

PEOPLE'S VOICE

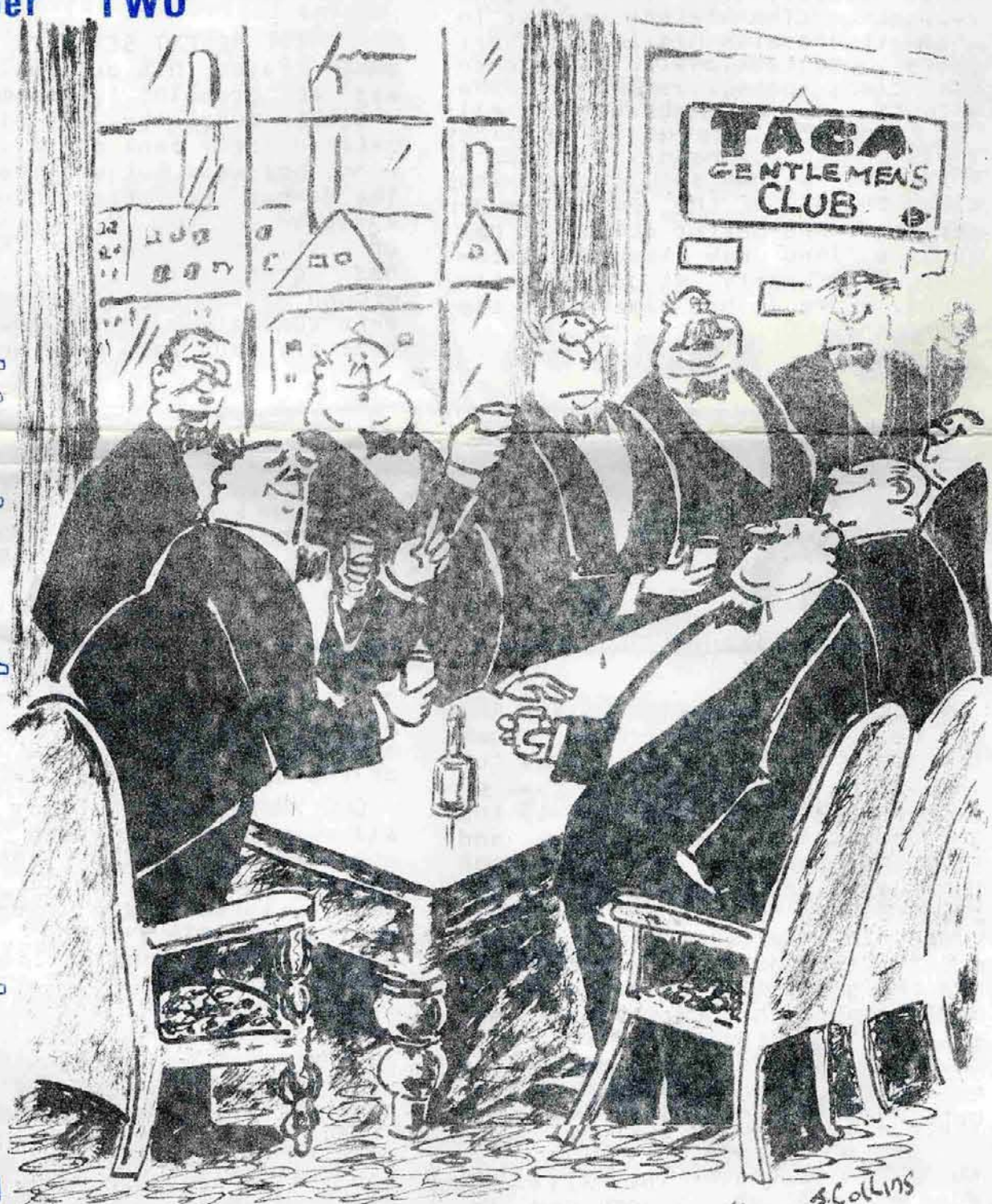


December 1968

Number TWO

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"TO THE WORKERS".....

The Workers Pal!

**says the
bould Jack**

TACA IS OUR NAME


the party. No doubt the word has also gone round to tone down that elitism which has been so blatantly manifest in the actions of TACA. But it will be difficult, if not impossible, to hide this feature completely.

"HE WHO PAYS THE PIPER CALLS THE TUNE", is an old saying which aptly describes the relationship between the rich man's club known as TACA, and the Fianna Fail Party.

STARTED BY LEMASS, THAT VETERAN OF over 20 company directorships, TACA has, however, backfired in some respects. The blatant manner in which it operates has, in two short years unintentionally sharpened the class consciousness of the workers, by demonstrating to all how Fianna Fail are but the willing tools of big business. Not alone this, but it has also changed the views of many of the party's supporters. And better still, it has gone a long way towards disrupting the party at grass roots level, where it has always had its strength.

