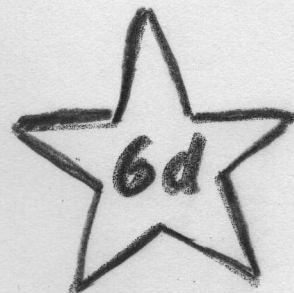


PEOPLE'S VOICE

JANUARY 1969. NO.3



BUILD A NEW IRELAND

Big Bill! Your Capitalist Buddy



GREETINGS FRIEND! AND HOW ARE YOU enjoying that New Year's gift from benevolent Big Brother in Leinster House? Higher taxes; dearer food; costlier appliances; tighter credit. Well, as the man said: someone's got to foot the bill, and when big business is in there calling the shots through their parliamentary stooges, you can bet your bloody life you are picked as the sucker bait. Yes, You! you poor working stiff.

WHEN YOU FIND THE OLD QUID AIN'T what it used to be during the coming year, sure you can always console yourself with the thought that it's all in a good cause. The poor old Tee Dee's were badly in need of that raise. Didn't the Labour Party say so, and we all know the Labour Party is in there slogging away in the interests of the workers --and they can quote Connolly now and then to prove it. Make sure you vote them into power the next time friend. I won't go so far as to say things would be better; but at least we could all starve in dignity under the banner of Labour; and that would surely be a great thing.

THEN, OF COURSE, YOU HAVE ALL THE great plans for industrial expansion. You can't expect American, English

and Continental capitalists to risk their hard earned money on a thing like that, can you? Remember Potez? That cost a few million smackers; or should I say it cost you a few million, seeing as how the lads in Leinster House were so generous with your money. 'Tis you paid for that gamble friend; and you will also get the bill for the proposed new tyre factory in Dublin. Some experts are already wondering how a new factory to make motor car tyres can make a go of it, seeing as how Dunlops in Cork is already experiencing difficulties in exporting their products. But why should such a trivial detail worry the capitalists who are involved in this new venture. If it goes, they will reap the profits; if it flops, they can always pack their bags like the Potez boys, and leave you holding the baby. It's all in the cause of progress; so be prepared to dig deeper into that pay packet of yours friend; someone's got to pay the piper, and you're elected to the honour.

Cont'd next page.



WELL: AT LEAST WE'RE BEING FLEECEED BY OUR OWN --- IT MAKES ALL THE DIFFERENCE

THEY TELL US WE EXPORTED A million pounds worth of goods every day last year; an increase of 16% over the previous year. However, there was no mention of where the profits went. All you heard about it was the need for higher taxes. We also grew more first grade wheat last year than ever before, so the price of bread went up. It's all very logical -- if you are a capitalist. Should we continue to progress at this rate, it looks like we'll all have to emigrate so as to afford the prosperity.

OF COURSE THERE'S NOTHING YOU CAN do about all this. You're not so foolish as to get tied up with those dastardly communists, who go about mouthing foreign and atheist propaganda about the working class taking things into their own hands. What silly nonsense. Can you imagine the mess workers would make of the country if they hadn't their bettors at hand to lead them along? 'Tis all very well to talk about such things over the safety of a pint, but if the workers ran a cheaper and more efficient form of government, and they'd be stubborn enough to do just that, sure it would cause Civil War. The

people couldn't stand it nor would it be fair to expect them to accept such an ungodly arrangement.

THAT'S RIGHT FRIEND, SHRUG YOUR shoulders and say to hell with it all. Maybe things will get better tomorrow. Maybe! According to the prophecies of Columcille the capitalists are going to have a remorse of conscience one of these days, and square up with the workers. Could be they will at that. Stranger things have happened ---- I think.

IN THE MEANTIME FRIEND, WHILE you're waiting, don't do anything foolish, like getting the notion it's about time you took your future in your own hands for a change. Only idiots get mixed up in that sort of thinking. It's good and proper that you get out there, fight and even die if necessary to guard the welfare of your masters; but beware of those sinister characters who suggest you'd be better off fighting for yourself. Obviously, such people must be tied up with some foreign crowd or other, because did ye ever hear an Irishman utter such profanity.

* * *

CRUISE ALONG WITH LABOUR

CONOR CRUISE O'BRIEN'S JOINING THE Labour Party is indeed a feather in the cap of the parliamentary group. To the astonishment of many Corish and Co. tripped over one another in their welcome of the "intellectual". Many thought the "old guard" feared personalities of O'Brien's stature. If so, why then this sudden change?

