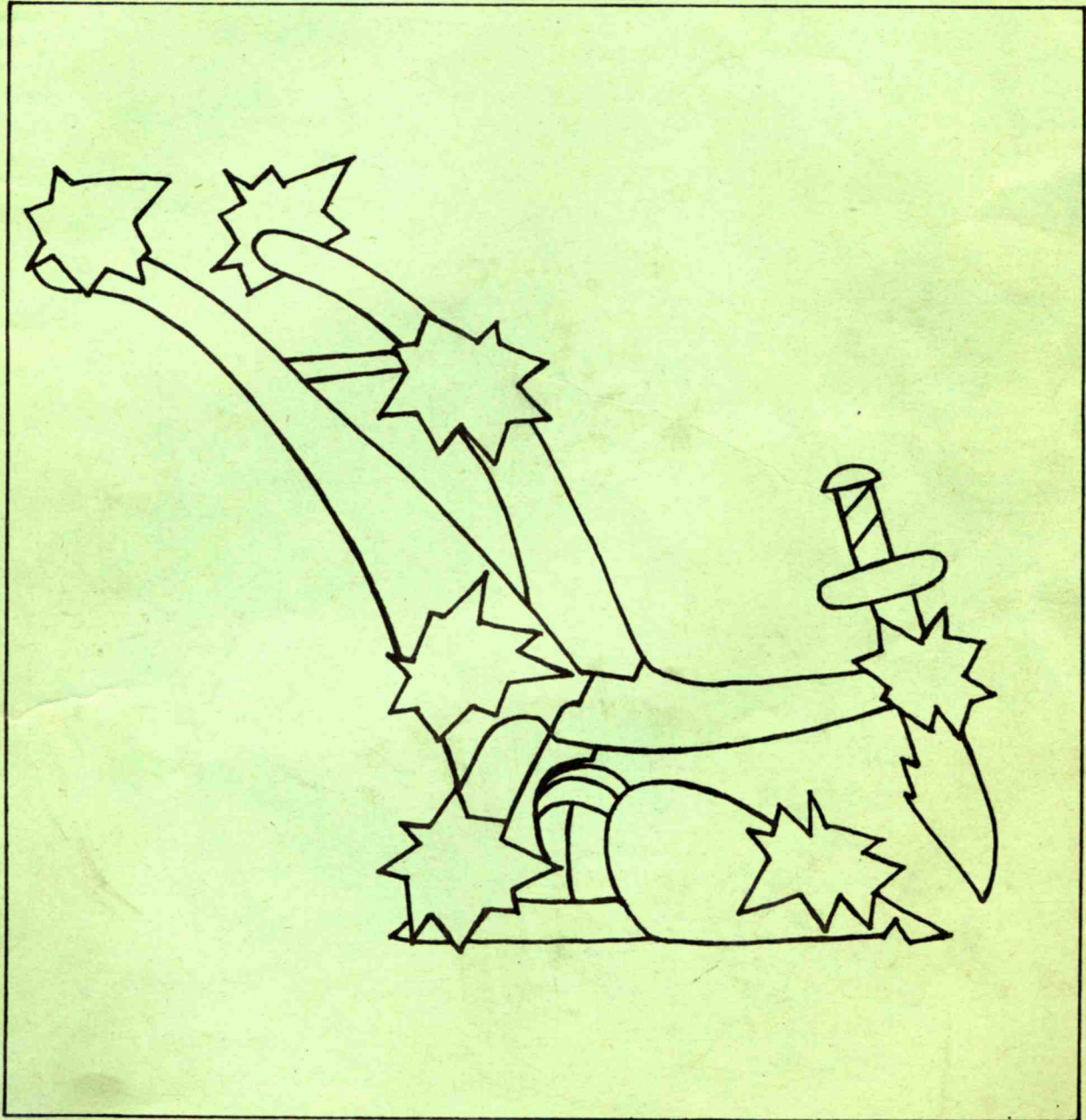


THEORIC

Theoretical journal of the Republican Movement



"Without a revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement" **LENIN**

INTRODUCTION

We hope to publish Teoric at least once every quarter. Each issue will discuss aspects of Republican policy. Some of the articles will outline the Movement's attitude to certain questions; articles will also be published in order to provoke discussion. In this issue the articles on education and on the I.R.S.P. reflect the Movement's attitude on these questions

CONTENTS:

WHAT IS THE I.R.S.P. ?

EDUCATION and the needs of the Revolutionary Party.

WOMENS LIBERATION.

THE ROAD TO CHANGE.

What is the I.R.S.P. ?

Eamonn Smullen

When a revolutionary movement is growing in strength there are always serious efforts to disrupt it from the 'left' as well as from the right. To disrupt serious revolutionary movements from the 'left' is now the admitted strategy of reaction; this view is expressed by reaction's military wing (General Kitson's writings) who are usually less cautious in their statements than the right-wing politicians.

The fact that the establishment encourages such growths, sometimes initiates such growths, does not, of course, mean that every person associated with such organisations is a conscious agent of the establishment. People in the leadership of ultra-left organisations usually have a record of membership of several such organisations or are people who have been expelled from serious revolutionary organisations for disruptive activities.

One of the most common features of the ultra-left is the search for the 'instant solution'. The 'instant solution' is proposed by describing it as 'the logical result of increased amounts of militancy'. 'Militancy' takes the form of intemperate political language; intemperate actions and 'way-out' actions. These 'revolutionary' organisations also ignore the fact that capitalism and landlordism have been defeated by almost half the population of the earth - their propaganda attacks the socialist countries. How much they are consciously performing a service for the establishment in doing this does, of course, vary from place to place and from organisation to organisation.

It is always possible for the establishment to find 'stooges'. One would imagine that the South African establishment could not find black 'stooges' on South African territory. They do, of course, find such people even though a black skin in South Africa is openly regarded as a low form of life and treated as such. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the establishment can find 'stooges' among the workers and among people who claim to be 'of the left'.

The First International was pulled to pieces by, among others, the Anarchists who said that they would not accept the authority of the International in place of the authority of governments - this is how they expressed their argument - I suppose you could call that a twisted sort of argument in favour of 'democracy'.

The only effective organisational basis for any serious revolutionary organisation is the honouring of all democratically worked-out policies by all members. In our own organisation, for example, policy is decided at an Ard Fheis (national conference) which is held every year. Resolutions for Ard Fheis are sent to head office from branches which are scattered all over the country. There is complete freedom to raise and to discuss any subject.

Certain people of ultra-left outlook who were members of our organisation refused to accept the democratically worked out policies of the movement on the grounds that we were, they claimed, not 'democratic'. These people claimed that they should be given a licence to visit and to canvass branches in an endeavour to win support for policies rejected by Ard Fheis. Our organisation rightly considered that the branches should be engaged in activity to apply the policies agreed at Ard Fheis.

We accept democratic-centralism as the basis of organisation; it has proved to be the method of organisation which has succeeded in bringing about revolution in other countries, over a wide area of the earth. The ultra-left has never made a successful revolution but has often hindered revolution. Ultra-left elements seeking to openly organise factions within a serious revolutionary party is not a new development; Trotsky tried to do this inside the Bolshevik Party before the 1917 revolution. He also tried to do the same thing after the 1917 revolution at a time of great emergency and need for unity in that part of the world.

