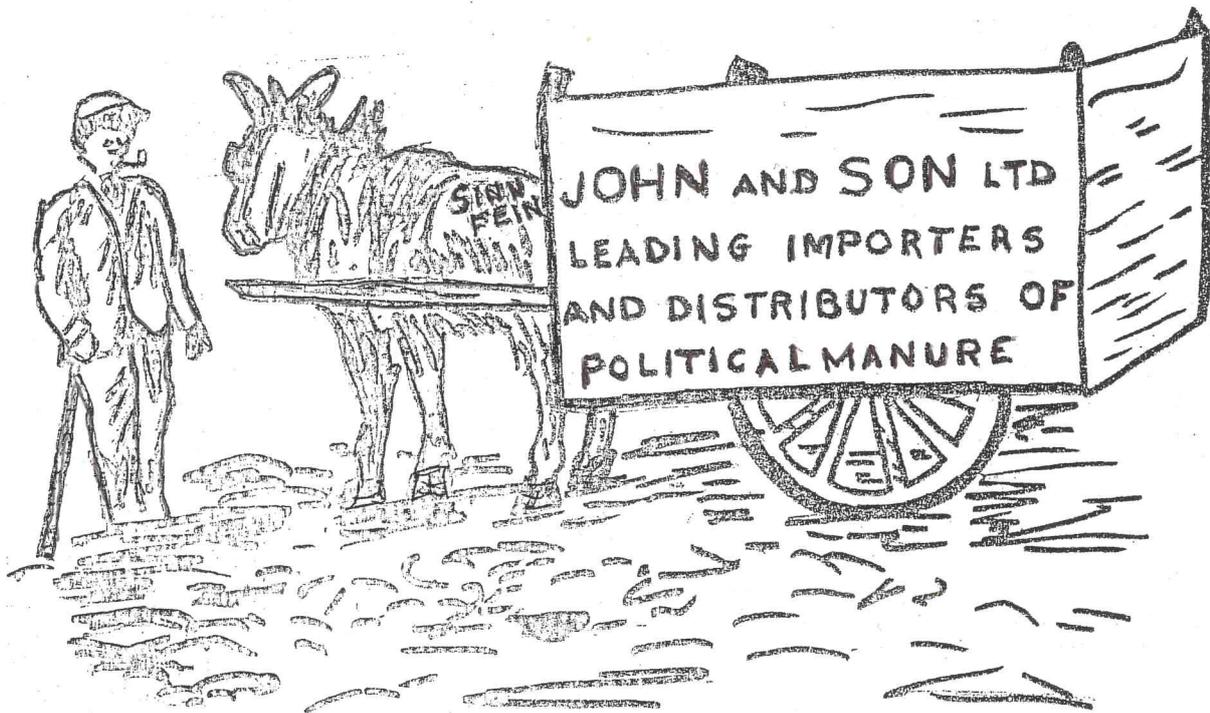


AN PHOBLACHT

The Republic

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THE OLD GREY MARE
SHE AIN'T WHAT SHE
USED TO BE.

EDITORIAL

THE BEGINNING OF A NEW YEAR offers as good an excuse as any to justify a brief review of our activity since we began in 1965, and of the principles which motivated the continuation of our venture.

AT THE OUTSET WE STATED OUR objects were to combat that revision of fundamental Irish revolutionary goals which was then, and which still is taking place in the Republican Movement; and secondly, to present Irish Republicans with an alternative programme which would truly relate the traditional revolutionary aspirations of our people to prevailing conditions. At the time those behind AN PHOBLACHT considered their resources adequate for such a task; and it was not only our hope, but also our determination, that the pages of AN PHOBLACHT would represent a reasonable balance between the demands of these twin objects. However, circumstances were to prove a formidable obstacle. The demands of combatting deviationism and revisionism within the ranks of organized republicanism increased at a tempo, and expanded to a degree we had not originally anticipated. Consequently, more and more space was required, urgently required, to deal with these matters, while the educational task pertaining to revolutionary programme, policy, tactics, organization and so on, found less and less coverage. You might say that this could have been easily rectified by enlarging the size of the paper. Unfortunately many circumstances, of which limited resources was not the least, mitigated against this, so that AN PHOBLACHT had to remain limited to twelve pages.

BRIEFLY, THIS IS THE MAIN reason why we have, over the past year, devoted most of our coverage to attacking the rot which is undermining the very foundations of our REVOLUTION, while at the same time we have fallen behind in the associated necessity of reiterating those principles of revolutionary action which proffer the only road to National salvation. We were forced to make a decision; and only time can tell whether or not our choice of tactics was correct. We would like to say, however, that many people who can be extremely vocal in their opposition to the present trends in the Republican Movement, and who also "complain" about this "one-

sided" aspect of our operations, have in most cases shown no inclination whatever to render assistance towards rectifying it, by contributing towards the publication of a larger paper. Talk and "complaining" comes cheaply; but we must remind this particular brand of critic, that the publication of AN PHOBLACHT relies mainly on voluntary contributions from working people alone; people who forego the small amount of "luxury" their inadequate wages normally allow, so that this paper continues to see the light of day.