THE TACA TYCOONS MAY CONDESCEND to nod now and then in the direction of the ejects who do all the leg-work and the dirty work for the party during election time; but on the whole, they are unlikely to do a good job in mixing with the rabble. The "new rich" invariably lack finesse for such essential socializing.

THE RECENT SEMESTER IN CORK demonstrated this admirably. Here was an occasion tailor-made to smoothen over the widening rift between party rank and filers and party bosses. But what happened? The dinner and free booze were reserved for the big business men of Cork, while the poor fools who had worked themselves into the ground during the referendum were left completely in the cold. The ordinary boys were good enough to



CATHAOIRLEACH	DESMOND MACGREEVY	PATRON	CHARLES J. HAUGHEY T.D.
COISTE	DILLON DIGBY NOEL GRIFFIN GERRARD JONES EOIN KENNY K.P. O'REILLY-HYLAND DENIS MCCARTHY JOHN REIHILL SAM STEPHENSON		
IONTAOIBHAI THE	NEIL T. BLANEY T.D. SAM STEPHENSON		
RÚNAI	HARRY BOLAND		
OIFIG	81 AMIENS STREET DUBLIN 1		

TACA

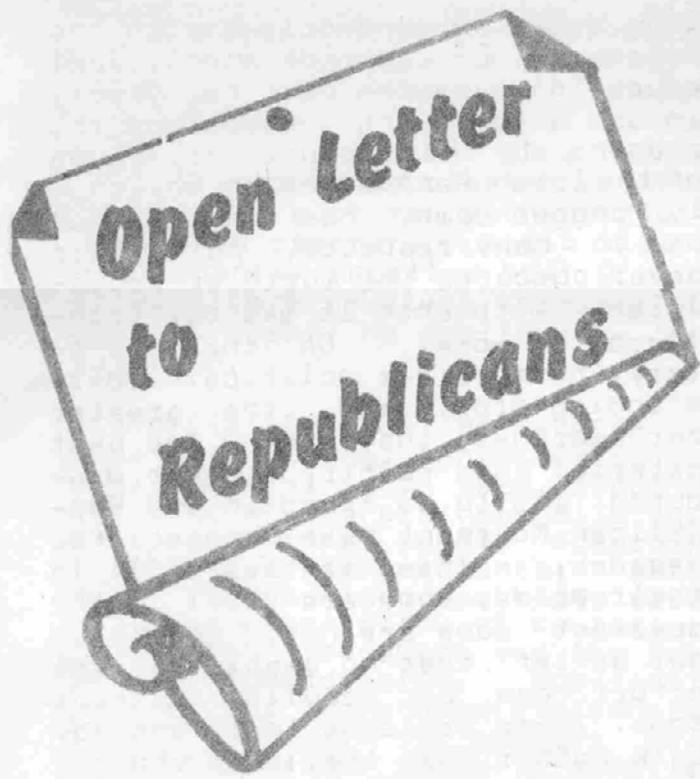
CONSCIOUS OF THIS TREND, JACK AND his merry men have already begun the job of creating a new image for TACA. The Freemasonry ritual of secrecy is to be modified by the introduction of open meetings and newspaper coverage. The sources of funds are to be disclosed -- it is said; all is to be open and above board. In a word, it is hoped that a good "snow job" will suffice to cod the gullible; and nobody knows better than the Capitalists who make up TACA, that a gullible following drawn from the masses is essential if they are to avoid resorting to open fascism to maintain their rule of exploitation.

do the dirty work; but they were hardly fit persons to spend an evening drinking in the company of the business men of TACA.

COP YOURSELVES ON BOYS: THAT'S all we can say to those workers who are tied in with Fianna Fail. Get out now; you still have a chance to serve the interests of your own people -- the working class. Why be bloody fools any longer? Just take a look at the big appointments, contracts and grants that the TACA boys land, and then look at your own miserable plight -- struggling from week to week to make ends meet. If nothing else, surely your self-respect will force you to act, now that the issue has been made crystal clear to you.

NO MATTER HOW FANCY THE PAINT JOB done on TACA, we are inclined to think the Irish workers will still recognize it for what it is -- a big business agency, set up to raise funds for a party which has shown itself more than ready to play ball. No doubt the fence mending has already begun within

JOBBERY IS OUR GAME



IN THE NOVEMBER ISSUE OF THE United Irishman appeared an article under the heading "THE DILEMMA OF SINN FEIN." It is reasonable to assume that this expresses the present thinking of the Republican Movement, since the paper is its official journal.