In France when there was serious danger to democracy, when the military right were growing in strength, the ultra-left propagated the idea that it was possible for the French working-class to, at that time, seize power. This view caused the maximum amount of disruption in the serious French student and working-class organisations at that time. Those who preached this dangerous doctrine became overnight the darlings of the establishment press, radio and t.v. The serious French revolutionary organisations, these people declared, had lost all support and influence with the French students, with the French working-class. The influence of the ultra-left was in fact very limited at that time; the extravagant claims made for them by the establishment media were just lies. 'Danny the Red', one of the leaders of the ultra-left at that time, found time in the middle of the '68 struggle to write a book attacking communism.

The French working-class had a previous experience of this sort. Andre Marty, who led the mutiny in the French Black Sea fleet during the war of intervention against the young Soviet State, a hero of the French working-class in the 1920's, called on the French Communist Party to seize power in 1948. Such a policy would, at that time have given the French establishment the opportunity they so badly wanted to destroy the serious working-class opposition in France. Andre Marty was later exposed as a political police agent.

When the Republican Movement in Ireland moved to the left and began seriously to organise as a left political force reaction made great efforts to disrupt our movement. The intervention, an openly right intervention, to disrupt our movement in 1969 is well documented. Elements of the Fianna Fail Party (the biggest of Ireland's capitalist parties) made common cause with right-wing elements within the republican movement who were dissatisfied by the new socialist policies of the movement. The Provisional Alliance then came into being.

At the same time a serious effort was made by ultra-left elements to infiltrate our movement. These ultra-left people came here from Britain and from the USA - we also had a few who were home-grown. The main efforts to infiltrate our movement were made in Derry, Donegal and Belfast; some efforts were also made in the Dublin area.

The Donegal effort was made mainly by a Trotskyist from the United States; this person organised classes and organised factional activity inside the movement in Derry. The USA anti-left organisations often make use of the disruptive efforts of ultra-left organisations in their campaign to smash the serious left. Several years of damaging activity against our Movement was organised by a person sent to this country to do this work for the establishment. All sorts of way-out schemes were organised in the Derry area and these gave a pretense of activity and of helping the people. These activities handed something - some small material gain - to the people but did not help the people to organise themselves, the thing which was dangerous to the establishment.

The policy of the movement was very clear on the question of helping the people - the people should be helped to create powerful organisation - tenants associations and so on - or the people should be helped to make existing organisations of the people function in the interests of the people.

The barricades in Derry were kept in place; they were a constant reminder of the sectarian division of the working-class in Derry. No schemes were devised to try to draw the whole community together, to cross or at least to attempt to cross the sectarian divide by concentrating on practical issues. The self-styled 'defenders of the people' strutted about behind the barricades and devised one daft scheme after another, always ideas which did not involve long, consistent, serious work. Their eyes were firmly fixed on the 'quick solution'.

When the barricades were forcibly taken down by the British Army all the 'defenders of the people' fled across the border to Donegal where they continued their disruptive activities. In Donegal the ultra-left from Derry organised factional activity in an attempt to force our movement into a military campaign of the provo type - the type of campaign which the political 'right' (elements of the Fianna Fail Party) organised, financed and supported.

It is obvious that the purpose of all these attacks on our movement is the establishment's fear of the policies of our movement; the fear they have of serious political activity by our movement.

'People's Democracy', another ultra-left organisation, also tries to influence our movement, to infiltrate our movement. In their publications they praised our movement and at the same time tried to push us in directions that we did not consider to be wise. 'People's Democracy' was, with very few exceptions, a student's organisation; it did not have any firm organisational structure; naturally, it was disrupted by severe disagreements and policy changes. 'People's Democracy' despaired of influencing our movement and then transferred their support to that creation of the political 'right' - the provisional alliance. They have, within the past few months, moved into a position opposed to the provisional alliance and are now moving into a position of support for the newly formed IRSP.

Ultra-left organisations in Britain - The International Socialists, for example - sent, and for a time paid, agents who came here for the express purpose of interfering in Irish left politics. Some of these people are, without doubt, agents of the British establishment; they are the people who operate the 'disrupt serious politics from the left' policy of the British establishment. These people are journalists by training and occupation and so are in a position to censor or distort our statements and to give publicity to the ultra-left and all its various splinters and its efforts to disrupt our movement.

Some of the hard facts of political life are now so obvious that they are being reflected inside the provisional alliance; this has led to the abandonment of their anti-civilian bombing campaign. Instant solutions to difficult political questions are now becoming more and more discredited as a policy. There are now more opportunities to develop serious political work; work which will do serious damage to the establishment. If the provisional alliance breaks the cease-fire they will be repudiated by more and more of their own supporters. If they do not break the cease-fire they will become an organisation of less and less influence unless they adopt serious revolutionary politics.

The working-class is the only class in Ireland which is increasing in size. The Irish working-class is to an ever increasing extent being employed in larger units, a development which must lead to better Trade union organisation - to the development of industrial trade unionism. This is the breeding ground for revolutionary ideas, for serious political organisation. Eight per cent of the working population are now unemployed even though this is reduced in political impact at present by earnings-related unemployment benefit, redundancy payments and so on.

The population as a whole is taking more notice of great quantities of natural resources - minerals, oil and natural gas on the national territory. These resources are being exploited, or it is planned that they will be exploited, in a typical colonial manner. They will be shipped out in a raw state; they will be raw material for the industries in other countries.

In this situation the establishment began its new effort to disrupt our movement by using the IRSP. Every member of the IRSP is not a conscious agent of the establishment, but the tactic of using an ultra-left organisation to disrupt our revolutionary work fits into the policy openly advocated by the military side of the establishment. Another pointer in this direction is the fact that all the ultra-left organisations suspected of being heavily infiltrated by the establishment have rallied to support the IRSP.

In West Germany, for example, the West-German-Ireland Solidarity Committee have produced a lying document in support of the IRSP. Among the more obvious lies is the downright statement that Seamus Costello fought in Bolivia with Che Guevara. This lying document is circulated in the German language in Germany. Anyone who knows anything at all about Costello knows that he has lived in Ireland all his lifetime, that he has no knowledge of the Spanish language and so

on. If he has in fact told someone in Germany stories of this sort then it is obvious that they have not bothered to check the facts.

This document also states that Sean Garland drove home alone on the night that the IRSP tried to murder him. It is well known to everyone in Ireland that he was accompanied by his wife on that night and that she was witness to the attempt to murder him. It is also well known that the IRSP attempted to murder Dessie O'Hagan and that they did in fact murder Billy McMillen, a much respected leader of our movement in Belfast.

The German-Ireland Solidarity Committee contains SPD elements and, no doubt, they are using this umbrella organisation in support of Ireland as a means to spy on the left movement in Germany. They travelled with speakers out from Ireland, stayed in houses over a wide area and so on - a very useful method of spying. When the IRSP was first established the German-Ireland Solidarity Committee tried to organise the sending of telegrams against our movement to Ireland, only six such telegrams arrived at our office, five were from one town. This is the extent of their influence in Germany.