THERE ARE SOME MORE PEOPLE WHO, in their political innocence, suggest it is to the detriment of our cause when we persist in making known our opposition to the "official" illegal organization. They will readily agree that the present set-up is rotten through and through; that no good can be expected from it; but they feel Republicanism's dirty linen should only be dragged out in private, and not in such public a fashion as we are wont to do. For some unexplainable reason these people feel that this tends to help the enemy. But we ask: how can this be so when it is well established that the enemy is in most cases better informed on what is going on, both through the normal functioning of his political police and his retinue of informants, than are most rank-and-file Republicans? The truth is, by bringing all the dirty-work out into the open we are, in the long run, of greater danger to the enemy than if we kept our mouths shut. Because by openly combatting the backsliding and double-dealing, we are forcing this issue to the point where it must be faced squarely. Once this is done, and it must be done, Republicanism will then be in a state of mind to put its house properly in order; which will result inevitably in the emergence of a revitalized Republican effort that will present a greater danger to the enemy than does the present farce. In addition, we must STRESS that this business of the Irish Revolution is not the exclusive domain of the few who are organizationally engaged in the functioning of Irish Republicanism. The Irish Revolution is the affair of all the Irish people, and they have a right to know what is going on. The Irish people should know, they must be made cognizant of, the

deals, the political horse-trading and the base deceptions presently rampant throughout a movement that is in no way timid in forwarding the claim that it, and only it, represents the real interests of the Irish people. Furthermore, we must again stress that our attacks are against certain lines of policy which are being openly pushed by a specific clique of people; and that at no time have we dwelt on matters detrimental to the security of any undertaking against the Partitionist regimes. Indeed, we have more than once refrained from touching on matters which we considered might be even remotely construed as falling within such terms of reference. However, we most assuredly will not be silenced by manipulators who would, if they thought they could get away with it, slap a "top secret" label on everything they do, in an effort to keep their "fancy-work" hidden from the knowledge of the people at large. The Republican Movement is not an Irish version of the Mafia, you know; it is a political organization responsible to the people it claims to represent. And this business of keeping one's mouth shut, while the fortunes of Republicanism go to the dogs, has been prevalent for far too long already amongst Republicans. The past decade or more has seen too many stout-hearted men "purged" from the movement, just because their ideas conflicted with those of a few public-house rebels who had succeeded in converting the realm of leadership into a private domain. And these "purged" men suffered, and they continue to suffer the ignominy of being denied the honour of serving the cause they love, just because that self same leadership succeeded in putting across the insidious notion that men should take such treatment lying down, without giving voice to their sentiments and their rights. Should any one dare to do so, the idea was fostered that such opposition was tantamount to the basest treason. This proposition is preposterous in any sane approach to politics; and in so far as we are concerned, we shall do our utmost to see that it finds its proper ending. Of course they thought they had finished us like they had finished those before us. But therein lies the mistake that portends their downfall; because we will fight back; we possess the stamina to fight back; and in their perfidious souls they know this, as do they know that with right on our side we possess the ability to massacre them in any open debate on hard facts.

IT IS RIDICULOUS TO SUGGEST THAT we should keep quiet on matters we feel very strongly about. Our opposition to the self-styled "Progressive" section of the Republican leadership is founded on fundamental issues, and is in no way a personal conflict. Essentially, the question is one of REVOLUTION versus REFORM. We maintain, and we defy anyone to prove otherwise, that Irish Republican objects always have been, and continue to be revolutionary. As a consequence, we maintain that anyone who proposes to operate under the banner of Irish Republicanism, must regulate their activity according to the dictates of revolutionary struggle; because it is absurd to propose the realization of revolutionary ends by other than revolutionary means. Surely the truth of this simple proposition can be grasped by all who so desire! However, the "Progressive" leadership of the Republican Movement pursue a contrary course of action; their policies are determined by Reformist objects and not Revolutionary ones. They propose to reform the existing order, and not revolutionize the base of existing social structure. They claim to be revolutionaries, while refusing to promote a revolution. Herein lies our bone of contention with them. Their position is untenable to the extreme; and their claims to an allegiance to Irish Republican objects and traditions are as preposterous as those of the man who alleged his occupation to be that of a cowboy on a chicken farm.

WE HAVE HEARD IT SAID RECENTLY by an individual who lays claim to an ability to read, that we "claim force as a principle..." and that if we "could get Ireland free without force (we) wouldn't accept it." Now, we covered this question in the very first issue of AN PHOBLACHT, in an article headed: PHYSICAL FORCE: ITS ROLE IN THE IRISH REVOLUTION; as well as touching on it on subsequent occasions. We are not going to delve deeply into our position on force now, because for one thing it would require too much space to deal adequately with it. But anyone capable of reading simple English can peruse the back issues of our paper, where he will find our position clearly stated, and in accordance with accepted practices throughout the revolutionary world as a whole. In capsule form we said: "Force is the mailed fist of revolutionary principles; but it is not, and never can be, a revolutionary principle in itself..."

and while it should be obvious to revolutionaries that although it is correct to believe in force as the means of forwarding the revolution, it is of paramount importance to retain perspective between the means and the objective." (No. 1, Sept. '65) It would be difficult for an honest man to misconstrue this statement; he may not agree with it, but it would be damn difficult to misunderstand it. We realize, of course, that the "Progressives" do not misinterpret our position on force. We have never intimated they were stupid men at least that element which constitutes the brains behind present developments. But we have said they are proficient in the art of political manipulation and double-talk; that their only

answer to our charges lies in attempts to confuse and cloud issues; and the foregoing illustration surely demonstrates this.

