

IRISH MILITANT

FOR AN IRISH WORKERS' REPUBLIC

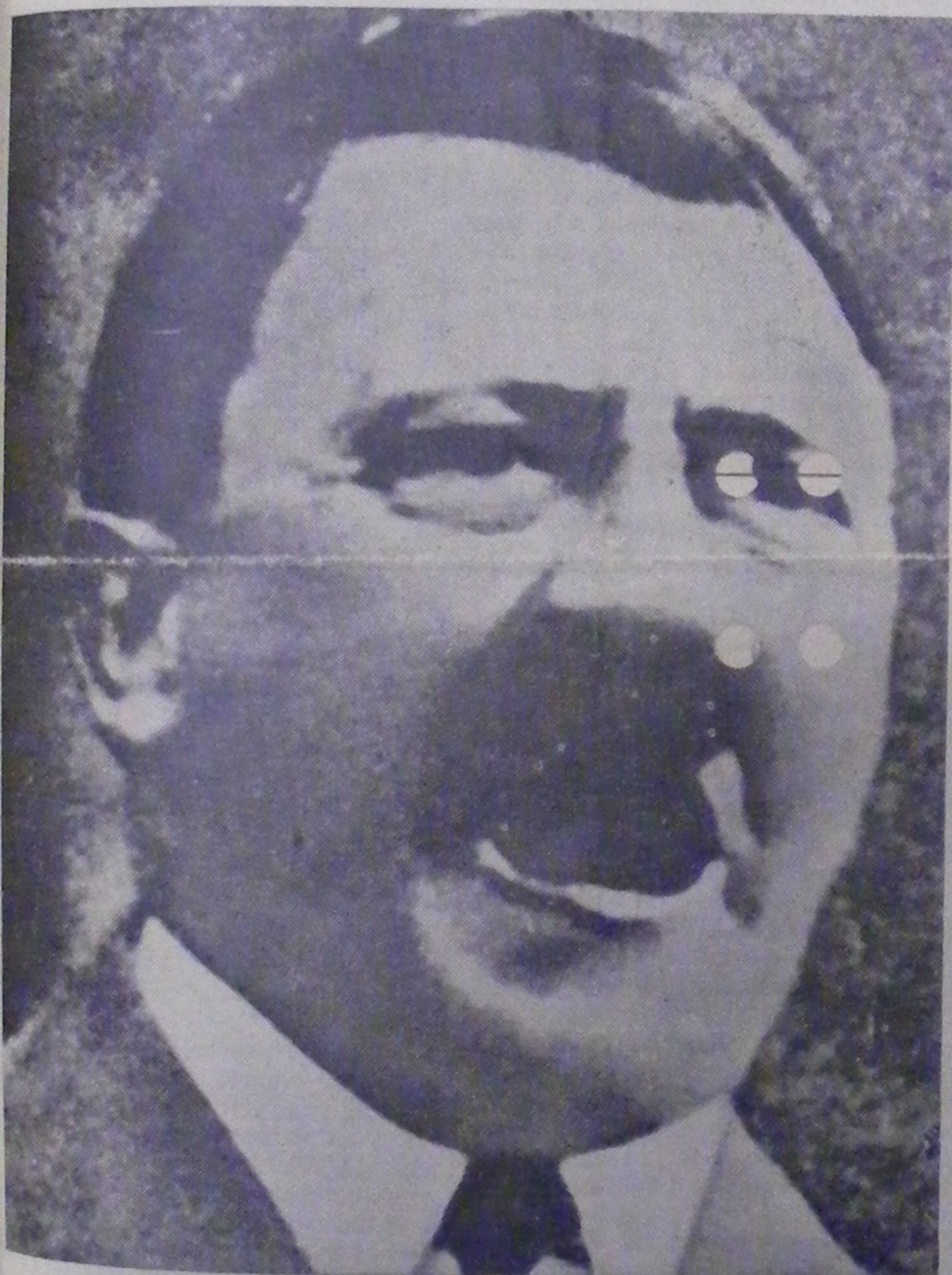
NO. 2 MAY 1966

SIXPENCE

In 1933 Hitler swept to power on a tidal wave of hatred. The German Socialist parties hesitated until it was too late and were finally annihilated. To-day in Ulster a little Hitler called Paisley rides high. In an article below EAMONN McCANN relates the revival of religious bigotry to the failure of the Ulster Labour Parties and their continuing inability to mobilise the working class.



ULSTER LEFT FAILED



RUSSIAN PHOENIX

The following report is translated from a French Marxist paper which got it from a correspondent in the Soviet Union. It shows that like the legendary Phoenix arising out of the ashes, a revolutionary opposition to the Stalinist bureaucracy is again springing up in the Soviet Union. Thirty years after Stalin's murder of the majority of Lenin's Central Committee, of 70 per cent of the Red Army's officers and of more than 100,000 working class communists, the ideas of Marxism remain the single great threat to Stalin's Heirs—Ed.

Recently the trial took place of a group of oppositionists discovered in Leningrad. They were accused of having clandestinely published a magazine hostile to the regime. This magazine had a title associated with the old Russian revolutionary tradition: Kolokol (The Bell). Its inspirers occupied a pretty clearly defined left oppositionist position, with a Marxist orientation. Three editions of the magazine had appeared, each ran to one thousand copies, which is relatively big. The declared objective of the magazine was

to work for the revolutionary overhaul of the country.

"The group around the clandestine publication was composed of two to three hundred people, in the majority chemists or chemistry students. It is interesting to note that the leaders of the group occupied leading positions in the Komsomol and that their critical activity had begun with a very small "study circle" which called itself the "Communards' Circle" and which studied Lenin's *State and Revolution*.