THE ANSWER IS SIMPLE ENOUGH. Labour has great hopes for the next election. Should their optimism be justified, they are badly in need of personalities who radiate the magnetism of radicalism, without being in any ways radical in fact. A character like O'Brien can be a

great asset to the Labour Party. He will give them a bit of "glamour" in the political race; he could well attract support from bourgeois liberal quarters; and last but not least, he could provide the necessary antidote to the assortment of "reds" the party has picked up over the past few years.

IF THE LABOUR PARTY IS TO PLAY A "responsible" role in the capitalist set-up, it must rid itself of all the questionable elements it has attracted to it. Idiots like Corish just haven't got it for this job. But with an articulate and able spokesman like O'Brien in the leadership, things will be different. It is to be feared that those who thought they could manipulate the party for purposes other than those it was intended, are in for a big drop in the near future. The theory of "boring from within" is due for a let-down and make no mistake about it. Those who have peddled this bankrupt line are already aware of this fact; hence the sour faces when the "great" news became known. The parliamentary "pinks" will have to think up another scheme for their "peaceful road to Socialism." Let's see what they come up with next, now that the Labour Party is on the way to bourgeois respectability.



CRIMINAL JUSTICE BILL

AS WE GO TO PRESS, IT NOW appears that as a result of wide public disquiet, Mick Moran, Free State Minister for "Justice", is about to drop several sections of his notorious Bill.

DID YOU SEE THE "PUSS" ON HIM when he appeared on "7Days" T.V. Programme early in December? He certainly looked the part; a mouthpiece for the higher Civil Service; but unfortunately for them, a very inarticulate mouthpiece.

THEIR INTERVIEWER HAD HIM SO TIED up in knots, that the best he could do was repeat himself over and over again. No doubt about it, Fianna Fail must be short-handed when Jack shovelled Mick Moran into "JUSTICE".

IT'S GOOD TO SEE SO MANY PEOPLE opposing this Bill; but a great pity they didn't shout as loudly about the notorious "Offences against the State Act," which was used recently against the farmers by Fianna Fail, and by Labour Minister James Everett during the 50's against the I.R.A. and Sinn Fein.

LAND AGITATION

EARLY IN NOVEMBER SAOR EIRE initiated a struggle for land on behalf of the smallholders and landless men in the Doneraile area of Co. Cork. Leaflets were distributed throughout the area urging the people to band together to fight landlordism. Our members went into the countryside and discussed the problem with the people most affected. Talking to these

people gave us all a deeper understanding of the hardships they endure, and taught us far more than we would ever learn in years of reading about the agrarian question.

WITHIN WEEKS OF THE START OF OUR campaign, the Land Commission announced it had acquired the Doneraile estate. Encouraged by this success, smallholders in the Farrahy district of Kildorrery stepped up their campaign for the breaking up of Bowenscourt estate by the Land Commission.

MANY MEETINGS HAVE BEEN HELD IN the area by the recently formed Farrahy Land Club, which draws its membership from smallholders within a mile radius of Bowenscourt estate. An interesting piece of news, heard by our county organizer on his most recent visit to the district, was a suggestion by one small farmer that Bowenscourt estate could well become a co-operative venture, to be used by all the smallholders for grazing purposes.

AS WE SEE IT, THIS SORT OF activity represents one of the best means of developing agitation in the countryside under present conditions. It is in the interests of the Nation that the countryside continues to provide a livelihood for as many as possible, and the only way this can be done at present is by breaking up the big holdings. When viewed abstractly, it can be argued that such activity militates against the development of the agricultural sector; that it thwarts the natural development of the agricultural sector under capitalism, and is as a result reactionary from the Socialist viewpoint.

SUCH AN APPROACH MAY WELL APPEAR fine on paper, but the hard reality

remains that the consolidation of large agricultural production units automatically entails an exodus from the countryside. We do not possess the necessary large scale industrial base to absorb this flight from the land. Our displaced rural population must of necessity emigrate to survive. This is the crux of the problem facing us. Are we as Socialists to stand idly by, while the needs of capitalism reduce our population even further, and by so doing contribute to the depletion of the Nation's primary resource --- people --- upon which depends its future reconstruction along Socialist lines?