THERE ARE MANY MORE FACTORS relating to our position which should be touched on; especially since the "Progressives" are attempting to counteract our charges by nefarious means rather than by open debate. However, lack of space is a problem, so they will have to wait until another time. In the meantime, let all true Republicans remain alert; let them keep their eyes and ears open, and they too shall readily ascertain what we maintain: that the Republican Movement is presently in the hands of interlopers.

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WILL THE "CLANN" BE SOLD-OUT?

ONE COULD HARDLY SAY WE WERE surprised, when we were recently supplied with evidence on the behind-the-scenes activity by "Progressive" elements of the Republican leadership, to bring about a UNITED FRONT between Clann na hEireann and the Connolly Association. This move fits so logically into a well-defined and time worn pattern, that we would really be surprised if it did not occur.

WE KNOW, OF COURSE, THAT A great number within Clann na hEireann are more than a little hostile towards the idea of throwing their lot in with the British Communist Party. And who could blame them? Indeed, our information tends to imply that if the Clann was to decide this issue in a democratic manner, the proposal would be quickly dumped. Hence, all this recent pressure from the "brass" in Dublin; the communications and trips across "the pond" with the aim of ensuring that the proposal of co-operation, which is on the agenda of the forthcoming Ard Fheis, will be treated in the desired manner.

WE MUST ADMIT, HOWEVER, THAT WE are more than a little disappointed to see a high and hitherto respected officer of the IRA, using the prestige of his position, and the respect he has won for himself in the eyes of all Irish Republicans by his past actions, in the interests of such a sordid mission. There is something pitiful in seeing a man such as this running across to England to bring his influence to bear in the making of a decision which he must, unless he is hypnotized, fully realize would be of no good in the

long run to the welfare of the Irish Republican cause.

WHAT POSSIBLE ADVANTAGE COULD be derived from such a United Front? Anyone with a brain in his head knows that all the Connolly Association is interested in, is seeing to it that the PARTY LINE of the British Communist Party is "pushed" amongst the Irish workers in Britain. If these characters could get a "respectable" base of co-operation with Clann na hEireann, then they would be in a "great" position to peddle not alone their garbage about voting for the British Labour Party, but also that bit about a "Parnellian solution" for the Irish Revolution. In the past, they have not been overly successful in their efforts to get control of the Irish in Britain, and for obvious reasons. Now, with the appearance of a strong organization in the form of Clann na hEireann, their chances of doing their dirty work have diminished further. Indeed, unless they can tie in with the Clann, there is a good chance that they will lose even that small foothold hitherto enjoyed by them.

WE ARE NOT GOING TO TELL Clann na hEireann what it should do on this question of throwing in their lot with the British Communist Party; because if the members of that organization do not already possess the intelligence to see the game that is being played, there is little chance they would listen to us. In any event, we are placing on record our opinion on the matter, by drawing attention to this latest attempt by Goulash Communists to infiltrate the Republican Movement in order to de-revolutionize it. THAT IS THE ISSUE AT STAKE.

CONSTITUTIONAL HUMBUG!

WILL IT EVER END?

IN THESE DAYS, WHEN TALK OF "constitutional action" emanates so strongly through the backdoor of the "Sinn Fein Club", it is fitting that we should recall a legitimate voice of the IRISH REVOLUTION to speak once again to the people, and especially the youth of Ireland. And since we are to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the Fenian Rising this year, it is doubly fitting that we should do so, because that voice is the true voice of Fenianism, propagating its message in clear, precise and positive language. All Republicans, all who think themselves Republicans, should dwell on the content of the following article, because this is the spirit and the substance of the Irish Revolutionary gospel as it relates to the seizure of state power. If you do not subscribe to its principles, then think twice before you march forth this year to claim a Fenian inheritance. Because no man can walk in the footsteps of Fenianism, no man can claim allegiance to the motivating principles of Fenianism, UNLESS he follows the road they blazed. It is as simple as that!

THE ARTICLE ITSELF WAS PUBLISHED in THE IRISH PEOPLE of January 30, 1864. It was occasioned by the emergence of the Irish National League, which was founded by a group of self-styled nationalists and erstwhile Young Irelanders, whose primary purpose was an attempt to counteract the growing strength of the revolutionary effort then under the leadership of the IRB. Today we have men masquerading under the cover of Sinn Fein, who are endeavouring to do much the same thing. They preach the old boggy of constitutional agitation, while at the same time working hard to kill the voice of revolution. In the past we of AN PHOBLACHT have spoken out on this issue, and have been called all sorts of names for doing so. Now, we give you the voice of Fenianism; if you have condemned us, then you must condemn it too, because we speak the same tongue!

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NO MORE AGITATION HUMBUG

WE HAVE MORE THAN ONCE EXPRESSED our belief, that the vast majority of the Irish people are heartily

sick of agitations and all movements in which public meetings and platform spoutings are had recourse to as a means of national regeneration.

YET, IT WOULD SEEM THAT A FEW knaves and fools still hug the delusion, that they can revive this worn-out blatant system, which, more than any other cause, has brought calamity and ridicule upon Ireland.