THE ARTICLE AVAILS OF THE RECENT referendum to draw conclusions which would certainly appear to reflect adversely on the future of Sinn Fein, and by implication, on the future of the Republican Movement as a whole. We recognize the forthrightness with which the article deals with a question such as this, it being a sensitive one to any organization. And since the doubts expressed have been released on the public domain, we avail of the occasion to comment, despite the possibility that the motivation for it may be misconstrued by some.

AT THE OUTSET, LET US SAY THAT regardless of our well-known hostility towards the political course pursued by the movement over the past few years, we will be the first to admit that it certainly appears to have had the positive, and therefore welcome effect of shaking the movement out of that lethargy and political fantasy which had dogged it for so long. Of itself this must be viewed as progress, and if carried forward to its logical conclusion it cannot help but contribute productively to the reestablishment of an effective and dynamic radical effort throughout the country once more.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBTING THE fact that the Republican Movement presently faces a dilemma; but this does not mean that the dilemma projected by the article is necessarily a correct interpretation. As the article sees it, the crux of the problem is that Republicanism as a radical movement faces competition from a stronger radical movement, made up of the Free State Labour Party in alliance with the Trade Unions. But is this a true reading of the facts?

WE CERTAINLY CONTEST IT. AND WE feel sure that radical Republicans will not accept the proposition that the Labour Party is a radical body. In our view, it is not, it never has been and it never will be. And in all fairness to that party, it has never claimed to be radical, in the sense that the term is clearly understood by revolutionaries. In which case it becomes clear that the true dilemma of the Republican Movement must of necessity lie elsewhere than in the fact that it faces stiff competition from the Labour Party-Trade Union alliance.

WHEN REDUCED TO ESSENTIALS, THE dilemma projected by the article hinges not on the question of radicalism, but on that of parliamentarianism. It is impossible to have two radical movements in any country be it big or small. But it is possible to have two constitutional movements which advocate a similar programme of reform within the context of the existing parliamentary system. In this case the weaker one is inevitably faced with the dilemma of whether it should continue its existence--when "the political advantages are going to be picked up by" the stronger movement-- or seek the integration of its membership with the latter. We suggest that this is the dilemma facing the Republican Movement at present, and not one which has any bearing on radicalism.

AS A MOVEMENT ADVOCATING A programme of reform via constitutionalism, the Republican Movement is certainly faced with a dilemma which would not and could not arise if it were a radical movement. Apparently, the leadership of the movement has been forced by the realities of their position to recognize that the movement cannot be other than it presently is. Consequently, the main question facing all Republicans is whether they wish to be parliamentary reformists in the tradition of the Labour Party; or radicals in the tradition of their own revolutionary heritage. Should

they opt for the former, then it appears the only logical course lies in disbanding their movement and integrating with the Labour Party. Should they prefer the latter, then it is equally logical that they must disband their movement and join with other radicals throughout the country in the building of a new radical effort.

REFORM OR REVOLUTION: THIS IS the question now facing Radical Republicans. The present Republican Movement, due to factors endowed by its organized life, and by the middle class ideology which originally instituted and shaped its structure, is incapable of reorientation to meet the requirements presently demanded of a radical movement. Therefore, for Republican radicals to continue to uphold the movement in the light of recent disclosures, means in effect that they opt for reformism and cease to be radicals. It may be suggested that a completely new effort could be rebuilt without discarding the old labels. Obviously, this has been tried, and without success. In any event, it is our contention that even if this were possible, the meagre advantages thereby secured would be outweighed by more practical considerations. It is necessary not alone to change, but also to give the unquestioned image of having changed; and for so long as old labels are retained, a large section of the people can be expected to react, consciously or otherwise, to values previously attributed to the old labels.

A SUCCESSFUL CHANGE IN THE COURSE of the Irish revolution demands not alone a change in political content but also in political form. To achieve this requires the building of a new movement, which has Socialism for its object, and which is structured in a manner best suited to the realization of that object. This is our belief, which is founded on a study of historical experiences, as well as on one of political theory. We challenge anyone to prove these deductions incorrect on the basis of objective analysis; and it is in view of this belief that we appeal to all radical Republicans to seriously consider their future, in the light of recent statements issued by their movement.

WE WILL NOT DENY THAT WE HAVE never lost a sense of comradeship with all radical Republicans, despite the fact that some of us have

long ended our connections with the movement. Our quest of a political education over the past few years, in an attempt to understand the reasons why the revolutionary cause of the Irish People had so obviously bogged down, has enlightened us in many respects, but it has never obscured the worth of Republicans with whom it was our privilege to work. On the contrary, the more our political understanding progressed, the greater our awareness that some of the best material this country has ever produced was to be found in the Republican Movement over the past few decades. These men are still in their prime, some are still in the movement some are not, and it is our belief that no viable radical effort can be rebuilt without them. There are some today who may talk better than they; some who may articulate more fluently the theory and objects of socialism; but there are damn few who have shown a greater capacity to act in that spirit of self-sacrifice, perseverance and discipline so vital to the success of any revolutionary struggle.

