



# UNITED IRELAND

NEWSLETTER

## IRISH REPUBLICAN CLUBS

243 MT. HOPE DR., ALBANY, N.Y. 12202

August 1977

Each year Irish Republicans, wherever in the world they may be located, hold a commemoration of Wolfe Tone, leader of the United-Irishmen and the Rising of 1798 and the father of Irish Republicanism. The orations or principal speech at these commemorations are singularly important in the cause of Republicanism. For this reason we devote this issue of the United Ireland Newsletter to the 1977 oration at the Bodentown, Co. Kildare graveside of Wolfe Tone. The oration was given by Eamon Smullen, Director of the Economics Department of Sinn Fein The Workers' Party and member of the National Executive.



Wolfe Tone, whom we honor here today, was the founding father of Irish Republicanism. He set Ireland on a new course in his own day and age and found inspiration for this new course outside Ireland as well as inside Ireland.

The full sweep and grandure of his political vision was such that even now many who profess to honor him do not recognize the full measure of his achievement nor would they subscribe to it if they did.

At a time when the population of Ireland was divided - one half to a limited extent enjoying the fruits of, in historical terms, a recent conquest - and the other half victims of that conquest, he put forward the revolutionary proposition of unity.

"We wish that all our animosities were buried with the bones of our ancestors" - he made that statement his guiding principle; by this principle he measured his every political word and action.

In Tone's day mankind started to break the historical mold which had shaped the destinies of the people of Europe for centuries. Many feared to depart from the established social order, and from its customs and traditions, which had become sacred to them because it represented a well understood way of ordering life. They saw nothing but dangers and troubles for mankind when the more positive and enlightened sections of the community pushed everyone out on a sea that was strange and poorly charted.

Some continued to cling to this or that aspect of old and familiar things when the evidence was clear that the social order that had given birth to and which nourished them was forever damned by the forward march of the human race.

It is to Wolfe Tone's eternal credit and it is to the eternal credit of the United Irishmen that they embraced the new ideas with fierce loyalty and passion. They defended the new ideas and the new world against the fearful, the conservative and the treacherous of their day.

We are Wolfe Tone's successors and we have a better understanding of his motives today than can be said of any movement at any time since that first generation of Irish Republicans. Those who usurp the name republican and yet reject our revolutionary movement blaspheme against the name Republican because they are sectarian and they seek to put obstacles in the way of the forward march of humanity.

The 20th Century is one of the great revolutionary centuries. Mankind is again breaking the old mold which has shaped human destiny for the past two centuries. We are in the tradition of Tone and we are in the best tradition of human enlightenment when we take our place



in this forward march. We joined that ranks of this march when it was declared on this spot a few years ago that we must ask ourselves questions about the nature and the purpose of this movement. We took a giant step forward when we accepted the proposition that no tradition outlook or practice which had been sanctified by years of acceptance was exempt from close examination.

Our self-critical examination during the past few years has been difficult and expensive. It has broken old friendships as we continue to press forward in defiance of those who say every now and again - "this far and no further."

We have paid a very high price along the way in our search for truth. Some of our members - our comrades - have died because they refused to sanction old ways and old beliefs that are damned by this new age, this new generation and this new world.

Tone shed no tears for past defeats and tragedies, he genuflected to no tradition older than his own generation; he faced the future with undivided attention and fierce resolution. Tone's political wisdom and unmatched political courage was set forever in a most honored place by our people when he declared against all the odds and all the practice of his time: "We will depend on the men of no property."

We must steel our minds to the fact that there is no easy high-road to revolution. There is no possibility of compromise with conservative forces nor with their ideas along the way. We must set our hearts, our minds and our strength on the future with the tenacity and honesty of Tone, Ireland's greatest revolutionary.

Irish society is again changing and questioning its traditional values as it changes. We accept the changes now taking place in Irish society with enthusiasm and excitement. We welcome with all our hearts the growing numbers and power of the Irish working class now being increasingly employed in larger and larger units.

We welcome with enthusiasm and excitement the predominantly young labor force free of the old hatreds and divisions of the civil war and free of the tribal taboos and traditional religious and social bigotries.

The new work-force differs from all previous Irish work-forces - it is larger; it is growing; it is being concentrated in larger and larger numbers. It depends on wages and on wages alone for its livelihood. The creation of this new work-force is, without doubt, the most revolutionary development in our long history.

People of conservative outlook - even some who do not profess a



conservative political faith - fear this new development. They look back to "the good old days" and wish to turn back life and time. They see the new generation of propertyless wageearners as a gathering storm cloud and they fear a deluge. We rejoice in the certainty of the coming deluge; we know that it brings new life and new growth; we know that Irish society badly needs a deluge.