"The organisation born in Leningrad spread to other cities, among them Ivanovo-Vosnessensk, Omsk, Novosibirsk. This is the first time in three decades that an oppositionist organisation spread over different cities has appeared. It demonstrates that the long process from which will spring a new revolutionary Soviet leadership has already begun.

Correct Ideas

"Dozens of people adopting different attitudes appeared in the dock in the course of the trial. Some declared

Nothing in Ulster succeeds like excess. Hot gospel passes for politics, invective for argument. Outrage is an everyday occurrence, hatred the common currency in public life. The announcement that a parade to commemorate the 1916 rising would be held in Belfast caused emotional orgasms all over the province. The Rev. Ian Paisley, a man to warm the heart of Hitler, mustered ten thousand people for a counter-demonstration and harangued them on the evils of the papacy and the Satanism of the South. His audience, mainly working class, apparently regarded his strictures as objective, in fact.

The Labour Parties are to blame for this. It is they who have allowed the development of the conditions and the atmosphere in which a capering nonentity like Ian Paisley can become a real and dangerous political force.

It is true that the two contending Tory parties—the Nationalists and the Unionists—have done nothing to alleviate the situation. But no-one with even a glimmer of political understanding would have expected them to; both have a vested interest in keeping the working class split along religious lines.

Proper Place

The Nationalist Party, the representative of the Catholic bourgeoisie, has recently assumed its proper place as Her Majesty's Official Opposition. It can only maintain its position while the political dichotomy in Ulster is on a religious, not class basis. It fears nothing so much as a working class united in its demands and conscious of its common interests. Thus, at times of greater political passion, Eddie McAteer or some other well-heeled hypocrite will appeal to the "nationally-minded" (i.e. Catholic) people to display restraint, moderation, etc., etc., and at election time will tour the country whipping up the populace with flag-wagging, stump-oratory and the Soldiers' Song. They will not (indeed, because of their class position cannot) relate politico-religious strife in Ulster on its basis.

The Unionist Party stands of course at that point on the political spectrum from which Harold Wilson looks like a bloodstained bolshevik—i.e. as near to Fascism as makes no difference. It uses a judicious mixture of intimidation and gerrymandering to maintain its power in "mixed" areas. It acts always as the executive committee of Protestant bourgeoisie, whose interests in no way conflict with those of the str-

openly that they considered the ideas for which they fought to be correct, while at the same time stating that they were probably wrong to have had recourse to clandestine methods of struggle. A young girl, interrogated by the judges about the aims of the organisation, replied: "The first thing is to send the lot of you out to work." All the accused were given sentences ranging from two to seven years in so-called re-education camps." (15 March, '66)

tum represented by the Nationalists.

The left's primary failure is that it has allowed the most potent issue in Ulster politics—partition—to become the "property" of these Tory factions. As long as the "border question" is posed in pseudo-religious terms unrelated to the social and economic struggle of the working class, then for so long will the Ulster people be fair game for demagogues and hate-mongers. While there is no party of the working class propounding a relevant socialist policy the bourgeoisie will be able to inject a booster shot of sectarian virulence into the body politic when it feels it has need to.

There is no conflict between the interests of Catholic and Protestant workers in Ulster. They are identical with each other and with the interests of all Irish workers. They can best be served within an Irish Workers' Republic. Bigotry is a Tory weapon, used by the bourgeoisie in its own interest. (It is no accident, for example, that there is a resurgence of sectarian strife in the Belfast shipyard every time redundancies are threatened. . . .) The Northern working class has no objective interests in the maintenance of partition. But no "socialist" party is saying this.

Heretical

The Northern Ireland Labour Party has now manoeuvred itself into a position where it is regarded as heretical by the majority of the Protestant working class and as a slightly left version of Unionism by the Catholic working class. In its efforts to extricate itself from this position it has become lost in an opportunist maze. When the Wilson Government in its first Defence Review announced the closure of the Navy base at Derry the local branch of the N.I.L.P. opposed the measure on the grounds that redundancies would result. Thus, instead of posing a socialist alternative to an Irish economy dependent on the British Defence budget, it found itself opposing a cut-back in arms expenditure for shallow short-term reasons. When members of the National Busmen's Union were locked out in Dublin N.I.L.P. branches refused point-blank to issue statements of support on the grounds that "it's none of our business."

It is actions like this, stemming from its failure to understand the class dynamics of Irish society which make the N.I.L.P. essentially meaningless in Ireland today and incapable of placing itself at the head of a united working class. It can do nothing to end scenes such as were witnessed in Belfast last month, save to issue appeals for decency, decorum and, at a pinch, respect for private property.

Last year the N.I.L.P. executive expelled the most militant elements in its Young Socialist organisation. The Y.S. promptly dis-affiliated and is now, in its own words, trying to "build an alternative leadership." It is failing. The reasons for its failure can best be

(continued p. 4)

THE MACHINE-GUN IN POLITICS

by Peter O'Toole

QUOTABLE QUOTES

One desirable circumstance to make revolution possible already exists in Ireland. The duality of power. What does it mean? Simply this; it is a real, and to most militant workers an obvious fact that the power of the ruling class rests finally in the protection and terrorist possibilities of (compared to society as a whole) small bodies of armed men. This is the last line of defence of a privileged ruling class to protect its interests. It is the foundation of the whole apparatus of the capitalist state, and supports and is supplemented by propaganda, education, police and prisons. When this apparatus is challenged by another, supporting a different class interest even in its most simple form, (e.g. a guerrilla army, such as the I.R.A.) then a duality of power exists. Does the I.R.A. consciously represent the interests of the Irish Working Class. The answer is, No! in spite of the vague socialism which permeates much of the rank and file recruited from industrial areas. What class interest then, does the I.R.A. represent? What class interest is *consciously* served by the Heirs of the Irish Republic? The answer is: the interests of the small farmers and huckster class business men. The working class gets lip service but its interests are secondary in the minds of idealist Republicans. However in attacking our enemies, the gombeen capitalists and the Imperialists (and you can't attack one without harming the other), the I.R.A. are serving the interests of the Workers in fact, if not in woolly theory.

