

EDUCATIONAL MANUAL VOL. 111

CONTENTS:

1. The Three-level Concept; a note on the development of the consciousness of the Movement. 1.
2. Some Definitions of Political Terms. 3.
3. Organisations of the Irish People. 13.
4. Tactical Objectives. 22.
5. Tactical Methods. 26.
6. Support, Pressure, Channels of Influence. 33.
7. Some notes on the Special Conditions in the Six Counties. 37.
8. The Organisational Structure of the Movement and the various Regions of the Country. 43.

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Introduction:

The Three-Level Concept:

The existence of a divided country complicates the problem for a party or movement wishing to propose a social and economic or political program for the country as a whole. Such indeed is the outcome intended by the architects of partition. It is necessary to think at three levels in the devising of such a program.

Level 1: that which is attainable by agitation and organised pressure within the existing framework although the latter is controlled by Unionist and neo-Unionist parties.

Level 2. additional steps possible within the 26 County framework by a progressive Republican Government committed to the rapid attainment of National Unity and Independence, together with the corresponding steps possible within the six Counties under those circumstances.

Level 3: full development of the potential of a United Independent Nation.

It is easier to talk in general terms about the possibilities of level three than to work out in detail the complicated steps necessary in levels one and two. Republican thought has in the past therefore tended to concentrate on this level and to back away from the considerable difficulty of analysing the necessary prior steps except in military terms, the inadequacy of which has been shown by the signal failure of purely military methods to date.

Theoretical work initiated in 1962/3 suffered from this weakness, in that the terms of reference given by the executives of the Movement to the drafting committee consisted in a 'level 3' approach. The ultimate outcome of this work is to be found in Vol. IV of this educational handbook series. The delay in the production of the 'Social and Economic Program', which has caused misgivings on all sides, is attributable to the fact that the drafting committee in the end realised that the 'three level' approach was necessary and that the whole thing had to be re-written in the present form.

In the meantime, a wealth of experience has accumulated in the Movement relating to Social-Economic work, so that the present document, related as it is to Level 1. mainly, with some hints at Level 2., has been enriched to an extent not otherwise possible. Indeed, any attempt to produce it two years ago would have been decidedly premature.

For the benefit of any reader who has not got the other Volumes in this Series, they are as follows:

Volume 1: History of the Movement, from the Cromwellian period to the Sixties of the present century. In this the more modern periods, not being analysed elsewhere, receive more detailed treatment than the earlier, which are treated in note form.

Volume 1. (Supplement) The Lessons of History.

Volume 2: Ireland to-day: this is, at the time of writing, still in preparation; it is the last to appear because it requires the most quantitative research. Pending its appearance the best substitute is the close study of the United Irishman.

Volume 4.: Sketch of a United Independent Republic. This serves a purpose in that it helps to define a goal, but it is of little help in immediate practical terms.

The present volume is the most important in that it helps to give the members of the Movement some idea what to do next. It should be studied closely and any amendments or improvements which come in as a result of the practical experience of the Movement will be incorporated in the final printed edition.

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P 7

Section 2.

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Some Political Terms and their Definitions:
Democracy, Autocracy.

The former term in its broadest sense means that those affected by any decision have a right to take part in the making of it: the latter term implies the existence of an elite who, in their superior wisdom have the right to make decisions and to impose them on those concerned. The exercising of voting rights on rare occasions by an electorate subject to the pull of patronage and to pressure from mass-media under the control of 'large-property' () is not the best recipe for democracy. Full democracy implies the continuous involvement of the ordinary people in the making of decisions affecting themselves, in groups small enough for the individual to have a genuine say. Such has rarely been achieved in political history, but it is an objective of the Movement.

Another confusion introduced into the political vocabulary by large-property acting as a pressure-group is the so-called 'democratic' consultation of groups which are by their nature autocratic by Governments which wish to pay lip-service to democracy. Thus in Britain the so-called 'democratic socialist' principle exists, whereby the autocratic structure of privately owned industry is allowed to determine 'democratically' the future course of the policy of the government in matters affecting them. If there was democracy in the structure of ownership of Industry it would be a different matter. This is stressed in order to show how words can sometimes reverse their meanings and one must look at the context. A democratic decision of thieves is not necessarily a good decision for honest citizens, just because it is democratic.

In local government bodies, which are themselves democratically elected, the various sub-committees can be selected according to democratic or autocratic principles; in the former case the interested bodies are themselves democratically structured and are asked to nominate representatives of their choice;

in the latter case nominees are appointed by the party which has the majority in the Council, or even by the Minister, without consultation of the interested bodies. The latter procedure is one of the methods of patronage, whereby a ruling party can negate democracy and continue to do so despite elections, support being gained by a system of rewarding for service. Another method of patronage is the use of the social services by the ruling party, whose politicians are able to have the regulations bent to favour their supporters. The proper functioning of democracy is incompatible with patronage: the best safeguard is to have in existence active organisations of the people in which all participate, exercising vigilance over all that goes on, and willing to expose abuses.

Large-property: small-property.

When talking about the 'men of no property' Tone had in mind a specific and rather abstract meaning for the term 'property'. All men have some property even if it is only their clothes; When we talk of 'property' we mean 'ownership of things' in the abstract, as distinct from 'enjoyment of things' or 'use of things in production of other things'. When property exceeds a certain size, these three functions become separated, and are associated with different people. This provides us with a yardstick for measuring if property is 'large' or small'.

Thus, if a man owns a farm, works it and eats some of the produce off it, he combines all three functions under the one hat. The owner-manager of a small firm combines two of them; it would be rare for him to consume himself a significant portion of his produce. But the owner of a large firm is a faceless shareholder possibly in a foreign country: the manager is a salaried employee. The line between small and large property can, therefore, be drawn between the owner-manager who works in his own interest, and the firm which is run by an employee-manager who is instructed to maximise the profit for the shareholders, the latter representing the abstract interest of a large property, in that they would withdraw their capital and invest elsewhere if they got a higher return.

It is the belief of the Movement that it is possible to unite the interests of all below the large-property line for the achievement of National Independence.

National Independence. This means essentially 'control over the basic investment policy decisions retained within the country and exercised in the interest of the people as a whole'. It is not to be confused with 'self-sufficiency' which seeks to minimise external trade and was a conscious policy of Fianna Fail in the 30's. The essence of national independence, apart of course from political independence, is control over the movement of capital in and out of the country; control over movement within the country is implied also if investment decisions are to be taken in the National interest.

Freedom: a vague term, used in many senses. Its meaning frequently is 'freedom for large-property owners to invest so as to maximise their rate of return: That this implies autocracy over those who constitute the 'mobile pool of Labour' is usually overlooked. The concept of freedom which we adopt as an alternative is that of valuing a man according to what he can do rather than how much property he owns or who his father was. Full freedom for the individual therefore implies education: the concept of equality therefore implies equality of educational opportunity.

Democracy, Freedom, Equality are all therefore closely related terms: all are negative in a society which allows large-property to introduce an autocratic element into mens lives.

It is possible to elaborate at length on the positive and non-phoney meanings of the word freedom. Thus a free man should not be a slave to the one job his whole life: he should have enough leisure to learn to do another one should he wish and to develop his personal skills and interests and to participate in a full social and cultural life. This is the passive element in economic freedom: the active element is the participation in the making of decisions that affect his work

The opposite of this concept of Freedom is the concept of alienation, which describes what happens to an individual who is at the mercy of events outside his control in the economic basis of his existence, who works long hours and has no time for his family or a cultural or social existence and who has lost touch with even those elements of the National culture which survive among the common people in the form of song and story, so that insofar as he is able he satisfies his cultural needs with the dregs of foreign 'admass' 'pop' commercialised culture, suitably admixed with alcohol. Possibly the most all-round alienation is to be found among the Protestant working-class of Belfast: the Catholic ghetto-dwellers have at least clung on to some appreciation of the Language and the National Culture. There are signs that some of the more intelligent Protestants are beginning to react against this alienation and to value the National Cultural heritage: the importance of this as a bridge should not be underestimated.