We, today, have our eyes fixed firmly on the future; we reject all political ideas and relics that are not of practical political use. We reject attempts to marry the slogans from past historical circumstances to present day political and economic needs - revolutionary needs. We are Irish revolutionaries of our own day and age and we proclaim loudly and clearly the vital revolutionary need of this day and age - industrialize, industrialize, industrialize!

We call for big, modern, efficient industry; we want as many power units available to the Irish worker as are available to the worker in the United States, in Japan, in West Germany and in the Soviet Union.

We reject the sweat-shops and the casual labor which has been, and still is in many places, the most unpleasant face of Irish capitalism.

Our revolutionary party cuts through this mean life full of constant anxiety and petty tyranny; a way of life which puts the meal on the table at the mercy of some irresponsible individual. Employment in company of hundreds or thousands of other workers means not only the creation of more jobs but the creation of working class power. Working class power - the strength of numbers employed in large modern plants - puts an end to many of the insecurities, uncertainties and petty tyrannies of work under capitalism.

A workforce employed in large, modern factories is a militant workforce, its aims and objectives will be different in character from anything that has gone before. It will stand on its own feet and it will live in the present day.

It is this sort of workforce that is growing in Ireland today and the future favors this class. We understand the working class because we are one of their bone and blood of their blood. When we say that we are a working class party this is literally the truth - nothing more than the truth. When we say that the working class is the vanguard of revolutionary change in Ireland we are affirming to a known revolutionary truth which has emerged triumphant from trial after trial.

We are, without a shadow of doubt the main working class party



in Ireland. In numbers, organization, ideological clarity and discipline we have labored to produce a party capable of leading the Irish working class to power and to victory.

The traditional manner of ordering life is not supported for its own sake by our party. We know, because we understand our history; that what is described as our traditional way of life is not something of our making. It was shaped by outside forces - hostile forces; it is the result of compromise; it came into existence by accident.

When we are confronted by the traditional way of meeting some economic need we apply to the matter only one critical question - is the public interest best served by providing this need in this way?

Our country has been cursed by the existence of class and section which "enforced its rights with a rod of iron and renounced its responsibilities with a front of brass." Our party does not, will not and cannot support such people. This principle applies with particular force to the use in the public interest of our great natural resource in land.

"The land for the people" was once regarded as a revolutionary slogan in Ireland. Some people interpreted that slogan to mean "the land for some of the people." There is no place in our movement for a doctrine of a divine right to property. There is no logical argument which can put an individual 'right' against the general public interest. Anyone who claims that an individual right should take precedence over public well-being is presenting not reasoned argument, but quite clearly is making a statement in support of vested interest.

We say that it is a crime to have 90% of Irish agricultural land under grass when at the same time the urban need for vegetables is met by supplies from Israel, Texas, the Canaries, Cyprus, the Channel Islands and God knows what other far-away field.

We say that it is a crime against the Irish people that meat is a luxury or is completely absent from many a worker's table in a country so well endowed to produce meat. Those who snort with indignation at the story of the Arab cooking on a fire of camel dung in a land of oil should also snort about the price of meat in this land of flocks and herds. There is no law anywhere in this world which says that the home price of meat must be regulated by the export price of meat,

The virtue and the right of any method of production is measured in one way and in only one way - how does it serve the common well-



being? We, therefore, rejoice that the Bord na Mona workers and the Electric Supply Board workers in Counties Leix and Offaly are organizing a campaign for the State companies - Bord na Mona and the Irish Sugar Company - to produce food from the cut-away bogland.

We say the the State companies should produce food by ultra-modern methods - fresh food and processed food - for sale on the home market and for export. We brand all who suggest that Bord na Mona land should be used in any other way as out and out enemies of the working class. It is only by developing a food industry on a giant scale in this way that jobs can be created in rural Ireland.

The other great scandal of Irish life is the export of large quantities of our natural resources - our mineral resources - and the buying back from the Rockefellers of our own natural gas. In all the various 'plans' put forward during the recent elections, by the Fianna Fail Party, the Fine Gael Party and the Labour Party, there was not one suggestion, or even a hint, that the full benefits of our rich natural resources should come to the Irish people.

The State gave licenses to the giant mining companies to exploit reserves which the State had discovered. When you consider the value which is added to resources in processing from lifeless metal to complex commodities, this State has made these giant companies a present of many thousands of millions of pounds and has sacrificed many thousands of jobs in Ireland.

Giant American Corporations are being allowed to carry out a robbery of this country on a scale never imagined by Strongbow or Cromwill, and the Irish capitalists are helping them in this robbery. We reject with indignation the suggestion that Irish capitalism can be harnessed in any way to the cause of winning economic justice for Ireland.