THIS COUNTRY MEANS NOTHING TO US without its people. And if it is necessary to agitate against the more "efficient" development of the land under capitalism, so as to retain as great a population as possible within our shores, then we will do so. We are by no means oblivious to the fact that small holdings are economically unsound. But under a Socialist system this problem can be solved without sacrificing our people. Under capitalism it cannot.

IF, LIKE SOME, WE WERE TO VIEW the future development of a Socialist Ireland within the framework of a "British Isles" confederation, perhaps we would not concern ourselves with such "Petty bourgeois" activity as fighting for the interests of the small farmers, etc. But we do not accept such a proposition. We stand for an independent Socialist Ireland, which will contribute constructively to the International Socialist scene. We do not have to sacrifice our distinctive revolutionary heritage, or our national identity to be Socialists; we reject such a proposition out of hand. What we do intend, is to struggle for Socialism in Ireland according to the dictates of objective conditions. Presently, these determine we oppose the extension of capitalist farming by all the means in our power; and we do this not to save the small farmer as such, but in the interests of the Irish People both now and in the future. Let it never be forgotten that Socialism concerns itself first of all with PEOPLE, and not with production figures. This is its strength; this provides the foundations for its invincibility.

GREEN "B" SPECIALS?

O'NEIL'S THREAT TO CALL UP THE "B" Specials to maintain law and order in the 6 Counties had in it a certain amount of sick humour, when you consider that the Paisleyites are drawn predominantly from the ranks of the Specials. Yet, it showed up the quandry facing Stormont. The forces at its call are proving themselves a questionable asset. Who then can be relied upon to do the dirty work without calling in the British Army?

CALLING IN THE SPECIALS WON'T SOLVE anything. If anything it could make it worse. However, a way out is in the offing; Austin Currie, Nationalist M.P., has offered his services as a Stormont cop; and in the uniform of a "B" Special at that! He also suggests that Civil Rights stewards should offer their services in the same capacity! And there were people who questioned our sanity when we said last month that Nationalists will fight Stormont's battles for it yet, and think it a great thing!

SAOR ÉIRE

MEMBERSHIP

THOSE in the Cork area, who are interested in the objects of Saor Éire, are invited to call to Arus Saor Éire, 9 St. Nicholas Church Place, (off Cove Street) any Monday night at 9 p.m. Those who are unable to do so, can write to make arrangements with our organizers.

HELPERS

THOSE who are interested, but for one reason or another feel unable to give a full commitment to Saor Éire, can still contribute to the Cause by such activity as distributing our monthly Paper at their place of work etc. Such people are also welcome to call at Arus Saor Éire between 8:30 p.m. and 9 p.m. on Mondays and Fridays.

IRISH CAPITALIST'S £25,000 CAPER

THE MYSTERY SURROUNDING THE ousting from PYE IRELAND of the Stanley's of Clonakilty, over two years ago, has at last been broken. The re-entry of the younger Stanley to big business life, and his clean breast of his past activities with PYE, got an airing in the financial columns of one of Britain's larger newspapers last month. Predictably, the press in Ireland saw fit to gloss over this interesting bit of news about one of their own class. Not so if the story was about a working man caught stealing food for his family.

THE WHOLE AFFAIR WAS KEPT hush-hush at the time, because of the embarrassment it would cause in Irish Tory circles. What actually happened was that the Stanley's, unknown to other members of the PYE board, transferred 25,000 pound from PYE IRELAND to a company in England known as British United Industrialists; which happens to be a fund-raising agency for the British Conservative and Unionist Party.

IN OTHER WORDS, PROFITS MADE by Pye (IRELAND) Ltd. were handed over to the British equivalent of Fianna Fail's TACA. It must be remembered that PYE made many a pound out of installing equipment for R.T.E., which, need we remind you, was financed by the Irish Taxpayer. Anyway, whether the money handed over came by way of State contracts or not, the fact remains that 25,000 pounds made on the sweat of Irish workers went to finance the British Tory Party.

WHEN THE STANLEY'S WERE OUSTED, PYE, aware that the secret would come out eventually, and conscious of the bad effect their link with British Toryism could have on their Irish customers, immediately started building a new image. And lo and behold, today we have a bold "republican", and a friend of "rebel" Jack Lynch at the helm--none other than D.C. Digby-Dillon himself; who is an executive member of Fianna Fail's (Irish Tories) fund-raising agency TACA. Enough said.

They're At It Again!