REPUBLIC: form of government having rule other than by hereditary monarch. It is therefore a vague term, covering situations such as South Africa where there is a restricted franchise. More precise is Democratic Republic which implies the existence of democracy at least insofar as there are periodic elections involving the whole people. More than this, however, is required if democracy is to be developed to the full. The 'republic' implicit in the objectives of the Republican Movement in Ireland has from the start consistently been democratic in its form. The implication of this in terms of the attitude to large property have not always been clear. Thus, when the concept of the large-property dominated Republic associated with the thinking of Griffiths and De Valera emerged in the '30s, those of the Movement who did not accept this concept were slow to formulate the alternative, despite the pointers laid down by Connolly.

The concept of the "Workers Republic" is one attempt to pose an alternative to the Griffiths-De Valera 'Republic'. This is an oversimplification which has appeal in the urban areas and among politically inexperienced people, such as students: it is quite unsound in that it alienates about half of the population who are worker-owner-managers of small property (firms, businesses) unnecessarily. Such people, even though they derive the greater part of their income from actual work, think of themselves as being property-owners and, rightly, view with suspicion what looks like interference with their hard-earned rights. The working owner-manager of the small business as well as the small farmer suffers from the economic threats from abroad and consequently is an indispensable support in the struggle for a United Independent Democratic Republic and will benefit from the Freedom and Equality of opportunity which will come as a consequence.

Progressive, Reactionary: The former term implies a process favouring the interests of the least favoured sections of society; in the economic sense e.g. with regard to taxation it implies taxing the rich proportionately more than the poor; the opposite of progressive in the economic vocabulary sometimes is progressive.

Reactionary implies the curtailment the right of the mass of the people, whether economically or politically. The terms 'left' and 'right' are used similarly: the origin of these terms goes back to the French constituent assembly in the 1790s when the progressives sat physically on the left and the reactionaries on the right.

Capitalism:- System of production whereby all the produce belongs to the supplier of capital necessary for the productive process, the labour necessary being paid for by a wage, this being the sole claim of the worker to the fruits of his labour. The sale of the produce realises more than the amount of capital invested in the period, the difference being the profit.

The contradiction between the social nature of the productive act and the private nature of the appropriation of the produce was first pointed out by Marx in 1848 and is of profound significance for the understanding of all economic processes at work in Ireland today.

Co-Operativism:- System of ownership of the means of production whereby control is exercised by the people concerned (suppliers, workers, consumers) on the one-man-one-vote principle, as distinct from capitalism where control is exercised on the basis of one-share-one-vote. It therefore involves the introduction of democracy into economic life and is akin to socialism, though differing from the latter in that ownership is vested directly in the community concerned rather than remotely in the State. Clearly a Socialist form of ownership is appropriate as a replacement for the private ownership of large-property, while a co-operative form of ownership is best adapted to meet the needs of small property, uniting the interests of worker-owners in co-operatively owned joint services.

Marxism, Socialism, Communism, Stalinism, Trotskyism. ✕

It is no longer possible for the Irish Republican Movement to insulate itself from knowledge of the vocabulary which is in current usage in international literature and which is relevant to national liberation movements everywhere.

Marxism consists of a body of writings on economics, history and philosophy produced by Marx and Engels in Britain in the mid-nineteenth century, based mainly on the analysis of the development of capitalism in Britain at the time. The roots of Marxist thinking are in the classical political-economy of the English economist Ricardo, the philosophy of analysis of change developed by the German, Hegel, together with the Socialist ideas of the French revolutionaries Saint-Simon and Fourier. Integrating these threads into a unified revolutionary theory, Marx and Engels developed what they called 'Scientific Socialism', in other words a concept of the betterment of human society that was not based on wishful thinking but on the analysis of the actual situation and the harnessing of trends within it by making the people concerned conscious of what was possible.

The key concept of Marxism is the fact that capitalism involves development of the means of production to the extent of involving large numbers of people in the productive process; production thus becomes a social rather than an individual act, though the appropriation of the product remains the prerogative of the private owner or small group of owners for whom the Board of the Company acts. The consequences of this contradiction between social production and private appropriation are numerous and form the main theme of Marx's major work 'Capital', written nearly a hundred years ago and based on factual analysis of capitalism in mid-century England. One of his major conclusions was the need to base a revolutionary movement on a social grouping of which the size and strength was increasing rather than declining, whence his emphasis on the working-class.

He also showed that private ownership acts as a brake on the development of the productive process once a certain level has been reached, (this level being dependent on a number of variable factors, such as the existence or otherwise of monopoly, the size of the market etc.): it then becomes necessary, in the ensuing economic crisis, for those people most intimately connected with the productive process to organise and by revolutionary act to take over ownership of the means of production themselves, establishing Socialism.

Marx himself did not live to see the fulfillment of his theories, as the economic crisis of European capitalism was exported to the colonies, becoming imperialist (see below), though he witnessed the short-lived Paris Commune, which he reported for the New York Herald Tribune. These reports make interesting reading in that they show how the French 'men of Property' leaned on the German Army, then in occupation, to suppress this revolutionary act.

Acting on his theories Marx formed the International Working Mens Association, which continued in existence into the 1870's. The Fenians had contact with this, and Marx himself played a significant role in the campaign to release the Fenian Prisoners. Classical Marxism remained a theory related to the situation in the advanced capitalist countries, Connolly acknowledged a debt to it, pointing out that William Thompson of Cork in the 1830's had anticipated some of Marx's ideas on economics.

In the 1880's European Capitalism started to become imperialism in the modern sense and began to make money out of Africa in a big way, with investments. This enabled it to buy off their own working-class and the influence of classical marxism declined, becoming 'respectable'. The buying off of the Irish land agitations was part of the same phenomenon.

The focus of revolutionary thinking therefore moved off to the underdeveloped outer fringes of Europe: Russia and Ireland, where Lenin and Connolly independently adapted and developed classical Marxist thinking to the needs of their respective Nations. Common to these two separate threads were the need to carry out a 'National Revolution' against the foreigner in occupation and the need to take into account the existence of a large agrarian population. There were differences: in Ireland the edge had been taken off the agrarian problem by the Land Acts: the political presence of alien rulers had however sharpened the conflict, on the other hand in Russia imperialist penetration was mainly economic, at least prior to the war. Both thinkers realised the need to convert the European imperialist war to the advantage of the National Independence Movement.

Connolly's classic 'Labour in Irish History', is a distinctively Irish contribution to Socialist Literature, containing '(in the Rahahine chapter) the seeds of a theoretical solution for the alliance of 'small-property' with 'no-property' via co-operativism.

The Russian and Irish revolutions went their respective ways, the Irish into defeat and a period of reaction, the Russians to victory but marred by a period of autocratic rule under Stalin coinciding with an attempt to rush the farmers into an industrial form of agriculture. The vocabulary was in this period enriched by the terms 'Stalinism' and 'Trotskyism', both of which are terms of political abuse. However, it happens that they have a reasonably precise meaning, the former implying the suspension of democratic procedures.

The dragooning of the farmers into industrial-type organisations and the use of the Communist Parties in other countries as instruments of Russian foreign policy, via the Comintern (Communist International). This resulted in the isolation of Marxists in other countries from other radical forces on grounds of suspected foreign control. Trotskyism, which was politically defeated in Russia in the twenties, consisted in the theory that socialism could not be made in one country, that world revolution was necessary, so that revolution should be exported by force of arms. It has retained in appreciable following outside Russia to this day as a left-wing splinter-group with extremist demands such as to isolate them from the ordinary people. Currently they uphold the submergence of European nations into the Common Market as being a good thing, on the grounds that the emergence of a united 'European' working-class will result, making a large-scale revolution inevitable. They are thus basically anti-national in their philosophy and consequently are unlikely to have significant impact on the Irish scene, despite talk of the 'Workers' Republic' and militant-sounding language.

The initiation of dialogue between the Vatican and the U.S.S.R. as states and between Catholic and Marxist Philosophers as individuals, has ended the state of 'cold war' (which existed up to the end of the fifties) it is now possible, and respectable, for Catholic writers to find common ground in the ideas of Aquinas, Marx and Teilhard de Chardin. The time is therefore ripe for those concerned to make an Irish National Revolution with co-operative and Socialist goals to be prepared to study objectively the experience of other movements through the international literature, and indeed to contribute their share to this for the benefit of others.

The term 'communism' has various meanings; In classical Marxist writings it is used for the ultimate state of society to which socialism evolves, when due to super abundance of material goods money will no longer be necessary and social rather than economic goals are paramount. It also has the meaning 'associated with the Communist International' and in that sense is related to 'Stalinism'.

There is now no recognised world centre whose word is law, it is recognised that no one country has the monopoly of revolutionary theory.