PERHAPS 'TWERE OUR WISEST COURSE to treat these would-be political revivalists with silent contempt. Our countrymen in general are no longer quite so "green" as to listen to palaver of the agitation school. Yet, as here and there some well-meaning persons might, through want of sufficient reflection, be induced to waste their time and energies in co-operating in this puerile, not to say vicious, attempt to resuscitate a strangled system of humbug, we shall endeavour to show how fraudulent and delusive any Irish movement, based on a plan at all akin to the agitation system, must necessarily be.

WE BELIEVE ALL TRUE IRISHMEN who think justly, will agree that, in order to save and elevate Ireland, her sons must, before and above all things, make her an independent nation.

NOW, AN AGITATION OR PLATFORM movement of any kind, we maintain, is utterly powerless as a means whereby to win Irish independence.

IT IS TRUE, THAT PARLIAMENTARY agitation, by inspiring a terror that arms would be resorted to if concession were too long delayed, helped to win Emancipation and the Reform Bill. But the wealthy and influential Catholics of England joined the Irish in demanding Emancipation. Besides, it in no way interfered with England's domination over Ireland; in short, it was not an international question. But Repeal, or any such international question could never be achieved by parliamentary agitation. Power is never yielded by nations or large bodies of men, save to visibly superior force; and only victory in the field could make Ireland's force visibly outstep England's.

SOME PEOPLE, INDEED, WILL ADMIT the inefficacy of parliamentary

agitation to win Irish independence, or even Repeal; but still would argue, that it is good to have it as a blind to cover ulterior designs. All such deception we believe to be demoralising. We believe that if you mystify the people, by inducing them to give their adhesion to what you know to be a false method of action, you will fail, at the crisis, to make them sieze with faith and manly energy the true means. When the day of action comes, they will be sure to prove waverers.

BUT IN ADDITION TO ITS BEING incapable of effecting what our people want, parliamentary agitation is in a thousand ways demoralising. Even if it could win our independence, independence so won, would do no good; for freedom to do good, must be gained with difficulty and by heroic sacrifice, in the face of perils and death. Now, the entire method of action in a parliamentary agitation is inglorious. It teaches falsehood and bluster, lip-loyalty and heart-treason; makes people neither manly rebels, nor good subjects. It teaches them to distrust men of independent mind, and give their ears to political sycophants and "loafers", who debauch their souls with fulsome praise, calculated to make them think all effort at self-improvement needless. It teaches them to look on politics as a huge job and game of thimble-rig; to believe that all needful good can be won without self-sacrifice: and hence, men learn to pollute their tongues by such sayings as these--"no amount of liberty is worth the shedding of a drop of human blood," and as we ourselves once heard a farmer say, "what good would liberty be to me if I were killed?" In all agitation movements, too, men are judged by a low standard. There are no grand actions; paltry deeds are the theme of outrageous panegyrics. Men no longer aspire to take high flights or look on true fame as their quarry, satisfied with cheaply-won notoriety.

THE DEGRADING, SWINDLING trickery of parliamentary agitation can only, then, be a benefit and a joy to those who find their "highest good" in political corruption -- to patriotic barristers, who want to become, at any price, QC's and MP's and eventually, judges; and to patriotic editors, who want to become, at any price, aldermen and knights bachelors!

BUT, POSSIBLY, THE PARTIES, NOW attempting to revive agitation,

will commence by disavowing parliamentary action, and will announce from the outset, that they intend their agitation as a means of preparation for the achievement of Irish independence in an unparliamentary a manner as Wolfe Tone himself, if he were alive again, could desire. To such a plea we should answer, that an unparliamentary platform movement for Ireland's redemption is just as absurd as a parliamentary one; perhaps even more so.

WHAT IS IT WE IRISHMEN WANT to-day? Is it not, as we said before, our independence? How is this to be achieved? In one way alone; that is in the way by which only other subject nations have ever shaken off the tyrant's yoke. But, for this end, men must train themselves; and they cannot do so by an agitation movement in the teeth of a strong power like England. A great power will not allow you openly to prepare to cut her throat. The madness of our '48 policy vividly illustrated this. In fact, in no country on earth, but Ireland, would the people, if under a foreign yoke, think of preparing to throw off a foreign yoke by a blatant platform movement.

MOREOVER, IN PLATFORM movements, the wrong men are always sure to be brought to the surface and placed at the head of affairs. It is not the men of intrinsic worth who get the direction of such movements; but those who have handles to their names, the respectables in short, without consideration as to whether they have any share of brains or not. Thus, in the '48 movement, not the ablest men in Ireland became prominent or acquired leadership, but some of the weakest. The council of the Confederation was composed of weak men; and the presidents, vice-presidents, and secretaries of the clubs were too often imbeciles. Had they not even a rule, that a priest or a barrister, on joining became ex facto a member of the council? The barrister might be the dullest mortal, who ever eat his way to the bar; still the destinies of Ireland were committed to his guidance. To the priest, likewise, they were committed, without question being asked as to his allowance of brains; and, after all, priests have ere now been known to be stupid men. How differently they do business on the continent! In movements, framed according to the continental system, men, no matter what their rank may be, are sure to find

their level. Men come to be tested by their brain and virtue: "worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow."