YES, WE ARE PREJUDICED, IF THAT be the proper word for it, when it comes to evaluating the men most likely to pull this country out of the dung heap. We still put our faith in those who have demonstrated their worth when it was easy enough to avoid becoming involved. And let it be known too that these were, almost to a man, ordinary working people. In our view, it is by far easier for such people to acquire a command of Socialist theory and an understanding of Socialist objects, than it is for some self-styled Socialists to acquire a stomach to fight -- yes, to fight in the cause of their professed beliefs!

IT IS IN THIS SPIRIT WE address ourselves to radical Republicans today. As radicals, we put out our hand to fellow radicals, with whom we have much in common. We have a common heritage and, we believe, a common goal. Is it not time then we all united to build a new movement which, by being radical in its objects, will also be the true inheritor of that revolutionary pattern of development that is the proud tradition of our people? Let all radicals once more be one, under the banner of Socialist struggle in Ireland; by so uniting be once more invincible in the cause of the People.

WORKERS

UNDER

FRANCO

IN SPAIN, ORGANIZED TRADE UNIONISM is a farce. Only those willing to serve as government puppets are allowed to operate; and their function is to regulate the workers to the fascist point of view. Yet, even under these difficult circumstances, the workers still manage to fight back, and this spirit of resistance is gradually finding a new strength.

ASTURIAS, WHICH HAS AN IMPORTANT coal mining district, is presently the scene of a bitter industrial conflict, which was sparked when a miner was killed in an accident last October. As a mark of respect to the dead miner, work was stopped in a neighbouring mine. The Bosses hit back by docking the miners a day's pay; and from this the confrontation grew.

NEARLY 3,000 MINERS BOYCOTTED their work as a counter protest, and again there was escalation when the bosses counteracted by closing down one mine for good; thus ending the livelihoods of hundreds of families. The state moved to take its place beside the bosses early in November, when the Civil Governor warned all workers that unless they returned to work, their boycott MIGHT be seen to have political content; implying that mass arrests were forthcoming unless the "serfs" appreciated their place in life.

ALL STRIKES ARE, OF COURSE, illegal in this fascist paradise. And all strikes are deemed to be politically motivated. Any strike meeting held in public usually results in a jail sentence for those selected for reprisal by the State.

RECENTLY, WORKERS WHO HELD A meeting in a Madrid park, and who

published a newspaper, received sentences ranging from 4 to 8 years, with fines to the equivalent of 8,000 pounds. Practically every day, tucked away in obscure corners of newspapers, one finds references to workers being fined or gaoled for holding an illegal meeting, or for expressing opinions said to be contrary to the interests of the State. This latter clause can be made to cover everything; and is used to cover every expression which in any way criticises the rights of wealth and property. Such is Franco's Spain; and Spanish fascism which pursues with singlemindedness its purpose to preserve the rights of Capital, by stamping out all political expression of a workers' bias.

THE IRISH WORKER MAY WELL FEEL sorry for the plight of his Spanish brother -- and are not all workers brothers no matter where they live? The present lot of the Irish worker is no doubt better than that of those in Spain. But do not fool yourselves comrades; for so long as you have Capitalist rule, you also have the spectre of fascism lurking in the background. Today, fascism rules nakedly in Spain; it has to if Capitalism is to be kept afloat. Tomorrow, it could well be Ireland's turn.

MANY IRISH WORKERS MAY PRESENTLY show an apathy towards organizing behind the banner of Socialism. A year under Franco would soon rid them of this reluctance. Do not wait to learn this from your own experiences. Learn from ours -- is it not enough that we should suffer? We are suffering enough for all workers; let them learn from it; then our trials will not have been in vain.

...SALUD.

NIXON HATES THE IRISH — MOANS THE LACKEY PRESS



ON NOVEMBER 17, THE SUNDAY Independent found space to bemoan the victory of Richard Nixon, the big-brother-elect of the imperialist camp. It appears Nixon doesn't like the Irish!

IT'S A FEATURE OF THAT SLAVISH mentality which is fast becoming a way of life with those who have succumbed to the soul-destroying lackyism of Leinster House, to feel that everyone must love the Irish; everyone must voice the necessary appreciations on the beauty and superiority of Ireland; everybody must clap us on the back, and tell us what fine fellows we are! These people like to be patted on the head like a faithful dog; if they are not, they whine.