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Section 3.....

Organisations of the Irish People.

It is necessary to evaluate all organisations as regards their potential for support of the Movement for National Unity and Independence.

Organisations unite groups of people with similar interests towards the achievement of agreed objectives. Various classifications can be adopted. Here we adopt three distinct methods of classification:

- (1) Degree of opposition to the neo-Unionist drift of the country,
- (2) Whether Political, Economic or Socio-Cultural,
- (3) Degree of involvement of their members in decision-making.

Non-Radical Organisations:-

A full analysis of the major political parties and the reasons for their present positions has been given in the Historical section (Vol. 1), so that in this we leave out analysis in detail except for the following brief points: All organisations in the Twenty Six Counties which have declared support for entry into the Common Market may be regarded as the embodiment of the neo-Unionist principle. These include Fine Gael, Fianna Fail, N.I.E.C., the Employers Federation, together with the N.F.A. and some of the Trade Unions so far as their leadership are concerned. In the Six Counties the Unionist Party and the Orange Order, the Six County section of the Federation of British Industries etc., represent organised Unionism.

Some of these organisations, however, include members whose interests are in conflict with their leadership though this may not be widely appreciated by the former. Thus, the N.F.A. in so far as it represents working farmers, and the business organisations, in so far as it represents working manager-owners, may be regarded as having internal conflicts between potentially radical rank-and-file and Unionist or neo-Unionist leadership.

The political parties mentioned have in common the fact that their real objectives (the making of money for their friends) are in conflict with their declared objectives which may be more or less high-sounding. They therefore have to resort to consistent bamboozlement of their rank-and-file, coupled with control by the use of patronage.

In the Twenty Six Counties it was once thought that the making of money for one's friends was consistent with opposition to imperialism. When this period came to an end (c. 1957 - 3) and open collaboration with imperialism became the dominant policy, the Fianna Fail/Fine Gael position came to approximate more and more with that of Unionism. This was the basis for the Lemass-O'Neill meeting.

Thus the main conflicts in the non-radical ranks are:

(a) Economically between the pro-Common Market, imperial - linked monopoly capitalists and the threatened small-to-medium business elements. (b) Politically between the Unionist and neo-Unionist leadership and their rank-and-file supporters, the Unionist supporters having been fed for years on anti-Catholicism now find their leaders hobnobbing with the "Fenians", while Fianna Fail supporters, having been brought up on republican ideas, now find their leaders becoming quasi-Unionists. Both groups feel betrayed and the attitudes of many of them are now fluid enough to enable them to turn to whatever leadership looks like representing their real or imagined interests. It would thus be quite wrong to class Paisley's rank-and-file supporters as the enemy.

It is necessary to add a word on the anti-common market elements in Six-County Unionism. This is to be understood in the U.K. context, where there are a number of small manufacturers as well as Trade Unionists who oppose entry on the grounds that they quite correctly fear for their interests. In a sense this group is to the 'left' of the Nationalists and the NDP who have both echoed the Fianna Fail neo-Unionist line. However there is an element of confusion on both sides, in that the dominant motive may well on the one hand be fear of loss of local ascendancy under Common Market conditions, and on the other hand hope for a fair deal for Catholics.

Both are illusory: the dominant factor will be the crushing of the small firm: this will affect equally both the Protestant and the Catholic small firms and there is scope for the uniting of the interests of both these groups in the context of a general anti-Common Market movement, in alliance with the Trade Unions. The opportunity of the people concerned drawing conclusions in such a way as to strengthen the movement for Irish National Independence is obvious and too good to be missed.

Radical Organisations:-

Political organisations may be classified according as they have a consciously thought-out political position based on theoretical writings or are opportunist and pragmatic.

In the former category can be placed the Republican Movement, the Workers Party and the C.P.N.I.. The latter include the Labour Party, the Republican Labour Party, the N.I.L.P., the Nationalists, the various anti-Unionist splinter groups in the Six Counties.

Economic organisations with radical potential include the Trade Unions, co-operatives, Tenants Associations, farmers clubs, fishermen's associations, development associations, occasionally Junior Chambers of Commerce. All of these are in pragmatic category with the exception of some cooperative ginger groups.

Socio-cultural organisations include Sceim na gCeardchumann, Cara and Misneach in the principled category and a large number of organisations such as G.A.A. Gaelic League, Macra na Feirme, Comhaltas Ceolteoiri, Muintir na Tire and the various urban amenity associations in the pragmatic category. Thus all three groups Political, Economic, socio-Cultural, can be grouped into a broad spectrum ranging from relatively hard-core left to opportunist right.

There are also in existence splinter groups who take up extreme "left" or extreme "Republican" positions, the adoption of which, by the principled radical groups would result in the isolation of the latter from the mass movements of the people which would be left as a consequence to a backward leadership.

Politically, the "extreme left" demand a "Workers Republic", using this term in an exclusive, sectarian sense, and thus ignoring and alienating a substantial degree of support for the broad independence movement from working farmers and small business in the self-employed or owner-manager category. Tactically the short-run use of force appears to be envisaged although it is not clear against what targets and under what circumstances.

The extreme "Republican" position is politically to reassert (a) force, and (b) non-participation in Leinster House, as being the basic principles and beliefs of the Movement rather than as tactics and means to an end appropriate to particular sets of circumstances. This group is ill-defined and appears to be based on 'gombeen-nationalist' elements who would have been more at home in Fianna Fail in the '30's. It has so little positive to contribute that it is unlikely to gain significant influence.

The former group is potentially more damaging in that the Workers Republic slogan is superficially attractive to young and well-intentioned working-class people who, however, lack political experience and have as yet little understanding of the complexity of the National question.

The Principled Radical Groups:-

The Republican Movement derives its theoretical understanding from the writings of Tone, Hope, Mitchell, Lalor, Connolly and Pearse. After a barren political period in the '30s, and '40s, it is now accepting Mellowes and Gilmore and consciously rejecting such of Griffiths as it retained in the absence of alternatives. Many of the results of the barren period are however still with us, insofar as the policy of non-participation in Leinster House developed into a refusal to play any part whatever in the everyday struggles of the ordinary people, giving rise to a heritage of isolation that has to be lived down in the coming period.

A historical analysis of the Movement, already published as Vol. 1. of this series is currently being re-written and improved for publication in print.

The C.P.N.I. is the rump of the old C.P.I. which was founded in the '30s, based on Saor Eire and the revolutionary workers' groups which emerged from the I.R.A. of the period. Dissolved in the Twenty Six Counties in 1941 as a result of indecision on the attitude to the War when the U.S.S.R. became involved, it maintained continuity in Belfast and supported the U.K. war-effort, drawing most of its members from Protestant working-class.

The I.W.P. was founded as the Irish Workers League in 1948 by a group of ex-Curragh internees from the '40s, linking up with the relics of the old C.P.I., with the Cork Socialist Party and some student groups.

Both C.P.I. and I.W.P. remained in relative isolation due (a) to the negative tradition of Stalinism and consequent foreign orientation and (b) to failure to come to grips with the existence of the National question and the role of British imperialism in Ireland, which led to their condemnation of the '50s campaign on the Border. The C.P.N.I. and the I.W.P. have not succeeded in working out an agreed joint national strategy and remain organisationally distinct.

Both groups have, however, a wealth of Trade Union experience and a number of members with considerable influence in the Trade Union movement. Theoretically speaking, the C.N.P.I. half-heartedly, and the I.W.P., in full accept the Republican classics as an essential part of our revolutionary heritage.

Among the economic organisations there is little principled radicalism in the Trade Unions, except in such Trades Councils as are under the influence of the principled political organisations (mainly Belfast). In the co-operative movement principled radical ginger-groups: the Co-operative Development Trust, Dochas, Community Development.

Socio-cultural groups include Sceim na gCeardchumann, Misneach and the student Republican Clubs. The first of these shows evidence of conscious political thinking and some of its members appear to be working as a ginger-group within the Labour Party,

within the Labour Party with the aim of making the latter adopt Socialist objectives.

Misneach has been carrying out an agitation in defence of the language and has succeeded in rescuing the language from middle-class respectability and making it a live issue, although it has on occasions been in danger of isolating itself by the adoption of ultra-leftist tactics. This may be attributed to lack of experience and there are signs that the importance of mass-support is being appreciated.