The IRSP is also getting support from one of the main ultra-left organisations in the USA - The Socialist Workers' Party. Their publication, 'Intercontinental Press', makes a number of lying statements about our movement. The attempted murder of Sean Garland is explained by saying that it is the work of British agents. We know, and anyone who has seriously examined the evidence knows, that after the ultra-left failure to capture our movement at the 1973 Ard Fheis a plan to murder the principled leadership of our movement began to take shape in ultra-left circles. The plot originated in the Derry-Donegal area - this is the area which was most heavily infiltrated by foreign agents posing as ultra-left socialists. Our organisation in Wicklow was also infiltrated by some people from the North who either claimed in outright fashion, or hinted, that they were on the run for activity in the North.

Because of the personality of certain individuals in the Wicklow area it was obvious that this place offered the greatest possibilities for disrupting; ultra-leftists were drafted in there from other places; some of these people were known members of the International Socialists.

In 1974 the Ard Fheis refused by a large majority to endorse ultra-left policies or to reinstate Costello; the ultra left within our movement finally decided to leave our movement and to establish a movement of their own. Naturally, we were not opposed to their right to do this. They commenced activities by seizing a building in Bray which is the property of our movement; they also seized some office equipment which is the property of the movement. Stealing our property became a feature of the IRSP's early activity.

I am not attempting to explain their crimes - murder and lesser crimes - in detail. I want to show that the present attacks on our movement and the world-wide campaign of the ultra-left against our movement is a part of the same campaign of slander and disruption which is used against serious left organisations everywhere. We are very conscious of the fact that we have until

recent years neglected to explain both ourselves and our policies outside Ireland. This neglect has obviously made it more easy for the ultra-left to slander us.

Serious left organisations should note that there is now in Ireland an armed ultra-left grouping engaged in a murder campaign against us. A few months ago many of our own people would have thought that this sort of establishment activity was confined to the Far East and Latin America. Any revolutionary who doubts the correctness of our policies or our potential to overthrow the

establishment should take careful note of the latest developments. The IRSP, manipulated from behind the scenes by the establishment, are responsible for the murder of some of our members - the Pontius Pilate pose is far from new; very few people are now fooled by it.

Education and the needs of the Revolutionary Party

THE MURDER MACHINE _____ Donal O'Neill

In our competitive capitalist society the educational system is part of the "cultural apparatus" of the State. Since the State itself is an institution fulfilling a special function in preventing fundamental change in society, education is used to condition the population into accepting class structures and ruling class morality. Padraig Pearse in his time recognised the destructive role of the State's school system and aptly described it as a "murder machine".

The complex role of the modern state institutions was described by Marx, Engles and Lenin on different occasions but probably the most explicit statement is that of Engles in his book *"The origin of the Family, Private Property and the State"* where he described it as -

"A product of society at a certain stage of development; it is an admission that this society has become entangled in an insoluble contradiction with itself, that it is cleft into irreconcilable antagonisms which it is powerless to dispel. But in order that these antagonisms classes with conflicting economic interests, might not consume themselves and society in sterile struggle, a power seemingly standing above society became necessary for the purpose of moderating conflict, of keeping it within the bounds of order; and this power arisen out of society, but placing itself above it and increasingly alienating itself from it is the State".

In the recent past in Ireland we have seen a full range of the repressive functions of two state machines. In the Six Counties the contradictions inherent in the society have been dealt with by the naked, brute force of the army and police but in the Twenty Six Counties the more subtle approaches of press and t.v. censorship, special courts and the educational system have usually proven sufficient. The need for open coercion arises only when the state machinery fails to condition the masses into acceptance of the Status Quo. In times of crisis, like some recent periods of intense industrial conflict the State functions become inseparable from those of the ruling class.

LIBERAL EDUCATORS:

However 'liberal' the educational approach adopted by individual educators working within the State (or Church) system the total process is competitive, exam orientated, geared to produce well adjusted products for a modern cut-throat society. Much of the present turmoil among parents, about the inadequacy of our institutions arises from unfulfilled promises because in place of a truly egalitarian society without classes, the people have been offered a national 'equal opportunity'. Public money is thus poured into creating more and more institutions to increase the illusion of upward social mobility - "If you work hard and study you can even become a boss" - This process means that the level of competition for status qualifications, technical skills, and university degrees must continue to increase while the ultimate result is more administrators for a continuing system of inequality.

A recent report by the 26 County Government sponsored Economic and Social Research Institute published in 1974 concluded that:-

"As yet, however, occupational structure has contributed little equalisation of opportunity except in so far as the great and continuing change-over from employment in agriculture to non-agriculture is conducive to improved opportunity. In this paper we have been able to show that there has been little perceptible improvement in the relative position of the lowly paid in industry over a long term of years....."

"The ideal is that every man and woman should be directed towards the job for which he or she is best suited. The real picture is very different. Instead of having a chance of achieving professional or managerial status equal to that of other social groups the unskilled of origin have negligible opportunity of achieving these grades, while they are twice as likely as they ought be, to inherit the unskilled manual status of their father".

POLITICAL EDUCATION:

Such conclusions as those of the E.S.R.I. should dispel any lingering notion that the present school system will eventually produce equality in Irish society. It is equally incapable of encouraging activity to undermine the class system.

The task of educating conscious revolutionaries must be undertaken by the revolutionary political party itself. To achieve success in this work, however, it must be seen not simply as a problem of training members to undertake limited political activity, but as a much wider task of developing the basis for a radical 'counter culture'. Only this approach can hope to combat the destructive influences of the formal school system. Many potential revolutionaries will undoubtedly be produced by student disillusionment but the greatest possibilities exist among class conscious workers alienated by the system.

The principles of our political education will derive therefore from a developed socialist consciousness built up through anti-imperialist/anti-class struggle. The foundation must be firmly rooted in a clear understanding of the conditions of life - Ireland now, in this generation and not in romantic notions of past glory. The past will be studied so we can better understand the present and above all to help us work and plan for the future.

In adapting to such an approach many conventionally "educated" products of the present establishment "cultural apparatus" will find difficulty adjusting. In spite of this the transition to progressive methods of appraisal centered upon the practical needs of our class must be made. Successful revolutionaries cannot be produced by relying on mechanical methods so typical of those used by the intellectual elite cultivated in the ruling class institutions.

THEORY AND PRACTICE:

A fundamental element in our political education must be the study and application of socialist theory. An understanding of basic theory distinguishes the conscious revolutionary from the instinctive radical, yet it is an unfortunate fact that some of the most confused and reactionary concepts are often propagated as socialist theory.

Relatively simple concepts can be couched in jargon, described in language intended to confuse and even make the basic ideas seem complicated. This insures that most workers will not respond to these ideas and will reject them as having no meaning in the real world in which they are forced to live. When such alienation occurs there is a real possibility that the "would-be theorists" are themselves confused and consequently incapable of communicating any concept clearly.

This abuse of theory has been particularly evident among student based ultra-left groups. Their ideas have invariably been developed in total isolation from class struggle so their theory is always derived from mere speculation about exploitation. For an active revolutionary the theory is constantly applied to real life situations, tested and evaluated in struggle providing the revolutionary movement with the principals of class warfare. Where the theory is found unworkable or inadequate the seasoned revolutionaries can then study the combined experience of other revolutionary struggles and by adding their own experience help to eliminate the mistaken ideas.