WHAT DECENT IRISHMAN OR WOMAN gives a tinker's curse whether Dirty Dick Nixon likes the Irish or not? We are not bloody beggars, dependant upon a condescending smile from the robber barons of America, or any place else for that matter. There are plenty of ordinary people in Ireland yet, who retain a deep sense of personal and national dignity, and it's about time they made their voice heard above the whimpering toadism of such rags as the Sunday Independent.

THE SERVILE CAPITALIST CLASS in Ireland has to cringe before Big Brother, if they are to survive. And having debased themselves by their total homage to the Almighty Dollar, their craven hearts cannot rest until the morale of the whole Irish community is reduced to the same snivelling level as their own.

OF COURSE, THE SUNDAY INDEPENDENT has a very practical concern in this question: "Nixon will do nothing to change the immigration law which is unfair to Ireland, nor will his administration be likely to foster any greater investment in Ireland." And there, friends, you have Irish gombeen Capitalism in all its glory!

AN UNFRIENDLY NIXON COULD BE "spiteful" enough to retain the present U.S. immigration law; and thereby present our gombeen ruling class with the problem of surplus workers who, having no place to go, may turn an eye to things at home. An unsmiling Nixon may also influence a halt in American investment. And what a tragedy that would be; the country might then find itself in the unprofitable role of a rejected prostitute.

THE IRISH CAPITALIST CLIQUE would feel easier in their minds if only someone like the late and much-praised Smiling Jack Kennedy sat on top of the imperialist muck-pile, to beam understandingly on their special problems. Ah yes, those were the good old days. But with all its foreboding, the Sunday Independent still seeks that ray of hope in Nixon; and believes it has found it in the fact that he "may find the Viet-nam problem so difficult to solve, that he will give stronger support to the United Nations"...and; "Ireland is considered one of the five remaining groups in the United Nations which is independent of political affiliations.

TALK ABOUT GRASPING AT STRAWS! Hell, there are a lot of people in this country who didn't even know the Free State was in the U.N., not to mind to think it possessed such an exalted position in it that it may well be called upon to solve the American problem in Vietnam. Can't ye see it all now -- "Congo veterans airlifted to Saigon" -- "Irish soldiers fight for freedom in Asia" -- "Sunday Independent Raises funds to Support Widows and Orphans of Selfless Anti-Communist Heroes" -- "Island of Saints & Scholars Provides New Wave of Missionaries to Enlighten Heathens on Benefits of Dollarism."

YOU MAY THINK IT A JOKE. BUT YOU can rest assured that the lackey Capitalists in this country wouldn't think twice about offering "our

boys" to fight the "good cause", if this was needed to retain the goodwill of the Imperialist boss-men. No one appreciates better than they how totally dependent their set-up is on the good will of American Imperialism. And no one knows better than they that their present position would become increasingly untenable, should "The Chief" in Washington fail to give the nod for a crumb to be tossed their way.

When this is realized, the craven muckology of the Independent and its likes can be seen in a new light -- the snivelling, cringing and totally depraved whimpering of a mini-capitalist clique who wallow in the cesspool of international imperialism, in the vain attempt to keep their class afloat regardless of the price. Ireland and the Irish People would be better off without them.

ANTI-WORKER LAWS

HAS THE MINISTER FOR LABOUR, Dr. P.J. Hillery, and our trade union bureaucrats reached agreement on how to deal with unofficial strikes? It most certainly appears so, when you find trade union leaders ranting and raving about unofficial pickets, and this at a time when Hillery proposes to introduce significant amendments to trade union law.

HILLERY'S PROPOSED CHANGES WILL cover: secret ballots on strike issues; picketing in support of unofficial strikes; new conditions for the issue of negotiation licenses; and the introduction of a group negotiation license. It is obvious that this proposed legislation is intended to put more power in the hands of the trade union bureaucrats, by preventing the formation of break-away unions, and by strengthening their hand in regards to unofficial picketing.

WHEN HILLERY FIRST SET UP A working party of employer's and representatives of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, the trade union leaders walked out after but a brief period of consultation; and the howls of protest that followed from them were a fine piece of bluff. To contain militant workers and still lay claim to the mantle of Connolly, they find it necessary to stage the occasional walk-out, to be followed by fiery speeches.

INSTANCE THE BELLOWING OF LABOUR Faker John Conroy, during the recent E.I. dispute at Shannon. He said then, he would rather see grass growing again in Shannon where factories now stand, than to accept dictation from foreign Capitalists. Great stuff! But since then Conway and the I.T.G.W.U. have sold out their union members at

E.I.; and there is little fear that we will again see grass growing where the non-union E.I. factory still stands.