Does this mean that the workers can concentrate on purely industrial action of a non-military variety? Again the answer is No! though regardless of the actions of ruling classes all over the world some "socialists" seem to think

otherwise. When their system is threatened with collapse by the actions of militant industrial working classes, the ruling classes use every form of coercion to break the workers' struggle, as witness the use by the Free State of the Offences Against the State Act against the Irish Telephonist Association recently. The weapons used include; (roughly in the following order depending on the degree of capitalist desperation).

1. Police harassment of pickets and demonstrators.
2. Police provocation of same followed by arrest.
3. Arbitrary arrests of pickets and demonstrators. (There is always a handy law, bye law, or regulation to use).
4. Baton charges.
5. Attacks on Workers and their possessions.
6. Beatings of the arrested and imprisoned (in some cases and circumstances, this is routine anyway).

Riflemen

The ideal picket line outside site, dock or factory gate consists of a section of armed riflemen and two placard carrying pickets; but at least let batons be met with pick handles and hurleys, let riot guns and tear gas be answered by shot guns and molotov cocktails, and the full force of capitalist might be given the retaliation of the Vietnam National Liberation Front to the terror of US Imperialism.

This is a simply-put version of a detailed and complex theory. Let us return to the particular.

The building, or rather rebuilding of an Irish Workers' or "Citizen" Army is one of the immediate tasks of the Irish Revolutionary Movement. Its be-

ginnings cannot be put off to the day (beloved of some "Marxist" theory merchants) when the classic "revolutionary situation" will be upon us, and all the workers will awake one morning and say, "oh yes! Today it's the general strike, closely followed by armed insurrection and simultaneous agrarian outrages including guerrilla warfare in the country! Now, where's me gun?"

Coerce

The new beginnings of the workers' army must be *now*. Thus will the attempts of the ruling classes to terrorise and coerce come to nothing. For rest assured, as the struggle sharpens, they will try firing on strikers, they will attempt to arrest leaders, and they will set up drumhead courts martial. We can make sure they will pay dearly for all these attempts; we must organise and arm as from *now*.

To return to the actual duality of power existing in Ireland. It has been stated that the I.R.A. stands for the interests of small farmers and this, as the saying goes, is for real. However, only vaguely do the advanced elements of the Army see the close tie of class interest between the workers and small farmers. It will be necessary perhaps even to establish a triality of power, whilst always offering alliance, co-operation and for those elements whose class background gives them the attribute of revolutionary steadfastness—recruitment to our ranks. Never however compromising Socialist principles. Always remembering Connolly's dictum "hold on to your arms."

Let the Movement then seriously consider! Speed the resurrection of the Irish Citizen Army!

The Council of the Dublin Chamber of Commerce hereby assure His Gracious Majesty of the loyalty of the commercial community to his person and to his throne. They also do record their abhorrence of the dreadful scenes of murder, carnage and destruction resulting from the action of a section of the community in the city."
Resolution, Dublin Chamber of Commerce, 1916.

The Rome correspondent of the "Daily Mail," telegraphing on Tuesday May 2, says that Cardinal Logue sent the following telegram to the Pope:—

"*Insurrection happily terminated, insurgents have surrendered unconditionally. Hope peace soon re-established.*" This message, adds the correspondent, gave the Pope much pleasure. At the Vatican the Irish clergy are greatly praised for the zeal with which they supported the efforts of the Government to restore order. The Pope is moved by the incidents, and will give instructions to all the Irish Bishops to exhort the clergy and Catholic people to maintain perfect loyalty towards England.

Evening Herald (Dublin) 4 May, 1916

"What was attempted was an act of brigandage, pure and simple, and there is no reason to lament that its perpetrators have met the fate which from the very dawn of history has been universally reserved for traitors."

Irish Catholic, 28 May, 1916

"A blow delivered against the British imperialist bourgeoisie in Ireland has hundred times more political significance than a blow of equal weight would have in Asia and Africa... The dialectics of history are such that small nations, powerless as an independent factor in the struggle against imperialism, play a part as one of the ferments of the bacilli, which facilitate the entry into the area of the *real* power against imperialism, namely the socialist proletariat... The misfortune of the Irish is that they rose prematurely, when the European revolt of the proletariat had not yet matured."

Lenin

"When, however, we come to some of the ringleaders, instigators and mentors not yet dealt with, we must make an exception (to the clemency plea.—I.M.) If these men are treated with too great leniency, they will take it as an indication of weakness on the part of the Government and the consequences may not be satisfactory. They may be more truculent than ever and it is therefore necessary that society should be protected against their activity... It would hardly be fair to treat these leniently because the cry for clemency has been severely punished. Weakness to such men at this stage may be fatal... Let the worst of the ringleaders be singled out and dealt with as they deserve."

Irish Independent, 12 May, 1916

"Fifty years ago in Dublin, men and women, dedicated to the cause of independence, answered this call to arms. Today the Tricolour flies triumphantly over the G.P.O. from which the proclamation was issued in 1916. The Evening Herald is proud to join in tributes to the gallant few who fought and died or survived to fight again."

Evening Herald, 12 April, 1966

"The 26 Cos. is the most progressive state in western Europe. There are draconian special powers."