The record of Irish capitalism on this issue has been to sell out when the price is right: it would be very surprising if this were not so; it is in the nature of capitalists as a class to sell out when the price is right.

In the North our party policy has been justified by the passing of time. We, from the very start of the present difficulties said that full democratic rights was the issue in the North. We said that decent housing for all the people was the issue in the North. We said that jobs for all the people was the issue in the North.



We are practical revolutionaries and we do not bay at the moon; people whose activities divide the working class are not revolutionaries, are not anti-imperialists, no matter how extreme their actions or their expressions.

We say that an ending of the mindless violence in the North is a necessary requirement for serious political activity in the North. The North's need for revolutionary change is as great as the South's need for revolutionary change. We call down a plague on the bigots of all creeds. We call down a plague on the Fianna Fail ministers who stoked the fires which have burned for the last few years. We call for peace.

The government in the South has made all sorts of strong statements on the question of the fishing limits of this state. The most useful thing that can be said on this matter is to call for a State Fishing industry and to remove from the scene the skipper-owners who have proved to be not only incompetent on the question of developing a fishing industry but are also one of the harder faces of Irish capitalism in their treatment of, and their relations with, the deck hands.

By calling on the State to establish a state fishing industry we cut through all the fraud and useless chatter around this question and point out the only serious way to create jobs from this rich natural resource.

The State company is now being recognized in progressive circles throughout the world as the best shield for an underdeveloped economy against the activities of large predatory corporations. Our movement recognizes the importance of the State company and say that it is on the basis of our State companies that Ireland should be industrialized.

The Fianna Fail Party is now back in power. The angry rejection of the Coalition does not mean that the people really want a Fianna Fail government - it is clearly a vote of desperation.

Fianna Fail concentrated on issues which the people regarded as being of overpowering importance - jobs and prices -- planning the economy.

We were the only party in the recent elections to have a serious plan for the economy; it was published by our party last January - "The Irish Industrial Revolution." Not one mention did it receive in the papers during the election; it was impossible to break through the wall of silence on this issue.



We were the only party to have a serious policy on lower prices - a cheap food policy; it was impossible to break through the wall of silence on this question. How can Fianna Fail - the party which has promised to remove the very limited measure of taxation on farmers - how can they possibly talk seriously about the high price of food? They will perhaps introduce subsidies which cannot bring down prices to a substantial degree and are in any case a disgusting new robbery of the working class who must pay for the subsidy in their taxes or by a sacrifice of jobs by increasing the price of our exports.

Fianna Fail will not find jobs for those asking employment. We gave fact and detail exposing what they described as a 'plan for employment'; our exposure of Fianna Fail on this matter could not break through the wall of silence.

Light remarks made on unimportant matters and associated with our movement received publicity; the major policy statements received little or no publicity. Statement on matters which are not burning issues at election time, no matter what merit they may have in themselves at other times are dangerous to mention during an election campaign. We must become more professional in our approach to fighting elections. We must learn to recognize the traps some people in the media set for us; we must ensure that once the main issues are identified and agreed upon that sound political judgement and sound political judgement alone guides our every word and action. The main issues and only the main issues must be kept to the fore on all occasions and at all times.

It is important to stress the handicaps we faced in order to measure the degree of our success. Some of our people will, no doubt, be disappointed that our success in the elections was not greater. But we have established our credentials as a working class party. Our party's strength is growing in the working class; we have shown a substantial increase in our vote, especially in urban areas where the population is growing. We must redouble our efforts to ensure that our growth in this direction shows spectacular increase.

Our working class party has travelled a long and difficult road to reach its present position and present policies. Our education was a long, painful process and we learned by bitter experience and sacrifice. We have emerged a well-tempered instrument to help revolutionary change in Ireland. We are sometimes told that we lack charity when we speak of the opinions of others of those who have not experienced the trials that we have endured. It is indeed sometimes-difficult not



to be impatient with people who spend more time inventing terms of abuse for aspects of our policies than they do in studying the policies.

At the graveside of the great Wolfe Tone we pledge ourselves to lead Ireland into the modern world as he led Ireland into the modern world of his day. We pledge ourselves to an outright endeavor to bury with our ancestors the animosities of the past. We pledge ourselves to absolute and unconditional loyalty to the cause of those without property in Ireland - those who live by wage or salary. We pledge ourselves to face all hazards to build a party of the working class which will lead that class to power and to victory.