WELL, THEY'VE DONE IT AGAIN; the garda pensioners that is. First Dublin, and now Cork; 18 traffic wardens in Cork City in December, and every one of them ex-gardai.

WHEN GARDA PENSIONERS WERE FIRST given these jobs in Dublin, we raised the matter, and called for action by the unions on behalf of our unemployed. We said then, and we say now, "Why the hell should these jobs not be given to the unemployed. Dammit all, with over 2,000 unemployed in Cork, surely there are 18 among them with the capabilities for this job. And who would be more deserving; the young family man, or the ex-garda with his pension in his pocket?

HOW VIGILANT ON BEHALF OF OUR

unemployed is our Cork Council of Trade Unions, when ex-garda's can scoop the field? If this kind of discrimination against the unemployed happened in Derry in favour of R.U.C. or Loyalist pensioners, everyone down "South" would join in the chorus of CIVIL RIGHTS.

OUR UNIONS MUST PUT THEIR FOOT down against this kind of unfair treatment of our unemployed, and as workers, we must (unfortunately) push our union leadership every inch of the way.

FOR OUR PART, WE WILL CEASE TO object to garda pensioners taking up this or other jobs, when a situation of full employment is reached. So get with it CORK COUNCIL OF TRADE UNIONS.

POSTCARD

OF THE YEAR



* Free Protection 1930 *

The Special Powers Act Northern Ireland

Under the Act the authorities are empowered to:

- (1) Arrest without warrant;
- (2) Imprison without charge or trial and deny recourse to habeas corpus or a court of law;
- (3) Enter and search homes without warrant, and with force, at any hours of day or night;
- (4) Declare a curfew and prohibit meetings, assemblies (including fairs and markets) and processions;
- (5) Permit punishment by flogging;
- (6) Deny claim to a trial by jury;
- (7) Arrest persons if he desired to examine as witnesses, forcibly detain them and compel them to answer questions, under penalties, even if answers may incriminate them. Such a person is guilty of an offence if he refuses to be sworn or answer a question;
- (8) Do any act involving interference with the rights of private property;
- (9) Prevent access of relatives or legal advisers to a person imprisoned without trial;
- (10) Prohibit the holding of an inquest after a prisoner's death;
- (11) Arrest a person who "by word of mouth" spreads false reports or makes false statements;
- (12) Prohibit the circulation of any newspaper;
- (13) Prohibit the possession of any film or gramophone record;
- (14) Arrest a person who does anything "calculated to be prejudicial to the preservation of peace or maintenance of order in Northern Ireland and not specifically provided for in the regulations."

OF the many cards circulated this Christmas, we think few can rival this one from Belfast, which so forcibly puts in perspective the hypocrisy of talking about Peace and Goodwill, while the forces of oppression and exploitation continue to hold sway in our country.

IN its own way, we think this card an example of revolutionary art, in that it uses a popular form of seasonal greeting to spotlight the prevailing mode of class rule in the Six Counties. A little imagination could easily produce an equally effective card for use from the Free State during the coming year..

LIKE all Socialists, our ultimate goal is universal Peace. But there can be no PEACE without FREEDOM; and there can be no freedom for the mass of the People without SOCIALISM.

LIKE our Northern brothers let us then not speak of PEACE, even at Christmas, until we have first laid the foundations for it -- Through STRUGGLE to SOCIALISM to PEACE. This is the only road open to the working People of IRELAND.

**HAPPY
CHRISTMAS
FROM FASCIST ULSTER**

JUST FOR THE RECORD

THERE IS ONE FEATURE OF THE CIVIL Rights campaign in the 6 Counties which appears to have been accepted by all those who are forever talking about the ability of Irishmen to manage their own affairs. This is the abject begging from all sides for Britain to step in and straighten out the mess.

IF WE ARE TO BELIEVE THE PROPAGANDISTS of the National Cause, Irishmen have fought for 800 years to get the English out of Ireland. We are told again and again that if we could only get rid of them, everything would be all right. Now, we can't have it both ways; do we want to get rid of British meddling, or don't we? It is about time a clear-cut stand is at least taken on this issue. If we want to manage our own affairs, then why go running to Daddy -- or as the Sunday Independent puts it: "our cousins across the water" -- when a complex problem arises within our national boundary?

LET US GET THE FACTS STRAIGHT. The trouble in the 6 Counties arises from the machinations of British exploitation. To suggest that Britain should now rectify the more blatant results of this exploitation is, first of all, an admission of her continuing right to rule in Ireland; and secondly, it constitutes a pre-acceptance of a

solution which, perforce, must be based on British interests and not on those of Ireland.

