept; on the premise that the leadership knows what is best for the people. This latter contention may well be true. Nevertheless, the role of revolutionaries is not to undertake the construction of a socialist state as their exclusive responsibility, but, to guide the people in their rebuilding of their own country.

THE FUNDAMENTAL DIFFERENCE between a Socialist and a bourgeois revolution, is that while the latter represents a struggle for state power in the interests of a particular minority class, the former represents one for mass emancipation. As a result, although bourgeois revolutionaries rely mainly on popular support for the winning of their revolution, once they have that power in their hands they invariably proceed to arrange things in the interests of their class; disregarding the interests of the masses when such interests conflict with their own. The great bourgeois cry of: LIBERTY, EQUALITY, FRATERNITY, takes into account only the bourgeoisie; it has never yet been known to include the "Lower Orders," as they style the working classes. To the bourgeois revolutionary, the people is a very abstract phrase indeed; but to the revolutionary Socialist it is an entirely different matter. The Socialist revolutionary is of the people and for the people in the fullest sense of the term; and should he ever forget this, and set himself up in the garb of a bureaucrat, ordering the people around, you can be sure that there is one revolution on the road to ruin.

STATE POWER, IN THE HANDS of a revolutionary leadership, must only be used to forward the revolution, by doing what is necessary in a tempo regulated by what is possible at any given time. A revolutionary leadership cannot, through the employment of the revolutionary movement backed by the might of state power, proceed to construct the new society by decree, completely disregarding the attitudes and voice of the mass of the people, and at the same time expect to realize in the end that concept of society envis-

ioned by the philosophy of Revolutionary Socialism. For success in reconstruction, a strict equilibrium must at all times be maintained between the revolutionary leadership, the revolutionary movement and the mass of the people. In a word, socialist reconstruction represents a co-operative endeavour between the leadership, the movement and the mass of the people; and in this undertaking state power is merely a tool to be used just like any other, and not a whip with which to drive the people towards their salvation.

THE SOCIALIST RECONSTRUCTION of a country represents the labours of its people to build a society which is to the advantage of all. However, the structure that ultimately emerges in any given country can only reflect the amount of labour which has been devoted to its building. No people can expect such a blessing as a gift; no revolutionary movement and its leadership can say to the people: give us your support in our struggle for state power, and we will give you a socialist state in which all will enjoy benefits hitherto undreamed of. No!! If such a state is to be created, then the people themselves must build it; the revolutionary leadership and the movement can only instruct, direct and co-ordinate its creation. It is of the utmost importance that revolutionaries grasp this fact from the beginning, and that they keep it in mind when they are formulating policy at any given time. And it is for this reason also that the danger of isolating considerations for any given policy, to within the limits of immediate demands, has been stressed throughout. It may, for example, appear SMART POLITICS to make all sorts of promises when you are appealing for support to wage a struggle for power. But what happens when power is actually yours, and you find yourself in the inevitable position of not being able to pay up? You can, of course, use your newly acquired power to keep the people in line; you can also use state power to coerce the people into the building of that order of things you promised would be realized so readily and so painlessly. But what the end result of this course would be is difficult to say.

IT IS OBVIOUS THAT AT THIS stage it is impractical to extend our discussion on the basis of proposing specific policies to meet the needs of our own particular situation in Ireland. We

must, of necessity, limit the discourse: 1) to illustrating the role of policy in the revolutionary process as a whole, so as to clearly define its proper function; 2) to establishing some basic tenets which govern the formulating of policy; especially some points that may easily be overlooked by students in their study of revolutionary techniques. The great need is to demonstrate over and over, that this business of revolution cannot be reduced to such relatively simple terms as learning how to use a gun, and then taking off across the hills to take a shot at a "G" Special, or the likes: Revolution represents political action under the most demanding of conditions; it is a haven neither for fools, rogues or adventurers.

THE GREAT TROUBLE WITH MANY who have set themselves up as leaders of Ireland's cause, is that they would appear to possess an infinite capacity to confuse a resolution for a revolution. With the result, their tendency is to approach the latter with a shallowness so often prevalent in the making of the former. This reactionary state of affairs has to be eliminated if we are ever to get anywhere. Interested parties must knuckle down to the task of learning the ins and outs, the demands and the process, of revolution; and then put this knowledge to work.

AGAIN, LET IT BE REMEMBERED that the profession of a revolutionary is not merely related to the correct leadership of a people in their struggle for freedom, but also to correct leadership during that period when the people must work, and work hard, to give a durable substance to their new-found status.

To be continued.

#### TO OUR READERS

WITH THIS, THE 4th ISSUE OF AN PHOBLACHT, we can confidently say we are here to stay. To date, the response to our venture justifies our efforts, and also makes obvious the great necessity for increasing the circulation, size and coverage of the paper. In order to ensure the future success of AN PHOBLACHT, we need your support, both moral and financial. Do not withhold what support you can afford. Your generous help today can assist enormously in the task of reviving the revolutionary effort necessary to secure our independence.