The student clubs are fulfilling a useful educational role in spreading knowledge of the Republican classics and of the Social and Economic objectives of the Republican Movement.

The Pragmatic but Potentially Radical Groups:-

Politically the most significant are the Labour Party, the Republican Labour Party and N.I.L.P.. These are currently discussing the formation of an All-Ireland Council of Labour, possibly to link with the Trade Unions on the level of the I.C.T.U..

All these have democratic structures with local branch organisation, the Irish Labour Party now having strong Trade union affiliations. However, in all three cases the leadership is firmly in the hands of the parliamentary group and the local organisations are machines for getting the representatives elected. There is no attempt to carry out educational work or raise the level of political consciousness of the membership.

The affiliation of the Trade Unions to Labour parties represents an opportunity for principled Trade Unionists to gain a voice in the formation of policy. The existence of a democratic branch structure also gives an opportunity for the ordinary membership to assert itself in policy formation. The existence of educational bodies such as the Wolfe Tone Societies, Sceim na gCeardchumann, as well as the I.W.P. and the Republican Movement, all of which run public functions of an educational character, cannot fail to have some effect on Labour Party rank-and-file thinking and consequent influence on policy.

Although the Nationalists and the N.D.P. have adopted an echo-line from Fianna Fail in the Common Market, they do represent a radical potential in the six-county context, insofar as they unite the interests of the small-business and professional members of a group which is discriminated against. They are susceptible of being pushed into a radical position, especially on civil rights issues, by pressure from the Trade Unions and other radical groups: though they do benefit personally from the existing patronage system to a significant degree, it would be wrong to lump them together with Chichester-Clarke and O'Neill and the commanding British controlled Unionist heights.

The Trade Unions are of front-line importance in the coming Free-Trade/Common Market epoch: they are in existence for defending the livelihoods of their members: their numbers are continually increasing (now over 350,000 people, 26Co.,) and they can be expected to react sharply to Industrial closure threats on a local level, provided those of their members who are conscious are able to do the spade-work in time. What is lacking is a fight on the National level of the Trade Unions against the Free-Trade policies and their consequences. This is due largely to the failure of the members to press for more active and militant and National policies in an organised fashion, even though Republicans and Labour Party people and others in the Trade Unions are in a very good position to do so, if they organise themselves for this purpose.

Trade Unions as well as the other types of organisations listed (Tenants Associations, Farmers Clubs, Co-operatives, primary producer associations, land agitations) can be measured to effectiveness by the degree to which the individual member has voice. The constitution and procedure of organisations is therefore of prime importance.

An annual meeting with a small percentage of members attending is practically a guarantee of a non-radical leadership. This is the case with many Trade Union branches and most co-operatives. Regular but large meetings (e.g. the N.F.A. or Defence of the West), are better but this tends to retard the emergence of members to -

to retard the emergence of members to articulacy and ultimately to positions of responsibility. The best organisational form is the regular small local meeting of neighbours or factory-group meeting at which all have a chance to speak, electing a delegate to a regular regional council or factory council.

The key to successful organisation is the definition of membership. No club with loose membership survives, no matter how good its objectives. It invites infiltration by those with opposed interests and consequent organisational death. Just as Trade Unions exclude employers of Labour, so Residents Associations should exclude property speculators, tenants' associations landlords, primary producers associations gombeen-men and national business organisations foreign monopolists. In proportion as this exclusion principle can be made effective it will be possible for the organisations of workers, farmers and owner-manager businesses to cooperate in the formation of a National Movement in Defence of the Nation and against imperialism.

If a mass-organisation is to benefit from having principled radical leadership, it is necessary that the leadership elected is competent, knowledgeable in the specialist field of the organisation, and accepted as such. If suitable personnel are not ready to go forward, it is necessary to develop a candidate leadership by education over a period. This education should be on the ground of the mass-organisation, and should involve as many members as possible of the latter. Thus it has been possible to get classes going, not only on Trade Unionism, but on Irish History, in the Unions in the Six Counties. The opportunity represented by classes like this for the development and acceptance, by the members of a principled radical leadership cannot be underestimated.

The Wolfe Tone Societies.

The strength of the Wolfe Tone Societies consists in their ability to unite individuals from a wide range of principled radical and pragmatic groups and to help the emergence of a broad National Movement against imperialism, acting as a generator of theoretical ideas and analysis which are just the right amount in advance of the ideas of the general memberships of the various organisations to enable a large number of people to be brought into conscious action, avoiding the danger of pseudo-revolutionary slogan-mongering, but keeping up a steady stream of analysis, in moderate language but real Revolutionary content.

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Section 4.Tactical Objectives.

There is one measure which is of over-riding significance when evaluating any individual, party, association, grouping: the degree of common interest with British imperialism, and in the present circumstances the degree of acceptance of the latter's crawl into the E.E.C.. It is therefore possible to evaluate on any issue related to National Unity and Independence, what forces are likely to be in direct opposition, in favour or neutral.

Revolutionary tactics must consist in so defining the immediate objectives that many potentially enemy forces remain neutral, while winning many neutrals towards a position of active support. Thus no tactical objective should be such as to split the people or any group, 50-50: it should be 90-10, with the ten percent hard core who are actively making money out of the connection with Britain as the local main enemy. Any issue which looks like dividing the people 50-50 should be avoided, until the spide-work has been done.

In the latter section an attempt is made to look for tactical objectives on a regional basis. Here the broad picture in the Six and Twenty-six County areas is outlined, on the above principles.

The Six Counties. The major obstacle to the development of radical national ideas in the Six Counties is the lack of any form of communication between the Movement and the people. There is an extreme need for a paper which would inform the general public of the standpoint of the Movement. The existence of a ban on the legality of the Movement makes the position even more difficult, in that it is practically impossible even to get a hall in some areas in which to hold a meeting. Both these facts point to the high priority of the struggle for Civil Liberties. In taking up this, however, it is necessary to realise that non-Republican people in the North are not disposed to agitate to get Civil Liberty for Republicans: they have to be involved in their own interests.

Which means that if a Civil Liberties movement is to be built in the North, it will have to involve Catholics on the issue of discrimination in Housing and Jobs, and Protestant working-class on the issue of the Local Government election register which is weighted against them by the property qualification.

A civil liberties movement which has been built up on the basis of broad support for these issues would be prepared to defend the right of Republicans to have a legal existence if an issue arose where they were prosecuted for manifestly legal activity. The possibility exists therefore of pushing the sales of the United Irishman, preferably on an occasion when it had content related to the unemployment position in the North, and in the event of arrests campaigning for legalisation on the grounds of the democratic right to express and propagate these views. But the Movement need not expect to sit back and get others to campaign for legality for them.

The other major issue in the North is unemployment: this affects all sections of the working-class and the main means of fighting it is through the Trade Union Movement, where there is the possibility of Protestant and Catholic workers joining forces to press Westminster and Stormont Government to take the necessary measures to keep the factories open. Shorts, which is an uneconomic unit by British aircraft industry standards, has been kept alive, (in the national interest let it be said, Shorts is a national asset that will, in a 32 County Republic pull its weight in the establishment of a sophisticated industrial base) by consistent political pressure exercised through the Trade Unions since the war. There is a lesson to be learned here: people in the six Counties can make it very expensive for the British to keep control just by demanding jobs. The further out from Belfast the worse the unemployment and the more scope there is for agitation along these lines.

Work in the Trade Unions can lead to contact with and understanding of the Protestant working-class, without which undermining of Unionism is impossible owing to their relative strength. The use of the Trade Unions for the study of History, via Connolly and the History of the Trade Union Movement in the North and in Ireland as a whole is a possibility which has, in some cases been exploited and which can be made general.

Thus in the Six Counties the main enemy is British rule; the seat of power is Westminster: direct influence on Westminster over the heads of the puppets on the spot is the most effective channel of influence: allies are all who suffer from discrimination and unemployment, including elements of the Protestant working-class; Paisley, so long as he disrupts the Unionist ranks can be regarded as an ally: insofar as his supporters represent the dispossessed they can be won for a genuine radical and national stand in the long run; they are certainly not to be attacked, as this would delight the real enemy who would be assured of decades more of power if a pogrom situation were to develop.

Opposition to the Common Market is also a means of uniting Trade-Union and small business interests (even Unionist) on a limited objective, of which however the logical development is the transforming of a 'U.K. national' to an Irish national standpoint. This can come within the general framework of the struggle against unemployment.