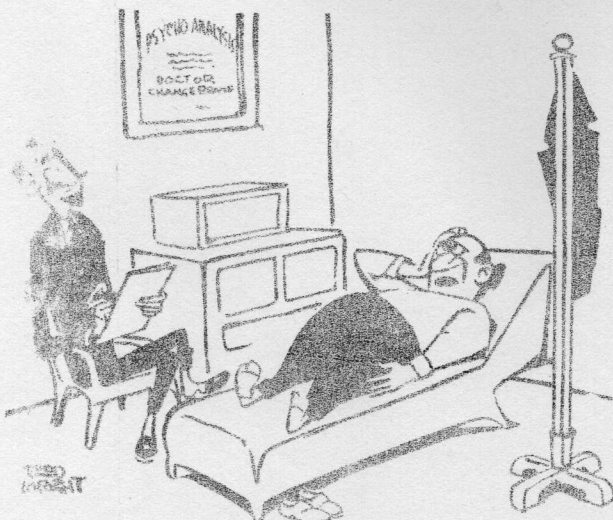
WE ARE BY NO MEANS AGAINST agitation for civil rights; but we ask: "What concept of civil rights is advocated?" Are we to take it that the McAteer's, the Fitt's and the Sinclair's are willing to concede the right of British rule in Ireland, if only British law functions as "impartially" here as in Britain itself? Are we to believe that such "political leaders" are in fact ready to sell the national identity for the price of being treated as regular British subjects? It certainly appears so, if we are to accept what they have said publicly more than once.

IN OUR BOOK, THE QUESTION OF CIVIL rights can, in the long run, be fought more successfully within the context of National rights, than when it is pursued at the cost of throwing the National question overboard altogether, as is now the case. There can be no real basis for civil rights in this country -- and the 6 Counties is still part of Ireland -- until the machinery of conquest has been dismantled. And there can be no real guarantee of civil rights for the mass of the Irish People, until the state is founded on the people's interests.

IT IS UNDERSTANDABLE THAT MIDDLE class politicians, irregardless of their religious allegiance, should strive to isolate the civil rights problem in the 6 counties from this more fundamental one, which entails not alone the question of National Sovereignty, but that of class rule as well. You just cannot expect the McAteer's and the Fitt's to direct a prevailing mass anger against that class system of government of which they are an integral part. But what about the socialists? Why have they not striven to place this whole question in proper perspective?

IT IS POSSIBLE FOR SOCIALISTS TO participate in the civil rights campaign, and it is feasible for them to even lead it, while at the same time projecting its particular grievances in their correct relat-

Cont'd 2nd column, p. 11



and lately I've actually caught myself listening to my employees references.

MARXISM SERVES THE PEOPLE

IN ITS INITIAL GENERAL STATEMENT, SAOR EIRE gave its object to be the mobilization of "the working People under the banner of Socialism," for the purpose of establishing a "People's Republic." This was given as the essence of its minimum programme.

IN OTHER WORDS, TAKING INTO strict account the actual balance of class forces in the country, it is our deduction that the first practical step towards achieving Socialism, lies in uniting the broad mass of the lower strata of the community, the majority, under a Socialist leadership, for the purpose of smashing the existing military-bureaucratic state machine; and replacing it with a civil system that bears the impress of the People's demands, and of their own attempts to build in their own way a new society. The establishment of a People's Republic, or a People's Democracy if you wish, would in this context reflect the distinctive historical and national features of Ireland, and the manner in which the task of forwarding the objects of the Socialist Revolution is correlated with them.

IN THIS LIGHT, THAT WHICH WE TERM "The People" is specified as consisting of the working class, the rural proletariat and the working farmer. Under existing conditions, it would also be correct to include intellectual elements and sections of the petti-bourgeoisie. All of these, in varying degree, bear the blunt of the exploitive functions of the existing capitalist system; and all could, as a consequence, be expected to contribute towards its destruction.

THIS DOES NOT IMPLY THAT AT THIS particular time the People could be

unified in concerted struggle on the clear-cut issue of establishing Socialism. What it simply means is that it is in the common interest to destroy the existing system, with the view to replacing it with one more amenable to the common good. On this premise, it is feasible to mobilize a popular struggle against the Capitalist State, for the purpose of supplanting it with a popular form of democracy, which would more fully involve the majority of the population in the discharge of state functions. In this fashion, quantitative changes can be realized which, on the basis of accumulation, can transform the qualitative nature of the state. The transformation of the Capitalist state to a Socialist State is thereby achieved by an intervening reversion to a form of primitive, or People's democracy.