Desmond Greaney

WORLD OUTLOOK

Throughout the so-called "free" world, the grip of American imperialism tightens. From Peru to Japan, and from Alaska to New Zealand, US hegemony has been established by a variety of means ranging from defence pacts to outright brute force. To find the explanation of this world-wide greed for power it is necessary to look at the objective needs of the American economy.

America's rapid industrialisation was made possible by her seemingly limitless domestic resources, but the very process of industrialising accelerated per capita consumption of iron, coal, oil and other raw materials necessarily involved. A century ago, extraction and use of coal and iron per head of population could be measured in pounds. Today several tons are needed per person per year.

The same situation prevails wherever one cares to look in the resource field. Take the case of iron ore, an absolutely essential element in attaining and maintaining high living standards. Originally, America appeared to be endowed with endless quantities of high-grade iron ore. The vast and magnificent deposits of the Mesabi Range were the principal source of raw material for the US steel industry, but by the middle of this century the beginning of the end was in sight.

There are two possible ways out. New processes can be devised for extracting the metal from inferior ores such as taconites. Alternatively, high-grade ore can be shipped in from outside. Actually, American industry has embarked upon both courses. Domestically, expensive plant has been built to handle low-grade ore. But the US is also investing heavily in developing sources of supply of high-grade ores all round the world—in Labrador, in Brazil, in Liberia, and now in India.

At the moment there is ore to spare in the "third world." Partly as a re-

sult of colonialism and neo-colonialism, the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America are, with a handful of exceptions, miserably under-developed. Per capita annual steel output in India amounts to no more than a few pounds per head. But American appetite for steel is huge, and still growing—doubling every 15 years or so. It is an excellent arrangement for American business and the American way of life that the poor countries should continue to offer up their iron—and aluminium and oil and tin.

But here is the rub. Everywhere efforts are being made to industrialise and to raise living standards. Success in these attempts would set in foot a pattern of rising consumption of raw materials similar to that which has characterised the past century or so in the West. If India by the end of the century had achieved real take-off into sustained economic growth, she would certainly require zealously to hoard her own iron-ore reserves.

Acute Crisis

Given universal industrialisation elsewhere in the world, the American crisis would be acute. Without a continually increasing in-put of industrial raw materials, her economy would seize-up, and the living standards of her people stagnate and eventually fall. This is basically what lies behind her desperate struggles to impose and maintain global diplomatic and military control. However loud and reiterated the disclaimers of her leaders, the objective necessities of the US economy cannot be denied.

It is in this context that the bewildering configuration of American policies must be understood. North Vietnam is rich in several vital metals. Malaysia supplies about two-thirds of all the tin used in US industry. Indonesia can supply oil, tin, rubber and many other important commodities (thus the indecent haste of the American rulers to

shake the blood-stained hands of the generals fresh from their massacre of the cream of the Indonesian working-class movement). South East Asia as a whole is of prime importance to American business. This is why Vice-President Humphrey says "we will be in Asia for a long, long, time."

Along-side policies of securing access to essential raw materials, America also promotes and backs regimes that effectively inhibit industrialisation of the areas over which her control extends. The US takes steps to restrict the import of Afro-Asian manufactured goods into the West and to keep prices of raw materials low while prices of Western exports rise. This is the unreformable essence of neo-colonialism, in the erection and perpetuation of which Britain has played such an inglorious and frequently bloody part.

BOBBY TRAP

In Trafalgar Square on Easter Monday an 18-year old Belfast socialist climbed onto a box, the better to observe Peggy Duff, Stan Orme and the other participants in the C.N.D. puppet show. He fell off and cut his head. A kindly constable suggested that he come to the police box in the Square to receive first aid.

The policeman escorted the injured youth through the crowd and on reaching the box asked the gentlemen on duty there to "take care of this lad." The duty sergeant placed a paternal hand on the young man's shoulder and guided him to a police van, which then set off to West-End-Central police station. He was led into the station, told to turn out his pockets, stood before a desk, charged with threatening behaviour, brought to court next morning, found guilty and fined two pounds.

IRISH MILITANT

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SIGNED ARTICLES DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT THE VIEWS OF THE IRISH MILITANT

In preparing for entry into the Free Trade Area the 26 Co. Government must discipline the working class. This necessity springs from the changed and changing nature of production in the capitalist world. Economic life on this planet is a unity. Nations cannot live in isolation. Irish industry can no longer be separate from the neighbouring industrial complex.

In an expanding sector of industry, outlay on plant, machinery and wages is so high that it can only be justified if the manufactured article comes off the production line by the thousand, week in, week out. This condition cannot be satisfied unless there is a vast market.

The Irish bourgeoisie, observing the new market being built in Europe, realise that they must prepare for entry into it or be drowned in its wake. But if Irish goods are to enter this market, then the quid-pro-quo is that British and, later, European goods have free entry into the Irish market. Irish industry must prepare to meet the full blast of competition from the giant British and continental enterprises.

To meet this competition Lemass must rationalise production, cut costs, amalgamate factories even against the wishes of some of the owners, and reduce relative labour costs. This means pegging wages behind rises in production. The guide-lines for this policy were laid down a long time ago. Where individual industrialists want to make concessions to their "own" workers, the government will intervene—as witness the Dublin building dispute. The State and semi-state companies will be used to "set an example" to other industries. The upshot of this is that the struggle for higher wages and better conditions is no longer a struggle against a single employer or a group of employers, but a direct conflict with the State.