The 26 Counties

Here the main issue is the organisation of opposition to the E.E.C. and to all the associated steps that the Government has mapped out, such as the changes in the Constitution, the anti-trade-union Laws; also for a revision of the Anglo-Irish Trade Agreement in such a way as to favour Irish industrialisation. This is a complicated and many-sided battle and again the key is the Trade Union Movement, of which the main objective is the defense of its members jobs.

In this period if the movement is to be the forefront in the opposition to every step of the Government towards handing over Economic control to the Brussels monopolists in a new Act of Union, it will be possible for the people to learn by experience who it was they should have listened to in the late sixties when the effects begin to become apparent, even if they do not listen in sufficient numbers now.

It is also of fundamental importance to obtain Unity among the organisations representing working farmers, and to impose the principle of democratic consultation in the formulation of agricultural policy, and to resist any move by the Government to shackle or impose over-riding control on the development of the co-operative movement under the farmers own leadership.

Thus, to sum up, it can be said that the main task of the moment is to bring about a position where the principled radicals of the Movement are accepted in leading positions in the mass-organisations of the people, on their genuine specialist merits, and where the mass-organisations are united and able to resist the erosion by the neo-Unionist government of the National Economic, Social and cultural life in the interests of the foreign investor for whom they are increasingly the agents.

From this position the advance to political power starts to become credible.

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Section 5.Tactical Methods.

The following are a few methods which can prove or have proved successful in organising local support towards the achievement of tactical objections connected with some of the elements of the Nation question.

(a) Decline of old-established industries, redundancy: Organise the workers into a Union, if this is not already the case.

Demand a full enquiry, with Trade Union participation, into the affairs of the firm, if redundancy or closure is threatened. Get independent expert advice on the condition of the firms books. If closure still threatened, demand Nationalisation and the leasing of buildings and plant to co-operative of workers and working management. Take steps to organise and register this co-op, and to raise working capital.

Avoid claiming redundancy payment until all possible means of keeping going have been exhausted.

In the event of closure, explore whether local agricultural co-operative would have use for the buildings for a productive purpose, thereby establishing a new local based industry in place of the old.

(b) Rural depopulation and general agricultural decline:

Call a meeting of a small number of farmers who are well respected and whose opinions count.

Discuss with them the general economy of the area; draw up with their agreement a Survey Form suitable for obtaining information as to quality and kind of produce. Call a General Meeting;

found a Farmers' Club. Explain the need for a Survey. Nominate members for a Provisional Committee, with Chairman and Secretary.

Committee members should undertake to do the survey. When survey has been completed, examine amounts of produce sold and raw

materials bought; examine economics of bulk purchase and sale by contract. Savings should enable price improvement to be obtained,

(2) a reserve for expansion to be built up. (3) if necessary, a manager to be supported.

If savings are insufficient, area should be extended. Alternatively, a part-time or voluntary manager can be appointed until business builds up.

Expert advice from the County Agricultural Instructor should be sought for all expansion projects. Registration as a co-op need not necessarily be done through the Irish Agricultural Organisation Society: it can be done independently and affiliation applied for afterwards if desired. It is important to see that the rules adopted are in accordance with co-operative principles; the I.A.O.S. have model rules which form a useful basis for drawing up local rules. The I.A.O.S. provides useful services and advice on technical and financial matters.

It is important that the club meetings called for the purpose of initiating the co-op should continue and that the members should be educated both by study and experience. There is therefore scope for the development of federations of local clubs of small farmers and other dispersed primary producers, meeting in groups small enough to enable everyone to express himself, and excluding by their rules people to whom they as primary producers are in debt: this is the rural analogue of the Trade Union, which excludes employers. The function of such clubs or regional federations of clubs would be to initiate co-operatives to defend the interests of the primary producers in various specialist fields; but the clubs themselves would have an educational and pressure-group function. The emergence of Macra and the N.F.A. by this process among the larger farmers was a positive move, but it never had sufficient impact among those who were so impoverished as to be on the verge of emigration. The lack of a vocal small-holder element in the N.F.A. has given the latter perhaps more of a 'rancher' image than it deserves; this lack is also responsible for the relative lukewarmness of the N.F.A. towards the co-operative principle.

(c) Decline of the Irish Language.

The key problems are (1) to give the Gaeltacht people back their self-respect, so that they can get away from the (dole) mentality and stand on their own feet. This can be done by the establishment of primary producers clubs as described previously and demanding reform of the 'dole' rules and education to members towards co-operation.

(2) to make it fashionable to speak Irish in urban-working class circles. The key organisations here are such as Sceim na gCeardcumann, Misneach etc., which are not "Civil Service" minded and the key organisational idea is for an urban working class group to adopt its local Gaeltacht area, spend its holidays and weekends there perfecting its knowledge of the language, involve itself with the co-operative organisation work and help build the necessary buildings and installations, taking payment in shares and paying for their keep. Dublin might "adopt" Rath Cairn, but also North Mayo since there is plenty of manpower in Dublin, possibly too much for Rath Cairn alone. Galway could "adopt" Connemara, Cork could "adopt" West Cork and Kerry, Waterford could "adopt" Ring and Belfast and Derry could "adopt" Donegal. The Sceim na gCeardcumann principle should be extended from Dublin and Cork to all the major cities. In Belfast and Derry particular attention should be given to avoiding the Hibernian approach by trying to involve Protestant Trade Unionists, possibly first from the holidays/folk music angle but ultimately from the language angle also.

(d) Housing Problems

This many sided and complicated problem is at its worst in Dublin. The main elements are:

(1) The existence of old property in bad condition let in tenements. Under existing regulations a speculator can obtain possession by obtaining a "dangerous buildings" order, evicting the tenants on the street. The rate of speculative demolition in recent years has reached an all-time high, and there is little sign of rebuilding.

- (2) The difficulty of obtaining long-term loans: the impossibility of obtaining loans to buy an old house, which means that old property can only be sold for speculative conversion to tenements or flats at monopolistic rents.
- (3) The existence of a free market in land which makes centre city rehousing prohibitively expensive.
- (4) The existence of increasingly remote suburbs (both municipal and private) with transport and social amenity problems.
- (5) The trend towards furnished lettings, so that landlords can evict at will.
- (6) The concentration of building effort into the luxury flat and office market rather than houses for the people.

The main needs of the people are for (a) more houses, (b) fair rents, (c) security of tenure, (d) preservation and provision of amenities.

There is therefore endless scope for organisation of Tenants' Associations, Credit Co-ops, Community Centres (Why not use the old 'big house' in a newly developed estate as a community centre instead of demolishing it?).

In all cases the demands on local authorities or Government must be at least partially realisable and such as to engender mass support; they should also be such as to show how the existing state structure is weighted against the peoples needs, and to engender a demand for more radical change, so as to realise the demands in full.

(F) Wages, Conditions, Job Security.

There is currently on foot a move to empower the Dublin Minister for Labour to withdraw the negotiating licence from any Union he judges to be 'irresponsible'. Clearly the successors of the Martin Murphy/Arthur Griffiths School of Nationalism have decided that if they are to survive 'free Trade' and the E.E.C. repressive Union laws will be necessary.

All changes which restrict Union rights must be resisted by acting within the Unions. Never was it so important as now for all Republicans to be working in the Unions as active members defending the rights won by Connolly and Larkin in 1913.

Resolutions at branches serve to awaken opinion: even more so at Annual Conferences. The emphasis for Trade Union activity in smaller firms should be on job security and working conditions first, and wages where possible. In the event of threatened closure by a small firm in response to a wage-demand, Unions should be pressed by their members to get independent expert opinion and to demand access to the books. In fact, there is scope for a general demand that it should be legally mandatory for a Union representative and expert adviser to have access to the books in the case of a firm threatened with closure.

(f) Survival of S M shopkeepers.

The role of the small shopkeeper remains positive, despite the popularity of the supermarkets. He provides an amenity, by having flexible opening hours and by giving credit to workers temporarily unemployed or on strike. He can survive co-operatively by taking over the wholesale trade which serves him. This trend exists and is to be supported.

A foreign-owned supermarket which has established a local monopoly or is in danger of doing so can be resisted by organising co-operatively the remaining local shopkeepers, so that they specialise among themselves, providing a service beyond the ability of the supermarket. This approach is to be preferred to the alternative of founding a consumers' co-op, unless all independent retail trade has been annihilated, which condition led to the initial growth of the consumers co-op movement in Britain, where it has flourished under rather different conditions to those obtaining here now.