BESIDES, PLATFORM MOVEMENTS are sure to develop in our young men, undue vanity and a love of hearing themselves talk on councils and committees, insubordination and other bad qualities, that must unfit them to be soldiers. In the club movement of '48, conceit and empty-headedness reigned. Platform movements are necessarily unmilitary, and, consequently, bad for a nation that wants to free herself from a foreign yoke. As a general rule too, divided councils are the result of a platform movement; whereas unity of direction is now absolutely essential to Ireland.

IN SHORT, NO MORE INSANE AND wicked idea could enter the brain of fools and knaves, than the notion of reviving the system of agitation. It broke down in the hands of O'Connell, in spite of

his great abilities. It brought home shame and discomfiture to the men of '48, and, for a time, ruin and ridicule to the country. That men should be now found so silly or criminal, as to attempt the revival of the confederation system (especially men, some of whom had personal experience of its absurdity), is a new and deplorable instance of human fatuity.

WE WOULD FAIN, THEN, RECALL those misguided men from the wrong path, upon which they are entering. Let them take views more honest and sounder of the position in which Ireland stands. At all events we expect, we know, that the overwhelming majority of our countrymen will give them no countenance. Irishmen are thoroughly aware that a new platform movement could only benefit trading politicians and trading editors. It would create a paradise of schemers. Finally, it would just sell newspapers and sell the country: - "Only this and nothing more."

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WOLFE TONE SOCIETY EXPOSED

LAST MONTH THE WOLFE TONE Society began its activity in Cork; so it would now appear that this body is slowly but surely extending its network. As a group the "Society" is numerically small; and for this reason most Irish Republicans are inclined to overlook its significance. But the question is: WHO are these people? WHY do they deem it necessary to create their ad hoc committees in the major centres throughout the country? WHAT are their objects?

ACCORDING TO THEMSELVES, THE Wolfe Tone Society represents a "select group of people." Their Bulletin, TUAIRSC, "is small and select in its circulation", sent only to people "who are 'opinion-leaders' in the various branches of the progressive movement." Their objects, again according to themselves, are "to develop an effective programme for the progressive movement in Ireland, republican and labour."

NOW, THE FIRST LOGICAL QUESTION IS: why do people who are already placed within the leadership of Sinn Fein and the IRA deem it desirable to set up yet another body independent of these organizations, so that they can "develop an effective programme"? According to the constitutional authority of

both Sinn Fein and the IRA, programme and policy fall exclusively within the realm of the National Conventions. Why then do not these people, who are engineering the Wolfe Tone Society gimmick, "develop" their "effective programme" within the framework of the movement to which they already belong, rather than resort to the setting up of a private organization to do so? Actually, in point of fact, the setting up of such a private caucus (which is all it is), and the activity as a whole, is in violent contradiction to the basic laws of both organizations. According to all hitherto procedures these people should be kicked out of the Republican Movement on the basis of evidence openly supplied by themselves. Instead, however, we find them being "promoted", while men who have served time in jail for undertakings that are legitimate according to all traditional courses of Irish Republican activity, are getting the door.

THE KEY TO AN UNDERSTANDING OF what lays behind the Wolfe Tone Society, can be found in the make-up of its leadership, and in its definition of what constitutes a progressive movement in Ireland. Taking the latter first: according to the "brains", a progressive

movement, in context with prevailing political conditions, represents "republican and labour." In plain language: A coalition between the present Republican Movement and the Labour Party. Now, the origin of this "bright idea" is easily determined, since over the past few years it has been the theme song of the Irish sections of the British Communist Party; to wit, the I.W.P., the C.P.N.I., and the Connolly Association. And it is highly peculiar, to say the least, that the people who are "pushing" this particular concept of a progressive movement, both within the Republican Movement and the Labour Party, are all "former" (sic) members of one or another of the foregoing sections of the British Communist Party. The very same men are, of course; active also in the Wolfe Tone society; indeed they are its guiding hand. We can, and will, name names if we have to; although we would prefer not to, since this is a political question and not one of personalities. In any event, anyone with a few brains to knock together can readily establish for himself who these people are, and where they are.

WE WANT TO MAKE IT QUITE CLEAR that we are not "red baiting" when we present these facts; because we know from experience that this is what will be said in reply by those people, in an attempt to obscure the issue. As revolutionary Socialist-Republicans, who subscribe to a philosophy of politics which combines the Revolutionary Nationalism of the Fenians with the Revolutionary Socialism espoused by James Connolly, we oppose these people and their actions for two basic reasons. Firstly, we strenuously oppose the activity of people who receive THEIR DIRECTIVES from a party not belonging to the country, and therefore not primarily interested in the welfare of our country. The fact that the party in question is the British Communist Party is immaterial; the principle of external interference is indirect violation of the concept of national sovereignty inherent, not alone in the principles of our Revolutionary Nationalism, but also in those of our Revolutionary Socialism. Secondly, we oppose the activities of these people because, although they are communists in name, they are actively opposed to the implementation of Socialist Revolutionary principles in practice. By virtue of their party affiliations they are in fact committed to a course of app-

easement or, as their party line has it, "peaceful coexistence", with the status quo in the imperialist dominated section of the world; and insofar as Ireland is concerned, this means they will not embark on, sponsor or give assistance to any effort which has as its object the complete overthrow of the present regimes. Anyone with even a limited knowledge of international politics, knows this to be true of such Communist Parties as that of Britain. And while we never did believe that the British C.P. was a revolutionary party even in the best of times -- and its attitude towards the Irish struggle over the years adequately demonstrates this -- the fact is, whatever "Radicalism" which may have invigorated it at one time, has by now dissipated into a downright reaction, and as a party it has become nothing more than the "servant boy" of British imperial interests. This party and the people associated with it no longer even pretend to fight for socialism. As HIBERNIA of September last put it when speaking of the affairs of the Free State Labour Party, and the association, or possible association of Communists with it: "strangely enough, Communists are more fearful of a strong and effective socialism in the Western world than any other political doctrine." It may be "strange" to the writer in HIBERNIA why this is so; but to revolutionaries, whose occupation dictates they be well versed in international as well as national politics, it is by no means "strange" that this is the case.