Lemass has committed the prestige and forces of his State to this struggle. He used the Offences Against the State Act against the Irish Telephonists Association and now threatens to use it against the Irish Creamery Milk Suppliers Association. This situation creates possibilities for a united front of rank-and-file trade-unionists, small farmers and republicans. This united front could be rallied to a campaign for the rescinding of the Offences Against the State Act. Resting on their class strength, the industrial workers and small farmers—backed up and protected where necessary by the armed force of the republican movement—could make short work of the Offences Against The State Act. It is doubtful if the Lemass regime could long survive without this piece of legislation.

LITTLE LEFT FOR LABOUR

There are eight "Labour Parties" in Ireland. All eight exist in the six counties; only one, the Irish Labour Party, exists in the 26 Counties. The attempt to analyse the other seven must await another pen and another article. Here we deal only with the "Irish Labour Party," the largest by far.

At the Irish T.U.C. conference in Clonmel in 1912 James Connolly moved a resolution from the Belfast branch of the I.T.G.W.U. calling for the establishment of an Irish Labour Party. The resolution was supported by Larkin and passed by eighty-nine votes to eighteen. This is the party which still exists today, organized on an all-Ireland basis (although its Northern branches have a rather ghost-like existence.)

It has 400 branches and about 15,000 members. Twenty-two Labour members sit in the Dail and six Labour representatives in the Seanad. The total number of Labour councillors is not known even to the Party Head-office, but is thought to number several hundreds. In the 1965 General Election Labour put forward 43 candidates contesting 34 constituencies. It received 192,740 first preference votes, an increase of 80,992 on its 1957 first preference figure.

It is thus the most rapidly growing parliamentary party in Ireland; but its position is far from satisfactory. It was conceived on the threshold of the greatest class battle that Ireland has known. It was born of one of the most militant working classes in Western Europe. It was a twin in birth to the Irish Citizen Army, the first Workers' Army in Europe. It has lived through a General Strike (1913) a Rebellion (1916) a National Revolution (1918-21) a counter revolution (1922-24) and the quasi-revolution of Fianna Fail's assumption to power in 1932 with the help of Labour from inside parliament and the I.R.A. from without. Yet still, for all its recent growth, it is the smallest of the three major parliamentary parties. Why?

BOOKLESS

In the first place, it has, since the death of Connolly, been led by men who were vague in their aims and bereft of perspective. It has been a "bookless" party, with a contempt for theory. It is based on humanitarian instinct. It pushes ahead blindly, attempting to take a "decent line" on each issue as it comes up. It has only a hazy idea of the type of society it is trying to create and, not surprisingly then, no idea at all of how it is going to construct it. It hasn't got a programme; it has "thoughts on a programme." Its statement of basic principles and objects is a classic example of the compromise document—that is, a document drawn up to gain acceptance without thought of principles or needs. Paragraph "F" contains a call for public ownership, of such industries and services, including banking, as would promote the "common good," without telling us what is meant by the "common good." What is good for the working class may be good for the small farmers but generally speaking will not be good for the owners of these industries and services. All politics, in the final analysis, is a battle between contending interests for the control of the national or international wealth. So when politicians talk to us of the "common good" they must explain which interest and which class they will serve.

Connolly gave as one of the reasons why a Labour Party was necessary the need to fight against the Irish Gombenmen as well as British Imperialism, and the Labour Party up to 1916 did engage in a political battle against these elements, whose interests were at that time served by John Redmond's Irish Party. But since 1918 when de Valera issued his edict that "Labour Must Wait"

the Irish Labour Party has played second fiddle to whatever bourgeois political party has existed. In the twenties when workers were setting up workers councils (soviets) and seizing control of factories and creameries, the Labour Party was supporting the Griffith-de Valera leadership in the National movement which was ordering the eviction of the small farmers from estates which they had seized from British landlords. In 1922 it failed to give a lead in the fight against the Treaty and thereby lost the support of all workers who saw the necessity for national independence. This attitude is carried on today when it tails behind the radical republican movement in its attitude to many social issues.

WORKERS' LOBBY

The Labour Party today is predominantly a working class party but with a small and influential bourgeois element. 14 trade unions are at present affiliated with a total membership of 63,000. Despite this, because of the structure of the party and the outlook of the majority of its leaders it exists as a workers' lobby in the boss's parliament, and not as a working-class party attempting to build a Workers' Republic. In 1948 it entered a coalition with Fine Gael and other parties at a time of a general left swing in Ireland, when a determined party with socialist policies could have won power or at least reached the situation where they would have been the main opposition party opposing a bourgeois coalition. In the event, the coalition infused new life into the semi-fascist, ex-blue-shirt Fine Gael party.

1954 found them, having learned nothing, once more in unlawful wedlock with Fine Gael, partnering them in applying the British Credit Squeeze of 1956. A Labour "Minister of Justice" took the lead in rounding up republicans and incarcerating them in Mountjoy, and then cried salt tears when young republican workers went on hunger strike. ("Don't think I liked having 3 apprentices and a docker on hunger strike.")

If the Labour Party is to regain a place of respect and influence in the Irish Working Class, socialist members of it must start now campaigning for the re-instatement in the constitution of the demand for a workers' republic, a demand which was removed in the thirties under pressure from the Church.

Rank and file members of the Party must demand no coalition with either Fianna Fail or Fine Gael. Away with the "lesser evil" theory. No "co-operative" governments. Trade unionists must fight for union affiliation to the Labour Party. This fight must be waged especially in the I.T.G.W.U. whose last conference shelved a demand from its Drogheda branch to affiliate. It can be expected that a lot of opposition will come from the executive of this union following Conway's failure to gain election to the Labour panel of the Seanad.