(h) Opposing British neo-colonialist policies.

It is necessary to recognise that pressure can be brought to bear on matters of international concern by pushing the Dublin Government by means of agitations and pressure groups.

As a result of the work on one pressure group, the problem of apartheid in South Africa now is more widely understood than are many of our own internal problems, such as British rule in the North. This group, the Irish Anti-apartheid Movement, has set a pattern for pressure-group activity that is worthy of close study. In the coming period it is going to be increasingly necessary to organise pressure against moves originating in the U.K. and designed to bring Ireland as a whole more closely than ever under British control. The form this is currently taking is the integration with Britain into the E.E.C. The campaign to arouse the understanding of the people regarding the implications of this Act of Union is already producing organisational forms - the Defence of the Nation Committees in which sections of the Irish peoples organisations can co-ordinate their actions positively, getting to know and respect each other in the process. All activities initiated by these bodies (meetings, local campaigns, lobbying T.D.s petitions, resolutions to Annual Conferences etc.) serve to get accepted the idea of Republican leadership in the National Revolutionary Movement; it would be a reversion to the older attitudes to worry about who gets the credit. The important thing is that actions should take place so as to lead to greater and greater understanding of the nature of the forces at work economically undermining the country, and that the actions should be reported in such a way as to lead to more actions. This is the function of the press statements: to tell the people what they should do next rather than to express an attitude.

If an Independent Republic is to survive it will need to cement trade and diplomatic relations with many other countries. Gestures of support to other countries attempting to free themselves from imperial rule will build for the Movement funds of goodwill for the future. This holds for Vietnam no less than for Cyprus or Algeria or Cuba: the old idea of the uniqueness and separateness of the Irish question (one of Griffiths ideas) will have to go: we will need allies and friendly neutrals, especially among Countries which are not themselves engaged in colonial or neo-colonial oppression.

A recent example is the action of Wilson's government in allowing Smith Unionist Ascendancy in Rhodesia to stage a Carsonite rebellion with complete success. The Dublin Minister for External Affairs was conspicuous by his silence on this issue.

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Section 6.Support, Pressure, Channels of Influence.

It is necessary to analyse the forms of support that the general public can be asked to give the Movement.

These are as follows:

(a) Financial: The basic rule is financial support should be asked for always in connection with a particular tactical objective that the people will understand.

(b) Logistic:

Transport and accommodation are often available from non-member supporters; likewise the transmission of information. The organising of Logistic support is a specialist function of the activist group.

(c) Electoral. In approaching the general public to ask for votes, tactical objectives must be presented which are credible and obtainable and evidence must be shown of work already done towards the tactical objective.

At local level the housing question is often the key; the public must know that the Movement has a realistic short-term programme and that it has convinced at least some people of the need for pressure to the extent of helping in the formation of an ad hoc organisation (e.g. tenants' associations etc.,).

At national level the key issues are National Unity, Independence, subservience politically and economically to Britain, the sell-out of assets to foreigners, the decline of the Western areas, the language, education, housing, a whole host of inter-related and complex matters. It is necessary to have credible long-term (i.e. 32 County) and short-term (26 and 6 County) programmes on all these issues.

Owing to the present electoral policy short-term credibility is not good in that in order to be effective the movement must get majority support at one jump. This constraint implies the need to get considerable agitational and organisational support prior to seeking election.

P. 34.

(d) Agitational: The function of an agitation is to obtain some concession or tactical objective that will improve the lot of those whose interests are damaged by the existing set-up, without necessarily achieving power. An agitation is therefore a threat of withdrawal of support from the existing government at next election time; as such it has to be listened to. The measure of an agitation is the number of people who turn up, as compared to some norm (e.g. election rally of government party).

No agitational meeting should be called unless there is a clear-cut, simple demand, expressed as a resolution. The latter should be read half-way through the meetings, passed at the end by acclamation, and sent to local and national press as well as to the Minister concerned.

The United Irishman and all current pamphlet literature should be prominently on sale on all public occasions.

Various devices such as marches, poster parades, petitions etc., serve to publicise and get support for the main agitational weapon, which is the mass meeting.

Agitation may lead to the setting up of an 'ad hoc' organisation or to involvement with already existing organisations.

Organisational: Some tactical objectives are susceptible of support from existing organised bodies having particular interests. Thus the demand that the Offences against the State Act be repealed and emergency legislation be re-drafted with proper regard for the rules of evidence and for ordinary democratic rights is one susceptible of support from Trade Unions, N.F.A., I.C.M.S.A., etc.,.

It is the duty of every member of the Movement to be active in other organisations towards setting resolutions at Annual Conferences in support of tactical objectives of the Movement that fall within the domains of interest of the other organisations.

The function of these resolutions is to define policy. Thus if a Conference comes out in favour of a tactical objective, it is bound to support all actions to this end, and is open to be invited to participate in agitations by the movement.

Resolutions of course can be ignored if there is no one on the executive to push for their implementation and remind it of its' duty to the wishes of the members. It is therefore necessary for active members of the Movement to seek election to the National or Regional executive of any organisation to which they belong.

Pressure.

The threat of withdrawal of support is itself pressure: this threat can be made more explicit if instead of leaving it to a head-count at a meeting it is formulated into a letter or a petition signed by many people, or a deputation from an organisation having a large registered membership. The pressure should be directed at the seat of power and to all other individuals or bodies which can influence the seat of power if pressed. The key is numbers which the politicians interpret as votes gained or lost.

Support can be snowballed into considerable pressure if the practice is adopted of sending copies of every resolution to all other bodies likely to be interested, suggesting that they do the same. Organised pressure on an issue can form the basis for establishing a new mass-organisation, once the people concerned can meet and agree.

The transfer of support from the Government party can only be made effective if there is a credible radical alternative. Otherwise, as in the case of the Farmers' agitation, the votes are transferred to Fine Gael, which is a retrograde step. Thus the build-up of a principled radical leadership in the mass-organisations will be self-defeating unless a credible political alternative is simultaneously made public. This, in the present time can only come from the Labour and Republican Movements.

Commemorations.

The gaining of support for the objectives of the movement can be helped by suitable choice of Commemorative occasion and choice of speaker and method of approach to the outlining of the event commemorated.

Bodenstown is traditionally a major policy enunciating occasion at national level. There is no reason why the practice should not become localised and specialised around the memory of particularly significant people in all areas: concentrating on the occasions associated with people whose ideas or actions have particular relevance. today.

There is little point in assembling people on a commemorative occasion if the opportunity is not availed of for telling them that they should do the next day and in precise terms. Nor is there much point in assembling them if they are not given the opportunity to buy or take home some written policy material from the Movement.

Words are quickly forgotten, but print is lasting and is passed from hand to hand if it is relevant to the needs of today.

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-- Section 7. --

Special Conditions in the Six Counties.

British imperialism can nowadays look on complacently while the leaders of her two client states shake hands across the Border. It was, after all, always open to the Irish people to end partition effectively by agreeing to return to the United Kingdom. This is the basic cause of the present crisis in the North - a change in Britain's policy towards Ireland as a whole following the capitulation of the Lemass Government and the abandonment since 1957 of any attempts to build the basis of an independent economy in the South.

There are, of course, other factors at work, factors not so amenable to control in the interests of imperialism. An important one is the realisation among influential sections of British public opinion, particularly in the Trade Union and Labour movement in that country, of the unsavoury character of Northern Unionism. The Orangemen have been getting a bad press in Britain - too bad from the point of view of their usefulness to their masters. Even in the last years of the Tory administration the Northern Unionists were becoming a dwindling political asset to England. The bigotry in the Six Counties was being spoken about too much in the working class and democratic organisations of Britain that were not tainted with the imperialism of Britain's Tory rulers and the imperialism elements in the leadership of the Labour Party. The far-seeing leaders of British imperialism saw that the bright young men of Fianna Fail might prove a better bet for preserving British influence in Ireland in the long run than the bigoted fanatics of the North. Hence O'Neill has been given his orders to play down discrimination and brush the corruption of his regime under the carpet while Britain snares Lemass into the United Kingdom.

The resulting tension have caused a new development, and one pregnant with possibilities. Under this stress Unionism, the most reactionary political force in Ireland, is divided. The conflict between Paisley and O'Neill expresses this division in personal terms but, as with most important divisions, it is basically a political one, a division over policy in the Unionist camp.