WORKERS MUST AWAKEN, AND FAST, TO the implications of this bill. Amongst other things, it is designed to deprive them of the full use of the strike weapon, by putting all power in the hands of Trade Union bureaucrats, who are more than pally with the powers that be. Just imagine how hard it would be to press your grievances if you had to wait for union H.Q. to give the go-ahead. After all every worker knows that most union officials move only when faced with the threat of unofficial action. Let legislation block this leverage, and the workers are more powerless than ever in the hands of Union bureaucrats.

WORKERS MUST BEGIN TO ORGANIZE now. Let your union bureaucrats know in no uncertain terms, that you are wise to their game; and from branch level, agitate for a National Protest Strike -- for openers.

WORKERS MUST ALSO GIVE SERIOUS consideration to the formation of workers' committees, whose task would be to co-ordinate resistance to these anti-working class proposals, should they become law.

SAOR EIRE STANDS READY TO GIVE every assistance to the Irish workers in this forthcoming struggle -- unite now, and remember: "the great only appear great because we are on our knees -- LET US RISE."



TUCKED AWAY IN THE ANNALS OF OUR People's struggle for National Liberation, one finds many a chapter which capitalist historians gloss over without comment. In their view, there are some things best left unsaid; more especially when a recording of them could well give the People ideas not amenable to the sacred rights of property.

ONE SUCH SAGA TOOK PLACE IN Munster during the "Tan War", when the workers of the Cleeves creamery complex took over the plants and found Soviets. This was by no means an insignificant event; but of the many books written on the period, none find space to mention it.

THE CLEEVES COMPANY OWNED creameries spread over Limerick, Tipperary and Cork; but it was that of Knocklong, by no means the largest, which initiated the action on that Sunday morning of May 16, 1920. The workers took control of the creamery at Knocklong, and signified their possession by hoisting the Red Flag over the building. The name plate of the Capitalist firm was also removed, and in its place, in conspicuous white lettering on a red background, was erected the new name: "THE KNOCKLONG SOVIET CREAMERY." Above this in bold display, the local people read the most welcome news the factory had ever given out--"We Make Butter, Not Profits."

KNOCKLONG WAS FOLLOWED BY SIMILAR actions in Tipperary town, Limerick, Mallow, and Kanturk, to name but a few. The Red Flag went up; the workers took over; and the Cleeve's family, by all accounts, went into hiding.

THIS SERIES OF EVENTS WERE triggered by a dispute on wages and working conditions; and it would appear that the agitation received its direction from a man named O'Hagan, an Ulsterman. O'Hagan had already shown his calibre, when he had taken a prominent part in the big engineering strike of 1919 in Belfast, and for which he was jailed on a charge of sedition. He secured his release by going on hunger strike; only to be arrested again and thrown into Mountjoy. While in the 'Joy he again took part in the now famous hunger strike of 1920. Again he was released; when he headed for Knocklong to take his place in the front ranks of the class struggle there. During the Soviets he operated between Knocklong and Tipperary town.

O'HAGAN WAS INSTALLED AS MANAGER of the Soviets. He was assisted by John O'Dwyer, a worker in Knocklong and the local secretary of the ITGWU, and by John Dowling and John McGrath, union organizers for Co. Limerick. All the workers involved were members of the ITGWU.

IN THEIR OPERATION OF THE PLANTS,

the workers received much assistance from union members working in co-operative creameries; thereby overcoming many difficulties created by the defection of a few key men, who could be classed as management. One such man connected with Knocklong creamery is still living, and recently recalled how O'Hagan, armed with a revolver, ordered him back to work. He declined -- and survived.

CO-OPERATION FROM THE FARMERS WAS also forthcoming, and during the early days at any rate, about 97 per cent of the ordinary milk supplies came in as usual. According to contemporary accounts; which deal with Knocklong, "work was carried on as usual, with, of course, a more human atmosphere and the best of good comradeship". Apparently, part of this "more human atmosphere" was reflected in the workers collecting outside their creameries to sing The Red Flag and other labour songs -- a pastime which often included a march through the town during the small hours of the morning, with the Red Flag flying.

THIS SPIRIT DID NOT, APPARENTLY, effect the output which, in Knocklong, reached a steady 2 tons of butter per day -- this was in excess of the previous average. Cleeves brand was planed off the packing cases and that of the Soviet painted on instead. Accounts were kept, cheques were issued to the farmers, and pay was based on the terms of the workers original demands.

HOWEVER, THE SOVIETS SOON RAN into difficulties. Outlets for their produce were closed to them, and their cheques were not recognized by the banks; with the result that the farmers' support weakened. In one instance we can trace a shipload of their butter which was shipped via Cork to Britain, where it was refused entry to any port, and was confiscated on its return to Ireland. With respects to it, it is claimed that compensation was paid to Cleeves by the British Government.