This continuous process of studying theory involvement in class struggle and evaluating the theory against the practice provides the only real safeguard against confusion. By organising our educational programme in such a manner we are automatically provided with the best material for real development. The factory, farm, workshop, kitchen or picket line become our laboratory and our fellow workers become best safeguard against self-deception or 'false-consciousness'.

This method of relating theory to practice is derived from the Marxist view that our ideas are a product of how we live. The ideas of the establishment always reflect their social position and consequently are opposed to fundamental change. Our ideology is developed from the continuing struggles of the oppressed and therefore should always reflect the finest aspirations and common interest of Ireland's exploited people. Such a theory, derived from our peoples' struggle will therefore be a philosophy of action, a guide to future progress. It was Marx himself who proclaimed that *"the philosophers have only interpreted the world, but the point is to change it"*.

When advocating our socialist theory however, we should pay special heed to the realism of James Connolly, expressed in Forward, April 1914:-

"This question of presenting Socialism so that it will appeal to the peculiar hereditary instincts and character of the people amongst whom you are operating is one of the first importance to the Socialist and Labour Movement. A position, theoretically sound may fail if expressed in terms unsuited to the apprehension of those to whom you are appealing".

GROUP ACTIVITY FOR EDUCATORS:

In our political work we are all expected to be educators. The basic skills of imparting ideas and information must be learned by all members of our Movement, just as they must grasp the essential principles of struggle. In a revolutionary movement there should be no place for maintaining an educated elite who are then believed to have a monopoly of wisdom and political understanding. In any group, as in our organisation there will be uneven development in experience and learning. Our task however, as political educators is to make full use of all available talent. In many respects the strength of our organisation depends upon our ability to make proper use of all the skills available within our membership. The function of a properly constituted programme of education should be essentially to accomplish this objective.

What most workers lack in formal education can best be overcome by developing the highest possible level of combined or collective intelligence. For this to succeed the emphasis must be placed on group activity recreating the experience of the work place, the sports team or the community. In this way a member is enabled to relate his personal experience to those of others.

Within such groups, large or small, the leadership position should be allowed to change depending upon the subject under consideration and in this way allow each group member to become an educator at some state. The individual charged with overall responsibility for the group should therefore co-ordinate rather than dominate the activity.

Besides using the accepted expertise developed from reading or intensive study full use must be made of the great mass of real life experience available within our groups. These experiences can be used as the ideal framework for new ideas. In that way additional information is solidly built upon the existing level of development.

GROUP MORALE:

In prompting group study or activity we should aim at achieving the highest possible morale which will provide the best atmosphere for consistent development. The ideal group is one which is formed to undertake a specific task, i.e. to conduct an agitational campaign, to organise the sale of literature, to co-ordinate a number of activities and so on. The educational activity should then be linked to the work function directly. For a given campaign, study should begin on long term and short term objectives and the reasons for such a strategy. Regular evaluation should continue during and after the campaign and the educational needs of the group be identified at each stage by the participants themselves. In this way a proper balance between theory and practice can be achieved.

Within such a group every contribution should be welcomed and tact used in correcting mistakes while at all times striving for a good spirit of partnership. While maintaining a proper approach to the work there should always be room for plenty of discussion and informality. Every effort should be made to achieve maximum participation with no one afraid to express themselves fully. Members must be taught to listen carefully to each other and reasons be given full examination by the whole group. Rather than try to dominate a dissenter every effort should be made for the total group to resolve differences through discussion and without personal attack.

When decisions are arrived at clear assignments should be made and implemented fully. Action to be taken should then have the total support of every group member. People will generally develop faster and grow in confidence in such a well functioning group but for this to be achieved the member responsible for co-ordination requires imagination, patience and tact. These qualities are of course equally useful in any normal work situation and are frequently the characteristics of these elected to positions of leadership by their fellow workers.

An ability to make accurate judgements of situations, people and moods or to merge into the group activity when necessary is also important. In general the overall feeling of the group should be "we have done it ourselves". By applying such self discipline in constructive activity we can help raise morale and sense of accomplishment of all our members and develop in ourselves the true potential for revolutionary leadership.

MODERN METHODS:

All our knowledge derives from our senses and is developed, verified and tested in social practice. Our educational method should be one capable of making full use of a life time of accumulated experience. In doing this we firmly establish an approach and basic principals which can be applied to all subsequent situations. The development moves logically from the concrete to the abstract from what is known to what is unknown.

This approach is a reversal of the traditional school system which concentrated upon imparting a large body of unrelated facts to memory, often only for examination purposes. Our radically changed approach opposes imparting a complex of unchanged and unchangeable dogma. We are aware that things change, so must our concepts of them, if not our concepts will fail to accord with changing reality.

Tools for learning: Our tools for learning will also be varied and be directed towards a full utilisation of all our faculties not just a of memory. Books and literature will play an essential part but should not be our only instruments. Recent emphasis upon Audio-Visual Aids has stimulated widespread interest in new ways of teaching. Some of these require very sophisticated and costly equipment like that used in language laboratories but the same results can often be produced relatively cheaply by using materials now in daily use.

Almost any lecture, talk or discussion can be made more interesting by using simple illustrations. If possible when dealing with adults avoid the blackboard or you will tend to recreate the worst memories of the childhood school room one way communication. In place of a blackboard large sheets of blank newsprint can provide an excellent background for coloured felt markers. Posters or printed headings with prepared illustrations should be used to focus attention of participants. A very useful device is the wall newspaper. By cutting out selected sections of magazines, or newspapers, with good illustrations they can be stuck together on one sheet to provide a visually attractive display of researched information.

The Chinese have perfected the system of wall newspapers and conducted the whole cultural revolution by making full use of the walls of Peking and all the country's population centres. This system is also cleverly used by advertising companies on wall hoardings, in buses and trains. Colour, size and visual impact are used to convey the essential ideas.

One understandable temptation is to try and include too many items or concepts on each display. It is always better to have too little but clearly understood than too much inevitably leading to confusion. Step by step development is the ideal means of establishing clear, logical thinking.

A slightly more costly method is the slide projector but they are usually available on loan or at low cost for short periods. Sets of slides can be compiled to illustrate almost any subject using an ordinary camera and the world around you as the subject matter. Many educational institutions now produce tapes and slides on popular topics like, economics, history, politics. In most cases this material will not give a progressive view of the subject but a critical appraisal of its defects is often a good educational activity. Your own tape can be recorded and adapted to the commercial visuals or the slides can be replaced with some of your own. Most of our members will be confronted daily by ideas which uphold ruling class norms and will require to develop a sharp faculty for critical appraisal.

Ideally we should produce our own materials and in that way gain the experience of producing ideas in clear and easily communicated form. Radio Programmes can be taped, songs or poems from records collected and members encouraged to record their own short talks on subjects they feel competent to tackle. The accumulated information and educational materials could then be circulated from the Central Education Department by making copies from the original or master tapes. This material could be used as a stimulus for educational activity at local level but should not become a replacement for the participation and development of each individual member.

Discussion on the contents of a popular film or television show (ie. Upstairs-Downstairs - the Late Late Show or a News Report from Portugal) can also achieve a high level of involvement. This can succeed where the formal lecture fails to produce a response or where a political document does not generate any enthusiasm. In general it is the responsibility of those producing literature to make it as easily read and visually attractive as possible.