THIS CONCEPT OF A PEOPLE'S revolutionary struggle is by no means new -- Marx dwelt on it as far back as 1871 in connection with the Paris Commune. It merely entails the principle of majority revolution as applied to the objective conditions of our specific situation; and to advocate another, or what some may style a "purer" course of action, would in fact violate even the most elementary requirements of dialectics. The principle of majority revolution is fundamental to Marxism; and a People's revolution is in harmony with this principle, in that it is one which sweeps the majority into its stream. To interpret the Socialist task in Ireland today on the hypothesis that nothing exists beyond the antithesis between the bourgeois revolution and the proletarian revolution, is to reduce Marxism to an utter state of wretched

distortion, devoid of all meaning and sapped of all revolutionary vigor.

WHEN WE SPEAK OF THE PEOPLE, AND of the People's revolution, we do not gloss over or ignore the peculiar characteristics of the non working class strata, nor the contradictions which exist between the working class and the other elements which make up the People in this particular stage of our historical development. These contradictions exist, and they will have to be resolved. But surely a perspective, based on the relative importance of the various contradictions which beset our society, must be maintained if progress is to be a reality.

TRUE, THAT SOCIAL AGGREGATE WHICH we in a strictly scientific sense term the "People", inherits contradictions; but only an idiot would or could consider these as representing the major contradiction which confronts us; and only a downright counter-revolutionary would disrupt the national struggle against imperialism and native capitalism, by accentuating these contradictions to the point of undermining the building of a concerted popular effort which has as its goal the elimination of the main contradiction -- that which exists between imperialism, the national bourgeoisie and the big landlords on the one hand, and the working class and the wide non-exploitive strata of the community on the other. This contradiction must first be resolved; a thing that can only be done by smashing the state machine which is the embodiment of its perpetuation. This is the preliminary condition for a free alliance of the "People", without which an alternative democracy is unstable, and socialist transformation impossible.

THE STAGE HAS NOW BEEN REACHED in Ireland where we must clearly differentiate between those who dabble in Marxism as an intellectual exercise, and those who are consciously attempting to relate the theory of Marxism to the solution of national problems. We have experienced over the past few years a breakthrough, which has finally drawn Ireland into the mainstream of 20th century political life. Marxism, which for so long had stagnated in the back alleys of our cities, has entered the country's political consciousness. Marxists, who more often than not were seen as some sort of diabolical animal,



have finally established their human origins to be on par with those of the community at large; and while their social and political remedies are not necessarily accepted readily, their mention no longer brings forth the holy water. All of this has in many regards proved intoxicating. But that political booze-up is now ended; Marxism is here to stay, and it is about time that Marxists got on with their real work, and not become addicted to the opium of armchair rebels -- talk as an exercise in mental gymnastics; talk for the pure joy of establishing one's superiority in phrasemongery.

THERE IS MUCH HARD WORK TO BE done. A party must be built which will give concrete expression to Marxist theory; a movement must be built which will give concrete recognition to objective conditions, and which will facilitate the application of a Marxist solution to the problems which confront the exploited mass of our community.

IT MAY BE SAID THAT PROJECTING these tasks in the context of a mere national struggle is pettibois; just another devious trick to fool the working class, and thwart the development of the class struggle. But if we do not fight the class enemy in the context of that historical and social entity of which we as Irishmen are a part; if we do not relate our

efforts to a confrontation with the bourgeois state which exploits our own people; what are we to do? This is no abstract argument; it is a practical question. What course of action remains open to us?

THOSE WHO SNEER AT A PEOPLE'S national struggle will in time unmask themselves for what they are without any help from us. In the meantime, we stand squarely on the interpretation that Socialist goals in Ireland today can only be approached on the basis of a national struggle, and solved through the efforts of a national organization. The time is fast approaching when all who claim to be Marxists must be judged on their commitment to this work; are they consciously contributing as best they know how to the creation of this necessary national organization which will lead the struggle; or are they giving lip service to Socialist objects, while at the same time engaging in activity which runs counter to the consolidation of the necessary national structure, through which such goals can only be attained. These are questions which need to be put; they require answering; and let the chips fall where they will.