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We would urge those of our readers who are truly concerned about Ireland and the "Irish Question" to read and subscribe to the periodicals of the Irish Republican Movement - The United Irishman and EOLAS. While the United Ireland Newsletter provides some information on a monthly basis, it cannot begin to provide all the information you need to keep on top of the situation "on the ground" in Ireland.

The United Irishman is the monthly newspaper of Sinn Fein, The Workers' Party. Airmailed directly from Dublin, It costs \$10 per year. The paper provides coverage of the issues important to the Irish people which are ignored if not actually suppressed by the commercial media both in the United States and in Ireland. For those of you who are Gaelic speakers, there is a section in the Irish language in every issue. Checks should be made payable to;

The United Irishman; 30 Gardiner Place; Dublin 1, Ireland

EOLAS is the international newsletter of the Republican Movement. Published by the International Affairs Bureau, it is airmailed directly from Dublin 12 times a year for \$10 the year. EOLAS provides in-depth analyses specially written for the overseas Irish. Checks should be made payable to;

International Affairs Bureau; Irish Republican Movement;  
30 Gardiner Place; Dublin 1, Ireland



## SINN FEIN PLATFORM - Part 7 : Republican Economic Policy

Sinn Fein reiterates the stand on economic affairs laid down in resolutions carried at recent Party Conventions. It pledges itself to intensify its opposition to economic imperialism in all its manifestations, from the overt oppressions of the bankers, monopolists and their servants within the so-called European Economic Community, to the covert actions of their local agents within Ireland who actively encourage the domination of our island's economy by monopoly capitalism.

We restate our wholehearted opposition to Irish membership of the EEC and call upon the Irish people to recognize the growing reality of the evil that such membership represents for Ireland. We remind the people of this nation of the promises made by the proponents of Irish membership during the referendum campaign (in the 26 Counties) of 1972, and ask them to test these promises against the experience of being part of that Community.

**SOCIAL CONTRACT:** We restate our opposition to any action by the Commission in Brussels that threatens the welfare and livelihood of the Irish nation, particularly with reference to the so-called partnership proposals of the EEC Commissioner for Social Affairs. We note that the idea of a 'social contract' has also been proposed by the Central Bank, the 26 County Government's principal financial arm.

We regard it as no coincidence that these various instruments of capitalism are pushing the notion of 'social partnership' between employers and workers at a time when there is growing awareness among the working class of the realities of power structures in the system in which we live. That the average worker is becoming aware for the first time of the direct link between the control of economic power and control of political power has not escaped the notice of the monopoly capitalists and hence their advocacy of 'social partnership.'

Sinn Fein regards such a device as an attempt by those monopolists to induce the working classes to substitute their fight for political and social emancipation with a vaguely defined concept known as 'social partnership', in which they are deluded into thinking themselves as part owners of the means of production and distribution. This attempt to veneer the realities of economic power will be strenuously opposed by Sinn Fein The Workers' Party.



We specifically warn workers against the following forms of social partnership or social contract:

a)) JOINT WORKER-MANAGEMENT COMMITTEES: This form of 'social contract' puts forward the theory that factories will be operated under committees formed from representatives of the workers and of management.

Theoretically such committees will have responsibility for the day-to-day running of the factories, but not for the formulation of policies, which remains in the hands of the Board of Directors.

This scheme creates among workers the illusion that they do, in fact, have a say in policy decision making and that they have become part-owners of the concern. Such a device enables the directors to remove from the workers a key instrument in forcing concessions from management, namely through the strike threat, since such action is represented to the workers as being against their own best interests.

b)) WORKER DIRECTORS ON THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS : This is merely a variation of the above. The reality, in such circumstances, is that the 'worker director' has the status of an observer without any real power.

c)) PROFIT SHARING: This is a form of bonus and usually takes the form of giving the workers the option of buying non-voting shares in the company. This device again allows the capitalists to create the illusion among the workers that they are also 'owners' and that to strike is to penalize their own interests as shareholders.

d)) VOLUNTARY SOCIAL EXPENDITURE: Workers are promised the receipt of an additional pension conditional on working for the employer for a specified number of years. Workers who are brought into this arrangement are effectively tied to the employer by fear that "Industrial action" might lose them their pensions as well as their jobs.

t These four categories basically comprise the system of 'social partnership' which Sinn Fein rejects as a solution to improving the living standard of the Irish people.

End of Part 7 - To be continued next month..



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*"The ownership of Ireland for the people of Ireland"*

## **CABHAIR**

***Irish Republican Prisoners Defence and Aid Fund***

30 GARDINER PLACE, DUBLIN 1.

**Funds urgently needed for:**

Republican Prisoners Welfare      Legal Aid  
Aid for their Dependants

**ALL CONTRIBUTIONS WILL BE ACKNOWLEDGED**