The scope is unlimited, music, poetry, records, theatre and entertainment should all be included in our approach. In this way only can we hope to establish firmly the "Counter Culture" necessary for the fullest development of Revolutionaries.

THE CORRECT IDEAS:

No political education programme can avoid dealing with the problem of relating the progressive educational approach to the fundamental policies of the Movement itself. In society the ideas of the ruling class are the Ruling

ideas and within the Revolutionary Movement the ruling ideas must reflect the distilled wisdom produced from our experience. All ideas are not equally valid and an open examination of ideas must always lead to conclusions. These conclusions become the political policies which in turn are applied to the daily demands of our struggle. How we arrive at such ideas and policies is central to the party organisation. Socialist democracy requires the democratic centralist approach, having maximum examination of policies, democratic decisions and once accepted, a disciplined application of such policies by all members.

It is vital therefore at the stage of examining ideas, which is a major part of all educational activity, that no intellectual intimidation should prevent revolutionaries from expressing their views even if they are apparently at variance with those of their more articulate comrades

Incorrect ideas are never defeated by such premature suppression, but rather by open exposure to full and critical examination. This concept of free speech among Revolutionaries is based upon a healthy respect for the aspirations of the exploited and the recognition of the importance of combining the best contributions of all our members. We do not apply the same tolerance to ruling class ideas which have a monopoly in all other areas outside the party.

Within the Revolutionary Movement wide scope must be allowed for initiative and appraisal but our political actions must be based upon the Principles of our Policies. Strategy and tactics will change in accordance with the level of development at a given time and the organisational structures should continue to allow for updating of policies.

For a healthy internal development an elitist "correct line" mentality should not suppress internal discussion. If this happens the educational activity degenerates into a 'one way traffic' and can produce only one result - stagnation.

"The Volshevik slogans and ideas on the whole have been confirmed by history; but concretely things have worked out differently; they are more original, more peculiar, more variegated than anyone could have expected.....It is essential to grasp the incontestable truth that a Marxist must take cognisance of real life, of the true facts of reality, and not cling to a theory of yesterday, which, like all theories, at best only outlines the main and the general, only comes near to embracing life in all its complexity".

Lenin. Letters on Tactics. April 1917.
Collected Works; Vol. 24.

The modern women's movement was exported from the US to many countries all over the world. In the US it would seem to have stemmed from the Civil Rights campaigns of the '60's. It was a natural progression from concern with the discrimination against citizens on grounds of colour to discrimination against a whole sex. The first serious book to appear on the subject was Betty Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique". Written from an admitted middle-class standpoint it nonetheless made pertinent points about the manipulation of women for economic motives. It charted the deliberate campaigns used to either get women into the labour force - during the war when their cooperation was vital - or back to the home, when the war was over and women were needed as consumers for the mass of consumer goods coming on the market. Surveys had shown that a woman at home all day was a sure mark for sales drives for all kinds of gadgets and that a woman with a career outside the home had no need for such consolations for boredom. The book was limited to the examination of the class to which the author belonged - the middle aged, middle-class American woman - whose psychological problems filled the waiting rooms of analysts and who felt unwanted and rejected because having accepted society's dictum that woman's most important function was to stay at home and care for their children, they had faced inactivity and boredom when the children left home.

The movement mushroomed and, inevitably, branched off in various directions. On one hand there was the extreme anti-man elements such as SCUM or WITCH whose philosophy, such as it is, seems to be that men are the only enemy and that the answer to women's oppression is lesbianism. The ultra left, at least in the States, put their all into a campaign on Abortion, somehow believing that this was the issue which would politicise the working-class woman. In between these two extremes there were local groups of all kinds. Some confined their activities to setting up clinics for women on social welfare, others to child care centres for lower-income working women, there are groups for black women, women who have experienced assault and rape and while some workers in these areas have simply seen their job in terms of alleviating immediate suffering some others have seen such work as part of their socialist activity in much the same way as activity on civil liberties, housing, war, unemployment and so on.

A consensus of opinion of American women taken at random from visitors to the Sinn Fein Ard Oifig admits, however, that the women's movement has not broken through to working-class women and that the main workers and enthusiasts are student-middle-class elements.

A group of the Women's Liberation movement was set up in Ireland in 1970. The inaugural meeting consisted almost exclusively of women journalists and some individual women political activists. No one had much idea of what should be demanded on behalf of women but the group seemed to be divided roughly between some of the media women who saw the women's movement as a separate entity - almost a political party on its own and the political women who saw the women's movement simply as an extension of the socialist movement, something which would be active on all the political issues of the day plus specific women's

issues such as contraception, equal pay, etc. Despite some opposition this group succeeded in drawing the infant group into the fight against the Forcible Entry Bill and a large contingent marched in the May Day parade that year and provided two speakers at the public meeting. A public meeting was held which filled the Round Room of the Mansion House and the movement seemed set on a promising future.

Two things, however, combined to destroy the organisation before it even got off the ground. The media had showed an unusual interest in the group from the start. Completely uninterested in any political activity carried out by the women they played up all the more scatty elements and activities - even when there was a serious purpose to them. "The contraceptive train" was a case in point. Some of the more experienced members had warned that such a demonstration though well meant would alienate the extreme conservative women - particularly in rural Ireland - whom we surely hoped to draw into activity. In any case the divisions became more pronounced and the group became almost defunct when the political activists left. The journalists started moving in their own particular orbit and the leadership of the Irish Women Liberation Movement was taken over by, amongst others, Lunia Ryan.

In its heyday the Movement had produced "Chains and Change" an excellent booklet outlining, in simple terms, the many areas of discrimination against women in Ireland. For many years it was the only publication of its kind providing such information. Now it was reduced to bikini protests at the Forty-Foot and raids on pubs where women would not be served with pints.

Alone amongst the left-wing (and self styled left-wing) groups in Ireland, Sinn Fein has an official policy on women's rights. The I.C.O. and the C.P.I. is openly antagonistic although the latter has mellowed somewhat because of Mairin Mooney's identification with the cause. The issue was first raised briefly, in Sinn Fein, in a speech by Tomas MacGiolla at the Ard Fheis of 1971. In 1972 a resolution was passed making 14 demands and further amendments were made in 1973 and 1974. But passing resolutions is far from putting it into effect and much antagonism and suspicion - mainly though not exclusively from the male members - was voiced when all-women meetings were held and the subject still provokes sniggers in the public house meetings which have become the regular extension of Cumainn meetings in most areas.

The position of women in Ireland is that they are underpaid when working at jobs identical to those of men. They work also in all female jobs for which there are no basic male rates. They supply cheap labour in the factories, laundries, hospitals and hotels. A married woman is still, in many ways, considered the property of her husband and apart from the Children's Allowances, has no income for herself and her children as of right. What she receives from her husband may be withdrawn at any time either by the husband himself or by circumstances outside his control such as illness, redundancy etc. In this event he will be entitled to State assistance but his wife is still dependent on him for subsistence.