TEN YEARS AGO, IT MAY HAVE BEEN relatively simple to fool Irishmen with doubletalk that passes in some quarters for Marxism. Today, they are not so green, nor do they believe that action in the name of Marx invariably means action in the cause of Marxism.

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Con's From D. B.

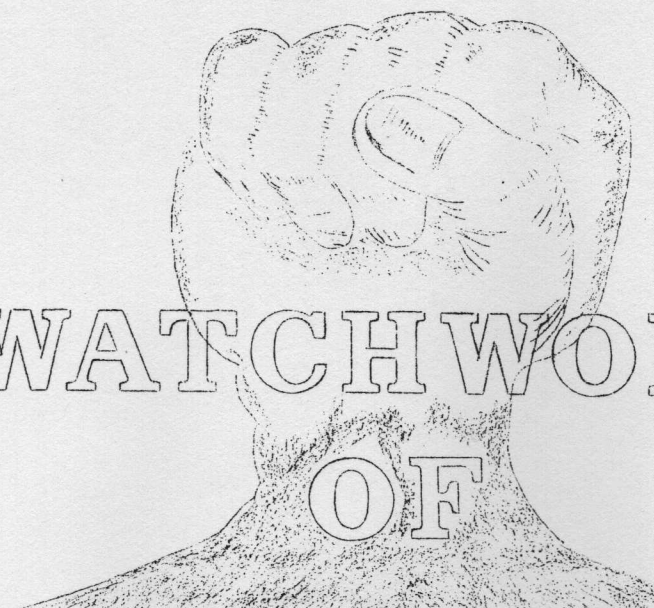
ionship to cause and effect. The issues raised by the current campaign are not effects arising from the non-application of British justice in the 6 Counties, but effects arising from the application of British rule there. British rule is the cause; and not as the politicians would have it, the non-functioning of that rule. Consequently, to rectify the effects, it is necessary to remove the cause; and not entrench it deeper as is the solution now advocated. It is the duty of socialists to clarify such issues as this; to educate the people on the real facts, and by so doing, at the very least present them with the opportunity to tackle their problems concretely.

SHOULD THE CIVIL RIGHTS AGITATION in the 6 Counties be identified with the struggle for National sovereignty, its ramifications transcend its present regional limitations, and by so doing, confronts the national community with a fundamental political question which has to be faced squarely. In this context the present agitation could well provide the spark to revitalize the National issue once more. Once this is done, then the class question must inevitably become a major political issue also; because, under prevailing conditions in the country as a whole, the national or anti-imperialist struggle can no longer be pursued without a direct confrontation with those class forces which presently dominate the nation; and it can no longer be solved without eliminating the rule of such class interests. Such a development would not mean that the grievances which the civil rights movement now agitates against would be lost sight of or pushed aside, but that their solution would be sought through the removal of their basic cause, rather than through an accommodation with their source.

IT IS NOT UNREALISTIC TO EXPECT Socialists presently involved in the civil rights campaign to elaborate on such matters, and establish their concrete relationship to the struggle now in motion. They cannot be avoided on the plea of tactical expediency, because such compromise is alien not only to Socialism, but also to the interests of the national community. Surely this fact is self-apparent to any real revolutionary?

* * *

THE WATCHWORD OF LABOUR



BY JAMES CONNOLLY

Oh! hear ye the watchword of Labour,
The slogan of they who'd be free;
That no more to any enslaver,
Must Labour bend suppliant knee.
That we on whose shoulders are bourne,
The pomp and the pride of the great;
Whose toil they repay with their scorn,
Must challenge and master our fate.

CHORUS

Then send it aloft on the breeze boys!
That watchword the grandest we've known.
That Labour must rise from its knees boys!
And claim the broad earth as its own.

Aye! we who oft won by our valour,
Empire for our ruler and lords;
Yet knelt in abasement and squalor,
To the thing we had made by our swords.
Now valour with worth will be bending,
When answering Labour's command;
We arise from our knees and ascending,
To mankind for freedom take stand.

Then out from the field and the city,
From workshop, from mill, and from mine;
Despising their wrath and their pity,
We workers move in line.
To answer the watchword and token,
That Labour gives forth as its own;
Nor pause till our fetters we've broken,
And conquered the spoiler and drone.

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Organisation: Saor Éire [Cork]
Date: 1969

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