ALTERNATIVE LEADERSHIP

If the Irish Labour Party is ever to take the lead in the fight for a Workers' Republic of all Ireland the present conglomeration of hidden Fianna Failers, Catholic workers' college graduates who mentally remain on their knees in the presence of the ruling class, and Four Courts "duffle-coat socialists" must be replaced by an alternative Marxist leadership which can only be built by struggle inside and outside the Labour Party for the correct policies to meet the needs of the working class in the second part of the 20th century.

Sean Reed

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QUIPS AND CRANKS

The Roscommon Co. Manager has refused after repeated requests to investigate conditions in the Roscommon Co. Home.

Patients in this institution complain that for some time past the bread has been uneatable.

At the last Roscommon County Council meeting Jack McQuillan said that the bread was supplied by Rank's firm who had pushed a lot of small bakeries out of business and now had a monopoly position.

It is alleged by friends of the patients that bread, taken back from shops in the area is immersed in water, reheated and then dumped on the Co. Home.

The Co. Manager who refused to investigate is appointed by the Government and is not answerable to the local people for his action.

Since the publication of the first issue of the Irish Militant the editor has received forty-seven letters from readers. Of these about thirty were more or less complimentary and, with typical modesty, we will say no more about them. Three letters forecast that the second issue would never appear. . . . One person thought that we were "obviously freemasons," one threatened the editor with physical violence; another expressed the opinion that "the lot of you should be locked up" and someone signing himself "Loyal Ulsterman" wrote from Belfast to say that "the Rev. Paisley will soon put a stop to you" (Bets?) An anonymous Liverpoolian said we "sounded like communists."

We are, dare we say it, tickled . . . pink . . .

GOD, ETC.

Religious services were held throughout Ireland yesterday to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the 1916 Rising. Services were held in Jewish synagogues and there were Solemn Votive Masses in all cathedral churches. Mass in the Pro-Cathedral, Dublin, was at 10 a.m., while St. Patrick's Cathedral was the scene for a united service under the auspices of the Dublin Council of Churches, at which a special sermon was preached by the Archbishop of Dublin, the Most Rev. Dr. Simms.

Irish Times, 12 April, 1966.

Mr. Ray Johnston, Stalinist hack and long-time servant of the Russian bureaucracy, has been bustling around Dublin recently informing various people that he knows who did "the Pillar job." This is unremarkable since almost everyone in Dublin claims to be in possession of the same information. The difference is that Mr. Johnston "names names." He should stop it.

READ

MILITANT

THE MARXIST PAPER

FOR LABOUR AND YOUTH
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From: 197 KING'S CROSS ROAD,
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Reflections on the Easter jamboree

by Liam Daltun

On May 12th, 1916, the last two signatories of the historic Proclamation were executed by firing squad. Sean MacDiarmada met his fate standing upright. The wounded Connolly, too ill to stand or even sit upright, was shot strapped in a chair.

The organ of the Irish Catholic bourgeoisie, "The Irish Independent," had loudly and insistently demanded the blood of Connolly—

"Let the worst of the worst of the ringleaders be singled out and dealt with as they deserve." William Martin Murphy, the owner of this paper, was also the leading figure in the Dublin employers' association which had locked out and attempted to starve into submission the workers of Dublin in 1913. He and his voracious class, whose Sacred Profits demanded the degradation and brutalisation of that Labour which was the source of all their wealth, now sought vengeance on the man who along with Larkin had raised the poorest of Dublin's poor from their knees and transformed them into dignified and class-conscious workers.

State Within the State

Connolly had done more than that. He had done something that inspired a justified terror in the hearts of the Irish capitalist vultures and earned him their undying hatred. He inspired and spearheaded the setting up, drilling and arming of a Workers' Army. This force was both objectively and subjectively a State within the State. It was the embryo within the imperialist U.K. and within colonial Ireland of a new kind of State—of an Irish Workers' Republic.

Dublin's slouch-hatted Red Guards came into existence in response to the savagery of the police in the 1913 lock-out. The bravado and almighty desire to "mix-it" with unarmed and peacefully picketing workers was knocked clean out of the thugs of the capitalist class when they turned up to find one worker carrying a placard—and a half dozen others carrying (loaded) Mausers with fixed bayonets. The capitalist Press had hailed the "bravery" of the police when they cracked the skulls of unarmed workers and of women and children. Their "brave" police were not of a kidney however to fight on anything like equal terms—and the Citizens' Army was providing those terms.

Writing about the great events in Ireland Lenin described this force as "the first Red Army in the world." He said that the Irish workers had set an example for workers everywhere.

Within little more than a year of the 1916 Rising a similar "body of armed men" in Russia shook the world. Russian workers carrying rifles and wearing scarlet armbands appeared on the streets of Petersburg and Moscow. Under the dynamic leadership of Lenin and Trotsky the insurrectionary seizure of power was organised, leading to the setting up of the first Workers' State. Irish workers should remember that this State set up by a Russian Citizen Army was the only one in the world ever to recognise the Irish Republic established by the overwhelming vote of the Irish people in 1918.

Recently the Irish capitalist Estab-

lishment commemorated the Easter Rising. Well they might. They've much to be grateful for. Over the past 40 years they've lined their cavernous pockets at the expense of the Irish workers and small farmers. It was by placing themselves at the helm of the great movement which grew out of the sacrifice of the dead revolutionaries of Easter Week that they got the opportunity to do this. The death of Connolly left the only class which would have been capable of leading the country to a complete break with British imperialism leaderless.

The bourgeois and petty-bourgeois leaders used the movement in the service of their own class interests. Once their own class aims had been achieved they called a halt to the march of the nation. When sections of the nation tried to press on, the capitalists, represented in turn by Cosgrave and de Valera, turned their military and police forces on them.