The Constitution of the 26 Counties and most other governments recognises that a special and vital job is done by mothers. The rearing of the next generation is something which must be done if civilisation is to survive. For all that they treat the person most responsible for this job - by inclination and by tradition - as if she had no existence, and indeed no needs other than a husband. The housing shortage, for instance, is never considered as a hardship bearing particularly heavily on women and mothers. The unemployment situation is never considered especially severe on mothers. If a woman is performing a vital job in bringing up children and if it is essential that she bring them up to be rational and independent human beings then is it not of the utmost importance that she be given every facility to do the job thoroughly? A state that really cared about the family would see that children had decent housing, that the mother had sufficient money to see to their every necessity, and that this money would be hers as of right and not given to another person to pass on or not as the mood took him.

There are women, some highly qualified in a profession, who do not want to stay at home all day with small children. On the other hand there are women who feel that a mother's presence when children are very small is of vital importance to their wellbeing. Both sections should be catered for. In the first instance properly run nursery schools and creches should be provided with fully qualified staff. Adequate maternity leave is essential, with full pay and no loss of status. In the second case a full-time mother should receive an allowance from the state for the job she is doing. If a woman who puts minute bits of a transistor radio together is worthy of a wage, insurance stamps and pension schemes why not a full-time mother?

Despite the best efforts of the Family Planning Clinics, the vast majority of women are still unable to have professional help to plan their families. The law is so ambiguous as to be farcical. The Church is still allowed to issue statements affecting matters of private conscience such as Dr. Lucy in Cork, recently. Happily this particular statement backfired since, when asked to fill in a questionnaire at the clinic as to where they had found about it, three quarters of the answers were "From Dr. Lucey's sermon". The slogan "Women must have control over their own bodies" has become slightly tarnished by association with extreme elements in the women's movement. That should not, however, blind us to its essential validity. No woman should be forced to bear a child when she doesn't want one. On the other hand if she genuinely wants her child, whatever her marital status, then she must be given every aid and assistance to keep it and bring it up in comfort.

Above and beyond all this is the question of social attitudes. Second only to the economic enslavement of women is the question of society's attitude to women - all women. I believe that the enslavement of women pre-dated capitalism and, if we are not careful, will ante-date it too. It was once said that Capitalism could not afford to emancipate children workers. Unless bosses had a constant supply of cheap child labour, it was said, capitalism would collapse. Well child labour was abolished and capitalism is still with us. It is quite

possible that the same will happen in the case of women. Therefore it is possible that a capitalist state could grant to women all the benefits enjoyed by women, say, in the Socialist countries - equality of education, training for any job on an equal basis, equal pay, crèches etc., and still women would be second class citizens.

It is good and proper that a woman can be the captain of a ship or a nuclear physicist but if the full burden of the housekeeping falls on her as well she has simply gained the right to do two jobs with credit only for one, after all the housekeeping one is her 'woman's' work. Even in places like Cuba where there are communal housework groups, it simply means that a group of women pool their labour in looking after the children, cooking, washing etc. It does not mean that all able-bodied citizens take their share of the work, pleasant and unpleasant, domestic and otherwise.

If this is so then it is obvious that it is not sufficient for women to join Socialist movements, do the jobs allotted to them, and hope that by struggling for socialism they are struggling for their own emancipation. The experience of most women in left-wing movements is that they represent in microcosm the values and attitudes of the society in which they operate. This means that women are discriminated against in revolutionary movements just as they are in society. It therefore follows that they have to fight against this discrimination inside the movement as well as outside. There is no reason why this must be done by organising separate caucuses but on the other hand there seems to be no reason against it. In any case discussion on women's rights within the revolutionary movement is in its infancy.

There has been no comprehensive discussion either among women themselves or amongst men and women in the movement on the subject. For instance who cares about movement wives? Either the ones who are not in the organisation but who have husbands who are, or the ones who are in the movement but find their activities reduced because if anyone in the family has to stay at home and mind the children it is she. Can the movement afford to have members who treat their wives like doormats and otherwise can we afford to have a great potential of women members, inactive because of accepted social attitudes, Surely this is something which could be discussed without posing a threat to anyone's personal prejudices. Other subjects of national importance are under constant discussion but it seems to me that only in the case of the women's subject is there an idea that all has now been said, demands made and the subject is now closed.

Comparatively speaking the subject of women's rights is an infant one, many prominent women will themselves admit that they want to read and discuss and think about the whole subject much more intensively for a great deal of time before they can come to positive principles. It is not enough to say to such women "Marx says" or "Lenin says", for while what Marx and Lenin have said is of course relevant and instructive it is not the last word.

The writer of this article does not claim that it is the definitive word on the subject. What I would like is that women would read it, think about it and reply to points with which they either agree or disagree. Such dialogue would benefit us all. We must have discussion and people must be able to say what they believe without fear of being labelled for all time, for before the dialogue is finished minds will change, attitudes will change, hopefully. We cannot lead the people and ignore 50% of the population, we cannot agitate on behalf of women and ignore the women in our own movement. It is nice to know about Anne Devlin and Madame Markiewicz but we are not going to live off their glories for the rest of our lives.

* * * * *

The road to change:

Eamonn Smullen

Revolutionary governments are in power in some countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America; Africa has several progressive governments. Some countries - our own included - have a revolutionary past but reactionary governments are still in power.

Why has the Soviet Union and Cuba made successful revolutions? These two countries are not, of course, the only countries to have successful revolutions but they are, for several reasons, good examples to isolate for study. Both, beyond a shadow of doubt produced the head of steam to carry through a revolution within their national boundaries. Certain external factors did exist but even when all these have been considered it is still true to say that the revolutionary impulse which pushed through to success came from within the national boundaries.

What was the weapon used in each case? In the Soviet Union it was a disciplined political party; in Cuba the disciplined revolutionary force was mainly the rebel army. But other countries have had disciplined revolutionary political parties and disciplined rebel armies, and have failed to carry through a successful revolution. A revolutionary situation is also needed.

No two countries make the revolution in exactly the same way, revolutionary situations seldom occur in exactly the same shape. To copy in exactly the same form what has happened in another country or at another time will not ensure that the same result will be achieved.

Many people, in Britain, for example, saw in the Soviet Union in the months immediately following the October revolution an example of 'how to do it'. They saw the barricades and the red flags and they knew the slogans and advised everyone, particularly the workers, to get red flags and to build barricades and to shout 'all power to the working class'. Revolutionaries of this sort were very surprised when Lenin in 'Left Wing Communism an Infantile Disorder' gave a different point of view. Willie Gallagher, for example, went to the Soviet Union in order to find out at first hand how to make a revolution. He was shocked when Lenin told him to go home and to start a revolutionary newspaper. Gallagher also had the strongest possible objection to taking seats in parliament; he wanted 'real' revolutionary activity and a 'real' revolution - just like they had made it in the Soviet Union. Lenin, with the experience of actually making a revolution, knew that it was not possible to do it in that way in Britain. Others at that time rejected contesting and taking seats in parliaments as something against their revolutionary 'principles'. They wanted the flags, the barricades, the gunfire, the blood and pure, pure, 'principles'. Lenin explained over and over again that there is only one principle and that is power for the working class, - like climbing the steep side of a mountain, when one path is impossible it is necessary to back-track a bit and try another way, but always the reason for it all is to reach the top.