AS REVOLUTIONARIES, WE ARE NOT opposed to receiving assistance from, or of giving assistance to, revolutionaries in other countries. And this is not alone an obviously practical and logical attitude to take, but it is also in the spirit of a tradition handed down to us intact from the United Irishmen. But we will not condone, or stand idly by, while fake revolutionaries attempt to infiltrate the ranks of Irish Republicanism under the express orders of a British political party, and with the express purpose of steering the efforts of Irish Republicanism along lines positively advantageous to ruling class interests.

WE READILY ADMIT THAT IRISH Republicanism could do with enlightenment with respects to matters relating to revolutionary programme. We readily admit that over the past few decades Irish Republicanism has been endowed with a socio-political outlook that was in many respects the antithesis

of our revolutionary traditions. But we'll be damned if we will subscribe to the notion that all of this can be rectified by importing a few "party hacks" from the British Communist Party.

OVER THE PAST 150 YEARS THE social and political aspirations of the Irish people have been side-tracked and manipulated by the Irish bourgeoisie. The embryonic social revolution of the 1880's was stifled by Parnell. As Connolly said: It was class interest "which prompted the Irish middle-class leaders to abandon the land fight, and to lend their energies to an attempt to focus the whole interest of Ireland upon Parliamentary struggle as soon as ever a temporary setback gave them an opportunity to counsel a change in tactics." The political revolution of 1916-'22 was in its turn also killed by the Irish Bourgeoisie, at that stage when it began to show signs of expanding, as was inevitable, to dimensions which would engulf and eradicate middle-class interests and influence. This also was because of class interest, and the result of that particular betrayal is PARTITION, with all the social and political disadvantages the working classes of the country are now experiencing in full; and which are presently germinating a social and political unrest that points clearly to a coming revolutionary upheaval. It could well be that the revolutionary struggle which began with the United Irishmen, and which was side-tracked in turn, and with momentary success, by the O'Connellites, the Parnellites, the Griffithites and the deValeraites, will find its logical conclusion in the upheaval that is now fermenting. History will decide. But it is clear, however, that the Irish middle-class can no longer hope to control such an upheaval if it should occur. And it is in the light of such knowledge that we evaluate this present foray of British Communist Party hacks into the realm of Irish Republican activity.

IF THESE PEOPLE WHO GET THEIR spiritual guidance from King St. were really Marxists, they could, like Connolly, openly assert a legitimate claim for a position in the forefront of the Irish Revolutionary struggle; and we would have no rational basis for opposition. But they are not; and this is blatantly demonstrated in the proposition of the Connolly Association for a "Parnellian solution" as the only means by which they advocate victory for the Irish working classes in a coming

struggle for state power. A "Parnellian solution" means a parliamentary solution; and by its own definition it also means a middle-class or bourgeois solution; because who can deny that either Parnell or the politics he pursued, were anything but bourgeois? In conformity with this "party line" we find the hacks who have penetrated Republican ranks pursuing the same object by a diversity of means: that is, the adoption of a "Parnellian solution" by the Republican Movement. That they are succeeding in their diabolical plans can be seen in the trends of Sinn Fein policy over the past few years. To be fully successful however, both the Sinn Fein Republican and bourgeois Labour blocks must be merged in some form of united front; and it is primarily for this purpose that an independent platform, to wit the Wolfe Tone Society, was formed. In plain language, the Wolfe Tone Society is itself but a front to enable the smooth functioning of a caucus of party hacks who are split between the Sinn Fein and Labour parties. It provides them with a base of operations, and the necessary cover from which they can push their "Parnellian solution" across on unsuspecting Sinn Fein republicans. which clearly demonstrates without any further elaboration from us, that these pseudo-rebels are now attempting to do what the middle-class can no longer do for themselves. They are trying to once more side-track the Irish revolution into channels which do not in any way threaten the fundamental interests of the ruling class.

WE SHOULD, PERHAPS, MAKE IT clear before concluding that we do not say that everyone in the Wolfe Tone Society is automatically tied to the machinations of the British C.P., or that they are all fully cognizant of what is actually afoot. We merely say that this particular "Society" is controlled by such men. No doubt the "Society" is also used as a means to sound out and recruit additional adherents to the social-democratic banner. But besides such operations it is of vital necessity to these people that their "Society" includes a fair share of individuals who cannot in any way be connected with the parent body. Such individuals, as any student of politics knows well, provide the COVER for the real business at hand. Normally, the individuals chosen for such a COVER role -- and we stress chosen, because as the "Society" itself says, it is a "select body." -- are usually men

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BIG SELL OUT ON THE WAY!