Everything that Connolly had put the workers of Ireland on guard against came to pass. A capitalist compromise took place. The 26-Co. neo-colony was set up and trapped out in tricolours, signs in Irish and daubs of (imported) green paint. Connolly had said that unless the social system were changed nothing at all would change. In fact, the City of London still ruled. It continues to rule.

Connolly understood History. He had studied and learned the political lessons of vast revolutionary upheavals, of past struggles between fundamentally opposed interests in society for control of the State. He knew that the capitalist and middle-class leaders such as Griffiths, de Valera, Collins, etc., would seek a compromise "short of our goal." The safe ordering of their class interests demanded this. As this regard workers can learn lessons from them.

Only the working class stood to gain economically and in every other respect from a complete break with the Empire and City of London. Therefore only that class could lead the nation to independence, giving a determined lead to the small capitalists, the small farmers, the shopkeepers, the middle-class intellectuals, etc. Leadership by the latter element could only be indecisive and end in compromise and a return to the old status quo. This in fact is the situation 50 years after Connolly's death. The Free State capitalists have gone back into the U.K.

The Commemorators

The same capitalist elements who either condemned the Rising at the time, or afterwards murdered those who remained loyal to its aims, have now celebrated the 50th anniversary of the event with parades, speeches, High Masses and Prayer Services.

They have nothing in common with Connolly and his aims—any more than whoever happens to lead the millions-strong privileged officialdom in Russia next year in commemorating the Revolution of October 1917 will have anything in common with Lenin and Trotsky and the aims of the Revolution they led.

It's been said that the only reason Cosgrave or de Valera didn't shoot Connolly was that the British relieved them of the necessity. One thing is certain: Connolly were he alive today would not have gone within a million miles of the Establishment's 50th anniversary celebrations. He'd have stood well apart from the boss class and their dog-collared and uniformed servants. He'd have poured scorn and contempt on the semi-detached State and government of "the rack-renting landlords and the profit-grinding capitalists."

What has the present set-up in Ireland North or South got to do with Connolly's programme?

Like Tone, Connolly sought to unite Catholic, Protestant and Dissenter under the common name of Irishman. He

saw a growing movement of the working class, of the "men of no property," leading the country to that "Political and Social Freedom" which "are not two separate and unrelated ideas, but are two sides of the one great principle, each being incomplete without the other." Connolly knew that a purely nationalist-capitalist movement of the Sinn Fein type could not win independence nor maintain national unity. It could not appeal to the Protestant working class and win them to the idea of a united Ireland.

What has the so-called educational system in the 26 Cos. got in common with Connolly's programme? It is managed by narrow-minded clerics. Recently a young writer, John MacGahern, lost his job. He'd married in a registry office. A book he wrote was not approved of by Rome-Rule-in-the-Schools. In this way do the capitalists and the church further divide the Irish people by providing grounds for the mistrust of the Protestant workers in the North. Connolly advocated "public control and management of the national schools by boards elected by popular ballot."

The Free State Army patrols the Border with the British Army. It is sent to Cyprus to help the British there in maintaining "peace." In the Congo it heped the big U.S., Belgian and other mining interests to repress the Congolese National Movement in blood, and murder its leader Patrice Lumumba. In the U.N. the 26 Cos. vote is cast not on the side of the struggling African, Asian and other peoples, but on the British, French and U.S. imperialist side. On Ireland's national demands the Dublin delegation is of course silent . . .

Are the children of the nation "cherished equally"? What of the majority of Irish children who never see the inside a secondary school, much less a university? Of these more than 50 per cent don't even take the primary school examination. Obviously a minority of "the nations children" are more cherished than the majority . . .

One could go on—The non-existent social services, the massive emigration. The scores of thousands of small farmers—60,000 under the second economic programme—who are forced off the land into British industry. The Offences Against the State Act invoked against a basic right such as the right to withdraw one's labour. And now Lemass finds de Valera's constitution too "democratic"! It doesn't lead to "efficiency," he says. This is the Constitution which gives a special place to the Roman Catholic religion and thereby would deny religious equality to one million Irish citizens in Ulster.

This document was written by de Valera in English. His translators did it into Irish for him. The Irish version is the definitive one, in case of a dispute over interpretation. Unique!