Che Guevara did, of course, say: *"we cannot sit on the doorstep waiting for the revolution, like a funeral, to come down the street"*. Most revolutionaries know that particular quotation from Che but do not know that he did not advocate the unqualified use of force in political situations where it is still possible to use the democratic process. Would governments, such as the governments we have in Ireland completely abandon the democratic process of electing governments in these states?

Both the Northern and Southern States are ruled under emergency powers and both States have been so led since they were first established. Government in both States is elected by the democratic process; the conditions Che described when he used the term 'dictatorship' are not yet present in Ireland. (The present position in the North is not a long-term situation and it is still possible to elect some people by the democratic process, distorted as it is).

Had the civil rights movement in the North real revolutionary potential even if that movement had not been driven off the streets by a combination of armed force used by the state and armed force used by those who claimed to be 'defenders of the people'? The civil rights movement did have great potential and did in fact make great changes in the Northern State but it could not have brought about a revolution in the North. It is very unlikely that the civil rights issue could have united the Protestant and Catholic working class, the only force capable of carrying through a revolution in the North.

Extreme slogans have never produced revolutionary situations nor successful revolutions. The vast majority of people in any country are not extremists and will accept any government which makes available to the majority of the people reasonable supplies of food, shelter and clothing. But people who have achieved a certain standard of living will endeavour to maintain it; real revolutionary steam starts to build up when the central forces of 'law and order' resist perfectly reasonable demands put forward by the people.

In the territory which is now the Soviet Union the demands 'Peace, Bread and the Land' were reasonable demands in 1917. Examine the casualty figures from the Eastern front and the famine reports of those years. The combined traditional forces - 'The Little Father' (the Czar) and the Russian Orthodox church - could not stand against the shock generated by casualty figures at the front and the famine in town and city. Everyone favoured the reasonable demands 'Peace, Bread and the Land' but at that time these demands could not have been met by anything short of a revolution.

In Cuba only a revolution could grant democratic rights and take the land from ownership by the 'United Fruit Company' of the USA.

The step by step policy followed by the new revolutionary government in Cuba, after taking power, no matter if it was or was not a carefully worked out policy with that end in view, ensured that the revolutionary government would continue to receive mass popular support. The reaction of the government of the USA and the oil companies to the modest proposal to nationalise,

with compensation, the land in Cuba held by the United Fruit Company showed the extent of monopoly influence. The United Fruit Company owned all the best land in Cuba.

The new government carefully explained to the people every step that was taken in a revolutionary direction - how reasonable and necessary each measure was - and the reaction of the monopolies and the government of the USA to all these reasonable measures. The necessity of having mass popular support for each step taken was stressed again and again; this was a very necessary precaution in a country only 90 miles from the USA coast and thousands of miles from the nearest Socialist country.

The Castro speech on the Czechoslovakia crisis in 1968 will show, better than any other example, how conscious the Cuban leadership are of the importance of maintaining mass popular support.

What is happening in Ireland now?

In the North traditional industries, some based on native resources, are being destroyed. A whole series of acts, passed since the war - The Industries Development Acts 1945 - '53; The Capital Grants to Industries Acts 1954 1962; Aid to Industries Acts 1961-1964 and the Advice and Enterprises Acts 1964-1967, encouraged multi-national giant firms to invest in the North.

The man-made fibre industry in the North is totally dominated by the following international companies:- British Enkalon, Courtals, Dupont, Hoechst, ICI and Monsanto. These firms between them produce thirty-six per cent of the yarn used in the British man-made fibre industry. They seldom turn out a finished product in Ireland but follow the usual multi-national practice of making one part of a product in one country and then moving it through more than one country and more than one branch of the firm before the final good is put on the market. This allows for all sorts of profit and loss accounts to be maintained and the internal revenue of one country to be played off against the internal revenue of another country.

The giants seldom use native resources; they come in sometimes to get the market but mostly to take advantage of the tax-concessions and the pool of lower paid labour. Lower paid labour is one of the attractions which the Irish governments use in their advertising.

The Irish economy is becoming to an ever greater extent foreign owned. The South set out their plan to develop the economy very clearly in a statement headed - 'Ireland offers incentives to investors':-

The Industrial Development Authority of Ireland has played a key role in the country's Industrialisation push. Formed in 1949 as an agency of the government's Department of Industry and Commerce, IDA underwent a fundamental reorganisation five years ago. Since then it has expanded its current staff size of about 400, operating on an annual budget of \$80 million. In addition to regional offices throughout Ireland, IDA maintains a network of representatives worldwide (there are three in the USA alone) to promote the advantages of doing business in Ireland.

One such advantage is the 'tax-holiday'. New industries are exempt from paying Irish taxes on profits derived from exports of goods made there for 15 years after startup. The scheme ends in 1990. There is also a 100% depreciation that allowed on plant and machinery. And to encourage companies to locate in the South and West of the country, where employment opportunities are limited, there is a 20% investment allowance.

Outright cash grants for setting up new plant in Ireland are also part of IDA's financial incentive package. These grants vary, but can be as high as 50% of the cost of buildings, plant and machinery, site development, and the like, in areas where the IDA is trying to intensify industrialisation. The more labour-intensive industries get preferential consideration. There are also grants to cover training of personnel, R & D projects and expansions of existing units.

More than 800 new industrial projects have been established in Ireland during that time. Of these, 557 are sponsored by non-Irish firms, representing a total investment of \$600 millions. About a third of this sum has been invested by USA companies. Products made by these non-Irish firms ranges from computers and electric components to pharmaceuticals and leisure craft.

The upsurge in industrial investment in Ireland, a country that traditionally has relied heavily on agricultural exports, has been the direct outcome of IDA's drive. IDA planners have concentrated on bringing in companies that make downstream products closer to the ultimate consumer. Such operations tend to be labour-intensive, rather than heavily capital-intensive. Also, as production of downstream items gets under way, it tends to spawn the needs for suppliers of intermediate materials and services.

INVESTMENTS BY NON IRISH FIRMS NEARS \$600 MILLION

<u>Country</u>	<u>Investment in Million \$.</u>	<u>Number of Projects.</u>
USA	222	149
UK	112	195
Netherlands	90	24
West Germany	46	107
Others	122	82
Total	<u>592</u>	<u>557</u>

All the above details are given so that it can be clearly seen that Irish capitalism has no plan to develop the Irish economy and that the chief agency set up to bring jobs to Ireland sets out to attract any sort of firm from any place at all. No plan exists to develop an Irish economy according to a plan because in Ireland this would mean setting up state enterprises.

The Anglo-Irish free-trade agreement was signed because the mass-emigration of the 1950's proved that Irish capitalism could not solve the country's economic problems. The present government's economic policy can be made clear by taking a few sentences from an IDA advertisement which appeared in 'The Financial Post' Canada, this year:

"Industrial relations continue to improve under successive national wages agreements. Days lost through strikes fell to 350 days per 1000 workers. The Republic retains a significant wages-cost advantage over other European countries".

There is also a trend towards monopoly within what has been described as 'the native Irish section' of our economy. Our Oil and Gas pamphlet clearly shows the crossing and recrossing of directorships. Perhaps it is not surprising that Irish capitalists sell out to the bigger capitalists in other countries, but even the cooperatives are selling out in the dairy industry, an industry where one would think that we should be in a very strong position -we are a dairy country and we supply 90% of the fresh cream on sale in the British market. Donegal is in many ways regarded as the home of co-ops yet one finds inroads being made into the dairy industry there by the JAPANESE.