SLOWLY BUT SURELY THAT politico-economic order which holds Ireland in its grip is sliding towards a crisis. The ruling class are uneasy, they are beginning to feel unsure of their position for the first time in nearly forty years, and they have begun already to shop around for any conceivable expediency which may hold the key to their continuation in power.

IN THE FREE STATE THE OLD PARTIES have nearly shot their bolts. Both Fine Gael and Fianna Fail are anachronisms. In long-term calculations these parties no longer possess a reliable capacity to adequately serve the interests of an Anglo-American orientated Irish bourgeoisie. Hopefully the intellectual cadres and political propagandists of the ruling class have cast their eyes on the Labour Party. With its safe and "realistic" brand of pseudo-socialism it may help to fit the bill. And what about Sinn Fein? Might not it too play "a useful role in the political life of the country", if only it got rid of its infernal hankering for the "gun"? Ah yes! There's a lot of purposeful probing for a "way out" going on these days in ruling class circles; because as the Irish Times so blandly put it: anything would be better than "a Marxist-IRA combination" emerging in such unsettled times to threaten the very existence of our democratic and Christian order. Isn't it amazing how solicitous capitalists can become for both democracy and religion when a threat to their wallets looms in the horizon?

THERE IS NO DOUBT BUT THAT A Sinn Fein which would PLAY THE GAME could be a decisive asset to the present ruling class in a period of crisis. Now that Fianna Fail has succeeded in alienating the bulk of the urban and rural workers, and the working farmers, who represent the primary source of Republican sentiment throughout the country, an alternative "Jack of the Lantern" must be found to captivate their attention and channel their Republican sentiment along "safe routes". At present Sinn Fein would appear the leading candidate for this task. Most assuredly the Labour Party cannot fulfil this particular role with any great success; but a Labour Party-Sinn Fein coalition could

BY PADDY MAC

render great service to the system. Indeed, there is no longer any doubt that the so-called "progressive" elements of both parties have arrived at such a conclusion, and are working overtime on their plans for its implementation. Like all political opportunists, these characters - the bright young men - can see that the ruling group's approaching difficulty is their one great opportunity; an opportunity not to smash the system, as is the revolutionary method, but to ingratiate themselves with the system and corner some of the gravy for themselves.

THE SUDDEN RISE OF INTEREST IN the fortunes of the Republican Movement over the past year or so, the great concern for its welfare that has evinced itself from the most unrepublican of quarters, and the mounting deluge of suggestions from learned quarters that Sinn Fein should emerge from the "clouds" and indulge in "practical politics"; all of these indicate a well organized campaign to prepare the ground for a switch in Sinn Fein's position. The Sinn Fein party itself would appear by now to have been whipped into line, as indicated by the proceedings of the last Ard Feis. But to be successful the manoeuvre must carry with it the bulk of republican sentiment, otherwise the sell-out would be worthless. This, of course, presents its own special type of problems, one of the more critical of which is timing. To move too soon could be as bad, if not worse, than moving too late. And it was in the demands of such tactical considerations that, at the last Ard Feis, a motion to enter Free State politics was withdrawn on the advice of the platform -- withdrawn mind you, and not kicked out. Obviously, the leadership does not deem the time yet ripe when their determined treachery will bring its maximum remuneration.

ANOTHER PROBLEM FACING SINN FEIN in such a political somersault is that presented by the remaining "extremists" within the IRA portion of the movement. If not handled correctly this group could, even yet, blow the game wide open. They have to be handled in easy stages; eased out bit by bit to

avoid the danger of anything more than a mere ripple of dissension within the movement as a whole at any one time. The proficiency with which this somewhat delicate task is being handled must be admired. One by one the "trouble-makers" are being kicked out; under cover of grandiose, but mythical, plans for action, arms are being collected from the different units around the country; so that very soon, if indeed not already, the IRA will be reduced to a complete impotency. It's all very slick. The "progressives" hope that by carrying the present movement intact with them, they will be able to enjoy the best of both worlds: they can collect their rake-off from the ruling class for services rendered; and at the same time retain Republican support as a base for their political aspirations.

THEY ARE, OF COURSE, ALSO counting on the inability of that large number of "unconnected" Republicans to react in harmony to such treason. Or at least, it would appear that the "progressives" calculate that the time-lag between their SWITCH and a co-ordinated reaction from the now scattered ranks of revolutionary Republicans, would give them a sufficient breathing space to consolidate their position -- in a manner reminiscent of the Fianna Fail stunt. Most assuredly their chances of pulling off such a caper would be enhanced if they could retain the IRA under their wing, while at the same time destroying its ability to act in its traditional manner. To eliminate the IRA completely, and it would appear that the "progressives" now have the power to do just that, would be a blunder, since this would only clear the road for the immediate rise of a new organization. The simple fact is, if the IRA broke with the Sinn Fein crowd even at this late date, it would be a catastrophe to the wheeler-dealers, since it would serve as an already established base for building an immediate counter-action to the determined sell-out. Whether or not the "progressives" will succeed in this particular phase of their operation, remains to be seen. For our part, we have done, and are doing our best to foil their plans. We offer a rallying point for all Revolutionary Republicans; and there is no doubt at all but that the "progressives" appreciate fully the danger even our continued existence alone presents to their plans. This is

readily discernible from the vehemence of the hostility they evince towards us, and the lengths they are prepared to go to destroy our operation. One instance of the latter is to be found in their unceasing attempts to discover both the publishing and printing sources of AN PHOBLACHT, so as to be able to "rat" to the staters. Felon setting! Hell, the present Sinn Fein characters have reduced it to a fine art, and it is we who know it only too well.