THE ACTUAL DURATION OF THE SOVIETS remains a little obscure. According to reports issued by the I.T.G.W.U. at the time, and which were dispatched around the world, the Soviets lasted five days, at which time they "agreed to hand over the creameries to the company on obtaining a written guarantee that their claims would be met." However, local recollections insist the Soviets lasted for at least three months; and that there was no real settlement. This would appear the

more likely outcome in view of subsequent developments.

CONTRARY TO WHAT THE I.T.G.W.U. claimed in print at the time, men who were actually involved maintain that economic conditions, plus the hostility of Sinn Fein republicanism, forced them to give up; and that when they returned to work, the workers were on half wages for many months. Certainly, the creameries witnessed a series of strikes during the following years. The next big strike took place in 1926, when all the workers who had been involved in the Soviets were fired, and a completely new staff of scabs hired.

AT THAT TIME THE CLEEVES COMPANY had passed to the control of a Free State Holding Company, the big shots of which were Dowdall of Cork and Shaughnessy of Newmarket Creameries. Later around 1928, the creameries were taken over by the Dairy Disposal Co.

BEING A CAPITALIST GOVERNMENT, one could hardly expect the Free State to act otherwise. After all, workers who had tasted the potential of their power were poor risks -- the better they be forced to emigrate. But what about the I.T.G.W.U.? When commemorating their Golden Jubilee in 1959, with the publication of a book "Fifty Years In Liberty Hall", the only significant event they could find for 1920 was the arrest of William O'Brien and O'Shannon. But then Boss O'Brien considered, and said so, that the workers of Knocklong were "a bunch of thugs." Or it could be that their guilty consciences obliged them to ignore what would normally be considered a proud chapter in any union's history, seeing as how the I.T.G.W.U. sold their members out in Knocklong in 1926, and allowed scabs to occupy union jobs?

THE HOSTILITY OF THE DAIL TO SUCH events as that of Knocklong is well documented, and will have to await a future article. It is, however, significant that it was during the time of Knocklong that the IRA were ordered to uphold law and order. And we are told that the O.C. IRA police in Tipperary Town went to Limerick to get permission from the Cleeves family to clear the creamery of workers, but could not locate them. That particular creamery was burned down -- perhaps the workers saw the way the wind was blowing. They were blamed in any event for the burning.

* * * *

THE CARROT FOLLOW

RULING ELITES SCHOOLED IN THE political traditions of British Capitalism have always evinced a great capacity to ward off serious attacks on their position, by appearing to bow to popular demands, while at the same time giving away nothing substantial. Current events in the Six Counties are gradually shaping up to yet another demonstration of this classic manoeuvre on the part of the ruling class.

WHEN VIEWED OBJECTIVELY, ONE cannot help but admire the dexterity with which the Capitalist class in the Six Counties are presently handling a very explosive situation. The Derry Housing Action Committee, under the leadership of Matthew O'Leary, had succeeded in crystalizing within their own area that undercurrent of unrest and dissatisfaction which has reached epidemic proportions throughout the capitalist world in recent years; and by so doing, had polarized a force capable of realizing demands more fundamental than those for better housing or, one man one vote. And yet, in one short month the ruling class has virtually succeeded in defusing this danger; and it has done so not through force, but by adept political manipulation.

THE DERRY RIOTS WERE SUFFICIENT to open Unionist eyes to the fact that the old and rather crude Orange Card had seen its day. To survive, the pragmatic Unionists saw right there and then the need for a fresh hand of cards; a new image; and above all, a new joker to replace the old and previously reliable Orangism. Highly placed Unionists have been quite frank in admitting this; and the activities of representatives of the ruling class show that they are prepared to act energetically to mend their broken fences.

THE NEEDS OF THE RULING CLASS, arising from the untenability of their position after Derry, were

both immediate and long-ranged. Firstly, the immediate threat had to be side-tracked and contained. Secondly, the long term task of creating a new image had to be undertaken. It would now appear that the Unionist ruling class are able to tackle these two problems in a fashion which makes the labours for the first complementary to the building of the second. One could well say their technique lends itself to an economy of endeavour on their part.