Many Irish enterprises bearing the name co-op are not progressive associations of small working farmers; this is the sort of picture that the name co-op tends to call to mind. Some farmers' co-ops are big business and they enter into agreements with firms which are quite open about their nature. The production of food, in one form or another, is one of the chief Irish resources and the export of this resource is, in the main, not in Irish hands. One of the largest trading firms in the world, a Japanese firm, has now set up in business in Ireland with the stated intention of developing their interest in the fishing and the dairy industry. Experience has shown, all over the world, that a giant firm moves into industry, any industry, with the intention of eating everything in sight. Irish government propaganda says that they come to bring jobs, that they are paid IDA money because they bring in jobs; in reality they come to take, they take out profits.

The classical pattern of neo-colonialism will soon start to show in Ireland. At the present time we have, in relation to our population, the largest balance of payments problem in the world. A very large proportion of government income goes to service the national debt; the percentage of government income spent in this way increases as the years pass. It is true to say that vast amounts of money collected in one form of tax or another goes into the pockets of the bankers and that bank profits increase by substantial amounts every year. The banks lending policy shows a heavy balance in favour of property development. This is not the sort of development which will provide the steady employment which the country needs.

The existence of rich natural resources on the national territory does not mean that the people will benefit from this good fortune. It is common knowledge that the vast oil wealth in the middle east did not change life for the people who are natives of that place; it did, of course, make a few of them very rich. Our pamphlet on Irish oil and gas resources names some of the people who expect to become very rich here in Ireland.

In the Republican Movement we are in business to take our natural resources, and every other means of production out of private hands and to ensure that it is owned and used for the benefit of the Irish people.

In the South of Ireland there are now one hundred thousand people classed as unemployed. The numbers out of work may fall again later in the year; or this may be a hard year and the numbers out of work may not fall again until next year. It is important to note that this is not a 1950's situation all over again. It is also very important to note that the state is well aware that this is not a 1950's situation all over again. In the 1950's there was full employment in Britain and any Irish person who could not find a job in Ireland could easily find employment in Britain.

There was some indignation about unemployment and emigration at that time; people demonstrated in the streets - they walked around a few streets together before they got the boat to Britain. The system was never in any real danger at that time because if capitalism was weak in Ireland it was strong in Britain. Crowds of unemployed people gathered outside the labour exchanges and there was a ready audience for any speaker who cared to address them.

The government has now made provision against that sort method of organising the unemployed. Unemployed people are asked to sign on only one day each week and various categories of workers and different age groups sign on different days. The government obviously expect large numbers of people to be out of work and to be forced to remain in Ireland in that state. It is also important to note that statements, at one time being made rather freely by ministers on the question of full employment in Ireland are not now made.

It is becoming increasingly clear that the present method of developing the economy is the Irish government's last stand. They have chosen a very dangerous method of development. Increasing amounts of evidence is coming to light which shows that the multi-national firms are not as solid and well-established as they seem. They move interests, money and capital across national boundaries almost at will; no government can keep a real record of their activities. Would a failure in one important sector of a giant firm cause the whole structure of that firm to crash? Would several such crashes cause large numbers of our people to lose confidence in the present system.

Will the present system fail to provide reasonable supplies of food, shelter and clothing to the majority of the people? This is a very important question to ask at the present time because a certain number of people in Ireland think that the only way to make the revolution in Ireland is to go out on the streets and to fire shots and let off bombs. In trying to bring about a revolution in this way, and it must, of course, be stated very clearly that the majority of people now engaged in this sort of activity do not wish to bring about a real revolution in Ireland - they do not want working-class power; these people are ignoring the experience of all successful revolutions. The majority of the people are not extremists and they will not support extremist politics.

Why did the Irish not make a successful revolution in the 1930's when there was mass unemployment in Ireland and also in Britain and the United States?

Socialism was a new force in the world at that time and the Soviet Union facing all the difficulties of making the first socialist revolution in a hostile world did not in many ways even allowing for the distortions of capitalist propaganda, present a convincingly better alternative to capitalism at that time.

In the 1930's the capitalists still had a lot more creditability than they have now. Even in Ireland, where the people did not support imperialism, the fact that Britain had a vast empire; Grance had an empire; Holland had an empire; Belgium had an empire; Italy had an empire - Germany had just lost an empire but had high hopes of regaining it - all that, even in Ireland seemed strong enough to last forever.

The majority of the people in Ireland at that time regarded the capitalist as the person who went to the same school as they did - or who came from a 'respectable family' - and who had 'made good'. Capitalism in Ireland today is a very different proposition. A quick read through any IDA publication will show the reason why this is so. The Irish economy is becoming to an even greater extent foreign owned and controlled. Vast sums of money, collected from the Irish people in the form of taxes of one kind or another is being paid out to foreign firms in order to ensure that the Irish economy will be foreign owned.

The need for 'exports', the necessity to continually raise the level of exports in order to pay for imports which are used to produce the exports, means that the Irish people pay for factories to produce nuts to fit bolts which are made elsewhere. Our home market is to an ever greater extent supplied by ready-made imports - cars, boots and shoes and clothing, and so on.

The revolutionary should not be under any illusion that the struggle to defeat capitalism in Ireland will be an easy process. Those who let off bombs at random allow the governments to equip themselves with all sorts of arbitrary powers which will at some time in the future be ready to hand when they are needed to combat genuine revolutionary forces. People who give the governments an opportunity to acquire this sort of legal equipment at the present time are, whether they realise it or not, enemies of revolution in Ireland. The government, at some stage of a serious economic crisis, will without doubt abandon the democratic process; the legal equipment that they are now acquiring will make it more easy for them to completely abandon democracy.

Will we have a serious economic crisis in Ireland? We will without doubt have a serious economic crisis in Ireland. Will imperialism in the not too distant future face a serious crisis? Imperialism will without doubt face a serious economic crisis in the not too distant future. What should we do? We should know more about the economy of this country than any other political grouping in Ireland. We should develop a machine to give this knowledge to the Irish people in the broadest possible manner. We should campaign for peace and for democracy.

The Irish economy both in the North and the South cannot be brought into a healthy condition by anything short of a revolution. The demands we make against the multi-nationals are reasonable demands - that no part of our natural resources leave Ireland except as finished goods, the final finished good; this is a policy for full employment in Ireland. This reasonable demand - it can be clearly seen by all our people as a reasonable demand - it can only become a reality by revolution in Ireland.

WHAT YOU CAN DO
TO ACHIEVE FULL ECONOMIC AND
POLITICAL FREEDOM FOR THE IRISH PEOPLE

Join the Republican Movement

We STAND for the OVERTHROW of British
Imperial Rule in Ireland.

We STAND for an INDEPENDENT IRISH
SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

We OPPOSE all FOREIGN financiers, speculators,
monopolists, landlords, and their
native collaborators.

We PLACE the RIGHTS of the common man
before the right of property.

We CLAIM the OWNERSHIP of the wealth of
Ireland for the people of Ireland.

Unite to Fight!

Call or write to: The Secretary,
Sinn Fein,
30, Gardiner Place,
Dublin 1. 41045-40716