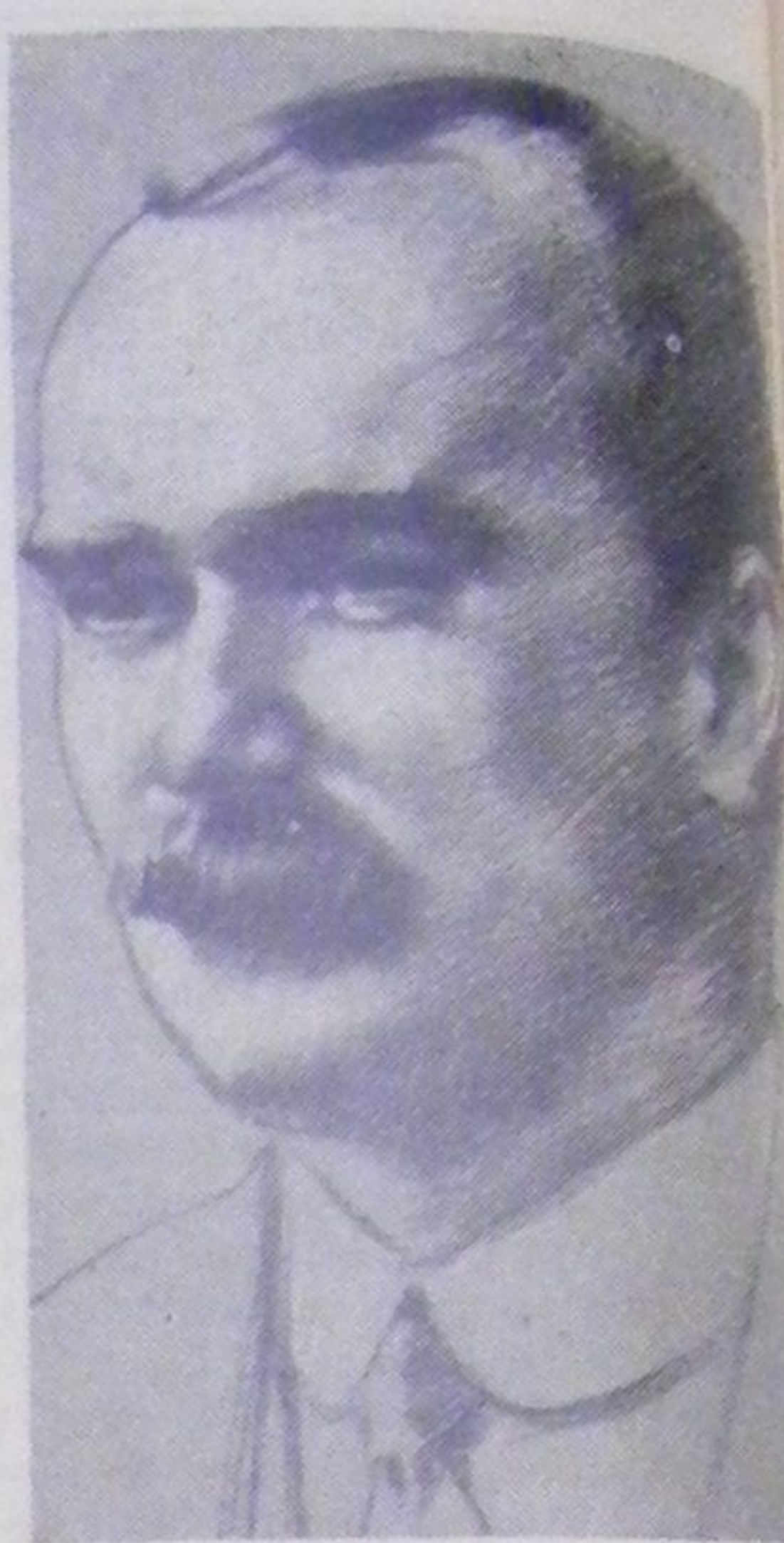
There'll Be Another Day

In the coming struggle for Ireland's freedom, the workers must lead. The programme of Connolly and Larkin is as valid as ever it was. The Protestant workers can be won to a United Ireland if that unity is posed in Socialist terms.

The Green Tories have taken their 26-Co. State back into the U.K. With their Tory colleagues in Belfast they'll go into the Common Market. This will mean the complete clearance of the small farmers off the land, increased emigration, the turning of Ireland into a ranch-cum-holiday resort. The Irish working class must and can alone give the lead in achieving the only alternative open to Ireland today which also permits the achievement of the goal of the 1916 Rising.

We must make the Workers' Republic our slogan, the Starry Plough our banner and the Citizen Army our model. We must counter Lemass's Common Market plans with our own plan: for a Workers' Republic as a free participant in a Socialist United States of Europe.

In common struggle with the British, French, German, and other workers of



Europe against our common enemy the capitalist class, we could yet, in Connolly's words, "set the torch to European conflagration that will burn out until the last throne and the last capitalist bond and debenture will be shrivelled on the funeral pyre of the last War lord."

No force can resist the Socialist working class of Ireland and of Europe. Police Minister Lenehan fussing officiously about in the Dublin parliament is but as a midget when the workers flex their political muscle. The Citizen Army will march again. Beidh la eile ag an bPaorach . . .

(continued from p. 1)

summed up in the remark of one of its leaders that "Northern Ireland is an ordinary bourgeois state." In other words the national question is a distraction. This faulty perspective has led the Y.S. into some strange positions. For example: when members of Irish working-class organizations were in Mountjoy jail without trial for picketing the Dail the Belfast Y.S. were organizing discussions on Wilson's prices and incomes policy. When the Derry Unemployed Action Committee initiated a campaign of agitation last February the Y.S. dismissed it on the ground that it was not a national issue. (It is—in Britain.)

It is the duty of the Irish working class to build Irish socialism as its contribution to the building of world socialism; we must settle with our own bourgeoisie first. Any attempt by the N.I.Y.S. to build a leadership for the Irish working class will fail unless and until they appreciate the simple fact that they are operating in Ireland and must campaign on the issues immediately affecting Irish workers.

On the face of it all this seems to leave us with a pretty barren prospect but there are some hopeful portents. In West Belfast Gerry Fitt has shown that Protestant workers can be won to a socialist anti-partitionist platform, that they are not, as some seem to think congenitally incapable of discerning their own class interests through the miasma of Tory propaganda.

We do not believe that Fitt and the Republican-Labour Party are capable of leading on to an Irish Workers' Republic. But we do recognize that despite his ultimately futile social-democratic philosophy he did stand on a socialist platform and did attract to the mass of the West Belfast working class. In that sense and up to that point his victory is to be welcomed unequivocally. It should be used as the starting point of a campaign to organize and mobilize the Ulster working class behind a socialist banner. Socialists within all working-class organizations in Ulster must fight for policies which serve the working class. They must face up to the partition issue. They must not be deterred by the fact that at present it smacks of imperialism. Its class basis must be laid bare. When that is done, when the half-hearted lefts are politically exterminated, we will no longer see workers trying to tear each other to pieces in the streets of Belfast at the behest of a non-Socialist cleric.