Other factors also, such as the ecumenical movement and the emergence of a more educated and less fanatical generation of younger Protestants in the North, have helped on the crisis of Unionism.

The Crisis of Unionism.

Things may not work out as planned. There are many possibilities. O'Neill has got his orders to play down discrimination and the rest, but the resulting unfreezing of political life in the Six Counties may release the political energies of the people, and particularly the Catholic people and the Protestant working-class, and lead to results which the Unionists never bargained for. If things change too much the Orange worker may see that he can get by alright without dominating his Catholic neighbour. The two of them may in time join forces in the Labour Movement, and where would Unionism be then? How can Unionism possibly survive when Protestant and Catholic are no longer at one another's throats, when discrimination has been dealt a body-blow?

This is the most progressive outcome to the present situation without a doubt. It is the outcome Republicans, Nationalists and genuine Labour men who live North of the Border should do their utmost to bring about - the destruction of the machinery of discrimination to the maximum, the unfreezing of bigotry to the greatest degree, the achievement of the utmost degree of civil liberties possible, freedom of political action, an end to the bitterness in social life and the divisions among the people fostered by the Unionists. These would be substantial gains for the progressive movement in the North and would be an immense asset to it in the years to come. They would permanently weaken the basis of Unionism, and towards these objectives all the energies of the progressive people in the North should be bent in the coming months.

The Struggle for Democratic Rights.

The Unionist leaders will try to concede the minimum. They are in an extremely awkward situation,. Let us make it as much more awkward for them as we can! On the one side they are caught by the changing demands of Britain's policy towards Ireland as a whole, and by the bad publicity they are getting in Britain - where people are demanding to know why British taxpayers money should be used to subsidise a Tory gang in the North while Britain's own economy is in crisis. On the other hand the Unionists should be squeezed by popular demands from the disenfranchised, the gerrymandered, the discriminated against, the oppressed Catholic and Nationalist minority within the North itself, demands for reforms, for Civil rights, for genuine democracy and opportunities of free political expression.

There can be no doubt that the policy of Republicans must be to ensure that everything is done to make this demand strong, vigorously organised, widespread, well-expressed and heard not only in the North itself, but in Britain and throughout the world. Force O'Neill to CONCEDE MORE THAN HE WANTS TO DO OR THAN HE THINKS HE CAN DARE GIVE without risking overthrow by the more reactionary elements among the Unionists. Demand more than may be demanded by the compromising elements that exist among the Catholic leadership. Seek to associate as wide a section of the community as possible with these demands, in particular the well-intentioned people in the Protestant population and the Trade Union Movement.

Civil rights, electoral reform, an end to gerrymandering and to discrimination in housing, jobs and appointments, the legal banning of incitement to religious discrimination. These are the essential demands for the present time. Republicans must be to the fore in making them and in seeking to get every other element that can be got in the community to associate with them. To this end Local committees and groups should be organised on the widest possible basis throughout the towns and villages of the North where ever there are people active in the progressive movement.

Civil rights committees, electoral reform groups, community development associations, friendship clubs - it matters not what they are called, or how diverse they are in structure and organisation. They should seek to organise the maximum number of people at a local level to bring pressure on local authorities, on Stormont, but particularly on Westminster, to wrest so many concessions from O'Neill that he begins to sweat political blood. Full use should be made of Fitt in exposing conditions in the Six-Counties on the Westminster platform.

Means of Organisation.

All the tactics of political organisation should be used in this work, adapting them to local conditions and not applying them mechanically where they may not be suitable. Meetings indoor and outdoor, the organisation of petitions on particular grievances signed by as broad sections of the people as possible, the organisation of letter, telephone and telegram campaigns to particular individual or particular issues, the passing of resolutions at Trade Union and other organisations, fasts, and hunger strikes to highlight particularly glaring abuses that exist, sit-downs, letters to the press, indeed the whole gamut of civil resistance. But we repeat that it is vital that whatever is done full attention should be paid to securing the maximum and broadest unity of action among the participants. Old feuds between Protestants and Catholics or between Republicans and Nationalist should not be allowed to stand in the way of this work. People should learn to give way to others for the sake of Unity where that is necessary, and it is important that the leading personnel in the public eye- should be such as to facilitate the broadest possible action rather than likely to narrow the possible boundaries of support. Above all support must be sought in the Trade Unions, particularly at the level of trades council and local union branches, for these are the main organisations which bring Protestant and Catholic together in defence of their common interests, and it may be possible in time to extend the range of common interests that already exist.

An indication has already been given for what can be achieved by one small local group in the Campaign for Social Justice at Dungannon, led by Mrs. N. Mc'Clusky. This body has for several years done work in highlighting discrimination in that area and has been responsible, though few in numbers, for educating some of the sharpest critics of O'Neill and Wilson in England - inside and outside Westminster - on the true nature of Unionism and the Irish question generally.

In this task the Movement in the North should begin at a local level, for there can take place the widest link-up with various community organisations. Later there can be organisational links with local bodies on a wide scale if that is desired and practicable. This course of action is, moreover, the way - and the only way at present - for Republicans to break out of their present isolation and impotence in the North, and in doing so help all nationally minded people in the area to break out of the political and social ghetto they have been imprisoned in for decades.

A Warning:

Above all, actions must be avoided which would serve to solidify the disintegrating Unionist ranks - all irresponsible adventures, anything which might be construed as a provocation. There may well be people who think, for example, that it may be a good thing to throw a bomb at some Orange Hall because Orangemen have thrown bombs at Catholic Halls. But this would undoubtedly be playing to the hands of the enemy at the present time. Let us choose our own battlegrounds and not be provoked. At the present time the strength of the Catholic and National forces in the North lies in their political discipline and restraint. Let the Unionists expose themselves and rend one another asunder. Why should we join in and help them to unite against us? Republicans and Nationally minded people should therefore be on their guard against provocateurs, people sent into their ranks mouthing pseudo-revolutionary phrases, pretending to act as firebrands, out to precipitate some incident which would give the Unionists an excuse for a pogrom. Let us be on our guard!

There can be little doubt but that O'Neill-Faulkner and Co. will carry the day. If Paisley and his followers are opposed by both the British Government and the main Unionist leadership, who have switched their policy, how can he possibly win? Britain has changed its' tactics relating to Ireland as a whole, consequent on the Dublin Government's capitulation. The Orange card is no longer useful as it was. At present the Orange rank and file in the North don't know what has happened. They are in a state of deep doubt and confusion and Paisley is the only one who has come forward as a guide. But the old certainties of anti-Catholicism and bigotry peddled by Paisley no longer suited imperialism as well as they did in the past. The Orangemen are being sold down the river and they do not know it. For years the basic fundamental of their faith has been their trust in Britain. Whatever they did, Britain would stand by them and back them up. But if this rock of faith is removed: if Britain betrays them - what then? Who will explain to the mass of the Orange Protestants what is happening? Will anyone come forward to tell them what is really happening or will Paisley, for his own interests be allowed to batten on their illusions?

A long-term possibility is therefore opening up within the present situation for getting in touch with the Unionist Orange masses in the North, explaining the real nature of Britain's imperialist policy towards Ireland, enlightening them as to the reasons for the current changes and winning them to support a Movement for Independence. Such work can only be done, however, by a Movement which is completely divorced from any elements of Catholic sectarianism, which is completely free of any suspicion of clericalism or of "taking orders from Rome", by a Movement animated by the non-sectarianism and democracy of the traditional Republican Movement in other words. The problems and possibilities of developing the appropriate organisational forms to meet the present situation in the North will need to be intensively studied by people in the progressive Movement during the coming period.

-- SECTION -- 8. --

Regional Differences in Ireland.

The following is an attempt to find a rationale for the regional structure of the Movement based on the objective situation in the various parts of the country.