IN THE FINAL ANALYSIS THE question of greatest concern to all Revolutionary Republicans, is that relating to the extent of damage which can be inflicted on the Republican cause by a sell-out on the part of Sinn Fein. The fact that a clique of pseudo-republicans have decided on changing their political-jerseys is, in itself, of little importance. In truth, if the affair could be confined to this alone, it would be for the better in the long-run, since it would clean Republican ranks of that accumulation of "unreliables" who have talked and connived their way into strategic positions of influence over the past few years. However, should they succeed in presenting their treachery as the expressed desire of organized Republicanism, and this is precisely what they are trying to do, then, considerable confusion, uncertainty and even cynicism could result throughout that large section of the national community who form the backbone of support for all Republican undertakings. If this should happen, then, the damage inflicted on the Republican cause would be tremendous, and could well take a generation or more to repair. It does not require a great political sagacity to see that this could happen all too easily; and if it should happen, then it would be a little on the late side for Republicans, who are now remaining aloof from the struggle, to shake themselves out of their present inactivity. This is why we of AN PHOBLACHT have pursued such an unrelenting course over the past year or so. At the least, we are aware of what is at stake. We know that the question is not merely one of Sinn Fein going over to the enemy; it is primarily a question of survival for the traditional revolutionary cause of our country. And in a struggle such as this there can be little time for political niceties. THE QUESTION IS NO LONGER ONE OF: Will Sinn Fein sell out; it is one

of: when will Sinn Fein sell out? It is our opinion that the next elections on the local government level will be used by Sinn Fein as a sounding board. Should they do well, "Bob's your uncle," and they will be on their way. The trends of the economic crisis will, of course, also play a decisive role in the issue. But all of this is largely immaterial; the hard fact is, time is running out for Revolutionary Republicans. Revolutionary Republicans must act now, or else it will be the case of closing the stable door when the horse has bolted. We are not suggesting that all Revolutionary Republicans must perforce unite under our leadership, to combat the prevailing winds of treachery. No! All we ask is that such persons come together in their own districts and form a grass-roots basis for a national gathering, which can decide on a new Revolutionary leadership to fight not alone the present sell-out, but also to reorganize and build a dynamic movement to carry our traditional banner forward in this new era of REVOLUTION. The present Sinn Fein leadership styles such a rallying-cry disruptive tactics. We call it ordinary common sense; we call it progress; we call it a vital necessity for the survival of our revolutionary heritage. What do you, the thousands of Republicans who are at present without any organizational commitments, call it? Or do you propose to hum and hah, and avoid the responsibility of making a decision under every conceivable pretext? Do what you will. But mark my words, and mark them well: you cannot avoid your responsibility; you cannot sit safely on the ditch when major issues are at stake; and if the fortunes of Irish Republicanism should suffer because of your inactivity, then, YOU are every bit as much to blame as the men who actually engineer the sell-out. It could well be that the future generation will ask: Where were you in '67? Will you be able to answer: In the ranks of the REVOLUTION. Or, are you going to spend all your time concocting excuses? The time for decision is on hand. It is on hand NOW!

TO OUR READERS:

WE regret having to omit the concluding portion of the article: FREEDOM: What Does It Mean?, due to a lack of space. It will be concluded in the next issue.

EDITOR

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with a considerable egotism combined with an infinite innocence, and, or, ignorance of politics. They are easily enough seduced when they are told they possess considerable potential as "opinion-leaders"; and their complete lack of political knowledge minimizes the chances that they will readily deduce the nature of the business being actually transacted.

THIS IS NOT THE FIRST TIME SUCH a gimmick as the Wolfe Tone Society has been used in politics; although it is true that the practice is relatively new to Ireland, at least in its present form. However, this is not the point; the fact is it is now being used to the detriment of the Irish revolution, and it is up to all Irish Republicans to put an end to it, and at once! We cannot afford to wait until it is too late!

LONG LIVE THE IRISH REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE!

DOWN WITH TRAITORS, FLUNKYS, LACKEYS, APPEASERS AND COMPROMISERS.

A GRATIFYING RESPONSE

WE MUST SAY THAT WE WERE overwhelmed by the response to our article on the "arms issue." Not alone did we receive many communications on the question, but we have heard that some of the boys acted with traditional haste to ensure they would not be completely naked before the enemy. It was good news to hear.

NO DOUBT, THE SCHEMERS WILL say that this is yet another example of our splitting tactics. But then everything that conflicts with their plans for a "Parliamentary Revolution" is construed as being to the detriment of the Republican cause by them; and this, my friends, can cover a lot of ground.

WE WERE GLAD HOWEVER THAT OUR hint has been acted on. If nothing more, it proves that many within the IRA are more awake than some give them credit for, and this is for the good. There are great issues on the political plane that must be decided on one way or the other; but until this is done, it is paramount in our view that all IRA units retain all the arms they can. No doubt there are many IRA men who do not agree with us; if for no other reason than they react automatically against anyone who openly challenges the status quo of the movement. We accept this as natural; but we still say: HOLD ON TO YOUR WEAPONS MEN!

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