TO CONTAIN THE POPULAR CURRENT of anti-Government unrest, the Unionists, in the form of local business men, came forth to play a prominent part in the Civil Rights Movement. In this way the masses in Derry, mostly Catholic, came under the control of Unionists; and everyone of "stature" in the community then spoke of the great "Leap Forward" that had been achieved when Protestant joined Catholic to demand Civil Rights. Naturally, any "unreasonable demand" which tended to undermine this great religious unity, was condemned on the premise that we had struggled since the time of Wolfe Tone for such a unity, and now that the first delicate links were being



FRED
WRIGHT

"I like the way you negotiate, mac, but while you're down there you might as well give my shoes a shine."

forged, "unreasonable" sectional demands had to be subordinated to the welfare of the whole. This is an old old trick, which takes many forms; but it was sufficient to offset the demonstrations of the militant Derry workers, and those of Derry's unemployed. All were defused and abandoned on the representations of the Derry Citizens Committee -- presided over by a Unionist!

HAVING WANGLED THEIR WAY INTO strategic positions in the Protest movement, the Unionist ruling class then dug up the old and somewhat withered carrot of promised reform, to replace the previous Orange club -- if you can't keep him in line with the stick, you can always fall back on the carrot to keep the old donkey on the move under his load.

AS WE SEE IT, THE RULING CLASS hope that by dangling the reform carrot, and by their representatives participating in the Civil Rights Movement to cultivate the myth of religious unity -- while at the same time keeping the lid on dissention, the present crisis can be minimized, at least temporarily. The religious angle is their great gambit; or at least it would appear so from all the coverage it is getting. This seems to be their ticket to a new image, and it has of course certain advantages, in that by playing it, radicals are placed in an awkward position since open opposition would inevitably bring public condemnation. The ruling class are presently playing this new card as cleverly as they played the orange card before. You have to hand it to them; but this should not mean you let them get away with it.

THIS NEW GREEN AND ORANGE CARD has two objects. If the ruling class can pull it off, it will get them out of the disadvantages inherent in their traditional sectarian stance; and in terms of international propaganda, this is of importance. Also, it will help to integrate middle class Catholics with the ruling class proper; thereby acquiring the services of UNCLE TOMS, who may well prove useful in mobilizing working class Catholic support at a future date, should Stormont experience trouble from working class Orangemen, who presently tend to gravitate towards Paisley.

WE ARE ALL FOR UNITY OURSELVES, and for the elimination of religious differences amongst our people. But the sort of religious unity we want to see is that between working class Protestants and working class Catholics, and based on common

working class interests. We see very little of this form of unity developing at present in the Six Counties; and we would not expect to see it emerge from the labours of the Ruling class.

WE SAY TO THE PEOPLE OF THE SIX Counties: when the ruling class produces the carrot in place of the stick, be doubly wary -- even if the carrot is dipped in holy water. Continue to fight for your rights, continue to keep the pressure on, and do not allow the tempo of your struggle to be disrupted by any subterfuge whatever. Show less concern for religion, and give greater emphasis on the class issues involved. Spotlight the class basis for your disabilities; fight the class enemy. In this way only will the religious divisions amongst the working people fall into perspective; in this way only will they be solved.

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FOR
PEOPLE
LESS
POWER

The Red Flag

The People's flag is deepest red,
It shrouded oft our martyred dead;
And ere their limbs grew stiff and cold,
Their life-blood dyed its every fold.

Chorus

Then raise the scarlet standard high
Beneath its folds, we'll live or die;
Though cowards flinch and traitors sneer,
We'll keep the red flag flying here.

2

Look 'round! the Frenchman loves its blaze,
The sturdy German chants its praise;
In Moscow's halls, its hymns are sung,
Chicago swells its surging song.

3

It waved above our infant might,
When all ahead seemed dark as night;
It witnessed many a deed and vow,
We must not change its colour now.

4

It well recalls the triumphs past,
It gives the hope of peace at last;
The banner bright, the symbol plain,
Of human right and human gain.

5

It suits today the weak and base,
Whose minds are fixed on self and place;
To cringe before the rich man's frown,
And haul the sacred banner down.

6

With heads uncovered, swear we all,
To bear it onward till we fall;
Come dungeon dark, or gallows grim,
This song shall be our parting hymn.

* * *

THE RED FLAG was written in 1889 by Jim Connell, and was first published in the 1889 Christmas issue of JUSTICE, a British Socialist publication. In 1920, Connell recalled that he had been inspired by the work of the Land League, the London dock strike of 1889, the hanging of the Chicago Anarchists following the Haymarket bombing of 1887, and the Russian Nihilist movement. He wrote most of it on a fifteen-minute train ride between Charing Cross and New Cross. In Who's Who, Connell, who was secretary of the Workmen's Legal Friendly Society, described himself as "sheep farmer, dock labourer, navy, railwayman, draper, lawyer (of a sort) and all the time a poacher." The verses were originally composed to the tune of "The White Cockade"; but it was later sung to the tune of "Tannenbaum"; which is the most popular tune used today.

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