First we list a number of the most obvious elements of the National question, then we pick out which regions are most influenced by each factor, then we look for a grouping which is related to an urban centre. The reason for the last step is that rural Ireland is now so depopulated that it is unrealistic to do otherwise. The main elements of the national question are:

- (1) Occupation by British troops;
- (2) Existence of an armed reactionary force in the pay of the regime, for the purpose of enforcing repressive legislation;
- (3) Religious discrimination in Housing and Employment:
(The above three items refer mainly to the Six Counties, although the second can be said to exist also in the Twenty Six Counties).
- (4) Pressure from outside (Political and Economic) to integrate with the U.K. and with the E.E.C.
 - (4a) Decline of old-established industries due to Free-Trade conditions: redundancy of the workers;
 - (4b) Closure of foreign-owned industries, even though recently initiated, due to head-office policy and their marginal character in the Free-Trade context;
- (5) Lack of job security, long hours, low wages;
- (6) Rural depopulation and general agricultural stagnation due to domination of the produce market and the sources of supply by 'gombeen' interests reinforced by the live cattle trade.
- (7) Decline of the Irish Language in the Gaeltacht areas and,
 - (7a) Disillusion with all things related to the nation in the urban areas: a general sense of defeatism as regards the National spirit.

(8) In those areas where industrial concentration has taken place bad housing conditions, due to housing not having kept pace and lack of planning such as to interfere to the necessary extent with the large-propertied interests.

(9) Sell-out to the foreigner of Irish land, industry, shops property in general.

In the Six Counties, all the above factors (except of course 4) are operative: factor 6 is predominant in the Fermanagh, South Derry and North-East Antrim areas: factor 8 is operative in Belfast.

In the 26 Counties, factor 4 of course operates overall: factors 4a, 4b, 5, 7a, 8, 9, operate in Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Limerick and other major cities in proportion as efforts have been made to develop industry in them in the past: factors 4a and 4b operate in a host of small towns, mainly in the Eastern area: factor 6 operates over most of the rural areas except in some parts of the South where the co-operative Movement has developed well over the years: factor 6 is most acute in the small-farm areas of the South-West, West and North-West, being particularly acute in the neglected areas of Leitrim, Cavan, North Longford and Monaghan, where there is little income from tourism.

In establishing a regional structure for the Movement, the object is to concentrate on building a strong organisation with Trade-Union links in major urban areas, with sufficient manpower to enable it to depute people to look after the organisation of the small-town and purely agrarian hinterland.

Centres where a strong regional leadership is possible now are Dublin, Belfast, Cork, Limerick, Waterford, Galway, Dundalk, Newry, Armagh, Dungannon, Derry. There is every reason for grouping the Six County sub-regions together in view of their special problems, just as it is reasonable to have a Regional centre in Cork responsible for Youghal, Fermoy, Mallow, Trillick, Killarney etc..

There is a case for grouping the Northwest depressed agrarian belt, including Fermanagh, under a centre in Sligo, but the people concerned are scattered over four or five small towns. In such a case a periodic regional meeting rotating between a number of centres would ultimately (if it gave rise to action of any kind) lead to build-up of at least one of them.

A number of small towns in the South-east share similar problems, being dependent on small industry; it is natural to group Wexford, New Ross, Enniscorthy, Carlow, Kilkenny or Wexford, depending on the objective situation and the way people develop to cope with it.

It would be reasonable to expect East Cavan and Monaghan to group with Dundalk.

Other regional groupings will emerge as the situation develops; the point is that the development of a regional ability to deal with local tactical objectives without having to refer matters of detail to Dublin is an absolute essential if the Movement is to have any significant impact. This is developed further in the next section.

Structure of the Movement.

In order to carry out effectively the influencing of the mass of the people and to ensure that their organisations fight for demands that are (a) tactically realisable (b) such as to promote unity between those sectors of the population most damaged by British imperialism and (c) in the national interest, it is necessary that the Movement itself be well organised.

The basic unit of organisation of the Movement is the Cumann (local, i.e. within walking or cycling distance of its' members, so as not to discriminate against the dispossessed). There is also scope for the development of factory Cumann which meet immediately after work when the people are together anyway.

The Cumann meets regularly, at least once a month. The very minimum a Cumann can do is to organise to sell the U.I. The agenda should also include: minutes (i.e. a record of decisions as to who was left responsible for doing what, so that it can be checked on); correspondence (letters from Standing Committee or Regional Council; outside correspondence); Education (a member at each meeting in rotation should introduce a topic either from the U.I. or from current pamphlets or books: this is excellent training for public speaking or speaking in such a way as to influence other organisations either from within or without); hearing of reports from specialist groups, discussing them and deciding on further action. These groups can meet separately to decide on tactics in special projects (e.g. how to resist land purchase by a foreigner; how to stop a factory from being closed down; how to get a particular union to support a particular issue such as a mass meeting to oppose anti-trade union legislation, or how to organise support for the anti-common market movement and vote 'no' (in the referendum), involving themselves with outside people who accept them, but always reporting back to the Cumann.

The Cumann sends a delegate to a regular meeting of a Regional Council. He keeps notes, reports in both directions precisely what went on. The Regional Council secretary when appointed must shed Cumann responsibilities and act as the Regional Council. His own Cumann must appoint another representative. He is an appointee of the Ard Comhairle who invite recommendations from the Council and bear these in mind.

The Regional Council sends a monthly report to the Standing Committee. Regional Council meetings are so phased that weekly meetings of the latter get an even flow of reports and can give adequate attention to all regions. The Councils are based on the major towns and are responsible for their hinterlands. There are about 18 to 20 regions in the 32 Counties that make sense from the angle of having common socio-economic and other problems.

The Ard Comhairle consists of a quarterly conference of the Council Secretaries, with the Standing Committee. It takes a full week-end and is a major policy-forming occasion. This Ard-Comhairle can be constructed from the existing Ard-Comhairle by extension of the co-optation principle: the final say as to its composition remains with the Ard Fheis.

The Regional Council is the key to building up a good intermediate leadership, capable of planning and taking initiative and extending its local influence.

The Regional Council can appoint specialist committees which have the right to co-opt non-member sympathisers who have specialist abilities or interests, such as professional, trade union, farmers organisations etc.. This is the area where the Wolfe Tone Societies can play a valuable role. These societies have been and are acting as bridges and meeting-grounds between the Movement and a number of other non-conflicting organisations at middle and national leadership level.

The Cumann forms the links at grass-roots level by its members being active as members of organisations representing their interests. At national level, the Standing Committee is able to influence the leaderships of the national mass-organisations only insofar as local and intermediate-level pressure makes itself felt.

Specialist groups at regional level can convene regional or national specialist conferences e.g. how to obtain unity among the smallholders and overcome the divisions fostered by the administration among the farmers organisations: how to pressure the I.C.T.U. into resisting effectively the drift towards the Common Market and neo-unionism: how to get the U.I. made legal in the Six Counties.

The purpose of all this is to obtain a known republican leadership at all levels to whom the people will turn for guidance when the bankruptcy of the present regime becomes obvious to them: the movement cannot expect to emerge from obscurity in the hour of need unless it does the spade-work now. In the course of this spade-work many good people will learn the art of government and will be well-established in the public eye, with established reputations

established reputations for having predicted the adverse outcome of the decisions of the present administration. This will make credible a jump to electoral victory. The organisation will be in existence for consolidating this victory and smashing the old structure rapidly, relying on the voluntary and democratic organisations of the people.

The United Irishman.

It cannot be overstressed how important is the United Irishman as a means of organising and educating the membership as well as raising the level of understanding of the general public.

It has been mentioned above that the central point on the agenda of the Cumann meeting should be the organisation of the sale of the paper. It is not enough to do this however: it is necessary to organise the collection of the paper money and to account for the amount sent back: deducting any money due to the Cumann from collection of extra money while selling the paper deducting also the commission, which can form a substantial source of income to an active cumann. It is important however that the accounting be done exactly and that the amounts be entered correctly in the Cumann Books: this is a responsible job and should be taken seriously. The U.I. cannot survive unless it receives its sales money in full promptly and with the minimum of returns. In fact the practice should be adopted of the Cumann paying in full for their order, less commission, and then if there are any papers over after the monthly sale, organising a local distribution to selected people as free samples, as part of a sales and publicity drive for the paper, coupled with a local drive to increase the influence of the Cumann. Papers back in the office are dead: if they are distributed they will have some influence. Finally it is important to use the paper as a means of reporting local events which have significance for the movement. Note that the emphasis is shifting away from the Commemoration and towards actions which defend the interests of the common people at present. Commemoration speeches are likely to get reported if they have this forward-looking element in them. Otherwise the things which will get reported are actions which will cause people to think and organise like actions elsewhere. Such things, if they involve members of a Cumann must be publicised and it is up to the Cumann to send in a report: the editor cannot be ubiquitous.